Form and Meaning of *Akwelye*:
a Kaytetye women's song series from Central Australia

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Abstract

Song series are part of religious ceremonies fundamental to traditional Central Australian Aboriginal societies, yet at the same time they are renowned for being difficult to interpret. This study, based on fieldwork and previously recorded material, analyses nine performances of a Kaytetye women's rain (Akwelye) song series from Central Australia, identifying the source of the complexities.

Taking a cross-disciplinary approach, I identify a song as consisting of various linguistic and non-linguistic components, including social ownership, melody, rhythm, painting up and interpretation. I argue that the meanings of songs available to a performer are based on interpretations of the complex interaction of these components as well as on knowledge of the environment, cultural practices and mythology. Following Ellis and Barwick's (1987) theoretical approach, I show how the setting of the rhythmic text to melody conforms to various structural principles that interact, creating a diversity of forms.

Drawing upon the theory of metricality outlined in Fabb (1997), I show that the rhythmic text has a complex metrical structure with word placement and sound patterning rules. I argue that some of these rules are applied in the creation of the song text while other rules are applied during the moment of performance. The thesis reveals how the metrical structure plays a major role in creating textual opacity, a characteristic feature of Aboriginal song texts. Understanding the metrical structure thus enables meaningful segments (song forms) of the song text to be distinguished from segments that serve purely a musical/metrical function.

In addressing the issue of how songs convey meaning, I distinguish song forms from singer's formulaic explications of the songs (expansions), which I argue are a component of Akwelye performances. I show that there can be multiple differing meanings of both song forms and expansions. While the lexical content of songs is most often interpreted literally, there is a large semantic gap between the meanings of song forms and the meanings of expansions, with the latter including additional information. I apply a pragmatic analysis to the issue, showing how singers infer additional meanings based on premises relating to knowledge of country, cultural practices, mythology and past interpretations which can lead to multiple exegeses of the song text.
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For Daisy Kemarre
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Abbreviations and Glossing conventions

Language codes

pan-A Arandic family languages: Eastern and Central Arrernte, Northern Arrernte, Western Arrernte, Eastern Anmatyerr, Western Anmatyerr, Alyawarr, and Kaytetye. Data is not drawn from the remaining Arandic languages: Lower Arrernte, South-Eastern Arrernte and Antekkerpenh.¹

pan-Ar Artwa subgroup languages: Eastern and Central Arrernte, Northern Arrernte, Western Arrernte, Eastern Anmatyerr, Western Anmatyerr.

AE Aboriginal English

Arr Eastern and Central Arrernte

WArr Western Arrernte

Aly Alyawarr

An Eastern Anmatyerr

WAn Western Anmatyerr

K Kaytetye

War Warumungu

WD Western Desert family languages (includes Pitjantjatjarra, Ngaatjatjarra, Yankunytjatjarra, Luritja, Kukatja and Pintupi and other varieties).

Wlp Warlpiri

The Arandic languages have different spelling conventions. For ease of comparison the Kaytetye orthography is used for pan-A (see Turpin and Ross 2004b) and the Eastern and Central Arrernte orthography is used for pan-Ar words (Henderson and Dobson 1994). The spelling conventions of both these languages write final 'e'. The Kaytetye orthography is also used when a word(s) is attested in other Arandic languages. For example,

\textit{we-} 'throw' (pan-A)

This is the Kaytetye spelling of a similar word across Arandic languages but spelt \textit{we-} (K), \textit{iwe-} (WArr, Arr), \textit{iw-} (Aly), and \textit{w-} (WAn) respectively.

\textit{i lengare} (pan-Ar) 'when'

This is the Eastern and Central Arrernte spelling of a similar word in all languages of the Artwa subgroup but spelt \textit{i lengare} (WArr, Arr), \textit{i lengar} (Aly) and \textit{i lengar} (An).
ertwerrpe (K, Aly, An, Arr) 'sandhill'

This is the Kayeteye spelling of a similar word in all four languages but spelt ertwerrpe (K), atwerrp (Aly), twerpe (An) and urterpe (Arr).

ikngwe-rr-e-rl-e-we-yew (Aly) 'invite-RECIP-LIG-go and do quickly-PURP'

This is the Kayeteye spelling of an Alyawarr word spelt ikngw-err-erlew-eyew.

Place names and language names retain their local orthography.

Fieldtape codes

All tapes beginning with MD (minidisk) were recorded by Myfany Turpin. Tapes beginning with GK were recorded by Grace Koch. All tapes are held at AIATSIS.

GK5160, GK5161, GK5162 Tara 1 performance, 1976
GK5168, GK5169 Tara 2 performance, 1976
GK6894, GK6895 Discussion about Akwelye song meanings, 1976.
MD12(i), MD12(ii), MD13 Alekarene 1 performance, April 3rd 1999
MD14 Alekarene 2 performance; discussion of song meaning, April 5th 1999
MD19/LBCD1 Elpate 1 and Elpate 2 performance, September 1999
MD20/LBCD2 Elpate 2 performance, September 1999
MD21 Discussion of song meaning, Alekarene, November 15th, 1999
MD27 Discussion of song meaning, Tara, November, 2001.
MD28 Discussion about songs, Ilkemetye, September 2003.
MD30 Betty solo singing of song text 52, September 2002
dn= disk counter number

Musical abbreviations

<table>
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<tr>
<th>MS</th>
<th>melodic section</th>
<th>TLR</th>
<th>textline reversal</th>
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<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>song text</td>
<td>TPR</td>
<td>textline pair reversal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TL</td>
<td>textline</td>
<td>TSR</td>
<td>text segment reversal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TLP</td>
<td>textline pair</td>
<td>TCR</td>
<td>text cell reversal</td>
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<td>MM</td>
<td>Metronome Marking</td>
<td>(x 2)</td>
<td>sung twice</td>
</tr>
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1 Whether these names refer to dialects or languages is debatable, however the distinction is not necessary for the purpose of this thesis.
Other
CAAMA  Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association
CLC  Central Land Council
ATSIC  Australian and Torres Strait Islander Commission

Linguistic abbreviations
(v.i.)  intransitive verb
(v.t.)  transitive verb
ABL  ablative
ABS  absolutive
ACC  accusative
ALL  allative
ANPH  anaphoric nominal
AVER  aversive
C  consonant
CAUS  causative
CNT  continuous
CNTR  contrast
DAT  dative
DEF  definite
du  dual
EMPH  emphasis
ERG  ergative
EVID  evidential
ə  exclusive
EXC  exclamation
EXT  extended
FF  father's father/ man's son's child
FOC  focus
FUT  future
GP  group plural
HITH  hither
IMP  imperative
inc  inclusive
INCH  inchoative
INHAB  inhabitant
INST  instrumental
INT  interrogative
INTS  intensifier
-  morpheme boundary
#  word boundary
...  omitted text in examples
LIG  ligative
LOC  locative
MF  mother's father/daughter's child
NEG  negative
NMZ  nominaliser
NOM  nominative
OBJ  object
OBLG  obligative
OM  opposite patrimoiety
PERL  perative
pl  plural
POS  possessive
POT  potential
PRIV  privative
PROP  proprietive
PRS  non-past
PST  past
PURP  purposive
REC  reciprocal
RED  reduplicated form
REF  reflexive
REL  relativiser
REP  repetitive
SEMB  semblative
SEQ  sequential
sg  singular
SMOG  same patrimoiety, opposite generation moiety
TMP  temporal
TNS  tense morpheme
UNCER  uncertain
V  vowel
VAG  vagifier
=  clitic boundary
*  reconstructed form
*  non-permissible form
Conventions for transcriptions

Phonetic and phonological representations of Aboriginal language words are in SIL sophia IPA. Orthographic representations are given in Times New Roman italics. Frequently used Aboriginal place names are not italicised.

Song texts are in SIL sophia IPA to distinguish them from Aboriginal language words

[.] surface phonetic representation

/.../ underlying phonological representation

{ shows that the lines should be read together, used with more than one speaker.

( ) Parentheses in an English translation show words not part of the literal translation.

( ) Parentheses around a segment of a song text show that the speech equivalent is not confirmed.

[ ] Square parentheses are used for a translation of an Aboriginal English or Aboriginal language word in a predominantly English example.

[//] Square parentheses in italics are used for comments by the researcher to facilitate understanding of the transcript, such as descriptions of actions going on at the time.

Bold is used in translations that include a level of glossing to highlight how the example is to be read, thus it may be my English translation of a non-English example, or English in an example given in English. This is shown in the example below. (In examples without a separate line of translation bold is not used.)

\{ (1) Myf: Fight-\textit{penhe}. \textit{Amarle-le-therre}\? \\
\phantom{1} -SEQ \phantom{1} woman-ERG-DU \\
\phantom{1} \textbf{After a fight. The two women did?} \\
\textbf{Daphne:} \phantom{1} \textbf{Yeah, these two now.} \\
\textbf{Rachel:} \textit{Amarle-le-therre ay\textit{langk-arremperenge}=\textit{ike}.} \\
\phantom{1} \phantom{1} \phantom{1} woman-ERG-DU \phantom{1} 1dh.ex.SMSG.ACC/DAT-spirit=now \\
\phantom{1} \textbf{Me and Katie's spirit did (something) then} \\
\phantom{1} \textbf{Daphne: These two bin fight about.} \phantom{1} \textbf{This one bin go late, and that one} \\
\textbf{Rachel:} \phantom{1} \textbf{Yeah, \textit{Altyerre [Dreaming]} \\( (1999, \text{MT12, dn 59}) \)}

The source of linguistic and musical examples is stated in brackets to the right below each example. The reference includes speaker initials (where applicable), date, tape identification and track number. Recordings are held at AIATSIS.

Although pseudonyms are used to refer to the people involved in this research, Kaytetye people can easily deduce the identity of individuals. In this way I hope that within their own community, those referred to in the research receive due acknowledgment and credit.
PART 1 Akwelyle performance

Chapter 1 Introduction

Central Australian songs are renowned for their relative unintelligibility—their subject matter and meaning are elusive to audiences and even to some of the singers themselves—yet as part of religious ceremonies, songs are fundamental for the social organisation and cosmology of traditional Aboriginal society. This thesis analyses traditional Kaytetye women’s ceremonial rain (Akwelyle [akʊl̩e]) songs from Central Australia. It is a cross-disciplinary study in linguistics and musicology that explores the structure and content of Akwelyle ceremonies and how meaning is conveyed in performance.

1.1 Aims of the thesis

Akwelyle ceremonies can be multi-media performances that include visual as well as musical and linguistic components. This thesis examines each component; showing how each interlocks with, yet operates more or less independently of, other components. Barwick and others find that the song text, visual designs, dance movements and the interpretations of song contribute to the meanings conveyed in performance (2000a:329). As well, the semantic content of song is often only a fraction of the total meanings given by performers. This raises certain questions for both linguistics and music. What role do non-linguistic aspects of song, such as rhythm, melody and ownership play in conveying meaning? Where is the rest of meaning encoded, or are meanings memorised independently? What is the structure of a song and the source of structural and semantic variation in songs? This study aims to explore these questions in relation to nine performances of Akwelyle, stretching over a 23-year time span.

Kaytetye is the only language in the Artuya branch within the Arandic subgroup of the Pama-Nyungan family (Koch 2001:72). Arandic is bordered by three separate subgroups, as shown in Map 1.2 (a more detailed discussion of the Arandic subgroup is reserved for §1.4.).

---

1 See, for example, Strehlow (1955), Pink (1933), Spencer and Gillen (1904), Clunies Ross (1987), Barwick and Marett (1995), Wild (1987) and Alice Moyle (1974:176).
2 See also Clunies Ross and Wild (1984).
3 See, for example Merlan (1987), Berndt (1965) and Clunies Ross (1987).
4 Donaldson suggests that in some areas, meanings may indeed have been learnt independently of the songs (1979).
Map 1.1 Kaytetye and surrounding languages and subgroups (Map based on Green and Turpin 2001)

In analysing the songs this study delves into the reasons why meanings of traditional Aboriginal songs are hard to discern. The lexical structure of songs is particularly difficult to identify, partly because of the specialised vocabulary and partly because of phonological alteration of words. This study suggests that the peculiarities of Kaytetye phonology, combined with the metrical requirements of Akwelye, leads to significant variation between everyday speech and song. Arandic is one of the few Australian language subgroups with predominantly vowel initial words, yet as will be shown, the Kaytetye Akwelye songs are predominantly consonant initial. This study

---


2 Strehlow discusses this in relation to Arrernte songs (1971:200).
draws upon theories of metricality outlined in Fabb (1997) to identify the rules by which words are turned into verse, showing that Akwelye is a highly structured linguistic form of communication and that it is marked in many respects in comparison to everyday language.

The fact that the words in ceremonial songs convey only a fraction of the total meaning in performances also presents a major barrier to understanding songs.\(^7\) This is partly because the songs are in a language from a culture different from that of the researcher, and so the researcher is faced with the issue of how to determine "which meaning elements are mapped onto a single morphological/lexical unit" (Riemer 1999:101).\(^8\) In the case of songs this problem is compounded by the lack of definition of the morphological/lexical unit: in song the morphological/lexical unit may be from any one of a number of languages, or it may be an archaic form or a form only heard in songs. Furthermore, the boundaries of this unit are unclear, as singers do not always break song texts into segments.

This study undertakes a detailed analysis of the textual construction of Akwelye songs. While there has been much significant research on Aboriginal songs, Merlan observes that "identifications [of a song's meaning] have often been simply summarized as a dimension of societal politics, and their textual construction not closely examined" (1987:143). I argue that Akwelye songs are a symbolic verbal and visual artistic form, whose text/rhythmic units, as well as painting and dances, are points of reference from which singers negotiate broader meanings and significances. I distinguish the sense(s) of the words in song texts from the interpretations of songs given by performers, which can be multiple and varied. I consider pragmatic theories of language use to understand the large gap between the proposition expressed by the song text and the interpretations stated by performers.\(^9\) The analysis shows that interpretation of Akwelye songs involves localised and cultural knowledge to arrive at the presuppositions needed to understand the broader meanings and significances of songs.\(^10\) Whilst exploring how

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\(^7\) Merlan discusses this issue in great detail in relation to song texts from the Roper River area (1987:148).

\(^8\) Reimer states that theoretically the problem arises with all translation between two subjectivities, but that Aboriginal and Western viewpoints are "an extreme case of an ever-present phenomenon" (1999:101).


\(^10\) As has been shown in studies such as Magowan (1994) and Merlan (1987).
songs signify things outside their own textual structure, I show that the complex form of
the songs highlights the significance of such broader meanings.

The perspective taken in this thesis draws on insights by ethnomusicologists that as
well as formal features of the music, social aspects of ceremonial performance need to be
understood since this is the context in which songs are interpreted (Blacking 1976,
Seeger 1987). This study considers the role of Akwelye performance in traditional and
contemporary society and the relationships between participants in the performances.\(^\text{11}\)
The present study argues that the meanings of songs conveyed in performance are the
result of a complex interaction between the formal structures of the song, the
performer's degree of knowledge about their significance and contextual features of the
performance.

In analysing the structure of Akwelye I expand upon the recent musicological research by
(2003) and Keogh (1995) that suggests song performance is not the repetition of a single
memorised text/rhythm/melody structure, but rather the intermeshing of a text/rhythm
structure with a melody structure in dynamic but structured ways.\(^\text{12}\) As a result there
are different combinations of melody and text/rhythm across performances. Such
variation occurs within set boundaries, the identification of which is part of the focus of
this study as well as the identification of the ways words and rhythm intermesh to
create the text/rhythm structure.

Another aim of this study is to understand the meanings singers derive from songs. One
of the problems facing researchers of songs in a different culture to their own is knowing
whether a particular symbolism or extended meaning exists for the singers of the
songs.\(^\text{13}\) Clendinnen states that culture is a "dynamic system of shared meanings" and
that "because those meanings are rarely made explicit, understanding another culture's
meanings is and will always be a hazardous enterprise" (2003:287). By considering

\(^{11}\) Berndt (1963:275) calls for such an approach in analyses of Aboriginal songs. The necessity for such
as approach to understanding musical performance in general has been argued by ethnographers such as
Sherzer (1990), and Jackson and Lin (2000:76).

\(^{12}\) Marett similarly describes performance of wangi songs from the Daly region as not adhering to "a
score, or an original version ..., but a set of musical conventions understood and conformed to by
singers..." (in press Ch 4).

\(^{13}\) Sherzer also criticises researchers who "weave their own discourse" (1990:81) instead of relying on the
views of the people whose ceremonies and narrative they investigate.
primarily singers' own interpretations of the songs, and distinguishing these from my
own analysis of the words in songs I hope to avoid the temptation "towards selective
interpretation based perhaps on a moment of inspiration ... or an over-enthusiastic
etymological reconstruction" (Richard Moyle 1986:125).

Underlying the analyses in this study is the issue of stability and variation in ceremonial
performance over time raised by Catherine Berndt (1963:275). In many areas singers
state that their songs are "unchanging", yet as von Sturmer notes, few studies have
defined the mechanisms of song in order to assess such common assertions (1987:64).
The recordings that are the subject of this study were made 23 years apart involving
many of the same singers and so provide a valuable contribution to our understanding of
change and stability. This study supports Ellis and Barwick's findings in other areas of
Central Australia that the formal musical and textual components are remarkably stable
over time, while the explanations of songs given by performers tend to vary (1987:41).

The issue of how to translate and represent Central Australian ceremonial songs is far
from resolved. Scholars have attempted to deal with these issues in a number of different
ways. Part of the problem arises because a particular interpretation of a song is
specific to that performance and may not hold for other performances of the same song
text, making translation to some degree context dependent. In Appendix one I have
attempted translations that reflect, as much as possible, the lexical content of the song
texts rather than free translations, in order to highlight the structure of the song texts.
Furthermore, because the setting of rhythmic text to melody varies across different
performances of the one song, a musical representation that distinguishes rhythm and
melody is required (unlike western musical notation). I draw upon the established

---

14 Green highlights some examples of over-enthusiastic etymological reconstructions in Arandic
languages (forthcoming 8.5).
15 Hereafter references to Richard Moyle are used without a first name, whilst the full name is used for
references to Alice Moyle.
16 Hereafter references to Catherine Berndt are used without a first name, whilst the full name is used for
references to Ronald Berndt. This issue has been taken up by researchers such as Anderson (1985), Ellis
17 For example, Strehlow (1971), von Brandenstein and Thomas (1974) and Merlan (1987) provide free
translations of song texts with accompanying discussion of the issues in translation. It must be
acknowledged, however, that representing performances of any culture on the printed page is a limited
medium (Fornas 2003, Sherzer 1999, Maret (in press)). One could overcome some of these limitations
by incorporating sound and visuals with hyperlinks into the outcome of research; however to do this
would require far more time and resources than available for this study.
methodology of Barwick and Ellis (1987) to represent the musical structure of the songs, also given in Appendix 1.

1.2 Previous research

This thesis draws upon previous research on Kaytetye as well as more extensive research on Arandic languages and Central Australian songs, which share structural and musical characteristics (Ellis 1998). Some significant works on Aboriginal songs from other areas of Australia can also shed light on the nature of Central Australian song language and are used as a point of comparison. In the following sections I outline the linguistic research on Kaytetye and other Arandic languages, Arandic songs and other Central Australian songs in order to show how the present study builds upon and differs from this body of work.

1.2.1 Kaytetye and other Arandic languages

The earliest mention of Kaytetye in the published literature was in 1897, when Frank J. Gillen referred to the "Kytche" [Kaytetye] as the tribe to the west of Ilyowera [Alyawarr] tribe" in a letter to his fellow ethnographer Sir Baldwin Spencer. Diane Bell undertook anthropological fieldwork with Kaytetye women at Alekarene in the 1970s and 1980s. Grace Koch undertook research on women's songs and oral histories of Kaytetye people in the 1970s and 1990s; and her recordings of songs form a significant part of the data for this study, as described in §2.3.1.

Serious linguistic documentation of Kaytetye began in 1959 when Ken Hale collected vocabulary and elicited sentences from Kaytetye speakers at Barrow Creek, Alekarene and Murray Downs (see Map 1.2). In the 1970s Harold Koch undertook intensive fieldwork on Kaytetye and this study draws heavily upon his phonological and

---

18 Letter dated June 1897 [Letter 29] in Mulvaney, Morphy and Petch (1997:171). Frank J. Gillen was the station master at the Alice Springs telegraph station from 1892-1899, Grace Koch suggests he may have worked at the Barrow Creek telegraph station prior to 1892 (1993:xvi).
19 Sir Baldwin Spencer and Frank J. Gillen (1904) undertook the first ethnographic work with Kaytetye people in 1901.
20 Alekarene was then known as Warrabri. Much of the Aboriginal language vocabulary in her published works is Warlpiri (Bell 1987, 1998 and 2002).
21 See Grace Koch (1993) for historical accounts from Kaytetye men and women from the Barrow Creek area.
22 Kaytetye wordlists have also been collected by Nancy Turtle (AIATSIS PMS 2415) in 1972 and Gavan Breen in 1986. Adam Kendon recorded Kaytetye sign language at Neutral Junction in 1985. AIATSIS.

Map 1.2 Communities where Kaytetye speakers live (Based on the map by Brenda Thomley from Growing Up Kaytetye: Stories by Tommy Kngwarreye Thompson (Turpin 2003))

Although Harold Koch, Grace Koch and Diane Bell made recordings of Kaytetye songs, there have been no published analyses of Kaytetye songs to date. My own fieldwork for this study analyses a significant proportion of Grace Koch's data, and builds upon this analysis by recording and analysing further performances of the Akwelye song series as a point of comparison.24


24 The data making up this study is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.
1.2.2 Previous research on Arandic songs

Three researchers have published detailed studies on Arandic songs: TGH Strehlow,25 Catherine Ellis and Richard Moyle. Strehlow's *Songs of Central Australia* (1971) is a seminal work on Australian Aboriginal songs. It is primarily a study of men's Arrernte and Luritja songs, focusing on the words and meanings of the song texts, with detailed descriptions of country and mythological stories to which the songs relate.26 Strehlow's intent was to refute claims by Spencer, Gillen and Stirling that traditional songs are merely strings of sounds with no meaning and to "raise the Arrernte songs to recognition on the stage of world literature" (Gill 1998:167).27 Strehlow was well versed in Western Arrernte language and culture and wrote a number of linguistic works on the Arrernte and Luritja language;28 however today there are more accurate phonological analyses of the language.29 In contrast, his work on Arrernte society, religion and ceremonial life remains some of the best descriptions of traditional Aboriginal culture to date.30 *Songs of Central Australia*, one of his later works, draws upon his extensive knowledge of Arrernte religion and language. Between 1957-1962, Catherine Ellis and Strehlow collaborated in musicological and linguistic analysis of Arrernte songs.31

Moyle's publication *Alyawarra Music* (1986) is an excellent ethnography of the Alyawarr people from Agharringa [Aherrenye] in the late 1970s.32 Moyle's research was conducted in a context where traditions were regularly performed and he focuses on the role of ceremonies in Alyawarr society, whereas the context of my research is one where the ceremonies are known, but not part of regular social life (see §3.4.1). Moyle also provides detailed musical descriptions of some songs, yet his analysis fails to recognise that text and melody are independent structures that are matched in specific ways in performance; instead he refers to the "memorisation of songs" (1986:140). In

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25 Hereafter references to TGH Strehlow are used without an initial, whilst the full name is used for references to Carl Strehlow.
26 Descriptions of some women's songs, however, are found on pp 392-395 and 650-653.
27 See Spencer and Gillen (1904:272), Stirling and Gillen (1896).
28 See, for example, T.G.H. Strehlow (1944, 1947b, 1964).
30 His works on Arrernte society and religion include 1933, 1947a, 1970, and 1978a and 1978b.
31 Her analyses of Strehlow's material include Ellis (1968, 1992, 1997).
32 Richard Moyle has also published work on Pintupi songs (1979) and Kukatja songs (1997) from the Western Desert area.
contrast the present study views a song as a particular setting of a rhythmic text structure to a melody structure within set boundaries.\textsuperscript{33}

Moyle, Ellis and Strehlow all found major divergences between the language of speech and song. Words are phonologically altered and songs may have segments, or an entire textline, with no lexical meaning. For a phonological comparison between speech and song, certainty about the speech equivalents of the songs is required. This thesis draws upon only those words that singers definitely perceive to be in the song text to make comparisons between speech and song, as discussed in §4.2.3, and which are listed in Appendix 4.

While Strehlow maintained that meter was driving these alterations of speech words (1971:19), neither he nor Ellis formalised what the metrical structure of the songs was and how this forced alterations to words. Ellis found that part of the reason why this was difficult to do was because Strehlow used the word "meter" in different ways: sometimes to refer to musical stress (beat) and other times to refer to musical length (1997:63). To understand the relationship between text and music Marette warns against circular analyses of song texts that define text on rhythmic grounds. He states, "it is essential to have identified the formal elements of texts of the two systems [music and language] according to independent criteria" (in press Ch 4).

I use the tools of metricality to identify the formal elements of song text and contrast this with the formal elements of Kaytetye speech. Fabb defines metricality as "the fixing of the length of the line by counting syllables, and this counting is associated with control over rhythm or the placement of word boundaries..." (2004).\textsuperscript{34} Metricality has been applied to poetry and music in many parts of the world in order to identify the structure of verbal art forms. Drawing primarily upon Fabb (1997), I show that the significant metrical unit in Akwelye involves both length and accentual stress (musical beat), and distinguish these two features in Akwelye metrical feet.

\textsuperscript{33} Such studies include Barwick (1995, 2003), Treflyn (2003), Keogh (1995) and Ellis (1997).

\textsuperscript{34} Literary Universals Web page: http://ltup.unipa.it/docs/poetics.htm.
The issue of whether Australian Aboriginal songs are metrical has not been addressed widely in previous research.\(^3\) The present study finds that *Akwelye* songs are indeed metrical. It finds that requirements of the metrical and phonotactic structure of *Akwelye*, as well as patterns of alliteration and vowel patterns, force particular alterations to Arandic words. In this respect the study goes beyond the analyses of most musicological research on Central Australian songs by relating features of Arandic phonology and the preferred sound patterns in songs to the rhythmic and metrical structures of the songs.

This study finds, like Strehlow, that the spoken form of a song text differs from when it is sung. Following Grace Koch (1987) I argue that this reflects differences between the processes that meet the demands of setting words to rhythmic text (versification), and the processes that meet the demands of setting rhythmic text to song, what I call cantillation.

Like Moyle and Strehlow, the present study finds that salient aspects of culture form the lexical content of songs. The recurring subject matter throughout Central Australian songs points to the shared cultural basis in Central Australian language groups.\(^4\) Both Moyle and Strehlow found that songs have meanings beyond the meaning of their lexical content.\(^5\) Since neither Moyle nor Strehlow make explicit the singers' own interpretations of songs, it is difficult to assess how singers arrived at the interpretations they provided for songs. In Strehlow's work it is unclear how much of the translation is the result of his own perceptions of the words in songs, given his broad knowledge of Western Arrernte. In the case of Moyle's research we do not know how he arrived at the word boundaries in songs or the morphological glossing of the song texts. In contrast, the present study considers explications of songs given by singers and then compares these with the lexical content of the songs to ascertain the background knowledge on which these explications are based. Hence, this study brings a pragmatic analysis to the

\(^3\) In his cross-linguistic research on metricality, Pabb finds that out of analyses of Australian Aboriginal songs, only the Dyirbal songs analysed by Dixon (1984) and Dixon and Koch (1996) exhibit metricality (1997:115). Osborne's study of Tiwi songs finds them to be metrical (1989).


\(^5\) Moyle states that "no analogous situation exists for speech" (1986:137); however it is well known that in speech various levels of meaning can hold for particular types of interaction. Bakhtin (1895-1975) was one of the earliest cultural theorists to highlight this (see Hirschkop and Shepherd 1989:144).
issue by identifying various types of assumed knowledge on which inferred meanings of songs are based. In analysing singers' explications I show that they are part of the performance,\textsuperscript{38} and have particular formulaic features.\textsuperscript{39}

Ellis (1985) has shown that as well as having many non-literal meanings, Central Australian song texts are characterised by their ability to refer to many things at once.\textsuperscript{40} The present study likewise finds that multiple meanings are a feature of \textit{Akweyle}, but that in any given performance, there is only ever one meaning highlighted. I show that multiple meanings often arise from relating words in songs to different domains of knowledge, which can be described as multiple exegeses of the songs.\textsuperscript{41} Barwick similarly suggests that it is because songs refer to a "meaning-laden totemic landscape from which springs a host of beings, forces and sounds" that they are able to have multiple meanings (forthcoming).

\textbf{1.2.3 Previous research on Central Australian songs}

Work on Central Australian traditional songs has tended to fall into three main areas.\textsuperscript{42} Musicological analysis (Barwick 1989, Ellis 1968, Keogh 1995, Tunstall 1987), song text analysis (Hale 1984, Strehlow 1971)\textsuperscript{43} and the role of traditional songs in society, such as how aspects of social life interact with song knowledge and rights to this knowledge and performance (Wild 1975, Dussart 1988, 2000b, Payne 1984, 1988, and Bell 2002).\textsuperscript{44} The present study draws on all three areas of analysis,\textsuperscript{45} finding that the linguistic and

\textsuperscript{38} Sherzer notes that in many parts of the world, commentary by performers within an event is a feature of ceremonial performances (1990:173).

\textsuperscript{39} Merlan similarly finds formulaic features in how singers from the Roper River area interpret songs (1987).


\textsuperscript{41} Multiple meanings in popular music have similarly been understood as arising from analysing a song from different vantage points (Lipsitz 1994).

\textsuperscript{42} The term 'song' has been used to refer to both the melodic and rhythmic aspect of Aboriginal ceremonial music (Ellis 1985:152), and to refer to just the text of the ceremonies (Hale 1984:255). This study uses the word 'song text' when referring to only the phonological form of the song, and the word 'song' to refer to a performed song with all its various components such as rhythm, melody and dancing. Further terminology is discussed in §3.2.

\textsuperscript{43} For such studies in other areas of Australia see Donaldson (1984) and Dixon (1984).

\textsuperscript{44} For such studies in other areas of Australia see Keen (1978) and von Sturmer (1987).

musical aspects of song relate to, and are constructed by, contextual features of performance.

While men's songs differ in some respects from women's songs, studies of Central Australian men's song texts provide a point of comparison with Akwelye song texts in terms of the structure and content. Central Australian song texts share the following properties: the content of songs is only a fraction of their total meaning; song texts contain segments that do not relate to the lexicon; and songs have multiple and ambiguous meanings.

It is generally agreed that the language of Central Australian songs is further removed from speech than that of songs from Northern Australia (Stubington 1978:35). Akwelye song texts are characteristically Central Australian in not resembling speech, and containing key words rather than a narrative sequence. Akwelye, like the yarwulyu songs of the neighbouring language Warumungu, "comprise many small songs relating to a particular theme" rather than a logical narrative sequence, and thus they employ parataxis, "literally 'placing side-by-side'" (Barwick forthcoming). This view can also be found in Strehlow's research where he refers to parallelism in Arrernte songs (1971).

Recent research has shown that there is also a similarity in musical structure in the Central Australian region, which Keogh relates to the "homogeneous nature of Central Australian society..." (1990:117). Furthermore, gender-specific genres of ceremonies

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47 See, for example, Catherine Berndt (1965), Clunies Ross (1987).
48 See, for example, Merian (1987:143).
49 See, for example, Ellis (1985), Sutton (1987), Keogh (1996). Much research has shown that this is also a feature of songs from other parts of Australia (Berndt 1950, Dunbar-Hall 1997, Marett, in press). Sherzer states that the possibility for multiple interpretations is a feature of oral poetry in general (1990:175).
50 This does not mean, however that Northern Australian songs are unambiguous. Marett shows that ambiguous syntax and the choice of polysemous words means that songs often have multiple meanings (in press Ch 1).
51 However, at the same time Strehlow believed there was a logical sequential ordering of song texts in a series (1971:129); see also Hill (2002:167).
52 Works that recognise a Central Australian musical style and region include Wild (1975:12), Keogh (1990) and Ellis (1998).
53 A broad overview of Central Australian musical style is given in Keogh (1990:116-156).
are a feature of Central Australia, whereas in Northern Australian ceremonies tend to involve both men and women (Magowan 1994). The Central Australian musical style is spread over a large geographic area, and the *Akwelye* song series is geographically in the middle of this region shown in Map 1.3.

Map 1.3 Approximate location of song styles drawn upon in this study

*Akwelye* has many features of the Central Australian musical style, including group unison singing with only thigh beating accompaniment; an independent melody and text/rhythm and a single melody for all songs in the series. Further musical features of the Central Australian style are discussed in Chapter 5. The present study follows the methods employed by scholars such as Ellis and Barwick (1987), Barwick (1989, 1990, 1992, 1997), Ellis, Barwick and Morais (1990), Moyle (1987), Payne (1984), and others.

54 Another difference is that northern Australian music has a diversity of song text structure whereas Central Australian songs tend to have fixed text structures (Marett in press Ch 9).

55 As well, this study draws upon many anthropological and linguistic studies of Central Australian songs. These studies are not shown on this map, as they do not include musical analysis. For example Berndt (1963, 1965), Bell (2002, 1987) and von Brandenstein and Thomas (1974).
1995), Keogh (1990, 1995) and Treloya (2003) to show the underlying principles of which a rhythmic text is set to melody in performance.

A number of anthropological and musical studies identify terminology used in the ceremonial domain. The present study finds that while there is little specialised vocabulary, everyday vocabulary is used with specialised meanings in performances. Ellis notes that terms relating to ceremonial performance often have an everyday meaning "which often reveals the conceptual process of the music" (1998:433). Moyle believes that the Alyawarr differ from the Kukatja in that they do not identify lexically formal features of their music (1997:255), although he acknowledges the limitations in this area of his research (1997:255). The pervasive use of polysemy in Aboriginal languages, combined with the cross-disciplinary requirements of the research makes this a difficult area of research.

In some studies a lack of terms for a particular feature has been equated with an absence of this feature. Moyle assumes that if singers do not recognise the "formal components of music, it seems doubtful that one of the elements of a musical aesthetic can exist, namely the manipulation of form for its own sake" (1986:255). This thesis argues that performers do manipulate form for its own sake, and in doing so create an Akwelye aesthetic. Recognising formal components of music can be done without necessarily lexically identifying them, just as speakers of a language can recognise distinct parts of speech without naming them. In Chapter 5, I show that there are principles for setting text/rhythm to melody and in Chapters 6 and 7, I show that there are principles for setting words to rhythm.

Most early research on Aboriginal music concentrated on men's songs. It was not until the works of Kaberry (1939) and Catherine Berndt (1950, 1965) that serious attention was paid to women's ceremonial life. Berndt calls for a "type of study in which the issue of meaning is systematically explored in the empirical setting of persons and

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56 Western Desert languages, in particular have received attention. See for example Ellis et al (1978), McCordell (1976), and Moyle, (1979, 1984, 1995, 1997). Moyle also writes of Alyawarr ceremonial language (1986, 1995).

57 Maret also notes an absence of meta-language surrounding musical performance in the Daly region (in press).

58 Prior to this, brief mention of women's songs is found in Spencer and Gillen (1904:720-2), Carl Strehlow (1907) and Roth (1897). In contrast, Roheim (1933) devotes more analysis to women's ceremonies.
interpersonal relationships, as well as in the broader context of relations between groups" (1963:275). Similarly, von Sturmer appeals for a "methodology for examining performances" of Aboriginal ceremonial songs. The present study takes up this challenge by taking into account the socio-political context of the performances, the interpretations and conversation during performances, as well as the formal features of the song texts, including melody, rhythm, dance patterns, painted designs, phonological form of the song texts and their lexical content. In so doing the present study aspires to a more holistic approach to the study of meaning and structure in ceremonial performances.

In recent years, many works on women's songs have been based in communities where ceremonial performance is part of everyday life. In contrast, Akwelye was not a regular part of the singers' social life when the performances making up this study were recorded, as described in Chapters 2 and 3. Also in contrast to these studies, the present study is not based in a particular community but involves particular people who are owners and singers of a particular ceremony while living in different locations. As such, the present study focuses less on the role of Akwelye in society and more on the form and meanings of the songs. Nevertheless, these earlier works provide a useful point of comparison in terms of the social dimension of Akwelye performance. Like many of these works, this study finds that Akwelye song texts fuse, or make ambiguous, the human/contemporary world and the Dreaming, a theme I discuss in Part 3 of this thesis.

1.3 Theoretical perspective

The concept of meaning has been defined differently in various disciplines, and also within linguistics it has been the subject of debate. Just as Whorf states "We are all mistaken in our common belief that any word has an 'exact meaning'" (1942:258), this study finds that songs too do not have an exact meaning. Instead, the perceiver of a song's meaning and other contextual features work together to produce interpretations of

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60 Many of these studies show that women's ceremonial life is central in negotiating social relationships, power and knowledge. Merlan (1988) offers a comprehensive review of the literature on women's role in Aboriginal society.

61 Similarly, Magowan's analysis of women's Yolngu song texts reveals that they fuse "the natural, human and spiritual realms" (Magowan 1994:11). See also Marett (2000).
songs. Sherzer identifies this as a feature of ceremonial performance in many parts of the world:

The significance, meaning and function of a performance is not inherent in or obvious from a text, but must be studied as part of a contextual and especially emergent and emerging structure of performance as a whole (1990:10).  

With this in mind, interpretation "is not a process of revealing meanings that are somehow in the text, somehow true although hidden from view" (Gill 1998:34), but is the result of two entities that influence each other: one is the cognitive agent (the knower) and the second is the thing to be known, the mind-external reality, which also limits and shapes the cognitive agent.  

This study builds on Barwick's work on Central Australian songs, which proposes "analysis is a process of understanding rather than a methodology for producing "truth"" (1990:60). It recognises the role of the researcher as a productive agent in constructing written representations of songs and performances for the purposes of analysis. As such, the research does not aim to represent the "experiential world of the performers" (Barwick 1989:25), and nor could it. Rather, it identifies features of *Akwelye* performances that can be described in the Western tradition of musical, ethnographic and linguistic analysis, as these are our best methodological tools to direct listeners to the salient features of the music, performance or text.  

Language is not only a system of representing the world, it is also a system of reproducing meanings and relationships in the world. Through analysing communication

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62 See Gumperz and Levinson (1996) for discussion of meaning as an interpretive practice.
63 In this way the present study also draws upon theories of 'performance' as used in anthropology. See Bauman (1984) and Fabian (1990).
64 This is a middle position between the contrasting views that meaning is a given residing in subjects at one extreme, and that no reality exists outside of the knower at the other extreme (Gill 1998:21). Gill defines such a view of meaning as, "the creation of the cognitive agent [the knower] without giving up the view that a mind-external reality plays a role in what meanings it will legitimately support" (1998:21). See also Lakoff and Johnson (1980). This view of meaning can also be seen in the work of Benetrauk, Muecke and Roe (1984:12) and Gill (1998:21).
65 Some researchers refer to such representations as "texts". Gill states that texts "are not found or given and are not wholly independent of us. ... Texts may reflect history or culture, but they are also products of trying to discern history and culture" (Gill 1998:34).
66 As Marett observes "Musical performances fly past so quickly that, without transcription, it is too easy for outsiders to a tradition to notice only the grossly self evident, and to miss subtle and significant nuances" (in press).
in a ceremonial performance this study seeks to address the issue of how meanings of songs are produced and reproduced. Speech act theory, as developed by Austin (1975), is particularly useful in analysis of ceremonial performances.67 Speech act theory considers both the way utterances express propositions and how speakers perform actions through utterances. Speech act theory identifies the role of utterances in relation to the behaviour of the speaker, and to a lesser extent the hearer, and to information that the speaker assumes is shared.

_Akweley_ ceremonial performance involves what Austin terms *performatives*, which are utterances that not only say things, but also actively do things, such as 'I name this ship... I bet you...' (1975:5). Levinson states that performatives are linked to particular kinds of institutional behaviour (1983:229). They actively do things not just by having a determinate sense and reference (a locutionary act) but also because they have a certain force when combined with certain behavior (an illocutionary act) (Austin 1975:121). Performance of _Akweley_ is both a locutionary act, and illocutionary act. For example, a song text interpreted as 'I put on ceremonial stripes' not only refers to this act (locutionary), but it links the utterance to associated ceremonial behavior, such as painting up or singing by specific individuals, to create a force that achieves things in the world, such as accessing the power of the Dreamtime and specifically, summoning rain (indirect illocutionary). In this way _Akweley_ performance emphasises its own social significance, and in doing so reinforces the norms and values in traditional Kaytetye society.68

Like speech act theory, the theoretical approach of ethnography of speaking, as described by Bauman and Sherzer (1974), also aims to account for actual language usage. While speech act theory focuses on a speech act (usually a sentence) and what the speaker intends or believes by that act, ethnographies of speaking focus on describing the social and linguistic properties of a speech event. Such approaches have informed my analysis of _Akweley_ as consisting of both internal components of the song (melody, rhythm, text) and external social components (ownership, explanation).

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67 See also Hymes (1974).
68 This is what Austin identifies as the perlocutionary force of utterances (1975:5).
My analysis of the song texts draws primarily upon Fabb's cross-linguistic work on metricality and verbal art (1997). The present study shows that Akwelye exploits linguistic form to create poetic form. Drawing upon Bauman (1975) and Jakobson (1960, 1987:71), Fabb identifies the importance of poetic form in verbal art, which is the ability of language to draw attention to its own formal structure (1997:15)—its "reflexive concern" (Foley 1997:362). Fabb cites rhyme as an example:

a rhyme holds between two words because some part of each word (the end of the final syllable) is identical. Thus rhyme draws attention to a specific component of linguistic form — the syllable — and hence draws attention to the linguistic form of the text (Fabb 1997:15).

In Akwelye the syllable also plays a major role in defining poetic form. Chapter 6 identifies the complex metrical structure of Akwelye and shows how strict adherence to the poetic structure means that the communicative function of verbal behaviour, achieved by the normal conventions governing speaking, is hindered. Through a combination of metrical and musical analysis I show that Akwelye, like other verbal art forms, combines extreme fixity—exemplified in the linguistic and rhythmic features of the song text—with creativity, exemplified in the way melody and text combine.

For the analysis of the music, this study draws upon two approaches. One focuses on the structure of the music, what Kassler refers to as an "internalist" approach (1988:24) and the other emphasises the role of music in society, what Kassler refers to as an "externalist" approach (1988:24), and can be seen in the work of Feld (1990), Seeger (1987) and Geertz (1993). In this way the study aims to integrate musical and social analysis. This study begins with an analysis of the society and identity of the performers, relating this to how song meaning is constructed and by whom, and then moves to an internal analysis of the performance and musical structures of Akwelye.

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69 See Bauman (1975), Jakobson (1987:71), and Fabb (1997:15)

70 The importance of the syllable has been shown in other studies of verbal art. See, for example, Fabb (1997:15) and Rumsey (2001).

71 For a discussion of rigidity and creativity as features of verbal art see Foley (1997:364).

72 See also Goodwin and Duranti (1992).

73 See Marett (in press) for a study that integrates musical and social analysis of music in the Daly region.
drawing upon the analytical approach developed by Ellis and Barwick, as discussed in §1.2.3.

A major finding of this study is that both performance structure and song text interpretation is created by singers from a range of possible choices within identifiable rules of acceptability. For example, the particular setting of the rhythmic text to melody depends on previously sung settings. Similarly, a particular meaning in an interpretation is dependent on what has previously been sung and explicated. At the same time, the particular structure and meanings of a performance shape the shared knowledge and relationships between performers.74

By making analytical distinctions between components of performance across many songs, I identify recurring tendencies throughout the performances. These reveal that singers have an awareness of musical and linguistic structures, even though singers do not name or refer to these structures in performance or in discussions with me. Undoubtedly though, it is the combination of all components that creates the aesthetic experience of song, which neither textual nor musical analysis alone can define.75

1.4 Linguistic typology and orthography

The Arandic subgroup is best described as a "language-dialect complex" (Hale 1983:78).76 There is a large percentage of shared vocabulary and similar syntax and phonology across the Arandic languages. The high degree of multilingualism in the area can make it difficult to identify a word in terms of belonging to a particular language or dialect.77 The similarities across Arandic languages means that it is possible to draw upon knowledge of other Arandic languages in comparing song and speech. Furthermore, the Akwelye songs include many non-Kaytetye Arandic words, necessitating the use of other Arandic languages as well as Kaytetye as the language of comparison with the songs.

74 Magowan similarly shows that Yolngu musical structures both affect and are affected by the intentions, interpretations and experiences of the performers (1994).

75 Here I draw upon Barwick who states that an appreciation of an Indigenous aesthetic requires an understanding of the components in song as interdependent parts of a complex whole (2000a:328). Similarly, Magowan recognises that musical performance can "transcend the power of the spoken word alone" (1994:12).


77 For a discussion of dialectal differences within Eastern and Central Arrente see Henderson (1998:8).
Hale's division of the language and dialects within the Arandic language group (1962) is still accepted today, although there have been differences within the Upper Arandic group (see Henderson 1998:11). The genetic relationship between Arandic varieties shown in Figure 1.1 is taken from Henderson (1998).78

![Arandic Language Tree](image)

**Figure 1.1 Genetic relationships within the Arandic group** (Henderson 1998:12)

The phonology of Arandic languages is considered further in Chapter 7. In terms of morpho-syntax, Arandic languages are basically agglutinative. The verb is marked for tense, mood, aspect, polarity, associated motion and directional suffixes. Nominals are inflected for case and number, while pronouns also show inclusion, generation, patrimoieties.79 In Kayteye reflexive/reciprocal is marked on pronouns, whereas in other Arandic languages it is marked on the verb. Kayteye also uses prefixes to mark possessive kinship while other Arandic languages use suffixes, however the forms are cognate.80 Arandic languages also have relatively free phrase order and have a large set of clitics used for pragmatic purposes and temporal sequencing.

Cultural practices are similar across the Arandic complex; for example the term awelye 'women's ceremony' is used in all Arandic languages and awelye practices across these language groups show many similarities, as discussed in Chapter 3. The cognate term yawalyu is used in neighbouring Warlpiri and Warumungu, and the ceremonies of these language groups share features common across Central Australia (Meggitt 1955:376).

78 See also Wilkins (1989:15), although here I have omitted the dialect level.
79 The general features of Eastern and Central Arrernte described in Henderson (1998:13-14) also apply to Kayteye.
1.5 Chapter synopsis

Chapter 2 outlines how the data making up this study (Appendices 1-4) is used to address the issue of meaning and structure of Akwelye. It compares the contexts of the nine performances, showing which aspects of the performances contribute to particular understandings of Akwelye. This chapter also makes transparent the methodology and translation process, the results of which form my understanding of the meanings singers construct from songs.

Chapter 3 situates the performers and performances in terms of their social, historical and cultural setting. While much traditional knowledge and practices are no longer part of everyday life, and the role of traditional knowledge and ceremonial performances is in flux, the dynamics of Kaytetye religion, cultural practices and understandings of the landscape clearly shape the meanings and significances of songs. I show that the interpretations of songs given by performers focus on plants, animals, landscape, actions by ancestral women, kinship relations and things that people did and used as part of everyday traditional life, all linked in various ways to Amerrre—the area to which the Akwelye song series belongs.

Chapter 4 considers the difficulties that have plagued research into the meaning and structure of Central Australian songs. It outlines the approach to song as a multi-modal package consisting of various linguistic and extra-linguistic components and identifies the hierarchical composition of Akwelye performances. It considers briefly the visual components of performance and outlines my approach to analysing the formal structure of the linguistic and musical components of the songs, undertaken in Part 2, and my approach to analysing how meaning is conveyed, undertaken in Part 3.

Chapter 5 begins Part 2 "Form" with a musical analysis of the songs. I show that there is one melodic structure consisting of various sections for all Akwelye song items. I identify 21 different rhythmic structures, all of which are built upon various combinations of five different rhythmic units. The analysis reveals performance of a song item as being a dynamic act of setting a rhythmic text to melody by causing the two to coincide at key structural points. This most often results in multiple, different settings of the rhythmic text to melody across performances of the one song. There are, however, particular rhythmic features of certain songs that limit this flexibility.
Chapter 6 goes beyond the rhythmic analysis by identifying the relationship between text and rhythm. Taking a metrical approach to the issue, this chapter equates a rhythmic cell with the notion of a metrical foot, showing that there is a hierarchy of different types of metrical feet in a textline. It shows that the metrical structure stipulates consonant vowel (CV) syllable structure, congruence between the number of words and number of feet in the textline and congruence between number of syllables in the word and number of syllables in the foot. As well, a number of sound-patterning rules affect the pronunciation of syllables in particular positions in the metrical verse.

Chapter 7 considers the alterations of sounds in song, taking into account the complexities of Arandic phonology. I identify neutralisations made to whole consonant series and alterations made only in particular metrical positions, which I suggest are motivated by a preference for sonorant sounds. I consider the realisations of vowels and various motivations for their alteration. This chapter also considers how different parsings of the song text into speech words can lead to phonological differences between speech and song. Part 2, which this chapter concludes, shows how the lexical content of songs is hidden unless a listener is inducted into the rules of Akwelye versification.

Part 3 addresses the issue of how songs convey meaning. Chapter 8 analyses the ways Kaytetye speakers interpret songs. It identifies 'expansions' and 'song glosses' as interpretations that show formulaic features, arguing that these are a component of performance. In contrast to the formal features of song texts, there is much variability in interpretation of the one song text. There is also an absence of interpretations in the 1976 performances, suggesting that expansions may reflect an adaptation to cultural change.

Chapter 9 draws upon the expansions in the previous chapter to identify the meaningful segments of the song text. These 'song forms' are distinguished from segments that serve purely a musical/metrical function. The analysis shows that a song form is not always a speech word, that it may have many speech equivalents across various languages and registers, and that there may be competing song forms for the same segment of a song text. I then identify the grammatical features of song forms and show that there is word order in songs. This, together with knowledge of previous performances and knowledge of the metrical structure, may assist singers in identifying song forms.
Chapter 10 examines how singers arrive at their interpretations of songs—the expansions identified in Chapter 8—from the song forms identified in Chapter 9. Usually the song form is translated literally in the expansion, and when multiple meanings of the song form are possible only one is ever given on the one occasion. It is argued here that interpreters of songs make inferences from the song forms based on premises relating to knowledge of the avelye speech event, day-to-day world knowledge, cultural knowledge and mythological knowledge. This gives rise to further multiple meanings, as the single meaning of the song form is related to different types of knowledge to produce different exegeses of the song.

Chapter 11 considers how the complexities of Avelye structure require both knowledge of the musical form to produce the sung text and knowledge of the metrical form to produce the versified—or spoken—song text. It summarises song interpretation as a dialogical process: identifying the lexical sense(s) of song forms and inferring meanings through premises based on particular types of knowledge. A parallel is drawn between the way form and meaning is structured in performance, as both are the result of context dependent choices made by the singers. A concluding observation is made regarding a resemblance between Avelye performance and a principle of Kaytetye philosophy in which the essence of entities persists through transformation and reinterpretation. That is, throughout the multiple settings and multiple exegeses of a song, the song remains.
Chapter 2 Data and methodology

This chapter describes and compares the contexts of the nine Akwelye performances making up this study, showing which performances contribute to particular understandings of Akwelye presented in this thesis. This chapter first provides an understanding of the context of the research field and the role of the researcher, as this influences the nature of the data and methodology. I then describe the performances and translation process; the results of which form my understandings of the meanings singers construct from songs. The data that make up this study are contained in Appendices 1-4.

2.1 Background to research

In the 1970s Grace Koch recorded three women's song series: Akwelye, Rterrorpe and Warlekerlange.¹ My decision to work on Akwelye was based on the fact that the owners of Akwelye from Arnerre country who sang on the 1976 recordings were still living, whereas most of the owners of the other song series who had sung on Koch's recordings had passed away. As well, Akwelye was the most well-known awelye song series in the community.²

2.2 Data and method of study

The data making up this study consist of Akwelye performances, song texts and song items, which are defined in §4.2. The analysis in this thesis is threefold: it involves linguistic and musical analysis of 52 different song texts, laid out in Appendix 1, musical analysis of 770 song items, grouped according to record number in Appendix 2, and an

¹ My initial experience with the Kaytetye language comes from being an honours student at the Australian National University, undertaking research on Kaytetye under the supervision of Dr Harold Koch. Subsequently, I commenced work on a Kaytetye Dictionary project at the Institute for Aboriginal Development (IAD) in Alice Springs.

² One reason why so many women were familiar with Akwelye in comparison to other awelye series, may have been due to recent events on Arnerre country. Kaytetye people who had connections to Arnerre were involved in a stand off with a mining company over the issue of exploration and mining on Arnerre. From 1989 onwards the Central Land Council (CLC), on behalf of traditional owners of Arnerre, negotiated with the mining company to protect sacred sites from exploration activities and eventually sought a halt to mineral exploration in the area. This culminated in 1995 with an application for a protection order under the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1975. This episode, as well as having immense historical significance, as the traditional owners of Arnerre were successful in their struggle against one particular mining company, may have led to people becoming more forthright in asserting the significance of their country.
analysis of the structure of nine different Akwelye performances, grouped chronologically in Appendix 3. Song forms are given in Appendix 4.

Most of my fieldwork was conducted between 1999-2002 in various locations in the Kaytetye region where the singers resided. This was primarily at Alekarendge and, when requested, I brought along other Akwelye owners to partake in the fieldwork. I also took fieldtrips to Apengarlayntiem outstation, Tara, Barrow Creek and Stirling and sometimes worked with singers and translators in Alice Springs (see Map 1.2).

As well as my own fieldwork, this thesis draws upon a number of published and unpublished works. It analyses recordings of the Akwelye song series recorded by Grace Koch in 1976/1977 and 1994, and an edited radio performance of the Akwelye song series broadcast by the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association in 1985. Other important sources of information have been Grace and Harold Koch's fieldnotes and extensive personal communication, as well as electronic and print dictionaries of Central Australian languages.3

2.3 The performances

Table 2.1 shows the Akwelye performances that make up the data for this research. The September 2002 recording is not a performance as such, however it is the only recording of song text 52, of which there are two song items, and in this sense it is significant. Each of the other performances is discussed in turn.

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>Grace Koch</td>
<td>Emily Hayes</td>
<td>Grace Koch</td>
<td>Myfany Turpin</td>
<td>Myfany Turpin and Linda Barwick</td>
<td>Myfany Turpin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>Tara 1a Singing</td>
<td>Tara 1b Painting</td>
<td>Tara 2 radio broadcast</td>
<td>Arnty-arenge</td>
<td>Akke1</td>
<td>Akke2</td>
<td>Elpe afternoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. song items</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of different song texts</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length</td>
<td>1'55&quot;</td>
<td>50&quot;</td>
<td>1'05&quot;</td>
<td>40&quot;</td>
<td>1'10&quot;</td>
<td>1'20&quot;</td>
<td>50&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1 Akwelye performances making up this study

Appendix 3 provides a detailed table of the order of song texts, number of small songs and number of song items making up these performances (the terms 'small song' and

3 See language abbreviations in List of Abbreviations and glossing conventions.
'song item' are defined in §4.2.1). This chapter now describes the context and features of each performance, focusing on features that contribute to particular understandings of Akwelye presented in this thesis.

2.3.1 The Tara performances (1976)

The Tara 1 and Tara 2 performances were recorded in December 1976 at Tara community (see Map 1.2). Grace Koch and linguist Harold Koch had been visiting the area over the past two years and when Grace expressed interest in the women's songs the women readily agreed to stage a performance to be recorded.

There were more singers and dancers at the Tara performances than any of the later performances. These performances include many comments and directions about the song text, dance and who should be singing or dancing. As well there is conversation unrelated to the specific aims of the performance, mostly in whispers, which suggests that such discussion was not considered part of performance. Another significant feature of the Tara performances is that singers do not give any explanations about the meanings of songs, whereas this was a feature of the 1999 performances.

2.3.1.1 Tara 1 performance (Tara 1a and Tara 1b)

This recording goes for approximately three hours, and is in two parts: part one involves singing and some dancing, and part two involves painting and singing. The Tara 1 performance was held in a corrugated tin shed used for public meetings and church services.

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4 The community is located on Neutral Junction station and is named after the nearby site Artrarre (emu tail feathers). It is on the country Rwerre (sandhill), owned by the Kingwarraye-Kapetye patricouple. At the time of these recordings there were approximately 100 people living on the community.

5 Grace noted that the women would take steps to ensure background noise was kept to a minimum by using hand signs and keeping noisy children away. The recordings were made on a Nagra in mono, which plays five-inch reel tapes. Grace Koch recalls that several women also bought their own cassette recorders to make their own recordings.

6 Grace Koch stated that the tape recorder was left on between song items.

7 Grace Koch notes that the dancers "stood with their feet about six inches apart, knees bent and bodies slightly bent at the waist. They stood close together with their shoulders touching and moved in a hopping motion with both feet parallel. After about six steps, they would shift the direction 45 degrees. When this is done in the loose soil, the dancing leaves a zigzag pattern of two parallel lines. During the dance, the hands would be doing a scooping motion about waist high. One hand would scoop while the other hand would be held behind the back almost akin to a sailor's hornpipe" (Grace Koch's fieldnotes 1976).
Betty led the singing in part 1 of the Tara 1 performance and Daphne led the singing in part 2. Both of these women were the most senior female owners of the Akwelye song series at that time and during my research.

This is the longest Akwelye performance making up this study. With a total of 293 song items and few incomplete or interrupted song items, this performance contributes significantly to the corpus of song items on which the musical analysis in this thesis is based. It also contributes significantly to the analysis of song texts, as song texts 29, 35, 38, 39, 40, 45, 47, 48 and 49 were only sung at this performance.

2.3.1.2 Tara 2 performance

On the final night before the Kochs' departure, the women sang the Akwelye series again; although this time outdoors and at night-time. The singers included April, Margaret, Daphne and Deidre as well as five other women who do not appear on later recordings. This was a much shorter recording and consisted of 14 different song texts. As in the Tara 1 performance, discussion between song items centered on aspects of performance rather than interpretations of songs.

The song items at both Tara performances were often longer than at any other performances, and show the most variation in how text is set to melody. This may reflect the younger age of the singers, the healthier state of the tradition and the presence of more singers, compared to the later Akwelye performances.

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1 See List of Abbreviations and Glossing conventions for a discussion of my use of pseudonyms throughout this thesis.
2.3.2 Radio broadcast

In 1985 Deidre, owner of another rain Dreaming and April, an *Akwelye* owner, sang *Akwelye* to be broadcast by the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association radio on 8 KIN FM. The broadcast was pre-recorded and the songs edited. Consequently it was often not possible to tell whether a song item was sung without an introduction or whether it had been edited out. As a result, the 43 song items on this recording are not counted in the analysis of setting rhythmic text to melody in §5.6. Nevertheless, the performance does show the same rhythmic setting and pronunciation of all the song texts that occur in other performances; including the final vowel patterning discussed in Chapter 6. One textline, 51b, is unique to this performance. There is also a combination of textlines, 22a and 8b, forming song text 50, which does not occur in any other performance (see Appendix 1).

2.3.3 Arratyarenge

In 1994 Grace Koch recorded *Akwelye* sung by Daphne, Betty, April, Kirsty and Rachel at Arratyarenge, on Arnerre. Throughout this performance there was much background noise and talking. This recording consisted of 20 different song texts, all of which also occurred in other performances. In this performance Daphne gave short glosses and explanations of the songs, unlike any of the previous performances. These explanations of particular song texts were, on the whole, similar to those given in the Alekarenge, Elpate performances, and in the elicitation sessions by both Grace Koch and myself.

2.3.4 The Alekarenge performances

During Easter in April 1999, I recorded Daphne, Kirsty and Rachel singing and talking about *Akwelye* at their camp at Alekarenge, and they listened to some of the 1976 *Akwelye* recordings made by Grace Koch. Daphne was—and still is—the most senior owner for *Akwelye* and had been the main person to discuss the meaning of the *Akwelye* song texts with Grace Koch. Rachel is Kirsty’s younger sister and both are owners for *Waake*, a country closely associated with *Arnerre* (see Map 3.1). Kirsty and Daphne moved from Tara, where they had been living at the time of Grace Koch’s recordings, to

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Both the Alekarenge and the Elpate *Akwelye* performances were staged at my request. As such, I played a major role in making sure the performances could happen by bringing certain people together. See Appendix 5.
Alekarenge in the mid 1980s, following the death of Daphne's husband.\textsuperscript{10} All three women are now very old.\textsuperscript{11}

\subsection*{2.3.4.1 Alekarenge 1}

At the Alekarenge 1 performance I sat with Daphne, the main singer and song interpreter, Kirsty and Rachel outside their humpy and discussions and singing were mixed.\textsuperscript{12} There was much talking in between song items and small songs, mostly about the meaning of the songs and associated Dreamtime events, people and places. Mostly the women focused on the Dreaming aspect of these songs, and places relating to the songs. Some songs were believed to be more powerful than others in bringing about rain. Rachel didn't want Daphne to sing song text 16, as she believed this song too powerful, however Daphne sang this song text twice. This was not sung at any other performance.\textsuperscript{13} Other song texts unique to this performance were song text 19 and 27. Song text 21 was only sung at the two Alekarenge performances.

Throughout this performance the women referred to events, places and people with emotion, and it was difficult to tell whether the event or sentiment described applied to a Dreamtime character or a real person, an issue I return to in Chapter 10. The language used by these three women differs from that of younger Kaytetye speakers. Many of the Kaytetye women from other communities with whom I worked found the language that these women used amusing, as it was 'old fashioned' and difficult to understand.\textsuperscript{14} This may also reflect their age, social isolation, and their long history together.\textsuperscript{15} Daphne has little contact with other Armerre relatives and probably other Kaytetye speaking people.\textsuperscript{16}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{10} Although I say Tara community, many Kaytetye people have, and currently still do, move between Tara and Stirling community. It may be that Daphne and Kirsty spent the greater part of their time at Stirling community rather than Tara before they moved to Alekarenge (see Map 1.2).
\textsuperscript{11} Kirsty passed away in August 2004.
\textsuperscript{12} The recording was made on minidisk and stretched over two days.
\textsuperscript{13} Perhaps because the contexts of the other performances were perceived to be too powerful and thus it would have been dangerous to sing this song text.
\textsuperscript{14} Especially the archaic Aboriginal English words they used.
\textsuperscript{15} Neither Daphne and Kirsty have close family at Alekarenge, apart from a brother and sister. From my brief visits to Alekarenge it seemed that they have limited interaction with people outside their own age group; this is likely to have been for some time as neither of them have brought up children.
\textsuperscript{16} During the negotiations for this research, I took Betty to Alekarenge to meet with Daphne and it was clear that the women had not seen each other for some years, in which time there had been deaths of close
\end{flushright}
A number of differences mark this as a less formal performance than any of the other performances. For example song items were shorter, there were fewer singers, less unison singing, no painting up or dancing, more talking in between song items, more disagreement among the singers (regarding the pronunciation of a song text, the degree of talking as opposed to singing, and which song texts or places to discuss or sing next), and the subject matter of such talk included reference to the romantic aspect of the songs, aspects of the Dreaming and places. It also incorporated awelye from another country (a brief singing of Waake awelye by Rachel). As a result, a greater proportion of the song items from this performance are considered incomplete or interrupted, and do not contribute to the 585 song items upon which the melodic analysis and text/melody setting is based (Chapters 5 and 6).

At the Alekarenge 1 performance it was clear the women were having fun rather than aiming to perform a ritual ceremony. The women interpreted the songs in more detail than in any other performance, possibly because I asked many questions throughout this performance, whereas I didn't in the more formal Alekarenge 2 and Elpate performances.

2.3.4.2 Alekarenge 2

On the final day of this fieldwork I recorded a more formal performance by the three women with additional singers. This was recorded outside the women's refuge at Alekarenge. At the request of Daphne and Kirsty I picked up Akwelye owners April and Nancy from Barrow Creek to help them sing. Nina, also an Akwelye owner, but not a singer, came too, as well as one non-owner, Prue. Two Kaytetye women from Alekarenge, Carmel, married to an Amerrre owner, and Mandy, a non-owner and not a singer also came; both participated in discussions with the singers.

Daphne led the singing and April sat beside her, discreetly directing her to move on to the next song text, or to sing a song item again. All the women sat in a circle with those less involved in the singing or clapping furthest from the two main singers. Daphne stated the meaning of each song text after it was sung, and sometimes April asked for relatives, and both Kirsty and Daphne waived and Daphne took a rock to her own head. Traditionally, this is how people express sorrow over the death of a loved one. Two younger women tried to stop them, as this practice is now rarely done, and the younger women were no doubt concerned about the well being of the elderly women.
further explanations of song texts, a feature absent from the 1976 performances. Occasionally April disagreed with Daphne over the pronunciation of a song text, but this was expressed discreetly. Often April asked me to turn the tape recorder off while they worked out what song to sing next, or discussed how a particular song went, but not when there were discussions about the meaning of a song. This suggests that song interpretation was a significant aspect of performance, whereas discussion of how the singing goes was not. These interpretations are discussed in Chapter 8.

2.3.5 The Elpate performances

Linda Barwick and I recorded the Elpate performances in September 1999.\textsuperscript{17} It was a performance that involved many people from different communities and occurred in the context of an underlying family feud over rights to Arnerre and fears over male violence. The background to this performance is described in some detail in Appendix 5.\textsuperscript{18}

Following the Alekarenge performance Daphne and April said they wanted to perform *Akwelye* with accompanying painting and dancing.\textsuperscript{19} Daphne stressed the importance of having Betty, April, Nancy and Hetty present for the performance. Such a performance would be a rare and important social event, as these singers lived in four different communities: Alekarenge, Arnerre, Alice Springs and Apengarlayntem (see Map 1.2).

Originally the singers wanted the performance to be held at a site in the northern part of Arnerre, *Iperte* 'Bottom Bore'. One day before I was to leave to collect the singers from *Apengarlayntem*, I discovered the male Arnerre resident no longer wanted the performance to happen on his outstation.\textsuperscript{20} The women discussed the situation and decided that the performance should still go ahead but at a location closer to

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\textsuperscript{17} 'Elpate' is not a place name, but the Kaytetye word for a patch of recently burnt country.

\textsuperscript{18} In recent years (2003, 2004) the fears over male violence have led women living in the Barrow Creek region to turn down opportunities to teach and perform *Akwelye*.

\textsuperscript{19} The distinction between two types of *awelye* performance based on whether or not dancing and ritual paraphernalia is included is also made in relation to *yawulyu* at Balgo (Moyle 1997:77).

\textsuperscript{20} This relates to a schism between two different genealogical descent groups of *Arnerre* owners.
Alekarenge.\textsuperscript{21} The camp and performance site ended up being on a recently burnt patch of ground, an *elpate*,\textsuperscript{22} hence the name of the performances (Elpate).

Following a meeting I drove to Arnerre outstation to ask if the women wanted to partake in the performance. One of the singers, Margaret, stated that bringing people "from other communities" would cause trouble with the male Arnerre resident.\textsuperscript{23} I told her of the group's intentions,\textsuperscript{24} and she spent some time convincing the other two female Arnerre owners to come along.\textsuperscript{25} It eventuated that all the women and children of the outstation came—approximately 12 people. The presence of all the women from the outstation community can be understood as a demonstration of their rights to that country. It can also be understood as strength in numbers; with all the women and children from the outstation present retribution from the male resident was less likely. In the face of risking community conflict, the women from Arnerre community chose to perform and teach *awelye*. Furthermore, the performance demonstrated how *awelye* can bring together divided and feuding families.\textsuperscript{26}

2.3.5.1 Elpate afternoon

Daphne led the singing with Betty. The singing accompanied the preparing and painting of *awelye* designs, directed by Daphne and applied by April. There was much discussion over the absence of *ngwentye-ngwentye* 'white ochre',\textsuperscript{27} however April made do with *gytwelke* pipeclay,\textsuperscript{28} which is usually used for mourning ceremonies. Betty made the *tyepale*—a brush used for painting designs on skin—as well as the two

\textsuperscript{21} That the performance was not at a totemic centre is not unusual for women's ceremonies in Central Australia (Ellis and Barwick 1989:26).

\textsuperscript{22} Roughly an hour's drive north east of Tara, a half hour south of Alekarenge, a half hour east of Arnerre, and three hours from Apengarlayntem.

\textsuperscript{23} I assume it was precisely because the people from Apengarlayntem were owners of the country Arnerre, that the current residents at the outstation did not want them, as this was no doubt the basis of the long time dispute over rights to the outstation and facilities.

\textsuperscript{24} I also made it known that only the singers would be paid, thus there would not have been any financial incentive for Margaret to bring all the women from the community.

\textsuperscript{25} The involvement of the female residents of Arnerre in the *awelye* performance could have been perceived as acknowledging the other group's rights to country. This could have fueled the dispute over rights to Arnerre and created division between the men and women of Arnerre community, which may explain Margaret's insistence on all the women of Arnerre outstation attending.

\textsuperscript{26} It is possible that participation in the *awelye* was perceived as less threatening to community stability because outsiders were involved, and because no men were involved.

\textsuperscript{27} This is a naturally occurring white oxide.

\textsuperscript{28} A substance that contains kaolin.
*kwerrpare*—dancing sticks used by women. Hetty was painted up first followed by Kirsty, who put her sweater back on due to the cold, covering the designs. This suggests that singers perceive the power of ceremonial designs is in their application rather than their visibility. Dancing followed, discussed in more detail in §4.4.

Explanations about the meaning of a song text did not feature in this performance. Only 12 different song texts were sung, all of which were sung in other performances. Some song items from this performance involved only one or two singers, with the women focusing more on the dancing, directed by April. It was possibly her dancing skill and ability to organise people that resulted in her taking this role with no apparent negotiation. The dancing was held in an atmosphere of fun, with the women commenting on the dancing using various types of metaphors, as in (1).

(1) April: *Yekaye aperleye-le=pe yalpeye-yalp-me-nke!*  
**Ww: MF-ERG=FOC pour-pl.OBJ-CAUS-PST**  
Granny, you did it really well!

***

Nina: *Aherne=pe atnam-atnam-ile-nke!*  
**ground=FOC thud-pl.OBJ-CAUS-PRS**  
She's making the ground thud! [because her dancing is so good]

Sal: *Aherne=pe atnam-ile-rantye ateyeng=aye!*  
**ground=FOC thud-CAUS-PRS:CNT 1sgPOS=EMPH**  
My god, she's making that ground thump!

***

Daphne: *Proper nthelarte errke-nk-artey=arte=ike!*  
**that-ERG scrape-PRS-EMPH=DEF=now**  
She's really going for it!  

(1999, MD19, dn 33)

This performance forms the basis for my analysis of painting up and dancing, as components of *awelye* performance, which are discussed in Chapter 4.

2.3.5.2 Elpate evening

The evening performance was held some hours after the afternoon performance. The women sat around a fire and Daphne led the singing. There were seven singers: Daphne, Betty, April, Nancy, Margaret, Kirsty and Hetty. There was clearer unison singing and less discussion between song items than in the afternoon performance. At times Betty

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29 Night time is believed to be a more potent time to perform ceremonies, as Daphne stated "Dinner time [midday] him no good and at night time him just pushem on singem higher and higher" (MD12, dn 30).

30 Except when the teenage girls were being taught the dances.
and April quietly assisted Daphne in deciding which song text to sing next, but this was usually in a whisper.

Daphne often gave explanations about the meaning of songs, and sometimes April asked her to repeat these for the benefit of the researchers, as in (2). 31

(2) Daphne: That's you two arrengeye, arrengeye mpweveyenge-le.

\[
\text{You two, your grandfather (did something).}
\]

April: Arntwe-ne nte ty-angkwerre altemarl-athke!

\[
\text{Tell (the researchers) to the west!}
\]


(1999, MD20, dn 48)

In contrast, discussions about what to sing, or how a song text goes, were usually in a whisper and not meant as conversation for other women present to participate in.

After the second rendition of song text 18, April decided that the young girls should learn to dance, and in this interlude the atmosphere was similar to the afternoon performance. About 6 girls were shown how to dance and they were praised highly for their success. Some of the older women expressed competitiveness; stating what good dancers they used to be, claiming ownership of the grandchildren who danced, or pressuring their grandchildren to dance.

The performance consisted of 23 different song texts, with song text 42 and 44 unique to this performance. The conversations during both Elpate performances revealed what singers regard as essential and subsidiary components of akwele performance, good and average singing, 'accurate' and 'inaccurate' expansions and pronunciations of song texts. From these performances this study could ascertain what performers themselves perceive as 'ideal' in relation to Akwele song performance.

These nine performances make up the data used to identify the main components of Akwele, as outlined in Chapter 4: ownership, melody, visual design, rhythm, song text, lexical content, dance, expansion and text/melody setting. The nature of stability and

31 Although April wanted the researchers to hear Daphne's interpretations, there is no evidence that Daphne framed her interpretations with the researchers in mind. Her interpretations were often addressed at other Akwele singers and owners, as in (3).
variation in relation to each component, and how contextual features influence the type of variation, are key issues raised by the data. A major finding is that the performances show minimal variation in regards to the structure of each component, but much variation in how each of the musical components are put together, an issue I return to in later chapters.

2.4 Interpretation of songs

In this section I describe the ways in which I sought to understand the meanings and significances of Akwelye songs, and how linguistic and musical transcription and translation of the songs was undertaken. The linguist and musicologist face specific difficulties when it comes to addressing the issues of meaning and structure in traditional Aboriginal ceremonial performances, as discussed in Chapter 1. In this study personal observation and informal conversation was a source of many more insights than would be the case for a lexical or grammatical study. It is impossible to list all the events or conversations that contributed to a particular understanding of Akwelye, such as why a particular song text wasn't sung, the significance of a particular utterance in performance, etc., however, by describing the methods for interpreting songs I aim to show what my understanding of the meanings of Akwelye songs for the singers is based on.32

My analysis of the song texts draws upon the various published and unpublished materials on Arandic languages, my own experience with the Kaytetye language and fieldwork with the senior singers, particularly Daphne. In the course of other work, conversations with many individuals have also revealed further meanings and significances songs held for people.

Grace Koch and I elicited spoken versions of song texts, the words in songs and their meanings. As well, the 1999 performances also included discussion of meaning. On all occasions the main interpreter of songs was Daphne, although there were usually others present. Daphne preferred to give interpretations and descriptions of the meaning of songs in Aboriginal English rather than Kaytetye, even when her Kaytetye relatives reprimanded her for not speaking Kaytetye. Kriol is the lingua franca at the community

32 Mackinlay also stresses the importance of the ethnographer's involvement in the context of musical events making up the research data (1998:42).
variation in relation to each component, and how contextual features influence the type of variation, are key issues raised by the data. A major finding is that the performances show minimal variation in regards to the structure of each component, but much variation in how each of the musical components are put together, an issue I return to in later chapters.

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where she lives, although Daphne spoke to the other singers in Kaytetye. All other singers I worked with preferred to discuss the songs in Kaytetye. While Daphne's use of Aboriginal English may have limited the types of meanings given, it should be noted that this was always Daphne's preference, even when I conversed with her in Kaytetye. The elicitation sessions provided a point of comparison with the interpretations of songs given in performances. Chapter 8 shows that interpretations in both contexts show many similarities. In this study all example sentences are sourced with a date, field tape code and counter number, as shown in the List of Abbreviations and Glossing conventions.

2.4.1 Elicitation conducted by Grace Koch

Grace Koch recorded the tapes in the AIATSIS series GK 6894-7 on a fieldtrip in the Barrow Creek region in May 1977, and a further trip in December 1978 /January 1979. She selected one rendition of each of the song texts recorded in December 1976 and used this as a tool to elicit the words contained in the song text. She also sought clarification on the pronunciation of the song texts.

The elicitation work by Grace Koch provides valuable data towards understanding how singers break up textlines, differences between sung and spoken texts as well as meanings of specific song texts, as illustrated in (3).

(3) [after listening to song text 9]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Daphne: } & \textit{Arntwe } \ 'arewaaliinyerre' & \text{Callem Kaytetye } & \textit{'rewa'} \\
\text{G.Koch: } & \textit{arntwe} & \ 'arewalentya' \\
\text{Daphne: } & \text{he's running.} & \text{Yeah} & \text{Yeah} \\
\text{G.Koch: } & \textit{'rewa'} \text{ is running?} & \text{Oh 'rewa' is running} \\
\text{Daphne: } & \textit{rowaaliinyerre rowaalaantyepanya} & \text{Yes, yes} \\
\text{G.Koch: } & \textit{'alentyerre} & \text{What's 'alentyerre'?}
\end{align*}
\]

33 I once worked with a Kaytetye man of the same age as Daphne. His Kaytetye speaking niece, who was present, reprimanded him for not speaking Kaytetye, but the man's response was that he couldn't speak Kaytetye because 'a white woman was there'. His upbringing, and possibly Daphne's too, clearly forbade one to speak anything but English in the presence of non-Aboriginal people.

34 All fieldtapes and transcriptions are held at the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), Canberra.
Daphne: 'rowalentyerre'

G.Koch: yeah, 'rewaaliintyerre' 'raalaantyepenty'

Daphne: that's him. (1978, GK 6895, dn 34)

2.4.2 Elicitation conducted by Myfany Turpin

The methods I employed followed those used by Grace Koch. In most of these field sessions Daphne stated a single word or phrase on the meaning of the text. I then followed up with questions, which Daphne and other women present answered. In contrast to the field recordings made with Grace Koch, while working with me Daphne rarely broke up a textline into discrete segments. Apart from this the interpretations and style of interpretations were similar (although differences did arise in relation to song texts 10, 25, 28, see Appendix 1). During one of these elicitation sessions Betty sang song text 52, an Akwelye song text that had not been sung at any of other performances, but was known by a number of other Kaytetye women (See Table 2.1).

As well as these formal field sessions, while working in contexts unrelated to this research, such as literacy teaching or dictionary work, video productions, land claims and mining meetings, often things led a Kaytetye speaker to comment on the meaning of a song text. Such comments were all the more significant as they were given in non-elicited situations.

2.5 Data management

In order to understand the formal features of the songs, which are the subject of Chapters 5, 6 and 7, I entered the total 770 song items from all performances in a database. Each item was recorded with the following information:

- order of the song item (performance, place in performance, place in small song, tape number and counter)
- tempo, duration and whether the song was interrupted or incomplete
- song text number, song text structure, beats per textline, and which textline commenced the item
- phonological variation

37
• text/melody setting (final vowel patterning, including textline reversals and in which melodic section they occurred)

• number of melodic sections and presence of clapping in melodic sections

This information is shown in Appendix 1. Each song item was assigned a unique record number by which it is referred to throughout this thesis, and information regarding the source of these song items are listed in Appendix 2, where song items are listed based on their record numbers.

2.6 Translation and analysis of the performances

The transcriptions and translations of the performances draw upon my own knowledge of Kaytetye and on close collaboration with a younger Kaytetye speaker, Anne, who is literate in Kaytetye. Transcription and translation of the performances was a difficult task as sometimes many women spoke at once, and significant cultural and contextual knowledge was needed to follow the conversation. Translation of the transcripts was an on-going process and Anne was an invaluable research assistant in discussing semantic and pragmatic issues. Although Anne's intuitions were not those of the speakers or hearers in the speech events, and may not have always equated with the intentions of the actual speakers, they provide clues as to how language is used in Akwelye performances to achieve meanings beyond the literal meaning of the utterances, as well as the kinds of non-literal meanings that are conveyed in ceremonial performance.

In transcribing the performances Anne and I found instances where several interpretations of what was actually said were possible, and sometimes more than one intention or motivation that could have been held by the speaker. In the Tara recordings, at which neither of us was present, there were also some utterances where Anne was not sure of the intended meaning. This meant going over transcripts with numerous other singers. While there is never a single 'correct' translation, I found that as my knowledge of the songs and my linguistic competence increased, I was able to continually improve the translations. Appendix 1 includes transcripts of those parts of

35 For example, according to Anne, Rachel's request for Daphne to stop singing song text 16 had two possible motivations. She may have believed that song text 16 was too dangerous or she may have been concerned by the song's possible reference to a place that was taboo for Rachel because it related to her son-in-law.
the performances relevant to the interpretation of each song text, as well as the elicitation fieldwork.

2.7 Summary

Recording *Akwelye* performances, personal observation, informal conversation, elicitation and translation sessions as well as the linguistic material on Arandic languages provides the means to address the issue of meaning and structure of *Akwelye*. The combined performances shows that text, rhythm and melody—the subject of Part 2 of this thesis—are compulsory components of *Akwelye* performance and show little variation over time; it is the way these components combine that creates diversity in songs. The Alekarenge, Arratyarenge and Elpate performances include expansions on meaning, and these, combined with the elicitation sessions, contribute to the understanding of the meanings singers construct from songs—the subject of Part 3 of this thesis.
Chapter 3 Social, cultural and historical setting

This chapter provides an understanding of Akwelye in terms of the social, historical and cultural setting in which the performances making up this study took place. It considers the role of women’s ceremonies in traditional and contemporary settings and the role of Kaytetye society, religion and culture in shaping the meanings and significances of songs.

3.1 Kaytetye women’s rain songs

Akwelye, ‘rain, rain cloud’, is owned by people who come from Arnerre north west of Barrow Creek. Arnerre is one of 17 country groups in the Kaytetye region some of which are associated with two language groups, as shown in Map 3.1. Each country belongs to a father/son patricouple, and has a number of Dreamings. The main Dreaming of Arnerre, which literally means ‘rock hole’, is arntwe ‘water/rain’, or more commonly, Akwelye. From as early as 1904, Arnerre has been documented in the literature as "the great centre of the rain people" (Spencer and Gillen 1904:158).

Arnerre is recognised by other Central Australian Aboriginal people as an important rain-making centre. Arnerre is connected to a number of other important rainmaking sites in the region, including Tyaw, the Hatches Creek area to the east (Alyawarr).

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1 The exact number of Kaytetye countries varies depending upon how one perceives the bordering countries to be affiliated with language groups.

2 Moyle defines ‘country’ as “the particular tract of land which the members of one or more patriclans consider as their own” (Moyle 1986:3) In Kaytetye the word apmere has this meaning as one of its senses. When needing to distinguish this sense from other senses of apmere (such as site, or land) the word apmere-w-arntwe (country-DAT-owner) or phrase apmere aliyu anenke (country relative alias), both meaning ‘owner of a country’, are used.

3 “Dreamings”, what Strehlow calls “totems” (1970), refers to the ancestral beings of current day plants, animals and certain meteorological features such as moon, rain and fire, etc.

4 In Kaytetye there are many other words that refer to various types of rain, however these are not used to refer to the ceremony, country or its Dreamings.

5 An earlier reference to Arnerre was from Gillen, in a letter to Baldwin Spencer on June 1897 [Letter 29] in Mulvaney, Morphy and Petch (1997:171).

6 Gillen suggested the rain/water and rain/rain cloud polysemy in Kaytetye as early as 1896 in a letter to Spencer (Mulvaney, Morphy and Petch 1997:98). Spencer and Gillen also document akwelye meaning ‘rainbow’ (1904:30, Gillen 1968:147). This meaning is not attested today. Bell discusses a Kaytetye myth in which rain and rainbow are linked (2002:167).

7 Bell may have been referring to the Arnerre rain akwelye when she referred to the "ngapa ('rain') Dreaming knowledge of the Neutral Junction women", however at the same time she refers to the women as having an "impoverished" repertoire (2002:188-9). At this time, in the 1970s, all the female owners of Akwelye in this study were living at Neutral Junction. Grace Koch thinks that the performances Bell
Map 3.1 Countries in the Kaytetye region (Based on the map by Brenda Thornley from Growing Up Kaytetye: Stories by Tommy Kingwarraye Thompson (Turpin 2003))

3.2 History, geography and social structure

Kaytetye country lies some 270km north of Alice Springs on the route of the main communications and transport corridors between the south and north of the Australian continent. This is a major determinant in the history of contact and influences the contemporary social setting of the awelye performances.

recorded must have occurred some months prior to those that she recorded, which provide substantial data for this study (Grace Koch 2000, pers.comm.).
3.2.1 European contact history

Contact with European people began with the explorations by Stuart in 1862 and a non-Aboriginal presence was established with the construction of the Adelaide to Darwin Telegraph Line in 1872. A repeater station was constructed at Barrow Creek next to the fresh water spring Elkerempelkere. Subjugation of Kaytetye people followed, marked by violence and massacres. A detailed account of the history of this region can be found in Grace Koch (1993:xiv). Kirsty, one of the Akwelye singers, was a girl at the time of a reprisal raid that later became known as the Coniston Massacre. Hunting with her grandmothers they saw many bodies at Athimpelengkwe. Many Kaytetye people believe that a ceremony was staged at Athimpelengkwe at the request of the police as a trick to get people together, and that in the massacre that followed there was an underlying message that ceremonies should no be longer performed.

During the 1880s, pastoral stations were set up in the region. From this time on Kaytetye people worked for rations—herding goats, sheep, mustering and tailing cattle, cleaning, cooking, carting water and delivering mail at the telegraph station and neighbouring stations. By 1930 pastoral leases were held over most of the area. The most senior Akwelye singers, Betty, Daphne and Kirsty spent most of their adult life working on these pastoral stations.

As well as the influence of the pastoral industry, there were significant historical mining developments in the region. Many Kaytetye people worked at the Hatches Creek wolfram mine, which was in operation between 1913 and the 1940s, the Wauchope wolfram mines, 120 km north of Barrow Creek, and the Home of Bullion copper mine, 25 km east of Barrow Creek. At these mining centres Kaytetye people mixed with large numbers of neighbouring Alyawarr, Warumungu and Warlpiri people. Daphne and Kirsty spent significant time at Hatches Creek.

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8 Also known as Tyempelkere.
9 See Read and Read (1991:33-54)
10 In 1918 there were 40 European and 27 Aboriginal people living at Hatches Creek mine. In 1938 there were an estimated 150 miners, and in 1943 an estimated 350 Chinese employees (Rowse 1998:50,59).
11 Individuals also fossicked for ore and alluvial deposits in the region.
12 Indeed, a significant group of Kaytetye people who grew up at Wauchope speak only Warlpiri (see stories in Grace Koch 1993). Moyle states that at Hatches Creek, Alyawarr was the lingua franca, as this
World War II marked a significant time for Kaytetye and other Aboriginal people who worked as labourers at the army staging camp, Arrwelthathenghe, 30 km north of Barrow Creek. Many Kaytetye people remember this time fondly as it was people's first experience of wages and fairer treatment. Singer Daphne's recollections of this time reveal a pride through her contribution to the national war effort, which involved minding goats, cleaning and cooking at the army staging post.\textsuperscript{14}

Unlike many other areas in Central Australia, there has been no continual missionary presence in the area or establishment of a mission community such as Santa Teresa and Hermannsburg on Arrernte country, although Lutherans and Baptists have visited the area since the 1920s.

3.2.2 Contemporary social setting

Aboriginal people living in this region are predominantly Kaytetye and Anmatyerr, and number about 150 people.\textsuperscript{15} Where people live today is largely determined by the pastoral developments in the region. The historical camps of the Aboriginal labourers have developed into the present day communities of Barrow Creek, Artarre (Neutral Junction) and Iliewarr (Stirling). Kaytetye people have also lived near the Barrow Creek Telegraph station, built in 1872, from early days. With the advent of the Aboriginal Land Rights Act (NT) 1976, three outstations developed: Ankweleyelengkwe (1989), Arnerre (1994) and Barrow Creek (2001) (See Map 1.2).\textsuperscript{16}

The roadside stop of Barrow Creek on the Stuart Highway has a licensed hotel, the historic telegraph station and an Aboriginal resource centre, Thangkernharenge, established in 1986, which services the two communities and three outstations. Most

\textsuperscript{13} Daphne's mother's sister remembers this as a place full of Alyawarr people, she recalls 'Us two (sisters) decided to tag along with Daphne and that old man to Hatches Creek: ... Daphne dropped us two off with our granny; with her poor mother who has now passed away. We got lonely in the afternoon. The sun was going down. I was frightened. I was lonely, where's Daphne? I was crying for people we knew. I cried, "There's too many Alyawarr people here, granny!"' (AP, 1986, my translation).

\textsuperscript{14} Other accounts of Aboriginal history in this region can be found in Grace Koch (1993), Bell (2002:41-73), Read and Read (1991). Historical accounts in the broader Central Australian region can be found in Rubunja and Green (2002) and Rowe (1998:95).

\textsuperscript{15} There are also some Alyawarr and Warlpiri people at Tara and Arrernte people at Stirling.

\textsuperscript{16} At various times Iliewarr has come under the jurisdiction of the Anmatyerr Council to the south.
people rely on the pastoral station stores to buy food, fuel, power cards and to cash cheques. The singers Margaret, Nancy, Hetty and sometimes April all resided in this region at the time of fieldwork.

There are very little opportunities for Kaytetye people to promote and practise cultural artistic activities in contemporary society. There are no art centres in the region, and people go to either Tennant Creek or Alice Springs to sell their work. The Kaytetye Dictionary project,\(^17\) on which I have worked, provides one of the few opportunities for people to engage in an activity that promotes cultural practices. Since 1976, various land claims, mining consultations and sacred site protection with the Central Land Council (CLC) and the Aboriginal Areas Protection Authority (AAPA), have provided opportunities for Kaytetye people to promote and pass on traditional knowledge.\(^18\)

There is no bilingual education in schools in the Kaytetye region and little place for cultural education in the schools. In recent years, with permission of the non-Aboriginal school teacher, various women from the communities have taught language and culture for certain periods.

Education and employment opportunities for Aboriginal people in the region are extremely limited. Tara and Stirling communities each have a one-teacher school and the two communities each have a clinic employing one health worker. Other employment opportunities are seasonal mustering work, fencing and occasional exploration work with mining companies. When available, people also sell various types of acacia seeds and small fruits to a bush tucker company. Most people receive pensions or payment from a work for the dole scheme (CDEP). People also do various vocational training in Alice Springs or Tennant Creek.\(^19\)

Singers Daphne, Kirsty and Rachel live at Alekarenge (Ali-Curung), a community 90 km north-east of Barrow Creek. It lies on Kaytetye country, has its own service centre and a very different history from that of the pastoral communities in the Barrow Creek region. Previously known as Warrabri, it was a government settlement created in 1955 to

\(^{17}\) The project is run by the Institute for Aboriginal Development in Alice Springs.

\(^{18}\) I am not aware of any women from these communities having attended the women’s Law and Culture meetings, an annual event where women perform ceremonies, among other things, run by the CLC.

\(^{19}\) At Iliewarr two men are studying to be Lutheran priests.
house people from Phillip Creek Mission, north of Tennant Creek.\textsuperscript{20} The Warrabri settlement thrust Warlpiri, Warumungu, Alyawarr, Kaytetye and Warlmanpa people together.\textsuperscript{21} The community was renamed Alekarengen after the nearby site (\textit{alek-arenge} 'dog-POS'). Today Alekarengen has approximately 490 residents and the lingua franca is Kriol.\textsuperscript{22} Some residents also speak Warlpiri, Warumungu or Alyawarr, with only half a dozen who speak Kaytetye. Most Kaytetye people who have grown up at Alekarengen do not speak Kaytetye, whereas those who have grown up in the Barrow Creek communities do. The handful of Kaytetye speakers living in the community today settled as adults, such as Daphne and Kirsty, who moved there after the death of Daphne's husband in the 1990s.

Other communities in the region that Kaytetye people visit regularly are smaller, having around 50 residents: Murray Downs, Epenarra, Kurundi, Mungkarta (McLaren Creek), Apengarlayntem, Narrengeny and Arnkawenyerr (see Map 1.2). Singer Betty lives at Apengarlayntem with her granddaughter, Anne, who assisted in translations of the field recordings. With the exception of the singers at Alekarengen, the Kaytetye people I worked with travel frequently between many of these communities, Tennant Creek and Alice Springs.

3.2.3 Language situation

There are around 150-200 speakers of Kaytetye.\textsuperscript{23} Most live in the Barrow Creek region.\textsuperscript{24} Most Kaytetye speakers are bilingual in another Arandic language and some speak the neighbouring languages Warlpiri or Warumungu. Most people also speak

\textsuperscript{20} According to the Aboriginal Land Commissioner, the interests of the increasing white population and lack of water motivated the move. (1988:49).
\textsuperscript{21} The name Warrabri, itself, is a creation from the first part of the word for Warumungu and the last part of the word for Warlpiri, which used to be spelt Warlbru.
\textsuperscript{22} ABS Census data figures, 2001 pers.comm.
\textsuperscript{23} See Hoogenraad (1993). This is very few in comparison with neighboring languages; there are 1,500 Alyawarr speakers (Green 1992:xi), approximately 1,000 Anmatyerre speakers (Jenny Green 2003, pers.comm.), 1,500-2000 Central and Eastern Arrente speakers (Henderson and Dobson 1994:8), 500 Warumungu speakers (Jane Simpson 2001, pers.comm.) and about 2500 Warlpiri speakers (Robert Hoogenraad 2003, pers.comm.).
\textsuperscript{24} Kaytetye is the main language spoken at Tara, Arnerre, Barrow Creek and Akweleyelengewe. Approximately half the residents at Stirling are Kaytetye speakers. Other Kaytetye speakers live elsewhere, in communities and towns where English or another Aboriginal language is the main language.
Aboriginal English. Kayteteə is not mutually intelligible with other Arandic varieties.\(^{25}\) While there are no geographical dialects, there is a clear difference between the way younger and older people speak.\(^{26}\) Since the 1870s, Kayteteə people have lived alongside non-Aboriginal and other Aboriginal people of different linguistic backgrounds, which has meant an increase in the use of English as a lingua franca. Camp English is the primary language of communication for many speakers under about the age of 30. It shares many phonological and syntactic features as well as vocabulary with Northern Australian Kriol.\(^{27}\)

Ceremonial knowledge was highly prized in traditional society.\(^{28}\) Senior people received the traditional *tyenkarra*, payments of food, money or even alcohol, from younger people wanting to learn. Unlike initiation ceremonies where performers receive food and money from the family of the initiate, Kayteteə women do not receive *tyenkarra* for performing *awelye*.\(^{29}\) Today *awelye* performances do not happen in the community without external funding.\(^{30}\) Male initiation ceremonies are the only traditional ceremonies regularly performed in the region, and the *tyenkarra* is still required. In recent years Kayteteə people have incorporated features of the neighbouring Anmatyerr style of initiation ceremonies.

When all of the above factors are considered, it is an impressive feat that a group of Kayteteə women living in disparate communities can still perform *Awelye* ceremonies. The long contact history with its brutal beginning and subjugation of Aboriginal people, followed by dependency, has heavily eroded traditional practices.\(^{31}\) The polarisation of

\(^{25}\) Kayteteə speakers also identify what they speak as a distinct language, as well as there being observable linguistic differences between Kayteteə and other Arandic varieties. See Henderson (1998:4 ff) for an insightful discussion of language ideology in the Arrernte region.

\(^{26}\) As in Arrernte (Henderson 1998:5) some Kayteteə people have difficulties understanding the language of their grandchildren’s generation.

\(^{27}\) See Harris (1993:146), Sharpe (2001).

\(^{28}\) As has been documented elsewhere by Strehlow (1971) and Ellis and Barwick (1989;21).

\(^{29}\) Traditionally women received *tyenkarra* for performing *awelye* for healing purposes but not as a social gathering.

\(^{30}\) In contrast, Bell documented regular *awelye* practices of song series from countries *Wakka-wakka* and *Waa-waa* to the north and north-west of Alekarenge during her fieldwork in the 1970s (2002).

\(^{31}\) Traditional ceremonies in these communities are far less frequent than at Amaroo when Moyle undertook research on Alyawarr songs (1986:140).
today’s services and administration between Alice Springs and Tennant Creek, the few employment opportunities and poor education levels contribute significantly to the lack of community cohesion and social stability required to actively maintain cultural practices.\textsuperscript{32} With the decreasing number of people possessing knowledge of awelye, the performance of ceremonies are surrounded by friction between those with and those without such knowledge.\textsuperscript{33}

The resulting rapid change in language and culture has meant that the role of awelye in communities around Barrow Creek has changed from being a fundamental part of everyday life\textsuperscript{34} to an occasional demonstration of cultural knowledge and identity, although its sacred nature persists. The meanings of the songs relate to traditional life, the natural environment and the Alyyerre—the law or religion—as will be shown in Part 2 of this thesis, and are still sought after by some younger owners and singers of the songs. Fundamental to appreciating the songs, is the natural environment discussed in the following section.

3.2.4 Geography and climate

The subject matter of the songs is derived from the natural environment, which shapes so much of Kaytetye people's lives. Seasonal change and geographic variation influence social activities and availability of foods; while at the same time the environment is implicated in a variety of ways in Kaytetye ceremonies.

Central Australia is primarily flat desert, characterised by a few low ranges and distinctive flat-topped hills or mesas. Rivers and creeks are mostly dry and soil is poor compared to deserts in other parts of the world. Spinifex and shrubs such as mulga predominate vegetation (Latz 1995:5). Generally large trees are rare, although river red gums are common along creek beds. Much of the vegetation has adapted to fire and

\textsuperscript{32} A rather bleak picture of the changing patterns in Aboriginal society on ceremonial practices is painted in Berndt (1965:240), where it is implied that these changes have made the social relations between performers much more complex.

\textsuperscript{33} In this way access to the ability to perform awelye is limited, as is access to other meaningful and valued things in contemporary Kaytetye society, such as education, jobs or material items.

\textsuperscript{34} Bell (2002), Morais (1992:131), Payne (1989) and Dussart (1988) argue that women’s ceremonies play a role in maintenance of social roles, education, tension management, entertainment, group cohesiveness, reinforcing values and management of the environment.
drought; some have extensive root systems that provide an important source of food and water for Aboriginal people.\textsuperscript{35} After rain, which can occur in any season, wildflowers and fruits are abundant. Overall, the Central Australian environment presents a challenging situation for sustaining human populations. Indeed, in the secular stories told by older Aboriginal people of pre-European times the day-to-day task of finding food is a pervasive theme.\textsuperscript{36}

In pre-contact times, watercourses were crucial to people's survival and were areas where different groups would gather. Soakages were also dug at specific sites in woodlands and spinifex sandplains. Men hunted large game, often aided by dogs, while women collected plant foods, small lizards and marsupials. Since the introduction of cattle, feral animals and weeds, many of these plant communities have changed dramatically, especially watercourses, leading to the extinction of numerous plants and animals. Today people do not rely upon the traditional diet, but men still hunt large game with guns, and many women collect the more prized varieties of bush foods including fruits, sweet food, yams, goanna and echidna.\textsuperscript{37} Some of the traditional methods of cooking bush foods are still used. Women and occasionally men also collect acacia seeds to sell (but not to eat), and use electric fans for the yandying process.

Many of the Akwelye songs are about watercourses, plants and animals that were vital to sustaining traditional life. In many Central Australian languages, classification of animals and plants by habitat is an important organising principle of local taxonomies, so foods and places can be referred to through metonymy. For example 'river red gum' connotes a 'watercourse' in Central Australia, and nyenye 'red mallee' connotes an area in the country Arnerre, and the various uses of the parts of this plant. In this way songs can connote a myriad of foods and resources, although some of the more unusual uses of plants and animals are no longer practised, and are remembered by only a few people.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{35} Latz identifies a number of plant communities in Central Australia, and these are often associated with particular foods (1995:11-15).

\textsuperscript{36} See for example the Aboriginal stories in Green (2000), and Rockman and Cataldi (1994).

\textsuperscript{37} Today most people's diet consists of white bread, sweet tea, tinned food and meat.

\textsuperscript{38} For example, nywert-nywertere 'native morning glory' (Ipomoea muellert), the subject of song text 44, grows in woodlands and watercourses and people tied the stem of this vine around their heads for relief from headaches.
The Australian desert is known for having an extremely variable rainfall in terms of frequency and amount. As a general rule, most significant rainfalls occur over the summer months, although winter rain is not uncommon. There is a higher rainfall from Barrow Creek northwards and in the more mountainous areas than in the Alice Springs and southern region (Latz 1995:3). Arnerre, the country from which this rain series originates,\(^{39}\) which includes the Crawford Range and the Osborne Range, is one such area (see Map 3.1). Because of the variability of rain, Aboriginal people had to be opportunistic, and their use of plants varied depending on whether it was a good season or a rainy season.\(^{40}\)

During Akwelye performances the most senior boss, Daphne, often asserted that her country is "good country", referring to its host of valuable plant and animal life. Payne argues that in Central Australia, Dreaming lines follow fertile terrain and sites are likely to be places where water can be found (1989:45-46). Payne also states that the knowledge obtained through songs of the sites and Dreamings is of particular value for a hunting and gathering lifestyle, although the currency of such knowledge today is in flux.

As in other areas of Central Australia, the maintenance and management of Kaytetye food resources was the responsibility of specific kinship groups through ceremonial practices. The most fundamental resource, water, is less than abundant and needs careful management. Latz states that many ceremonial practices are directly related to the need to ensure a continued supply of the plants and animals important to their traditional economy (1995:28). It is in this context that the spiritual dimension is brought to bear through the Akwelye ceremonies.

3.2.5 Kinship and social structure

To understand the significance of Akwelye we must understand the knowledge systems to which the ceremonies relate—kinship, religion and language. The Kaytetye kin

\(^{39}\) Following Wild (1975:7) I use the term 'country' to refer to the areas that are associated with particular land holding groups. This concept has been referred to by many different names in the literature, such as "borde country" by Spencer and Gillen (1904) and Pink (1933), "tetcnic group" by Strehlow (1970), "clan" by the Aboriginal Land Commissioner (1980) and "local descent group" by the Aboriginal Land Commissioner (2000).

\(^{40}\) For example, old yams would be left in a good season, while they would be eaten in a dry season.
system, like all Arandic kin systems, relates people to each other, as well as to the land, environment and cosmology. It is based on what is referred to in English as a "skin system". There are eight different skin groups in Kaytetye, and there is a different male and female name for each skin.

Other significant social divisions in Arandic society include the division of people into one of two patrimoieties: aylermakaye (K) 'people in one’s own moiety' and elwakaye (K) 'people in the other moiety'. People belong to the same patrimoiet as their fathers, brothers and sisters, and their fathers’ fathers. A further division of the patrimoiet is into father and child pairs called a patricouple, also known as a descent group (Meggitt 1962, Wild 1975:7). People are in the same descent group as their father, and father's father. The relationship a person has to their father's father's country, and the associated Dreamings, is described as apmerew-artweye (lit. country-DAT-man) 'owner' or 'boss'. Moyle states that ownership of songs is "concomitant of land ownership" (1983:66). Countries can also be referred to by the kinship terms. For example, the country belonging to one’s mother’s mother is referred to as aypmenheye or nyanye, both meaning 'mother’s mother (and her siblings). A country is a series of interconnected places associated with the travels of particular mythical ancestors rather than a bordered territory and therefore countries may cross one another in particular areas.

The relationship a person has to their mother's father's country is described as altyerre 'dream' or in English, 'manager'. This is similar to the Warlpiri concept of kurdungurlu, a

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41From as early as 1904 Spencer and Gillen recognised the similarities in social organisation across what are now known as the Arandic languages (1904:75).
42The Arandic kin system relationship terminology is complex and has been described by Green (1998) and Breen (1998).
43The English term 'junior skin name' is sometimes applied to the gender specific skin names. It seems likely that in the past the junior skin names were only used for children, however these days they are used for people of any age. See Turpin (2000:121) for a list of these skin names in comparison with other Central Australian languages.
44This is similar to the Warlpiri term kirda (Bell 2002:139; Wild 1975; Dussart 1988).
45See also Barwick (2000a:330).
46See Gill (1998:44). This is also described by Moyle, who states that sites are primarily associated with the Dreaming characters that camped, emerged, or performed a noteworthy act there rather than being within a geographical area within a country (1986:39).
term also used in Kaytetye (spelt kwertengerle), and Warumungu (kurtungurlu). Kwertengerle generally play an overseeing role in the country, its Dreamings and its ceremonies. The people who call Arnerre their altyerre 'mother's country' or atywaleye 'mother's father' are of the Pengarte and Ngwarraye skins.

The diagram below by Harold Koch attempts to represent how these divisions map onto the eight skin groups. The inside group of four skins is one generation group and the outside four form the other group. The two patrimoieties are divided along the centre, father/child patricouples are shown with a double-headed arrow, and double lines show ideal marriage partners.

![Diagram of Kaytetye skin groups](image)

**Figure 3.1** Kaytetye skin groups, showing father child relationships (→) and marriage (=)

The neighbouring language Alyawarr has a 4-section system. Because of the correlation between the 4 and 8-section system (Figure 3.2), a Kaytetye person marrying an Alyawarr person is marrying one's second choice marriage partner.

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47 See also Bell (2002:139), Wild (1975) and Dussart (1988).

48 In the Alyawarr system a Kaytetye Thangale is called Pwerle; Ampetyane is called Kemarre, Penangke is called Ngwarray, and Pengarte called Apetyarr.
Figure 3.2 Correspondences between Kaytetye and Alyawarr skin systems

Such marriages are not uncommon and the father of the four Akwelye singers and owners, Betty, Anne, Hetty and Nancy is from such a marriage. Their father is referred to as an Ampetyane, as he is the son of a Kaytetye Pwerle man from Arnerre and an Alyawarr Ngwarraye woman (Penangke in Kaytetye).  

Sometimes the status apmerek-artweye for a Dreaming can be extended to the whole patrimoietiy in Kaytetye. For example, the patricouple responsible for Arnerre is Kemarre/Pwerle, and in some situations may include Thangale/Ampetyane. People in this patrimoietiy also hold rain Dreamings in other Arandic, Warumungu and Warlpiri territories. People in the other patrimoietiy can likewise be referred to as kwertengerle.

People can also be referred to as being from a particular part of their country. Moyle refers to these as "localities" and observes that these centre around sites where there is lots of Dreaming activity, and that the Dreaming activity of localities within a country need not be related (Moyle 1986:13). Kaytetye people distinguish four localities or blocks within Arnerre: Iperte, Lhite, Arnerre and Arratyarenge, and people can be referred to as 'locality name-HAB'.

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49 While he literally has two skins, Kemarre and Ampetyane, he and his brothers are always referred to as Ampetyane. It is common for Kaytetye people with an Alyawarr mother to be referred to by the skin name reckoned through their mother.

50 This is the patricouple in Alyawarr.

51 These are also what Strohlow refers to as 'totemic centres' (1970:97)

52 Sisters Betty, April, Hetty and Nancy are from the Arnerre locality, Margaret's husband is from Lhite, and Anne is from Arratyarenge.
Overlaying the traditional social structures are contemporary social groupings that affect how people identify and relate to others. The language group and community where one lives are important to one's identity. In contemporary Central Australian Aboriginal songs (usually country and western style), topics often include community names and language groups and are emotionally charged, such as "Sunset over Barrow Creek" by a Kaytetye man. The community of residence as a means of identification was particularly apparent during the 1999 Elpate performance where sleeping arrangements reflected community divisions, and their relative east and west locations.

In each of the Akwelye performances making up this study, to be discussed in the next chapter, these various social groupings and the local politics affecting relationships between performers, influenced the way individual performers directed the performance in terms of which song texts to sing, what interpretations to support, whose setting of text to melody to support, as well as each person's level of involvement. Together they contribute to the contextual features of the performance.

3.3 Auterre 'Dreaming' and song

Underpinning the meaning and significance of Kaytetye ceremonial life is the Auterre, the Arandic word for the lore, religion and cosmology of the Arandic language groups. This concept, which exists in Aboriginal languages across Australia, has become known as "the Dreamtime" in English and has been discussed by many researchers. A brief discussion of aspects relating to ceremonial song follows.

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54 Some such songs include "Sunset over Barrow Creek" by Vincent Janima of the Arrkantele video series (Warlpiri Media 2000), "LaJamanu" by the LAJAMANU Teenage Band off the album, "Yuendumu" by the Yuendumu based band Blackstorm, on their self-titled album, and "It's our home (Santa Teresa)" by the Lyentye Aruzie Band from their debut album called "It's our home - Santa Teresa", released on CAAMA 2001 (Åse Ottensoos 2003, pers.comm.).
55 Within the community the smaller household unit or what Stotz (1993) refers to as "carhold" can be recognized.
56 Similarly, The Nyinkka Nyunyu Culture centre, Tennant Creek states "Ceremonies bind the Law (Wirrarr), the Land (mama) and the people (Wumpurrarni) together, like the strands of a plait."
57 This concept is well described by Stanner (1979), Glenczowski (1999:6), Mulvaney, Morphy and Petch (1997:37), Payne (1985) and Swain (1993). In the early literature the word 'totem' was used for this concept (Spencer and Gillen 1904, Pink 1933, T.G.H. Strehlow 1947a). The inappropriateness of the English word 'Dreamtime' has been the subject of much debate. See Mulvaney, Morphy and Petch (1997:38), Wolfe (1991), Green (forthcoming (a)). However, auterre in all Arandic languages does also mean 'dream'. Rumsey, among others (Bentztrak, Muecke and Roe 1984:14), has noted that the
The *Altyerre* was established when ancestral beings criss-crossed the country, establishing patterns of behaviour, leaving physical traces of their journeys and "the essence of all future beings" (Myers 2003:18). Physical traces were often left where the ancestors rose from the ground and went into the ground. Such places are called *aknganentye* (pan-Ar) 'originate-NOM', and in English have become known as "sacred sites". Strehlow refers to them as ancestral birthplaces (1964:727, 1978a:15). Sites relating to the actions of the Dreaming ancestors are often the subject matter of *Akwelye* songs. In the *Akwelye* performances words such as *aknganentye* 'Dreaming' or *apmere* 'country, site' were rarely, if ever, used. Instead, such an understanding was implicit in discussions of songs.60

Gillen describes Kaytetye people's relationship to *aknganentye* as "the reincarnation of an Alcheringa [altyerrengye] individual" (Gillen 1968:119) and according to Carl Strehlow,61 "one could not possibly understand the [ceremonial] songs during the performances without an awareness of this union [between person and totemic ancestor]" (1907:97).62 Ceremonial songs are the creation of Dreaming ancestors and are owned by the living descendants of these ancestors.63 According to Strehlow, songs and *aknganentye* embody meaning because in the *Altyerre* "the ancestor first called out his own name; and this gave rise to the most sacred and secret couplet or couplets of his

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58 See also Moyle (1986:19).
59 In Kaytetye the form *akngane-hh-arrre* 'born-PST-REL' is also used.
60 The relationship between Dreaming sites and creative power is also noted in other areas of Australia. See Marett (in press), Swain (1993).
61 Carl Strehlow was the Lutheran pastor at Hermannsburg mission between 1890-1922. He wrote three volumes of ethnographic description on the Western Arrernte in German between 1913-1920. The translated version is *The Aranda and Luritja Tribes of Central Australia*, unpublished, held at AIATSIS.
62 The close relationship between ceremonies, country and the Dreaming is also described by Spencer and Gillen (1904), Strehlow (1933) and Pink (1933). Close relationships between country and ceremonies are common to many indigenous societies. See Basso (1996), Feld (1982) and Wiener (1991:50).
63 Swain states that ancestral beings were the "quintessential innovators of ritual song" and that the "distribution of songs provides a foundation for a pattern of lands and, hence, interpersonal relationships" (1993:95).
song. Each song, what Strehlow calls a "couplet", is like an individual footprint in the track of the ancestral being's journey.

Performing *Akwelye* is thus an act of naming locations and Dreamings, in effect a re-enactment of the Dreaming itself (Barwick 2000a:332). The song is self-sufficient but, to those who know how to read it, encodes a wealth of information about the being who created it and its activities in that particular context (Barwick 2000a:331). According to Ellis "by correctly performing an ancestor's songs, a descendant can reproduce the ancestor's sonic signature" (1998:434). In this way performance reactivates people's union with their sacred places and Dreaming ancestors, and the order of being which they established. Performance creates relationships to places not just through reference to places, but because singing places summons the powers of the ancestors of those places.

The significance and power of naming has been shown to be an important element in traditional Aboriginal songs. As songs are perceived to be the language of communication with the Dreamtime, the action of ceremonial performance has meaning

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65 It has been noted by Strehlow (1970:94) and taken up by Chatwin (1987) that the performance of a song series also acts as a mnemonic for the location of important sites. When Central Australian people travelled the country on foot, the location of such places would have been essential knowledge for survival. Weiner (1991:45) and Feld (1996:109) state that song and poetry have provided a mnemonic aid for historical events and places in many pre-literate societies.

66 Meggitt similarly states that in a Warlpiri Gadjari myth the ancestral men first "sing about their names in order to establish or validate their identity and efficacy" (1966:5).

67 Basso (1996), Benterrak, Muecke and Roe (1984) show that in many indigenous cultures having a song is one of the ways in which places are meaningful.

68 Merlan similarly argues that songs do not so much designate a pre-existing relationship but play a role in recreating relationships between people and places (1987). Likewise, Basso claims that the creation of place "is a form of cultural activity" and "... a way of appropriating portions of the earth" (1996:33) in describing the relationship between Apache place names and the mythological knowledge they hold for the people of Cibecue.

69 See Marett for an example of a particular powerful place name in song, which must not be stated at nighttime. Marett suggests that the potency of this name explains its unusual rhythmic setting which in effect disguises the word (in press Ch 8). In Kaytetye there are also particular plant names that cannot be said at nighttime and a substitute name must be used instead; for example amile 'bush plum' is the substitute name for *ulukuyu* used after dark.

70 Such a view can be seen in a number of writings on other Central Australian ceremonial songs. See, for example, Strehlow (1971:126), Hale (1984), Wild (1984), Ellis (1985), Keogh (1990) and Moyle, (1986). Barwick states that Warumungu women also perceive their *yowulyu* songs to be in the language that the ancestral *Munganungu* women use (2000b) and (in press). See Marett for the same belief among singers of *wannga* songs in the Daly region (in press Ch 7).
and power to enable people to tap into the power of the ancestors (Strehlow 1978:43-44). As Payne observes, "since to name something is to call forth the powers stored at, or in it, or to name someone is to summon their essence or being..." (1992:83). Strehlow suggests the power of song is one of the reasons why the words in song are obscured, to guard "the magical contents of their sacred songs against their easy comprehension and memorization by the uninitiated" (1971: 236).

The Dreaming exists simultaneously in what most of us would perceive as two separate realms: the everyday world and the ancient past. This is reflected in the way Akwelye singers Daphne and Kirsty interpret the songs. It is often ambiguous as to whether their interpretation refers to an action in the Dreamtime or in the everyday world, or to both. Strehlow observes that some Arrernte songs may have referred to actual historical events (1970:94); and Moyle concludes that Alyawarr characters from the Dreamtime "merged in an indescribable manner with the flora and fauna so that they were at one and the same time both human and non-human" (1986:19). Discussions throughout Akwelye performances suggest that human experience and ancestral experience are perceived as fundamentally related, thus interpretations of songs are necessarily multiple in relation to the realms in which they occur, an issue I return to in Part 2.

Strehlow maintains that songs do not contain narratives or reveal myths. He maintains that a separate spoken narrative is necessary to understand the words of the songs (1933), and Ellis states that this is also the case with women's ceremonial song series (1997:57). The relationship between the 18 Ankotarinja song texts and the

71 See also Strehlow (1971:160), Morais (1992:131) and Payne (1988:72). Fabb describes a similar role of song in a Papuan society. He states that the ability to interpret hidden meanings in a song cycle from the fatmut language group underlies claims to land ownership and can be used to affect people (1997:7).
72 Sutton similarly suggests that the "obscurity [of meaning] survives because it is advantageous to those in charge and serves as a device for avoiding sacrilege" (1987:89).
73 Stanner prefers to call the Dreamtime the 'everywhen' to highlight the existence of the Dreaming in the present moment (1979).
74 This dual existence is also discussed in Munn (1973:93, 113), and Marett (in press Ch 9).
75 See Tonkinson (1978:105) for a discussion of the relationship between Dreaming and ceremonial practices in a Western Desert society.
76 Meggitt similarly argues that songs are the embellishments of myths that contain the powers of the totemic ancestors; and in turn myth is the essential narrative that makes it possible to understand song (1962:25).
77 Barwick also refers to the "separate exegesis of the myth" as part of ceremonial performance (2000a:329).
Ankotarinja mythological narrative recorded by Strehlow (1933) is perhaps the most detailed and insightful example of the relationship between traditional song and myth in Arandic culture. He shows how each song text highlights a single event or thought in the narrative. Together the songs in a series cover only a fraction of the total content of the narrative and, as a result, neither the narrative nor the significance of the songs can be deduced from the literal meanings of the songs. Instead the appropriate person had to "explain the import of the ceremony to all men who are ignorant of its meaning" (1933:196).

Strehlow recognised that obtaining a detailed narrative and understanding of how each song relates to the narrative is no simple matter. The strict genealogical rules about who can provide narratives, combined with whether that person has such knowledge and narrative abilities means that many narratives given by Aboriginal people are "barren" of their mythological significance (1933:199). He also notes that on some occasions the Arrernte created myths by drawing connections between songs that were not linked in other known myths.

Despite my efforts to obtain a corresponding narrative relating to the Akwelye song series, none of the singers recounted a single narrative for the rain song series. Loss of cultural knowledge may not be the only explanation of this. One Kaytetye elder, Theo, who was not an owner of the songs, understood particular song texts to relate to particular aspects of certain mythological narratives, but as a non-owner of the songs it

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78 The word Ankotarinja is probably Ankulthe-arenye 'place name-HAB' in current Arrernte spelling.

79 The relationship between a Warlpiri Gadjari song series and a Mamadabari myth is similarly well documented by Meggitt (1966:1-41). He argues that the Warlpiri have imported the song series from the north (1966:25). He shows that the meanings of the original songs have been transformed by the Warlpiri, and that the 'new' meanings accord with the Warlpiri Mamandabari myth and Warlpiri cultural practices (1966:25-8).

80 This is similar to the process of translating nurtu songs from the Pilbara, described in Benterrak, Muecke and Roe, as "a process of building a story around the song, a story being the next best thing to the complex poetry of the song, a narrative pleasure supplanting the musical and poetic pleasure..." (1984:56). Meggitt similarly believes there is no "absolute or true form" of Warlpiri myths (1966:5).

81 Similarly, Bell states "there are no occasions on which a woman would sit down and tell a yilpinji [ilpinye] myth" (2002:175). Bell was able, however, to construct myths from her discussions with women, for example pp 164-169. Similarly, Wild notes that narratives could not be elicited for a Warlpiri rain song series, and the authorities on the genre "simply sang the cycle again, mentioning each totemic site on the track but not elaborating further. There was, it seems, nothing more to say (or sing)" (1975:65). In contrast to Wild, Bell and this study, Moyle's analysis is based on an understanding of an accompanying narrative to the songs, although he does not state in what form or context the narratives were given (1986:65).
was inappropriate for him to recount these narratives. His efforts to impart such knowledge to the younger female singers during a fieldtrip in 2001 (MD 27) were shrouded in an atmosphere of awkwardness. I perceived this awkwardness to have arisen from two sources. Ideally the male owners of Arnerre would be the only ones to provide such knowledge to the women, and as the male owners were unable to do this for various reasons, this could have caused conflict. A second reason for the awkwardness could have been because of the differences between Daphne's interpretations of the songs (which they were familiar with) and what they were hearing from Theo, which were markedly different.

Researchers such as Munn (1973:214, 229), Ellis and Barwick (1989:33) and Bell (2002:185) found that men's and women's understandings of the meanings of songs are different, and that their modes of interpretations are also different. The difference between Daphne and Theo's interpretations may reflect this difference between men and women. If there had been Arnerre men to work with, I may have been able to relate the songs to particular aspects of the mythological narratives. Such an aim of situating songs within a larger narrative, apart from being problematic (and possibly impossible) in this research context, would not have addressed the main focus of this thesis which is how performers arrive at the explanations they offer for songs.

Women's explanations of songs focused on plant use, kinship ties, emotions and the activities of female Dreamtime characters. One Kaytetye man focused on the travels of Arnerre Dreamings to places north and west rather than Hatches Creek (which is east), whereas when women discussed Arnerre Dreamings they focused on the travels to Hatches Creek. Ellis and Barwick find a similar distinction in the focus of Pitjantjatjara men's and women's ceremonies.

The difference in the geographical extent of the two myths [men's and women's] seems to illustrate a greater tendency of women's ceremonies to relate to the east, while men's tend to relate to the country to the west (1989:33).
Daphne's interpretations of the songs expanded upon the significance of things or actions referred to in a song, as if the song highlighted or celebrated an already known place, plant or event.\(^2^3\) On one occasion April provided a narrative of the travels of the *kwerrimpe* women—Dreamtime women who are the subject of many *Akweyle* songs—although there was some uncertainty about the places visited and the relationship between the narrative and the song texts. A section of this narrative is shown in (1).\(^4^4\)

\[(1) \quad \text{Apey-ayteayne mwernart-atheke aneyayne alpeyayne, Arlpaw-angkwerre alpeyayne Hatches Creek-warle. Renhe awelye inenge etmewayayne etmewayayne alpeyayne, anwyey-alpeyayne atanhe, mpelarte, kwerrimpe inengepe apayayne. Mpelelapere atanhe apayayne itey-atneyayne up and down alpey-ayteayne kwerrimpe inengepe ilwekeranthelke apayayne. Anywey-alpeyayne atanhe. Anye-alpeyayne mpelelapere.}\]

They [*Kwerrimpe*] came this way [heading south], through *Arlpawe*\(^8^5\) to Hatches Creek. They named the *awelye* songs as they returned, (that's what they were doing) and then went back inside [the ground]. That's how the *kwerrimpe* women travelled. In that way they made a track going back and forth at those places. They came back again those poor old ladies. They went in [the ground] and stayed at that place then.

April's narrative describes the type of activity the Dreamtime women engaged in rather than a specific event, and will be discussed further in Chapter 8. Such a narrative can be compared to what Meggitt refers to as "natural history myths" which "give a generalized description of the habits of a particular totemic species" amongst the Warlpiri (1955:380).\(^8^6\) While songs do clearly refer to places, as I show in Chapter 10, this was not the focus of the women's public explanations of songs, which often refer to daily activities and general things (plants, animals, topographical features) rather than denote a

\(^2^3\) My original research proposal involved a senior male Amerre owner and age-mate of Theo, and our intention was to record accompanying mythologies of Amerre, but his sudden death in March 1999 created a situation where it was most appropriate to work with only the female Amerre owners.

\(^3^3\) Myer's analysis of Alyawarr *awelye* songs reveals similar subject matter (1986:65).

\(^4^4\) See Appendix 1 for the full narrative.

\(^8^5\) Country to the east of Amerre, see Map 3.1.

\(^8^6\) Meggitt contrasts "natural history myths" with "historic incident myths" which refer to particular incidents at particular locations in a particular temporal sequence (1955:380).
specific referent of these things. This resembles Munn's finding that Warlpiri women's narrative's focus on the "rhythm of the daily cycle" while men's narratives focus on a "site-path" pattern (1973:214, 229).

Akwelye performance reinvigorates the Dreaming and at the same time confirms relationships to country, each other and their ancestors and invokes the power of the Altyerre. Ownership of ceremonies, the Dreamings and places that are the subject of songs are bound up in the system of land ownership and kinship. As well as country, Dreaming ancestors are also personified through the use of kinship terms. For example, the singers who are owners of Arnerre refer to arinenge 'euro' as arrengeye 'father's father', and arntwe 'rain, water' as arlweye 'father'. In this way a person's links to country and Dreamings are reaffirmed and melded with their relationships to actual kin, an issue I discuss in Chapter 10.

3.4 Kaytetye ceremonial genres

In pre-contact times it seems that all Central Australian songs were part of ceremonies relating to the Altyerre, and involved visual designs and dancing. Even Kaytetye children's songs were defined by the Altyerre (Turpin 2003:61-65). Barwick states that while traditional songs can be performed in non-ceremonial contexts, "ceremony remains the most fundamental and potent context of indigenous song, dance and visual representation" (2000a:328). While specific ceremonies have specific functions, in general, ceremonial performances world-wide provide "collective expressions of community identity" and "provide the social group with their connection to the collective past" (Jackson and Linn 2000:74). In the case of the Arandic group, ceremonial performances ensure the relevance and continuation of the Altyerre, and

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87 In this respect April's interpretation of 48 and 49, which involved a narrative about a particular blue-tongue lizard kwerrimpe, was somewhat unusual. Her interpretation was a portion of a widely known Dreaming story, yet such stories were not often told by women.

88 Context plays a role in whether people refer to Dreamings and country in this way. For example during ceremonial performances, land claim hearings and discussions over country, Dreamings and country are frequently referred to in this way, while on hunting trips such language use is less common.


90 In this regard ceremonial performance could be likened to prayer, as each song contains sacred words and involves repetition of these words to allow people to alter their environment (Strehlow 1971:598).
acknowledge the seniority of elders in this role. Like verbal art forms from other parts of the world, Central Australian ceremonies promote cultural values and behaviour, and involve communication with non-human beings, especially to affect the physical world around them.\(^{91}\)

In Kaytetye the verb *aylenke* 'to sing' is transitive and can be said of a type of ceremonial genre (eg. *awelye*), a song text (eg. *akerte*, *arrime*), or a person or thing that the performers affect. For example, they may sing *antere* 'fat', that is, imbue musical powers into it, or sing an *ittertye* 'person' that is, affect the way that person feels. When words for ceremony or song are in the object position there is still the understanding that the performance will effect change, such as bringing about rain, relieving community conflict, etc. Thus while *aylenke* can refer to the act of singing, it also refers to the process of bringing about change (Ellis 1998:435).\(^{92}\)

Kaytetye people recognise seven types of traditional ceremonies and songs, most of which are no longer regularly performed.\(^{93}\) Each country has their own set in each of the seven ceremonial genres. I discuss these briefly, but devote greater attention to *awelye* in §3.4.1, which is the genre on which this study is based.

*Apwelhe* (pan-A) is the only ceremonial genre still regularly performed by Kaytetye people today. It is a public ceremony performed as part of the initiation process, sung by men and danced by women, and is a genre with a repertoire of a fixed size.\(^{94}\)

*Lhangkale* (K) is a private men's ceremony, but is no longer regularly performed,

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\(^{91}\) These are functions of verbal art cross-linguistically noted by Fabb (1997:6).

\(^{92}\) In Kaytetye the causative morpheme -*ayle*- is homophonous with the verb stem -*ayle*- 'sing'. It is tempting to see a bridging context for a possible polysemy here, however historical analysis would need to be undertaken to support such a hypothesis.

\(^{93}\) *Malemale* (pan-A) 'bereavement ritual' or 'sorry business' is also performed today. It involves traditional wailing—*kayele akenke* (K); however it does not involve dancing or singing and so can be considered a ritual rather than a ceremony. In contrast, traditional women's crying in Arnhem Land is considered a ceremonial genre (Mugowan 1994).

\(^{94}\) This accords with Moyle's observation of Alyawarr *apwelhe* (1986:132). Strehlow (1947a:96) also discusses Arandic *apwelhe* ceremonies.
although some Kaytetye men know the songs.\textsuperscript{95} It can be performed for both fun and to ensure the maintenance of specific flora and fauna. \textit{Altharte} (pan-A) is a men's public ceremonial genre, attended by both men and women, where women may also sing and clap. \textit{Angkwerre} (pan-A) is a public corroboree where all can dance, although primarily a men's corroboree.\textsuperscript{96} There are no known recorded Kaytetye \textit{angkwerre} performances. As at \textit{apwelhe} ceremonies, men and women have different roles at \textit{angkwerre} ceremonies. \textit{Altharte} and \textit{angkwerre} are given to the owners of country by spirits called \textit{athamarenye} (discussed further in §3.5.3), and can be given at any time, whereas \textit{ilpentye} and \textit{lhangkale} songs have existed as a finite set since the beginning of time.\textsuperscript{97}

Women and men also have their own, different \textit{ilpentye} (pan-A) 'love songs' that are performed to affect a person's feelings.\textsuperscript{98} One of the \textit{Akwelye} singers was attributed with knowing \textit{ilpentye}, however because of its private and secret nature it is difficult to know whether \textit{ilpentye} is still performed today. According to Kaytetye speaker Theo, there is a finite set of \textit{ilpentye} songs in each country and people do not receive new ones.\textsuperscript{99}

While there is no specific word for the collection of healing songs in Kaytetye,\textsuperscript{100} people speak of \textit{antere aylenke} 'singing fat'. While there are different words for the substance 'fat' (\textit{antere}) and the state of being fat or plump in Kaytetye (\textit{aweke}),\textsuperscript{101} this ceremonial

\textsuperscript{95} There is also another restricted men's ceremony \textit{liampernty} (K), which is regarded as especially powerful, but this ceremony is not discussed openly.

\textsuperscript{96} Although noted in the Alyawarr dictionary, \textit{angkwerre} ceremonies are not noted by Moyle, which suggests they may only be performed in more eastern Alyawarr communities. Spencer and Gillen refer to Arrernte \textit{Engwurra} ceremonies (1899:271), and Strehlow describes Arrernte \textit{Iggura} ceremonies (1947a:100).

\textsuperscript{97} This accords with Moyle's observation that Alyawarr \textit{alharte} originated in the historical past (1986:73). Spencer and Gillen (1899:161) and Strehlow (1971:337) also discuss Arrernte \textit{alharte} ceremonies.

\textsuperscript{98} As early as 1933 Roheim referred to the genre in the Arrernte area as \textit{ilpinja} (1933) and Strehlow (1971) refers to the genre as \textit{ilpinja}. In Pitjantjatjara \textit{yilpinji} is discussed in Payne (1989), Warlpiri \textit{yilpinji} [\textit{ilbindji}] discussed in Munn (1973), Bell (2002:162-179), Wild (1990) and Dussart (1988:17); and Western Desert, discussed briefly in Meggit (1962:209). Berndt (1950, 1965) also discusses this genre in Central Australia where it is referred to in various regions as \textit{ilbindji}, \textit{jilbindji} and \textit{yirbindji}.

\textsuperscript{99} This contrasts with Warlamba where there are recently dreamt songs of the equivalent genre (Jane Simpson 2003 pers.comm.).

\textsuperscript{100} Moyle does not identify a word for these songs in Alyawarr either, and refers to them as charms (1986:73-75).

\textsuperscript{101} In some other Australian languages the same polysemy is found as in English: Kaurna 'marni' (adj.) 'fat, rich, good', marniti (noun) 'grease'. Teichelmann, Christian Gottlieb, and Schleemann, Clamor Wilhelm. 1840. \textit{Outlines of a grammar, vocabulary, and phraseology, of the aboriginal language of
genre suggests that the two concepts are linked, as the substance fat is used to produce fitness—*aweke*—which is associated with good health. These healing or ‘fattening’ songs are always sung in private and are rarely performed today.\(^{102}\) Traditionally these songs are sung into fat, and the fat is then rubbed on the sick person to make them better.\(^{103}\) Certain songs of the *awelye* genre can also be performed for healing, in which case the ceremony is described as *aweke-aylerantye* ‘make plump’.\(^{104}\) The private nature of this was illustrated at the Tara 1976 performance when a singer reprimanded another singer for explaining something that belonged to *aweke-aylerantye* performances (1976, GK 6894, dn 13).

### 3.4.1 *Awelye*

*Awelye* is a song series of the *awelye* genre. In Kaytetye *awelye* (pan-A) is a type of women’s ceremony that promotes well-being in the community and looks after country, especially promoting the growth of foods women traditionally collect. It also brings about positive relationships between people and can be used for healing individuals.\(^{105}\) *Awelye* is cognate with *yawulyu*, a term for a similar genre of women’s ceremony in Warlpiri, Warumungu, Warmanpa, Jingulu and many Western Desert language groups.\(^{106}\) In Kaytetye *awelye* can be performed for fun as a social gathering and also for healing. When it is performed as a social gathering anyone is invited but when it is performed for healing, only the elders and relatives of the sick person attend (Turpin and Ross 2000).\(^{107}\) Even within the category of ‘social gathering’ there is variation in

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\(^{102}\) One Kaytetye speaker attributes this to the fact that nowadays people can readily obtain traditional herbs mixed with oil and western medicine from community clinics.

\(^{103}\) Songs sung to put power into animal fat for the purposes of healing are also noted in Pijantjayara by Ellis (1985:72).

\(^{104}\) Ellis and Barwick note a healing ceremony called ‘singing fat (animal fat)’ among Antikirinya women (1989:34), a Western Desert language group. In Kaytetye an alternative interpretation of *aweke ayle-nke* as ‘plump sing’ is tempting. However, one Kaytetye speaker confirmed the meaning of *aylenke* as the causative and not ‘sing’.

\(^{105}\) Both these functions of *awelye* are noted in Kaytetye and Warlpiri by Bell (1983:126-146), in Arrernte by Henderson and Dobson (1994:334); and of *yawulyu* in Warlpiri by Munn (1973:44, 56). See also Barwick et al (2003:34).


\(^{107}\) Munn notes two types of *yawulyu* performances in Warlpiri; a public context and restricted context (1973:41). Similarly, Ellis (1998:436) and Dussart (1988:133ff) identify different types of performance of the one ceremonial genre in other areas of Central Australia. In contrast, Moyle notes only public *awelye*
how public the performances are, indicated by the different types of meanings given, which I discuss further in Chapter 10.

_Awelye_ was no longer a regular part of social life in the Barrow Creek communities during my fieldwork, although informal _awelye_ singing as a social activity still occurs, and some Kaytetye women state that _awelye_ is still held in private for healing purposes. The number of songs in an _awelye_ series is theoretically infinite, as people can always receive new ones in dreams from particular Dreamtime spirits.

Ritual paraphernalia of _awelye_ involve a _kwerrpare_ ‘dancing stick’, _tyepale_ ‘small stick for painting on ceremonial designs’, and _iterlarre_ ‘white headband’. Moyle states that in Alyawarr _awelye_ the _kwerrpare_ symbolises the subject of the particular song text. He states that such objects “become meaningful only to those socialised into _awelya_ [awelye] participation, and to those familiar with the contents of the narrative and its song texts” (1986:64).

In Western Desert societies and Warlpiri, _yawulyu_ can be used as a means to ‘sing’ a man, whether for his health, to attract him, or to stop him from doing certain activities. In Kaytetye, _ipentye_ is associated with this function rather than _awelye_ (see §3.4) and both are regarded as separate ceremonial genres. Only two _Awelye_ song texts, 17 and 44, were interpreted as attracting a man, although to achieve this performance would have to be in private and possibly involve different ritual paraphernalia. Yet it was not clear at the Elplate performance whether it would affect a man in this way, it appeared that for the singers the power of the song hinged on Daphne’s interpretation, as shown in (2).

performances in Alyawarr, in which “there was no notion of secrecy” and that “their contents are said by the women to be ‘free’” (1986:19).

108 This is in contrast with the situation at Alekarenge in the 1970s when Bell undertook fieldwork and found women regularly performed _awelye_. Munn states that _yawulyu_ was performed infrequently at Yuendum during fieldwork in the 1950s (1973).

109 It is well documented that in many areas of Australia songs are received in dreams. See Koch and Turpin (forthcoming).

110 Traditionally an _arrkayle_, a bunch of either the pink cockato (Cacatua leadbeateri) or bush turkey feathers (Ardeotis australis), which were inserted in the headband, was also donned.


112 In Moyle (1986) there is no suggestion that the Alyawarr _awelye_ is used to attract a man either.
(2) Margaret: 'merrengkarrenawe lawera' boy-le=rtame
   textline 44b, 44a    man-ERG=CNTR
   A man does 'merrengkarren' (?)

Daphne: Artweye-le aiminganthe amerengkarre-me.
   man-ERG     1p.OM    ?-POT
   A man might 'amerengkarre' us.

Singers:                                             [laughter]
April: 'Amerrengkarre-me' Sorry! [laughs]
Daphne:                                            [starts singing but laughs]
April: Ye=rtame anyway ayle-wethe
   yes=CNTR     sing.=PURP
   Just sing it anyway

Daphne: He's alright, they gotta chase you!
   It's OK, they will be chasing you (not me)!
   (1999, MD20, dn 21)

In contrast, Warlpiri Yawulyu does have this function if performed in private, as well as
generally celebrating female sexuality and male/female relationships (Munn 1973:42).
While the Kaytetye women did not state this as a function of awelye, clearly some
Akweyle song texts can be used to attract a man, and many are about male/female
relationships. In the Akweyle performances attracting men was not the women’s
motivation for singing, although clearly song texts 29 and 44 were associated with the
ability to attract men at some level.113

A comparison of the studies on women's ceremonial life in central Australia shows much
regional and temporal variation.114 At the time of Grace Koch's research in 1976, there
seems to have been fewer restrictions on who could perform Akweyle than during my
research, between 2000-2004. Another difference is that Grace Koch recalls Akweyle as
being a non-public event; while in 1999 the Kaytetye singers with whom I worked
stated that a public context has always been available for awelye performances.

In traditional Kaytetye society there is a clear division between men's and women's
ceremonial genres, and men's and women's roles in mixed gender ceremonies. While in
theory each gender should only know about their own ceremonies; in practice some men

113 Furthermore, no husbands appeared to become jealous over their wives’ involvement in Awelye during
my fieldwork. This was a fear among Warlpiri women during Mann’s fieldwork (1973:41).
and women do know about each other's ceremonies, yet such knowledge is not openly displayed.\textsuperscript{115}

3.5 \textit{Akwelye}

Performance of \textit{Akwelye} involves owners of a song series, and may include other women, singing a number of \textit{Akwelye} song texts, each with their own rhythmic pattern, to the \textit{Akwelye} melodic contour with a thigh-beating accompaniment. It may also include painting up of women and ceremonial objects, dancing, and the interpretation of song texts by the most senior singer. With painting up and dancing a ceremony may last a number of hours. At any performance there is always a main singer, a role held by the most senior and knowledgeable woman that involves commencing songs or giving permission for others to commence songs, and which may also involve interpreting the songs.\textsuperscript{116}

3.5.1 Rights to \textit{Akwelye}

With the exception of the radio broadcast, all performances making up this study involved Daphne as the main singer.\textsuperscript{117} The other four \textit{Akwelye} owners who sang in the various performances were Daphne's nieces: Betty, the eldest, April, Nancy and Hetty.\textsuperscript{118} Ideally ceremonial performance only goes ahead with the owner's presence and permission, as Ellis (1998:437) amongst others has shown. The 1976 performance began without any senior owners present, although performers made many disgruntled remarks about their absence. The most significant structural variation of songs occurred during this part of the performance, as will be shown in Chapter 5.

In the \textit{Akwelye} performances recorded in 1999 the owners of \textit{Arnrre} made the dancing sticks, painting sticks and painted up the singers, while the daughters of the female

\textsuperscript{115} That restricted knowledge is in practice known by others, but not openly displayed, has been noted in many areas of Aboriginal Australia (Moyle 1986:20 and Magowan 1994).

\textsuperscript{116} The role of the main singer is comparable to what Meggitt refers to as "boss woman" in Warlpiri women's ceremonies (1962:190).

\textsuperscript{117} Ellis (1964a:342) and Munn (1973:37), among others, have shown that throughout Central Australia the owners of ceremonies must be present to oversee ceremonial performances.

\textsuperscript{118} Daphne's mother is from the Kaytetye country \textit{Warlekelange}, and Betty's mother is from the Kaytetye country \textit{Ekariperre} and April, Nancy and Hetty's mother is from an Alyawarr country, \textit{Ilpwert}, to the east.
owners of Armerre, did not play a particular role.\textsuperscript{119} This contrasts with observations by Moyle that in women’s ceremonies there is a division of manual work in terms of kwertengerle and the owners.\textsuperscript{120} At both the Elpate and Tara performances many of the dancers were not owners.\textsuperscript{121}

Rights to perform awelye involve a more complex relationship than purely biological descent, as several works have shown.\textsuperscript{122} Participants at Akwelye included both owners and non-owners. The non-owners who participated in the performances were not strict kwertengerle, in that Armerre was not their mother’s father’s country. Their knowledge of Akwelye was obtained through Dreaming links or through marriage. Singers Kirsty and Rachel from the neighbouring country Waake said that the relationship between Waake and Armerre countries was founded in the Dreamtime and the countries share a site Ngimarre.\textsuperscript{123} Daphne and Rachel described the relationship between the two countries as “all in one” and Daphne asserted that “two Ampetyane from this country too. ... Two skin, We one living”. A further link between the two countries is that the owners of each are from the one moiety: Thangale/Ampetyane (Waake), Pwerle/Kemarrre (Armerre).\textsuperscript{124} These factors seem to have enabled Rachel and Kirsty to have ceremonial rights to Armerre, as was readily acknowledged by other Kaytetye women.\textsuperscript{125}

One of the singers is a sister-in-law of the Akwelye owners, and thus of the opposite patrimoiety, and her role could be likened to that of kwertengerle.\textsuperscript{126} Other owners of

\textsuperscript{119} Likewise, Wild (1975:87) observes that only owners in Warlpiri women’s yowulyu do the painting up. This also contrasts with what Hagan and Rowell observe with the Annmaterr and Alyawarr where only owners are painted, and only kwertengerle perform the painting (1979:39). It also contrasts with the Alyawarr awelye ceremonies documented by Moyle, where men made the ceremonial objects (1986:55).

\textsuperscript{120} However Moyle also states that women are less likely to talk in terms of divisions between kwertengerle and apmerew-artweye ‘owners’ (1986:37-38).

\textsuperscript{121} This contrasts with the situation described by Ellis and Barwick of Antikirinja women’s performances where the dancers were usually the senior owners (1989).

\textsuperscript{122} See, for example, Dussart (1988), Payne (1992) and Brock (1989).

\textsuperscript{123} Ngimarre, (K) ‘zebra finch’ (Poephila guttata), is a site consisting of a long narrow rockhole jointly owned by Waake and Armerre.

\textsuperscript{124} In Warlpiri and Warumungu rain Dreamings are owned by the Jangala/Jampijinpa patricouple (equivalent to Kaytetye Thangale/Ampetyane).

\textsuperscript{125} Similar relationships exist for other Kaytetye countries. This becomes particularly apparent when a descent group passes away and the descent group from a neighbouring country takes on this role. See Barrow Creek (Kaytetye) Land Claim Report by the Aboriginal Land Commissioner (2000).

\textsuperscript{126} Her skin, Kngvarrawe, puts her in the kwertengerle patrimoiety.
Arnerre all regarded her as knowledgeable of Akwelye. Her knowledge about Akwelye was probably received from her late husband or his sisters. Another non-owner singer, Deirdre, is a Thangale from a Kaytetye/Warlpiri country Arlapapapye to the southwest of Arnerre whose main Dreaming is also water (see Map 3.1), and connected to Arnerre by virtue of being on the same Dreaming track. She is in the same patrimony as the Pwerle women from Arnerre, who called her aterrye 'younger sister'. Conversely, Deirdre called the Pwerle women arrereye 'older sister' because of this link, whereas their skin relationship is that of apmenhene (K) 'mother's mother'. The rights of the four non-owners to sing Akwelye is in accord with practices recorded elsewhere, as shown in recent work which has refuted the predictability of the previously proposed one-to-one relationship between ceremonies, country and individuals. Payne (1992) and Dussart (1988) argue that people's relationships to country and ceremonies are constantly being readjusted to accommodate people's changing interests and knowledge of country. The flexibility in the relationship arises partly because rights to ritual knowledge are obtained in complex ways, and partly because of the discrepancies that emerge between "ideal models articulated by women for their ritual practice and the actual realisation of such models in performances given by women" (Payne 1989:41). Payne argues that at Ernabella, the gap between who ideally has rights to women's ceremonies and who in practice has them is an important avenue for negotiation (1989:41). Non-owner Margaret's major involvement in the Elpate performance, and recognition by the Akwelye owners of her right to be involved, assisted her family group's rights to Arnerre, as she was the only participant in the performance from her family group. Had one family group not participated, underlying tensions over the rights to Arnerre may well have surfaced. Her participation was

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127 Ellis and Barwick note that a person often has rights to their husband's or wife's country (1989:27) and Munn also notes the rights of the female owner's sisters-in-law to Sawalyu in Warlpiri (1973:36).

128 Warlapapap (Wlp).

129 Bell refers to this as a "company relationship" (1983:134).

129 The relationship is based on a sibling relationship between these two countries, where Arnerre is considered the older brother of Warlapapanje, as the rain ancestor travelled from Arnerre to Warlapapanje. I thank Jane Simpson for bringing the sibling relationship between countries to my attention.

crucial in uniting the female Arnerre owners and their respective families as a group for the purposes of the performance and making a recording.

3.5.2 Rights to interpreting Akwelye

Interpreting Akwelye songs must be done by the owners or with the owners’ consent. While the Tara 2 performance began without the owners being present, interpretation of songs was not possible without the owners, which suggests that rights to interpreting awelye are more restricted than rights to singing awelye. At the Tara 2 performance one non-owner stated, “We can singem right, you can catchem tape” but insisted that only Betty and Daphne could explain the songs (1976, GK5168, dn 12).

Discussion and interpretation of Akwelye songs in a public context only involved non-owners when the owners were present. At the Elpate performance Daphne was occasionally prompted with particular meanings to give from other singers. Outside of the performance context, in less formal and less public situations, certain knowledgeable women who were not owners also commented on the meanings of songs. This seemed to be acceptable where the people had links to Arnerre, such as Kirsty and Margaret. As has been noted, people who are not owners of songs may be well versed in song meanings, and many women acknowledged this.

3.5.3 Receiving Akwelye

Akwelye singers state that most of the songs they perform are from the Dreamtime, and that they have been known for a long time. Kaytetye women also recognise that some songs are more recent in origin, such as song text 20, which was referred to as a “new one”. There is no unique word for ‘compose’ in Kaytetye, and such songs are

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132 That it can only be the owner who interprets songs has been noted in many areas of Central Australia. See, for example, Ellis (1970:81). Strehlow also notes that among men there was a penalty of death for recounting someone else’s songs and myths (1947a:159).
133 Similar rights to discussing women’s ceremonies can be seen in the Western Desert society described by Ellis and Barwick (1989:29.)
134 See Payne (2003:36).
135 See Swain (1993:93). In some parts of Central Australia owners of awelye are the people who have received them in a dream. Moyle states that among the Alyawarr, awelye song series are associated with the individuals who received them (1986:52). Similarly, among the Warlpiri, the people who receive songs in dreams own them, although the relationship of the songs to the country of the receiver is also important (Munn 1973:36, 213-214). That most of the songs making up the Akwelye series were passed
described as given to people when they are asleep by the Dreamtime spirits of the country. This phenomenon is noted in many areas of Aboriginal Australia and no doubt reflects the polysemy between *alyerre* 'dream' and 'Dreamtime' in Arandic languages (Green forthcoming). Only two song texts were received from spirits within the living memory of the *Awelye* singers. Singer Rachel states that her and her sister’s *arramparenge* 'guardian angel, sister' are the subjects of one particular *awelye* song, and possibly also the spirits who gave them the ceremony (see Appendix 1). Gillen believes that the ability to influence a totem species is attributed to a person’s link to their Dreaming through their *arramparenge* (in Mulvaney, Morphy and Petch 1997:198).

In Kaytete, spirits known as *athamarenge* (pan-A) ’without fire-INHAB’, referred to as 'invisible people' in Aboriginal English, also give people *awelye* songs in dreams. *Athamarenge* are spirits of a country, and spirits of a particular country can be referred to by putting the -*arenge* (INHAB) suffix on the country name, eg. *Arnerre-arenge* 'spirit from Arnerre'. In the form of a bull-ant, an *athamarenge* from a place on *Arnerre* gave Daphne song text 20 during the 1990s when it bit her while she slept under a bloodwood tree. *Kwerrimpe*, the subjects of many *Awelye* songs, are also described as a type of *athamarenge*.

Although we do not know when the other 49 song texts came into existence, it was prior to the memory of Kirsty who was born around 1918. The experience of receiving songs while dreaming remains prominent for the singers, as was evidenced in the

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Alekarengge performances where Daphne discussed the place and situation where she received the song. Focusing on the receiving event may have been to highlight her ability to communicate with Dreaming ancestors, an ability which, according to some people, is only apparent in older people.\textsuperscript{141}

The origin of \textit{awelye} songs in the \textit{Altyerre} can be seen to be the basis for the fluidity between experience in the \textit{Altyerre} and experience of living people, as discussed in §3.3. According to Munn this resembles the experience of dream: "The merging of identity with ancestors expresses the fluidity of identity so characteristic of dream experiences" (1973:114). The origin of songs in the \textit{Altyerre} and not in human agency may also account for singers' insistence that the songs are Kaytetye, even when they have texts in another language.\textsuperscript{142}

The lack of women finding 'new' \textit{awelye} today may reflect the fact that traditional songs are not part of everyday life. Instead Kaytetye people mainly listen to country and western, gospel and rock songs.\textsuperscript{143} One Kaytetye person suggested that the lack of time spent on country in traditional pursuits might be why people no longer receive \textit{awelye} songs, as \textit{athamarenge} spirits can't come to them in dreams and give them songs away from their country.

\subsection*{3.5.4 Reasons for performances}

All of the performances making up this study were done so at the request of outsiders, and as such, payment was expected. Performance of \textit{awelye} is one of the few opportunities for older women to engage in an activity perceived as meaningful by both

\textsuperscript{141} Receiving songs from female spirits is also documented in neighbouring language groups. Munn refers to ancestral spirits in Warlpiri that make "songs that refer to themselves and to the world about them, the things they do and their own shapes and features" (1973:94). Similarly, Barwick refers to \textit{mungamungu} spirits in Warumungu as "profoundly ambiguous beings, who operate in the liminal zone between the \textit{Wirrangkura} (Dreaming) and the everyday world" and who give songs to people (forthcoming). Tonkinson (1978) discusses similar examples encountered with the Mardu of the Western Desert, Central Australia.

\textsuperscript{142} The origin of most \textit{Akvelye} songs as being passed down from generations, and thus received from ancestors prior to the singer's memory, contrasts with the Alyawarr \textit{aiterre} 'budgerigar' and Nurrengergy \textit{awelye} recorded by Moyle, where all the songs from these two \textit{awelye} series were received by men and women in living memory (1986:37).

\textsuperscript{143} I am only aware of three modern songs composed by two Kaytetye men, and none by Kaytetye women. Two of these are in Kaytetye and one in English. People also translate Lutheran hymns into Kaytetye and other Arandic languages.
Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. In participating in *Akwelye* the women also demonstrated their skill as a means of achieving recognition within their community and in other Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal circles.

The Elpate performance was an opportunity for elders to teach the songs and dances to younger girls. In Central Australian societies the traditional method of learning was through observation and in Kaytetye the verb *arritarenke ~ arritewarenke* 'to learn by watching' describes this process.

In Central Australia women's ceremonial performances are a way of linking people together and (re-)establishing relationships. The Elpate performance may have involved transforming tense relationships between some of the women. For example, prior to the performance one singer referred to another singer as *apmere kngwer-arenye* 'from another place' (ie. outsider) but after the performance she referred to her as *armengeye* 'sister-in-law'.

A number of studies have argued that women's ceremonies are a way for women to assert themselves in relation to men. While there was clearly an element of power in having such a large number of women involved in the Elpate performance, such a motivation was not verbalised by the singers.

Because the female owners of *Akwelye* lived in four different communities (partly as a result of a schism at Tara community in 1995), the Elpate recording presented a rare

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144 Fabb states that verbal art forms provide an opportunity to display skill in many societies (1997:6).
145 During the Elpate performance, singers would sometimes repeat and build upon interpretations of songs by the main singer as a way of showing that they held such knowledge, and that they had the rights to say such things, which also created a particular social, or country relationship between the owners of the songs and a particular relationship between the singers of the songs.
146 Sherrzer states that ceremonial performance is a means to display, teach and maintain ritual knowledge in many parts of the world (1990:46).
147 See also Ellis (1985), Sutton (1999:365) and Barwick (forthcoming).
150 In contrast, at the time of the 1976 recordings which involved women all living at the one community, Grace Koeh notes that there was an element of competitiveness between the men and women in relation to ceremonial performance. This is comparable to the situation described in Barwick (1995).
opportunity for the Arnerre women to assert themselves as a single country group.\footnote{151} They did so despite possible conflict with some men over performing awelye with the rival family group (see Appendix 5).\footnote{152} Links to Arnerre were demonstrated by the singers through highlighting relationships to the Dreamings and places that were the subject of songs.

Although not a primary motivation, it was clear that singers believed performing Akwelyle would result in rain.\footnote{153} Early research on increase ceremonies only studied men's ceremonial genres (Srirchlow 1971, Spencer and Gillen 1904),\footnote{154} however Ellis and Barwick show that women's ceremonies also serve such purposes (1989:34).\footnote{155} Wild notes that amongst the Warlpiri, rain ceremonies have a special status because they bring about a very immediate and tangible result—rain—yet they are not considered charms or magical songs (1975:141).

Through ceremonial performance the Akwelyle singers commemorate, honour and empathise with their Dreaming ancestors. Performance also validates the significance of the Altyerre. Munn suggests that amongst Warlpiri women, everyday experience is validated as 'tradition' by being the subject of a yanulyu song (1973:113). For Akwelyle singers, however, rather than validating an everyday experience through song, song is regarded as the evidence that the experience exists in the Dreamtime; it is the evidence of tradition.

\footnote{151} The role of ceremonial performance in achieving group solidarity is noted by Marett in wangga performances in the Daly region.
\footnote{152}Durani (1994:10) and Myers (2002) argue that the possibility of communication among competing parties is the first step towards resolution or containment of conflict.
\footnote{153} Many Kayeteye people attributed the ensuing rain to the Elpate performance.
\footnote{154}One exception to this is Spencer and Gillen (1904) where they noted an elderly Warumungu woman as owner of a song for increasing monguji 'plains goanna'. In the Warumungu land claim, a senior Warumungu women, Bessie Weston Nangali, was also named as having that song (1988:115).
\footnote{155} The role of awelye as an increase ceremony can also be seen in the Kaytej, Warlpiri and Warlimanpa Land Claim (1982:13). See also Wild (1975, 1984).
3.5.5 Subject matter of Akwelye

As will be shown in Chapters 9 and 10, the subject matter of Akwelye songs reflects things relating to women, such as the foods they collect, places they go, women's activities, with the actors throughout being predominantly kwerrimpe. Interpreters of the Akwelye song series did not focus on a linear path followed by the kwerrimpe, a feature that Bell associates with Warlpiri yawulyu rather than Kaytetye awelye (2002:185), and a feature that has also been noted in interpretations of men's ceremonies by Moyle (1986) and Strehlow (1971). Nevertheless, comments during the Elpate performance suggest that songs may be perceived as places on a Dreaming line, as in (3):

(3) [sings song text 8]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kirsty: } & \text{ Arnerre=lke arkerarre re.} \\
& \text{Arnerre=now close 3sgNOM} \\
& (\text{They/we?} \text{) are close to Arnerre now.} \\
\text{Daphne: } & \text{ Yeah right up.}
\end{align*}
\]

(1999, MD12, dn 24)

Example (3) shows that after singing song text 8, the singers (or the referents of the songs) are closer to the site Arnerre, suggesting the singers are following a particular route or journey in singing the different song texts.

3.5.6 Akwelye song texts

In Kaytetye song texts are called arrine 'song' or akerte 'tip, end, edge'. Arrine, and cognates of this form, occur in other Arandic languages meaning 'name'. That song texts

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156 This is similar to the relationship between mungamunga ancestors and yawulyu songs in Waramungu (Barwick 2000b), between yawulyu women and yawulyu ceremonies recorded by Berndt (1950), and Munn’s observations at Areyonga, but not among the Warlpiri at Yuendumu, where women’s yawulyu songs refer to the same ancestors as in men’s songs (Munn 1973:34).

157 This resembles Moyle’s observations about Aiyawarr awelye song texts (1986:53). While Moyle does not make the link between kwerrimpe and the Dreaming, it is probable that these song texts do refer to actions in the Dreamtime. While kwerrimpe has a number of different meanings across Arandic languages, including 'spring' in Aiyawarr, Moyle’s glossing of kwerrimpe in the three songs as ‘dream’, ‘women’ and ‘woman’ respectively suggests that it may refer to a female Dreaming ancestor.

158 In many Central Australian song series, song texts equate with sites along a Dreaming track or 'songline' (Sutton 1998:361), whereas in many northern parts of Australia a song series may be associated with a variety of areas and Dreamings that are not in a linear order (Barwick et al 2003:26).

159 Marett observes that social themes articulated in ceremonies are not necessarily in the consciousness of performers, as their focus is no doubt on the production of performance itself (in press Ch 4).
are believed to contain names given by Dreaming ancestors provides a bridging context for the 'name'/'song' polysemy. The polysemy of akerte between 'tip, end' and 'song text' may be based on a perception that song texts are only a fragment—a tip—of a total meaning. The tip may also refer to that part which is tangible (audibly evident) of something larger which is predominantly not tangible. Alternatively, akerte 'tip' may refer to the fact that a song text is only one segment—one tip—of a whole song series.

Some song texts are also associated with a particular locality (see §3.2.5), and localities too, can be referred to as akerte, as shown in (4), stated after singing song text 33.

(4) Thats belonging to Betty-arenge kwereyenge akerte=pe ntbe-they=aperete.
   -POS     3sgPOS   end=FOC   that-ABL=just
   That (song) belongs to Betty, from there is where her block starts.
   (1999, MD21 dn 68)

3.5.7 Choice of song text

Performance of Akwelye involves only a selection of song texts. It was not uncommon to omit a song text in performance because of its association with individuals, who were always referred to obliquely, as shown in (5).

(5) April: [whispers] 'Werlerterpentyre' mentye ayle-wene anyway=ike. Akele-ye?
   textline 25b   leave   sing-OBLG  =then. aunt-1sgPOS
   (We) could sing 'Werlerterpentyre' anyway, hey aunty?

   Daphne: Too many we bin losem.161
   We've forgotten lots of songs

   April:
   'Werlerterpentyre' mentye anyway ayle-wene.
   textline 25b leave sing-OBLG.
   We could sing 'Werlerterpentyre' anyway.

   Daphne: Ay?
   what
   ntbe=pe?
   which=FOC

   What? Which song?

   April: mentye Akwerkepentye ahiilenge
   leave country.name no.name.place
   Leave it. That (song from) Akwerkepentye I shouldn't name.

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161 The cognate word in Alyawarr, arrime, is noted by Moyle as meaning 'song' (arrirna in Moyle's orthography 1986:147). From my own observations akerte is also used to refer to awelye song texts among the Alyawarr at Utopia.

162 While it is possible that Daphne's "losem" could be referring to people passing, I think it is more likely she is referring to forgotten song texts, as this is a recurring statement throughout the performance when she is trying to find a song text.
April: Mentye?
    leave
Leave it?

Daphne: Yeah self=IKE ayle-nke.
       alone=then sing-PRS

Sing it by yourselves then

April: Wante=IKE=rume aylenge-waneyye, mentye enwe-nke akele-ye?
       what=then=EMPH sing-NEG leave lie-PRS aunt-1sgPOS

Why aren't we singing it then, should we leave it?

Daphne: Ngkwetye aywenhe eripe mpelart-ine-wene.
       wait myself car like.this-CAUS-OBLG

Hang on I'll do this to my car first

April: etelerre-rrantye anherre-ye
       think-CNT daughter.in-law-1sgPOS

I'm thinking Myf (so wait)

Daphne: [hums] Eripayelewe-rrante-yane-ne errwanthe aysenge eripe akngwe!
       remind-LIG-while.sitting-CNT-IMP 2OM.pl 1sgACC ear deaf

You mob should be reminding me, I'm old!

April: Menty=ange aylenke?
       leave=UNCER sing-PRS

Should we sing it anyway?

[silence]

April: Mentye ape aylenke?
       leave just sing-PRS

Sing it anyway?

Daphne: huh? uh-huh.

April: [hums] Wele mentye=ange ayle-nke anyway?
       well leave=UNCER sing-PRS

Akele-ye, mentye.
       aunt-1sgPOS leave

So it's alright to sing it?

(We'll) leave it aunty.

Daphne: Wele ayle-nke.
       well sing-PRS

Well, go on, (you) sing it.

Daphne: Mpwele errwake nthel-amem=aperte.
       2du 2Pl.SMOG those-ERG-pl=just

You two, all you mob sing it.

April: Kngwere=ike ayle-wene, mentye akeleye, mentye=rtame. Nge=rtame too much.
       another=now sing-OBLG leave aunt-1sgPOS leave=EMPH 2sgNOM-EMPH INTS

We'll sing another one, leave that one because we really want you to sing
with us.

(1999, MD14, da 34)

It is necessary to unpack the references and themes to understand the oblique talk in (5).

The song text under discussion is song text 26. It is associated with Daphne’s deceased
husband and so April may have decided it would be disrespectful to Daphne to sing it.
Another possible reason why April wouldn't sing the song is that it may have been considered rude to sing without Daphne, the senior owner of *Akwelye*; or possibly the women were not confident enough about the words to sing without Daphne. According to Strehlow, certain song verses contain secret personal names. These are regarded as the personal property of the person with that name, and have great emotional effect on the person when sung. As such, song texts may be omitted in performance if the person with whom they are associated has passed away.\textsuperscript{162}

Song text 16 may have been deliberately omitted from all but the informal Alekarenge 1 performance because it is believed to be too dangerous. The song text contains the word *awely-awelye* 'lightning'.\textsuperscript{163} Even at this performance, lacking in dance and painting up, Rachel still requested Daphne to stop singing it for fear of it's power to cause storms.\textsuperscript{164}

As well as omitting song texts from performance, the recently received song text was incorporated into both Alekarenge performances by Daphne.\textsuperscript{165} In the Alekarenge 1 performance a song text from the *Waake* song series was also incorporated, and Rachel sang this with Daphne's permission.

### 3.6 Conclusion

Since European colonisation Aboriginal people have been forced to abandon much of their traditional knowledge, practices and social structures for many complex reasons, resulting in some practices and knowledge being forgotten or transformed.\textsuperscript{166} For the Kayteetye this has meant, among other things, a decline in ceremonial performances. The present harsh social conditions involving alcoholism, poor health and education, unemployment, violence and an increasing lack of respect for elders no doubt exacerbate this loss. The *Akwelye* performances making up this study were a means for the women

\textsuperscript{162} This phenomenon is also discussed by Payne (1989:52), Bell (2002) and Wild (1987:109).

\textsuperscript{163} Other performances were formal and thus more powerful; thus singing song text 16 in this context may have been considered very dangerous. Ellis and Barwick observe that to avoid the full potency of a song text, Western Desert women omit certain components of performance (1989:28).

\textsuperscript{164} Abstaining from singing certain song texts is also noted in relation to Warlpiri ceremonies (Wild 1987).

\textsuperscript{165} Payne also notes that a new text was decided upon without hesitation during women's performances in the Musgrave Ranges (1989:52).

\textsuperscript{166} For a discussion on the effects of colonisation on Aboriginal people in Central Australia see Rowse (1998).
to display and pass on their skills. In doing so they asserted their relationship with Dreamings, whose power and presence were recreated in the process.

Whilst much literature on Central Australian song series focuses on the role of song in punctuating Dreaming narratives and following a site-path pattern, the interpretations Kaytetye women provide of Akwelye songs relate to places and the rhythm of daily life, in both the realm of the Dreaming and the "real world", rather than being dependent on sequential ordering. In Part 2, I show how the interpretations come from relating key words in song texts to their cultural and religious significance, especially in relation to places and events in the Altyerre.
Chapter 4 Central Australian songs: issues and approaches

This chapter outlines the difficulties in identifying the form and meaning of Central Australian songs and the approach taken in this thesis to these issues. I argue that songs are best understood as a package consisting of various linguistic and extra-linguistic components and then analyse the structure of Akwelye performance. In doing so I define the terms used in the analysis of form and meaning in Parts 2 and 3 of the thesis. Visual components of performance are considered briefly before undertaking a detailed analysis of the musical and linguistic components of song in Parts 2 and 3.

4.1 The difficulty in interpreting songs

Until the mid 1900s ethnographers believed that Arandic songs were untranslatable (Strehlow 1955:39). In 1897 the ethnographer W.E. Roth wrote in regard to the performers of a rain making ceremony at Lake Nash that they "... could render me no interpretation of the song accompanying the performance" (Roth 1897:168). Moreover, Davies noted that Arrernte songs recorded around 1906 "are... not always fully understood by the singers themselves" (1927:83). Frank Gillen, who was familiar with the Arrernte language, replied to Baldwin Spencer's enquiries about the words sung at a Kaytetye men's alharte ceremony, in a letter dated July 14th 1896:

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2 It is not certain whether the text of these songs is in an Arandic language; however Alyawarr is the language spoken at Lake Nash today.

3 Carl Strehlow wrote on the text of these songs in a paper published in the Proceedings of the Städtischen Volker-Museum, Frankfurt am Main 1907 (Davies 1927:83).

4 From the letters it appears that Gillen could not determine whether the language of the alharte in question was Western Arrernte or Kaytetye. In the same paragraph Gillen writes that at Hermannsburg "the Kylche [sic] language is understood by nearly all the old people." (Mulvaney, Morphy and Petch 1997:130). This is actually surprising given the distance from Kaytetye country. One would expect that if the alharte did have a Kaytetye text, then this would not hinder the Arrente people's ability to identify words. See also Gillen (1968:1167).
'What about the words' etc, I have never yet been able to find out the meaning of any of their Arunta [sic] chants and I am doubtful whether they use words in their Altherta [altharte] (Mulvaney, Morphy and Petch 1997:130).5

The notion that Arandic songs were merely strings of sound was not dispelled until Strehlow's *Songs of Central Australia* (1971), which argued that songs have complex meanings encoded cryptically in the songs, elucidated only by accompanying narratives.

*Songs of Central Australia* (1971) is one of the most significant works on Aboriginal song texts, yet even here he does not make it clear how he identified words in the song text, and how he arrived at the free translations he provides of the songs. Current work is still plagued with the difficulties of translation. In relation to Kukatja women's *Yawulyu* song texts, Moyle found that "complete translations for all the songs were not possible" and he attributes this partly to speaker uncertainty about the meaning of the songs (1997:81).6 In the following sections I identify the range of reasons why translation of Central Australian songs is difficult.

4.1.1 The poetic function

The role of *Akwelye* as a verbal art form goes some of the way in accounting for why translation has proved problematic. Traditionally, great import was placed on the correct performance of ceremonial songs in Central Australia.7 Strehlow claims that in traditional Arrernte society "it was a sacrilege punishable by death to sing these verses wrongly" (1978b:2). This may reflect the importance Central Australian societies put on the poetic function of song which, as discussed in Chapter 1, is the ability of verbal art to draw attention to itself through its own structure. As such, the rules of acceptability in

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5 Spencer and Gillen's difficulties may have arise, in part, from not knowing that only certain people are permitted to interpret songs, as discussed in §3.5.2.

6 Hercus omits the Wangkamidla song verses from the appendix of her grammar of the Arabana-Wangkangurru Language of the Lake Eyre Basin, South Australia for this very reason (1994:313).

7 Meggitt discusses the importance of the order of songs in Gadjari song series amongst the Warlpiri (1966:26).
relation to structure are particularly prominent. Fabb observes that to achieve the poetic function of verbal art, it may be necessary to dispense with—or at least demote—the communicative function of language (1997:6), observing that the marked vocabulary and syntax in the verbal art of the Wassman, a Papuan society, shape the texts "such that the function of communication is hindered rather than enabled" (Fabb 1997:7).

"Strongly communicative" utterances (to use a term proposed by Sperber and Wilson 1986) are those where the speaker tightly constrains the interpretations through choice of syntax and words, making explicit what message they wish the hearer to receive. In contrast, weakly communicative utterances are those where the hearer is required to make many inferences to receive a message, and as a result many interpretations of the message are possible. Such weakly communicative utterances are found frequently in Indigenous Australian songs, as stated in Chapter 1. Hearers of songs must therefore make many inferences to make sense of an intended "message", and as a result, numerous meanings of songs are possible, as I show in Chapters 9 and 10.

4.1.2 Nature of song meaning

Demoting the communicative function in favour of the poetic function means that songs are more ambiguous than many other types of utterances. Meanings are made and remade by people through acts of interpreting Akwelye songs in specific contexts, and are the result of a relationship between participants, evolving knowledge systems and previous utterances. While this is also the case in interpreting any utterance, there is a greater reliance on context in interpreting Central Australian songs. Acknowledging this, one can better understand how multiple meanings for the singers, listeners and researchers of songs emerge. From this perspective we can also see that once an

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8 According to Fabb, a performer of verbal art "explicitly takes responsibility for adequate adherence to the rules of that type of verbal behaviour, and will be judged by the audience in terms of her success in doing so" (1997:16).

9 Here I draw upon Sperber and Wilson’s relevance theory to explain how linguistic forms are understood (1986).

10 Clunies Ross states "clearly and precision on the semantic level seem often deliberately eschewed" (1983:23). See also Clunies Ross (1987:2).

11 As Forman puts it, "listening practices are not simply reproduction of encoded meanings, but a highly productive form of consumption, producing impressions, emotions, social relations and meaning" (2003:46).
interpretation of a song is taken out of the context in which it was uttered, the accuracy or relevance of the interpretation may be disputed, as the people interpreting it may not have access to information about the context in which the song text was performed. And as Merlan has noted, the source of a meaning can determine its legitimacy (1987:146), an issue I return to in Chapter 7.

4.1.3 Cultural change

While recognising that as a form of verbal art Akwelye may deliberately demote the communicative function of language in favour of the poetic function, we should not overlook the fact that interpreting songs today is not the same as it was in pre-contact times. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, Central Australian Aboriginal societies have undergone massive social change. The effect of such change on traditional Central Australian culture cannot be overestimated, and studies of traditional genres are limited by loss of traditional knowledge. One of the difficulties facing researchers of songs is that we can never be sure what the words in a song are unless there is clear evidence from people who know the songs. This issue was raised by Hercus with respect to meanings of Aboriginal place names (2002:63), and applies equally to both songs and place because of their complex structure and purported antiquity.

4.1.4 Methods of transmission

A number of studies have revealed that the relationships between song texts and their meanings are not rigidly fixed. 12 This is probably inevitable given that songs are transmitted orally. Strehlow observed that

oral tradition merely gives a clue to the general meaning and intention of a complete line or couplet, without attempting to redivide it into its original component words and without giving any help in assigning exact prose equivalents to these words (1971:195).

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In this way the onus of learning is put on the learner to "generate his (or her) own understanding on the basis of somewhat fragmentary pieces of verbal guidance" (Sutton 1998:365, see also Hale 1984). Strehlow also states that men were discouraged from asking questions about song meanings (1971:197).\footnote{Fabb compares this to learning a language, which people do without explicit instruction. He states "obscurity [in meaning] can be related to aesthetic pleasure, which is associated not with the composition of something new, but with the re-composition of something anew" (1997:8).\footnote{Such methods of transmission no doubt led to songs having a high degree of reinterpretation and multiple possible meanings and significances for people. At the same time, traditional Aboriginal ideologies insist that the songs are unchanging (Meggitt 1966:28). This obviously poses problems for researchers who have sought to identify the boundaries within which the fluidity of meaning exists, as noted by Clunies Ross, Donaldson and Wild (1987).}}

4.1.5 Meanings can be conveyed through dance, painting and narrative

Where performances involve dance, painting and accompanying narratives or explanations these can also contribute to the semantic content of the song (Ellis, Barwick and Morais 1990, Ellis 1997:65). Donaldson similarly notes that a song text's meaning may be passed on independently of the song rather than being interpreted from the song text (1995:149).\footnote{Thus the significance of the songs may lie in knowledge of larger narratives. According to Strehlow, songs "have to be filled in by prose passages taken from the myths; and many of the cryptic verses themselves need a considerable amount of traditional methods of interpretation."} Songs may punctuate sections of a Dreamtime narrative, and thus the significance of the songs may lie in knowledge of larger narratives. According to Strehlow, songs "have to be filled in by prose passages taken from the myths; and many of the cryptic verses themselves need a considerable amount of traditional methods of interpretation."
elucidatory prose commentary to make their significance clear beyond all doubt" (1971:146).

4.1.6 Nature of song language

For those unfamiliar with Aboriginal music it may be surprising that those able to interpret *Akwelye* texts rarely provide speech equivalents for every segment of a song text. More frequently they provide single word glosses or give holistic explanations that may have only the vaguest relationship to the song text. Sutton states "the glosses are often generalised to a whole verse rather than being word specific" (1987:85). Strachlow similarly observes that interpreters give general meanings "without attempting to redivide [the song text] into its original component words and without giving any help in assigning exact prose equivalents to these words" (1971:195). Likewise, Berndt states "a song may be treated as a single bundle, with a covering translation or explanation" (1965:247). In such cases we do not know if any words in the explanation occur in the song text, or whether they are additional inferred meanings. The explanation may be: (i) a synonym for words in the song text; (ii) a collocation with a word in the song text; (iii) an evocation of a person's relationship to country, and actual or Dreamtime ancestors; or (iv) a description general to the song series rather than the specific song text. Barwick suggests that Central Australian songs are indexes that "stand for, but do not encapsulate, the relevant Dreaming" and that "elusiveness of a neat explanation for any one song is attributable to this quality of metonymy" (2000a:329). The factors that make translation of the song text difficult are now discussed.

4.1.6.1 Absence of syntax

Central Australian song texts are often made up of a single word or series of nominals rather than grammatical sentences. Consequently, it is not surprising to find that

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18 See also Strachlow (1971:195).

19 Moore documents examples of ambiguous syntax in *wangga* songs leading to multiple interpretations (in press Ch 8).
Dixon and Koch state that most Australian Aboriginal songs contain single images (1996:16). Sometimes there can be various ways in which the words of a song text can combine to create different meanings. Difficulties in translation can also arise from the circular form of Central Australian song texts. For example a song with two textlines may start with either textline. Benterrak, Muecke and Roe observe this in a Western Australian *murlu* song noting a different translation depending on which textline begins the cycle (1984:56).

**4.1.6.2 Segments with no meaning**

It is well known that songs contain vocables—elements with no semantic meaning which perform a rhythmic function. Central Australian songs also have poetic words which are described by Kaytetye singers as "just awelye", and in Warumungu "just for song" or "wirnikarra-kari :Dreaming-ASSOC" (Barwick 2000a:330). Henderson notes that it is difficult to decide if an unknown segment in a song text is to be considered a vocable, or a phonological variant of a speech lexeme (1999). Merlan acknowledges the limitations of analyses of the textual construction of songs from the Roper River area, stating that such a mode "often leaves considerable textual material as unexplained residue. Try as one may, it is often difficult to get a close form-by-form interpretation of the remainder" (1987:148).

**4.1.6.3 Words from many languages, dialects, registers**

Australian Aboriginal songs often contain words from neighbouring Aboriginal languages, respect registers, or use archaic forms and special song words whose meaning is difficult to ascertain. Strehlow found that the translator of Arrernte songs

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21 Strehlow similarly observed the difficulty in obtaining the meaningful forms in Arandic songs (1971:195).

22 See Merlan (1987:144), Sutton (1987:85, 78), Strehlow (1971:198-9), Ronald Berndt (1951:86) and Donaldson (1984:247-8). Meggitt (1966:28) and Tonkinson (1978:104) documents cases where a person's name is expressed in song, and so on his passing away this line is taboo and so singers replace this line.
needed "a sound knowledge of the native dialects and languages themselves, and a thorough acquaintance with other words which are derived from the same roots as some of these rarely used poetical terms" (Strehlow 1971:195-197). As a result, many speech equivalents may remain unknown to the untrained hearer. There are further difficulties in translation where whole songs originate from distant language groups (Meggitt 1966:26). Moyle found Kaytetye texts in some of the Alyawarr songs he recorded, and these remain untranslated (1986:99). There is also an Eastern Anmatyerr that is identical to Akwelye textline 3a, which contains the Kaytetye form atye '1sgERG', not used in Anmatyerr.\textsuperscript{23}

4.1.6.4 Phonological alteration of text

It is well known that words are often phonologically altered in song.\textsuperscript{24} As a result, songs are ripe for analysts to make fanciful connections and folk etymologies. Strehlow argues that part of the difficulty in identifying words arises from the phonetic and phonological alteration of words and obscuring of word boundaries (1971:57-87, 1947:xx).\textsuperscript{25} Hercus provides examples from Wangkangurru where qyirlinpa 'alight' is sung as Tjilindrimirpe and also Rityimpiyu (1994:311-12). Von Brandenstein and Thomas provide examples from the Pilbara, and state that these are "recognised at once by an Aboriginal" but can cause difficulties for the outsider translator (1974:viii). These phonetic alterations in combination with the possibility of including words from other languages and meaningless segments make it difficult to decide upon the speech equivalent when there are a number of possibilities (Strehlow 1971:64).

\begin{footnotesize}

\begin{enumerate}
\item I thank Jenny Green, who recorded the Eastern Anmatyerr song series, for bringing this song to my attention.
\item See also Hale (1984).
\end{enumerate}

\end{footnotesize}
4.1.7 Understanding relies on making inferences

Having identified the words in song, there is also the difficult task of assigning meaning. Ellis observes that the words in Central Australian songs give "mere suggestions of meaning" (1998:436). Similarly, Berndt found that the meaning of a women's Yawulyu song text "[did] not cover more than a fraction of the total range of content" of the songs (1965:254). The "total range of content" often resides in the presuppositions—implicit and contextual knowledge—that provide essential information about the meaning of the song, but are not encoded linguistically in the song text. Von Brandenstein and Thomas describe Pilbara songs as "a piece of verbal shorthand" which intimates rather than refers to things, and whose translation involved "detective work ... to fill in the gaps deliberately left in the poems" (1974:vii).

The variance that exists between speaker's interpretations of songs and the meaning of the words in songs is illustrated nicely by Hercus and Koch's juxtaposition of one Wangkangurru man's explanation of a rain song text from the eastern Simpson Desert with the literal meaning of the song text (1995:113-114). The explanation consists of six short paragraphs about the rain ancestor, where he went, what happened, and where he returned, while the song text consists of only the following six lines:

(1) Kuntili (name of the rain ancestor)
    Lightning all around
    Lightning all around
    Kuntili
    The Rain
    The Rain

(Hercus and Koch 1995:114)

The subject matter of traditional Aboriginal songs is mostly unfamiliar to people outside of the societies that perform them. As a result, many meanings of songs are only

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26 Ronald Berndt encounters similar difficulties in translating Arnhem Land love songs (1976:44).
27 Similarly, Sutton asserts that songs in Cape York often refer to an aspect of an event without stating who the actor is, or where the action occurs (1987:87).
28 Marett similarly states of Northern Australian songs that they tend to focus on local places, known only to specific land holding groups (in press).
available to "those steeped in knowledge of the country and its culture" (Barwick 2000e:330). 29

4.1.8 Multiple meanings

The oblique language of song texts often leads to different perceptions of the corresponding words in the song text. 30 Sometimes the process of re-interpretation is the result of the song travelling a long way from its source of origin. In 1924 Horne and Aiston observed that the same ceremony was a rain making ceremony in one tribe and a woma python ceremony in another, "but having been taken from one tribe to the other the meaning has been mistaken" (1924:116). 31

Even with the one perception of the text, there can be different explanations of its meaning. 32 Ellis claims that there can be a public, erotic and esoteric meaning of the one song text in Andagarinja [Antikirinya] songs (1970:84). She observes that the different meanings sometimes reflect a class of things. For example, one Pitjantatjara song text was interpreted in three different ways on three different occasions: as a telegraph pole, a women's breast and an anthill. Ellis suggests that this song text refers to a shape, rather than a specific thing with this shape, and describes the different interpretations as levels of meaning (1985:64). Similarly, Benterrak, Muecke and Roe suggest that the multiple interpretations of a single nurtu 33 song could be considered variations on a single semantic theme rather than different interpretations (1984:56). Thus, what at first

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29. This has been noted by researchers such as Donaldson (1979), Keogh (1996) and Payne (2003:35-36).

30. See, for example, Keogh (1996).

31. These two meanings, however, may also be the result of songs containing different levels of meaning. There is, for instance, a semantic association between snakes and rain, so it is possible that the song is polysemous denoting both rain and snake.

32. Differences may depend on the context of interpretation, such as who the singers are, who else is present, social concerns at the time of discussion, and other contextual features such as if the song is performed as a social gathering or in private for healing. See Marett for examples of this from the Daly region (in press Ch 7).

33. Nurtu are a type of song from the Roebuck Plains area in Western Australia. The ones referred to were composed by Butcher Joe.
may appear to be contradictory meanings of a song text may be revealed to be a polysemy within the song text.

Ellis, Barwick and Morais also found that a single song text could have a different meaning depending on the surrounding song texts when the ordering of songs reflected a geographic route (1990:105). Multiple interpretations are not just a feature of the textual component of performance; Morais found that a single dance movement could have a different meaning ascribed to it when it occurred in a different song series (1992:141) and Munn (1973) notes the hyperpolysemy of graphic forms in a Warlpiri song series.34

4.2 Approach to analysing Akwelye songs

The above difficulties facing researchers in identifying the relationship between songs and their meanings are encountered in analysing Akwelye, as will be apparent in the following chapters. In this section I outline my approach to these issues: that is, to identifying the structure of Akwelye and the analysis of how songs convey meaning. I then identify the hierarchical composition of a ceremonial performance, following Barwick (1989:18) and Ellis, Barwick and Morais (1990). In doing so I define the relevant terms used throughout this study.

Following Walsh's analysis of an Aboriginal place name as a package (2002:46), and drawing upon Berndt's observation that songs are a bundle (§4.1.6), songs are analysed here as a package containing a number of components.35 This is not to imply that the content of song is totally contained in a bounded, closed part of society, but that songs are more than simply text and meaning, and that their components are put together in

34 The difficulties are not restricted to Central Australian songs. Some remarkable similarities can be seen in Fabb's description of the difficulties involved in understanding the texts of the verbal art of ilamul songs from Papua New Guinea, which "may include unfamiliar words; sentences are clipped, omitting pronouns and so obscuring who is acting or acted upon in any particular action; and the verbs may have very general meanings and are placed in contexts where their more specific meanings are obscured, thus in turn obscuring the nature of the situations described" (1997:7). See also Sherzer (1990:170).

35 Walsh identifies the following components in Aboriginal place names: phonological form, semantic content, location, story and ownership (2002:46).
various ways. A number of researchers' observations of Central Australian song give support to the idea that song is a multi-media package where particular meanings may be represented in dance patterns, visual designs or in accompanying explanations, as well as the song text.\textsuperscript{36} Kartomi observes that the exact realisation of a Pitjantjatjara song is a "hypothetical construct ... comprising a number of variable realisations of that song's ... complex of ideas, dealing with the melodic, rhythmic, textual and other aspects of a particular song" (1984:60). While Kartomi notes that "this complex of ideas ... are partly knowable by means of analysis of actual renditions of songs from which can be derived common points of musical style" (1984:60), the common points of musical and textual style, i.e. the components, are not identified. Figure 4.1 shows the components that make up a Central Australian traditional song. The following discussion focuses on these components in Akwelye.

1. ownership
2. melodic contour
3. visual design/painting

\begin{enumerate}
\item contrast between song series
\item contrast between small songs (see §4.2.1)
\end{enumerate}

4. dance movement
5. rhythmic pattern
6. song text
7. expansion on meaning
8. lexical content: song 'words'

\textbf{Figure 4.1 Components of a Central Australian song} (as evidenced in Akwelye)

Components 1-3 reflect the main Dreaming of the country of the song series, and show no variation across the performances making up this study. Since this study is of a single song series, components 1-3 are described but no comparative analysis is undertaken. In Kaytetye the word for a ceremonial genre can also be used to refer to all three components of this package.\footnote{For example, one could ask 'what \textit{awelye} is that?', on seeing a particular ceremonial design, or on hearing a particular melody, or on talking to a land holding group of people; and the answer for all three questions would be either the estate name, \textit{Arnerre}, or the main Dreaming, \textit{Akweyley} 'rain, rain cloud'. A similar range of meanings is found in Warlpiri (Laughren, Hale and Hoogenraad 2000) and Warumungu (Barwick 2000a:329). Barwick suggests that this reflects the interdependence of components in Central Australian ceremonial genres.} 

The first component, ownership, was discussed in Chapter 3, where it was shown that ownership of an estate and Dreamings is concomitant with ownership of a song series, although rights to perform a song series are more complex. The melodic contour (component 2) is analysed in §5.4. Visual design and dance pattern (components 3 and 4) are both optional and are considered briefly in §4.3 and §4.4 respectively. In Kaytetye, people call the visual design and dance as well as the song \textit{awelye}, whether they are thought of independently or as a single performance.\footnote{Barwick similarly notes that in Warumungu \textit{Yawelyu} performances visual design and dance are parts of a single whole and that words for ceremonial genres in Warumungu reflect this by showing polysemy in these three domains (2000a:329). Ellis also observes this in relation to Western Desert languages, where the ceremonial genre \textit{inma} "comprises music, dance and ceremony" (1998:433).}

This study focuses on the musical and linguistic components of song texts. Part 2 focuses on their form, with rhythm (component 5) being the subject of Chapter 5 and song text (component 6) the subject of Chapters 6 and 7. Part 3 focuses on the meaning of song texts. Chapter 8 analyses expansion on meaning (component 7) and Chapters 9 and 10 deal with their lexical content (component 8).

Barwick states that Central Australian song is "extremely flexible and highly conservative" (1989:12). The approach in this study enables the identification of those highly conservative components, such as melody, song text, rhythm, and those extremely flexible components, such as expansion and text/ melody setting. Having
described the components of Akwelye, this chapter now considers how the contrasts between components relate to the structural levels of the Akwelye performance.

4.2.1 Performance structure: song series, small songs and song items

I use song series for the collection of songs from a particular country, belonging to a particular group of people and a particular ceremonial genre (Barwick 1989:13). A song series is made up of a sequence of small songs (Ellis and Barwick 1987), and a small song is made up of a sequence of song items (Barwick 1989:13)—each of which is a single unbroken stretch of singing, usually between 30-40 seconds—and has the same text as the other song items within the small song. A performance refers to the many small songs performed at one venue, which usually lasts a number of hours. In Figure 4.2 a section of an Akwelye performance session illustrates the above hierarchy of elements, as identified by Ellis, Barwick and Morais (1990:105) in an Antikirinya women's ceremony.

Figure 4.2 Hierarchical structure of Akwelye performance, showing the beginning of the Alekarenge 1 performance, 1999

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39 Barwick's "song series" is what Strehlow (1955) refers to as a "song" and what Moyle (1979:167), Ellis (1985), and Ellis and Barwick (1987:42) refer to as a "songline".

40 I follow Ellis, Barwick & Morais (1990:105) in using "small song" to refer to a sequence of song items with the same text. See also Ellis et al (1978:76) and Payne (1989:44), whereas Ellis (1985:90) uses "small song" to refer to what I call a song item.


42 Ellis demonstrates the hierarchical structure of Arandic ceremonial performance (1992:45). Although not diagrammed as such by Moyle, the hierarchy can also be seen to operate in Alyawarr songs (1986) and Kukatja songs (1997).
In this performance the first small song consisted of two song items, the second small song consisted of one song item, the third, fourth and fifth, two song items, and the sixth, three song items, etc. In total, the performance consisted of 20 small songs.

Minimal discussion takes place between song items, and this is where the explanation of a song's meaning is stated, which will be considered in Chapter 8. Breaks between small songs tend to be longer, and this is where discussion relating to practical aspects of the performance also takes place.

An Akwelye performance may comprise three different sections, usually in the following order:

1. painting up and singing
2. dancing and singing
3. singing only

As well, performances also differ in the number of small songs, song items, and the particular song texts that are sung. The performances making up this study were described in Chapter 2.

Song series, small songs and song items are formal devices for structuring the song series performance. These are distinguished from the song text—the phonological form of the song item, which can be treated as a musical feature in the same way as melody and rhythm. Figure 4.2 shows that song texts whose identification number is 12, 9, 7 and 11 are sung two times, while song text 13 is sung once, and song text 17 is sung three times.\(^43\) The analytical distinctions I make between song text, song item and small song are not made lexically in Kaytetye, and each can be referred to by the words arrime 'song' or akerete 'end', discussed in §3.5.6.

\(^{43}\) Appendix 1 lists all the song texts and their forms and meanings.
In this thesis *song* refers to a song item and its particular combination of components occurring in performance, such as the song text, painting up, rhythm/melody setting, dance, melody and explanation given by the singer(s). The concept of song is important for understanding those instances where small songs recur in a performance. Where small songs with the same song text are performed at different points in the sequence of small songs, it is often the case that one of these small songs has accompanying painting-up or dancing whereas the other doesn’t, or that different meanings are given—thus they can be spoken of as different small songs.

There is no single word in Arandic languages that corresponds to the concept *song series*, although one could specify this concept in a phrase such as *apmere-arenye arritme* [country-HAB song] ‘song from a country’. In Kayeteyye a *song series* is referred to by the name of the estate to which it belongs, or by the main Dreaming of that estate. For example *Warlekerlange* is the name of an estate and can be used to refer to the song series of each genre from that estate, alternatively they can be referred to as *ware* ‘fire’, the main Dreaming of that area. To differentiate which genre of ceremony is being referred to, the ceremony name is used as a generic, for example *awelye ware* or *ankwerre ware*, or *awelye Warlekerlange, ankwerre Warlekerlange*.

As in most Central Australian songs, performance of an *Akwelye song item* involves singing a set rhythmic song text set to the *Akwelye* melodic contour. Once the text pattern is initiated it is repeated until the end of the melodic contour, which, like the text, is also cyclic. A song item may include the optional components dance, painting-up and expansions on meaning, depending on contextual features such as who the

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44 Ellis (1964) and Strehlow (1955) use “verse” to cover both concepts song and song text. Ellis (1985) uses “verse” and “song text” to refer to the same formal structure, although “verse” is used too when focusing on the text.

45 See Barwick (1989:13).

singers are, whom the performance is for, which previous songs have been sung and the
relationships between the performers.\textsuperscript{47}

Most Akwelye song items lasted about 30 to 40 seconds—a remarkably consistent
length for women's song items across Central Australia (Payne 1992:84). In this study
61% of the 560 non-interrupted song items are between 30-40 seconds in duration, the
most common length being 35 seconds. Most small songs consist of three or four song
items. Breaks between song items were short, usually well under a minute, and this was
when the main singer gave short explanations of the meaning of the song. When
accompanying dancing, however, breaks were often much longer as dancing positions
were negotiated. The breaks between small songs were much longer sometimes up to
five minutes.

The practice of repeating a song text to make a small song was a feature of the
performances, referred to in performance as pantyarrrente 'spread out'. Directions to
'spread out' a song text were often given by April, and followed by the word ilwekere
'poor thing', which referred to the song (and possibly also Dreamings and country). The
singing of a song text more than once before commencing a different song text is noted
in other Arandic songs (Strehlow 1947a, 1971:38; Moyle 1986:53).\textsuperscript{48} Possibly the
power of a song text is not activated until it has been sung enough times; as well there is
the practical reason that songs are easier to learn when they are repeated.

The number of song items 'spread out' to make up a small song depended on whether
the singers were painting up, dancing or just singing, as well as the individual
preference of the main singer. Different songs are sung as each person is painted up, one
after another. When singing accompanied painting up, singers stressed to me that the
same song text is sung until the particular part of the person's body being painted was
complete, either the chest, arms or breast. In practice, however, at the Elpate
performance the painter went back and touched up other parts of the body, once the

\textsuperscript{47} See Goodwin and Duranti (1992).

\textsuperscript{48} Moyle, however, notes that for the Alyawarr, only women's awelye songs vary as to the number of song
items, whereas men's performances tended to have a constant number of song items (1986:53).
singers had already moved on to a new song text.\footnote{During the painting up at the Elpate performance, 10 song items of song text 24 were sung to complete the particular body painting (records 454-463) while other parts of the body took only the length of one or two song items, such as items 1-2, 21-22, 31-32, 47-48 and 49-50.} As well, a single colour was sometimes applied to all body parts (arms, chest and breasts) during the one song text. Then, at a new song text a different colour was applied. Nevertheless this application, although different to the ideal, still shows a coincidence of musical and visual structures achieved through the process of pantyarrenke, i.e. the repetition of a song text to create a small song. When the singing accompanied dancing there also tended to be a greater number of song items in a small song.\footnote{For example during the Elpate evening performance song text 17 was sung eight times while the girls danced.}

Figure 4.3 compares the number of song items per small song in the 227 small songs making up this study. It shows that there are 61 small songs with 2 song items. This is the most frequent number of song items in a small song; yet small songs of three and four song items are also common. The maximum number of song items in a small song is 14, although any number of song items over five is uncommon.

Figure 4.3 Count of small songs based on number of song items

In all the Akwelye performances only some of the song texts were performed. The greatest number of small songs in a performance was at the Tara 1 performance, with 53
small songs, and the least was at the Elpate afternoon with 16 small songs. Figure 4.4 shows the number of different song texts that were performed at each of the nine performance sessions making up this study.

![Figure 4.4 Number of different song texts in performances](image)

In some performances a small song with the same song text was sung at different times in the performance. In one case two such small songs were interpreted differently. In the Alekarenge 1 performance song text 9 is performed as the tenth small song where it is glossed ‘witchetty’. It is also performed as the twentieth small song, but this time is glossed rewe ‘flood water’. This phenomena has also been noted for ngintaka (Ellis, Barwick and Morais 1990:105), a song series from the Pitjantjatjara lands. Ellis and Barwick suggest that in this case each small song is usually associated with the same meaning but from a different place (1987). The surrounding song texts in the performance may have contributed to the different semantic interpretation of these small songs.

In the Tara 1 performance 16 out of the 32 different song texts were performed as two or more different small songs and, while no interpretations were given, on many occasions the repeated small song varied in relation to whether dancing or painting up accompanied it. Where there was no variation of either painting up or dancing there were always comments such as "kwerratyre mperiperleiperle' atnakerre rame ayleme."

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51 This sample does not include the 1986 radio broadcast, which was edited, or the Tara 3 performance, where there is some evidence to suggest that there were more songs than were recorded.
"We’ve already sung song text 3 (MD12, dn 42)" and "Ayleny-aytenye aynante nharte=pe. ‘That one has already been sung’ (GK 5161, dn 138).

These observations from the Alkarenge 1 and Tara 1 performances suggest that the small song is a multi-modal phenomenon; and that variation to any one of these components, not just variation of song text, constitutes a different small song.

4.2.2 Song texts, textline pairs and textlines

An Akwelye song item consists of singing a song text set to an unchanging rhythm, which is repeated until the end of a melodic structure. In this study there is a total of 52 different song texts. For ease of reference, song texts have been numbered, based on their ordered occurrence in performance sessions transcribed, i.e., new song texts were numbered as encountered in each performance session transcribed. The songs do not have a pre-defined beginning and end, as in other Central Australian song genres, it is only in performance that a song starts and finishes. This is because the certain components in song can be interlocked at different points within their cycle, as I show in Chapters 5 and 6. Cyclic patterns can be seen as a manifestation of timeless, an important feature of the ever-present Atyerre, as cyclic patterns have no predefined beginning or end (Barwick 2000a:331, Ellis 1985:109).

A song text is a pair of rhythmic textlines (Barwick 1989:18), which I term A and B. Depending on the song text, one or both textlines is repeated in performance to yield three repetition configurations across the sample: AABB, AAB and AB. Each song text is associated with only one of the three repetition configurations, what I call the song

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52 The pervasiveness of this structure across Central Australia is noted in Barwick et al (2003:26).
54 Marett refers to a comparable division of the song text as "text-phrases" (in press Ch 4).
55 In this way, Akwelye contrasts with some songs from eastern Australia, where a textline may be repeated numerous times before moving on to the next textline. See Dixon (1984:224-227), Gummow (1995:129) and Donaldson (1995:148-149).
text structure. In effect, this means that the song text is the smallest repeating rhythmic text within the song item that accounts for all the different rhythmic text.

Song texts structured AABB are referred to as **doubled** (Barwick 1989:18), illustrated in (2). In *Akwelye*, as in other areas of Central Australia, this is the most common way textlines combine to form a song text.

(2) A₁

\[ \text{ralartepanga ralartepangay ngwinyartepangay ngwinyartepanga} \]  
(song text 5)

Song texts structured AB are referred to as **paired** (Barwick 1989:18), illustrated in (3).

(3) A

\[ \text{merrpewantyarryay} \]

B

\[ \text{tererramerrperarrerna} \]  
(song text 10)

There is no difference between the first AB and all subsequent repetitions of AB. Because a song text is defined as the smallest repeating rhythmic text, the song text in a paired pattern of repetition is AB and not ABAB.

Song texts structured AAB are referred to as **three-part**, illustrated in (4).  

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56 Strehlow (1955:38) and Merlan (1987) refer to what I call the song text cycle as a verse. Strehlow (1971:111) also uses the term couplet to refer to what I call AABB, and where the repeated textlines differ slightly, the term quatrains (1971:121).


58 The repeated textline in a three-part song text was always taken as the A textline, hence there is no ABB song texts.
Paired and three-part structures are both referred to by Barwick as **undoubled** (1989:18). Undoubled song texts contrast with doubled song texts in relation to variant settings of text/rhythm to melody and to the type of final vowel pattern, as will be seen in Chapters 5 and 6.

There is only one anomalous song text structure out of the 770 songs items making up this study. Song text 16 was only sung in the Alekarenge 1 performance, where it was structured AABAABCCBA (record 404). The anomalous structure may relate to the informal nature of that performance. This is the only example of three different text lines in the song item, and is most likely to be an incorrect performance. Song text 16 was only sung once more (record 405), when it was structured AABAAB.

Excluding song text 16, the frequency of the three song text structures in **Akwele**, are shown in Table 4.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song text form</th>
<th>doubled (AABB)</th>
<th>paired (AB)</th>
<th>three-part (AAB)</th>
<th>Total no. of song texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No of song texts</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4.1 Frequency of song text structures in **Akwele**

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59 With the small data set of this song text, and the fact that elderly speakers such as Daphne are not used to analytic discussions it is not always easy to tell whether something happens as an error in performance or whether something is a genuine alternation. Furthermore, there can be variation between singers as to whether they consider something an error or as a legitimate variation.

60 Barwick has also noted anomalous song text structures in informal women’s performances (2001, pers.comm.).

61 On the other hand, Ellis (1980) states that anomalous structures often coincide with particularly powerful song texts. See §3.5.7 for a discussion of song text 16 as being powerful.

62 Song texts 10, 24, 40, 41 and 43.

63 Song texts 2, 15 and 45. Song text 15 is ambiguous as to whether it is paired or 3-part and is discussed in §4.2.2.2.
A **textline pair** (Barwick 1989:18) is the two consecutive textlines in a song text structured AABB, (see example (2)). Note that a song text structured AAB has a single textline plus a textline pair, and there is no textline pair in song texts structured AB.

A **textline** is made up of syllables tied to a particular rhythmic value, an insight noted by Strehlow in his analysis of Arrernte songs (1947a, 1955) and by Ellis (1968). A textline is defined in a doubled song text as the repeated rhythmic text in a textline pair. While a textline may have a pattern of repeated rhythmic cells, rarely is the repetition to the same set of syllables. This is illustrated in Figure 4.5.

![Textline pair](image)

**Figure 4.5 Hierarchical structure of a textline pair in a doubled song** (song text 1)

Despite their similarity, rhythmic segments 1 and 2 could not be considered two textlines because they are not identical, and thus they are not a repeated unit.

In undoubled song texts the repeated unit consists of AB. Here, the division into two textlines is defined by a coincidence of textual and rhythmic unit boundaries. This can be seen in (3) where *ntyrray* and *arrerna*, both set to \( \text{\textbullet} \), mark the end of each textline. Both these text units and the rhythmic unit frequently occur in textline final position. In this study there is a total of 96 different textlines, of which six occur in

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64 See also Mackinlay (1998:30).

65 The rhythmic structure of song texts will be discussed in detail in §5.5.
more than one song text. The rhythmic and melodic structure of textlines is the subject of Chapter 5, and their text structure the subject of Chapter 6.

4.2.2.1 Order of textlines

In Akwelye it is often the case that a song item may start with either textline pair (or with either textline where there is no textline pair), a phenomenon noted in some other Central Australian songs. In Akwelye the basis for calling one textline "A" and the other "B" depended on three things:

a) There are three different types of regular patterning of the final vowels in the textlines of a song text. These are described in detail §6.6.1. Suffice to say here that the most common pattern is the palindromic pattern 'a, ay, ay, a' [a ə i ə a]. The textline pair ending with 'a' followed by 'ay' was used as a criterion for selecting the A textline, and the textline pair ending with 'ay' followed by 'a' was thus the B textline (see the song text in Figure 4.5.).

b) In three-part songs (AAB) the repeated textline is referred to as the B textline.

c) If the final vowel pattern does not contrast textline pairs, and the song text structure is not three part, then the frequency of one textline beginning more song items than the other was used as a criterion for selecting the A textline.

4.2.2.2 Variation in structure of song texts

The only significant variation to song text structure occurred in the Tara performance when key singers were absent. Song text 2 has a three-part form (AAB), however in the Tara 1 performance it was performed twice with a doubled structure (records 104 and 106) and once as a mix of paired and three-part structure, as in (5) (record 105).

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66 Merlan also notes that a textline may combine with more than one other textline in songs from the Roper River area (1987:159).
67 See Barwick (1989:20), Ellis (1992:48) for examples of this in Pitjantjatjara songs and Peter Austin (1978:529) for examples in Dyari songs. Although this is very rare in songs from the Kimberleys, Trellyn notes it does occur in one song text from the Jadmi song series of the Junba genre (2004, pers. comm.).
(5) BBA BBA BBAA BBAA BBAA

There is one song text where there are two possible analyses of the textline structure. Song text 15 is arguably a three-part structure, shown in (6).

(6) A:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{kwerrparangalernentya} \\
\end{array}
\]

A:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{kwerrparangalernentya} \\
\end{array}
\]

B:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{laura} \\
\end{array}
\]

(song text 15)

Although the rhythmic cell \(\text{\textbar} \text{\fancyslash}\) is attested in other rhythmic patterns (see Table 5.18), the three-part analysis is problematic because there are no textlines in the Akwelye series of less than four syllables, less than four beats, or comprising only one rhythmic cell (§5.5.1). A paired analysis results if the B element is seen to combine with the second A element creating a 6-beat B line, shown in (7).

(7) A:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{kwerrparangalernentya} \\
\end{array}
\]

B:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{kwerrparangalernentya} \\
\text{laura} \\
\end{array}
\]

(song text 15)

In the paired analysis, the B textline conforms to the number of syllables, number of beats, and number of rhythmic cells attested in all other Akwelye songs. However, it ends in a rhythmic cell of two crotchets, a rhythmic cell that only occurs in textline initial position in all other textlines. To avoid having to account for the unusual placement of rhythmic cell, I opt for a three-part analysis as in (6), rather than a paired analysis of this textline. In §5.6.2.4, I discuss other treatments of the text/melody that provide further arguments for a three-part analysis of this song text.

This chapter now considers the issue of whether song texts have a set or relative order to each other in the Akwelye song series.
4.2.2.3 Order of song texts

As mentioned in §4.2.1.1 the repetition of the same song text in a later small song may coincide with a difference in meaning or a return to a particular place. While the Akwelhe song texts do not have a fixed order, comparing the order of song texts in eight performances shows that half of the song texts from different performances tend to be sung either before or after a certain other song text. This is shown in Figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6 Number of co-occurring song texts

Thus a song text tends to be associated with another song text, although not necessarily in a relative order. There are also two song texts that singers claim are used for closing the performance and the text of one of these song texts also contains words that relate to closing a ceremony, a process described as 'putting (ancestor) back inside the ground'. This is shown in (8).

(8) halkeramperrnga (x 2) narlartiwerla (x 2)
    ahelkwerre#amperrnge (terte)-iwe-rane
    underground.cave     sad (7)-throw-CNT

The word ahelkwerre describes a place deep underground, and this is where spirits reside. Strehlow also found that a song text used to finish a ceremony "is said to put to
rest or to lay to rest (= gũŋarna (kverneme) 'push down, push into the ground' the ancestors" (1971:129). As well, song texts that accompany painting tend to occur towards the beginning of a performance, such as song text 1 and 24. The association of song texts for these purposes is noted in many other Central Australian songs.70

The singer Betty believes that in olden times song texts were sung to a fixed order although this is not the case today. The ideal of a fixed sequence of songs versus variation in practice is also noted by Ellis and Barwick (1989:36) and Payne (1989). Song sequences linked to named places are sometimes claimed to be mnemonics for routes connecting those places. But in contemporary society people no longer spend most of their lives travelling by foot from place to place, and so lack the reinforcement of the correct sequence gained by travelling the routes. This has possibly affected the relevance of maintaining a fixed order of songs in performance.

Similarly, Moyle notes that there is not a prescribed order for internal songs.71 He notes that a pair of songs may always be sung in a relative order to each other "on account of the logical sequences of events described in their texts" (1986:53). In the case of Akwelye songs that are usually sung together, such as song text 12 and 13, there is no sequential ordering of events but the two song texts have words with the same meaning. Thus they have an association based on meaning rather than a sequential ordering that reflects an order attributed to the things described in the song.

One reason why the song texts might not have a set order is because songs are seen as independent names given by the totemic ancestor, as discussed in §3.3.72 As a name, each song text can exist independently of other song texts, and so the ordering of song texts might easily be forgotten, or might not even be of great significance.

71 Munn states that sequential ordering of song texts is a feature of Warlpiri men’s genres but not women’s (1973:95).
72 See Strehlow (1971:126). Hercus and Koch note a song text from a Wangkangurru rain song series that is considered the 'name' of the rain ancestor (1995:113).
In contrast, Ellis et al (1978:72) and Moyle (1979:9) note that there is a set order of song items for Pitjantjatjara and Pintupi songs respectively. Payne questions this, arguing that while this is the articulated ideal, in practice this may not necessarily be achieved. Dixon and Koch note that while there is no fixed order of Dyirbal song texts there is sometimes a connection between consecutive songs (1996). In Akwelye also there are some pairs of song texts that are often performed in succession, such as song texts 12 and 13, and 1 and 2.

Considering that song texts are not necessarily performed in a set order, the question then arises 'how are song texts chosen in performance?' Payne argues that the choice of song texts is achieved through a process of "politicking" (1989:41), which consists of the song leader putting forward a song text and the other women reacting to that choice. In Akwelye this negotiation process happened in whispers and any singer suggested a song text. If someone believed a song text had been sung then this was said. Although the ideal role of the song leader may be to make decisions regarding what song texts to sing, in practice other women—most of whom are also owners of the ceremony—had great influence over the song leader. This may have been related to her complaints that she is too old and that younger people should be remembering the song texts.73

So far I have described the approach taken in this study to the identification of the structure of Akwelye performance. I have identified the components of a song, defined many terms relating to the hierarchical structural of a performance, and defined some of the structural units of song items. The next section outlines my approach to the issue of how meaning is conveyed in performance—the subject of Part 3.

4.2.3 Song forms, speech equivalents and their status

Given the difficulties in ascertaining song meaning outlined in §4.1, both semantic and pragmatic analyses are required. My approach is to distinguish singer's explications of songs (component 7) from the lexical content of songs (component 8). The semantic gap between word meaning and utterance meaning is then dealt with in a pragmatic

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73 It may also be a way of ensuring that people remember the songs rather than rely on the leader.
analysis in Chapter 10. This is where various types of knowledge, as identified in 
Chapter 3, come into play. I turn now to some of the key terms used in the semantic 
analysis.

As discussed in §4.1.6, a meaningful segment in a song may be a phonologically or 
semantically altered word from a variety of languages, or only partially represented in 
the song. The term **song form** is used to refer to such a segment of a song text that 
resembles both phonologically and semantically a word or morpheme in any of the 
registers and Arandic languages. In this way I distinguish song forms from **speech 
equivalents**.

Another way this study attempts to deal with the difficulties in identifying words in a 
song text is to assign degrees of certainty as to how sure singers are that a particular 
segment of the text corresponds to a word. Then, by basing the analysis on speech 
equivalents that singers definitely perceive in the song text we can identify the way 
words are versified in song, knowing that the results are based on a small but reliable 
data set.

I classify speech equivalents as to whether they are **confirmed [C]**, **likely [L]**, **possible 
[P]**, **unknown [U]**, or **not likely [N]**. The text meaning analysis in this study is based 
on 69 speech equivalents that we can rely on with certainty—that are confirmed [C]. 
Where I draw upon Likely or Possible speech equivalents, these are shown in 
parentheses. Appendix 4 provides an alphabetical listing of song forms, with the 
language and status of their speech equivalents. I discuss the rationale for assigning 
these statuses to speech equivalents below.

**4.2.3.1 Confirmed speech equivalents [C]**

Where a word given by a singer corresponds to the meaning of a song form that is more 
or less recognisable in the phonological form of the song, it is considered Confirmed. 
For example, *kwerrpare* 'dancing stick' is a confirmed speech equivalent in textline 15a:

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74 Alice Moyle uses a similar classification of words in Arnhem Land songs (1974:190).

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[kurpatanaŋin'tga]. Eighteen of the 69 confirmed speech equivalents have more than one morpheme and 13 of these occur in more than one textline.

4.2.3.2 Likely speech equivalents [L]

Words are considered Likely when (i) a word that corresponds to the meaning of a song form was only given once by a singer; and (ii) when I suggested a word to the singers who then agreed. For example, akwe 'arm' (Arr) is a Likely equivalent of textline 1a, which is kvelantyalantyarınakwelantyalantya, given that the explanation in (9) was the only time singers volunteered this word.

\[
(9) \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{Myf.} \quad \text{Is it 'kvelantye' or 'kvelantyalntye'} \\
\text{Daphne:} \quad \text{Yeah, yeah, puttem shoulder}
\end{array} \right.
\]

\[
\left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{Myf:} \quad \text{Nhakenhe Kaytetele etnewarrantye?} \\
\text{What's it called in Kaytete?} \\
\text{Daphne:} \quad \text{arikenye} \\
\text{stripe} \\
\text{Kirsty:} \quad \text{akwe} \\
\text{arm}
\end{array} \right.
\]

(1999, MD12, dn 1-3)

The meaning of akwe 'arm' is also consistent with other singers' explications of this song text as it being about painting designs on the upper arms.

4.2.3.3 Possible speech equivalents [P]

Words are considered Possible when (i) a singer provided a word in only one explanation of the song and there is no other evidence to support the meaning of this word; and (ii) when singers dismissed what I identified as a potential speech equivalent based on my own knowledge,\(^7\) with comments such as 'Its just awelye', thus neither denying nor confirming the speech equivalent.

\(^7\) That researchers of song texts must draw upon other sources of linguistic expertise as interpretations of songs by singers, as has been noted by Tunsill, who states that his understanding of Pijinjatjara texts was based 'not only on performers' statements but also on available dictionaries and word lists ..., on my knowledge of Pijinjatjara syntax and phonotactics, and on previous analysis by others of song texts from this area' (1995:62).
For example, *ipmerre 'dew'* (Aly, K) is a possible equivalent of textline 2b, which is *lerlparlimerra*, given that it was only volunteered once and that there is no other evidence to suggest this is a meaning of the song, unlike *akwe 'arm'*.\(^{76}\)

On some occasions a word given by a singer was later denied. In such cases a number of factors were taken into account to determine how likely it was as a speech equivalent. For example *ampe-rrane 'burn-CNT'* (K) can clearly be heard in the textline *ngayertamperranangayertamperra*. There is also one interpretation by Daphne that suggests this song form, shown in (10).

    eye-(?)    eye-(?)    textline 17a

    Daphne: Him *ammgayertampe-rrane* *erlwe*.
             textline 17a    eye

    Kirsty:  *erlwe 'amngayertamperrane* mpele*.
              eye    textline 17a

          thus

          Daphne: He too hot, *ampe-rrane*.
                burn-CNT

          (1999 MD14, dn 60)

When I suggested *amperrane* as a speech equivalent on subsequent occasions, singers denied this. While it is possible that they were reluctant to divulge a restricted level of meaning of this song text, evidence from other song forms and the metric structure suggests that *amperrane* is an unlikely speech equivalent. There are no song forms corresponding to the Kaytetye continuous verbal suffix -rrane--rrantye--yane. In relation to structure, the syllable *rna* at the end of the first rhythmic segment is more likely to be a filler syllable to meet the metrical requirements, as I will show in §6.5.1.1.

4.2.3.4 Morphemes not likely to be speech equivalents [N]

Because of the alterations of words to meet the metrical requirements of Akwelye, there are some textlines with a segment that may come to resemble a speech word, but speakers deny this relationship. These seemingly obvious speech equivalents are

\(^{76}\) See Appendix 1: song text 2, expansion 2.
marked N in Appendix 1 to show that singers have disagreed with this as a speech equivalent.

The status of speech equivalents in this study is based on expansions by particular singers and Kaytetye speakers at a particular time, and in a particular context. It is probable that in other contexts different statuses of speech equivalents and different song forms may be revealed with further interpretations of the song text. 77

Having outlined the approach to the structural and semantic analysis taken in this study and defined the key terms, including the component song text, I turn now to a brief consideration of the optional, primarily visual components—body design and dance patterns.

4.3 Body design/painting up

Song texts contrast in terms of those that can accompany painting up and those that never do. Where painting up was part of a performance this always preceded dancing. Even when the songs were performed without painting up, such as at the Alekarenge performance, many of those song texts tended to come early in the performance, reflecting the order of the absent component.

Kaytetye women state that there is only one Akwelye body design (see Figure 4.9). 78 They also state that any one of the painting-up songs can be sung to any part of the body being painted. Four parts of the body were painted in the Elpate 1 performance: both upper arms and each breast. As stated in §4.2.1.1, the same song text must be sung until that part of the body is complete, showing that synchronising the completion of musical structure and visual structure is important. Munn argues that ceremonial designs provide a sensory experience with the Dreamtime because they

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77 As suggested in Chapter 3, the few discussions of Akwelye song texts with men suggested that for them, the forms in songs were often related to place names rather than plants or animals. Had Strehlow made a dictionary of poetic words as he suggested (Strehlow 1971:197), the ‘unknown’ segments in the Akwelye songs might be readily identifiable and the list of multiple possible speech forms might be much greater.

78 In contrast, Munn notes that Warlpiri Yawelye usually have more than one design (1973:111).
...are social forms external to the individual that yet are in contact with the body. In contrast, the dream images from which designs are felt to originate are private experiences locked inside the body, inside individual consciousness (Munn 1973:57). 79

4.4 Dance patterns

Where the words in expansions are not transparently derived from the form of a song text other components of the song package can provide clues about how the interpretation of a song was made. In this section I analyse the iconography in the dance patterns that accompany specific Akwelye song texts. It is argued that the dances are all iconic of meanings expressed in the expansions, and often meanings expressed in the song texts. All dancing comes from the Elpate performances, which involved pairs of women, synchronised with each other in their stamping and arm movements that occurred on the beat. While dancing did occur in the 1976 performances there were no visual recordings made at this time. In transcribing those performances, however the stomping of dancing can be heard in some small songs (See Appendix 3).

The dance pattern to song text 15 is illustrated in Figure 4.7. This was performed twice at the Elpate 1 performance, where two dancers held a kwerrpare 'dancing stick' in one hand, looked to the west and turned their heads and gazed eastwards.

**Figure 4.7 Song text 15 dance** (Elpate 1 items 26-30, 58-60; Elpate 2 37-40)

When they faced east they swapped the kwerrpare to the other hand and reversed the dance step westwards. The song text contains the word kwerrpare and the expansions refer to the Kwerrimpe women who danced to this song text.

79 Dussart makes similar observations among Warlpiri women (2000b:151-173).
The dance pattern to song text 10 is illustrated in Figure 4.8. This song text contains the word *iterlarre* 'headband' which is referred to in both the expansions and song text. Singer April tells the women how to dance with the headband by saying "aymene-ke alker-arle. Aymene aymene mpevale the errwel-apene, mwernar-athake, 'come this way, piercing the sky high (with it)'.

**Figure 4.8 Song text 10 dance** (Elpate 1 items 49-50, 55-57; Elpate 2 33-36, 41)

In the 1976 expansions *iterlarre* is translated as cloud, and the way the dancers move the stick (symbolising the headband) through the sky may be a visual metaphor/metonymy for this meaning.

The dance pattern to song text 14 is shown in Figure 4.9. The dance is similar to the song text 15 dance pattern, but in song text 14 the dancers looked behind them, which was to the east, while continuing to face straight ahead (a southerly direction). This song text contains the (pan-Ar) word *arerl-ane* 'look-CNT' and the dance pattern highlights this meaning by the dancer moving the head and gazing in a different direction to the body. It also contains the nominal *ikngweerrele* 'east' (WARe, ARr) [L] and again the dancers represent this by looking to the east.80 Singers also described a similar dance pattern to song text 29 and this text contains the (pan-Ar) verb *artep-areme* 'look behind', a derived form based on the (pan-A) verb *are-* 'look'.

**Figure 4.9 Song texts 14 and 29** (Elpate 1 items 51-54)

The dance pattern to song text 17 is illustrated in Figure 4.10. This was performed at Elpate 2.

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80 The iconography in this dance was evidenced by Kirsty's joke that she could not sing this song text because the sun was going down, with the implication that this song text refers to a sunrise.
The song text contains the nominal *matyarte*, which according to older speakers means only 'men's pubic tassel', but to younger speakers it can refer to either men's or women's pubic tassel.\(^1\) Expansions in the public context suggest it is a women's pubic tassel, while in the less formal Akwelye performance, the expansions suggest the song refers to a man being without his pubic tassel. In this dance pattern, the dancers push their skirt in between their legs to resemble a *matyarte*.

**Figure 4.10 Song text 17 dance (Elpate 2 items 25-32)**

The dance pattern to song text 43 is illustrated in Figure 4.11. This dance was only demonstrated; it was not performed in the Elpate performance. A dancer holds a rag (probably a headband) in front of her and imitates throwing it with one hand to one side, and then with the other hand to the other side. Song text 43 has the nominal *atywert-atyverte* 'native morning glory (*Ipomoea muelleri*)', which is represented as the rag, and the Alyawarr verb *iwey.werl-alp-yeve* 'throw-go back-&-PURP', which is the action performed in the dance. Similarly, the dance pattern to song texts 48 and 49 were only demonstrated, where the dancers wipe their eyes, one at a time with the back of each hand. Unlike all other dance patterns, the action or the thing represented in the dance is not directly referred to in the song text.

**Figure 4.11 Song text 43 dance (Elpate 2 items 25-32)**

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\(^1\) Jane Simpson notes a similar shift in meaning with the equivalent word in Warumungu, *majortl*, which once meant 'men's pubic tassel' and is now used for 'nappy' (2002 pers.com.).
The song texts contain the words ayenge '1sgNOM', angketye 'foot' and entyere 'floodout', but one must know that these songs refer to a blue-tongue lizard wiping the tears from her eyes with her front paws.\footnote{In contemporary Arandic languages the words for 'foot' are not used to refer to the front feet of animals, which are referred to with the respective words for 'arm'.}

\textbf{4.5 Conclusion}

In attempting to overcome the difficulties associated with identifying form and meaning of Central Australian songs I identified the various components of a song, laying the foundations for detailed analysis of the musical and linguistic components in the following chapters. Drawing upon the methodologies used by Ellis and Barwick (1987), the hierarchical structure of an \textit{Akwelye} performance is shown to consist of groups of song items that form small songs. Small songs contrast with each other in relation to the components dance pattern, rhythm, song text, lexical content and expansions, and song items contrast with each other in the way the rhythmic song text is set to melody.

I also identified song forms—the lexical content of a song text—and considered the visual components of \textit{Akwelye}, showing that dance patterns reflect the meanings of song forms. The next chapter opens Part 2, Form, and analyses the musical components of \textit{Akwelye} song items.

\footnote{Moyle notes similarly that in Alyawarr \textit{awelye} performances, an understanding of the meanings of para-linguistic phenomena, such as ceremonial items, painted designs and dance patterns is determined not so much on how they are presented, but on "how much is already known" (1987:64).}
PART 2 Form

Chapter 5 Musical structure

Introduction

This chapter identifies the melodic and rhythmic structures of *Akwelye*. I show that melody and rhythm are independent structures. This is in sharp contrast to the fixed relationship between text and rhythm, where text is always set to the same rhythmic measure so we can speak of songs as rhythmic text.¹ Many researchers have speculated on the relationship between text and music.² Works by Strehlow and Ellis on Arrernte songs were among the first research to integrate musical and textual analysis (Ellis 1968, 1992, Strehlow 1971). More recent work in this area has produced some fascinating findings on the role of music in conveying meaning. Ellis shows that particular rhythmic patterns relate to broad semantic topics in Arrernte songs (1997:65-67; 1998:436).³ Anderson (1995) shows that *Manikay* clan songs of east Arnhem Land fall into nine musical types, in part determined by rhythm,⁴ and that the subject matter of songs coincides with particular types. Marett shows that both melody and rhythm encodes country and Dreamings in songs from the Daly region (in press).

Both Hale (1984:260) and Hercus and Koch (1995:114) demonstrate that in certain Central Australian songs, especially Arandic songs, textlines are the result of misaligning rhythmic structures with text structures in set ways.⁵ Tunstil states that phonological changes are made to words in Pitjantjatjara songs such as the lenition of stops, yet we do not know if these changes affect all speech words, and if not, if there are other motivating factors for the alterations (1995:64). Treloyn shows that in *Jumba*

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¹ Ellis likewise refers to Central Australian songs as containing "rhythmic syllables" (1968:24). *Akwelye* is unlike most northern Australian and some Central Australian songs (Ellis 1969:6) in that the same text is never set to different rhythmic patterns. Barwick shows how *Lirrga* song texts from the Daly region can be sung to different rhythmic patterns, and contrasts this with Central Australian song styles (2003:79-80), see also Ellis (1968:38).


³ Particular rhythmic cells in particular positions in the textline may come to be associated with general meanings over time because of the close link between text and rhythm.

⁴ Anderson's types are determined by a combination of meter, tempo, rhythm, clapstick pattern and structure (1995:16).

⁵ Hercus and Koch show this in relation to a song from the Eastern Simpson Desert, while Hale's analysis is of a *Warlpiri/Amatyerr* song.
songs from the north-west Kimberleys the number of syllables in a word that commences a textline relates to the particular type of rhythmic pattern (forthcoming).

This chapter argues that performance of an Akwelye song item is a creative act of setting a rhythmic text cycle to a melodic cycle. All singers must be continually aware of how the song leader is setting these two together to maintain the favoured unison singing (Barwick 2000a:332). I call this process cantillation, and in the following chapter I show that regular sound patterning in the text also occurs during cantillation.

Following Ellis and Barwick (1987) and Barwick (1989), I show that the Akwelye melodic contour is made up of discrete sections whose boundaries coincide at significant structural sections in the rhythmic text cycle. I view the various settings of rhythmic text to melody as the inevitable result of interlocking two independent structures. The independence of the rhythmic text and melody can be seen in Akwelye by the performers' ability to perform either element in isolation. For example, singers hum the melody to search for a song text, and on other occasions state a song text with its rhythmic pattern for the researcher without a melody.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. §5.1 discusses beating accompaniment in Akwelye, §5.2 the tempo of song items and §5.3 the register of song items. §5.4 analyses the melodic structure of Akwelye and §5.5 analyses the rhythmic structure, identifying units called rhythmic cells that combine to form a rhythmic textline. These rhythmic cells are the basis for the text units I identify in Chapter 6 called 'feet'. §5.6 shows how the rhythmic text structures are set to the melodic sections outlined in §5.4, a question

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6 Hercus and Koch similarly note that Wangkangurru songs are not rote learnt (1997:83).
7 The Oxford English Dictionary defines cantillation as "Chanting, intoning, musical recitation". I use this word rather than "performance" as performance is used in this thesis to refer to the nine different performance sessions making up this study (see Chapter 2). Furthermore, performance recalls Saussure's competence/performance distinction, which is unsuitable here because processes that occur during cantillation are structurally significant and have many tokens.
8 Researchers such as McCordell (1976), Tunstall (1987), Keogh, (1990, 1995) and Treloyn (2003), take a similar approach to musical analysis. See also Ellis (1998).
9 The independence of the Akwelye text/rhythmic structure and the melodic structural, and their combination in set ways is a characteristic feature of Central Australian musical style (Barwick 1989:14). See also Ellis (1984), Keogh (1990) and Treloyn (2003).
10 The most senior singer, Daphne, was the only singer who did this.
that has intrigued researchers of Aboriginal songs for some time.\textsuperscript{11} I argue that the setting of the rhythmic text to melody is a creative act in which singers demonstrate sensitivity to complex rhythmic text structures. §5.7 concludes the chapter by foregrounding the musical structures and processes that have been identified and are the basis for the following metrical analysis in Chapter 6.

5.1 Beating accompaniment

Thigh beating accompaniment such as that found in Akwelye is common throughout women's ceremonial performances in Central Australia.\textsuperscript{12} The thigh beating accompanying Akwelye song items begins in the first or second melodic section and drops out in the Unaccompanied melodic section, which is usually a single cycle of the song text, as discussed in §5.4.4. When accompanying dancing, however, beating in Akwelye is usually continued throughout. In some fast song texts, such as song texts 10, 15, 42 and 43, even when there is no dancing the beating continues throughout.\textsuperscript{13} Akwelye differs from the Arandic songs described by Moyle (1986) and Strehlow (1971), in which the beating accompaniment is maintained throughout a song item.\textsuperscript{14}

There are two Akwelye song texts (song texts 29 and 43) where the beating accompaniment is in a polyrhythmic relationship to the sung text. Polyrhythmic songs are attested in many other song series from Central Australia.\textsuperscript{15} Polyrhythmic Akwelye songs, illustrated in (1), contrast with other Akwelye song texts that have metrically regular settings, where the beating rhythm and sung rhythm are aligned.

\textsuperscript{11} For example, Strehlow (1955), Moyle (1979), Ellis (1984) and Tunstill (1987).

\textsuperscript{12} Ellis (1985:90, 1998:436) also describe women's thigh beating accompaniment. Moyle refers to this as "lapslapping" (1986:129).

\textsuperscript{13} Examples of performances where the beating continues or is absent throughout a song item can be found in the Elpate 2 and Alekarene performances.

\textsuperscript{14} Dropping out of the beating accompaniment is also attested in the Kukatja ceremonial genre tjarrarra (Moyle 1997:80), Yanyuwaa songs, Warlipiri yilpinji songs, Warumungu yavudju (Barwick 2000b) and in jadmi and jerrregori jumba songs from the Kimberleys (Trollyn 2003, pers. comm.). Tjarrarra and yilpinji are love songs; and very often yavudju songs are too. Alice Moyle observes this phenomenon in songs of the Kimberleys, referring to it as an "arrest" (1978b:9) and North Queensland (1978a).

\textsuperscript{15} They are also attested in other parts of Australia (Marett in press Ch 6).
5.2 Tempo

Variation in tempo, if it occurs, applies across different performances of the same song text. For example song text 4, in the Fast rhythmic mode, has the unusually wide tempo variations of Metronome Marking (MM) 126-160, and this relates to particular performances, as shown in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1 Tempo variations of song text 4

It can be seen that MM 144-152 is the preferred tempo for song text 4. Variation to this occurs in two out of 14 song items but only once within the one small song, which occurred at the Tara 1 performance. The variation at the Alekarenge 1 performance occurred in different small songs (represented with [1] and [2] in Figure 5.1).

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16 Tempo was measured according to the clapped beats per minute marked on a Seiko Quartz metronome. The analysis provides a general indication of the tempo, as a finer analysis of tempo was not feasible for me, although no doubt more accurate measurement may have yielded variations in the results.
A comparison of the tempo of all 770 Akwelye song items across all nine performances shows a wide range of variation. Figure 5.2 groups the 585 complete Akwelye song items.\textsuperscript{17}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{tempo.png}
\caption{Tempo of Akwelye song items}
\end{figure}

I have grouped the Akwelye song items into two groups, or rhythmic modes: 'Fast' and 'Slow'.\textsuperscript{18} There are a number of other tendencies associated with these two groups, similar to the two rhythmic modes Barwick discusses in her descriptions of lirrga songs (2003). Songs in the Fast rhythmic mode range between MM144-168. They also show the following tendencies: a textline with more than seven syllables (thus the rate of enunciation of syllables is faster than in other textlines), a textline with more than four beats and a dance accompaniment. The Fast mode also includes the polyrhythmic song texts 29 and 43. Songs in the Slow rhythmic mode range in tempo between MM112-152. They tend to have both textlines of fewer than seven syllables, both textlines of 4 beats or less, no dance accompaniment and include only duple rhythmic patterns (where the beating rhythm and sung rhythm coincide).

Katyeteye women did not use vernacular expressions for Fast and Slow songs,\textsuperscript{19} although at the Elpate 1 performance there was a request for "a fast song" for dancing, upon

\textsuperscript{17} It does not include song text 20, which has a Waake melodic contour, and is much slower (MM92).

\textsuperscript{18} The term "rhythmic mode" is also used by Marett (in press Ch 4).

\textsuperscript{19} Indigenous terms for distinct metrical/tempo types of songs have also been noted in some Western Desert languages (Ellis et al 1978) and Warumungu (Barwick 2003:80). See also Moyle (1986, 1995:54,
which song texts 14, 15, and 10 were sung at MM132-144 (song items 49-60). These have a 6-beat textline with either 8 or 9 syllables and a dance accompaniment (song texts 1, 3, 4, 10, 14, 15, 17, 29, 42 and 43).

The majority of Akwelye song texts are in the Slow rhythmic mode. Some song texts show textual features of the Slow mode, but have a dance accompaniment and are sung at a fast tempo, for example song texts 12, 13, 18, 48 and 49. Some song texts show textual features of the Fast mode, having a 6-beat textline with more than 6 syllables, yet are sung at a slow tempo, such as song texts 6, 7, 37, 40 and 47. The two polyrhythmic song texts are the only song texts sung at the fastest speed of MM168. When it comes to setting text to melody, considered in §5.6, there are differences in the way song items in the Fast rhythmic mode and the Slow rhythmic mode are able to match rhythmic text to melodic sections.

5.3 Register of song items

This section considers the register (pitch) of song items at the Elpate 2 performance. Table 5.1 shows that B4–C5 was the favoured pitch to begin song items. Most song items were initiated by Daphne; however those that were initiated by Betty tended to be sung at B4–C5, although two were at G♯4 (records 539, 540). When song items were sung starting as low as G♯ April, often requested them to be in a higher voice. This invariably led to Daphne to commence the next song item at C♯5, and gradually subsequent song items would fall in pitch.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song text id.</th>
<th>12, 25</th>
<th>1, 21, 17</th>
<th>7, 21, 10, 15</th>
<th>5, 10, 13, 15, 17, 25, 26, 37, 41, 43</th>
<th>6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 22, 24, 26, 28, 31, 33, 36, 42, 44</th>
<th>12, 24, 33</th>
<th>33</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. song items</td>
<td>4, 10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonic</td>
<td>G♯4, A4, A♯4, B4, C5, C♯5, D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1 Register of complete 101 song items at the Elpate evening performance

1997) for a discussion of indigenous terms for rhythm and tempo in some other Central Australian languages.

20 Daphne may also have been referring to tempo when she described the polyrhythmic song text 43 as "racehorse". Alternatively, she may have been referring to the speed of the dancer.

21 The text of song texts 12 and 13 also means 'fast'.

22 C4 is middle C, A5 is the A above middle C, C5 is the C above middle C etc.

23 Song text id. refers to the song text number in Tables and Figures.
A detailed comparison of pitch variability in relation to performance factors such as the order of the song item within the small song, the performance, tempo, the singer commencing the song item and the particular song text may reveal significant relationships. Such a comparison was beyond the scope of this study where the primary focus is on linguistic and rhythmic forms. Some initial observations suggest a complex relationship between these factors.

Sometimes song items tended to be at a higher register when they were sung faster. At the Tari 1 performance a command to sing a song item faster resulted in an increased pitch of the following song item. Following the fourth rendition of song text 7 (record 006), which was sung A4 at MM138, a command to sing faster led to the fifth rendition being sung both faster, at MM144, and a major third higher, C#5 (record 87).

On the other hand, commands to sing a song text higher did not result in a faster tempo at the Elpate 2 performance. For example, the first rendition of song text 12 (record 542) was sung at G#4 at MM144, and following a command to sing higher, the second rendition was sung at C#5, still at MM144 (record 543).

5.4 Melody

Like many Central Australian songs, Akwelye songs are sung in unison with a song leader, although singers may diverge and sing heterophonically at times. Many of the criticisms of poor Akwelye performance are about a lack of unison singing, referred to as riwintemte 'crossed' or 'not level'.

The Akwelye song series uses a single repeated melody for all songs within it, even though individual notes differ between songs within the series. This is a widespread phenomenon in Central Australia, and has led researchers to refer to melody as a "melodic contour" (Ellis 1985:90). Kaytetye people identify a song series by the

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25 Moyle (1986:136-7) notes departure from unison singing in Alyawarr and these equate more or less to what I refer to as melodic section disagreements (see §5.6.2.3). Barwick (1995) notes heterophonic singing in Pitjantjatjara. See also Ellis (1998:434).

26 Ellis (1998:435) notes that in Central Australian songs the way text/rhythm is set to melody may also play a role in identifying the "essence"—what is referred to in Pitjantjatjara as mayu—of the song series. See also Marett (in pres Ch 4 and Ch 9).

27 Moyle refers to the melodic contour of an Alyawarr song series as a "melodic nucleus" (1986:156).
melodic contour, which can be referred to by *ikwe*, a highly polysemous word that also means 'scent', 'taste', 'melody', 'skin name' and 'essence, characteristic feature'. A similar polysemy is found in many Australian languages.²⁸ In a number of Western Desert languages *mayu* means both 'taste' and 'melody' (Ellis et al 1978:74).²⁹ In Kaytetye the taste/scent/melody polysemy may be motivated by a number of connections. Taste and scent are often combined in the same way: things that taste good often smell good and things that taste bad often smell bad. Melody and taste may be linked because both are made in the mouth, and all three—taste, scent and melody—are things that the body perceives through non-visual senses. Evidence for the link between melody and essence comes from Pitjantjatjara, where the melody, *mayu*, is said "to embody the essence of the ancestral being whose journey through the country creating and naming various present-day geographical features is celebrated in the series" (Barwick 1989:13).³⁰

In Kaytetye, *ikwe*, followed by a word for a ceremonial genre, such as *awelye* (eg. *awelye ikwe*), refers specifically to the melodic contour of a song series from a particular country. Kaytetye people also use the English words 'voice' and 'sound' when disambiguating between melody and the other senses of *ikwe*. Upon hearing a song, Kaytetye people often remark on its country or ownership, even if they can't make out the words of the song.³¹ Melody thus signifies Dreamings, country and people who are the descendants of that country and Dreamings. This phenomenon led Ellis to refer to melody as a "totemic melody" (Ellis 1985:90).

As in many other Central Australian ceremonial songs, the *Awelye* melodic contour, or *ikwe*, is based on a terraced descending passage, from a high tonic to a low tonic.³² The melody of an *Awelye* song item is shown in the musical transcription in Figure 5.3.

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²⁸ See Moyle (1979:71), Ellis et al (1978:69) state that the polysemy of this concept in Arrernte does not extend to 'taste'; however this may reflect a gap in research rather than a semantic difference, as Henderson and Dobson identify 'taste' as a meaning of *ikwe* (1994:352).

²⁹ This polysemy is noted for Pitjantjatjara by Goddard (1992:73) and Kukatja ngurringuru by Moyle (1997:20) and Valiquette (1993), where the example sentence shows it may also refer to 'essence'.

³⁰ The link between skin name and essence may be based on conceptualising a skin name as the characteristic feature of a person in the domain of kinship.

³¹ One of the reasons Kaytetye people may state they can't understand the words of the song is that as non-owner, it is not appropriate for them to discuss such things.

Figure 5.3 Transcription of an *Akwelwe* song item (song text 6, record 650)

The melodic contour is made up of melodic sections—portions of the melodic contour defined by where the breath intake occurs (hereafter MS in Figures and Tables). Figure 5.3 shows each melodic section, marked MS1, MS2, etc., following the breath intake.
(marked by ’). Other than the introductory melodic section, which has its own melodic pitch set (see below), it can be seen that all subsequent melodic sections have the same pitch set as each other, and so melodic sections can also be identified by consistency in form.

Melodic sections can be compared with intonational phrases as they are defined by where a breath intake occurs. The final syllable of a textline is often shortened or even omitted when it is the final textline of a melodic section and thus precedes a breath take, as in (2).

(2) \[ \text{wilyilawetyerrpewetyerrpe} \text{ is sung as wilyilawetyerrpewetyerr} \]

(record no. 274)

The final syllable of the textline in (2), pe, is dropped and replaced with a breath at the end of a melodic section. Breath intakes are a convention of the melodic section that affect the attack and release of textlines. The attack is characterised by an initial vowel upbeat (discussed further in §5.5.3), which may assist in achieving unison singing following the breath intake, as it gives the singers a clue as to when the main singer will begin the textline. The release is characterised by shortening the final syllable to give room for a breath intake and a slight relax in the tempo.

The characteristics of the five melodic sections making up the melodic structure are now considered in more detail. These are illustrated in Figure 5.4, following the model by Ellis (1998:435). It can be seen that the third and fourth melodic section may be repeated. This is the melodic structure of all Akwelye song items; yet because rhythmic patterns vary within the one song series there is variation in the number of notes sung to each melodic section across different song texts.

33 The coincidence of breath points with structurally significant points in the melody is noted in other Central Australian songs; see Barwick (1989:17), Moyle (1986:158), Tunstill (1987:128) and Ellis (1992:46). In contrast, breath intakes do not always coincide with melodic sections in the Pitjantatjara Ngintaka song series (Barwick 1989:16).

34 The truncation of textlines before a breath has also been noted in Diyari songs (Austin 1978:529).

35 In §6.2.4, I argue that the upbeat is not part of the rhythmic text structure because it only occurs at melodic section boundaries; however the phonetic quality of this vowel is in part determined by the quality of the speech equivalent.
Figure 5.4 The five melodic sections in the *Akweyle* melodic contour

The Introductory melodic section is sung at an octave above the lower tonic (8\sup{ve}), and is essentially an ornamented tonic.\(^{36}\) The Descent melodic section begins a slightly flattened fourth above the lower tonic and descends to the tonic. The Internal melodic section begins with the same descent but has a much longer tonic.\(^{37}\) The Unaccompanied and Final melodic sections have the same melodic structure as the Internal melodic section. As well as these three different melodic structures, each type of melodic section is associated with an accompaniment type, and a particular number of textlines—the most frequently occurring number of textlines per melodic section across all song items at all performances. The latter is referred to as the statistical **modal length** of the melodic section. Table 5.2 shows these varying features of the five different melodic sections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of MS</th>
<th>Sequential order</th>
<th>Melodic structure</th>
<th>Accompaniment type</th>
<th>No. of textlines (modal length)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>MS1</td>
<td>8\sup{ve}</td>
<td>no clapping</td>
<td>AA (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descent</td>
<td>MS2</td>
<td>DT</td>
<td>clapping</td>
<td>BB (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>MS3</td>
<td>DT</td>
<td>clapping</td>
<td>AABB (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaccompanied</td>
<td>MS4</td>
<td>DT</td>
<td>no clapping</td>
<td>AABB (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final</td>
<td>MS5</td>
<td>DT</td>
<td>clapping</td>
<td>AABBA (5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2 Features of the five different melodic sections making up all *Akweyle* song items

In Table 5.2 the first column shows the name of each type of melodic section in a song item. The second column shows the sequential ordering of these melodic sections, the third column shows their melodic structure (D = descent, T = tonic), the fourth column

\(^{36}\) Ellis states such ornamentation serves to embellish the important note, which is often the tonic (1963:88).

\(^{37}\) Repeated tonics are characteristic of much Aboriginal music (Dixon and Koch 1996:xix, Ellis 1963).
shows the type of accompaniment and the fifth column shows the modal length of the melodic section. The melodic sections within an individual song item may frequently show variation from the modal length given here, as will be discussed below. Such variation relates to the length of the particular textlines involved. Thus, each type of melodic section has:

- a particular melodic structure
- a particular accompaniment type
- a modal number of textlines

The modal number of textlines relates to the durational measure of each type of melodic section: Introductions and Descents are half the duration (approx. 4 seconds) of Internal, Unaccompanied and Final melodic sections (approx. 8 seconds). Table 5.2 also illustrates the most common length of a song item, which is four repetitions of a song text cycle AABB (or 8 repetitions of a song text cycle AB), plus an additional textline (A).

Significant variation occurs when there is accompanying dancing, as in the song item shown in Table 5.3. Here it can be seen that the way to lengthen a song item is by repeating the Internal and the Unaccompanied melodic section as a pair; in effect looping these two melodic sections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of MS</th>
<th>Sequential order</th>
<th>No. textlines</th>
<th>Melodic structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>MS1</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>8\text{ve}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descent</td>
<td>MS2</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>MS3</td>
<td>AABBA</td>
<td>DTT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaccompanied</td>
<td>MS4</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
<td>DT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>MS5</td>
<td>BBAABB</td>
<td>DTT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaccompanied</td>
<td>MS6</td>
<td>AABBB</td>
<td>DT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>MS7</td>
<td>AABBAABB</td>
<td>DTTT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaccompanied</td>
<td>MS8</td>
<td>AABBR</td>
<td>DT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final\textsuperscript{38}</td>
<td>MS9</td>
<td>AABBAABB</td>
<td>DTTT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Underlining represents no clapping accompaniment

\textsuperscript{38} A Final melodic section is always only the last melodic section in a song item, provided that the song item has at least five melodic sections (see §5.4.5).
Table 5.3 Melodic structure of a longer song item (record 184)\(^{39}\)

It can be seen that MS3, MS5 and MS7 are Internal melodic sections and MS4, MS6 and MS8 are Unaccompanied melodic sections. The song text/rhythm is repeated 11 times, and the duration of the whole item is 1 minute and 17 seconds.

An analysis of the five types of melodic sections in Akwelwe songs follows. The analysis establishes tendencies by frequency counts to establish the modal number of textlines, which relates to the duration associated with melodic sections. It finds that (i) variation in the modal number relates to the rhythmic duration of textlines, and (ii) the variation is greater in Internal and Final melodic sections than Introductory, Unaccompanied and Descent melodic sections.

Of the 770 song items making up this study, 585 song items form the basis of the musical analysis. Song items that were interrupted or abandoned for a variety of reasons have not been included. In some cases it can be difficult to distinguish abandoned song items from short song items. I have considered song items longer than three melodic sections as short rather than abandoned, and thus these are included in this analysis.\(^{40}\)

5.4.1 Introductory melodic section
Out of the 585 complete song items, 542 have an introduction. The introduction is a solo section in which the song text, precise pitch, tempo and beating accompaniment are established. Thus, the Introduction plays a crucial role in achieving unison singing in the next melodic section.\(^{41}\) If people talk over the introduction, or it is sung too soft, or sung with an irregular rhythm, or there is a break between the Introduction and the Descent, then unison singing takes longer to achieve.\(^{42}\)

---

\(^{39}\) The song item in Table 5.3 is unusually long because it accompanies dancing.

\(^{40}\) As discussed in Chapter 2, song items from the Alekareenge 1 performance are not included because it was an informal performance. Song items from the radio broadcast have also not been included because the performance was edited, and we do not know whether the absence of certain melodic sections reflects how the item was sung, or whether they were edited out. Song items that were not completely recorded due to the tape running out or the recording beginning late are also not included.

\(^{41}\) Solo singing at the start of Central Australian songs is a feature also noted by Ellis (1964:342) and Moyle (1986:139).

\(^{42}\) Compare with Barwick (1995) where divergences from unison singing—heterophony—in a Central Australian men and women’s song series performance are identified.
In all performances Daphne, the most senior singer, initiated most song items. This most likely reflects the ideal in awelye performance that the most senior owner should begin a song item. The few attempts when singers other than Daphne initiated a song text were usually unsuccessful, as the other singers did not join in and the singer abandoned the song item in the second or third melodic section. Such attempts are called false starts.

The majority of Introductions are the length of a textline pair; thus two textlines is the modal length of the Introduction. Some Introductions are the length of one textline, as in (3).

(3) MS1 A
    MS2 A
    MS3 BBAA
    MS4 BR
    MS5 AAB

(Song text 17, record 250)

In this song item the song text is repeated not quite three times, but the duration of the whole item is 37 seconds, which fits in with the overall preferred duration of a song item. In Table 5.4 the number of song items with an Introduction of two textlines is compared to those with one textline. It can be seen that two textlines is the most frequent (modal) length of the Introductory melodic section—79% of song items have two textlines in the Introduction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. textlines per MS</th>
<th>Count of song items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 TL</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 TL</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total count</td>
<td>542</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4 Distribution of textlines per Introduction in song items

43 As outlined in Chapter 2, Daphne was absent at the beginning of the Tara performances and so items were begun by other singers.

44 In practice, in all performances there were instances where Daphne requested or gave permission for other owners to begin the singing, sometimes with qualifying statements such as ‘You sound better than me’. Daphne’s age, her desire for her nieces to demonstrate their skills, perhaps in preparation for when they take over from her in this role, and her desire for a good performance may have led her to encourage other people to introduce a song item.

45 Seven false starts occurred in the Tara performances (Recordings GK 5161 d1 144; 5162 d1 46; 5163 d1 65, d1 74; 5168 d1 34 d1 66, d1 83). These are excluded from the sample of 585 song items, as stated.

46 Underlining represents no clapping.
Table 5.5 shows that an Introduction of only one textline tends to occur if the textline has 6 or 8 beats. The Introduction thus tends to keep to the overall duration of 6 or 8 beats.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beats per textline</th>
<th>Count of song items with one textline per Introduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4-beats</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-beats</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-beats</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total count</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5 Distribution of Introductions with one textline related to number of beats per textline

Variation from the modal length of two textlines in the Introduction is more likely if the song text has a 6-beat or 8-beat textline than if it has two 4-beat textlines. The number of textlines per Introduction thus relates to the number of beats per textline. This is particularly noticeable when we consider songs that have a paired structure—AB. If the beginning textline has 4 beats, then the second textline is sung in the same melodic section; however if a 6-beat textline commences, only one textline is sung in the introductory melodic section. Table 5.6 shows the 111 song items with a paired structure (AB), grouped according to the number of textlines they have in their Introduction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. textlines per MS</th>
<th>Count of song items</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4-beat textline</td>
<td>6-beat textline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 TL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 TL</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total count</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.6 Distribution of textlines per Introduction related to the number of beats per textline in song items with a paired song text structure

The modal length of number of textlines per Introduction relates to the overall duration associated with the introduction, which has 8 beats. Frequency counts show that there tend to be two 4-beat textlines per Introduction; one 8-beat textline per Introduction, and one 6-beat textline per Introduction. This last tendency is the least strong, possibly

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47 There are no paired song texts with an 8-beat textline.
because the preferred 8-beat duration in the Introduction cannot be achieved, and so there is a tension between not going over the 8-beat duration and adhering to the modal length of two textlines.

A 6-beat textline can also be considered structurally ambiguous, being midway between a 4-beat and an 8-beat textline. In this way 6-beat textlines straddle the requirements for the modal setting of text to the introductory melodic section. This structural ambiguity gives scope for choice in how text is set to melody.

5.4.2 Descent
The descending passage lasts the length of a textline, which is usually 4 beats, and the tonic is repeated for the length of a textline. Other singers join in the singing and beating accompaniment during the Descent once they are sure of the song text.\(^48\) In some cases only the song leader sings here.\(^49\)

A total of 579 song items have Descent melodic sections. The six song items without a Descent have an internal melodic section where the Descent melodic section would normally occur.\(^50\) In these six song items the second melodic section could be considered either a shortened Internal section or an extended Descent. I have chosen to refer to them as shortened Internal sections, as shown in (4). These are discussed in §5.4.3.

(4) MS1 A
    MS3 ABB ← shortened Internal MS
    MS4 AA
    MS5 BBA

(record 464)

The number of textlines per Descent is shown in Table 5.7.

---

\(^{48}\) Ellis (1998:437) states that generally in Central Australian singing the singers only join in following the introduction when they are sure of the text and beat.

\(^{49}\) As in records 380, 277, 417, 622, 7, 148, 366, 105, 109, 106, 96, 97 and 99.

\(^{50}\) Records 53, 54, 464, 465, 642 and 643.
No. textlines per Descent MS | Count of song items | Descent type
---|---|---
1 TL | 36 | shortened
2 TL | 465 | modal
3 TL | 56 | extended
4 TL | 22 |
Total count | 579 |

Table 5.7 Distribution of textlines per Descent in song items

It can be seen that the modal length of the Descent is two textlines—a textline pair. In these cases, and where the modal length of the Introduction is also two textlines, the Descent completes the first cycle of the song text. The modal length of the Descent is adhered to in 80% of song items. As with the introduction, this high frequency shows that the end of the Descent is what Barwick calls a "point of fit" (1989:19)—a place where there are coinciding boundaries in both the melodic structure and the text structure.

There are, however, 114 Descents that have a variant length of one, three or four textlines. Descents with one textline are referred to as a shortened Descent, as in (5), and Descents of three or four textlines are referred to as extended Descents, as in (6).

(5) MS1 A
MS2 A ← shortened Descent
MS3 BBAA
MS4 BB
MS5 AABB

(song text 17, record 251)

(6) MS1 BB
MS2 AABB ← extended Descent
MS3 AABB
MS4 AABB

(song text 9, record 478)

Table 5.8 shows that, as in the shortened Introduction, there is a strong tendency for modal length Descents to occur when the textline has 4 beats, while shortened Descents...
tend to occur when the textline has 6 or 8 beats. This shows that the overall duration of a Descent as 8 beats is a significant factor in the modal length of textlines.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beats per textline</th>
<th>Count of song items with one textline per Descent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4-beats</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-beats</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-beats</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total count</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.8 Distribution of Descents with one textline related to number of beats per textline

The 78 extended Descents (see Table 5.7) tend to occur in song items with particular structural features rather than song texts with a particular number of beats per textline. Table 5.9 groups extended Descents according to song text structure and whether the song item has an Introduction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. textlines per MS</th>
<th>Count of song items</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AABB structure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 TL</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 TL</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no of song items with this structure</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undoubled song texts (ABB and AB structure)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 TL</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 TL</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Without Introduction$^{33}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 TL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 TL</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total count of song items with an extended Descent</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.9 Distribution of extended Descents related to song text structure and whether there is an Introduction in the song item

There is a tendency for extended Descents to occur in song texts with an undoubled song text structure (AB and ABB) and song items without an Introduction. By extending the Descent the boundaries of the song text cycle coincide with the boundary of the Descent melodic section.

5.4.3 Internal melodic section
The Internal melodic sections have the same melodic pattern as the Descent, but the tonic is repeated so that the duration of the Internal section is double that of the Descent.

$^{33}$ The song text structure of song items that were interrupted is not shown.
The modal length of the Internal section is four textlines, but extended Internal sections are common. At the extreme, an Internal section can have eight textlines (records 355, 358, 360), as in (7).

(7) MS1 BB
    MS2 AABB
**MS3 AABBAABB** ← extended Internal MS\(^{54}\)
    MS4 AABB
    MS5 AABBAAB

(song text 13, record 358)

The number of textlines per Internal melodic section is shown in Table 5.10.\(^55\) There are a total of 626 Internal sections in the 585 song items.\(^56\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. textlines per Internal MS</th>
<th>Count of song items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total count</td>
<td>626</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 5.10 Distribution of textlines per Internal melodic sections in song items*

The modal length of the Internal section is four textlines (50%). A total of 310 Internal sections have a variant number of textlines. Table 5.11 shows that there is a tendency for shortened Internal sections to occur in song texts with either a 6-beat or 8-beat textline, or in song items with a paired song text structure.

\(^{54}\) Note that the Descent is also extended in this song item.

\(^{55}\) This does not include the song items in which MS3 is the final melodic section or those which were interrupted.

\(^{56}\) The number of Internal sections is greater than the number of song items because a song item may have more than one Internal section. See Table 5.3.
sections were absent in later performances may indicate a historical change, or it may reflect the increasing age of the singers, as their ability to extend the length of a breath may have weakened. It may also reflect a lack of confidence in the song style, resulting perhaps from not performing the series regularly, in which case the modal length of a melodic section may be preferred.

The 11 song items having an extended Internal section with a doubled structure (AABB) not from the 1976 performances were items of song texts 11, 12 and 13 sung at different performances. These three song texts often have a fast tempo, enabling more textlines to be sung per melodic section and fit in with the overall duration. The faster tempo also reflects the meanings of these song texts as 'quick' (see §8.4).

5.4.4 Unaccompanied melodic section
The Unaccompanied melodic section (represented by underlining) is characterised by having no beating accompaniment. It has the same melodic structure as the Internal section and, like the Internal section, may occur more than once in a song item, as in (8).

(8) MS1 BB
    MS2 AA
    MS3 BBAABB
    **MS4 AABB** ← unaccompanied
    MS5 ABBAA
    MS6 BBAA
    MS7 BBAABBA

    introduction
descent
internal
unaccompanied
internal
unaccompanied
final

(song text 35, record 178)

The Unaccompanied section is sometimes absent in song items, especially those accompanying dancing. There are 434 song items that have an Unaccompanied section.

The number of textlines per Unaccompanied melodic section is shown in Table 5.13.

---

58 All 11 song items have only two textlines in the preceding Descent melodic section (records 365, 543-546, 41, 747, 748, 489-491).

59 Both song texts 12 and 13 have a song form meaning 'quick' - Òwore and Òpere respectively; and on one occasion song text 11 was also glossed 'quick'. See Appendix 1: song text 11, expansion 6.

60 This does not include the song items in which MS3 is the final melodic section.
Table 5.11 Distribution of shortened Internal melodic sections related to number of beats per textline and song text structure

The two song items with 4-beat textlines that have a shortened Internal section occur in unsatisfactory performances. Song items with a shortened Descent often also have a shortened Internal melodic section, although this is not always the case. As in the other melodic sections, the overall duration, which in this case is 16 beats, is a motivating factor in having fewer than the modal number of four textlines per Internal melodic section when these textlines have 6 or 8 beats.

The 223 extended Internal melodic sections (see Table 5.10) tend to occur in song items of undoubled song text structures (AB and ABB) and in the 1976 performances. This is shown in Table 5.12.

Table 5.12 Distribution of song items with an extended Internal melodic section related to song text structure and particular performance

All song items with five textlines per Internal section have the relatively unusual undoubled song text structures (AB and ABB). Song items with six or more textlines per Internal section tend to be from the 1976 performances. That extended Internal

57 In record 374 there is a disagreement in the length of the melodic section. Kirsty tries to shorten the melodic section while other singers maintain the modal length of this melodic section. Record 731 is sung amidst complaints that this is the wrong song text.
sections were absent in later performances may indicate a historical change, or it may reflect the increasing age of the singers, as their ability to extend the length of a breath may have weakened. It may also reflect a lack of confidence in the song style, resulting perhaps from not performing the series regularly, in which case the modal length of a melodic section may be preferred.

The 11 song items having an extended Internal section with a doubled structure (AABB) not from the 1976 performances were items of song texts 11, 12 and 13 sung at different performances. These three song texts often have a fast tempo, enabling more textlines to be sung per melodic section and fit in with the overall duration.\(^{58}\) The faster tempo also reflects the meanings of these song texts as 'quick' (see §8.4).\(^{59}\)

### 5.4.4 Unaccompanied melodic section

The Unaccompanied melodic section (represented by underlining) is characterised by having no beating accompaniment. It has the same melodic structure as the Internal section and, like the Internal section, may occur more than once in a song item, as in (8).

\[(8) \quad \text{MS1 BB} \quad \text{MS2 AA} \quad \text{MS3 BBAABB} \quad \text{MS4 AABB} \quad \text{MS5 AABBA} \quad \text{MS6 BBA} \quad \text{MS7 BBAABBA} \quad \text{introduction} \quad \text{descent} \quad \text{internal} \quad \text{unaccompanied} \quad \text{internal} \quad \text{unaccompanied} \quad \text{final} \]

(song text 35, record 178)

The Unaccompanied section is sometimes absent in song items, especially those accompanying dancing. There are 434 song items that have an Unaccompanied section. The number of textlines per Unaccompanied melodic section is shown in Table 5.13.\(^{60}\)

---

\(^{58}\) All 11 song items have only two textlines in the preceding Descent melodic section (records 365, 543-546, 41, 747, 748, 489-491).

\(^{59}\) Both song texts 12 and 13 have a song form meaning 'quick'—\(\text{awere}\) and \(\text{elpere}\) respectively; and on one occasion song text 11 was also glossed 'quick'. See Appendix 1: song text 11, expansion 6.

\(^{60}\) This does not include the song items in which MS3 is the final melodic section.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. textlines per Unaccompanied MS</th>
<th>Count of song items</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>shortened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>modal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>extended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total count</td>
<td>435</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.13 Distribution of textlines per Unaccompanied melodic section in song items

There is a strong point of fit between the boundaries of the Unaccompanied melodic section and the song text cycle with 84% of Unaccompanied sections having four textlines. Table 5.14 shows that shortened Unaccompanied melodic sections tend to occur when there is a 6-beat or 8-beat textline and in song texts with a paired structure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. textlines per MS</th>
<th>Count of song items</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4-beat textline</td>
<td>6-beat textline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 TL</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 TL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total count of song items with a shortened Unaccompanied MS</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.14 Distribution of song items with an Unaccompanied melodic section related to number of beats and song text structure

Song items with two textlines per Unaccompanied section tend to have an 8-beat or 6-beat textline; thus maintaining the overall duration of 16 beats per Unaccompanied melodic section. Song items with three textlines tend to have a paired song text structure. In three song items with 4-beat textlines there are either disagreements or hesitancy in the singing, or the Unaccompanied section follows an extended Internal section, thus completing the song text cycle, as in (9).

(9) MS1 BB
    MS2 AA
    MS3 BBAABB
    MS4 AA
    MS5 BBAABB

(song text 11, record 365)

61 The one song item with an extended Unaccompanied section is a setting of song text 13 (record 360), a song text which also shows deviation from the modal length in the Internal melodic section.

62 Nine song items have two or more unaccompanied melodic sections.
5.4.5 Final melodic section

The melodic contour of the Final melodic section is the same as that of the Internal and the Unaccompanied melodic section, but often has one more textline than the previous Unaccompanied section, as in (10).\(^63\) *Akwelye* song items, like most Central Australian songs, end with a tailing off and so it is difficult to tell which textline is the last textline of the Final melodic section.

(10) MS1 AA  
MS2 BB  
MS3 AABB  
MS4 AABB  
MS5 AABB  
← final MS  

(song text 6, record 480)

There are 552 song items with a Final melodic section. The remaining 33 song items in the sample end on either an Unaccompanied section or an Internal section, as there are fewer than five melodic sections in these song items.\(^64\) The number of textlines per Final melodic section is shown in Table 5.15.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. textlines per Final MS</th>
<th>Count of song items (including additional 33 song items)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7 7</td>
<td>shortened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>33 39</td>
<td>modal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>141 154</td>
<td>extended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>123 130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>107 114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>81 81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>56 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9+</td>
<td>4 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total count</td>
<td>552 585</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.15 Distribution of textlines per Final melodic section in song items

The number of textlines per Final melodic section is extremely varied. Four textlines is the modal length, but this only constitutes 25% of the 558 song items.

\(^{63}\) In 509 song items MS5 is longer than its previous melodic section (or the same length if the previous melodic section has been extended).

\(^{64}\) When the 33 song items are included in the count, the percentage of textlines per Final melodic section remains similar. Consequently, they are not included in Table 5.15.
As in other melodic sections, there is a relationship between shortened Final melodic sections and song texts with a 6-beat or 8-beat textline, as shown in Table 5.16.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. textlines per Internal MS</th>
<th>Count of song items</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4-beat textline</td>
<td>6-beat textline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 TL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 TL</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total count of song items with a shortened Final MS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.16 Distribution of song items with a shortened Final melodic section related to number of beats per textline

There are 371 song items with five or more textlines in the Final section. The extension of Final melodic sections is related more to specific performances than to either the structure of the song text or number of beats in the textlines. Table 5.16 shows that song items with a Final melodic section of seven or more textlines occurred in the 1976 Tara performance; those with five textlines occurred in the Arratyarenge and 1976 performances, while those with six textlines occurred in the Elpate and 1976 performances.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. textlines per Internal MS</th>
<th>Count of song items</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 TL</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 TL</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7+ TL</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total count of song items with an extended Final MS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.17 Distribution of song items with an extended Final melodic section related to performance

The fact that there are no following melodic sections, and thus no requirements for beginning the next melodic section at a particular part of the song text cycle, may account for the large variation in number of textlines per Final melodic section.

---

65 Here 4-beat textline refers to a song text with two 4-beat textlines; 6-beat textline refers to song texts with either a 4-beat and 6-beat textline or two 6-beat textlines; and 8-beat textline refers to any song text with an 8-beat textline.
5.4.6 Summary of melodic sections

This section has defined the melodic structure of an *Akweley* song item. It has identified the modal length of melodic sections as where the boundaries of text and melody usually coincide. There is a strong tendency for the end of the song text cycle to coincide with the end of the Descent (85%), and the end of the Unaccompanied section (84%). That is, the end of these melodic sections are the most frequent points of fit for matching the end of the song text cycle, as illustrated in (11).

(11) MS1 BB
    MS2 AA ← point of fit
    MS3 BBAA
    MS4 BBAA ← point of fit
    MS5 BBAABB

(song text 11, record 526)

Extending a melodic section tends to occur most often in Internal melodic sections, where the second song text cycle usually begins. The shortening of melodic sections relates to structural features of the song text. Textlines with 6 or 8-beats are likely to have shortened melodic sections because there is a preferred (or modal) overall durational length of each of the melodic sections.

Flexibility in the number of textlines per melodic section is creatively produced in performance, and will be considered further in §5.6 where the matching of particular textlines with melodic sections is considered. The number of beats per textline and song text structure provides boundaries—or limitations—on this flexibility.

5.5 Rhythm

In this section I identify the rhythmic structure of *Akweley* textlines. As identified in §4.2.2, a song item consists of a repeated configuration of two rhythmic textlines until the end of the melodic structure. This is what musicologists describe as isorhythm (Ellis 1968:25). *Akweley* is isorhythmic in relation to both text and rhythm.

---

66 The rhythmic analysis does not include the two Waake songs, song texts 20 and 46; thus 94 different textlines form the basis of this analysis.

67 Isorhythm is a feature of Central Australian songs (Ellis and Barwick 1987, and Barwick 1989:13) though is less prevalent in northern Australian songs (March in press Ch 4).
5.5.1 Rhythmic cells

In this study I make use of constructs which equate to rhythmic cells by ethnomusicologists and which are called feet in a metrical analysis. Both are essentially the same phenomenon. In this chapter I identify their musical aspects, referring to them as rhythmic cells, and in Chapter 6 I identify their metrical aspects where I refer to them as feet. In Figure 5.5 below the metrical name used in Chapter 6 is also given. These names are discussed further in Chapter 6.

In comparing textlines, we can see that there are recurring groupings of rhythmic patterns which, following Ellis (1985:93) I call rhythmic cells. Two or more of these rhythmic cells combine to form a rhythmic textline, as identified in §4.2.2. The rhythmic cell is the smallest recurring rhythmic unit across all Akwelye textlines.

Figure 5.5 shows the five rhythmic cells used in the 94 Akwelye songs texts: two two-note cells (cell 1 and 2), two three-note cells (cell 3 and 5), and one four-note cell. Each cell is the length of two crotchet beats and crosses show the accompanying beating, which occurs at every crotchet beat. Rhythmic variants are marked ~ and discussed in §5.5.3.

![Figure 5.5 Rhythmic cells in Akwelye](image)

---

68 See also Ellis (1970:148f). This is what Barwick (1989:17) calls a "beating cell".

69 Slight rhythmic variations of single rhythmic cells are also attested in other areas of Central Australia (Barwick 2001, pers.comm.). Marett also uses the term rhythmic cells for a comparable phenomenon in wangga songs, which are six crotchets in length (in press).

70 Cell 5 is a polyrhythmic textline where length and beat cannot adequately be identified. As such, it is not considered in the metrical analysis in Chapter 6.
It can be seen that in four rhythmic cells the beating rhythm and sung rhythm coincide. I refer to these as duple rhythmic cells. In Chapter 6, I show that these four rhythmic units correspond to the metrical units I call feet. These four cells all end in a long note, a characteristic feature of rhythmic cells noted in other Central Australian song genres. Rhythmic cell 5 is the only polyrhythmic cell; that is, where rhythm and sung syllables do not coincide (a triplet sung against a beating accompaniment in duple time). Akwelye songs consist primarily of duple rhythmic cells, with only two songs set to a series of polyrhythmic cells (textlines 29 and 43).

---

71 Cells 1, 2 and 3 are the same rhythmic cells identified by Keough in murlu songs (1990:159).
72 Marett likewise defines text cells (comparable to my metrical feet) and rhythmic cells independently and finds in most cases they are "co-terminous" (in press Ch 6).
74 Ellis also notes the independence of beating accompaniment and vocal line in many Central Australian songs (1968).
In *Akwele*, the same rhythmic cell is used to set a recurring phonological sequence in all but one case.\(^{75}\) It is often the case that such recurring rhythmic text cells occur in both textlines of a song text. In §6.5.2.3 I show that repetition of a rhythmic text cell is a common type of parallelism used to form *Akwele* song texts. The next section considers how rhythmic cells combine to form the rhythmic structure of a textline, referred to as an isorhythmic line.

### 5.5.2 Isorhythmic lines

There are 16 different isorhythmic lines to which the 94 *Akwele* song texts making up this study are set. The isorhythmic lines are shown in Table 5.18, which also shows that there is a preferred order of rhythmic cells in structuring the isorhythmic lines.

\(^{75}\) The song form *aherrke-aherrke-le* is set to different metrical feet in textlines 14a and 51b.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Isorhythmic line</th>
<th>Rhythmic Cells</th>
<th>Syllables</th>
<th>Textline Identification no.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>C1+C2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9B, 27B</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>C2+C2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>37a</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>C1+C3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5A, 5B, 9A, 39B, 45A, 45B</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>C1+C2+C2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3B</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>C2+C2+C2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>38B</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>C3+C2+C2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7A, 7B, 4B</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>C4+C3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15A</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15B</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>C3+C3+C3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6B, 10B, 37B, 40B</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>C1+C3+C3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14A</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>C5+C2+C5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29A, 29B, 43A, 43B</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>C3+C3+C3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16B, 40A, 47B</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>C4+C3+C2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18B</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>C3+C3+C3+C2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3A, 17A, 17B, 42A, 1A</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5.18 Structure and frequency of the 16 Akwelye isorhythmic lines**

Note that there are no 10-syllable textlines. Isorhythmic lines Z and V are by far the most common rhythmic setting of Akwelye textlines. Most isorhythmic lines are made up of two rhythmic cells, as in (12):

---

76 The repetition of this textline (30A3) has an altered rhythmic and text structure; instead of C3+C3 it is C3+C4. This variation is discussed in detail in §6.6.3.
(12) rhythmic cells \[ \text{C3 + C3} \] = isorhythm V \\
\[ \text{kwayelatyentyera} \]

A total of seven isorhythmic lines are made up of two rhythmic cells, to which 70 different textlines are set (isorhythms Z, Y, X, W, V, R, and N) and a total of seven isorhythmic lines are made up of three rhythmic cells, to which only 17 different textlines are set (isorhythms T, S, P, O, M and L). The 3-cell isorhythmic line is exemplified in (13).

(13) rhythmic cells \[ \text{C1 + C2 + C2} \] = isorhythm U \\
\[ \text{preltyingkatyarrerna} \]

Only one isorhythmic line is made up of four rhythmic cells, to which five textlines are set (isorhythm K). This is exemplified in (14).

(14) rhythmic cells \[ \text{C3 + C3 + C3 + C2} \] = isorhythm K \\
\[ \text{kwelantyalantyarna kwelantyalantya} \]

There is only one example of an isorhythmic line analysed as a single rhythmic cell, illustrated in (15) in a song text that has a three-part structure.

(15) A \\
\[ \text{C4 + C3} \] A \\
\[ \text{C4 + C3 + C1} \] B \\
\[ \text{kwerrparangalernentya} \] kwerrparangalernentya laura

Alternatively, textline B could be analysed as an isorhythmic line with three rhythmic cell; and a paired song text structure, as shown in (16).

(16) A \\
\[ \text{C4 + C3} \] B \\
\[ \text{C4 + C3 + C1} \] kwerrparangalernentya kwerrparangalernentya laura
One reason for postulating a single cell analysis of textline B might be that rhythmic cell 1 only occurs at the beginning of an isorhythmic line (isorhythms Y, W, U and O). On the other hand, a reason for postulating a three-cell analysis of textline B might be that all isorhythmic lines consist of more than one rhythmic cell. In §5.6.2.4 I discuss reasons relating to textline reversals that suggest a single cell analysis best reflects the rhythmic structure of textline 15b.

Rhythmic cells 3 and 2 are the most common cells for constructing isorhythms. We may also propose the following rules for ordering cells in relation to each other and their position in the isorhythm. These are:

- cell 1 can only come at the beginning of an isorhythmic line
- cell 2 must not come before cell 3
- cell 4 must come at the beginning of an isorhythm.

Chapter 6 considers these rules from a metric perspective. In the isorhythmic lines that have four rhythmic cells the pair of cells are called rhythmic segments (Barwick 1989:18), as shown in Figure 5.6.

![Figure 5.6 Rhythmic structure of textline pair 1a](image)

In this section we have seen how rhythmic cells are grouped to form 16 different isorhythmic lines.\(^77\) When it comes to setting the isorhythmic textlines to melody, rhythmic cells, textline segment and textline boundaries are structurally significant, as will be shown in section §5.6.

---

\(^{77}\) Many of the *Akweye* rhythmic cells and isorhythms also occur in the Warumungu *yawulyu Mangamunga* series (Barwick 2000b), for example cell 3 followed by cell 2 forms the isorhythm in *yawulyu Mangumunga* songs 9, 10, 12, 15, 17 and 23, and cell 3 followed by cell 3 forms the isorhythm in songs 6, 13 and 16. Songs 21 and 22 also have an alternating partial repeat and full repeat of textline, akin to *Akweye* textline 1a. The similarities may relate to the fact that both song series involve actions of Dreamtime women; that Kaytetye and Warumungu are neighbours, and there has been much intermarriage. Indeed the late Topsy Nelson Napurrula said that while living at Atkarenge Kaytetye women had learned the Warumungu *yawulyu Mangamunga* (pers.comm. to June Simpson, 1984).
5.5.3 Variation of rhythmic cells

Rhythmic cells 2 and 3 each have a variation where the initial \( \frac{3}{4} \) becomes \( \frac{1}{4} \). (see Figure 5.5). Cell 5 has a variation that also results in the first note being shortened. The variation can be summarised as 'shortening of initial syllable', where 'initial syllable' refers to the first syllable of the textline that falls on the first beat. I argue that this variation is structurally insignificant, and can be compared to allophonic variation in phonology.\(^{73}\) The variation can be seen to relate to a set of interrelated linguistic factors. This section identifies these linguistic factors and shows how they co-occur with the shortened initial syllable of the three rhythmic cells.

At the beginning of a melodic section, 45 out of 94 textlines are sung with what was defined in §5.4 as an initial vowel upbeat. This section shows that this vowel upbeat coincides with shortened first syllables and extended second syllables. This is illustrated in (17), where (i) shows its rhythmic realisations beginning a melodic section, and (ii) in non-initial position, i.e. within a melodic section.

(17)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\quad A \\
&\quad \frac{3}{4} \quad \frac{1}{4} \quad \frac{1}{4} \quad \frac{1}{4} \\
\quad \text{(i) (a) larrenyarrenyarrenyarra} \\
&\quad A \\
&\quad \frac{1}{4} \quad \frac{1}{4} \quad \frac{1}{4} \quad \frac{1}{4} \\
\quad \text{(ii) larrenyayrrenyayrrenyay} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(textline 7a)

In (17)(i) the first textline that begins the melodic section has an initial vowel /a/ sung before the first beat and the rhythm of the two quavers becomes \( \frac{1}{4} \). This has the effect of adding further stress to the note on the beat. In (17)(ii) there is no initial vowel sung before the beat—the textline begins with the first syllable [la]—and there is no alteration to the initial two quaver beats.

In §6.2.4.1, I show that particular phonological features influence whether a textline is associated with a vowel upbeat, showing that it is the text rather than rhythm that determines the presence of the upbeat. Thus there is no justification for a rhythmic division into more than the five rhythmic cells—the four duple rhythmic cells and one polyrhythmic cell.

\(^{73}\) Keogh (1990:158, 213) and Ellis (1998:433) note variation in exactly the same rhythmic cells, arguing that the variation is structurally insignificant.
5.5.4 Isorhythmic lines with the same numbers of syllables

In §5.5.2 it was shown that rhythmic cells group to form 16 different isorhythmic lines. While the number of syllables per textline determines the isorhythmic line to which the text is set, there are sometimes two or three different isorhythmic lines with the same number of syllables. This means that as well as the number of syllables in the textline, other factors influence the choice of isorhythmic pattern to which a text is set. Chapter 6 identifies a word boundary rule operating in *Akwele*ye, which influences the type of cell, and thus isorhythmic line to which a word is set. This section groups isorhythmic lines in terms of the number of syllables, revealing major structural differences in the isorhythmic lines. This paves the way for the metrical analysis in Chapter 6.

Table 5.19 shows the various isorhythmic lines available for a textline with a given number of syllables. The isorhythmic line most often employed for each of the given number of syllables is marked *. These are referred to as the standard setting of text to isorhythmic line.
Form and Meaning of Akweye: Chapter 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. syllables</th>
<th>Isorhythm</th>
<th>Rythmic cells</th>
<th>Textline id.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>15B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Y*</td>
<td>C1+C2</td>
<td>9B, 27B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>C2+C2</td>
<td>37a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>C1+C3</td>
<td>5A, 5B, 9A, 9B, 39B, 45A, 45B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>C1+C2+C2</td>
<td>3B, 4B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>C2+C2+C2</td>
<td>38B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>S*</td>
<td>C3+C2+C2</td>
<td>7A, 7B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>C4+C3</td>
<td>15A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>P*</td>
<td>C3+C3+C2</td>
<td>6B, 10B, 37B, 40B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>N*</td>
<td>C5+C5+C5</td>
<td>29A, 29B, 43A, 43B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>C1+C3+C3</td>
<td>14A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>M*</td>
<td>C3+C3+C3</td>
<td>16B, 40A, 47B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>C4+C3+C2</td>
<td>18B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>C5+C3+C3+C2</td>
<td>3/4A, 17A, 17B, 42A, 1A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.19 Groupings of isorhythmic lines based on number of syllables (* = standard setting)

In Table 5.19 it can be seen that a 5-syllable textline could be set to one of two different isorhythms, while an 8-syllable textline could be set to one of three different isorhythms. Note too, that the majority of 5-syllable textlines are set to a C3+C2 rhythmic pattern, and only six are set to a different rhythmic pattern. Variation to the standard rhythmic setting of textlines occurs in 17 out of 94 textlines, and most often where textlines have 5 or 8 syllables. Variant settings can be summarised as follows:

(i) Initial C1 instead of initial C2 or C3. This can be seen in textlines with 4, 5, 6 and 8 syllables. In Chapter 6, I show that setting text to C1 relates to particular phonological features of the text.

79 As stated above, 30A₂ replaces the second C3 with C4.

148
(ii) Initial C4 instead of initial C3 (textlines with 7 and 9 syllables).

(iii) Greater number of rhythmic cells but with fewer syllables (textlines of 6 and 7 syllables).

In Chapter 6, I show that the choice of isorhythmic pattern relates to the number of syllables in the speech word and number of speech words in the textline. These requirements of how words are to be set to rhythm account for all 17 variant settings.

The two equally common settings of 8-syllable isorhythmic lines result from the choice between setting text polyrhythmically (N) or to a metrically regular pattern (P). Isorhythm P is considered the default setting, and isorhythm N as the marked setting because the latter only occur in two song texts, whereas isorhythm P occurs in four different song texts. The two songs set to isorhythm N have an accompanying dance pattern reflecting the semantic content of the text, and their four textlines have confirmed speech equivalents accounting for every syllable. This may indicate a more recent origin than other song texts, or that these two songs came into existence through the same person.

5.5.5 The pairing of isorhythms in song texts

So far we have considered the internal rhythmic structure of textlines. In this section I consider the pairs of isorhythmic lines that form the 50 Akwelye song texts. There are 21 different pairs of isorhythmic lines that form a song text. These are shown in Table 5.20.

---

80 Marett observes that the more complex rhythmic songs are less likely to be maintained in Wangga songs (in press Ch 6). It is noteworthy that at the Elpate performance singers attempted with limited success song text 29 (record 566), and singer April stated couldn’t sing it.

81 Ellis (1968:46) suggests that dance verses depict an event in Pitjantjatjara women’s songs, whereas other rhythmically structured songs only verbally convey events. Similarly, there are two Warumungu song texts with a relatively semantically transparent text (song text 19 and 20 in Barwick 2000b), and these song texts are associated with a particular composer.

82 In the recorded Warumungu Yawulyu series (Barwick 2000b), particular rhythmic styles are also associated with a particular composer.
### Table 5.20 Pairing of isorhythmic lines in song texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heterogeneous song texts</th>
<th>No. syllables</th>
<th>Song text id.</th>
<th>Total no. song texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V + Z</td>
<td>6+5</td>
<td>2, 11, 12, 13, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 30, 32</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z + V</td>
<td>5+6</td>
<td>16, 31, 35, 51</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K + U</td>
<td>11+6</td>
<td>3, 4, 42</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z + P</td>
<td>5+8</td>
<td>6, 10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z + T</td>
<td>5+6</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z + M</td>
<td>5+9</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z + L</td>
<td>5+9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X + P</td>
<td>4+8</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W + V</td>
<td>5+6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V + W</td>
<td>6+5</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R + Q</td>
<td>7+2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O + V</td>
<td>8+6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M + P</td>
<td>9+8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K + Z</td>
<td>11+5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z + Y</td>
<td>5+4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total song texts with different isorhythmic lines**: 31

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homogeneous song texts</th>
<th>No. syllables</th>
<th>Song text id.</th>
<th>Total no. song texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Z + Z</td>
<td>5+5</td>
<td>8, 22, 26, 28, 33, 36, 41, 44, 52, 50</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V + V</td>
<td>6+6</td>
<td>48, 49, 34</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W + W</td>
<td>5+5</td>
<td>5, 45</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N + N</td>
<td>8+8</td>
<td>29, 43</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S + S</td>
<td>7+7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K + K</td>
<td>11+11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total song texts with the same isorhythmic line**: 19

From Table 5.20 it can be seen that six of the isorhythmic pairings have the same isorhythmic line in each textline and are thus homogeneous in relation to isorhythm (18 song texts), while 15 isorhythmic pairings have different isorhythmic lines in each textline and are thus heterogeneous in relation to isorhythm (32 song texts). I return to the issue of contrasting textlines in §5.6.1.

In Akwela the there are six textlines that occur in more than one song text.\(^3\) Five combine with a textline of the same isorhythmic pattern as in the other pairing. This means that the particular isorhythmic pairing of the song text is maintained. For example textline 8b (set to isorhythm Z) combines with textlines 8a, 33a and 50a which are all set to isorhythmic line Z, maintaining the homogeneous pairing of the song text: Z + Z. Thus, while a given textline can recur in two different song texts, the isorhythmic structure of the song text is maintained in five out of the six cases.

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\(^3\) Textlines 3a, 3b, 8b, 11a, 18b and 22a.
5.5.6 Variation in rhythm and text in Akwelye textlines

Of the 94 Akwelye textlines, all except two are always set to the same isorhythmic pattern. The rarity of variant rhythmic settings of text in Central Australian songs is well attested, which makes any variation highly significant in terms of revealing underlying structures (Barwick 1989:27). This section analyses the two instances of text/rhythm variation, showing how the variation reveals the saliency of rhythmic units in setting text to melody. The variant isorhythmic setting of the two anomalous textlines can also be understood in terms of the social construction of the performance, as the variation occurred in renditions of these song texts when key singers were absent.

Textline 1a was shortened to half its length in two song items (records no 107, 108). The standard text/rhythmic structure of textline 1a is shown in (18).

(18) \[ A_1 \quad \text{kwelantya lantyarna kwelantya lantyarna kwelantya lantyarna kwelantya lantyarna kwelantya lantyarna} \quad A_2 \]

In records 107 and 108 the textline pair consisted of only:

(19) \[ A_1 \quad \text{kwelantyalantyarna kwelantyalantyarna} \quad A_2 \]

We can see that the variant form of textline 1a in (19) is the result of reanalysing the two text/rhythmic segments as two textlines, and adding an extra syllable to the second

---

84 The strict adherence to rhythmic and textual forms in this corpus is all the more striking considering the time span in which the recordings were made and the infrequency with which performances occurred throughout this time. Ellis states that the Arrernte songs she recorded, which Carl Strehlow had recorded 60 years earlier, show almost no change (1998:435). See also Barwick (1989:27).

85 Conservative rhythmic text in Central Australian song is noted by Barwick (1989:14) and Ellis (1998:435). This contrasts with songs from northern Australia where the text and rhythm is highly variable (Marett in press Ch 9).

86 Singers were concerned about the absence of Akwelye owners, making comments such as "Boss-ingen-le holdem-up-aylerangye, 'The owners are holding (us) up'" and "Owner for corroboree that way, owner for corroboree there!" (GIK 5160 da 26-29), implying that the bosses should be present taking responsibility for their songs.
segment so that it is identical to the first segment. Such variation in text/rhythm setting is perhaps what Barwick had in mind when she implied that flexibility in text/melody setting could result in instances of textual/rhythmic variation (1989:27), as the reanalysis of textline 1a is the result of being able to set either the textline pair or textline to a melodic section, a flexibility to be discussed in §5.6.2.

The second anomalous structure is more complex and occurred in song text 10, also at the Tara 1 performance when key singers were absent. The standard rhythmic text structure of song text 10, which has an AB structure, is shown in (20).

!(20) A merrpewa ntyerray B terlerra merrpera rrerna
     \small C3 + C2 \quad C3 + C3 + C2

Four different text segments can be identified in this song text and I represent these with the letters a, b, c and d, as in (21).

!(21) A merrpewantyerray B terlerra merrpera rrerna

The anomalous text/rhythmic structure in the Tara 1 performance is shown in (22).

!(22) A terlerra merrperay B terlerra merrperay ntyerray
     \scriptsize (record 112 & 113)

In (22) textline A has been reanalysed as containing the first and second text/rhythmic cells of textline B. Textline B maintains the first two text/rhythmic cells but it has been reanalysed as having the last text/rhythmic cells of textline A. If we consider song text structure to be cyclic, most of the variation can be understood as resulting from a

\footnote{The same variation to textline 1a also occurs in the Alekarenge performance, where Daphne was present (record 002).}

\footnote{While there are five text segments in this song text, two are nearly identical and so are both referred to as 'a'.}
redivision of the textline boundaries at a different point in the song text cycle. This is shown in Figure 5.7 where the different text/rhythmic cells are represented with letters.

(i) Standard setting

(ii) Variant setting

Figure 5.7 Reanalysis of text and rhythmic structure of textline 10 from a cyclic perspective

Figure 5.7 shows that in (i) the textline boundary is made after text/rhythmic cell d, whereas in (ii) the textline boundary is made before text/rhythmic cell d. To account for the anomalous song structure in (22) we must still account for the first text/rhythmic cell of the B textline, which is in fact cell c, not cell d. Two reasons why singers might reanalyse segment d as segment c are:

- The sequence of rhythmic cells 2+3 (which is d + a) is not attested in Akwelye.\(^89\)

- It is common (but not compulsory) for the initial text/rhythm cell to be the same in the two textlines of a song text (§6.5.2.3). Thus changing segment d ⇒ c means both textlines in the song text start with c.

The anomalous structure of song text 10 can thus be understood as:

- a redivision of the textline boundaries so that the initial text/rhythmic cell of textline A becomes the second text/rhythmic cell, and

\(^89\) Rhythmic cells with more syllables cannot follow one with less, as will be shown in §6.2.2 when the metrical structure of these lines are considered.
• a reanalysis of segment d to c in order to adhere to parallelism of the initial text/rhythmic cell in both textlines.

The variation does not alter the rhythmic structure of textline B, but it does alter the rhythmic structure of textline A, changing the isorhythmic pattern from Z to V. Such variation is still within the known isorhythmic lines.

The variation in song text 1 and song text 10 is not in the rhythmic setting of syllables (which never alters), but in the combination of text/rhythmic cells to form textlines and textline pairs. The variation shows that rhythmic cells and rhythmic segments are the defining rhythmic units of textlines and textline pairs. As will be seen in the next section, melodic sections can align with rhythmic cells, segments, textlines or textline pairs. I suggest that the variation in text/rhythm discussed here arises from the flexibility in aligning rhythmic text and melody at these points.

5.6 Setting of text/rhythm to melody

The setting of text to melody in Akweye varies in any given song text and between different song items within the one small song. This variation is not a feature of just one or two performances; all performances show variation in this respect. The variation shows that matching rhythmic text to melody—cantillation—is a highly creative and skillful process.

The process of matching a rhythmic text to melody has proven to be complex in many Central Australian songs. Barwick shows that the combining of text with melody in a Pitjantjatjara song adheres to particular structural principles of the text/rhythm (1989:13). Identifying points of structural coincidence in this way has shed much light on the nature of how the text and melody interlock in traditional Aboriginal songs. Often the melody is extended or shortened to accommodate texts of different lengths,

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yet it has been difficult to make explicit the principles operating which enable singers to
do this (Barwick 1989:14).92

This section identifies the different places in the rhythmic text structure where melodic
boundaries can occur. I begin by considering the factors that determine whether a
particular textline pair must commence a song item, or whether a song item can begin
with either textline pair.

5.6.1 Reversibility of isorhythmic lines
In performance, an Akwelye song text may start at the beginning of either textline pair in
a doubled song text. That is, it may begin AABB or BBAA but not ABBA or BAAB.93
In the case of undoubled song texts the song item may begin with either textline (AB or
BA; ABB or BBA). The ability to start a song item with either textline94 is a feature of
Akwelye, and has been noted in some other Central Australian songs.95 The solo singer
who initiates a song item is at liberty to decide which textline she will commence the
song item with. Notwithstanding this, there is a tendency for singers to favour a
particular textline to commence certain song texts. The ability of a song text to begin
with either A or B is what I call song text reversibility, drawing upon Barwick's notion
of a "textline reversal" (1989:19, 1990). Within a small song it is common to reverse the
textline structure of these song texts on the second or third rendition of a song item. For
example, in the Elpate performance song text 36 is sung AABB for the first three items
and then BBAA for the next three items (records 560-565).

Some song texts are very rarely reversed; that is, there is a favoured textline with which
to begin the introductory melodic section.96 We can thus speak of song texts that show a
high level of reversibility (where more than 25% of song items start with the other
textline) and those of low reversibility (where fewer than 25% of song items start with

92 Barwick suggests the way in which text and melody interlock may be specific to a particular song
series and geographic area.
93 There are three exceptions to this: three song items begin with a BAAB structure: song text 24, sung at
two different performances (record 568, 643) and song text 14 (record 750).
94 Hereafter I use textline to refer to both the textline in undoubled song texts and the textline pair in
doubled song texts.
96 Those song items whose first melodic section is a Descent; that is, they do not have an Introduction,
and so are not included in this analysis.
the other textlines). Where possible I limit my analysis to song texts where there are more than 10 song items of a song text to ensure a large sample.

Reversibility is associated with similarity between textlines. In §5.5.5 I described song texts with the same isorhythmic lines as homogeneous. Homogeneity can also be seen in relation to similarity between textlines in other areas, including:

- song text structure (ie. ABB is heterogeneous in contrast to AB and AABB)
- number of beats per textline
- number of syllables per textline.

Textual similarity plays less of a role in contributing to markedness and thus reversibility than these rhythmic features.

5.6.1.1 Song text structure as a contributor to markedness

Reversibility is common in song texts structured AABB (doubled) and AB (paired) but less so in song texts structured ABB (three-part). Table 5.21 compares song texts with the less common three-part and paired structure, where it can be seen that reversibility is unattested in all but one three-part song text but is attested, and sometimes high, in doubled songs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song text structure</th>
<th>Three-part structure</th>
<th>Paired structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Song text id.</td>
<td>26 23 45</td>
<td>10 24 40 41 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. song items</td>
<td>0 5 0 5 4 1</td>
<td>3 29 27 10 1 3 7 1 5 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.21 Number of times each textline begins a song item out of the undoubled song texts (the preferred textline for commencing a song item is in italics)

The relationship between song text structure and reversibility is not surprising considering that the pattern of repetition forming the song text structure differs in relation to the two textlines. ABB can thus be described as a heterogeneous song text.

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97 In contrast to both Ngintaka (Barwick 1989:20) and Pintupi songs (Moyle 1979:89), reversals do occur in Akwelye songs with a paired structure.

98 Discounting the two song items with the anomalous song structure AABB. All others are three-part.
structure, whereas the other two structures are homogeneous. I now turn to the number of beats per textline as a determinant of markedness, and thus a factor in reducing reversibility.

5.6.1.2 Number of beats as a contributor to markedness
If a song text has textlines of different rhythmic lengths this contributes to markedness and there is a tendency to start with a particular textline, thus reducing reversibility. Table 5.22 shows the commencing textline in song texts that have textlines of different numbers of beats.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song text id. No. beats per TL</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>37</th>
<th>38</th>
<th>42</th>
<th>47</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. song items</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.22 Number of times each textline begins a song item out of the doubled song texts with textlines of different number of beats (the preferred textline for commencing a song item is in italics)

Only one out of the 11 song texts with textlines of different rhythmic lengths shows high reversibility—song text 14. When the 6-beat textline begins items of this song text there is only one textline in the Introduction and Descent, thus the following Internal section begins with the same textline pair as it would if the 4-beat textline had begun the song item (BB), thus reducing the effect of reversibility throughout the song item. It can also be seen that there is a preference to begin a song item with the textline that is not 6 beats; i.e. the 4-beat or 8-beat textline. This relates to the modal length of melodic sections as 8 beats, as discussed in §5.4.

If the number of beats per textline contrasts, thus producing markedness, this contributes to making one textline the favoured textline for commencing a song item. In contrast, song texts with textlines of the same number of beats are homogeneous, and more likely to have high reversibility.

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99 This song item was abandoned, probably because it is not a reversible song text (record 64).

100 Records 469, 471, 749 and 751.
5.6.1.3 Number of syllables as a contributor to markedness

Song texts with textlines of a different number of beats tend to have a different number of syllables. Among song texts with textlines of the same number of beats often one textline has one more syllable than the other. In such cases there is a tendency to start with a particular textline, thus reducing reversibility. Table 5.23 shows reversibility in song texts with the different number of syllables in each textline and Table 5.24 shows reversibility in song texts with the same number of syllables in each textline.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song text id.</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>22</th>
<th>34</th>
<th>28</th>
<th>33</th>
<th>36</th>
<th>43</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. syllables in textline</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. song items</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.23 Doubled song texts with textlines of the same number of beats and the same number of syllables, showing how often each textline commences a song item

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song text id.</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>21</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>31</th>
<th>32</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. syllables in textline</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. song items</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.24 Doubled song texts with textlines of same number of beats but different number of syllables, showing how often each textline commences a song item

From Tables 5.23 and 5.24 it can be seen that reversibility tends to be higher in song texts that have the same number of syllables in each textline (song texts 34 and 22 being the only exceptions). In song texts with textlines of different syllable length there is a tendency to begin a song item with the textline that has fewer syllables (the one exception being song text 31, and this also shows a high level of reversibility).

When one textline has fewer syllables and has 4 beats, this can be seen to fulfill preferences for both avoiding starting a song with a 6-beat textline and starting a song text with the textline with fewer syllables. However, when the 6-beat textline has fewer syllables than the other textline, and thus these preferences conflict, it can be seen that

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101 All these song texts have both textlines with the same isorhythmic pattern.

102 One correlation with the high reversibility of song text 31 is the anomalous phonological variation of the repetition of textline A (see §7.4.2).
the preference for avoiding starting a song item with a 6-beat textline is ranked higher than the preference for starting a textline with fewer syllables, as shown in Table 5.25.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song text id.</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>42</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. beats</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. syllables</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. song items</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.25 Song texts with one 6-beat textline

Number of beats is thus more significant than number of syllables in determining the favoured textline in song texts with low reversibility—the heterogeneous song texts.

As outlined in this section, the features of markedness defining heterogeneity of textlines in song texts are:

- song text structure
- number of beats
- number of syllables.

Song texts with textlines that are homogeneous in respect to these three features show a high degree of reversibility, while those that are heterogeneous with respect to one or more of these features show low reversibility. While none of these factors alone are enough to guarantee reversibility, together they function to increase the likelihood of textline reversibility, as discussed above.

The ability to begin with either textline of a Central Australian song text is remarked on frequently. In this section I have shown that in Akweyle this ability is related to syllabic and rhythmic features of the textline. Heterogeneous song texts—those with a textline differing in rhythmic and syllabic features—show lower reversibility than those in which the textlines of the song text are similar (homogeneous). Homogeneous song texts have a high degree of textline reversibility and so offer an opportunity for
creativity in performance.\textsuperscript{103} In the next section I show that reversibility is not limited to commencing a song item, but can occur within a song item.

5.6.2 Setting of text/rhythm to melody within a song item
Following Barwick (1989:19) this study identifies 'points of fit'—significant structural boundaries in the rhythmic text that coincide with the boundaries between melodic sections, which were identified in §5.4. In Akwelye there are two main points of fit in the rhythmic text and one less frequent point of fit, which only occurs in specific textlines:

at the beginning of a textline pair (ie. 'AB'AB, 'AA'BB, A'BB)

at the beginning of a textline. (ie. 'A'B'AB, 'A'A'B'B, 'A'B'B)

at the beginning of a rhythmic segment or cell (eg AAB'b)

In the list above points of fit are marked by an apostrophe. In §5.4 the modal length of melodic sections were identified, where it could be seen that these were the length of a textline pair, or multiples of textline pairs.\textsuperscript{104} It was shown that melodic sections could be shortened or extended by one or more textlines depending on a variety of factors. Variation from the modal length triggers a textline reversal in subsequent melodic sections. In this section I analyse the underlying rhythmic principles that govern where such "triggers" of textline reversals can occur in Akwelye songs.

5.6.2.1 Textline pair reversals
A textline pair reversal (TPR) is triggered when there is a deviation from the modal number of textlines per melodic section by two textlines—a textline pair. Out of a total of 585 song items, 273 song items have TPR triggers within a song text, as exemplified in (23).

(23) (i) MS1 AA
MS2 BBAA ← TPR trigger
MS3 BBAA
MS4 BBAAAA
(song text 9, record 109)

(ii) MS1 AA
MS2 BB
MS3 AABB
MS4 AA ← TPR trigger
MS5 BBAA
(song text, record 494)

\textsuperscript{103} In contrast Barwick (1990) discusses textline reversals in heterogeneous song texts.

\textsuperscript{104} In this respect Akwelye resembles the genre Jadmi from the Kimberleys in that melodic descents must begin at the start of either textline and not within them.

160
In (23)(i) a TPR is triggered by singing one more textline pair in the Descent (MS2), so that MS3 begins BB instead of AA. In (ii) a TPR is triggered by singing one less textline pair in the Unaccompanied MS4, so that MS5 begins BB instead of AA. A comparison of the number of song items with TPR triggers in the various melodic sections is shown in Table 5.26.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MS in which TPR trigger occurs</th>
<th>Descent</th>
<th>Internal</th>
<th>Unaccompanied</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Count of song items with TPR trigger</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.26 Distribution of TPR triggers in *Akwelye* song items

It can be seen that the Internal melodic section is the most common melodic section in which to make a TPR. We saw also in §5.4.3 that this melodic section has the most variation from the modal length.

5.6.2.2 Textline reversals

There are 172 song items with textline reversal (TLR) triggers, some of which have more than one in the song item, as in (24).

(24)  
MS1 AB
MS2 ABA  ← TLR trigger
MS3 BAB
MS4 BAB  ← TLR trigger
MS5 ABABA

(song text 24, record 570)

TLR triggers often occur in songs with a textline of 6 or 8 beats, as in (25).

(25)  
MS1 AA  A = 6 beats, B = 6 beats
MS2 BB
MS3 AAB  ← TLR trigger
MS4 BAA  ← TLR trigger
MS5 BB
MS6 AA

(song text 7, record 370)

---

105 Note that extending the length of a melodic section by a textline pair in song texts of a paired structure does not change the textline that commences the next melodic section.
Most TLR triggers occur in the Introduction, although they are attested in all melodic sections, as shown in Table 5.27.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MS in which TLR trigger occurs</th>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>Descent</th>
<th>Internal</th>
<th>Unaccompanied</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Count of song items with TLR trigger</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.27 Distribution of TLR triggers in Akwelye song items

TLR triggers are also more frequent in song texts with a paired structure and with a 6-beat or 8-beat textline.

5.6.2.3 Textline segment reversals

There are also reversals triggers in which the length of a melodic section is varied by a text/rhythmic segment. These are referred to as a textline segment reversal (TSR) triggers. Song text 1 and song text 40 are the only Akwelye song text in which this is attested, and the TSR trigger occurs in two song items, exemplified in (26). Lowercase letters represent the text/rhythmic segment.

(26) (i) a

\[
\text{kwelantyalantyarna kwelantya} \text{lantyay}
\]

(ii) MS1 BB
    MS2 AA
    MS3 BBAA
    MS4 BBAA ←TSR trigger
    MS5 aBBABA

(song text 1, record 221)

In (26) singers introduce a TSR by beginning MS5 with the second text/rhythmic segment of textline A2.

5.6.2.4 Text/rhythmic cell reversals

An even smaller structural unit that is reversed is the text/rhythmic cell. A textline cell reversal (TCR) trigger occurs unambiguously in only one song item, shown in (27). Text/rhythmic cells are represented with lower case letters.
Example (27) shows that MS4 is a text/rhythmic cell shorter than the standard length, which means MS5 begins with the second rhythmic cell of the textline, lerterppay. This has the audible effect of reversing the rhythmic cells of textline B in MS5:

(28) 

TCR triggers are only attested with the rhythmic text cell laura. This rhythmic text cell also occurs in song text 15. In §4.2.2.2 I showed that song text 15 could be analysed as either a three-part or paired structure. Reversals of this cell are TLR triggers in a three-part analysis, as laura equals an entire textline (AAB). Reversals of this cell are TCR triggers in a paired analysis, as laura is the second cell of the B textline (AB(b+h)). The two different analyses of this reversal are shown in (29).

(29) textlines B A A (AAB structure) textlines A B (AB structure) cells a a b b laura kwerrparangalernentya kwerrparangalernentya

As in the TSR triggers, the reversal in (29) has the effect of reversing the rhythmic cells of textline A, as the rhythmic text preceding laura is the same as that following.
There are four song items that trigger a reversal of the rhythmic text cell *laura.* In the most extreme case the reversal occurs in four melodic sections of the one song item. The paired analysis is shown in (30)(i) and the three-part analysis in (ii).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(30)</th>
<th>(i) paired:</th>
<th>(ii) three-part:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MS1</td>
<td>Abb</td>
<td>AAB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
<td>Ab</td>
<td>AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3</td>
<td>bAbbAb</td>
<td>BAABAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4</td>
<td>bAbbAb</td>
<td>BAABAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
<td>bAbbAb</td>
<td>BAABAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS6</td>
<td>bAbbAb</td>
<td>BAABAA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(song text 15, record 737)

A three-part analysis of song text 15, as proposed in §4.2.2.2, allows us to account for the reversals in the most frequent way—TLR triggers; whereas the paired analysis requires a more complex and less common account of the reversals—TCR triggers.

Reversal triggers reveal points in the rhythmic text structure that can coincide with melodic section boundaries. Flexibility, and thus an avenue for creativity in rhythmic text/melody setting, is greatest at the level of the textline pair and least common at the level of the rhythmic text cell. There is thus a preference scale in relation to triggering reversibility with the largest unit most preferred (textline pair) and the smallest unit (rhythmic cell) least preferred. This is shown in Figure 5.8.

![Figure 5.8 Scale showing most to least preferred rhythmic unit in relation to triggering reversibility](image)

**5.6.2.3 Melodic section disagreement**

When a singer introduces a textline reversal that is not taken up by other singers this can lead to a disagreement in the melodic sections (see Barwick 1995). Usually the singer who tries to introduce the textline reversal abandons the idea and her descent fades out, and she joins back in with the other singers. Sometimes the singer can persist with

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106 Records 737-740 from the *Arratayarenge* performance.

107 Morley writes about similar disagreements in Alyswarr, referring to them as performance errors (1986:143-145).
her reversal and the resulting polyphony is not highly regarded by the singers. It is usually only senior women who persist with disagreements in the melodic sections. This may reflect their seniority and capabilities in attempting to determine the structure of the song item. In this way disagreements in melodic sections are a type of musical "disagreement" (Barwick 1995). An example of a melodic section disagreement in Akwelye is shown in Figure 5.9.

\[ \text{Daphne:} \quad \text{MS 1} \quad \text{MS 2} \quad \text{MS 3} \quad \text{MS 4} \]
\[8^\text{th} \quad \begin{array}{cccc}
A & A & & \\
3^\text{rd} & B & A & A \\
\text{tonic} & B & A & B & B & A & B & B & A & A
\end{array} \]

\[ \text{Kirsty:} \quad \text{MS 1} \quad \text{MS 2} \quad \text{MS 3} \quad \text{MS 4} \quad \text{MS 5} \]
\[8^\text{th} \quad \begin{array}{cccc}
A & A & & \\
3^\text{rd} & B & A & B \\
\text{tonic} & B & A & B & A & B & A & A
\end{array} \]

Figure 5.9 Example of melodic section disagreement (1999, record no. 374, song text 8)

In Figure 5.9 Kirsty commences the fourth melodic section early—a textline pair—thus introducing a TPR. At the same time, Daphne still sings the third melodic section, maintaining the modal length (four textlines, 18 beats). Kirsty persists with her TPR by maintaining the modal length and commences a fifth melodic section, when she could have increased the length of her MS4 to make her singing of this song item 'level' with that of Daphne. Such lengthy musical disagreements only occurred between Daphne and Kirsty who are of the same age group.\(^{108}\)

Ellis states that the ability to set the one text to different melodic sections in a small song (i.e. reversals) is a sign of a good song leader (1998:437).\(^{109}\) In Akwelye, reversals are also an avenue in which authority can be asserted, as a successful reversal requires all other singers to follow in unison, necessitating careful listening and adherence to the song leader's initiatives.\(^{110}\) In this way the bringing together of text and melody may be

\(^{108}\) It is not surprising that the other singers followed Daphne in most instances of these musical disagreements, as she is an owner of the song series.

\(^{109}\) See also Barwick (1989:21).

\(^{110}\) Watching for the intake of a breath—suggesting a move to the next melodic section—may be an important part of knowing when the next melodic section begins.
an avenue for enacting social difference and identity, as has been argued by Barwick (1995) in relation to Western Desert songs.

5.6.3 Summary of text/rhythm setting to melody
This section has shown how reversals—the unconventional matching of melodic sections to text—reveal the points of fit in the rhythmic song text structure where melodic boundaries occur: textline pair, textline, and to a lesser extent the rhythmic text segment and rhythmic text cell. While these points of fit are the same as those Barwick noted in the Ngintaka song series (1989:19), Akwelye shows reversibility also in relation to which textline begins a song item. This analysis of Akwelye provides further evidence for Barwick's findings that there is a greater flexibility in Arandic songs (and Warlpiri) than in Western Desert songs in setting text to melody (1989:23). 111

5.7 Conclusion
An Akwelye song item is a particular setting of a relatively invariable rhythmic song text to the Akwelye melodic contour. The many different settings of a given rhythmic song text to melody should not be viewed in terms of irregularity or variation from a norm, but as the result of regular conformity to the two structures that interact creating a diversity of externally manifested form.

This process, which I call cantillation, is not the performance of a static form, but a creative act where singers draw upon their knowledge of "the structural principles that are being deliberately and creatively manipulated" (Ellis 1997:61), whilst being sensitive to the particular rhythmic aspects of the song text (such as number of beats and syllables per textline). In Akwelye, flexibility in how the rhythmic text is set to melodic sections occurs at the boundaries of the textline pair, textline, rhythmic segment and rhythmic cell. In effect, these are the "parameters of flexibility of the musical system" (Barwick 1989:14). Barwick notes that performance "requires a constant shifting of attention from one level of the system to another" (1989:26), and this can be seen in the triggering of reversals at the various hierarchical levels of the song text.

111 Hercus and Koch refer to reversals as an emotive device in Wangkanguru songs (1997:88). Wangkanguru is a language of the Kamic language group, a group to the south of the Arandic family.
In the next chapter I apply theories of metricality to the musical analysis undertaken in this chapter. I show that words are set to the rhythmic cells that were identified in §5.5 according to certain principles. As well, I show that cantillation also involves regular textual alterations to the rhythmic text to create particular sound patterning at various structural levels (e.g. textline pair, textline). In the process of cantillation the song item's internal structure—melodic, rhythmic and textual—is highlighted, and this feature is known as the "poetic function" of verbal art.¹¹²

Chapter 6 Metrical structure

6.1 Introduction

Central Australian songs are characterised by having a text that is set to an unvarying rhythm. This has led many researchers to regard text and rhythm as "two facets of the same structure" (Barwick 1989:13). Building upon the analysis of rhythm in Chapter 5, this chapter analyses the relationship between text and rhythm. I argue that there are particular requirements for setting words to the rhythmic structure and strategies to meet these requirements.

The alignment of words with particular rhythmic structures has been suggested in other Central Australian songs, although it has not been rigorously tested. Moyle recognises that in Pintupi the start of words coincide with rhythmic units (1979:95). Barwick states that in Warumungu songs "each four-syllable word is set to an identical rhythm" (forthcoming) and Keogh identifies a word boundary rule in murlu songs (1990:173-181). Building upon such observations, this chapter shows that Arandic words are set to rhythmic textlines in systematic ways.

The approach I adopt is based on recent theories of metricality (Fabb 1997, 2004, Liberman 2004). I equate a rhythmic cell with the notion of a metrical foot, an isorhythmic line with the notion of a metrical line, and the song text cycle with the notion of a verse. I argue that word placement and sound patterning rules are sensitive to the metrical structure of Akwelye. Feet (rhythmic cells) provide the framework within which word placement rules operate, and metrical lines and verses are structures at which various types of sound patterning operate.

1 See also Tunstall (1987:128), Moyle (1986:170) and Ellis (1985:96).
2 That Arandic songs contain word boundary rules was first noted by Strehlow who refers to the audible breaking of a word in a song, which happens between textlines to hide the semantic content in songs (1933:197, 1947:xx).
3 Musicologists do not usually consider themselves qualified to comment on word boundaries, which is no doubt why these observations have not been put to the test.
4 In contrast, Moyle found that there was no relationship between Alyawarr words and the rhythmic structure of songs (1986:176).
5 Researchers of songs from other areas of Australia also note the coincidence of word boundaries with long notes (Dixon 1984:219-223, Trellyn 2004, pers.comm., Marett in press Ch 4, Ch 9).
6 The foot in metrics draws upon the theory of autosegmental phonology (see Goldsmith 1990).
As well, I argue that *Akwelye* requires consonant vowel (CV) syllabification, and that there are set strategies to achieve this. For words beginning with a vowel this results in a misalignment between the beginning of words and the beginning of the rhythmic units, as illustrated in (1).

\[(1)\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{\(B_1\)} & & \text{\(B_2\)} \\
\text{\(\text{\(j\)} \text{\(a\) \(n\) \(a\) \(k\) \(a\) \(t\) \(o\) \(w\)\)}} & \text{\(\text{\(l\)} \text{\(a\) \(n\) \(a\) \(k\) \(a\) \(t\) \(o\) \(w\)\)}} \\
\text{\(\text{\(s\)\(n\)\(a\)\(k\)\(a\)\(t\)\(o\)\(a\)\(h\)\(a\)\)\(w\)\)\(a\)\(h\)\)\(a\)\)\(v\)\(e\)\(l\)\(y\)} & \text{\(\text{\(s\)\(n\)\(a\)\(k\)\(a\)\(t\)\(o\)\(a\)\(h\)\(a\)\(w\)\)\(a\)\(h\)\(a\)\(v\)\(e\)\(l\)\(y\)} \\
\text{\(\text{\(l\)\(o\)\(n\)\(g\)\(a\)\(g\)\(o\)\(m\)\(o\)\(r\)\(o\)\(r\)\(y\)\(e\)\(l\)\(y\)}\(=\text{\(D\)\(e\)\(f\)\)}\(\text{\(c\)\(e\)\(r\)\(o\)\(n\)\(y\)\(r\)}} & \text{\(\text{\(l\)\(o\)\(n\)\(g\)\(a\)\(g\)\(o\)\(m\)\(o\)\(r\)\(o\)\(r\)\(y\)\(e\)\(l\)\(y\)}\(=\text{\(D\)\(e\)\(f\)\)}\(\text{\(c\)\(e\)\(r\)\(o\)\(n\)\(y\)\(r\)}} \\
\end{array}
\]

(23b)

It can be seen that the number of words and feet in each textline is congruent (two). Both words, *atnakarte* and *awelye*, are vowel initial, yet *Akwelye* requires syllables to be consonant initial and each word to be set to its own foot (rhythmic cell). A consonant is inserted before the initial vowel of *atnakarte*: \(y+\text{atnakarte}\), and \(ly+\text{atnakarte}\). The source of \(ly\) at the beginning of textline \(B_2\) is the final consonant of the word *awelye*, transferred from the end of the textline \(B_1\), a process Hale describes in an Anmatyerr/Warlpiri song text (1984).

Misalignment of word boundaries (marked #) with textline boundaries has been noted by a number of researchers of Arandic songs.\(^7\) Strehlow observes that in Arrernte songs "the original word components are always run together and then re-subdivided into metrical feet..." (1947a:xx-xxi). Strehlow's insight that Arrernte songs are based on metrical feet has proven to be valuable in understanding how Arandic words are versified. However, Strehlow did not define the metrical structure of Arrernte songs, and so could not show what aspect of the metrical structure motivated particular alterations to speech words.

I argue that changes to speech words in *Akwelye* textlines can be understood in terms of adhering to CV syllable structure, to a hierarchy of different types of feet and matching the number of words with the number of feet and the number of syllables in a word with the number of syllables in a metrical foot, whilst being sensitive to particular phonological sequences. For any set of words making up a textline there are a number

\(^7\) See Strehlow (1971) in relation to Arrernte and Luritja songs, and Austin in relation to Diyari songs (1978:530).
of strategies available for adhering to the metrical structure and CV syllabification, such as inserting a consonant, as in (1) where /j/ is inserted at the beginning of the textline. I also argue that various types of systematic and unsystematic sound patterning are applied during cantillation to particular positions in the metrical structure.

The outline of this chapter is as follows. §6.2 draws upon the rhythmic analysis in Chapter 5 to define Akwelye metrical feet and shows how these are grouped to form metrical lines. §6.3 provides an account of CV syllable structure in Akwelye and shows how this is achieved, given that Arandic words are mainly vowel initial. §6.4 defines the word boundary rule that specifies the alignment of words with metrical feet. §6.5 identifies various types of sound patterning for forming textlines and §6.6 identifies various types of sound patterning that operate at the level of the song text cycle. The remainder of this section discusses different forms of the one song text and outlines the theoretical approach to the study of metricality adopted in this thesis.

6.1.1 Different forms of the song text

A number of studies recognise two different forms of a song text: a spoken version and a sung version, and these differ in a number of respects.\(^8\) When spoken, an Akwelye song text tends to have the stress pattern of speech and prestopping can be heard, whereas sung texts do not have prestopping, have a different stress pattern, variation in syllable length, and may have different vowels, as dictated by the sound patterning rules.

*Akwelye* singers used spoken versions of a song text during performances when suggesting which song to sing next, and when telling other singers how the text of a particular song goes, as underlined in (2).

\(^8\)The differences are discussed by Grace Koch (1987), Grace Koch and Turpin (forthcoming). They can also be seen in studies of song texts by Strehlow (1971) and Osborne (1989).
(2) Akert-akerte=pe wante=rtame-akerr-akerre, atywertatywerte iwayeowerlalperne?
end-end=FOC what=CNTR-VAG-VAG textline 43b

What's the text of that song again, tyertatywertewowerlalpi?\textsuperscript{9}

(1999, MD20, da 56)

Spoken form: [at\textsuperscript{at}at\textsuperscript{at}ti\textsuperscript{t}i\textsuperscript{w}e\textsuperscript{w}e\textsuperscript{a}l\textsuperscript{p}÷a\textsuperscript{m}(a)]

Sung form: [t\textsuperscript{at}at\textsuperscript{at}at\textsuperscript{ew}e\textsuperscript{w}e\textsuperscript{a}l\textsuperscript{p}i]

The variation between spoken and sung versions of a song text provides valuable evidence about the nature of the two processes, versification (setting of words into a textline) and cantillation (setting of a textline to a song item) in Akwelye.\textsuperscript{10} However, not all song texts have a spoken version, since attempts to elicit the spoken form of Akwelye song texts were on the whole unsuccessful, as singers tended to provide approximations of the sung version. The two processes, and versions of the song text created, are illustrated in Figure 6.1.

![Figure 6.1 Spoken and sung versions of song texts](image)

Streblow (1971) also recognised that the sung form of Arrernte songs differed from their spoken form; however the Arrernte spoken forms resemble their speech equivalents much more closely than the Akwelye spoken forms.\textsuperscript{11} Throughout this thesis "song text" refers to the sung version unless otherwise stated.

\textsuperscript{9} In translations of examples, textlines are spelt according to the sung version in Appendix 1, which may differ from Kaytetye speakers' spoken versions of textlines.

\textsuperscript{10} Grace Koch identifies these processes in relation to phonetic discrepancies between Dyirbal song and speech (1987:52). My use of the term cantillation corresponds to what Koch refers to as performance.

\textsuperscript{11} The differences between the Arrernte and Akwelye spoken song texts may reflect differences in how they were obtained, eg. elicitation versus gathered from conversations, rather than any real differences
6.1.2 A metrical approach to the analysis of verbal art forms

In this section I draw upon approaches used by Fabb (1997) and Liberman (2004) to show the principles involved in versifying words in Akwelye. Liberman states "the basic rhythmic pattern of a poem (if it has one) is called its meter" (2004). Metricality is defined by Fabb as:

the fixing of the length of the line by counting syllables, and this counting is associated with control over rhythm or the placement of word boundaries, or some other aspect of the line's form (2004).

Liberman states that poetic meter is an abstract pattern "against which the poet arranges his or her lines according to some general principles of congruence" (2004). Fabb identifies a series of positions on a metrical template and a set of matching rules which state how words are to be fitted (1997:25). For example, iambic pentameter is a metrical template that refers to a pattern of five feet (pentemeter) made up of a weak followed by a strong syllable—an iambic foot. This metrical template is represented in (3).

(3) \[ F \quad F \quad F \quad F \quad F \quad (\text{foot}) \]
\[ W \quad S \quad W \quad S \quad W \quad S \quad W \quad S \quad (\text{syllable}) \]

Certain rules then state what types of syllables in a word can occur in which positions of the template, whether there can be extra syllables and where they can and cannot fall.

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between the spoken forms of song texts in the two languages. However, Strehlow does not explain how he obtained his interpretations.


\(^{13}\) Metricality has a long history, and while it has mostly been applied to poetry, it has also been applied to analyses of chants and songs; for example, Lerdahl and Jackendoff (1983), Halle and Keyser (1971), Halle and Lerdahl (1993), Hayes and MacEachern (1998), Hayes and Kaun (1996), Fabb (2002, 2003), Liberman (2004) and Rumsey (2001). When there is no relationship between text and meter the verbal art is said to be non-metrical.


\(^{16}\) The terms for feet originated from the classical languages (Greek, Latin, Arabic and Hausa) which contrasted syllable length: short and long syllables. When applying these terms to languages which contrast stressed and unstressed syllables it is standard to equate the quality 'short' with 'weak' and the quality 'long' with 'strong'. Thus, iamb (short + long) is used for a weak + strong foot and trochee (long + short) for a strong + weak foot (see Liberman 2004).
Meters can also be referred to by the number of syllables in their feet. A ternary foot has three syllables and a binary foot has two syllables. They can also be defined by where the strong syllable occurs. Feet whose strong syllable falls in the right-most position of a foot are referred to as right-headed (as in iambic pentameter, WS), and feet whose strong syllable occurs in the left-most position (trochees and dactyls) are referred to as left-headed.

In his study of literary universals, Fabb (2004) states that spoken poetry tends to have right-headed meters with extra-metrical syllables at the right edge, whereas song tends to have left-headed meters, with extra syllables at the left edge.\(^{17}\) This no doubt relates to the fact that stress tends to fall on the first beat of a bar in music. Fabb also states that song is also more likely to combine binary and ternary feet. Akweleye shows all three tendencies of song: it is a left-headed meter that can have additional syllables at the left edge, and combines what I refer to as binary and ternary feet in specific ways.

Liberman has applied metrical templates to song using a metrical grid schema, (1978).\(^{18}\) The metrical grid schema is one way of representing the alignment of syllables in time and their arrangement into strong and weak beats. Musical notation is another way to show exactly the same thing. I illustrate this with an example from Liberman (2004),\(^{19}\) showing the musical notation (4) and metrical grid schema (5) of a verse of 'Skip to my Lou'.\(^{20}\)

\(^{17}\) In contrast, Hayes and Kaun define the metrical structure of English folksong as essentially right-headed. They regard an anacrusis in song as the first syllable of a metrical foot, and refer to songs without an anacrusis as "headless" or "sliding to the right" (1996:43). I follow Fabb and Liberman's analysis of song as left-headed and regard the anacrusis as an extra-metrical syllable (see §6.2.4).

\(^{18}\) His approach has been extended by a number of generative linguists, such as Lordahl and Jackendoff (1983). See also Liberman and Prince (1977), McCarthy (1981) and Bagemihl (1988).


\(^{20}\) I have doubled the timing units of Liberman's notation, so that semiquavers are represented as quavers, quavers as crotchets, etc. I have done this so that the smallest timing unit is the same in both Akweleye and 'Skip to my Lou'.

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The regular hierarchical subdivision of time is shown in gridline 1 with crosses, from left to right, representing a quaver timing unit. The textline has 16 timing units, divided into four equal parts, called feet. All verses of 'Skip to my Lou' are divided into four such timing units and so the meter is called a tetrameter. A syllable under one or more crosses shows a sung syllable beginning on that timing unit. A syllable can correspond to one timing unit, such as 'li' and 'tle' (quavers), or they may correspond to two, as in 'wa' and 'gon' (crotchet), or they may correspond to four, as in 'blue' (a minim).^21

Each cross on further gridlines represents the next division of time: crotchet timing units on gridline 2 and minim timing units on gridline 3. A syllable that projects to a higher gridline (a syllable sung with more crosses above it) is stronger than one with fewer crosses, so a syllable projecting to gridline 3 is stronger than one projecting to gridline 2. Each foot consists of a strong syllable (projected to gridline 3), followed by at least one weaker syllable (with the exception of the final foot, which has only one strong syllable); thus it is referred to as a trochaic meter (Strong followed by Weak).

In 'Skip to my Lou' words are matched to the metrical template according to the following rules:

- each strong syllable in a foot (syllable projected to gridline 3) must be aligned with a lexically stressed syllable in a word
- there must be at least one syllable between each strong syllable in the textline
- extra syllables may be added, although not between the second and third foot.

All verses of 'Skip to my Lou' set words to the metrical template according to the above matching rules. The feet are not strict trochaic feet as there can be extra syllables (as in

^21 It is possible that the length of 'blue' may be shortened as singers may take a breath here.
the first foot) and an absent final syllable in the final foot. As such, 'Skip to my Lou' is referred to as a loose trochaic meter. I turn now to show how such approaches to metricality can be used to identify the metrical structure of Akwelye.

6.2 The Akwelye metrical template

The Akwelye metrical template for a textline:

- combines four different types of feet in a hierarchical order
- has between 1-4 feet
- may have additional non-projected syllables at the left-edge.\(^\text{22}\)

Unlike 'Skip to my Lou', Akwelye textlines may have 1-4 feet (4, 8, 12 or 16 timing units) although two is most common. As will be shown, the rules for versification in Akwelye are based on matching the number of words with the number of feet, and the number of syllables in a word with the number of syllables in a foot, whilst adhering to CV syllable structure and a preferred order of feet in textlines. In this section I draw upon the analysis of rhythm in §5.5 to define Akwelye feet. I then argue that the initial vowels heard in many textlines in certain melodic positions can be considered non-projected syllables and thus outside of the textline (metrical line).

6.2.1 Metrical feet in Akwelye

The Akwelye template could be defined as a loose trochaic meter like 'Skip to my Lou', with rules stating where additional syllables can fall. However, because the correspondences between timing units and where syllables fall is more limited in Akwelye than 'Skip to my Lou', I define each of the different projections of syllables in a foot as a different type of foot. My definition of feet is based on the projection of syllables on timing units, whereas Liberman's feet equate with timing units. In this way I identify a metrical template, with no need for rules about which positions need not

\(^{22}\) This analysis does not apply to the two song texts from the Waake song series (song texts 20 and 46). Nor does it apply to the two polyrhythmic song texts discussed in §5.1 and §5.5.1. This is because I define a foot as syllables set to the length of two crotchets (two long notes). In a strict polyrhythmic pattern this means that the foot consists of three syllables—a triplet; yet the polyrhythmic Akwelye textlines are not strictly three against two, and metrical stress can be perceived on a variety of syllables, no doubt exacerbated because of the faster tempo. The metrical analysis here thus applies to the 90 non-polyrhythmic Akwelye textlines.
have a projected syllable and where additional syllables may fall (although additional syllables at the left edge are discussed in §6.2.4). We can see how my approach would redefine the feet in the verse of 'Skip to my Lou' in (6). This verse has three different projections of syllables in the four feet:

Gridline no.

(6)  x  x  x  x  3. (minims)
     x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  2. (crotchet)
     x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  x  1. (quavers)

Lit-tle red  wa-gon,  pain-ted  blue

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
3 & 1 & 2 & 3 \\
\hline
3 & 2 & 2 & 3 \\
\hline
type a & type b & type b & type c
\end{array}
\]

The foot set to 'little red' has three syllables projected to gridlines 3, 1 and 2 respectively, (type 'a' foot); 'wagon' and 'painted' have two syllables projected to gridlines 3 and 2 (type 'b' foot); and 'blue' has one syllable projected to gridline 3 (type 'c' foot). In this way 'Skip to my Lou' can be seen to have three different types of strict feet.

Using the same approach, Akwelye textlines, comprising a total of 202 feet, are made up of combinations of four different types of feet, shown in (7). These are the rhythmic cells 1-4 shown in Figure 5.6.
Thus, an *Akwelye* foot is the projection of syllables onto four timing units (two crotches, the unit of the rhythmic cell defined in §5.5.1).

Prominence in *Akwelye* is defined by both relational stress and length, which operate independently. Relational stress is the syllable projecting to the highest gridline—gridline 3. This is the syllable that coincides with the first handclap of the foot in song—the first beat 'in the bar'. These syllables are referred to as S (Strong). Syllables projecting to gridlines 1 and 2 are W (Weak). As well, syllables are either B (Brief) and L (Long). Following Liberman (2004) I apply the classical terms to these four feet: spondee, trochee, dactyl and paean respectively. I use these terms to refer to the pattern of Strong and Weak positions and not to the pattern of length of these positions. For example, although rhythmic cell 2 (7)(ii) has a Brief note followed by Long, and so resembles an iambo in terms of length, in terms of relational stress, to

---

23 Many musicologists do not recognise the division of bars in Aboriginal song; however in *Akwelye* I perceive a greater prominence on every uneven handclap, suggesting a division of two crotches as a significant timing division.

24 An alternative analysis could define Strong syllables as those that fall on gridline 2 as well as 3 because both occur with the tap slap and are stronger than those falling on gridline 1. I have rejected this definition in favour of defining a foot with only one 'Strong' syllable.
which the terms apply, it is like a trochee: Strong followed by Weak. Figure 6.2 illustrates this using letters to represent relational stress and length.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sponde</th>
<th>trochee</th>
<th>dactyl</th>
<th>paean</th>
<th>rhythmic cell</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>music</td>
<td>clapping</td>
<td>relational stress</td>
<td>length</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>S W W W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B B B B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ro li]</td>
<td>la ra</td>
<td>kula</td>
<td>n1/a</td>
<td>kur pa qa na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>song text (phonetic)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.2 Rhythmic patterns expressed in terms of meter and length

From Figure 6.2 it can be seen that the four metric feet are made up of combinations of four different metric positions in *Akwelye* textlines. These metric positions are shown in Table 6.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relational stress (Strong vs. Weak)</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Length (Long vs. Brief)</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of syllables</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>200 (530 syllables)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1 Different types of metrical positions in *Akwelye* textlines

It is apparent from Table 6.1 that there are more Weak positions than Strong positions and more Brief positions than Long positions in textlines. Prominent positions are those that are Strong or Long, of which there are a total of 402 syllables. This results in three types of prominence: very prominent (S/L positions, 11 syllables), prominent (S/B and W/L positions, 391 syllables) and non-prominent positions (W/B positions, 128 syllables).

Positions at the beginning of a textline are strong (S/L, S/B) or an upbeat (discussed in §6.2.4) and positions at the end of textlines are Long positions (S/L, W/L). As will be shown in this chapter, *Akwelye* word boundary and sound patterning rules, as well as certain phonological alterations to words, are sensitive to particular metrical positions in the *Akwelye* foot.

---

25 With the exception of the second rendition of textline 30a, which ends on a W/B position as it has an extra syllable and is set to a paean foot. See §6.6.3.
6.2.2 Foot hierarchy: the metrical textline

The majority of textlines consist of just two feet, as shown in Table 6.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of feet</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Total²⁶</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of textlines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2 Number of feet per textline

The preferred *Akwele* textline has two feet, consisting of a dactyl followed by a trochee, while the maximum number is four feet and the minimum is one foot. As well, there is a minimum of 4 syllables and a maximum of 11 syllables per textline, while 10-syllable textlines are unattested (§5.5.2).

In an *Akwele* textline, feet of more syllables can precede those of less, but not vice versa. It is also possible to get two identical feet adjacent to each other. This hierarchy of feet can be stated as:

(8) a foot must not have less syllables than the foot to its right.

This hierarchy is represented in Figure 6.3.

```
paeon  \[\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\]  dactyl  \[\sigma\sigma\sigma\]  trochee  \[\sigma\sigma\]
       must precede  spondee  \[\sigma\sigma\]  must precede
```

Figure 6.3 The *Akwele* foot hierarchy

Note that although the spondee has two syllables, it falls in the same place in the hierarchy as the dactyl. This is because the first syllable of the spondee always corresponds to two phonological syllables in the speech equivalent, as will be shown in §6.4.5. All textlines must contain at least one trochee or dactyl. Table 6.3 shows the distribution of feet in the 90 *Akwele* textlines.

²⁶ Discounting the two polyrhythmic textlines and two songs from the Waske song series.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foot type</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Internal</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spondee</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trochee</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dactyl</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacon</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td><strong>89</strong></td>
<td><strong>202</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3 Distribution of feet in 90 *Akwelye* textlines

Textlines are made up predominantly of a dactyl preceding a trochee. Dactyls and trochees can occur in any position of a textline, whereas spondees and pacons are only attested in initial position.\(^28\)

This section has defined a foot as a projection of syllables set to two crotchet (four timing units) and a textline as a hierarchical series of metrical feet. This same data was considered in Chapter 5 from a rhythmic perspective where it was shown that a textline is an isorhythmic pattern consisting of particular rhythmic cells. Having defined the *Akwelye* metrical template, this chapter argues that there are rules for setting words to the metrical template whilst adhering to CV syllabification.

### 6.2.3 Reassignment of stress in accordance with the metrical template

In spoken Arandic languages lexical stress usually falls on the first vowel that follows a consonant (Breen 2001:55).\(^29\) This means that consonant initial words are stressed on the first syllable, and vowel-initial words are stressed on the second syllable.\(^30\)

---

\(^{27}\) Textline 15b consists of only a spondee foot. This is considered as initial position; thus this textline has no final foot.

\(^{28}\) It will be seen in §6.6.3 that the repetition of textline 30a is an exception as it has an extra syllable and so the final foot changes from a dactyl to a pacon foot. Another possible exception, song text 15, was analysed in two possible ways in §4.2.2, one of which consists of a spondee in textline final position. Considering the distribution of feet in all other textlines such an analysis was the less preferred of the two, albeit that the alternative analysis consists of a one-foot textline (see Table 6.2).

\(^{29}\) Throughout this thesis I use 'lexical stress' to refer to the stress pattern of spoken Arandic words. This contrasts with metrical prominence, which refers to the prominence heard on syllables that fall on the positions S/L, S/B and W/L in *Akwelye* textlines.

\(^{30}\) In Arandic languages the phonetic long vowels do not attract stress, as in *arlatyeye* [aɾl̪aˈtiː] 'pencil yam'. It has also been suggested that the Arandic vowels /a/ and /i/ are longer than /a/ (see Chapter 7). Again, the longer vowels /a/ and /i/ do not attract stress.
Secondary stress falls on every alternate syllable, although not on word final /ə/ (Henderson 1998:215).\(^\text{31}\)

A lexically stressed syllable can fall on all four *Akweleye* metrical positions, as shown in Table 6.4. In this way *Akweleye* contrasts with accentual metrical genres where words are set to the metrical template by aligning lexical stress with metrical stress (such as 'Skip to my Lou').

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of lexical stress on speech word:</th>
<th>prominent</th>
<th>non-prominent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Total no. syllables in this position)</td>
<td>S/B</td>
<td>S/L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(191)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary stressed syllable(^\text{32})</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary stressed syllable</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metrical position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S/B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S/L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W/L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W/B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(200)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(128)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.4 Distribution of lexically stressed syllables in the 67 confirmed speech words in metrical positions\(^\text{33}\)

While lexically stressed syllables most often fall on a Strong position they do also fall on the least prominent metrical position. For example in (9) the lexically stressed syllables /kʷá/ fall on a prominent S/B position and in (10) the lexically stressed syllables /ná/ and /wá/ fall on W/B positions.

\(^{31}\) Some exceptions to this general rule include: (i) stress can occur on either syllable of a vowel-initial disyllabic word, e.g. [ētē]-[ētē'] '1sGERG' (K); (ii) exclamations and imperatives can include syllable final stress, e.g. [pē[l]-[spē[bǐ] 'watch out!' (K). Stress in extended speech is also more complex (see Henderson 1998:215).

\(^{32}\) Primary stress includes the stress heard on disyllabic suffixes and on complex verbs, discussed further in §6.4.4.

\(^{33}\) Where speech words are repeated in a textline, or occur in more than one textline, these are counted twice. Note that sometimes these words are set to different syllable positions in the textline. There are also many syllables in song that have no confirmed speech equivalents. Confirmed speech equivalents of the song texts from the Waake song series are not considered because of the different metrical structure of these song texts, making a total of 67 confirmed speech equivalents.
Form and Meaning of Akwelye: Chapter 6

(9) accumulate  
[ku ri mpi ku ra]  
S W W# S W  
P B L# B L  
/kuniramp/kunera/  
Dreamtime:woman girl  

(10)  
[la na ka to wi la]  
S W W# S W  
P B L# B L  
/lanaka=ata=awola/  
long.ago(DEF) ceremony  

Note that the unstressed syllables in (10) fall on prominent positions: S/B and W/L. Misalignment of lexical stress with metrical prominence results from a process I call consonant insertion, which is necessary to achieve CV syllabification (see §6.3).

The distribution of lexically unstressed syllables in Akwelye is shown in Table 6.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S/B</th>
<th>S/L</th>
<th>W/L</th>
<th>W/B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Total no. syllables in this position)</td>
<td>(191)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(200)</td>
<td>(128)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstressed syllable in speech word</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.5 Distribution of lexically unstressed syllables in the 67 confirmed speech words in metrical positions

Lexically unstressed syllables tend to coincide with Weak positions, however they are also attested in S/B positions, as seen in (10) above. As well, all 11 S/L positions correspond to two adjacent syllables in a word; one lexically stressed and the second unstressed, where the onset to the unstressed syllable is a semivowel.

In this section I have shown that Akwelye is not an accentual meter, as metrical positions are not filled according to whether the syllable in the speech word is lexically stressed. Rather, as will be argued in this chapter, words are set by matching the number of words with feet (word/foot congruence), and number of syllables in a word with
number of syllables in the foot (syllable congruence) whilst adhering to CV syllabification and the foot hierarchy.

6.2.4 Extra-metrical syllables: the initial vowel upbeat

Before considering the congruence rules, I consider the initial vowel that is heard before 45 textlines following a breath intake—the "vowel upbeat" (§5.4). I argue that the vowel upbeat can be compared to what is called an extrametrical syllable in metrics (Hayes 1983:385); a syllable that is "not matched to the foot constituent" (Fabb 1997:74). I consider the vowel upbeat as extra-metrical because its occurrence is not determined by the textline (which could be compared to a phonological phrase), but by the melodic structure.  

Like all extra-metrical syllables, the vowel upbeat has a limited occurrence. It only occurs at the beginning of a melodic section, as this follows the breath intake throughout song items. The breaths and vowel upbeats in a song item are shown in (11); where ' shows a breath intake and (u) the vowel upbeat.

(11) Melodic Section Textlines
MS 1 BB ' 
MS 2 (u)AA ' 
MS 3 (u)BBAABB ' 
MS 4 (u)AABB ' 
MS 5 (u)AABBAAB 

(song text 22, record 102)

Both textline pairs AA and BB have a vowel upbeat, but it is only heard before commencing a new melodic section. In §5.4 I suggested that a melodic section could be compared to an intonation phrase, at the boundaries of which there is often a relaxation in the rhythm and a shortening of the text so that the vowel upbeat can occur. In music an upbeat is called an "anacrusis"—a note that occurs before the first bar, before the meter proper begins. It is a common device to establish the tempo and achieve unison

34 See Fabb (1997:43-44) for a discussion of extra metricality. Hayes and Kaun state that there is no room for extra metrical syllables in song or chant because it is "isochronous recitation"(1996:43). However in music there is often a relaxation of the tempo or ways to cut the text short in order to give room for a breath intake. In §5.4, I showed that this also occurs in Akwelye.

35 If a line in poetry is defined as a point at which a breath is taken then there is a similarity between a poetic line and a melodic section, as both are breath points (in poetry and Akwelye respectively).
singing. My representations of the textline do not usually include the vowel upbeat, however where it is relevant it occurs in parentheses, as in (12).

(12)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rhythm</th>
<th>🎶</th>
<th>🎶</th>
<th>🎶</th>
<th>🎶</th>
<th>🎶</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>textline</td>
<td>[(i)ə [a ngi rinə ra ηa]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spoken phonology</td>
<td>/iː a[ŋkʷə#ər#əŋə#əŋə/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gloss</td>
<td>bloodwood.sp. blossom put</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(textline 7b)

6.2.4.1 Conditioning factors on whether textlines have a vowel upbeat

Since most words in Arandic languages start with vowels, it is tempting to see the vowel upbeat as a deleted initial vowel in the speech word, surfacing only at the beginning of a melodic section. However, such an analysis does not account for the fact that frequently the speech equivalent has no initial vowel, such as kwerrimpe which is versified as [(i)kurimbi]. This section considers how rhythmic factors, particular initial consonants, patterns of assonance—the repetition of particular vowels or consonants in the textline—influence whether a textline is associated with a vowel upbeat.

Vowel upbeats do not occur when a textline:

- begins with a S/L note,\(^{36}\) or
- begins with a phonetic vowel (see §6.3.2),\(^{37}\) or
- begins with a nasal consonant that corresponds to a prestopped nasal in the speech equivalent.\(^ {38}\)

There are a number of other tendencies that can be recognised.

- It is preferable to have both textlines in a song text the same in regards to vowel upbeats; that is, either both textlines have a vowel upbeat or both do not.\(^ {39}\)

\(^{36}\) Out of the 11 textlines beginning an S/L note (the spondee foot) only textline 27b has a vowel upbeat. Textlines 3b, 5a, 5b, 9a, 9b, 14a, 15a, 39b, 45a and 45b do not have a vowel upbeat.

\(^{37}\) Textlines 6a, 11a, 13a, 13b, 14a, 39a, 51b and 52a.

\(^{38}\) All textlines beginning with a nasal that corresponds to a prestopped nasal in the speech equivalent do not have an upbeat (textlines 5b, 14b, 19a and 19b); whereas many textlines beginning with a nasal that corresponds to a plain nasal in the speech equivalent do have a vowel upbeat. There does not appear to be any phonetic contrast between these nasals in the sung version of the song, although an acoustic analysis is necessary to determine whether this is indeed the case.

\(^{39}\) Six out of 51 song texts have one textline with and one textline without a vowel upbeat.
• Vowel upbeats are more likely to occur on textlines whose initial consonant is apical than peripheral.\textsuperscript{40}

• A single word that begins more than one textline is always treated the same in regards to vowel upbeats.\textsuperscript{41} For example, textlines beginning with \textit{kwerre} [kùra] 'girl' never have a vowel upbeat while those beginning \textit{kwerrimpe} [kurimpo] 'Dreamtime woman' always do.

• Text set to the variant rhythmic cell with the shortened first note (\textsuperscript{1}\overline{\textsuperscript{3}}) (§5.5.1) tend to have a vowel upbeat while those set to the other variant of the rhythmic cell (\textsuperscript{1}\overline{\textsuperscript{4}}) tend not to.\textsuperscript{42}

The vowel upbeat has the effect of further shortening the W/B syllable and lengthening the next syllable, so that \textsuperscript{1}\overline{\textsuperscript{3}} becomes \textsuperscript{1}\overline{\textsuperscript{4}}. This is illustrated in (13) and (14).

(13) \begin{align*} \texttt{\textsuperscript{1}\overline{\textsuperscript{3}}} \quad \texttt{\textsuperscript{1} \textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{3} \textsuperscript{4} \textsuperscript{5} \textsuperscript{6}} \\ \text{[la ri n'la ri n'la ri n'la]} \\ \text{l'\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{1}r'\textsuperscript{1}e\textsuperscript{1}n'\textsuperscript{1}r\textsuperscript{1}e\textsuperscript{1}n\textsuperscript{1}r\textsuperscript{1}e\textsuperscript{1}n\textsuperscript{1}r\textsuperscript{1}e\textsuperscript{1}r\textsuperscript{1}o]} \\ \text{(blossom blossom blossom)} \end{align*}

(14) \begin{align*} \texttt{(\textsuperscript{1}\overline{\textsuperscript{3}} \textsuperscript{1} \textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{3} \textsuperscript{4} \textsuperscript{5} \textsuperscript{6}} \\ \text{[(a)la ri n'la ri n'la ri n'la]} \\ \text{(textline 7a)} \end{align*}

The vowel upbeat is not determined by whether there is an initial vowel in the speech equivalent. Rather, the length of the first syllable, the type of initial consonant, how the speech word is treated in other textlines and how the other textline in the song text is treated all influence whether a textline has a vowel upbeat or not.

\textsuperscript{40} Out of the 39 textlines beginning with an apical consonant 26 have a vowel upbeat. In contrast of the 31 texttimes beginning with a non-apical consonant, seven texttimes have a vowel upbeat.

\textsuperscript{41} There are only two speech words where this is not the case: the speech word \textit{aherrka} 'sun' is set to rhythmic cell 3 (dactyl) in three texttimes and to rhythmic cell 2 (spondee) in one; and the speech word \textit{awere} is set to rhythmic cell 3 (dactyl) in two texttimes and to rhythmic cell 2 (spondee) in three.

\textsuperscript{42} In §5.5.3 I showed that the two rhythms \textsuperscript{1}\overline{\textsuperscript{3}} \textsuperscript{1} and \textsuperscript{1}\overline{\textsuperscript{4}} are non-contrastive variants of rhythmic cell 3.

\textsuperscript{43} Many texttimes are made up of a repeated word such as \textit{erwynye} 'blossom'. In speech such reduplications can be a means of marking plurality, or a place characterised by this thing, as well as a number of other functions. In \textit{Akweye} there no evidence to conclude that the reduplication produces a different lexical meaning from the unrepeated form in song, thus I have not glossed such texttimes as 'blossom-RED-RED'; instead I mark these forms as distinct words.
6.2.4.2 Quality of the vowel upbeat

Of the 45 textlines where the vowel upbeat is present, the vowel is [a] in 23, and [i] in 22. There are two possible sources for the quality of the vowel upbeat:

1. it may be taken from the speech equivalent (which may occur at the beginning of the textline or be derived from a word at the end of a textline), or

2. it may be determined by a pattern of assonance.

Whether the vowel upbeat corresponds to a vowel in a speech equivalent is not always clear-cut since there are many textlines with a vowel upbeat where the corresponding textline initial word is unknown. Furthermore, even if a speech equivalent is known in Kaytctye, the song could use words from another Arandic dialect, and there is variation between the Arandic varieties as to whether a word begins with /a/ or is consonant initial, and whether the initial vowel is optional or not (Henderson 2002:105). 44

The other source of vowel quality may be a pattern of contrasting assonance between textlines, or matching assonance within the foot. For example, in (15) textline A has the vowel upbeat /a/, while textline B has /i/. The change from [a] → [i] in the B textline may be to accentuate a difference between the two textlines, which are identical apart from the initial consonant and upbeat.

(15) A (x2)  
\[ \text{(song text 22)} \]

Assonance also occurs within a textline to create a pattern of vowel sounds. For example the change in vowel quality in textline 31b may be motivated by a desire to maintain a pattern of vowels [i]-[a]-[i]-[a] throughout this textline.

(16) \[(textline 31b) \]

44 The variation has led to different phonological analyses of Arandic languages, which I discuss in Chapter 7.
A pattern of assonance between the vowel upbeat and other vowels in the first foot is also common, for example /kərɪmpə/ 'girl' is versified as [(i)kurimb].

It is possible that a vowel upbeat may be one way of distinguishing between two similar sounding speech words in song, as any given word in textline initial position is always versified in the same way in relation to the vowel upbeat. For example, the speech word awelye 'women's ceremony' has a vowel upbeat identical to the speech equivalent, whereas the song form welyele 'in the shade' does not.

The vowel upbeat is an extra-metrical syllable occurring in half the textlines, sung only before commencing a melodic section. It assists singers in establishing the beat and achieving unison singing, although its presence is blocked subject to the rhythmic and phonological constraints discussed above. Because of both diachronic and synchronic variation of initial vowels of Arandic words, the relationship between the vowel upbeat and the form of the speech equivalent cannot be confirmed in many textlines. The desire to maintain patterns of assonance also play a role in determining whether the vowel upbeat is [a] or [i].

Having established that the vowel upbeat is extra-metrical and so all textlines begin with a Strong position, either S/L or SB, I turn now to consider how CV syllabification is achieved in Akwelye.

6.3 CV syllable structure

All syllables in Akwelye must begin with a consonant (other than the vowel upbeats that are extra-metrical). This at once raises questions about the fit of speech equivalents to metrical lines, since most Arandic words begin with a vowel, and since there is debate about the syllable structure of Arandic. Breen (1990) and Breen and Pensalfini (1999) argue that Arandic languages have an underlying VC(C) syllable structure, while Koch

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45 Breen and Pensalfini state that 75% of Arrernte vocabulary begins with a vowel (1999:2). In many of these words, however, the initial vowel is optional for many speakers.
maintains a CV(C) analysis (1997).\textsuperscript{46} This study assumes a CV(C) syllabic structure of song for three reasons:\textsuperscript{47}

1. all textlines end in a vowel
2. the syllable on the first beat (ie. coinciding with the laplap) of 89 out of 97 textlines is CV(C)
3. syllables within a textline are overwhelmingly CV(C).

An example of CV syllabification in Akwelye is shown below:

\begin{verbatim}
(17) [ku ri mpi ku ra] (textline)
    S  W  W#  S  W (meter)
    B  B  L#  B  L (length)
/kourime#  kura/ (CV phonological analysis of speech words)
  Dreamtime.woman girl (textline 18b)
\end{verbatim}

All syllables in textline 18b are CV(C). In this thesis I follow a CV phonological analysis of both Arandic speech and song for ease of comparison.\textsuperscript{48} I now consider how CV syllabification is achieved given that most Arandic words are vowel initial.

6.3.1 Versifying vowel-initial words in textline initial position

Setting a consonant-initial word to an Akwelye textline involves aligning the onset of the speech equivalent with the onset of the metrical line. This is uncontroversial when the speech equivalent is consonant-initial, as in (17) above. However, 32 of the 46 confirmed speech words that begin a textline are vowel initial.\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{46} Henderson, who makes clear that surface syllable structure in all Arandic languages is not restricted to V(C) (1998:201, 2002:102), also claims that a VC(C) analysis of Arrernte can more simply account for the fact that many Arrernte words vary in the number of syllables at the surface level than a CV account (1998:268). Syllable structure in Arrernte is discussed further in §7.2.

\textsuperscript{47} The issue of syllabification in spoken Arandic languages is complex and requires further research. I assume that homorganic clusters syllabify together and heterorganic clusters syllabify as a coda and onset. A homorganic cluster following a word initial vowel is also syllabified as a coda and onset: #VC.CVC. In song, consonant clusters syllabify similarly.

\textsuperscript{48} This is not to deny that a VC analysis could not also account for the phonological features of song, however a comparison of the merits of the two different phonological analyses is beyond the scope of the present study.

\textsuperscript{49} There is variation amongst the Arandic dialects, as to whether the initial vowel of some of these words is optional. For the purposes of this analysis, if the word has an initial vowel in any one of the Arandic languages I consider it V-initial (see Appendix 4).
Several strategies are used to ensure that textlines begin with a consonant when versifying a vowel-initial word. However, by far the most frequently used are consonant insertion (C-insertion) and vowel deletion (V-deletion). These strategies are exemplified in (18) and (19) respectively.

(18) [la ri na ri na ri na]  
  S W W# S W# S W  
  B B L# B L# B L  
  /#arʷəŋə#arʷəŋə#arʷəŋə/  
  (blossom blossom blossom)  
  (C-insertion)  
  (textline 7a)

(19) [wi jo wei o na]  
  S W W# S S  
  B B L# B L  
  /gwejawa#/ (aθəŋə)⁵⁰/  
  dead.body  
  (V-deletion)  
  (textline 22a)

A speech word occurring in more than one textline is always treated with the same strategy in relation to vowel deletion or consonant insertion.⁵¹ Both strategies are now discussed in more detail.

First, they have opposite effects on foot size. In (18) /l/ is inserted before erweruye creating a dactyl foot (3 syllables). In this way C-insertion maximises the number of syllables in a foot. In (19) the initial /a/ is deleted, creating a dactyl foot (2 syllables). In this way V-deletion minimises the number of syllables to be set to the metrical foot. The effect of this is significant when it comes to meeting the foot hierarchy (§6.2.2) and achieving syllable congruence, which I will discuss in §6.4.

Second, they have opposite effects on alignment of lexical stress with metrical prominence. Vowel-initial words are stressed on the second syllable. Hence, C-insertion results in lexical stress aligning with the least prominent metrical position (W/S), as in

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⁵⁰ Glossings for segments of the song text with numerous possible speech equivalents such as [aθəŋə] are shown in Appendix 1.

⁵¹ Arguably, awere 'quick' is a single word treated differently in different textlines. In textlines 12a and 12b, awer=awere 'quick+emph' has initial vowel deletion and is set to a dactyl. In textlines 15b, 45a and 45b awere 'quick' is versified with consonant insertion and set to a spondee. That the form includes the elitic =awere in the former textlines may account for the different versifications.
(18), while vowel deletion aligns lexical stress with the prominent S/B metrical position, as in (19).

C-insertion is applied to 12 different vowel-initial speech equivalents, while V-deletion is applied to 20. Despite the apparent preference for V-deletion, when we consider the number of textlines that use each strategy, exactly half of the 46 textlines beginning with a vowel-initial word are versified using C-insertion and half use V-deletion.

In the 23 textlines with C-insertion the inserted consonant is a sonorant. In nine textlines the inserted consonant is /l/; in 8 textlines it is /w/; in five it is a nasal; and in one it is /r/. Examples of each of these inserted consonants are shown in (18), (20)-(22).

(20) \[ wa \ t\'e \ na \ pa \ [a \ pa] \]
    \[
    S \ W \ W# \ S \ W \ W
    /w+at\'e\na\apa/
    1sgACC conkerberry
    \]

(21) \[ na \ ra \ t\'a \ ra \ t\'a \]
    \[
    B \ B \ L# \ B \ L
    /n+arat\'e\arat\'e/
    wallaby sp. wallaby sp.
    \]

55 These speech words are: aleme, aparipe, arlangkwe, arliperre, arlkenye, orratye, atyenge, awelye-awelye, awere, ayenge, elperre and elye.

54 This is because a word often occurs in more than one textline. Vowel deletion is applied to textlines 1b, 3b, 10a, 12a, 12b, 17a, 18a, 19a, 19b, 21a, 21b, 22a, 22b, 29a, 31b, 32b, 35b, 38b, 39b, 43a, 43b, 44b and 52a.

50 These speech words are: awere, apintye, aliyele, amerre, atyweret-atywerte, ihweyewert-ahpeye, arawerrge, arlataye, artpareme, amgerrente, aweyeaye, llengerarle, amerte, aylemante, amgayerete, iterarre, aperealye, ahkerre, ahilkerre and awelye.

53 Strelo now also notes C-insertion in Arrernte songs. He believes the motivation is to "distort the rhythm of the spoken line" (1933:197), rather than to adhere to syllabic requirements of song, as is argued here.

56 Textlines 7a, 7b, 11b, 15b, 45a, 45b, 48a, 48b and 49a.

57 Textlines 6b, 13a, 13b, 30a, 34b, 37b, 40a and 40b.

58 Textlines 8a, 24a, 24b, 28b and 49b.

59 Textline 16a.

60 See also textlines 6b, 13a, 13b, 34b, 37b, 40a and 40b.

61 See also textlines 24a, 24b and 28b.
Form and Meaning of Akwelye: Chapter 6

(22) $[\text{ra wu lla wu lla}]^{62}$

\[B \quad B \quad L \# \quad B \quad L\]

/r+awalha-awalha/  
lightning

(textline 16a)

Vowel deletion is usually used when the speech word is a four syllable monomorphemic word and begins with a vowel,\(^{63}\) as in (23).

(23) $[\text{to ra mər pe àa re nə}]$

\[S \quad W \quad W \# \quad S \quad W \quad W \# S \quad W\]

\[B \quad B \quad L \# \quad B \quad B \quad L \# B \quad L\]

/rîte/are#(amarpə)#arəŋə/  
headband (tight) put

(textline 10b)

By deleting the initial vowel of the 4-syllable word $\text{iterkarre}$, the word is set to the preferred dactyl foot in initial position of the textline and CV syllabification is achieved.

V-deletion may be preferred in 4-syllable words because it minimises the number of syllables to be versified, C-insertion may be preferred in 3-syllable words because it maximises the number of syllables, and together these enable the preferred dactyl foot to commence a textline.

The less common strategies used to achieve CV syllabification of vowel-initial words are used for speech words that have a non-homorganic cluster after their initial vowel:

3. deletion of the initial vowel and consonant of a speech word (VC-deletion)

4. V-deletion plus vowel insertion between the remaining initial consonant cluster.

VC-deletion occurs in two textlines in the versification of $\text{altyele}$ (see (59)) and $\text{amg̊e(ayertेई)}$,\(^{64}\) shown below.

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\(^{62}\) In textline 16a, either /t/ is part of the word for lightning in either an archaic form or a song register form, or it is inserted for alliterative effect and to adhere to CV syllabification. Jenny Green notes that there is a song form of the word $\text{alyeme}$ 'sing', which is $\text{arryeme}$ (2004 pers.comm.) in some Arrernte songs.

\(^{63}\) Four-syllable words are versified by vowel deletion in textlines 10b, 21b, 22a, 22b, 12b and possibly 17a, whose exact form is not confirmed, although it is possibly /anŋa.jə.tə/. Only in textline 28b is the four-syllable monomorphemic word $\text{aparipē}$ treated with consonant insertion.

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The initial /an/ is deleted from anngayerte in textline initial position. In contrast, the nasal cluster /ŋŋ/ between the second and third foot, is heard textline internally.

V-deletion plus vowel insertion between the two initial consonants occurs in only one textline, shown in (25).

(25)  [ŋu ke ri ɾiːθə [a]]
S   W W#   S    W
B   B   L#   B    L
/əŋŋəɾeɾitθə(-lə)/
spirit(3ERG)

In (25) the initial vowel is deleted from anngerrentye and /e/ inserted between /ŋ/ and /ŋ/. As well, /ŋə/ is replaced by /k/, and the initial /ŋ/ becomes rounded, /ŋʷ/.65

Only one textline begins with a consonant cluster and this is a permissible cluster word initially in Kaytetye (homorganic nasal+stop cluster). Deletion of the initial vowel of arntepe 'bronzewing pigeon' forms a disyllabic word (a trochee). The second word is also two syllables, which means that the foot hierarchy is not violated.66

(26)  [ŋaŋ pa rə ɾa]
S   W  #S    W
/əŋŋaŋpaɾarʌŋa/
pigeon.sp  put

To adhere to CV versification vowel-initial words have either a consonant inserted as their onset (C-insertion), or the initial vowel of the word is deleted (V-deletion). If vowel deletion would leave a non-permissible consonant cluster textline initially, the

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64 See §9.3.4 for a discussion about the exact form of this speech equivalent.
65 See §7.4.3 for a discussion of consonant alteration in song.
66 Textline 37a is also unusual in being one of only two textlines beginning with a trochee, and one of only two textlines with four syllables. It can therefore be considered a marked textline.
following consonant may also be deleted (VC deletion), or in one case a vowel is inserted between the consonants following V-deletion. I turn now to consider the eight Akweleye textlines that begin with a phonetic vowel, which is not a vowel upbeat.

6.3.2 Textline initial /a/ and /u/

While the vast majority of textlines begin CV on the first beat (89 textlines), there are five textlines that begin with [a] and three textlines beginning with [u] where this is not an upbeat. I argue that phonologically these are glide initial textlines; /u/ and /w/ respectively, as illustrated in (27) and (28), and thus adheres to CV syllabification.

(27)  [ar ka lar tla na ntlə]
      /aɾkəlaɾtəɾəntələ/  
      /əɾkə-laɾtəɾəntələ/  
      sun-ERG  shine-NOMZ  (textline 11a)

(28)  [ul pe ʊəl pə ɪə]
      /wəɭpəɭəɭəɭə/  
      /ɭəɭəɭəɭəɭə/  
      quick  quick  (textline 13b)

I suggest that in all eight textlines the glide is not phonetically present because the syllable has a coda. In all cases the coda is a lateral/tap followed by a stop. Lateral/tap+stop clusters are not permitted word-initially in Arandic languages, nor are they attested textline initially in Akweleye textlines. Thus, if V-deletion were applied to these speech words this would create non-permissible word initial clusters: */rk/ and */lp/ respectively.

The five [a] initial textlines are based on two speech equivalents: aherrke 'sun' (textlines 11a, 14a, 39a, 51b) and ahelkwerre 'underground' (textline 52a) which are treated with V-deletion. The remaining initial glide is phonetically elided, as often occurs in spoken Arandic languages. For example, /əɾkə/ 'sun' is often pronounced [əɾkə] 'sun' in

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67 Hercus and Koch also note C-insertion in a Wangkanguru song, however they state that it was "one of those individualities that were permitted to singers as they reinterpreted and relived the verse" (1997:88). The song text under discussion has an Arandic speech equivalent iltka 'band', which is preceded by 'm' in the textline.

68 Non-permissible clusters in Arandic languages are discussed in Breen and Pensalfini (1999:21-22).
speech. Furthermore, the initial glide /h/ can be heard in textline 52a at the beginning of a melodic descent, as in (29).

(29) [uːgəɾaɾnəɾa] (beginning of a melodic section, i.e. following breath intake)
[əɾaɾnəɾa] (within a melodic section)

(textline 52a)

I analyse such sequences in Akwelye as /ha/, which are sometimes realised phonetically as [a] when the syllable has a coda.

In textlines beginning with [u] I argue that C-insertion has taken place, creating underlying /wu/ (pronounced [wu] in spoken Arandic languages), and the initial glide is elided because of the coda. As in textline 52a, textline 6a shows variation in pronunciation of the initial consonant at the beginning of a melodic descent, shown in (30).  

(30) [wʊɾɛɾɛɾɛɾɛ] (beginning of a melodic section, i.e. following breath intake)
[ʊɾɛɾɛɾɛ] (within a melodic section)

(textline 6a)

The two other textlines beginning [u] have a speech equivalent elpere 'quick' (textlines 13a and 13b, see (28)). Evidence for C-insertion comes from other textlines where /w/ has been inserted to achieve CV syllabification before a vowel-initial word, shown in (31).

(31) # w+atynge 'me' (textline 30a)

#w+elye 'shade' (textlines 40a and 34b)

#w+aleme 'stomach' (textline 37b)

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69 In Arandic languages the phoneme /h/ only occurs as the onset to the first stressed syllable of a word, it never occurs word internally.

70 While spoken versions of this song give awemge as a speech equivalent, the meaning of this song form is not known. Speakers do not interpret this song text as referring to awemge 'tree grave' (K, Aly).

71 Although not proposed by Koch, it is possible that the archaic form of shade is *welye in Arandic languages. See Koch for a discussion of diachronic consonant deletion in Arandic languages (2004:135f).
In these cases /w/ is always pronounced [w], probably because there are no codas in the first syllable. In §6.4.2 we will see other examples within a textline where the consonant /w/ is inserted to adhere to the metrical requirements.

In this section I have argued that the phonological structure of the eight textlines that begin with a phonetic vowel on the first metrical position are underlying consonant initial. When the onset is #/uə/ it has a surface form #/a[, an elision that is also attested in speech; and when the onset is #/we/ it has a surface form #/u, a variant pronunciation not attested in speech, although it is a diachronic variation in Arandic languages, e.g. ware [wəɾə] (K) 'fire', ure [uɾə] (pan-Ar).

6.3.3 Versifying vowel-initial syllables within textlines

Overwhelmingly, syllables in song texts are CV. In both speech and Akweye, however adjacent vowels can occur phonetically across word boundaries and are analysed as a word final vowel plus initial glide and vowel sequence. The initial glide is not phonetically audible. On the surface, this produces a sequence of adjacent vowels, such as [œ], which is underlyingly /a#uə/. This also occurs in Akweye, as shown in (32).

(32) [ar ke ar ke la]
      /ar.kə.ar.kə.lə/
      S W W# S W
      B B L# B L
      /auəɾkə-auəɾkə-la/ [arkə-arkə-la]
      sun-sun-LOC
      (textline 51b)

Similarly, the sequence /əwa/ in a speech word is sung as [əa] when /w/ is an onset to a W/L syllable in some textlines, as in (33).

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72 It could possibly be related to the fact that the following vowels are [a] or [i] in these textlines.

73 In Breen and Ponsallini's analysis the final [e] of the first morpheme is a phonetic vowel that surfaces in certain environments (1999). Henderson (1998:70) also observes that sequences of vowels can occur in Arrernte if the initial word is short, e.g., [təɾəɾə] 'shelter build' can be pronounced as [təɾəɾə]. He demonstrates that a sequence of such vowels is partly motivated by the size of the word and the prosodic requirements of a word (1998:72).
As considered in the previous section, the few syllables without a phonetic onset in *Akwelye* can be analysed as having an initial glide phoneme, /ɰ/ or /w/.

### 6.4 Word/foot congruence and syllable congruence

Having shown that CV syllabification is preferable to VC syllabification in *Akwelye*, I turn now to consider the metrical requirements that determine the choice of foot to which a speech word is set.

In many English meters, syllables are aligned so that the lexically stressed syllable of the word falls on the Strong position in the metrical template—referred to as an accentual meter. In §6.2.3, I argued that stress alignment is not the motivating force in setting words to an *Akwelye* textline. Instead, congruence is achieved by matching (i) the number of words to be versified with the number of feet in a textline, and (ii) the number of syllables in a word with the number of syllables in a metrical foot. The congruence is not exact, since adherence to CV syllabification and the foot hierarchy means that foot and word boundaries are not necessarily aligned. These rules resemble what Fabb calls "word boundary rules" (1997:111). I refer to these two rules in *Akwelye* as (i) word/foot congruence and (ii) syllable congruence.

For the purposes of word/foot congruence, I show in §6.4.4 that a word is defined as a phonetic word. For the purposes of syllable congruence, the number of syllables in a word can be defined as either (i) the number of nuclei, or (ii) the number of onsets. In a consonant initial word, syllable congruence is uncontroversial as the number of onsets and nuclei are the same. This is illustrated in (34).

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74 Word boundary rules are described by Fabb as "para-metrical rules" (1997:111). That is, a rule that relates features of linguistic form other than stress to positions in the metrical template.

75 Observations suggesting the presence of a word boundary rule have been made by other researchers of Aboriginal song. See, for example, Strehlow (1933:197), Barwick (2003:79), Dixon (1984), Marett (in press Ch 4, Ch 9) and Treloyn (forthcoming).
The first word has three syllables (nuclei and onsets) and so is set to a dactyl foot, and the second word is two syllables (nuclei and onsets) and so is set to a trochee foot. The textline adheres to the *Akwé:ye* metrical template in all respects:

1. the number of words match the number of feet (2)
2. the number of syllable nuclei and onsets in each word matches the number of syllables in each foot (3+2)
3. CV syllabification is achieved
4. adherence to foot hierarchy (dactyl+trochee).76

Furthermore, lexical stress is aligned with the metrically prominent S/B positions.

Versification of a vowel-initial word is more complex than versifying a consonant-initial word. A word of V.CV.CV structure has three nuclei and two onsets, and so can be versified in a 3-syllable foot or a 2-syllable foot. Versification by C-insertion achieves syllable congruence based on the number of nuclei in the word (three), and versification by V-deletion achieves syllable congruence based on the number of onsets in the word (two). The latter also reflects the free variation in Arandic languages as to whether the initial vowel of many words is pronounced (see §7.2).

The following sections show how word/foot and syllable congruence is achieved whilst adhering to CV syllabification and the foot hierarchy, taking into account the syllabic, morphological and prosodic features of the speech equivalents.

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76 Note that the final vowel of the first speech word in (34), /a/ ([ə]), is sung as [i], and the final vowel of the second speech word is sung as [a]. The motivation for altering these vowels in song may be to achieve particular sound patterning in the W/L position, maximising the contrast in the final vowel of both feet: i/a. Such sound patterning rules are discussed in §6.6.1 and §6.6.2.
6.4.1 Versifying vowel-initial words within a textline

There are 20 confirmed speech equivalents within a textline that are vowel-initial\(^{77}\) and occur in 30 textlines.\(^{78}\) All but one meets the congruence rules.\(^{79}\) An important consideration for understanding the versification of vowel-initial words is the realisation of vowels on the periphery of words. In Arandic languages the initial vowel is often not pronounced, and the final vowel of a word is not usually pronounced before a vowel-initial word. For example, in *kwelkarte akelye* 'small wild melon' the final vowel of the first word is elided and sounds [kùlkətəkɪlə]. Likewise, in all Akvelye textlines word final /a/ is not heard before a vowel-initial word, although it is written in phonological representations.\(^{80}\)

Two strategies are used to versify a vowel-initial word such as *akelye* within a textline:

\[ (35) \quad [kùl \quad ka \quad t#a \quad ki \quad ə] \]

- (i): S W W# S W (foot aligns with consonant to right [kɪlə])
- (ii): S W# S W (foot aligns with consonant to left [rɛkɪlə])

The versification in (i) has the first consonant of the second word, /k/, as the onset of the foot. I refer to this strategy as *alignment to the right* because the onset of the second foot aligns with the consonant to the right of the beginning of the word, [kɪlə]. The versification in (ii) has the final consonant of the preceding word, /t/, as the onset of the second foot. I refer to this strategy as *alignment to the left* because the foot aligns with the consonant to the left of the previous word, [rɛkɪlə]—the final consonant of the preceding speech word.

In (i) the number of syllables in the second word is based on the number of onsets (two). In (ii) the number of syllables in the word is based on the number of nuclei

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\(^{77}\) These words are: *alyle, amperrange, antye-, aperlape, arenlane-, arenha-nheme, arlatyeye, arrerne-, arryoyne, arlape, arryoyere, atye, awelye, awere, elpere, anyere, etwerrpe, ilongwerrle-veyewe, irrweanye and itenyeye.

\(^{78}\) Textlines 1b, 3a, 3b, 4b, 5a, 7b, 8b, 10b, 11a, 12a, 12b, 13a, 18a, 19a, 19b, 21a, 25a, 29b, 31a, 31b, 36b, 37a, 38b, 43a, 43b, 45a, 48a, 48b, 49a and 52a.

\(^{79}\) The versification of *arrtyoyere* is discussed in §6.4.6.

\(^{80}\) Strehlow also notes that the first vowel of a word coalesces with the final vowel of the previous word in Arrente songs (1971:130).
(three). In (i) a dactyl precedes a trochee, (adhering to the foot hierarchy), while in (ii) a trochee precedes a dactyl (violating the foot hierarchy).

These strategies can be compared with the two strategies for versifying vowel-initial words in textline initial position considered in §6.3.1. Alignment to the right minimises the number of syllables in a foot and aligns lexical stress with metrical prominence, as does vowel deletion. Alignment to the left maximises the number of syllables in a foot and does not align lexical stress with metrical prominence, as does consonant insertion. While both consonant insertion and vowel deletion are equally common in textline initial position (§6.3.1), alignment to the right is the preferred strategy for versifying vowel-initial words within a textline. This preference can be seen to relate to the foot hierarchy, as right-alignment minimises the number of syllables to be versified and the foot hierarchy prefers feet with less syllables to follow ones with more. Both strategies are now discussed in more detail.

Alignment to the right is illustrated in (36), where it is the strategy used to versify the second and third words of textline 7b:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>W#</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L#</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

(36) `[ə [a ŋgi ri ɲa ɾə ɲa]

In textline 7b the second and the third feet align with the consonants to the right of the words: /əɾŋə/ and /əŋə/. Note that the vowels in both W/L positions are sung as [ə] and not [a], as the word final vowel is deleted.

If the initial syllable of the second word has a coda, then the foot aligns with the CV to the right. This means that #VC becomes the rhyme of the previous syllable, as in (37)

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81 Thirteen of the vowel-initial words align the foot with the consonant to the right (alpye, ansperrne, antye-, aperlape, arerne-, artryrne-, artape, awere, elpere, entyere, ilingwerrele-weyewe, irwenny and iityeke, while only five align the foot with the consonant to the left (aty, angkerpe, awelye, entyere and eltyere). Note that entyere and atye are treated differently in different textlines.
where the initial /am/ of /ampos/ is the rhyme of the previous syllable in the preceding foot.

(37)  [a]k [a]m pos

Maximising the number of syllables in the first foot by using C-insertion so that it can be syllabified as a dactyl (three syllables), and minimising the number of syllables in the final foot by using alignment to the right, also assists in creating the favoured foot structure of dactyl + trochee.

The textline in (38) shows that a word with three syllables, atyenge, can precede a word with four syllables, aperlapo, and not violate the foot hierarchy by using C-insertion for the first word (maximising the number of syllables), and alignment to the right for the second word (minimising the number of syllables), creating a textline dactyl+dactyl.

(38)  [wa] te na po [a pa]

The less common strategy, alignment to the left is illustrated in (39). In most cases the preceding word ends in a 'short'—(V)(C)CV—suffix.

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83 The alteration of /ir/ in the word ahetkwerre to /y/ in the song text is discussed in §7.4.3.
84 This occurs in eight textlines: 3a, 48a, 23a, 23b, 21a, 45a, 25b and 48b.
85 Some spoken versions of song texts have these words with a suffix while others do not; hence it is rarely possible to say conclusively that the suffix is present, and so alignment to the left in some instances could be equivalent to consonant insertion.

200
In (39) the second foot aligns with the consonant to the left, /t/. This is the consonant in the disyllabic suffix /=aʔa/. In versifying the word *awelye* the number of syllable nuclei in the word and its metrical foot are congruent (three), but not the number of syllable onsets (there are two in the word but three in the foot). The number of syllable nuclei is not achieved in the previous word: /a.'na.ka.ta/ has four nuclei but the foot has three. However if we count onsets, syllable congruence is achieved (three). Such an approach forces syllables to be counted in different ways for each of the two words within a textline—onsets for the first word and nuclei for the second word—which is unsatisfactory. Thus, there is a discrepancy in syllable congruence based on the number of nuclei in the previous foot, which may be why it is not the preferred option for versifying vowel-initial words, and usually occurs only if the previous word has a short suffix. (Further examples are discussed when multimorphemic words are considered in §6.4.4.)

This section has considered the two main strategies for versifying vowel-initial words within a textline and shown that alignment to the right is the preferred strategy. This means that syllable congruence is achieved by matching the number of onsets in the word with the number of syllables in the foot. The next section considers a strategy for conforming to the foot hierarchy.

---

85 Any given word is versified using the same strategy when it occurs in different songs, with one possible exception: *awere* 'quick'. This is versified with consonant insertion in textlines 15b, 45a, and 45b —/əura/ — and versified with vowel deletion and breaking in textlines 12a and 12b —/wurwe/ (note that the strategy used is the same within the song text). However, it is possible that the speech equivalent in textlines 15b, 45a and 45b has an additional morpheme: *awere-arte*, while in 12a and 12b it is only *awere*. 

201
6.4.2 Breaking as a means of increasing the number of syllables in a foot

There are at least three instances—and possibly more—in which a consonant /w/ is inserted after the first word and before a vowel-initial word, forming an additional syllable at the end of the first foot.\(^6\) This strategy enables a 3-syllable vowel-initial word in textline initial position to be set to a dactyl, as in (40).

\[
(40) \quad \text{[na to wan tʃi ja]} \\
\begin{array}{ll}
S & w \ W # \\
B & B \ L # \\
\end{array} \\
/\text{a}/\text{nə̃tə/-}w(-\text{je})/^{67} \\
\text{stomach} \\
\text{jump-(TNS)} \\
\]

The initial vowel is dropped from /a\'nə̃tə/ to adhere to CV alignment (V-deletion), creating /nə̃tə/. However the foot hierarchy prefers textlines to begin with dactyls. The added consonant /w/ becomes the onset of the final syllable of the initial dactyl foot. This is what Strehlow refers to as "breaking" (1971:111).\(^8\) This strategy differs from alignment to the left because the syllable resulting from breaking always occurs at the end of the first foot, and never as an onset to the second foot.

Considering that breaking is a strategy to create a dactyl foot in textline initial position, it is worth considering why the only trochee initial textlines, textlines 38b and 37a, were not set to a dactyl through breaking. Instead these textlines consist of a series of trochees. In the case of textline 38b this may be because the two words are repeated (a reduplication), and breaking is not attested with any other reduplications. It is less obvious why two trochees are preferred over breaking in textline 37a. Strehlow believed that the motivation for breaking comes from the rhythmic pattern (1971:111),\(^9\) but he

\(^{6}\) This occurs in textlines 1b, 19a, 19b and possibly also 2a, 10a, 12a, 12b, 30b and 31a. It could be argued that [w] actually represents a meaningful morpheme, such as the emphasis clitic =owe (K) rather than a meaningless augment. See Appendix 1 for a semantic analysis of these textlines.

\(^{67}\) I have recorded the nasal in the word onye- 'jump' (K) as both [n̥] and [n̥]. It is not clear whether there is a phonological distinction here. The orthography of all Arandic languages does not make a distinction between [n̥] and [n] before [t̪].

\(^{8}\) Breaking is also found in other Central Australian music. See Tunstall (1995), Moyle (1997), Strehlow (1971) and Ellis (1964:342)

\(^{9}\) Henderson's re-analysis of the material in Strehlow shows that there are many instances of broken textlines (which increases the number of syllables) that at the same time transfer syllables or consonants to another line, which would counteract any benefit of gaining syllables (Henderson 1999). Like Henderson, I doubt the purely rhythmic motivation for breaking. I suggest syllable congruence and the foot hierarchy is the motivating force for using breaking.
provided no explanation for why breaking occurs in some textlines but not others. I argue that in *Akwelye* breaking is one of various strategies to meet the metrical requirements: CV syllabification, the foot hierarchy, word/foot congruence and syllable congruence.

The outcomes of these strategies applied to a single speech word in textline initial position are shown in Table 6.6.

| Speech word: /a.wo̱.ḷa/  
  'ceremony'  
  ⇒ (i) V-deletion+breaking  
  (ii) V-deletion  
  (iii) C-insertion /l/ | CV syllabification | Dactyl foot (3-syllable word) | Stress alignment |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/wo̱.ḷa.wə/</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*/wo̱.ḷa/</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*/la.wə.ḷa/</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.6 Comparison of the strategies V-deletion plus breaking, V-deletion and consonant insertion in respect to textline initial word *akwelye* 'women's ceremony' (Only the form (i) /wo̱.ḷa.wə/ is attested in *Akwelye*: textline 1b.)

No song texts have one textline created with vowel deletion plus breaking and the other created with consonant insertion. As mentioned above, any given word is versified using the same strategy when it occurs in different songs. Thus, the choice between vowel deletion plus breaking or consonant insertion may also be influenced by which strategy is used for the same word in other textlines, and which strategy is used for versifying words in the other textline of the same song text.91

Having identified the three strategies available for versifying vowel-initial words in accordance with the metrical requirements, the following sections show how vowel-initial short words and multimorphemic words are versified within a textline to achieve word/foot congruence and syllable congruence whilst adhering to CV syllabification and the foot hierarchy.

90 The versifications of *anere* 'stomach' (textline 19a, 19b), *awere* (textlines 12a, 12b) also employ both vowel deletion and breaking.

91 Vowel deletion and breaking align the stressed syllable in the spoken word with the metricaly stressed position in the foot, making it easier to identify the speech word in song. Possibly the choice between breaking and consonant insertion may be a choice as to how disguised the "composer" wants the speech word to be in the textline. It is not known who received these songs so this can only remain speculation.
6.4.3 Versifying monomorphemic words within a textline

In most cases the foot aligns with the consonant to the right when setting a monomorphemic vowel-initial word within a textline, as we saw in (36)–(38). This enables all the metrical requirements to be met, including syllable congruence by defining the syllable as the number of onsets in a word. In a few cases the foot aligns with the consonant to the left, usually only if that consonant is part of a short suffix, as in (39). I turn now to consider how short words are versified in Akwelye.

6.4.3.1 Versifying short words: (V)(C)CV

There is only one monomorphemic word of (V)(C)CV structure versified in Akwelye: atye '1sg.ERG'. This occurs in two textlines. In one textline it contributes to the length of the preceding foot, shown in (41), and in the other it is set to its own foot, as in (42).\(^92\)

(41) [ku ra la me[ pə [e[ pə [a la re na]]
S W W# S W W# S W
B B L# B B L# B B L# B L
/kʷəɾeɾəɾəlaɾəməɾəpoɾə-laɾəɾəɾənaɾə/
girl 1sgERG fat-(INST-RED) 1sgERG put

(textline 3a)

(42) [ku ri mbi la la re na]
S W W# S W# S W
B B L# B L# B L
/kʷəɾimboɾəɾəɾəɾənaɾə/
Dreamtime.woman-ERG 1sgERG put

(textline 4b)

In textline 4b atye forms a separate foot and the foot aligns with the consonant to the left, which is part of a short suffix, -le. In this way syllable congruence is achieved by counting the number of nuclei in the word (two).

The length of the previous word may influence whether atye is versified in its own foot or in the preceding foot. In textline 3a the word kwerre preceding atye has two syllables, and atye is incorporated to form the preferred dactyl foot in textline initial position.\(^93\) In

\(^{92}\) Atye is also the speech equivalent of the third foot, preceded by a partially reduplicated form—mperlererlerperle. In \(6.4.4\) I show that reduplication is set to a separate foot. Thus, the second atye in textline 3a contributes to the length of the previous foot, which is the reduplicant.

\(^{93}\) The word preceding the second atye in textline 3a is a complex poetic reduplication and is considered in \(6.5.1.2\).
textline 4b the preceding word has four syllables, kwerrimpele, and atye forms its own trochee foot by aligning with the consonant to the left, thus also achieving the preferred dactyl in textline initial position.

The treatment of the short pronoun atye as either a word or a suffix in relation to word/foot congruence resembles its treatment in spoken Arandic languages. In Kaytetye short pronouns can occur within a complex verbal word in positions where only clitics otherwise occur. As well, pronouns often occur in second position in a sentence and receive no lexical stress, like a clitic.

The versification of short words resembles the way grammatical words can cluster in classical Greek poetry to form a "clitic group", which may be interpreted as a word for the purposes of word boundary rules or as separate words (Fabb 1997:113). In Akwelye the number of syllables in the previous word may determine whether the word forms a clitic group, as in textline 3a, or is considered a separate word, as in textline 4b.

6.4.4 Versifying multimorphemic words

Having shown that monomorphemic words are set to a single foot and that short monomorphemic words may be treated as either a word or clitic, I now consider how word/foot congruence is achieved in multimorphemic words. There are 18 confirmed multimorphemic words versified. Whether these suffixes form their own foot or form part of another foot can be seen to relate to certain features of Arandic prosody.

Arandic languages are agglutinative; suffixes can be one or more syllables long, and many verb suffixes resemble verb roots. Primary stress occurs on the first consonant initial syllable of a word and polysyllabic suffixes. This includes some monosyllabic bound verb stems and reduplicated segments. Primary stress is weakened, and optional, following another primary stress within a complex grammatical word, as in (43).

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95 This does not include the multimorphemic words in polyrhythmic songs and songs from the Waaake song series.
96 Prosody in Arandic languages is complex, and a detailed account in Arrente can be found in Henderson (1998, 2002). I discuss here only those features relevant to the speech words versified.
97 Henderson refers to this as optional secondary stress in Arrente (2002:116).
In (43), primary stress falls on the first consonant initial syllable of the bound verb stem /alpâŋka/. However this stress is weaker than the initial primary stress of the grammatical word.\(^9\)

On monomorphemic words a secondary stress may occur on alternating syllables after the primary stressed syllable. In relation to Arrernte, Henderson calls this the "alternating stress rule" (2002:116). Alternating secondary stress may also occur on a word with a single monosyllabic or a vowel-initial disyllabic suffix. Such suffixes both add one additional syllable to the word to which they attach because of elision of word final /o/ (§6.4.1). I refer to these as 'short suffixes'. Example (44) shows secondary stress on a word with a short suffix.\(^9\)

\[(44)\quad [tâŋkəŋ[tə[a]
\quad /tâŋkəŋ[tə[a/
\quad bird-ERG\]

Words with secondary stress resulting from the alternate stress rule, such as in (44), are considered a single phonological rule. In Arandic languages there is also an overriding no stress rule on the final syllable of a phonological word.\(^10\)

In relation to foot setting in Akwelye, a phonological word is always set to its own foot; 13 of the 18 multimorphemic words versified are single phonological words,\(^10\) all set to a single foot,\(^10\) as in (45).

---

\(^9\) Henderson notes that in Arandic languages there is very little phonological evidence to tell whether a sequence of such morphemes is a sequence of phonological words, each with their own stress, or whether it is a single phonological word with primary and secondary stress (2002:107).

\(^9\) While a complete study of stress in Kaytetye has not yet been undertaken, my own observations suggest that the stress rules identified by Henderson for Arrernte (1998, 2002) also apply in Kaytetye.

\(^10\) The sequence arrerne 'put' may also consist of a verb stem arr- plus suffix -rne; however it may also be a single verb root arrerne 'put' (pan-Ar). This is discussed further in §9.3.3. Either way, this verb is always set to a single foot.

\(^10\) These words are aherrke-le, angketye-le, amiye-ye, are-rl-ane, arrytorne-niye, attok-arbe, aylenantharpe, elye-le, kwerrpar-anje, llenger-arle, llenye-we, kwerre-le and kwerrimpe-le.

\(^10\) These words occur in a total of 24 textslines: 11a, 39a, 48a, 49a, 19a&b, 14a&b, 35b, 39a, 11a, 18a, 15a&b, 23a&b, 8b, 34b, 40a&b, 21a, 37a, 47b and 4b.
In (45) the 4-syllable complex verb *artryerne-ntyee* is a single phonological word and set to a single dactyl foot using the strategy of alignment to the left, thus satisfying the foot hierarchy, CV syllabification, word/foot congruence and syllable congruence based on onsets, of which there are three.

There are four multimorphemic words that have secondary stress resulting from the alternate stress rule. In all cases the suffix similarly does not form its own foot. In two cases the final consonant of the suffix is the onset to the following foot (foot alignment to the left): *kwerrimpe-le* and *ilengar-arle*.\(^{103}\) In §6.4.3.1, I considered the versification of *kwerrimpe-le* [*kúrrim-pàla*] 'Dreamtime woman', showing that alignment to the left does not achieve syllable congruence. I suggested that the motivation for using alignment to the left in this textline stemmed from the difficulties in versifying the following short word */àtjò/.*

In the other two multimorphemic words with secondary stress, syllable congruence is achieved by setting the word to a single 4-syllable paean foot. Example (46) shows the versification of *aylernant-arrpe* [*ài³ŋañtərpa*]. Initial vowel deletion reduces this 5-syllable complex word into a 4-syllable foot, achieving syllable congruence based on the number of onsets.

In (46) the suffix =*arrpe* is versified in the same foot as its root, and the following vowel-initial word aligns with the consonant to the right.

\(^{103}\) The analysis of the short suffix as the speech equivalent =*arle* as a relativiser in textline 21a is not confirmed, and so not considered here.
The versification of *kwerrpar-(ange) [kōrpālæŋə] is similar.\textsuperscript{104} This 4-syllable word is also set to the paean foot, thus achieving syllable congruence, shown in (47).

(47) \[\text{kur pa ə ə la ə nələ]}\]
\[\text{S W W W# S W W B B B B# B B L)}\]
\[\text{/kə>Data not recoverable}/\]
\[\text{dancing, stick(=UNC)}\]

In this section I have shown that a bound morpheme without primary stress is never set to its own foot. In such multimorphemic words the morpheme either contributes to the length of the following word by forming the onset of that foot (alignment to the left); or it contributes to the length of the word to which it attaches (by aligning the following foot to the right). In longer words this requires a setting to the paean foot.

In multimorphemic words comprising two phonological words, of which there are four, the second phonological word is always set to a separate foot. Here I consider two of these.\textsuperscript{105} Textline 42a is a versification of a complex verb made up of a stem plus three morphemes totalling six syllables which is pronounced in speech [aćęŋəpəŋəmə]. The second phonological word is the reduplicated element in an associated motion form meaning 'do every now and again',\textsuperscript{106} -nhe-, followed by the tense ending -me (the stress on [nəmə] is not secondary stress resulting from the alternating stress rule, as the word is not pronounced *[aćęŋəpəŋəmə]).

(48) \[\text{ku ə ə pe ku ə ə la ə ə pa ə nə mə]}\]
\[\text{S W W# S W W# S W W B B L# B B L# B L)}\]
\[\text{/kə} Data not recoverable/\]
\[\text{girl-(each)-girl-ERG see-while.moving-LIG-do.now&again-PRS}\]

In (48) the reduplicant and following suffix form the second phonological word, [nəmə], set to its own trochee foot.

\textsuperscript{104} See Appendix 1: song text 15 for a discussion of the possible speech equivalents for the segment ange.

\textsuperscript{105} These words are /aŋərəkərəkə/, /aćęŋə-pə-nə-mə/, /nərə-[ə-wə]-jewə/ and /pələqərərə-ŋə/ and occur in textlines 14a, 51b, 42a, 18a and 41b.

\textsuperscript{106} See Appendix 1: song text 42 for a discussion of the meanings of -nhe- and -peVCV- (Arr).
Textline 18a is also a versification of a complex verb made up of a stem plus three morphemes. This totals seven phonological syllables but six phonetic syllables: /l̥n̥wà.re[ə.wè.ja.wa]/ [l̥n̥wàra[əwija]]. The second phonological word is a historical verb root, we- 'throw', in an associated motion form -rle-we- 'go and do quickly'. The stress on [wija] /wà.ja.wa/ is not secondary stress resulting from the alternating stress rule, as the word is not pronounced *l̥n̥wàra[əwija].

(49)  [le na ntar pa qa ra la wi ja]  
  S  W  W  W#  S  W  W  
  B  B  B#  B  B  B  L#  B  L  
  /l̥n̥ant-arpe[ə.l̥n̥e-re-jewe-yawe/  
  ldu.ex.O.M.NOM-only invite-RECIP+go&do.quickly-PURP

In (49) the historical verb stem and following suffix form the second phonological word, set to its own trochee foot.

So far I have shown that the number of phonological words must match the number of feet in relation to words with suffixes. I turn now to consider the versification of reduplicated forms, which can be likened to compounds as the base and the reduplicant form two phonological words. Again it is the phonological word that counts when achieving word/foot congruence.

6.4.5 Word boundary rule and reduplicated forms

Four types of reduplication can be identified in Akwole, and in all cases the reduplicated segment is set to its own foot.

1. lexical reduplication, eg. awelye-awelye 'lightning' (6 textlines)

2. linked reduplication (1 textline, 42a)

3. phrasal reduplication (5 textlines)

4. grammatical/poetic word reduplication (10 textlines)

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107 Textlines 14a, 16a, 26b, 51b, 40a and 40b.
108 Textlines 1a, 17a, 17b, 29a and 43a.
109 Textlines 7a, 8a, 11b, 12b, 13b, 27a, 28a, 31b, 38a and 44a.
The reduplicated segment is set to a separate foot by aligning the foot with the consonant to the right in all but textline 31b.

6.4.5.1 Lexical reduplication

The partial reduplication [kópalápalá] shows that the lexical reduplication is not a single phonological word with secondary stress, as this would be pronounced *[kúpalépalá]. 110 The reduplicated segment is set to its own foot, as in (50).

(50) [ŋur pə |er pə |a]
     S W W# S W
     B B L# B L
     /kʷepelepele/
     bronzewing pigeon

(textline 26b)

Four of the six lexical reduplications involve reduplicating a vowel-initial segment. 111 In all cases the second foot aligns with the first C-initial syllable of the reduplicated segment by using alignment to the right, as in (51).

(51) [ra wu lə wu lə]
     S W W# S W
     B B L# B L
     /awelawahelə/ 112
     lightning

(textline 16a)

The lexical reduplication [árkeárkələ] occurs in two different textlines and is set to two feet in both textlines but the types of feet differ in the two textlines. In textline 51b the first foot is a dactyl, which includes the base and the first syllable of the reduplicated segment. The remaining syllable of the reduplicated segment together with the monosyllabic suffix, -le, forms a foot. Thus the foot of the reduplicated segment aligns with the first audible CV to the right, [kə] (since the /uə/ is omitted as sometimes occurs in speech):

110 Versification of this word involves significant phonological alterations that are considered in §7.4.2.
111 Textlines 14a, 16a, 26b, 31b and 51b.
112 Apart from the appearance of the word anvely-anvely 'lightning' in this anvely song series, there is no other evidence to suggest that anvely-anvely 'lightning' (K) is based on the word anvely 'women's ceremonies.
(52)  [ar kə ar kə la]
      S  W  W#  S  W
      B  B  L#  B  L
     /a.uər.kə-a.uər.kə-la/
    sun-sun-LOC

    (textline 51b)

In textline 14a the first foot is a spondee comprising the base, and the second syllable is a dactyl consisting of the reduplicated segments and the suffix. While textline 14a also aligns the reduplicant's foot with the consonant to the right, this consonant is the first phonemic CVC, /uər/ of /aŋərkə/ 'sun', realised as [ar].

(53)  [ar ke ar ke la əə [a əa/
      S  W#  S  W  W#  S  W  W
      L  L#  B  B  L#  B  B  L
     /a.uər.kə-a.uər.kə-la#əə,a.əa/
    sun-sun-LOC  see-CONT

    (textline 14a)

Unlike the setting in textline 51b, textline 14a matches secondary as well as primary stress with the Strong positions in the textline.

6.4.5.2 Linked reduplication

There is one textline with a reduplicated nominal linked with an increment -pe-, followed by the ergative -le: [kúə-pe-kúə-la] 'girl-(each)-girl-ERG'. The reduplicated part and following ergative suffix are set to a single foot and the syllable with lexical secondary stress aligns with the S/B position of the second foot. This textline was seen in (48).

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113 Textline 51b only ever occurred in the 1986 radio broadcast performance, which had only two singers.
6.4.5.3 Phrasal reduplication

In the five phrasal reduplications the repeated sequence is versified in the same way as in the base, shown in (54).

(54) la tla ṭi mbə ra ṭa la tla ṭi mbə ra/15
    S  W W#  S  W#  S  W#  S  W  B  B  L#  B  B  L#  B  L
    /matəeo#(impora)#  matəeo#(impora)/
    public.tassel-(without)  public.tassel-(without)

6.4.5.4 Grammatical/poetic word reduplication

Grammatical/poetic reduplication can be compared to the grammatical reduplication attested in Arandic languages, such as akely-akelye 'smallish' (lit. small-RED) (K).116 In all cases the repeated word is set to a separate foot. With the exception of textline 31b (discussed below), alignment to the right is used, as in (55).

(55) ul pə qa  pə qa
    S  W W#  S  W  B  B  L#  B  L
    /aqa# aqa/
    quick  quick

In seven textlines the vowel-initial word is versified with consonant insertion and the inserted consonant is not reduplicated, as in (55) above. In textline 11b (56) the quality of the initial vowel in the base and the reduplicant differ:

(56) ila pə ra  pə ra
    S  W W#  S  W  B  B  L#  B  L
    /lə-pəra#ləpare/
    whitewood  whitewood

115 See §6.5.1 for a discussion of the non-reduplicated syllable [ta] in this textline. The alteration of the consonant /m/ in the speech equivalent to [l] in song is discussed in §7.4.3.

116 In Akwelye it is not always clear if, or what, the semantic difference is between the single lexeme and the reduplicated form; it may simply be a method of textline formation, as discussed in §6.5. See Henderson for a discussion of grammatical reduplication in Arrernte (1998:227ff).

117 Note that the vowel quality [a] is maintained on the Long position but reduced to [ə] on the short position. The alteration of speech vowel /a/ in song is discussed in §7.5.2.1.

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In vowel-initial words versified with vowel deletion the reduplicant maintains the initial vowel /a/ of the speech word, even though it is absent in the base, as in (57).

(57) \[wu \, j\, wa \, wu \, ja\]  
\[S \, W \, W \, S \, W\]  
\[B \, B \, L \, B \, L\]  
/\text{gwa}1\text{a}=\text{wa}#\text{gwa}1\text{a}/  
\text{quick}=\text{EMPH} \quad \text{quick}  

(textline 12b)

There is one textline where the word is repeated twice, and thus the textline has three corresponding feet (58). Both second and third feet align with the consonant to the right of the reduplicant.

(58) \[la \, ri \, nla \, ri \, nla \, ri \, nla\]  
\[S \, W \, W \, S \, W \, S \, W\]  
\[B \, B \, L \, B \, L \, B \, L\]  
/\text{aren}1\text{a}=\text{aren}1\text{a}=\text{aren}1\text{a}/  
(blossom blossom blossom)  

(textline 7a)

In one textline the reduplicant is followed by another word, \textit{arrerne}, set to a third foot (59). Syllable congruence is achieved by aligning the second and third feet with the consonant to the right:

(59) \[tl\, o\, la \, tl\, o\, la \, ra \, na\]\(^{118}\)  
\[S \, W \, S \, W \, S \, W\]  
\[B \, L \, B \, L \, B \, L\]  
/\text{al}1\text{e}1\text{a}=\text{al}1\text{e}1\text{a}=\text{aren}1\text{a}/  
\text{cousin} \quad \text{cousin} \quad \text{put}  

(textline 38a)

The word boundary rule is achieved throughout the textline by congruence between number of onsets in the words and number of syllables in the foot. Note that in Kaytetye the initial vowel of \textit{altyele} is optional, providing a motivation for counting number of onsets rather than nuclei.

\(^{118}\) Note that in both the base and the reduplicant the consonant cluster /d\text{u}/ is reduced to /t\text{u}/. The initial vowel is deleted in the base only (as in textline 12b). This achieves CV syllabification and avoids a textline initial cluster.
Word/foot congruence and syllable congruence is achieved by a unique strategy in textline 31b. This textline has two known speech words, the repeated arlategye 'pencil yam' /a.á.tə.ja/ [e[áti]] followed by an unknown segment larra:

(60)  [la ti la ti la ra]
    S W W B B L#  B B L
    /e[áti]e#e[áti]e/
    pencil.yam pencil.yam
    [e[áti]e[áti]]

(textline 31b)

In this textline the initial vowel of the speech words, /a/, is deleted in both the base and the reduplicant (whereas in textline 12b and 38a it is only deleted from the base). The final phonetic vowel [i] is not elided in favour of the following word initial vowel of arlategye in either speech or song. This may be because the final syllable [ti:] corresponds to two phonological syllables: /ti.ja/.

In textline 31b the number of feet matches the number of words (two) and the number of phonological onsets in the word and the feet is the same (three, /a.á.tə.ja/). This is achieved by aligning the second foot with the second consonant to the right; and by inserting a meaningless text filler larra to complete the number of syllables required for the 3-syllable dactyl foot.

The speech word arlategye is exceptional in my data in that it is the only speech word ending in a long vowel corresponding to two phonological syllables. Syllable congruence in this textline is based on matching the number of phonological onsets with the number of syllables in the foot. This means that the foot needs to incorporate the following CV. This leaves a single phonetic syllable [ti] in the second foot and hence the need for a disyllabic filler. Other than textline 31b, all textlines involving reduplication are versified using alignment to the right.

A consideration of multimorphemic words and reduplication shows that word/foot congruence is based on the phonological word rather than the lexical or morphological

119 The orthography reflects an abstract phonological analysis whereby the long vowel of speech and song corresponds to two syllables. A justification for this abstract underlying form is that it simplifies the phonotactics of the language by requiring words to end with non-high vowels.
120 Evidence that larra is a filler rather than a speech word is considered in §9.2.2.
word. Multimorphemic words that have secondary stress (resulting from the alternating stress rule) are one phonological word and so set to one foot. This accounts for the fact that _aylernanth-arapa_ and _kwerrpar-ange_ are set to a single pacon foot, while reduplicated words and complex verbs, also often of four or five syllables, are always set to two feet.

Syllable congruence is achieved in all the phonological words versified. In the four textlines that versify a glide-vowel sequence pronounced as a single long syllable in speech (such as /ˈaʊərkə/ [arːkə]), syllable congruence is based on the phonological structure in two textlines (14a and 31b) and based on the phonetic structure in two textlines (18a and 51b). The ambiguous status of such glide-vowel sequences is considered further in the next section where I discuss the spondee as a metrical setting for glide-vowel sequences.

6.4.6 Versifying to the spondee foot

In _Akwelye_ the spondee foot (S/L + S/L) is reserved solely for versifying a phonological sequence where the second syllable begins with a glide: /w/, /uː/ or /ɪ/, as in (61).

(61)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>(textline 15b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ˈaʊərkə/</td>
<td>quick</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In §6.3.2 we saw that /uː/ can elide in both speech and song resulting in a heavy syllable: a long vowel [aː], although underlyingly this is /uːə/. This section considers further word internal elision of glide-vowel sequences in _Akwelye_ textlines, some of which are not elided in speech. Without elision the speech equivalent in (61) would be set to a dactyl, as in textline 44a [ˈlɑwurawura], but with elision the resulting initial syllable is heavy and set to a S/L position.

In relation to the foot hierarchy the spondee foot, like the dactyl, always comes before a dactyl or a trochee (see Figure 6.3). The spondee and dactyl differ only in that the

---

121 These speech words are _reeve, aylewe, kugweremwe, arawejuwe, anwe, aperalewe, arawejuwe_ and _akweke_. They occur in eight textlines: 3b, 5a, 5b, 9a, 9b, 11a, 14a, 15b, 27b, 39a, 39b, 45a, 45b, 51b and 52a.
former is a versification of a word in which the first two syllables are reduced to a single heavy syllable. The eight speech words that have an elided semivowel and are set to an S/L position are shown in Table 6.7. Only the elision in speech words 1 and 3 are attested in Arandic speech. All cases of elision other than 6 adhere to word/foot congruence in the textline, see (62).\textsuperscript{122}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elided phoneme</th>
<th>Speech word</th>
<th>Vowel deletion (+phonological alteration)</th>
<th>Setting to spondee foot (elision)</th>
<th>Textline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>/pəሐ tələ/</td>
<td>/pə, tələ/ ⇒ [pə təli] \textsuperscript{123}</td>
<td>3b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ŋəʔətəla/</td>
<td>/ŋəʔətəla/ ⇒ [ŋəʔə lə] \textsuperscript{124}</td>
<td>5b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ŋəʔərələ/</td>
<td>/ŋəʔərə/ ⇒ [ŋəʔə rlə] \textsuperscript{125}</td>
<td>14a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>/ləʔərəŋə/</td>
<td>/ləʔərəŋə/ ⇒ [ləʔə ŋə] \textsuperscript{126}</td>
<td>39b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ləʔərəra/</td>
<td>/ləʔərəra/ ⇒ [ləʔə ɾə]</td>
<td>5a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ləʔərələ/</td>
<td>/ləʔərələ/ ⇒ [ləʔə rlə]</td>
<td>9a, 9b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ləʔərəgə/</td>
<td>/ləʔərəgə/ ⇒ [ləʔə ɾəgə]</td>
<td>27b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ləʔərəə/</td>
<td>/ləʔərəə/ ⇒ [ləʔə ɾəə]</td>
<td>15a, 45a, 45b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metrical foot structure:</td>
<td>S W W</td>
<td>S W</td>
<td>B B L</td>
<td>L L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.7 Elision of unstressed syllables with /w/ and /l/ onsets leading to a spondee versification in Akswelye\textsuperscript{127}

\textsuperscript{122} It is possibly not achieved in textline 9a either, however the speech equivalent is unconfirmed.

\textsuperscript{123} This elision also occurs in other Kaytetye words, such as [ŋəʔə] ‘bringPRS’, which is sometimes pronounced [ŋəʔə].

\textsuperscript{124} The elided syllable is /lə/ in kngaweru. Elision of /lə/ to /ŋə/ is attested in a number of languages, including Warumungu.

\textsuperscript{125} The coda of the unstressed syllable /wəŋə/ is also elided and the surrounding vowels coalesce, so that [ŋəŋə] becomes [ŋəŋə].

\textsuperscript{126} This is the only versification that uses consonant insertion rather than vowel-deletion to set a vowel-initial word to the spondee foot.

\textsuperscript{127} Although not recorded, the spontaneous Akswelye setting of the word rewpimpera ‘dragonfly’ by one singer (see §9.4) also set this word to a spondee+trochee:

\texttt{/ŋə plm ɾə ra/}
\texttt{S W# S W}
\texttt{L L# B L}
\texttt{/qəwpimpera/}
Textline 9b has three words but only two feet, as the word boundary occurs between the two notes of the spondee foot. This textline is the only Akweye textline where word/foot congruence is not met.

A further elision occurs in textline 9b where the fourth syllable in the sequence of words is deleted \[ \text{rawal} \text{en}s \] \[ = \text{40la}. \] A similar elision occurs in textline 5a where the fourth syllable (after initial vowel deletion) is elided \[ \text{rawola} \text{rae} \] \[ = \text{raa}. \] Thus the first syllable of the spondee corresponds to syllables one and two of the speech word, and the second syllable in the spondee correspond to syllables three and four of the speech words.

As to be expected, words set to the spondee foot, such as those considered above, do not have syllable congruence as the S/L foot corresponds to two syllables in the speech equivalent. Nor is syllable congruence achieved in the second word of textline 27b, shown in (63). Here the second word has four nuclei and three onsets, \[ /a.a.r\text{li}a.a/ \], yet only two syllables in the foot:

\[ (63) \quad /a.\text{ti} \text{n\text{li}e} \text{ra}/ \]

In textline 27b word/syllable congruence is not achieved because the word boundary occurs between the two syllables of the spondee foot and not between the spondee and dactyl foot. One reason why a word boundary can occur after the first syllable in a

---

128 Note that \textit{rwe} and \textit{aloe} are synonyms.

129 This may be a strategy for ensuring that the foot following the spondee begins with the first consonant of the next word.
spondee (see also (62)) is because a spondee consists of two long notes, and long notes are associated with marking word boundaries.\textsuperscript{130}

This section has shown that the spondee foot is used solely for versifying a glide-vowel sequence that would otherwise fall on a W/B position of a dactyl.\textsuperscript{131} The surrounding vowels may coalesce and the coda may also be elided. It is not the case, however, that all semivowel-initial syllables in this position are elided (see textline 44a).

Word/foot congruence is achieved in all but one textline. Syllable congruence is not always achieved in a textline internal word following a spondee foot. One reason for this is because the spondee consists of two long notes and a long note is usually associated with a word boundary in all other feet. Unsystematic patterns of elision, such as 9b and 5a, can also override syllable congruence.

The spondee is a foot that encodes a syllable with a long vowel, showing how the underlying phonological structure is manifest in the rhythmic structure of \textit{Akweleye}.

6.4.7 \textbf{Summary of word boundary rules}

In \textit{Akweleye} the word boundary rule states that the number of words in a textline must match the number of feet (word/foot congruence), and that the number of syllables in a word must match the number of syllables in a foot (syllable congruence).\textsuperscript{132} At the same time, versification adheres to CV syllabification and the foot hierarchy.

In achieving word/foot congruence the discussion of multimorphemic words revealed that a word is defined as a prosodic unit with one primary stress for the purposes of

\textsuperscript{130} Marett's research shows that in many song genres in the Daly region word boundaries are also marked by lengthening (in press).

\textsuperscript{131} Such elision raises the question of whether the phonological processes are ordered, or whether metrical and phonological constraints are ranked differently for different textlines. In the three textlines with consonant insertion before \textit{aware} the second syllable, 'we', is elided because it occurs on an unstressed position in the metrical template. Thus, in a process driven account, (V)C transfer occurs prior to the elision of semivowels in unstressed positions, while in a constraint based approach the two different treatments of the word \textit{aware} arise from ranking a markedness constraint higher in the latter three textlines, and a faithfulness constraint higher in the former two textlines.

\textsuperscript{132} Fabb's analysis of Dixon and Koch's Dyirbal songs (1996) states that a similar bridging rule also operate in Dyirbal, forbidding a word boundary in some positions and making word boundaries obligatory in others (1997:111).
word/foot congruence. Textline 9b was the only one exception, and this related to the fact that it has a spondee foot.

In achieving syllable congruence the number of syllables in a word is determined by the number of either onsets or nuclei, which reflects the optional pronunciation of initial vowels in many Arandic words. In textline initial position it is equally common to base the number of syllables in a word on either onsets or nuclei. However, within a textline the number of syllables is most often based on the number of onsets; nuclei are only counted if the preceding word has a short suffix. I showed that glides have an ambiguous status in relation to syllable congruence, and the spondee foot is a particular metrical foot that can be used to versify a glide-vowel sequence, providing convincing evidence that phonological structure is manifest in the rhythmic setting.

As most Arandic words are vowel initial, a number of strategies are used to ensure CV syllabification. For the first word in a textline the strategies of C-insertion and V-deletion are used equally. For subsequent words in a textline a vowel-initial word usually aligns with the consonant to the right (matching number of onsets). It may align to the left if the preceding word has a short suffix, thus forcing syllable congruence to be dispensed with in the first word.

The choice of strategy to achieve CV syllabification may be motivated by the preference for an order of feet within a textline—the foot hierarchy. Breaking is a further strategy to increase the number of syllables in the first foot, thus allowing the preferred dactyl to commence a textline.

Having considered how words are set to a metrical line, I now examine types of sound patternings that are used to form textlines and those that affect the quality of consonants and vowels in particular positions of the textline in the song text cycle. Spoken versions of song texts reflect sound patterning as a method of textline formation, whereas sound patterning applied to the song text cycle is not reflected in spoken versions.
6.5 Sound patterning rules for forming textlines

In this section I consider frequent types of sound patterning as a method of text formation. Sound patterning is based on different types of identity between parts of the text. Sound patterning can be applied to segments within a textline (intra-textline variation) or to segments across textlines within a song text (inter-textline variation).

6.5.1 Intra-textline sound patterning

Three types of sound patterning are used to form textlines:

- Phrasal reduplication (see §6.4.5.3)
- Partial reduplication
- Syllable parallelism.

6.5.1.1 Phrasal reduplication

Two textlines with phrasal reduplication are made up of two identical halves and are set to the polyrhythmic pattern N (see §5.5.2). The other three textlines have two near identical halves, both phonologically and rhythmically, one of which was discussed in §6.4.5.3 (54). In these three textlines the first half differs from the second half in that it has an additional syllable [ŋa], as in (64).

(64) [ŋei ja ṭam bə ra nara ŋei ja ṭam bə ra]  
S W W# S W W# S W W# S W  
B B L# B B L# B B L  
/ŋə(-a)ta/˚/amara/(ŋa)/amara/(ŋə(-a)ta)/˚/amara/’

(textline 17a)

In §9.2.1, I argue that [ŋa] has no lexical content and is inserted to create an 11-syllable textline, as there are no 10-syllable textline in Akwelye (see §5.5.2). The 11-syllable textline (isorhythm K), to which five textlines are set (see §5.5.2), consists of a rhythmic text segment made up of two dactyls followed by a rhythmic text segment of a

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133 Fabb states that sound patterning rules are a type of para-metrical rule, and that they are less closely tied to the metrical template than word boundary rules (1997:111).
134 Textlines 1a, 7a, 8a, 16a, 26a, 27a, 28a and 40b and 44a.
135 Textlines 1a, 17a, 17b.
136 Textlines 1a, 17a, 17b, 3a and 42a.
dactyl-trochee. This suggests a hierarchy of rhythmic segments in relation to the number of syllables, where a rhythmic segment with more syllables must precede one with less syllables.

6.5.1.2 Partial reduplication

In §6.4.5.4 the application of the word boundary rule to grammatical/poetic reduplication was considered. This section is concerned with the audible effect of reduplication—the systematic patterning of syllables to feet—irrespective of the speech equivalents.  

Fourteen *Akwelye* textlines reduplicate the second and third syllables of a textline as a method of obtaining a trochee foot following a dactyl. Eight textlines have an initial open syllable (CV) and five have an initial closed syllable (CVC).

(65) initial open syllable:  

\[
\ldots \text{ku la n} \text{la la n} \text{la}\] (textline 1a)  
\[
\ldots \text{wu t} \text{lo pe t} \text{lo pe}\] (textline 40b)  
\[
\text{na ra t} \text{la ra t} \text{la}\] (textline 8a)  
\[
\text{ra w} \text{u la w} \text{u la}\] (textline 16a)  
\[
\text{no ri ndi ri n} \text{la}\] (textline 26a)  
\[
\text{la nu} \text{r} \text{a nu} \text{r} \text{a}\] (textline 27a)  
\[
\text{no ku t} \text{a ku t} \text{a}\] (textline 28a)  
\[
\text{la w} \text{u ra w} \text{u ra}\] (textline 44a)  
\[
\text{la ri n} \text{a ri n} \text{a ri n} \text{a}\] (textline 7a)

In all cases the reduplicant forms a trochee: a S/B followed by a W/L syllable, whilst the first three syllables of the textline are a dactyl. In all but two textlines (1a and 40b)

---

137 Hence, this section discusses a different set of reduplication than in §6.4.5.4. This section includes instances where the speech words are not known and does not include lexical reduplication or poetic/grammatical reduplication where syllables 2 and 3 are not identical to syllables 4 and 5, such as textline 12b.
the resulting five syllables form a complete textline.\textsuperscript{138} Textline 7a is formed through a 'triplication' of $\sigma_2 \sigma_3$, creating a dactyl followed by two trochees (see (58)).\textsuperscript{139}

So far we have seen partial reduplication with textlines beginning with an open syllable. In a closed syllable the reduplication is:

\begin{equation}
(66) \quad \text{CV.CV.C}V \text{VC.CV.CV.CV}.
\end{equation}

This can be described as reduplication of the rhyme of the first syllable, plus the second syllable, plus the onset of the third syllable. Example (67) shows the five textlines formed through such partial reduplication to obtain a trochee foot following a dactyl foot.

\begin{align*}
(67) \text{initial closed syllable} & \quad [ul \text{ pe } \text{le } \text{pe } \text{le } \text{a}] /\text{wa}l\text{pa}t\text{le}p\text{e}t\text{a}/ \text{(textline 13b)} \\
& \quad [nur \text{ pe } [\text{er } \text{pe } \text{a}] \text{(textline 26b)} \\
& \quad [kur \text{ pa } \text{le } \text{pe } \text{a}] \text{ (textline 32a)} \\
& \quad [...] \text{pe} \text{le } \text{le } \text{pe } \text{a} \text{ (textline 3a)} \\
& \quad [\text{le } \text{pe } \text{ra } \text{pe } \text{ra}] \text{ (textline 11b)}
\end{align*}

In these textlines the medial consonant cluster is always a lateral-$\rho$, and the final consonant of the speech word is also always a lateral. The high proportion of partial reduplications involving lateral codas is considered in §7.4.2.

Partial reduplication that reduplicates all but the initial consonant also occurs in speech words in Arandic languages as a non-productive method of word formation, for example [pʰuɭɭɭɭɭɭɭa] pwe.\text{lye}.\text{rr}.\text{lye}.\text{rr} \text{ 'dust' (K).}^{140}

Partial reduplication is a productive way of forming song texts in \textit{Akweleye}. Partial reduplications of the same structure can be seen in the Arrernte songs documented by Strehlow (1971:194), for example [ntuɾuɾuɾuɾuɾa] /nt\text{"e}.r\text{"e}.t\text{"e}.r\text{"e}.r\text{"e} (1971:232).^{141}

\textsuperscript{138} Note that in these two textlines the reduplicant has CV.CV syllable structure, whereas in the other 12 textlines the segment has CV.CV syllable structure.

\textsuperscript{139} The triplication ensures a 6-beat textline, the same length as the other textline in this song text.

\textsuperscript{140} There is no evidence that \textit{pwe}\textit{lyerre} exists as a speech word today; although this is not to deny that it may have a diachronic counterpart. Note too, that in the neighbouring language, Warumungu, there is a word \textit{palyuwulyuurna} \textit{ 'red'}. 

222
6.5.1.3 Syllable parallelism

Another type of sound patterning within textlines is the repetition of sounds in the same syllable position of each foot in the textline. An example of syllable parallelism is the alliteration of syllables in (68).

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{(68)} \quad [\text{ərə we le to we}] \\
&S \ W \ W# \ S \ W \ W \\
&B \ B \ L# \ B \ B \ L
\end{align*}
\]

(textline 2a)

In textline 2a both S/B positions and W/L positions in the textline begin with the same consonant. Furthermore, all vowels on recurring metrical positions are the same, as the textline consists of two identical feet.

There are also textlines that repeat a particular vowel on particular metrical positions of a foot. This type of syllable parallelism is called vowel assonance. For example, the paean foot has the same vowel /a/ in the three W/B positions: /pa ə ə/ and /ə ə ə/ in the two textlines in which it occurs, exemplified in (69).

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{(69)} \quad [\text{kər pa ə ə la ə ə nələ/} \\
&S \ W \ W \ W# \ S \ W \ W \\
&B \ B \ B \ B# \ B \ B \ L
\end{align*}
\]

(textline 15b)

Vowel assonance can equate with positions of the same Length, or with positions of the same relational stress (S or W), or both, as in (69).

In this section I have identified the types of sound patterning within a textline. I have shown that the various types of identity nearly always coincide with parallel metrical construction.

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141 Austin similarly identifies reduplication in Diyari songs, suggesting that this is necessary to meet the required number of syllables in a textline. For example, kapiri becomes kapiriri to ensure a 4-syllable textline (Austin 1978:531).

142 This also occurs in textlines with partial reduplication, but I use syllable parallelism only where this is not the result of reduplication. For example, it may be the selection of words beginning with the same consonant to versify, or a foot structure that will align the same consonant with the same type of syllable.

143 Vowel assonance can be seen in feet in of many textlines. For example 1a, 2a, 3a, 3b, 5a, 12a, 13a, 16b, 17a, 17b, 23a, 23b, 24a, 28b, 36a, 36b, 39b, 42a and 47a.
6.5.2 Inter-textline sound patterning

Reduplicating the other textline in the song text and altering some aspect of it is another way of forming textlines. This relates the two textlines of a song text structurally, whereas intra-textline sound patterning, considered above, does not relate the two textlines of a song text structurally. Four types of inter-textual sound patterning is identified:

- partial reduplication of other textline with alteration of a consonant (1 textline)
- partial reduplication of other textline with alteration of a syllable (3 textlines)
- partial reduplication of the other textline with alteration of a foot (20 textlines)
- repetition of initial consonant of textline (11 textline).

Out of the 52 song texts, 24 show partial reduplication between the two textlines, showing it to be a highly productive method of song text formation.

6.5.2.1 Partial reduplication of the other textline, with alteration of a consonant

The song text that has identical textlines except for one consonant is shown in (70).

\[(70)\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
A & (x 2) & B & (x 2) \\
\text{(a)\textw} & \text{j} & \text{w} & \text{e} & \text{i} & \text{\l} & \text{\eta} & \text{\a} \\
\text{S} & \text{W} & \text{W} & \# & \text{S} & \text{W} \\
\text{B} & \text{B} & \text{L} & \# & \text{B} & \text{L} \\
\end{array}
\]  

\[(i) \text{\pi} & \text{j} & \text{o} & \text{w} & \text{e} & \text{i} & \text{\l} & \text{\eta} & \text{\e}\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{S} & \text{W} & \text{W} & \# & \text{S} & \text{W} \\
\text{B} & \text{B} & \text{L} & \# & \text{B} & \text{L} \\
\end{array}
\]

(song text 22)

It can be seen that the A and B textlines vary only in relation to the initial consonant and vowel upbeat. The metrical structure of these textlines are identical.

6.5.2.2 Partial reduplication of the other textline, with alteration of one syllable

Three song texts show partial reduplication of the other textline in the song text except for one syllable. All three have the less common undoubled song text structures (AB, ABB), and in all cases the additional syllable is in the final foot of the A textline, as shown in (71) and (72).

---

\(^{144}\) The possibility that textline 22b arose from an original song text made up of 22a and another textline, where the repeat of textline 22 had consonant transfer of the focus marker \(\text{\k}\) is unlikely. This is because consonant transfer always occurs before the speech word (see §6.6.4), and never includes the first consonant of the speech word.
In song text 24 the syllable [wei] has been deleted to create textline B and in song text 40 the syllable [wu] is deleted to create textline B.\textsuperscript{145} This example reflects a choice between full reduplication, \textit{-wetrypere} (textline A), and partial reduplication, \textit{-yerrpe} (textline B).\textsuperscript{146} The speech form is from the song register and both pronunciations are attested: \textit{wetryrpetyerrpe} and \textit{wetryrpegwetryerrpe}.\textsuperscript{147}

In (71) and (72) the alteration draws attention to the rhythmic structure of the textlines as textual alteration coincides with rhythmic alteration; whereas in song text 22, (70), the alteration of initial consonants ([p] and [w]) has the effect of drawing attention to the phonological form of the textlines. In all three cases the alteration creates contrasting final feet of the textlines (dactyl versus trochee).

\textbf{6.5.2.3 Partial reduplication of the other textline with alteration of a foot}

The repetition of an identicalmetrical and textual foot occurs in 20 song texts.\textsuperscript{148} The final vowel of a foot may differ depending on the following consonant, as in (73).
In (74) the first text/foot of textline 21a and 21b is the same, although the final vowel is [ə] in 21a and [i] in 21b. In all 20 song texts the identical text/foot occurs in the same position in both textlines. Example (74) shows a song text with text/foot parallelism in the final foot.

Text/foot parallelism is attested with all four types of feet, in all positions of a textline and in one of the polyrhythmic song text (song text 43). Parallelism in text/rhythmic construction across textlines of a song text is the most common type of sound patterning for forming textlines. Strehlow notes a similar phenomenon in respect to Arrernte songs and refers to these recurring text/feet as "common polysyllabic words" (1971:112).

### 6.5.2.4 Repetition of initial consonant of the other textline

Twenty-one song texts have the same consonant beginning both textlines. Often this is the result of reduplicating the first foot, as discussed in §6.5.2.3; however there are 11 song texts where the initial consonant of both textlines are the same but do not result from reduplication of the foot, as illustrated in (75). 149

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149 Song texts 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 26, 27, 28, 33, 41, and 48. In all but song text 27 the first feet of each textline in the song text are rhythmically identical.
(75) 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[pa ri pa  ra ηa]</td>
<td>pə [ə ʏɛi  ra ηɛi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S W W# S W</td>
<td>S W W# S W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B B L# B L</td>
<td>B B L# B L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(unknown)</td>
<td>/pə[ə-ɪɛi-ɾa(θə)}/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rain-INCH-(TNS)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both textlines of song text 41 begin with /p/, yet there is no other textual parallelism between the two textlines, although they have the same metrical construction. Parallel initial consonants also occur when the initial consonant is the result of consonant insertion, as in (76).

(76) 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A (x2)</th>
<th>B (x2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[la ri n'lə ri n'ʃa ri n'lə]</td>
<td>la [ə n'gi ri n'lə ra ηa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S W W# S W# S W</td>
<td>S W W# S W# S W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B B L# B L# B L</td>
<td>B B L# B L# B L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lə-aroanə#aroanə#aroanə/</td>
<td>lə-akən'kʰə-əroanə#aroanə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blossom# blossom# blossom</td>
<td>blossomwood#blossom put</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(song text 7)

In song text 7 both the textline initial words are versified with consonant insertion of /l/. Again, both textlines have the same metric construction.

Repetition of the initial consonant in both textlines can be achieved through reduplication of the foot (§6.5.2.3), through choosing speech words that start with the same consonant, or through insertion of a consonant that matches the first consonant of the speech word in the other textline. Such widespread alliteration in many Akwesty song texts may be motivated by the desire for sonorous consonants in textline initial position (see §7.4.3.1).

6.5.3 Summary of sound patterning rules for textline formation

This section has identified various types of sound patterning in Akwesty textlines and song texts. Such sound patterning nearly always coincides with parallelism in rhythmic (metric) construction. Reduplication, alliteration of sounds and vowel assonance are types of sound patterning occurring within textlines as a means of textline formation.

---

150 In song texts 2, 6 and 8 we can see that in one textline the initial consonant has been inserted since it is not present in the speech word, but in the other textline the speech equivalents are not known and so the source of the initial consonant is not known.
(73) A (x 2)  
\[ \text{le} \text{ na ye} \text{ le} \text{ ter pe} \]  
S W W# S W W  
B B L# B B L  
\( /\text{I} = \text{a}(\text{e}) / \text{a}(\text{e})^* \text{orpe} \)  
when (REL) sandhill  
B (x 2)  
\[ \text{le} \text{ na} \text{ ji} \text{ nte} \text{ ra} \]  
S W W# S W  
B B L# B L  
\( /\text{I} = \text{a}(\text{e}) / \text{a}(\text{e})^* \text{orpe} \)  
when flood out  
(song text 21)

In (74) the first text/foot of textline 21a and 21b is the same, although the final vowel is \( [\varepsilon] \) in 21a and \( [\text{i}] \) in 21b. In all 20 song texts the identical text/foot occurs in the same position in both textlines. Example (74) shows a song text with text/foot parallelism in the final foot.

(74) A (x 2)  
\[ \text{ja la te} \text{ pa na} \]  
S W# S W W  
L L# B B L  
\( /\text{a}(\text{e})^* \text{orpe}(\text{e}=\text{ape}) \)  
acacia.sp back (UNRECER)  
B (x 2)  
\[ \eta^\text{mi} \text{ na te} \text{ pa na} \]  
S W# S W W  
L L# B B L  
\( /\text{a}(\text{e})^* \text{orpe}(\text{e}=\text{ape}) \)  
another (PL) back (UNRECER)  
(song text 5)

Text/foot parallelism is attested with all four types of feet, in all positions of a textline and in one of the polyrhythmic song text (song text 43). Parallelism in text/rhythmic construction across textlines of a song text is the most common type of sound patterning for forming textlines. Strehlow notes a similar phenomenon in respect to Arrernte songs and refers to these recurring text/feet as "common polysyllabic words" (1971:112).

6.5.2.4 Repetition of initial consonant of the other textline

Twenty-one song texts have the same consonant beginning both textlines. Often this is the result of reduplicating the first foot, as discussed in §6.5.2.3; however there are 11 song texts where the initial consonant of both textlines are the same but do not result from reduplication of the foot, as illustrated in (75).\(^{149}\)

\(^{149}\) Song texts 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 26, 27, 28, 33, 41, and 48. In all but song text 27 the first feet of each textline in the song text are rhythmically identical.
Both textlines of song text 41 begin with /p/, yet there is no other textual parallelism between the two textlines, although they have the same metrical construction. Parallel initial consonants also occur when the initial consonant is the result of consonant insertion, as in (76).

In song text 7 both the textline initial words are versified with consonant insertion of /l/. Again, both textlines have the same metric construction.

Repetition of the initial consonant in both textlines can be achieved through reduplication of the foot (§6.5.2.3), through choosing speech words that start with the same consonant, or through insertion of a consonant that matches the first consonant of the speech word in the other textline. Such widespread alliteration in many Akwelye song texts may be motivated by the desire for sonorous consonants in textline initial position (see §7.4.3.1).

6.5.3 Summary of sound patterning rules for textline formation

This section has identified various types of sound patterning in Akwelye textlines and song texts. Such sound patterning nearly always coincides with parallelism in rhythmic (metric) construction. Reduplication, alliteration of sounds and vowel assonance are types of sound patterning occurring within textlines as a means of textline formation.

---

159 In song texts 2, 6 and 8 we can see that in one textline the initial consonant has been inserted since it is not present in the speech word, but in the other textline the speech equivalents are not known and so the source of the initial consonant is not known.
Various types of partial reduplication of a whole textline are used to create the other textline of a song text, and this unifies the two textlines of the song text structurally, which may signal parallel thought between both textlines.

Rhythmic and textual parallelism, either within a textline or within a song text, is a means of marking form, which Fabb argues is a fundamental characteristic of verbal art.\(^{151}\) It may be that by drawing attention to form, attention is also drawn to the speech word, or particular significances of the speech word.

### 6.6 Sound patterning rules at the level of the song text cycle

In this section I consider sound patterning rules that apply to the verse—the song text cycle (ABAB, AABB or ABB). Such sound patterning operating is only revealed when sung, and so is described as occurring during cantillation: the setting of rhythmic text to melody.

Some verse-level sound patterning is more systematic than others. For example, every song text adheres to one kind of final vowel pattern, whereas not all song texts transfer final syllables to the next textline. Four types of verse-level sound patterning are identified in Akwelye:

- textline final vowel pattern
- vowel harmony between the final syllables of the last two feet of A\(_2\) only
- syllable/consonant insertion in textline A\(_2\) only\(^{152}\)
- syllable/consonant transfer from previous textline.

#### 6.6.1 Textline final vowel pattern

Systematic sound patterning determines the quality of the final vowel in each textline in the song text cycle. Variation in the quality of final vowels of repeated textlines has also

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\(^{151}\) According to Sherzer (1990:18) syntactic and semantic parallelism as a structural feature is "extremely common in both oral and written ritual and poetic discourse around the world" (1990:247). He suggests parallelism acts as a mnemonic aid in being able to retain what are quite often lengthy chants.

\(^{152}\) My use of subscript numbers (A\(_1\)A\(_2\)) refers to a difference between two textlines and not to the repetition of the textline, for which I simply write AA.
been noted in other Aboriginal songs. There are three types of final vowel patterning in *Akwelye*:

1. Contrast of final vowels within a textline pair. That is, both A textlines differ from one another and both B textlines differ from one another. This is referred to as a palindromic vowel pattern because the first and fourth lines have the same final vowel, and the second and third textlines have the same final vowel.

2. Contrast of final vowels between textline pairs. This is referred to as a doubled final vowel pattern.

3. Same final vowel throughout the song text cycle, in which case there is no contrast in final vowels and thus between repetition of textlines.

Table 6.8 groups these sound patternings showing the song texts with the various sound patternings, their final vowels and song text structure.

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154 Song text 16 is not included in this table as there are only two recordings of this song text, neither of which extend to two renditions of the text cycle so the final vowel pattern cannot be determined.
### Table 6.8 Distribution of the final vowel patterns across various song text cycle structures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final vowel pattern</th>
<th>Song text structure</th>
<th>Song texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>contrast within a textline pair (palindromic) 1a</td>
<td>A₁ A₂ B₁ B₂ a₁ a₁</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9 11 17 18 19 22 27 28 29 30 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 42 44 45 50 51 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A₁ B₁ a₁ a₁</td>
<td>6 3 1 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>textline pair contrast (doubled) 2a</td>
<td>A A B B e e a a a a i i</td>
<td>12 13 19 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A B B a i i</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i i i</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>textline pair contrast (undoubled) 2b</td>
<td>A B B e e a a a a i i</td>
<td>12 13 19 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A B B a i i</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i i i</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The palindromic final vowel pattern is the most common, and is exemplified in (77).

(77) \[ \text{A₁} \quad \text{[nde pa re nə]} \quad \text{A₂} \quad \text{nte pei re nə]} \]

\[ \text{B₁} \quad \text{[wa lo mei ti nə woan pi jei]} \quad \text{B₂} \quad \text{wa lo mei ti nə woan pi ja]} \]

(song text 37)

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155 Song texts 5, 19 and 34 show variation in this final vowel cycle. Song text 51 has this final vowel cycle only in the A textline pair.

156 Although this is not a palindromic final vowel pattern, the pattern contrasts the textlines within a textline pair (A₁A₂), as does the palindromic pattern applied to doubled song texts.

157 Song items with a paired song text structure are set to final vowel pattern 1a (records 104-106). Song items with a three-part song text structure are set to final vowel pattern 1b with the following variation: records 663-665 have a final vowel pattern A=ə, B₁=ə, whereas records 625 and 626 have a final vowel pattern A=ə, B₁=ə, B₂=ə.

158 The final vowel pattern of this song text shows slight variation at the Elpate and Alekurengé performances.
It can be seen that the final diphthong, [gi], only occurs in one rendition of each textline: the first rendition of textline B (B₁) and in the second rendition of textline A (A₂). As well, in textline A₂ the quality of the vowel in the second syllable is altered. This is referred to as "vowel harmony" and is discussed in §6.6.2. Figure 6.4 illustrates the palindromic final vowel pattern from a cyclic perspective.

![Figure 6.4 Palindromic final vowel pattern of song text 37](image)

The song text illustrated in Figure 6.4 repeats until the end of the melodic structure to form a song item. Final vowel patterns are tied to particular textlines; that is, the final vowels of textlines within a textline pair never alter, even if the other textline pair commences a song item (see §5.6.1). Indeed the quality of the final vowels is used as a means to distinguish textline A from textline B, as stated in §4.2.2.1. Other than one three-part song text, all song texts with the palindromic final vowel pattern are song texts with a doubled structure (AABB).

Nine song texts have the doubled final vowel pattern—pattern 2. An example of the doubled final vowel pattern with a song text of AABB structure is shown in (78).

(78) A
    [wu ꞌọ we tì tì nńńẹ]  A
    [wu ꞌọ we tì tì nńńẹ]
B
    [wu ꞌọ wa wu ꞌọ]  B
    [wu ꞌọ wa wu ꞌọ]

(song text 12)

159 Song texts 10, 12, 13, 23, 19, 41, 43, 45 and 49.
In (78), the final vowel of both renditions of textline A is [e], and the final vowel of both renditions of textline B is /a/. There are also variations in the quality of the final vowels in final vowel pattern 2 in different song texts. For example, song text 12 (78) has a pattern 'c, e, a, a' while song text 49 has a pattern 'a, a, i'. The doubled final vowel pattern occurs in song texts of all three structures. Example (79) shows a song text with ABB structure with the doubled final vowel pattern—'a, i, i'.

(79) A
    [lə nə kə tɔ wi tlə]
    B₁
    [tə nə kə tɔ wi]
    B₂₁⁶⁰
    [lə nə kə tɔ wi]

(song text 23)

The third type of final vowel pattern has no contrast between textlines in a song text. This pattern occurs in 12 song texts,¹⁶¹ and occurs in song texts of both AABB and AB structure, exemplified in (80).

(80) A
    [wɔ wə [al pi wɔ wə [al pi]
    B
    tə tə tə tə wə wə [al pi]

A
    [wɔ wə [al pi wɔ wə [al pi]
    B
    tə tə tə tə wə wə [al pi]

(song text 43)

Two out of the three 3-part song texts (ABB) have final vowel pattern 3.

There is a tendency for palindromic patterns to be associated with songs of doubled structure and the other two patterns to be associated with undoubled song texts (AB and AABB). All types of final vowel pattern can be described as a sound pattern parallelism based on assonance, as they involve repetition of the nucleus of a syllable (Fabb 1997:120).

6.6.2 Vowel harmonisation

Vowel harmonisation occurs in song texts with the palindromic final vowel patterning. Vowel harmonisation refers to the altering of the final vowel of the second last foot of the repeated A textline (A₂) to [ei], as in textline A of (77). The result of vowel

¹⁶⁰ Textlines 23 B₁ and B₂ differ in relation to their initial vowel. This is discussed in §6.6.4.3.
¹⁶¹ Song texts 14, 15, 24, 25, 26, 34, 39, 40, 46, 47, 48 and 59.

232
harmony is that the final vowel of the second last foot matches the final vowel of the final foot in both renditions of the A textline. Vowel harmony is an additional sound patterning rule to the final vowel pattern 1 as shown in Figure 6.5.

Figure 6.5 Relationship between vowel harmony and final vowel pattern 1

While there are many A textline pairs whose final and penultimate foot end in the same vowel, vowel harmonisation only refers to those textline pairs which show an alteration between the final vowel of the penultimate foot in A₁ and A₂; hence (81) is an example of vowel harmonisation but (82) is not.

(81)  
A₁  
[ŋə ku tuₐ ku tuₐ]  
B  B  L# B  L  
A₂  
[ŋə ku tuŋ ku tʃi]  
B  B  L# B  L  

(textline 28a)

(82)  
A  
[wu ʃo waₜə wu qə]  
B  B  L# B  L  
A  
(identical textlines)  
[wu ʃo waₜə wu qə]  
B  B  L# B  L  

(textline 12b)

All but three song texts with the palindromic vowel pattern also show vowel harmony.¹⁶²

¹⁶² In song text 35 the absence of vowel harmony may relate to a vowel assonance: [kwəjəwəj]. In 9a the absence of vowel harmony may be related to the fact that the penultimate foot is a spondee, and in song text 29 to the fact that the song is polyrhythmic.
Out of the total 770 Awelye song items there are only two song items in which vowel harmony is applied to the B textline instead of the A textline shown in (83). This occurred in the second melodic section of two song items of song text 6 at the Elpate performance:

(83) \[\begin{align*}
A_1 & \quad A_2 \\
[\text{ ministers }] & \quad [\text{ ministers }] \\
B_1 & \quad B_2 \\
[\text{ will eat } \lambda \text{ ministers }] & \quad [\text{ will eat } \lambda \text{ ministers }]
\end{align*}\]

(record 368, 369)

That fact that both textlines end in the same text/rhythmic segment /əŋə/ may have led singers to 'incorrectly' apply vowel harmony to the B textline.

An example of the pervasiveness of vowel harmony can be seen in textline 30a. This textline pair is unusual in that \(A_2\) differs slightly from \(A_1\); it has an extra syllable /la/ and so is set to a paean foot (discussed further below), which has a striking effect as the final vowel of the second A textline is Brief, so textline A runs straight into textline B. Because the final syllable is short, the quality of the vowel is difficult to discern, yet in three song items it is clearly [ɛ1], showing that this song text adheres to the palindromic vowel pattern.  \(^{163}\)

The final vowel pattern and vowel harmony are systematic sound patterning rules that affect the two final feet of textline pair A and the final foot of the textline pair B. They are the result of sound patterning occurring during cantillation, as this is where the song text cycle is realised.

\(^{163}\) Records 615-618.
6.6.3 Syllable/consonant insertion in textline A₂

As well as foot final vowels, initial consonants are also subject to sound patterning during cantillation. I have shown how textline A₂ is subject to regular vowel alteration in 29 song texts. Textline A₂ is also subject to regular consonant alteration in the final foot of two textlines, shown in (84) and (85).

(84) A₁
\[\text{[me ŋo we re ŋe]}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>W#</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L#</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A₂
\[\text{me ŋo weir pe ŋe]}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>W#</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L#</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(textline 31a)

(85) A₂
\[\text{[wa tļa ŋa pe [a pa]}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>W#</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L#</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A₂
\[\text{la tļo ŋei pe [a pe [ei]}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>W#</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L#</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(textline 30a)

In (84) the phoneme /p/ is inserted following /t/ in textline A₂. This means that /t/ is the onset of the fourth syllable in textline A₁, while /t/ is the coda of the third syllable and /p/ is the onset to the fourth syllable in textline A₂. The inserted consonant /p/ does not change the number of syllables in the textline, and thus does not alter the rhythmic structure. Both final vowel pattern I and vowel harmonisation occur and the insertion may serve to draw attention to these patterns, as will be discussed in §7.4.2.

A number of alterations take place in A₂ in textline 30a (85):

1. the initial syllable is changed from /wa/ to /la/ (considered in §6.6.4)
2. the penultimate long vowel /a/ (in the third syllable) harmonises with the final vowel [ei], and
3. an additional syllable is added to the end of the final foot [lei].

This last alteration changes the metrical structure from a dactyl + trochee in A₁, to a dactyl + pacon in A₂. This is the only variation occurring during cantillation that affects the rhythmic structure of a textline. All other variation at this level affects only

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164 Note that this is the only violation of the foot hierarchy attested in Akwelye.
vowel and consonant quality. A consideration of the relationship between this unusual variation and the speech equivalents in the textline shows a lexical correlation.

Two competing speech equivalents have been given for this textline: *aperlapē* 'conkerberry' and *Pwerle Pwerle* (skin name / skin name). The word boundary rule states that the number of syllables in a word should equal the number of syllables in a foot. This suggests that for A₂ the 4-syllable *[pʊ̃apʊ̃a]* is the more likely speech equivalent than *[a]pē*apē, whose optional initial vowel is the nucleus of the final syllable of the preceding foot—[*lajeŋa*], leaving only three syllables to be set to a metrical foot. But in relation to textline A₁, the 3-syllable *[a]pē*apē is a more likely versification than *[pʊ̃apʊ̃a]*, as only the former achieves syllable congruence in textline A₁. Thus the two different metrical structures resulting from sound patterning during cantillation correlate with differences between two competing speech equivalents.

### 6.6.4 Syllable/consonant transfer

In §6.3.2, I showed that C-insertion is one way to achieve CV syllabification when versifying a vowel-initial word in textline initial position. In §6.3.1 it was shown that 23 textlines have a consonant inserted before the first word of a textline to achieve CV syllabification. I now consider a sound patterning rule that provides the source of 11 of these inserted consonants. These consonants are heard only in sung versions of the song text and so occur during cantillation.

In their analysis of Arandic songs, Strehlow (1971) and Hale (1984) show that final suffixes are often transferred to the beginning of the following textline, a process that has intrigued researchers of Arandic song with its unusual caesura. In *Akwelye*, such

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165 These speech equivalents are discussed in §9.4.

166 This textline also shows the third type of verse-sound patterning: consonant transfer which will be considered in §6.6.4.2.

167 Hale notes that final consonants of word roots are never transferred (Hale 1984:260). That only a final consonant of a suffix is ever transferred, is the same condition applied to consonant movement (syllabification rightwards), which is only applied to words within a textline when the previous word ends in a monosyllabic or disyllabic suffix, as shown in §6.4.2.

168 See Strehlow (1933:197), Hale (1984:260), Ellis (1997) and Henderson (1999). Breen shows how similar transpositions occur in an Arrernte play language known as Rabbit talk (2001:54) where he argues that initial VCs are transferred to the end of a word.
transfer is only one way in which the metrical requirements of CV syllabification can be met.

In 11 out of the 23 textlines that have initial consonant insertion, the source of the consonant is the end of the previous textline. In the remaining 12 textlines there is no evidence to suggest that the initial inserted consonant has been transferred from the end of a textline final speech word and so can only be viewed as an artifact of the metrical template. For example, there is no evidence that the final speech equivalents in the textlines in song text 7 errwenye ‘gumnut blossom’ and arrerne ‘put’ have a suffix ending in /la/, which has then been transferred to the beginning of the following textline.\(^{169}\)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{(86) B (x 2) } & \text{A (x 2) } \\
[\text{lə ri n}^\text{a} \text{ ri n}^\text{a} \text{ ri n}^\text{a} ] & [\text{aŋ gi ri n}^\text{a} \text{ re n}^\text{a} ] \\
[\text{/l}^\text{e} \text{ /ər}^\text{e} \text{ /ən}^\text{e} \text{ /ən}^\text{e} \text{ /ən}^\text{e} \text{ /ən}^\text{e} ] & [\text{/l}^\text{e} \text{ /əŋk}^\text{e} \text{ /ər}^\text{e} \text{ /ən}^\text{e} \text{ /əŋ}^\text{e} ] \\
\text{blossom blossom blossom} & \text{bloodwood.sp. gumnut.blossom put}
\end{array}
\]

(song text 7)

No spoken versions of either textline have an additional final syllable /la/. We can only state that the initial lateral of both textlines has been inserted to adhere to CV syllabification. Consonant transfer can be regarded as the source of an inserted consonant if:

- the textline initial consonant is not part of a spoken version of the textline
- the final syllable of a spoken version of the other textline is not sung
- the textline initial consonant is the same as the final consonant in the spoken version of the other textline.

Otherwise it is assumed that the initial consonant has been inserted from outside the text rather than transferred.

Syllable transfer has attracted much attention in studies of Central Australian songs.\(^{170}\)

In this section I show how these analyses, and in particular the proposal of Henderson, can be applied to the 11 Akwelye textlines whose initial consonant is transferred from

\(^{169}\) The final morpheme could be the Alyawarr continuous marker -yle, with elision of the sequence /ja/; or it could be the emphatic marker -arle.

the end of a speech equivalent. Transfer can occur in whole song texts or single
textlines, and while in most cases only the final consonant is transferred, in one song
text the final two syllables of each textline are transferred. The various combinations of
transfer attested in Akwelye are shown in Table 6.9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Segment transferred</th>
<th>Final consonants in spoken versions of textlines</th>
<th>Extent of transfer</th>
<th>Textline id.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>consonant (CV)</td>
<td>final consonants differ</td>
<td>both textline pairs</td>
<td>49a and 49b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>final consonants are the same</td>
<td></td>
<td>48a and 48b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllable (CV/CV)</td>
<td></td>
<td>textline A₁</td>
<td>30a₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>textline pair</td>
<td>23b, 28b, 37b, and 52b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>both textline pairs</td>
<td>20a, 20b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.9 Types of consonant transfer in Akwelye

Each of the different types of transfer is discussed below.

6.6.4.1 Consonant transfer in both textline pairs

Consonant transfer in both textline pairs occurs in song texts 48 and 49. In song text 49
the final consonants of each textline differ, shown in (87).\(^{171}\) It can be seen that this
pattern of consonant transfer is a palindromic structure.

\[(87) \quad \text{A}_1: \quad [\text{nejjanapakati}'a] \quad \text{A}_2: \quad [\text{nejjanapakati}'a] \\
\text{\quad /ayen#apa#anketi'la/} \quad \text{\quad /ayen#apa#anketi'la/} \\
\quad +1sgNOM (go) foot-INST \quad +1sgNOM (go) foot-INST \\
\quad \text{B}_1: \quad [\text{nejjanapeni}] \quad \text{B}_2: \quad [\text{nejjanapeni}] \\
\text{\quad /ayen#apa#enenti/} \quad \text{\quad /ayen#apa#enenti/} \\
\quad +1sgNOM (?) \quad +1sgNOM (?) \]

(song text 49)

The spoken version of textline A is \textit{ayenge=pe angketye-le}. This suggests that the initial
consonant of the two textlines following textline A (A₂ and B₁), \textit{/l/}, corresponds to the
final consonant of textline A. Unfortunately the speech equivalent of the second foot

\(^{171}\) This song text was only sung in 1976.
[pərəniː] is unknown. This means that we cannot know whether consonant transfer has occurred. However, it can be seen that there is a pattern whereby /ŋ/ begins each textline following textline B: textlines B₂ and A₁.

While the different initial consonants of textlines B₂ and A₁ could be the result of consonant insertion during versification (as opposed to cantillation)—/l/ inserted to A₂ and B₁; and /l/ inserted to B₂ and A₁—in all other cases where initial consonants of textlines within a textline pair are treated differently, there is evidence that the initial consonants come from the previous textline (consonant transfer). Thus it is reasonable to assume that the initial /ŋ/ of B₂ and A₁ are the result of consonant transfer rather than consonant insertion.¹⁷³

Both Hale (1984) and Henderson (1999) show how different kinds of movements of parts of the spoken version of the textline can account for the sung forms in their analysis of Arandic songs.¹⁷⁴ Henderson uses lower case letters to represent the two segments of a textline (the transferred segment and the remaining segment); and arrows to show the processes of reduplication and transferring segments of the song text.¹⁷⁵ In Figure 6.6, the first column shows two textlines, each consisting of two segments 'ab' and 'cd' segments. The second column shows the result of the process of repeating textlines; there are now four textlines—two consisting of 'ab' and two consisting of 'cd'. The third column shows the result of transferring the final segment of the song text, (d), to the beginning of the song text.¹⁷⁶ This forces a realignment of the segments in their

¹⁷² While I did get one singer to say textline 49b, I do not feel that it reflected a solid knowledge of the spoken version of the textline.

¹⁷³ Textline 48a also co-occurs with textline 49b, shown in example (87). Spoken versions of textline 48b end with the consonant /l/, and /l/ begin the following two textlines B₂ and A₁. This provides further evidence that the initial consonant of song text 49 B₂ and A₁ /ŋ/, may be the final consonant of the speech word in textline 49b.

¹⁷⁴ Henderson's analysis is restricted to applying and developing Hale's theory of line transfer and other transformations. Henderson was not working with audio recordings, only the written representations of the song texts by Strehlow (1971).

¹⁷⁵ Strehlow (1971), Hale (1984) and Henderson acknowledge that transformations cannot always account for all segments in a song text. This is partly because some segments of song texts may have no apparent speech correspondences.

¹⁷⁶ Henderson shows that the transferred segment may also be the first segment of a song text transferred to the end of the song text, and refers to this as an anti-clockwise rotation. This produces the same textlines as in Figure 6.9, but the point at which the song text cycle starts and ends is different. In Aweeney, the point at which the text cycle matches the melodic sections varies across song items of the one song text, as was shown in §5.6. Thus in Aweeney we need only to recognise the single type of transfer.
original order. There are now four textlines—one consisting of 'da' \((A_1)\), one consisting of 'ba' \((A_2)\), one consisting of 'bc' \((B_1)\) and one consisting of 'dc' \((B_2)\).

\[
\text{Textline A} \quad \begin{cases} \text{a b} \\ \text{a b} \\ \text{c d} \\ \text{c d} \end{cases} \quad \text{REPEAT} \quad \begin{cases} \text{d a} \\ \text{b a} \\ \text{b c} \\ \text{d c} \end{cases} \quad \text{TRANSFER} \quad \begin{cases} \text{d a} \quad \text{(A}_1) \\ \text{b a} \quad \text{(A}_2) \\ \text{b c} \quad \text{(B}_1) \\ \text{d c} \quad \text{(B}_2) \end{cases}
\]

(Henderson 1999)

Figure 6.6 Henderson's representation of transfer in Arrerate songs (movement from end of verse to beginning, preceded by line repetition)

Figure 6.7 illustrates this process with a made-up song text.

- textlines: \([\text{mon te ca r lo}]\)
- segments: \(\text{a b c d}\)

\[
\text{TL A} \quad \begin{cases} \text{mon te} \\ \text{mon te} \\ \text{car lo} \\ \text{car lo} \end{cases} \quad \text{REPEAT} \quad \begin{cases} \text{lo mon} \quad \text{(A}_1) \\ \text{te mon} \quad \text{(A}_2) \\ \text{te car} \quad \text{(B}_1) \\ \text{lo car} \quad \text{(B}_2) \end{cases} \quad \text{TRANSFER}
\]

Figure 6.7 Example of movement from end of verse to beginning, preceded by line repetition

Returning to song text 49, we can represent the segments of the song text with lower case letters. The process in which this spoken version of the song text becomes the sung version is shown in Figure 6.8.

- textlines: \(\text{ayengapekatey le ayengapernine nge}^{177}\)
- segments: \(\text{a b c d}\)

\[
\text{TL A} \quad \begin{cases} \text{a b} \\ \text{a b} \\ \text{c d} \\ \text{c d} \end{cases} \quad \text{REPEAT} \quad \begin{cases} \text{d a} \quad \text{ngayengapekatya(A}_1) \\ \text{b a} \quad \text{ayengapekatya(A}_2) \\ \text{b c} \quad \text{ayengapernini(B}_1) \\ \text{d c} \quad \text{ayengapernini(B}_2) \end{cases} \quad \text{TRANSFER}
\]

Figure 6.8 Consonant transfer in song text 49

---

\(^{177}\) There are numerous possible speech equivalents for the second word/foot of textline 49b (see Appendix 1). As there are no confirmed speech equivalents, the phonological form of the sung textline and the initial /ŋa/ of the following textline are the basis of the representation of the textline here.
Because the final consonant of the spoken version of each textline differs, there is necessarily an ordering of transfer after repetition. As will be seen in all further examples, the final consonant of the spoken versions of the two textlines are the same, and so ordering of repetition in relation to transfer produces the same textlines.

Song text 48 is the only other song text where both textlines have consonant transfer, as in Figure 6.8. In song text 48 the textline final consonants are the same in both textlines, thus producing four textlines with the same initial consonant.

6.6.4.2 Consonant transfer from textline A

Textline 30a, discussed in §6.6.3, has consonant transfer in only one textline within the textline pair. This means that the initial consonants of both textlines in the textline pair are different, as in (88).

\[
\begin{align*}
A_1 & \quad A_2 \\
[\text{watiŋapalapa}] & \quad [\text{atŋapalipa}i]\text{si}]
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
B & \quad B^{179} \\
[\text{perewantyana}] & \quad [\text{perewantyana}]
\end{align*}
\]

(song text 30)

It can be seen that A₁ begins with /w/ and that A₂ begins with /l/. Some spoken versions show that the final consonant of textline A is /l/, atyengaperlaperle. The final consonant is missing from A₁, as it is transferred to the beginning of A₂. Note that no transfer occurs from A₂ to B₁. This accounts for the additional syllable at the end of A₂.

Textline A₁ has its initial C slot filled by consonant insertion, as spoken versions of textline B are perewantyene, providing no source for the initial /w/ of textline A. This hybrid of consonant insertion and transfer is diagrammed in Figure 6.9.

---

178 Note that transferring the final CV in these textlines also introduces the sonorous consonants /p/ and /l/ textline initially. In §7.4.3.1, I show that sonorous consonants are commonly found textline initially.

179 As this section is concerned with differences at the beginning of textlines, my use of BB rather than B₁ B₂ is intended to reflect the similarity at the beginning of the textline. It is not meant to suggest that the textlines are identical in other respects, as they do differ in relation to final vowels.

180 See expansions 2 and 3 of song text 30 in Appendix 1.

181 Although there is also a spoken version periwantyle, this does not provide a source for the initial consonant /w/ either (see Appendix 1: song text 30, expansion 4).
A further instance of consonant transfer from textline A₁ to A₂ occurs in textline 52a. In this textline the initial consonant of A₁ is /w/ and in A₂, /l/, as in textline 30a. Song text 52 was only ever sung by one singer, Betty, and not in a performance context; thus there is not enough information to discuss this song text here (see Appendix 1).

6.6.4.3 Consonant transfer in textline pair

Four textline pairs in four different song texts have the final consonant of a textline transferred to the beginning of the textline, one of which is textline 37b.182 There are two different spoken versions of textline 37b, one ending in *arnpeyewe* and the other in *arnpeye*.183 If we take the final segment of the verb to be -yewe it can be seen that the final consonant /w/—a sonorant—is transferred to the beginning of the textline, as in (89).

(89) [walama\textit{\textbackslash tina\textbackslash wa\textbackslash npi\textbackslash a}]
\(/w/\textit{\textbackslash alema\textbackslash al\textbackslash en\textbackslash wa\textbackslash (#anpe\textbackslash jwe)}\/\)
\textit{stomach love-DAT# (tread-PURP)}

The transfer applies to one textline pair of the song text. Figure 6.10 illustrates this process.

---

182 Textlines 28b, 23b, 37b and 52b.
183 Both of which are verb endings in Arandic languages.
textlines: nteparrerna alemaytenyewarnpeyewe /
segments: a b c

TL A \{a\} \rightarrow \{a\} \rightarrow \{a\} nteparrerna (A)
TL B \{b c\} \rightarrow \{b c\} \rightarrow \{c b\} walemaytenyewarnpeyeye (B_1)

Figure 6.10 Consonant transfer in one textline pair of song text 37

Based on spoken forms of the song text, there are two textlines that transfer the final consonant of a word which is /n/. In textline 28b this is the verb ane 'sit'. In textline 52b this is the final consonant of the (pan-Ar) continuous ending -ane.\(^{186}\)

The fourth case of consonant transfer in a textline pair occurs in textline 23b, a song structured AB₁B₂. The final consonant of textline B is transferred to the following textlines (B₂ and A). The final consonant of the textline A is not transferred, and a sonorant consonant, /j/ is inserted, shown as segment 'c' in Figure 6.11.

textlines: /mnakartawelye j/
segments: a b c

TL A \{a b\} \rightarrow \{a b\} \rightarrow \{ba b\} lyernakartawelye (A)
TL B \{a b\} \rightarrow \{a b\} \rightarrow \{ba\} yernakartawi (B₁)

Figure 6.11 Consonant transfer in one textline pair of song text 23

(song text 23)

Textlines 23b and 30a are the only textlines where the final consonant of a non-bound morpheme, awelye, is transferred.

\(^{184}\) Note that the result is the same whether the transfer occurs prior to or after line repetition.

\(^{185}\) Textline 28b has a spoken version of the textline as 'pariperlane', suggesting that the initial 'n' comes from the end of this textline, however there are competing possible analyses of the speech equivalent of this suffix (see Appendix 1).

\(^{186}\) Historically this is probably derived from a compound of the verb ane- 'sit'.

\(^{187}\) Note that the result is the same whether the transfer occurs prior to or after line repetition.
6.6.4.4 Syllable transfer in both textline pairs

There is just one example, song text 20 where both textlines commence with the final two syllables of spoken versions of the textlines. This is shown in Figure 6.12.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{textlines:} & \quad \text{parrakayparralintipi neme} \quad \text{ahentyeliparralintipi neme}^{188} \\
\text{segments:} & \quad a \quad b \quad c \quad d \\
\text{REPEAT} & \quad \text{TRANSFER} \\
\text{TL A} & \begin{cases} 
    a & b \\
    \{ & \{ \\
    \} & \} \\
\end{cases} \begin{cases} 
    d & a \\
    \{ & \{ \\
    \} & \} \\
\end{cases} \quad \text{nimparrekayparralintipay} \ (A) \\
\text{TL B} & \begin{cases} 
    c & d \\
    \{ & \{ \\
    \} & \} \\
\end{cases} \begin{cases} 
    b & c \\
    \{ & \{ \\
    \} & \} \\
\end{cases} \quad \text{nimhentyelayparrelintipay} \ (B) \\
\end{align*}
\]

Figure 6.12 Consonant transfer in song text 20

The final segment of each textline is the same, so whether transfer occurs prior to or after repetition the resulting textlines will be the same. In song text 20 the final two syllables of the textline final verb *inte*-nte-*me* are reduced from /nte*mə/ to /nə*mə/ and transferred to the beginning of the following textline. This song text has a number of unique features, not attested in the *Akwelye* melodic songs including a 5 syllable rhythmic cell (SSSSL), a 10-syllable textline, a Waake melodic contour, an Arrernte text and transfer of two syllables. This suggests that the metrical requirements of different song series differ in their foot structure, syllable structure and sound patterning.

6.6.4.5 Summary of syllable/consonant transfer

In this section I have considered a source for the initial consonant or syllable in song texts that are not part of the following speech word. I have shown that in some textlines this consonant is transferred from the end of the preceding textline. Strehlow (1971), Hale (1984:260-261) and Henderson (1999) show that this process occurs in some Arandic songs; while not discussed by Moyle, his detailed transcriptions show that such transfers also occur in some Alyawarr songs (1986:156). Such a process is unattested in Pitjantjatjara songs (Tunstill 1995:66), which are in languages that have predominantly consonant-initial words. Syllable/consonant transfer can be seen as a sound patterning

---

188 The glossing of this song text is discussed in §7.6 and §10.3.2.6.
rule that is a repair strategy to ensure CV syllabification, and is thus unnecessary in predominantly consonant initial languages.

The patterns of transfer considered in §6.6.4 are palindromic pattern, and when such a pattern is repeated it is difficult to identify a beginning and ending, a feature of Central Australian songs (discussed in §4.2.2).

6.6.5 Summary of sound patterning rules operating at the song text cycle

This section has identified four sound patterning rules operating at the level of the song text cycle. The sound patterning affecting the final vowels of textlines and the final vowel of the penultimate foot of textline A₂ are widespread and are considered systematic sound patterning devices, whereas both syllable/consonant transfer and insertion are less common.

Sound patterning rules applied during cantillation are an organising principle and unify the textlines in a song text. This is especially important given that the songs involve repetition of the song text structure. Sound patterning rules are "a way of indicating that a text is verbal art" (Fabb 1997:144), and a number of researchers have recognised their important aesthetic quality.¹⁸⁹ Newman states that "formal movements that take place below the level of tangible meanings carry their own aesthetic satisfactions" and notes that these can never be captured in translation (1966:373). They are a way of making the listener focus on the structure rather than the semantic content of the verbal art form: the poetic function of verbal art.

6.7 Conclusion

Words are set to Akwelye isorhythmic lines according to the following metrical principles:

1. CV syllable structure
2. foot hierarchy
3. word/foot congruence
4. syllable congruence

¹⁸⁹ For example see Jakobson (1960).
5. various sound patterning to form textlines and the song text cycle.

To achieve this, the strategies C-insertion, V-deletion, breaking and consonant transfer are used for versifying vowel-initial words in textline initial position. Alignment to the right, alignment to the left and breaking are strategies used for versifying vowel-initial words within a textline. That Arandic words are predominantly vowel initial requires a number of repair strategies, perhaps more so than in neighbouring Western Desert and Warlpiri songs in which words are predominantly consonant initial.

Strehlow states that much of the obscurity in meaning of Arrernte songs arises because of specialised vocabulary (1971:89). In Akwelye it is the metrical structure that plays a major role in creating the characteristic opacity of Aboriginal song texts; what Sutton refers to as the "mystification" of song texts (1987:87). It can be seen that access to the meaning of these songs is artfully hidden, unless one is inducted into the rules of Akwelye verse setting.

In the next chapter I show that there are also phonological differences between speech words and their realisation in song, resulting from a reduced contrast in consonants and a preference for particular sounds in particular metrical positions. This adds another layer of knowledge necessary for identifying words in song texts.
Chapter 7 Phonological features of the songs

7.1 Introduction

It is well attested cross-linguistically that setting words to song can change their sound structure.\(^1\) This chapter describes how the sounds in songs relate to the sounds in their confirmed speech equivalents, taking into consideration the metrical requirements of CV syllabification, the foot hierarchy, the word boundary rules and sound patterning rules identified in the previous chapter.

Strehlow states that the changes between the spoken form of the Arrernte song texts and their sung forms are irregular and that they are "the inevitable result of the imposition of musical principles upon the expression of verbal arrangements" (1971:111). Similarly, Ellis states in relation to Central Australian songs that while processes can account for the phonetic variation of particular song texts and a particular speech equivalent, or set of speech equivalents, rarely does the variation apply to all song texts in a given song series (Ellis 1997:60). While Strehlow and Ellis suggest that the irregularity is too great to do anything more than observe a few small patterns amidst much variation, this thesis finds that many of the phonological differences between sounds in speech and song can be accounted for. It is therefore possible to talk about regular patterns with a few exceptions.

There are many one-to-one correspondences between the sounds in song and the sounds in the speech equivalents, showing that Akwelye is composed within the phonology of Aradic languages, as are the Arrernte songs described in Strehlow (1971). There are a number of correspondences, however, where a sound in Akwelye may correspond to more than one sound in Kaytetye speech. There are also correspondences where two different sounds in Akwelye correspond to only one sound in speech. These correspondences are represented in Figure 7.1.

---
Many alterations of the sounds in speech are because the sound or whole series of sounds appear not to be permitted in song, such as prestopped nasals and rounded consonants. Other modifications occur because of the conditioning environment of particularmetrical positions. Most significantly, modification of consonants occurs largely in textline initial position, semivowel elision occurs only on a Strong Long note, and sound patterning overrides vowels that fall on the foot final position.

The outline of this chapter is as follows. §7.2 discusses the phonology of Arandic languages; §7.3 identifies the systematic changes to consonants of speech equivalents in song; §7.4 identifies unsystematic changes to consonants and I suggest that the motivating force may be a preference for more sonorous consonants in foot initial position; §7.5 shows that vowels in song most often resemble their speech equivalents and where modification does occur this is due to the conditioning environment of particularmetrical positions and systematic sound patterning; §7.6 considers reinterpretation of the song text as a motivation for phonological variation of consonants across different performances; and §7.7 concludes by considering how the metrical and phonological requirements of Akwelye allow for multiple interpretations of the text, which may be exploited for poetic effect.

7.2 Phonologies of Arandic languages

The phonologies of Arandic languages share many of the features common to Pama-Nyungan languages. Breen summarises these as:

six contrastive points of articulation for stop phonemes, which include two apical (alveolar and post-alveolar) and two laminal (interdental and alveolar)... a nasal corresponding to each stop, a lateral corresponding to each apical and laminal stop; no phonemic distinction based on voicing, no fricatives, two rhotics; few vowels (Breen 2001:47).
Aside from this, Arandic languages differ from most Australian languages in some interesting ways.\(^2\) They have a series of prestopped-nasals, rounded consonants, and in Kaytetye and Alyawarr only, there is a phonemic contrast between prepalatalised apicals and post-alveolar apicals.\(^3\) These unusual phonologies have given rise to debates in theories of phonology and syllable structure.\(^4\)

The phonetic variation between Arandic languages is minimal, although there are differences in the phonologies of these languages.\(^5\) One phonological difference between some Arandic dialects is whether prepalatalisation is contrastive, as it is in Alyawarr and Kaytetye, or whether it is only phonetic, as in Eastern and Central Arrernte.\(^6\) Another phonological difference is that in Arrernte there are two different types of rounding contrasts, e.g. /ap\(^w\)t\(^q\)/ [ap\(^u\)t\(^q\)] 'stone' /ap\(^u\)t\(^a\)/ [ap\(^o\)t\(^a\)] 'clump',\(^7\) whereas in Kaytetye and Alyawarr there is no such contrast.

As stated in the previous chapter, cognate words also differ in relation to the quality and the presence of word initial vowels.\(^8\) The initial vowel in many Arandic words in many languages is optional, which causes problems in deciding whether consonant clusters are permissible word initially in Arandic languages.\(^9\) Cognates may also differ in relation to rounding, the quality of apical, whether the consonant is apical or laminal, and whether the consonant is a nasal or lateral.

---


\(^3\) Koch proposes that a sound change took place in Arandic languages where apical obstruents, nasals and laterals were prepalatalised when the preceding vowel was /i/, prepalatalisation only became a phonemic feature in Kaytetye and Alyawarr (1997a:280-281, 2004:137).

\(^4\) See also Breen and Pensalfini (1999:9).


\(^6\) Breen (2001) identifies phonetic and phonological differences between the Arandic languages.

\(^7\) In Arrernte, words beginning VC where C is retroflex are often pronounced prepalatal, e.g. /at\(^w\)a/ [at\(^w\)wa] 'man' (see Henderson 1998:150).

\(^8\) See Wilkins (1989) for a discussion of the phoneme /u/ in Arrernte. Henderson (1998:52) analyses the difference between such minimal pairs as the location of the rounding; thus /ap\(^u\)t\(^q\)/ 'clump' vs. /ap\(^w\)t\(^q\)/ 'stone', although he recognises the phoneme /u/ in less conservative lects (see Henderson 1998:43ff, 52, 56).

\(^9\) This can be even within the one dialect (see Henderson 1998:57).

Not surprisingly, there are significant differences in the way researchers have analysed the phonologies of the various Arandic languages. Most significant of these is the VC syllable structure proposed by Breen and Pensalfini (1999)\(^\text{10}\) and CV syllable structure proposed by Wilkins (1989) and Koch (1997a).\(^\text{11}\) There are also significant differences in the way vowels have been analysed in Arandic languages.\(^\text{12}\) For example, Breen regards the initial high vowel in word initial position as /i/, whereas Koch regards this as the phoneme /a/ (2001:57-58). Wilkins analyses the optional word initial vowel as distinct from /a/ (1989), whereas Henderson argues that the optionality of pronouncing this vowel is context related (1998:39).\(^\text{13}\) Breen states that it is still not clear whether some of the complex phonetic differences between Arandic languages reflect real phonological differences or different approaches by the researcher (2001:62).

Analysis of how the sounds in Akwelye relate to the sounds in speech words is thus no simple task. Words in Akwelye may be from any of the Arandic languages, as will be shown in Chapter 9, and differences in the phonetic and phonological features of the languages, as well as the different phonological analyses of the languages by different researchers, must be taken into account. For these reasons representations of song texts are in a broad phonetic transcription.

Table 7.1 shows the various vowel inventories proposed by researchers for Arandic languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arrernte</th>
<th>Kaytetye</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Conservative lect]</td>
<td>[Other lects]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a a i</td>
<td>a e i u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 7.1 Vowels in Arandic languages**

\(^{10}\) VC syllable structure is also assumed by Henderson (1998, 2002).

\(^{11}\) See also Breen (1990). Henderson states that his research "does not offer strong support for, but is consistent with" Breen’s VC analysis (1998:33).

\(^{12}\) Henderson (1998:32ff) provides an analysis of Eastern and Central Arrernte vowels and contrasts this with other analyses.

\(^{13}\) There are also differences in the way the rounded phonetic vowels have been analysed (see Henderson 1998:33).
The phoneme /a/ has been analysed as underlyingly unspecified for place (Henderson 1998:58, Breen 2001). The vowels /a/ and /l/, as well as being back and high respectively, tend to be longer than /a/ (Henderson 1998:59). As well, there is allophonic variation in these vowels that results from surrounding palatalised and rounded consonants which can increase both length and quality of the vowels.

The consonant inventory in Table 7.2 shows the phonology of Kaytete based on Koch’s unpublished and published material (1984:33, 1997a,) and Breen (2001:59). Koch states that Kaytete has seven places of articulation and a two-vowel system. Rounding is distinctive for all consonants and is marked by a superscript ‘w’ (not shown on Table 7.2), although it is often realised as rounding on adjacent vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Peripheral</th>
<th>Coronal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laminal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prestopped</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tap</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.2 Kaytete and Alyawarr consonant inventory

In Akwelye there is no audible prestopping and so nasals and prestopped nasals sound the same in sung versions of song texts. As well, there is no rounding other than on /k/ (/kʷ/). The difference between post-alveolar and alveolar consonants is neutralised in song, so that the alveolar consonant of a speech word may be realised as alveolar or post-alveolar, depending on the position in which it appears in the song text and whether the preceding consonant is apical.

The Akwelye songs, with 69 different confirmed song forms, are not a large phonological data set, and so the absence of a phoneme in the song texts may not mean

---

14 For the articulatory features of these consonants in Eastern and Central Arrernte see Henderson (1998:29).
15 Breen and Pensalfini argue that the contrast between vowels in the two vowel systems (Western Arrmaterr and Kaytete) is one of length: /a/ a featureless vowel, and /a/ a long vowel (1999:23).
16 Arguments for the analysis of prestopped nasals as single segments rather than clusters in Arrernte are given by Henderson (1998:25).
that this phoneme is always altered in song but rather that no speech words with this phoneme have been versified. For example, there is no phoneme /l/ in the song texts, yet it is more likely that this is an accidental gap (arising because no speech equivalent with this phoneme has been versified),\(^\text{17}\) since there are two speech equivalents with other lamino-dental consonants both of which are sung as lamino-dental.\(^\text{18}\) These are shown in Table 7.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech equivalent</th>
<th>Spoken form of song text</th>
<th>Sung text (or part thereof)</th>
<th>Textline id.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[aŋaŋaŋarpaŋaŋe] 'see-while moving-every so often-PRS'</td>
<td>[aŋaŋaŋarpaŋe]</td>
<td>[aŋaŋaŋarpaŋe]</td>
<td>42a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[aŋaŋaŋarpaŋe]</td>
<td>[aŋaŋaŋarpaŋe]</td>
<td>[aŋaŋaŋarpaŋe]</td>
<td>19a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.3 Realisation of lamino-dental sounds in Akwelye

I turn now to discuss the systematic alterations of speech sounds in song.

7.3 Neutralisation of consonants in song

There are three neutralisations affecting the realisation of consonants across all 52 song texts; two neutralise the distinction between a set of two consonants and the third neutralises the difference between a set of three consonants.

7.3.1 Prestopped nasals/nasals

Prestopping is contrastive in many Arandic languages including Kaytetye.\(^\text{19}\) Three confirmed speech equivalents have a prestopped nasal: ihongwerrelewewewe, atnake and atnarte. All are sung as nasals (textlines 18a, 19a and 19b) as in (1), although spoken versions of the song texts are pronounced with pretopping.\(^\text{20}\)

---

\(^\text{17}\) Out of the 6,454 head words and derived words in the draft Kaytetye dictionary 1,204 have a lamino-dental consonant in them. This percentage of lamino-dentals (19%) is much greater than in Akwelye, in which 2% of songs have lamino-dentals.

\(^\text{18}\) Lamino-dentals are attested in the Arrernte songs in Strehlow (-kenhe 'belonging to' (1971:179), -alhege 'mistaken belief' (1971:177, alhege 'eucalyptus sp.' (1971:176). However, whether these phonemes were pronounced lamino-dental in the sung or spoken versions of the song texts is unknown.

\(^\text{19}\) For example [aŋtijana] 'standing' and [antijana] (K) 'sitting'. In some Arandic languages pretopping is not contrastive, and in some dialects it is not phonetically present at all, such as Western Anmatyerr.

\(^\text{20}\) Henderson observes examples of prestopped nasals versified in the Arrernte songs recorded by Strehlow where a line ends after the stop segment of a prestopped nasal and the following line begins with the nasal (1998:24). There are no examples of this in the Akwelye series.
that this phoneme is always altered in song but rather that no speech words with this phoneme have been versified. For example, there is no phoneme /i/ in the song texts, yet it is more likely that this is an accidental gap (arising because no speech equivalent with this phoneme has been versified), since there are two speech equivalents with other lamino-dental consonants both of which are sung as lamino-dental. These are shown in Table 7.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech equivalent</th>
<th>Spoken form of song text</th>
<th>Sung text (or part thereof)</th>
<th>Textline id.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[alaŋatarpa] '1du.ex.OM. NOM-only'</td>
<td>[alaŋatarpa]</td>
<td>[alaŋatarpa]</td>
<td>19a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[alaŋaŋame] 'see-while moving-every so often-PRS'</td>
<td>[alaŋaŋame]</td>
<td>[alaŋaŋame]</td>
<td>42a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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17 Out of the 6,454 head words and derived words in the draft Kaytetye dictionary 1,204 have a lamino-dental consonant in them. This percentage of lamino-dentals (19%) is much greater than in Akwelye, in which 2% of songs have lamino-dentals.

18 Lamino-dentals are attested in the Arrernte songs in Strehlow (~keplye 'belonging to' (1971:179), ~athene 'mistaken belief' (1971:177), aŋhele 'calyptus sp.' 1971:176). However, whether these phonemes were pronounced lamino-dental in the sung or spoken versions of the song texts is unknown.

19 For example [aŋnjana] 'standing' and [aŋnjana] (K) 'sitting'. In some Arandic languages pre-stopping is not contrastive, and in some dialects it is not phonetically present at all, such as Western Anmatyerre.

20 Henderson observes examples of prestopped nasals versified in the Arrernte songs recorded by Strehlow where a line ends after the stop segment of a prestopped nasal and the following line begins with the nasal (1998:24). There are no examples of this in the Akwelye series.
Thus a nasal in song has two possible correspondences: a nasal or prestopped nasal. The desire for increased sonority is the most likely explanation for the loss of pre stopping in song texts. A less likely explanation is that the song texts are archaic, having come into being before pre stopping occurred in Arandic languages. If the latter were the case, the effects of the sound changes that came after pre stopping, proposed by Koch (1997a), that are manifest in the song texts would not be present.21 The absence of pre stopping in song also has correspondences in some Arandic languages where pre stopping is being replaced by nasals.22

7.3.2 Rounded/unrounded consonants

Rounding on consonants is absent in Akwelye other than when it occurs on /k/ that is an onset to an S/B position in song. Other rounded consonants lose their rounding regardless of the metrical position, except for two speech words considered below. As well, rounding does not spread in Akwelye as it can in spoken Arandic languages. Rounding in Arandic languages is complex, and it is necessary to describe this phenomenon before showing how the rounding distinction is neutralised in song.

Arandic languages show an unusual rounding realisation, whereby rounding is phonologically associated with consonants rather than vowels, although phonetically rounding is manifested on the surrounding vowels.23 That rounding in Akwelye can be heard only following [k] and preceding the vowels [a] (textlines 34a, 35a) and [i],

21 Koch proposes that the initial consonant dropping and the appearance of the velar glide came after pre stopping was introduced in Arandic languages (1997a). While Akwelye songs have no pre stopping, they have velar glides and textline internally show no additional initial consonant, suggesting that there must be a different reason why there are no prestopped nasals in Akwelye.

22 Breen (2001) notes that pre stopping has been lost in the Arandic languages Western Anmatyerr and Ayerrereng, both of which now have only nasals, although Strehlow in 1944 recorded a distinction between long and short nasals (2001:56, 63). Green and Turpin show examples of free variation between nasals and pre stopped nasals in Eastern Anmatyerr (2001:103).

23 Koch proposes that a sound change occurred in Arandic languages in which rounded vowels induced rounding on the following consonant (1997a). See also Breen (2001:48).
suggests that in song, like spoken Arandic languages, rounding is associated with the consonant rather than a vowel phoneme.\textsuperscript{24}

In Arandic languages rounding can be pronounced on the preceding and/or following vowel of a rounded consonant, depending on the particular consonant.\textsuperscript{25} For example erhwe (K) ‘eye’ can be pronounced [uːʷa], [uːa] or [aːʷa] and Athimpelengkwe (K, place name) pronounced [aːɾimbulungwe], [aːɾimbeːlŋwe], [aːɾimbeːlŋe] or [aːɾimbeːlŋwe].\textsuperscript{26} This study follows the analyses of Arandic languages by Breen (2001:49), Breen and Pensalfini (1999:23) and Henderson (1998:60), which do not make a phonemic distinction between rounding associated with the onset or release of a consonant.\textsuperscript{27}

Rounding can also cross word boundaries in Arandic languages. For example, apenke kwere ‘go-PRS 3sgACC) (K) can be pronounced as [eːŋgukusə]–[eːŋgukusə]. The only barrier to the spread of rounding is a long vowel: [u] or [i]. So, for example, in the word intwarelweneke ‘follow-someone’ (K) [iːnʊ̃pəlŋe], rounding never occurs on the underlined vowels.\textsuperscript{28} While in speech /e/ can be pronounced [u], (that is, can attract roundedness from an adjacent rounded consonant), in song /e/ (and all vowels) can only attract roundedness if it falls on a Brief position. The absence of rounding on Long positions in Akwelye may be motivated by a difficulty in projecting a long rounded vowel in singing.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{24} In Arrernte, Strehlow states that the sequence [ku] is often sung as [kʉ] followed by a different vowel, such as [kwa] or [kwe] (1933:198), supporting the analysis of rounding as a feature of consonants rather than a feature of a vowel.

\textsuperscript{25} Henderson states that whether the vowel precedes or follows the rounded consonant, whether the consonant is coronal or not, and the type of vowels on the other side of the rounded consonant all influence the realisation of rounding on vowels (Henderson 1998:45).

\textsuperscript{26} In Kayteetye it appears that leftwards rounding is associated with younger people’s pronunciation, whereas older speakers are more likely to round only vowels following a rounded consonant.

\textsuperscript{27} In contrast, Wilkins analyses rounding as associated with the release of some consonants and the onset of other consonants (1989).


\textsuperscript{29} It is well known that the modification of vowels in song is necessary to achieve a better tone and projection (2006e). Ermons states, “Singing is a paradoxical enterprise. It can flourish only when beautiful sounds issue from the singer’s throat, but those beautiful sounds must be accompanied by an illumination of the meaning behind the sounds. Yet the consonants that accomplish the meaning often pose a real threat to the beauty of the sounds” (2002b).
In _Akweleye_ there is no similar migration of rounding over more than one segment. That is, there are no textlines with the vowel [u] in adjacent syllables. This can be seen as the inevitable result of setting words to a rhythmic pattern, which is a combination of Long and Brief syllables as outlined in the previous chapter. For example the syllable preceding the word /kʷəræ/ in textline 18b has the vowel /æ/ as its nucleus, and so in speech could be rounded [kurimpanura]. In this textline the vowel is set to a Long note, so is always sung unrounded, as in (2)(i) and not (ii).

(2) (i) [ku ri mpi ku ra]① [kurimpanura]  
   S W W# S W 
   S B L# B L 
   /kʷərimpɔ#kʷəræ/ 
   Dreamtime:woman:girl  

   (textline 18b)

In _Akweleye_ the rounding distinction is only maintained following /kʷ/. Rounding is most audible when /kʷ/ falls on the onset of an S/B position in song; in other positions it is difficult to detect. For example, in textline 28a /kʷ/ falls on a W/B position which can sound [ŋəkut'ɑ] or [ŋəket'ɑ] and in textline 7b /kʷ/ falls on a W/L position which can sound [lə[ɑŋgi] or [lə[ɑŋgwɪ].

In contrast, some spoken versions of song texts often have the rounding of their speech equivalents. This can be seen in Daphne’s spoken version of textline 21a in (3).

(3) [aŋe:əte:lʊtʊrəpə] (spoken)  
   /ləŋe:ə=ə#at⁸wərpə/ [ʊtʊrəpə] 'sandhill'  
      when=REL sandhill  
   (1999, MD21, dn 49)  

   [(i)əŋe:ə[ətərpə] (sung)  
   B B L# B B L  

   (textline 21a)

Example (4) shows that Daphne is conscious of avoiding rounding in songs, exemplifying her awareness of the rules of _Akweleye_ versification.①

① All notes on an L syllable are lengthened; thus I have chosen not to show length in the phonetic representation of the text.

① While Daphne applies this rule to the spoken version in (4), she does not apply it to the spoken version in (3), suggesting that there may be different "levels" of the spoken version.
Table 7.4 shows the nine textlines with a speech equivalent that has a rounded consonant where there is no rounding in the sung version of the textline.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rounded consonant</th>
<th>Textline</th>
<th>Sung text</th>
<th>Vernacular equivalent of relevant part of song text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*/rʷ/</td>
<td>7b</td>
<td>[laŋɣirin'arəna]</td>
<td>[urum'a]-[urum'a]-[urum'a] /'rʷon'a/()</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7a</td>
<td>[larin'arın'arın'a]</td>
<td>/'et'orpa/ 'sandhill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*/tʷ/</td>
<td>21a</td>
<td>[laŋtleterpe]</td>
<td>[uturpa]-[uturpa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45a</td>
<td>laŋtleterpe</td>
<td>/'et'orpa/ 'sandhill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*/mʷpʷ/</td>
<td>3a</td>
<td>[kurat'amepə[a][...]</td>
<td>[ampüppə] /'arn'M'w'apə/ 'fat, healthy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*/pʷ/</td>
<td>30a</td>
<td>[watəŋape[apa]</td>
<td>[puə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*/tʷ/</td>
<td>43b</td>
<td>[t̚etetewowəlepe]</td>
<td>/'atωtətətətətətə/ (grass sp.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*/ŋʷ/ /-lʷ/</td>
<td>14b</td>
<td>[ŋire[a][əəna]</td>
<td>[aŋ'uruə] /'aŋ'uro[a]-/aŋ'uraə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*/ŋʷ/</td>
<td>18a</td>
<td>[ləŋəntərapana[awija]</td>
<td>[Γ'ŋuruawiyaw] /'ŋuruəwayaə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.4 Omission of rounding in Akwelye

Table 7.5 shows the 15 textlines with a speech equivalent that has a rounded consonant where rounding is maintained in the sung versions of the textline. It can be seen that rounding is maintained on */kʷ/ and in one case on */ŋʷ/.

32 There are also cognates of this word that are not rounded in some Arandic dialects, such as ikngerre (WAn), ikngerre (An) akngerrake (K). See Appendix 1: song text 14.

33 In Koch's phonological analysis of Kaytetye this is */arʷənəwə/. Henderson states that word initial rounding is short and can be almost imperceptible (1998:54).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rounded phoneme</th>
<th>Textline</th>
<th>Song text</th>
<th>Vernacular equivalent of relevant part of song text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kʷ/</td>
<td>1a</td>
<td>[kulanɔəlalanɔtana]</td>
<td>[ekwe] /kʷɔə/ ‘arm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32a</td>
<td>[kurpaɾepaŋa]</td>
<td>[kurbaja] /kʷeɾpaŋa/ ‘dancing stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15b</td>
<td>[kurpaŋaŋaŋin̥t̥a]</td>
<td>‘dancing stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26b</td>
<td>[ŋurpeɾepela]</td>
<td>[kupalapala] /kʷeɾapala/ ‘crested bellbird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36a</td>
<td>[kulkatalarə]</td>
<td>[kulkaŋa] /kʷalkaŋa/ ‘wild melon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3a</td>
<td>[kuratlamare]</td>
<td>[kura] /kʷere/ ‘girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42a</td>
<td>[kurapakurelaranapana]</td>
<td>/kʷeɾa/ ‘girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47b</td>
<td>[kurasatʃiɾataɾana]</td>
<td>/kʷeɾa/ ‘girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38b</td>
<td>[kurimbikura]</td>
<td>[kúrimba] /kʷerimba/ ‘DT woman’; [kura] /kʷere/ ‘girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34a</td>
<td>[kʷeʃetʃiɾataɾa]</td>
<td>/kʷeʃeɾa/ ‘young girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35a</td>
<td>[kʷeʃjowalana]</td>
<td>/kʷeʃeɾa/ ‘girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16b</td>
<td>[nukatəɾaŋa]</td>
<td>[kwatə] /kʷatə/ ‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28a</td>
<td>[nekutəkutə]</td>
<td>/kʷetə/ ‘another’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7b</td>
<td>[leŋəɾiniraraŋa]</td>
<td>[leŋgwua] /aŋkʷə/ arlangkwe ‘curly leafed bloodwood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5b</td>
<td>[ŋiɾinaɾapana]</td>
<td>[rŋiɾaŋɔ] /ŋiɾaŋɔ/ ‘another’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.5 Retention of rounding in Akwelye

A comparison of Tables 7.4 and 7.5 reveal that all consonants other than /kʷ/ lose rounding in song, and that all instances of /kʷ/ have rounding on the following vowel, except 16b (discussed below). There are three instances of speech equivalents with rounded prestopped velar nasals (/ŋʷ/): one with rounding (textline 5b), and two without rounding (textlines 14b and 18a). A prestopped velar nasal shares properties with velar stops and with velar nasals, and the variation in rounding may result from emphasising the stop quality (rounding) or the nasal quality (no rounding).

A further reason for the absence of rounding in textline 14b (Table 7.4) can be explained on historical grounds by postulating that the rounding in [ŋʷuɾu] ‘east’ occurs on the lateral and not the velar. Historically this word may be akngereerlwe-nye ‘east-forehead-adjectivaliser’ and the rounding has spread left (Harold Koch 2001, 34)

The presence of the sound /ŋ/ in the song text, which is not part of the speech equivalent, is explained in §7.4.2.

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34 The presence of the sound /ŋ/ in the song text, which is not part of the speech equivalent, is explained in §7.4.2.
pers.comm.). This is also supported by cognates in other Arandic languages such as ikngirre (Arr) and ikngarre (WArr); and a similar word formation for 'in the west' alte-erlewe-nye from alte-marle 'west' (K). It is likely that the speech word that was versified in textline 14b never had rounding associated with the initial velar. Rather, it was associated with the lateral, and so was dropped when versified.

So far I have shown that there are two competing principles operating in Akwelye: maintain rounding on /kʷ/ and delete rounding on other consonants. This is manifest in the two alternative pronunciations of velar nasals.

As well, rounding on a velar may shift to the S/B position. In textline 16b (Table 7.5) the rounding is heard on the syllable preceding /kʷ/, ie. rounding is moved left to the initial S/B position of the textline.\(^{35}\) This is the position in which most other rounded consonants occur in song. That rounding is not always audible in textline 7b (Table 7.5),\(^{36}\) is possibly because the rounded consonant is on a W/L position, the onset to the final syllable of a dactyl foot (BBL,\(^{#}\)) and not an S/B position.\(^{37}\)

There is one textline, 27a, where rounding follows a velar nasal on a W/B position. This textline is also somewhat unusual, as the speech equivalent has no rounding, shown in (5).

\begin{verbatim}
(5)   [aŋuraŋurse]
      SWW#S
      BBL#BL
      /(əlawa)/aŋarpa#əŋarpa/
      (1duSMG) alone alone
\end{verbatim}

We can speculate that a possible source of the rounding in textline 27a is the elided syllable /wə/ in the previous word, aylewe [əlú:]. Textline 32b is the only other textline

\(^{35}\) The fact that this textline is pronounced [nuka] and not [nuki] further suggests that the speech equivalent is a rounded velar and not a nasal; if the consonant was unrounded /k/ we might expect the following vowel to be [l], as the following consonant is a palatal and /a/ preceding a palatal is sung [l] (textlines 1b, 3b, 6b and 40a), as in speech.

\(^{36}\) There are 35 renditions of song text 7. In three of the four renditions of this text in the Tara 2 performance rounding can be heard on the velar [(i)leŋampəŋaraŋa].

\(^{37}\) Another reason may be because the rounded consonant is unstressed in the speech equivalent ([i]e[ŋkʷə]).
with rounding where there is no rounding in the speech equivalent, and again this occurs on a S/B position.

The neutralisation of rounded and unrounded consonants means that there may be two phonological correspondences for stops other than /k/. For example, Daphne's interpretation of the sound [p] in textline 30a corresponds to /p/ on one occasion, giving the reading *aperlape* 'conkerberry', and to /pʰ/ on another, giving the reading *Pwerle* (a skin name), shown in (6).

(6)  

\[ \text{[la tʰə əsi pe[a pe lei]} \]

\[ \text{B B L# B B B} \]

(i) \[1\text{sgDAT}#\text{conkerberry}=-\text{REL} \]

(ii) \[1\text{sgACC}#\text{skin.name}#\text{skin.name} \]

Absence of expected rounding on consonants is also attested in other Kaytetye *awelye* songs\(^{38}\) and in many Arandic songs recorded by Strehlow.\(^{39}\)

This section has provided a synchronic comparison of speech and song in relation to rounding, showing that rounded consonants other than /kʰ/ are sung unrounded. While there are historical counterparts for some of the variations, it is not possible to explain all the differences in terms of retentions of archaisms in songs. Furthermore, rounding of cognates varies between dialects and even between speakers.\(^{40}\) Koch suggests that rounding is most stable (and audible) with velars (1997a:287).\(^{41}\) Given this, the loss of

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\(^{38}\) Grace Koch records a Kaytetye *awelye* song text sung: [la ra ɲə nʰə ɲə nʰə] with the speech equivalent *ngwentye-ngwentye* [ɲuŋ]Waguru ɲe] 'white-ochre' (Koch fieldtapes, AIATSIS 6894 B). While there is no rounding on the third and fifth syllables as there would in speech, neither are the vowels high as they would be in speech as the following consonant is a palatal.

\(^{39}\) For example, Strehlow gives *ljiŋpapa* [lyŋpepe 'thigh'] as the speech equivalent for the first foot of a textline "Ljiŋpapa" (1971:155) and rounding following a velar can be seen in the versification of the Arrernte plant name *kupa* (kuŋge-kuŋge), sung "Jaljupu kupai" (1971:130).

\(^{40}\) Loss of rounding on bilabials has occurred in Western Arrernte (Breen 2001:65) as well as loss of historical rounding of some Pama-Nyungan reflexes in all the Arandic languages. Consider the proto-Pama-Nyungan reflex *meda* which is *elhe* or *elhe* in Arandic languages.

\(^{41}\) See also Breen (2001:49).
rounding on consonants other than velars is a likely result, especially considering the oral transmission of the songs (Harold Koch 2002, pers.comm.).

Another reason why rounding might be sung following [k] but not other consonants is because [k] and [u] share the features +back and +dorsal, creating a sequence of sounds that are easy to project in singing (Emmons 2002a). The sounds [ŋ] and [w] also share these features and rounding also follows [ŋ] and [w] in some textlines.

7.3.3 Apical alveolar/retroflex/prepalatal

It is difficult to determine whether an apical is post-alveolar or alveolar in the sung versions of songs. Songs without a vowel upbeat that begin with a non-rhotic apical, all appear to be alveolar, as do non-rhotic apicals following a Long position (foot initial position).

The quality of apicals as either post-alveolar or alveolar following a Brief position seems to be determined by whether the preceding C is a non-rhotic apical, in which case it is always post-alveolar. Kaytetye speakers had difficulty in deciding on the type of apical in these positions. This was most apparent in the song endings arrerna and aylerna. I perceived these apicals as more post-alveolar than alveolar. There is also speaker variation in spoken versions of song texts in relation to whether apicals in this position are pronounced alveolar or post-alveolar. Neutralisation of apicals in this environment also occurs in spoken Arandic languages (Henderson 1998:85). That is, there is no apical/post apical contrast in the second C(apical) in the sequence C(ap)VC(ap). Thus, the contrast between apical alveolars and post-alveolars is

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42 A less likely explanation for the loss of rounding is that at the time the song texts came into being, rounding was associated with the preceding vowel. An account of the discrepancy between speech and song would thus involve postulating that the initial vowels of words were dropped as they were incorporated into song texts. For example, if the proto Arandic form were *tiyerp 'sandhill' it would be versified as terepe (textlines 21a and 45 a). In textlines 3a, 14b, and 43b we would have to postulate a further process to account for the preceding vowel [a]. In a reduplicated form this means postulating initial vowel deletion for both elements in the reduplication, for example *atyerte-atyerte 'grass species' ⇒ tyerte-tyerte and then inserting initial [a] to the base and the reduplicated part, as in ⇒ atyerte-atyerte, which is a cumbersome account. Furthermore, we would need to recognise that rounding has become associated with the following vowel in the case of velars.

43 An acoustic analysis is necessary to determine the exact quality of these apicals; however this was beyond the scope of this study.

44 Henderson also finds that in Arrernpa the exact realisation of the apical depends to some degree on the type of consonant and where lexical stress falls (1998:172).

45 For example in Kaytetye, apte-ke [apŋ̪e] 'go-PRS' but ake-ke [aŋŋ̪e] 'sit-PRS'. In Kaytetye orthography such predictable retroflexion is not written, thus the word /aŋŋ̪e/ is spelt alele.
neutralised in *Akwelye* in all positions other than following a Brief position where the consonant is non-apical or rhotic.

The phonetic distinction between prepalatalised apicals and other apicals is also neutralised in song. In Arandic languages prepalatalised consonants are considered apicals because the articulator changes from the blade of the tongue to the tip of the tongue. Prepalatalisation is phonemic in Kaytetye and Alyawarr. Breen argues that both rounding and prepalatalisation are suprasegmental features associated with a consonant position (2001:60). The effect of prepalatalisation is heard on the consonant and on the preceding vowel which is raised to [i] if /a/, or becomes the diphthong [ei] if /a/.

In *Akwelye*, prepalatalisation is not audible on the consonant. This means it is difficult to distinguish between the sequences [i'C(apical)] and [iC(apical)]. For example, there is no audible difference between [n] in the section of the textlines shown in (7) and (8).

(7) [...paralindipai]
\[
/\text{n̪i-te'-p-inte-\text{-}me}/ \text{ (Arr)}
\]
\[
\text{lie-LIG-CNT-PRS}
\]

(textline 20a, 20b)

(8) [pinda[a...]]
\[
/\text{a-p\text{-}shta-\text{-}la}/ \text{ (K, Aly)}
\]
\[
\text{spring-LOC}
\]

(textline 35b)

In speech, the only phonetic difference between [i'C] (as in the word *apinte*) and [iC] (as in *intep-inteme*) is that the tongue is higher for a prepalatal consonant. It is

---

46 Koch identifies allomorphy in Kaytetye sensitive to whether the preceding consonant is apical, and prepalatalised consonants also trigger this allomorphy. An apico-alveolar consonant is replaced by the corresponding retroflex consonant when the preceding consonant is an alveolar, retroflex, or prepalatalised consonant. This alternation affects the Present formative -nte, the Imperative -nta, and the Ergative/Locative -nta (Harold Koch 2002, pers.comm.)

47 In contrast Koch (1980) analyses prepalatal consonants as a seventh place of articulation.

48 Prepalatalisation is not particularly audible on a consonant following /a/ in speech either. Acoustic analysis of prepalatalisation in Kaytetye is necessary to distinguish what the differences are between /a/ and what is analysed in neighbouring languages as /i/.

49 The difficulty in distinguishing between /i+Capical/ and /e+Capical/ also exists in spoken Arandic languages. Breen discusses this in relation to Alyawarr, which has both prepalatalised consonants and the high vowel /i/ (2001:57-58). In *Akwelye* further difficulties arise in determining the speech equivalent of [i+apicalC], as this may also correspond to the sequence /ejo/ [i], as in textline 31b [larti[yalilara] which
conceivable that variation in tongue height may not be made in singing, thus there is no perceptible acoustic difference between [i̯C] and [iC] in song.\textsuperscript{50}

The vowel preceding a prepalatal consonant in a speech equivalent does not always sound the same in song. Table 7.6 shows that where the vowel would occur in textline initial position it is either absent or an upbeat [i] or [ə] (textlines 27b, 18a, 10b, 29b). Where it occurs on a S/B position it sounds as in speech (textline 35b) and where it occurs on a foot final W/L position it is sung [ɛi] (textlines 37b and 16b). Table 7.6 shows the seven speech words with a prepalatalised apical in the speech equivalent and their realisation in song.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textline (or part thereof)</th>
<th>Speech equivalent</th>
<th>Textline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[(i)lotina]</td>
<td>[əlo:] '1.duSMSG.ACC' [L]</td>
<td>27b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S W S W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L B L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[(a)lanantarpa...</td>
<td>[əlanantarpa] '1du.ex.OM.NOM'</td>
<td>18a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S W W W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B B B L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[(i)te[ara...</td>
<td>[(i)te[ara] 'headband'</td>
<td>10b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S W W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B B L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[(i)tin[kampa[ə][polyrhythmic]</td>
<td>[iṭin'ə] 'love'</td>
<td>29b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S W W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B B L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[piṇde[a...]</td>
<td>[apiṇde] 'spring'</td>
<td>35b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S W W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B B L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[walamegi tin'owan...</td>
<td>[iṭin'ə] 'love'</td>
<td>37b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S W W S W W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B B B L B B L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[nukate[g te[a][ɛi...</td>
<td>[kwitute[ə] 'place name' [L]</td>
<td>16b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S W W S W W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B B L B B L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.6 Realisation of prepalatalised sounds in Akwelye\textsuperscript{51}

\(\text{corresponds to arlayeye}\)\#karlayeye. Henderson also notes free variation in Arrernte in a word which has the sequence /e/ and [i] (1998:43).

\textsuperscript{50} Further research would involve an acoustic analysis to detect if there is any phonetic difference between apicals in songs whose speech equivalents are prepalatals and those that are apico-alveolars and post-alveolars.

\textsuperscript{51} I include the two speech equivalents of Likely status as there are only six confirmed speech equivalents with a prepalatalised consonant. However, in using a word of non-confirmed status such as cyulewe, it is necessary to bear in mind that it may not be the original versified word, which may account for the difference in initial vowel quality.
In textlines 37b and 16b the diphthong is not the result of vowel harmony (§6.6.2) as the diphthong occurs in both renditions of the textline pair.\footnote{Textlines 33b and 35a have a diphthong that is not the result of vowel harmony, which could reflect a speech equivalent with a prepalatal consonant in this position. Unfortunately there is not enough evidence to draw a conclusion as to whether /ay/ in song, which is not the result of vowel harmony, reflects a prepalatal consonant in the speech equivalent.} This rather limited data suggests that a prepalatalised consonant does affect the pronunciation of the preceding vowel if that vowel falls on a S/B or W/L position, but not when the vowel is an upbeat.

The neutralisation of the difference between post-alveolar, prepalatal and alveolar apicals in certain positions in the textline means that an apical in song can correspond to any of these apicals, which can give rise to multiple interpretations of the speech equivalents, an issue I return to in §9.4.

7.4 Alterations of consonants in song

So far we have considered modifications of speech sounds that occur in all Akweye songs: the treatment of prestopped nasals, rounded consonants other than /ň/, and the neutralisation of apicals in certain positions of the textline. In this section I consider modifications to consonants that occur in the versification of particular words, rather than modifications to a whole phoneme series. While unsystematic variation to consonants in speech word may relate to the desire to hide the original versified word, this does not explain why a specific variation occurred. In this section I consider possible motivations for the modifications.

7.4.1 Absence of adjacent consonants

In two textlines the first consonant is absent from a word beginning #VCC. In §6.3.1, analysis showed that the first C of adjacent consonants is absent in the versification of alyele (♯/tl̂əlo/) in textline 38a and in the versification of angayerte (♯/ŋeljət/) in textline 17a. This achieves CV syllabification and avoids beginning a textline with a consonant cluster. This also occurs in two speech words within a textline: 39b, shown in (9) and 49a.
In this textline the coda /r/ of the third syllable in the speech word /a.ra.wor.ŋa/, is deleted, possibly because the rhyme is already heavy as a result of elision of /wa/ and vowel coalescence, as discussed in §6.4.6.

In contrast, there appears to be no reason why the consonant /ŋ/ in the speech word angketye is absent from textline 49a in most sung versions, [lei jə ŋa pə ka ʔə], and so the absence must be considered an irregularity.  

7.4.2 Addition of consonants in song

There is only one textline where a consonant is inserted in song before a consonant in the speech word. I suggest that this is motivated by a preference for a heavy syllable in the foot final syllable consisting of a particular sequence of sounds. In textline 26b (10) the coda of the first and third syllables, /r/, is not in the speech equivalent. This textline is formed through the partial reduplication discussed in §6.5.1.2 where the first and third rhyme must be the same.

Table 7.7 shows that the sequence [CeC(liquid)p] occurs on a W/B position in six other textlines. Textline 31a, with its unusual consonant insertion at A₂ creates a similar sequence [ər.p] in exactly the same metrical positions (see §6.6.3), shown in (11).  

---

53 The nasal /ŋ/ can be heard in record 601 in MS5 and in record 602 in MS3.
54 Other consonant clusters occur as onsets on W/B positions in other textlines; and the same cluster in angketye is an onset in textline 3b, although on an S/B position.
55 Because the speech equivalent arerine is not confirmed, we cannot be sure whether /p/ was inserted in the repeated textline or /p/ was dropped from the first textline.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textline</th>
<th>Sung text</th>
<th>Relevant translation glosses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26b</td>
<td>[tjur pa ?er pa [a]]</td>
<td>kwepepale ‘crested bellbird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S W W# S W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B B L# B L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32a</td>
<td>[kur pa [er pa le ?a]]</td>
<td>kwerrpare ‘dancing stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S W W# S W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B B L# B B L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S W W# S W W# W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B B L# B B B L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13a</td>
<td>[ul pe ?el pe [a]</td>
<td>elpere ‘quick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S W W# S W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B B L# B L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25a,25b</td>
<td>[wu [a ter pe [a]</td>
<td>ertwerrpe ‘sandhill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S W W# S W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B B L# B L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31a</td>
<td>[me ndo weir pe ne?]</td>
<td>(unknown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S W W# S W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B B L# B L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31a</td>
<td>[me ndo we re ne?]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S W W# S W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B BL# B L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30a</td>
<td>[wa ?a ?a pa [a]</td>
<td>Pwerle skin name perlape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S W W# S W W</td>
<td>‘conkerberry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B B L# B B L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28b</td>
<td>[na pa ?i pa [a]</td>
<td>aparipe ‘legless lizard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S W W# S W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B B L# B L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48a</td>
<td>[le i a pa ka ?a]</td>
<td>=ape ‘just’ [L]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S W W# S W W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B B L# B B L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48b</td>
<td>[le i a pi ni ?a]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S W W# S W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B B L# B B L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49b</td>
<td>[le i a pa ?i ?i]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S W W# S W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B B L# B B L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.7 Textlines in which /p/ is the onset to the final foot

---

56 The textline internal [ct], in textline 31a is the result of vowel harmonisation, so the speech phoneme may well be /a/.
The apico-alveolar lateral/tap coda following [ə] always occurs at the foot boundary, where the following /p/ is the initial consonant of the last foot.

Table 7.7 shows that after foot final [ə], all occurrences of /p/ are preceded by a lateral or tap coda, even when the vowel in the second rendition of the textline pair becomes [ɛ1] as the result of vowel harmony. In contrast, in textlines where /p/ follows [a] or [i] there is no coda. This may be because [ə] is a short vowel in Arandic languages, whereas [i] and [a] are long. Thus, [ə] has a coda to make it more compatible with the foot final Long position.

The additional sound [r] in 26b may be motivated by a preference for lateral+/p/ sequence at the foot boundary which may have the effect of drawing attention to the foot final vowel [ə]—the position where vowel harmonisation may occur. Moreover, this sequence is a more sonorous sequence than if there was only the consonant /p/ as the onset to the second foot.

7.4.3 Variation of consonants
In this section I consider variation of consonants between the speech equivalent and song, and across different performances of the song texts.

7.4.3.1 Variation of textline initial consonants
Variation of initial consonants in textlines reflects a preference for sonorous consonants as onsets to Strong positions in the metrical template, especially textline initially. Figure 7.2 shows the sonority hierarchy, listing the sounds that occur in the Akweleye songs grouped according to their manner and place of articulation.

a > ə > i/u > glides > liquids > nasals > obstruents

Sonorous less sonority

Figure 7.2 Sonority hierarchy

266
Consonant insertion always involves sonorant consonants: [a], [l] and [w]. In §6.4.2 it was shown that breaking is a strategy to extend the number of syllables in the first foot. Possibly the consonant [w] serves this function because it is a sonorant consonant.

Table 7.8 shows initial consonants that vary within the sung version of a textline and the consonant in the speech equivalent where known. Usually the variation in the sung text is between different song items in different performances; however occasionally it is due to a single singer having a different perception of a textline, in which case both consonants can be heard in a single song item.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textline</th>
<th>Sung text</th>
<th>Speech phoneme</th>
<th>Consonant variation$^{48}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>[la]palimara ~ [na]palimera</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>/l/ &gt; /n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>[la]cwe[cdecwe ~ [na]cwe[cdecwe]</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td>[la]peralpera ~ [na]peralpera</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td>[la]angirinaraŋa ~ [n]angirinaraŋa</td>
<td>/l/ arlangkwe</td>
<td>/l/ &gt; /ŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>[wil]owaraŋa ~ [mil]owaraŋa$^{49}$ ~ [nil]owaraŋa</td>
<td>/w/ awelye</td>
<td>/w/ &gt; /m/ ~ /ŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>[wun]nererẹŋa ~ [nn]nererẹŋa$^{60}$</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>/w/ &gt; /l/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17b</td>
<td>[lat]atimbaraŋatimbera ~ [nat]atimbaraŋatimbera$^{41}$</td>
<td>/m/ matyarte</td>
<td>/l/ &gt; /m/ ~ /ŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10b</td>
<td>[ta]aramarapararapa ~ [w]lamāraperapeŋaraŋa</td>
<td>/l/ ijerlarre</td>
<td>/l/ &gt; /w/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26b</td>
<td>[guru]pærpa</td>
<td>/k/ kwepepale</td>
<td>/ŋ/ &gt; /k/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36b</td>
<td>[mara]rinleara ~ [mara]rinleara</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>/m/ &gt; /m/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.8 Initial consonant variation of sung texts

$^{48}$Sonorant consonants, especially /a/, /l/ and /m/, occur frequently in textline initial position in Arrernte songs (Strehlow 1971). Strehlow maintains that where textline initial consonants in Arrernte songs are the result of consonant transfer, initial /n/ and /l/ are "special verbal endings (in) a grammatical category of their own" (1971:226) and that "as a rule, they have the force of present indicatives" (1971:227).

$^{49}$The symbol > shows that the consonant on the left is more often sung than the consonant on the right.

$^{41}$Only Kirsty pronounces this textline beginning with /m/ and /l/.

$^{40}$The majority of the 23 song items of this textline begin /a/.

$^{41}$Again, only Kirsty pronounces this textline beginning with /a/.
The [n]–[l] variation of textlines 2a, 2b, 11b and 7b are due to differences between particular singers. On one occasion Daphne even corrects Kirsty's pronunciation, shown in (12), and Kirsty concedes to Daphne's pronunciation.

(12) Kirsty: *narrparlipmerre numeratorlerlertewe* [pause] *elerawe.*

Daphne: *elerawe, elerawe!*

(1999 MD12, dn 9)

Similarly, Daphne and April's spoken version of song text 11b and 2b start with a lateral while Kirsty's starts with a nasal. Lateral/nasal alteration is also attested in cognates in spoken languages, eg. *alkane* [alŋŋa] (Arr) and *annge* [ąnnŋa] 'eye' (Anm). In Kaytete *alertweerpe-*twerrpe 'rufous whistle' (*Pachycephala rufiventris*) corresponds with *magirrirpirrirpi* (Wlp) and *angertterperterre* in other Arandic varieties (O'Grady and Hale 2004:97).

Textline 1b shows a variation in manner of articulation, and whilst the place of articulation also changes, it does so within a peripheral location. Textline 6a shows variation between a semivowel and vowel articulation, 17b shows variation between a liquid and nasal manner of articulation, and 10a shows variation between glide and stop of a different place of articulation.

The variation reflects a preference for more sonorous sounds at the beginning of textlines. For example, the spoken version of 17b is *matyartimperra*, yet when sung it is *latyartimperra*, although in the Alekarenge performances there are some renditions of the text with [n] in place of [l]. The one instance of variation in place of articulation, textline 36b, most often begins with the more sonorous consonant [n] than [m]. In most cases the sounds in song are more sonorous than those in the speech

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62 There is no evidence to suggest Kirsty's pronunciation reflects a different perception of the speech equivalents.

63 Variation in bird names is common because they are often derived from onomatopoeic renditions of the bird's call, thus this emphasises the acoustic similarity between laterals and nasals.

64 There are 34 song items of this text; 27 of these are pronounced *laŋŋatirparangayltatirpara*, two as *ŋataŋŋatirparangayltatirpara* (Alekarenge 2 performance) and five as *ŋataŋŋatirparangayltatirpara* (Alekarenge 1 performance). The predominance of [n] in the Alekarenge performances may be because the singer Kirsty can be heard clearly in these performances whereas there were many more singers at the Elpate performance and she was not in the Tara performances.
equivalent, with the exception of the last alternation [w]–[m]–[n], in which the nasals are only produced by one singer who favours textline initial nasals.

Initial consonants of Akwelye often correspond to a less sonorant sound in the speech equivalent, but the desire to keep the same place, and less often, manner, of articulation can be seen. The propensity for variation of consonants in this position is also increased because initial consonants are often the result of consonant insertion or consonant transfer. That is, the initial consonant is not part of the following word so the quality of this consonant is more likely to be forgotten or varied.

7.4.3.2 Variation of textline internal consonants

There are only two speech equivalents with an altered consonant in both their sung and spoken versions. In (13) the altered consonant is foot initial and is more sonorous while in (14) the altered consonant is foot internal and less sonorous.

(13) [al ke jam pəɾ nə]
    /wal ke jam pəɾ nə/
    S W W# S W
    B B L# B L
    /auəlkməpəɾ#əməpəɾə/
    underground.cave sad

(14) [nu ke ri n̂tə [a]]
    S W W# S W
    B B L# B L
    /an̂təran(tə(-lə))/
    spirit(-ERG)

Consonants in song most often reflect their speech equivalents. Most modifications are part of a systematic treatment of sounds across all Akwelye songs. The few cases of unsystematic modifications are often motivated by a preference for sonorous consonants in foot initial positions and a preference to avoid adjacent consonants. I now consider the realisation of spoken vowels in song.

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65 In textline 5a, [a[ŋ[epaŋa]], the consonant /ŋ/ may also equate to /ŋ/ in the speech equivalent, however the form of the speech equivalent is not confirmed.
7.5 Vowels in song

It is well known cross-linguistically that the vowel sounds in spoken words often undergo significant modification in song. In relation to Arrernte songs Strehlow states "the vowels of almost all the syllables of prose words in a couplet are likely to undergo far reaching phonetic changes" (1971:67). Similarly in Akweyle, not all vowels sound as they do in their speech equivalents; however, the modification is not to such an extreme and unpredictable extent as Strehlow found in relation to Arrernte songs. Where variation from speech does occur in Akweyle this results from the metrical requirements and strategies used to meet these requirements, namely:

1. Vowel-deletion (§6.3.1)
2. absence of rounding in song except on /k/ (§7.3.2)
3. imposition of rhythmic length in song (§6.2)
4. elision of semivowels on the S/L position (the spondee foot, §6.4.6)
5. sound patterning on W/L (foot final) positions (§6.6.1, §6.6.2)
6. vowel assonance within a foot (§6.5.1.3).

This section compares the different vowel sounds in the 67 confirmed speech equivalents with their metrical position in song. It finds that in most cases the speech vowel is the same in song and that where differences occur these can be accounted for in terms of the above reasons. I first consider the distribution of vowels across the metrical positions of a textline, as these provide conditioning environments on certain vowels.

7.5.1 Distribution of vowels in the metrical textline

In speech there is often free variation in the pronunciation of vowels. For example, in many environments /a/ is pronounced [a]–[ə], and phrase medial /a/ can be

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66 For examples in the traditional songs of other parts of the world see Sherzer (1990:16). Vowel modification in song can assist in overcoming some of the difficulties of singing. For example, vowel modification can help to overcome the adverse effects of consonant production on tune and tone and sing softly without losing the pitch (Emmons 2002a). Furthermore, particular vowel pronunciations often relate to a dispreferred movement of the tongue or lips in particular singing styles or linguistic areas. (Emmons 2005, pers.comm., March 3).

67 Here I do not consider the two confirmed speech equivalents of the Waake song texts 20 and 46 as they have a different metrical structure.

68 See also Henderson (1998:34, 41).
pronounced [e] or [ə]; or if before a palatal [i], [e] or [ə]. The location of rounding is also variable, affecting the realisation of vowels. In contrast, Akwelye vowels in a textline are always pronounced one way or the other, with no free variation. For example, (15) shows a textline with [i] following a palatal,\(^6\) (16) shows [ə] following the same palatal, and (17) shows [ə] following a different palatal consonant, but in the same position as [i] in (15).

(15)  [wi ɬa wur tər pe wu tər pe]
S  W W# S  W  W# S  W  W
B  B L# B  B  L# B  B  L
/w+ə/ #/wərteɾpe-təɾpe/
shade-LOC painted.up

(16)  [ɬa ɳa ka to wi ɬa]
S  W W# S  W  W
B  B L# B  B  L
/ənaka(=ətə)#əwəla/  
long.ago(=DEF) ceremony

(17)  [kweĩ ɬo wei ɬo ɳa]
S  W  W#  S  W
B  B  L#  B  L
/ɬo/  
girl

The vowels in textlines show no free variation. This may assist singers to maintain clear unison singing. Table 7.9 shows the distribution of phonetic vowels in Akwelye textlines.

\(^6\) In spoken Arandic languages, a preceding palatal does not affect the raising of the following vowel /ə/ (see Henderson 1998:42).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position in textile</th>
<th>Upbeat</th>
<th>Brief: S/B &amp; W/B</th>
<th>Long: S/L (only in spondees)</th>
<th>Long-W/L (foot final)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>monothongs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unrounded</td>
<td>[ə]</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>[i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[e]+,[ə]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rounded</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diphthongs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[au]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[ei]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[ei]*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ attested only in textile 30b
* attested only in textile 39b

Table 7.9  Distribution of vowels across different positions in *Akwelye* textile

It can be seen that [ə] and [i] occur in all positions, and [e]-[ə] occur in all but the S/L and upbeat positions. The sound [e] is restricted to Weak/Long positions (foot final positions) and contrasts with [e] in this position. A vowel sung as [e] in song can never be sung as [ə] in that song, and vice versa, suggesting that these vowels are contrastive rather than in complementary distribution. The vowel [e] participates in vowel harmony and the palindromic final vowel pattern, while [e] only occurs in final vowel patterns 2 and 3, where there is no vowel harmony.

Textline internal [au] and [ei] can be understood as the result of an elided sequence /awer/. A textline either elides these sequences on the W/B positions or it is set to a dactyl. Compare (20) and (21):

(18)  [la wu ra wu ra]  (l+awerre)
      S W W# S W
      B B L# B L

(textline 44a)

(19)  [lau Ɂa wi ji li]  (l+awerre)
      S W# S W W
      L L# B B L

(textline 45b)

---

70 These correspond more or less to the three vowels in Breen’s analysis of Arandic languages (2001).
71 The vowel [e] only occurs in textlines 6a, 31a, 16c and 21a.
72 The vowel [e] only occurs in textlines 12a, 13a, 14a, 19a, 32a and 42a (first foot).
The initial foot in both of these textlines is formed by consonant insertion. The textlines versify phonologically similar speech words but show the results of different foot assignments. When *awerre* is assigned to a 3-syllable foot [wu] is assigned to a Short syllable. When *awere* is assigned to a 2-syllable foot, this is done by elision of [w] and vowel coalescence to a diphthong [au], which is assigned to a S/L position—the spondee foot. Thus, in *Akwelye*, [au] and [ei] are diphthongs contrasting with glide-vowel sequences and this contrasts with spoken Arandic languages.\(^3\)

There is only one textline that has a variant pronunciation of a glide-vowel sequence, and this is not so much vowel modification as foot modification, as in (22)(ii).

\[ (20)(i) \quad [\text{la\ u\ 4\ a\ w\ i\ l\ l}] \quad (ii) \quad [\text{la\ u\ 4\ a\ w\ i\ l\ l}] \text{ variant form} \]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c}
S & W# & S & W & W \\
L & L# & B & B & L \\
/\text{i\#a.w.e.i\#(w.e.j,e.l\o/)} & L & L & L & L \\
? quick & ? & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

(textline 45b)

In two song items (records 390, 391) the sequence [wi jo] in textline 45b is reduced to [wi], which must then be set to a S/L position (spondee).

This section has considered the distribution of vowels in certain positions in the textline and surrounding consonants. Diphthongs are restricted to Long positions, with [au] limited to the S/L position (occurring only in the spondee) and [o] restricted to Brief positions. The upbeat position has only two contrasting vowels: [i] and [u]. It is well attested that contrasts in vowel length often give rise to difference in vowel quality and this is what we see with [e], [ei] and [e], which are in complementary distribution on W/L positions. This is also where patterns of assonance occur (§6.6.1, §6.6.2). Discussion now focuses on the realisations of vowels in the confirmed speech words in *Akwelye*.

### 7.5.2 Realisations of vowels in song

Generally vowels sound the same in song as they do in speech. The alterations that do occur tend to occur on the prominent positions: S/B, S/L and W/L positions. Assonance within the foot and surrounding consonant environment also influence the quality of

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\(^{3}\) One reason why semivowels might elide is because they lack the friction and closure associated with other consonants.
vowels in song. Each vowel sound from the total speech equivalents are considered below.

7.5.2.1 /a/

In the 65 confirmed speech words corresponding to song words, there are 62 sounds that can be analysed as expressing the phoneme /a/ in one or more Arandic languages, across the four different positions of the textline.\(^4\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/a/</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>S</th>
<th></th>
<th>L</th>
<th>W</th>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th></th>
<th>L</th>
<th>Upbeat</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ei]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[au]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.10 Realisations of speech phoneme /a/ in song

Most often /a/ in song sounds as it does in speech. This is always the case on a W/L position and in most cases on a W/B position, the two exceptions [o] and [a] also attested in speech.\(^5\) Most variation occurs when /a/ falls on an S/B and S/L position.

In eight instances the sound is word initial and elided in song. The optional pronunciation of word initial /a/ is well attested in Arandic languages.\(^6\) In eight instances the sound occurs on an S/B position and preceedes /j/ and is sung [ei].\(^7\) The

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\(^{4}\) Where a word occurs in two different textlines with the same pronunciation this is counted once; however, if pronounced differently, as in the upbeat of textlines 22a and 22b, then this is counted twice. Reduplicated words within a textline are also counted twice, eg. [iŋpaŋpə] are two occurrences of the /a/ phoneme in speech.

\(^{5}\) As in speech, the sequence /awati/ is pronounced [o] in textlines aweygwe [awijjo] and awerygwe [awujjo] (see Henderson 1998:35).


\(^{7}\) These words are iŋgare, amangver, aŋenge and kweyγgwe in textlines 21a, 21b, 17a, 48a, 48b, 49a, 49b, 34a, 35a and 47b.
realisation of /a/ as [εi] also occurs in this environment in speech on a lexically stressed syllable (Henderson 1998:35).

In four instances the sound occurs on either an S/B or W/B position and is sung [ə].78 The reduction of [a] to [ə] on an unstressed syllable also occurs in Arandic speech (Henderson 1998:34, 41). In two instances the sound occurs on an S/L position and is sung [au] in one and [εi] in the other.79 Diphthongisation of lexically stressed syllables preceding /w/ also occurs in speech (Henderson 1998:35). However, in song the following /w/ is also elided, forcing the setting to an S/L position (spondee). The variant pronunciation [εi], rather than the expected [au], may be to adhere to assonance within the spondee foot: [εiŋεi].

In two instances on an upbeat position it is sung [i]. In speech, unstressed word initial [a] can also be raised and shortened, eg. [ε] (Henderson 1998:28). In one instance on an S/B position it is sung [u].80 While not common in speech, Breen reports [a]–[u] variation before a rounded consonant in the word arrpwerne (Arr) (Breen 2001:49).

The realisations of /a/ in song are predominantly as in speech, taking into account the allophonic variants and free variation of /a/ in Arandic languages. Short positions in song are a conditioning environment akin to a lexically unstressed environment in speech, as in both environments [a] can reduce to [ə] and /əwə/ is pronounced [ə]. The metrically prominent positions (S/B, S/L and W/L) are a conditioning environment akin to a lexically stressed environment in speech; as in both environments [a] can be diphthongised if followed by a rounded or palatal consonant.

In the following sections I consider correspondences of a phonetic sound [i] rather than a phonemic sound because the allophonic variants of this phoneme, /e/, are many and the phonemicisations of this sound in the various Arandic languages by researchers are many.

78 These words are gpariye, grielgwe and gilperwe in textlines 28b, 7b and 11b respectively. It is also difficult to tell whether the word angkeye in textline 48a is sung [ŋgkaɾtə] or [ŋgkaɾtə]; and whether the word aleme in textline 37a is sung [ŋglaɾme] or [ŋglaɾme]. I opted for the former in both cases.

79 The words are gwere and argwerrme in textlines 39b and 15a (the same foot also occurs in 45a and 45b).

80 Textline 32b.
7.5.2.2 [i] (/i/ and /eC(palatal)/, #i/)
In the 67 confirmed speech words corresponding to song words, there are 28 sounds that are pronounced [i] in speech.\(^1\) Table 7.11 shows the distribution of these sounds across the different positions in the textline.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>W</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>Upbeat</th>
<th>Polyrhythmic textline</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[eɪ]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 7.11 Realisations of spoken [i] in song**

Most often /i/ in song sounds as it does in speech. It is almost always realised as [i] on a W/L and W/B position and most variety of realisations comes on the S/B position, and as we saw with /a/, most of the variations are also attested in speech.

In two instances /i/ is sung as [e]. The variant pronunciation as [e] is also attested in these speech words [tʃpaɪə]–[tʃpaɪə] and [auŋkʊə]–[auŋkʊə]–[aːkʊə].\(^2\) In one case the sound is [o]; this may reflect elision of the sound /j/ in the speech word [ɪwɪjʊə] and the resulting vowel is [ɔ] because it precedes /w/: [ɪwʊə]–[aːpɪː].\(^3\) In one case the sound is [eɪ].\(^4\) This may reflect a preference for assonance within the foot [kweɪjʊə] (§6.5.1.3).\(^5\)

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\(^1\) Breen and Pensalfini recognise a marginal vowel /i/ in Alyawarr, Arrernte and Eastern Anmatyerr which has the feature length (Breen 1999:23). The phonological analysis of Kaytetye by Koch does not have this vowel; instead, word internal [i] before a non-palatal sound is analysed as a vowel-glide sequence—/aj/, such as [atirinba] 'ironwood tree' (1997b). Word initially, [i] before a non-palatal or non-rounded sound is analysed as /a/ by Koch but /i/ by Breen for Alyawarr. In all Arandic languages [i] is regarded as an allophone of /e/ before a palatal consonant.

\(^2\) These words occur in textlines 13b and 52a.

\(^3\) This occurs in the polyrhythmic textlines 43a and 43b.

\(^4\) This word occurs in textlines 34a and 35a.

\(^5\) Alternatively, the form of the speech equivalent could be the Aboriginal English kweyaye 'girl'. In this case elision of the following sound /j/ would leave [kwɛjɛjɛ] and the resulting vowel would be diphthongised as it occurs before a palatal, thus [kwɛjɛ].

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In two instances the sound is [a]. In the speech word *ikngwerrelelewewe* [ɪŋkŋwɛrɨlɛlɛwɛː] the position in which initial [i] would occur is the foot final W/B position in the paeon foot. This foot only occurs twice in *Akwelye*, and in both cases the vowel on the final foot is [a], which may reflect a pattern of assonance within the foot (§6.5.1.3). In the speech word *[aŋkɪtə̝]*, the sung vowel [a] may reflect a different form of the speech equivalent.

The realisations of spoken [i] are most often also sung as [i]. Other pronunciations of [i] in song can be understood as the result of elision that also occurs in speech. A preference for assonance within the foot, and a possible variant form of the speech equivalent, accounts for the other three modifications of [i] in song. The next section examines how the sounds [ə] and [æ] in Arandic languages are realised in song.

### 7.5.2.4 [ə] (/e/ before a non-palatal sound, in unrounded environment and within a word)

In the 67 confirmed speech words corresponding to song words, there are 43 sounds that are pronounced [ə] in Arandic languages, excluding the word final vowel. Table 7.12 shows the distribution of these sounds across the different positions in the textline.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>W</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>Polyrhythmic textline</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ə]</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ø]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[i]</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>[e]</td>
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</table>

Table 7.12 Realisations of spoken [ə] and [e] in song

Like /i/ and /a/, the main realisation of [ə] is as itself [ə]. Unlike /i/ and /i/, [ə] is never realised as itself on a Long position: and most realisations of it as [ə] occur on Brief positions.

---

66 In both paeon feet the three final vowels of this foot are [a], suggesting a preferred pattern of assonance within the foot.

87 In Arrente there is a derived word *ingkatyele-weme* 'walk in someone else's tracks'.
Its realisation as [i] is probably motivated by assonance within the foot, as in all four cases the previous vowel in the foot is [i]. *Welge* is sung [wilja], 88 *kwerrimpgle* is sung [kurimp[a] and *itenyke* is sung [tirka]. 89 In one case on a W/L position the sound is sung [e]. This relates to the fact that this textline, 21a, has vowel harmony: [lōŋaŋgle[ərp] lōŋaŋgile[ərp]i]. In *Akweyle* the vowel [e] partakes in vowel harmonisation, whereas [e] never does.

The realisations of spoken [ə] are most often also sung as [ə]. The Long position in song (W/L) raises the vowel to [e]. Where [ə] is sung as [i] or [ɛ], alterations not attested in speech, these textlines show sound patterning.

7.5.2.5 Word final vowel /e/

Word final vowels occurring at the end of textlines are subject to the sound-patterning rules discussed in §6.6.1. 90 Because textline internal words are usually followed by a vowel initial word, in which case the word final vowel is deleted in favour of the initial vowel, there are only three textlines where word final /e/ is not elided and not subject to foot final sound patterning. 91 In two of these three textlines [ə] sounds as in speech.

In *kwerrper#we-ntenye* [L] [kur[^]aŋ#we^n[ŋ][t]e] 92 the vowel is [e] and never [ə], despite the following /wl/. 93 Similarly, *elpere#ntyeny* is [ulp[^]a^n[ŋ][t]i] 94 and not [ulp[^]a^n[ŋ][t]in[i]] as the W/L position stops the influence of the following palatal. 95 In

---

88 This text/rhythmic cell occurs in textlines 40a, 40b, 6b and 34b.
89 The fourth case is *kwerrimpkerre* [kurimp[kur]a]. In spoken Aridic languages a preceding palatal consonant does not influence a following [ə], so this would not be seen relevant for the pronunciations of *welge* and *itenyke*.
90 There have been two different phonological analyses of the vowel that can be heard on the end of all Aridic words when pronounced in isolation, which is basically [ə] ~ [ɛ] (Henderson 1998:63). Breen and Pensalfimi argue that all Aridic words end in a consonant and that the final vowel is phonetic (1999). In contrast, Koch analyses all Aridic words as ending in /a/ although in certain environments they regularly do not occur (1997b). For example, following the glides /j/ and /w/, /a/ is not pronounced although the phonetic result is a long vowel or dipthong. See also Henderson (1998:66).
91 Even this is debatable as a consonant initial word in one language may be vowel initial in another.
92 Note that cognates of we- 'strike' (K) are iwe- in some Aridic languages.
93 Song text 16. The choice of [e] over [ə] may be because song text 16 partakes in the palindromic final vowel pattern, a pattern that [ɛ] does not partake in. However, there are only two song items of song text 16 so this remains speculation (records 404, 405).
94 Note *ntenye* 'red mallee' [n[ŋ][t]in[i]] and *ntyeny* 'dear little one' [n[ŋ][t]in[i]] are a minimal pair in Kaytetye.
95 Textline 13a. Textlines 47b, 40a, 40b also show that a W/L position is a barrier to a palatal or rounded consonant influencing previous vowel.
contrast, a palatal after a W/L position does influence the previous vowel if the vowel
and palatal consonant are part of the same word, as in textline 21b shown in (21).96

(21) [i n t e ra]
S W W# S W
B B L# B L
\i n t e ra/
when flood.out

Here the palatal influences the previous vowel on a W/L position because the vowel is
part of the word—entvere [i n t e ra]. Similarly a palatal influences a previous vowel on
a W/L position in textline 32b, where this vowel is part of a monomorphemic word [nu
k e ri n t e a [a]. In the remaining textline, [kurirpi kura], the vowel is raised to [i],
probably motivated by assimilation within the foot.

Most word final vowels are subject to elision or one of the final vowel patterns. Where
the word final vowel precedes a consonant initial word it tends to sound as in speech,
[ə] and [e].

7.5.2.6 /e/ in a rounded environment
In spoken Arandic languages /e/ following a rounded consonant is pronounced [u].
preceding a rounded consonant /a/ can be pronounced [ə] before /w/,97 and [u] before
certain other rounded consonants.98 As most rounding is absent in song this is where the
majority of vowel modification occurs.

In the 65 confirmed speech words there are 30 sounds that are pronounced [u] and [ə],
corresponding to a phoneme /ə/ in Arandic languages. Table 7.13 shows the distribution
of these sounds in song.

96 See also Textline 32b.
97 Henderson observes free variation between /awa/ and /a/ in a few words in Central and Eastern
Arrernte (1998:44). He also demonstrates that surface [ə] (equivalent to what I write as [ə]) is the result
of a following rounded consonant and not a preceding rounded consonant (1998:51).
98 The factors influencing the realisation of /e/ before a rounded consonant are complex and differ
between Arandic languages and dialects. Henderson identifies whether the consonant is coronal or not
and the type of vowel following the rounded consonant as being important factors in Arrernte (1998:45).
According to Breen, whether the rounded consonant is a heterorganic cluster or not and whether the word
is a historically derived compound also influences whether the preceding vowel is rounded in Arandic
languages in general (Breen 2001:50).
Form and Meaning of Akwelye: Chapter 7

<table>
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<tr>
<th>/eCʷə/</th>
<th>W B</th>
<th>S B</th>
<th>S L</th>
<th>W L</th>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
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<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[æ]</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.13 Realisations of spoken /eCʷə/ ([u] and [o]) in song

Like /i/, /a/ and [æ] the main realisation of /u/ is as itself, [u]; and like [æ], [u] is never realised as itself on a Long position. Like /i/ and /a/, most variety of realisations comes on the S/B position.

The sound is reduced to [æ] on Brief positions and in polyrhythmic textlines.\(^99\) With the omission of rounding in song (§7.3.2), [æ] is the expected pronunciation of this vowel.\(^100\) Where the following consonant is palatal or the vowel is word initial, it is sung [i];\(^101\) as would be expected in speech.

In three instances it occurs on an S/L position and is sung [a], [au] and [ei] in each case. In one case the speech word [awoko] is sung [lauwa], which is how the lexically stressed vowel can sound in speech.\(^102\) In the other two cases the quality of the vowel is influenced by assonance within the foot: the speech words [arauewart] sung [ærener], and [arauwe0are] sung [4ala].\(^103\)

\(^99\) These words are ochikwgre, eriwgwe, Pwgre, anywgre-ainwgre and ikongwgre-wewayoe.

\(^100\) Acoustic measurements of Eastern and Central Arrernte vowels show that /æ/ before a non-rounded consonant and /eCʷə/ cover some of the same vowel space (Henderson 1998:34); making it difficult to differentiate between the two.

\(^101\) The words are awelye, alyele and awely-awelye.

\(^102\) This occurs in textlines 15a, 45a and 45b.

\(^103\) This occurs in textlines 39b and 5a respectively.

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The remaining three instances where it is sung [a] occur within the one word, and create assonance within the foot and vowel harmony: *ikngwerrerle-ewayewe* [ŋjuruawijo] is sung [ŋaraawija].

Where rounding is maintained in song (following /k/ §7.3.2) the vowel sounds as in speech. Where rounding is absent in song the vowel also sounds as would be expected in speech: [a]–[a], and [i] before a palatal. The conditioning environment of length introduced by the metrical template motivates variations from this. Long positions rule out the possibility of [ə] and are more inclined to have sound patterning.

7.5.3 Summary of realisations of speech vowels in song

Vowels in song most often sound as in their speech equivalents. Surrounding palatal and rounded environments within the metrical foot influence vowels in much the same way as they do in speech. Long positions provide a barrier to the influence of these environments, and in this respect Long positions resemble a word boundary. We saw also in Chapter 6 that the W/L position usually coincides with a word boundary. Brief positions are a conditioning environment akin to a lexically unstressed environment, as this is where modifications such as [a]→[a] or [e], [awe]→[a], and #[ə]→[i] occur, also attested in speech. Conversely, Long positions are a conditioning environment akin to lexical stress as this is where diphthongs occur in both speech and song.

Modification of vowels in the speech equivalents occurs most often on Long positions. These positions do not allow the vowels [u] or [e] and on the W/L position, are frequently subjected to systematic sound patterning (§6.6.1, §6.6.2). Less often vowels are altered to adhere to unsystematic assonance within the foot and this affects vowels on the W/B and S/L positions.

As a result, vowels on these positions may be interpreted in various ways, just as textline initial consonants may be. This can lead to different perceptions of the speech equivalents, a phenomenon I consider in §9.4. In turn, different perceptions of the text can lead to variation of the sounds across different performances of the one song text. Such variation only occurs with consonants and this is what I address in the next section.

104 Textline 18a.
7.6 Consonant variation arising from different perceptions of the text

The processes of producing a sung text from speech words were illustrated in Figure 6.1. There is a further dynamic to this process involving reinterpretation of the sung form, which gives rise to phonological variation of consonants in some textlines. This is illustrated in Figure 7.3.

![Diagram showing the process of versifying words and deriving words from song texts]

Figure 7.3 Process of versifying words and deriving words from song texts

Phonological variation of the one song text across performances can be understood as resulting from reinterpreting the text. The variation only occurs within a textline. In contrast, the variation between speech words and the song text considered above results from the desire for more sonorant consonants in textline initial position and from the demands of the metrical structure. Phonological variation arising from different perceptions of Akweleye textlines are shown in (24)-(25). The first form of the textline is the most common form, and the second, the less common (variant) form.  

(22) (i) [kʷe la tʰə nə lə rə rə nə]  kwerre (K) 'girl'
    (ii) [kʷei je la tʰə nə lə rə rə nə]  kweye (pan-Ar) 'girl'

(23) (i) [aɾ kə lar ɬə nə n̥ə lə]  arrtyern-ɬine-ɬ (K, Aly)
    (ii) [aɾ kə la ɬə nə n̥ə lə]  alyerne-ɬine (Aly)

(textline 47b)

(textline 11a)

Evidence for the alternative speech equivalents can be seen in Appendix 1: song text 47, expansion 1 and song text 11, expansion 7.

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(24) (i) [ni ma anl t'la lai pa re li ndi pai] inte-p.in-te-mé 'lie-LIG.CNT-PRS' (Ar)\textsuperscript{106} 
inte-mé#ahntyé-le-parre(-arle)#inte-p-
(ii) [ni ma anl t'la lai pa re li ndi lai] aynte-rl.ané-mé 'lie-LIG.CNT-PRS (Aly) 
aynte-rl#ahntyé-le-parre(-arle)#aynte-rl-
\textbf{B B B B L L B B B L} 

(25) (i) [wu je we t'ø t'en t'le] awere=awe 'quick=EMPH' (K)
(ii) [we je we t'ø t'en t'le] aveyawe 'dead body' (pan-Ar)
\textbf{B B L#B B L}

Only in textline 12a does the different perception of the text also have a different meaning, and in this case Daphne, who was well into her 80s by 1999, was corrected by other singers present, as shown in (26),\textsuperscript{107} and she changed the song text back to \textit{werawawera} in the next singing of this song item.

(26) \textbf{April: Arntwe-ne errwanthewante=pe nharte=pe akeleye?}\textsuperscript{108} 
tell-IMP 2pl.O.M what=FOC that=FOC aunt
\textbf{Tell (us) aunt, what’s the meaning of that one?}
\textbf{Daphne:} 'aweyawe=pe'
dead body=FOC
dead body

\textbf{Betty: No awere ape-nke}
\textbf{quick go-PRS}
\textbf{No, go quick}
\textbf{Daphne: awere awer=arle apenke}
\textbf{quick go quick}
\textbf{Marg: awerarle apenke}
\textbf{quick-EMPH go-PRS}
\textbf{go quick}
\textbf{(1999, MD20, da 12)}

All other variant forms can be understood as synonymous forms in a different Arandic dialect. Phonological variation reflecting related words in different languages is not surprising given the many speech equivalents of song forms, as will be discussed in §9.3.

\textsuperscript{106} This textline is from a song text of the Wauke series, although it was sung at an \textit{Akwelye} performance.

\textsuperscript{107} Singers Margaret and April could be heard trying to compensate for Daphne's 'incorrect' pronunciation in the song item by emphasizing the syllables /qa/ in their singing.

\textsuperscript{108} The 2pl.O.M pronoun is a politeness strategy for asking a question of someone to whom you are in a respect relationship.
All multiple forms of a textline resulting from different perceptions of the speech equivalent arise from variation in the pronunciation of consonants within a textline and never at the beginning of a textline. This is in contrast to the variation motivated by increasing sonority in song, which tends to occur textline initially.

7.7 Conclusion

The previous chapter showed that deletions and additions to speech words are made to meet the metrical requirements of Akwelye. This chapter has identified regular motivations for most of the phonological alterations to speech words in song. Across-the-board changes to particular phoneme series neutralise a number of phonological distinctions, including prestopped nasals and nasals; rounded and unrounded consonants; and the distinction between apicals in foot initial position and following C(apical)+V on a Brief position. Unsystematic modifications to consonants in speech words affect adjacent consonants and consonants that fall on textline-initial position in song. These modifications may occur because of a desire for increased sonority.

Vowels, too, are mostly sung as in their speech equivalents. Where modification does occur this often has its origins in the free variation or allophonic variations that occur in speech, or results from either the influence of Length in the metrical position, or sound patterning: the final vowel patterning, vowel harmony or assonance within the foot.

Moreover, as there are several ways to meet the metrical requirements of Akwelye and preferred sound structures, there may be therefore several parsings of the song text into speech words, which in four textlines leads to different pronunciations across performances.

Having considered the structure of Akwelye song texts in Part 2, it can be seen that the processes of versification and cantillation often result in an opaque song text where words and their meanings are difficult to identify. A trained listener of Akwelye must make sense of the words by undoing the processes that convert speech words to song, such as identifying sound patterns, the influence of length and the treatment of rounding. A singer, having identified words from this complex poetic structure, must then assign meanings to these words—the focus of Part 3 "Meaning".
PART 3 Meaning

Chapter 8 Explication of songs

8.1 Introduction

The question of how songs encode meaning presents a familiar problem for those involved in semantic analysis of unfamiliar languages. This chapter identifies the ways in which song texts are explicated by Kaytetye speakers in Akwelye performances and in discussions about Akwelye song texts. Direct attempts at eliciting the meaning of an Akwelye song text out of the performance context were often unfruitful, with the singer stating "it's just avelye". Even when a song was played back to a singer and the question of meaning raised, there was sometimes uncertainty as to its meaning, or sometimes a singer was unable to give a specific meaning for the song text, giving a general meaning such as "rain" or "Armerre" instead.

In contrast, the same song text was sometimes interpreted in more detail during an Akwelye performance. For example, attempts to elicit the meaning of song text 44 through questioning about the song text were on the whole unsuccessful, yet statements by the main singers immediately following the singing of this song text revealed a particular meaning, as in (1).

(1) \{
  Betty: 'merrongkarrern'=awe...
  textline 44b=EMPH
  Marg: merrongkarrern-awe lawerawera boy-le=rtame
  textline 44b-EMPH textline 44a man-ERG=CNTR
  song text 44 ... a man...(?)

  Daphne: Artweye-le aynewaanthe merrongkarre-me
  man-ERG ipl.OM Textline 44b-POT
  A man might chase us
  (laughter from others)

  April: amerrongkarre-me. Sorry!
  textline 44b-POT
  merrongkarremme You make me laugh!
  Daphne: (Daphne starts singing, but laughs too)

  April: Ye=rtame anyway ayle-wethe
  yu=CNTR just sing-PURP
  Yeah, it's OK, just sing it.
  Daphne: He's alright, they gotta chase'em you!

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(Everyone sings song text 44)

Daphne: 'Look out he might chasem anybody love-love!'  

...  

Marg: *Amerre-le yweke-rrantye, amerre-le amerre-le yweke-rrantye-nke.*  
    
woomera-INST hunt.away-CNT  
woomera-INST   
    
hunt.away-CNT-PRS  

*(A man) is 'attracting' a (woman) with a womera*  

April: Oldentimes. *Na, apapange arintwe-rantye Dreaming, maranye*  
    
just   
tell-CNT  

April: *arintwel-arintwelarre-rantye mpelarte.*  
    
tell-while going.along-CNT  
thus  
That was a long time ago. No, I'm just telling the Dreaming story, we  
always explain it while we are singing.*

(1999 MD20, dn 22; song item 74)

Example (1) shows a conversation surrounding the singing of song text 44 at the Elpate  
2 performance. In this conversation, textline B, *merringkarrerna,* has a specific  
meaning, as seen by the interpretation "*amerre-le ywekerrantye*" literally, 'hunting away  
with a womera', although there is a secondary meaning of *ywekerrantye,* 'attracting',  
which is the intended meaning. In contrast, my direct questioning as to the meaning of *merringkarrerna* revealed no specific meanings from the singers. The singers are  
accustomed to glossing many linguistic expressions, as evidenced in dictionary work,  
yet they did not provide glosses for song texts. This suggests that analysing and making  
sense of the parts of a song text is not how Kaytetye women learn and teach songs.  

Example (1) also shows that song meaning and interpretation is dependent on the  
context in which the songs are sung.3 That is, both meta-linguistic and meta-pragmatic  
knowledge is required to know why textline 44b, *merringkarrerna,* has a meaning in  
the performance context, as shown in (1), but not outside of this context. It is thus  
crucial to analyse discussion during performance, as well as elicitation of the meanings  
of song texts outside of the performance context.

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1 *maranye* (K) refers to the proper way that something is or is done. It can be translated as 'the way it  
always is'.

2 Singing and other small talk has been edited out here. See Appendix 1 for a full transcript.

3 See Duranti (1997:201) for a discussion of this phenomenon.
Explication of the significance of songs during performance has been noted by a number of researchers. Moyle in both men's and women's singing in Alyawarr where the song leader must be able to "expound details to the other singers which he/she finds particularly worthy of comment during the periods between songs" (1986:139). In contrast, Wild states that in Warlpiri ceremonial genres "The explanations are not part of the rite, and are often given away from the ceremonial ground" (1975:65). In the Roper river area, Merlan also identifies characteristic modes of song interpretation (1987:147).

The outline of this chapter is as follows. §8.2 argues the need for an explicit translation process in translating Aboriginal song texts. §8.3 identifies what I refer to as song expansions, a type of interpretation of song texts given by singers in performances and elicitation sessions. §8.4 identifies what I refer to as song glosses, single word interpretations that resemble the phonological form of the text, or a portion of it. §8.5 considers subject matter of expansions and their formal features. §8.6 considers grammatical features of expansions and glosses. §8.7 considers variability in expansions and glosses of the one song text, identifying three main causes for variability. Variability that is not the result of different perceptions of the words in songs or their meanings is considered. §8.8 concludes by considering interpretations as a component of the awelye package, which can then be compared with the phonological form of the text, paving the way for a detailed discussion about the relationship between form and meaning in Akwelye in Chapters 9 and 10.

8.2 The need for an explicit translation process

Keogh laments that researchers have "not always made explicit the translation procedure which have produced the song translations they present" (1990:78). Often we are left wondering what explanations were given by language speakers about the songs. Were they word-for-word speech equivalents, single words, sentences, narratives, or

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4 Hercus and Koch state that explanations by singer Wangkanguru singer Leslie Russel were part of his performance of the song 'Wire Yard' a song from the Lake Eyre region (1999:74). Srehiow states "A special oral tradition had to be maintained to explain the meaning of these ancient poems" (1955:39), however it is not clear whether this occurred during or outside of performance.

5 In contrast, Dussart notes that explications of a new Warlpiri song series were part of its performance by Warlpiri women at Yuendumu (2000b).

6 Tunstall similarly observes an absence of "word-by-word analysis of how the text fits in with the surrounding narrative" by teachers of Pitjantjatjara songs (1995:61).
were they a combination of all three? Even in some of the best translations of
Aboriginal songs, such as Stretholow (1971),7 von Brandenstein and Thomas (1975),
Clunies Ross and Wild (1982) and more recent works on Aboriginal songs these
procedures are rarely made explicit.8

In Stretholow's analysis of Arrernte and Luritja songs, he states that textlines "must first
be reduced to prose", and there is no evidence to suggest that this was in any way
problematic. He shows how two textlines start with the final syllable of the prose line,
reproduced here in (2) (the syllable before / is sung as a long note).

(2) Song: (K)erare / tjuriji / kalbitje
     Kankinja / bautuare / ulalbitje

     Prose:  1. Eraritjaritjaka albutjika
            2. Nkinjaba iturala albutjika

             my glossing:  1. irrare-tyaretyeke alpe-tyeke9
                             lonely-? return-PURP
             2. ngkenye-pe irturre-le alpe-tyeke
                             midsay-? high-LOC return-PURP

Stretholow wrote little of how he obtained the prose forms of the songs and from whom.10
His analysis of the meaning of the above song text is a rare example of such discussion
in his work and it suggests that the relationship between the Arrernte prose forms and
sung forms is not straight-forward. Of the first prose word in textline 1 he states
"Eraritjaritjaka [irraretyaretyeke] is an archaic-poetic term, meaning 'full of longing for
something that has been lost,' or 'filled with longing to return home'" (1947a:xx). While
irrare is a current speech word in Western Arrernte meaning 'lonely, homesick' (Breen

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7 Stretholow (1971:xxviii) states that his unpublished notebooks contain details of his informants, although
there is nothing to suggest that these also include information as to how he went about translating the
songs.
8 For example, Ronald Berndt (1987) and Dixon and Duwell (1994). Brown and Geytenbeek state of
Ngarla songs from the Pilbara "many of the songs are, in effect, a kind of indecipherable riddle. One has
to be 'in the know' as to what is being referred to..." (2003:10). Yet their translations do not make explicit
what material puts the reader "in the know" and what material is text translation. Some researchers who
have made this distinction clear in their translations include Donaldson (1979, 1984, 1995:143) and
9 Square brackets shows Stretholow's orthography transposed into the current Western Arrernte orthography
(Breen 2000). My morphological glossing.
10 Stretholow writes of the notes in the margin where his translations of songs appear, that these
"correspond to the brief explanatory remarks on the meaning of the song verses made by the old native
leaders to the younger men who were being instructed in the singing of the songs" (1971:129).
2000:18), it is unclear what the second half of the word is. Is -tyaretyeke a unique song suffix? Or could it be ayte '1sGERG' (K), are-tyeke 'see-PURP' (pan-Ar), or is it an archaic form with its own meaning?

Similarly, the first word of the second line is identified as ngkenye but Strehlow makes no mention of the final -ba [-pe] syllable in the song text. Furthermore, Strehlow states ngkenye means 'sun' and 'afternoon', whereas Breen defines it as 1. 'midday' 2. 'deserted'. We do not know how Strehlow decided upon the translation he gives: "afternoon sun". Strehlow states that iturala means "in the heat of the sun"; however it most likely corresponds to irture-le 'high-LOC'. Clearly the relationship between the Arrernte prose forms and sung forms is complex.

In separate performances of the one Akwelye song text there can be different meanings given by singers of the one song text. To understand this multiplicity it is necessary to compare the semantic relationship between the different interpretations, taking into account the context in which they were given, and then compare the interpretations with the words in the song text. What at first appears to be a contradictory meaning of a song text may be revealed to be a polysemy or broad monosemous meaning of the song text, whose specific interpretations relate directly to the context in which they were given. Chapter 6 identifies the words in song texts, and in Chapter 7 these words are related to the meanings of songs identified here. To understand how the meanings of songs relate to the words in songs we need to be confident about what the meanings of songs are. I identify four ways in which singers interpret songs in order to make explicit the process through which I have identified meanings:

- song glosses
- expansions
- discussions
- narratives.

\[11 \] irrarre 'lonely, homesick' is attested in other Arandic dialects and has a cognate form in Warlpiri—yirraru.

\[12 \] It could also be Warlpiri yirraru-farrt-la 'homesick-INCH-PST' followed by a meaningless syllable ka.
Song glosses and expansions are types of explanations with particular formulaic characteristics and these are part of Akwelye performance, whereas discussions and narratives do not share these formulaic features and need not occur in performance.

8.3 Akwelye expansions

In §4.2.1, I stated that minimal discussion takes place between song items, and this is where explanations of a song's meaning is usually stated. In contrast, breaks between small songs tend to be longer, as this is where discussion relating to practical aspects of the performance takes place. Ellis, Barwick and Morais (1990:133) suggest that such talk is just as integral to ceremonial performance as the more formalised dance and song structures, because:

the highly formalised dances can only express their full meanings in the context of the less formal activities,..., not only because of the latter's [informal talk] potential for more leisurely exegesis of the cryptically encoded information presented in the dances, but also because formality can only be recognised as such when it is juxtaposed with informality (1990:133).

Discussion of a song's meaning is a significant part of performance that has its own characteristics. As well, the interpretations of Akwelye songs given in sessions with the researchers resemble the interpretations of songs stated during performances (see Chapter 2). Formulaic interpretations of a song's meaning can be compared to what Merlan calls "expansions", which are "quasi-formulaic encodings of significance" that elucidate the relationship between a place name and its meanings (Merlan 2001:374). The expansions of Akwelye song texts in (3), like Merlan's expansions on place names, provide explanations of the song text. Expansions of Akwelye songs tended to be a single sentence (i-iii), or a single word followed by a sentence, as in (iv).

(3)(i) 'Which way that alperre [leaf]?'

(ii) 'Aherke-le atyenge ampe-nke=rne avenge ane-wethe alperre-arle mpele.'

sun-ERG 1sgACC burn-PRS=HITH 1sgNOM sit-PURP

leaf-ALL thus

'The sun is burning down on me, I should sit in the shade'

(Kirsty 1999 MD14, dn 76)

(iii) 'Oh sun burnem me, I'll have to sit down longa shade'

(Maya 1999 MD14, dn 76)
(iv) Sun. 'Which way shade, alperre-we? [leaf-DAT] I want to sit down longa shade'
Him bin get burnt.

(Daphne 1999 MD21, da 22)

The stability of the content of expansions is exemplified in (3). This shows three interpretations of song text 11, by three different Kaytetye speakers on two different occasions in Kaytetye and Aboriginal English. The interpretations in (3) are all also a kind of reported speech, represented here with quotation marks (see discussion of mpele below). The interpretations do not state the referents of the subject and object pronouns and express only one idea. These three features recur throughout interpretations of Akwelye song texts.

Daphne, the most senior and knowledgeable Akwelye singer, provided most of the interpretations of Akwelye songs. Her interpretations consisted of phrases or single words, rather than speech equivalents for every segment of a song text and sometimes these had only the vaguest resemblance to the song text. Daphne’s explanations were usually given in English, although they were translated into Kaytetye when requested by other singers or myself. A comparison of the interpretations of songs over the 23-year time span reveals three things:

- remarkable stability in content of interpretations of the one song text;
- similarity in style of interpretation of song texts;
- recurring themes or semantic topics of song texts.

While it is possible that these interpretations reflect the three speakers’ own personal way of interpreting songs, interpretations of other Central Australian songs suggests that such formulaic interpretations of songs are a more widespread phenomenon. As early as 1927 Davies refers to these as "slight explanations" (1927:83-84). Catherine Berndt states that songs have a "covering translation or explanation" (1965:247) and Strehlow notes that the elders provided "the general drift of meaning for each couplet" (Strehlow 1971:198).\(^{13}\)

April’s command for Daphne to interpret the song during the Elpate performance, shown in (4), shows the expectation that such expansions are part of performance.

\(^{13}\) In a comparison of two Roper River song series Merlan states that both organise song meaning along “themes” which are the "summary significance of a portion of song text as understood by the song practitioner(s)" (1987:144). Merlan’s "themes" are analogous to what I refer to as expansions and song glosses.
(4) [After singing song text 12, song item 3]

April: Awerawentyentye=lke ayle-wenewante=rname awerawentyentye=pe?
textline 12a=now sing-OBGL what=CNRT textline 12a=FOC

What's it about, we're going quickly?14

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Daphne: } & \text{Nharte=ee awelye} \\
& \text{that=EMPH ceremony} \\
& \text{It's awelye [it's a song]} \\
\text{April: } & \text{Something=pe arntwe-ye=pe after} \\
& \text{say-FUT=FOC} \\
& \text{Say something after (you sing)} \\
\text{April: } & \text{aweryentye} \\
& \text{explain the song text.} \\
\text{Daphne: } & \text{Elpere=rname apewethe nharte=pe.} \\
& \text{fast=CNTR go-PURP that=FOC} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Let's go quickly' that one. [The song is about going fast].
(1999, MD20, da 7)

While April's expectation that Daphne should state what the song is about could be a feature of her unfamiliarity with the meaning of the songs, Daphne's immediate response with an expansion suggests that expansions are not unusual.

Expansions of songs tend to be direct speech, such as 'We got no daddy now, we bin losem our daddy' (MD20 da 48) (see also the expansions in (3)). The use of direct speech relates to the fact that speakers giving expansions do not use metalinguistic markers such as 'This song is about...', or 'Then they sing...'. Direct speech makes the subject matter of the song texts more immediate to the performers and others present at performances. A lack of metalinguistic markers in interpretations of song texts has also been noted in Arabana-Wangkangurru songs from the Lake Eyre Basin by Hercus (1994:310). In contrast to most expansions, the expansion in (4) begins with a demonstrative 'that'. While this may be a marker of direct speech, it may also simply perform an anaphoric function, referring back to song text 13 just sung.

Expansions given in Kaytetye by women other than Daphne are often followed by mpele (K) or akwele (pan-Ar), as in (3)(i). Kirsty, Rachel, Maya and Betty used this

---

14 Note that the spoken versions of these textlines have initial 'a'. In my translations of examples I use the standard spellings for these textlines based on the sung version, as shown in Appendix 1.
clitic frequently, but Daphne used it rarely.\textsuperscript{15} In Kaytetye the clitic =mpele marks, among other things, reported speech. As in many Australian languages, reported speech is often not marked lexically or morphologically, although it may be marked by intonation. Why then, do other singers use the mpele and akwele clitics following an expansion but not Daphne? Is it possible that Daphne's expansions are not reported speech so that her use of pronouns 'I' and 'me' refer to herself? This seems unlikely given that the subjects of many of the songs are Dreamtime characters. I suggest that all expansions such as (3) (i)-(iii) are reported speech, and that the use of these clitics reflects a politeness strategy. In Rumsey's discussion of a similar clitic in Bunubu, he states that it

weakens the speaker's commitment to the veracity of what he is saying, or to the intention it expresses, thereby providing the addressee with an easier 'out' if he disagrees with, or is imposed upon by, what is said (Rumsey 1982:175).

It is likely that the use of -mpele and -akwele by singers such as Kirsty, who is Daphne's closest companion, and is older than Daphne, reflects Kirsty's deferral to Daphne as the boss of this song series. It is used not so much for confirmation of the accuracy of her statement, but as a way to show that the addressee (Daphne, who was always present) is the one who has control over, and in this case ownership of, such statements.

Strehlow's translations of Arrernte song texts sometimes resemble Akwelye expansions. Compare the expansion in (5) of song text 21 with Strehlow's translation of an Arrernte song text: "When are we to climb up?" (1971:225).

(5) Daphne: 'ilengerentyere When we gotta climb up, go down on the creek?"

(1999, MD21, dn 49)

Expansions and song glosses contrast with narrative explanations of song texts. April provided the only narrative explanation of a song text in the Akwelye series in 2001. This was in the presence of Daphne, Kirsty, and Betty, and thus the narrative was 'approved' by the senior singers. Unlike expansions and glosses of this song text,

\textsuperscript{15} Daphne's use of this clitic often correlates with when she has been pressed by other singers to interpret the songs, and could be translated as 'there!', as in: 'Awerawe awerawe apoweme aherrke keye', mpele "Quick, quick, let's go for fear of the sun, there!" (Daphne, MD21, dn 59).
narratives give details about the subjects and objects, and contain full sentences. A section of the narrative given by April is shown in (6)(i) and the expansions are shown in (6)(ii). Song glosses are the undecorated words in the expansion.


The blue-tongue looked behind for her boyfriend. He was lighting a fire, her boyfriend. Setting the bush alight as he went along. And so she cried. Her two front legs were black, she went along wiping her eyes. And so her eyes were black too. That’s how blue-tongues are today.


1sgNOM-FOC foot-LOC

(2001 MD25, dn 3)

It is possible that there were similar narratives for other song texts but as these narratives rely on specialised knowledge of the Dreamtime, they may have been forgotten or withheld by the singers for a variety of reasons.

8.4 Akwelye song glosses

A single word stated by a singer in relation to a song text that resembles a sequence of phonemes in one of the textlines in a song text is called a song gloss. In contrast, expansions include additional words that are not in the song text, such as pronouns, prepositions and often verbs. A song gloss is shown in (7)(i) and the textline to which it refers in (ii):

(7)(i)  

Daphne: Erhwe ‘eye’  
	Eye

April:  

Renh=arte, latyartimpera?  
ANPH=DEF ‘textline 176’  
That one, latyartimpera?

1999 MD12, dn 14)

---

16 My "song gloss" can be compared to what Hercus and Koch call a "topic word" of a song, which they note is usually a noun and is "what actually made the verse" (1997:90-91).
(ii) textline: /najatamparanana{najatampara/

\[\text{annja-ajeta} \quad \text{annja-ajeta}\]
\[\text{eye(?)} \quad \text{eye(?)}\]

(textline 17a)

The underlined word in the above example, eriwe 'eye' (K) is a song gloss. This relates to the word in textline 17a amnge 'eye' (pan-Ar). Some song texts have a separate song gloss for each line of the song text, as in song text 17, where matyarte 'pubic tassel' is the song gloss for textline 17b, shown in (7)(i) above.

One Kaytetye woman differentiated between expansions and glosses using the English phrase "full meaning" to refer to expansions during the Alekarene 2 performance. This is shown in (4) where Daphne states an expansion 'we want to go quick', and in contrast the gloss, underlined, is a single word meaning 'hurry up' or 'quick'.

(8) [After singing song text 13]

Daphne: That 'hurry up, we want to go quick.' That one when we sing'em bout, 

npelarte [like that].

Carmel: That's that full meaning, ain't it?

(1999 MD14, da 4)

Song glosses may be an important mnemonic for a narrative or Dreamtime event, as we saw in (6) which showed a narrative, expansion and song gloss of song text 48. The song gloss 'foot' was given for song text 48 in 1977 and 2001. This gloss may act as the mnemonic for the whole blue-tongue narrative, as the meaning 'foot' relates to a phonological sequence in the song text, shown in (9), although it has been altered slightly as was shown in §7.4.

(9) layengapekatya

\[\text{ayenge(=pe) angketya-le}\]
\[\text{1sgNOM-FOC foot-INST}\]

(textline 48a)

Strehlow noted that if a song text had no identifiable words it was only through knowledge of the accompanying myths that singers knew the meaning of the song. In the contemporary setting of the Akwelye performances, where myths feature little in the interpretations, words that are not easily identified become prime candidates for variation in their interpretation over time, or remain without a known speech equivalent.

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17 See Appendix 1: song text 48, expansions 1 & 2.
For example, we could easily imagine that if the link between song text 48 and the blue-tongue lizard narrative was not known, a singer my not be able to deduce *angketye* 'foot' (K) from the sequence *pekatya*.

Song glosses may also be a mnemonic for a particular expansion, thus it is not surprising that expansions usually contain the song gloss. This can be seen in the expansion of song text 3, shown in (10).

\[
(10) \text{kwerratyamperlerlerperlatyarrerna} \\
\text{kwerre=atyete=ampwelpe-arl=atyete=arrerne} \\
\text{girl 1sgERG plump-REL-RED 1sgERG put}
\]

Expansion: Daphne: 'Fat one this *kweya* [girl]'! Him tellem like that. (1999 MD21, dn 6)

Four expansions with a similar meaning for four different textlines are shown in (11), and the song glosses in these expansions are underlined. The process of deriving an expansion from the song text, and thus song gloss, is discussed further in Chapter 10.

\[\begin{align*}
(11)(i) & \quad \text{[after listening to song text 11]} \\
& \text{Expansion: } \text{'Aherre=le ape-wethe=mpele, 'quick'.} \\
& \quad \text{sun-ERG go-PURP thus} \\
& \quad \text{Quick, let's go in the day(ight).} \\
& \quad \text{(Kirsty, 1999 MD21, dn 59)}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
(ii) & \quad \text{[after listening to song text 12]} \\
& \text{Expansion: That's they want to go quick, go hurry up before sun go down} \\
& \quad \text{awerawayeteyentyay [textline 12a]... 'Come quick'.} \\
& \quad \text{(Daphne, 1976 GK 6894, dn 67)}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
(iii) & \quad \text{[after listening to song text 14]} \\
& \text{Expansion: 'Awer=awe awer=awe ape-wene aherre=keteye', mpele} \\
& \quad \text{quick=EMPH quick=EMPH go-OBLIG sun-AVER thus} \\
& \quad \text{Quick, lets go because of the sun.} \\
& \quad \text{(Daphne, 1999 MD21, dn 59)}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
(iv) & \quad \text{[after listening to song text 13]} \\
& \text{Expansion: From sun, he gone, from sun you know, hot. Sun burn. Quick, *elpere*.} \\
& \quad \text{[quick]} \\
& \quad \text{(Daphne, MD21, dn 26)}
\end{align*}\]

While all four expansions show a similar theme, expansions (i) and (ii) refer specifically to going quickly *while* the sun is up, and expansions (iii) and (iv) refer specifically to going quickly *because* the sun is up. Expansions (i) and (ii) are interpreted from song
glosses meaning 'sun' and 'quick' respectively, as are expansions (iii) and (iv). This is shown in Table 8.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>expansion/song gloss</th>
<th>'sun'</th>
<th>'quick'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'lets go quick while its daylight'</td>
<td>song text 11</td>
<td>song text 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'lets go quick because of the sun'</td>
<td>song text 14</td>
<td>song text 13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.1 Song gloss and expansions of song texts 11, 12, 13 and 14.

The semantic relationship between the song glosses 'sun' and 'quick' and the four similar expansions, for four different textlines, suggests that the relationship between song glosses and their meaning, irrespective of the rest of the song text, in part construes the relationship between song texts and their meaning.18

We can differentiate between song glosses that have a speech equivalent and those that have no known meaning but are stated by singers as an isolated segment of the song text. In the 1977 recordings Daphne broke up song text 6 into what appeared to be song glosses, yet these segments have no known speech correspondents, or have multiple possible speech equivalents. The first line of (12) is an expansion (although not direct speech), and the breaking up of the text by Daphne in the following lines may correspond to song glosses, albeit ones with no confirmed meaning.19

(12) [Daphne: Yeah, they bin sit down in the shade. That one now
        uh-huh
        [Daphne: awenngae arrane tyenngare tyenngare, tyenngaraarrane
        [GK: awenngae arrange tyenngare
        [Daphne: welyela tyenngara, welyela tyenngara
        [GK: tyenngaraarraranee welyela tyenngane

        (1977, GK 6895 dn 19)

It some cases it may be that song glosses with no confirmed meaning are words from non-speech registers or archaic forms, as discussed in Chapter 9.

18 It may also be that in these expansions the singer is drawing upon previous expansions of these song texts, however this is difficult to prove.

19 The segment arrane [ara:n] may correspond to 'put, create' (see §9.5.1), however there are no likely speech equivalents for the segments awenngae or tyenngara. See Appendix 1: song text 6, expansions 1 & 2.
Sometimes a singer stated a song gloss as a way to refer to a specific song text during a performance, as shown in (13). In contrast, expansions were never used in this way.

(13) Daphne: Matyarte=rteye? latyartimperra=rteye?

(Did we sing the song about) pubic tassel, latyartimperra?

sing-PST:CNT ago dance-PST:CNT 3sg child-PL-PROP
Kngwere=lke=pangaye. Kwelkarte, kwelkartalarrra30 wantare nharte=pe?
another=now=EMPH wild.melon textline 36a what that=FOC
We already sang that and the children danced to it. We're (after) another one now. What about wild melon, kwelkartalarra, what about that one?

(1999, MD20, dn 31)

In (13) the song gloss matyarte 'public tassel', which is part of the song text, is used to refer to song text 17, and Daphne then makes her request more explicit by stating the text/rhythmic segment of textline 17b latyartimperra.

Expansions, glosses and narratives can be identified in performances and in discussions about the meanings of song texts. Discussions about song texts occur with the researcher and various singers. They differ from expansions and glosses in that they

- may be more than one sentence
- may be given in contexts other than immediately after singing a song item
- more frequently make the referent of pronouns clear
- may be in response to the researcher's questions

Discussions also show a greater variability in interpretations of the one song text than expansions and glosses.

While expansions are a full sentence, song glosses are always single words. The meanings of song glosses are often reflected in accompanying dance patterns, as discussed in Chapter 4. For example, song text 10 is glossed itelrarre 'headband' and the accompanying dance pattern involves pointing a headband at the sky; song text 43 is

30 Note that additional final nasal on April's spoken version of this textline, 36a. Textline 36b begins with /n/, which could be the result of consonant transfer (§6.6.4), however the speech equivalent for the first foot of this textline is unknown parlarrantyerrra.
glossed 'grass' and the accompanying dance pattern imitates throwing grass at each side of the dancer's body. Song text 17 is glossed 'pubic tassel' and the women push their skirts in between their legs in imitation of the *matyarte* 'pubic tassel'.

So far I have considered the stylistic features of interpretations of songs, such as lack of pronouns and length of utterance. When singers use a song gloss it is not unusual for it to relate to a whole song text rather than an individual textline. Even when two different song glosses are stated and each can be seen to relate to the two different textlines, singers do not state the apparent relationship between the song gloss and the textline.

For example in (7) when singer April asked about the B textline of song text 17, *latyarti.mperra* (which has no song form corresponding to the meaning 'eye'), Daphne gave the gloss *erlwe* 'eye', which corresponds to textline A of this song text.

A singer may interpret a song text with both a song gloss and an expansion. Consider the underlined song glosses and expansions for song text 5 in (14) below.

(14)(i) Daphne: *Witchetty*  
GKoch: *rar-la-rte-pange* witchetty what how?  
*rarl-arte-pange* that's witchetty?

...  
GKoch: So that— what witchetty doing, witchetty, you just singing witchetty?

Daphne: Yeah, *we bin gettem witchetty dreaming, we bin killern, and eatem.*

(1977 GK 6894 dt 5)

(ii) Kirsty: *Tyape.*  
Daphne: *Tyape, arawelarrre, Arawelarrre tyape, witchetty.*  
Myf: What's that one about?

Daphne: *witchetty acacia sp.*  
Myf: That the same one you heard before? What are they doing?

Kirsty: *Witchetty milabar*² we bin gettem bout, Dreaming.  
We got witchetties, in the Dreamtime/that's the story

(1999 MD13 dt 69)

(iii) Daphne: *Arwele—* When him bin go, *witchetty, arawelarrre* he bin tellem bout,  
*witchetty him bin tellem bout, arawelarrre, witchetty.* And he bin gettem bout.

(1999, MD14 dt 10)

² *Milabar* (AE) is from *mi '1sg' plus alabar '3pl'* (Harold Koch 2005, pers.comm.)
The gloss for song text 5 consists of the meaning 'witchetty' derived from the language words *tyape* (pan-Ar) 'edible grub' and *arawelarre* 'tree sp. (*acacia melleodora*)', which is the actual word in the song text. The expansions refer to women who tell each other of witchetties, collect them and eat them. Note that in (iii) Daphne's 'him bin tellem bout' could be an interpretation of the song, such as 'by singing this song she is telling us about...', or it could be the actual events described in the song, such as 'Hey witchetties', one woman is telling the other. Note that in (14), all three interpretations begin with the song gloss, which is then followed by the expansion, or "full meaning".

Because the meaning of a song gloss is usually contained in the meaning of an expansion, throughout this thesis reference to expansion includes the meaning of the song gloss, unless otherwise stated. This was seen in (10) where the expansion included the meaning of the song glosses 'fat' and 'girl'. Likewise, the meanings of expansions are usually contained in the meaning of narratives and discussions, so the use of the word interpretation includes song glosses and expansions. For example 'blue-tongue lizard' is considered an interpretation, and this meaning is stated in discussions, narratives and expansions (but not song glosses).

As well as providing essential information to interpret songs, expansions and song glosses are also a type of speech event that contrasts with other speech events such as conversation, narrative or lexicographic work with researchers. They are formulaic announcements made only by those perceived to be the legitimate source of such knowledge, and only in the context of *awelye* performance, or interpreting *awelye* songs. In this way expansions and glosses are the legitimate way of releasing and controlling certain knowledge about the meanings of songs (see Merlan 1987:146). Expansions are the expression of a selected meaning that has the backing of legitimacy, as such they are also an expression of authority. Consider the two interpretations of song text 17 in (15), both by Daphne. Both expansions were made in my presence, although (i) was given at the informal performance among people her own age and (ii) was given at a more formal performance in the presence of around 10 women, many of whom were unfamiliar with the songs.
(15) [after singing song text 17]

(i) Daphne: ‘amng-ayerte’, you might see him that one now. Cover him up self!

   Rachel: [laughter]
   Rachel: Wante-w=darte nge want-arre-rane mpele, ngkeng-arie=ange ape-rrane.
   what-DAT=DEF 2sgNOM what-INCH-CNT thus 2sgACC-ALL-uncertain go-CNT
   Why are you doing that, I don’t think he’s coming for you!

   Daphne: Yeah don’t stand about, you gotta stop quiet, when him look woman, you know. Him look woman that’s why him bin get up.

   (1999 MD12, dn 115)

(ii) [after singing song text 17]

   Daphne: Erlwe ‘eye’ Yewe-yewe ‘erlwe’.

   eye

   April: Renh=arte latyartimperra? Ape nyarte=rteye?
   ANPH=DEF textline 17b just this=UNCER
   That’s the meaning of latyartimperra? What about this (textline)?

   Daphne: Matyarte.
   A pubic tassel.

   (1999, MD13 dn 114)

In this less public context of the Akekarene 1 performance singers Daphne and Rachel interpreted the song as having a sexual meaning. In the Akekarene 2 performance Daphne interpreted the same song text as meaning 'eye', and in the following lengthy discussion of the song text no sexual interpretations were made.

Performance of awelye provides a specific context in which the formulaic expansions are to be understood.\textsuperscript{22} It is in this context that the sexual interpretation erlwe 'eye' is probably not lost on many senior women. The level of one's own knowledge about mythology and women's lore and culture determines the understanding of the song glosses and expansions.

\textbf{8.5 Subject matter of expansions}

An expansion usually contains the song gloss, so their subject matter of glosses and expansions are usually related. For example the expansion in (16) has the song glosses

\textsuperscript{22} Sherzer, writing in relation to indigenous societies in many areas of the world, states that translation “from the ritual and the sacred to the colloquial and everyday is of crucial importance in maintaining traditions” (Sherzer 1990:7).
*Rewe* 'flood water', *arnrwe* (K) and *kwatye* 'water' (pan-Ar), underlined, and the
expansion is about the action of the flood water—running in a creek.

(16)(i) Daphne: *arnrwe* going longa creek yeah, run yeah, *rewex, kwatye*
water
creek, oh? run ...

G.Koch: (1977, GK 6894 dn 16)

(ii) Daphne: *Rewe* we callem when that water gotta run along creek. He gotta run big
one or little one or.

\{ *Myf: rewe, arntwe or ahenye?* \\
\{ flood.water flood.water flood.water \\
\{ Daphne: Yeah, *arnrwe* \\

(1999 MD12, dn 101)

Table 8.2 shows that most expansions are about actions by people, and that natural
features, plants, animals and emotions are all common topics of expansions and glosses.
A detailed discussion of the subject matter of song glosses is undertaken in Chapter 10,
where a comparison of the meanings of expansions is made with the literal meanings of
the words in song texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject matter</th>
<th>No. song texts</th>
<th>Expansions of song text id.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>action by person</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 35, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natural feature (eg shade, sun, rain)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 25, 27, 28, 34, 39, 40, 41, 47,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plant/animal</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7, 8, 11, 13, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32, 36, 37, 39, 42, 43,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emotion/social state</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17, 19, 20, 22, 26, 27, 29, 37, 39, 40, 44, 47, 48, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>action involving language</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1, 3, 4, 5, 10, 16, 23, 24, 30, 40, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>placename or place</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1, 6, 8, 11, 16, 22, 25, 27, 30, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceremony/cultural object</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1, 10, 15, 17, 23, 24, 33, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>action by non-person/animal</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8, 9, 11, 14, 16, 28, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person/kin term</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3, 4, 18, 22, 27, 30, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>body part</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17, 19, 20, 32, 48, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>physical condition</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3, 4, 17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.2 Subject matter of expansions and glosses

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It is noteworthy that many expansions are about acts of naming, congratulating and abusing—what I refer to as actions involving language. There are, however, some expansions where it is not clear whether the song text refers to naming or whether Daphne's act of translating the song is the reference of naming. Consider (17) for example:

(17) Daphne: *amngarrentye* we callem, yeah we *amngarrentye*

    Myf: *amngarrentye?*

    Daphne: Mmm, that's what we callem ourselves.

    Daphne: uh-huh, *amngarrentye* we callem that one now 'we'. We Dreaming. (1999 MD21, dn 67)

As expansions are a type of speech event where the actors and actions are interpreted as relating to Dreamtime events and characters, it is ambiguous whether Daphne's 'We callem' means 'in Kaytetey we call spirit *amngarrentye*' or whether it refers to an act of naming that occurs in the Dreamtime, such as 'In the Dreamtime we created/named our spirit (in the Dreamtime we gave ourselves a spirit)'; or 'We are now called *amngarrentye*' (after performing a certain activity). A similar ambiguity was seen in (14). The eleven expansions that I have considered 'actions involving naming' are less ambiguous than both (14) and (17) in this respect. Actions involving naming rarely involve proper names, usually it involves naming of species. Carl Strehlow also notes this in relation to the interpretations of Arrernte songs, where the interpreters point at an object that stands for a Dreaming character rather than mention the proper name (1932).

### 8.6 Syntax of expansions and song glosses

Song glosses are always nominals, while expansions are usually a verb phrase and noun phrase. Expansions also differ in terms of sentence type. They can be questions, commands or statements, and expansions for the one song text may be expressed in a variety of sentence types. Example (18) shows two expansions of the one song text; (i)

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23 I thank Harold Koch for bringing the latter possible interpretation to my attention.

24 In a letter to Fitzherbert, on 31 October 1932, Letters held at Strehlow Research Centre, no 59/32(d).
consists of statements and (ii), statements, a question, a command, and a lexically marked form of reported speech.

(18) (i) Daphne: Him want to sit down. Yeah that's why him bin singem bout. 'Wanna sit down longa shade, too much sun, I gotta- might burn.'

(ii) Daphne: sun. 'Which way alperre? We want to sit down longa shade!' He bin talk about (laugh). Him walk about looking for shade. That one now he bin talk. Dinner time.

(1999 MD14, dn 21)

That expansions are often direct speech can be seen as a way for singers (and interpreters of songs) to put themselves into the point of view of the characters in songs. Table 8.3 shows the number of sentence-types of the expansions for each of the song texts.\(^{25}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence type</th>
<th>No. song texts</th>
<th>Song text id.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>statement</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 35, 38, 37, 44, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marked reported speech</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 20, 27, 30, 35, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12, 14, 18, 21, 42, 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>question</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3, 11, 19, 21, 24, 29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.3 Number of expansions with each of the various sentence types

One reason why expansions show a range of sentence types may be for certain pragmatic effects. For example the interrogative expansion in (19) is rhetorical, given a certain amount of background knowledge.

(19) Daphne: 'Backwards. What for him see backwards?'

(1999 MD21, dn 60)

Later on in the discussion Daphne answers her own question with 'He looking for kwewaye [girl], we bin growl at that boy bin look about'. Another pragmatic effect of interrogatives and imperatives is that they bring the singers closer to the event being

\(^{25}\) When there was more than one expansion for a single song text that showed the same sentence type this is counted as a single example.
described, whereas reported speech is more distant. In bringing oneself closer to the content of the song a singer is personalising her connection with her country and Dreamings. The rhetorical device in expansions such as (19) can also be seen as a controlling device, where the interpreter is asserting her position of authority as the one who can interpret songs.

The nature of expansions also resembles what Bell found in the 1970s working with Kaytetye women from Alekarenge. She states that the Kaytetye women's comments on song texts tended to involve activities of an actor rather than places, ownership or travels (2002:186). However, the expansions of *Akwelye* often referred to places as well.

8.7 Differing meanings of song glosses and expansions for the one song text

Unlike the interpreters of Western literary art forms, the Kaytetye women did not discuss or debate what the original words in the song texts are, or may have been. As legitimacy in meaning is equated with having the appropriate person to interpret the song, such debate is irrelevant; meanings are valid if they are associated with the person who is deemed adequate by society to make such interpretations.26

On the whole, interpretations of the one song text on different occasions shared a similar meaning, such as in (11), (14) and (16). However, there were a number of significant differences between meanings of song glosses and expansions of the one song text. A comparison of the meaning of expansions of the one song text given on different occasions is shown in Table 8.4. Column 1 shows expansions that have the same subject matter, while column 2 shows expansions that have related subject matter (eg. 'cloud' and 'headband' for song text 10), and column 3 shows expansions of the one song text that have subject matter where there is no evidence for the relationship (eg. 'tree' and 'spirit' for song text 32).

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26 As noted also by Merlan (1987:146).
Table 8.4 Expansions of Akwelye song texts grouped into those that concur and those that differ²⁷

Expansions and glosses whose meanings differ may do so for a number of reasons. Sometimes the differences result from different perceptions of the words in a song, such as Pwerle 'skin name' and aperlape 'conkerberry' in song text 30 considered in §6.6.3. Different perceptions of the words in a song as a reason for multiple interpretations are considered further in Chapter 9. More often the differences result from assigning different meanings to a single word in a song. Meaning extension as a reason for multiple interpretations is considered in Chapter 10. Other reasons for multiple interpretations are:

(a) that the meanings relate to different textlines in the song
(b) that the meanings are general to the song series or specific to the song text

This section considers different expansions and glosses arising from these latter two reasons.

Song text 28 has two unrelated song glosses 'water' and aparipe 'grass sp./legless lizard'. Sometimes these meanings were given on different occasions and sometimes at the one occasion, as in the 1976 interpretation. These two meanings are the result of different meanings of each textline, and not the result of different perceptions of the text.

(20) [Daphne: aparipe grass, arntwe [water]
    [GKoch: What's aparipe?]

²⁷ Only one or no expansions were given for song texts 52, 51, 50, 49, 48, 46, 45, 37, and 38 and so are not included in this count.
The word *aparipe* resembles textline 28b, *napariperla*, however the speech equivalent of textline 28a is not apparent until Daphne makes this clear in an elicitation session where she relates *kwatye* 'water' to the textline, shown in (21).

(21) Daphne: *kwatye*, we callen *nekwetya*<br>\hspace{1cm} textline 28a<br>\hspace{1cm} (1999, MD25, d5 99)

Similarly, two meanings of song text 17, *erlwe* 'eye/genitals' and *matyarte* 'pubic tassel', relate to song glosses for each of the textlines, as shown in (22).

(22) A *ngayetamperranannayetamperra*<br>\hspace{1cm} *annge* 'eye' (pan-Ar)<br>B *latyatimperranaylatyatimperra*<br>\hspace{1cm} *matyarte* 'pubic tassel' (K, Aly, An)

In many cases the different meanings can be seen as the result of interpretations of different textlines in a song text. However, for a textline that has no confirmed speech equivalent for at least one foot, the source of the multiple meanings remains unclear.

The two song glosses of song text 1 *awelye* 'women's ceremony' and *akwelye* 'rain, rain cloud' may be the result of applying a more specific meaning to a textline. While *awelye* is clearly the speech equivalent of textline 1b, the song gloss *akwelye* may be a more specific interpretation—referring to the type of *awelye* performed—in this case a rain ceremony. It may be that a number of other seemingly unrelated different expansions in Table 8.4 are related in such ways. Chapter 10 considers further ways in which singers' interpretations differ from the literal meaning of the words in song texts.

There is a relationship between the level of interpretation (gloss, expansion, discussion) and the degree of variability. Glosses tend to vary less than expansions over time, and expansions tend to vary less than meanings given in discussions of song texts over time. That expansions show less variation over time than discussions about song texts might be because expansions are linked to the song text in stylistic ways. Expansions can be compared to what Bakhtin and others call "framing devices—indexes of the genres which the speaker is producing" (Foley 1997:360). Expansions are a type of speech event and are the "exegetical practices through which the significance of songs is transmitted" (Mcllan 1987:144). Stated only by the most senior owners, expansions show that it is the validity of the transmission process rather than the content of the interpretations that legitimises knowledge about song meanings. The opacity in song
texts also forces the learner to rely upon legitimate interpreters, which can be seen as a further means of restricting knowledge (Merlan 1987).

8.8 Absence of expansions in the 1976 performances

Sutton (1987) questions the ideology of ceremonial performance as unchanging and states that an "unchanging musical tradition would have had far-ranging destructive effects on a traditional Aboriginal community" (1987:90). Here I want to consider a change in the structural composition of performance: the incorporation of expansions in Akwelye since the 1976 performances.

In §2.3.1, I stated that while expansions were not given during the 1976 Tara performances they were a large part of the Alekarenge and Elpate performances. Furthermore, April requested such interpretations at these performances, as illustrated in (4). In contrast, no such requests were made by any of the singers in the 1976 performances. Strehlow states that questioning about a song's meaning was actively discouraged in Arrernte performances (1971:197).

While the inclusion of expansions in the later performances may have been for the benefit of the researchers, these expansions are nevertheless remarkably similar to the expansions given in discussions about songs outside of the performance context throughout the 25 years spanning this research. Furthermore, as the meanings of songs are not apparent from the text, traditionally learners of songs would have relied on senior people to provide interpretations of the songs in some context, as Strehlow (1955:39) and Donaldson (1979:75) recognise in other Aboriginal song traditions. Expansions, whether they occur in performance as an embedded speech event or as a speech event in some other context, play a crucial role in how singers and listeners interpret songs.

The incorporation of expansions in performance may also reflect an increased familiarity with non-Aboriginal systems of learning. April had experienced formal education at Bachelor College in Alice Springs, and all singers had experienced my own direct questioning while I was learning Kaytetye. As a language researcher, my
presence may also have made it acceptable for April to ask questions. Indeed, she often told Daphne to tell 'the researchers' the meaning of the songs, as shown in (23).

(23) [sings song text 36]

April: Rlwene nte kwere arntwe-nte nharte, nthe-therre-w=arte nte arntwe-nte, tucker 2sgERG 3sgACC tell-IMP that that-two-DAT=DEF 2sgERG tell-IMP

bush tucker, arntwe-nte nte!
tell-IMP 2sgERG

Tell them that the song is about bush tucker, tell those two there [researchers Myf and Linda].

Daphne: 'Kwelkarte' [bush melon] longa creek, you know. Uh-huh. Long time, you know, green time. A little one, just like grapes-apenye. [-SEMB]

(MD20, do 37)

The incorporation of expansions into performance is also understandable given the fragile state of the Akwelye tradition and that traditional systems of learning are no longer regularly available. It seems that this situation is not lost on the Akwelye singers who often stated that they were the only Kaytetye women who still sang their awelye. Thus the need to incorporate expansions into performance can be seen as a means of ensuring the continuation of Akwelye.

8.9 Conclusion

In contemporary Kaytetye society, where the authority of elders is diminished and the role of ceremonial knowledge is not a large part of everyday life, the formal features of Akwelye song considered in Part 2 remain stable and known by numerous singers, whereas the interpretations of songs show significantly more variation over time.

To understand this variation I draw upon Merlan’s observation that song interpretations involve a "summary significance of a portion of a song text as understood by the song practitioner(s)" (1987:148). Based on their formal characteristics the interpretations Akwelye singers provide of their songs are either song glosses (eg. 'foot') or expansions (eg. him cry all the way); rarely are they narratives. Expansions and glosses have formulaic features, including a tendency to be direct speech, have opaque subjects and

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28 April's insistence that Daphne should interpret the songs for the benefit of the researchers could also have been a face saving device to avoid questioning her aunt for the meanings of the songs for her own benefit.
consist of single clauses. Variant glosses for the one song can be the result of differences between the two textlines of a song text, or from an interpretation based on an overarching meaning for the song series rather than the song text or from different perceptions of the words in the song text. Variant expansions may also be the result of relating song glosses to different types of knowledge.

Expansions and song glosses are a style of speaking associated with certain presuppositions held only in the context of Akwelye performance, such as whose voice the expansions represent. In this way they are the enactment of knowledge about a song's relationship to the Dreamtime, the geographic environment, cultural practices, local history and people's relationship with place.

In comparison with their song texts, expansions are "broadly interpretive rather than closely textual" (Merlan 1987:156).29 This raises the issue of how the interpretations relate to the form of the song text. This issue will be addressed in the following two chapters. Chapter 9 undertakes the difficult task of identifying the lexical content in Akwelye song texts by drawing primarily upon expansions and song glosses of the song text, as well as interpretations of other song texts and my own knowledge of Arandic languages. Chapter 10 considers the relationship between the meaning of song forms and the meanings of song texts, as expressed in the expansions.

29 As Merlan also found in relation to song interpretation in the Roper River area.
Chapter 9 From song texts to song forms: identifying words in song texts

Drawing upon the expansions of song texts in the previous chapter, this chapter considers how meaningful segments of the song text, what I defined as "song forms" in §4.2.3, can be distinguished from segments that serve a purely metrical/musical function. I suggest that because song forms cannot always be assigned to a particular language or register, they are best thought of as Arandic, as distinct from their speech equivalents. I identify those songs where there are multiple competing song forms corresponding to the one segment of a song text. This is one of the ways Akwelye songs can convey multiple meanings; a feature of Central Australian songs identified in §4.1.8. This chapter also identifies the part of speech of song forms and shows that song texts have a particular word order. This paves the way for the semantic analysis of song forms in Chapter 10.

The outline for this chapter is as follows: §9.1 considers the difficulty in identifying the boundary of a song form; §9.2 suggests ways to distinguish those segments of the text that may have no meaning from those that probably do; §9.3 shows that the speech equivalents of song forms can be many, and in many languages and registers; §9.4 considers instances of multiple song forms for the one segment of a song text; §9.5 identifies the grammatical features of song forms and textlines and §9.6 concludes by considering ways in which the identification of song forms is validated.

9.1 Identifying song forms

The interpretations by singers of Akwelye songs do not always provide sufficient information to identify confidently the song forms in a song text. Occasionally expansions reveal speech equivalents that correspond with the entire song text or textline.¹ More often the expansions reveal speech equivalents for only part of the song text, as in (1).²

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¹ There are known speech equivalents for the entire textline only in textlines 29a, 43a, and 43b, all of which are polyrhythmic textlines (see §5.5).

² Walsh identifies a similar situation in translation of Aboriginal place names (2002). He refers to place names with 100% transparency, where the entire place name has known speech equivalents, and to those with partial transparency, where only part of the place name has known speech equivalents (2002:44).
(1) [kur pa ɯa ɣa le ɣin\l t\l]  
/k\o\rpa\l\(-\ang\#\(ala\o\en\t\l\)/
dancing,stick(=UNC) (?)

Expansion: Kwerrpare. We callen kwerrpare, stick one, short one.  
(Daphne, MD12, dn 98)

From the expansion in (1) it can be seen that the song text contains the word kwerrpare 'dancing stick'. Despite efforts to obtain a text-meaning analysis of the rest of the textline, [ŋa\o\ŋ\i\n\t\l\'a] ngalernentya, singers did not relate this segment to any particular meaning of this song. Merlan describes segments similar to these as "unexplained residue" (1987:148). In Akwele ye these constitute a large part of many textlines.

If there is a lack of meaningful forms in song texts, how then are they interpreted? Forma sees the difference between unexplained residue and meaningful segments in song in general as the result of the overlap between speech and music, as words in songs are "verbal components of basic musical practices" (2003:49). In primarily vocal music, such as Akweleye, it is understandable that songs include meaningless sounds where the voice acts as a musical—and especially rhythmic—instrument.

In identifying song forms there are major difficulties in deciding their boundaries. Daphne's ability to state segments of a song text in isolation from the rest of the textline provides some evidence for where the boundaries occur. She stated kwerrparange in isolation in the above song text, suggesting that in (1), the complex nominal kwerrpare=ange and alernetye are two separate song forms.

The initial segment of the textline in (2), kwerratyce, was similarly stated in isolation, suggesting kwerratyce is a single song form. However there is other evidence to suggest that this segment corresponds to two song forms: kwerre 'girl' and atye '1sgERG', where the pronoun is cliticised to become a single metrical foot (see §6.4.3.1).³

³ The evidence is a translation of this same textline but in another song series, by an Annmatyer speaker. She translates the segment atye as the word ahe (pan-Ar) '1sgERG' (Jenny Green 2004, pers.comm.).
Expansion: 'Kweyaye [girl] singem, kweyaye! You hearem kwerre [girl]?'
(Daphne, MD21, dn 6)

The expansion shows that the song is about a girl, and the speech equivalent kwerre 'girl' (K, WAn) can be identified. It is not clear, however, if just the segment kwerre is the song form corresponding to 'girl' and the segment atye corresponding to atye 1sgERG (K), or if the whole segment kwerratyae is a single form, corresponding to the Warumungu word kirijit 'woman'. What then is the boundary of the song form? In such cases the precise phonological form of the song form can only be postulated with varying degrees of certainty by the researcher.

In Chapters 6 and 7 it was shown that there are word assignment rules, CV syllabification, sound patterning rules and sonority constraints in Akwelye. It was shown that words are phonologically altered to adhere to these constraints, which often affects the beginnings and ends of words, creating a further difficulty in determining the boundary of a song form. In the next section I show that knowledge of the metrical requirements also plays a role in differentiating song forms from meaningless segments of the text.

9.2 Segments of song texts with no meaning

Merlan compares meaningless segments in song with "non-representational graphic forms" (1987:146). The analogy is a good one as it acknowledges that the semantic content of the song text is only one component of a multi-dimensional artistic package, as argued in Chapter 4. Meaningless segments play a role in meeting the demands of the rhythmic/metrical requirements. The edges of feet are most likely to contain meaningless segments, such as textline initial consonants and dactyl foot-final syllables. I refer to such segments as 'unknown' segments, which can be divided into long and short. Unknown short segments are of (V)CV structure while unknown long segments are longer.

9.2.1 Unknown short segments

Unknown short segments are single syllables or consonants necessary to meet the Akwelye metrical requirements, such as the onset /w/ to the final syllable of a textline initial dactyl foot, as considered in §6.4.6. The rhythmic segment final syllable /ŋa/ is another unknown short segment necessary to meet the metrical requirements. In §5.5.2 I stated that there are no 10-syllable textlines, and in §6.5.1.1, I suggested /ŋa/ is inserted to create an 11-syllable textline, as in (3).
Further evidence that *rra* is a syllable added to meet the requirements of the foot hierarchy is that *latyartimpera* is a spoken version of this song text but not *latyartimperanna*, as discussed in Chapter 8.\(^4\)

While being linguistically meaningless, unknown short segments are an essential part of the structure of song texts. Furthermore, in discussing the link between voice as an instrument and voice as a source of language, Fornas notes that "nonsensical utterances may actually be heard as meaningful in a given intratextual context" (Fornas 2003:46). In this way the metrical requirements of *Akweyle* are an avenue for (re)interpretations.

### 9.2.2 Unknown long segments

Unknown long segments are of (V)CVCV structure. These nearly always occur in textline final or medial position.\(^5\) Unknown long segments that occur in only one textline in the song series are likely to be based on a speech word or a reduplication of a segment of a speech word, as in (4).

\[
\begin{align*}
&[\text{willilatjennŋarrena}] \\
&/welle-le/ (tyennŋe)ŋareŋe/ \\
&\text{shade-LOC (?)} \quad \text{put}
\end{align*}
\]

The fact that *tyennŋara* is separated in the spoken versions of this textline suggests that this corresponds to an unknown speech word rather than to a meaningless segment, purely to meet the metrical requirements.

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\(^4\) Streibow lists *-na*, as well as *-ma*, *-mala* and *-la* as syllables that can be added to the end of words (1971:79).

\(^5\) A comparison can be drawn here with Marett's finding in *wanjga* that "meaningful text occurs almost exclusively in the first melodic-section" (in press Ch 9).
There are also unknown long segments in textline final position that recur in textlines and are not identified or translated by singers. For example [la ra], shown in (5), occurs in four textlines in textline final position.\(^6\)

(5) \[kul ka təa la ra]\n
\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
S & W & W^t & S & W \\
B & B & L^# & B & L \\
/k^*elkatəʔ/ & (larra)/ \\
 wild.melon & (?) \\
\end{array}
\]

(textline 36a)

The only song gloss provided by singers for this textline is \textit{kwelkarte} 'wild melon'. I suggest that [la ra] (larra) is a filler to complete the requirements of two metrical feet, and the preferred dactyl + trochee structure.

To identify the meaningful segments of a song text, an interpreter must contend with the results of breaking, consonant insertion, vowel deletion, and various types of sound-patterning, as well as have a sound knowledge of Arandic languages and registers. At the same time, the metrical requirements can be seen to give rise to forms of a speech word that exist only in song, such as \textit{weylele} which corresponds to \textit{uliye-le 'shade-LOC'} (pan-Ar) plus an inserted initial consonant. Similarly, the sound-patterning rules identified in §6.5 and §6.6 create song forms that differ from their speech equivalents. For example, partial reduplication (§6.5.1.2) creates song forms such as \textit{kwelantyalantya}, and possibly also \textit{wetyerpetyerrpe} 'beautifully painted up', a word I consider further in §9.3.1.

9.3 Register and language of the speech equivalents of the song forms

\textit{Akwelye} song texts have speech equivalents in numerous Arandic languages, and sometimes in non-speech registers, including the song register and respect register, as well as in archaic forms. For example, there are three textlines ending with a segment whose speech equivalent may be \textit{-pentye}, a non-productive (and thus archaic) morpheme occurring in place names in many Arandic languages meaning 'place belonging to/associated with X'.\(^7\) In song does this signify a place name or has it an archaic meaning, and in what language?

\(^6\) Textlines 8b, 31b, 33a and 36a.

\(^7\) Strehlow also notes this suffix in song texts, stating that it is not a regular speech form but rather "frequently met with in place names given to the homes of totemic ancestors" (1971:187).
Both Tunstill, in relation to Pijiantjatjara songs (1995:63), and Merlan in relation to Roper River songs (1987:144), observe similar difficulties in assigning a language or register to a song text where it has words from many languages and registers.\(^8\) Tunstill concludes that "Dialect mixing and use of auxiliary language can probably be regarded as two aspects of the one phenomenon: words that are *anitji* ['respect register'] in one dialect may be plain words in another" (1995:63).

In this section I consider speech equivalents of some *Akwelye* song forms to illustrate the problem of assigning a language and register to a song form. I suggest that song forms should not be regarded as of a particular language or register, but as having multiple speech equivalents in many languages and registers.

### 9.3.1 Song register words

I define a song register word as one that has no phonological resemblance to a speech word in any Arandic language but singers recognise it as a word unique to song, and as having a specific meaning.\(^9\) Thus, knowledge of other languages does not help in interpreting song register words, whereas it does help in interpreting derived song words (considered below). In this way song words restrict access to the meaning of songs to only those people familiar with the song register.\(^10\)

There is only one confirmed song register word in *Akwelye*. This is *wetyerrpetyerrpe* ‘women beautifully painted up with ceremonial designs, ready for dancing' and occurs in textlines 40a and 40b.\(^{11}\) The three Kaytetye song-register words I have documented,\(^{12}\) and

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\(^{8}\) Tunstill argues that Pijiantjatjara songs are best considered as being in a Western Desert language/register for the same reasons (1995:63-64).

\(^{9}\) Song register words correspond to what Strehlow calls "poetic words"(1971:195). While he states that "native singers themselves are sometimes at a loss to define them [song register words] with any considerable measure of precision" (1971:195), this is not the case with the three song-register words in Kaytetye. Song register words can also be compared to what Dixon and Koch call "fancy words" (1996:32). See also Hercus (1994:312).

\(^{10}\) The fact that there are words specific to songs no doubt lead Strehlow to recognise the need for a dictionary of poetic words (1971:197), and Alice Moyle to compile a computerised index of Aboriginal song words (1983).

\(^{11}\) This song form is phonologically altered in textline 40a. See Example (72) in §6.5.2.2.

\(^{12}\) The other two Kaytetye song register words are from traditional children's songs: *ayekwatyeke* ‘light coloured (hair), blonde' and *nharretrarrere* ‘black hair' (Turpin 2003:61).
many documented by Strehlow, all involve reduplication that is either the same or similar to the partial reduplication that was shown to form in 14 Akwelye textlines in §6.5.1.2.

Strehlow notes that it is necessary to know other dialects before relegating a word to the realm of song register, yet even Strehlow was not familiar with words in all Arandic languages. He states "Ntaurantauna is a poetic reduplicated adjective meaning "orange-coloured" or "reddish..." (Strehlow 1971:189), yet in Kaytetye riterntere is the everyday speech word for 'red'\textsuperscript{13}.

9.3.2 Derived song words

I define a derived song word as a song form that resembles both phonologically and semantically known words in Arandic languages, yet where singers do not equate them with a particular meaning or speech equivalent. Evidence for their meaning is found only in interpretations of the general meaning of the song. When the proposition is put to singers that a derived song word, such as nyere, has a particular meaning, the usual response is "No, ape awelye" 'No, its just awelye". Such a response is not necessarily contradictory with the meaning of the proposed derived song word if it means 'the word is not a speech word, it only occurs in awelye"\textsuperscript{14}.

Sutton refers to a phenomenon akin to derived song words in relation to place names which contain an obviously translatable element plus one that looks like a contraction or archaic version of a typical site-name verb, a class in which I include for the Wik area -sits, -sees, -camps, -lies, -stands. But these 'contracted or 'archaic' descriptions are the linguist's deductions, not something offered by an informant (2002:79) [my italics].

\textsuperscript{13} There are many further examples of what Strehlow calls a "poetic word" that are also an everyday speech word in an Arandic language. Strehlow states "ndduruwu" is a song word based on "nduruwu 'rock pigeon'" (Strehlow 1971:232), whereas this is the everyday speech word for 'rock pigeon' in Kaytetye and the unreduplicated form is untested. Similarly òtrakab is an everyday speech word in Kaytetye and Alyawarr aberrera-errera-le (1971:195).

\textsuperscript{14} As discussed in §1.2.3, the identification of formal features of songs is not an aspect of ceremonial performance that Kaytetye people discuss, whereas who owns them, who performs them and when, who dances, how well they dance, who directs the performance, etc. are aspects of a performance often discussed.
There are two confirmed derived song words in Akwelye, shown in Table 9.1. Both occur in textline final position and have a more general meaning than their speech equivalents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derived song word</th>
<th>In textlines</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Kaytetye speech equivalents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ntyere</td>
<td>9a, 21b, 25b, 34a, 34b, 36b, 48b (10a [P], 27b [P])</td>
<td>'watercourse'</td>
<td>entyere 'floodout', ahallwerrenge 'creek soakage', \textsuperscript{15} elpaye 'creek', artnwepe 'swamp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrverne</td>
<td>1b, 3b, 4b, 7b, 8b, 10b, 31a</td>
<td>'create, put, name'</td>
<td>arrre- (K) 'put'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.1 Derived song words in Akwelye

The derived song word ntyere is now considered in detail to show its semantic and phonological resemblance to a range of Arandic speech equivalents.

Expansions of the nine song texts ending in ntyere show that some of these songs relate to a watercourse or soakage, as shown in Table 9.2. We can look at speech equivalents from which the sequences ntyere and ntyerre could be derived in Arandic languages to see what the relationship is between the recurring sequences and meanings in the expansions. I suggest that ntyere and ntyerre are variant forms of a song form meaning 'watercourse', and that the song form is derived from a speech word entyere 'floodout'. I also suggest that in one textline, the word versified is not the song form ntyere, but a different word that has the same ending—artentyere 'orphaned', and that the phonological similarity gives rise to both interpretations.

\textsuperscript{15} In older Kaytetye speech a soakage dug in dirt or stony country, angontye, contrasts with a creek soak ahallwerrenge.
Table 9.2 Song texts ending with the derived song word *ntyere–ntyerre* 'watercourse'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>Textline</th>
<th>Song glosses(^{16})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C+entyere</td>
<td>25b</td>
<td>welteterrpentyere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34b</td>
<td>welylatyentyera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34a</td>
<td>kwayelatyentyera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48b</td>
<td>layengapentyera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C+entyerre</td>
<td>9a</td>
<td>rolentyerra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36b</td>
<td>narlarentyera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21b</td>
<td>(i)engarentyera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10a</td>
<td>merpewentyera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27b</td>
<td>(i)ortentyera</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The derived song word *ntyere* is no doubt related to the set of Arandic speech equivalents shown in Table 9.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'creek, low lying area'</th>
<th>antyre</th>
<th>Arr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'plain between mountains'</td>
<td>ntyere</td>
<td>WArr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'floodout, debris'</td>
<td>entyere</td>
<td>Aly, K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anyerre</td>
<td>Aly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'clump of grass'</td>
<td>antywere</td>
<td>Aly, Anm, K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tongue'(^{17})</td>
<td>antyre</td>
<td>Arr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass sp.</td>
<td>antyre</td>
<td>Arr, WArr, Anm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.3 Arandic cognates of the song topic morpheme *ntyere*

The variant lengths of the note falling on the syllable *nty* may condition the variation of *ntyerre*. This is the variation of rhythmic cell 2 described in §5.5.2. When the syllable is a quaver (the first four textlines in Table 9.2), it is followed by /\(l/\), and when the syllable is a shorter note, a semiquaver (the second and third rows of Table 9.2), it is followed by the tap, /\(r/\). This postulated variation is similar to the morpho-phonemic alteration between /\(l/\)--/\(r/\) that occurs in Kaytetye at the beginning of many verbal suffixes: /\(l/\) occurs after an apical and /\(r/\) after a non-apical (with an intervening /\(a/\) before the suffix).

\(^{16}\) The glosses given here are those most frequently given and those relating to water.

\(^{17}\) While this lexeme is not recorded in the Arrernte Dictionary as meaning 'flood water', it is possible that it may once have referred to 'flood water'. Evidence for this comes from W. Alyawarr, Kaytetye, Anmatyerre and E&C Arrernte where *alempe* is a polysemous item meaning 'tongue, floodwater'.

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For example, angke-rr-alperrane 'talking while going back' and ante-r-alperrane 'standing while going back'.

I suggest that the first seven textlines shown in Table 9.2 convey the meanings relating to a watercourse by virtue of the derived song word ntyere-ntyerre, whereas the final segments in textlines 10a and 27b have different (although phonological similar) speech equivalents, which provides an avenue for multiple interpretations.¹⁸

The first textline, 25b, was said on different occasions to refer to two different watercourses: a site in the Kwerrkepentye estate known as Osborne Dam, and a site in a creek called Thatkwe 'Bottom Bore'.¹⁹ The interpretation 'scrub' is probably a metonymic association with entyere 'floodout', as floodouts have a thick and varied understorey. Through implicit knowledge of country the derived song word ntyere alludes to 'scrub', and its reference to a specific place is to some degree negotiable. Daphne's gloss for song text 9 is entyere 'flood debris' (K), which is compatible with the derived song word meaning 'watercourse'. Song text 36b is glossed kwelkarte 'wild melon' and entyere 'floodout, flood debris'. While singers do not separate ntyerre from the rest of the textline in textline 21b, the word 'creek' is given in one of the expansions. The spoken pronunciation of this textline is ntyere, and not as it is sung, ntyerre, which makes it more like the speech equivalent ntyere 'floodout'.²⁰

In contrast to the textlines considered above, in textline 10b there is no evidence that the final segment is the derived song word ntyere.²¹ In textline 27b there is evidence that the segment ntyerre is part of another speech word: artentyere 'orphaned' (K), and the expansions support this meaning.²² Furthermore, singers do not separate (i)loti from

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¹⁸ There are four other song texts that are interpreted as referring to a creek or watercourse and do not have the ntyere-ntyerre ending in either of their textlines. In all cases the interpretations are based on recognising other speech equivalents in the song texts associated with this meaning (see Appendix 1: song texts 8a, 31b, 35b and 42b).

¹⁹ See Appendix 1: song text 36, expansions 2, 3, 4 & 6.

²⁰ In Grace Koch's 1976 fieldnotes this song is interpreted as "We might perish, go quick" suggesting that ntyerrele 'water, thirsty' could also be a speech equivalent.

²¹ No corresponding speech word was given for the final segment in textline 10b and no meanings given relate to 'watercourse'. The meanings given are 'tie up tight', and relate to putting on a headband (see Appendix 1: song text 10, expansions 1, 3, 9 & 11).

²² Three different variants of this word have been recorded: artentye, artentyere, artentyele. See Appendix 1. The semantics of this word are not entirely clear. Speakers also translate it as 'on top' where it seems to refer to 'the living remain on top and the deceased underneath' (see Appendix 1: song text 27, expansion 1).
nyerre. There is one occasion where singer Rachel interprets the song text as 'soakage', which is maintained by Daphne (MD121:67). It is likely that the phonological similarity between nyerre and artentyere is the source of the two interpretations 'soakage' and 'no father'. That is, Rachel's interpretation was based on the perception that the textline contained the derived song word nyerre rather than the word artentyere 'orphaned'.

In Akwelye there are more recurring segments that end a textline than begin one. The recurrence of textline final segments such as nyerre-nyerre has been noted in other Central Australian and Kimberley genres. Barwick et al also note that songs often contain "formulaic expressions at the end of lines" (2003:32).

The distinctive marking at the end of textlines may also be seen as a linguistic marker of the Dreaming ancestors to whom song texts are attributed, as discussed in §3.5.3. In this context, the singer's response to my enquiry about the meaning of such segments as "ape awelye 'just awelye" can be understood as relating to their origin in the Altyerre, as a derived song word, in contrast to words of everyday speech.

9.3.3 The language of the speech equivalents

Most song forms have speech equivalents from everyday spoken languages, yet many of these speech equivalents are not Kaytetye words. For example, after singing song text 18 at the Aleykarenge 2 performance, April asked Daphne if the meaning of the song was alewetnemy-inewethe 'ask someone to come' (K). Daphne then stated ikngwererre-

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23 A number of researchers suggest that such a process occurs in interpreting Aboriginal songs from elsewhere, such as Keogh (1990, 1996), Wild (1975). This phenomenon is discussed further in Chapter 10.

24 The reanalysis of song forms may be more prevalent when the expansions and associated narratives of songs are less known, as the song forms act as a signpost for what sort of semantic connections to draw from the phonetic level of the song text.

25 See also Keogh (1990), Ellis (1998:432).

26 The notion that a final segment is a linguistic marker or register (ancestral language from the Altyerre) has a counterpart in the avoidance registers in Arandic languages. In Kaytetye, the suffix -nyerre occurs on certain nominals to denote the avoidance register, such as enwekele 'camping out' enwekele-ayerre (avoidance) 'camping out'. See also Green (forthcoming (b)).

27 All but one speech equivalent are Arandic. The one non-Arandic speech equivalent is in Aboriginal English—'perish', a likely speech correspondent of the recently dreamt song text 20. 'Perish' has been borrowed into Aboriginal English as parreyle (see Appendix 1: song text 20, expansions 1, 3 & 4). The use of English words in song texts is attested in other Australian Aboriginal songs (Dixon and Koch 1996, Donaldson 1979).
weyewe 'ask someone to come', which is a (WAly) word, underlined in (6). At no stage was there discussion about the different languages of the speech equivalents, and it was left to the listener to deduce the equivalence between alewetnemy-inewethe (K) and ikngwerrler-veyorwe (Aly).

(6) lernantharrpangarrerlaweya (textline 18a)

Expansions:

April: Nharte=inge x=arte 'alewetnemy-ny.ine-wethe?'
that=EMPH 3sg=DEF ask-go&do.quickly-PURP
Is that the one about 'quickly going and asking (them) to come?'

Daphne: Ye, 'ikngwerrler-veyorwe', alewetnemy wetherimpe kwerre alewetnewethe
ask-RECIPE=go&do.quickly-PURP ask-PURP Dreamtime.woman girl ask-PURP
Yes 'ikngwerrerleyeweyewe' (means) 'they go and ask the girls to come'

Daphne: Cousin belonging to him, ikngwerrler-veyorwe-tyeke  28
ask-RECIPE=go&do.quickly-PURP
Her cousin quickly goes and asks (her) to come (1999, MD13 dn 22)

The song form of textline 18b is clearly ikngwerrler-veyorwe (WAly) rather than alewetnemy-inewethe (K), yet when I asked singers whether this was Alyawarr they denied this, a point I return to below. This contrasts with work I have done on the Kayteye Dictionary with the same speakers who, in that context, are only too quick to point out where a word is of another language, even when the speakers themselves use the word regularly.

Many song forms have more than one different speech equivalent from different languages. For example, we know that rounding is dropped in song texts, so the first part of textline 2a [ləwətəsəwe] has two likely speech equivalents: /ləuə/ (K) and /ləuə/ (EAn), 'sand'. To consider only the (K) form because it is an exact phonological match with the song text does not take into account the fact that words are phonologically altered in versification.

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28 -tyeke (Ann) -veyor (WAly) and -wethe (K) are all forms of the purposive.
Likewise, the song form welyele has the speech equivalents elye-nge (K) and ulye-le (pan-Ar) 'shade-LOC', and it is conceivable that the song form is based on either (K) or (pan-Ar) forms. In (K) the locative morpheme -nge goes on words of CVC structure and -le on CVCV+ structure. Considering that C is inserted in the song form ⇒ w+elye, making a stem of CVCV structure, it may have been necessary to use the (K) -le suffix in place of -nge.

Sometimes the different speech equivalents are morphologically distinct. The derived song word arrerne has two different speech equivalents: the uninflected speech equivalent arrerne- (pan-Ar) 'put'; and arre- (K) 'put' plus a verb inflection. Harold Koch suggests that in pre-Kaytetye there may have been verb classes (2002), and that -ne--rne could have been a tense morpheme of one of the verb classes, which in (pan-Ar) languages became reanalysed as part of the verb stem. Such verb classes would account for numerous cognate forms between (K) and (pan-Ar) languages. Further evidence for this comes from Warlpiri, where -rni--ni is the present tense morpheme of one of the four Warlpiri verb classes, in which class the possibly related yirranni 'put' is also a member. To assign the dialect (pan-Ar) to the song form arrerne would be to obfuscate the relationship to arre- 'put' (K).

Different speech equivalents from different languages and registers correspond to the second part of textline 27a shown in (7). The song form could be angarrpe based on the word akingarrpe (K) [L] 'alone' or it could be arrpe, based on the suffix -arpe (WAn,

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29 The song form welyele occurs in textlines 6b, 34b, and 40a and 40b.

30 Furthermore, Koch argues that wiC, where C is a palatal, assimilated to waC in (pan-Ar) languages, whereas it remained wiC in (K) (2004:135).

31 As will be shown in §9.5.1, uninflected verbs are common in Akwelye as well as other Central Australian songs.

32 Other examples of cognates with the reanalysed suffixes include:

- arryne- (K) arryern-- 'shine' (pan-Ar)
- ampe- 'burn' (K) amperne- 'cook' (pan-Ar)
- nwe- (K) nwerne- 'stick, eging' (pan-Ar)
- ange- (K) angerne- 'scratch, dig' (pan-Ar)
- anype- (K) arnperne- 'yandy' (Arr).
Arr) [L] '1. on your own'. How the song form is phonologically identified has implications for the morphological analysis of the song text:

(7) (a) langwerrpangwerrpa
    (i) /ələwəŋɛŋarpeŋarpe/
        1.du.SMSG.DAT alone alone
    (ii) /əŋə-ŋə̯-ŋaŋə-
        far -own-own

In the case of this textline the meaning 'alone' is confirmed, yet the song form is not confirmed. Instead, there are two likely song forms: ngarre (K) [L] and -arpe (WAnm, Arr) [L]. Delineating the boundary of the song form obscures the fact that these meanings exist in a number of Arandic registers and languages in phonologically related words. Describing song forms in terms of a particular language and register can be problematic when there are more than one phonologically distinct speech equivalents.

The distinction between song forms and speech equivalents enables us to consider which languages have words that correspond to Akwelye song forms. Table 9.4 shows the languages of the speech equivalents of the 69 confirmed song forms. Where one song form occurs in more than one textline this is counted as one, so for example arrenerne-(pan-A) is a confirmed/likely song form in 13 textlines but counted as one song form with a (pan-A) speech equivalent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(i) Total speech equivalents</th>
<th>(ii) Those attested in more than one language</th>
<th>(iii) Those attested in only one language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>K &amp; Aly</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aly</td>
<td>K &amp; Anm</td>
<td>Aly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>An</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arr</td>
<td>pan-Ar</td>
<td>Arr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.4 Language of the speech equivalents of the 69 confirmed song forms

The speech equivalents -arpe and -ngarre also have a derived word in the avoidance register—ngketharpe (K, Anm) 'alone', used to refer to one's son-in-law/mother-in-law (Green forthcoming (b)).

This table only includes speech equivalents in these four languages. There may be additional speech equivalents in Western Arrernte, Western Anmatyerr and other Arandic languages.
Clearly there are many more speech equivalents than song forms. Part (i) of Table 9.4 shows that words from the four most well documented Arandic languages are nearly equally represented in *Akwelye*, although Arrernte is the least represented. A comparison of parts (ii) and (iii) of the table shows that most song forms have speech equivalents in more than one language. Most often song forms have speech equivalents in Kaytetye and a neighbouring language, particular Alyawarr. This may reflect the fact that Daphne and Kirsty focused most often on the travels of the *Kwerrimpe* women who went east into Alyawarr country.\(^{35}\)

Considering that the song text has speech equivalents in many Arandic languages, how then are we to regard the singers' insistence that the songs are Kaytetye, even when the text is clearly not Kaytetye.\(^{36}\) While Sutton is reluctant to view songs as "of a particular language" as Aboriginal singers may espouse (1987:85), I suggest that the *Akwelye* singers' use of "Kaytetye" does not reflect the language of the song text (perceived as the language of Dreaming ancestors, as discussed in §3.3), but refers to ownership of the song, or possibly a locality, such as a place of great significance for Kaytetye people.\(^{37}\)

Their use of "Kaytetye" may also reflect an association with a particular metrical and musical structure. The one clearly Arrernte song text, 20, recorded in the *Akwelye* performances is also the only song text in my data that transfers whole syllables,\(^{38}\) a feature well attested in the Arrernte songs recorded by Strehlow (1971). It may be that Kaytetye songs tend to insert/transfer single consonants whereas Arrernte songs transfer whole syllables. Barwick et al (2003:26) observe that variation in musical form correlates with particular language/cultural groups. The singer's assertions that *Akwelye* songs are

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\(^{35}\) Note that there are a greater proportion of pan-Arandic speech equivalents than in the pan-Artwa subgroup (Alyawarr, Annatyer and Arrernte); and that where a song form has a speech equivalent attested in only one language, this is usually Kaytetye.

\(^{36}\) Sutton notes the apparent contradicioriness of singing "their own lands in other people's language" (1987:78).

\(^{37}\) Merlan (1987:145) found in relation to songs of the Roper River area, that when reference to a language name was given by a singer this usually referred to an area that the Dreaming ancestor travelled through, or a character from another language group encountered (see also Sutton 1987:83). Kaytetye speakers, however did not refer to language names other than Kaytetye.

\(^{38}\) This song text was discussed in §6.6.4.4. There is a possible network here with a site on Arrernte, called *Lentepenteme*, clearly an Arrernte name. While the researcher can identify this as a possible speech equivalent of song text 20, there is no evidence from expansions to relate the place name with the song text.
'Kaytete' may therefore apply to ownership of the songs, the location of a place referred to in a song, and/or metrical/musical principles.

9.3.4 Identifying archaic forms

Strehlow states that the Arrernte songs "abound in archaic and obsolete words, no longer used in current diction, but traditionally preserved in these instances" (Strehlow 1947a:xx-xxi). In Akwelye, however there is no evidence that a particular song form is archaic rather than of another language, dialect, register or simply altered to meet the metrical requirements. Some forms which Strehlow states are archaic-poetic are also contemporary forms. For example, he states that *erarijaritjaka [irrararetyareyeke]*, is based on an archaic-poetic form *erare [irrare]* (see §8.2), but this word also occurs in the Western Arrernte Introductory Dictionary meaning 'lonely, homesick' (Breen 2000:18).

The difficulty in identifying archaic forms in Aboriginal songs lies partly in the fact that reconstruction of Aboriginal languages is still in its infancy. The close historical relationship between the various Arandic languages means that in many instances it is difficult to distinguish borrowings from cognates. Certainly cognates in other dialects and speech registers may help support a case for an archaic form, but it is possible that such forms could also be song words that never existed in the spoken language.

For example the song form *anggayerte* in textline 17a is glossed *erlwe* (K) 'eye'. Three possible speech equivalents for this song form, one of which is an archaic form are:

1. *anne* 'eye' (Aly, An)\(^{41}\) borrowed from (pan-Ar) languages, with syllables inserted to fit a dactyl foot (*anne* ↔ *anggayerte*)

2. *anggayte* (K, Aly) with a syllable inserted, and its meaning changed from 'eyebrow' ↔ 'eye' in the song

3. an archaic word meaning 'eye', *anggayerte* (although since Koch reconstructs proto Aranda *àngme* for 'eye' this reduces the plausibility (2001:78)).\(^{42}\)


\(^{40}\) Phonologically the song form resembles *anggayte* 'eyebrow' (K, Anm) 'forehead' (Aly), yet semantically it resembles *anne* 'eye' (Anm, Aly). Further examples of polysemy of the words for 'eye' in Arandic languages can be seen in Green and Turpin (2001:101-102).

\(^{41}\) In some dialects this also means 'seed' (edible or inedible) (Harold Koch 2005, pers.comm.).
Archaic forms may account for some instances of "unexplained residue" in textlines (Merlan 1987:148). For example, textline 16a *rrrawelyawelye* has a speech equivalent *awely-awelye* 'lightening' (K, Aly, An). It is possible that the initial consonant reflects an archaic form rather than a process of consonant transfer. Consonant transfers in *Akwelye* and in Arandic songs recorded by Strehlow usually show the transfer of a final nasal or lateral, whereas in song text 16 the consonant considered 'transferred' is a trill (see §6.3.1). While postulated archaic forms such as *rrrawelyawelye* cannot be proven, it is possible that some of the words versified with consonant insertion (§6.3.1) could reflect an archaic form with an initial consonant. As there is only one song form with an inserted /r/, *rr+awelyawelye* is a prime candidate for an archaic form.

Other possible archaic forms are *-pentye*, considered in §9.3, and the song form *merrpe* [P] 'tie up' in textline 10, which may relate to the Warumungu form *karrpanta* 'tie up', and the proto Pama-nyungan form *'karrpi* -‘hold together’, which has a reflex *karpi-* “wrap, tie up, fold” in Pintupi and Walmajarri (Alpher 2004:96). Similarly, *-ntyе*, occurring in textlines 15a, 16c, 11a and 39b, may be an archaic nominaliser in Kaytetye. Yet because *Akwelye* contains words from many languages and registers and introduces significant textual modification to meet the metrical requirements, it is not possible to conclude that a song form is archaic.

In summary, song forms are best considered Arandic, while their speech equivalents are of particular languages and registers. The inter-relatedness of words across registers and

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42 Evidence to suggest that *amoge* may also be an archaic Kaytetye form comes from the derived forms *amgayte* 'eyebrow' (lit. eye-edible grub) (K, Anm) and *amogayapelie* 'eyelash' (K).

43 Because there is no confirmed speech word at the end of the previous textline of song text 16, there is no evidence to support or contradict /r/ as the final consonant of the previous textline. Although there is no direct evidence as to the type of initial consonant in *awely-awelye*, there is a Kaytetye speech word *riwepe-riwepe* [t̪û̯p̪aŋ̪a] 'around', which one older speaker pronounced as *rrriwepe-riwepe* [r̪û̯t̪û̯p̪û̯tû̯p̪a]. It is also possible that the alternative pronunciation *rrriwepe-riwepe* was made for poetic effect, as it was stated in a very dramatic part of a narrative (IAD tape no. 1010). Note that this also reflects a favoured pattern of reduplication in song: $C_0 \sigma_1 \sigma_2 \sigma_3$.

44 It may be that the rhythmic pattern plays a role in maintaining the initial consonant of such postulated archaic forms.

45 The textline final segment *-ntyе* is also attested in the Arandic songs recorded by Strehlow (1971:189).

46 Kaytetye does not have a single morpheme that matches the functions of *-ntyе*; instead it has a number of different strategies for nominalising (see Turpin 2000:147).

47 In contrast, Dixon and Koch are able to assign word in Dyirbal songs as belonging to either song or prose (1996:26).
Arandic languages means that a song form may equate with speech words in more than one dialect and more than one register. This phenomenon reflects the identification of Arandic languages as "a language-dialect complex" (Hale 1983:78), and the similarities of the Arandic cultural group.48

9.4 Multiple song forms for the one segment of a textline

It is not surprising that interpreters may thus form different perceptions of the speech equivalents in a song. This can be seen when a singer provides different glosses for the same or overlapping segments of a song text. Different glosses are only given on different interpretation sessions, never at the one time. This is comparable to Munn's finding that among the Warlpiri only one meaning of a graphic symbol is ever revealed at a time (1973:212).

A classic example in English of deriving multiple forms that result in multiple meanings has provided a name for this phenomenon—'mondegreens'.49 While mondegreens might not have legitimacy in all circles in English,50 in Kaytetye they do, in a context that is authorised as a legitimate source of song interpretation. Folk etymologising no doubt plays a role in producing different interpretations of the form of a song text. Schebeck's warning against making hasty interpretations about the form of place names based on interpretations by native speakers who may be "pressed for answers under the assumption that there must be a simple answer" (2002:147-48) applies equally to song translation.

The possibility of hasty connections is possibly reduced in the context of Akwelye performance with many singers present, as other singers provide a check on the interpretations made. This was seen in §7.6 where the singers corrected Daphne's interpretation from aweyawe 'dead body' to awerawe 'quick-EMPH' of song text 22.

48 Hale first introduced the term "Arandic" for the group of languages with linguistic similarities. More recently, Koch has shown through reconstruction that these languages are members of smaller level subgroups descended from a common ancestral language (2004).

49 This term was coined by Sylvia Wright, in an article called "The Death of Lady Mondegreen", in Harper's Magazine November 1954 (vol. 209, no. 1254, pp. 48-51). It is based on a mishearing in the second line of the English couplet '...They have slain the bonny earl of Moray, and laid him on the green' was later reinterpreted as '... and Lady Mondegreen'.

50 Empson discusses the fact that many poets and post-modernists do give legitimacy to multiple meanings (1953).
In §8.6, I showed that multiple differing interpretations of a song can arise when there are different meanings for each of the two textlines in a song. This section considers a further source of multiple interpretations: different song forms arising from different perceptions of the text. The possibility of more than one song form for a song text was not just a problem for myself as the researcher, but also for singers and learners of the songs. Singer April relied on her aunt, Daphne, to distinguish between three multiple possible speech equivalents of song text 11, shown in (8).

(8) larperralarperra
    (i) /l+alpara#alpara/
        +leaf# leaf
    (ii) /l+alpara#alpara/
        +whitewood#whitewood
    (iii) /l+alpara#alpara/
        +fish#fish

All three song forms are plausible given the lack of apical contrast in song texts (see §7.3.3). Different expansions of song text 11 revealed two of the three speech equivalents: alperre 'leaf' and ariperre 'whitewood'. Whitewoods are a good source of shade and grow in the sandhills of Arnerre as well as near Taylors Crossing, the area to which many song texts allude, and so both song forms are semantically plausible.

Discussions after the first item of song text 11 at the Alekarenge 3 performance reveal that April believed that ay/perre 'fish', could also have been a speech equivalent if Daphne had agreed to such an interpretation. This is shown in (9).

(9) [after singing song text 11]

April: Arntwe-ne nte!  fish-...aherrick-akake yayye?  
tell-IMP 2sgERG  sun-PROP sin't it
    Tell us (what it's about)  Is it to do with 'fish' and 'sun'?  

Daphne: alperre

    fish/whitewood/leaf  Aye?

    what?

---

51 This is also noted by Strehlow in relation to Arrernte songs (1971:64).

52 One Kaytetye speaker disagreed that the meaning 'fish' could ever be a meaning of an awelye song text.
Example (9) shows that April draws upon phonological correspondences to interpret song texts; yet this is not enough to identify the form of the song text that Daphne had in mind, which on two occasions was 'whitewood' and two occasions 'leaf', but did not include aylperre 'fish'. Here we see Daphne's authority in relation to knowledge of song text 11, and April's dependence on this authority for her own understanding. Daphne, as the most senior Akwelye owner, is regarded as the legitimate source of interpretations, a phenomenon well attested in Aboriginal societies. I suggest that an interpretation during the Akwelye performance from the song leader gives legitimacy to an interpretation.

Multiple song forms may be related semantically, such as 'leaf' and 'whitewood' in song text 11 or they may be completely unrelated, such as Pwerle 'skin name' and aperalpe 'conkerberry'. Sometimes a singer gave different speech equivalents with unrelated meanings on different occasions. For example, most interpretations of song text 39 suggest that the song form is arawerrnge, as in (10) (i); however Betty's interpretation rewapimperre 'dragonfly' suggests a different song form, (ii).

(10) rayngantyernanty
    S W# S W W
    L L# B B L

(i) /rawerrunge#ant'enya-nil/-
    worry (jump)-TNS

(ii) /rawa-nya#anr/enya-nil/-
    flood.water-LOC (jump)-TNS

(1999 MD13, 11:11)

53 Compare Appendix 1: song text 11, expansions 2 & 3 with expansions 1, 5 & 7.
Betty's interpretation *rewa* *nimpe*ivar 'dragonfly' may be based on perceiving the song form as *rewa* 'flood water' (pan-Ar) followed by *nje* (K) 'LOC' as the initial segment of the textline. As shown in §6.4.6, syllables on an S/L position—the spondee foot—reflect a following elided semivowel. As well, *rewa* is a song form at the beginning of two other textlines 9a and 9b. The song form *rewa-nje* of textline 9b may then be interpreted metaphorically to refer to a dragonfly, as these hover above water. Furthermore, on one occasion when I sat at a dam on Arnerre lunching with a group of women, a dragonfly flew over the water and one Akwelye singer sang (11) to the Akwelye descent melody.

(11) [\textit{topimpe}]\textsuperscript{t}

This is not a textline of any recorded song text in this corpus, however it is a well formed textline: it is set to isorhythmic line W, and its initial syllable conforms to the treatment of glide-vowel sequences in other Akwelye songs (see §6.4.6).

I was reminded of the incident in 2001 when Betty—who was not present at the dam the previous year—interpreted song text 39b as *rewa* *nimpe*ivar 'dragonfly'. Dragonflies originate from Arnerre and are thus associated in the Dreamtime, no doubt because of their association with water. The two unrelated 'dragonfly' interpretations show how singers relate song forms to Dreamings, and how phonological features, such as the glide-vowel sequence, provide metrical constraints on the construction of song texts.

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55 Indeed it is likely that *rewa* *nimpe*ivar (K) is a compound based on the word *rewa* 'flood water'. A possible analysis of the compounding elements is *rewa* ake-nimpe 'water go-?' -nimpe is also [P] in textline 17b, *matyarre* *nimpe*. Possible speech correspondences include ahimirre 'track' (K), *impe* 'mark' (Arr), wimperre 'tree grave' (Aly, K). Harold Koch notes that -nimpe is also cognate with (pan-Ar) *impaye* 'track' (2003, pers.comm.).

56 The pan-A verb stem *akonge*- means 'to originate'. This verb is used to describe the site or country name where each plant, animal, person, and many other natural phenomena originated in the Dreamtime. It may also be the case that *akonge*- refers to the places where the plant or animal, etc. rose out of the ground on its travels, thus a plant or animal etc. may *akonge*- at a number of places across the continent. Chapter 3 discussed the nominalised form of this verb, *akonganye* 'sacred site', as a well documented subject of many traditional song texts.

57 Alternatively, the interpretation of song text 39 as 'dragonfly' may also be based on perceiving textline A of song text 39 as *topimpe*ivar, as sung by Betty while going through this thesis with her in 2005. Indeed, my data has only four song items of song text 39, all from the one performance. Possibly textlines *rewa* *nimpe*ivar and *rayongo*ntyernaye combine to form a single song text, as sung by Betty in 2005.
There are also different song forms of song text 30a. Singer Daphne interpreted song text 30 in 1976 as *aperlapa* 'conkerberry', and in 1999 as a skin name, 'Pwerle', as can be seen in (12) (i) and (ii) respectively.


(1976, GK 6895 db 40)

(ii) Daphne: Callem *Pwerle* uh-huh *ikwe*. They callem me *Pwerle*.

Myf: *Pwerle? ikwe? 'skin'.name 'skin'

(1999, MD21 db 61)

The speech word corresponding to syllables 4, 5 and 6 of textline 3a is *aperlapa* 'conkerberry' according to Daphne in 1976. The speech word corresponding to syllables 4 and 5 of the same text line was *Pwerle* '(skin name)' according to Daphne, working with me in 1999. These interpretations are based on different perceptions of the song form, as shown in (13) (i) and (ii).

(13) \[\begin{align*}
A_1 & \quad A_2 \\
\text{watyengaperlapa} & \quad \text{latyengaperlayperlay} \\
\end{align*}\]

(i) \[\begin{align*}
/\text{at}\\\text{a}\\\text{j}\\\text{e}\\\text{a}\\\text{p}\\\text{e}\\\text{a}\\\text{p}\\\text{e}\\\text{a}\\\text{a}\\\text{a}\\\text{e}\\\text{o}/ & \quad \text{1sgPOS conkerberry=REL} \\
\end{align*}\]

(ii) \[\begin{align*}
/\text{at}\\\text{a}\\\text{j}\\\text{e}\\\text{a}\\\text{p}\\\text{a}\\\text{a}\\\text{a}\\\text{e}\\\text{p}\\\text{a}\\\text{e}\\\text{w}\\\text{a}\\\text{a}/ & \quad \text{1sgACC skin.name skin.name} \\
\end{align*}\]

(textline pair 30a)

Recognising different song forms for the same segment of a song text has implications for the morphological structure of the rest of the song text, as can be seen in comparing (i) and (ii), which was considered in detail in §6.6.3.

While there is one example of singers correcting Daphne's interpretation (see §7.6), there are no examples of disagreements about meanings. Disagreements over meanings only occurred outside of the performance when I suggested a different, previously given meaning by the same singer. In seeking to understand how speakers interpret songs, this multiplicity is of great interest as it offers insights into how people come to make such interpretations, whether perceived by some people as wrong or not.

Keogh shows that interpretations of *Nurrlu* songs can vary between speakers for the one
song text (1996, 1990). While he acknowledges that the state of the tradition is a factor in the seemingly contradictory expansions, he argues that multiple interpretations reveal important semantic connections, as with the song form *rewapimperre* 'dragonfly', even though this might not be the original intended meaning of the song text (1990:86-89). He also argues that multiple interpretations may stem in part from "an intrinsically fluid relationship" between songs and their meaning. Keogh considers that such reinterpretation reflects a more widespread pattern of transforming Aboriginal knowledge. He states that the reinterpretation of the form of a *Nurlu* song verse by another singer

in which 'historical' references have been replaced with references of a more 'mythological' nature' may be related to a widespread tradition in which songs and their meanings are transformed (Keogh 1990:89).

Daphne's interpretation *Pwerle* 'skin name' can also be considered to have mythological nature, as she relates this to the skins of the *Kwerrimpe* women, whereas her interpretation 'conkerberry' relates to everyday knowledge. In Chapter 10, I show that meanings of song may be of an everyday nature, historical nature, mythological nature and personal nature. Multiple interpretations may result from (re)interpreting song texts to ensure relevance to each of these levels. Thus variation can be seen, as Keogh suggests, as not simply a matter of one being 'right' and the other 'wrong', but consistent with an Aboriginal system of knowledge, described by Tonkinson (1978:102) among others, which allows for reinterpretation in different contexts (1990:88-90).

In this section I have considered singers' differing perceptions of the song forms where there is no corresponding phonological variation of the song text. Some multiple forms have no semantic relationship, such as *Pwerle* 'a skin name' and *aperlape* 'conkerberry' but may relate to different domains of knowledge. Other multiple song forms arise because the expansions are deliberately vague, as is the case with song text 11 for 'leaf' and 'whitewood', and this is likely to be a feature favoured in songs as a means of

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58 Tunstall also identifies multiple interpretations of the one song form in Pitjantjatjara songs (1995:64). Wild notes that among the Warlipiri, songs are rediscovered "ahorn of their historical references" (1987:109), and that this lays the foundations for reinterpretation.
controlling access to knowledge and ensuring continuance of traditional power structures.\(^59\)

9.5 Parts of speech and word order in Akwelye

Having discussed the difficulties in identifying song forms I turn now to consider the grammatical features of the song forms. Song texts often consist of one or two nominals rather than a full grammatical sentence. In this section I consider the parts of speech and word order in textlines. Table 9.5 shows the parts of speech of the confirmed Akwelye song forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of speech</th>
<th>No. different words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nominal</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.t.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.f.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.5 Parts of speech of confirmed Akwelye song forms

Most song forms in Akwelye are nominals. The one monosyllabic pronoun, atye '1sgERG', always follows a nominal, as in (14), whereas the three longer pronouns always occur in initial position.\(^60\)

(14) /ku rim bi la te ra ra /
    S   W    W# S   W# S   W
    B   B   L# B   L# B   L
    /kʷerimpe-i#atβ#arerŋa/
    Dreamtime.woman-ERG 1sgERG put
    S       S   V

(textline 4b)

Where present, the verb always comes after a nominal, or is the only word in the textline, as shown in Table 9.6.

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\(^59\) See also Keen (1977), Merlan (1987:146).

\(^60\) The versification of atye was discussed in §6.4.3.1.
Form and Meaning of Akwelye: Chapter 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word order</th>
<th>Textline id.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>52b, 41b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V V (v.t.)</td>
<td>43a, 29a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S V (v.i.) (or ref subject NP)</td>
<td>19a, 19b, 20a, 20b, 39b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S V (v.t.)</td>
<td>11a, 18a, 4b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O V (v.t)</td>
<td>14a 14b, 43b, 1b, 3b, 7b, 10b, 38a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O S V (v.t)</td>
<td>3a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IO V (v.t)</td>
<td>35b, 39a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.6 Word order in Akwelye song texts with confirmed song forms

The textlines with two verbs are polyrhythmic—set to isorhythmic pattern N—(§5.5.2), and in both the textline consists of two near identical text/rhythmic segments, and the verbs are the same. From Table 9.6 it can be seen that most verbs are transitive and that there is a preference for only one other nominal in the textline. There is only one textline that has both a confirmed object and subject, and in this textline the object precedes the subject, as shown in (15).

(15) [ku ra ti a me Problem apr e [a] pe [a ti a ra na] /k̚or̚e#ate#am#e[pa(-la-[pa)e]#ate# ara ra/ girl/ 1sgERG fat-(INST-RED) 1sgERG put O S O S V (textline 3a)

Verbs are only ever attested in final position in Akwelye. This fact can assist in identifying speech equivalents. For example, the middle segment of textline 48a may correspond to the Kaytetye verb stem *ape* - 'go', shown in (16)(iii), a meaning provided in some expansions. Given that all other verbs are textline final, however, it is more likely that the song form is *ayenge=pe*, in (ii), or *ayen=ape*, in (i).61

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61 Furthermore, this textline has only two feet, thus the metrical form also suggests two speech words. Only possible speech equivalent is the clitic =ape (K) 'only, just'.
(16) layengapekayta

(i) /#aɾyɛŋ(-ape)# aŋkɛt/-e-le/
    1sgNOM=just foot-INST

(ii) /#aɾyɛŋ(-pe)# aŋkɛt/-e-le/
    1sgNOM=FOC foot-INST

(iii) /#aɾyɛŋ(-ape-)# aŋkɛt/-e-le/
    1sgNOM (go) foot-INST

While no complete survey has been undertaken, verb final word ordering is widespread in Central Australian songs. Strehlow notes it is the basic structure of Arrernte and Luritja songs (1971:213), and the Alyawarr awelye presented in Moyle (1986) show a tendency for verbs to occur in text final position. Keogh also observes verb final word order in Nurlu songs from the Kimberleys (1990:74). In Warlpiri, SOV is the favoured word order in pragmatically unmarked sentences, and my own observations suggest this may also be the case in Kaytete.  

9.5.1 Verbal inflections

Awelye textlines do not show the full set of nominal and verbal inflections. Nominals in Awelye are inflected for ergative, instrumental and dative, while verbs are inflected for associated motion, aspect, and sometimes tense. Likely and confirmed verbs attested in Awelye are shown in Table 9.7 with five verb song forms being non-finite (uninflected), seven finite, and in one textline it is not clear. This contrasts with spoken Arandic languages where verbs must be inflected. Note that all verbs inflected for

62 Moyle does not show textline boundaries, so I have assumed that in songs of three or four words there is a textline boundary after the second word. Speech words that are most certainly verbs occur in 18 songs out of a total of 34 songs (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 18, 19, 21, 25, 26, 27 and 33) (Moyle 1986:65-68).

63 Catherine Berndt’s transcriptions of Warlpiri and Western Desert women’s yanyan songs show that verbs also tend to come in textline final position (1965:249). Verb final word ordering can also be seen in the Pitjantjara song text in Ellis (1998:435). Verbs also occur in textline final position in Diyari songs (Austin 1978:531-2). Similarly, where verbs are identified in Sharpe’s analysis of Yanyuwa songs these are always in textline final position (2003:98). See also examples in Tonkinson (1978:104).

64 In this respect Awelye contrasts with the Dyirbal songs analysed by Dixon & Koch (1996:36).

65 Austin also notes Diyari songs have uninflected verb roots, whereas in speech all verbs must be inflected (1978:530) He suggests that in Diyari, one reason for having uninflected verb forms is because textlines can only be four syllables long.
associated motion except *are-nhe-pe-nhe-me* are non-finite, a tendency Strehlow also found in Arrernte songs (1971:226).  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Textline id.</th>
<th>Dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>finite</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bongwer-rre-rlewe-yewe</em></td>
<td>invite-RECIP-go and do quickly-PURP</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>18a</td>
<td>WAly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>intep-inte-me</em></td>
<td>lie-CONT</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>20a, 20b</td>
<td>Arr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>are-nhe-pe-nhe-me</em></td>
<td>see-&amp;go past(^7)-every so often-PRS</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>42a</td>
<td>Ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>arrepe-are-me</em></td>
<td>back-see-PRS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>29a</td>
<td>Ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>arraye-renalnte / arryernen-nte</em></td>
<td>shine-? / shine-NOM</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>11a</td>
<td>Ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>we-rennte</em></td>
<td>throw-?</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>16e</td>
<td>Ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>perlere-arre-rre</em></td>
<td>rain-INCH-?</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>41b</td>
<td>Ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>non-finite</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>twey-werl-rlpe-</em></td>
<td>throw-CNT-go.back&amp;</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>43a, 43b</td>
<td>Aly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>alter-twe-rl-ane-</em></td>
<td>?-throw-CNT-</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>35b</td>
<td>Ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>arerl-ane-</em></td>
<td>see-CNT-</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>14a, 14b, 35b, 39a</td>
<td>Ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>antye-</em></td>
<td>jump(^8)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>19a, 19b</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>are-rrre-</em></td>
<td>see-du/recip-</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>29b</td>
<td>Ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>uncertain</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>arrerne / arre-me</em></td>
<td>put- / put-?</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1b, 3a/4a, 3b/42b, 4b, 6a, 6b, 7b, 10b, 38a</td>
<td>Ar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.7 Confirmed and likely verbal song forms\(^{69}\)

Among the finite verbs, it is difficult to determine the exact function of the suffixes *me*, *-rennte*, *-rne* and *-ntyte* because a single suffix may occur in many Arandic languages with different functions. Strehlow notes the difficulty in translating the common verb suffix in Arrernte songs *-ye*, most often opting for a translation "Let us do ...". He notes that in the accompanying narratives, Arrernte speakers rarely use this suffix,

\(^{66}\) For example *manqel-arnere* is versified in songs as *manqelare-*; with the textline ending *manqale* and the following textline begins with the transferred final */l/*. Strehlow suggests that tenseless verbs may have existed in Lower Southern Arrernte, citing *jaqar* 'put down', which corresponds to *artarneme* (WAry), as an example (1971:229).

\(^{67}\) The associated motion form *-nhe-* is described by Wilkins as "X[SUBJ] do Y [verb] while moving past/through a place/person/thing Z that the addressee knows the location of" (Wilkins 1989:6).

\(^{68}\) Alternatively *antye-* means 'climb up' in (pan-Ar).

\(^{69}\) Note that the verbs *arrernem* and *arrernane* occur in many different textlines.
instead verbs are given in the present tense ending -me (1971:224), suggesting that the verb suffix in song may have a different function in song than in speech. The difficulties in assigning meaning to verbal suffixes are also many in Akweyie, and in the case of the tense inflections on verbs there is simply not enough evidence to identify their exact semantic function.

This difficulty was highlighted in the song form -arrerne. Spoken pronunciations are sometimes -arrerne [araŋa], -arrerane [araːnə], and sometimes -arenhe [araŋa] (textlines 1b, 3a&b, 4a&b, 6a&b, 7b, 10a). This variation may be due to different perceptions of what the speech equivalent is: the verb arre- 'to put' (pan-A) or the inchoative (K); with either -nhe, a past tense morpheme in Kaytetye or -me which is the imperative in Kaytetye and the recent past tense morpheme in Arrente. Alternatively, if the inchoative sense is taken, and assuming haplography, as occurs in Kaytetye speech, then arre-rane is another reading: -rane is the Kaytetye present continuous morpheme on intransitive verbs. So there are at least two interpretations of the verb root, and four possibilities for the suffix. There may also be a morphological difference in the spoken forms of these song texts, but when sung these differences collapse.

The other finite ending in Akweyie is -ntyey, which may correspond to the (pan-Ar) nominaliser. It is also attested in the Arandic songs recorded by Strehlow, and his overall translations are consistent with an analysis of the morpheme as having a nominalising function (Strehlow 1971:189). Expansions of Akweyie song texts do not support or deny the existence of a nominaliser. Possibly meanings normally conveyed through verbal tense inflections are not conveyed by the song text but through knowledge of what the awelye song texts connote, an issue I return to in Chapter 10.

9.6 Conclusion

For both researchers and Kaytetye singers, identifying song forms is a complex process. One must take into account the following: some parts of the text are purely to meet the metrical requirements, there can be many different speech equivalents of a single song form across Arandic languages and registers, and there can be multiple possible song forms corresponding to the same segment of a song text.

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70 As seen in Chapter 8, example (12).

71 Following a consonant other than an apical this morpheme is pronounced [rəːnə] -rane.
Consistencies in word order and recurring segments across textlines in the same position of the textline set to the same rhythmic pattern may assist singers in identifying song forms, which may have speech equivalents in many languages and may be special song register words or derived song forms. Singer's knowledge of past interpretations may also play a role in identifying song forms. The authority of past interpretations may depend on whether women who are regarded as the legitimate source of the interpretation gave them. Interpretations by senior owners during performance may also have greater validity and authority than interpretations made out of the awelye context. The next chapter considers the meanings of the song forms and relates these to the meanings of songs as expressed in the expansions.
Chapter 10 From song forms to song interpretation

To use a musical metaphor, the poetic words used in the Central Australian songs are rich in overtones. The root meanings supply, as it were, the fundamental tones; and the associations of the words, coupled with the poetic elaboration of their syllables, produce the varied overtones ... (Strehlow 1971:195-197).

10.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to identify the relationship between the interpretations of songs identified in Chapter 8 (expansions) and the song forms identified in Chapter 9. The greatest difference between the meanings of expansions and the meanings of the speech equivalents of song forms is that expansions include what Strehlow describes as "overtones" in the quote above, and what I call inferences.¹ These can be meanings about places, the Dreamtime and cultural practices, which are inferred from what Strehlow calls the "fundamental tones" and what I call the sense of the song forms.

As seen in Chapter 9, song texts usually contain only one or two song forms, leaving them semantically incomplete, thus the listeners must fill in the rest for themselves by inferring additional meanings.² This chapter argues that it is only in the socio-cultural context of Akwelye performance that certain inferred meanings are retrieved, as certain presuppositions are held in the context of Akwelye performance.³

In many song texts the relationship between song forms and their expansions is transparent. Such an example is illustrated in (1), where it can be seen that the core meanings of the speech equivalents of the song forms kwerre 'girl' and nperlperlperlperle 'fat' are expressed in the expansion.

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¹ Here I draw upon theories in pragmatics such as those of Sperber and Wilson (1986) to show that communication of an utterance involves the hearer inferring a set of relevant assumptions, or presuppositions, held by both the speaker and hearer.

² Henderson, in his discussion of Japanese Haiku poetry similarly states "Good Haiku are full of overtones" because "so much suggestion is put into so few words" (1958:4).

(1)(i) kwerratyamerlperlerlperlatyarrnera
    kwerre#atyer# ampwelpe-(le)-RED#aty# arrerne
    girl 1sgERG fat-(INST-RED) 1sgERG pat
    (textline 3a)

(ii) Expansion: DK: 'Fat one this kweryye [girl]! Him tellem like that.'
    (1999 MD21, dn 6)

The relationships between song forms and their expansions are not always as
transparent as in (1). Compare the song forms in song text 48 with an expansion of this
song text, shown in (2) (i) and (ii) respectively.

(2)(i) A (x 2)               B (x 2)
    layengapekatya           layengapentyera
    ayenge#(ape)# angketye-le ayenge#(ape)#entyere-le
    1sgNOM (just) foot-INST  1sgNOM (just) watercourse-LOC
    (song text 48)

(ii) Expansion: Foot. Him cry all the---road
    (2001 MD25, dn 4)

While the interpretation 'foot' is the core meaning of the song form angketye, it is not
apparent if 'cry' is an interpretation of a song form or if it is additional information. I
suggest that the song form angketye 'foot' acts as a mnemonic for the story of the blue-
tongue lizard by virtue of a collocation in everyday speech, angketye mpenke 'foot walk',
meaning 'walk'. In the ceremonial context 'I am foot (walking)' then evokes the blue-
tongue woman story discussed in §8.3 and, to someone who knows the story, that she
is crying. The inferred blue-tongue lizard narrative is possible with knowledge of
Dreaming mythology and only holds in the context of Akwelye performance. In this way

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4 Daphne's use of a third person pronoun in her expansion ("Him tellem like that") when the 1sgERG
pronoun atye is the song form, is common in interpretations of direct speech, as a shift in pronoun is
necessary to maintain the same reference.

5 ape 'go' (K) is thus a song form of possible status. This chapter compares only confirmed meanings
with confirmed forms. See Appendix 4 for status of morphemes in examples.

6 Some Kayteye speakers suggest that here 'road' refers to a Dreaming track.

7 While the researcher can identify the string ape 'go' (K) in the song text, interpretations of the song text
do not suggest that speakers perceive this to be a song form. Indeed, singers tend to break up the song text
into the segments ayengepe angketyele, ayengepe entyerele, which suggests that singers analyse the song
text as "pe and not ape 'go'.

8 In everyday speech 'foot walk' does not refer to 'cry', or any other meanings relating to the narrative of
the blue-tongue lizard.

9 It is unlikely that angketye relates to the narrative as a short-hand reference to the activity of wiping her
eyes with her front feet, as in contemporary (pan-A) languages a lizard's front legs are referred to as
tyrkere 'arm' or eltye 'hand'.

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an Akwelye performance can be considered a type of speech event, which I call the awelye speech event.

The outline of this chapter is as follows. In §10.2 I first identify the total meanings (senses) of the confirmed song forms (as expressed in the expansions), comparing these briefly with other Central Australia song texts. §10.3 then considers motivations for each of the non-core meanings of song forms, taking into account whether the meanings are attested in speech or only Akwelye. §10.4 proposes a way to account for the inferred meanings—the "overtones"—as expressed in the expansions. The remainder of this section considers degrees of certainty of song form meanings and considers the phenomenon of multiple meanings of a single song form.

10.1.1 Degrees of certainty as to the meanings of the song forms

In Chapter 9 it was shown that forms in song texts could be postulated with differing degrees of certainty. In this analysis of the relationships between form and meaning, status has also been assigned to the meanings of songs ranging from confirmed to possible. In the majority of cases confirmed forms also have confirmed meanings, but this is not always the case. The song form arrenerne is a confirmed form in 10 textlines (1b, 3a/4a, 3b/42b, 4b, 6a, 6b, 7b, 10b, 37b, 38a), yet its meaning 'put' is confirmed in only eight textlines (but not in 37b or 38a). Its meanings 'create/call' is confirmed in textline 38a, and has the status 'likely' [L] in textlines 3a, 3b, 4b, 7b, 10b, 37b, 41a.10 Similarly, a confirmed meaning may not have a confirmed form. For example aweke 'plump' is a confirmed meaning for song texts 3 and 4, yet the song forms which relates to ampwele (Aly) 'plump' have likely status: ampwelpe (Aly) [L], and amperlerleripele (song word) [L].11 This chapter considers primarily confirmed meanings, although where necessary draws upon likely [L] meanings, and in these cases [L] forms are marked as such.

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10 The meanings 'create/call' and 'put' also have the status 'possible' in the five other textlines with the form arrenerne.

11 Only the researcher has made the connection that the segment in the song text amperlerleriperle, which is separated by singers and interpreted as aweke 'plump' (K), relates to the Alyawarr word ampwelpe 'plump'. It seemed that the singers were not familiar with this Alyawarr word.
10.1.2 Multiple meanings of a single song form

In Chapter 9 we saw that multiple meanings of a song sometimes arose from different perceptions of the words in a song text. They can also arise from a single interpretation of a song form, because of the many senses and connotations that a song form may hold for people. These different sources of multiple meanings are diagrammed in Figure 10.1 and 10.2.

Figure 10.1 Multiple meanings arising from different interpretations of the song form in a song text

Figure 10.2 Multiple meanings arising from a single song form that has more than one sense and from applying a specific reference

In Figure 10.2 it can be seen that there are potentially four possible meanings of the song form *aparipe*. Meanings 1 and 2 arise because there is no grammatical distinction in the language between a plant species and a type of legless lizard, both have the same...

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12 In this study I do not attempt to identify all the connoted meanings a particular individual may derive from a given song, but limit the identification of connoted (inferred) meanings to those relating to broad cultural and mythological practices, rather than those relating to individual experiences.
name, while meanings 1b and 2b arise because of a monosemy in the language between
definite and indefinite grammatical categories. Although in this particular song text
there are no expansions to suggest a particular legless lizard or a particular broombush,
expansions of other song texts, such as the interpretation involving the blue-tongue
lizard, do suggest a specific reference. Ellis refers to multiple meanings arising from the
one song form as "levels of meaning" (1970:83-84, 1985:62-64), a notion which I return
to below.\(^{13}\)

Akwelye singers generally stated that there is only ever one meaning of a song text, and
indeed at any one performance the expansions and song glosses related to the one
interpretation. As discussed in §9.4, a comparison of expansions of the one song text
given on different occasions, however, reveals several different meanings of a song. For
example, song text 8 has the song form arranye. While there was no single expansion
that referred to both arranye 'type of wallaby' and Arratyarenge 'place name', both these
meanings were given on separate occasions. When I put to the singers that both were
meanings of song text 8, this was most often denied.\(^{14}\) The ideology that songs have
only one meaning is also consistent with the view that song meaning is aligned with an
individual and a particular context of interpretation.\(^{15}\)

Multiple senses of a single song form as illustrated in Figure 10.2 can arise in three
different ways:

(i) from a polysemy of the song form in spoken language (eg. aparipe
'broombush', 'legless lizard')

(ii) by associating the song form with both a speech word and a derived word
based on the speech word (eg. arranye 'wallaby' and Arratyarenge 'place
name')

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\(^{13}\) Similarly, Barwick notes that in Warumungu songs a word for a plant may refer to a particular one of
those plants or to all or any of those plants (forthcoming).

\(^{14}\) Two Kayeteye speakers recognised that the song form could refer to both meanings, and that the
meanings were related.

\(^{15}\) It is also consistent with many Kayeteye people's practices of not discussing metalinguistic knowledge,
such as the language of the forms in songs considered in §9.3.3.
(iii) a figurative meaning of the song form not attested in speech (eg. *iterlarre* 'headband', 'cloud').

Examples of multiple senses arising from the first two ways have been considered earlier in this section. The third way can be seen in the song form *iterlarre*, which has a core meaning 'headband', evidenced in (3)(i) and a non-core meaning 'cloud', evidenced in (3)(ii).

(3) (i) G.Koch: What's *iterlarre*?

Daphne: Makem flash you know *pakarie* [headband]. Makem flash come dance now ... *'merrparrana merrpewentyerre iterlarre, merrpe'* puttem pakarie makem flash.

(1976 GK 6895, da 48)

(ii) Daphne *iterlarre*.

G.Koch: *iterlarre*?

Daphne: Yeah, *cloud* you know, yeah *iterlarre* that one. You know?

Daphne: That white one, you see 'em, white one like that one. You see that one?

*Mataye* [cloud] that one, *mataye*.

(1976 GK 6984, da 2)

When I asked Daphne about the meaning 'cloud' she had given previously, the singer denied that 'cloud' was a meaning of this song text. The following possibilities may account for Daphne's denial of the meaning given previously:

(i) 'cloud' was an incorrect interpretation

(ii) Daphne does not want this meaning to be known

(iii) that she has forgotten the connection between the previous meaning and the song form.

It seems unlikely that 'cloud' is an incorrect interpretation as it was given on more than one occasion. Furthermore, the two interpretations 'cloud' and 'headband' can be understood as a meaning extension in the context of a rain song series, where *iterlarre*,

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16 The song form *iterlarre*, 'headband', was interpreted as 'cloud' on two different occasions by Daphne. On six other occasions it was interpreted as 'headband' by Daphne, twice to researcher Grace Koch in 1976 and four times to myself in 1999. For details of the expansions see Appendix 1.
which is a white headband, may be a metaphor for long white clouds. That dancers move the headband above their head, from their left to right, provides visual evidence for the metaphor.

Further evidence for a case of polysemy, rather than two unrelated interpretations, can be seen when we look further afield to other Central Australian songs which exhibit a similar range of subjects and polysemy. Strewhow's account of a Northern Arrernte myth about the seven sisters involves references to a "great totemic python" which shot water into the sky which became a cloud (1971:673-674). Spencer and Gillen refer to Kaytetye euro men from Arnerre who "cut off their whiskers, and from them the clouds arose and went into the sky" (1904:294, 419). Given such information about other rain-making songs, it is likely that the extension of 'headband' to mean 'cloud' is the result of an interpretation sensitive to the context of a rain-making song series where headbands become clouds. Furthermore, in 2005 singer Betty confirmed the connection, which was grounded in an ilpentye ceremonial practice involving a headband.

Ellis (1985:62-64) refers to Pitjantjatjara songs as having "false fronts"—meanings of a form that exist simultaneously, but are only activated depending on the status and knowledge of the person receiving information about the songs. She cites an example of a Pitjantjatjara song text that referred on different occasions to the cup on a telegraph pole—the most public meaning and thus the false front; a woman's breast and a termite mound (1985:64). While the term false front aptly conveys that a song has various levels of meaning, the term also suggests that the most public meaning is incorrect. In relation to Akwelye song expansions, there is little evidence that the public meanings are incorrect. As Ellis and Barwick note for other Central Australian songs, the various meanings "are never in conflict with each other; and ... are in fact mutually supportive" (1987:44-45).

It is likely 'headband' is the most public level of meaning (false front) and 'cloud' a more esoteric meaning of song text 10 that was only an appropriate interpretation in the context of the 1976 performances, but for a myriad of possible reasons Daphne didn't

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17 Speakers state headbands are 'white' and while this may be compared to clouds, it should be noted that in pre-contact times headbands were made from hair-string and were a greyish-brown colour. The use of the word 'white' may be because 'white' is associated with 'flashy, attractiveness', which are how iterlarrre are perceived in Kaytetye.

18 See songs in Catherine Berndt (1965:249) and Benterrak, Muecke and Roe (1984:76).
want this meaning revealed in 1999. This is not to deny that Daphne may simply have forgotten the connection between the two meanings, however such a proposition cannot easily be confirmed or denied when there are social dynamics to be considered.

10.2 Subject matter of the song forms
Before analysing the motivations for the non-core meanings of song forms I consider their subject matter, shown in Table 10.1. Song texts in bold are those in which the meaning of the song form is a non-core (extended) meaning, as evidenced in the expansions. It can be seen that most meanings of song forms are the core (primary) meaning of the speech equivalent. Meanings not attested in speech are underlined.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject matter</th>
<th>Meaning of speech equivalent of song form and textlines in which they occur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>natural features</td>
<td>sun (11a, 14a, 51b, 59a,) shade (6b, 34b, 40a, 40b, 11b) lightning (16a) cloud (18b) sandhill (21a, 45a) flood water (9a, 9b) spring (35b) floodout (25a/27b/36b/48b) underground cave (52a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flora</td>
<td>leaf (11b) native morning glory (43b) broombush (28b) blossom (7a, 7b) sandhill bloodwood (7b) red malice (nectar of) (13a) lerp of river red gum (3b) Acacia sp. (edible grub of) (5a) pencil yam (tuber) (31b) wild melon (fruit) (36a) conkerberry (fruit) (30a) whitewood (11b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fauna</td>
<td>black footed rock wallaby (8a) bronzewing pigeon (37a) crested bellbird (26b) legless lizard (28a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place name</td>
<td>Arratyareenge (8a) Werleterrpe (25a, 25b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Barwick notes that the predominance of a particular meaning on any one occasion depends upon many factors (2003:15-16). Some of the differences in the later 1999 performance were that Daphne was not living with her extended family, she was working with a different researcher, she was now a widow, with less control over her life and dependent on aged care assistance, and there have been family disputes over her country. At Alkarengge one younger Kayete woman in the community stated to me that Daphne wouldn’t tell her about the Akwelye songs. For whatever reasons, Daphne may not have seen certain people as deserving of such knowledge.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject matter</th>
<th>Meaning of speech equivalent of song form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cultural items</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traditional skirt (17b, 33a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woemera (44b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relating to awelye ceremony</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women’s ceremony (1b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceremonial stripe (24a, 24b, 1b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dancing stick (15a, 32a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>headband (10a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>covered in ceremonial stripes (40a, 40b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dreamtime woman (18a, 4b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girl (3a, 18a, 42a, 47b, 34a, 35a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female cousin (38a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Pwerle’ (skin name) (30a, 30b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sgDAT/ACC (30a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sgNOM (48a, 48b, 49a, 49b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1du.ex.O,OM,NOM/ERG (18b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>body parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back (5a, 29a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stomach (37b, 19a, 19b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>throat (20b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot (48a, 49b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye (17a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitals (17a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spirit (32b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dead body (22a, 22b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emotional / social states</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fancy someone (29b, 37b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lovesick (20a, 20b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadness (52a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shame (26a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jealous/worry (19a/19b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anxiety/worry/power (39b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orphaned (27b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actions - by animate being</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ask someone to come and return (18a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>create/call (38a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put (1b, 3a/4a, 3b/42b, 4b, 6a, 6b, 7b, 10b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>throw (43a, 43b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lying down (20a, 20b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jump (19a, 19b, 35b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watch/look (14a, 14b, 35b, 39a, 42a, 29a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- by non-animate being</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rain (41b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shine (11a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spatial/temporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>east (14b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far (27a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quick (12a, 12b, 45a, 45b, 13a, 13b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at sunrise (14a, 51b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long time 23a, 23b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interrogative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when (12a, 21b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.1 Confirmed meanings of confirmed song forms in textlines

There are 70 confirmed meanings of the 69 song forms. Here I discuss briefly the significance of their subject matter and compare their meanings with those of other Central Australian song texts.

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20 This meaning also has likely status in seven textlines: 3a, 3b, 4b, 7b, 10b, 37b and 41a.

21 This meaning is of likely status in textlines 23a and 23b.
Most of the subject matter referring to natural features is also found in other Central Australian songs, including the Arandic songs recorded by Strehlow. Some of the natural features also have figurative connections with female spirits—the subject of this song series. The frequency of aherrke 'sun' in the Akwelye women's series may reflect a cultural association between 'women' and 'sun'. The sun is often depicted as a woman in Dreamtime narratives throughout Australian Aboriginal societies. The song form ahilkwerre–ahelkwerre 'underground cave' is where athamarenye 'spirits of the country', reside—the spirits from which people receive songs. This song form occurs in a 'closing' song, a song used to return the spirits to their home. Carl Strehlow observes that in Western Arrernte the sun woman descends into a large hole in the ground, called ahalpere (in Wilkins 1997:422). Probably ahelkwerre is the place where the Akwelye kwerrimpe reside.

The majority of flora and fauna song forms refer to things used by women in traditional Kaytetye life, mostly as sources of food, although some plants have other functions: 'leaf' is a source of shade, 'broombush' is used to clear a path and 'bloodwood' has gumnuts that women make into necklaces. The song form aparipe 'legless lizard' is not traditionally used but originates from Arnerre and is believed to 'sing up' yams. The types of flora and fauna in Akwelye are well attested in central Australian songs.

22 Lemnge 'sun' (WArr) occurs in an Arrernte men's song (Strehlow 1971:120) and 'shade' is a gloss for an Alyawarr awelye song text (Moyle 1986:66). Catherine Berndt documented Western Desert women's songs and a caption under a photo of a group of Balgo women sitting under trees performing yawalyu reads "women in their sacred shade" (1965:238). There may be an association between 'shade', women's ceremonies and 'women' based on a contrast between 'shade' and 'sun'. 'Cloud' is attested in women's rain making ceremonies from Balgo (Berndt 1965:251); 'lightning' is attested in Wirlpiri women's rain yawalyu (Munn 1973:128) and from Roebuck plains in north-west Australia (Benterrak, Moecke and Roe 1984:77). 'Sandhill' and 'spring' occur in Alyawarr awelye (Moyle 1986:68, 57).

23 Wilkins (1997) discusses the semantic and mythological connections between the sun and women in Arrerre. He notes that in Western Arrernte hand-talk, the one sign is used for arrhekwe 'woman', kworre 'big girl', lemnge 'sun', kwerralye 'pleiades' and alte-ie 'in the daytime' (1997:420–421). He also notes a description in Carl Strehlow (1907:16-17) of the sun in Western Arrernte as "a solitary beautiful unmarried woman (who has) long white hair" (1997:421). This conceptual connection is also apparent in two texts of a traditional Kaytetye girl's song, performed only while the sun rises, that translate as "(sun) give me blonde hair, (sun) give me dark hair" (Turpin 2003:61). See also Dixon (1972).

24 'Closing a ceremony' is referred to as akwerleh-aylenke in Kaytetye.

25 Wilkins raises the issue of whether the first segment of ahalpere, ahe, is the Arandic protoform identified by Koch *ahe 'hot, angry; fight', mediated by the account of the place where the sun drops every night (Wilkins 1997:422). The word ahelkwerre (K. Aly), and its meaning as a place where spirits reside, as well as that it occurs in the 'closing song text', suggests that this may indeed be the case.

26 'Witchetty grub' occurs in an Arandic song (Davies 1927:83-84) and a Diyari song (Austin 1978:533), nyenza 'red mallee' occurs in a Kaytetye girl's song (Turpin 2002:73), and 'whitewood', 'bloodwood' and 'mallee' occur in Arrernte songs (Strehlow 1971:132, 176, 177). Other plant names occur in Alyawarr.
Form and Meaning of Akwelye: Chapter 10

Only two song forms refer to place names, although there are a further eight of possible and likely statuses. Place names are also infrequent in other Central Australian song texts. Most of the Akwelye song forms that refer to cultural items relate to awelye ceremonies. Interestingly, 'covered in ceremonial stripes' is also the meaning of song register word in an Arrernte song (Strehlow 1971:189, 121), and the pattern of partial reduplication is the same in both inta.lerra.lerra (Ar) and we.tyerrpe.tyerrpe (K).

All the song forms referring to people either refer to women or are first person pronouns, a feature to which I return in §10.4.1. Thus the songs are sung as though the singers are putting themselves in the place of a song character. Words for females are attested in many Central Australian women's songs, as are first person pronouns.

As is common in spoken Arandic languages, body part terms are often translated with a secondary meaning, such as 'stomach', which refers to the seat of emotions (Turpin 1997). Berndt observes, "a woman sings the stomach or belly of her husband or lover—the seat of the emotions" in a Wave Hill djarada song series (1965:253). The meanings 'alone' and 'lonely' are attested in many Central Australian songs, the latter sometimes associated with the stomach. Strehlow states "longing for home is the


However, place names occur in an Alyawarr awelye (Moyle 1986:65).

Women's ceremonial items occur in Alyawarr awelye (Moyle 1986:65, 68), Warumungu Yawalyu (Barwick 2000b), Kataju yawalyu (Moyle 1997:71), Antikirinya woman's songs (Ellis 1970:87, 173) and women's songs from Halls Creek and Wave Hill (Berndt 1965:250).

Kwerrimpe 'type of female Dreamtime woman' is probably derived from kwerre (K) 'girl'. A description of Arrernte Dreamtime women can be found in Strehlow (1947a4). Kurrapji 'ancestral women' are the subject of other Kaytetye and Warlpiri women's ceremonies (Bell 2002). 'Girl' and 'women' occur in Alyawarr awelye (Moyle 1986:57, 67) and kurrayli 'state' in Warumungu Yawalyu (Barwick 2000b). See Berndt (1965:251) and Ellis (1970:87) for examples in Western Desert songs.

Kwerrimpe occurs in an Alyawarr awelye, which Moyle translates as 'The man's wife, dreaming, spoke—' (1986:57). The song text is Kwerrimpe angge-ke 'say-PST' (pan-Ar), so the translation could be 'the Kwerrimpe woman spoke'. Moyle's translation is interesting as it provides further information as to who the Kwerrimpe is, in this case the wife of the man referred to in the previous song text.

Alyawarr awelye also contain only first person pronouns, with the exception of one third person possessive pronoun in a recently dreamt song (Moyle 1986:68).

Body part terms also occur in other Arandic songs. See Strehlow (1971:138, 180) and Davies (1927:83-84).

The Warumungu song text lampirrnga (Barwick 2000b) may be related to ampernge (K) 'love, worry' (also in Akwelye; textline 52a). It is interpreted 'tummy gets a funny feeling for love' (Barwick

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motive which leads most of the weary ancestors of legend back to the place where they originated" (1947a:32).

Most song forms describing actions are done by animate beings, many of which are symbolised in the dance action, such as 'ask someone to come and return' (see §4.4). The song form meaning 'put' is extremely frequent, as in other Central Australian songs, and in §10.3.3.5, I suggest it has an additional meaning in song—'create'. The meaning 'see' is also common in Central Australian songs. Verbs are commonly inflected for associated motion. The Akwelye song series refers to the travels of the Kwerrimpe ancestors and these women are the characters in the song texts. The high occurrence of the associated motion inflection category can be understood as the Kwerrimpe stating actions that occurred while traversing the country. As well, travelling was also the way of life of Kaytetye people in pre-contact time.

The spatial and temporal terms meaning 'east' and 'sunrise' may be part of a network with 'sun', 'daytime' and 'woman', which Wilkins sees as forming a particular cultural understanding that relates to the Dreaming in Arrernte (1997:421).

In comparison to the song forms in the Arrernte songs documented by Strehlow (1971), in Akwelye there is an absence of proper names, and more references to emotional and social states. In Akwelye proper names are rarely explicitly stated in song texts. Rather, these meanings are inferred from song forms, given particular cultural knowledge, as we saw with the place Arratyarenge 'wallaby-POS', inferred from the song form arrawye

2000b). The Warumungu yawulyu Barwick recorded was said to have been dreamed by a man with Kaytetye links and given to his wives. Yurrara 'lonely, homesick' occurs in Warumungu yawulyu (Barwick 2000b) and irrara 'lonely, homesick' (WAR) in Arrernte songs (Strehlow 1947a:xx). See also examples in Berndt (1965:253-4).

34 This meaning and dance pattern resembles an Alyawarr women's dance documented by Moyle (1986:65).

35 Moyle's glossing of the awelye song kwirrmpila arrinu could be 'Kwerrimpe-ERG put' rather than his gloss 'women air' (1986:67). Kuriy- 'put' occurs in Diyari songs (Austin 1978:531-2), and a verb stem meaning 'put' occurs in a Pijjantjatjara song, where its meaning is 'do, act' (Turnstill 1995:70). Manu-mani occurs in yawulyu songs from Balgo glossed by Berndt 'put' (1965:249, 251). It is not known what language manu-mani is in; possibly the word is Warlpiri mani 'get', whose meaning has been extended in song. Barwick also notes frequent use of 'put' in Warlpiri and Pijjantjatjara songs (2003, pers.comm.)

36 See examples in Strehlow (1971:194), Moyle (1986:57) and (Barwick 2000b).

37 Similar spatial and temporal terms occur in Arrernte songs (Strehlow 1971:114, 183), Alyawarr songs (Moyle 1986:66), Warumungu (Barwick 2000b) and Western Desert songs (Berndt 1965:250; Turnstill 1995:68, 72). Interrogatives, although not common, are attested in Warumungu (Barwick 2000b) and Pijjantjatjara songs (Turnstill 1995:69).
'black footed rock wallaby' with knowledge about the associated mythology of that place.

The confirmed meanings of the confirmed *Akwelye* song forms are grounded in the Central Australian landscape and values of traditional Aboriginal society and show the shared cultural basis of Central Australian song texts. The subject matter of the *Akwelye* song forms evokes relationships between things and in so doing layers of meanings of the songs unfold, such as the meaning of the song form 'looking in the east' which probably evokes the relationship between women/sun/east and morning. As well, the fact that a set of words which are otherwise conceptually connected appear in the same song series reinforces that conceptual connection, such as women/sun/east/morning. Knowledge of the cultural practices and the mythology opens up a myriad of possible connotative meanings of the forms in song texts.

10.3 Non-core meanings of song forms

From Table 10.1 it can be seen that 15 song forms are interpreted with a non-core meaning of their speech equivalent, otherwise known as a secondary or figurative meaning. In analysing the semantic extension of the 15 non-core meanings, I identify the type of semantic motivation. Most non-core meanings of song forms are motivated by a metonymy: a relationship between two entities which are contiguous, or which co-

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38 The relationship can be seen in particular cultural practices, such as the traditional Kaytetye girl's ceremony where they dance during the sunrise. In contrast, boys dance whilst the moon rises (Turpin 2003:61ff). The relationship between 'east' and 'ceremony' also exists in relation to Kaytetye initiation ceremonies, where the ideal is to dance until sunset. Another possible link in this semantic network is found in Barwick and Ellis who state that women's Pitjantjatjara ceremonies tend to focus on the east and men's on the west (1989:33).

39 Wilkins discusses a number of ways that conceptual connections are manifest in linguistic practices (1997:430). Dixon similarly shows that in Dyirbal words sometimes occur within a semantic noun class due to their connections based in the Dreamtime (1972:308).

40 Secondary meanings are what Taylor calls metaphorically and metonymically motivated polysemy—when a metaphor or metonymy becomes entrenched and associated with a word meaning (1995). Figurative meanings are when the metaphor or a metonymy is a phrase where the lexemes do not have a polysemous reading outside of the phrase, but the phrase as a whole requires a degree of pragmatic proficiency to gain the intended meaning.

41 Derived words such as *aherrke-aherrke-le* 'in the early morning' (lit. sun-sun-LOC) are not counted as song forms with a non-core meaning. Although *aherrke-aherrke-le* is a derived word based on a polysemy between 'sun' and a time when the sun comes into view (early morning), the meaning 'sunrise, early morning' is the core meaning of the speech equivalent. While confirming *aherrke-aherrke-le* as the song form rather than a poetic reduplication of *aherrke* is an issue, it is one of identifying form rather than meaning. Once a derived word such as *aherrke-aherrke-le* has been established as a song form, we can see that singers interpret this form with its core meaning: 'at sunrise'.

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occur within a given conceptual structure (Taylor 1995:123-4). Few non-core meanings are motivated by metaphor, that is, a perceived similarity between two entities.

I first divide non-core meanings of song forms into whether the speech equivalent is partially represented in the song form (§10.3.1), such as Arratyarengen 'place name', interpreted from the song form arratye, or whether the speech equivalent of the non-core meaning is identical to the song form (§10.3.2), such as aparipe 'legless lizard' ↔ 'broombush'. Non-core meanings of identical song forms are further divided into whether they are attested in spoken languages (§10.3.2), or only song (§10.3.3), such as iterlarre 'headband' ↔ 'cloud'.

10.3.1 Speech equivalents partially represented in the song form

As discussed in 10.1.2, the song form arratye, (4)(i), is interpreted as a place name Arratyarengen 'wallaby-POS' (ii), even though the possessive suffix is absent in the song text.\(^{43}\)

(4) (i) narratyarratya
    arratye\# arratye
    wallaby.sp wallaby.sp

(ii) Swamp, this side. Proper big plain now. Arratyarengen.

(1999, MD21, dn 18)

In Kaytetye there is no evidence that the place name is a meaning of arratye, thus it must be considered a poetic meaning. However, because the speech equivalent Arratyarengen 'wallaby sp-POS' is derived from arratye 'wallaby sp', it is a poetic meaning whose speech equivalent is partially represented in the song form.

The semantic association between arratye and Arratyarengen is based on knowledge of the Dreaming myths involving the arratye ancestor at this place. These activities also

\(^{42}\) Riemer states that metonymy plays "a far greater role in semantic extension than has sometimes been realized" (1999:26).

\(^{43}\) Conversely, the spoken version of the textline arratyarratye is used to refer to the place Arratyarengen in conversation during performance, eg. Arratyarratye-theye mpeleike alpe-the Arrerre-warie. 'From Arratyarengen they returned to Arrerre.' (Kirsty, 1999 MD12, dn 22).
relate to cultural practices involving initiation practices of Kaytetye people today, which are connoted meanings revealed in extended interpretations of the song text.

Hercus and Simpson show that Central and Southern Australian Aboriginal place names tend to be based on events that happened in the Dreaming rather than on topographic features (2002:15). Considering that both songs and places refer to Dreamings, it is not surprising that secondary meanings of song texts are often place names. In Table 10.1 we saw that most meanings of song forms in Akwelye relate to plants and animals, which Bell states of other Central Australian songs is the sort of knowledge that is "transmitted in mixed and open performances" (2002:186). In contrast, I suggest that meanings about places inferred from song forms may be considered a more esoteric level of meaning, an issue to which I return in §10.4.4.

Another example of a speech equivalent only partially represented in the song form is **nyale-nyale** 'skinny' [L]. It relates to the interpretation as a swear word through a phrasal metaphor **pwere nyale-nyale** 'vagina-skinny'. This is a way of bad-mouthing someone in Kaytetye speech. To deduce the collocate it is necessary to know that the Kwerrrimpe women are fighting. This example shows an expansion that relates metaphorically to a phrasal idiom of which only part is present in the song form. I now consider the non-core meanings of song forms that show formal identify with their speech equivalents.

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44 And until recently, at this site.

45 Note that the song form, **arraye** is the semantically salient part of the place name **Arraty-arrenge** 'wallaby sp.-POS'.

46 Other examples include **Elep-akwalentye** 'place on Amnerre (lit. axe-verb-NOM)' [L], which is a meaning of textline 1a for some Kaytetye men. The second morpheme of this word is phonologically similar to the first segment of textline 1a **kwelembryantye**. Only the verbal part of this place name is represented in the song text. The place on Amnerre **Anggayertweve** (lit. eyebrow-without) [P] could also potentially be inferred from song text 17, as this song text contains the salient part of this place name, **anggayte** 'eyebrow' (K) 'forehead' (Aly): anggayertamperrananggayertamperra.

47 See also Ellis (1985:63, 1970:83)

48 It is possible that the metaphor **pwere nyale-nyale** (also **pwere tyale-tyale**) could also be derived from **nyale-nyale** in the context of an argument, in which case an avelye song text is drawing upon knowledge of language use in arguments.
10.3.2 Meanings also attested in speech (formal identity with speech equivalent)

Twelve of the 15 non-core meanings of song forms are also attested in spoken Arandic languages. These semantic extensions can be grouped according by domain:

- flora/fauna (1 song form)
- leaf/shade (7 song forms)
- plant/edible part (1 song form)
- body part/emotion (2 song forms)
- physical state/emotional state (2 [L] status song forms)
- thing/place name (1 [L] status, 1 [P] status song form)
- me and her/me and you (1 song form)

Each of these is now discussed.

10.3.2.1 Flora/fauna polysemy

It was noted in §10.1.2 that the song form aparipe has two meanings: 'legless lizard' and 'broombush', as illustrated in (5).

(5)(i) Betty: apmwe1
    snake
Snake
    small ANPH
      akelye wethe
      small one
April:  snake, akelye wenbe
        small one
        Snake, small one.

Daphne:  snake, apmwe, little one.
          (1999 MD20, da 17)

(ii) Daphne: Kwatye we callen kwatye, aparipele grass, yeah, dry grass. Errpatye.
        [useless] He getting dry now.
          (1999 MD14, da 59)

I have not come across a bridging context to confirm the polysemy,\footnote{The term "bridging context" (Evans 1992:477) refers to a textual example where the two senses are shown to be united.} however it is known that the legless lizard lives in grass.\footnote{In Kaytetye both meanings of aparipe are attested, although its meaning 'broombush' is lesser known.} Possibly legless lizards lived in the same
habitat where broombushes grow and so the semantic connection may be a flora/fauna polysemy based on associative metonymy. A further reason to suggest a case of polysemy over homophony is that a polysemy between 'broombush' and a lizard species is found in other Arandic languages.

10.3.2.2 Leaf/shade

The song form arliperre 'leaf' has a non-core meaning 'shade', shown in (6). Not all speakers confirm this meaning, but it does occur in the speech of some older speakers.

       sun-ERG 1sgACC  burn-PRS-HITH 1sgNOM sit-PURP  leaf-ALL  thus
       'The sun is burning me, I need to sit in the shade', like that.

       Maya: 'Oh sun burnem me I'll have to sit down longa shade'
       Kirsty: longa arliperre [leaf]

Daphne: arliperre, 'shade'. Too hot.

(1999, MD14 dn 76)

The extension from 'leaf' to 'shade' is what Evans refers to as a "day-to-day world connection" (1997:142), as the extension does not rest on specific cultural knowledge. The extension is also an example of actual/potential metonymy (Evans 1992:479), as leaves have the potential to be shade. The relationship between the song form arlangkwe 'bloodwood' and the meaning 'shade' is also motivated by the same actual/potential metonymy, whereby the tree name stands for 'shade', as illustrated in (7).

(7) Daphnc: Arlangkwe. Arlangkwe pretty flower him bin tellem. 'Oh pretty, look at that, pretty!' he bin tellem. (laughs) That one now. Shade.

(1999, MD14, dn 16)

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51 Evans (1997) identifies a range of flora-fauna polysemy in Australian Aboriginal languages.

52 In Alyawarr 'broombush' is called alewayxerr-alewayxerre, which is a reduplication of the (pan-Ar) word for 'sand goanna'. The reduplication suggests that 'lizard sp.' may be the primary meaning of aparip and the plant species is the extended meaning.

53 In contrast, in neighbouring Aboriginal languages, such as Warlpiri and Warumungu the word for 'leaf' is polysemous with 'shade', as it is in a number of Australian Aboriginal languages (O'Grady 1960).

54 In (K) the word for 'shade' can also be used to refer to trees or bough shelters so the extension is bi-directional.
10.3.2.3 Plant name/food obtained from that plant

There is a widespread polysemy in Arandic languages whereby plant names are used to refer to the edible seeds, fruit or root of that plant (Wilkins 1996:275). This is both an actual/potential polysemy, as the plant potentially has the seed and a metonymy based on the salient part of a plant.

Table 10.2 shows *Akwelye* song forms whose non-core meanings are based on a metonymy between the plant and the edible part of the plant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song form</th>
<th>Literal meaning</th>
<th>Metonymic meaning</th>
<th>Attested in spoken language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aperlape</td>
<td>conkerberry</td>
<td>fruit of conkerberry</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwelkarte</td>
<td>wild melon</td>
<td>fruit of bush melon</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arlatyeye</td>
<td>pencil yam</td>
<td>edible tuber</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aravelarre</td>
<td><em>Acacia melleodora</em></td>
<td>edible grub</td>
<td>some speakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntyenyne</td>
<td>red mallee</td>
<td>nectar of flowers</td>
<td>some speakers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.2 Song forms that relate to the meaning of an expansion by metonymy based on the salient part of a plant

Only two non-core meanings are not common in Kaytetye speech. 'Witchetty' is interpreted from the song form *aravelarre* 'Acacia melleodora' by knowing that this plant has an edible grub in its roots.\(^{55}\) Similarly, the song form *ntyenyne* 'red mallee' refers to the sweet nectar in the gum nuts of this plant.\(^{56}\) Such metonymies can only be derived if one has knowledge of what foods can be obtained from this plant.

10.3.2.4 Ceremonial genre/ceremonial stripe

The song form *awelye* 'women's ceremony' is interpreted as 'painting' in the expansions in (8). Here "painting" refers to the designs painted on women's bodies as part of *awelye* ceremonies, as discussed in Chapter 4.

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\(^{55}\) *Ravelarre* (K) is the word for the witchetty of this plant. It is possible that *ravelarre* is the actual song form from which singers derive the speech equivalent *aravelarre*. The song text is *ralartepanga*, yet *ravelarre* is never given as a speech equivalent.

\(^{56}\) In Kaytetye *ntyeny-nekwlarle* (K) is the nectar in the gum nuts of the red mallee.
10.3.2.3 Plant name/food obtained from that plant

There is a widespread polysemy in Arandic languages whereby plant names are used to refer to the edible seeds, fruit or root of that plant (Wilkins 1996:275). This is both an actual/potential polysemy, as the plant potentially has the seed and a metonymy based on the salient part of a plant.

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10.3.2.4 Ceremonial genre/ceremonial stripe

The song form awelye 'women's ceremony' is interpreted as 'painting' in the expansions in (8). Here "painting" refers to the designs painted on women's bodies as part of awelye ceremonies, as discussed in Chapter 4.

55 Rawelayte (K) is the word for the witchetty of this plant. It is possible that rawelayte is the actual song form from which singers derive the speech equivalent aravelarre. The song text is ralartespanga, yet rawelayte is never given as a speech equivalent.

56 In Kaytetye ntyenye-nghwarle (K) is the nectar in the gum nuts of the red mallee.
(8) Daphne: He callem that painting, painting *awelyewarrarne* [textline 1b] (1999, MD12, da 1)

The semantic extension can be understood as an instance of whole/part metonymy based on knowing that ceremonial designs are the salient part of women's *awelye* ceremonies.

10.3.2.5 Body part/emotion

The polysemy of body parts to refer to feelings is well attested cross-linguistically.\(^{57}\)

Words for 'stomach' mean 'feel' in the two song texts in which they occur. Unlike the two meanings of *aparipe*, which are never given at the one time of interpretation, the meanings 'stomach' and 'feel' are given on the same occasion. This is probably because Arandic speakers readily perceive the semantic connection between 'stomach' and 'feel'.\(^{58}\)

The song forms *aleme* 'stomach, liver' and *itenye-*we 'fancy someone-DAT', shown in (9)(i), relate to the meaning 'love', expressed in the expansion shown in (ii). Daphne states both the literal meaning, expressed as "guts", and the non-core meaning 'feel an emotion', expressed as "loven" and "wantem".

(9) (i) *walamaytenyewarmpyea*

\[ aleme\#itenye-well\#(atmp-weye) \]

\[ \text{stomach fancy.s/o-DAT (touch-TNS)} \]

(textline 37b)

(ii) Daphne: No *aleme itenyewarmpyea* him wanna loven that girl, that's why him singem.

\{ Mym: *warlemaytenyewarmpyeay*?  
\}

\{ Daphne: Yeah, yeah. Singem this one, boy. Him wantem boy, and boy loven him. Yeah. That's why we bin singem that one.  
\}

\{ Daphne: Ye, *alematenyewewe*. Proper funny one. \[ aleme \]

\{ Mym: *alematenyewe* \[ aleme \]  

(1999 MD21, da 80)

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\(^{58}\) See Turpin (1997) for evidence that the semantic connection between 'stomach' and 'feel' is readily perceived by Arandic speakers.

\(^{59}\) The verb *ampe-* 'touch' is only one of three possible verbs. See the morphological analysis of song text 37 in Appendix 1.
That another confirmed nominal in the text has a literal meaning in the domain of feelings, itenyeye 'fancy someone', may assist speakers in interpreting the non-core meaning of aleme.

The song form atnerte antye- (lit. 'stomach jump'), shown in (10)(i), is similarly interpreted figuratively to mean 'feeling jealous', expressed in the expansions by Daphne as "worrying for kweyaye [girl]", shown in (ii).

(10)(i) nertewantyeya
     atnert# antye(-ye)
     stomach jump(-TNS)

(ii) Daphne: He is jumping around him guts. He worrying for that kweyaye now—
     Myf: His guts jumping round?

     Daphne: Yeah, him worrying for that kweyaye belonging to him.
     Rachel: heart

The literal meaning of aleme, 'stomach', combines with antye - 'jump' to create a metaphoric phrase, rather than a case of polysemy where aleme means 'feel'. 61 Atnerte antye- is attested in old Arrernte meaning "how you feel when things aren't going your way" (ECAED electronic database).62 Thus, the gloss 'worry' is a non-core meaning of atnerte antye- 'stomach jump', but one that is also attested in the spoken language.63 The motivation for the semantic extension may be a combination of a cultural and biological mediated metonymy. It is well known that the body undergoes certain physical changes when people undergo intense emotional states, yet the way the exact location of these

60 This metaphoric phrase takes up the entire textline, which this is not surprising considering that nominal + verb is a common syntactic structure of textlines (See Chapter 9). Dixon and Koch also note that whole song texts can constitute a single metaphor (1996:24-26).

61 I have argued elsewhere that when combined with a nominal in the domain of emotions, aleme 'stomach' has a secondary sense 'feel'; yet when combined with a word not in the domain of emotions the phrase is regarded as a metaphor (Turpin 1997:90).

62 Henderson and Dobson gloss it as 'sigh' (1994:312). There are many other phrases in contemporary spoken Arandic languages where words for 'stomach' combine with words not in the domain of emotions to produce a metaphor in the domain of emotions. Some examples are aleme anke-(K) 'be jealous (lit. stomach talk)'; and aleme atyenge errwate-(K) 'be happy (lit. press on me stomach}'.

63 Metaphoric phrases can also be found in other Central Australian songs. In songs of the Arbana-Wangkangurru Languages of Lake Eyre Basin, Hercus identifies the metaphor "excrement of fire" to mean "smoke" (Hercus 1994:310).
changes is talked about, in this case 'stomach', rests on the culture of the linguistic community.

10.3.2.6 Physical state/emotional state
A semantic extension of physical state to emotional state may account for parretye [L] 'perish, thirsty' and its meanings 'pinning for someone'. The textline and expansion are shown in (11).

(11)(i)  nimeparrekeyparalintipay
      inte-pinte-me# (parretye-parretye)
      lie-CNT-PRS (perish-RED)

(ii)  Kirsty: Ahentye-le-parre kwene... parretye-parretye=kwene ayenge.  
      throat-INST-? EVID perish-perish =EVID 1sgNOM
      'I'm perishing' she says

      Daphne: He don't like me him got another kweyaye [girl].
      Kirsty: Me perish=rtame mpele
               =CNTR thus
               'I'm really perishing', like that

      Daphne: Me perish. ... parrekeyparalinpaye him bin jealous

      Kirsty: parretye-parretye ayenge inte-pinte-me kwene, ahentypepenhe errwewakerre
      perish-perish 1sgNOM lie-CNT-PRS EVID lover 2psMOG.DAT

      inteipinteme=kwene.
      lie-CNT-PRS=EVID
      'I'm perishing', apparently, 'for your boyfriend' / 'my boyfriend is wanting you lot' apparently.

      (1999 MD12, dn 18-19)

While I have only come across this metaphor in song, it is not without semantic correspondences in spoken Aboriginal languages, such as 'hungry for sex'.

A similar extension may also account for the meaning 'worry' of the speech equivalent arawerrnge (K), shown in (12)(i). Alternatively, it may have a broad monosemous

64 Similarly, the song form of likely status, ahentypelepape [L], in song text 20, relates to the expansion ahentypepenhe 'lover (throat-SEQ)' through a polysemy between ahentye 'throat' and 'want/desire'. This polysemy is common in all spoken (pan-A) languages. The polysemy may be based on a metaphor where the meaning 'thirst' can be seen to arise from a biological mediation as thirst is felt in the throat, which is then metaphorically extended to mean 'want'.

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meaning 'powerful emotion that doesn't allow you to think about anything else' as part of its lexical semantics.

(12)(i) rayngantyernantya
        arawerrngeh antye(-mantye)
        worry     jump(-TNS)
        (textline 39b)

(ii) Daphne: He worrying for artweye-we=ange?
        man-DAT=UNCER
        She's worrying for her boyfriend isn't she?

... Daphne: **Dreaming he bin worrying for something, might be boyfriend**
        **(laughs). Girl bin worrying.**
        (1999 MD21, da 82)

The relationship between the speech equivalent arawerrnge and the meaning of the expansion of the song text 39 exists in spoken Kaytetye, although it is difficult to determine whether this is a case of monosemy or polysemy.

10.3.2.7 Thing/place name
Song text 11 has a song form with a non-core meaning of likely status that is a place name. One woman interpreted textline 11b lerlperrariperra as referring to a place on Armerre called Arlperre, which is also the word for 'whitewood', an interpretation of the song text given on many other occasions. 65 Unlike the place name Arratyarenge (§10.3.1), the song form, arlperre, shows formal identity with its speech equivalent.

10.3.2.8 Meaning extension through politeness strategies
The speech equivalent aylermanthe '1.du.ex.OM,NOM' (K) 'me and someone else' on some occasions is interpreted rather than as an exclusive pronoun, as an inclusive pronoun, i.e. non-literally as 'me and you', as shown in (13). I suggest that this is motivated by a strategy of indirectness as a means of showing respect. 66

(13) Come on my cousin, me n'you go, go gettem
        artweye[man], atyeleye [cousin] cousin me n'you go
        (GK fieldnotes 1976)

65 Similarly, the place on Armerre Lenupe-nite-me 'lie-CNT-PRS' is a possible interpretation of song text 20.
66 A more widely attested pragmatic use of pronouns in Aboriginal languages, which also occurs in Kaytetye, is the use of third person pronouns instead of second-person pronouns as a form of respect. See Laughren for a discussion of this in Warlpiri (2001:214).
Kirsty: *Aylanthu-arpe alpe-ye kngerrake mpele
1du.inc.OM-only return-FUT east thus
Just me and you want to go east, apparently.
(1999 MD12, dn 131)

Daphne: Him want to try and takem, and him bin go and catchem and holdem. 'Kweyaye, me and you want to go back now' him bin tellem like that.
(1999 MD25, dn 44)

The song form resembles the exclusive pronoun *ayleranthe* 'me and someone else' yet has an inclusive meaning—'me and you'—(*aylanthe*) in the expansions in (13). Some Kaytete speakers, especially older people, use exclusive pronouns to denote 'me and you' to give a 'polite' command, as in (14)

[after singing]
(14) Daphne: *Elpere-elpere ayleranthe kwere ayle-antye, kartarte-l-apenye quick-RED 1du.exc.OM.NOM 3sgACC sing-PRS:CNT slow-ERG-SEMB

Sing it faster its a bit slow! (lit. me and her sing it faster, we're slow)
(1999, MD12, dn 124)

The song text with this song forms refers to two female cousins. In Kaytete the cross-cousin relationship also requires respect, so the exclusive pronoun may relate to the indirectness characteristic of this relationship. Thus the song form *ayleranthe* 'me and someone else' is interpreted in expansions as 'me and you' through knowing linguistic respect strategies in Kaytete.

The next section considers the semantic motivation for the non-core meanings of song forms where the extension is not attested in spoken Arandic languages.

10.3.3 Poetic non-core meanings (formal identity with speech equivalent)

Table 10.3 shows the four non-core meanings of song forms not attested in the spoken Arandic languages, what I refer to as a poetic meanings.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song form</th>
<th>Speech equivalent</th>
<th>Literal meaning</th>
<th>Poetic meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iterlarre</td>
<td>iterlarre</td>
<td>headband</td>
<td>cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amngayerte</td>
<td>amnge (An, Aly)</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>male genitals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrerne</td>
<td>arr-re (K) arrerne-(pan-Ar)</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>create, call, name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entyere</td>
<td>entyere (K, An)</td>
<td>floodout, flood debris</td>
<td>water course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akwe [L]</td>
<td>akwe (K, An)</td>
<td>arm</td>
<td>shoulder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.3 Song forms that relate to the meaning of an expansion by a semantic extension not attested in spoken languages

10.3.3.1 Headband/cloud

I have already discussed the non-core meaning 'cloud' of the song form and speech equivalent *iterlarre* 'women's headband' (§10.1.2) suggesting that 'cloud' may be a visual metaphor and a culturally motivated metonymy. Cultural knowledge that women's headbands are a necessary part of the rain making ceremony may enable people to draw a connection between 'cloud' and 'headband', as both can be seen to cause rain. Poetic meanings such as 'cloud' may also arise because of a 'societal polysemy', where subgroups within a language community, such as older speakers, have their own meaning for a particular form not used by other subgroups (Wilkins 1996:270).67

10.3.3.2 Eye/genitals

Although arguable whether the speech equivalent and song form show formal identity, the meaning of the song form *amngayerte* in song text 17 as 'male genitals', as evidenced in (15), is not attested in spoken Kaytetye.

(15) Daphne: *amngayerte*. You might see him that one' (laughter from all) cover him up self (laughs).

(1999 MD12, da 114)

One speech equivalent of this song form is *amngayte* meaning 'eyebrow' (K), 'forehead' (Aly) in which case there is formal identity between the song form and speech.

---

67 Specialised types of semantic extensions have also been noted in songs in other Australian Aboriginal languages. Dixon and Koch note that words from everyday speech can acquire new meanings when they occur in a song in Dyirbal (1996:24-26). Sherzer (1990:246) notes this in verbal art forms from many parts of the world.
equivalent. Another speech equivalent of this song form is annge 'eye' (Ar), as evidenced in (16), in which case there is no formal identity.

\[ (16) \begin{align*}
\text{Daphne: } & \text{ erlwe 'eye'} \\
\text{April: } & \text{ Yewe-yewe 'erlwe' [yes, eye]} \\
& \text{ Renharte latyartimperrra?} \\
& \text{ ANPH textline 17b} \\
& \text{ Is that the meaning for "latyartimperrra"?}
\end{align*} \]

(1999 MD14, da 14)

Annge is semantically equivalent to erlwe 'eye' (K) stated in the expansion in (16).

The semantic extension of either anngayte or annge in song can be seen to be both metaphorically and metonymically motivated. The polysemy between 'eye' and 'genitals' is noted by Austin, Ellis and Hercus in some South Australian languages (1976: 59-64). They suggest that words for round objects often come to be used for 'testicles'. Similarly in Kaytetye kwarte 'egg' can be used to refer to 'testicles'.

Although the polysemy between 'eye' and 'genitals' is not attested in Kaytetye, a similar semantic network exists where the word for 'eye' is used to refer to 'bullet' in (pan-A); and the word makerte 'gun', in the same semantic domain, can refer to 'penis' in (K).

The meaning 'men's genitals' may also be motivated by a metonymy based on spatial proximity between the song form matyarte 'pubic tassel', as shown in the expansion in (17) rather than the song form anngayverte.

(17) Daphne: He can't haven that trousers, man, no matyarte, no he coverem up self!

(1999 MD12, da 110)

The implication of the expansion in (17) is that he is covering up his genitals. In spoken Arandic languages neither speech equivalents annge 'eye' nor matyarte 'pubic tassel' have a meaning 'male genitals'. It is possible that the meaning 'men's genitals' relates to pubic hair. Note that in Kukatja the reduplicated form of the word for 'pubic hair' means 'forehead' (Wilkins 1997:426). In Arandic there is a polysemy between the form erlwe 'eye' (K) and 'forehead' (pan-Ar). It is possible that the word annge 'eye' (pan-Ar) relates to the meaning 'genitals' through a connection based on 'pubic hair'. In contrast, Wilkins identifies a semantic change in Dravidian languages where 'pubic tassel' comes to mean 'penis' (1996:272).
to both song forms: *matyarte* 'pubic tassel', through a spatial metonymy, and *ammge* 'eye', through a more widespread pattern of polysemy (Austin, Ellis and Hercus 1976).\(^7^1\)

### 10.3.3.3 Arm/shoulder

The speech equivalent *akwe* 'arm' [L.] is interpreted as meaning 'shoulder', as expressed in the interpretation in (18).\(^7^2\)

(18) Daphne: Yeah we call'em this one, puttem this one *akwe* [arm] yeah, shoulder.

(1999, MD21 dn 1)

The meaning 'shoulder' is a metonymy based on knowledge that only upper arms are painted in women's ceremonies.\(^7^3\)

### 10.3.3.4 Floodout/watercourse

In §9.3.2 proposed that the song form *entyere* is a derived song word that denotes a place that is a source of water. I showed that this has a speech equivalent *entyere* 'floodout, debris from a floodout'. The poetic meaning can be seen as a broader meaning, encompassing not just *entyere* 'floodout' (Aly, K) but also *elpaye* 'creek' (K) and *angentye* 'soakage' (K).

### 10.3.3.5 Put/create/call

In §9.3.3 we saw that the derived song word *arrerne* has speech equivalents *arrerne*- (pan-Ar) *arre*- (K) 'put'. It also has a non-core meaning 'call', shown in (19)(ii) and a possible meaning 'make, create', shown in (20)(ii).\(^7^4\)

(19)(i) tyelatyelarrerna

*altyleelarrerne*

*altyleelarrerne*

*altyleelarrerne*

*altyleelarrerne*

*altyleelarrerne*

*altyleelarrerne*

**cousin cousin put** (textline 38a)

(ii) Expansion: 'Our cousin', that's why him *callem* that one.

(1999, Daphne MD21, dn 81)

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\(^7^1\) The difficulty in determining whether the song form *ammgayerte* or *matyarte* relates to the non-core meaning is also heightened by the taboo nature of the topic.

\(^7^2\) Compare with *waku* in Eastern Warlpiri, and *waku(r)/nuja* or *wakuja* 'arm, esp. upper arm' in Warumungu (Jane Simpson 2002, pers.comm.).

\(^7^3\) However the use of *tyarlenye* 'arm' to refer to a specific part of the arm is attested in spoken Kaytetye.

\(^7^4\) These meanings are also possible or likely in 8 other textlines in which this song form occurs (textlines 1a, 3a, 3b, 4b, 7b, 10b, 37b, 41a).
(20) (i) wilylatyenngerarrerna
      w+elye#(tyennge)re/sarrne
      shade (?)     put

      (textline 6b)

      (ii) Expansion: They bin puttern bout wely- in the shade elyele they bin makem
            singem, awelye kwerarte [that song].

            (1999, Daphne MD14, dn 71)

These secondary meanings 'create' and 'call' are not attested in spoken Arandic
languages,75 but there is also evidence to suggest that this polysemy may have existed in
Kayeteyte.76 The Kayeteyte verb arre- includes the meanings 'put up (a construction)' and
'make something into something else'.77

Furthermore, in Kayeteyte we find many transitive verb stems that end in -arre-. Some of
these verbs can be analysed as consisting of a bound cran-type morph (as in cran-berry)
plus -arre-, which has a transitisiver function, as in (21).78

(21) akem-aner-(v.i.) 'sit on your own' (lit. ?-sit)
     akem-arre-(v.t.) 'make someone sit up'
     akakewe-(v.t.) 'knock something in to stop something from coming loose or
            falling out'79
     akak.arre-(v.t.) 'knock something in to stop something from coming loose or
            falling out'

This suggests that -arre- was a formative with a transitive function, possibly related to
the modern verb arre- (K) arrerne- (pan-Ar) 'put'.

The semantic association between 'call', 'create' and 'put' may reflect the belief that in
naming the country the ancestors created it, and that in putting or placing their objects

---

75 One Kayeteyte speaker confirmed my intuition of the polysemy of arrerne in the songs; however the
speaker did not volunteer this meaning. This resembles Marett's experience of discovering a poetic
metaphor in wangu songs, where it was up to the learner to deduce semantic connections, which
speakers would then confirm or deny (Marett 2002:235).

76 In Heine and Kuteva's study of grammaticisation they note that the causative suffix in Wangkumara is
derived from a verb meaning 'make, put'. This is also found in a number of Non-Bantu languages of

77 Kayeteyte Dictionary database (Turpin, forthcoming). The inchoative -arre- (K), -ire-(pan-Ar)
'become' is an unlikely speech equivalents of this form, as some texts with this form also have an
ergative pronoun, such as textlines 3a and 3b.

78 There are also transitive verbs that have the segment -arre- where the meaning of the other morphemes
is known in everyday speech, such as rhveth-arl-arre- (lit. half-ALL-put) 'go through the middle of
something' (lit. 'put (oneself) into half (of a place)').

79 The verb we- 'throw' is a formative in many Arandic verb stems.
in the country the ancestors created it. Tamisari states that narratives accompanying Yolngu song cycles describe the Dreamtime characters as giving names to "creatures, birds and places" and "planting" cultural objects to create places "and these actions form the focus of the song text... (2002:94)."

The semantic extension from 'put' to 'create' can be seen to be motivated by a metaphor whereby the actions of the Dreamtime women, such as naming and putting on ceremonial stripes, are perceived as having the effect of creating, in this case creating the ceremonies which are practised by Kaytetye women today.

10.3.4 Summary of semantic extensions of non-core meanings

Most of the non-core referential meanings of song forms are based on formal identity between the song form and the speech equivalent. All but four confirmed non-core meanings are also available in spoken Arandic languages and in the case of arrerne, there is evidence that the semantic extension may have occurred in spoken Kaytetye. I showed that metonymy, what Evans describes as "ubiquitous in Australian languages" (1992:479), is a more prevalent motivation for non-core meanings than metaphor.

A comparison can be made between the multiple senses of song forms and forms in other registers, such as avoidance registers and sign languages, which conflate multiple meanings into the one form. For example in the Kaytetye avoidance register arrempelarrrenke can mean 'go', or 'come' depending on the context, and the Kaytetye handsign made by touching your stomach with your right hand means two kin terms: apmarleye and artwaleye. The ambiguity that results from the potential for multiple meanings of a single song form means that the interpreter must decide how to interpret the song form on a given occasion, such as arrerne as either 'put', 'call' or 'make'.

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80 Strehlow argues that 'create' is the appropriate English word for the process involved in many Dreaming narratives where ancestral being 'create' the country (1947:xi).  
81 Barwick notes that poking a digging stick in the ground is characteristic of Warumunga mungamunga ancestors who are the subjects of Yawulyu (2004, pers.comm.)  
82 For further examples see Green (forthcoming (b))  
83 Apmarleye means 'woman's father-in-law, man's daughter-in-law' (and can also mean 'mother's eldest sister and brother, father's mother's father, father's father's mother'); artwaleye means 'woman's child, sister's child'. The primary referents of these two terms have the same skin.  
84 This is not to deny that some people may disagree with an interpretation in private. What is consistent is that no-one disagrees publicly with the main singer.
Having identified the senses of the song forms, and accounted for where these differ from the sense of their speech equivalents, a better position is established for considering the semantic gap between the song text and the interpretations singers provide.

10.4. Inferred meanings

At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that the greatest difference between the meanings of expansions and the meanings of song forms is that expansions include ideas that are not obviously connected with any speech equivalent in the song text. Pragmatic theories of communication show that there is often a gap between the semantic content of an utterance and the thoughts communicated by that utterance. Drawing upon Sperber and Wilson (1986), I argue that in song interpretation this gap is filled through processes such as reference assignment, disambiguating and semantically enriching, which can be made explicit by identifying a set of implicatures (a set of assumptions) held by the speaker and hearer.

I suggest that Akwelye performance is a type of speech event that enables particular assumptions to be inferred, especially information regarding protagonists, actions, reasons or cause for actions, characteristics or habits of plants and animals, and places. Table 10.4 shows the inferred protagonists, actions and reasons for actions that relate to the meanings of the confirmed Akwelye song forms. I group the inferences into three broad categories: actions, protagonists and other additional meanings.

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85 The referential meanings stated here are not necessarily the only referential meanings of these song forms. I have included only those that relate to inferred subjects, actions and reasons.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning of song form</th>
<th>Inferred protagonist</th>
<th>Inferred action</th>
<th>Other meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flood water</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pencil yam</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>get, eat</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin name</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>call (me)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wallaby sp.</td>
<td>(wallaby sp)</td>
<td>make camp</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dead body</td>
<td>Dreamtime ancestor</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spirit</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>call</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long way</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shame</td>
<td>young fella</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ask someone to come</td>
<td>2 Kwerrimpe cousins; man &amp; woman</td>
<td>sit in</td>
<td>- erotic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shade</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>avoid sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quick</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>throw</td>
<td>clear a path</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>cut</td>
<td>make yams ripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>sing up yams</td>
<td>make yams ripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look behind</td>
<td>man</td>
<td></td>
<td>erotic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men's genitals</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>cover up</td>
<td>erotic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worry</td>
<td>man, Kwerrimpe</td>
<td></td>
<td>erotic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woomera</td>
<td>man acting on Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>chase with</td>
<td>erotic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orphaned</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td></td>
<td>father passed away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worry</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td></td>
<td>for husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lerp</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>get, cut, (see)</td>
<td>for food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conkerberry</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>get</td>
<td>for food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild melon</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>collect</td>
<td>for food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nectar of red mallee</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>cut</td>
<td>for food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>witchetty of acacia sp.</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe, dancers</td>
<td>get</td>
<td>for food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>term of abuse</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>say</td>
<td>for food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lover</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>(yearn, lie down)</td>
<td>for food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>blue-tongue lizard, Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>(shine)</td>
<td>for food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel (fancy s/o)</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe and man</td>
<td>(go, follow)</td>
<td>'marry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sandhill</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>climb up</td>
<td>travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morning</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>look to</td>
<td>perform ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at sunrise</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>see</td>
<td>perform ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceremonial stripe</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>put on</td>
<td>perform ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>headband</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>tie on</td>
<td>perform ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dancing stick</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>dance</td>
<td>perform ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the shade</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>perform ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadness</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe, performers</td>
<td>(put in ground)</td>
<td>closing song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>painted up</td>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>praise</td>
<td>perform ceremony</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(...) shows that this meaning can be seen to relate to another song form in the textline as well, of either confirmed or likely status

Table 10.4 Inferred meanings of confirmed song forms in Akwelye song texts

Following Blakemore (1992:59), the inferred meanings are discussed in terms of whether they are based on day-to-day world knowledge, knowledge of a specific social activity (namely, the Akwelye speech event), or on specific cultural knowledge, including mythological knowledge. In this section I first identify inferred protagonists, then inferred actions and then the range of other meanings.
10.4.1 Inference of protagonists

Expansions often state a protagonist when there is no song form that equates with a participant. For example, there is no subject in song text 43. This has song forms meaning 'native morning glory' and 'throw while returning', yet expansions and other interpretations of the song text often state a pronominal subject, as in (22).

(22) tywertaywertewa him chuckem bout grass. Trying to cleanem road.\(^{86}\) ... Him chuckem like that, cuttem. Cleanem road.

(1999, Daphne MD25, dn 87)

This raises the question of who is the referent of the 3sg pronoun? Only 16 out of 97 Akwelye textlines have a song form that is a subject, which means that pragmatic inference is necessary in most Akwelye song texts to determine the referents of a song text. While subjects are also absent in everyday speech, their reference is recoverable from the context of their utterance, whereas in expansions recoverability seems to be based on knowledge of the speech event, cultural practices and mythology, rather than on the methods used in everyday speech.

Furthermore, in the 16 textlines that do have song forms describing a protagonist, shown in Table 10.5, the reference of these words still needs to be established. In this section I consider how reference assignment is made these song texts, as well as in song texts without any words describing a participant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Textline id.</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aherreke-le</td>
<td>'sun-ERG'</td>
<td>11a</td>
<td>v.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwerrimpe</td>
<td>'Dreamtime woman'</td>
<td>18b</td>
<td>(v.t. in other TL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwerrimpe-le</td>
<td>'Dreamtime woman-ERG'</td>
<td>3a/4a, 3b</td>
<td>v.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwerre-pe-kwerre-le</td>
<td>'girl-lig-girl-ERG'</td>
<td>42a</td>
<td>v.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwerre-le</td>
<td>'girl-ERG'</td>
<td>47a</td>
<td>v.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kweye</td>
<td>'girl'</td>
<td>34a</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kweye</td>
<td>'girl'</td>
<td>35a</td>
<td>v.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alyeleye</td>
<td>'female cousin'</td>
<td>38a</td>
<td>v.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aylemanthe</td>
<td>'we two' 1du.ex.O.M.NOM</td>
<td>18a</td>
<td>v.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aye</td>
<td>'T 1sgERG'</td>
<td>3a/4a, 3b</td>
<td>v.t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayenye</td>
<td>'me' 1sgACC/DAT</td>
<td>30a</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aylewe [L]</td>
<td>'us two' 1du.SMSG.ACC/DAT</td>
<td>27b</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayenye</td>
<td>'T 1sgNOM'</td>
<td>48/49a, 48b, 49b</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.5 Words that describe protagonists in song texts

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\(^{86}\) Again, here 'road' may refer to a Dreaming track.
The subjects of song texts are usually *Kwerrimpe*, a particular type of ancestral woman, and I suggest this is part of the knowledge of the speech event—the *awelye* performance. This is supported by the fact that the eight song forms that describe gendered people all refer to females. In most cases the reference of pronouns, whether in song texts or expansions, is not stated in the expansions, although further discussions revealed that the subjects are *Kwerrimpe*, as in (23).

(23) Daphne: Him bin travelling night time now, 'Oh sun coming' *aherrke* you know, callem 'aherrkelelearerlane'.

Myl: *aherrkelarlerlane?*  
*textline 14a*  
Kirsty:  
*aherrk-aherrkele'-akwene*  
*textline 14b*  
Sunrise, apparently

Daphne: (laughs) This one, *elkwemene* [old woman] [Kirsty] bin get away from Hatches Creek, from long way, foot walk.

Myl: *Kwerrimpe*?

Daphne: *Kwerrimpe* now, Dreaming. I don't know which he bin go there, and he bin come back again. Yeah Dreaming, Dreaming. They bin—this one [Kirsty] bin mustering mob cattle, he look after them.

(1999 MD21, dn 28)

In (23) Daphne talks as though Kirsty as well as *Kwerrimpe* are the protagonist of a story associated with song text 14. That *Kwerrimpe* are often the protagonists of expansions is part of the shared background knowledge about *Akwelye*. By implication, the subjects of song texts can also be the owners and performers of ceremonies. This process of inferring protagonists can be described as a series of deriving relevant implicatures as follows:

(24) (i) *Kwerrimpe* women usually perform the actions to which song texts refer (knowledge of *awelye* speech event)

(ii) *Kwerrimpe* women are our (people from Arnerre) ancestors and we (women from Arnerre) follow the same practices as they did (knowledge of speech event)

---

87 One of these *Kwerrimpe* occurs in three textlines: 4b, 18a and 42a.
Expansion → The Kwerrimpe women, and the performers of the songs say ‘Look, the sun is rising’.88

(i) and (ii) are relevant implicatures in the context of awelye performance where the referent of the protagonist of the song text needs to be established.

The lack of explicit reference to protagonists in song texts can be seen as a linguistic cue that the song can refer to both a Dreaming ancestor and an actual person. A further example of the ambiguity is considered in relation to two different interpretations of the protagonists of song text 24.89 One expansion is shown in (25).

(25) Daphne: We got no daddy we bin losem our daddy. (1999 MD20, dn 48)

Younger owner and non-singer Anne interprets this as referring to the fact that all the singers on this occasion are fatherless rather than relating the expansion to the meaning of the song text. It is possible that what led Daphne to make this expansion is that song text 24 relates to the other singers’ father’s father—possibly a place on Arnerre where he comes from.90

An expansion during the Alekarenge 1 performance, and followed by further discussion, suggests that the protagonists are Dreaming ancestors, Kwerrimpe, who were left fatherless, as shown in (26).91

---

88 The thought expressed in the expansion is what Sperber and Wilson refer to as an "implicated conclusion", whilst the thoughts expressed in (i) to (ii) are what they call "implicated premises" (1986:195). While there are no doubt many more implicatures that are inferred by the participants in comprehension of utterances in performance, I limit myself here to only those where there is clear evidence of a particular comprehension as evidenced in the interpretations of the songs.

89 Wilf encounters a similar problem in translating Warlpiri song texts. Flora and fauna in the texts may also refer to ancestral beings (1984:191). Maret also notes ambiguity in the subjects of many song texts in north-west Australia, which may be deceased ancestors and the performers (2000).

90 Her expansion states the singer’s personal connection with their kinsmen and thus country and seeks a compassionate response. April’s response to (25) was “Time-laporte (his) time had come”, which can be seen as a way of comforting Daphne, who persists with making a personal connection to the deceased by signalling out each of the Akwelye owners among the singers “this one, this one and me” (MD20, dn 48).

91 Similarly, textline 30a has the song forms atvenge ‘1sgACC’ and Pwerle ‘skin name’. While the expansions of these song texts do not reveal who the referents of these nominals are, further questioning reveals that both Kwerrimpe, and Daphne’s actual aunt are the objects of song text 30. See Appendix 1: song text 30, expansions 2 & 3 respectively.
(26) Daphne: 'We got no father now, we nothing'. They bin talking bout, they bin get in longa that Arnerre now. Go back longa camp.

[sings song text 28]

Daphne: That's two fella bin come back. 'We got no father. Finish.' That's why two fella bin cry bout.

(1999 MD12, dn 65)

Not all expansions show that the actors of song texts are Kwerrimpe. Interpretations of song texts 19, 29 and 44 refer to male subjects of song texts. In 29 and 44 the man is acting upon a woman (looking at a woman, chasing a woman), while in song text 19 a man is feeling jealous, as shown in (27).

(27) Expansion: He's jumping around him guts. He worrying for that kweyaye now—

(Daphne, 1999 MD14, dn 5)

Interpretation of a male actor can only be derived if one has knowledge of the associated mythology. The subject matter of the song form may also assist in determining if the actor is male. For example, singers may have known that the song text containing the song form amerre 'woomera' involves a man because woomeraras are tools used only by men.92

In §10.3.2.8, I discussed the meaning of the song form and speech equivalent aylernanthe 'we two female cross cousins (1du.ex.OM)'. As in many other song texts, the protagonists may refer to a cousin of a real person or a cousin of a kwerrimpe. There is also a further interpretation of this pronoun in the expansions as 'we two (man and woman of the same generation and opposite patrimoity)', as shown in (28).

(28) [Daphne: He gotta havem that kweyaye [girl] now.

   Myf: Altyerre? [Dreaming?]

   Daphne: Yeah, Dreaming.

   ...

   Daphne: Him bin catchem that girl now, that boy. Wanim bin too much he bin watchem bout.

   That man caught the girl. he'd been watching her.

   ...

92 In speech, subjects are often absent from clauses unless there is a change in protagonist. We can surmise that the relative absence of actors in song texts suggests that the subjects of song texts rarely change, and that they can be inferred. It is possible that the presence of a subject in a song text may have reflected a change in protagonist, if there was once an order to the song texts in the series.
Daphne: I want to takem away aylernanthe alhe-tyekewe. Me two fellas
lду.о.м.ном go-PURP 93
want to go away now. Aylernanthe. I want to takem away.
(1999, MD12, de 131)

In this expansion the referents are a man and woman, and not female cross-cousins. As well, 'me two fellas' is an exclusive interpretation, thus the pronoun is interpreted literally (as opposed to the non-literal inclusive interpretation motivated by a politeness strategy in §10.3.2.8). The two alternate interpretations of this textline are shown in (29). In (i) aylernanthe refers to a man and woman 'me and her' (literal interpretation), while in (ii) it refers to two cross-cousins 'me and you' (non-literal interpretation).

(29) (a) lernenantharrpangarrerlaweyewе

aylernanthe=arpe# ikngwerrerlewewې-yewе
lду.о.м.ном=only ask.someone.to.come-RECIP+go&do.quickly-PURP

(i) We, me and her, the Kwerrimpe girl, will run off together (as lovers)
[Lit. Me and her of the opposite kinship group will ask each other to come away]

(ii) Me and you (cousin), we Kwerrimpe girls, should go off and find boyfriends

Here we have two competing interpretations of the referent of aylernanthe: boyfriend and girlfriend or two cross-cousins. The different interpretations are derived from accessing different implicatures about who the subjects of song texts are. The interpretation as 'man and woman' was made at the informal Alekarenge 1 performance, whereas the interpretation as 'two female cousins' was made at the public Alekarenge 2 performance on the following day. The degree of publicness of the performance no doubt influences which implicatures are relevant and thus, which interpretation is made.

Song text 29 has two transitive verbs and no subject or object, so protagonists must be inferred. The confirmed song forms in song text 29 are artep-are-me 'look behind-PRS', itenye-ke 'fancy someone-DAT' and are-rre- 'see-REF'. Expansions show that a male is the subject and female is the object, shown in (30).

93 Alhe- (pan-Ar) 'go', -tyeke (pan-Ar) PURP. Either -tyeke is an alternative form of -tyeke, or the -awe 'EMPH' (K) is on the end of the textline. Examples of the latter also occur in Kirsty's descriptions of song text 17 (see Appendix 1: song text 18, expansion 3).
(30)(i) He's gone now. He gone now, they gone now. They go that way.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{He} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{gone} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{now} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{they} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{gone} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{now} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{They} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{go} & \quad \text{S} \\
\text{Him—} & \quad \text{S} \\
\text{they} & \quad \text{S} \\
\text{got} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{nothing.} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{It's alright} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{now,} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{we} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{go} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{now.} & \quad \text{O}
\end{align*}
\]

(1976, Daphne GK 6895, dn 38)

(ii) Backwards. What for him see backwards, what for him see'em bout like that?

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{He} & \quad \text{S} \\
\text{looking for} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{kweyaye, we} & \quad \text{S} \\
\text{bin growl at that} & \quad \text{S} \\
\text{boy} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{bin look about.} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{...} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{'itenyekamperl' Him} & \quad \text{S} \\
\text{trying to catchem} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{our girlfriend, That one now} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{boy} & \quad \text{S} \\
\text{bin} & \quad \text{O} \\
\text{wantem. This one [Kirsty] bin makem happy. Trying to lovem this one now.} & \quad \text{O}
\end{align*}
\]

(1999, Daphne MD21, dn 60)

My interpretation of (i) is 'him—they (a male) looks behind but finds there are no women because 'they', 'we' (Kwerrimpe women) have gone. Note that the male subject is always referred to in the third person, or through a demonstrative ('him boyfriend'). The female object is usually referred to by the third person, but is stated twice as 'we', once as 'me', and three times with a demonstrative where Daphne pointed to singer Kirsty. The use of the demonstrative and first person pronouns puts the singers into focus as actors of the Dreaming, whereas third person pronouns puts the Dreaming ancestors as actors of the Dreaming.

In expansions singers tend to interpret song texts with first or third person pronouns, while in discussions and narratives they are more likely to make explicit the referents of these pronouns as either Dreaming ancestors or "real" ancestors. Thus we can see a relationship between the level of interpretation and the degree to which the referent is specified, shown in Table 10.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of interpretation</th>
<th>Protagonist stated</th>
<th>Type of reference to actors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>song text</td>
<td>rarely</td>
<td>First person pronouns, female actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expansion</td>
<td>usually</td>
<td>pronouns, female actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>explanation / narrative</td>
<td>usually</td>
<td>pronouns, Kwerrimpe, personal names, kinship terms, animal names</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.6 Relationship between level of interpretation and the reference of protagonists in avelye
In this section I have suggested that protagonists in the song text and awelye expansions can be either ancestral beings or contemporary people. Songs, like the Warlipiri women's yawu/yu designs described by Munn, are symbolic, and so shifts in meaning result from "a change in the relation of actors to the signs, rather than a change in the overt forms of the signs themselves" (1973:113).

10.4.2 Inferred actions

Only 16 of the 97 textlines have confirmed verbs, and of these there are only five different verb stems. Yet expansions and other interpretations of the song texts often state an action. For example song text 21 has the confirmed song forms ertwerpe 'sandhill', ilengare 'when' and entropye 'watercourse' and one expansion is "When we gotta climb up, go down on the creek?" (1999, MD21, dn 49). This section considers the different implicatures that singers access to infer meanings about actions from the song forms.

10.4.2.1 Actions inferred through collocations

One way that singers may deduce verbs in song texts is through knowledge of how the speech equivalents of the song forms collocate in spoken languages. Song text 21 consists of the song forms meaning 'when' and 'sandhill'. In Kaytetye, people ertwenke 'ascend' any sort of rise when they travel. This implicature is based on day-to-day world knowledge. The process of deriving relevant implicatures to infer both protagonists and actions of a song is represented in (31).

---

94 I suggest that this is a case of ambiguity rather than semantic incompleteness, as the various references of the protagonist can be held simultaneously in the context of Akweyle performance.

95 If this is a more widespread phenomenon it is little wonder that Ronald Berndt found "the imposition of a sentence structure" necessary in translating Arnhem Land men's songs (1976:45).
(31) (i) Kwerrimpe women usually perform the actions to which song texts refer (knowledge of awelye speech event).

(ii) Song texts are usually in the voice of the first person (knowledge of awelye speech event).

(iii) A song text with no verb can be interpreted with a verb that collocates with the song forms (knowledge of awelye speech event).

(iv) ertwerre 'sandhill' collocates with the verb meaning 'climb up' (knowledge of linguistic structure, ie. clauses have verbs, and day-to-day world knowledge that one 'ascends' a sandhill).

Expansion = 'When are (we) going to (climb up)?' (said by Kwerrimpe and/or Kaytetye women).96

Inferences (i), (ii) and (iii) hold in the context of awelye performance and knowledge of the real world enables inference (iv) to be deduced.97

Song text 12 consists of a song form whose speech equivalent is awere 'quick' and the action 'go', stated by Daphne in (32), can be inferred from a similar set of implicatures.

(32) Daphne: Awer-arle apenke ... too quick we want to go. (1999 MD20, da 13).

The process can be described as involving premises (i), (ii) and (iii) in (31), with the new premise (v).

(v) The song form awere 'quick' collocates with the verb apenke 'go'.

A combination of day-to-day knowledge and more specialised knowledge that the songs refer to travels of ancestral beings may be required to reach the implicature in (v).

96 The thought expressed in the expansion is what Sperber and Wilson refer to as an "implicated conclusion", whilst the thoughts expressed in (i) to (iv) are what they call "implicated premises" (1986:195). While there are no doubt many more implicatures that are inferred by the participants in comprehension of utterances in performance, I limit myself here to only those where there is clear evidence of a particular comprehension as evidenced in the interpretations of the songs by singers.

97 The action 'put on, throw on' is similarly derived from the song form arkemeye 'stripes' in song text 24, involving premises (i), (ii), (iii) with the new premise that 'stripes' collocates with 'throw, put on'. See also song text 13 where the song form nperwe 'red mantle' collocates with runwenke 'cut'.

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10.4.2.2 Actions inferred through knowledge of associated mythology

Another way singers infer the propositions are through knowledge of the associated mythology. The expansions of song text 48 'Yeah him bin burnem grass' and 'Him bin cry all the road' are derived from two song forms: angketuye 'foot' and ayenge '1sgNOM', as discussed in §10.1. The proposition that 'someone burnt grass and cried' in the expansions are inferred through knowledge about the associated Dreaming story. Both 'cry' and 'burn' are actions by the blue-tongue lizard ancestor.\(^{98}\) Inferences leading to the expansion in (33) involve premises (i) and (ii) with the new premises (vi), (vii) and (viii).

(33)  
(i) 'Foot' collocates with the verb meaning 'go' (day-to-day world knowledge).

(ii) Actions in this song text refer to the blue-tongue lizard (mythological knowledge).

(viii) The blue-tongue lizard cried while she walked (mythological knowledge).

Expansion → 'I (a blue-tongue lizard Kwerrimpe) walk (setting fire to the grass, crying and wiping my eyes on the way)'.

From the song forms welyele 'shade-LOC' and wetryerrpetyrerra 'beautifully painted up' in song text 40, Daphne gives an expansion which includes a verb takeneke 'praise' (K), backem (AE). This meaning may be derived from knowing that in the Dreamtime the Kwerrimpe women flattered each other on how beautiful they looked or through day-to-day world knowledge of cultural practices, such as performing ceremonies well attracts public praise.\(^{99}\) Inference of the expansion in (34) involves premises (i), (ii) and (iii) with the new premises (ix) and (x).

(34)  
(i) welyele 'in the shade' collocates with 'sit/be' (day-to-day world knowledge).

(x) wetryerrpetyrerra 'Beautifully painted up' collocates with the verb meaning 'praise' (mythological knowledge and day-to-day world knowledge).

In Table 10.4 many other song forms can be seen to relate to the actions expressed in expansions where there is no confirmed or likely verbs in the song texts through a

\(^{98}\) Further interpretation of song text 48 show that the ancestor also erkwelpe-errweyane 'wiped her eyes while travelling'.  

\(^{99}\) As was evident in the Elpate performance, as discussed in §2.3.5.1.
process of inference based in premises involving knowledge of the *awelye* speech event and mythological knowledge. In this way song forms are key words that can allude to numerous meanings. Relatively few song texts have song forms that are verbs. The omission of verbs in song texts is one way that song texts are flexible enough for singers to derive a large range of connoted meanings. Even when verbs are present as a song form they are often highly polysemous, such as the song form *arrerne* ‘put / create / call’ described in 10.3.3.5.

10.4.3 Additional inferred information

The additional meanings expressed in expansions in Table 10.4 include reasons or causes of actions and habits or characteristics of the song form. These inferred meanings are often based on cultural knowledge, as in (35). The only confirmed song form in this song text has the speech equivalent *aparipe* ‘legless lizard’

(35) [Betty: *apmwe* [snake] *akelye weTHE* [small ANPH]
  April: snake *akelye weTHE* [small ANPH]
  Daphne: snake, *apmwe* little one

  Nancy: sharp nose one, little sharp nose one.
  Marg: Yeah him whistle bout.

  April: *anaty-arenge* [yam-POS]
  Nancy: that little grey one
  Betty: night time *anaty-we* [yam-DAT]

Daphne: Grey one now, callen *anaty-arenge*, [yam-POS] harmless quiet one.

(1999, MD2 dn 17-18)

The expansions of the song in (35) contain additional inferred meanings about the habits of the *aparipe* lizard, and a number of singers contribute to this interpretation, not just Daphne. These inferred meanings are based on a combination of cultural and biological knowledge.

In contrast, the inferred meanings of the song text sung to close the *Akwelye* ceremony (song text 51) are derived from knowledge of *awelye*. The last song functions to put the singers’ ancestral (and possibly personal) father back in the ground. Textline 51a has the song form *amerrrne* ‘sadness’. Through a process of inference involving premise (i) with the new premise (xii), we can conclude that it is the *Kwerrimpe* (and performers)
who are sad because they are ‘putting their father back in the ground’. A further inference is that the performers are sad because they hold the premise (36) (xii).

(36) (xi) Closing songs are sung to put the ancestors back in the ground (knowledge of speech event)

Implicature ➔ (Kwerrimpe) are sad because they are putting their father back in the ground.

(xii) Kwerrimpe women are our ancestors from Arnerre and we are from Arnerre so follow the same practices as them (knowledge of speech event).

Implicature ➔ Arnerre performers and owners are sad because they are putting their ancestral father back in the ground.

And there may be a further inferred meaning:

(7) Implicature ➔ Arnerre Performers and owners are sad because they are finishing the ceremony.

These implicatures are based on inferences that draw upon knowledge of the awelye speech event.

Inferred reasons for actions are expressed in many expansions. Some inferred reasons expressed in expansions may reflect a set of meanings available to a song form rather than a set of meanings associated with the song text as a whole. For example, the song form awere ‘quick’, in song text 12, is expanded as ‘go quick’ and various expansions of this song text express three different inferred reasons as to why the Kwerrimpe ‘go quick’:

1. before sun goes down\textsuperscript{100}
2. frightened/ chased (2 expansions)\textsuperscript{101}
3. get out of the sun (1 expansion)\textsuperscript{102}

\textsuperscript{100} see Appendix 1: song text 12, expansion 2
\textsuperscript{101} See Appendix 1: song text 12, expansion 5 & 7.
\textsuperscript{102} See Appendix 1: song text 12, expansion 5
The inferred reasons 2 and 3 are also stated in some expansions of song text 13, as shown in (37). This song text has the song form *ntyenye 'red mallee* as well as *elpere 'quick*.

(37) Daphne: Yeah *ulperelpere* this one bin run, for sun too much get burn, too frightened now him bin run away.

(1999, MD21, dn 26)

While other expansions of song text 13 do relate to the song form *ntyenye 'red mallee*, the above expansion is inferred only from the song form meaning 'quick'. This suggests that inferences may be associated with individual song forms rather than the total range of song forms in a song text.

10.4.4 Inferred place

Table 10.1 showed that two song texts referred directly to a place: Song text 8 and 25. Interpretations of many more songs involve reference to a place where there is no song form in the song text that relates to the place name. Meanings about places can be inferred with knowledge about the associated mythology, knowledge of the relationship between places, and day-to-day knowledge of the environmental features of particular areas. For example, expansions of song text 22 express the places *'Akwerrnge'* (which also means 'brains'), and *'Lhite'*; a proper name. These are inferred from the song form *aweyawe 'dead body'*; as shown in (38).

(38) Daphne: *aweyawe, ampwarre-nherre* (everyone sings song text 22)

Dead body  die-PST

Dead person, (they) died.

... 

April: *Altmarle ihwekere Akwerrnge-ee. Akwerrnge, Lhite*

west poor.thing place.name-EMPH place.name place.name

It's west, that place *Akwerrnge, Akwerrnge and Lhite*

(1999 MD12, dn 28)

Knowledge of the mythology associated with the song form *aweyawe 'dead body'* enables singers to draw a connection between 'dead body' and the place *Akwerrnge*. 

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With knowledge of the relationship between places, singers interpret the place name *Lhite*, as this is geographically close to *Akwerenge*.\(^{103}\)

Knowledge of the natural environment also enables singers to infer places from song forms. Expansions of song text 36 include the place 'Bottom Bore' and the song form is *kwelkarte* 'wild melon'.\(^{104}\) In response to my question about whether the song refers to a place, singers stated that it did not. This suggests that the place is a connoted meaning, inferred from knowing that the bush melon used to grow prolifically at Bottom Bore.\(^{105}\)

There are also instances where the relationship between expansions that state a place name and the song form are unknown, as in (39).

(39) (after singing song text 41)

```
April: Alternare=pe nharte
west=FOC that
That (place) is west
Daphne:

Ntheke=rte=a? arte?
where=UNCER=DEF
Near Lhite, that one

Lhit-angkwerre. Nharte=ee
place name=PERL that=EMPH
```

```
April: ‘Mperlerarrerane’-nhe kwerarte
textline 41b-?

The song text *mperlerarrane*

Marg: 

Kwere-le aynanthe anter-ante-yane
3sgACC-LOC 1pl.OM sit.RED-CNT
That's where we live

April: Kwere-le errwanthe ante-yane. Nancy “Perlerarrerane”=pe mpelarte
3sgACC-LOC 2pl.OM sit-CNT name textline 41b =FOC this

Where you mob live, Nancy perlerarrerane that's

errwanthe kwer-angkwerre ante-yane. Arrerenty=aperie nharte-ee.
2pl.OM 3sgACC-PERL sit-CNT close=just that=EMPH
where you mob live. (It's) close up (to the houses).
```

\(^{103}\) Similarly, song text 27 has the speech equivalents *arlengo* 'long way' and *artenyere* 'orphaned' and while most expansions of this song text refer to the Kwerrime travelling a long way to look for their father, one expansion states the adjacent places *Atmmerrnge* 'Sugarbag Bore' and *Ngimarrge*.

\(^{104}\) See Appendix 1: song text 36, expansions 3, 4 & 6.

\(^{105}\) It may also be the case that in the Dreamtime *kwelkarte* originated at Bottom Bore. Song text 31 likewise has a song form and speech equivalent *arlatye* 'pencil yam', and some expansions refer to a place, although they do not state its name. Possibly 'pencil yam' connotes a place by virtue of it growing in abundance at this place. Latz states that locating pencil yams requires "a knowledge of the specific habitat of the plant and an ability to recognise the remaining dry stems and leaves" (1995:296).
In this song text and expansion there is little evidence to determine the basis of the inferred place. Likewise, expansions of song text 30 also refer to a place (see Appendix 1: song text 30 expansions 1, 2 & 4), but it is not known whether singers infer the place from knowing that the song form and speech equivalent *aperiapi* 'conkerberry' connote a place, or by knowing a speech equivalent that I am not aware of for textline B that is a place name.\(^{106}\) It is consistent with the Kaytetye women's speech to refer to a place indirectly rather than state its name, as in (39) above, where they say "It's where you mob live". When places are not named it is difficult to know the premises upon which the meaning of a place is inferred in the interpretations of songs and whether the place name equates with an unknown segment of one of the textlines.

Interpretations of songs involving places were rarely stated in short expansions or song glosses. As suggested in §10.3.1, place names may be one of the "overtones" associated with a more restricted level of meaning; their presence inferred through various types of knowledge of the Dreaming and the environment.\(^{107}\)

### 10.4.5 Summary of inferred meanings

Many researchers of Aboriginal song find that the meanings singers attribute to songs are much more than the sum of their lexical content. I have shown that a song form functions as a key word from which inferences and implicatures are made and that cultural knowledge, shared assumptions and the ceremonial context provide a framework in which a process of inference allows highly relevant propositions to be retrieved.\(^{108}\) Many of the inferred meanings are particular to the Akwelye context and might not normally be derived in other social activities. Sperber and Wilson suggest that in communication "most kind of reference—to people or events for instance—can be fixed in terms of private time and space co-ordinates" (1986:192). As well as achieving

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\(^{106}\) Song texts 26, 30, 31, 41 and 36 involve reference to a place in the expansions, and similarly it is not known whether this is through an unknown place name or through a connotation of a confirmed song form. In Grace Koch's field notes four further song texts have interpretations involving "secret place" and it is not known how this place meaning is derived. See Appendix 1: song text 3, expansion 2, song text 4, expansion 1, song text 6, expansions 2 & 4 and song text 35, expansions 1.

\(^{107}\) Merlan similarly observes, in relation to songs from the Roper River area, that the "specificity of textual material resides in the connections of song-words and phrases with particular places and people" (1987:150).

\(^{108}\) Ellis (1985:62-64) also finds that song interpretations in other areas of Central Australia are the result of speakers relating words in song texts to various types of knowledge.
more concise communication,\textsuperscript{109} they suggest that the use of "private" co-ordinates enlarges the "mutual cognitive environments" of the communicator and audience, and that this is the nature of communication rather than "duplicating thoughts" (1986: 193). In this way Akwelye performance can be seen as a social activity that reinforces group identity and the significance of the Dreaming for the group. At the same time, the particular induced thoughts—the inferences or contextual effects—are dependent on the levels of knowledge of each of the participants in the performance.

10.5 Conclusion

One of the main findings of this chapter is that the meanings of song forms, as expressed in expansions, are most often the core meaning of their speech equivalents. Only 15 meanings of song forms are non-core meanings, most of which have correspondences in everyday speech. Where a song form has multiple senses this can give rise to multiple interpretations of a song, although not on the one occasion.

The greatest variance between the meanings of expansions and the meanings of the song forms is the result of inferences based on premises relating to knowledge of the awelye speech event, knowledge of the environment, cultural knowledge and mythological knowledge. Inferred meanings express more specific information about the song forms. While Akwelye songs have a relatively small set of referential meanings, interpretation can be at different levels and have a wide range of implicatures, varying in strength,\textsuperscript{110} a feature that may be a type of aesthetic experience for the hearers.\textsuperscript{111}

While meaning is always to some degree an interpretive process, in Akwelye the interpretive process allows for a high degree of opacity of meaning, encourages multiple meanings and perhaps most significantly can accommodate changes in society, that is, while knowledge may change, the basis of song interpretation remains.

\textsuperscript{109} See also Katz (1977:19-20).

\textsuperscript{110}Marett finds similarly that multiple interpretations of a song can result from relating a song to different types of knowledge about wangga performance from the Daly region (in press Ch 9).

\textsuperscript{111} Many literary critics have taken this as a property of English poetry (Empson 1953). Henderson also discusses this in relation to Japanese Haiku (1958). See also Sperber and Wilson (1986:224).
Chapter 11 Conclusion

In seeking to answer how *Akwelye* is formally constructed and meanings produced I adopt a cross-disciplinary approach, analysing the social dimensions of performance in Part 1, form in Part 2 and meaning in Part 3. My analysis of *Akwelye* performance as a hierarchical structure made up of many short song items which group into small songs is consistent with the structure of other Central Australian song series, as identified by Ellis and Barwick (1987), Ellis, Barwick and Morais (1990).

The complexities of *Akwelye* structure identified in this thesis reflect the poetic function of verbal art (Jakobson 1960), which has been conceived of in different terms by various researchers. Hale describes it as "the exercise of creativity so craved by human beings" (1984:260). Foley describes it as form becoming "a focus of attention in its own right, independent of meaning" (1997:362). To understand how performers combine components is, as Marett states, "to approach a matter that for them [performers] is central to the poetics and aesthetics of their tradition" (in press Ch 4).

This complexity is best understood through recognising that a song item consists of various linguistic, musical and visual components which contrast at the different structural levels of performance and which are interlocked in complex and multiple ways. It is also necessary to recognise that a song item has a spoken version, as identified by Koch (1987:51), formed through the process of versification, and a sung version, which is produced through the process I call cantillation.

One of the major findings of this study is that versification involves setting words to the rhythmic structure according to certain principles. These were elucidated through a metrical analysis. Many applications of metricality define a metrical foot in terms of the number of timing units and identify rules stating where additional syllables may fall (additional projection rules) and which timing units need not be filled by syllables (non-projection rules) (Fabb 1997, Liberman 2004). I define a foot as a particular projection of syllables onto a group of four timing units—four quavers, i.e. a rhythmic cell. In this way I identify the *Akwelye* meter as having four different types of strict feet that are hierarchically ordered. Words are versified by matching the number of words with the number of metrical feet, and the number of syllables in the word with the number of syllables in the foot. A number of strategies operate in accordance with the foot
hierarchy and CV syllabification to achieve these matching rules: C-insertion, V-deletion, breaking, alignment to the left and alignment to the right.

A significant finding is that there is a rhythmic/metrical foot whose usage is phonologically conditioned. The spondee foot is used only for setting a sequence of two phonological syllables where the second syllable has a glide onset falling on a W/L position. This second syllable is elided and adjacent sounds may coalesce, forming the characteristic S/L position of the spondee foot. An intriguing question for further research is what types of metrical structures are attested in other Central Australian songs and what their relationship is to the phonological structure of their spoken languages. Of particular interest is whether the repair strategies in Akwelye are attested in songs of the neighbouring non-Arandic, predominantly consonant initial languages.

In identifying the metrical structure of songs I show that different sound patternings are used at versification and cantillation, which unify textlines and textline pairs within the song text. In versification, various types of reduplication and alliteration highlight different structures within textlines and song texts. For example, vowel assonance highlights similarities within the metrical positions of a foot, while foot parallelism highlights the similarities in foot structure between the two textlines of a song text. In cantillation three types of sound patterning highlight the structure of the song text cycle (e.g. doubled, three-part) within the song item: final vowel patterning, vowel harmony and, in several song texts, consonant transfer. These sound patternings show that the combination of the components rhythm and song text is not entirely memorised, as cantillation involves applying regular textual alterations to a versified song text.

While most research on Central Australian songs finds phonological alteration of speech words to be unsystematic (Ellis 1997, Tunstall 1995, Strehlow 1971), this study finds that there are phonological neutralisations across the entire song series; namely, the neutralisation of most rounded and unrounded consonants, of prestopped and plain nasals and of the different types of apicals. As well, there are alterations to sounds occurring on particular metrical positions, motivated by a preference for sonorant sounds and types of sound patterning on these positions. The most significant of these are the alterations to textline initial consonants and foot final vowels, resulting in the greatest modification at the edges of textlines.
Consistent with recent work on other Central Australian song styles, the analysis finds cantillation—the performance of a song item—to be a dynamic act of interlocking musical and rhythmic/textual components at particular boundaries prescribed by the parameters of each component.

Using the methodology for musical analysis of Aboriginal songs established by Ellis and Barwick (1987), I identify the melodic structure of Akwelye, which consists of five different melodic sections. All melodic sections other than the introduction are characterised by a descending contour with a repeated tonic, as is commonly found in Central Australian songs (Ellis 1998). My analysis of rhythm identifies 16 different isorhythmic lines consisting of between one to four rhythmic cells which pair together and are repeated in one of three ways to form the rhythmic structure of a song text. This repeats until the end of the melodic structure to form a song item.

Through frequency counts I show that melodic section boundaries mostly coincide with those of rhythmic textline pairs and less often with those of rhythmic cells—the smaller structural units. The limitations on coinciding boundaries relate to a preference for an overall temporal duration for each melodic section. Where the two textlines of a song text are heterogeneous in relation to song text structure, number of beats or number of syllables, this limits the degree of flexibility in how the rhythmic text can be set to the melodic structure.

The findings in Part 2 of this study show that there is remarkable stability in the form of each component, a feature of Central Australian songs noted by Barwick (1989). The cyclic song text structure, the relatively short textlines and the favoured unison singing may contribute to their stability. That accurate performance of each component is required to interlock them successfully may also contribute to their stability.

Successful cantillation requires attentiveness by all singers and adherence to the song leader's initiatives. The song leader, who is responsible for leading the recreation of Akwelye and (re)interpretation of the songs must be knowledgeable "not only in the mythological and religious significance of the performance, but also, and profoundly so, in the minute details of the structure of the musical form" (Ellis 1997:75, my italics).

Building upon this finding, I show that versification similarly involves knowledge of the minute details of the structure of the *textual form*, which can be referred to as profound knowledge of the *metrical form*.

While Part 2 of this thesis shows that *Akweye* songs point inwards by highlighting their own internal structure, when it comes to meaning the findings of Part 3 support Barwick's observation that Central Australian songs, "point outside the performance itself, to a meaning-laden totemic landscape" (forthcoming).

The underlying contribution of Part 3 to the issue of how meaning is conveyed is that the meanings of songs are constructions based on the identification of song forms and on the interpreter's own level of knowledge of the landscape, culture, mythology and the *Akweye* speech event. Interpretations of songs in past *Akweye* performances may also assist in a performer's ability to draw associations between such knowledge and the often scarce, and sometimes multiple, lexical content of the song text.

My analysis supports Merlan's findings that one of the ways songs convey meaning is through formulaic interpretations (1987:148), what I call expansions and what the singers call the "full meaning". I argue that expansions are a component of *Akweye* performance, albeit an optional one, as are dance patterns and visual designs. Expansions are usually direct speech, in the first person and may be interrogatives, exclamations or statements. While particular expansions and glosses vary little over the 28-year time span of this study, the association of a particular expansion with a particular song text does vary on occasions. The variation of expansions may be based (i) on the different textlines of a song text, (ii) on a different meaning of the song form when it occurs in more than one song text, (iii) on different perceptions of the words in a song text, or (iv) on different levels of meanings, comparable to different exegeses of the song.

Even with expansions it is no simple matter to identify song forms—the lexical content of the song—as the metrical and phonological requirements often result in lexical ambiguity of the text. Furthermore, song forms may have speech equivalents from many languages and registers. There may also be different competing speech equivalents for the same segment of a song text. In analysing the meanings of the confirmed song forms I conclude that metonymy and metaphor play a small role in creating the characteristic
ambiguity of song texts. A greater source of ambiguity is shown to be the semantic gap between the meaning of song forms and the meanings of songs as expressed in the expansions.

In accounting for the semantic gap I draw upon insights from pragmatics to show that singers use inferential processes based on various types of knowledge to interpret songs. Inferences of varying strength assign reference, identify actions and places and semantically enrich the interpretation of a song. That there can be multiple inferences gives rise to further ambiguity and leads to multiple exegeses of the song text. The song leader may interpret a song in relation to a real historical event (eg. Kirsty's trip from Hatches Creek where she looked to the east), or to an event in the Dreamtime (eg. Kwerrimpe looked to the east at sunrise), or to general cultural practices (eg. Kaytetye people do certain ceremonial activities until sunrise), or to the particular place associated with a plant or animal or where an action occurred. Place is the fundamental point of reference running through these three levels of meaning and links them together in the one semantic structure.

Song text interpretation is thus a dialogic process: while identifying the lexical content of the song text from the complex metrical structure, interpreters of songs also draw upon a large range of different types of knowledge to infer further relevant meanings. Relevance is a complex phenomenon, determined in part by place, time and the participants at the performance. In this way Akwelye songs provide an extreme example of Gill's view of cognition as "a process in which the subject to be known is affected by the knower" (Gill 1998:20).

A parallel exists in the way song meaning and form are structured. Song interpretation is the result of performers' choices of which meanings to highlight in any given performance and song form is the result of performers' choices in how components of the song are put together, whilst remaining sensitive to the musical and semantic dimensions of particular song texts. Thus, multiple exegeses of songs result from relating song forms to different types of knowledge, and multiple contrasting song items

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3 In relation to Lirrga songs of Northern Australia, Barwick too finds that the performer has a choice in which meanings to highlight in any one performance (2003:82).
result from coinciding melodic section boundaries with different points of fit in the rhythmic text structure.

A concluding observation can be made in relation to how "music embodies fundamental characteristics of the culture of those who create and perform it" (Wild 1984:188), a widely held tenet of ethnomusicology. The analysis of song forms and expansions show unequivocally that Akwelye songs reflect salient aspects of Kaytetye society. As well, a parallel can be drawn between the nature of Akwelye and a principle of Central Australian Aboriginal philosophy that Hale describes as "the persistence of entities through transformation" (1984:260).

"The persistence of entities through transformation" can be observed in the process of production of both meaning and form in the course of Akwelye performance. As socially conditioned performance, singers make context dependent choices at all levels of performance. At the level of the song series there are choices about the degree of formality of the performance: whether to perform in private or as a large social gathering and whether to include dancing and painting up. At the level of the small song there are choices about the order of song texts, the number of song items to sing in each small song ('spreading out' the song text) and which meanings to highlight. At the level of the song item there are choices about how to set the rhythmic text to melody and the number of melodic sections to be sung. In making these choices within the parameters of the system, the externally manifested forms appear as "transformed" and multiple, yet the structure of each component persists. In the socially constructed Akwelye performance we see the practice of reinterpretation and transformation of forms and meanings, operating within the bounds of a creatively produced, yet highly structured, multi-modal art form.

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4 See also Blacking (1976) and Seeger (1987). Toner shows how musical performance plays a role in reinterpreting and recreating cosmology in Arnhem Land (2001).

5 Keogh also identifies a similarity between murtu song interpretation and the Aboriginal system of knowledge discussed by Tonkinson (1978:102) and Wild (1987) that allows for reinterpretation in different contexts (1990, 1996).
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References


——— (forthcoming) Performance, aesthetics, experience: thoughts on Yawulyu Mungamunga


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Pilbara. Adelaide: Rigby.


Appendices

to

Form and Meaning of *Akwelye*:
a Kaytetye women's song series from Central Australia

Myfany M Turpin

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Linguistics
University of Sydney
March 2005
Appendix 1: Introduction

Appendix 1 Song texts

Appendix 1 groups the 770 recorded song items according to song text, of which there are 52 across the 9 performances. The analysis of each is divided into four sections:

1. song text and rhythm
2. text, meter and tempo
3. rhythmic text/melody overlay
4. translations.

The data within these sections is explained below by reference to an example song text, using numerals to correspond with the description.

**SONG TEXT AND RHYTHM**

*No. Description*
1 Song text identification number.
2 Number of recorded song items of that text and corresponding record numbers (see Appendix 2), followed by the number of performances the song text occurred in.
3 Song texts are divided into textlines A and B. Vowel upbeats are in brackets.
4 Textlines are written in standard Kaytetye orthography with additional vowels /ɛ/, /o/ and final vowel diphthong /ay/.
5 Rhythm of the sung textline.
6 * shows accompanying thigh clap beat.
7 Information about painted designs or dance patterns that go with the song text.
8 Pronunciation variation between different song items of the song text. The variant segment of the textline is underlined.
9 * shows pronunciation variation within the song.
10 The place where variation occurs, or the singers if variation is singer specific.
11 Analysis of the type of variation.

**Song text 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>18 song items</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
<th>In 5 of 9 performances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 107, 108, 220, 221, 222, 223, 284, 288, 288, 300, 301, 499, 500, 501, 627, 628</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A (a)kwelantyalantyarna kwelantyalantya

A kwelantyalantyarna kwelantyalantyay

B (a)welyawarrernay

B welyawarrerna
This song text has accompanying painting, and tends to occur early in the performances.

Pronunciation variation:
- lateral substitution /n/→/l/, deletion of second melodic segment
- glide loss /w/→/l/ 
- shortening /w/→/m/

A kwelantyalantya (records 107, 108)
B welyowarrnay (records 001, 002)

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

No. Description
12 The foot structure is laid out against each textline.
13 Standard refers to the most frequent structuring of the song text in terms of isorhythmic/metric pattern, number of syllables, and beats of each textline.
14 Any variation to the isorhythmic/metric pattern, number of syllables and beats between song items (inter-song variation).
15 Tempo bands groups the number of song items in terms of tempo and the performance they occurred in.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>W#</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W#</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W#</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W#</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L#</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L#</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L#</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>kwelantyalantya</td>
<td>kwelantyalantya</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>welyowarrnay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>textline</th>
<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
<th>record no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>220–223, 284, 286, 288, 300, 301, 399–501, 627, 628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variation to textline A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>kwelantyalantya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>textline</td>
<td>isorhythm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tempo bands</th>
<th>no. song items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alek1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elpate2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

**No. Description**

16 Pattern of repetition of the textlines, such as AABB or ABAB. If the B textline begins some renditions of this song text this is stated with a reference to the record number in the database. The type of variation is also stated, for example text pair reversal (TPR), textline reversal (TLR) etc.

17 The table spatially represents the song text by showing the length of each of the textlines and their repetitions, so it can easily be seen when one textline is shorter than the other. Shading signals vowel harmony.

18 The vowels show the pattern of final vowel harmony of the textlines.

19 This table shows the setting of textlines to each melodic section for all the song items of this song text.

20 Standard form is the most frequent setting of text/rhythm to melody.

21 Underlining means cessation of clapping. Bracketed textlines means only some singers continued singing whilst others moved onto the next melodic section.

22 Variant settings are in columns to the right of the standard form with their record number at the top of each column. Melodic sections which are blank have the same textlines as the standard form.

23 Type of text reversals (see 16. above).

24 A text segment (half a textline) is written as a lower case letter.

25 Square brackets mean that the text was not sung in all song items in the column.

26 Mapping of variant textlines onto melodic sections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT MELODY OVERLAY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Text cycle:</strong> BB-AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. AA-BB (TPR record 2; 107; 108)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final vowel cycle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TL A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TL B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textlines and melodic structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>627, 300, 222, 286, 288, 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variant textlines and melodic structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>108, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| MS5 | AABBAA | }
TRANSLATIONS

**No.** | **Description**
--- | ---
27 | Song expansions and longer interpretations of songs by singers.
28 | Reference for source of expansion.
29 | Song text in standard orthography.
30 | Morphological gloss. If there is more than one morphological gloss the alternatives are preceded by numerals (i) ? stands for unknown speech equivalent.
31 | Translation of postulated morphological gloss. Note that any repetitions of the morphemes are not underlined.
32 | Free translation of morphological glosses. Because song texts are not full sentences it is necessary to draw upon information other than what is in the text to do a free translation. If there is more than one translation to a single morphological gloss the alternatives are preceded by roman numerals (i).
33 | Shows the process of reduplication for those textlines that have reduplicated segments.
34 | (pan-A) shows the dialect of the morpheme. See dialect codes in the front matter of the thesis.
35 | Shows codes for the likeliness for the postulated morpheme: [C] confirmed, [L] likely, [P] possible, [N] unlikely or denied as a speech equivalent.

---

**TRANSLATIONS**

Expansions of song texts
1. Daphne: They bin travelling all day (GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

Morphological analysis

A **kwelantyalantyarna**
1 akwe₁-alantye₂-alantye arne³ arm -whilst -whilst ?
Across the upper arms

2 Kwelantye⁴ place name
Elepe Kwelantye, Elepe Kwelantye (place name)

B **welyowarrema**
awelye⁵-we⁶ arre⁷-ne⁸ stripes- DAT put-IMP
Put on (designs) for the awelye ceremony!

Structure of reduplication of syllables in textline A;
σ₁ σ₂ σ₃ σ₂ σ₃ σ₄ σ₁ σ₂ σ₃ σ₂ σ₃
kwelantyalantyarnā kwelantyalantyā

The syllables: σ₁σ₂σ₃σ₄ 
1 reduplicate σ₂σ₃ ⇒ σ₁σ₂σ₃σ₂σ₃σ₄
2 reduplicate all but last σ ⇒ σ₁σ₂σ₃σ₂σ₃σ₂σ₃σ₄σ₁σ₂σ₃σ₂σ₃

Notes
₁akwe (pan-Ar) 'arm' [L] Translated into Kaytetye as arey'e 'shoulder'. Note that in Arrernte akwakwe means 'upper arm' (Henderson and Dobson 1994:76). The song text refers to the upper arm, as this is where the stripes are painted. Possibly akwe once meant 'upper arm', as there is another more common word for arm in Arrernte—amudə. Alternatively, the meaning 'upper arm' is derived from pragmatic knowledge. That is, it is known that ceremonial stripes are only painted on the upper arm, so the word for 'arm in general'—akwe—suffices.
Appendix 1: Song text 1

Song text 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>18</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
<th>In 5 of 9 performances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>song items</td>
<td>1, 2, 107, 108, 220, 221, 222, 223, 284, 286, 288, 300, 301, 499, 500, 501, 627, 628</td>
<td>performances</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A (a) kwelantyalantyarna kwelantyalanty

A kwelantyalantyarna kwelantyaylanty

B (a) welyewarrernay  B welyewarrernay

*This song text has accompanying painting, and tends to occur early in the performances.*

Pronunciation variation:

- lateral substitution /l/ → /ʃ/
- glide loss /w/ → /ɬ/
- fortition /w/ → /m/

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>W#</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>W#</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W#</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
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<th>S</th>
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<td>B</td>
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kwelantyalantyarna  kwelantyalanty  welyowarrernay

**Standard**

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**Variation to textline A:** kwelantyalantyarna

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**Tempo bands**

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<td>Elpate2</td>
<td>Tara1</td>
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<td>Tara2</td>
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**TEXT MELODY OVERLAY**

Text cycle: BB-AA

Final vowel cycle
Appendix 1: Song text 1

Textlines and melodic structure:

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<td>AABB</td>
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</table>

*Song item 2 switches to an 8 beat A line in MS4

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. 'They bin travelling all day' (GK's 1976 fieldnotes)
2. 'When they (bin) dance' (GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

3. GKoch: welye we arrenhe kwelantye alanty-alantye
   Daphne: welye we arrenhe kwelantye alanty-alantye
   Daphne: uh-huh, there finish They bin come back and makem now.

4. GKoch: oh yeah, when when they paintem now, they painted rain on him?
   Daphne: paintem now

GKoch: painted on kwelye [rain cloud] with that tyepale [painting stick]
   Daphne: ya, that one now yeah tyepale pattern tyepale

(1976, GK6895 dn 13)

4. Daphne: akwelantyalantyarle, akwelye[rain cloud]
   GKoch: So that's akwelye, women singing
   Daphne: Yeah kwelantyalantyarle awelyawarrenhe akwelye they painting now, that one
   now awelye[ceremony] kwelantyalantye akwelye, kwelantyalantye akwelye
   GKoch: Is that another word for akwelye?
   Daphne: awelyawarrenhe nother one again that one. They bin travelling all day, Dreaming
   you know, and they bin come back again same place again, sacred place.

(1976, GK6894, dn 32)
5. Daphne: He callem that painting, painting *awelye-we arre-nhe*
   ceremony-DAT put-PST

   Myf: *Awelyewe arrenhe?*
   ceremony-DAT put-PST

   Daphne: Ah yeah

   Myf: 'kwelanty-alantye'... wante-rtame 'akwelanty-alantye'?

   **What's 'kwelanty-alantye'?**

   Kirsty: Yeah, *arikenye arikenye arrewethe paint arrewethe mpelarte arikenye arrewethe*
   stripe stripe put-PURP put-PURP thus stripe put-PURP

   Myf: 'Akwelanty-alantye'?

   Daphne: Yeah, puttem there, puttem there, puttem there, puttem there.

   Myf: So 'akwelanty' that's like *arikenye*?

   Daphne: Yeah we callem this one puttem this one *akwe* yeah, shoulder
   [Daisy puts stripes across her two shoulders, top of shoulder going down, and then one
   across the nape of her neck]

   ... Myf: *Etnepe kwelanty or kwelanty-alantye? [Is it 'kwelanty' or 'kwelantyalantye']*

   Daphne: Yeah, yeah, puttem shoulder

   Myf: *Nihakenhe Kaytetyele etnewarrantye?*

   What's it called in Kaytetye?

   Daphne: *arikenye* [stripe]

   Kirsty: *akwe* [arm]

   Daphne: *arikenye arrewethe*
   stripe put-PURP

   (1999, MD12, dn 1-3)

6. He callem that painting, painting'

   (1999, MD12, dn 2)

7. 'Dreaming bin give him *awelye* now — *awelyewarrene* Lightning, *awelye.* ... When him
   lightning you know?'

   (1999, MD21, dn 2)
Morphological analysis

**A** **kwelantyalantyarna**  **kwelantyalantya**

1. akwe\(^1\)-\(\text{-alantye}^2\)-alantye\) arne.\(^3\)  akwe-\(\text{-alantye-alantye}\) arm (-whilst -whilst) ?  arm(-whilst-Whilst)

   *Across the upper arms*

2. Kwelentye\(^4\)-lentye arne  Kwelentye-lentye arne
   place name-REDUP ?  place name-REDUP ?

   *Elepe Kwelentye, Elepe Kwelantye (place name)*

**B** **welyowarrema**

1. awelye\(^5\)  arrerne\(^6\)
   stripes/ceremony  put/create/call

   i. (They) put on the awelye designs
   ii. (They) create the awelye ceremony

2. awelye-we\(^7\)  arrerne
   stripes-DAT  put/create

   *Put on (designs) for the awelye ceremony!*

**Notes**

1. *akwe* (Arr, An) 'arm' [L]. Translated into Kaytetye as *aretyle* 'shoulder'. Note Arrernte *akwakwe* 'upper arm' (Henderson and Dobson 1994:76) and *waku* (Wlp) and *wakunja* (WAR) 'upper arm' (WDF). The song text refers to the upper arm, as this is where the stripes are painted. In Arrernte *akwe* and *amulite* both mean 'arm', possibly *akwe* once meant 'upper arm'. Alternatively, the meaning 'upper arm' is derived from *akwe* by pragmatic knowledge. That is, it is known that ceremonial stripes are only painted on the upper arm, so the word for 'arm in general' — *akwe* — suffices.

2. *-alantye* (K) [P] In Kaytetye *-alantye* attaches to a nominal to show that the subject was in the state of the nominal whilst another action happened. Its usage seems to be limited to the past tense. It is translated in Aboriginal English as 'longside'. In the song text the dative *-we* which precedes *-alantye* may have been elided, so *akwe-w-alantye* [akowalantye] becomes *akwelantye* [akulantye]. The song text *akwelantye* is not heard in speech, it is translated into Kaytetye as *aretyle-arle* 'shoulder-ALL' by MW. This suggests that *-alantye* in the song text may have a different meaning to the morpheme exemplified in (1) and (2) above.

3. *arne* (K) [P] This is best analysed as a meaningless syllable sung to make a total of six syllables in the first rhythmic segment of the textline, giving a total of 11 syllables in the textline.

The possibility that the sixth syllable in textline A *arne* corresponds to the Arandic verb root *ane*- [ane] 'sit, is, exist', or the Kaytetye emphasis marker *-ane* is unlikely because one would have to postulate a morphophonemic rule unique to songs that apicals become retroflex following a larnimal. Exceptions to this would include textlines 1a, 15b, 25a, 25b, 32b, 33b, 47. Furthermore, initial vowel dropping occurs in many speech equivalents whose
initial vowel is sung as a short note, thus we would expect *ene* instead of *ana* as a sung form of *ane*.

4 *Eklepe Akwelentye* (place name) [L]. This place refers to the hills and soakage at the base of a hill in the W Osborne ranges. It was not suggested by any of the singers, although it was put forward as a meaning of this song by a Kaytetye man, and in the presence of this man, the women did not disagree with this meaning (although Daphne and Betty were not present). Many women, unlike men, tend to avoid discussing place names in public contexts. I was often referred by the women to men when place names were to be discussed.

5 *awelye* (pan-A) [C] 'type of ceremony' is either the object of the transitive verb where *awelye* refers pragmatically to the designs associated with the particular ceremony, thus 'They put on the *awelye* designs'. In this case the second syllable of textline B is the result of breaking and does not correspond to the dative suffix -we. Aboriginal English explanations of the song text suggest that *awelye* is the direct object. Furthermore, a variation in pronunciation of this line deletes the third syllable so [wulrarene] becomes [wulurene], although the rounded quality remained on the vowel (and not [wularene], as one may expect if there were no dative).

6 *arre-* (K), *arrern-* (pan-Ar) [C] 'put' [C] 'create, make' [L] 'lay out' [L]. This is a highly polysemous word in Kaytetye. The range of meanings possible in the songs are:

1. put something (down), sit (yourself) down (does not take reflexive pronoun)
2. put (paintings, scarf, hat, headband etc) on yourself
3. arrive at a place, travel in a particular direction
4. put up (a construction) make something into something else
5. create

Expansions 5 and 6 suggest that the meaning of *arrerne* in song text 1 is 'create' if creating is seen as a result of naming, i.e. 'call into existence'. Daphne states 'He callem that painting, painting *awelye-we arrrne-hne*'. The segment *arrerne* occurs at the end of 12 other textlines, and in those cases the meaning 'create, call into existence' is also possible.

d. 'leave (something or someone with somebody)'. This meaning is not supported in any of the expansions of the song.

e. occurs as part of the stem of some transitive verbs, suggesting that it once had a causative function as in *akem-arenke* 'sit on your own, literally 's-sit' and *akem-arrrenke* 'make someone sit up'. Consider also the semi-productive preverb *rlwe-,* which could also be analysed as a 'cran' type morph, that goes before certain verbs to show that the thing an action is done to, or the person doing the action is out in the open, as in *rlwe-arenke* (v.i.) 'make yourself obvious, stand in the open'; and *rlwe-arrenke* (v.t.) 'show something to someone'. The expansions of the song texts do not exclude the possibility of *arrerne* having a causative meaning.
2. (v.i.) a. INCH
b. 'arrive at a place, travel in a particular direction'

Note that we either argue for a Kaytetye form of the verb and a tense ending, such as *arre-nhe* 'put-PST' or a (pan-Ar) form of the verb with no tense ending in the song.
7-we (K) DAT [N]. Either breaking occurs on the second syllable in textline B so welyarrre becomes welywarrenre, or the second syllable corresponds to the dative suffix -we, marking awelye as the indirect object with a benefactive dative -we and omitting the direct object. This is common in Kaytete speech. In this case the translation is 'They put on (paint/designs) for the awelye ceremony' or more colloquially 'They paint up for the awelye ceremony'.

General comments
The variation in interpretation of textline A results from both a place name, Elepe Kweleentye and akwe 'arm' as possible speech equivalents. Multiple meanings of a song text where one meaning is a place name is not uncommon in the Akweleye songs. While a large portion of textline A has no confirmed speech equivalents, this is made up of two reduplicated syllables and a possible meaningless syllable ane:

| o₁ o₂ o₃ o₂ o₃ | o₁ o₂ o₃ o₂ o₃ |
| kwelantyaantyaná | kwelantyaantya |

1 reduplicate o₂o₃ \( \Rightarrow o₁o₂o₃o₂o₃o₄ \)
2 reduplicate all but last \( o₁o₂o₃o₂o₃o₄ \) \( o₁o₂o₃o₂o₃ \)

The pattern of reduplicating syllables two and three is encountered in Kaytete speech and other Akweleye songs.

The various interpretations of textline B result from not knowing the exact form of the verb tense, the polysemy of arrerre- as 'put/make', and the polysemy of awelye as 'ceremonial designs/ceremony'. The polysemy does not cause any problematic ambiguity, however, as all meanings can be held to exist.
Appendix 1: Song text 2

Song text 2

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A (i)rerewelertewe

B (i)lerparlimerray

This song text has accompanying painting up.

Pronunciation variation:

A nerowelertowew (records 105*, 4*, 6*)

B nerparlipmerray (records 104, 105, 106, 3*, 4*, 6*)

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

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Alek1 Tara1 Tara1 Tara1

Tara2

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BB-A

Final vowel cycle

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Variant text cycle structure

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records 104, 105, 106
### Textlines and melodic structure

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<tr>
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### Variant textlines and melodic structure

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### TRANSLATIONS

#### Expansions

1. rain milk *matave* [cloud], smoke, when him little one *elpalhe* [smoke] when him getting bigger now, cloud (GK’s 1976 fieldnotes)

2. Daphne: Yeah. They bin come back again, have a lay down now. *Arntwe-warle* water-ALL

   *apmere-warle* elpalhe
   camp-ALL smoke

   **[They came back and lay down at the water, at their home, smoke (?)]**

   GKoch: *elpalhe*[smoke] *ipmerre* lertawe
   Daphne: *ipmerre* [ice] *elawelertawe, lertawe* [?] uh-huh lertawe *elere* [sand]

   GKoch: *elere* elpalhe *ipmarre*
   Daphne: uh-huh *elpalhe ipmarre* uh-huh

   GKoch: Yeah and what are they doing there, what that place?

   Daphne: They go to come back and sit down now (1976, GK6895, dn 12)

3. leaf, sandhill. Come back, sit down (GK’s 1976 fieldnotes)

4. They dance now, elparimerre. *Alperre* [leaf] callem leaf, *alperre*. Elparimerre, elerewaylertaway — *elere* [sand] is going like this, sand, sandhill. He’s going quick elparimerre, elerawelertawe, elparipmerre (1976, GK6895, dn 31)

5. Kirsty: Proper big *warleye* [house]
   Daphne: Yeah nerawe-alertawe

---

Appendix 1: Song text 2

Myf: What's that one?

Daphne: nerawalertawe mpele [thus], elerewalertawe, elerewe [sand-DAT] when him sit down underneath that apmwe we callem him elerewe, snake. Him gottem him big warleye [house], belongin to him. Everything there again. Law.

6. Daphne: ..and porcupine and euro, they laying there
Myf: What's it called in Kaytetye?

Daphne: Kwelharre [black footed rock wallaby]

... 
Kirsty: and enape [echidna]
Daphne porcupine. They are lying there and undera— kwene[below] that snake

Myf: apmwe [snake]?
Daphne: apmwe akwertitenge
Kirsty: akwertitenge [rainbow serpent]

Daphne: Him proper quiet one that old man. Him quiet one.

(1999, MD12, dn 10)

7. Yeah kwelharre we singem bout kwelharre now, euro euro, rartneye, kwelharre2.

(1999, MD12, dn 5)

8. Daphne: Big one, big old man
Myf: akwertitenge?

Daphne: Yeah akwertitenge, rainmaker. Nother one there that way nother one

Myf: Ayerrere [north]?
daphne akwertitenge kngwere [rainbow snake another?]

Yeah Bonnie Well, this side yeah, two fella now.

Kirsty: Jungkaji-arle [place near Devil's Marbles-ALL]
Daphne: Jungkaji. Belonging to nother one mob. This one our mob, we --- this one our country.

(1999, MD12, dn 8)

9. Daphne: We tellem like that 'Hey old man you get up!' We tellem him. 'Old man you want to get up' That's why him bin get up.

Myf: Arrengeye ngkeyenge? [Your father's father?]
Daphne: Uh-huh, that snake now, big alligator. Proper checkey one hey.

Myf: Ikwe akake? [skin name-PROP]
Daphne: Yeah, akwertitenge [Rainbow serpent]. He gotta lay down like that. Proper old man himself. Pwerle [skin name], proper Pwerle.

Myf: Arlweye ngkeyenge? [Your father]

(1999, MD21, dn 4)

2 kwelharre (K) 'black faced rock wallaby', synonym rartneye (Aly). Daphne uses euro as a synonym for this animal, although it is different.

14
Daphne: My grandfather, arrengeye [father's father]. Belonging to my father, arrengeye. Belonging to these two too. (ancestral, not literal father)

(1999, MD21, dn 5)

10. Nharte=pe elye-ngem-rame!
that=FOC shade-LOC-CNTR

(2001, MD27, dn 14)

Morphological analysis

A       (i)lerewelertewe     B       lerlapartipmerre
1      elere\textsuperscript{1}-we\textsuperscript{2}      elere-we      alpe\textsuperscript{5}-arl\textsuperscript{6}      apmere\textsuperscript{7}-warle
sand-DAT  sand-DAT     return-EMPH      camp-ALL
(He) returns home
2      elere-warle\textsuperscript{2}      aye\textsuperscript{3}-we\textsuperscript{4}      aripelhe\textsuperscript{5}      ipmerre\textsuperscript{9}-le\textsuperscript{10}
sand-ALL      rise-IMP      leaf      dew-LOC
3      elpalhe\textsuperscript{11}      ipmerre-le      smoke      dew-LOC

Notes
\textsuperscript{1}elere (K) ilwere (An) 'sand' [L].
\textsuperscript{2}-we DAT (K) [L]. In many Arandic varieties, the dative can mark the location of a transitive object, prior existence (with certain temporal nominals), separation from a nominative NP, purpose and beneficiary of an action. The dative marking on elere may thus correspond to a sentence such as 'They came back to where he lives, underground'. However in Kaytetye it is more common that the allative [-arl-] to mark these functions (with the exception of the purpose and beneficiary functions.) That the form of the dative in the song text is a Kaytetye only form suggests that the Kaytetye use of the allative to mark the location of a transitive object is an innovation, or that the segment [erle] is the result of breaking and not a morpheme.
\textsuperscript{3}aye- (K) 'rise' [P].
\textsuperscript{4}-we [P]. Considering Daisy's explanation above, the final syllable of line A /we/ may be an archaic imperative morpheme. Occasional uses of this are found in Arrernte. (Henderson and Dobson 1994:629) It may also be the (Waly) past tense morpheme
\textsuperscript{5}alpe- (pan-A) 'go back' [P]. This is suggested in GK's 1976 notes and recordings. There is no tense marking on the verb in the song text so we would have to assume a zero tense marking.
\textsuperscript{6}-arl- (pan-Ar) [P]. Is a relative clause marker in all Arandic dialects. In (pan-Ar) languages it can also give emphasis. It is possible that there was once a zero tense marking on verbs, and if this were the case -arl could easily follow the verb root.
\textsuperscript{7}apmere (pan-A) [P]. This involves postulating a substitution /t/ \(\rightarrow\)/h/
\textsuperscript{8}aripelhe (Arr, An) 'leaf' [L]. English 'leaf' and alperre 'leaf' (K, An) are given as song glosses (see expansion 5). Consider the more likely aylpe (Aly), iripelhe (WArr), aripelhe, alypelhe (Arr), alperre (K, Aly, An) over paylpe (K) and walye (An) which are less likely as speech equivalents as we would have to postulate initial consonant dropping.

15
Appendix 1: Song text 2

The meaning 'leaf' may refer to shade; this is supported by expansion 11 and is also attested in other song texts. 'Leaf' could be a synonym for the Dreamtime women. *Alperre* 'leaf' is used in this way in a text by Theo who refers to the Dreamtime women from Barrow Creek as 'a magical kind of leaf' *alperre-iperrenye* (leaf-kind of) and refers to them by kinship terms which relate them to each other. Alternatively 'leaf' could refer to the place where the Rainbow serpent resides, being a bushy part of the waterhole, as in 2a and 2b which describe the location of the Rainbow serpent as '(In his cave) underground, where the bushes are'.

9 *ipmerrre* (K, Aly) 'ice, frost, dew'; *inmerrre* (An) [L]. This form is given in GK's 1976 fieldtapes but it is not translated. One Kaytetye speaker translated it as 'frost, ice' in 1999.

10 -le (pan-A) locative marker [P]

11 *elpalhe* (K) 'smoke' [P]. Suggested in GKs 1976 notes and recording. The analysis *elpalhe-iperre-arle* 'that associated with smoke/grey' could be a metaphor for rain clouds.

General comments

Song text 2 is one of the most difficult song texts in which to identify morphemes and overall meanings. For many glosses it is unclear how they relate to an overall meaning of the song text. Textline A may consist of *elerewe* 'sand-DAT' repeated, and in the repeated line [r] is changed to [t]:

\[ \sigma_1 \sigma_2 \sigma_3 \sigma_1 \sigma_2 \sigma_3 \]

\[ (\theta) \text{ɛɾɔwɛ} \text{ɛɾɔwɛ} \]

This may also account for the unusual form of the song text. What appears as an ABB structure, actually arises from an AABB text, but because the reduplicated A has [t] instead of [r] it is not a true reduplication. Repeated lines which have a slight phonological alternation are represented with subscript numbers. Thus:

A₁:A₂BB

where A is half the length of B. Whether the third and sixth syllables are analysed as the result of breaking or a dative, the analysis of reduplication still stands.
Appendix 1: Song text 3

Song text 3

<table>
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<th>In 1 of 9 performances</th>
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</tr>
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A kwerratyamperlperlperlperlpatayrerrnay A kwerratyamperlperlperlperlpatayrerrnay

B pretlyingkatyarrernay B pretlyingkatyarrernay

Textline A is the same as textline 4A, and textline B is the same as textline 42B. Amie Ngamperle stated that this song text was mixed up (February 2001, Alice Springs). This combined with the fact that the only rendition of song text 3 was from an informal performance (The Alekarenge 1 performance), suggests that song text 3 is an unconventional combination of textline 4A and textline 42B. Expansion 2 also suggests that something is missing from the meaning of this song text.

Pronunciation variation: reduction of consonant cluster /mp/-/m/

A: kwerratyamperlpelepelepelepelepatayrerrnay (record 7*, MS1)

**TEXT, METER AND TEMPO**

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<thead>
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<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
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Tempo bands / = MM 144

**TEXT MELODY OVERLAY**

Text cycle: A-ABB

Final vowel cycle

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| TL B | ay | a |

**Textlines and melodic structure**

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<td>MS4</td>
<td>AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
<td>BBA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 1: Song text 3

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions (See also expansions of song text 42 and 4)

1. Daphne: kweyaye\(^1\) callem kwerre [girl] uh-huh
GKoch: kweyaye, kwerre oh, kwerre

Daphne: arleyake [teenage girl] when him big girl like that one now, like this one, that one

(1976, GK6894, dn 30)

2. Daphne: Kwerratyamperlperlperlpatyarrrenhe

Kirsty: Kwerrimpe

Myf: What's she putting on?

Daphne: I don't know something might be tucker-awe[or], dreaming-awe[or],
painting-awe[or]. I don't know.

Maya: you tellem kwerratyamperlpatyarrenhe

put-PST.CNT what kwerrimpe-PL-ERG put-PST.CNT

Tell (her what they are) doing (in) kwerratyamperlpatyarrenhe. What are
the Kwerrimpe women doing, is what you have to say.

kwerrimpe-ERG put-PST thus put-PST

The Kwerrimpe created things (lit. putting things on)

Maya: Kwerrimpe-le arre-nhe.
kwerrimpe-ERG put-PST

The Kwerrimpe created things (lit. putting things on)

Myf: Arre-nhe wante-rtame?
put-PST what-CNTR

What did they put on?

Maya: might be ngayele apeke merne apeke[food-maybe fruit-maybe]

Kirsty: Merne arremte-tyame. Ngayele arreyaye kwerrimpe-le.
vegie.food put-PST.CNT food put-PST.CNT kwerrimpe-ERG

Kwerrimpe women used to put vegetable food down (or) other food down.

(1999, MD14, dn 63)

3. Daphne: Kweyaye [girl] singem, kweyaye! You hearem kwerre [girl]?

Kirsty: uh-huh perelye[herp]

Daphne: 'Fat one this kweyaye!' Him tellem like that. (laughs) Blanche bin singem.
'Kweyaye you fat one!' Him tellem like that. That Blanche bin tellem.

---

\(^1\) kweyaye is Arrernte for girl and has been borrowed into Aboriginal English. See Dixon, Ramson, Thomas (1990:173).

\(^4\) Alyawarr morpheme.
Myf: *perelyingkatyarrenë?

Daphne: uh-huh 'perelyingkatyarrenë. Kwerrimpe-le me puttem bout kwerrimpe-le' (1999, MD21, dn 6)

Textline 3b

Dreamtime woman-ERG

Yes, 'perelyingkatyarrenë' (is) 'I, a Dreamtime woman have made (larp).'

Him tellem like that (laughs) That Blanche bin singem. And Amie now.

Morphological analysis

**A kwerratyamperiperiperlatyarrerna**

1 kwerre¹ atye² mpelp-arl-elparle³ atye arerne⁴
   girl 1sgERG plump-REL-REDUP 1sgERG put/create/call
   mpelp-le-elpele³
   plump-ERG-RED
   i I call the girl 'fat and healthy'
   ii I put (designs on) the fat and healthy girls
   iii 'Fat and healthy girl' I call myself

2 kwerratyeye⁵ mpelpelpelepele atye arerne
   woman create/call
   I create/call women fat and healthy

3 kwerratyetyeye⁶ mpelpelpelepele atye arerne
   fast create/call
   i Quickly I, a fat and healthy (girl), make (the country).
   ii Quickly I create/call (the girls) fat and healthy

**B pretlyingkatyarrenë**

1 aperelyeye⁷ -ingketye⁸ arerne
   river.red.gum.lerp lovely put/create
   i (I) create lovely lerp

2 atye (K) '1sg ERG' [C]. This is suggested in an explanation of song text 4 which has the same A textline and same ending in its B textline as in song text 3 — atyarrerna.

Notes

1 *kwerre 'girl' (K, WAN); archaic in (Arr) (Henderson and Dobson 1994:454) [C]. A plural reference is suggested in Daphne’s expansion of song text 4A which has the same textline as 3A: "All the girl, dreaming when they bin gone, travelling, all the kwerres, they go secret place." (GK6894, 2/4 1976). Although it is possible in Kaytetye for singular nominals to have a plural reference, it is just as likely that the sentence itself refers to a single person; and the many girls present all say this about themselves.

2 *atyé (K) '1sg ERG' [C]. This is suggested in an explanation of song text 4 which has the same A textline and same ending in its B textline as in song text 3 — atyarrerna.
Appendix 1: Song text 3

Daphne: uh-huh perebyengkatyarrarna. Kwerrimpe-le me puttem bout kwerrimpe-le'

Him tellen like that. (1999, MD21, dn 6)

The -le in Daphne's expansion can not be a locative as the location of the object in Kaytetye

is marked with the allative -warte--arle.

3 ampwelpe (Aly) 'fat, having fat' [L]. Daphne and April give aweke 'fat' [C] as a Kaytetye

speech equivalent for mpelpelelpelpele. Considering the various phonological processes that
speech words undergo in song, ampwelpe would lose rounding and its initial vowel, so

becoming mpelp. The relativiser -arle (pan-Ar) may have been suffixed to this word,

becoming mpelparle. Replication minus the initial C would account for the form

mpelparleparle (see Chapter 6); and a reduction in vowel quality would account for

mpelpelelpelpele. Alternatively, Ampwelpe (Aly) 'fat' may be followed by ERG -le (pan-A),

and then replicated minus the initial C to form a secondary predicate to the pronoun atye

'1sgERG' thus translating as 'I, a fat and healthy Kwerrimpe woman'.

4 arerne- (pan-Ar) arre- (K) [C] 'put' [C] 'create/call' [L]. See song text 1, note 6. The

Kwerrimpe women (agents) may be acting upon the kwerre 'girls' (patients), meaning 'The

Kwerrimpe laid the fat and healthy girls out'. Another interpretation is possible if the agent

in both lines of the couplet has the same reference: 'I, a fat and healthy Kwerrimpe girl' and

the meaning of the predicate arenke may be 'create, establish themselves / the country'.

This meaning is suggested in expansion 2, where it seems that the things that the

Kwerrimpe women create in this song is not specified.

Textline B translates as 'I, put (designs) on the fat and healthy (girl)'. This interpretation

presupposes the object and indirect object, and the B textline provides no further

information on what either the object and indirect object are. Aperetye 'lerp' is in the ACC

form in the B line, however this is a sweet food and not something that is 'put on'.

'Make something (from something), create something (from something)' is another meaning

of arenke. For example, 'make a pubic tassel', 'make a ball' and 'erect a bough shelter'. If

this meaning of arenke is intended then the translation would be 'I created lerp'. As there

are no Kaytetye speech examples of a person or state being the object of arenke, textline A

cannot be interpreted this way. Daphne's expansions suggest that 'call' is also a possible

meaning of arenke. Daphne's use of this English verb may refer to 'call into existence by

performing an action such as naming'. This meaning fuses 'call' and 'create' into one.

Kwerre him fat one, kwerre, callem singing. When they give'em bout kwerre too many.

... Kwerrimpe we callem skin, our skin (1999, MD12, dn14)

[possibly meaning 'When they created girls in the Dreamtime' AR 290803]

Daphne: Kwerrimpe me self. Only Amic now. Right, Blanche bin singem that one.

Skin him bin singem himself.

[possible 'created skin names in the Dreamtime' AR 290803]

Myf: Kwerrimpele rewenhe alyenye? [Did the Dreamtime women sing each other?]

Daphne: Yawe. And Amic now, Purrurle [skin name].

(1999, MD14, dn 7)

5 kwerratyeye (WAR) 'woman' [P]. The Warumungu cognate provides evidence that the form

in the song text could be kwerratyeye 'girl'. Evidence that kwerratyeye is a single form comes

from expansions of song text 4A

20
Appendix 1: Song text 3

The suffix -atye (pan-Ar) '1sg possessive kinship' is unlikely as this only attaches to kinship nominals. This does not exclude the possibility of nominal atye (Arr) 'relation' as being a speech equivalent.

6 kwerretetye (K) 'fast' [L]. A less common form than elpere (K) and awere (K) which both mean 'fast'. This gloss suggested by MW in 1999. The meaning 'fast' may also stem from the fact that this is an unusually fast song (so too is song text 4). Note that kwerretetye in the song text has its final syllable dropped.

7 (ajperelye (pan-A) 'sweet lerp that grows on the leaves of the river red gum (Eucalyptus camaldulensis)' [C].

This gloss was given by Kirsty (1999). It may also have been what MW referred to in her expansion of the meaning of the song as 'sweet food' in 1999. Aperelye was also given for song text 42B which has this textline. The deletion of the first vowel in the song text, creating prelye also occurs in spoken Kaytetye (See Chapter 6). Note however that the syllable in the song text is a stressed one. This suggests that the phonological process was applied before setting the words to the rhythmic pattern.

Possibly one Kwerrimepe woman is telling the other one that she has become healthy and fat. There is no evidence of any cultural associations between eating aperelye or any traditional sweet foods and getting fat in Arandic language groups. Furthermore, the textlines a and b of this text may not be linked semantically as they also appear in different song texts.

8 ingketye (Arr) 'valuable, lovely' [L].

General comments

The different interpretations of song text 3A stem from whether the segment kwerratye is kwerre atye 'girlNOM I-ERG' or kwerretetye 'quickly' and whether mpelpelepele is treated as having an incorporated Ergative or not, and what meaning of arrerne is taken. The various glosses do not necessarily create a contradiction in the overall meaning of this song text which is 'the Kwerrimepe are fat and healthy girls who create quickly'. The meanings whose linguistic form is absent in the song text may be found in other registers and assumed knowledge: 'quickly' may arise from the tempo of this song, and the types of things Kwerrimepe create — healthy girls, plants, places, rain etc — may be found in assumed knowledge: namely that awelye are healing songs as well as songs about creating and affecting country.

The different interpretations of textline B stem from whether the verb is arrerne- 'put' or 'create/create' or ane- 'is'. The glosses and expansions suggest either angketyarre 'lots of' or ingketye ‘lovely’ are possible interpretations for the middle segment of this textline.
Appendix 1: Song text 4

Song text 4

<table>
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<th>In 5 of 9 performances</th>
<th>Record no. 8, 9, 53, 54, 394, 464, 465, 654, 655, 656, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 779, 780</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A  kwerratyamperlperlerlperlaytarrerna  A  kwerratyamperlperlerlperlayyyrrernay

B  kwerrimpilatyarrernay  kwerrimpilatyarrernay

Accompanies painting up in Elpate 1 and Tara 2 performances

Pronunciation variation:
A: ngwerretyampelepelpeletyarrerna  (record no 53 MS2, 54 MS3, )  manner of articulation substitution kong
rounding deletion
A: ngwerretyampelepelpeletyarrerna  (record no 394 MS3. Kirsty only)  consonant cluster reduction
A: kwerratyampelepelpeletyarrerna  (in MS descents including MS1, all records except 394)
B  ngimpilatyarrernay  (record 8, MS3. Kirsty only)  ellipsis of [r]
manner of articulation substitution kong
rounding deletion

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>B</td>
<td>L#</td>
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</table>
kwerratyamperlperlerlperlaytarrerna  kwerrimpilatyarrernay

textline  isorhythm  syllables  beats
A  K  11  8
B  S  7  6

Tempo bands
no. song items  1  7  8  1
= MM  126  144  152  160
Alek1  Tara2  Tara2  Tara2
Alek1  Elpate2
Alek2  Arrayye

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: A-ABB
Final vowel cycle:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{T}\text{L}\text{A} & a & ay \\
\text{T}\text{L}\text{B} & ay & a \\
\end{array}
\]
**Textlines and melodic structure**

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**TRANSLATIONS**

**Expansions** (See also expansions of song texts 42 and 3)

1. Daphne: Young girl go now. They bin travel all night and day, secret place  
   (GK's 1976 notes)

2. Daphne: All the girl, dreaming when they bin gone, travellen, all the _kweyayes_ [girls],  
   they go secret place. They bin travelling all night and day, um, that one now, _kwerre_  
   [girl]
   
   **GKoch:** _kwerre_  
   **Daphne:** uh-huh _kwerraty_  

   **GKoch:** _mperlparr_  
   **Daphne:** _mperlparr_  

   **GKoch:** _atye_  
   **Daphne:** _atye arrene_  

   **GKoch:** _arrenhe_  
   **Daphne:** _arrenhe_  

   (1976, GK6895, dn 9)

3. Daphne: They're all the girls They gone now _Kwerrimpe kwerrimpe, mperlparr, perratayaarrenhe_. That's all  
   (1976, GK6895 2/ 1976 dn 30)

4. _Kwerre_[girl] him fat one _kwerre_, callem singing. When they givem bout _kwerre_ too  
   many.  
   (1999, MD12, dn 14)

5. Daphne: _Kwerrimpe_ where we callem skin, our skin  
   (1999, MD12, dn 71)

6. Daphne: callem _mperlparr-rtame aweke_[fat-CNTR fat] fat one, girl one you know  
   April:  
   
   April: _mperlparr, aweke_  
   (1999, MD14, dn 19)

7. Daphne: _Kwerrimpe_ me self. Only Amie now. Right, Blanche bin singem that one.  
   Skin him bin singem himself.
Appendix 1: Song text 4

Myf: Kwerrimpe-le rewenhe ayle-nye? [Did the Kwerrimpes sing themselves?]
Daphne: Yawe. And Amie now, Purrurle[skin name].

Myf: Wante ikwe ayle-nye kwerrimpe-le? [What skin did the Kwerrimpe women sing?] Daphne: Pwerle, pwerle [skin name]


(1999, MD21, dn 7)


Morphological analysis

A kwerratyamperiperalperialyarrerna
(See song text 3A)

B kwerrimpilatyarrena
kwerrimpe1-le2 auye3 arrerne4
Kwerrimpe-ERG 1sgERG put/create/call

i I, a Kwerrimpe woman put (designs on) the fat and healthy girls
ii I, a Kwerrimpe woman make the girls fat and healthy
iii I, a healthy Kwerrimpe woman create (the country)

Notes (Notes for textline 3A the same as song text 4A and 42A)

1 Kwerrimpe (K, Aly) [C]. A type of female spirit from the Dreamtime. In Alyawarr this word also refers to a spring. In Kaytetye it can be used to refer to a particular spring at Barrow Creek which is associated with certain Kwerrimpe women (although these are not the same Kwerrimpe women as those from Arnerre). Although the word does not have a plural suffix it is not uncommon in Kaytetye for singular nominals to have a plural reference.

2 -le ERG (pan-A) [C].

3 auye (K) ‘1sgERG’ [C]. See song text 3, note 2.

4 arrerne- (pan-Ar) arre- (K) [C] ‘put’ [C], ‘create/call’ [L]. See song text 3, note 4.

General comments

The different interpretations of textline B stem from polysemy of the verb arrerne-. The song either refers to putting ceremonial stripes on girls, making girls fat and healthy or making country. Note that all three meanings can exist simultaneously, as girls can be made healthy through painting up and singing, and that in the Dreamtime such actions were creating or establishing the law and country for people.
Appendix 1: Song text 5

Song text 5

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</tbody>
</table>

A  ralartepanga  ralartepangay

B  ngwinyartepangay  ngwinyartepangay

Accompanies painting up in Tara 2 performance. From Daphne’s description of the accompanying dance movement (see explanation 2 below), which was not performed, a dancer holds her hands behind her back, as if she is holding a handful of grubs, and other dancers try to take them from her. It is not certain whether they are successful or not.

**TEXT, METER AND TEMPO**

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<th>syllables</th>
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**Speed** = MM 126-160

**Tempo bands**

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<td>126</td>
<td>132</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RB</th>
<th>Elpate2</th>
<th>Tara1</th>
<th>Tara2</th>
<th>Tara1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tara1</td>
<td>Alek1</td>
<td>Tara1</td>
<td>Tara2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alek1</td>
<td>Alek2</td>
<td>Arraty</td>
<td>Tara1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**TEXT MELODY OVERLAY**

**Text cycle:** BBAA

i. AABB (records 11; 681; 682; 687; 688; 58; 311; 203; 148)

**Final vowel cycle:** a-a/a-a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TL A</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TL B</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(31 out of 43 song items)

**Variation of final vowel cycle:** a ay/ ay a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TL A</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>ay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TL B</td>
<td>ay</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(12 out of 43 song items: 149, 150, 151, 203, 204, 205, 206, 278, 279, 310, 311, 483)
Appendix 1: Song text 5

Regressive vowel harmony in 5 out of the 12 items with a-ay/ay-a final vowel pattern (records 151, 203, 204, 278, 279).

Textlines and melodic structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Record no.</th>
<th>88 structure</th>
<th>TPR</th>
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<th>TLTR</th>
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<tr>
<td>MS1</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>ABB</td>
<td>BBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
<td>ABB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
<td>AAB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
<td>BBAAB</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
<td>AAB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions
1. Daphne: witchetty
   GKoch: witchetty (singing) what how?
   Daphne: rarl-a-rte-pange
   GKoch: rarl-artepange that's witchetty?
   Daphne: yeah
   GKoch: So that — what witchetty doing, witchetty, you just singing witchetty?
   Daphne: Yeah, we bin gettem witchetty dreaming, we bin killem, and eatem.
   GKoch: Oh, so first one you bin talk about tree, so you get witchetty, then.
   (1976, GK6894, da 5)

2. Daphne: ngwenyartepange ngwenyartepa big one big witchetty fat one
   (1976 GK6895 2/8 da 47)

3. Daphne: Oh witchetty, uh-huh yeah aravelarre [acacia melleodora]
   Myf:          Ravelarre?
   What's that arvela[tree]?
   Daphne: Yeah, arwele-warle. [tree-ALL] Underground arwele-warle, yeah that's why
   'Oh look at this, him big one rawe- witchetty
   Myf: aravelarre anteyame [acacia sp. sit-PRS.CNT]?
   Daphne: Arwele-warle anteyame. [tree-ALL sit-PRS.CNT]. There they sit down bout
   one line.
   Myf: Kayte? [edible grub?] what sort of kayte?
   Daphne: kayte                      Aravelarre
   Myf: Aravelarr-ayte [acacia sp.-edible.grub]? How do you callem?
   Daphne: yeah                    Aravelarre
   Myf: That's that arwele [tree] and kayte etne=pe wante-rtame?
   That's the tree but what's the grub called?

   {Rachel: anyeme [witchetty bush]
Daphne: *atnyem-aye* [witchetty bush-edible.grub]
[Myf: *atnyemayte*

Daphne: *atnyemayte*, witchetty *atnyemayte*.

Daphne: when they play - dance you know? Dance, when they play, this one got to startem, he got to dance. Anybody can't pullem out from him nothing. He got this one you know? Yeah.

Myf: And what are you doing *mpelarte*? [like that]

Kirsty: Pullem out, from nother one. Trying to robbem bout, trying to pullem out *tyape* [edible grub], *tyape, tyape* him pullem out.

Myf: *Ilpile-wethe arwele-theye*? [pulls them out of a tree]

Daphne: No, only when everybody dancing get on for this one can't pullem out they keepem belonging to him, this one him proper proper champion. Not we, nothing, only this one proper clever.

Kirsty: No, takem bout, takem bout. Can't pullem out.

Myf: So *ilpilewethe kayte mpelarte* [pulls the grubs out like this?]

Daphne: Trying to pullem out from him, he got to keepem them all together. Him showem bout, him showem bout trying to pullem out nother one dancing, nother one dancing, nother one dancing, nother one dancing trying to pull em out, nothing.

Myf: *Ntheke-they-arte ilpile-wethe*? [Where does she take them from?]

Daphne: *Elyte-theye*, [hand-ABL] from back, from finger

Myf: *elyte-theye* like stealem?

Daphne: uh-huh trying to pullem out from him, he gotta keepem all together

Daphne: *ongwenya* — This one him reckon him want to take'em away, pullem out that *kweyaye* [girl] ...

Daphne: *arawelarre* [acacia sp.] we callem, *arawelarre* we callem *arawelarre*.

(1999, MD12, dn 16)

4. April: *artepange* yeah *akeleye* want-are 'artepange'?

'artepange', auntie, what's 'artepange'?

Myf: Is that that one? (pointing at back)

April: No, kngwere [another] again. [No it's a different one]
Daphne: rewelarre? [acacia sp.]

April: No, nyarte-rtame [that-CNTR] 'angweryarntepango' [No, that's 'angweryarntepango']

Daphne: kngwerenyeye [another]?

April: Yeah, wante-rtame [What-EMPH]?

Daphne: Rewelarre-akwele! [acacia sp.-of course!]

RC: tyape [edible grub]

Daphne: Yeah witchetty now, arewelarre [acacia sp.]

April: Re-apertame [3sg-again]? [the same one?]

Daphne: Yeah, same one

April: Ngweryarntepangepe? [The same one (meaning as) Ngweryarntepangepe?]

Kirsty: Uh-huh

April: Awenyerre r-apertem atryemaye, kayte

one 3sg-just edible.grub edible.grub

[It has the same meaning, edible witchetty grub]

(1999, MD14, dn 23)

5. Daphne: Ravele— When him bin go witchetty aravelarre he bin tellem bout, witchetty him bin tellem bout, aravelarre, witchetty. And he bin gettem bout.

Myf: Nante-le? [who-ERG]

Daphne: him bin gettem bout witchetty now

Myf: Kwerrimpe-le?

Daphne: Yeah, kwerrimpe-le. When him bin walking around.

Myf: Akngarrpe aperrane? [walks alone]

Daphne: Yeah self, big mob bin walk around. We, we whole lot.

Kirsty: This mob, whole lot, me two fella—

Daphne: Only four fella. therre-therre. [four]

(1999, MD21, dn 10)

6. We kill witchetty, dreaming, catchem. Witchetty, they bin singem witchetty

(GK’s 1976 fieldnotes)

7. Kirsty: Tyape [edible.grub]

Myf: What’s that one about?

Daphne: Tyape. Aravelarre, aravelarre tyape, witchetty

Daphne: witchetty

Myf: that the same one you heard before? What are they doing?

Kirsty: Witchetty nilabat we bin gettem bout, Dreaming

We got them in the Dreamtime.
8. April: *Amyemayte raperte awenyerre* [It's about witchetties as well]
   Daphne: witchetty

9. April: *anyemayte rewelarre*
   Kirsty: witchetty *rewelarre*
   Daphne: Witchetty. Yeah trying to pullem out, nother one trying to pullem out.

**Morphological analysis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th><strong>ralartepanga</strong></th>
<th>B</th>
<th><strong>ngwinyartepanga</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>aravelarre⁵-pange²</td>
<td>kngwere⁷ nyarte⁶-pange</td>
<td>Acacia dictyophleba-EMPH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>Oh witchetty grubs! The other (girls say)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Oh witchetty grubs! And another one here</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>aravelarre artepe⁵ nge⁶</td>
<td>kngwere-nye⁷ artepe nge</td>
<td>Acacia dict. back 2sgNOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Witchetty grubs! (Hands behind)</em> your back. More! (Hands behind) your back.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aravelarre artepe-nge⁶</td>
<td>kngwere-nye⁴ artepe-nge</td>
<td>Acacia dict. back-ABL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Get) the witchetty grubs from behind the other (girl's) back!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes**

1. *aravelarre* (K) [C]. *Acacia melleodora*, requires a sound change /r/ -> /u/ if it is a speech equivalent. Alternatively, *aravelarre* has an edible grub called *aravelayte* in its roots and this may be the speech equivalent. *-aye* is a semiproducive suffix that goes on plant names, eg. *atynyme 'Acacia anaura' -> atynemayte* 'grub from Acacia anaura'. For a few plant names, the first element is not the same as the current name of the plant, eg. *aripperre 'whitewood' aripperlayte* 'grub sp.' and *aravelarre -> (a)aravelayte*. While *Aravelayte* 'edible grub sp.' could be the form of the speech equivalent it is *aravelarre*, the plant species, however, which is given as a song gloss. It is possible that the plant name is used to refer to the grub, as potentially the plant is a food source because of its grub. *Aravelarre* may have been given as a song gloss because it is a more commonly heard word than *aravelayte*, although the speech equivalent may be *aravelayte*.

2. *-pange* EMPH (K, An) [P]. The emphatic marker *-pange-* *mpange* shows sentence prominence. It is probably derived from the focus marker *=pe*. It is more restricted in its use than *=pe*, it only occurs on noun phrases, and those that are particularly prominent.

3. *kngwere* 'other, another, different' (pan-A) [L]. *kngwere* 'other, another' refers to another *Kwerrimpe* girl and possibly also another dancer.

4. *nyarte* 'this, here (close up)' (K) [L]. Note that both 'here' (1i) and 'this' (1ii) are possible interpretations. The free form *-nye* is also heard in older Kaytetye speaker's speech.
5 *artepe* (pan-A) 'back' [C]. For this song the dancer holds her hands behind her back, supposedly full of grubs. *Artepe* was not confirmed as a speech equivalent for this song.

6 *-nge* (K) '2sgNOM' [L]. Combined with *artepe* 'back' this is the construction for expressing 'your back' as the subject of a non-transitive clause. That is, in Arandic languages the body part construction is inalienable, the part agreeing in case with its whole. Such an interpretation would mean that the words *rewelarrre* 'witchetty grub' and *kngwerentye* 'more' would have to be part of a different clause, as they are also in the nominative case. This is represented in the translation of 2.

This again could be describing the dance posture or the direction the other dancers come from, heading towards the main dancer — 'others (from) behind'.

7 *-nye* (K) [P]. In Kaytetye this suffix produces derivatives of temporal nominals. The resultant nominal X-*nye* indicates a quality of being associated with X time. Where the base has either a spatial or a temporal interpretation, e.g. *arrwekele* 'in front of, before', the derivative is restricted to the temporal interpretation (Harold Koch, pers. comm.) One would thus expect *kngwerenye* 'another time'. However this does not fit in with the explanations of the song text, which suggest 'other people'.

Possibly *kngwerenye* refers to 'one at a time'. Alternatively *-nye* may indicate plurality where the 'others' refers to those who are dancing or trying to steal the grubs.

8 *-nge* (Arr) 'ABL' [P]. In Arrente *-nge* can go on body parts to show removal of something through or from this part. Note that there is no verb present in any analysis of the textline. Koch (1997) proposes *-nge* as an Arandic ablative.

**General comments**

This song text has the same rhythmic pattern in both textlines and has the same three final syllables for both textlines — *artepe*ng* *panga*. Variation in interpretation depends on whether the final segment of the textline is equated with a pronoun 'you' or an (pan-Ar) ablative case. Textline B may refer to either 'witchetty grubs' or 'other girls'.
Song text 6

25
song
Items
in 6 of 9
performances

Record no.
13, 14, 22, 23, 24, 25, 64, 65, 66, 227, 367, 368, 369, 385, 386, 480, 481,
482, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 741, 742.

A wenngerarrerna wenngerayrrernay

B wilylatyenngerarrernay wilylatyenngerarrerna

Accompanies painting up in Tara 2 and Elpate 1 performance.

Pronunciation variation:

A wunngererrerne (when beginning a melodic descent, including MS1, eg. 482)

initial consonant insertion /ul→/wul

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>textline</th>
<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>wenngerarrerna</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>wilylatyenngerarrernay</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tempo bands

no. song items 2 3 2 1
j = MM 120 126 132 138 144
Alek1 Tara2 Elpate1 Arraty Arraty
Elpate2 Alek1 Tara2

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: AABB
i. BBAA (TPR, records 13; 14; 22; 64)

Final vowel cycle:

| TL A | a | ay |
| TL B | ay | a |

Variation to final vowel cycle

| TL A | a | ay |
| TL B | ay | a |

(regressive vowel harmony in first B, records 369, 385, 386, 227)
Appendix 1: Song text 6

Textlines and melodic structure:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>structure</th>
<th>standard</th>
<th>66, 23</th>
<th>481, 482, 369, 65, 13, 22</th>
<th>64, 14</th>
<th>386</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MS1</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>TPR</td>
<td>[A][A]</td>
<td>TPR</td>
<td>TLr</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td></td>
<td>[B][B]</td>
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<td>MS3</td>
<td>AABB</td>
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<td>AA</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4</td>
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<td>BAA (incomp)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
<td>AAB[B][A]</td>
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<td>BB [A]</td>
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<td>MS6</td>
<td>[AABBA]</td>
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<td>AABB</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(item 24 is not included here as there is too much variation between the singers)

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. Daphne: When him sleeping shade, you know
   GKoch:  yes

   Daphne: After sun, him bin sleeping in the shade, uh-huh, after dinner time.  
   GKoch:  After dinner time

   Daphne: Dreaming you know elye [shade] uh-huh, yeah. Aweyle
   GKoch:  elye  weyle

   Daphne: tyannge welyela tyannngara awannngara
   GKoch:  tyannngara  welyela tyannngara awannngara

   (1976, GK6895, dn 7)

2. GKoch: You bin dancin!  
   Daphne: yeah, they bin sit down in the shade that one now

   Daphne: awennge arrerane tyennngare tyennngare, tyennngararrerane
   GKoch:  awennge arrerane tyennngare

   Daphne: welyela tyennngare, welyela tyennngare uh-huh
   GKoch:  tyennngararrerane welyela tyennngare

   GKoch: yeah. Also is that um anteyane elye-nge? Does that also mean same thing?

   Daphne: Uh-huh, yeah, yeah sit down longa shade, yeah
   GKoch:  yeah, sit down longa shade

   Daphne: uh-huh welyela, welyela uh-huh, sit down longa shade welyela
   GKoch:  welyela

   (1976, GK6895, dn 18)

2. Daphne: elye—[shade] umngere when he sit down in secret place.
   GKoch:  elye - what elye?

   Daphne:  Um. He get up now From shade. He walk away. They gone now.
   GKoch:  Yes, secret place. yeah

   GKoch: So—  What's atyennngare?
   Daphne:  elye wenngere welyele atyennngare That's all.
Appendix 1: Song text 6

Daphne: He gone now. um wenngare from shade he's gone
GKoch: Go now And wenngere? from shade

Daphne: Yeah awelye awenngare
GKoch: shade, OK welye wenngare. Oh awelye [ceremony] is that?

GKoch: No not awelye wenngare welyele tyenngare
Daphne: wenngare welyele tyenngare that's all

(1976, G6895, dn 29)

3. Daphne: welye-le when him sitting down in the shade
GKoch: welye-le is sitting in the shade?
Daphne: Yes wenngare when he get up wenngare welyele tyenngarre
GKoch: what's tyenngarre?
Daphne: sitting down awenngarre welyele tyenngarre that's all

(1976, G6895, dn 35)

4. Daphne: sit down in shade
They bin sit down in shade
GKoch: wenngere when he get up, welyela tyenngere sit down

... elye awelye tyenngare wenngere
? from shade they go now. Just women. They go now from shade. Dinnertime. After sleeping in shade, dinner time. Sit down in secret place, get up... go now.

(GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

5. Daphne: Him going along that way now, Arnerre place now. Amie.
[Myf: wenngere?]

Daphne: awenmgerane, him bin get in longa water now, that Amie. Awelye-le, shade, too much sun bin burn him. That's why he bin get in there longa water (laughs).
Dreaming.

[Myf: awenmgerarrenhe?]
[Myf: Wante rtame 'tyenngere'?
Daphne: yeah, shade uh-huh tyenngere, shade,

welyele. Too much sun that's why him bin get in longa shade

Kirsty: elye-warle

[Myf: 'tyenngere'-le anteyane? [sitting in the 'tyenngere']]
[Myf: awelye-le [sitting in the 'awelye']

... Daphne: Yeah. Get in longa shade. Too much sun. He bin get tem bout witchctty.

(1999, MD14, dn 14)

6. Resting in shade now (Betty AR fieldnotes 1999)

7. Daphne: Yeah in the shade, shade.
[Kirsty: Awelyele tyenngare arrenhe akwerle (certain)
Appendix 1: Song text 6

Rachel: *awelye-le anteyane mpelarte, yeah elye-ngye*. [sitting in the 'awelye' like that 'in the shade'

Daphne: Yeah, sit down with the shade
Myf: _amarl-amerne?_ (girls-PL)
Kirsty: _Amarl-amerne akwerle!_ (girls-PL certain)

(1999, MD12, dn 33)

8. [This follows song text 6, although Daphne may have been referring to song text 35 — pintelarelane]
Daphne: Yeah we bin losem. *Apinte*.
Myf: *Apinte*?
Daphne: Uh-huh gottem snake.
Myf: Oh like *Arnerr-apenyey*?
Daphne: *Arnerrre* now that's country—our country.
Myf: *Apinte* is that rock hole?

(1999, MD12, dn 34)

9. Daphne: They bin puttem bout *welye- in the shade elyele they bin makem singem, awelye kwerarte_. [that song] *'yenngerarrerane awelyela tyenngere' They bin puttem bout *errwanthe akalye re, ayenge warrkel? lertame aneyayne.*
Myf: *Makwerle kwerrimpinenge?* [were there lots of kwerrimpere?]
Daphne: yeah that one now.
Myf: *Aherrkerete we or atnkwarengele?*_ [at day or night?]
Daphne: *Atnkwarengele, aherrketewe they bin travelling that's why they bin singem bout.
[they travel at day and night when they sing.]
Myf: they painted up *'tyennngare'?*
Rachel: *arikenye*. [stripes]
Daphne: *arikenye. Yeah they puttem bout arikenye, arikenye tyennngare.*
Rachel: *painting They puttem bout painting, arikenye.*
Daphne: ....anteyane aleyelaye angetenge aperte.

(1999, MD14, dn 71)

10. Daphne: When they bin sitting down in the shade. That's what they bin singing.

(GK1994:2, dn 34)
Morphological analysis

A unngerarrerna
1 wenngere\(^1\) arrerne\(^2\) put/create
   ?
B wilylatyenngerarrerna
eyle\(^3\)-arle\(^4\) tyenngere\(^5\) arrerne put/create
   shade-ALL ?
   shade-LOC

*She puts/makes* *in the shade*

2 wenngere arre\(^6\)-rne\(^7\) INCH-IMP
   ?
eyle-le\(^8\) tyenngere arre-rne
   shade-LOC
   INCH-IMP

*She becomes* *in the shade*

3 angere\(^9\) ake
 secret place
 sit
 elye-le
 shade-LOC
 aye
 lsgERG
 secret place
 sit

Notes

1 *wenngere* (*?). Kaytetye has a word *awenngge* 'tree grave', and *wenngge* 'shy away', however these meanings do not fit in with the explanation of the song text.

2 *arrerne-* (pan-Ar) arre- (K) [C] 'put' [L] 'create' [P]. See song text 1, note 6. In Kaytetye *arrenke* also means 'get into (something), put something on' when it occurs with the reflexive pronoun. The meaning 'get themselves into the shade' would be an unconventional usage of this verb.

3 *elye-le* 'shade-LOC' [C], *elye-nge* (K) *ulye-le* (pan-Ar). With the initial dropping which has occurred in Arandic languages, we could postulate *Celye* 'shade' in proto Arandic.

4 *-arle* ALL (K) [L].

5 *tyenngere* is possibly an ablative given the explanation provided by Daphne 'from shade'. *Ulyenngge* 'running water' is also raw form in the Arandic database.

6 *-arre-* (K) is also the inchoative morpheme [P].

7 *rne* [L]; IMP (K) [P]; (recent PST) (Arri) [P].

8 *-le* LOC (pan-A) [L]. Kaytetye uses *-nge* on words with VCV structure, eg. *arrnwe* 'water' *arnxwenge* 'in the water'. Note that *ware* 'fire' in Kaytetye can take either form of the locative, *warenge* or *warele*.

9 *angere-angantye* (Arr) 'a place or thing which is a visible part of a Dreaming story' [P]. *angantye* is the place a person’s spirit returns to when they die. This is an unlikely speech equivalent as it does not have a locative suffix, nor does it account for the nasal cluster.

General comments

There are no confirmed speech equivalents for the segments *tyenngere* and *wenngere*. The expansions suggest that *wenngge* may refer to a place and *tyenngge* may be a word for ceremonial designs. The song has the form 'in the shade'. We do not know if the song refers to a transitive action happening in the shade, such as the women are painted up in the shade' or an intransitive action, namely 'sitting/ resting in the shade'. The latter is suggested in the expansions, although this contrasts with the most frequent meaning of *arrerne* as the final segment of a textline where it is transitive (see song texts 3 and 4).
Song text 7

<table>
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A

larrenyarrrenyarrenya

larrenyarrrenyarrenyay

B

(i)lerlangkirrenyarrenay

lerlangkirrenyarrerna

Accompanies painting up in Tara 2 and Elpate 1 performance.

Pronunciation variation:

A narrenyarrrenyarrenya (first in pair of records 16 MS4&5, 45 MS1, 86 MS2)
B elerlangkirrenyarrenay (first in pair of records 370 MS4&5, 372 MS2&5, 373, 495)
B ilerlangkwirrenyarrenay (records 302-5, 494-5, 636 MS2)

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

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| larrenyarrrenyarrnya | lerlangkirrenyarrerna |

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Tempo bands

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TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: AABB

i. BBAA (TPR records 86; 87; 156; 15; 16; 427; 492; 493; 691; 692)
ii. A-ABB (TLR records 157; 47; 611; 633; 634; 635; 636)

Final vowel cycle:

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<td>TL B</td>
<td>ay</td>
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### Translations

#### Expansions

1. *arlankwe errenyé arenhay*
   - tree, flowers, saw
   - cloud

   (GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

2. Daphne: You know that tree Yeah just like, just like circle, like round, tree, yeah
   GKoch: tree? yeah, yeah

   Daphne: *Arlankwe* tree
   GK *arlankwe*
   : tyapenyarte anteyane Taylor crossing-le...arlankwe [Like the trees at Taylor's Crossing]

   Daphne: We bin singem that different one clouds, you know. Yeah that one now.
   GKoch: Yeah

   ?: *errwenye mpelarte errwanthe*— [flowers like that you mob—]

   April: *Errwenye-tyampe arntwerantye...kwenyakerre* [it's called errwenye ... the other day...]

   Daphne: Clouds, uh-huh that *arlankwe* now, *arlankwe* uh-huh.
   GK *arlankwe* (1976, GK6894, dn 3)

3. Daphne: same one again, that tree yeah, them flowers.. same one
   GKoch: tree? *mataye* [cloud]
Appendix 1: Song text 7

Daphne: No.  
GKoch: No, not clouds  
       arlangkwe yes, arlangkwe, good  
       arlangkwe tree,  
(1976, GK894, dn 10)

4. 
GKoch: Now how do we say that one?  
Daphne: 
       arlangkweyrrenyarrnay, arlangkwe  
GKoch: arlangkwe errwenye arrernay  
Daphne: errwenye arrernay arlangkweyrrenyarrnay

GKoch: What does that mean in my language?  
Daphne: arlangkwe. Tree  
(1976, GK894, dn 65)

5. 
Daphne: That's pretty flower we callem. Arlangkwe, arlangkwe akwerle [of course], yeah pretty flower. When him shine  
Rachel: Ateye arlangkwe [tree arlangkwe]  
Daphne: Oh talk about pretty flower here too much, everybody got to talk like that. Uh-huh. Plenty round there longa Arnerre. There, pretty flowers.  
Myf: Enepe wanertame? [whats it called] and that flower arlangkw-arenye? [from the arlangkwe]  
Daphne: arlangkwe, arlangkwe  
Daphne: yeah, pretty flower now arlangkw-arenye, alpice huh?  
Kirsty: Arratayarende [place name]  
Kirsty: Arratayarende nhartipe ... napipaylarre ... artwenke ...  
   [place.name that song text tell]  
Daphne: uh-huh  
(1999, MD12, dn 20)

6. 
Daphne: You gotta makem necklace now that one like we bin makem ay?  
Kirsty: proper pretty one nilabat [we] bin puttem there.  
Rachel: Errwenye tangkerle one arel-arel-arreyayne. [They put the flower on first, then everyone watches them]  
Myf: Nthekelarte errwenye anteyane? [Where is there errwenye?]  
Daphne: Longa Tayl- Rainmaker country  
Kirsty: There longa Arnerre Good one, proper  
Daphne: We bin makem wire puttem string  
Daphne: Flash one we can makem, ah plenty there longa bush  
Kirsty: Puttem alakenhe well paintem there again, paintem properly. Pretty one puttem in string now [You put them like this and paint them there]
Daphne: Maken long one, proper big one. You can takem puttem longa warleye. 
Errwenye we never see'em. We sit down too much longa one place. Yeah, cold 
weather. Just about start of cold weather now. Me and you bin puttem proper long one. 
Double one. We bin makem proper long one. 
(1999, MD12, dn 10)

7. Kirsty: We bin singem arlangkwe, pretty flower 
Daphne: Me two fella we bin cuttem bout, we bin makem necklace, pretty one. That 
one now.

Myf: errwenye? 
Daphne: yeah errwenye alarreny-errwenye (slowly) alarreny-errwenye, yeah when 
we bin singem yesterday 
(1999, MD14, dn 58)

Kirsty: Kaperle areke. [sneak a glance at] 
Daphne: 'Oh pretty, look at that, pretty!' he bin tellem. (laughs) That one now. 
Myf: Kwerrinpele arenhe? [Did the Kwerrinpe women look?] 
Daphne: Yeah we bin gettem bout seed now, makem necklace now. That one now we 
bin makem necklace. 
(1999, MD21, dn 16)

9. Daphne: arlangkwe, arlangkwe pretty flower, that one we singem this one. Big tree, 
alkenhe [big] uh-huh. 
(1999, MD19, dn 48)

10. This song text refers to the Kwerrinpe women sitting in a certain shade in the 
afternoon after having been in the sun getting witchetties. They then get up and leave 
the shade. 
(2001, April, MT's fieldnotes)

(GK1994:2 da 11)
Appendix 1: Song text 7

Morphological analysis

A  larrenyarrenyarrnya

1  errwenye1  errwenye  errwenye  arlangkwe2  errwenye  arrerne3
    blossom  blossom  blossom  bloodwood  sp.  blossom  create/put

  i  (We) make the blossom of the Sandhill bloodwood
  ii (We) put on (ourselves) the blossom of the Sandhill bloodwood
  iii Put on the blossom of the Sandhill bloodwood

B  lerlangkirreyarrerna

3  errwenye  errwenye  errwenye  arlangkwe  errwenye  arrerne-le
    blossom  blossom  blossom  bloodwood  sp.  blossom  create/put-INSTR

(Decorate ourselves) with bloodwood blossom that they (Kwerrimpe) laid out.

4  arrrenye4  arrrenye  arrrenye  arlangkwe  errwenye  arrrenye
    yonder  yonder  yonder  bloodwood  sp.  blossom  create/put

  i  Over there (we) make the blossom of the Sandhill bloodwood
  ii Over there (we) put the blossom of the Sandhill bloodwood

Notes

1  errwenye  (pan-Ar) 'down, blossom, silk from the bush bananas' [C]. Harold Koch has
    noted it can also mean 'feathers, down' in Kaytetye (pers.comm). I have recorded its
    meaning as flowering gunnputs. Feathers and flowering gunnputs are also both used in
    ceremonies. In this text errwenye refers to the gumnut flowers of Eucalyptus setosa, which
    come out in winter. Things that are errwenye are characterised by being 'soft'.

2  arlangkwe  (K, Aly, An) [C]. Sandhill bloodwood Corymbia sphaerica (Eucalyptus setosa)

3  arrerne-  (pan-Ar) [C] 'put' [C] 'create' [L]. See song text 1, note 6. Note that translation 1
    assumes the initial consonant of both textlines is meaningless.

4  arrrenye  (K) 'over there' [P].

General comments

The different interpretations of song text 7 stem from whether textline A is errwenye
'blossom' or arrrenye 'over there', whether the initial 'l' of the textlines is regarded as having
a grammatical function or is a meaningless syllable, and what meaning of arrerne 'put' is
taken, although the expansions suggest 'put on blossom (as a decoration)'. There is also a
place on Armerre called Arlangkwakake 'having desert bloodwood blossom, which this song
could refer to.
Song text 8

25 song items in 6 of 9 performances

Record no.
17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 93, 94, 153, 154, 155, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 343, 344, 345, 374, 375, 376, 377, 386, 757, 758.

A narratayarratya

B (i)napipaylarra

A narratayyarrratya

B napipaylarra

Accompanies painting up in Tara 2 and Elpate 1 performance. Textline B is the same as textline 50b and 33b.

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

| S W W# S W | S W W# S W |
| B B L# B L | B B L# B L |

narratayarratya

napipaylarra

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TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BBAA
i. 8 AABB (TPR records 343; 344; 153; 154; 229; 375; 376; 377)

Final vowel cycle

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Textlines and melodic structure:

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Appendix 1: Song text 8

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. Daphne: just like ratneye, arratye [wallaby sp.] that one
   GKoch: arratye?
   ...
   Daphne: Oh yeah, small one, like this, wallaby, just like wallaby again, only small one, arratye. Its, good meat as well
   GKoch: Yeah, good meat, sounds like—I hear you singing nwengeyepaye nakartayenwengeyepaye
   Daphne: anarratye-arratye
   (1976, GK6894, dn 6)

2. arratye just like wallaby, little one. Big one (meaning adult) He cheeky one too. He
   bitem. ... 'napipaylarre' same one now. When he makem camp, like that, He makem
   home, that's his camp. He makem baby here, napipe."
   (1976, GK6894)

3. Kirsty: Arratyarenge... Arratyarenge nhartepe *'napipaylarre' * arntwe-nke ...
   place name place name that=FOC *textline 8b tell-PRS
   Daphne: huh? uh-huh
   [sings song text 8] ...
   Arnerrelke arrkerarre re. ... Arntwe-like Arnerre-le arntwe, nharte=pe Arratyarenge=pe.
   [They are close to Arnerre now ... That one is at the water at Arnerre, (the place)
   Arratyarenge.]
   ...
   Daphne: Rainmaker. There's one alligator gotta sit down there inside.
   (1999, MD12, dn 21-24)

4. Daphne: 'narratyarratye napipelarre' [song text 8]
   Rachel: Arratyarenge=pe [place name=FOC]
   Daphne: Yeah here [meat] , we bin eatem all day, killem bout Dreaming you know.
   Only two fellas, Ampetyane atherre [skin name-two]
   ...
   Daphne: He bin huntem way everybody ! Reckon he want to come back self.
   Myf: Nante-le yweke-nherre? [Who hunted them away?]
   Daphne: No, just sorry longa his father. Dreaming. This two bin sorry bout all over
   these two bin look around. This two bin huntem away everybody 'get out, don't come
   here!' Yeah Ampetyane atherrole."
42
Myf: *Wante-penhe*? [from what]

Kirsty: Daddy *erwanthe tyertealarrenhempele* ['You secretly killed our father!']

Daphne: From Daddy now, two fella bin huntem away.

RA: *Waak-arenye therre* [The two people from Waake]

Daphne: I bin sit down gottem euro - *ratmeye*, porcupine, That's why we bin sit down mix up.

Kirsty: Me two fella bin sit down snake mix up [We two were sitting down amongst all the snake].

Daphne: Yeah, Blanche, Lena, Hilda, one more? only three and me self. *Ampetyane therre* bin come back right back longa this one, we bin sit down all lot now, one mob. Finish.

... 

Daphne: They bin sit down all lot now, singing *awelye*. *Narratyarraye* they bin singem. Dreaming.

Kirsty: *Arratyarraye-theye mpelarte alpenhe Arnerre-warle* [From song text 8 (*Arratyarenge*) they go back to Arnerre.]

(1999, MD12, dn 82)

5. Nancy: *Arratyarenge wenharte angkeyayne aylengewanenyeye* [You talked about the song 'Arratyarenge' but you didn't sing it]

Carmel: *Partaperte aylengewanenyeye ape tangkwerle akertarrenhe* [You didn't sing it all you only started.]

(1999, MD14, dn 41)


7. Daphne: Yeah, they bin dance. They bin singem young fella, somewhere. ...

   Myf: *wantertame napipaye*? [What's 'napipe'?]

   Daphne: pretty flowers we callem 'napipe'

   Kirsty: *napipaylarre arratyarraye' -akwene*

   Daphne: uh-huh *arratyarraye*

   Myf: *Wantapenye napipe*? [What does napipe look like?]

   Daphne: *arliere*, white one.

(1999, MD21, dn 18)

9. "The *Kwerrinpe* women first danced facing west, which is the wrong way. Then the *alekapere* (brown falcons) turned them around so that they faced east." (2001 pers.comm.)

43
October) Spencer and Gillen's notes show these totemic ancestors as playing an important role in creating parts of Kaytetye country:

    two young alekapere men bled at a spot now represented by a peaked hill south of Barrow Creek. The blood from their wounds formed Barrow Creek and another creek which flows to the north west (Gillen 1968:114. See also Spencer and Gillen 1965).

10. Napipe. Place on Arnerre (not to be confused with the Arrernte place Arnapipe). (TT 29.11.01 Tara) Note that this meaning was not confirmed by the singers.

11. This song has accompanying dancing (2002, Betty, MT's fieldnotes).

**Morphological analysis**

A narratyarraya  
1 arrayye arrayye  
   wallaby sp wallaby sp  
   i The wallabies are laid out in ?.  
   ii The wallabies are created at ?.

B napipaylarra  
1 apipe-arle arrerne  
   ? -ALL create/put  
2 arrayye arrayye  
   wallaby wallaby  
   napipe-le arrerne  
   placename-LOC create/put

**Notes**

1. arrayye (K, Aly) 'black footed rock wallaby' Petrogale lateralis [C].

2. -arle--warle (K) ALL [P].

3. arrerne- (pan-Ar) [L]; 'put' [L] 'create' [L]. See song text 1, note 7. As only men wear errvenye for ceremonies, it is likely that the song refers to the trees full of flowers.

4. Arrayyarenge (K) name of a swamp on Arnerre [C].

5. Napipe-le (K) place name-LOC [P].

**General comments**

By virtue of polyscmy textline A refers simultaneously to a place and animal. The different interpretations of the B line stem from:

- whether the initial nasal is a meaningless consonant or the final consonant of the verb carried over to the beginning of both textlines

- what meaning is assigned to the first sement of textline B. This segment has neither confirmed speech equivalents (such as mpepe 'middle, enape 'echidna') nor known speech forms from the meanings given in the expansions ('pretty flower', 'bed').

44
### Song text 9

<table>
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<th>42 song items</th>
<th>In 8 of 9 performances</th>
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A rolantyepantya rolantyepantyay

B rolintyerra rolintyerra

*Accompanies painting up in Tara 2 and Elpate 1 performance.*

**TEXT, METER AND TEMPO**

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**TEXT MELODY OVERLAY**

Text cycle: BBAA

L 8 AABB (TPR records 27; 408; 119; 109; 408; 410; 677; 678)

Final vowel cycle: a ay ay a

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**Textlines and melodic structure:**
Appendix 1: Song text 9

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(SONG ITEM 26 NOT INCLUDED, RECORDING STARTS HALFWAY)

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. *arntwe rewe apenkerne.* Water, *arntwe rewe* running in creek
   (GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

2. Daphne: *arntwe* going longa creek
   GKoch: creek, oh?
   Daphne: yeah, run
   GKoch: run ...
   Daphne: yeah, *rewe, kwatyae* [floodwater, water]
   GKoch: *kwatyae*
   Daphne: *rewalentyerre, kwatyae* that one running creek
   (1976, GK6894, dn 16)

3. *arntwe alenyae alpeyenteye alyepaye.* [flood water going along the creek]
   (RN, MT's fieldnotes)

4. Daphne: That's rain bin come out now, they bin singing *arntwe rewe apenkerne* [flood water going]
   GKoch: *rewe apenkerne*
   (1976, GK6895, dn 15)

5. Daphne: That's rain, running longa creek *arntwe arewalentyerre.* We callem Kaytetye *rewe* he's running. Yeah *rewalentyerre, rewalantyepentye*
   GKoch: what's *alentyerre?*
   Daphne: 'rewalentyerre, rewalantyepentye.'
   GKoch: what's 'rewalantyepentye' what's that one?
   Daphne: same one, water running in creek.
   (1976, GK6895, dn 34)

6. Daphne: Witchetty again. *Rawelarre.* We callem *Rawelarre* ...
   Daphne: *Arawelarrele* plenty witchetty longa inside.
   (1999, MD13, dn 14)

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7. Daphne: *Rewe* we callem when that water gotta run along creek. He gotta run big one or little one or.
   Myf: *rewa, arntwe* or *alenye*?
   Daphne: yeah, *arntwe*

(1999, MD12, d101)

8. Daphne: *arntwe alenyen* [flood water]
   Kirsty: *rewa alentypente akwene* [floodwater ? of course]
   Daphne: *rewa alenyen nyere* him run. *Nyere* him pickem up all the grass ....
   Myf: *Wante rtame antyepentye?* [What's *antyepantye*]?
   Kirsty: *kwatyae*
   Daphne: No him - rain now, when him going longa creek.
   Myf: *alenyen*?
   Daphne: *Alenyen*, him run
   Myf: *entyere*?
   Daphne: *entyere* him takem that grass
   Kirsty: *entyere* him takem *athe* [grass], *arntwe aperinenke arntwenge*. [The flood water carries the grass.] 
   Daphne: and chuckem away long way now
   Myf: And what about that last one *antyepentye* what's that meaning?
   Daphne: that one rain now we callem bout. ...
   Myf: What's that *antyepentye*?
   Daphne: That one now we callem bout, that rain, *antyepentye* him grass and now, he gotta pullem out and chuck them away.

(1999, MD12, d115)

9. Kirsty: *'Arawelentyere antyepentye' akwele.* ['Arawelentyere antyepentye' she says]
   Daphne: *'Rawelantypente'* That one?
   Kirsty: *'Rawelantypente'*.
   Myf: What's the story for that one?
   Daphne: Big rain, *mataye, kwatyae*. And witchetty that one *arawelarre*, you callem.
   Yeah this mob bin want to go this way now, right up longa rain maker, this mob now they bin go. ...
   Kirsty: *'Antyepentyepe elpere mpele, elpere-elpere elpere apezetke'* quickly they bin go.
   Daphne: *'Elpere antyepentyepe'*.

(GK1994:2 d9)

10. This song has accompanying dancing (2002, Betty, MT's fieldnotes)
Morphological analysis

A rewelantye-pantye
B rewelentyerre

1 rewe\(^1\) alyne\(^2\)-pentye\(^3\) rewe alyne entyer\(^4\)
  floodwater floodwater-associated floodwater floodwater flood.out

_The flood water, the place with the flood water_

3 rewe-le\(^5\) antye-p\(^6\)-antye\(^7\) rewe-le entyer
  floodwater-ERG carry-CNT-RED? floodwater-ERG debris

_The flood water, the flood water carries the debris_

Notes

1 _rewe_ (pan-Ar) 'floodwater' [C].

2 _alnye_ (K, Aly) 'floodwater' [L]. Note that the second syllable is merged into the first syllable of the next word, so _alnye + entyer_ becomes _alnyter_. (See Chapter 6)

3 _-pentye/-pantye_ (pan-A) non-productive suffix found on place names [L]. It usually follows a word for something which is a Dreaming of that place.

4 _entyer_ 'floodout' (K, Aly, An); 'debris carried by flood water' (K) [C].

5 _-le_ (pan-A) ERG [P].

6 _-pe_- (pan-Ar) continuous marker [P]. This is followed by a reduplicated element of the verb stem which is the last CVC of the verb stem.

7 _antye_- (pan-A) [L] 'climb, rise' (pan-Ar) [N]. Although this form is likely its current meaning is not supported in the expansions. Considering the postulated \(\emptyset\) tense morpheme in some verb classes, the segment _antye-antye_ resembles an (pan-Ar) verb. If it is taken as a transitive verb, with a meaning such as 'carry', then the semantic change is 'carry' \(\Rightarrow\) 'climb, jump, rise'. If it is taken as an intransitive verb, with a meaning such as 'run/flow' then the change is 'run/flow' \(\Rightarrow\) 'climb, jump, rise'.

General comments

Textline B has clearly identifiable song glosses and the various speech equivalents have similar meanings. The different interpretations of the second segment of textline A, _antye-pantye_, stem from whether the place name marker _-pentye_ is taken, or whether a transitive or intransitive verbal form is taken, _antye-antye_. The different interpretations do not create contradictory meanings. It may refer to a place where the flood water flows and carries debris. Expansion 9 suggests that it is the _Kwerrimpe_ that went fast, however this expansion resembles that for song text 13 which may have been the song Daphne was expanding upon.
### Song text 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>In 9 of 9 performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A. merrpewanyarray  
B. (i)terellerramerrperarrerna

Accompanies painting up and dancing in the Tara 2 and Elplate performances.

### Phonological variation:

A. merrpewanyarray (records 81 MS3&4, 82 MS4; 466; 467; 708)  
B. werellerramerrperarrerna (records 192; 193; 194 MS3; 195 MS5; 267 MS5&7; 268 MS5; 269 MS3&5; 280 MS4&6&7; 281; 282 MS3&6; 283 MS3&5; 322 MS5 second B; 51 MS2,3&5; 52 MS3; 28; 29 MS3; 30 MS2&3; 31 MS3&5 (first B only); 32 MS3 (first B only); 472 MS3; 473 MS3&5; 474 MS3&5; 486 MS3 (second only); 487 MS3 (second B) & MS5; 488 MS3&5; 510 MS3&5; 511 MS3&5; 512 MS2,3 (first B) & MS4 (second B); 513 MS3&5; 518 MS3&5

### Pronunciation variation (records 112, 113 - no bosses were present at this time):

A. (i)terellerramerrperayray  
B. terellerramerrperayray

### TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

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### Variation to textline:

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### Tempo bands

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### TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

**Text cycle:** BA  
1. AB (records 280, 281, 28, 113)

#### Final vowel cycle

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#### Variation to final vowel cycle

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#### Textlines and melodic structure:

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**Item 112, 322, 323 recording started late and/or interrupted**

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**Item 281 has 10 melodic sections**  
**Item 113 is variant textline**

### TRANSLATIONS

#### Expansions

1. **itelerra melparralarra melparranyerre**  
   Headband rabbit fur, made from cloth, rabbit fur string  
   Dancing time. Tie’em up when everybody dance  
   (GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

2. Makem flash, come dance now, pullem back. Cloud now, mataye, mataye apenkerne  
   (GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

3. **entyyraye** means 'tie up - twist, hard, tight, joining two together.  
   *merrperyre* 'tight' *merrpererre* syn. *elpetererreerre.*
merpewe entereyare 'tie it tight, hard' syn. merrperarenhe
itelarre 'white headband for dancing'

(1999, MW, MT's fieldnotes)

4. Anne: itelarre may refer to a long white cloud in the distance (MT fieldnotes 1999)

5. GKoch: What does that song say, what word that song angkewethe?
   Daphne: itelarre.
   GKoch: itelarre?
   Daphne: Yeah, cloud you know, yeah itelarre that one. You know that white one, you see'em, white one like that one. You see that one? Mataye that one, mataye.
   GKoch: I know mataye.
   Daphne: That one now.

(1976, GK6984, dn 2)

   GKoch: Oh mataye? mataye
   GKoch: yeah, 'pinawa-tyalparra'-mataye?
   Daphne: itelarre merlpawe entyerre. Itelarre is callem mataye, mataye.
   April: Different different apmere lkgwere arle. [different places (part of another conversation)
   RN: 'itelarre merrpere entye'
   GKoch: Would you say that again for me please?
   Daphne: mataye um...telarre, white one now, that one, callem telarre.
   GKoch: mataye

(1976, GK6984, dn 18)

7. Daphne: 'iterlarra merrpa entyerre'
   GKoch: iterlarre?
   Daphne: 'merrparrane merpewentyerre itelarra'
   GKoch: What's iterlarre?
   Daphne: Makem flash you know pakarie(headband). Makem flash come dance now.
   Daphne: 'merrparrane merpewentyerre itelarra, merrpe' puttem pakerec makem flash
   GKoch: What's that 'marrpewantyerray'?
   Daphne: Yes. When him dance. From long way, you come up and dance, you know, that one you know. We bin dance there. Big mob we bin dance there. From Warrabri, mix up. From Murry Downs, Warrabri. Gurridji too. From long way and we bin dance here.

(1976, GK6895, dn 44)

8. Daphne: Same one, pakarie, you know, makem flash when he dancing. 'iterle merrpa arrane, merrpewenteyle'
   GKoch: What's 'arrane'?
Appendix 1: Song text 10

Daphne: 'terla merrpa arrana merrpew—' arrane puttem

(1976, GK6896, da 49)

   Myf: Wante? [what one?] itelarre?
   Rachel: They puttem bout pakere [They put headbands on themselves]
   Daphne: Puttem pakere now, makem flash
   Daphne: Pakere we callem pakere. Itelarre holdem back
   Myf: pakere?
   Rachel: yeah, itelarre
   Rachel: There now two fella callem.
   Daphne: There now two fella callem bout. Singem bout pakere, pakere two fella
   singem bout.
   Daphne: itelarre Yeah, 'merrpewentyerre', puttem tight
   Myf: What's that 'merrpewentyerre'?
   Myf: Puttem what?
   Kirsty: Puttem longa akaperte, inteme perryene nte, you tie’em up perryene kaperte.
   [You tie it around your head really tight] * itelarre -akwerle.
   Daphne: Umm. Yeah, same one. ...
   Daphne: yeah tight, you makem tight. Yeah, he might fall down. Itelarre
   'merrperarrerane'.
   Kirsty: 'merrperentyerre' mpele
   Daphne: Tight, he call'em merrperentyerre tight. Yeah, tight elpererre 'tight'
   perryewethe [should tie it up].
   Myf: perryewethe.
   Daphne: tie’em up, yeah elpererre [tight].
   Myf: Ntepe aylenyen 'merrpew larre'-...
   Daphne: itelarre, tight, yeah merrpewentyerre.
   Myf: 'merrpele entyerre'?
   Daphne: 'merrpew - merrpew entyerre'
   Kirsty: merrpere entyerre, merrpere entyerre ...
   Daphne: tight 'itelarre merrperarrena merrpewente entyerre - merrperarrena
   merrpewentyerre'  
   Daphne: tight we callem ...
   Kirsty: Itelarre kwertartepe. [this one is a headband]
   Myf: So this song is about itelarre?
   Daphne: Itelarre now, pakere we callem, itelarre. Makem tight.
   Myf: And amarlene, arelehle perryenke? [do girls and women tie it?]
   Daphne: Yeah, perryenke tight.
   Myf: Amarlarenge? [women's thing]? 
   Kirsty: Amarlarenge

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Daphne: Gottem pakeree now gotta dance, arelhe.
Myf: So that means she’s ging to dance?
Daphne: Yeah, makem flash, gottem dance now and ah painting too. Uh-huh. ...
Myf: That itelarre hes not like mataye-apenye?
Daphne: No.
Rachel: Yeah itelarre pakeree, they callem bout pakeree itelarre.
Daphne: itelarre we callem.
Kirsty: Pakerre, itelarre 'merrpere arrerane.'
Daphne: Yeah we tie’em up now tight.
Kirsty: Itelarre.

(1999, MD12, dn 43)

10. April: Iterlarre arrenke awelyewe, kwerakake wenhe ermtwenke mpelarte. [You put the headband on and dance with it like that]
Daphne: Uh-huh

(1999, MD14, dn 18)

11. Myf: That one’s itelarre is he?
Daphne: Uh-huh. This one now itelarre, that ah puttem longa akaperte akewarle. [put the headband on your head]
Myf: Um.
Kirsty: Iterlarre arrenke akarle. [put the headband on your head]
Daphne: 'kwerrparangalernentye'-rtame. That one they got to arrtyeyerre. [And 'kwerrparangalernentye' is what they will hold]
Myf: Ane errwanthe aylene 'merrpewentyerre' [and you sang 'merrpewentyerre'] ...
Kirsty: Puttem longa akaperte lakenhe itelarre tight [putting on her head tight]
Myf: rewenhe?
Daphne: Iterlarre=pe. Ane 'Kwerrparangelenentye'-rtame they bin havem warti, atesye rtame. [stick] Gottem paint, atesye. [They held a painted stick]
Kirsty: Perrtyenke tight. [They tied (the headband) tight]
Myf: She did it her self?
Maya: Mpelartaye, mpelarte you two fellia gotta tell'em. 'Iterlarre nyarte merrperentyerre arrenene ate ayeyenhe mpelele, or tyelarte ayeyenhe arrenke mpele.
Me merrperentye itelarre mpele perteyenke ayeyenhe. Mpelarte re angkenke. That woman now, kwerrimpe. Wele him tie’em up self now. That's the story now. [This is what you have to tell her 'This headband, tie it on me (merrperentyerre)!' or 'I'll put this on, my headband is (merrperentye), I tied it on myself' That's what she says, that Kwerrimpe woman. Then she ties it on herself. That's what its about.]

(1999, MD14, dn 61)

12. Daphne: Pakarie, when him dance gotem pakarie now, that one now.
Myf: itelarre?
Kirsty: *iierlareemerrperantyerre*

Daphne: Yeah pakarrie white one you know. Pretty flower too when him bin usem bout.
(1999, MD21, 19)

**Morphological analysis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A merrpewantyerray</th>
<th>B terlerramerrperarrena</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 merrpe 1 entyerre</td>
<td>itelarme merrpe arrener</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Put the headband on tight, tie it tight.
2. Lay out (create) the clouds like headbands, tie them tight.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2 merrpe we 5-ntyere-re ras</th>
<th>itelarme merrpe arrener</th>
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<tr>
<td>tight throw-NMZ-PL headband tight put</td>
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</table>

*Put the headband on tight, put on tightly.*

**Notes**

1. *merrpe* 'tie up tight'. (song/archaic?) [P]. It may correspond to the first part of the variant form in Kaytetye *erreppityenke* of the verb *perryenke* (K) 'tie up, irrtynern- (Aly)). There are possible cognates in other languages of Central Australia (Pintupi, Walmajarri *karrpi-* "wrap, tie up, fold"), and Alpher proposes a proto Pama-nyungan form *karri*- 'tie' (2004:96). The second element of the Kaytetye verb *erreppityenke* may correspond to *arrrynke* (K) 'hold'. Expansion 10 suggests that the whole segment *merrperantyerre* corresponds to 'tight'.


3. *iterlarre* (K, Aly, An) 'white ceremonial headband worn by women' [C]. Expansions 2, 3, 4 and 5 suggest *iterlarre* may also refer to a type of cloud.

4. *arrerne-* (pan-Ar) [C] 'put' [C], ‘create’ [L]. See song text 1.

5. *we-* 'throw' (pan-A) [P]. This verb is frequently a compounding element in (pan-Ar) verbs such as *arranyentiweme* 'throw things all over the place'. In (pan-Ar) this verb is also used for painting ceremonial designs.

6. *-ntyere* Nominaliser (pan-Ar) [P].

**General comments**

Textline B has clearly identifiable speech equivalents and the different interpretations of *iterlarre* 'occur because of the metonymic association between headbands and clouds. Variation in interpretation also depends on whether the semivowel in the middle of both textlines —w and r, which vary in performance—is the result of breaking (see Chapter 6) or whether it has semantic content. It is difficult to find speech equivalents of textline A; although semantically the only explanation is 'tight'.
Appendix 1: Song text 11

Song text 11

21 song items | In 7 of 9 performances | Record no. |
-------------|------------------------|------------|
**B** (i)larperralriperray | B larlperralriperra |

Accompanies painting up in the Elpaté performance

PRONUNCIATION VARIATION:

A arrkelatvernantya (records 71; 170-5) lateral substitution: /y/ → /l/
A arrkelatvernantya (records 46; 47; 71; 365; 366; 396 MS2&5; 524; 525) expansion of consonant cluster /rkl/ → /lrekl/
A rekkelantyernantya (records 679; 680) nasal substitution /l/ → /n/
**B** larperralriperray (records 47 MS4; 175 MS2; 365 MS5 (descent); 395MS4&5, 396, 397)

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

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TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BBAA
i. AABB (TPR record 171, 679, 680)

Final vowel cycle: a-ay/ay-a

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55
Appendix 1: Song text 10

Kirsty: *iterlarremerrperantyerre*

Daphne: Yeah pakarie white one you know. Pretty flower too when him bin usem bout.

(1999, MD21, dn 19)

**Morphological analysis**

A  **merrpewantyarray**  
1  merrpe\(^1\) entyerre\(^2\)                  
   tight

B  **terllerramerrperarrenna**
   itelarre\(^3\) merrpe arrerne\(^4\)       
   headband tight put/create

\(i\) Put the headband on tight, tie it tight.
\(ii\) Lay out (create) the clouds like headbands, tie them tight.

2  merrpe we\(^5\)-ntye\(^6\)-re  
   tight throw-NMZ-PL

   itelarre merrpe arrerne
   headband tight put

*Put the headband on tight, put on tightly.*

**Notes**

\(^1\) *merrpe* 'tie up tight'. (song/archaic?) [P]. It may correspond to the first part of the variant form in Kaytetye *erpertyenke* of the verb *pertyenke* (K) ('tie up', *irrtyern-* (Aly)). There are possible cognates in other languages of Central Australia (Pintupi, Walmajarri *karrpi-* "wrap, tie up, fold"), and Alpher proposes a proto Pama-nyungan form *karrpi-* 'tie' (2004:96). The second element of the Kaytetye verb *erpertyenke* may correspond to *arrtyenke* (K) 'hold'. Expansion 10 suggests that the whole segment *merrperentyerre* corresponds to 'tight'.

\(^2\) *entyerre* 'floodout' (K, Aly, An) [N]. See song text 9, note 4.

\(^3\) *iterlarre* (K, Aly, An) 'white ceremonial headband worn by women' [C]. Expansions 2, 3, 4 and 5 suggest *iterlarre* may also refer to a type of cloud.

\(^4\) *arrerne-* (pan-Ar) [C] 'put' [C], 'create' [L]. See song text 1.

\(^5\) *we-* 'throw' (pan-A) [P]. This verb is frequently a compounding element in (pan-Ar) verbs such as *arranyentweeme* 'throw things all over the place'. In (pan-Ar) this verb is also used for painting ceremonial designs.

\(^6\) *-ntye* Nominaliser (pan-Ar) [P].

**General comments**

Textline B has clearly identifiable speech equivalents and the different interpretations of *iterlarre* 'occur because of the metonymic association between headbands and clouds. Variation in interpretation also depends on whether the semivowel in the middle of both textlines —w and r, which vary in performance—is the result of breaking (see Chapter 6) or whether it has semantic content. It is difficult to find speech equivalents of textline A; although semantically the only explanation is 'tight'.
Song text 11

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A arrelarrrynrantya  
A arrelayrrtyernantyay

B (i)larlperrarlerrperray  
B larlperrarlerrperray

Accompanies painting up in the Elrate performance

PRONUNCIATION VARIATION:
- reduction of consonant cluster
- lateral substitution: /ty/-/ty/
- expansion of consonant cluster /rrk/ → /rrk/
- nasal substitution /l/-/n/

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

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TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BBAA

Final vowel cycle: a-ay/ay-a

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Appendix 1: Song text 11

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TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. *karlper arlperre aherrkele tyernentye*
   leaf sunshine shine
   (GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

2. Daphne: Sunshine
   Myf: *aherrkele?* [sun-ERG]
   Daphne: uh-huh, yeah *aherrkele arrtyenke* [sun-ERG shines]
   Kirsty: *nalperre nalperre-warle*, *arlperre arlperrewarle* [on the whitewoods]
   Daphne: We callem *arlperre arlperre* [whitewoods] longa this side Arnercle.
   Myf: *Etepe wante rianee?* [what are they called?]
   Kirsty: *Arlperre. Ateye* [tree] *arlperre*, whitewood
   Myf: Oh leaf?
   RA: Yeah
   Daphne: shade, uh-huh shade ...
   Daphne: *erlelperrertperre*
   (singing)
   Daphne: *aherrke-le shinem*, that one him singing. *Aherrke-le shinem-ayle-nee mpele.*
   Shinem. Sun shine. That way we singem bout. *Atwerrpe* late, sun rise - sun rise we
   singem self again. That Blanche gothem. [At sunset there is a different song. Blanche
   knows that one]
   (singing)
   Kirsty: Yeah *akwernge Arnerre* that song.
   Daphne: dinner time sunshine [midday sun]
   Daphne: *Aherrkele arrtyenke*. [sun is shining]
   RA: *Aherrkele ampenke*. [sun is burning]
   Daphne: *'Aherrkele aherrekele arerlaneme'* - when him come up. Now we gotta
   singem that one *'aherrkele aherrekele arerlaneme'*; [song text 14]

(1999, MD12, dn 84)

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3. (singing)

Myf: that’s that whitewood eh?

Daphne: arlperre [whitewood]

April: Nyartarre anteyane, yeah arwele nyarte anteyane. Nyarte arlperre atye
arerrantye, nyartarre re anteyane. [The one over here, that tree here. That’s a
whitewood that I’m looking at, the one over here.]

?: No nothing, that’s different one tree

Maya: Arrewenhe anteyane sandhill-larre arrewenhe. [Over there, that way on sandhills
they grow]

April: Yeah, arlperre wenhe Taylors Crossing-le-theye nte areyern-alpeyayne makwerle
arlperre-inenge. Nharte now repe arlperrinenge inayele atye kwere
showemaylelpayleweth. Nharte aylerantye ‘erlwaylperr-aylperrepe’. [You know
those whitewoods near Taylors Crossing you must have seen them coming past,
lots of them. That’s the one now, whitewood. I’ll show you later. That’s what we’re
singing about in ‘erlwaylperr-aylperrepe’.

Daphne: uh-huh.

April: ‘aherrkele arryernantyerne’. Mpelarte that arlperre arwele. [The sun shining,
that’s the whitewood.]

April: Wantielke akeleye? [What next auntie]?

Daphne: Nyartelke aylewene last-apertame tangkwerle. [We’ll sing one more last song]

April: Wante-rtame nharte? [which one is that?]

Maya: Wante-rtame nharte? Nthakenhtame Kaytetye? [which one is that?,
what is it in Kaytetye?]

Daphne: Nhaperte entyrne=pe kwere enewerrantye, entyrne. [We call it butterfly
bush (Petalostylis cassiodes)] ...

April: ’aherrkele arryenanty-a aherrkele arryenanty-a’

Daphne: Not alpite, nharte-pange apertame ateye. [Its not a flower, it’s a tree]

April: Na, apertame kwere ape ngkwarle-rtame sugar-apyenyarre anenke. Not awelye
nhartep [No, it’s just a sweet food like sugar, not a song.]

Daphne: not awelye this one.

April: Nharte ngkwarle-rtame, apertame entyrne. [It’s just a sweet food butterfly bush]

Daphne: Just plum-rtame

April: Lolly, lolly, sugar-apyeny sugar-apeny-rtame anenke, ngkwarle entyrne. [It’s a
lolly, like sugar, the sweet food from the butterfly bush.]

Daphne: sugar
Appendix 1: Song text 11

April: Nhareneny-apertame, nhatre rarte ayntwete re aneye sugar-apyeny sugar white one. [Its from there, white with lots of lumps of sweet stuff on it.]
Carmel: Cold season.
(note: not sure if Daphne is saying 'entyerne' is a meaning of this awelye or whether she is trying to think of another awelye about 'entyerne'.)

(1999, MD14, dn 13)

4. arrtyorntonyengareye = during the light. Older people say this (AR 2001)

5. Daphne: Him want to sit down? busy. Yeah that's why him bin singem bout. 'wanna sit down longa shade, too much sun, I gotta- might burn'
Kirsty: Aherrkele atyenge ampenkerne ayenge anevethe alperrale mpele. ['The sun is burning me, I need to sit in the shade', like that.]
Myf: Oh kwerrimpele arntwenke kwere? [That's what the Kwerrimpe said?]
Daphne: Yeah, Kwerrimpe bin there like that, trying to sit down in shade. Dreaming, you know.
Kirsty: Kwerrimpele bin tellem bout.
Maya: Kwerrimpe bin here, she bin talk.
Kirsty: Kwerrimpe him bin talk.
Maya: 'Oh sun burnem me I'll have to sit down longa shade'
Kirsty: longa alperre [leaf]
Daphne: alperre, 'shade' Too hot.

(1999, MD14, dn76)

6. Myf: Sunshine that one?
Daphne: He might be dark now, that one now. Atnkwarengele. They want to go aherrkele. [It might get dark and they want to travel in the daylight]
Kirsty: Aherrkele aperetha mpele. Quick. [Let's go quickly in the daylight]
Myf: Atnkwarengele ketey? [because it might get dark?]
Daphne: Atnkwarengele ketye. [because it might get dark.]
Kirsty: Atnkwarengele ketye.
Daphne: Supper time or tea time aperrane all night. [They walk around in the evening and into the night]
Kirsty: aherrke-ketey kwene. [because of the sun]
Daphne: Yeah, they bin travelling from Hatches Creek long way they bin travelling here and right down, yeah, altemarle yeah right up longa that rain maker country.

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7. Daphne: sun. 'Which way alperre we want to sit down longa shade!' he bin talk about (laugh). Him walk about looking for shade. That one now he bin talk. Dinner time. this one bin run about, when him bin gettem him witchetty first.

(singing)

Daphne: 'aherrkele lyernente'
Kirsty: Yawe, 'narlperrariperre aherrkele...'
Daphne: 'lariperrariperre aherrkele elyernente' too much sun, hot.

Myf: lyernente?

Daphne: aherrke 'sun', lyernente 'too hot'. 'Which way shade alperrewe I want to sit down longa shade' Him bin get burnt (laughs). He bin get in longa shade now.

Myf: lyernente?

Daphne: Too hot, lyernente, hot, him bin burn too.

Myf: lyernente Kaytete akgke-rtame re? [Is lyernente a Kaytete word?]
Daphne: Yeah Kaytete, Kaytete 'aherrke'. [yes, Kaytete 'sun']
Kirsty: Aherrke-getye [because of the sun (they seek shade)]
Daphne: Aherrke-getye, sun burn -akwene. [They think the sun is burning them.]

(1999, MD14, dn 22)

April: daylight.

(1999, MD19, dn 83)

9. Daphne: Cave now, they shawem now.
April: this way
Daphne: sunshine
April: Dreaming ...

Daphne: Sun shine lwematmenke [rises], early daylight he coming. Nother one now, 'elpereelpere' [name of song text 13]

(GK1994:2 dn 35)

10. This song is about the sun shining aherrkele artryenkerne in the morning

(2002, Betty, MT's fieldnotes).

11. The place just south of Taylors Crossing, a swamp, is referred to as arliperre 'whitewood' (2004, MT fieldnotes).
7. Daphne: sun. 'Which way alperre we want to sit down longa shade!' he bin talk about (laugh). Him walk about looking for shade. That one now he bin talk. Dinner time. this one bin run about, when him bin gettem him witchetty first.
(singing)
Daphne: 'aherrkele lyernentye'
Kirsty: Yawe, 'narlperrarlperrer aherrkele...'
Daphne: 'larlperrarlperrer aherrkele elyernentye' too much sun, hot.
Myf: lyernentye?
Daphne: aherrke 'sun', lyernentye 'too hot'. 'Which way shade alperrewere I want to sit down longa shade' Him bin get burn (laughs). He bin get in longa shade now.
Myf: lyernentye?
Daphne: Too hot, lyernentye, hot, him bin burn too.
Myf: lyernentye Kaytetye ailingke-rtame re? [Is lyernentye a Kaytetye word?]
Daphne: Yeah Kaytetye, Kaytetye 'aherrke'. [yes, Kaytetye 'sun']
Kirsty: Aherrke-ketye [because of the sun (they seek shade)]
Daphne: Aherrke-ketye, sun burn -akwene. [They think the sun is burning them.]

(1999, MD14, dn 22)

April: daylight.

(1999, MD19, dn 83)

9. Daphne: Cave now, they showem now.
April: this way
Daphne: sunshine
April: Dreaming ...
Daphne: Sun shine lwemailenke [rises], early daylight he coming. Nother one now, 'elpereelpere' [name of song text 13]

(GK1994:2 dn 35)

10. This song is about the sun shining aherrkele arrtyenkerne in the morning

(2002, Betty, MT's fieldnotes).

11. The place just south of Taylors Crossing, a swamp, is referred to as arlperre
'whitewood' (2004, MT fieldnotes).
Morphological analysis

A arkelarrtyernantya  B larplerrarlperray

1 aherrke-le\(^1\) artyerne\(^2\)-nty-le\(^3\) alperre\(^4\) alperre
sun-ERG shine-NOM-LOC leaf leaf

(\textit{Go to the leaves in the shining sun})

2 aherrke-le artyrne-ntyele\(^5\) arlperre\(^6\) arlperre
sun-ERG shine-TNS whitewood whitewood

\textit{The sun is shining on the whitewoods}

4 aherrke-le artyrne enyrne\(^7\) alperre alperre
sun-ERG shine-TNS butterfly.bush leaf leaf

\textit{The sun is shining on the leaves of the butterfly bush}

5 aherrke-le artyrne-ntyele Arlperre\(^8\) Arlperre
sun-ERG shine-TNS plabe.name

\textit{The sun is shining at 'Arlperre.'}

Notes

\(^1\) aherrke-le (K, Aly, An) 'sun-ERG' [C].

\(^2\) arrtyern- (pan-Ar) arrtye-(K) 'shine' [C].

\(^3\) -nty-\text{le} (pan-Ar) NOMINALISER-LOC 'in the sun shine' [L].

\(^4\) alperre (K, Aly, An) 'leaf' [L]. Possibly the reduplication means \textit{alperr-alperre} 'shady', although reduplication of 'leaf' to mean 'shade' is not known in Arandic languages.

\(^5\) -rnynte--nty\text{e} Alternatively it could be an archaic Arandic transitive verb tense ending [P]. The segment \textit{--nty\text{e}} occurs in 8 other textlines (1a, 9a, 11a, 12a, 13a, 15a, 19a). -\text{mnte}tyle--entyele are also possible forms if the first consonant of the B line is regarded as the final consonant of this suffix.

\(^6\) arlperre (pan-A) 'whitewood' [C]. Note also \textit{tyernente} (Aly) 'light, shining, glowing' [P].

\(^7\) enyrne (K, Aly, An) 'butterfly bush' \textit{Petalostylis cassiodes} [P]. Consider the following text recorded by HK which shows that this plant is associated with Armerre.

\(^8\) Arlperre (pan-A) 'place name' [L]. Place near Taylor's Crossing where \textit{entyerne} 'butterfly bush' originated

General comments

The pronunciation variation of textline A arises because there are two phonetically close forms for the one meaning 'shine' — \textit{alyernente} and \textit{artyyernente}. The different interpretations of textline B stem from whether the speech equivalent is \textit{arlperre} 'whitewood' or \textit{alperre} 'leaf', and whether textlines A and B are separate sentences, as in 'the sun is shining, let's sit in the shade' or one 'the sun is shining on the whitewoods'. Variation in interpretation also depends on whether the initial 'l-' of textline B is taken as case marking (alliative or locative), or the final segment of the A textline, for example in \textit{entyerne}, or -\text{nty}\text{e}t.
Song text 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>14 song items</th>
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<th>Record no.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>39, 40, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 637, 638, 639, 640, 731, 732, 733.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A (a) werowetyentye

B (a) werowawera

Accompanies painting up in the Tara performance. Although there was no dancing to this song in these performances, the song does have a specific dance pattern.

Phonological variation:

A. weyawetyentye (records 542-526)

B. weyawawera (records 542-546)

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>S W W# S W</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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werowetyentye werowawera

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<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
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Tempo bands

<table>
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<td>138</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>152</td>
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<td>Tara2</td>
<td>(2,3of4)</td>
<td>Tara2</td>
<td>Arraty</td>
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TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BBAA No text reversals

Final vowel cycle: e e/a a

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</table>

<table>
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<tr>
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</table>

Textlines and melodic structure:

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<tr>
<th>640, 637-639, 543-546</th>
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<th>542</th>
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<td>AABB</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Item 39 recording started late and/or interrupted
TRANSLATIONS
Expansions

1. 'weraway tyetyantye' Go quick, he wanna go quick, hurry up (GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

2. Daphne: sandhill Yeah, him want to go quick, Yeah, climb up awere, GKoch: sandhill? quick?
Daphne: awere him want to go, quick Awere, him want to go quick, GKoch: awere go him want to...
Daphne: climb up. Sandhill that one.
GKoch: Climb up, yeah, so... I hear'em let's see, 'nawertawe'
Daphne: Awere, awere apewethe [quick, let's go quick] Yeah that's they want to GKoch: Awere, awere, oh apewethe.
Daphne: go quick, go hurry up before sun go down GKoch: Come quick.

(1976, GK6894, dn 31)

3. Daphne: Yeah go quick, awerawe [quick-EMPH] atyetyantye awere go quick GKoch: awerawe atyetyantye
GKoch: He want to go quick
Daphne: tyetyantye he going, hurry up

(1976, GK6895, dn 27)

4. Myf: What's that one?
Daphne: Hurry up. Someone there they want to bury them or something, yeah, old lady you know, long time belonging to that Neutral. Belonging to our granny now. Dead one. Kwerrimpe now. Kwerrimpe inenge aynewantheyenge. [Our Kwerrimpe ancestors]

(1999, MD14, dn 53)

5. Daphne: Somebody might chasem me that's why he bin run quick.
Myf: 'awerawawera...'
Daphne: 'aweyewaweya aweyawentyentyentye' You bin get burn hey? Him bin come from — him bin go longa Hatches Creek first, and he bin come back again, in the shade.

(1999, MD21, dn 24)

6. April: Arintwene errwanthe wantepe nhartepe akeleye? [Aunty, what's that one?]
Daphne: Aweyawae=pe awere Awerarle apenke. dead person=FOC quick
Betty: No, awere apenke. quick go-PRS
No, go quick

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Appendix 1: Song text 12

Marg:  
_Awerarle apenke. [go quick]_ 
April: _Arrewene nte anherreye-arle nharte_. [Tell my daughter-in-law there] 
Daphne: Too quick we want to go. _Awenyerrepenhelke_. [(sing) one more time] 
April: _Awenyerrepenhartinge aylende_. [OK one more time we'll sing (it)] 
Daphne: _Awere apewethe_, quick! _Awenyerrepenhelke?_[one more time?] 

(1999, MD20, dn 13)

7. April: quick _awere apenke_ 
   Daphne: Him run. Too frightened 

(GK1994:2 dn 23)

_Morphological analysis_

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>awere¹-awe² tyetyentye³ quick-EMPH-go?</td>
<td>werowawera awere-awe awere quick-EMPH quick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quick, quick (let's) go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>awere-awe ntyetyentye⁴ quick-EMPH rise</td>
<td>awere-awe awere quick-EMPH quick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quick, quick (let's) climb up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_Notes_

¹ _awere_ (K) 'fast' [C]. 
² _awe_ (K) EMPH [L]. 
³ _tyetyentye_ (unknown). Compare _tyerre_-'go' (WAn), although this may be an idiomatic use of _atyerre_-'shoot'. (Jenny Green 2003, pers.com). Possibly -_nty_ a verb ending. The segment -_nty_ appears on 4 textlines (1a, 12a, 13a, 19a). See song texts 10, 9 and 11. 
⁴ _ntyetyentye_-(WAr) 'rise (as of water level)' [P]. This is made up of _nty_- (WAr) 'climb (a hill)' and the (Arr) ending -_tye-intye_-'do something as someone else arrives'.

_General comments_

There is minimal variation in the meaning of this song. Variation in interpreting the verbal element _tyetyentye_ as 'go' or 'climb up (a sandhill)' is an instance of general or more specific reference rather than a contradiction. Note that Daphne's variant pronunciation of the nominal as _aweyawe_ 'dead person' _aweraawe_ 'quick' was corrected by Betty. This also provides further evidence for the unstable status of semivowels in songs.
Appendix 1: Song text 13

Song text 13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>song items</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
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A welperenyyenyenta

B welperelpera

Had accompanying dancing in the Tara 1 performance

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

<table>
<thead>
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<th>W#</th>
<th>S</th>
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<td>L#</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L#</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
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welperenyyenyenta

welperelpera

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>textline</th>
<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
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<td>4</td>
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Tempo bands

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>144</td>
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</table>

Tara1 (1+5of7)
Tara3 (2,3,4,6,7of7)
Alek2
Elpate2

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BBAA | No text cycle reversal!

Final vowel cycle: e-e/a-a | No regressive vowel harmony

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TL A ln</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TL B ln</td>
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<td>a</td>
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Textlines and melodic structure:

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<th>TLR standard</th>
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<td>BB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
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<td>AA</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS3</td>
<td>BBAABB</td>
<td>BBAABB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4</td>
<td>ABB</td>
<td>ABB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
<td>ABBAAA</td>
<td>ABBAAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS6</td>
<td>BBAABB</td>
<td>BBAABB</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Item 355 does not have MS1 melody.
TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. GKoch: What’s that one? leaf? alperre
   Daphne: leaf Yeah, alperre we call em alperre [leaf] uh-huh leaf.
   GKoch: ‘errpoweraynperre-alperre’
   Daphne: ‘errpowere elpere  elpowere alperre’
   GKoch: ‘errpowere elpere. Errpoweaynperre?’
   Daphne: ‘errpowere elpere entnyenyantye’. Ntyeny (red mallee) we cut tem ntyeny, trce, leaf we cut tem
   GKoch: yeah, you cut tem Dreaming, yeah.
   Daphne: Dreaming
   (1976, GK6894, dn 41)

2. elpere ‘quick’ ntyeny ‘red mallee’ (MT’s 1999 fieldnotes)

3. Daphne: ngkwarle, ntyeny, rntweayn, they bin cut tem bout. [(they) cut off sweet
   stuff from the red mallees]
   Myf: Where do they grow?
   Daphne: There longa rainmaker
   (1999, MD14, dn 55)

   Myf: elpere rtame nhartepe? [Is this song ‘quick’]
   Daphne: Yeah, him want to run elpere from sun, sun burn you know, too hot. Quick,
   sun burn too much, which way he bin run away? one country again longa run
   maker. Right up, yeah, this one bin run quick him elpere callem ‘quick’.
   Kaytetyele we call em elpere. ...
   Daphne: Yeah ‘ulpert-elpere’ this one bin run, for sun too much get burn, too frightened
   now him bin run away
   (1999, MD21, dn 26)

6. Daphne: Hurry up, he want to run
   April: He gotta go
   (GK1994:2 dn 36)
Morphological analysis

ulperentyenyentye ulperelpora
1 elpere¹ nyenye²-ntyə³ elpere elpere
quick red.mallee-RED quick quick

i Quick, (get) the red mallee (flowers)
ii Quick, (go to) the red mallee

Notes
¹ elpere (K) 'fast' [C]
² nyenye (pan-A) 'red mallee' (Eucalyptus pachyphylla) [C]
³ -ntyə reduplicated first element of nyenye 'red mallee'

General comments
Apart from the -ntyə- segment, this song has few competing speech equivalents. The various interpretations depend on whether the verb 'cut' or 'go' is taken as the collocation of 'quick' and 'red mallee'; and what part of the red mallee is being referred to: the leaves (for shade) or the flowers (for honey). The two interpretations are not contradictory: 'Go to the red mallee for shade and pick the sweet sugar lumps that grow on it.'
Song text 14

| 11 song items | n 4 of 9 performances | Record no. 169, 399, 469, 469, 470, 471, 585, 749, 750, 751. |

| A | Arrkewarrkelarlerlarna | A | Arrkewarrkelarlerlarna |
| B | Ngirrelarlerlarna | B | Ngirrelarlerlarna |

Had accompanying dancing in the Elpate performance and possibly Tara 1 performance

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

| S | W#S | W | W# | S | W | W | W |
| L | L# | B | B | L# | B | B | L |

Arrkewarrkelarlerlarna

| Ngirrelarlerlarna |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Isohythm</th>
<th>Syllables</th>
<th>Beats</th>
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**Tempo bands**

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<th>Elpate1</th>
<th>Arratye</th>
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| Tempo bands |

| Textline and melodic structure: |

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<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3: BBAA</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4: BBAA</td>
<td>BB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5: BBAA</td>
<td>AABB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS6: AABB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Translations**

**Expansions**

1. GKoch: What's that one? Sun? oh yeah. yeah
   Daphne: Sun Coming now, sun. Quick now we want to dance,
Appendix 1: Song text 14

?  

aherrkele ... kwerimpinenge

GKoch: quick, yes. You say What word for sun?
Daphne: quick.
?
Kwerrimpimpe inenge
Dreaming, they

GKoch: Dreaming, yes sun, sun, Dreaming
Daphne: bin say dreaming, you know Ah, sun coming

GKoch: Yeah sun coming now Yeah. What you callen him, how you
Daphne: now Quick hurry up!

GKoch: talkem elperre Elperre, 'kwinina...
Daphne: elperre, elperre elperre hurry up elperre aherrke

GKoch: aherrke elperre hurry up
Daphne: aherrke sun coming up quick elperre hurry up
April: elper-elperre (1976, GK6394, da 43)

2. Daphne: 'Aherrk-aherrkele arerlande' when him come up.
Rachel Aherrk-aherrkele. [sunrise]
Kirsty: Tyangkwarepe. [this way (east)]
Rachel: Yeah akngerrake. [east]
Daphne: No we gotta singem that one 'aherrk-aherrkele arerlande'.
Rachel: Yeah
Daphne: Nthakenh-nthakenhe? [How does it go?]
(sings song text 14)
Kirsty: 'Aherrrek-aherrkele arerlande akngwererele arerlande'.
Daphne: Kngwererele twene ah kngirrele. [not 'kngwererele', 'kngirrele']
Kirsty: Kngirrele ape [yeah, 'east']
(1999, MD12, da 87)

3. Daphne: 'aherrkelalyernentayelerlperralperre'
Kirsty: 'kngwerelarel-arelanelene'
Daphne: No 'kngwerelarelanelene aherrkele alyernentye again' (starts singing)
nthakenhe?
Kirsty: 'kngwerelarelanelene akwene aherrk-aherrkele' akwene. [In the morning (they)
look to the sun]
[sings song text 14] ...

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Daphne: Story mpelengarte aynewakeyenge ilpakeme. [Someone might steal our story]
Myf: So that must be like ertzerrpe apeke and atanthe apewethe atikwarengele-ketye. [they went up a sandhill at night time?] They bin singing afternoon time?
Daphne: We bin singem yesterday too. We bin singem that one.
Rachel: ...aynanthe elpere apewethe. [let's go quick]
Kirsty: * Milabat bin singem that one 'Elper-elpere aynanthe aherrke-ketye apewene!' Mpelarte artewene nte kwere. [Quick let's go because of the sun' you should tell her.]
Daphne: Nthakenhe? [what?]
Myf: So it must be...
Daphne: 'Awerawe averawe apewene aherrke ketye' mpele. [Quick let's go because of the sun' they say]
Rachel: Ya, mpelarte. [yes, like that]
Daphne: Elpere-elpere I want to go back. 'We might get burn sun aherrke-ketye', aherrke-ketye atere hot time. [Quick, lets go back, the sun might burn us. In summer they're frightened of the sun.]
Myf: Aherrke ketye awe atikwarengle ketye? [before it gets dark or because of the sun?]
Daphne: No, aherrke ketye. [because of the sun]
Kirsty: 'elpere apewethe' mpele. [go quick' they said]
Daphne: Mpelarte akwele mpwele artewethe ilpakake. [You two should tell her because you are both with it]
Kirsty: Awer-awere apewethe aherrke ketye, go quick. [go quick because of the sun]
Daphne: Go quick, mpelarte. [like that]

(1999, MD14, dn 59)

4. Daphne: This one bin findem that corrboree, this woman here. [pointing at Kirsty]
Myf: 'ulpereelpere'? [song text 13?]
Daphne: No from Hatches Creek him bin get away. He go back again longa our country, yeah Rainmaker. They stop longa our country now.
Daphne: Ah him bin travelling night time now - 'oh sun coming' aherrke you know, callem 'aherrkele aerlanel'.
Myf: 'aherrkelarlerlane'?
Kirsty: 'aherrkaherrkele'-akwene [sunrise, she said]
Myf: kgirrel... [east]
Daphne: (laughs) This one, elkwenene bin get away from Hatches Creek, from long way, foot walk.
Myf: Kwerrimpe?
Daphne: Kwerrimpe now Dreaming. I don't know which he bin go there, and he bin come back again. Yeah Dreaming, Dreaming. They bin - this one bin mustering mob cattle, he look after them.
Myf: really?
Daphne: Yeah, killer [mob of cattle]
Kirsty: I bin walk about longa nanteewe. [I travelled on a horse]
Daphne: Yeah he bin usem bout horse.
Kirsty: We bin shepherdem pweleke. [We were mustering]
Daphne: Killer, killer, that's why he bin come back right up longa our place. That old man [possibly 'Rainbow snake' AR 290803] bin sit down longa Whycliffe.
Myf: 'Kngirrele '?' [east?]}
Daphne: 'kngirrele' [east] sun rise him callem, sun him 'aherrke' [sun]
Kirsty: Akngerrake errwanthe arene-akwene. [didn't you look to the east?] (1999, MD21, dn 28)

5. Kirsty: 'kngwerrelarlerlame'
Daphne: um, 'kngwerrelarlerlame' that way, sunrise early.
Myf: what artenyele [midday] or sunrise?
Daphne: early, early fella, ngwetyanpe [morning].
Daphne: ngwetyanpewa singem ngwetyanpe early. (1999, MD12, dn 99)

6. April: akngerrake [east]...
Daphne: aherrke [sun]...
Daphne: sun they bin singem now, come
April: hurry up (GK1994:2 dn 40)
Morphological analysis

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{arrakehrkararileriana} & \text{ngirrelerileriana} \\
\text{aherrick-aherrke-le} & \text{akngwerrelrele} \\
\text{sunrise-LOC} & \text{east} \\
\text{are-lane} & \text{see-CNT} \\
\end{array}
\]

Looking at sunrise
Looking to the east

Notes

1. *aherrick-aherrke-le* (K, Aly, An) 'sunrise-LOC' [C].

2. *are-lane* (pan-Ar) 'see-LIG-CNT' [C].

3. *ikngwerrelrele* (WA, A) 'east' [L]. Cognates in (pan-A) languages: *ikngerre* (WA), *ikngarre* (A), *akngerrake* (K), *akngerrakwe* (K) and *kngwerrelonye* (K) 'east side'. A proto Arandic reflex of this form *kangarra* 'east' has been proposed by Koch for proto Arandic (2004).

General comments

This is possibly a relatively new song because it has readily identifiable speech equivalents. Note that the second interpretation is less likely than the first, as it is not supported in the expansions, and the analysis of the segment *aherrickaherrkele* is somewhat problematic.

Expansion 4 suggests that Kirsty received this song recently when she was working at Hatches Creek, a mine east of Armerre on Alyawarr/Kaytetye country. Note that this song text has a distinctive (pan-Ar) verb form *-lane*. This may reflect the language of the country where Kirsty received the song.

This song refers to the *Kwerrimpe* women looking behind them, to the east in the early morning. The dancers hold the small *kwerparre* 'dancing stick' and look behind as they dance. There is variation to the pragmatic inference of the song text. The *Kwerrimpe* were looking east either because they have to go quickly before the sun burns them (expansion 3) or because they have to dance as the sun rises. A comparison can be made with the traditional Kaytetye girl's ceremony described by Theo (Turpin 2000:61) where girls dance and sing facing the sun while the sun rises, that is, until the whole sun is showing. Note that in the girl's song there is no word for sun.
Appendix 1: Song text 15

Song text 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>32 song items</th>
<th>In 7 of 9 performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
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</table>

A kwerrparangalernentya kwerrparangalernentya

B laura

_Had accompanying dancing in the Elpate performance and possibly Tara 1 performance._

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

<table>
<thead>
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<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
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Tempo bands

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TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: AB (10 items: records 400; 444; 445; 447; 477; 514; 515; 516; 517; 713)
No text cycle reversal

Final vowel cycle: a-a/a-a.

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VARIATION 1 (10 items: records 98; 99; 100; 199; 200; 201; 202; 336; 337; 68)
B textline has textline level regressive vowel harmony:

kwerrparangalernentyay kwerrparangalernentyay laura

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TL A</th>
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<tbody>
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</table>

VARIATION 2 (7 items: records 713; 67; 401; 402; 403; 446; 475; 476)
Final vowel cycle: ay-ay/ay-ay.

<table>
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<td>MS6</td>
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<table>
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<td>ABABABAB</td>
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</table>

### Song item 200 interrupted, Song item 336 and 337 beginning inaudible

#### TRANSLATIONS

**Expansions**

1. *kwerrpare* **alenentye** *alawera*
   
   little stick    little mark on stick like finger
   
   *Kwerrpare* 'little stick for painting marks when everybody dancing'
   
   (GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

2. Daphne: You know that little tree and he gottem finger?
   
   GKoch: Little tree? oh yeah
   
   Daphne: He gottem like that.
   
   GKoch: Oh like finger, little tree, oh yeah.
   
   Daphne: That one now.
   
   GKoch: Oh, that one now.
   
   Daphne: *ateye* [tree] we calltem *kwerrpare* [dancing stick]
   
   GKoch: *kwerrpare*
   
   (1976, GK6894, dn 8)

   
   (1976, GK6894, dn 10)

4. Daphne: Stick, when him gottem stick
   
   Myf: Yeah, yeah *'kwerrparange'?*
   
   Daphne: *Kwerrpare*. We calltem *kwerrpare*, stick one, short one. [*'kwerrpare’ is what we call a short stick]*
   
   ...
Myf: Ntepe aylewethe 'kwererpalernentye' [Do you sing 'kwerrpararlenentye']?
Kirsty: 'Kwerrparangalenentye' akwene [It's 'Kwerrparangalenentye'
Myf: Awethe angkaye? [say it again?]
Kirsty: You singem!
...
Myf: Wante-rtame alerntenyaye, like 'kwerrparengalenentye'? [What's alernteny in
'kwerrparangalenentye'?]
Daphne: Dance
Kirsty: kwerrpare
Myf: Kwerrpare? Yeah, I know that one.
Daphne: Yeah kwerrpare, stick, ateye. [kwerrpare is a short stick]
Myf: What about 'alerntenyaye'?
Daphne: Yeah
Myf: Aylesrantye? [singing?]
Daphne: Yeah, aylesrantye kwerrpar-akerte-le, kwerrpar-akake ertmwenke, kwerrpar-
akake kwere ertmwenke. [Yes, you sing with a dancing stick and dance with a dancing
stick.]
Kirsty: Dance
Rachel: aylesrantyaye [and sing]
...
Daphne: him showem bout that stick akelyewe [it's about showing the little dancing
stick]
Myf: Yeah
Myf: Atanthe aylewethe, aylesrantye alyerre? [When they sing is it the Dreaming?]
Daphne: We singem bout, when we sit down like that now and another one gotta
come and dance. Umm.
Myf: Uh-huh, uh-huh. So that meaning of 'kwerrparaylene' that's...
Daphne: Yeah yeah, yeah
Myf: They're singing with the stick
Daphne: Yeah — no we singem bout. We gotta singem and this one gotta dance.
(singing)
Myf: And what about 'alawera'? What about that alawera?
Daphne: Oh yeah, alawe kwerrpare.
Rachel: kwerrpare.
Daphne: kwerrpare.
Myf: Uh-huh. And that altyerre, they bin singing this...
Daphne: Yeah, Dreaming first. Dreaming we bin ertmwenhe [We danced in the Dreamtime]

Myf: Nihkelarte, apmere nihkelarte? [Where did you dance?]
Daphne: Arnerrele, rain maker [At Arnerre, the rainmakers]

Myf: Oh, yeah. What about angentye? Special angentye? [Any particular soakage?]
Daphne: Yewe

Myf: Which one, which angentye atanthe aylerantye? [Which soakage did they sing?]
Daphne: Big one. Snake there, that one, Arnerre. Big sheet of iron like this, like this, big one.
(Kirsty singing in background)
Daphne: Yeah

Myf: That angentye... [soakage]
Daphne: Aye? [what?] Yeah belonging to my father’s

Myf: Etne akake, arrime akake? [Does it have a name?]
Daphne: Yeah, this one now we singem bout.

Myf: But like Kaytety-arenge apmere etnepe? [But does it have a Kaytetye name?]
Kirsty: Kaytety-arenge nharte apmere. [It is a Kaytetye place]
Daphne: Kaytety-arenge we callem Arnerre [It's a Kaytetye place called Arnerre]

Myf: Uh-huh that soakage etnepe Arnerre [The soakage is called Arnerre?]
Daphne: Proper big rockhole.

Rachel: Apmere altwelony-apertame [and there's a place to the west]
Daphne: Mentye-rtame nhartepe altwerlenye [No, we're not talking about that place to the west]

Rachel: Ahileng ngkeyenge [your country, that I can’t name] well all in one entweyame [lie], together Arnerre, Waake [your place, Arnerre, and Waake belong together]

Daphne: Uh-huh wele arlengetayre-rtame [Yes, but that place is further on (Waake)]
Rachel: Ngimirre [place name]
Daphne: Ailele aangkwerle arlenge-rtame [Wait first, that (the song for Ngimirre [place name]) is coming up later]

(1999, MD12, dn 93)

5. Daphne: Awelye, kwerrparange arlenentye’ They bin dancing.
Appendix 1: Song text 15

Maya: kwerrpare.
Daphne: Yeah kwerrpare they bin cut they bin play gottem kwerrpare now.
Myf: Ankwarengele? [At nighttime?]
Kirsty: Ankwarengele, aherrkertewe. [At night time and at day time.]
Daphne: Ankwarengele, at tea time. [In the evening]
Myf: Nhekelarte? [Whereabouts?]
Daphne: That way longa rainmaker country.
Myf: Akwerrngele, Lhitele? [At Akwerrnge or Lhite?]
Kirsty: Tyangkwarre Barrow Creek-le...
Daphne: This side, Taylor Crossing.
Myf: Arnerre?
Daphne: Arnerre right up Altemarle. [West of Arnerre]
Myf: OK altemarle Lhite theye. [Oh west of Lhite]
Daphne: Another hill from wante-theye? [from what?] Bottom Bore, and nother hill you go and nother side of hill rainmaker. Nother hill.

(1999, MD14, dn 72)

6. Daphne: Kwerrpare, stick ... gotta dance now... (GK1994:2 dn 28)
7. The dancers face north holding the stick in their hand which is closest to the west. They dance turning in a half circle so that they face west, then swap the stick so that they are holding it with their other hand and dance in a half circle to the east — kwrrpare arryelparryenk (2002, Betty, MT’s fieldnotes).

Morphological analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kwerrparangalmentya</th>
<th>laura</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>awere^6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ayle^3-mentye^4-arle^5</td>
<td>quick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dancing.stick-INST sing^-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sing with the dancing stick, quick sing with the dancing stick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>dancing stick-POS support</td>
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</tr>
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<td>dancing stick-UNCER</td>
<td>quick</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Notes

1. *kwerrpare* (K, Aly, An) 'woman’s dancing stick' [C]

2. *-nge* (K) LOC / INST [N]. On words of CVC structure only, -le is the form for longer stems. See song text 6, note 4.

3. *ayle*- (K, Aly) (v.t.) 'sing something or someone' [P]. Compare *ayleyhe*- (Aly) *aelyh*- (Arr, An) (v.i.) 'sing'.

4. *-rnye ~ntye* [L]: NOM (pan-Ar) [P]; archaic transitive verb tense ending [P]. We could postulate *aylen*- 'sing' (transitive) as a possible (pan-Ar) form. However there is no such form in (pan-Ar) with a meaning 'sing'. This could be because 'sing a song' as opposed to 'sing someone' takes the reflexive morpheme -lh-, which also functions as a detransitivising verbal morpheme. This would also explain the nominative form of the 2sg pronoun *nge* in the song text. This form also occurs in song text 11, note 3, song text 10, note 2, song text 9, note 6.

5. *-arle* (pan-Ar) [P]. REL

6. *awere* (K) 'fast' [C].

7. *-areng* (K) POS [N]. This means postulated deletion of the repeated syllable *ar* in *kwerrpar-areng*. Semantically this is unlikely, as it is hard to imagine what may belong to the dancing stick.

8. *arlenentye* (K) [N]. 'Using a body part or an instrument for support' (KDB). This anlysis is unlikely as the *kwerrpare* 'dancing stick' is only a thin stick about 30cm long.

6. *ange* (K) UNCR [L].

General comments

The expansions show that this song is about performing *awelye*. Possibly it refers to a point in the *Kwerrrimpe* women's travels where they performed *awelye* or this specific song. The only confirmed speech equivalent in the text is *kwerrpare* [dancing stick]. The meaning 'dance' (se expansions 1, 4 and 5) may arise from the song usually having accompanying dancing as well as the pragmatic association of *kwerrpare* with 'dancing'. It is possible that the references to 'singing' in expansion 4 may be arise from the segment in the text *arlenentye* corresponding to a form of *aylenke* 'sing'.
Appendix 1: Song text 16

Song text 16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2 song items</th>
<th>404, 405</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A (a)rawelyawelya  A  rravelyawelyay

B nweketyayerlerlaymperlerna

Phonological variation:

A  nawayelyawelye (spoken version of song text, see expansion 2)

Variation: Addition of a C line:

C kwerrperewernentayy  C  kwerrperewernentayy

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

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<th>textline</th>
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<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
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<td>6</td>
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Speed $= \text{MM 120}$

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: AAB (record 405), R
Textline level regressive vowel harmony textline B: nweketyayerlelay mperlen
Text BAABAACCBA (TPR record 404)

Final vowel cycle a-ay/ay-a

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<td>TLC</td>
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</tbody>
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There is vowel harmony between the third and sixth syllable of the first segment. The second segment has final vowel a. Thus the final vowel cycle a-ay/ay-a is maintained despite differences in the text. This can be diagrammed

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<th>TLA</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>ay</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TLB</td>
<td>ay</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. Daphne: We call 'em 'arrawely-awelye', that's lightning
   
   Myf: *Awethe angkaye? [Say it agin?]
   
   Daphne: lightning
   
   Myf: *arrew-
   
   Daphne: _arrewely-awelye_ awelye-welye we
callem.
   
   Kirsty: _awelya-welye_ arrtwe
   
   Myf: awelye-welye
   
   Daphne: yeah, rain when him lightning, you know that one now.
   
   (singing)
   
   ...
   
   Myf: So that one is, that awelye-awelye? [lightning]
   
   Daphne: *Awely-awelye* rain when him lightning, you know that's the one now.
   
   Myf: So what's the story for that one? That lightning coming?
   
   Daphne: Yeah that lightning coming from long way, from like this, look, that way now, he coming. Look out. He mak'em rain now, straight away.
   
   Kirsty: *Kngwerelke nte aylenewe* [Sing another one now].
   
   Daphne: Yeah we sing'em another one now.
   
   Myf: But that awelye-awelye you...
   
   Daphne: *Awelye-awelye* we singem first, rain, lightning.
   
   Kirsty: *Kele, kngwerelke nte aylenewe wenharte ntepe ayleyenepenhe* [Sing another one now, that one you sung just before.]
   
   Daphne: *Nheke? No you etnewenwe*! [Which song? Tell me!]
   
   Kirsty: *Wenharte nte ayleywane rlengke*, there. [Sing that one you did just before]
   
   Myf: *Apmere nthekarenye awelye?* [song from which country?]
   
   Daphne: There longa Arnerre, Arnerre side that's our country now, Arnerre.
   
   Rainmaker.
   
   Myf: So that story for that one, is there a story for that one? Is there like
   
   *Amarlinengele aylerante awelye-awelye* or what? [Is it just girls that sing that song]
Appendix 1: Song text 16

Daphne: Yeah *amartimenge* [girls], yeah *awelye-awelye* too all the boy too. Boy gotta look, watch'em all night, he [lightning] might killem gettin' woman. Proper dangerous that lightning.

Myf: Yeah. So when you been singing there for that one, that meaning, that story, is lightning...

Daphne: Yeah he gotta killem stick everything he gotta knockem, kangaroo everything he gotta killem.

Myf: That *awelye*?

Daphne: Yeah that rain now, lightning.

Rachel: Well *mentyelke little bit-apenye aylewerne*. [slow down a bit]

Kirsty: *Wantarte nge*? [what's next?]

Daphne: No kele [OK], that one now he coming. Nother one now. *Nthakenhe ayleneke*? [how does it go?] Nother two gottem that, big mob of rain when they singem.

(1999, MD12, 100)

2.  

Myf: 'Kwerrparengelerneny' lightning? *Awelyawelye*?

Daphne: Yeah

Daphne: Yeah *awelyawelye* now, that one

Myf: *kwerrparengelerneny*

Daphne: Singem now, we want to hearem [(play the tape) we want to hear it]

(Play tape)

Daphne: Yeah lightning

Myf: *Nthakenhe kwerrpare*? [What's a 'kwerrpare' ]?

Daphne: *Kwerrpare* 'stick', one short one, him callem, *arrawelyawelya* from lightning. Yeah rekon that he want to killem that lightning, he wantem that stick, short one, him want to killem, that lightning.

Myf: *Nthakenhe errwanthe aylenye*? [How do you sing it? ]

Daphne: That one now, 'kwerrparlwerneny, kwerrparengelern-? Yeah

'kwerrparewenerneny'

Myf: *arrawelyawelya*?

Daphne: (singing)

Myf: *mweketeye*? [what's 'mweketeye'? ]

Daphne: 'mweketeyay terielay imper-' When everybody got a catch up I bin singem, when Blanche and Amie two fella want to come, that's the two fella. Um and we want to callem that two too, might be somewhere him bin go.
Kirsty: *navelyawelye*
Daphne: *'navelyawelye'-akwele.* [Yes it goes *'navelyawelye']* 
(singing)
Daphne: *angkwetyilterlarrer ? etnwewe ne* 
Myf: little bit hard this one *'kwerrparawenentay'*
Daphne: Yeah, *'kwerrparawenentay nwekeyay terlerlay mperlerne'*
Kirsty: *navelyawelye*
Daphne: *navelyawelye.* He bin go back all together that one, he bin get in then. Go back and get in all the girl, when they bin travelling this way, right here they bin travel. Uh-huh. We bin there, waiting there again rainmaker. Dreaming you know and my father bin there. Belonging to this one too. *'navelyawelye'* callem lightning, *navelyawelye.* 
Myf: *nwekeyayterlerle?*
Daphne: *nwekeyayterlerle*
Myf: *Wante rname nwekeyay terlerle?* [What's *'nwekeyay terlerl'*] 
Daphne: *Kwetyitelele.* [place name] 
Kirsty: *kwaty* [water] 
Daphne: He bin go longa soakage he bin callem soakage. *'nwekeyayterli'* 'We go back quick!' That one he bin singem. *Awelye-ketye* lightning-ketye. 'From lightning'. (interuption) 
Kirsty: That's last now they bin get in there now. 

(1999, MD21, d38)

3. *Kwetyitele* 'place name' (2002, Betty MT's fieldnotes), also *Pwetyitele* (Harold Koch, 2000, pers. com.)
Appendix I: Song text 16

Morphological analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rawelyawelya</td>
<td>nweketaytelelaymerlena</td>
<td>kwerrperewenentay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 awely-awelye lighting
2 kwatyeye water
3 amperle footprint
4 ane sit
5 kwerrpare stick
6 we5-mentye hit-TNS

The lightning strikes trees where the footprints are near the water.

2 awely-awelye ane Kwetyitele-le kwerrpare we-mentye
lightning sit place name-LOC rockhole crack hit-TNS

There is lightning at Kwetyitele, it left its mark, it cracked the ground.

3 awely-awelye ane ketye ketye
lightning sit place name

There is lightning at Kwetyitele, it left its mark, it cracked the ground.

Notes

1 *awely-awelye* (K, Aly, An) 'lightning' [C].
2 *kwatyeye* (pan-Ar) 'water' [P].
3 *amperle* (pan-A) 'print, footprint' [P].
4 *ane-* (pan-A) 'is, sit' [P]. See song text 3, note 14.
5 *kwerrpare* (K, Aly, An) 'dancing stick' [L]. See song text 15, note 1
6 *we-* (pan-A) 'hit, strike' [L].
7 -mentye-entye? Possibly an archaic transitive verb tense ending. See song text 11.
8 Kwetyitele-le Place name on Armeerre [L]- (pan-A) LOC [P].
9 *kwerrpare* (K) 'cracks'; *urrpare* (pan-Ar) [P]. *kwerrpare wenke* (K) 'make cracks in the ground'. Things such as yams or witchetty grubs do this. Possible *awely-awelye* 'lightning' is the absent transitive subject. It is unlikely that *awely-awelye* in the A textline is the subject of the C textline, as *awely-awelye* does not have ergative marking.
10 *ketye* (K, Aly, An) AVERS [P].

General comments

Lightning and the place name *Kwetyitele* are the only confirmed speech words for this song. Real world knowledge shows that lightning is dangerous and it brings rain. Thus singers obtain meanings such as 'look out!', 'dangerous' and 'rain coming'. Knowledge of what happened in the Dreamtime — that the girls went 'inside' this place—comes from knowing the mythological history of the place *Kwetyitele*. 
Appendix 1: Song text 17

Song text 17

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<th>37 song items</th>
<th>n 7 of 9 performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
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A (a)ngayertamperrananggayertamperra

B (i)latyartimperranaylatyartimperray B latyartimperranaylatyartimperray

Pronunciation variation

nasal substitution: /l/ → /ləl/

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

S W W# S W W# S W W# S W W# S W S W W# S W W# S W
B B L# B B L# B B L# B B L# B B L# B B
ngayertamperrananggayertamperra latyartimperranaylatyartimperray

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Tempo bands

no. song items = MM

performance

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TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: AABB

i BBA (TPR records 48, 49)

Final vowel cycle: a-ay/ay-a. No vowel harmony

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83
TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. ngayerte amperrane matyartimpele
   run away to water. Make matyarte
   Naked somebody might see’em making matyarte
   They bin run away, they bin go right up sea water and come back again
   (GK’s 1976 fieldnotes)

2. Daphne: matyarte ‘pants, cock-rag’
   G.Koch: What do they make the pants out of?
   Daphne: Rabbit. They makem rabbit. That one now and wallaby too. Matyarte.
   G.Koch: So you singing
   Daphne: ‘matyartimperre ngayertamperrane anngayert’ — somebody might see him
   amperrane [burn], anngayertamperrane.
   G.Koch: So this is...?
   Daphne: ‘Anngayertamperrane anngayertamperrane, latyartimperranay latyarte’ —
   matyarte.
   G.Koch: What they makem with?
   Daphne: String
   (1976, GK6895, dn 41)

3. Daphne: Proper funny that one.
   Myf: Can you sing them again? Does this come after that ‘rawalentyrerray’
   Daphne: He can’t havem that trousers man, no matyarte, no he coverem up self.
   Myf: Ohhh, eliyenge? [with hands?]
   (laughter)
   Myf: amarle or artweye? [a man or woman]
   Daphne: amarle—no artweye [woman— I mean a man]
   Kirsty: Aamarlewahre-reyarte [He’s going for a woman isn’t he?]
   Rachel: Aamarlewe wamtem wamtemrerrane [He wants a woman].
   Daphne: When him go longa girl.
   (singing) ...

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Daphne: Cover him up self! ...
    (singing)
Daphne: ‘Anngayerte’, you might see him that one now.
Rachel: (laughter)
Daphne: Cover him up self
Rachel: Wantewarte nge wantarrerane mpele, ngkengarle ange aperrane. [What are you doing, I don't think he's coming for you.]
Daphne: Yeah don't stand about, you gotta stop quiet, when him look woman, you know. Him look woman that's why him bin get up.
Myf: Nhartepe anngayerta? [Is that anngayte?]
Daphne: Yeah
    (laughter)
Daphne: Proper funny one
Myf: Aandlewetha...[and it goes...]
    (singing)
Daphne: Coverem up self
Rachel: Wantewarte nge wantem-arrerane, wantem-aylerantye mpele. [What are you wanting? He wants her, like that.]
Kirsty: ‘matyartimperre’we rtame! [‘matyartimperre’-DAT-EMPH] ...
Kirsty: (half sings the song text)
Daphne: Like that ‘imperrane’. Matyarte we callem this rag, puttem rag, yeah some one might see him, poor thing, reckon him shame.
Kirsty: ‘nngayartimperrane’-we rtame. [‘nngayartimperrane’-DAT-EMPH] ...
Daphne: Imperre... no, that one now.
Myf: ‘matyarte imperre’
Daphne: Yeah, callem that matyarte.
Rachel: Cock-rag
    (singing)
Daphne: He gotta dance like that again, like that again he gotta dance. [with hands between legs]
    (laughter)
Myf: Nthakenhe Kaytetye angkewetha— [how do you say in Kaytetye—]  
Daphne: Kaytetye! now. Yeah coverem up self. ...
Daphne: ‘leavem’ mentye ‘leavem’. Proper funny one.
    (singing)
Appendix 1: Song text 17

Daphne: Proper funny one, That's Arnerre now, belonging to my father's.

(1999, MD12, dn 117)

4. Daphne: Erlwe 'eye'.
April: Renhartre latyartimperre? [Is that the meaning for 'latyartimperre']
Daphne: Yewe-yewe 'erlwe'. [Yes 'eye']
April: Ape nyarte-ryeye [And what about this one?]
Daphne: Matyarte [pubic tassel]
April: Matyarte.
(singing)
Daphne: Night time you can see him this one him proper mad!
Rachel: Nhetherrare now anteyanenge re matyart-akakepe nhartepe. [These two here are wearing skirts]
(laughter)
Kirsty: (growls)
Daphne: Not me I'm singing them [(I can't dance) because I'm singing]
April: Anherrey-inenge matyarte-akake. [All my daughter-in-laws wear the skirts
(Note that this is making a joke at the opposite generation group.)
Maya: Nake akely-akake [with a small skirt]
Daphne: uh-huh
(singing)
April: Akeleyele rewenhe riterre rntwewene. [Auntie you should rub your (sore) leg]
Daphne: Rag, this one now cover them up with
Maya: Matyarte nharte ilengele mpwele erntwelp-erntwene yeah mpwele erntwene
nhangkwerrarte matyarte akelyakake. [You two get that rag and dance with it, over there]
Kirsty: Errpe akenge-ketye. [I can't because I've got a bad knee]
Daphne: Nihek-akake? [With what?]
Nancy: Errwangke-rtame matyarte akelye-akake erntwene nthelarte. [You lot dance
with the 'matyartes' over there]
April: Yeah, errwanthe altyelehenge altyelehenge. [Yeah, you mob who are
cousins to each other]

(1999, MD14, dn 16)

5. Myf: That one matyarte? [pubic tassel?]
Kirsty: Uh-huh matyarte mpele
Daphne: Yeah. Me and April bin singem last day
Myf: That arelhe matyarte akake or artweye matyarte akake? [Is it a woman’s or a man’s skirt?]
Rachel: Artweye mpele. Mpelarte artintwenhe. Artweye matyarte akake emperrantye. [It’s a man. (They) said like that. A man covers himself with a loin-cloth.] ...
Kirsty: * Matyarte akake, artweye, artweye. Matyartele he bin coverem up wee-wee. [A man wears a loin-cloth. He covers his wee-wee with a loin-cloth]
Daphne: Mpelarte. Awanke Dreaming. [Like that. In the dreamtime a long time ago.]
Kirsty: Dreaming he bin coverem up. [In the Dreamtime he covered himself up.]
Myf: Kwenyele ntepe arintwenhe ‘erlwe’. [Yesterday you said ‘eye’.]
Daphne: Yeah, amngayerte amngayerte [eyebrow] this one, amngayerte amperrane [eyebrow burning]. Hot. Him amngayerte amperrane, erlwe [eyebrow burning, eye].
Kirsty: Erlwe amngayerte amperrane mpele. [His eye/forehead, eyebrow/forehead, is burning]
Daphne: He too hot, amperrane
Myf: He’s too hot? erlwe amperrane? [Eye burning?]
Daphne: Erlwe that’s why travelling all the way, they bin go this way, long time they bin travelling, you know
Myf: Altemarle atheke aphenhe? [Did they go west?]
Daphne: Yeah alteemarl-aheke kwerrimpinenhe [The Kwerrimpe (went) westwards], you know?
Kirsty: Kwerrimpe inenhe he bin gone, tyangkarre alteemarl tweepe tweepe. [The Kwerrimpe (travelled) round and round in the west]
Daphne: Na, they bin go first and they bin coming back again. They bin singing all the way then
Myf: Both ways?
Daphne: This way now, they bin go right up Arnerre.
Myf: So that artweye erlwe amperrane? [The man’s eye is burning?]
Daphne: Artwey-inenhe? [The men?]
Kirsty: Nwepaltherre theye-rtame apeyaye. [They went from Nwepaltherre.]
Daphne: They bin sit down there longa Nwepaltherre they bin watch him bout...
Kirsty: All the woman
Daphne: Yeah all the woman.
Kirsty Arelhe mape. [the women]
Daphne: Arelhe-amernepe. [the women]
Kirsty: *Arntarrntareyame.* [(The men) watched over (the women)]
Myf: So that man's eye *erlwe*?
Kirsty: Not *erlwe*, Dreaming
Daphne: They sit down longa nother place again *apmere kngwerele.* [at another place] They bin longa Arnerre
Maya: *Amngayert amperrane mpele* they asking bout [She's asking about *'amngayertampperrane'*]
Daphne: *Amngayert? Wantarte*—[angayerte? what—] 
Maya: *Wantewe aperrane annayertamperrane* **[What's (he) going for *'amngayertamperrane'...**
Maya: They bin asking you two fella like that, you two fella tellem angayerte amperrane mpele Kwerrimpe mpele. [You should tell her The Kwerrimpe women are feeling hot]
Myf: *Mpelarte *'amngayertampperrane'*. [Is that *'amngayertampperrane'?*]
Maya: *Mpelarte*
Daphne: Yeah, *erlwe. Atyenge rtame alwengarerranye* [yeah 'eye'. She's asking me]
Maya: *Mpelarte. Atyenge* ? [Like that, ? for me]
Kirsty: *Aynanthe akngwarrenhelke awe!* [We aren't so with it anymore]
Maya: *Mpelarte* [like that] you two fella tellem
Daphne: Yeah. *Amngayert amperrane — amperrane hot-le.* Sun burn you know? That's why he callem bout that hot one *amngayertamperrane aynenge.* [I'm hot] That way him talking
Myf: *Mpelarte artweye angkenhe* [Is that what the man said?]
Daphne: Yeah *mpelarte artintwerantye* [Yes, that's what he said]
Myf: *Menharte artweye matyarte akake?* [The man with a loin cloth?]
Kirsty Rachel Daphne: (laughs)
Maya: *Yewe that one now, matyarte akake.* [Yes, the one with the matyarte]
Daphne: They bin still all the time they bin stop 'oh'
Kirsty: *Matyarte akake alhewere nhartepe artmpayayne*— [Men used to wear them confidently ...]

(1999, MD14, dn 60)

6. Daphne: All the boys bin catchem *Kwerrimpe inenge* [all the Kwerrimpe women] this mob bin run away everywhere, everywhere. All the boy bin chasem now. They want to lovern. They bin run away, too frightened
Myf: 'matyartempre'?
Daphne: I bin there longa one place again. My father bin there again longa rain, makem bout rain.

(1999, MD21, da 43)

7. The dancers push their skirt in between their legs to resemble a matyarre
(2002, Betty, MT's fieldnotes).

Morphological analysis

A ngayetamperranangayetamperrra
1 anngae^1 ampe-rane^2 anngae ampe-rane
   eye  burn-CNT  eye  burn-CNT

B latyartimperranaylatyartimperrra
matyarre^3-imperre^4 matyarre-imperre
   loin.cloth-PRIV?-EMPH  loin.cloth-PRIV

2 anngayte^5 imperre anngayte imperre
   eyebrow PRIV  eye PRIV

matyarre-impe-rane^6 matyarre impere-rane
   leave-TNS

3 Anngaytetewe^7 place.name

Notes
^1 anngae [C] 'eye' (Aly, An). There are many words derived from anngae 'eye' in (pan-Ar) languages (See Green and Turpin 2001). Alternatively the text may refer to 'forehead' (see expansion 5), which is anngayte in (Aly), erlwe in (Arr), (An) and riveimperre (K).
Expansion 5 suggests that the song text refers to a burning face which could be an extension of 'forehead'. In (K) it is possible to say erlwe amperrane to mean 'have a temperature', (lit. eye burning). It is also possible that the song text has a sexual connotation, as suggested in expansion 5 and 6.
^2 ampe-rane (K) 'burn, be hot-CNT [L]. Note ampe- (pan-Ar) 'to become hot, be agitated'.
^3 matyarre (K, Aly, An) 'men's loin cloth' [C]. For some Kayeteye speakers this can also refer to the women's traditional loin cloth, known by older Kayeteye speakers as ngaytwerlarre.
^4 -imperre (pan-Ar) SEQ [P]. Possibly this form once had a privative function. imperre may have existed as a separate form, consider the Arrernte form antere imperre-imperre 'stretch marks on woman's tummy'.
^5 anngayte [L] 'eyebrow' (K), 'forehead' (Aly). Expansion 5 suggests that the song text refers to a burning face which could be an extension of 'forehead'. In (K) it is possible to say erlwe amperrane to mean 'have a temperature', (lit. eye burning). It is also possible that the song text has a sexual connotation, as suggested in expansion 5 and 6. In (Arr) it is rude for a woman to talk about a man's urle 'forehead' (Henderson and Dobson 1994:596).
^6 impere (pan-Ar) 'leave, leave behind' [P]. To account for the following -ane segment in the song text we could postulate the (K) continuous intransitive verb suffix -rane with the verb stem impe-. Alternatively the plural form of the (pan-Ar) verb imperre- with (K) emphasis or WAn continuous verb suffix -ane.
^7 Anngaytetewe (K) place on Armerre, north west of Taylor Crossing [P]. This may be a semantic extension of anngayte 'eyebrow / forehead'. Literally, it means 'eyebrow-without' -tewe--tewe--tewe only occurs on body parts. Some compounds can refer to items of clothes, such as arlkerwe-te 'singlet (lit. without a chest)' and atnertewte 'mini skirt' (literally without a bum). Expansion 5 suggests that the song refers to a place called Npaltherre
~Nwepaltherre which is described as 'west of Apewempe (Taylor Crossing)' by Betty (May 2003). Possibly the two places are close together. Frequently a name for a creek soakage and a name for a nearby hill or other feature are used interchangeably to refer to regions or nearby areas. For example Akwerrnge, a hill, and Lhite a creek soakage, are both used to refer to the outpost at Anmerre. Similarly, the neighbouring places Iperte and Thatkwe ‘Emu Bore’ are both used to describe the area around Bottom Bore.

General comments

The different interpretations of textline A stem from whether the first segment refers to 'forehead' or 'eye'. This difference does not necessarily change the overall meaning of the textline as 'feel hot'. The song also refers to a place called Nwepaltherre ~ Nepaltherre, possibly by virtue of being close to the place called Amgayertetewe. The first morpheme of this place name is the first segment of textline A, amgayertete. The different interpretations of textline B stem from whether the segment following matyarte 'loin cloth' is an archaic privative suffix followed by an auxillary or emphatic marker, or (pan-Ar) verb meaning 'leave behind'. The variation has minimal semantic impact on the overall meaning 'going for a woman' without a loin cloth (going for a woman). One could postulate that the meaning 'going for a woman' is derived pragmatically from a mixture of real world and cultural knowledge that a man without a loin cloth wants a woman. As in English, there could have been a cultural association between being 'hot' and wanting to have sex, although this has not been confirmed by Kaytetye speakers. Compare with 'burning with desire' in English.
Song text 18

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A
(a) lernantharrpagarrerlaweya A lernantharrpagarrerlayweyay

B
(i) kwerrimpi kewray B kwerrimpi kwerra

The A textline is the same as textline 38A

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

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Tempo bands

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TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Final vowel cycle: BBAA No text cycle reversals

TL A  a  a
TL B  ay  a

Textlines and melodic structure:

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Song items 418 and 420 recording starts late.
Appendix 1: Song text 18

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. *aylenantharrpe Kwerrimpe kwerre* gettem boyfriend cousin, his cousin 2 fella
   *mpwenye* 2 fella, we findem boyfriend. Come on my cousin, me n'you go, go gettem
   *artweye, aliyeye* cousin me n'you go.
   (GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

2. Kirsty: 'Kwerrimpe kwerre anepanem...' 'Kwerrimpe kwerre anepanem...'
   Daphne: *Aye? [what?]*
   Daphne: Yeah, what another one *akertewe*? [How does that other one start?]
   Myf: Is that one *angentye*?
   Daphne: *Arntarryenkelke*? [Have you got it now?]
   Rachel: *Angentye-rtwene Arnerre*. [No it's not a soakage its a rockhole]
   Daphne: *Na, arntarryenkelke*? [No, I'm asking her if she's got it]
   Rachel: *Nyvarterewe aylonyerrepenhe*. [I'm asking about the one we just sung.]
   (1999, MD12, dn 120)

3. Daphne: He gotta takem away now that *kweyaye* [girl] (laughs). Grabem now.
   Myf: *Ankaye ilewethe?* [steal her?]
   Daphne: Yeah, him takem away. Uh-huh he gotta take'em that woman now.
   Kirsty: *aperinenkelke, he arntarryenke aperinenke kwere amarlepe*. [He grabs the
   woman and takes her]
   Myf: *Nthekelarte?* [whereabouts?]
   Daphne: Somewhere longa bush
   (singing)
   Daphne: *Elpere-elpere 'aylenanthe ikngwerrileweye', katatele apenye*. [too fast (song
   name), slower]
   Daphne: There he takem away, that *kweyaye*
   Myf: *'kwerrimpikwerre...'*
   Daphne: Yeah *Kwerrimpe kwerraye*, he gotta catchem that woman now, he gotta
   takem
   Kirsty: 'Kwerrimpe kwerre aylenantherrpe kngwerrele' *akwene* ['Kwerrimpe girl we
   two (opposite moiety) east' like that]
   Daphne: Yeah, *aylanthe alpewe* [we two (opposite moiety) went / should go back]
   Kirsty: *Aylantharrpe alpeye kngerrake mpele* ['Me and you want to go east' they say].
   Daphne: Yeah two fella want to go away now. He gotta takem away now longa bush.
He gotta havem that kweyaye [girl] now
Myf: Aityerre? [Dreaming?]
Daphne: Yeah, Dreaming
Myf: Wante ikwe kwerrimpe? [What skin are the Kwerrimpe?]
Daphne: Anywhere [they have no skin]
...(singing and talking)
Daphne: Him bin catchem that girl now, that boy. When him bin too much he bin watchem bout. ...
Rachel: Yeah. Kngwerame kngweramelke erranthe aylene. [Sing some others now you two]
Myf: Could you say that 'Kwerrimpe kwerre'?
Kirsty: 'Kwerrimpikwerraye, kwerrimpikwerrra aylengareleweye'
Daphne: 'Aylenantherpe kngwerreleweye' (No its 'Aylenantherpe kngwerreleweye')
Daphne: I want to takem away aylenanthe alhetyekewe. [1du.ex.OM.NOM go-PURP]
Mtnpela [Us two] want to go away now. Aylenanthe. I want to takem away
Myf: Aylenanthe?
Daphne: Yeah. That girl bin frightened from him
Rachel: Yeah him takem back now that girl
Myf: Nhakenhe Kaytetyele etnewerrantye? [How do you say it in Kaytetye?]]
Rachel: Aperinenke kwere. [take her]
Myf: Aperinenke? [take (her)]
Rachel: Artweyele kwere aperinenkelke. [The man takes her then]
Kirsty: Aperinenyelke kwere, aperinenye mpelarte. [Take her now, take her like that]
Kirsty: Wante warle? Wantame repe wenhepe. [Where to, what's it called?]
Daphne: Which one? Arnerrewarle. [to Arnerre]
Rachel: Arnerre.
Daphne: to that cave now
Rachel: Uh-luh
Kirsty: Nhakenhelke rtame re alpenhe? [How does it (the song) go?]
Daphne: I don't know I can't knowem now, that two fella gottem
(singing)
Daphne: I'll takem away this kweyaye into the scrub

(1999, MD12, dn 132)

4. April: Wantarte nhartepe akeleye? [What's that awelye about aunty?]
Daphne: Aye? [what?]
April: Na, alele! [hang on]
Myf: Sounds really good
April: Amamperle, wantepe nhartepe akeleye? [Good (she thinks) what's that about aunty?]
Daphne: huh?
April: Wantarte repe nhartepe? [What's this awelye about?]
Daphne: What's that one?
April: Nhartinge rarte alewetnenyenewethe? [Is that the one about 'going and asking (them) to come and going back?]
Daphne: Yeah ikngwerlerlewewe, alewetnewethe, kwerrinakwerre alewetnewethe [Yes 'ikngwerlerlewewe' means '(they) go and ask the girls to come'
April: Cousin kwereyenge, mpelarte nahe artntwene, altyleye rarte-ee rtane. [her cousin, that's what its about, cousin.]
Daphne: Cousin belonging to him, ikngwerlerwetyeke 'goes and asks (her) to come and returns]
April: Alewetnenyenewethe anherrweye ['(She) is going to go and ask (her) to come and return', daughter-in-law]
Daphne: Alewetnenyenewethe ['(She) is going to go and ask (her) to come and return]
April: Kaytetyele [in Kaytetye]
Maya: kwaltylele [her cousin]
Nancy: kwaltylele [her cousin]
April: cousin kwereyenge altyleye. [her cousin]
Daphne: altyleye [cousin]
Nancy: Kaytetye-theye kwere artntwerantye nyarte. [That how we say it in Kaytetye]
April: Altyleye nyarte errwanthe anteyane altylee-nhenge-therre [That how we say it in Kaytetye, you lot are cousins to each other]
Daphne: Yeah this one mine cousin, yeah mine
April: Ngkaltylele mpelarte. [your cousin]
Daphne: altyleye [cousin]
April: Altylee-nhenge-amerne errwanthe, mpelarte nhartepe awelyepe. [You are cousins to each other' that's what the song is about]
Myf: Altylee nyenge therre aleyayne awatnke? [Did two female cousins sing it a
long time ago?]
Daphne: Yeah, aliyele-nhenge-therre. [two female cousins together]
April: alewetneyenewethethe.'[She is going to go and ask (her)]

(1999, MD14, dn 22)

5. Myf: What's the story for that little one there?
Daphne: Yeah nthakenhe? [what?]
Kirsty: Kwerrimparle atheke ange. Mpelarte angkerrane kwerrimpewe. [That's how you should talk to the Kwerrimpe woman, isn't it?]
Daphne: uh. 'Kwerrimpekwerre'
Kirsty: Kwerrimpele areyayne wante? Wanterteyange? Wantelke atye alwengkineanye. [What did the Kwerrimpe see? What, I've forgotten]
Maya: Ngayelange arerrantye. [Did they see food?]
Kirsty: Angayelartinge. Wanterteyarte? [Yes, food, but what sort?]
Daphne: * aye awnwenthe awe wanterteyange? [perhaps meat or something else]
Myf: Arerrantye enyewe? [Are they looking for food?]
Kirsty: Einye. Kwerrimpinengele rame merne arerrantye wele atanthe dance areyayne. Ertinweyayne lke atanthe. [Food. Kwerrimpe women look for food and then dance]
Daphne: Dance. Tyape [witchetties] when they bin eatem bout tyape. (interrupted)

(1999, MD 14, dn 62)

6. Kirsty: Akngerrake nte arenhe mpele, 'aylenantherrepe kngwerrele' akwene [You looked east. 'Me and you look east' isn't it?]
Daphne: Yeah akngwerrele arewe [looked east]. You see'em akngerrake [east]. You see'em akngerrake mpele [east thus]
Myf: Wante atye arewetha akngerrake? [Why would I look to the east?]
Daphne: That way now. Dreaming-we [DAT]. Kwerrimpe they bin tellem bout. These two want to know! [should know AR 290803]
Kirsty: Akngwerrele. [east]
Rachel: Akngerrake arenke [look east]
Kirsty: Akngerrak-artinje atanthe arel-arel-arrantywethewe [(They) would look east while they travelled]
Rachel: Akngerrak-atheke arel-arel-arreyayne [ They looked east as they went along]
Myf: Oh. Akngerrake apenhe arel-arel-arreyayne, angayelevwe mpelarite? [They looked to the east as they went along?]
Kirsty: Altemarle ape apelpaayeayne, altweler. [They travelled west AR 290803]

95
Appendix 1: Song text 18

Daphne: Yeah proper rain maker bin there
Kirsty: Renhe akwele. [Yes there]
Daphne: Same again same again nhartepe [that one]
Myf: So that one those amarle inenge apeayaye akngerrake [girls went east]
Daphne: Yeah apeayaye arlelke [travelled for the day]
Myf: arlelke [day trip]
Kirsty: They bin come back

(1999, MD14, dn 64)

7. Daphne: 'kweyaye [girl], me and you want to go back now, kweyaye!' (laughs)
   Myf: Mpelarte [like that]
   Daphne: Yeah
   Myf: Aylenanthe? [we two]
   Daphne: Him want to try and takem, and him bin go and catchem and holdem.
   'Kweyaye, me and you want to go back now' him bin tellem like that
   Myf: 'Aylenantharrpe-
   Daphne: Yeah. We want to go back now, don't run about, too frightened. Young girl
   him bin catchem, him wantem kweyaye. Rubbish, you lot now they bin chase'em bout
   this mob.
   Myf: Mpelarte aylene 'aylenantharrpe ngarreleweye?' [Is this how it goes
   'aylenantharrpe ngarreleweye?]
   Daphne: Yeah artweye-le [man-ERG]. Him bin just talk about 'We'll have to go back'.
   He bin askem like that. They bin go back and get in there now. What they bin doing
   now?

   (1999, MD21, dn 44)

8. Women dance to this song (2002, Betty, MT's fieldnotes)
Morphological analysis

A leranthatarr pangararelayewya
1 aylanthatarr-arrpe ikngwe-rele-weye
   1du.ex.Om.NOM-only ask.someone.to.come-RECIP+go&do.quickly-PURP
i He and I will go off together alone (as lovers) / I want to run off with her, the Kwerrimpe girl alone.
   [Lit. Me and her of the opposite kinship group will ask each other to come away]
ii Me and you (cousin), we Kwerrimpe girls, should go off and find boyfriends
iii Me and you, we Kwerrimpe girls, might go off and find boyfriends

2 aylanthatarr-arrpe ikngwe-rele-weye
   1du.inc.Om.NOM-only ask.someone.to.come-RECIP+go&do.quickly-PURP
i (He/They) asked us Kwerrimpe girls (me and my cousin) to come with (him/them)
ii He and I will go off together alone (as lovers).

3 aylanthatarr-arrpe akngwererle are-we
   1du.ex.Om.NOM-only east see-PST
   Me and my cousin, Kwerrimpe girls, should look east

B kwerrimpi kwerrra
1 kwerrimpe akwerre
   woman girl
   The Kwerrimpe girl

Notes
a ylanthatarr (K, Aly, An) '1.du.ex.Om.NOM' [C]. The opposite moiety pronoun most likely refers to a cross-cousin. The expansions suggest an inclusive pronoun: aylanthe (K) or 'me and you', whereas the meaning of this pronoun is 'me and her (should find boyfriends/go)'. The inclusive meaning of the pronoun aylanthatarr '1.du.ex.Om.NOM', as in translation 1 (ii), is probably obtained through the pragmatic usage of exclusive pronouns to refer indirectly to the person you are talking to as a politeness strategy, as occurs in Kaytetye speech, especially amongst older people.

The cousin relationship is characterised by indirectness, even amongst same sex cousins. It is likely that the polite way to refer to your cousin is aylanthatarr (exclusive) rather than aylanthe (inclusive) for older Kaytetye speakers.

Interpretation 1 (i) of the textline as 'we, me (a man) and me' is suggested in expansions 3 and 7. Indirectness is not a feature of husband wife relationships, which is the relationship described in this pronoun when it applies to a woman and a man together.

2-arrpe (Arr, WAn) [L]. This has a range of meanings including 1. on your own 2. keeping to yourself, 3. each other 4. only (this and not anything else).
Appendix 1: Song text

3 *ikngwe-re-re-rle.w-e-yewe* (Aly) 'invite-RECIPE-LIG-go.&do.quickly-PURP' [C]. The suffix -
*yewe* is Western (Aly), the associated motion suffix -rle.w-e- (WA and Aly) and the verb
stem and the reciprocal (pan-Ar).

The Arrernte dictionary has an example which illustrates the idiomatic meaning of the
reciprocal form of this verb *ikngwe-releme* as 'go off as lovers':

(2) *re atherre alhirre-eh-irre-lhe-tle-re-mele mpwenye ikngwe-re-mele.*

3sgNOM two last.after-TrVbrl-RED-CAUS-REC-S/S lover invite-REC-S/S

(They fall in love with each other) and talk about running off. (lit. they two make
each other go together because they invite each other as lovers) (Henderson and

Note that two associated motion forms in Kaytetye are given in expansion 4 as
correspondences of the Alyawarr form *ikwerrelerewewe*.

4 *aylenanthe* (K) '1.du.ex.OM.NOM' [P].

5 *akngwerrele* (Arr, WA) 'east' [P]. This interpretation is only given in expansion 6.

6 *are-we* (WA) see-PST [P]. This interpretation is only given in expansion 6.

7 *Kwerrimpe* (K, Aly) 'female dreamtime character' [C]. See song text 4, note 5.

8 *kwerre* (K, WA) 'girl' (archaic in Arr) [L]. See song text 3, note 1.

General comments

Variation in interpreting textline A results from two possible speech forms corresponding to
the last segment *ngaarelayweya, ikngwerrelerewewe* (Aly) 'invite-RECIPE-go and do
quickly-PURP' or *ikngwerrele* 'east', both of which are put forward in the expansions.
Song text 19

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<tr>
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<td>421, 422, 423, 425, 426.</td>
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A nertawenertantye nertawenertantye
B nertawantyeyay nertawantyeya

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

| S | W | W# | S | W |
| B | B | L# | B | B |

nertawenertantye nertawantyeya

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<th>syllables</th>
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Tempo bands
no. song 2 3
items/ = MM 132 138
performance Alek1(i) Alek1(ii)

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY
Text cycle: BBAA
i AABB (TPR record 425)

Final vowel cycle:

record 425

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<tr>
<td>TL B</td>
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Variation to final vowel cycle

records 422, 423, 426

Too much talking over 421 to hear what the final vowel pattern is.

Textlines and melodic structure:

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<td>BBAA</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Song items 422 and 425 recording starts late.
Appendix 1: Song text 19

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. Daphne: Yeah, he jump another one. Yeah, another boy. Na other boy him sit down doing work and everything well he never bin see him and another boy bin takem away his wife. Um. Jealous. Two fella gotta fight now, anytime, two fella gotta kill em. When him bin see’em bout that kweya [girl]. Him hold himself. That one now we bin singem about this one
Myf: Aylewern-apertame? [Can you sing it again?]
Daphne: Yeah, somewhere nother one
(singing)
Myf: Wante nyartepa? [What's that one?]
Daphne: No, him guts, "Hey what's wrong me guts" I seen someone. Well he gotta come back see’em nothing belonging to him woman. Nother one gotta takem away. Too much worrying, him bin worrying that young fella
Myf: Nihakenhe ntepe aylewethe? [how do you sing it?]
Daphne: Him takem away altogether that one, two fella run away (laughs)
Myf: Nihakenhe aylewethe? [How does it go?]
(women sing song text)
Daphne: He is jumping around him guts. He worrying for that kweya now—
Myf: His guts jumping round?
Daphne: Yeah, him worrying for that kweya belonging to him
Rachel: Heart
Myf: Arawerrne akake? [worried?]
Daphne: Yeah arawerrne akake
Kirsty: Nihakenhe kngwerepe? [What's another one?]
Myf: Aleme angkerrane? [jealous?]
Daphne: Yeah aleme angkerrane. He worrying for that his woman.
Kirsty: Nihakenhe kngwerane? [What's another one?]
Daphne: Aye?
Kirsty: arrenhartey? [What's another one?]
Myf: Nihakenhe Kaytetye angkewethe? [How do you say in Kaytetye]
Kirsty: Nihakenhe rime kngwerepe? [What's another one?]
Daphne: Aleye [wait]. They worrying about that aperinenke kwereyenge [take his (wife)], and him come back, two fella gotta fight now he gotta finish him that boy
nother boy belonging to his brother. Biggest one, you know, brother belonging to him. When him boss for that woman. He gotta killem two of them, woman and that boy.

Myf: Killem both?
Daphne: Still alive

... Daphne: Him worrying for that his woman, that another one boy
Myf: Arawerrnge? [worried]
Daphne: Um. Nother one bin takem away from him. That's his woman. That nother one, biggest one bin worrying, for him woman.
Myf: Mpelarte— [like that]
Daphne: Yeah Nancy can tellem you
Myf: Mpelarte aylewethe 'rewerrenge—' [Does it go 'rewerrenge—' ]
Daphne: Yeah, aleme. 'Nertawentyeya' heart him jump longa that way him worrying for his kweyaye [girl].

(singing)
Daphne: There him jump, he's— he worrying for his woman.

(1999, MD13, dn 5)

2. Daphne: Him worrying worrying that girl, boy bin worrying
Myf: 'amertewe'?
Daphne: 'amertewe' him callem bout guts. He bin too much worry, he wantem kweyaye [girl]. This mob bin run away, too frightened
Myf: 'amertew anty'—
Myf: Nhakenhe ntepe aylanye? [How did you sing it?]
Daphne: 'amertawanyeya yertawayntanyaye' we'll have to go back he askem ...

Him worrying for that girl now, that boy, young fella
Kirsty: (singing louder and Daphne joins her)
Daphne: There. He worrying for that girl now, that boy. Young fella
Myf: OK
Rachel: aylepelengkwe [teenage boy] ...
Myf: Wante ikwe-akake that artweye? [ What skin is the man?]
Daphne: Yeah ikwe akake [Yes he has a skin]
Myf: Wante ikwe kwere? [What's his skin?]
Daphne: Pengarte (skin name)
Appendix 1: Song text 19

Myf: Ampeteyane avenge [An Ampetyane's (husband)]

Daphne: Yewe, Ampeteyane two fella. Me Kemarre me
(singing)

Daphne: He worryin for that — boy bin worryin for 'atnerte', he bin callem 'atnertewantyey' him jump guts. Worryin for this one [points at Kirsty]. He bin try and marryem. And this fella bin run away, too frightened.

(1999, MD21, čn 45)

Morphological analysis

A tnetowenetantyay

i (His) stomach is jumping (he is anxious)

ii (His) stomach rises (he is anxious)

B tnetowantyeyay

1 atnerte¹ atnerte antye² stomach stomach jump

antye-antye- stomach-EMPH jump-PRS?

Notes

¹atnerte (pan-Ar) 'guts, belly' [C]. In (pan-Ar) atnerte is used to describe many feeling expressions. Possibly this form once existed in Kaytete with the same meaning (see Turpin 1997:117). The segment -we in the song text is probably an example of breaking.

²antye- (pan-A) 'jump', (K) [C] (pan-Ar) 'climb up' [L]. Possibly antye- also once meant 'jump' in (pan-Ar). The Arrernte dictionary database shows an idiom with a similar meaning as that described by Daphne in the expansions "atnerte antyemc (Arrernte OLD) 'how you feel when things aren't going your way'" (Henderson and Dobson, electronic database).

The word ahentye ‘throat, want’ is an unlikely speech equivalent not only because it is not suggested in the expansions and in the final position of a textline which tends to be occupied by a verb, but because body parts such as ‘stomach’ and ‘throat’ form a contrastive set that collocate with different types of emotions. ‘Throat’ collocates with words describing wanting or desire, whereas ‘stomach’ collocates with words describing feelings of sadness, anxiety, anger and excitement.

³-ye (pan-Ar) 'PERM'; (K) 'FUT' [P]. Neither of these meanings fit in with the expansions, which suggest that the action is happening now, in which case an archaic verb suffix would have to be postulated.

General comments

There is only one semantic interpretation of this song text 'His guts are jumping (ie. He is worried)'. However, either the speech words are taken from different languages — atnerte (pan-Ar) and antye 'jump' (K) — or the forms have since shifted in meaning. While the mixing of forms in a song text is not ruled out, there are no examples of a song text where the mixing of forms is the only possible analysis.
Song text 20

| 16 song items | In 2 of 9 performances | Record no.  
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</table>

A nimeparreKayparralintipay nimeparreKayparralintipay

B nimehenteyelayparralintipay nimehenteyelayparralintipay

Pronunciation variation

A nimeparreKayparralintipay → parreKayparralintipay (records 436 MS1; 438 MS1; 439 MS1; 440 MS1; 441 MS1; 72 MS2; 73 MS1)
A parreKayparralintipay nime → parreKayparralintipay (records 437 MS1; 440 MS2; 442 MS1)
B nimeantyelayparrelintipay → antelayparrelintipay (43; 436 MS1; 438 MS2; 72 MS3; 73 MS2)
Change to peripheral place of articulation /nty/ → /ng/

B nglay parralintlay (record 73 on the descent of MS2, 43 beginning of MS1) /p/ → /l/

B nimeantyelayparralintlay (record 72; 73) lateral substitution /n/ → /l/

B limeantyeyelayparralintipay (record 438; 439; 437)
A limeparreKayparralintipay (record 439; 437) nasal fortition? /n/ → /nt/?

B ntmeantyeyelayparralintipay (record 436)
A ntmeanreKayparralintipay (record 436)

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO
Has Waake melodic contour and unattested isorhythm and number of syllables

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<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
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Tempo bands

no. song 6 9
items = MM 92 96
performance Alek1(4of14) Alek1(9of14)
Alek2

Each textline is divided into two segments:

A = ab nimeparreKay kayparralintipay

B

C

103
Appendix 1: Song text 20

\[ B = \text{cb nimeantyelay} \quad \text{parralintipay} \]

Textline variation 1 (records 432, 435)

\[ A = \text{ab parralintipaynime} \quad \text{parrakay} \]

\[ B = \text{ac parralintipaynime} \quad \text{panyelay} \]

Textline variation 2 (records 429, 430, 431, 434, 437, 442)

\[ A = \text{ba parrakay} \quad \text{parralintipaynime} \]

\[ B = \text{ca panyelay} \quad \text{parralintipaynime} \]

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: AABB

\( i \) BBAA

Final vowel cycle: textline level regressive vowel harmony between last vowels of textline segments and not rhythmic cells

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<th>ay</th>
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<tr>
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Textlines and melodic structure:

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Song items 433 incomplete, recording of 434 starts late

104
TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. Daphne: He gottem nother woman. Him tellem bout. 'Oh him don't likem me. Oh you gottem nother woman'

   Kirsty: 'Ahentye-leparre intepinte [throat-? lie-CNT] ahenty-akerte iweme, ahenty-penhe-akerte-ee [(he) throws away his girlfriend, he has (another) girlfriend]

   Daphne: He gottem nother one ahentye-lepange [girlfriend?] 'alright I'll see'em' next day he bin talk. Yeah he gottem nother one to lovem he, kweyaye [girl]

   (singing)

   Kirsty: 'Ahentyelke atanthe intepinte akwene. [They are lying down, wanting now' she says]

   Daphne: 'He gottem nother one, not me'-kwene. He bin wild. He gottem ahentyepenhe [lover] He gottem belonging to him. Him bin chuckem up me. Him sad. Him bin jealous

   Rachel: Him no likem. Him wantem nother one

   Kirsty: 'Ahentyeleparre kwene... [throat-? she says] perish-perish kwene ayenge. [I'm perishing' she says]

   Daphne: He don't like me him got another kweyaye [girl]

   Kirsty: Me perish rtame mpele [I'm perishing' she says]

   Daphne: Me perish

   Daphne: 'Parrekave parralenipaye' him bin jealous

   (singing)

   Kirsty: Perish perish ayenge intepinte akwene, ahentyepenhe errwewakerre [2.pl.SMOG] intepinte kwene [I'm perishing' she says, 'for you lot's boyfriend' / my boyfriend is wanting you lot'.

   Rachel: No likem married man, him never lovem me

   Kirsty: Ahentyepenhe lo vemaylerantye kngwere mpele, another one girl kwene ['(My) boyfriend loves another girl' she says]

   (singing)

   Daphne: Him bin chuckem me. And him got another one me. He bin talk. That's jealous gone

   Kirsty: Ahentyeleparre intepinte kwene, ahentyepenh-akerte kwene. [(I'm) perishing, (he) has (another) girlfriend' she says.]

   Daphne: Um he gettem another one woman, not me
Daphne: Him gottem another woman, he don't like me. 'Oh he gottem another one now, fresh one'. Him bin jealous, nother one belonging to him. From Arnerre now.

(singing)

Daphne: He reckon he's perish, he never catchem that boy. He got another one now. He bin grow up, with that belonga him, nother one woman. "You gottem too many kid" he bin tellem

(singing)

Kirsty: *Perish perish ayengepe inepintene akwene* ['I'm perishing' she says]

Daphne: Yeah, I'm perishing That a proper good one ay?

(singing)

Daphne: That boy bin havem nother woman and that biggest one belonging to him he bin chuckem. Too many kid he gottem

(singing)

Kirsty: *Parele [perish?] inepintene*, *mpele* 'perish-perish'. Ayengepe perish *rtane mpele* ['I'm perishing' she says]

Daphne: Yeah he bin rubbish me "Too many kids" that's why he bin rubbish me. And he got another girl now

(singing)

Rachel: *No apmere arrwekeleye* he bin love *kngwere apmere arrwekeleyepe eleinhenerre kwere mentye*. *Mentye* nother one bin loven. [He doesn't love his first wife (lit. 'country'). He threw his old wife away, left her and got another one.]

Kirsty: *Ikwelaineyayne atewenhanthe*. [They got sulky at each other]

(1999, MD13, dn 18 -31)

2. Daphne: *Tyelarte arrvarleyepe ipmarreyayne*. [This one was swearing]

Kirsty: *Atye* [I (was)]

(1999, MD14, dn 39)

3. Daphne: Callem *ahentyeliperre*, callem *ahentye* you know 'throat'.

(Kirsty faint singing)

Daphne: *Payeye* [insect] bin bite me after dinner and that Dreaming, they bin hearem Dreaming now

Myf: So meaning that one *Kwerrimpe* bin perish?

Daphne: Yeah, *Kwerrimpe* bin singem now, when we bin sleeping

(singing)

Daphne: Perishing no water, perish. When we, me two fella bin go back well we bin
sit down longa shade. We bin cold and we bin cleanem cleanem, payteye [insect] bin bite me this way now. ...
Kirsty: Ahentyepe atanakerte anteyane mpele ayengarte perish-pe mpele mpelarte nte kwere arntwenke ['(He) doesn't want (me) anymore, I'm pining'. That's what you should tell her]
Rachel: He don't wantem atyenge [me] that man

(1999, MD14, dn 77)

4. Daphne: He gottem another one woman, that one him bin growl. He gottem another one, kweyaye [girl] that's why him bin growl that one. Old one belonging to him husband
Kirsty: ahentyepe atanakerte intepinteme [(she is thirsty/pining)] AR 290803
Daphne: Him gottem young girl now, that's why him bin growl
(singing)
Daphne That one him bin growl, big girl belonging to him, wife. Yeah, that young girl bin robbing him now
(more singing)
Daphne: Reckon him perish

(1999, MD21, dn 47)

Morphological analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A nimeparrekayparralintipay</th>
<th>B nimeantyelayparrelintipay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(intepinteme)² parre³ ne-parre²=arle³</td>
<td>interp-inteme ahentye⁶=le-iperre=arle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie-CNT</td>
<td>lie-CNT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tired-SEQ=REL</td>
<td>throat-LOC-SEQ=EMPH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the one that was loved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The old girlfriend is pining (for her boyfriend)

| (intepinteme)² parre³ ne-parre²=arle³ | interp-inteme ahentye⁶=le-iperre=arle |
| lie-CNT | lie-CNT |
| perish-LOC=REL | throat-LOC-SEQ=EMPH |
| the one that was loved |

2 The one that was loved is pining (for her boyfriend).

| (Lentepe)³ interme² parre³ ne-parre²=arle³ | Lentepeinterme ahentye⁶=le-iperre=arle³ |
| place | place |
| throat-LOC=SEQ |

(At) Lentepeinterme the old girlfriend pinned (for her man that left her).

Notes

¹ inte-p-inte-me (Arr, An) aynte-rl-one-me, aynte-p-aynte-me (Aly) 'lie-LIG-CNT-PRS' [C]. Note that both forms are sung (see variation above).
Appendix 1: Song text 20

2 *pwarke-parrke* (An, Aly) 'tired' [P]. Evidence for this meanings as a speech equivalent comes from expansions 3 and 4 which use the word *atnhakerte* (K) 'tired, retired, worn out'.

3 *-iparre* (pan-Ar) SEQ [P].

4 *-arle* (pan-Ar) 'REL' [P].

5 *ahentye* 'throat' (pan-A) [C]. Justification that the segments in text 21 *ahentyeliparre* mean 'old girlfriend' involve analysis of three morphemes, only *ahentye* 'throat' is confirmed, although expansion 3 suggests that the sequence *ahentyeliparre* makes up one word. There is a widespread pattern of polysemy in Arandic languages between *ahentye* 'throat' and 'want, desire', which gives rise to derived words such as *ahenty-are-* (K) 'want, love' (throat-INCH) *ahentye-penhe* (K) (throat-SEQ), *ahenty-akerie* (pan-Ar) (throat-PROP) for 'boyfriend/girlfriend' and *ahentyele arenke* 'want in vain' (throat-ERG see). Although the segment *-eparre* has no clear speech equivalent, the reading *ahentye atnakerte* 'old love' or 'chuck away girlfriend' may be obtained through an interpretation 'throat-REL-SEQ' (pan-Ar) meaning 'the one that had been loved'.

6 *parretye* (AE) 'thirsty, pining' from English 'perish' [P]. Either the final consonant has been varied and reduplicated, or it has been omitted and then is a reduplicated with the (Arr) non-productive ligative -ke found in some reduplicated forms.

7 *Lentepenteme* (K) [P]. Place on Arnerre.

General comments

The variation in interpretation stems from whether the verb is given its literal meaning or its meaning as it applies to a place on Arnerre. The variation in interpreting the segment *antyelayparrel* stems from not knowing the exact morphemes in what appears from the expansions to be a phonological form, *ahentyeleparre*. Similarly, it is not clear what function the -ke has in the segment *parrekeayparrel*. The different possibilities in glossing do not affect the the overall meaning of the song text as 'The one that was loved is pining (for her boyfriend who has gone off with a new woman)'

---

5 Compare with Warumungu *parra-parri* 'getting' (Jane Simpson, 2000, pers.comm.).

6 *ulke-ute* (Arr) 'in something up to the waist' from *ute* 'side'. (ECAEF 1994:585).
### Song text 21

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>30 song items</th>
<th>In 6 of 9 performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
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**Pronunciation variation:**

B ilengerentyøja (record 59)

**nasal fortition /n/ → /ŋ/**

### TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

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<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>L#</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>lengeraleterrpa</th>
<th>lengerintyerra</th>
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<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
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<td>Z</td>
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**Speed** $\downarrow = \text{MM} 126-152 (144)

**Tempo bands**

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<td>152</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alek2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arały(i)</td>
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**TEXT MELODY OVERLAY**

**Text cycle:** BBAA  No text cycle reversals

**Final Vowel cycle:**

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<td>TL B</td>
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**Textlines and melodic structure:**

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<td>MS5</td>
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<td>MS6</td>
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<td>MS7</td>
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TRANSLATIONS
Expansions

1. 'langerentyerre' 'we might perish go quick' 'go quick'
   (GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

2. erterrpe. 'elengerentyerre alwengetepe' sandhill they go now quick. Sandhill
twempere ertwerrpe (informant is pointing left)
   (GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

3. [GKoch: You singing? Whoops, what's that one? sandhill?]
   Daphne: Sandhill Yeah, sandhill
   Daphne: uh-huh. Twempere, twempere ertwerrpe
   [GKoch: 'twempere...'
   Daphne: twempere, ertwerrpe uh-huh
   (GK6894, 1976)

4. [Daphne: ertwerrpe 'alengerentyerre' uh-huh 'alengerelerterrpe'
   [GKoch: ertwerrpe 'alengerentyerre'
   Daphne: 'alengerentyerre' Sandhill ertwerrpe ...
   [Daphne: ertwerrpe go quick alengerentyerre go quick ertwerrpe sandhill and
   [GKoch: go quick
   Daphne: go hurry up 'we want to go quick, hurry up' elpere, elpere-elpere.
   (GK6895, 1976)

5. [April: 'lerterrpe' wantertame? [What's 'lerterrpe'?]
   Twempere [rise]
   [Daphne: ertwerrpe here sandhill, that way.
   [Daphne: Yeah, twempere [rise]
   [April: Yeah Kaytetyele etnewarrantye 'twempere'. [We call it
   'twempere' in Kaytetye]
   [Myf: Didn't we see one yesterday?
   [April: Twempere nyartepe. [This is about a rise]
   (1999, MD14, dn 27)

   Myf: So that one's about that apenherrer? [went]
   Kirsty: Sandhill country, apenhe atanthe *-ike [They went across sandhills]
   Daphne: They bin go fast, this way they bin go, their country.
   Myf: OK They're going through sandhill. How many? Makwerle [lots] or just

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Appendix 1: Song text 21

therrarte? [two]
Daphne: Oh too many bin walkin around, when they singem bout, all the way. When they travelling.
Kirsty: Makwerle kwerrimpinenge [Lots of Kwerrimpe women.]  
(1999, MD14, da 66)

Myf: Akwerle? [sandhill]
Daphne: Uh-huh akwerle. Sandhill, big sandhill you know? When you bin gettem bout porcipine long time that one been killem bout.
Myf: Ane ertwerrpe etnepe akwerle? [And do you call sandhills 'akwerle'?]
Daphne: Yeah ertwerrpe there, big sandhill.
Myf: Ete akwerle? [ Called 'akwerle'?]
Daphne: Uh-huh. 'arlengereletwertwerrpe rlangereletwertwerrpe'.
Myf: 'alangereletwerterrpe'
Daphne: Yeah ertwerrpe, big sandhill, 'arlengereletwertwerrpe'. 'ilengarentyere'  
When we gotta climb up, go down on the creek?  
(1999, MD21, da 49)

8. April: 'Last one, kwevetelke kwere athamarenype awaparrenke, awapelke' [(This is the) last one (song), (you) then put the spirits of the country back in (the ground), you then close (the ceremony)] (Oct 2001).


Morphological analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>ilengeraleterrpa</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>ilengerintyerray</th>
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<td>ilengare</td>
<td>entyere(^4)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>twerrpe(^3)</td>
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<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>when=REL</td>
<td></td>
<td>fiodout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sandhill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When are (we going to go up) the sandhill, when are (we going to) the floodout?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ilengare=arl(^1)</td>
<td>ilengare</td>
<td>antye-re(^-5)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>when=REL</td>
<td></td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>sandhill</td>
<td></td>
<td>climb-pl-</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>When are (we) going to go up the sandhill, when (are we) going to climb up?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>ntyerrel(^7)</td>
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<td>far-?</td>
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<td>twerrpe</td>
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<td>perish</td>
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<td>sandhill</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When are (we going to go up) the sandhill, when, (we might) perish</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

111
Notes

1. ilengare (pan-Ar) 'when' [C].

2. -arle relativiser (K) emphatic (pan-Ar) [P]. In Kaytetye interrogatives often have the -arte definite suffix. In some Arandic languages -arle can also function as an emphasis clitic.

3. ertwerppe 'sandhill' (K, An, Arr) [C].

4. entyere 'floodout' (K, Aly, An); 'debris carried by flood water' (K) [C]. See song text 9, note 4.

5. antye- (pan-A), 'jump' (K) [P] 'climb up' (pan-Ar) [P]. This meaning is suggested in expansion 7 with the word 'climb up'. The verb which collocates with ertwerppe 'sandhill' is entyeme (pan-Ar) amtheyaye- (K) 'climb up' rather than ahe- (pan-Ar) ape- (K) 'go'.

6. arlenge (pan-A) 'far' [P].

7. ntyerrele (K) 'water, thirsty' [L]. This meaning is suggested in expansion 1. Either the final -le of ntyerrele has been omitted in the song text, which is possible as the textline begins with -le, or the form in the song is ntyerre, a form acceptable to older Kaytetye speakers meaning 'water, thirsty'. In Kaytetye, the meaning 'thirsty' must agree with the subject, and it is often transitive as the verb 'to drink' is transitive, so in 'she drank thirstily' the form becomes ntyerre-le. Probably the final -le in ntyerrele was once the transitive marker which has now become reanalysed as part of the stem. Further evidence for the form existing as ntyerre comes from the cognate Kaytetye form ntyerre which means 'water' in the avoidance register. In everyday speech ntyerre also refers to the liquid made from mixing dry bush plums — ahakeye or ankwerleye — with water; and the derived form ntyerre-arrrynke refers to the method of squeezing the fruit with water.

General comments

The difference in interpretation of textline B depends on whether the final element is entyere 'floodout', ntyerrele 'water, thirsty', or ntyerre- 'climb up'. The first and third glossing has a mixture of (pan-Ar) and (K) forms whereas 2 has all (pan-Ar) forms. They also have a new semantic element in the B textline, whereas the translation of both A and B in the second gloss are basically the same.
Appendix 1: Song text 22

Song text 22

<table>
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<th>18 song items</th>
<th>In 5 of 9 performances</th>
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Textline A is the same as textline 50a.

**TEXT, METER AND TEMPO**

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<td>peyawaylernay</td>
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<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
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**Tempo bands**

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*No bosses present in Tara1(i)*

**TEXT MELODY OVERLAY**

Text cycle: BBAA

i. AABB (records 103; 133; 346)

**Final vowel cycle:**

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**Textlines and melodic structure:**

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</table>

**TRANSLATIONS**

Expansions
Appendix 1: Song text 22

1. Daphne: dead bodies
   GKoch: Oh...dead bodies. How do you
talkem?
   Daphne: peyaye, awayawe, awayawe, awayawe when him dead.
   April: Dreaming time
   Daphne: Dreaming.
   GKoch: Oh, Dreaming

   Daphne: awayawe when him finish
   (GK6894)

3. A place south west of Arnerre just past the soakage Lhite, called Akwerrnge 'brains'.
   (April, MT fieldnotes 1999.)

4. April: Nhartepe awayawe that one
   That's (about) dead bodies
   Myf: Awayawe inenge [dead bodies]
   April: Yeah awayawe ene arntwerrantye, awayawe
   We call (someone or something who is) dead 'awayawe'
   Daphne: Awayawe, dead one, awayawe.

   April: Yeah awayawe ilwekere [poor thing, dead body]
   Daphne: Awayawe, awayawe ilwekere.
   Myf: Ilwekere because he bin pass away?
   April: Yeah pass away-arrrenhe, awayawelke kwere etnewe-arrantye Kaytetyelepe.
   When (something) passes away we call it 'awayawe' in Kaytetye.
   Daphne: Awayawe Kaytetye callem awayawe.

   (1999, MD14, dn 30)

5. Daphne: Nthakenhe nte arntntwerantye? 'peyawaylerney peyawaylerne weyawaylern'.
   Kirsty: Yeah 'ayawaylern'. Oil-le atewenhanthe erntwel-enrtwel-arrenhe
   Yes 'awayawaylern'. They rubbed themselves with oil.
   Daphne: Oil-le Uh-huh. They rub'em self.
   Myf: rubem self? (This is done before painting up)

   Maya: Aylene tongkwele that song [sing it first]
   Daphne: Hey? Nthakenhe? [What?]
   Kirsty: 'kwetyipyarre kwerreyampelperle'?
   Maya: No no no awayawe nharte
   Daphne: 'awayawaylern'=pe?
   No, (the one about) dead body
   'peyaye, peyewaylern'
Maya: Ye ‘peyawaylerna’

Myf: Apmere nttheke apmere? [What place is that?]

Daphne: That way longa Taylor Crossing nother side, Barrow Creek.
Kirsty: Barrow Creek side

Maya: Yewe, Taylor Crossing side
Daphne: Nother side, Arnerre side, Akwerrnge side.

Maya: When they bin walk around all the girl, all the Kwerrimpe inenge bin walk around hunting, camping out.

Daphne: Everywhere they bin walk around, all the ladies
Myf: Akwerrnge?

Daphne: Yeah Akwerrnge kwere-theye now. [They walk around from Akwerrnge] (1999, MD14, dn 67)

6. Daphne: Dead one him bin finish. (1999, MD21, dn 50)

7. Daphne: awayne, ampwarrenherre [Dead bodies, died.]

*** (singing)

Daphne: This one corroboree belonging to Kaytetye um
LB: Yeah, all these ones.

April: Altemarle ilwekere Akwerrnge-ee. Akwerrnge, Lhite
   It’s west, Akwerrnge Akwerrnge and Lhite
   That’s a big rain, our country.

Betty: Yewe-yewe. [yes]

Daphne: Yeah. He might rain anytime.
LB: Yeah? Cause you’re singing that rain?

Daphne: Yeah when we singem here.
Myf: Arntwe-ketye [Watch out for rain!]
Marg: Arntwewepu uhu-huh [for rain]

Daphne: Arntwe-nge [rain-ERG]
Marg: Arntwe-nge [rain-INST].

Tomorrow we gotta puttem last one. (1999, MD20, dn 28)

8. Daphne: awayne he bin eatem bout. Two animal they bin eatem. awayne now they bin eatem bout. Two. Two Fella gotta sit down this way.

April: Akwerrnge (place name) (GK1994 dn 21)

TRANSLATION
Morphological analysis

115
Appendix 1: Song text 22

**A awayawalerna**

1 awayaye\(^1\) ayle\(^2\)-rne\(^3\)
dead.body sing-

**B ipeyalerna**

awayaye ayle-rne
dead.body sing-

Sing dead bodies, sing dead bodies

3 awayaye=arle\(^4\) ane\(^5\)
dead.body=REL sit

Where the dead bodies are, where the dead bodies are.

Notes

1 *awayaye* (K, Aly, An) ‘dead body’ [C].

2 *ayle-* (K, Aly) (v.t.) ‘sing something or someone’ [P]. Compare aylelh- (Aly) alyelh- (Arr, An) (v.i.) ‘sing’. See also song text 15, note 3. Note that this is not the verb used to describe singing for people that have passed away, which in (K) is akeyele akenke.

3 *-rne* (K) Imperative [P]; recent past (Arr, An)

4 *-arle* (pan-Ar) ‘REL’ [L].

5 *ane-* (pan-A) ‘sit, is’ [L]. In Kaytete speech most apicals become retroflex following an apical and vowel. Thus a non-retroflex apical may become retroflex in a song text if the preceding CV contains an apical consonant. That there is no tense ending may be because the tense endings are omitted in song or because there was once a zero morpheme tense ending for some verb classes.

General comments

The first two syllables of both textlines correspond to the speech word *awayaye* ‘dead body’. Through knowledge of the mythology, ‘dead body’ symbolises the place where dingos ate two ancestral men, leaving their brains behind. This place is known as *Akwerngye*, meaning ‘brains’.\(^7\) None of the expansions provide information on what the last three syllables of the textlines correspond to. *-alena* occurs in three different textlines, one of which occurs in two different songs (See song text 35A, 50A, 22A and 22B) and is thus considered a song morpheme. While verbs such as *lerne-* (v.t.) (An, Arr) ‘shake something so things fall out or off’ and *alerne-* (pan-Ar) ‘shine’ are possible speech equivalents, there is no evidence in the expansions to support either of these. Evidence for the postulated speech equivalents in the translations are based on the fact that verbs are often the final segment of a textline, and that the semantics of ‘sing’ and ‘tell’ are possible in the *awelye* context. The pronoun *aylene* is also possible as first person dual pronouns also occur in textline 23 and 18a.

\(^7\) Meggitt also documents a Warlpiri Gadjarri song which refers to the killing of ancestral men by dingos. He states that this is a common mythological theme in Central Australian mythology (1966:21).
Song text 23

6 songs

items performances Record no.
68, 70, 450, 451, 452, 453.

A
(i) yernakatawelya

B
(i) yernakatawali

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

S W W# W S
B B L# B B L
lyernakatawelya yernakatawali

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<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>beats</th>
<th>syllables</th>
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Tempo bands

no. song items 2 4
i = MM 132 138
performance Elpate 1 Elpate 2
Alek 2

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BB-A
i. AB-B (TPR records 452)

Final vowel cycle: a/ i (Textline level vowel harmony in textline A)

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Textlines and melodic structure:

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TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. Daphne: Callem awelye, awelye
   April:
   arikenye nyartame.
   awelye-rtame nhartepa eletnhenke
   You paint people up to that song

Daphne: arikenye [stripes], awelye

(1999, MD14, da 36)
117
   Myf: Aylenye wante rame?
   What did she sing?
   Daphne: Taylor Crossing they bin go past. Dreaming you know all the big one-big one
   bin want to know, akalivele [knowledgeable-ERG], not me.
   In the Dreaming they went past Taylor Crossing. All the people before me knew
   about it, I don’t know so much.
   Kirsty: Blanche amerne pange [Blanche and them]
   Daphne: ‘artnakartewelye’
   Myf: ‘artnakartewelye’
   Daphne: Yaye, artitwene errwanthe! artnwenge nthelarte aveyaye inengele mpele.
   Listen, daughter, you mob tell (her) its about 'dead people'!
   Maya: Atnakakerre arte awelye mpelearte
   No, the song that’s about 'long time ago'
   Daphne: Artna-
   MKH: Nharte awelye atnakakerre mpele, mpelearte.
   That song is about atnakakerre 'long time ago'
   Daphne: Erulkertye enengepe errwantherre makwerle anteyane ngke Kngwarraye.
   My children that have passed away and you were all there, a big group of
   Kngwarrayes.
   Maya: Atnakake arteweye awelye mpele, atnakakerre.
   It means 'a long time ago'
   Daphne: Long time atnakakerre. (1999, MD14, d74)

3. Daphne: I bin singem awelye arkenye. atnake him bin callem long time. Atnake [long
   ago] when they bin singem, they bin singem longtime. And our song new one. They bin
   singem long time.
   Kirsty: atnakerte awelye mpele
   Daphne: atnakarteweye 'long time' Kaytetye callem atnake 'long
   ago'
   (playing song text 23)

   Daphne: ‘atnakarteweye lyernakartewelya lyernakarteweyy awelye’ atnake when they bin
   puttem Dreaming him reckon him reckon himself, me. That one. When they singem
   proper hard, oh we can go like hell. (1999, MD21, d51)
Morphological analysis

A  alyerakatowelya  B  yernakatowelya

1  atnake1=arte2  awelye3  atnake=arte  awelye
   long.ago=DEF  ceremony  long.ago=DEF  ceremony
   Long ago (we sung/put on) awelye

2  atnake-akterre4  awelye  atnake-akerre  awelye
   long.ago-TMP  ceremony  long.ago-TMP  ceremony
   Long ago (we /sung/put on) awelye

3  aylename5  awelye  aylename  awelye
   1du.ex.SMOG.NOM  ceremony  1du.ex.SMOG.NOM  ceremony
   We two (aunt and niece) (sung/put on) awelye

Notes

1  atnake (K) ‘long ago’ [C]
2  (–arte) (K) DEF [P]. Usually goes on demonstratives, interrogatives and number words, less often pronouns and occasionally body parts and descriptive nominals. In Kaytetye speech it can not go on atnake.
3  awelye (pan-A) ‘woman's ceremony and ceremonial designs’ [C]
4  –akterre (K) ‘many times’ [P]. Also goes on spatial nominals to signify around, or in the vicinity of that area'
5  aylename– aylenamekerre  1du.ex SMOG NOM [P].

General comments

The difference in interpretation of song text 23 depends on whether the segment -ernakart- is analysed as part of the temporal nominal atnake ‘long ago’ or part of aylene ‘1du.ex.NOM’. The expansions support the former. Neither the expansions or the analyses suggest a verb in the song text. Knowledge of the sort of actions that co-occur with ceremonial stripes is the basis for suggesting the verbs ‘sing/put on’.
Appendix 1: Song text 24

**Song text 24**

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<th>41 song items</th>
<th>In 6 of 9 performances</th>
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A narlkenyalatyaway  
B narlkenyalatyay

A narlkenyalatyaway  
B narlkenyalatyay

**Pronunciation variation:**

- A&B nalkagatalaway (singer Daphne throughout)
  - palatal to apical fortition? /n\vu{e} \rightarrow /\nu/  

- A&B malkenatalaway (singer MT record 457)
  - move to peripheral articulation /\nu/ \rightarrow /\nu/  

- A&B Jalkenatalaway (MS2 record 642)
  - lateral fortition /\nu/ \rightarrow /\nu/  

**TEXT, METER AND TEMPO**

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**Tempo bands**

- no. song items: 3  
- j = MM: 116  
- performance: Alek2  
- 120 /\nu/  
- Arraty  
- Elpate1(ii)  
- Elpate2  
- Elpate2(20/8)*  
- CAAM  
- (all except 20/8)  
- Tara2  
- Tara2

*not many singers

**TEXT MELODY OVERLAY**

- Text cycle: A\B  
  - i. BA (TPR records 74; 448; 454; 459; 460; 570; 648)

**Variation 1 to text cycle structure:** AABB. Due to the two textlines being nearly identical.

Song items switch to an AABB structure in a melodic sections:

- 270 MS3  
- 271 MS2-3  
- 272 MS3  
- 273 MS1,3,4  
- 460 MS3,4  
- 462 MS4  
- 457 MS3-4  
- 641 MS2  
- 647 MS2-3  
- 706 MS2,3,5

**Final vowel cycle:** ay-ay/ay-ay. No vowel harmony

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TRANSLATIONS

Expansions
1. *papey alkenye nwelkarra nayta*
   finger painting stripe big one. *Alatyawe*, big one.

   ... *narkenya lataway*
   puttem paint only one. All the way they paintem

   (GK fieldnotes 1976)

2. GKoch: What's that one?
   Daphne: painted yeah yeah *arikenye* yeah
   GKoch: paint? painted um... *arikenye arikenye, arikenye*

   April: ...putem *ante* [fat] {possibly referring to rubbing fat on before putting on stripes}
   (GK6894, dn 12)

3. GKoch: *nalkena latya*
   Daphne: yeah,
   ?: yaye!
   GKoch: *narkena latya*
   Daphne: yeah, only one
   GKoch: yeah, nalkena 'latya

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Appendix 1: Song text 24

Daphne: *arikenya alatyaye, nalkena alatyaye*
GKoch: yeah. OK

4. Daphne: *ngwentye-ngwentye* [white ochre], *atmne* [red ochre], *tyepale* [stick], that one now *arikenyen latayaway narkenya latayay narkenya arikenye callem stripe alatyaway big one.*
GKoch: *alatyaway* big one
Daphne: that's all *arikenyalatyaway, narkenyalatyaway* that's all.

5. Daphne: Only one. *Arlkenyalatyaway* puttern paint. That one now he bin say. Him bin backem. *Arlkenyalatyaway* when him backem 'oh you big one now' *arikenye alatyaway* only two.
GKoch: *ngwentye-ngwentye atmne* only two colours
Daphne: *ngwentye-ngwentye atmne*

6. That's *arikenye* [stripes] ...
Daphne: That's you two *arrengeye, arrengeye mpweweyengele.* [That's your grandfather, belonging to you two sisters (did something)]
April: *Arntwene nte tyangkwerre altemari-athake!* [Tell it to (them) in the west]
Daphne: That two fella got no grandfather. My father bin losem
April: No *tyatye* [no mother's father] {possibly a mistake, should be arrengeye 'FF'. Compare to *Arratyarenge* tape AR 290803}
Daphne: Yeah, no grandfather
(singing)
Daphne: 'We got no daddy now, we bin losem our daddy.' All the rainmakers finish whole lot. We got no father now.
April: Yeah *timel-aperte* ... [(Their) time (had come)]
Daphne: This one, this one and me uh-huh. Whole lot
Betty: Hilda
April: yeah, *meyele — angkwete ngkwengkarrerane ayenge* [later — hang on I'm coughing]
(singing)
Daphne: *Arlkenye arkenyen* now [stripes]
April: painting, *awelye, Rlengke atye wenhe elethhaynye, mpelarte.* [The ones that I put on today]
Daphne: You bin chuckem bout *arikenye* [stripes].
April: *Arlkenye atye elethhaynye.* [I put the stripes on]

(1999, MD19, dn 48)
Morphological analysis

A narkenyalatyaway  B narkenyalatyay
1 arlkenye1-arlë2 atye3 we-ne4 arlkenye=arlë atye
stripe=REL 1sgERG throw-TNS stripe=REL 1sgERG

i I put on those ceremonial stripes
ii (They named) the ceremonial stripes that I put on

2 arlkenye alatyawe5 arlkenye alatyawe
stripe ?big stripe ?big

Big ceremonial stripes, big ceremonial stripes (they put on/named)

Notes

1 arlkenye (pan-A) ‘ceremonial stripe, design’ [C]
2 -arlë (pan-Ar) REL [P]
3 atye (K) ‘1sgERG’ [P]

4 we-ne/nne (pan-Ar) ‘throw-TNS’ [P]. This also exists as a compounding element in some Kaytetye forms, such as ikngethelewenke ‘1.decorate someone with ceremonial designs, 2. (spiderweb) brush against’ elpalhelewenke ‘put babies in smoke to make them strong’. Both the meaning and the form of the tense is unknown. -ne may be a presentational tense used in songs, or the form may be -rne (pan-Ar), which is a recent past tense.

5 alatyawe (?) ‘big’ [P]. Expansions 1 and 4 suggest that the segment alatyawe corresponds to the meaning ‘big’. As no forms with this meaning were found in Arandic languages, this is a postulated song word.

General comments

The various interpretations of song text 24 depend on whether the verb taken to collocate with ‘stripes’ is ‘put on’ (expansion 6), or ‘call’ (expansions 4 and 5). The different interpretations of the final segments of the textlines latyaw as either ‘big’ or ‘I put on’ and the segments narkenyeye as arlkenye ‘stripes’ or alkenhe ‘big’ do not necessarily contradict the overall meaning of the song text as ‘put on big ceremonial stripes’.

Note that the meaning ‘big’ may be derived either through an archaic word alatyawe, or an interpretation of the textline as having the word alkenhe or from knowledge of how the stripes look, that is knowing the associated words meaning ‘big’ to the word arlkenye ‘stripes’ which is in the textline.
Appendix 1: Song text 25

Song text 25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>21 song items</th>
<th>In 4 of 9 performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
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</table>

A wuleterrpentyera  
B wuleterrpera

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

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<td>L#</td>
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wuleterrpentyera  
wuleterrpera

<table>
<thead>
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<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
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<tr>
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<td>4</td>
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Tempo bands

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<td>Elpate2</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Alek2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tara1(i)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tara2(i)</td>
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<td>Tara1(ii)</td>
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TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BBAA.
No text cycle reversals

Final vowel cycle: a-a/a-a. No vowel harmony

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<tr>
<td>TL B</td>
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Textlines and melodic structure:

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<th>77, 78, 539-541</th>
<th>261</th>
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<td>TLR</td>
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<td>MS1 BB</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS2 AA</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>BB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3 BBAA</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
<td>AABBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4 AABB</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
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<td>MS5 ABB</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
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<td>MS6 AABB</td>
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<td>BBAABBA</td>
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<td>MS7 ABB</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
<td>BBAABBA</td>
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</table>

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. scrub, baby born scrub. *Entyere* swamp big. When that rain bin cutem, rockhole.
Dreaming big dam now. Baby bore. Baby born in scrub

walerte pentyre eelperre

scrub leaf they bin camping travelling

Girl bin talking while travelling. They sat down halfway. And go again.

That one we singem with alla boys, makem young man.

(GK fieldnotes 1976)

2. GKoch: what’s that one?

Daphne: Soakage, one baby bin living, dreaming ...

Daphne: Baby bore that way

GKoch: Oh, baby born that way.

Daphne: uh-huh

GKoch: Now that’s warretaire...

Daphne: warertairepere

GKoch: pwerre

Daphne: uh-huh

GKoch: warertaire-pentyere

Daphne: yeah yeah, errpentyre

GKoch: pentyere

Daphne: uh-huh, scrub, callem scrub

(GK6894)

3. Daphne: good one, scrub now baby

GKoch: yeah scrub now. this is that warlerterrerte

Daphne: Yes, warleraapentyre

GKoch: whats pentyere?

Daphne: entyre. Yeah, scrub. Round one you know, soakage water now, that’s that bore now, dam. Big dam.

GKoch: and whats warlertrerpentyre?

Daphne: errpentyre, entyre. entyre leaf from when he fall down warlerterrerpere. eelpere

GKoch: whats eelpere?

Daphne: All the girl bin talking all the time they travelling, you know.

GKoch: so what they doing here?

Daphne: They bin sit down there, halfway, and they gone again. They bin camping.

They bin camping and they go away again. Singing all the way. They bin find em,
pickem up and go travelling all day. When they bin camping they bin singing all the way.

(GK.6896)

4. Daphne: *Na aylekernake angkerrane.* [No us two (Atmic and me) are talking] April: *Werlerterpentyre* mentye aylewerne anyeway-ike. *Akekeye* ... [Auntly is it OK to sing *Werlerterpentyre*]
Daphne: Too many we bin loose em.
April: *Werlerterpentyre* mentye anyeway aylewene. [Is it OK to sing *Werlerterpentyre*]
Daphne: hey?
April: mentye [leave it...]
Daphne: nthekepe? [which one?]
April: *Akwerrkepentye ahilenge* [(the one from) *Akwerrkepentye*, the place we must avoid]
Daphne: Yeah go on singem. Yeah *self-ike aylenke*. [You can sing it without me]

(1999, MD14, dn34)

Daphne: *entyere* [floodout]
April: *Thatnkwe, Thankwe* Bottom Bore
Daphne: *Thatnkwe* Bottom Bore

(1999, MD14, dn48)

5. Daphne: Bottom Bore
Kirsty: umm.
Kirsty: *entyere Thatnkw-angkwerre* [The floodout near Thatnkwe]
Daphne: scrub *entyere* Bottom Bore.
Myf: *Nthakenhe errwanthe etnewarrantye apmere etnepe?* [What's the place called?]
Daphne: We bin sit down there right there longa our camp, rainmaker.
Myf: *Apmere etnepe wantertame?* [what's the place called?]
Daphne: Arnerre
Myf: *werlerterre?*
Daphne: erletaye - {early day??} We callem we sit down erletaye. Arnerre
*werletairrepentyre. Entyerele* we sit down. Too many water there, that's why we sit down. Too much rain. Arnerre from Bottom Bore.

(1999, MD21, dn53)

6. April: *ihwekere* [shows that she feels something strong]

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Daphne: That creek now
LB: Yeah?
April: Creek Taylor Crossing-angkwerre
Daphne: From Taylor Crossing
April: Elpaye arntwe elpaye Bottom Bore
Daphne: Elpaye Bottom Bore, uh. there
April: Angkwetpaye awerarrewene (not transitive?) [Hang on, do it faster]

(1999, MD19, dn 9)

7. Werleterrpe. Place west of Taylors Crossing, near Arratyarenge. (TT 2002)
8. Place in the floodout country (entyere), near Thatnkwe, Bottom Bore. (Betty 2002)

Morphological analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A wuleterpentyera</th>
<th>B wuleterpere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Werleterrpe1</td>
<td>place.name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entyere2</td>
<td>flood.out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place.name</td>
<td>place.name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes

1 Werleterrpe (K) Kaytetye place name [C]. There are two places with this name: a place near Kwerrkepentye dam [L], and a place west of Taylors Crossing near Bottom Bore. [L]
2 entyere 'floodout' (K, Aly, An); 'debris carried by flood water' (K) [L]. See song text 9, note 4.

General comments

All interpretations of this song reveal it is about a place, however the expansions suggest it refers to two different places. One is a place near ‘Baby Bore’ (expansions 1, 2, 3 and first half of 4), and the other is a place near Thatnkwe ‘Bottom Bore’ (expansions 4, 5 and 6) which is a floodout entyere. ‘Baby Bore’ is associated with the neighbouring country Kwerrkepentye, the country of Daphne’s late husband who passed away some time in the early 1990s. This is why April refers to the song as ahleng (a word used to refer to a place you can’t say because of a taboo) and why she is reluctant to sing the song in the Alekarenge 2 performance (expansion 4). It would be rude to bring this meaning into focus, which may explain the change in interpretation to ‘Bottom Bore’, which was suggested by April later in the same performance. Neither Daphne, nor any of the other singers contested this meaning which was maintained on later occasions. It may be that the two places are linked through Dreaming events.

While a reference to a particular place is one of the meanings of this song text, the extended meanings such as expansions 1 and 3 which describe actions that occurred at this place, are only possible if one knows the associated Dreaming stories.
Song text 26

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>items / performances</td>
<td>79, 80, 582, 583, 584.</td>
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</table>

A (a)ngerrenyayarrenya

B ngwerrperlerrperla

This song was sung to close both the Elpate 2 and Alekarenge 2 performances.

Pronunciation variation:

\[ /k/ \rightarrow /ng/ \]

B ngwerrperlerrperla (all records when beginning a descent)

deletion of consonant cluster /ny/ \(\rightarrow\) /n/

B ngweparperlerr (record 583 MS3 descent)

**TEXT, METER AND TEMPO**

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<td>B</td>
<td>L#</td>
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ngerrenyayarrenya ngwerrperlerrperla

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<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
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**Tempo bands**

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<td>(2,3of3)</td>
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**TEXT MELODY OVERLAY**

Text cycle: BBAA,
i AABB (record 79)

**Final vowel cycle:** a-a/a-a. No vowel harmony

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TL A</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TL B</td>
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<td>a</td>
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**Textlines and melodic structure:**

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<td>BB</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
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<td>AA</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS3</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
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<td>MS4</td>
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<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
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<td>BBAB</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS7</td>
<td>BBCA</td>
<td>BBAB</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

128
TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. Daphne: Him bin shame young fella. Our young fella again. Him bin shame, all the young fella.

   Kirsty: Nyerrarrenke

   Daphne: uh-huh. angerrenyarrrenye 'Him shame' Kaytete callem.

   angerrenyarrrenye 'Him shame'

   Daphne: Kwerrparlerrpele

   Myf: nthakenhe? [How?]

   Daphne: 'Ngwerrparlerr' - naa! kwepalepale I think, yeah kwepalepale, bird you know little one 'kwelpelpelo' him talk like that

   (Kirsty is singing softly)

   Daphne: ngerrenyrenye ... ngwelpalerlpale yeah, ngwerrpalerrpale angkwetyarre etarrenke mpwele arntwenke [ngwelpalerlpale hang on I’ll think –you two tell her]

   Kirsty: Ngerrenyrenye-npele kwerrparlerrpale*

   Myf: Ngerrenyrenye him shame kwerrpalerrpale thangkerne? [bird?]

   (1999, MD21, dn 54)

2. April: Old man ngwen-angwayne-arre atnywenke tangkwele, aynewangkeyenge.

   decased.person-REL enter first 1plSMOG.POS

   Akwerelhayle-nke tangkwele ilwekere

   put.in-PRS first poor.thing

   We’ll put our poor old (ancestral grandfather) back inside now.

   Daphne: Arrengeye errrwantheye yenye aynewakeyenye aynewakeyenye amerne ape.

   That’s our rainmaker mob father.

   Your mob’s grandfather —the relation of all of us, our rain maker relative.

   April: Father atye byenge-ike, arlweye. Akwerelh-ayle-nke ayanath, ngwengew-athathe,

   1sgPOS-now father put.in-PRS 1pl.OM tomorrow-DAT-until

   anherreye. This mob, whole lot here. ngwerrparlparrenegerrenye’ Mentye atye

   daughter-in-law let 1sgERG

   aylenke ilwekere.

   sing-PRS poor.thing

   My father’s father, we’ll put cover him up again until tomorrow, we’ll sing

   ‘ngwerrparlparr ngerrenye’

   (1999, MD19, dn 60)
Appendix 1: Song text 26

Morphological analysis

A *ngerenyayrenya B *nyerrpelerrpela
1 nyerre-nyerre1 nye2
      shame shame this
      kwepolepale3 crested bellbird

   The crested bellbird is shamed

3 enngerre4 nyerre nye
      face shame this
      Kwelparrepentye5
      place name

   (He's) shame faced (at) Kwelparrepentye

4 anngerrentye6
      spirit

Notes

1 *nyerre (K, Aly, An) 'shy, ashamed' [C]. Note the pattern of reduplication of syllables in
textline A: σ₁ σ₂ σ₃ σ₂ σ₃ which is reflected in the glossing of 4. This glossing involves
postulating the deletion of the final syllable *rre in textline A.

2 *nye (K) 'this' [L]. Although found in some older people's speech, more common is my-
arte 'this-DEM'

3 kwepolepale (pan-A) 'crested bellbird' (Oreoica guturalis) [L]. This involves postulating
a change from /k/ in the speech equivalent to /ty/ in song, and inserting /t/ before /p/.

4 enngerre (pan-A) 'face' [P]

5 Kwelparrepentye (K) Place on Arnerre [P]

6 anngerrentye (pan-A) 'spirit' [P]

General comments

Only the first interpretation is supported by the expansions, however it is not known who
the shamed male is. Possibly it is a 'crested bellbird' ancestor, although it may also be the
totemic rain ancestor who is the singer's *arrnegeye ('father's father').

The variation in interpreting textline B depends on whether the place name
Kwelparrepentye or kwepolepale 'crested bellbird' is taken. The different interpretations of
textline A arise from the possible glossing for the remaining segments after taking into
account *nyerre or nyerre-nyerre 'shamed', the reduplicated form being more intense, ie.
'really shamed.'
Song text 27

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<th>4 song items</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38, 390, 391, 392</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

A (a) rlangwerrpangwerrpa A rlangwerrpayngwerrpay

B (i) lotentyerray B lotentyerra

This song can be sung to close the ceremony, although the only time performed was in the middle of the Alekareng 1 performance.

Pronunciation variation:

Blewartentyerray* (record 38 MS3, 4&7; 390 MS2; 390 MS2; 391 MS3; 392 MS3, 4. These places are predominantly when B line begins melodic section)

Monosyllabic diphthong to glide /al/ ↔ /ewal/

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
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<td>L#</td>
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rlangwerrpangwerrpa

lotentyerra

Standard

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<th>Syllables</th>
<th>Beats</th>
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Variation

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Tempo bands

<table>
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TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BBAA

AABB (TCR record 390; 392)

Final vowel cycle: a-ay/ay-a. Vowel harmony in textline A

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<th>TL A</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TL B</td>
<td>ay</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. Daphne: We got no father now, we nothing. They bin talking bout, they bin get in longa that Arnerre now. Go back longa camp. Altogether now.
   (Singing)
   Daphne: That’s two fella bin come back. ‘We got no father. Finish.’ That’s why two fella bin cry bout.
   Rachel: Me two fella bin enthwayeyne kwere ariweywe. No father we two fella gottenn.
   ...
   Rachel: Me two fella enthwayeyne [We two looked around]
   Daphne: Two fella look about. We bin losem two fella bin cry about. That’s why this one bin swear about from here
   (singing)
   Daphne: Nothing. We got no daddy
   Kirsty: langwerpengwerpe lawartentyere
   Rachel: Artentyrelle ayleme aperrane [We are walk alone now]
   Kirsty: ‘elawartentyerraye’, ‘ariengwerpe ngerrpe’ no father ‘langwerpe-
   ngwerpewaywe lawartentyere’
   Daphne: We go bush, we go bush, no Daddy
   Rachel: We bin walk around ... yeah, no Dadday, we bin loose em daddy.
   Kirsty: langwerpe-ngwerpe yea lawartentyere
   Rachel: Artentyrelle mpele aperrane [We walk alone now]
   Daphne: Yeah, we got no daddy now, like that two fella talk about
   (singing)
   Kirsty: lawartentyere langwerpengwerpe
   Rachel: Yeah, artentyele mpele aperrane errwelengelke mpele.
   Daphne: Yewe, we bin losem, we walk about nothing now, no daddy
   Kirsty: No daddy now kwene langwerpengwerpe lawartentyere -kwene
   Myf: lawartentyere?
   Rachel: Artentyrelle mpele aperrane, artentyele ike [Alone we walk, alone]
   Daphne: Uh-huh no daddy
   ...(1999, MD12, dn 68)

   Daphne: Yeah arliwey now. We got no daddy arlangwerpe-ngwerpe
   Rachel: Yeah, no Daddy mpele [thus].
   Kirsty: lawartentyere arlangwerpe-ngwerpe, lawartentyere arlangwerpe-ngwerpe
   Rachel: errwelenge mpele [on top (ie. being on this earth instead of underneath)]
   Daphne: ‘no daddy now’ there
   Rachel: Me and you bin losem daddy, wele enthwayeyne [We two looked for him]
   Daphne; They bin look about, trying to find him.
   ...(1999, MD12, dn 69)
Appendix 1: Song text

Rachel: Me two fella bin look around that Waake country, Ngimarre country, me two fella bin look around.
Daphne: Nothing again, look around. Nothing, nothing and two fella bin come back now
Kirsty: Longa Arnerre now.
Rachel: Sugarbag bore [Atmerrnge] me two fella bin look around
Kirsty: ayewe country [our country (1.du.SM.G.DAT)] (This could be either her and Daisy's country or her and Rosie's country)

Kirsty: Arnerrepe Ngimarre-r tame uh? [Ngimarre is a rockhole isn’t it?]
Rachel: Yele soakage-rtame re. [And there is a soakage]
Daphne: Yeah soakage
Rachel: Arnerre windmill anteyane angkwerre aperie rarre anteyane alkenhe nthelarte soakage [There’s a big soakage near the windmill]
Daphne: That kwere now, Arnerre, anywhere=ike artntwentyele [That’s the place, don’t talk about other places]
Daphne: They bin walkout, changing change, Arnerre theye they bin walkabout.
Kirsty: Walkaround all the apmere country arrpanenhe-warle. [to all different areas] (1999, MD12, dn 67)

2. Kirsty: akangerrake kwerele arrel-arrel-iwenke...? [(they) put (it) at a place in the east]
Daphne: Yeah they bin bury him now that one they bin bury him now
Myf: Kwerrimpe?
Kirsty: kwenelke [then below]
Daphne: that one now arlengerrpengwerrpe they bin bury him.
Myf: Nante-le buryem-aylenye? [who burried him?]
Kirsty: Ngamperiete amerne Blanchel-amerne kwene-ike [Blanche and her sisters (put it) below then.]
Daphne: Yeah, same place again they bury him our rainmaker.
Myf: Nante atanthe buryem-aylenye? [who was burried?]
Daphne: awelye [the awelye ceremony]
(interruption)
Myf: Awelye bury-emaylenye?
Daphne: Yeah kwenelke mpele. [below then, like that]. Yeah finish now, finish.

(singing)
Daphne: We got no father, artentyelke no mother, no father. They finish.
Rachel: We bin aperrane no father, no mother ahewe (?) artentyele mpele artentyere mpele.
Daphne: Yeah we, finish now our mother and father they losem we, whole lot. That's why we bin singem.
Myf: arlengerrpe wante? [What’s arlengerrpe]
Daphne: Long way, we want to go.

(1999, MD21, dn 58)

April: Sandhill rarte-ee.

(1999, MD19, dn 51)
Appendix 1: Song text 27

Morphological analysis

A  arlangwerrpangwerpa       B  ilotentyerra
1  arlenge\textsuperscript{1}-arrape\textsuperscript{2}-arrape       elewe=arte\textsuperscript{3}  entyere\textsuperscript{4}
    far       -own-own                      when=DEF  flood.out

\textit{Far away all alone, when (will we get) to the floodout?}

2  aylewe\textsuperscript{5}  akngarrpe\textsuperscript{6}-akngarrpe  aylewe  artentyere\textsuperscript{7}
    1.du.SMSG.DAT  alone-RED                      1.du.SMSG.DAT  orphaned

\textit{(We walked) a long way on our own, orphaned by our (father)}

Notes

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{arlenge} (pan-A) ‘far’ [L]
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{-arrape} (Arr, WAn, An) [L]. This clitic has a range of meanings including ‘1. on your own
2. minding your own business, keeping to yourself, 3. each other’. It can follow pronouns
and other endings. Possibly cognate with (K) \textit{akngarrpe} ‘alone’ (see note 7 below) and the
avoidance word \textit{ngketharrpe} ‘alone, one’ (An, K). This form is rounded in the song
\textit{rjarrpe}/, yet there is no evidence of rounded derived words or cognate forms in other
Arandic languages. The rounding may come from the second syllable of the preceding
pronoun \textit{aylewe}. Alternatively it may be deliberate rounding to obscure the speech word.
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{elewe=arte} (K) ‘when=DEF’ [L].
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{entyere} ‘floodout’ (K, Aly, An); ‘debris carried by floodout’ (K) [N].
\textsuperscript{5} \textit{aylewe} (K) ‘1.du.SMSG.ACC/DAT’ [L].
\textsuperscript{6} \textit{akngarrpe-ngarrpe-ngarrpe} (pan-A) ‘alone’ [L]. Cognate with \textit{inga} ‘on your own’ (An).
In spoken Kaytete a reduplication of \textit{akngarrpe} means ‘lots of people or things sitting on
their own’.
\textsuperscript{7} \textit{artentyere} (K, Older speakers) ‘orphaned, alone’ [C]. In Kaytete living people are
perceived as those ‘on top’, and the deceased are referred to as being below. In Arrernte
there is also a term \textit{artentye-iveme} ‘to bury a body’ (\textit{iveme} ‘throw’). \textit{Artentyele} ‘orphaned’
is described as ‘walking on top’. The word \textit{errwelenge} is heard in expansion 1. In Alyawarr
\textit{errwelenge} can mean ‘person who has lost a father’ (Breen 1998:64).

General comments

The variation in interpreting textline A depends on whether it begins with a pronoun or
\textit{arlenge} ‘far away’. The different interpretations of textline B arise from the possible
glossing of \textit{elewearte} ‘when’ followed by a pronoun, or \textit{entyere} ‘floodout’ followed by
\textit{artyente} ‘orphaned’. While the latter is supported in the expansions, the former is the
glossing which has been suggested for song text 21, although song text 21b has a (pan-Ar)
form while song text 27b has a (K) form:

21 B    ilangerintyerray
    ilengare  entyere
    when  floodout
    (pan-Ar)

27 B    ilewartentyerray
    elewarte  entyere
    when  flood.out
    (K)
Song text 28

| 14 song items | In 3 of 9 performances | Record no. 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 547, 548, 549, 550, 605, 606, 607, 608. |

A (a)nekwetyaketya

B (i)napariperlay

Pronunciation variation:

fortition? /l/ \(\rightarrow\) /mi/

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

| S W W# S W | B B B L # B L |
| neketyaketya | napariperla |

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<th>beats</th>
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Tempo bands

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<td>Elpate2</td>
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<td>(10f6)</td>
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TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BBAA
i AABB (TCR record 606; 607; 608)

Final vowel pattern: a ay/ ay a. Vowel harmony

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Textlines and melodic structure

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135
### Song text 28

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<th>Record no.</th>
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#### Pronunciation variation:

B napariperlay (606 MS3,4&5; 607 MS2,3&5)

#### TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

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#### Tempo bands

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<td>Elipate2</td>
<td>Tara1(2,3,4of6)</td>
<td>Tara2(2,5,6of6)</td>
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**Text cycle:** BBAA  
i AABB (TCR record 606; 607; 608)

**Final vowel pattern:** a ay/ ay a. Vowel harmony

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TL B</td>
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#### Textlines and melodic structure

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<td>BBAABBA</td>
<td>BBAABBAABBA</td>
<td>BBAABBA</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 1: Song text 27

Morphological analysis

A arlangwerrpangwerrpa B ilotentyerra

1 arlenge₁-arrpe₂-arrpe elewe=arte³ entyere⁴
    far -own-own when=DEF flood.out

   Far away all alone, when (will we get) to the floodout?

2 aylewe⁵ akngarrpe⁶-akngarrpe aylewe artentyere⁷
    1.du.SMSG.DAT alone-RED 1.du.SMSG.DAT orphaned

   (We walked) a long way on our own, orphaned by our (father)

Notes

₁ arlenge (pan-A) ‘far’ [L].
₂ -arrpe (Arr, WAn, An) [L]. This clitic has a range of meanings including 1. on your own
   2. minding your own business, keeping to yourself, 3. each other’. It can follow pronouns
   and other endings. Possibly cognate with (K) akngarrpe ‘alone’ (see note 7 below) and the
   avoidance word ngkatharrpe ‘alone, one’ (An, K). This form is rounded in the song
   /jurrpa/, yet there is no evidence of rounded derived words or cognate forms in other
   Arandic languages. The rounding may come from the second syllable of the preceding
   pronoun aylewe. Alternatively it may be deliberate rounding to obscure the speech word.

₃ elewe=arte (K) ‘when=DEF’ [L].
₄ entyere ‘floodout’ (K, Aly, An); ‘debris carried by floodout’ (K) [N].
₅ aylewe (K) ‘1.du.SMSG.ACC/DAT’ [L].
   In spoken Kaytetye a reduplication of akngarrpe means ‘lots of people or things sitting on
   their own’.
₇ artentyere (K, Older speakers) ‘orphaned, alone’ [C]. In Kaytetye living people are
   perceived as those ‘on top’, and the deceased are referred to as being below. In Arrernte
   there is also a term artenty-iwme ‘to bury a body’ (iwme ‘throw’). Artentye ‘orphaned’ is
   described as ‘walking on top’. The word errwelenge is heard in expansion 1. In Alyawarr
   errwelenge can mean ‘person who has lost a father’ (Breen 1998:64).

General comments

The variation in interpreting textline A depends on whether it begins with a pronoun or
arlenge ‘far away’. The different interpretations of textline B arise from the possible
glossing of elewarte ‘when’ followed by a pronoun, or entyere ‘floodout’ followed by
artentyere ‘orphaned’. While the latter is supported in the expansions, the former is the
glossing which has been suggested for song text 21, although song text 21b has a (pan-Ar)
form while song text 27b has a (K) form:

21 B ilangerintyerray 27 B llewartentyeray
   ilengare entyere elewarte entyere
   when floodout when flood.out
   (pan-Ar) (K)
TRANSLATIONS

Expansions
1. grass sharp one spinifex. Cuten little bushes - put *athe paripe ane k(w)atye*. Raining too much water. Burning grass *athe*.
   
   (GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

2. Daphne: That's the proper *arntwe*. *Arntwe* Callem *arntwe*. Rain. Yeah, *kwatye* coming down from sky, *arntwe* he raining now, *arntwe* *apenkerne* he coming coming down. ...
   Daphne: *aparipe* grass, *arntwe*
   
   GKoch: *Whats aparipe? arntwe?*
   
   Daphne: They go and sit down in the scrub. Too much raining, *arntwe*
   
   GKoch: *arntwe*
   
   Daphne: *-ketye* [AVERS] 'neparipe' 'neketyekatye'
   
   GKoch: *-ketye* 'neparipe' 'neketyekatye'
   
   Daphne: *um, kwatye, kwatye*
   
   GKoch: *oh too much water*
   
   Daphne: Yeah, too much water, raining. They bin sit down in scrub now. That's *kwatye*.
   
   *'neketyekatye' no - 'narratyarrayatye' - no 'neparipele', 'neketyekwatye'*
   
   (GK6895)

3. Daphne: *kwatye* we callem 'nweketyaketye' *Ay? yeah*
   
   Kirsty: *paripele ane paripe wethe*
   
   Daphne: *kwatye 'nweketyaketye nepa-’ nthakenhe?*
   
   Kirsty: *paripelane paripawe!...paripele kwene, paripelane!*
   
   Daphne: *Uh-huh Yeah payepelayneparipel nweketyaketye'...*
   
   Daphne: *Kwatye we callem kwatye, paripele grass, yeah, dry grass. Errpatye. [useless]*
   
   He getting dry now.
   
   (1999, MD25, dn 59)

4. Betty: *apmwe* [snake] *akelye wethe* [small ANPH]
   
   April: *snake akelye wenhe [small ANPH]*
   
   Daphne: *snake, apmwe little one*
   
   Nancy: sharp nose one, little sharp nose one.
   
   Marg: Yeah him whistle bout.
   
   April: *anaty-arenge* [yam-POS]
   
   Nancy: *that little grey one*
   
   Betty: *night time anaty-we [yam-DAT]*
   
   Daphne: grey one now call'em *anaty-arenge*, harmless quiet one.
   
   (1999, MD19, dn 17)

Morphological analysis

A *nekwetyaketya*  B *enaparipela*

1 *kwatye*  kwatye  ane-2  aparipe-3-ke-4

136
water sit broombush-LOC

Sit in the scrub, there is lots of rain

2 kwayte-ketye\(^5\) ane-\(^4\) aparipe\(^5\)=arle\(^6\)
water AVERS sit legless lizard=REL

(Where) the sharp snouted delma is, because of the rain

Notes

1 *kwayte* (pan-Ar) 'water' [L]. Note the pattern of reduplication of syllables in textline A: \(\sigma_1 \sigma_2 \sigma_2 \sigma_3\) which is reflected in the glossing of 1, 3 and 9.

2 *ane-* (pan-A) 'sit, is' [P]. See song text 22, note 10.

3 *(aparipe* (pan-A) *(iparipe* (Arri)) type of legless lizard (*Lialis burtonis*, possibly also *Delma nasuta*) [C]. In Kayteye *aparipe* is also the name of the broombush plant (*Templetonia egnea*) which was used as a firestick in the old days. The broombush was dragged along so that the grass would catch alight to make a track.\(^8\) In the domain of snakes, flora fauna polysemly is common in Arandic languages, as illustrated in the table below. Note that the plant *aparipe* has another name *arlewatyerr-arlewatyerre*, literally 'goanna goanna'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>arlewatyerre 'goanta' (pan-A)</th>
<th>arlewatyerr-arlewatyerre (K, An)</th>
<th>yellow faced whip snake <em>Demansia psammophilis</em> (?) (An)</th>
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<tr>
<td>arinenge 'euro' (K)</td>
<td>arineng-arinenge 'native lemon grass' (<em>Cymbopogon ambiguo</em>) (K)</td>
<td>arineng-arinenge 'type of snake' (K)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avenge 'euro' (An)</td>
<td>avenge-avenge 'native lemon grass' (<em>Cymbopogon ambiguo</em>) (An)</td>
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<tr>
<td>aylple 'river red gum'</td>
<td>aylpey-ayyle 'yellow faced whip snake' (<em>Demansia psammophilis</em>)</td>
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<td>aperape 'conkerberry' (Carissa lanceolata)</td>
<td>perape-perape 'orange napped snake' (<em>Furina ornata</em>) (?)</td>
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<td>arnwetye 'conkerberry' (Carissa lanceolata) (An)</td>
<td>arnwetye-arnwetye 'orange napped snake' (<em>Furina ornata</em>) (?) (An)</td>
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<td>tharrkarre 'honey grevillea grevillea junigfolia'</td>
<td>tharrkarre-tharrkarre 'Western brown snake' (<em>Pseudonaja ushali</em>)</td>
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4 *-le* (pan-A) LOC [P].
5 *-ketye* (pan-A) AVERS [P].
6 *-arle* (pan-Ar) REL [P].

General comments

The variation in interpreting textline A arises from whether the speech equivalent is regarded as having rounding (*kwayte* 'water') or not (-ketye AVERS). The variation in interpreting textline B results from the two meanings of *aparipe* — a snake and a grass. The surrounding *ne-* and *-le* syllables have many possibly interpretations although none are clearly suggested by the expansions. They could be a form which has been split aylenye 'we two', or *-le* could be an ERG, INST or relativiser, while *ne-* could be the verb to sit *ane-*.

\(^8\) This usage was told in a story by Alec Kapetye (dec.), recorded by Harold Koch in 1976.
Appendix 1: Song text 29

**Song text 29**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7 song In 3 of 9 items performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>239, 240, 241, 566, 597, 598, 599.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{A (a)rteparimarteparema} \]
\[ \text{A rteparimarteparemay} \]

\[ \text{B (i)tenyikamperlerlarerray} \]
\[ \text{B tenyikamperlerlarerra} \]

**TEXT, METER AND TEMPO**

*Polyrhythmic song text*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textline</th>
<th>Syllables</th>
<th>Beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tempo bands**

- no. song items: 4 3
- $\downarrow$ = MM 160 168
- Elpeta2 Tara2
- Tara1

**TEXT MELODY OVERLAY**

Text cycle: A-ABB

Final vowel pattern: a ay/ ay a. No vowel harmony

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TL A</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>ay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TL B</td>
<td>ay</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Textlines and melodic structure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>239, 240, 241, 566, 598, 599</th>
<th>597</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Structure standard TLR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS1 A</td>
<td>AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS2 ABB</td>
<td>BB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3 AABB</td>
<td>AABB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4 AABB</td>
<td>AABB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5 AABB</td>
<td>AABBA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

596 interrupted in MS2

**TRANSLATIONS**

**Expansions**

1. Gone run away. They go now, turn head now, we go now. (GK fieldnotes 1976)

2. Daphne: He's gone now. He gone now, they gone now. They go that way.
   
   Daphne: 'artepamarteparem'
   
   GKoch: 'artepamarteparem'
   
   Daphne: 'itenyekamparlele' yeah 'itenyekamparle'
   
   GKoch: What's itene?
   
   Daphne: They go. Him -they got nothing. It's alright now, we go now.
3. Daphne: Proper funny one, because all the boy bin likem him. (laughs) He gotta run away like that. Proper funny one. Me good laugh. Proper funny now.

Myf: 'artepareme'?

Daphne: Yeah when him see'em like that, like that. That one we bin singem him. Proper good corroborree that one.

Daphne: 'artepareme'

Myf: itenye...

Daphne: Yeah itenye we callem all the boys.

Kirsty: 'itenyikamperle'

Daphne: 'arteparinarteaparinay tenyikamperlelarerray' ...

Daphne: Yeah, 'amperlerlarerre itenyikamperlerlarerre' this one proper funny one when him dance. ...

Myf: Wante rtame 'imperlerlarerre'? [What's 'imperlerlarerre']

Daphne: That's we, all the Rainmakers, that's Arnerre country. Our father's losem we. We look after'em now.

Daphne: Backwards. What for him see backwards, what for him see'em bout like that? He looking for kweyaye, we bin growl at that boy bin look about. Him wantem kweyaye, that's why this one bin singing.

Myf: 'artenyekamperl'.

Daphne: 'itenyekamperl' Him trying to catchem our girlfriend. That one now boy bin wantem. This one bin makem happy. Trying to lovem this one now.

Kirsty: Not me!

Daphne: Course he bin trying to takem way you! And he bin frightened this one. Proper funny one. ...

Daphne: 'itenyekamperle' mpwenyeke areme. He wantem me. This fella bin winem all the song. That one too, him proper no good again, him boyfriend bin makem me more poor, getting skinny now.

(MD21, dn 60)

4. Itenyeve ange nte areme? "What you looking at me for? What, are you looking for a girlfriend?" itenyeke ame (ampele) nte areme.

(MT fieldnotes, TT 2002)

Morphological analysis
Appendix 1: Song text

A arteparimarteparem
1 artep-are-me artep-areme back-see-PRS back-see-PRS
'Looking behind, looking behind, (they) look longingly at each other'

B itenyikamperlerlararray
2 itenyke ke (amperle2-le) are-re fancy.s/o-DAT poor.thing-ERG see-du
'Looking behind, looking behind, (those two) are looking for girlfriends'

3 itenyke (amperle2-le) are-re fancy.s/o-DAT uncertain see-du
'Looking behind, looking behind, are (those two) looking for girlfriends?' 

Notes
1 artep-ar-me 'look behind' (pan-A) (lit. back-look-TNS) [C]. In Kaytetye the verbal suffix -me is a potential mood marker, although in other Arandic languages it marks the present non-continuous tense. Either a non-Kaytetye form is used in the song text, or -me once had a different meaning in Kaytetye. A past tense meaning of the verb is suggested in the expansion, yet this may only be because the Dreamtime event is perceived as a time prior to the moment of discussing the song.

2 itenyke (Aly, An) 'fancy someone-DAT' [C]; itenywe (K). Itenye is cognate with tyeny (Arr, An). Either a non-Kaytetye form is used in the song text, or -ke was once a Kaytetye form.

3 amperle (pan-Ar) 'poor thing, dear one' [P]. Goes on words that describe people, such as 'poor thing', 'small one', etc.

4 le (pan-A). ERG [P].

5 are-re (pan-Ar) 'see-du' [L]. The subject marker -re- goes on verbs to mark dual subject, or it can mark reciprocal subject. Thus the two possible interpretations of the first gloss. The verb are- 'see' is attested in (K), although in (K) verbs are not marked for subject nor reciprocals. Either a non-Kaytetye subject marker is used in the song text, or in Kaytetye reciprocals were once marked on the verb.

6 amperle (pan-Ar) Uncertain marker [P]. Equivalent to (K) -ange.

General comments

Expansion 3 shows that amperlerlarrere is regarded as a phonological unit, however none of the expansions offer any corresponding semantic interpretation. The variation in interpreting amperlerlarrere arises from whether amperlele refers to the person doing the action or the object of the action, and whether the verb is reciprocal or dual.

The overall meaning may be either that a man is looking behind for a woman (as in expansion 3), or a woman is looking behind for a man ('we go now' as in expansion 1 and 2). Following a person of the opposite sex is a common theme in awelye songs from Central Australia. Some awelye and dipentye songs are aimed at making someone fall in love and follow a particular person.
Song text 30

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9 song items</th>
<th>performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>247, 248, 249, 615, 616, 617, 618, 755, 756.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A (a)wayengaperlapa

B (i)perowantyernay

Pronunciation variation:

B pegwanyenay (on descent, all records)

slide deletion /erawl/ → /elo/

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

| S | W | W# | S | W |
| B | B | L# | B | B |

weteyangaperlapa

perowantyerna

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>textline</th>
<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tempo bands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no. song items</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>247-249</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arraty</td>
<td>Tara1</td>
<td>Tara1(3,4of4)</td>
<td>Tara2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>615-618, 755</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>616</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>756</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BBAA.

Final vowel pattern: a ay / ay a. Vowel harmony only in records (615 MS2&7; 616 MS2&5, 617 MS2&5, 618 MS3)

TL A a ay...

TL B ay a

Textlines and melodic structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>247-249, 615-618, 755</th>
<th>616</th>
<th>756</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MS1 BB</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>BB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS2 AA</td>
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<td>AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3 BBAABB</td>
<td>BBAABB</td>
<td>BBAABB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4 AABB</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>BBB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5 AABBAAB</td>
<td>AABBAAB</td>
<td>AABBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS6 BBAA</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS7 BBAABBA</td>
<td>BBAABBA</td>
<td>BBAABBA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions
1. painted, paint it pretty 'painted one' Go right up. Get conkerberry. Right up there they bin
go (girls). They bin go right up there forever up to sea water

(GK's 1976 fieldnotes).

2. Daphne: Frew River. Right up there they bin go. They bin camping there. Right up again,
sea water
GKoch: Who bin go?
Daphne: Dreaming. Those girls. Only all the girls, Kwerrimpe.
GKoch: What's 'perlaperlape'?
Might be conkerberries I think. Conkerberry now, tucker. 'Oh lot of conkerberry here'
GKoch: They bin get conkerberry?
Daphne: Yeah. 'aperlaperle atyengaperlaperle’ atye aperlape ilewethe [I should get
conkerberries]. Trying to eatem.

(GK6885, dn 40)

3. Daphne: That's my auntie. That's why I bin losem. He's all right.
Daphne: I got no auntie. That's the one now we bin singem.
Myf: 'Peyewantye'  
Daphne: 'Perewantye' kwene
Kirsty: 'atyengaperlaperle' kwene
Daphne: 'atyengaperlaperle'
Kirsty: 'atyengaperlaperle'
Daphne: Uh-huh errpwerle [black]/Pwerle [skin name]. Callem 'Pwerle'
Myf: Pwerle?
Daphne: uh-huh
Myf: Ikwe? [skin]
Daphne: Ikwe 'They callem me 'Pwerle' that's why/what him bin singing. That's mine now.

(1999, MD21, dn 62)

4. April: 'periwantyele' wantarte akeleye? 'periwantyele latyengaperlape' [What's
'periwantyele latyengaperlape]
Betty: Ayerrelepene nharte [It's a place in the north]
Daphne: Conkerberry rtame aperlapepe. [It's about conkerberries]
April: Perlapawe [conkerberry]
Betty: Akereleye? Ayerrelepene nyartepe. Nharte-ee aylantenye arrertame. [Its in the
north isn't it auntie?]
Daphne: *Ayerrelepenhe* a long way [Far north]
Betty: *Nhiekangwerre?* [where?]
April: *Nhikekethyarte? Antekerr...* [where?]
Daphne: Not *antekerre ayerrere*. [Not south, north]
Daphne: 'Perewantyene. Perewan— ay?
Betty: *Awaunkake apange aye atye wenhakake*
    long.ago=just just 1sgERG ANPH-PROP
Betty: *erntwe-yayne, aye atye awatnkake ernttwyane*
    dance-PST:CNT just long.ago dance-PST:CNT
April: 'Perewantyene wetyengapapelape'...
Daphne: Where him now? Not anybody-arendge [POS] only *awelye aynewakeyenge*
    [1plOM] self. We boss for that *awelye. ...*
Daphne 'perewantyene atyengaperlapelape'.
Kirsty: *Apmepange aylerantye 'perewantyene atyengaperl-aperle'-kwene.*

(2001, MD25, dn 21)

5. The song refers to the bush 'conkerberry' *aperalpe* (*Carissa lanceolata*) and a place called *Perewantyene* (2002, Betty, MT's fieldnotes)

**Morphological analysis**

**A  wetyengaperlapelape    latyengaperlapelape**

1  atyen5e3  Pwerle2  Pwerle  atyen5e  Pwerle  Pwerle
   1sgACC/DAT  skin name  1sgACC/DAT  skin name
   
   *(They) call me 'Pwerle', 'Pwerle'*

2  atyeyenge3  perlapelape=arle5  atyeyenge  perlapelape-arl
   1sgPOS  conkerberry=REL  1sgPOS  conkerberry=REL
   
   *Where my conkerberries are*

**B  perowantyernay**

*(place name?)*

**Notes**

1 *atyenge* (pan-A) 1sg ACC [C]. This is also dative in (K).
2 *atyeyenge* (K) 1sg POS [P].
3 *Pwerle* (pan-A) skin name [C].
4 *aperalpe* (An, Arr, K) 'conkerberry' *Carissa lanceolata* [C].
5 *-arl* (pan-Ar) REL., (pan-Ar) EMPH [P].

**General comments**
The repetition of textline A has a different initial C and one more syllable. The variation in interpreting textline A arises from whether the speech equivalent is *Pwerle* (a skin name) or *aperalpe 'conkerberry'. There are no known speech equivalents for textline B, although the expansions suggest it refers to a place in the north.
Song text 31

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>27 song items</th>
<th>In 5 of 9 performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A (a)merntewerrene  

B (i)latylatylarray

Pronunciation variation:

consonant cluster reduction /rpel/ → /rel/

A mentewerrene mentewayrpenay (records 693, 694, 695)

Amentewernpene mentewayrpenay (records 696 MS3&4)

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

| S W W# S W | B B L# B L |
| merntewerrene | latyl la tyi larra |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>textline</th>
<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tempo bands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no. items</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
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<th>10</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J = MM</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perform</td>
<td>CAAM (1,2,3o5)</td>
<td>CAAM (4,5o5)</td>
<td>Elpat2 (1o3)</td>
<td>Tara1(i)(2,3o3)</td>
<td>Tara1(ii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elpat2 (2,3o3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tara3(2-6o6)</td>
<td>Tara2(1-3o4)</td>
<td>Tara2(4o4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tara1(i)(1o3)</td>
<td>Tara1(i)(1o3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tara3(1o3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: AABB
TCR: 13 BBAA (records 147; 212; 213; 215; 216; 263; 264; 265; 266; 350; 528; 530; 614)

Final vowel cycle: a ay / ay a. Vowel harmony
### Textlines and melodic structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>147, 213, 215, 216, 263, 264, 265, 266, 350</th>
<th>614</th>
<th>212, 528, 529, 530</th>
<th>146, 693, 694, 695, 697</th>
<th>145, 349</th>
<th>352</th>
<th>214, 351, 352</th>
<th>353, 354</th>
<th>696</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>standard</strong></td>
<td><strong>TPR</strong></td>
<td><strong>TCR</strong></td>
<td><strong>extended</strong></td>
<td><strong>TPR</strong></td>
<td><strong>TPR</strong></td>
<td><strong>TCR, TPR</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>MS1</td>
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<td>AA</td>
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<td>AA</td>
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<td>AA</td>
</tr>
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<td>MS2</td>
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<td>AA</td>
<td>BB</td>
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<td>BBA</td>
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<td>MS7</td>
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<td>BBAABBABB</td>
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<td>AABBAABB</td>
<td>AABBAABB</td>
<td>BBA</td>
<td>BBA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

349 interrupted
693 MS1 not recorded

### TRANSLATIONS

#### Expansions

1. baby bore. When they bin travelling soakage water. They bin find em pickem up travel all day. Sit down self. Eat em tucker latyeye. mente - self. Soakage in bush. Plenty alatyeey (pencil yams) longa soakage water (GK fieldnotes)

2. Daphne: That one little yam you know, like this? Umm, like this
   GKoch: Oh little yam
   Yes
   Daphne: that one now, api te [pencil yam] Yeah, that one now.
   GKoch: api te 'anatyeeye-na,
   Daphne: 'alatye ey laatyillarre'
   GKoch: tyinarraye alatyi lara?
   'atyeyelarre, alatyeela-atyillarre'
   Daphne: Yewe, that one now, witchetty same one
   GKoch: witchetty Yeah same one, witchetty again.
   Daphne: Yeah
   (GK6894, dn 33)

3. Daphne: Api tepe nhartepe. [That one is a pencil yam] Api te now nharte-ce. 'alatyeilalarre'
   *-penhelke ayleparenge-penhe. Angentye [soakage] tyatya angwerl-angwerle Yeah nthenayne ape. [?]
   GKoch: OK that's 'alatyila'
   Daphne: Api te now kwerarte etnewenke [we call it pencil yam]. Api te 'alatyilatyarre'.
   Soakage water.
   GKoch: Yeah soakage water.
   GKoch: That's what soakage water?

---

145
Appendix 1: Song text 31

Daphne: Yeah. Plenty alatye ye longa soakage water. Tucker you know. We eatem good tucker. 'tyilarre'

GKoch: Yeah you eatem good tucker

Daphne: uh-huh

GKoch: 'tyilarre'

Daphne: mernte

GKoch: mernte what mernte?


(GK6895 dn 43)

4. Daphne: Anatye. When him bin get in longa ground, you know, anaty e, yam, just like potato. ...  

Daphne: Apite now

Kirsty: atnwelarre

Daphne: atnwelarre

Myf: atnwelarre. Kaytetye etnewerrantye atnwelarre? [Is it called atnwelarre in Kaytetye?]  

Kirsty: atnwelarre

Daphne: Yeah atnwelarre ...

Myf: Wante 'merntewarrene'?


(1999, MD21, dn 63)

5. April: Wante repe nhartepe, arntwene nte ...? [What's that one?]  

Daphne: I don't know

April: Angentye-riame nhartepe, angentye-anjepe nhartepe? [Is it a soakage?]  

Daphne: Ngentyinge [soakage]

April: Mary knowem bout. Rarte-ee arlpawele [that plain]

Daphne: Errwele aynewakeyenge artepele uh-huh. [It's a soakage right at the top of a hill]

(1999, MD19, dn 78)

6. alaty iye 'grass sp (Triodia pungens)'. Song refers to the resin from this grass used to make wax and to the place name on Arnerre with this name. (Theo, MT fieldnotes 2001)
Morphological analysis

A  merntewerr(p)ene  B  latylatyilarra
1  amente\(^1\)  arpenhe\(^2\)  aarltyeye\(^3\)  aarltyeye  (larre)\(^4\)  arpenhe  aarltyeye  (larre)\(^4\)  pencil.yam  pencil.yam  ?
   alone     another           pencil.yam  pencil.yam=REL  put/create  arpenhe  aarltyeye  (larre)\(^4\)  pencil.yam  pencil.yam=REL  put/create

   Alone, (the Kwerrimpe) get more pencil yams

2  amente  irrpene\(^5\)  arlle\(^6\)  arrre\(^7\)  aarltyeye  aarltyeye  arlle\(^6\)  arrre\(^7\)  pencil.yam  pencil.yam=REL  put/create  pencil.yam=REL  put/create
   alone     food

   The pencil yams that (the Kwerrimpe) created were another food

4  amente  arrrene\(^2\)  aarltyeye\(^8\)  aarltyeye\(^8\)  arre\(^7\)  place name-RED-LOC  put/create
   food     put/create

   Alone, they (?) created Alaltye

Notes

1 *amante* (Aly) 'alone, separate, apart, first' [L]. Has a derived form in Kaytetye *mentaye* which refers to the behaviour of someone after a close relative has died. The behaviour involves being on your own, not talking and staying in one place.

2 *arpenhe* (pan-Ar) 'another, different' [P].

3 *arratyeye* (pan-Ar) 'pencil yam' (*Vigna lanceolata var. latifolia*) [C].

4 *larre* (derived song word) [L]. There are no definite speech correspondences to this segment, however its recurrence throughout a number of song texts makes it a possible song text suffix.

5 *irrpene* (Arr) 'food that has to be cooked before it is eaten' [P].

6 *-arle* (pan-Ar) REL [P].

7 *arrre* (K) 'put, create' [P]. Consider the expansion 'When they bin making *arratyeye*.' See also song text 1. For many texts lines this meaning is represented by the final segment *arrrene* which occurs in 18 text lines. 'Put' is only a possible meaning of the five text lines that have the final segment *arrre* (text lines 8b, 31b, 33a, 33b, 36a, 50b).

8 *Alaltye* (K) '1. spinifex sp. (Triodia Pungens) 2. place name' [L]. Both meanings of this word were given by a man, but not by any of the women.

General comments

The multiple interpretations arise from the various actions relating to pencil yams — *arratyeye*; either creating or digging, and whether text line A involves the song gloss *mente* 'self' or words relating to descriptions of the food.

Expansions 1 and 5 suggest that the song refers to a soakage name. Possibly this could be the place on Amerre *Alaltye*. This is a men's site which may explain why the women do not name this place. One Kaytetye male speaker states this song refers to *alatyte* 'spinifex wax' although this was not a meaning for the female singers.
### Song text 32

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>14 song items</th>
<th>In 2 of 9 performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>95, 96, 97, 167, 168, 196, 197, 198, 318, 319, 320, 321, 328, 329.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TEXT, METER AND TEMPO**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>kwerrpararrparena</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>kwerrpararrparernay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>nu Kerrintyerlay</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>nu Kerrintyeria</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>textline</th>
<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tempo bands**

- **no. items:** 1 4 10 1
- **no. bands:** 1 4 10 1
- **= MM:** 132 138 144 152
- **Tara1(i)**: (10of3) Tara1(i)(2,3of3)
- **Tara1(ii)**: (2of2) Tara1(ii)(1of2)
- **Tara1(iii)**: Tara3

**TEXT MELODY OVERLAY**

- **Text cycle:** BBA
- **TCR:** ABB (record 95)
- **Final vowel cycle:** a ay / ay a. No vowel harmony

**VARIATION TO TEXT MELODY OVERLAY:** Regressive vowel harmony only in 329

**Textlines and melodic structure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>96, 167, 168, 169, 167, 186, 318-321</th>
<th>97</th>
<th>328</th>
<th>329</th>
<th>95</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>structure</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS1</td>
<td>PB</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3</td>
<td>BBAABB</td>
<td>BBA</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
<td>AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>BBA</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
<td>AABBAABB</td>
<td>BBAABB</td>
<td>BBAAABB</td>
<td>BBAABBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS6</td>
<td>AABBAABB</td>
<td>BBAABB</td>
<td>BBAAABB</td>
<td>BBAABBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS7</td>
<td>AABBAABB</td>
<td>BBAABB</td>
<td>BBAAABB</td>
<td>BBAABBA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. Daphne: You know that little tree and he gottem finger?
   GKoch: Little tree? Oh yeah,
   Daphne: He gottem like that.
   GKoch: Oh like finger, little tree, oh yeah.
   Daphne: That one now
   GKoch: Oh, that one now
   Daphne: ateye [stick], we call em kwerrpare
   GKoch: kwerrpare, oh yeah. That was text 4
   singing
   Daphne: Same one again.
   GKoch: That same one again?
   Daphne: uh-huh
   GKoch: 'Warperren-anenininya'
   Daphne: Ya, kwerrpare now, we callem arteye again, kwerrpare like witchetty. Um.
   (1976, GK6894, dn 8)

2. [listening to performance of song text]
   ?: Daphnecountry
   [tape stops]
   Kirsty: [...] entyele-[kwene]
   kwerrpare
   Daphne: Ay? anngerrentye we callem yeah=
   Daphne: We anngerrentye mmm, that's what we callem ourselves.
   Myf: anngerrentye?
   Kirsty: Wantakake atanthe
   what-PROP 3pOM
   Daphne: kwerrpare-akerte u-uh?
   dancing stick-PROP
   Maya:
   kwerrpar-akerte * anngerrentye
   Maya: like wante-rtame? Yeah
   what-EMPH
   Daphne: uh-huh, anngerrentye we callem that one now 'we'. Yeah
   Daphne: we, [Dreaming] yeah yeah spirit, that's what we callem

9 Kayeye speakers use an interjection which sounds like two glotal stops to mean 'yes', similar to how disagreement is shown in English. With a rising intonation it can mean something similar to English 'see, see this, in this way', I write this exclamation 'u-uh', using the question mark to represent rising intonation.
Appendix 1: Song text 32

Myf:  
  anngerrentye  like spirit-apeny?

Myf:  nukerrentyele
Daphne:  ngerrentyele kwerrpererrperena kwerrpererrperena nngerrentyele

Daphne: That's what we bin singing  yewe  [kwerrp]ererrparene
Myf:  ngerrentyele  kwerrpererrperena

***

Daphne: That's belonging to Blanche-amerne kwereyenge ... akerte-pe nthetheyaperte.
-PL  3SGPOS  end=FOC that-ABL-just

That (song), from there, it belongs to Blanche's group (?)

Kirsty:  uh-huh

Daphne: Yeah that one now. Anngerrentye. Kwerrpare we callem waddy 'stick, short one'. Myf: 'ngurrentyele'

Daphne: 'ngerrentyele' Anngerrentye is skin. anngerrentye.

(1999, MD21, da 66)

3. April: Kwerrparawe! [dancing stick]  wenhe arwele arcteyt [that mulga stick]
Daphne:  waddy [stick]
Betty:  arwele, wenhe arwele [stick, that one]

April: Kwerrpare wenhe artyel-ertyelare-rrantye nharte mpelarte.
dancing.stick ANPH hold-all.way.along-PRS:CNT that thus

Kwerrpare awely-arenge, artyel-artyel-arre-rrantye kwere mpelarte.
dancing.stick ceremony-POS hold-all.way.along-PRS:CNT 3SGACC thus

Only arwele-pe aperte awenyerre aperte.
stick=FOC only one only

[You) hold the dancing stick like this as you dance. It belongs with the ceremony, you hold it as you dance. It's only about this stick.]

Daphne: Cuttem half, tree. Cuttem this way then.

Myf: Wante 'nwekerrentyele' [Whats 'nwekerrentyele']?

April: 'Kwerrparerparene nwekerrentye'. That awelye, 'nwekerrentyele'-pe.

'Kwerrparerparene' Arwele [stick].

(2001, MD25, da 20)

Morphological analysis

A  kwerrparayrparernay  B  nwekerrintyerlay
1  kwerrpare'-erpare  anngerrentye'-le
    dancing.stick-RED  spirit-ERG

(We) ancestors (created) the dancing sticks

Notes

150
'kwerrpare (K, Aly, An) 'short wooden stick made from mulga used in women's awelye ceremonies' [C]. The pattern of reduplication of syllables in textline A: $\sigma_1 \sigma_2 \sigma_3 \sigma_2 \sigma_3 \sigma_4$ is reflected in all of the glosses.

2. anngerrentye (K), alkngirrenty (An) 'skeleton, ghost' [C]. This speech equivalent is given in expansion 2, however it must have undergone fortition (/ŋ/ to /k/) and vowel insertion (/nk/ to /nuk/). Daphne's use of the words 'we' with anngerrentye may be interpreted as 'we, the deceased ancestors still here'. This song text may refer specifically to the people who were eaten in the Dreamtime and whose bones remain at Akwerrnge and Artepetyewe.10 Note the semantic similarities with song text 22 about aweyawe 'dead body'. Daphne's use of the word 'skin' may be to the anngerrentye being only bones. The meaning 'skin name' is less likely as this is usually accompanied with a pronoun or kinship term (see her explanation of song text 33).

3. -le (pan-A) ERG [P]

General comments

Multiple interpretations arise from the absence of any verbs relating to anngerrentye 'skeleton'. Anngerrentye could be the subject which either created or danced, or it could mark the place where the Kwerrimpe women danced. Anngerrentye itself may refer to two different people: the Kwerrimpe women or to other ancestral people who were eaten.

---

## Appendix I: Song text 33

### Song text 33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>14 song items</th>
<th>In 3 of 9 performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 752, 753, 754.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A (a)natyartalarra  

B (i)napipaylarra  

*Has the same textlines as 8b and 50b*

### TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textline</th>
<th>Isorhythm</th>
<th>Syllables</th>
<th>Beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Tempo bands (no. items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th># = MM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Text MELODY OVERLAY

- **Text cycle**: BBAA (seven items)  
- **TCR**: AABB (record 118; 519; 521; 522)  

**Final vowel cycle**: a ay ay a. Vowel harmony

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textlines and melodic structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>115, 116, 520, 523, 753, 754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117, 118, 519, 521, 522</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>TPR</th>
<th>TCR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MS1</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>BB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>AABBAA</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS6</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*record 114 and 752 tape begins halfway*
TRANSLATIONS

Expansions
1. Daphne: *mantarre* (clothes), *matyarte* pants... *napipaylarra* 'Yeah, kwerrimepe
gottem *matyarte* 'atyartarlarrna natyartaylarray napipaylarre'. He might see em this
one wee-wee Funny one.

(1999, MD21, dn 66, 1999)

2. Daphne: Yeah *napipele* 'errtyartelane' him sleep. errtyarte, errtyarte [?].
'etyuartaarlaarran'

(2001, MD25, dn 19)

Morphological analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>natyatalarrna</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>enapipaylarra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>matyarte¹-le²</td>
<td>arre³</td>
<td>Napipe-le⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pubic.tassel-INF</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>place.name-LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>matyarte</td>
<td>larre⁶</td>
<td>Napipe-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pubic.tassel-INF</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>place.name-LOC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes

¹ *matyarte* (K, Aly, An) 'men's loin cloth' [L]. See song text 17.
² -le (pan-A) INST [P]
⁴ Napipe-le (K) place on Arnerre-LOC [L]. See song text 8, note 8.
⁵ -larra (song text suffix) [L]. Four different textlines end with this phonological sequence,
one of which occurs in two different song texts. There are no definite speech
correspondences to this segment, however its recurrence throughout a number of song texts
makes it a possible song text suffix. See song text 31.

General comments

There is only one given speech equivalent that can be found in song text 33 — *matyarte*
'public tassel'. The given meaning 'sleep' has no known form. It is unlikely that the meaning
arises from the verb *atyateyl* (Aly) 'lie', because this only refers to inanimate things. It is
not possible to give free translations of this song text because of the lack of expansions and
song glosses given.

The way the singers divides the text in the speech version of both expansions suggests that
the initial 'n' of each line is part of the previous line. When I suggested the 'obvious' speech
equivalents *anaty* 'yam' and *enape* 'echidna' these were denied by the singers. This
provides some evidence for the postulated verb forms, either *arrerne*- 'put' or *alarre*- 'hit,
kill', where -ne is the tense ending.
Appendix 1: Song text 34

Song text 34

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song items</th>
<th>In 4 of 9 performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>139, 140, 141, 142, 387, 388, 443, 704, 705, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 785.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
A & kwayelatonyenta \\
B & wilyilatonyenta \\
A & kwayelatonyenta \\
B & wilyilatonyenta
\end{array}
\]

Accompanies painting up in Elpate 1 performance

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tempo bands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwayelatonyenta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>line</th>
<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tempo bands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no. items</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \frac{3}{4} ) = MM</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arramy(1,2of3)</td>
<td>Arramy(1of3)</td>
<td>Tara1(1-4of6)</td>
<td>Elpate2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: AABB
TCR BBA (record 705)

Final Vowel cycle: a a a a a. Textline level vowel harmony.

| TL A | a | a |
| TL B | a | a |

Variation 1 to final Vowel cycle: a e e e. No vowel harmony (records 387, 388, 389)

| TL A | a | e |
| TL B | e | a |

Variation 2 to final Vowel cycle: a ay a a. Vowel harmony (records 139 MS1,2,3&5; 140MS2,3,5&7; 141MS1,2&5)

| TL A | a | ay |
| TL B | ay | a |
Textlines and melodic structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>TCR</th>
<th>TPR</th>
<th>TPR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MS1</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
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<td>BB</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>AABB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>AAA</td>
<td>AAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
<td>BBB</td>
<td>BBB</td>
<td>BBBAB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS6</td>
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<td>AAAABB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS7</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>AAA</td>
<td>AAAABB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*record no. 765 interrupted

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. Daphne: He bin sit down longa shade. 'Too hot' he bin sit down longa shade. Kweye.
   Myf: kweye? [girl]
   Daphne: Uh-huh 'kweyelatyeyere weyelatyentyere' you now, you bin getting cheeky now, me and you, me and Blanche bin singem. Yeah him longa - crying for shade, too hot, too much him eye no good that's why bung eye, that's why him bin getting cheeky.
   Myf: 'weyelatyentyere'?
   Daphne: Yeah 'let me sit down longa shade' him bin growl like that.

(1999, MD21, dn 72)

2. tyentyere 'wet ground, shade'. (MT fieldnotes p22, 2000)

3. April: 'Kweyelatyentyere' wanertame? Kweyelatyentyere?
   [what 'Kweyelatyentyere']
   Daphne: uh?
   Myf: welyele, shade.
   April: Shade that one, elye-rtame anherreye. Elye, 'kweyelatyentyere'
   [shade-EMPH daughter-in-law shade]
   [3sgACC-REL sing-PST-CNT avely shade-UNCER sing-PST-CNT]
   That one that (we) sang, wasn't it 'shade' that (we) sung?
   April: ay?
   Daphne: yeah.
   Betty: 'Kweyelatyentyere'.
   [what=EMPH 'tyentyere/]
   April: Yeah 'marikarlarrerane'
   'Kweyelatyentyere'
   welyelatyentyerre'
   April: Elye rtam-a? Elyeng-ang-aye?
   [shade-EMPH-UNCER shade-UNCER-INT]
   shade-rtame nharte-pe. Yeah shade.
   [EMPH that=FOC]
   Daphne: Yeah, shade
   Myf: Wante-rtame 'tyentyere'?
   [what=EMPH 'tyentyere']
   April: Yeah 'kweyelatyentyerre'
   Daphne: 'tyentyere' him crying
   Betty: Yeah, in the shade.
   elyel-arre—

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Appendix 1: Song text 34

April: Na elaye-ng-arre ante-yane. [shade-LOC-REL sit-CNT]
Daphne: When him getting hot, well him go longa shade now. (2001, MD25, dn 5)

4. Daphne: Armerre they bin dancing there, main one Arnerre. (GK1994 dn 31)

Morphological analysis

A kwayelatyentyere
1 kweye\textsuperscript{1}-le\textsuperscript{2} atye\textsuperscript{3} entyere\textsuperscript{4}
girl-ERG 1sgERG flood.out
B wilylatyentyere
1 elye\textsuperscript{5}-le\textsuperscript{6} atye entyere
shade-LOC 1sgERG flood.out

I, a girl, (create) the soakage and sit in the shade

2 kweye=arle\textsuperscript{7} tyentyere\textsuperscript{8}
girl=REL (cry?)

elye-le tyentyere
shade-LOC (cry?)

The girl cries, she cries (to be) in the shade

Notes

\textsuperscript{1} kweye (pan-Ar) kweyaye (AE); 'girl' [C]. The expansions do not suggest a transitive meaning of the song text, suggesting that the following -le should be analysed as part of a lexical stem or a locative. Textline A is similar to the alternative form of textline 47A kwayelatyentyerratuyerrarna. An expansion to song text 47 has 'girls dancing', proving some evidence for the postulated speech equivalent kweyaye 'girl'.

\textsuperscript{2} -le (pan-A) ERG [P]
\textsuperscript{3} atye 1sgERG (K) [P]
\textsuperscript{4} entyere 'floodout, gutter' (K, Aly, An); 'scrub' (K) [L]. The segment entyere-entyerre at the end of a textline may be a song morpheme meaning 'creek, soakage'. It occurs at the end of 9 other textlines (10a, 21b, 36b, 27b, 34a, 34b, 47a, 48b, 25b). Note that NA's spoken version of the song text in expansion 3 shows [rr] rather than [r]: 'kwayelatyentyerre'

\textsuperscript{5} elye-le 'shade-LOC' [C], elye-nge (K) utye-le (pan-Ar). See song text 6.

\textsuperscript{6} -le (pan-A) LOC [L]
\textsuperscript{7} arle EMPH (pan-Ar) ALL [L]
\textsuperscript{8} tyente-nyere~ tyen-ntyee (?) Postulated verb form for cry, followed by possible tense ending -ntyee. This segment is also found in songs with 12a and 47a.

General comments

Although akayele (pan-A) '(cry) in mourning' phonologically resembles the first segment of textline A, this verb does not refer to crying for other reasons, which is suggested in the expansions and thus is unlikely as a speech equivalent. Similarly, the place on Arnerre, Akwerereye, also phonologically resembles the first segment of textline A, however there is no evidence of this meaning in the expansions. There is only one given speech equivalent that can be found in song text 34 — utye-le 'shade-LOC, and some evidence for kweyaye 'girl'. The given meanings 'cry' and 'sit down' have no known form. It is not possible to give free translations of this song text because of the lack of expansions and song glosses given. The way Daphne divides the song text in the expansions suggests that tyentyere may be a single word, however its semantic basis is not clear.

156
Song text 35

7 songs in 1 of 9 performances

Record no.
176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182.

A kwayawaylerna

A kwayawaylernay

B pinterlarerlarna

B pinterlarerlarna

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textline</th>
<th>Isorhythm</th>
<th>Syllables</th>
<th>Beats</th>
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Tempo bands

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TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: AABB

TCR BAAA (record 182; 178)

Final vowel cycle: a ay / ay a. Note: the penultimate vowels have the same quality as the final vowel in both renditions of textlines A.

TL A a ay

TL B ay a

Textlines and melodic structure

<table>
<thead>
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<th>178, 182</th>
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<td>MS5</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS7</td>
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*record 177 interrupted

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. plinta kwayawaylernay
   big rockhole sacred place (in shade)
   'when him bin sitting in the shade' big rockhole secret place'

(GK's 1976 fieldnotes)
Appendix 1: Song text 35

2. Daphne: 'pinterarerle' Alewe. We should be— wanna go follow em creek'. Sea water
   apinte.
   Myf: apinte?
   Daphne: Yeah rain, apinte rain 'apinterarerle pinterlarareln peyewerlerne'
   Daphne: 'peyewaylerna pinterlararelnay pinterlararelna kweyewaylern' Big water hole
   kwenhe, pinte-kwenhe.
   Daphne: pinterlararelna. Reckon him callem self kweye, kweyaye. ...
   Kirsty: Police station wenhe an—
   Daphne: Oh yes, police station Hatches Creek
   Kirsty: apint-akake, apmere fish-akake.
   Daphne: Fish. He gottem fish.
   Myf: Hatches Creek?
   Kirsty: Yeah.

   Daphne: That police station when him bin come, you bin come from that one now, we
   bin come work. That's why him bin come now, we don't like sit down there.
   Kirsty: 1 bin back longa my country now.
   Daphne: Yeah, I bin go longa right up longa my country, rainmaker.
   Myf: Arritne nharte Hatches Creek Old police station? [is it about Old Police Station?]
   Daphne: Yeah same again, rainmaker again 'kwayerlayntvertyere weyeleytvertyere.'
   Kirsty: 'kwayerlayntvertyere'-pe nhartame altemarle weyeleytvertyere.
   Daphne: 'kwayelerne'-pe nyarte?
   Kirsty: 'pinterlararelna'
   Daphne: 'pinterlararelna'

   (1999, MD21, dn 73)


   April: Elpayele-tyamp-arre
   swamp akelye
   creek-LOC-and-REL
   lie-PRS:CNT that spring
   small
   Daphne: swamp

   spring water-REL lie-PRS:CNT
   creek
   spring
   small
   Myf: artnwepe?
   swamp
   Any artnwepe or etn-akake?
   name-PROP
   April: yeah artnwepe
   Daphne: yeah, that's him.

   (2001, MD25, dn 18)
Morphological analysis

A kwayawaylerna B pinterlarlarna

1 kweyaye¹ ayle-me² apinte³-arle⁴ are-rl.ane⁵
girl sing-TNS spring-ALL see-CNT

(They) sung the girls, at the spring (they) looked

2 kweyaye aylene⁶ apinte=arle are-rl-ane
girl 1du.ex.MSG.NOM spring=REL see-CNT

i We two girls watched (it) at the spring
ii We two girls looked around at (the place where there is) a spring
iii We two girls came upon the spring (place name?) and looked around

Notes

¹ kweye (pan-Ar) 'girl' [C] kweyaye (AE). Singer Betty pronounces the spoken version of this song text as 'kweyewaylerna' not 'kwaylewaylerna'

² ayle- (K) 'sing' [P]. We could postulate aylern- 'sing' (transitive) as a possible (pan-Ar) form.

³ apinte (K, Aly, An), apinty (Arr) 'spring' [C].

⁴ -arle- (pan-Ar) REL [P]. See song text 21, note 2.

⁵ are-rl.ane- (pan-Ar) 'see-LIG-CNT [C]. See song text 14, note 4.

⁶ aylene (K, An) ilerne (pan-Ar) 1du.ex. MSG.NOM [P]. See song text 22, note 2.

General comments

The difference in interpretation of textline A depends on whether the final element is aylern- 'sing', or aylene 'we two'. No interpretations corresponding with this segment were suggested in the song glosses or expansions. The different interpretations of are-rl-ane- 'see-LIG-CNT' as 'watch' or 'look around' in textline B depend on whether there is an object of some kind or whether the women are looking around at a place. The expansions suggest that the song refers to a place. Kaytetye mythological narratives often use the verb are- 'see' with various associated motion forms to show that the subject is seeing or arriving at a place. In some narratives it is ambiguous as to whether the participants travelling see a Dreamtime character at that place or just the place. Thus the possible interpretation (iii) of textline B as 'coming upon a place after travelling.'
### Song text 36

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A kwelkartarlarrra

B narlarrentyerray

**Pronunciation variation:**

- **lateral lenition** /l/ → /nl/
- **change of place of articulation** /n/ → /m/
- **alveolar to peripheral fortition** /nty/ → /pmy/

**TEXT, METER AND TEMPO**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Textline</th>
<th>Isohythm</th>
<th>Syllables</th>
<th>Beats</th>
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<td>A</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Tempo bands**

- no. items: 6
- 6 = MM: 120
- Elpate2: 126
- Tara1(ii): 138

**TEXT MELODY OVERLAY**

- **Text cycle:** AABB
- TCR: BBAA (records 185; 186; 563; 564; 564; 610)

**Final vowel cycle:** a ay /ay a. Vowel harmony.

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**Textlines and melodic structure**

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TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. *pwelkarte alarraalarrentyerra* ‘little peanut in bush, peanut from bush enye tucker we eatem.’
   (GK’s 1976 fieldnotes)

2. Daphne: (listening to song) *kwelkarte* * plum, that one him singem. That Blanche bin singem. ....
   Daphne: *kwelkarte seed* little one, you know? Proper— little one, *merne.*
   Kirsty: *kwelkarte merne* little one
   plum
   fruit
   Merne
   fruit
   Myf: Oh I know little round one?
   Daphne: Yeah, that one now.
   Umm good one.
   Myf: *Rubwe re nte ne?*
   Daphne: We bin singem that one now.
   Kirsty: *Kwelkarte*
   Myf: Yeah *kwelkarte*
   Rachel: *kwelkarte,*
   Kirsty: *Kwelkarte merne.*
   Daphne: *Bush-arenye aynewantheyenge.* Right in the creek him sit down.
   Rachel: *yeah, elpaye-arenye.*
   creek-HAB
   Myf: ‘inwe karrentyeray’?
   Daphne: Yeah *kwelkatalarrakwelkartaylaray narlarrentyerre* Entyere floodout
   Daphne: *kwenhe, entyere-le, creek.* .... *kwelkatalarrakarlarrentyere arlarrentyere* of course floodout-LOC
   Myf: *kwelki—kwelkartarra?*
   Myf: Wante rtame ‘narlarle’? *narlarle?*
   what CNTR
   Daphne: Everywhere longa bottom Bore.
   Elpaye, creek.
   Myf: Proper green time him grow up again, that *kwelkarte* now.
   Myf: Wante rtame ‘narlarle’? *Wante rtame ‘narlarle’?*
   what CNTR
   Myf: Ay? ‘Narlarle’? No, ‘alarrentyere’. Girl, little one creek,
   Myf: Yeah ‘narlarrentyerre’
   Daphne: you know, self and self. And *entyere* him go that way *entyerarrelp-arrenke* flood.out-INCH-once-PRS
   Kirsty: umm.
   Rachel: umm
   Myf: *kwelkarte—kwelkarte* too much *kwelkarte* there. When you rain time you know,
Appendix 1: Song text

Daphne: green grass, that's the time him sit down ane — ay?
Kirsty: kwenemertne. Intienke ripe
smell
Kirsty: kwenamerntne too.
Daphne: Yeah kwenamerntne *kwenamerntne.

Myf: So 'kwelkalarrar ra'
Daphne: 'narlarrentyere' entyere-le-kwenhe creek, little bit entyere, grass.

Daphne: That's where him sit down

(1999, MD21, dn 77)

3. Marg: 'kwelkalarrar Anperentyele'... Kwelkarte-rtame wenhe Thatkwe-le kenge
plum-CNTR ANPH Bottom.Bore-LOC lots
Marg: ante-yane r lwene wenhe, rlwene wenhe kwelkarte.
sit-CNTR fruit ANPH fruit ANPH plum
April: Kwelkarte wenhe rlwene ayne-yayne
plum ANPH fruit eat-PST:CNT
April: Thankwe-le atye-paperte ayne-yayne kwere ilwekere.
place.name-LOC 1sgERG=only eatPST:CNT 3sgACC poor.thing
Daphne: Wele nharte=akwele!
well that=of.course
Marg: 'kwelkalarrar mperentyele'
Marg: 'kwelkalarrar Anperentyele'...
'swelkalarrar aralrentyerawe'
Betty: (sings 'kwelkalarrar ...
Betty: (whispers '...artarlentyere') ...
(Elpate, 1999 dn 31)

4. Daphne: Kwelkarte longs creek, you know, uh-huh. Long time you know green time.
Bush tucker. A little one, just like grapes. ....
April: Layke ahe.rarlatwehe, that's kangaroo-arenge-rtame and repe Bottom Bore-larre
watnke anenhe kwenkarte, rlwene that one, atyepe ayneyayne artnwengele kwere Bottom
Bore-arle. Atyarre ayneyayne artnwengele kwenele-kwenele-tyampe nyarte. ....
It's like head-ache vine (Mukia sp), but that one is kangaroo food and this other
one used to grow at Bottom Bore, it's a fruit. I used to eat it as a child at Bottom
Bore. I ate it when I was a child. That's not that long ago.
April: Kwenele-kwenele artine rlwampe wante time? Ilwekere Akiyartiwerrpe (Josie
Petrick) angwel-angwele aneyayne time still-rtame re enweyayne mpelarte. ....
'It (bush melon) was still around recently in which whitefella's time? It was still
around in dear old Josie Petrick's time.
April: Him bin long time anenhe Bottom Bore-larre anenhe too much anenhe. ....
There used to be lots of it around at Bottom Bore.

162
Daphne: Just like grapes

April: Grapes-apyenye atrywerte-ntywerte-apyenyele again warayaye, anynthepe artnwengimenenge arthmweyaye nthelemame Judy-lamerne, May-lamerne, nthelemame we binn anenhe artnwengimenenge. Nthelemameachte atnakerre.

Its like grapes or native morning glory (Ipomoea muelleri) in that it grows like a vine. When we kids, Judy, May and I used to follow the creek (looking) for it, when we were kids — not so long ago.

Daphne: Parte elpaye arthmweyaye [The melons grow along the creek]

5....(After singing song text 36)

Daphne: Merne ngayele good tucker
fruit food
April: Rhwene r-arte-ee.
fruit 3sg-DEF-EMPH

Yes it's fruit that one

6. April: 'kwelkartalarre', rhwene ay? ...
That song (is about) fruit isn't it?
Rhwene atye are-nhe rtame.
fruit 1sgERG see-PST CNTR

'I've seen that fruit.'
Daphne: Uh-huh plum.

April: Bottom Bore-le awatankwe.
LOC long.ago

Thatkwe-we place.name-DAT

At Bottom Bore, a long time ago

Betty: Bottom Bore makwerle rtame.

lots CNTR

At Bottom Bore there's lots.

April: Awatnke anynthe are-payne. Aparie atwaylepaya rhywine-rtame re kwelkarte long.ago 1sgPL eat-PST:CNT everywhere bunches fruit-CNTR 3sgNOM melon

I used to see them. They would be hanging in bunches everywhere,

April: Rhwene-rtame re enye kwelkarte.
fruit-CNTR 3sgNOM food melon the fruit, bush melons.

Peyakele-like nothing-now

There's none left now

Daphne: Amake=pe anenhe now, this time nothing now Yeah finish.
ago=FOC sit-PRS

It used to be there.

April: Akerrarweyhe-apyenye=rtyame re alkapertame, wante=pe alyerre=pe re, leaf=pe? headache vine-SEMB-CNTR 3sgNOM alright what=FOC leaves=FOC 3sgNOM =FOC

It's like the headache vine, I mean its leaves are, but they're umm
Betty: Yeah

April: Only marlere inenge amamperle, parte re ane-nke.
smooth-PL nice everywhere 3sg sit-PRS

they're nice and smooth. It was everywhere.
Appendix 1: Song text 36

Betty: *akwerrpe ayengepe.*
ignorant 1sgNOM

I don't know it

Daphne: ***finish arrenhe ***

Myf: So what about that story? *Kwerrimpinenge*? [the Dreamtime women]

April: *Nyarte-pe enye-rtame,*
this=FOC food-CNTR

No, it's food.

April: *Enye-pe aperte-rtame nharte-pe*
food=FOC just-CNTR that=FOC

It's only (about) food.

Daphne: What that one?

Myf: *Kwelkartalarre'*?

Daphne: Yeah *'kwelkartalarre', merne*
place name=FOC fruit

April: *'kwelkartalarre'-pe*

Daphne: No coun—*merne*, tucker

April: No

Betty: Bush tucker that one.

Not *apmere, awelye.*

place ceremony

April: *Awelye re-paperte, awelye kwere aylenke, 'kwelkartalarre', enye-ike,*
ceremony 3sg-only ceremony 3sgACC sing-PRS food-now

It's only a song, when you sing *'kwelkartalarra'* it's about the food,

April: *Kwelkarte enye.*
Not *apmere, kwelkarte rtame*
3sgACC that=FOC food place melon-CNTR

that food, the bushmelon.

Daphne: *uh-huh merne*
fruit

April: *rwen'e yeah, enye*
fruit food

Daphne: *merne-pe.*
tucker.
fruit-FOC

(2001, MD25, dn 16)
Morphological analysis

A kwelkartarlarra

1 kwelkarte\(^1\) - arle\(^2\) - arre - me
  wild.melon = REL create / call - TNS = REL INCH floodout

i Where the bush melons are created becomes a floodout.

ii Where the bush melons are, where the floodout is.

2 kwelkarte larra\(^6\) nalarra entyere
  wild.melon (song morph) ? floodout

Where the bush melons are, where the floodout is.

3 kwelkarte-le= arre alw - arre\(^7\) entyere
  wild.melon-ERG = REL chase - ? creek

Where the wild melons 'grow along' the creek.

Notes

\(^1\) kwelkarte (K) ‘wild melon’ (Cucumis melo ssp agrestis) [C].
\(^2\) - arle (pan - Ar) REL [L].
\(^3\) arre - (K) arrerne - (pan - Ar) [L], 'put' [L], 'create / call' [L]. See song text 1.
\(^4\) - arre - (K) INCH [P]
\(^5\) entyere entyere 'floodout' (K, Aly, An); 'debris carried by floodout' (K) [C]. See song text 9.
\(^6\) - larra (song morpheme) Verbal suffix? [P] See also song texts 31 and 33.
\(^7\) alwe - (K) alwerne - (pan - Ar) 'chase' [P]. This would involve postulating an archaic verb tense or a zero verb tense followed by the relativiser.

General comments

Song text 36 clearly refers to kwelkarte ‘wild melon’ and the floodout near Bottom Bore where it used to grow. The second segment of textline A and the first segment of textline B is not confirmed, although alwe- ‘chase’ meaning 'follows, grows along' is suggested in expansion 4. Evidence for arrerne 'create / call' comes from the fact that this morpheme occurs in many other Akwelye song texts.
Appendix 1: Song text 37

Song text 37

<table>
<thead>
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<th>In 3 of 9 performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</table>

A (a)nteparrerna

A ntewayrrernay

B walematelyowarmpeyay

B walematelyowarmpeya

Pronunciation variation:

A ateparrerna ntewayrrernay (on descent of 180; 190; 191; 338; 339)

A anteparrerna ntewayrrernay (532)

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

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Tempo bands

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TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: AABB

TCR: BBA (records 339; 342)


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Textlines and melodic structure

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</tr>
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<td>MS2</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>BB</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS3</td>
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<td>AABB</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4</td>
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<td>BB</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
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<td>ABB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS7</td>
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<td>AABB</td>
<td>AABBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS8</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>AABBA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*MS1 absent in these items

TRANSLATIONS

166
Expansions

1. *arntepe arntepe arrema alena nte* little bird swim
   'little bird, arntepe short one'
   'bird is hot, goes in water to cool off swim arntwenge him bin swim'
   (GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

2. Daphne: Him want to lovem another one now. *ntepprene arteparene—*
   Myf: *artepprene?'*
   Daphne: No *aleme itenyewanpeye* him want to lovem that girl, that's why him singem.
   Myf: *warlemaytenyewanpeyayay?*
   Daphne: Yeah, yeah. Singem this one, boy. Him wantem boy,
   Daphne: and boy lovem him. Yeah. That's why we bin singem that one.
   Myf: *alematenyeve.
   Daphne: Yeah *alemaytenyewanpeyay*. Proper funny one. *aleme guts.
   Myf: *aleme?* *atenyeve?*
   Daphne: *itenyewanpeyeyeve* him wantem that boy. *uh-huh. Him want to like go
   Myf: *anpeyeyeve?*
   Daphne: and lovem that boy. And boy can lovem him. Umm, that's why. Square and
   square
   Daphne: (laughs) funny one. *Yeah him want to marry him.
   Myf: *Um. arnpeyeyeve or anpeyeyeve?* *apmere-le inte-
   Kirsty: *ryeke* [home-LOC lie-PURP]
   Myf: *wulemaytenyewanpeyay—*
   Daphne: *Yeah, alemaye tenyeve anpeyaye anteparrane.
   (singing)
   Myf: *'anteparrerane'?* *Oh anteparrerane 'guts'
   Daphne: *This one now guts, callem
   anteparrerane
   Daphne: Yeah, him wantem that boy, and boy lovem him.
   (1999, MD21. 1999 da 80)

Morphological analysis

**A anteparrerena**

1. *arntepe1 arreme2*
   pigeon.sp create

**B walemaytenyowarnpeya**

1. *aleme3 iteny-we4 ampe5-yeve6*
   stomach fancy.s/o-DAT tread-TNS

   *The bronzewing pigeon, in love (he) treads (in her footprints)*

2. *arntepe arreme*
   pigeon.sp create

   *aleme iteny-we artnpe5-yeve*
   stomach fancy.s/o-DAT run-TNS

   *The bronzewing pigeon, in love (he) runs (after her)*

167
Appendix 1: Song text 37

3 antepe-re-rane\(^9\) aleme itenyewe antpe\(^9\)-yeve
wander-du-CNT stomach fancy.s/o-DAT touch-TNS

(We) are in love so should run off as lovers together

Notes

1 *arntepe* (pan-A) ‘bronzewing pigeon (*Phaps chalcoptera*)’ [L].
2 *arrerre* (pan-Ar) [C] 'create' [L]. Although this form has many meanings, only the meaning 'create' fits here semantically. See song text 1.
3 *aleme* (pan-A) [C] ‘liver’ (pan-A), 'stomach, seat of the emotions' (K) [C].
4 *itenye-we* (K) ‘fancy.s/o-DAT’ [C]; *itenye-ke* (Aly, An)
5 *ampe* (Arr, WA, An) ‘tread’ [P]. In the Arrernte dictionary entry for *ampe-me* the example sentence is 'boy steps in girls footprints so they will be married'.
6 \(^{-}\)yeve (WAly) PURP, (Arr) command [P]; or possibly \(^{-}ye* (pan-Ar) 'PERM'; (K) 'FUT' [P]. Both forms are stated in the spoken form of the textline expansion 2.
7 *artpe*- (K) ‘run’ [P]
8 *antepe-re*- (Arr) ‘walk around, wander around-DU’ [P]
9 *ampe*- (K) *ampe*- (Arr, WA, An) ‘touch, feel’ [P]

General comments

It is unclear who the actor in this song text is — it may be a woman, or a man or both. There are also multiple possibilities for the form of the verb in both textlines. The repetition of textline A varies, having one more syllable: *anteparre* *anteparre*. This variation may represent a morphological variation, such as the presence of the dative morpheme —we, or it may be the result of breaking. The semantic relationship between textline A when *amntepe* 'bronzewing pigeon' is a meaning, and the meanings of textline B put forward here is unlikely. Possibly textline B had another meaning that related to the bird. We would also assume that the interpretation of textline A as a verb to do with fancy someone is more in line with the meanings of textline B put forward here. We could postulate a word related to the forms *anternre*- (Arr, WA) *unternre*- (An, Aly) and *anteye-iveme* (Arr) ‘have sex’.

In all interpretations of textline B, there is a clear case of consonant transfer, whichever form of the verb is taken: *aleme itenyewe ampe-yeve* $\rightarrow$ *waleme itenyewe ampe-ye*.  

168
Song text 38

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 song</th>
<th>In 1 of 9 performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A tyelatyalarrerna</td>
<td>A tyelatyalayrrernay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B (i)kwerrimpikwerray</td>
<td>B kwerrimpikwerra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Textline 39b is the same as textline 18b

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S  W#  S  W#S  W</th>
<th>S  W  W#S  W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B  L#  B  L#  B  L</td>
<td>B  B  L#  B  L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

tyelatyalarrerna  kwerrimpikwerra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>textline</th>
<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Speed $\frac{1}{4}$ = MM 126-144 (144)

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BBAA

Final vowel cycle: a ay / ay a. Vowel harmony only in MS3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TL A</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>ay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TL B</td>
<td>ay</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Textlines and melodic structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>record no.</th>
<th>211</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MS1</td>
<td>BB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
<td>AA</td>
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<td>MS3</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
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<td>MS5</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS6</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS7</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. Daphne: *aluyeleye, aluyeleye*, cousin. Our cousin, that's why him callem that one. That's my cousin!

   Kirsty: Last one-*ike* **wenhe arweker-arle arrenhe mpele...**
   now ANPH widow-ALL INCH-PST thus

   That one (singing) was our (?) who became a widow

   Daphne: Oh Yeah, yeah. Two. One girl bin losem now. Finish. That's why. That's last that one, that's finished now, that's last.


2. (sings song text 18)

   ?: self again *aluyeleye-aluyeleye*
   cousin-cousin

   *There's another song 'cousin-cousin'*

   ?: *key key kngwere=ike=rtame aluyeleye-aluyeleye*
   another=now=CNTR cousin-cousin

   *Go on, another one now 'cousin-cousin'*

   ?: *kwerrimpekwerre*'?

   (sings song text 18)

   ?: *Aylne-nye aynanth*  
   ?: Yes 'aluyeleye-aluyeleye kwerrimpe-kwerre'
   cousin-cousin kwerrimpe-girl

   *Go on, another one now 'cousin-cousin'*

   ?: *Aylne errwanthe kngwere-therre*
   sing-IMP 2pl.Om another-two

   *Sing another two!*

   (sings song text 38)

   ?: *Yewe-yewe! [Yes!]*

   (1976, GK5160, dn 136)
Morphological analysis

A  tyelatyalarrerna  B  kwerrimpikwerray
1  altylele altylele1  arrerne2  kwerrimpe3  kwerre4
cousin cousin     create/call     Dreamtime.woman     girl

i  The Kwerrimpe girls were created as cousins
ii  The Kwerrimpe girls call each other cousins

Notes
2 altylele (K) ~ altyleleye (pan-A) 'cousin'; ‘my cousin’ (K) [C]. Breen notes a reduplicated form of altylele-altylele in WAn, Arr, Aly, however its meaning is not clear (1998:51).
2 arrre- (K) arrerne- (pan-Ar) [C] 'create/call' [C]. See song text 1, note 6.
3 Kwerrimpe (K, Aly) 'ancestral woman' [C]. See song text 4.
4 kwerre (K, WAn) 'girl' (archaic in Arr) [C]. See song text 3.

General comments
This song text has the same textline B as song text 18. In the Tara 11 performance song text 39 was sung after song text 18. Both songs refer to cousins, as can be seen from the expansions above. This song was only sung once and does not have multiple interpretations, possibly because it was not discussed much as one of the singers was clearly a close relative of Daphne and Kirsty who had passed away.
Appendix 1: Song text 39

Song text 39

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4 songs 1 of 9</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>performances</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>217, 218, 219, 586</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A  arrkelarerlana
B  rayngantyernantya

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

| S | W | W# | S | W | S
|---|---|----|---|---|---
| B | B | L  | B | B | L

arrkelarerlana
rayngantyernantya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>textline</th>
<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
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</table>

Speed  – MM 144

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BBAA

TCR AABB (record 586)

Final vowel pattern: a a /a a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TL A</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
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Textlines and melodic structure

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<td>extended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>BB</td>
<td>AA</td>
</tr>
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<td>MS2</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>BB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3</td>
<td>BBAABB</td>
<td>BBAABB</td>
<td>AABB</td>
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<td>AABB</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
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<td>AABBAAB</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS11</td>
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<td></td>
<td>BBAABBA</td>
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TRANSLATIONS

Expansions
1. lawena arra tyenantya
   rain too quick - boyfriend. When him bin rain too quick. Wets girls trying to get
   boyfriend. They bin get wet

(GK's 1976 fieldnotes)
2. Daphne: Sun. Um. He worrying for *artweyeve-ange*?
Kirsty: ? worry thus
Kirsty: Yeah, *arawerrnge*
Daphne: Dreaming he bin worrying for something, might be boyfriend
(laughs). Girl bin worrying.
Myf: *arawerrnge*?
Daphne: *Arawerrng antyernantye*,
*aheerkelerelen*. He might be he bin worrying. Amie that might be, no might be Blanch-apeke [perhaps] or someone.
Myf: *'arawerrnge antyernantye'*?
Daphne: Uh-huh. That's our singer again, self, that rainmaker.
Our father bin losem whole lot. 'We got no father now, nothing, finish, right out'.
Myf: *Kwerrimpele arawerrnge*?
Daphne: Yeah, that one now, Blanche. He got no father. Too cheeky they bin killem bout everybody. Beltem properly.

(1999, MD21, dn 82)

3. April: *Nihakenhaye*? *arawerrngantyenantye*?

Betty: *Nharte kwaty-arenye-rtame, kwaty-arenye-rtame.*
that water-HAB-CNTR water-HAB-CNTR
It's (about that thing) that lives near water

Betty: *Wenhe-rteye etelare-nhe arntve-ng-arle errwelenge ape-rrane, renhe-rtame*
ANPH-uncertain know-PST water-LOC-REL above go-CNTR ANPH-CNTR
You know that thing that goes about on top of the water
April: *pelyakswe?* a
duck?
Betty: No! (laughs) *Rewengantyenantye*=pe nharte rewapimperre-rtame! song text=FOC that dragonfly-CNTR
No! *arawerrngantyenantye* is (about) a dragonfly!
April: * rewapimperre that one! wenharte ape-rrane. dragonfly ANPH-DEF go-CNTR-EXT
Daughter-in-law, it's (about) a dragonfly the one that goes about.

Daphne: rewapimperre! dragonfly
Betty: *?-antyenantye*-pe, uh-
fuh.
Yarawerrngantyenantye'
yes.
Appendix I: Song text 39

Betty: rewapierrere, errwele-ngwe
Dragonflies— they travel above the water
April: rewapierrere rtame, ilwekere
Dear dragonflies!
April: Yeah, arntwe-ngwe wenhepe aleny-le
Yes on water, and on running water.

***
Myf: Kwerrimpe-le are-nhe kwere?
Kwerrimpe-ERG see-PST 3sgACC
Did Kwerrimpe see it?

(Betty: Rapimperre nharte-ee
Dragon fly, that one.
April: No Rapimperre-rtame self-rtame
The one about dragonflies is a different one
Daphne: Rapimperre
Dragonfly

Daphne: Self. When him walk around.
Dragonflies go around alone.
April: Yeah apmererre-rtame self-rtame
Yes, they are always alone.
Betty: Apmererre always

(Betty: kwaty-arenye-rtame
water-HAB-CNTR
It's always around the water
April: Apmererre-rtame arntw-arenye
always-CNTR water-HAB
It's always around the water
Daphne: Rainmaker [associated with rain]

Myf: He's rainmaker himself?

April: No Rain-arenye [It's found near water]
HAB
Betty: No rain-arenye-arteyte re.
-HAB-until 3sgNOM
No, it only goes about where there is water
Kirsty: Arntw-arenye-rteye re.
It lives around water

Daphne: Yeah, Rain
Yeah him
Kirsty: ... aherrer * repe arntwenge aperrane
...when the sun is out it goes around the water
April: wenhe ape-rranekle arntwenge aleny-le.
ANPH go-CNT-now water-LOC floodwater-LOC
Then it goes about near the running water.

(2001, MD25, dn 13)
4. They are worried, arawerrnge antyenke, arawerrnge angkenke.

Morphological analysis

A arrkelarlerlanana  B rayngantyernantya

1 aherrke<sup>1</sup>-le<sup>2</sup> are-rlane<sup>3</sup> arawerrnge<sup>4</sup> antye<sup>5</sup>-rnynte<sup>6</sup>
sun-LOC see-CNT worry jump-TNS

Watching at sunrise, worrying

2 aherrke-le are-rlane arawerrnge antye<sup>5</sup>-rnynte
sun-LOC see-CNT worry rise-TNS

Watching at sunrise, the power rising

Notes

1 aherrke (K, Aly, An) 'sun' [C]. Possibly shortened form of aherr-k-herrke-le 'at sunrise'
2 -le (pan-A) LOC [L].
3 are-rlane- (pan-Ar) 'see-LIG-CNT' [C].
4 arawerrnge (K, Aly, An) 'worry, power' [C]. This nominal refers to a strong emotion, force or power in people. It is not clear whether non-human things can be described as having arawerrnge.
5 antye- [C], 'jump' (K) 'climb, rise' [C] (pan-Ar) [L]. See song text 9.
6 -rntye- (?) Possibly an archaic Arandic transitive verb tense ending [L]. See song text 11. In translation 2 we would have to postulate that the verb ending also encodes a different subject marker.

General comments

The meaning rewapiinperre 'dragonfly' from expansion 3 is not transparent from any form of the song text and it is unlikely that this word was versified to form textline B. In 2005 Betty stated that textline 39b goes with a textline ropiinperre /umd. which would explain how 'dragonfly' was associated with song text 39.

There is only one possible interpretation for textline B, however the complex semantics of arawerrnge means that there are two possible interpretations: either arawerrnge 'worry' describes the absent subject (kwerrimphe), or it is the subject, meaning 'power, force' of the predicate 'rise'. There are morphological and rhythmic similarities between textline A of this song text and textline A of song text 11.
Appendix 1: Song text 40

Song text 40

<table>
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<th>4 song items</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in 1 of 9</td>
<td>274, 275, 276, 277</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Accompanies painting up in the Tara 2 performance.

Pronunciation variation

A wilyilawetynerrpeweteyerre B wilyilawetynerrpetyerre

A wilyilawetynerrpeweteyerre B wilyilawetynerrpetyerre

Drop final syllable:

Text, Meter and Tempo

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<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
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<td>B</td>
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<td>B</td>
<td>L#</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

wilyilawetynerrpeweteyerre  wilyilawetynerrpetyerre

textline  isorhythm  syllables  beats
| A  | M  | 9   | 4  |
| B  | P  | 8   | 4  |

Tempo bands

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<td>138</td>
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<tr>
<td>274</td>
<td>152</td>
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</table>

Text Meody Overlay

Text cycle: BA

TCR  AB (record 274)

Final vowel cycle: e / e . Textline level vowel harmony (The penultimate vowels have the same quality as the final vowels in all textlines).

<table>
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<tr>
<th>TL B</th>
<th>TL A</th>
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Textlines and melodic structure

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS1</td>
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<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
<td>AB</td>
<td>ABA</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>BA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>AB</td>
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</tr>
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<td>MS5</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>BA</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS6</td>
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<td>ABAB</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

176
TRANSLATIONS

Expansions
1. They bin talk "you gotta nice painting". Oh look. Nother one paint. Tnakenke plenty of
paint. They sit down in shade.

2. Daphne: Him backem now 'oh you got plenty of painted, you backem now'. 'Oh you got
painted, oh all over.' One shade.

   Daphne: Yeah. Big mob and they're sitting down, right around. That's the one now. Him
   backem.

   Daphne: Um. They backem now. 'Welyele tyemngare welyele wetyerrpay tyerrpe
   wetyerrpetyerrpe'

   GKoch: So you painting?

   Daphne: Yeah. welyele They sit down in the shade. welye They puttem awelye. Paintem
   now.

   GKoch: When you paintem, that just women?

   Daphne: Yeah. Dreaming. they backem, 'Oh you got ... tnakenke 'praise' we tnakenke
   you gottem, plenty of paint 'Oh flash'. Um. They tellem like that. (1976, GK6896, dn 46)

3. Daphne: All fella, all the arikenye mob, everybody now bin findem. That one now him
   bin singing.

   Daphne: Gotten paint, everybody bin sit down 'welyelawerryerrpe' all the women sit
down gotten paint.

   Myf: Wante 'werryerrpe'?

   Myf: 'Werryerrpe? that one now 'Oh him gotten paint! -- 'welyele wetyerrpe'

   Kirsty: wetyerrpe-wetyerrpe

   Myf: arikenye?

   Daphne: Kaytetye callem 'arikenye wetyerrpe'. Sometime. Yeah wetyerrpe arikenye we
callem two fella-two fella. (1999, MD21, dn 80)

   shade-CNTR thus throw-PST-CNTR
   They paint on ceremonial designs in the shade.

   April: awelye, arikenye
   ceremony design

   Kirsty: Arikenye-kwene
classification

   Daphne: awelye, painting puttem painting
Appendix 1: Song text 40

April: ‘weteryrpeteryerreps’, awelye, arkenye

sing-PST:CNT-then 3.pl:OM back paint-PST:CNT 3sgACC ceremony
They would paint their backs with that (ceremonial designs) and then sing.

April: ‘Oh look at that, that’s good one, good paint’ Mpelarte they bin angke-yaye thus talk-PST:CNT

April: ‘weteryrpeteryerreps’=pe, welyele. =FOC (textline segment)
They congratulated each other on how beautiful the designs were, they praised them.

Daphne: Yeah.
Betty: Yewe, good one mpelore.
Myf: Kwerrimpe-le artntwe-nhe?
The Kwerrimpe women said?

April: Yeah. Kwerrimpe isenge happy-arreyaye ‘Oh good one, you got a good painting’

April: They bin happy, mpelarte.
Daphne: They bin happy, all the Kwerrimpe mob happy.

April: Atye artntwe-rantye ngkenge altyarre-yaye atanthe.
1sgERG tell-PRS:CNT 2sg be.happy-PST:CNT 3.plOM
I’m telling you they were happy

Betty: Ahene. [good]
Daphne: Good painting, good one.

April: Ahene arkenye malangke
Ahene design beautiful

Myf: Aylerantye nharpe when you paintem or after? Do you sing as you paint or after?

April: Yeah. After paintemaylenke-rtame, Oh finish now.
Daphne: Yeah

April: Oh they bin happy now
Betty: ‘Welyele aweteryrpeteryerreps’ike aleyayne

April: Anamperle-like. Arkenye malangke-like
Betty: umm

(2001, MD25, dn 11)

5. This song is about the Kwerrimpe women sitting in the shade, awelye arryemke —all painted up, and ready to dance. Someone beautifully painted up is described as weteryrpeteryerreps. awelye akake ‘having designs’ (2002, Betty, MT’s fieldnotes)
Morphological analysis

A  wilyilawetyerrpewetyerrpe  B  wilyilawetyerrpetyerrpe
   elye-le\textsuperscript{1}  wetyerrpe-tyerrpe\textsuperscript{2}  elye-le  wetyerrpe-tyerrpe
  shade-LOC   good.designs  shade-LOC  good.designs

(The Kwerrimpe women sit) in the shade with beautiful designs.

Notes

\textsuperscript{1} elye-le 'shade-LOC' [C], elye-ng\textsuperscript{e} (K) ulye-le (pan-Ar). See song text 6,.

\textsuperscript{2} wetyerrpe-tyerrpe (song word) [C] 'beautifully painted up'. One explanation of this word suggests it is particular to the Arncerc series, although other women recognise this word and its meaning as applying to awelye ceremonies in general. In Anmatyerr this word also means 'full' (An). This meaning is not supported in the expansions.

General comments

It is unlikely that the segment welye\textit{le} refers to 'ceremonial stripes-INST', as this segment set to this rhythmic cell always refers to shade in other song texts (see textlines 6b and 34b). More likely is that the meaning 'ceremonial stripes', as expressed in the expansions, comes from knowing the meaning of wetyerrpetyerrpe 'beautifully painted up'. The extra syllable in textline A, wetyerrpegetyerrpe, is most likely the result of breaking, as the spoken form of this word in the expansions is wetyerrpetyerrpe.
## Song text 41

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<th>In 2 of 9 performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
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### Pronunciation variation

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<tr>
<td>B  B  L#  B  L</td>
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perriparrena

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<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
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### Text MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: AB

TCR BA (record 299)

Final vowel cycle: ay / a. Textline level vowel harmony.

Note: the penultimate vowels have the same quality as the final vowels in all textlines

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<thead>
<tr>
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### Textlines and melodic structure

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<td>AB</td>
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<td>BA</td>
<td>BABA</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>ABA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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Variation to textlines and melodic structure

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<tr>
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VARIATION TO TEXT MELODY OVERLAY:

Text cycle: AB (record 296).
Penultimate vowel same as final vowel in both textlines

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TL B</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

   Bottom Bore (Thamkwe) / Iperte. Secret place arntwe 'rainmaker' from this place they bin
   start all the kweyayes. They bin makem rain all the kweyayes. Arleparle [place name] rain
   maker again. We singem that perriparrana (sings 'perriparrana perlara'). They bin
   chasem that one now.

   (GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

   water-EMPH that=FOC water-REL fall-CNT rain-CNT rain-INCH-CNT ANPH
   That's water falling, water raining

   April: Little shower akelye wehe [small ANPH]

   Daphne: When him rain. Him rain shower. Rain when him fall down, he gotta rain all
   day
   April: Perlerarrre-rane intemarte wenh=arte atnthe-nke.
   rain-CNT for.good ANPH=DEF fall-PRS
   'Perlerarrrane' is when it rains for a long time.

   Betty:
   'Perlerarrrane' kwatye, yeah.

   Betty: perlerarrre-rane arntwe=pe re arre-nke
   rain-CNT water=FOC 3sg INCH-PRS
   'perlerarrrane' is when it becomes water

***

Kirsty: Tyeteyarte.
from here
Appendix 1: Song text 41

April: *Apmere Akwerrnge-theye.*
From Akwerrnge

That's rain now belonging to we.

Daphne:

Yeah Hatches Creek, east.

Kirsty: *Mpelarte atanthe ayleye-ne-nhe.*

That's (where) they went and sang

Daphne:

They bin singem there.

Betty: *Arlwene=pe alpenkerne right back Akwerrng-arle. Aparte atanthe aleye-ene-nhe.*

They returned right back to Akwerrnge. They went and sang the whole way.

***

Daphne: They bin go and singem at Hatches Creek and then come back again.

Betty: *Aleyeernalpe-nhe-lke want-akerre wenh-akerre-theye?*

And then they came back to which area?

***

April: *Awelye-inenge-lke nyarte soakage-inenge aylel-aylel-arre-nhe ny-amern-arte nowe.*

They sang all the songs and the soakages as they went along, they were soakages (that they sang)

***

April: *Awelye kwer-amerne nyarte-ee angentye kngwere, aylel-ayetenne atanthe.*

Wele nyarte.

They sung the women's ceremonies of each soakage and then left.

Daphne: *Ipererte.*

April: *Yeal nhangarte. Iperete-akerre.*

April: Only this two fella auntic two fella knowem bout.

***

Betty: *Ape-nhe-ngerne ayleye-ne-nhe atanthe.*

They came and sang.

April: *Rlwene alpe-nhe-ngerne mwernarte. They bin ayle-nhe awelye. Rlwene-arle atanthe.*

They turned back this way and sang women's ceremonies as they returned

(2001, MD25, dn 5)

3. (Singing)

182
April: *Altmarle=pe nharte* west=FOC that

*It's west*

**Daphne:** 

*ntheke-rtey-arte?*

where-uncertain-DEF

Where?

**Marg:** *Kwere-le aynanthe anter-annte-yane*

3sgACC-LOC1pl.OM sit.RED-CNT

*That's where we live*

April: *Kwere-le errwanthe ante-yane. Mparleye 'Perlarrerane'=pe mpelarte errwanthe*

3sgACC-LOC 2pl.OM sit-CNT =FOC this 2plOM

*Where you mob live, Mparleye 'perlerarrerane' near where you live*

April: *Kwer-angkwerre anteyane.*

Arreranty-aperte nharte-ee close-just that-EMPH

**Daphne:**

*There, country.*

**Marg:** *Kwerele-rtame anteyane*

3sgACC-LOC-EMPH sit-CNT

*Where (we) live.*

**Daphne:** That country now, rainmaker country.

***

April: *ilwekere [poor thing]*

**Daphne:** uh-huh, poor thing. *Kwaty-we [water-DAT] we singem bout, kwatyhe.*

April: *arnwwe, arnwwwe* water water

(1999, MD20, dn 4)

4. This song describes rain when it sets in in the distance. It may have dancing and is sung to painting up (2002, Betty, MT's fieldnotes)

**Morphological analysis**

**A** iperriparrerna

1. ipmerre=pe² arre-me³ raindrops=FOC create-TNS

*Making raindrops, it is raining*

2. ipmerre=pe arre-me raindrops=FOC create-TNS

*Raindrops are running off*

3. perlerayrrenay

**B** perlerayrrenay

perlerare⁴-me⁵ rain-TNS

rerare⁴-rane⁷ (water) run.off-CNT

perlere⁸ arrerne rain put/create-TNS

**Notes**

¹ *ipmerre* (K) *inmerre* (An) [P] 'raindrops'.

² *pe* (K) [P] Focus marker.

³ *arrerne* (pan-Ar) [L] 'create' [L]. See song text 1b.
Appendix 1: Song text 41

4 *perlerarre* (K) [C] v.i. ‘(rain) fall in the distance’

5 -rue (archaic) postulated tense morpheme [L]. See song text 1.

6 *rlerarre* ~ *arlerarre* (K) [P] v.i. ‘1. (rain) run off something’ ‘2. slip, slide’. Note the derived form *arler-arlere* ‘slippery’

7 -rane (K) [P] PRS.CNT

8 *perlerarre* [P] (v.i.) ‘(rain) fall in the distance’ (K). Note *perlere* (An) ‘dark rain clouds’, and *arre* INCH (K).

**General comments**

Expansions 1 and 3 suggest that this song refers to a particular place near *Lhite* or possibly *Arleparte* as well as to *perlerarre* ‘rain falling in the distance’. Interestingly, the most common word for ‘(rain) fall’, the transitive verb *rie* is not a speech equivalent suggested in the expansions. No speech words for textline A are suggested in the expansions, and perhaps it is a derivative of a place name.
Song text 42

1 song In 1 of 9 performances Record no. 527

\[ \text{\textbf{A}} \text{ kwerrepekwerrelarenhepanHEMA A kwerrepekwerrelarenhepaynHEMAY} \]

Variation:

\[ \text{\textbf{B}} \text{ pRILTYINGKATYARRERNAY B pRILTYINGKATYARRENA} \]

*Note that line B is the same as line B in song text 3.*

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

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<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
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</table>

Speed \( \dot{=} \) MM 152

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: AABB


<table>
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<tr>
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<th>ay</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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Textlines and melodic structure

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<td>MS4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
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</table>

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. Daphne: 'kwerrimpelayarrene' when him bin travelling.

   Kirsty: \[ \text{\textit{Pereltye-angketyarrerne?}} \]

   Daphne: Yeah, \textit{pereltye} kwerrepekwerrele kwerrepekwerrele him sing/see'em? about me, he sing/see'em bout me, like that. 'Come and look at this \textit{pereltye}, oh too much we gettem now!' -\textit{akwene}. In the creek.
Kirsty: 'kwerrimpekwerrele arenhepanheme perelyengkatyarrenay.'

(1999, MD21, dn 81)

2. Kirsty: 'Kwerrimpe kwerre arenpapenem' akwenhe
see-while moving-REP-RED-PRS EVID

(1999, MD12, dn 121)

Morphological analysis

A  kwerrrepekwerrelarenhapaheme  B  prilyingkatyarrena

1  kwerre=pe³-kwerre-le are-nhe-pe.nhe-me³ apereltye⁴ ingketye⁵ arrerne⁶
girl=FOC-girl-ERG watch-while moving-REP-PRS red.gum:lerp precious put/create

i  The girls keep watching while they travel; they create lovely lerp
ii  The girls keep watching while they travel; they put lovely lerp (in a coolamon?)

2  kwerre=pe-kwerre-le are-nhe-pe.nhe-me apereltye-angketyarre⁷ ane⁶
girl=FOC-girl-ERG watch-while moving-REP-PRS red.gum:lerp-lots.of sits

The girls see lots of lerp while they travel

Notes

1  kwerre 'girl-ERG' (K, WAn) (archaic in Arr) [C].
2  -pe- (Arr) increment in linked reduplication signalling a continuous state [L] (Henderson 1998:257). The linked reduplication may also mean 'each, every one'; semantically equivalent to -ame (K) as in kwerrame-kwerre 'every girl'.
3  are-nhe-pe-nhe-me (Arr) 'see-do something while moving relative to some place or thing' -peVCV (Arr) occurs in some verb stems with a range of meanings of which the most likely are: (do something) every now and again; keep (doing something again and again); keep (doing something without stopping). The previous VCV is reduplicated after the -pe.-me (pan-Ar) PRS [L]. Wilkins observes that the reference point for -nhe- is not often stated but understood from context (1989:286-289), in which case are-nhe-pe.nhe-me would be understood as 'see place/person/thing that the addressee knows the location of while travelling along'.
4  (apereltye (pan-A) 'sweet lerp that grows on the leaves of the river red gum (Eucalyptus camaldulensis)' [C]. See note 7.
5  ingketye (An, Arr) 'precious' [L].
6  -angketyarre (K, Aly, An) 'having, lots of' [P].
10  ane- (pan-A) 'sit, is' [P]. See note 10.

General comments

The different interpretations of song text 3A are minimal. The different interpretations of textline B, which is the same textline as 3B, stem from whether the final segments are ingketye arrerne 'put:create lovely (lerp)' or -angketyarre ane- 'there is (lerp). The expansions of song text 3 suggest ingketye 'lovely' as the interpretation for the middle segment of this textline. As well, the setting of this segment to a trochee suggests a shorter word, ingketye, rather than angketyarre.
Song text 43


A woweralpiwowerlalpi  B tyertatyertewowerlalpi

A woweralpiwowerlalpi  B tyertatyertewowerlalpi

*Has accompanying dance pattern.*

**Pronunciation variation**

A  woweralpiwowerlalpi (MS1&2 575; descent 576)
B  tyertatyertewowerlalpi (MS1&2 575)

**TEXT, METER AND TEMPO**

**Polyrhythmic song text**

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**Tempo bands**

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CAAM Elpate2 Elpate2(3-7of7) Arraty(3of3)
(1-2of7) Arraty(1,2of3)

**TEXT MELODY OVERLAY**

Text cycle: BA

**Final vowel cycle:** a /ay. Textline level vowel harmony in textline A.

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**Textlines and melodic structure**

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</table>

**TRANSLATIONS**

**Expansions**

1. Daphne:grass now, green grass, chuckem bout, pullem out *** run away. Frightened run away. Young girl, boy bin chasem him, young girl.
2. Daphne: Grass. \textit{tyertatyerte} too much hard one. Makem road, you
Kirsty: \textit{‘tyertatyertawewelalpeme’} [textline]
Daphne: know, cleanem out road. He want to go clean road-arde makem road. \textit{tywert-atywerte} proper outside in the bush.
Myf: \textit{Errpatye?} [useless]
Daphne: Yeah, \textit{errpatye}
Kirsty: \textit{‘tyertatyertyawel-alpeme’} [textline]
Daphne: \textit{Tywertatywerte} him chuckem bout grass. Trying to cleanem road.
Daphne: Him chuckem like that Cuttem. Cleanem road.
Kirsty: \textit{‘tyertatyerte awerel-alpeme’-akwene}.
Myf: \textit{‘wewel-alpaywewalpay’} [textline] \textit{nthakenhe} [how]?
Kirsty: \textit{warelalpewerene} \textit{worel-alpewerene} nte katye aylene? [?]?
Daphne: \textit{‘tyertatyertyaweraalpay} wewelalpaywewelalpay’ - chuckem you know, cleanem road. \textit{tywertatywerte} [native morning glory] cheeky one.

***
Daphne: \textit{Kaytety-arde ‘ertntwenke’} chuckem and burnem then on the fire, grass. From the road. [When dancing, in Kaytetye they chuck it on the fire and burn the grass]
He got eyes (ice?) that \textit{tywert-atywerte} that’s why him holdem.
Myf: \textit{erlwe-akake}? [has ‘eyes?’]
Daphne: No, no good, dirty one, just grass. He blockem that road.

(1999, MD21, dn 87)

3. Marg: \textit{atywert-atywerte eletnhel-eletnhel-arrerantye}
\textit{plant.sp} \textit{throw-while-going-along-CNT}

\textbf{Throwing native morning glory as you travel along}
Daphne: grass, \textit{athe}, \textit{atywert-atywerte}, \textit{athe}.
No, ‘native morning glory’, poor thing. It has lovely pink flowers, lots of them. It grows in the creek, don’t you remember?
Daphne: Yeah yeah
April: \textit{Wenhe atywerte-atywerte ilwelke. Mwernart-atheke mpwelanthe anen-awe!}
You know, native morning glory. Face this way you two!
Nancy: \textit{alatyey-apyenye}?
Like a pencil yam?
April: *Tywert-atyverte wenhe panty-apyenye entweyane ilwekere.*

You know, the one that grows like a blanket

Nancy: Pretty flower pink flower.

***

Marg: *Akert-akertepa wante-rtame akerr-okerre 'atywert-atywerte iwaywerl-alpeme'*

the song goes 'plant sp. throw. while-going.along'

Daphne: yeah, atherrrrke-ee *[grass]*

April: *tyertayertaywayalpay wayalpaywayalpay' mpelarte.*

It goes *tyertayertaywayalpay wayalpaywayalpay'*

***


April: pink one

***

Daphne: uh-huh. *Athe* *[grass]*

April: Not *athe, atywert-atyverte wenhe pantye-apyenye.*

**Not grass, the one like a blanket**

Daphne: Yeah that one now, racehorse, wenhe [ANPH]. You can see him dance, dance
time, he gotta go like hell. Chuckem that green grass.

April: Yeah fast one. Tomorrow right.

Daphne: They gotta showem you tomorrow.

(1999, MD20, dn 54)

4. The dance movement imitates throwing the grass over your shoulder — *eletnhelp- enhenke* (2002, Betty, MT's fieldnotes)
Appendix 1: Song text 43

Morphological analysis

A wowelalpiwowelalpi
iwey.werl-alp-yewe¹ iwey.werl-alp-yewe
throw-go back-&-PURP throw-go back-&-PURP

B tyertatyertewowerlarlpe
iwewerl-alp-yewe² iwey.werl-alp-yewe
Ipomoea throw-go back-&-PURP

(They) should return throwing the native morning glory as they go.

iwey.werl-alpe iwey.werl-alpe
throw-go back& throw-go back&
tywertyerte Ipopomea

(They) return throwing the native morning glory as they go.

Notes

¹ iwe-y-iwe-rl-alpe-yewe 'throw-LIG-CNT-LIG-go.back-&-PURP' (Aly) [C]. The purposive suffix (WAly) is [P]. The form may also be (Arr) equivalent we-werl-alpe-me.

² atwertye-atywerte ‘native morning glory’ Ipomoea muelleri (K, Aly, An) [C].

General comments
All segments of this song have confirmed speech equivalents. However the order of the speech equivalents in the song do not match the order of syllables in each word. The process of reduplication and syllable transfer which has led to the configuration in the song text may have taken various forms.
Song text 44

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4 songs in 1 of 9 performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A lawerrawerra</td>
<td>551, 552, 553, 554.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B merringkarrernay</td>
<td>B merringkarrerna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>textline</th>
<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tempo bands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no. items</th>
<th>J = MM</th>
<th>120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BBAA
Final vowel cycle: a ay ay a. Vowel harmony

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TL A</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>ay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TL B</td>
<td>ay</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Textlines and melodic structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Record no.</th>
<th>551-554</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS1</td>
<td>AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
<td>BB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3</td>
<td>AABB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4</td>
<td>AABB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
<td>AABBAA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Record no 551 interrupted

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. (sings)
Daphne: Look out he might chasem anybody love-love.
***

(sings)
Appendix 1: Song text 45

April: love-love *rtme.

***

April: Artweye-le amerre-l-arte alwe-nke, nharte-ee.

Betty: uh! [not sure whether agreement or disagreement?]

Daphne: Hmm! He'll chase em you lot! Boyfriend.

Marg: Amerre-le yweke-rrantye, amerre-le amerre-le yweke-rrantye-nke.

(A man) is frightening a (woman) with a womera

April: Oldentimes. Na, apapange arintwe-rantye Dreaming, maranye just tell-CNT always

April: arintwel-arintwel-arrrantye mpelarte.
tell-while going.along-CNT thus

That was a long time ago, it's what happened in the Dreaming.

(1999, MD19, dn 22)

2. Myf: Wante rtme nhartepe, ‘merrengkarrene’?

What’s ‘merrengkarrene’?

April: ipmerr-awe! rain, ipmerre
dew-EMPH

Daphne: Rain, ipmerre

April: ice Ipermere. You look arntwe you see him aitharele, leaf-warle you look

When you see water on leaves

Daphne: ice-le

Betty: When you seem longa grass everywhere like—. Ipermere.

Myf: wante rtme ‘lawerrawerre’?

What’s ‘lawerrawerre’

April: Apertame aylertantye, nhartepe kwerarte ipmerre

It’s just what we sing

and sing-CNT that-FOC 3sg dew

Daphne: Well we pull-em out again this one, this rain here, he can come in again.

(2001, MD25, dn 8)

3. ‘merrengkarrene’ is not based on merrarte ~ merrengarte ‘apparently’

laverre = iwerre, atyweterre (like goanna) track. (TT mwengkarta)
### Morphological analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>lawerrawerra</th>
<th>merringkarren</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-le iwerre(^1) iwerre</td>
<td>amerre(^2) (ingke) arrerre(^3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LOC track track</td>
<td>woomera ? put</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>awerre-awerre(^4) plant sp.</td>
<td>imperre(^5) (ingke) arrerre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dew ? create/call</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes**

1. *iwerre* ‘track’ [P] (pan-Ar)
2. *amerre* ‘woomera’ [C] (K, Aly, An)
4. *awerre-awerre* ‘plant type (*Helipterum* sp.)’ [P] (CAn)
5. *ipmerre* (K, Aly); *inmerre* (An) ‘dew, rain drops’ [L]

**General comments**

The only confirmed morpheme in this song is *amerre* ‘woomera’. This may seem an unlikely speech word to occur in a women’s ceremony, however there is a phrase in everyday speech which is literally ‘only womeras standing’ which means to be wiped out. This song is called a ‘love song’ by the singers Daphne and Betty. One possible way *amerre* may relate to the meaning ‘love song’ is that by singing this song, women make a man fall in love and as a result he chases that woman with a womera. Expansion 2 shows the speech equivalent *ipmerre* ‘dew’ is a meaning for singer April, however in the context of a performance, and in other discussions, this meaning was not upheld.

There are no speech equivalents suggested by the singers for textline A, so the various interpretations are drawn from knowledge of Arandic languages. *awere-awere* ‘quick-RED’ is an unlikely speech equivalent as there is no precedent for changing /r/ to /r/ in the song texts.
### Song text 45

| 5 song in 1 of 9 items performances | Record no. 143, 144, 587, 588, 589. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A lauraweyeli</th>
<th>A lauraweyeli</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| B lauraylerterp pay |

**Pronunciation variation:**

glide to monosyllabic diphthong /eya/ → /i/

| Blaurawilli (record 390; 391) |

| TEXT, METER AND TEMPO |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S W S W S</th>
<th>S W S W S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L L B B L</td>
<td>L L B B L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

lauraylerterp pay lauraweyeli

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>textline</th>
<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Tempo bands**

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>= MM</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RB</td>
<td>Tara1(3 of 3)</td>
<td>Tara1(1, 2 of 3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TEXT MELODY OVERLAY**

**Text cycle:** BBA

| TCR | BAA (record 588) |

**Final vowel cycle:** ay/i/i. Textline level vowel harmony

| TL A | ay |
| TL B | i  |

**Variation to final vowel cycle:** i / i / i

| TL A | i  |
| TL B | i  |

(records 143, 144)

**Textlines and melodic structure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>589</th>
<th>144</th>
<th>143</th>
<th>587</th>
<th>588</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>standard</td>
<td>TLR</td>
<td>TSR</td>
<td>TLR</td>
<td>TCR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| MS1 | AA | AA | AA | AA |
| MS2 | BAA | BAA | BAA | BAA |
| MS3 | BAA BAA | BAAABAA | BBAABBA | BBAABBA |
| MS4 | BAAB | BAAB | BAAB | BAAB |
| MS5 | AAAABAA | BAABA | AAAABAA | AAAABAA |

**LR in MS4, MS5, TSR in MS5**

---

11 Record 587 has MS1 and 2 of this structure, but then changes to an AABB structure.
TRANSLATIONS

Expansions
1. alar awela alawarr alwerterrpa
   when they bin go quick they bin climb up. They bin go quick sandhill, climb up
   (GK 1976 fieldnotes)

2. Daphne: ‘Lawerawera’, Hurry up
   April: Elper-apeynye
   Betty: Awere apenke mpele. [go quick]
   quick-SEMB

Betty: ‘lawerawera’
April: elper-apeynye apewethe
      quick-SEMB go-PURP

Myf: Singem quick? awere ape-wethe Kwerrimpe inenge?
      quick go-PURP

April: No, awere apewethe [go quick]
      [go quick]

Daphne: Quick

Myf: Where are they going?
Daphne: yeve-yeve. [yes]
April: Nthekarlatheke? Ayerraretetheke?
      where-ALL north-towards

April: awe altemarl-athike? Wante Kwerrimpe inenge?
       west-towards

Daphne: Anywhere they walk around. There longa our country
Betty Yeah, Kwerrimpe ape

Betty: Arnerre
Daphne: There again, apmere one place Yeah, Arnerre arle.

(2001, MD25, dn 7)

Morphological analysis

B lauraweyeli A lauralerterrpi
awere we-1 awere2-arle3 rtwerre4
fast throw fast-EMPH sandhill

Notes
1 we- (K), awe- ‘throw’ (Aly) [P]
2 awere ‘fast’ (K) [C]
3 -arle (pan-Ar) ‘EMPH
4 rtwerre (K, Aly, An) ‘sandhill’ [C]

General comments

It is not clear what the second segment of textine B is, although it is likely to be a verb as there is no verb in the song text and many songs end their B textline with a verb. The meaning ‘throw, layout, hear’ does not fit with the expansions, yet there are no clues in the expansions as to what the speech equivalent may be.
Appendix 1: Song text 46

Song text 46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4 songs</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>items</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>performances</td>
<td>34, 35, 36, 37.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A tyalatyalarana  
B mirrirrpinya

This song is from the Waake and song series.

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>textline</th>
<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>unattested</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>unattested</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tempo bands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no. Items</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 MM</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alek1(1,3,4of4)</td>
<td>Alek1(2of4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: AABB
Final vowel cycle: a-a-a-a. Textline level vowel harmony.

Textlines and melodic structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Record no.</th>
<th>35, 36</th>
<th>34</th>
<th>37</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>standard</td>
<td>TPR</td>
<td>TLR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS1</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>AABBA</td>
<td>ABBAB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>ABBA</td>
<td>ABAB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3(AA)</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>BAABB</td>
<td>BAABB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>bBAABB</td>
<td>ABBA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. Daphne: Two fella bin fight about. ... 
   Daphne: Yeah, two fella bin fight and come back again longa that same one, Arnerre. 
   Myf: They had that fight at Arnerrele? 
   Daphne: Yeah, two fella bin come back and fight about. Something wrong. 
   Kirsty: Come back longa camp now. 
   Daphne: Yeah ri- 
   Kirsty: Apmerewarlelke alpenhengerne. [The two Ampetyanes came back to Arnerre.] 
   Daphne: Right up longa- ...

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Daphne: Longa *Armerre* now two fella bin come back.

Myf: *fight-epenhe. Amarlele-therre?*

Daphne: Yeah, these two now.

Rachel: *Amarle-le-therre aylengk-arremperenge-lke.*

    woman-ERG-two 1du.SMSG.POS-spirit-now

Two woman did (fight), our (me and my sister’s) spirit
Daphne: These two bin fight about.

Rachel: Yeah, *Altyerre.* [Dreaming]

Daphne: This one bin go late and that one bin come behind. Well another one bin swear at this one. ...

Daphne: What for he bin leavem? Because he bin leavem, run away from him. That's why two fella bin swear, swear, swear. ‘Come quick, hurry up, what's wrong with you'.

Why did she leave the other one behind? Because she, the other one, had growled at her.

(singing)

Daphne: There him bin swear bout, there him bin swearing.

(singing)

Daphne: There. Dirty word this one bin swear about.

Kirsty: ‘merrerlepenhe tyalatyale kwenhe’

Daphne: ‘Pwere [genitals] tyale-tyale [swear word?] pwere tyale-tyale’ he bin callem, proper naughty!

Rachel: He bin join longa me this one.

Daphne: Come quick!

Kirsty: Pwere tyalatyale mpele!

(laughter)

Rachel: *aylenyelke.* [(They) sang]

Rachel: 'alewarte entyere' errwelengelke ayleme apewerne mpele.

    song text on.top-now 1du.SMSG.NOM go-OBLIG thus

We sung 'alewarte entyere'. Then we went because that (sorry business) was finished.

Daphne: 'Quick we want to go.'

Rachel: No father. We two fella bin sing.

Daphne: This one bin swear bout we, poor thing.

Myf: So those two went back to Armerre?

Daphne: Yeah, *Arnerre-warle* [ALL] now two fella bin camp back.
Kirsty: Yeah, longa Armerre camp, there, me two fellas...
Daphne: We bin just walk about we bin losem our father, rainmaker all the rainmaker.
Myf: Can you say that one again?
Kirsty: *merringepenhe tyale-tyale*

(1999, MD12, dn 58)

2. April: *ntyalentyale* 'skinny one' (MT fieldnotes)

**Morphological analysis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tyalatyalarna</td>
<td>mirrrippenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 tyele-tyele1 ane²</td>
<td>ipmarre³-le-penhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swear:word sit</td>
<td>tell:off-1lg-SEQ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 jalajala⁴-rna⁴</td>
<td>mirrimiri⁵-pinyi⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanting-1sgNOM</td>
<td>furious-CAUS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes**

1 *ntyalentyale* 'skinny' (K) [L]. Note that *pwere ntyale-ntyale* (K) (lit. skinny genitals) may be an old-fashioned swear word. Either the nasals in this word have been deleted in the song text (and the expansions) or *tyale-tyale* corresponds to a different word. Other evidence that the segment in the song *tyalatyale* corresponds to a swear word comes from the related forms *antyeleleke* (Arr) which is a swear word, and *tyele* 'talk behind someone's back, swear' (Aly) [L].

2 *ane* 'sit' (pan-A) [P]. This may also be a meaningless syllable, as in song text 1.

3 *ipmarre* (K) 'growl at someone, tell someone off' [P]
4 *jalajala-rna* (Wlp) 'wanting, feeling like doing something'-1sgNOM [P]
5 *mirrimiri* (Wlp) 'worked up, furious' [P]
6 *-pinyi* formative taking many classes of preverbs. Forms causative verbs with preverbs designating a separation in the material integrity of some entity (WLP Dictionary)

**General comments**

This song is from the Waake song series, a country to the north west of Armerre, although it relates to the Armerre song series. The expansions show it relates to song text 27. This is the only song text where a Warlpiri form has been considered, as the singers of this song series Kirsty and Rachel have Warlpiri associations through their mother.
Song text 47

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5 song in 1 of 9 items performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>592, 593, 594, 595, 596</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A (a)malkarlarrerna

A malkarlarrerna

B kwerrelatyentyerratyrerra

B kwerrelatyentyerratyrerra

Pronunciation variation

B kw[er]elatyentyerratyrerra (593; 594MS4; 595)

manner and place substitution /l/→/mp/

B kw[er]mpelatyentyerratyrerra (592 MS5 second B)

final syllable deletion

B kw[er]relatyentyerratyrerra (at the end melodic sections)

**TEXT, METER AND TEMPO**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>textline</th>
<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Speed = MM 138

**TEXT MELODY OVERLAY**

Text cycle: AABB

Final vowel cycle: a-a/a-a, textline level vowel harmony.

TL A a a

TL B a a

Variation to final vowel cycle: a ay / a a (no vowel harmony) (records 595 MS5, 596 MS5)

TL A a ay

TL B a a

**Textlines and melodic structure**

| MS1 | AA |
| MS2 | BB |
| MS3 | AABB |
| MS4 | AABB |
| MS5 | AABB(AA)(B) |
| MS6 | (AABB |
| MS7 | AABB(A) |

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Appendix 1: Song Text 47

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions

1. kwerrane tyentyre malakila alana all the kweyays. All the kweyayes bin dance, little kid, you know

   (GK’s 1976 fieldnotes)

2. April: Kwayeletyentyere wantartame? Kwayeletyentyere
   What’s ‘Kwayeletyentyere’
   Daphne: Uh? welyele, shade

   April: Shade that one, elye-rtame anherreye. Elye kwayeletyentyere

      That one we sang is about shade.
   April: hey?
   Daphne: yeah

   Betty: Kwayeletyentyere. Yeah marikarlarrarane
   April: elyeng-angaye?
      It’s about shade isn’t it?

   Daphne: Yeah, shade

   Myf: Wantartame tyentyre?
      What’s ‘tyentyre’
   Daphne: ‘tyentyre’ him crying
      Yeah, in the shade
   April: Na ‘elyengarre anteyane’
      No, in the shade.

   Daphne: When him getting hot well him go longa shade now

   (2001, MD25, dn 5)

3. This song refers to young girls, kwerre, dancing in the shade. Women dance to this song
   (2002, Betty, MT’s fieldnotes)

Morphological analysis

A  malkarlarrena
   arlkarle1 arrerne2
   new put/create

   arlkarle-arre-nne6
cold-INCH-TNS

B  kwerrelatyentyerratyrerra
   kwerre-le3 tyentyre4 tye-rrane5
girl-ERG (shade) hang-CNT

   kwerre-le atye7 entywerre8 atye arrerne
   girl-ERG 1sgERG water 1sgERG put/create

   arlkarle-arre-nne6
cold-INCH-TNS

   kwerre-le-atye9 ntyerre10 (tyerrane)
girl-ERG-1sgPOS flood.out

200
Notes

1 arlkare (K, Aly, An) 'flash, new; cold'

2 arrerne- [L] (pan-Ar) 'put' [L] 'create/call' [L] It is likely that arrerne corresponds to the final segment in textline A, however it is less likely that it corresponds to the final segment of the B textline because the rhythmic pattern of this segment is different to that of the other final segments which are translated as arrerne- 'put/create'.

3 kwerre-le (K, WAn); kweyaye-le (pan-Ar) 'girl' [C].

4 tyentyre (K) Possibly song word meaning 'shade'.

5 tye-rane (K) 'hang-CNT' [P]. tye-r-ane

6-arrne (K) '-INCH-TNS' [P]

7 atye (pan-Ar) 1sgERG [P]

8 entywerre (pan-Ar) 'water' (Avoidance register) [P]

9 atye (pan-Ar) 1sgPOS [P]

10 entyerre (K, Aly) 'floodout, flood debris' [P]

General comments

The speech equivalent 'girl' is confirmed in this song text, however the expansions do not suggest speech equivalents of any other segments of the song text, nor what the speech equivalent is that corresponds to the meaning 'dancing' or 'shade'. It may be by association rather than any speech equivalent, as the ERG on 'girl' suggests that the song text contains a transitive verb such as arrerne- 'put/create' (textline A). Possibly tyentyre is a song word for shade. Note that the initial /m/ of textline A may be the final consonant of the last speech word in textline B.
Appendix 1: Song text 48

Song text 48

| 3 song in 1 of 9 items performances | Record no. 600, 601, 602 |

A layenga pekatya

B layengapentyera

Pronunciation variation

A layengapengkatya (601, MS5 forth A; 602 MS3)

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>textline</th>
<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
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Tempo bands

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<th>2</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>152</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tara1(3of3)</td>
<td>Tara1(1,2of3)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BBAA
1 text reversal AABB (record 600)

Final vowel cycle: a a/a-a. Textline level vowel harmony in A

Final vowel cycle: a-a-a. Penultimate vowel harmony in A and B line

Textlines and melodic structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Record no.</th>
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<th>600</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>AA</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>BB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3</td>
<td>BBAABB</td>
<td>AABBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>BBAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
<td>AABBAAB</td>
<td>BBAABBA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TRANSITIONS

Expansions

1. ngkatyela ntyela larren
foot pull him foot. Pullem that kweye ay pullem foot
(GK's 1976 fieldnotes)

2. Daphne: Foot. *Ayengepe angkete-le*. Foot. Him cry all the — road
1sgNOM foot-LOC[textline]

April: *Akelp-akeyayne*

Betty  *Akelp-akeyayne*

cry-on the way

Kirsty: My kalyekalye

boyfriend

'My boyfriend!' 

April: *Akelp-akeyayne wantewe rtame errkwpelp-errkweyayne? Artweye kwreuyenge-arle.*

Why was she crying and wiping her eyes? For her husband, for her husband.

Daphne: Yeah him want try to findem his boyfriend  

ub-huh

April:  *Artweye*

man

Myf: Oh. *Akelp-akeyayne?* [crying going back?]

April: Yeah akelp-akeyayne errkwelp-errkwewayne renhe arteperengele

Yes, she cried, wiping her eyes looking behind her

Kirsty: *Ware arrel-arrtel-arrayayne. Ware-rtame arrpewayne repen...*

She made a fire and set the bush alight as she went along

April:

Yeah

Daphne: Yeah him bin burnem grass

That boy.

April:  *Boyfriend-l-apertame*

Betty:  *The boyfriend did*

lizard

April: *Kangkarele, blue-tongue.*  

*Wenhelke re*

Daphne:  *Re, rewenhe ape renharte errkwelpel-rekkweyayne*

The girl, she wiped her eyes as she went along

April: *nyarlenye-therre errpwerle kangkarele. black one side-therre mpelarte.  
her two black arms, black on each side, like that.*

Betty:  

black one

April: *errpwerle-therre, mpelarte re errkwelp-errkwewayne.*  

that's how she wiped her eyes.

Daphne: Yeah him black one like this.

April:  *Yeah errpwerle-therre, nyarlenyepe*

Two black arms

Daphne: And this way too.
Appendix 1: Song text 48

Betty:  
Erlwe-tyampe mpelarte  
Her eyes too

April: You see'em renhe erlwetherre still re mpelarte entweyane kangkare.  
Have you seen the two black eyes, they are like that today, blue-tongues.

Daphne: He bin puttem mark  
when him bin cry  
Betty:  
kangare  
blue-tongue

April: kangkare blue-tongue wenhe, weye. Nharte=ame nharte=pe **  
ANPH meat that=EMPH that=FOC

Myf:  
Kangkare, boyfriend?

April: Blue-tongue-le arelp-areyaye kangkarele artweye kwereyenge. Ware-  
The blue-tongue looked around for her boyfriend. He had lit a bush fire.

April: rtame repe pweyaye  
Ahentyepenhele boyfriend-le=pe  
The boyfriend had.

Daphne:  
He bin burnem grass bushfire  
Betty:  
Bushfire

April: Mpelarte re akelp-akeyayne arelhepe kwerarl-ateke, girlfriend-rtame  
That's what she did, cried looking for her boyfriend, his girlfriend did that.

April: kwereyenge nhartepe  
mite-mite [lover]. Kaytetyele arintwarrantye  
In Kaytetye we say 'mite-mite'  
Betty:  
boyfriend

April: mite-mite-rtame,  
ahentyepenhe-we artweyewe. Mpelarte.  
For her boyfriend, like that

Betty:  
Yeah ahentyepenhe [lover]

April: Nharte=pe aylernyane awetye=pe  
That's the awelye [song text] (we sing)  
(2001, MD25, dn 4)

3. Spoken version of song text: 'ayengepe anketyele, ayengepe entyere'. Entyere  
'creek'

(2002, Betty, MT's fieldnotes)

12 Based on English 'mate.'
Morphological analysis

A layengapekatya  B layengapentyera

1 ayenge\(^1\)=pe\(^2\) angketye-le\(^3\) ayenge=pe entyere-le\(^4\)
\hspace{1cm} 1sgNOM=FOC foot-INST 1sgNOM=FOC debris-LOC

I walk through the (burnt) debris

2 ayenge ape-\(^5\) angketye-le ayenge ape- entyere-le
\hspace{1cm} 1sgNOM go foot-INST 1sgNOM go floodout-LOC

I walk through the floodout

Notes

\(^1\) ayenge (pan-A) 1sgNOM [C]
\(^2\) =pe (K) FOC [L]
\(^3\) angketye-le (K) ‘foot-LOC’ [C]. The song has ketye where the speech word has ketye, however compare this with the derived word ingketyele-weme (Arr) ‘step in someone else’s tracks’ (1994:373)
\(^4\) entyere ‘floodout’ (K, Aly, An); ‘debris carried by floodout’ (K) [C].
\(^5\) ape- (K) ‘go’ [L]

General comments

The variation in interpreting textline B arises from whether ntyere refers to a floodout or debris although these meanings are not mutually exclusive. Note too that the segment pe in the song may correspond to the speech word ape- ‘go’ or a Kaytetye focus marker –pe.

This variation does not change the overall meaning of the song.
Appendix 1: Song text 49

Song text 49

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2 songs In 1 of 9 items performances</th>
<th>Record no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>603, 604</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

```
A  ngayengapekatya  A  layengapekatya
B  layengapermini  B  ngayengapermini
```

Pronunciation variation

velar→bilabial substitution /ng/→/m/

A  mayengapengkatya (605 MS2 first A and MS5 first A)
B  mayengapermini (603, MS2 604 MS3 second B MS4 second B)

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S  W  W#  S  W  W</th>
<th>S  W  W#  S  W  W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B  B  L#  B  B  L</td>
<td>B  B  L#  B  B  L</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

layengapekatya  ngayengapermini

<table>
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<th>textline</th>
<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
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<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Speed ♩ = MM 138

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BBAA
1 text reversal AABB (record 600)

Final vowel cycle: a a/ i / i. Textline level vowel harmony in A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TL A</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>a</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TL B</td>
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<td>i</td>
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</table>

Textlines and melodic structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Record no.</th>
<th>601, 602</th>
<th>600</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
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<tr>
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<td>BB</td>
<td>AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
<td>AA</td>
<td>BB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3</td>
<td>BBAABB</td>
<td>AABBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>BBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
<td>AABBAAB</td>
<td>BBAABBA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TRANSLATIONS

Expansions - See also expansions for song text 49

1. ngkatyela nyela  lareen
   foot pull him foot. Pullem that kweyaye pullem foot

(GK's 1976 fieldnotes)
Morphological analysis

A ngayengepekata B layengaperinni

1 ayenge\(^1\) ape\(^2\) angketye-le\(^3\) ayenge\(^1\) ape\(^2\) ane-y-ene-nge\(^4\)
\hspace{1cm} 1sgNOM go foot-INST 1sgNOM go sit-lig-go and-TNS

I'm walking, I'm going to stay (somewhere else)
I'm going in his tracks, I'm going to stay (somewhere else)

2 ayenge=pe\(^5\) angketye-le ayenge=pe ane-y-ene-nge\(^5\)
\hspace{1cm} 1sgNOM=FOC foot-INST 1sgNOM=FOC sit-lig-go and-TNS

I'm walking, I'm going to stay (somewhere else)
I'm going in his tracks, I'm going to stay (somewhere else)

3 ayenge=pe ine-rnenge\(^6\)
\hspace{1cm} 1sgNOM make/get-dr's-PRIOR

I'm going in his tracks, he got/made (something) before me

4 ayenge=pe -ermi-nense\(^7\)
\hspace{1cm} 1sgNOM -place name ending

I'm going in his tracks, I'm going to Arrnermenenke.

Notes

(See also notes for song text 49a)

\(^1\) ayenge (pan-A) 1sgNOM [C]
\(^2\) ape (K) go [L]
\(^3\) angketye-le (K) 'foot-LOC' [C]
\(^4\) ane-y-ene- 'sit-go and do' (K) [P]
\(^5\) =pe (K) 'FOC' [P]
\(^6\) ine-rnenge 'get' (pan-Ar). This is the causative in Kaytetye and a verb stem 'put'. -rnenge 'different subject & prior action' (Arr) [P]
\(^5\) ape-rne (K) 'come (lit 'go-HITH')' [P]. Compare with waparrwa (Wlp) 'go' – an optional inflected class
\(^7\) ane- (pan-A) 'sit' [P]

Arrnermenenke (K) place on Armerre [P]

General comments

As in song text 49a, the segment =pe in the song may correspond to the speech word ape- 'go' or a Kaytetye focus marker =pe. This variation does not change the overall meaning of the song. The final segment of textline B is unknown, however it is most likely an intransitive verb because of the 1sgNOM pronoun ayenge.
Appendix 1: Song text 50

Song text 50

| 7 song ln 1 of 9 items performances | Record no. | 675, 676, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687 |

A (a) weyawalerna

A weyawaylernay

B (i) napipayararray

B napipayarra

Textline A is the same as textline 22a. Textline B is the same as textline 8b and 33b.

TEXT, METER AND TEMPO

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
S & W W\# S W \\
B & B L\# B L \\
\text{weyawalerna} & \text{napipayarra}
\end{array}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>textline</th>
<th>isorhythm</th>
<th>syllables</th>
<th>beats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

tempo band \( \frac{\text{d}}{\text{M}} \) = MM 118 all song items

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: BBAA


\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{TL A} & a  \\
\text{TL B} & ay
\end{array}
\]

Textlines and melodic structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>MS3 BAAA</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS4 BAAA</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5 BAAA</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>MS6 BAAA</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS7 BAAA</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TRANSLATIONS

Morphological analysis

A weyawalerna

B napipilarra

see song text 22a

see song text 8b

208
Appendix 1: Song text 51

Song text 51

| 4 song In 1 of 9 items performances | Record no. 698, 699, 710, 711 |

- **A** arrkelarryernantya
  - **A** arrkelarrayrtyernantyay

- **B** arrkearrkela
  - **B** arrkearrkela

*Textline A is the same as textline A in song text 11.*

**TEXT METER AND TEMPO**

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<td>arrkelarryernantya</td>
<td>arrkearrkela</td>
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<table>
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<th>beats</th>
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<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Z</td>
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<td>4</td>
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</table>

**Tempo bands**

- no. items: 1 3
- \( \text{RB}(1,2,3\text{of4}) \) \( \text{RB}(4\text{of4}) \)

**TEXT MELODY OVERLAY**

- Text cycle: AABB

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<th>ay</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TLB</td>
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<td>a</td>
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</table>

**Textlines and melodic structure**

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<th>698, 711*</th>
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<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
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<td>MS4</td>
<td>AABBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS5</td>
<td>BSAAB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*MS1 not recorded

**TRANSLATIONS**

**Morphological analysis**

- **A** arrkelarryernantya
  - **B** arrkearrkele
    - aherrke-le arttyern-nty
    - sun-ERG shine-TNS
  - aherrke-aherrke-le
  - sun-sun-LOC

*At dawn, the sun is shining*

**General comments**

There are no expansions for this song text, as this song was from the Radio Broadcast performance and one of those singers had just passed away when I started work on the recordings. The speech equivalent *aherrke-aherrkele* in textline B is also in song text 14 where it means ‘morning’.

209
Song text 52

2 song Sung solo by Betty only (not in any items recorded performances) Record no.
183, 393

\[ \begin{align*}
A & \quad (a)halkerramperrnga & A & \quad lalkerramperrngay \\
B & \quad (!)narlartiwerlay & B & \quad narlartiwerla
\end{align*} \]

Sung by Blanche Ross, 21 September 2002, Pengariytjem. This is sung to close the ceremony.

Pronunciation variation

B [narlartiwerlag (183, MS3 )

lateral lenition /n/\rightarrow/\n/

tap to glide /m/\rightarrow/\n/

TEXT METER AND TEMPO

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<th>W</th>
<th>W#</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>W</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>B</td>
<td>L#</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L#</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

halkerramperrnga narlartiwerla

textline | isorhythm | syllables | beats
---|---|---|---
A | Z | 5 | 4
B | Z | 5 | 4

Tempo band \[=\text{MM 120}\]

TEXT MELODY OVERLAY

Text cycle: AABB

Final vowel cycle: a-ay/ay-a. Vowel harmony

TL A a ay
TL B ay a

Textlines and melodic structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Record no.</th>
<th>183</th>
<th>393</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>BB</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS2</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>AA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS3</td>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>BBA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TRANSLATION

Expansions
1. Put the rain away — akwelye atnywenke (2004, Betty&AR, MT’s fieldnotes)
2. Spoken version of song text ‘ahalkerperrngi tartiwerlane’ (2002, Betty, MT’s fieldnotes)

Morphological analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>ahelkwerre</td>
<td>narlartiwerla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amperrngie</td>
<td>tert-iwe-rl-ane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>underground.cave</td>
<td>sad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repeatedly&gt;?-throw-CNT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sadly, (we) put (the Rain ceremony) back in the ground

Notes
1 ahelkwerre ~ ahelkwerre (K, Aly, An) ‘underground cave’ [L]
2 amperrngie (K, Aly, An) ‘sadness, love sick’ [C]. The word amperrngie ‘sadness’ also occurs in an Alyawarr song text (Jenny Green, 2003pers.com) and a Warumungu song text (song text 5 off Yawulyu Mungamungu, Papulu Apparr-kari 2000)
3 (ater)-iwe-rl-ane (pan-Ar) ‘throw-LIG-CNT’ [L]. In Arrernte ateriwe is an old song word meaning ‘do something repeatedly (Jenny Green 2004, pers.com.)’

General comments
The first segment of textline B is unknown. The spoken form of textline B is tartiwerlane. This may correspond to a preverbal element referring to the method of putting the rain ceremony back underground. Consider the following iweme (pan-Ar) ‘throw, leave behind’ derived words: arntenye-iweme (Arr) ‘bury (a body)’ arteng-kwiweme (Arr) ‘go part of the way with someone’ akake-wenke ‘make something tight by knocking it in place’ tywerewenke ‘hit the ground with a tool to hear if the ground is hollow’. tartekewneme (WArr) ‘drowning someone or something (lit. tarte-kwerne-me ?-put in-PRS)
Appendix 2 Song items

This index is used to identify the song text and performance that a song item occurred in.

**Record number:** Each of the 770 Akwé:doge song items has its own unique record number.

Note that record numbers do not necessarily reflect the sequential ordering of song items. This is because some song items, especially those that were interrupted or incomplete, were transcribed out of performance order.

**Song text:** The song text of the song item. Appendix 1 'Song texts' lists the meanings and explanations of the song texts.

**Performance and order in performance:** The performance in which the song item occurred and sequential ordering of the song item within it. Appendix 3 'Performances' shows the order of song items and small songs within each performance.

**Recording:** The recording on which the song item occurs.

**CD counter / minidisk counter:** Location of song item on the recording. Some performances were recorded on both minidisk and CD. Transcriptions from either or both of these occurred when there were interruptions in the recording.

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1 In cases where the order in performance is not sequential the 'missing' song items occur elsewhere in that database as they were transcribed at a later date. E.g. song item 13 of the Aleke 1 performance is record 712.

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Appendix 3 *Akwelje* Performances

**Tara Performances (December 1976)**

*Tara 1a performance*

| Song items | 1-2 | 3-7 | 8-12 | 13-14 | 15-17 | 18-20 | 21-23 | 24-26 | 27-28 | 29-31 | 32-33 | 34-39 | 40-43 | 44-47 | 48-50 | 51-53 | 54-58 | 59-62 | 63-64 | ...
|-------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Song text id | 10  | 7   | 5   | 8     | 32    | 15    | 22    | 2     | 1     | 9     | 10    | 33    | 5     | 9     | 21    | 22    | 25    | 34    | 45    | ...
| Times sung   | 2   | 5   | 5   | 2     | 3     | 3     | 2     | 3     | 2     | 3     | 2     | 4     | 4     | 3     | 3     | 5     | 4     | 2     | ...

|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Song text id | 31   | 5    | 8    | 7     | 13    | 32    | 14    | 11    | 35     | 36       | 37       | 10       | 32       | 15       | 5        | 18    | 38    | 31    | 39    | ...
| Times sung   | 3    | 5    | 3    | 4     | 7     | 2     | 2     | 6     | 7      | 5        | 4        | 4        | 3        | 4        | 4        | 1     | 5     | 4     | ...

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... = continued, shading = has accompanying dancing

32 different song texts are sung: 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 45, 47, 48, 49
### Tara 1b performance (songs sung during painting up)

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19 different song texts are sung: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 17, 21, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 40

### Tara 2 performance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song item</th>
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<th>7-10</th>
<th>11-16</th>
<th>17-22</th>
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<th>27-32</th>
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<th>48-50</th>
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14 different song texts are sung: 1, 5, 7, 8, 10, 13, 15, 17, 21, 22, 31, 33, 37, 41,
### CAAMA performance (May 1985)

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12 different song texts are sung: 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 24, 31, 34, 43, 50, 52.

### Arratyarenge performance (June 1994)

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<th>26-28</th>
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<th>31-34</th>
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20 different song texts are sung: 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 21, 22, 24, 30, 33, 34, 43.
**Alekarenge performances (April, 1999)**

Alekarenge 1 performance

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<th>10-13</th>
<th>14-15</th>
<th>16-17</th>
<th>18-22</th>
<th>23-26</th>
<th>27-28</th>
<th>19-34</th>
<th>Waale songs</th>
<th>35-38</th>
<th>39-42</th>
<th>43</th>
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<th>45-47</th>
<th>48-49</th>
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<td>4</td>
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<th>71-73</th>
<th>74</th>
<th>75-76</th>
<th>77</th>
<th>78</th>
<th>79-92</th>
<th>no. of texts sung</th>
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<tbody>
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</table>

20 different song texts are sung: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 27, 46.

**Alekarenge 2 performance**

<table>
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<th>17-18</th>
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<th>21-23</th>
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<th>33</th>
<th>34-35</th>
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<th>39-40</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>18</td>
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19 different song texts are sung: 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.
The Elpate performances (September, 1999)

Elpate afternoon performance (sung during painting up)

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<th>14-20</th>
<th>21-22</th>
<th>23-25</th>
<th>26-30</th>
<th>31-32</th>
<th>33-36</th>
<th>37-46</th>
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<th>51-54</th>
<th>55-57</th>
<th>58-60</th>
<th>No. of texts sung</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>14</td>
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12 different song texts are sung: 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 23, 24, 34

Elpate evening performance

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Song items</th>
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<th>6-8</th>
<th>9-11</th>
<th>12-14</th>
<th>15-18</th>
<th>19-21</th>
<th>22-24</th>
<th>25-32</th>
<th>33-36</th>
<th>37-40</th>
<th>41</th>
<th>42-46</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Times sung</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>42</td>
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26 different song texts are sung: 1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 33, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43, 44
Appendix 4 Song forms

This appendix lists the song forms that have likely and confirmed speech equivalents and the textlines in which the song forms occur. The speech equivalents are listed in the relevant song texts in Appendix 1; here I only list the languages in which the speech equivalents are attested, and a gloss of the speech equivalents relevant to the meaning of the song and their status. Language codes are: pan-A = in all Arandic languages, pan-Ar = in all languages of the Arwe subgroup, Arr = Eastern and central Arrernte, An = Anmatyerr, WAn = Western Anmatyerr, Aly = Alyawarr, K = Kaytetye.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song form</th>
<th>In song text id.</th>
<th>Language of speech equivalents</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Status of speech equivalents</th>
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<td>aparipe</td>
<td>28b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>legless lizard (pan-A); broom bush plant (K)</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>apereltye</td>
<td>3b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>lerp</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>aperlape</td>
<td>30a, 30b</td>
<td>K, An, Arr</td>
<td>conkerberry</td>
<td>C, C</td>
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<td>ahentye</td>
<td>20b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>throat</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>aherrk-aherrke-le</td>
<td>14a, 51b</td>
<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>at sunrise (sun-sun-LOC)</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>aherrke-le</td>
<td>11a, 39a</td>
<td>K, Aly, An, sun-ERG</td>
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<td>C, C</td>
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<td>ahilkwerre</td>
<td>52a</td>
<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>underground cave</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>akwe</td>
<td>1a</td>
<td>Arr</td>
<td>arm</td>
<td>L</td>
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<td>Alatyte</td>
<td>31b</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>place name, grass sp.</td>
<td>L</td>
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<tr>
<td>aleme</td>
<td>37b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>liver (pan-A); stomach, seat of emotions (K)</td>
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<td>alyere</td>
<td>9a</td>
<td>K, Aly</td>
<td>flood water</td>
<td>L</td>
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<tr>
<td>alperre</td>
<td>11b</td>
<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
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<td>aliyele</td>
<td>38b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>female cousin</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>amente</td>
<td>31a</td>
<td>Aly</td>
<td>alone, apart</td>
<td>L</td>
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<tr>
<td>amerre</td>
<td>44b</td>
<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>woomera</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>ampasserrnge</td>
<td>52a</td>
<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>sad</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>34a</td>
<td>Aly</td>
<td>fat, healthy</td>
<td>L</td>
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<td>(an)aitkaite-ye</td>
<td>48a, 49a</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>foot-INST</td>
<td>C, C</td>
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<td>27a</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>alone</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
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<td>amgawite</td>
<td>17a</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>eyebrow</td>
<td>L</td>
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<td>amgerrentye</td>
<td>26a, 32b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>spirit</td>
<td>P, C</td>
</tr>
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<td>anye-</td>
<td>19a, 19b, 39b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>jump (K) climb up (Ar)</td>
<td>C, C, P</td>
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<td>apinte</td>
<td>35b</td>
<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>spring</td>
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<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>worry, power</td>
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<td>arawelarre</td>
<td>5a</td>
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<td><em>Acacia melleoloida</em></td>
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<td>are-nhe-pe-nhe-me</td>
<td>42a</td>
<td>Arr</td>
<td>see-while.moving.every.so.often-PRS</td>
<td>L</td>
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<tr>
<td>are-re-</td>
<td>29b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>see-da/recip</td>
<td>L</td>
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<td>arerl-ane-</td>
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<td>pan-A</td>
<td>look-CNT</td>
<td>C, C, C, C</td>
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<td>7b</td>
<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>Sandhill bloodwood</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arltyeye</td>
<td>31b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>pencil yam</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>arlenge</td>
<td>27a, 21a, 21b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>far</td>
<td>L, P, P</td>
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<td>24a, 24b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>stripe, design</td>
<td>C, C</td>
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<tr>
<td>arlpelhe</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>An, Arr</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>L</td>
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### Appendix 4: Song forms

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<th>Status of speech equivalents</th>
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<td>11b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>whitewood</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arperre</td>
<td>11b</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>place on Arperre</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arryape</td>
<td>37a</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>bronzewing pigeon</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arryaye</td>
<td>8a</td>
<td>K, Aly (Arrayare)</td>
<td>black footed rock wallaby place name</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrerne-</td>
<td>1b, 3b, 4b, 7b, 8b, 10b, 31a, 33a, 33b, 36a, 36b, 38a, 41a, 41b, 44b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>C, C, C, C, C, L, L, L, L, L, L, L, L, L, L, L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-arpe</td>
<td>18a, 27a</td>
<td>WAam, Aar</td>
<td>on your own</td>
<td>L, L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arriverne-</td>
<td>11a</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>shine</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>artenyere</td>
<td>27b</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>alone, orphaned</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>artep-are-me</td>
<td>29a</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>look behind</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>artepe</td>
<td>5a</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>back</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(atei)-iwe-rl-ane</td>
<td>52b</td>
<td>(?) pan-A</td>
<td>(?) throw-CNT</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atake</td>
<td>23a, 23b</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>long ago</td>
<td>C, C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atente</td>
<td>19a, 19b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>stomach, belly, seat of emotions</td>
<td>C, C</td>
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<tr>
<td>atye</td>
<td>3/4a, 4b</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>1sgERG</td>
<td>C, C, C</td>
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<td>atvenge</td>
<td>30a</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>1sgACC, also DAT in (K)</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atwyert-atwyerte</td>
<td>43b</td>
<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>native morning glory</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awely-awely</td>
<td>16a</td>
<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>lightning</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>awelye</td>
<td>1b, 23a, 23b, pan-A</td>
<td>women's ceremony</td>
<td>C, C, C</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>awere</td>
<td>12a, 12b, 15b, 45a, 45b</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>quick</td>
<td>C, C, C, C, C, C</td>
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<td>awayawe</td>
<td>22a, 22b</td>
<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>dead body</td>
<td>C, C</td>
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<td>ayenge</td>
<td>48a, 48b, 49a, 49b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>1sgNOM</td>
<td>C, C, C, C</td>
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<tr>
<td>aylermanthe</td>
<td>18a</td>
<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>1 du.ex.OM.NOM</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aywe</td>
<td>27b</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>1 du.SMSG.ACC/DAT</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
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<td>Elape Kwelenty</td>
<td>1a</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>place name</td>
<td>L</td>
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<tr>
<td>elere</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>K, An</td>
<td>sand</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
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<td>elew-arte</td>
<td>27a</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>when-DEF</td>
<td>L</td>
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<td>elere</td>
<td>13a, 13b</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>quick</td>
<td>C, C</td>
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<td>pan-A</td>
<td>shade-LOC</td>
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<td>ertwerpe</td>
<td>21a, 45a</td>
<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>sandhill</td>
<td>C, C</td>
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<td>ikngwererrele</td>
<td>14b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>east</td>
<td>L</td>
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<tr>
<td>ikngwerre-re-rele-re-vewe</td>
<td>18a</td>
<td>Aly</td>
<td>invite-RBCIP-go and do quickly-PURP</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilengare</td>
<td>21a&amp;b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
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<td>ingkeye</td>
<td>3b</td>
<td>Arr</td>
<td>precious</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
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<td>intep-inte-me</td>
<td>20a, 20b</td>
<td>Arr</td>
<td>lie-CNT-PRS</td>
<td>C, C</td>
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<td>ipmerre</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>dew, drop</td>
<td>L</td>
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<td>irrwenye</td>
<td>7a, 7b</td>
<td>K, Aly</td>
<td>down, blossom used by men in ceremonies</td>
<td>C, L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iienye-ke</td>
<td>29b</td>
<td>Aly</td>
<td>lover, sex-DAT</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song form</td>
<td>In song text no.</td>
<td>Language of speech equivalents</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Status of speech equivalents</td>
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<td>---------------------------</td>
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<td>--------------------------------</td>
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<td>itenye-we</td>
<td>37a</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>lover, sex-DAT</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
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<td>iterlarre</td>
<td>10b</td>
<td>K, Aly</td>
<td>women's ceremonial headband</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
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<td>iwey-iwe-rl.alpe-lagwere</td>
<td>43a, 43b</td>
<td>Aly</td>
<td>throw-CNT-go.back&amp;</td>
<td>C, C</td>
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<td>kwatye</td>
<td>28a</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>L</td>
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<td>kwelekarre</td>
<td>36a</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>wild melon</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>kwepalepa</td>
<td>26b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>crested bellbird</td>
<td>L</td>
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<tr>
<td>kwerre</td>
<td>3a, 18a, 42a</td>
<td>K, WAn</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>C, C, C</td>
</tr>
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<td>kwerre-le</td>
<td>47b</td>
<td>K, WAn</td>
<td>girl-ERG</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>kwerrre-yeyye</td>
<td>3/4a</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>fast (of movement)</td>
<td>L</td>
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<tr>
<td>kwerrreimpe</td>
<td>18a, 42a</td>
<td>K, Aly</td>
<td>ancestral woman</td>
<td>C, C</td>
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<td>kwerrreimpe-le</td>
<td>4b</td>
<td>K, Aly</td>
<td>ancestral woman-ERG</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
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<td>kwerrpere</td>
<td>15a, 15b, 16c, 32a</td>
<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>women's dancing stick</td>
<td>C, C, L, C</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kwetilerle(-le)</td>
<td>16b</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>place on Arnerre(-LOC)</td>
<td>L</td>
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<tr>
<td>kwewe</td>
<td>34a, 35a</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>C, C</td>
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<td>kyere-</td>
<td>11a</td>
<td>Aly</td>
<td>shine</td>
<td>L</td>
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<td>matyarre</td>
<td>17b, 33a</td>
<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>mens pubic tassel</td>
<td>C, L</td>
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<td>Napipe-le</td>
<td>33a</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>place name-LOC</td>
<td>L</td>
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<tr>
<td>ntaile-ntvale</td>
<td>46a</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>skinny</td>
<td>L</td>
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<tr>
<td>nyenne</td>
<td>13a</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>red mallee (Eucalyptus pachyphylla)</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>nyarte</td>
<td>5a</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyerre</td>
<td>26a</td>
<td>K, Aly, An</td>
<td>shame</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-penye</td>
<td>9b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>place name suffix</td>
<td>L</td>
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<td>perlerarre</td>
<td>41b</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>(rain) fall in the distance</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pwerre</td>
<td>30a&amp;b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>skin name</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>9a, 9b</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>flood water</td>
<td>C, C</td>
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<tr>
<td>we-</td>
<td>16c</td>
<td>pan-A</td>
<td>throw</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Werleterre</td>
<td>25a, 25b</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>place name</td>
<td>C, C</td>
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<tr>
<td>wetyerrepetyerre</td>
<td>40a, 40b</td>
<td>K (song register)</td>
<td>beautifully painted up</td>
<td>C, C</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Appendix 5 Political context of research

To make explicit the political, historical context of this study and my role as researcher is to provide a framework for understanding the research and the methodology. Presented here is an overview of how I sought approval for my research and dealt with the accompanying political and ethical challenges. The approach was based on open, careful communication combined with commitment to assist Kaytetye people's struggle for cultural survival.¹

Many ethical issues arise when research involving indigenous people is undertaken. Indeed it is been suggested that these are issues of human rights.² A major issue is ensuring that subjects understand the research, and its implications, and on the basis of such understandings consent to the research. There are particular sensitivities when dealing with indigenous cultural knowledge. Some people see research as a way outsiders usurp and appropriate cultural knowledge and practices which are uniquely theirs (Wilkins 1996). This can include losing control or ownership over how their knowledge is used, interpreted and disseminated (Hale 1969).³

Working on Aboriginal cultures in Australia today, the emphasis within Indigenous organisations is to empower Aboriginal people to take control of research processes and the direction it takes. This involves making sure Aboriginal people want research done on their language, and if they do, making the results of research accessible and useful to Aboriginal people. In the context in which I am working, linguists and musicologists should be a resource that Aboriginal people can use to maintain their language and culture. Professionally, it is crucial that the discipline of linguistics has a respected and good reputation in the role it plays in this maintenance. Furthermore, those working on Aboriginal cultures have a direct interest in maintaining these as the subject of their research.⁴

¹ Similar approaches have been described by Feld (1999), Keogh (1990) and Myers (1986).
² AIJASTSIS (2000:1).
³ See also Shaw (unpublished), Wilkins (1992), Feld (1999) and Fabb (1997).
⁴ See also Hale (1969).
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There is no official process for ensuring 'responsible' linguistic research. However the AIATSIS Guidelines state that the research should be based on "meaningful engagement and reciprocity between the researcher and the Indigenous people" (AIATSIS 2000:1).

The absence of any official process may be partly because research must be responsive to the particular historical and social situation in which it is based. There is general agreement, however, that responsible research is 'open to negotiation, and open to criticism and refinement' (Feld 1999:21).

In the setting where I work, there exist Aboriginal organisations, which have sought to take on the role of ensuring research is conducted in a responsible way. IAD supports a number of linguistic research projects involving Aboriginal people and aims to provide ethical and responsible research. Ideally IAD would have been involved in my PhD research from the outset. However it had limited ability to ascertain people's views and is not structured in a way to adequately represent the cross section of Aboriginal society in Central Australia. Furthermore, it is difficult for people outside of the research discipline to understand the implications of the research, as there is a question of understanding the content of research, as well as what the research means for the researcher, what it means for those being researched, and how research may be used in years to come. As well, values may change over time, leading to new and unpredictable interpretations of research.

As a result, I took on the role as the researcher of explaining my proposals and ascertaining whether the community supported my PhD proposal and how to partake in responsible research. Prior to my application for candidature, I raised the prospect of studying particular songs with the senior women of a specific land holding group who knew the ceremonies. With their approval I developed my research proposals more fully and then conducted further consultations with a wider group of people. The consultations were conducted prior to commencing my PhD to give people time to digest the proposals and give time for responses subsequent to the discussions. I also discussed the project

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5 See also Feld (1999:20).
6 See also Wilkins (1996), Shaw (unpublished) and Feld (1990)
7 These were some of the issues addressed at the conference titled "A Century at the Centre: Spencer, Gillen and The Native Tribes of Central Australia" at the University of Melbourne in 1999, where it was apparent that implications of research vary enormously.

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with senior men, one of whom was an apmerew-artweye for Arnerre, the other, an acknowledged Kaytetye elder, community leader and consultant on the Dictionary project. At every instance where I discussed the matter with people they indicated support for my research to proceed.

By the time of describing my proposals I was acquainted with a Kaytetye speaker Anne. Anne was more familiar with the nature of research and higher education than other members of her community and she took an interest in my PhD proposal. She is literate in both Kaytetye and English, a qualified teacher, and has been involved in language projects. She is also an apmerew-artweye for Akwelye which has no doubt contributed to the fact that she has been able to work in the capacity as a research assistant on this project in both Alice Springs and Sydney, as well as present a joint paper with me at the Musicological Society of Australia in Melbourne, 2001. Anne also looks after Akwelye singer and owner Betty, her mother’s mother. Anne was available to discuss with me and other community members issues surrounding the research, thus providing a valuable conduit for expression of any concerns of the Akwelye owners.

Anne was also a valuable assistant in the process of engaging with the senior singers in reading through final drafts of my thesis. During this process I found, like Marett, that the women were more concerned with "correcting fact rather than engaging with my arguments". For the women, interpretations of songs were included as "fact", and when I drew to their attention to multiple interpretations of a song, this was acknowledged and some even attempted to account for the extension. This was in sharp contrast with my earlier fieldwork experiences where singers insisted on a single meaning. Perhaps, like Marett suggests, it is not until learners of songs make their own deductions about the meanings of songs that senior singers validate the learner’s understandings of songs (in press Ch 8).

I had gone through a process of describing my honours research to a number of people two years earlier. Both then, and during my PhD research I found that, like Myers who was working with Pintupi people in Central Australia, the broader language community’s acceptance:

...has never been based on my research which they have never been much interested in once they decided I was a friend (despite my sincere and lengthy
Appendix 5: Political context of research

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...has never been based on my research which they have never been much interested in once they decided I was a friend (despite my sincere and lengthy
attempts to explain my work). Rather, what they expect from me is my human commitment to them as fellow people. This condition has set the tone of my whole research (1986:15).

The human commitment to them in my case means supporting people across a spectrum of needs of daily living. Reciprocity typically characterises relationships with indigenous people and in many respects the benefits and interest in the research are delivered broadly. The nature of the reciprocity differs between the many individuals involved in my research. At one extreme are Daphne and Kirsty, women in their 80s or 90s who have few close relatives. Their needs are practical: I gave them food and blankets and would bring relatives to see them. At the other extreme is Anne, tertiary educated and in her thirties. The reciprocity in our relationship involves teaching each other our respective cultural practices, ranging from cooking to discussing legal contracts.

Beyond this, specific aspects of my research offered benefits for the local community. The recording of songs created an opportunity for the women to get together, perform and teach ceremony. Other opportunities include economic and educational opportunities, support for and assistance in language and cultural maintenance projects, as well as professional recordings and documentation of their ceremonies.

The women who I was working with were keen to stage a formal awelye performance. To seek support for such a project I approached Papulu Apparr-Kari, the Tennant Creek language centre, which both my supervisors had been involved with, and was in the process of releasing a recording of a group of Warumungu women's yuvulga (Barwick 2000). Papulu Apparr-Kari was also an organisation that most of the Kaytetye women were familiar with, not only because Papulu Apparr-Kari employed some of them on other Commonwealth Department Employment Program (CDEP) schemes, but also because most of the Kaytetye communities are within the Tennant Creek service region.

The formal awelye performance was held in September 1999. Aspects of my research were also discussed and again support was indicated. The performance was also a successful teaching forum, and after this event women talked about having more cultural events linked in with the school. The proposed recording would also be used to teach

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8 See also Feld (1999:20).
ceremonies when there were not so many singers available. The recording and book would also be used in teaching cultural practices at a more formal level in the school. Securing funding to publish the recording and accompanying notes proved to be difficult. Finally, in 2003 Myer Foundation provided funding for the recording, which, according to the wishes of the singers had a limited distribution and would not bring money to individuals in the community.

Difficulties did arise during my research when a younger member of the Aboriginal community in Alice Springs of Kaytetye descent raised concerns over the research. Her concerns centered on the question of whether it was culturally appropriate to work on traditional songs. The issue was previously resolved by the owners of the songs, and their approval given to the research. The student was one of two English speaking Aboriginal students studying Kaytetye and English literacy at IAD who were involved in the Elpate recording event as a cultural learning exercise and to interview women about their views on cultural maintenance. After the event she raised her concerns with the Director of IAD personally and then myself. This placed IAD in a difficult situation, which on this occasion chose to represent the concerns of the individual rather than the owners as a group. My response to these events was to engage in dialogue with her on both personal and formal levels, which was appropriate given our level of friendship. Our discussions provided an opportunity to express and understand each other’s views on the roles and responsibilities of researchers.

In situations in which research is coupled with cultural learning opportunities for other Aboriginal people, the approaches for avoiding aggravating the huge sense of cultural loss some Aboriginal people may feel over being dislocated from their own language and other cultural practices, need to be resolved in personal terms. In retrospect it became clear that on the occasion of the Elpate recording, the certain members of the community required greater sensitivities so as not to exacerbate the sense of loss. This event highlighted how even with the best of intentions and careful approaches, researchers can unwittingly contribute to the “increased anger and anxiety about indigenous cultural and intellectual property” (Feld 1999:21; see also Wilkins 1996). While this was only one of

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9 Two ATSILIP (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Language Initiatives Program) applications, two ATSIC applications and one application to Perpetual Trustees were knocked back. Although I had secured funding from a mining company in the past for Kaytetye publications, the history of opposition to mining on Arnrre meant that this was an inappropriate channel to pursue funding. Neither did my university offer avenues for funding this sort of publication.
the many of pitfalls for researchers dealing with heterogeneous indigenous communities, part of my 'commitment to them as fellow people' has been to maintain dialogue and promote understanding with the Aboriginal community in which I work.

My role as a researcher has also meant managing the situation where Kaytetye participants in research expect to be able to access the research data (such as field tapes of songs, videos) that they have provided and own. All the people with whom I have worked, requested that their cultural material should be stored safely and securely at organisations designed for such purposes, such as AIATSIS, as well as being available in the communities where they live. Some people do not wish to hold copies of research material themselves, and as there is an absence of an appropriate organisation within the community, the singers have asked me to hold and make available to them research data and published materials that they have been involved in.

It is crucial, therefore, that the material researchers produce be accompanied with details of ownership of the material along with the necessary restrictions or requirements to access that material. Ideally it would be the responsibility of the appropriate organisations in Alice Springs to make material accessible and enforce access restrictions. However in practice, most organisations do not have the facilities or expertise to contact owners and/or people that need to be consulted when someone wants to access material, and provide a service where materials are accessible to people from out of town.

The political, personal and ethical challenges involved in this research, and my responses to them, were specific to a particular place, time and people. The discussion shows my involvement as a researcher, with the people with whom I work and assists in understanding how the data that forms the basis of this study emerged.

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10 On rare occasions people have requested material from me without having obtained permission from the relevant owners, indeed on one occasion the request was in spite of a flat refusal by one of the owners of the material. On other occasions language speakers who have worked on producing cultural material, have turned down a copy of the material, possibly because they do not perceive themselves as the appropriate person to hold a copy of it.