Abstract: Across Aboriginal Australia, Aboriginal songs are often attributed to the spirit world rather than as compositions by the living. Deceased ancestors give songs to people and such a recipient is described as the finder of a song. This is particularly evident in ‘Puranguwana’ (‘Perishing in the Sun’), a song of the public ceremonial genre known by older men and women at Balgo and Bililuna communities in the south-east Kimberley in Western Australia. The protagonist in the song is a Pintupi man called Yawalyurru Tjapangarti, who dies of thirst on Sturt Creek Station on Jaru country. The first-person perspective in the lyrics is common in Aboriginal song, rendering the singers active participants in the event. The words of the song are relatively easy to identify, which is consistent with the song’s purported recent origin. Yawalyurru is both the subject matter of the song and the song-maker. According to oral history, Yawalyurru’s spirit gave the song to the Jaru people before returning to its Pintupi country. ‘Puranguwana’ also resembles a song that was recorded at Balgo in 1981 by ethnomusicologist Richard Moyle. In 2019, Balgo residents were unfamiliar with the earlier recording and, on listening, regarded this as a different song to ‘Puranguwana’. While not identical, an analysis and comparison of both their text and music suggests that the songs are cut from the same cloth. This cloth reflects the region’s multicultural history where both desert and Kimberley linguistic groups have co-resided since the 1930s. The article aims to increase appreciation of the artistry of Aboriginal song, the complexity of its creation, and its value to Aboriginal history.
**Introduction**

This was my grandfather’s song. How he was perishing in the desert.  
(Marie Mudgedell, pers. comm., 2016)

In this article, we consider Aboriginal history through Aboriginal languages in the medium of song. While songs in Aboriginal languages come to us mediated by ‘transcription, translation and interpretation’,¹ any written form of song is only a trifle of its performed counterpart. Aboriginal songs, in particular, are a showcase for multilingual and poetic abilities that have fine-tuned the art of multiple possible interpretations. Songs often distil the most salient aspects of experience to the people who create them.

This article focuses on one classical Aboriginal song of inland Australia. By ‘classical’ we draw on a term used by Aboriginal film-maker Rachel Perkins to refer to the musical performance traditions of pre-colonised Australia,² some of which continues to be practised today but is highly endangered.³ Unlike the term ‘traditional’, ‘classical’ better encompasses new works whose provenance is known, such as the song that is the subject of this article. ‘Puranguwana’ is attributed to a Pintupi man called Yawalyurru,⁴ and its seven verses paint a vivid picture of his spirit viewing his own death as he dies of thirst on Jaru country in the south-east Kimberley. It is said that his spirit gave the song to the Jaru residents of Sturt Creek Station (see map in Figure 1).

We presume that the song came into being in the late 1950s to early 1960s, following Yawalyurru’s death around this time. One reason we think the song is relatively recent in origin is that the lyrics are in a language very similar to that of everyday speech. This contrasts with many other classical Aboriginal songs whose words and meanings remain largely unknown, which is often taken as evidence of their antiquity.⁵ Some classical Aboriginal songs have been passed on for generations and the details of their spirit origins relegated to a time long past. For other songs, the occasion and the person who received the song are still remembered by the people

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² Morris, *A Rightful Place*, 33. Classical Aboriginal song thus refers to songs whose music and text appear uninfluenced by non-Indigenous musical styles (e.g. pop, country, rock).  
³ Many ethnomusicologists and linguists are involved in repatriation of recordings, which assists in the continuation of these traditions and improved documentation of legacy recordings. See recent volumes such as Harris, *Circulating Cultures*; Harris, Thieberger and Barwick, *Research, Records and Responsibility*, Wafer and Turpin, *Recirculating Songs*.  
⁴ Yawalyurru was of Tjapangarti skin. According to Patrick Smith, the missionaries at Balgo named him ‘Cowman’.  

who sing them. ‘Puranguwana’ (‘Perishing in the Sun’) is one such song. In a series of seven verses sung in the first person, the listener is privy to what Yawalyurru saw, thought and desired as he left the world of the living and entered the spirit realm. The song is in the voice of Yawalyurru himself, reflecting on the places and events around him as his physical body dies and his spirit prepares to return some 500 kilometres south-east to his Pintupi country.

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**Figure 1: Map of the places and languages referred to in this article.**


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6 Moyle, *Aljawarna Music*.
7 A Pintupi site called ‘Yawulyurru’ (note not *yawalyurru*) is documented in a community drawn map in Moyle, *Balgo Music*, 10.
According to Mudgedell, it was one of the older men living at Sturt Creek Station who received the song and then shared it with others in the community.8 Frequently it is maparn – traditional healers – who obtain songs from the spirit world and bring them back to share with the living. Richard Moyle recounts Kukatja people’s description of ‘finding’ such songs as follows:

While a doctorman [maparn] lies sleeping at night, his spirit exits through his navel and flies off to a distant land. On arriving, the spirit notices something shimmering far off and recognises at once that this is a ceremony … The spirit quickly memorises the songs, then returns to the body of the still sleeping doctorman.9

Pitjantjatjara elder Iluwanti Ken provides a similar description:

This is the kind of song that would be received via a dream or spirit journey while sleeping. Characteristically a person might wake up with a song in their mind and this is what these men are singing … It’s the way things are; it’s our lore. Traditional healers are taken up on an out of body travel. It is not of the world of people on earth. It's customary for traditional healers to travel like that. Perhaps a male traditional healer would be singing as he travelled. And people love it. They sit and sing songs that detail the actions and matters of these experiences and it charges their spirits.10

Still in the Western Desert, Tonkinson refers to songs ‘composed by local men after they have been “given” by spirit beings during travels the men undertake, or believe they undertake, during dreams’.11 Presumably this was how ‘Puranguwana’ was received. The metaphysical or spirit realm is often referred to as Tjukurrpa in both Pitjantjatjara and Kukatja, a word often translated as ‘Dreaming’. Tjukurrpa continues to influence the physical realm of people to this day. The song ‘Puranguwana’ expresses the experience of a tragic death, providing a unique perspective on the liminal state between the physical and the spirit realms. As music, it employs symbolism and allusion to evoke emotion, incite imagination, and inspire reflection on powers greater than oneself.

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8 Marie Mudgedell recalls the following men used to all sing it (names spelt according to Kukatja orthography): Paddy Paton, Gordy Tjapanangka Tarrkurl, Kapardi Tjapangarti, Clancy Tjampijinpa, Spieler Ngangmarri Tjampijinpa, Boxer Milner (Milnga) Tjampijinpa, Dick Larrku Tjampijinpa, Munli (Manley), Paddy Patoon Jangala, Putin Yuyu Tjapanangka, Sandy Sturt Tjapanangka, Willy Billabong Tjapanangka, Nugget Sturt Tjapanangka, Bob Sturt Tjapanangka, Frank Clancy Jangala, Possum Tjapangarti Tjilatjilngarna, Jimmy Marlaby Tjapanangka, Batler Tjalajarri and Sam Sambo.

9 Moyle, Balgo Music, 22–23.

10 Translated from the Pitjantjatjara by Beth Sometimes. Interviewed 9 November 2017 by Myfany Turpin and interpreted by Patrick Hokey and filmed by Shane Malcahey.

11 Tonkinson, Jigalong Mob, 85.
The singers

The three performances of ‘Puranguwana’ considered here were led by Patrick Smith and the late Jack Gordon, and involved four other Aboriginal participants. Patrick Smith (Tjapaljarri) is a Kukatja man affectionately known as ‘Jupiter’. Patrick was born in the 1940s on Sturt Creek Station where he worked as a stockman from a young age. He moved to Balgo with his wife Marie Mudgett in the late 1980s so their children could attend school. Marie Mudgett (Nakamarra) is a Ngardi, Jaru and Kukatja speaker also born on Sturt Creek Station. Yawulyuurr is Marie’s grandfather as well as Angie Tchooga’s father. Both Marie and Angie were involved in translating the song. Angie, born in 1953 at Balgo and raised on Sturt Creek Station, is a Kukatja and Jaru person of the Napanangka skin group. Balgo residents, Patrick, Marie, Angie and Kukatja man Jimmy Tchooga, Angie’s husband, were involved in all three performances. Jack Gordon, a Jaru stockman, was the lead singer on two recordings. Like Pintupi man Yawalyuurr, Jack Gordon was of Tjapangarti skin and also known as Yawulyuurr, the Pintupi man being his namesake. Jaru woman Marie Gordon (Nakamarra), who is Jack Gordon’s widow, also sings on one recording. The Jaru couple resided at Bililuna community, on their country. Jack Gordon passed away in 2018.

The performances

This article draws on four recorded performances. Three are performances of the song ‘Puranguwana’ and one is of a similar song, ‘Kunytjunytju’. In 2016, Felicity Meakins and Myfany Turpin visited Balgo to see if residents could shed light on the origins of a different song known as ‘Laka’, sung by the Gurindji at Kalkaringi and learnt from Pintupi man Yawalyuurr. At Balgo, people did indeed know ‘Laka’ and the discussion led Patrick Smith and Marie Mudgett to recall another song associated with Yawalyuurr, ‘Puranguwana’. This was recorded on the veranda of Angie (Yawalyuurr’s daughter) and Jimmy Tchooga’s home (Figure 2). Jupiter sang and was accompanied by Angie’s husband, Jimmy Tchooga. Marie introduced the song and prompted Patrick with three verses of the song. All were visibly moved singing these songs as they thought about Yawalyuurr’s untimely and lonely death.

The second recording was made two days later. Marie had arranged for the seven of us, including linguist Tom Ennever, to travel to Bililuna to visit husband and wife Jack and Marie Gordon who knew the song well (Figure 3). The singing on this occasion was vibrant and a further four verses were sung. Marie Gordon’s delicate soprano voice and Jack’s strong tenor voice added a poignancy and tenderness to the song. Both Jimmy Tchooga’s and Marie Gordon’s voices created higher-pitched harmonies, possibly unintentional. Unfortunately, a motorbike was being ridden around the community at the time, creating background noise on the recording.
Figure 2: Patrick Smith sings ‘Puranguwana’, 9 July 2016: (left) Marie Mudedell and Patrick; (right) Jimmy Tchooga, Michael Mudedell, Angie Tchooga, Marie Mudedell, Patrick Smith, Myfany Turpin (left to right).

Source: Photograph by Felicity Meakins.

Figure 3: Recording ‘Puranguwana’ on the veranda of Jack and Mary Gordon’s house at Billiluna, 11 July 2016. Patrick Smith, Jack Gordon, Jimmy Tchooga (behind Jack), Marie Gordon, Marie Mudedell and Angie Tchooga (left to right).

Source: Photograph by Tom Ennever.
Some days later, we were told that the song had been performed in 2006 at Balgo, as the opening of the 8th National Remote Indigenous Media Festival. This was filmed by the Pilbara and Kimberley Aboriginal Media organisation (PAKAM) and it is the third recording of ‘Puranguwana’ that we draw upon. On this occasion, two dances were performed. The first was danced by women as Verse 6 was sung; the second was danced by men, one of whom was Jimmy Tchooga. The singing was by a large group of people, including Jupiter and Jack Gordon. Like the 2016 performance, this was an emotional event for the family of Yawalyurru. Immediately following the performance, Yawalyurru’s daughter Angie Tchooga gave a speech in Kukatja about the tragic event that the song conveys. This was followed by an English version written by Marie Mudgedell and her sister, and read by Neil Turner. The performance and speech can be heard at ictv.com.au/video/item/867. Appendix 1 gives both an English translation of Angie’s text and a transcription of Neil’s reading of Marie’s text. It is interesting that ‘Puranguwana’ was the public entertainment song performed at the 2006 festival. It is not known why this song was performed over the raft of other songs of this genre that Moyle cites were performed at Balgo in 1981. One possibility is that very few were still known 25 years on.

We also compare ‘Puranguwana’ to a similar song recorded at Balgo in May 1981 by ethnomusicologist Richard Moyle. Both songs are of the ‘corroboree’ or public entertainment song and dance ceremonial genre. On this occasion it is referred to on the recording as ‘Kunytjunytju’ and it is said to be associated with the Jigalong area to the south. The documentation attributes it to Antbed Tjungarrayi, a Kukatja man and a traditional healer (maparn). Summaries of the four recordings are in Table 1. Note that a verse is usually sung more than once before moving on to another verse. Each rendition of a verse is referred to as a ‘song item’ (defined below under ‘formal properties of the song’), hence there are more song items than verses in any one performance. The second recording of ‘Puranguwana’ contained the most verses, seven. The other two recordings contained a subset of these verses.

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12 We thank Neil Turner from PAKAM for sharing this video. On the video, the song is titled ‘Welcome Djunba’; *djunba* is an Aboriginal word for the genre of public entertainment ceremony known across the Kimberley and into the Northern Territory.

13 Unfortunately, the audio of this recording is not clear and it was not possible to discern the exact verse that accompanied the second dance.

14 See Bracknell, ‘The Emotional Business of Noongar Song’, for discussion of the emotional impact of Aboriginal song, particularly in relation to history, in the south of Western Australia.

15 Translation produced by Angie Tchooga, Marie Mudgedell, Lance MacDonald and Myfany Turpin.

16 Moyle, *Balgo Music*.

17 On listening to this recording, Pintupi translator Lance MacDonald believed that Kunytjunytju was likely to be the name of a woman. He translates what one of the men said as ‘The husband is here and Kunytjunytju is over here. Kunytjunytju went around and around and went in here. Kunytjunytju is a woman.’ (Aus 650, 15–25 seconds). AIATSIS archival recording MOYLE_R23 collection, fieldtape 650, 00:15–00:24.

Table 1: The recordings considered in this article.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Recording date</th>
<th>Singers</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>No. of verses</th>
<th>No. of song items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Puranguwana’</td>
<td>9 July 2016</td>
<td>PS*, MM, AT, JT</td>
<td>Balgo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 July 2016</td>
<td>PS, MG, JG*, MM, AT, JT</td>
<td>Bililuna</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>PS, MG, MM, JG*, AT, JT +</td>
<td>Balgo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Kunytjunytju’</td>
<td>May 1981</td>
<td>6 men (unidentified)</td>
<td>Balgo</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of song items 53

Source: Authors.

In 2019, the late Bai-Bai Napangardi referred to Verse 1 of ‘Puranguwana’ as Kunytjuru a word meaning ‘smoke’. This is probably a variant of the song’s title ‘Kunytjunytju’. Given that the singers of ‘Kunytjunytju’ were born much earlier than today’s singers of ‘Puranguwana’, if one song did give rise to the other, we suggest ‘Kunytjunytju’ would have been the earlier song. Both are entertainment songs that were shared between groups, so it is also possible that they were known widely.

The subject matter of the song

A number of classical Aboriginal songs that refer to recent events have been documented. Many of these songs refer to encounters with the ‘rapid changes associated with the arrival of Europeans and colonisation’. In contrast, ‘Puranguwana’ reflects on a purely Aboriginal experience. Although we found no trace of it in historical records, the story of how Yawalyurru perished in the desert is itself a newsworthy story. Marie and Angie gave the following account of this event in 2016:

Yawalyurru passed away tragically when he and Angie’s brother and her niece (both children then) attempted to walk from Sturt Creek Station to Gordon Downs Station to meet his brother, Wirtwirti. They were unable to find water and there was a hot wind so Yawalyurru left Yinipani and the children at a tree and instructed them to bury themselves in the sand to avoid dehydrating. He then set out to find water, making his way to a known permanent water source … Sadly, he perished near Nana Rockhole, which was en route to Gordon Downs homestead, before anyone could find him. Fortunately, the

19 To the best of our knowledge, all the senior singers with whom Richard Moyle worked with have passed away.

66
others were saved by an Aboriginal man and his wife who were walking from Flora Valley. They gave them water to drink and douse themselves in and took word to Sturt Creek homestead. The station owners then came and brought them back to Sturt Creek in a vehicle. Yawalyurru was buried where he was found.

In the 2006 performance Angie gives an emotional account of this event, relating it to relatives in the audience. It includes how Yawalyurru’s spirit returned to his Pintupi country. A translation of this narrative is given in Appendix 1.

Like many Aboriginal songs, the verses of ‘Puranguwana’ do not so much tell a story but punctuate points in this tragic event. Each verse is like a snapshot of a moment when the protagonist saw, thought, felt, heard or did something of significance. For the knowledgeable listener, many of the verses are associated with particular places where an event occurred.

The language of the verses

The language of the song is a potpourri of vocabulary from Western Desert varieties as well as Jaru, Walmajarri, Warlpiri and Ngardi. The title, for example, ‘Puranguwana’, is literally *purangu* ‘sun, heat, hot weather’ in Ngardi, Warlpiri, Walmajarri; and *-wana* ‘through’ in Kukatja, Martu Wangka, Ngardi and Warlpiri. These words may also exist in other languages, but our analysis is limited to the existing dictionaries of the region that we could access.

Nevertheless, the vocabulary most attested in the song, as well as the grammar, is Western Desert. This is noteworthy given that Yawalyurru was on Jaru country at the time of his death, and it was a Jaru man who received the song. It is difficult to identify any single Western Desert variety that the song is in. Speakers we worked with often said many of the words were also ‘old Pintupi’ or ‘new Kukatja’. Frequently these observations were not commensurate with the existing resources. This could be for two reasons: first, the existing resources are limited; and second, when it comes to song, native speakers avoid dialect affiliation more than they do for speech. We suggest that ‘Puranguwana’ can be thought of as a transnational Western Desert song in terms of its lyrics.

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21 In 2019 Angie Tchooga clarified that it was a policeman and the Flora Valley Station manager who brought the family back to Sturt Creek Station.
22 Turpin and Meakins, *Songs from the Stations*, 34–35.
23 See Appendix 2 for a list of linguistic sources and the language abbreviations.
24 Turpin and Green, ‘Trading in Terms’. 
The provenance of the words in the song is shown in Appendix 2. In the morphological glossing of the song, text is underlined when no speech equivalents could be found in existing dictionaries. On the whole, the lyrics of ‘Puranguwana’ are quite transparent in comparison to many other Aboriginal songs, meaning that Kukatja and Pintupi speakers were able to identify speech equivalents and assign meanings to these words. People did sometimes differ, however, on the overall interpretation of a verse. This is not unusual, as Aboriginal song texts often use non-specific vocabulary enabling broad or ambiguous layers of meanings, some of which are only accessible with specialist knowledge.

**Formal properties of the song**

Each of the seven verses of ‘Puranguwana’ contain a single line of rhythmic text, most often 21 syllables. In performance, a verse repeats four or five times until the end of the longer melodic contour. This continuous stretch of singing of the repeating verse usually lasts about 30 seconds, and is what musicologists refer to as a ‘song item’. The song items of each verse usually begin at the same place of the verse, with the exception of the first song item of Verse 2. In the written linear representations of the verse, we use the most frequent starting point as the beginning of a verse.

All seven verses consist of a 14-beat rhythmic text comprising 19–21 syllables/rhythmic notes, with a preference for 21 (Table 2). The rhythm is syllable driven, meaning that the number of notes and syllables in any given text are the same. Six different rhythmic patterns are used for the verses, and each verse only ever has one rhythmic setting. Note that pattern 4 is the same sequence as pattern 3, but starting from bar 3. The similarity can be heard in performance, as a song item is a repeating rhythmic text; imagining the rhythm as a circle makes this clearer.

The six rhythmic patterns are built on three rhythmic cells: a two-, three- and four-note cell (Table 3). Variation in the duration of these notes occurs in certain bars of some verses. The variants are shown in brackets in Table 3. For example, the two-note cell is two notes of near equal length in some verse final bars (e.g. Verse 7, bar 7).

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26 Ellis, *Aboriginal Music*.
27 This contrasts with the more common central Australian verse form where a verse has two lines (A and B) that repeat in an AABB pattern. Yeoh and Turpin, ‘An Aboriginal Women’s Song from Arrwek’.
29 This contrasts with many other types of central Australian songs, where a song item can start at different points in the verse. Turpin, ‘Form and Meaning of Akwelye’.
30 Ellis, ‘Rhythmic Analysis of Aboriginal Syllabic Songs’.
Table 2: The rhythmic patterns of the seven verses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rhythm</th>
<th>No. syllables</th>
<th>Verse id.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4, 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Authors.

Table 3: The three rhythmic cells with variants in brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beats/notes</th>
<th>2 notes</th>
<th>3 notes</th>
<th>4 notes</th>
<th>Total no. cells</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-beats</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The variants diminish the distinction between long and short notes rather than reassigning shorter to longer notes or vice versa.

Source: Authors.

As with many Aboriginal songs, the number of syllables in a word determines the number of rhythmic note attacks. With different combinations of the cells, it is possible to set any word rhythmically and have it coincide with a bar boundary. Words tend to end with a long note, thus the four-note rhythmic cell does not usually coincide with the end of a linguistic phrase, whereas the two-note and three-note rhythmic cells do. There is usually melodic ornamentation on the word-final syllables set to long notes; for example, ngarrima, ngarama, wana and kuturna.

The seven verses of ‘Puranguwana’

The seven verses of ‘Puranguwana’ do not appear to have any sequential order, as the multiple performances reveal. Below we present the verses in the order that they were sung on 9 July 2016 followed by the additional verses sung on 11 July 2016. On some occasions after singing a verse, one of the singers quoted what the protagonist Yawalyurru was thinking or doing. We introduce each verse with such a quote. These small explanations are common in performance and elsewhere they have been referred to as ‘song expansions’.

31 Turpin, ‘Form and Meaning of Akwelye’.
Our analysis considers the words of the verse and the underlying rhythm associated with each syllable. This broad rhythm is not so much a transcription, but an analysis derived from many repetitions of the verse (which is what occurs in performance), extrapolating away from small differences and representing the category as a short or long note. In the presentation of each verse the top row is the rhythm, the second row the percussive beats, the third row the sung text, the fourth row a linguistic analysis and the fifth row a linguistic gloss. The phrase marks denote rhythmic patterns that end on a long note, coinciding with linguistic phrases. These are either, four, six or 10 beat units. Where possible, a free translation is given in the bottom row, as in Verse 1. The meaning of the linguistic glosses is provided in Appendix 2.

Verse 1

_Puyu, too much smoke now_ (Jack Gordon, 11 July 2016)

```
|   |   |   |   | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |   |   | x | x | x | x | x | x |   |
```

puyularn ngarrima– puyu-puyu wana tjalkama ngurrara kuturna– puyu-rlarni ngari-ma puyu-puyu-wana tjalka-ma ngurrara-kuturna

'smoke-OBV lie-PST:IMPF smoke-RDP-PERL return-PST:IMPF own.country-ALL=1SG.S

'Towards the smoke; I am returning to my country through thick smoke.'

This verse is about Yawalyurrri’s spirit going back home to his Pintupi homelands south-east of Balgo. According to Jack Gordon, Yawalyurrri’s spirit in the sky thinks to himself, ‘Too much smoke now, I’m going back home, back to my country’. Jimmy explains that he _flies_ back to country, making it clear that this is a spirit journey. This is echoed in Jupiter’s explanation of the song three years later, ‘I’m going back home. Spirit going back to my country ngurrara kuturna’ (15 April 2019). The song can connote how the protagonist’s need to go home made him unafraid of walking through smoke and fire, reminding us of the non-corporeal nature of the spirit world.33

The verse begins with the phrase _puyu-larn-ngarrima_ ‘smoke-through-was lying’.34 While the song may refer to smoke from a fire, it may also connote what some Aboriginal people describe as a visual phenomenon that can accompany death as the

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32 Linguistic glosses are as follows: _all_ (allative), _com_ (comitative), _erg_ (ergative), _imff_ (imperfective), _irr_ (irrealis), _loc_ (locative), _obv_ (obviative), _pst_ (past), _perl_ (perative), _pfv_ (perfective), _rdp_ (reduplicant), _itr_ (iterative), _ser_ (serial verb), _1sg.o_ (first person singular object), _1sg.s_ (first person singular subject), _3pl.dat_ (third person plural dative), _3sg.dat_ (third person singular dative), - (suffix boundary), = (clitic boundary).

33 Suggested by Western Desert interpreter Lance MacDonald, pers. comm., 12 October 2019.

34 The ending –_larni_ may signal non-identity with main clause arguments. In Ngardi it occurs on visual substances that occupy the air, such as light, dark or smoke. Cataldi, _Dictionary of Ngardi_, 326; cf. Ennever, ‘Nominal and Pronominal Morphology of Ngardi’, 127.
spirit leaves the earth and rises into the sky. Note that although the verbal inflection -ma is conventionally a past-habitual marker in many Western Desert languages, the singer’s translations of the verse are all in the present continuous. This suggests that -ma may be solely aspectual rather than temporal, at least in song. The second clause is puyu-puyu-wana tjalka-ma ngurrara-kutu=rna, literally, ‘through the thick smoke I was returning to my country’. The verb tjalkama means ‘send, let go’ (K, Wang, Warn, M). While the meaning ‘return’ is not attested in the dictionaries, perhaps this meaning pertains to when the subject is a spirit and the construction is understood as having an unspecified subject – for example, ‘I/it (e.g. death) sent my spirit’. This fits with how the protagonist was driven to return home. An alternative account is that tjalkama ‘return’ could also mean ‘to know’ (K). Tjalkama ‘return’ occurs in two other verses of the song, as discussed below. The word ngurrara ‘one’s own country’ is widely attested (K, Wlm, Ng, Wrlp) and its meaning in the song is compatible with an explanation in the Warlpiri Dictionary: ‘Ngurrara … is like the place where they (person or animal) were born and grew up, they are from that country’.35

Verse 2

*Kawarn ngarama* standing around looking for water
(Patrick Smith, 9 July 2016)

‘I don’t know what to do, my head is spinning in this hot wind’

In this verse, Yawalyurru is losing his mind from thirst. He is said to be on Sturt Creek at 26 Mile Bore where there is a windmill and two tanks. He went ‘round and ‘round looking for water, but the tank was dry. Marie explains how ‘he is lost’ in this verse. A big, hot whirly-wind came and Marie and Jupiter speculate that Yawalyurru must have grabbed onto the tank to steady himself. The text includes a borrowing from English, ‘willy-willy’, although this itself is a borrowing from Yindjibarndi, a Western Australian language. The word kankarra ‘above’ is used figuratively to refer to ‘head’, kankarrarna wilayi yana, ‘The top of me is spinning’, alluding to the initial effects of dehydration.36 *Kawarn ngarama* is said to mean ‘standing, going ‘round

35 Laughren, Warlpiri to English, in press.
36 Marie Mudgedell, 2017.
and ‘round’, as if the protagonist is thinking ‘What am I doing wandering around, am I lost?’ One of five song items of this verse start with the phrase willi-wili-puru, the other four begin as written in Verse 2 above.

Verse 3

I bin see’em man (Patrick Smith, 9 July 2016)

nyakurla jal kama— pilpara wurrna nyangama purnturna tjanampa
nya-IRR-SER tjalka-IMPF ashes-COM=1SG.S see-PST:IMPF man=1SG.S=3PL.DAT

‘Looking out while travelling home, I see relatives covered in ashes’

In this verse, Yawalyurru’s spirit looks down and sees a man in mourning covered in ashes. ‘He was looking down … I can see that man with ashes … laying near the ashes, sorry side, they got that news now, he passed away. They were all crying.’37 Marie Mudgedell explains that he sees his brother, Kapardi, who is sleeping by the fire, all covered in ashes. ‘Another old man down there, from the sky. He was sad now. He rubs himself with ashes.’ Jack, representing Yawalyurru, exclaims ‘“Hello my brother!” He was laying down (in mourning).’ Jupiter expands on this, ‘Purnturna tjanampa nykurla tjalkama’ ‘I bin see ’em man, my brother, paint all over.’ We might suppose that Kapardi is mourning the death of his brother Yawalyurru.

The verse starts with a serial verb construction nyakula tjalkama ‘looking while returning’. It connotes an image of a spirit flying back to their own country looking out down below. This phrase is also encountered in the song ‘Kunytjunytju’, Verses 1 and 8 (Appendix 2). The phrase pilpara-wurru-rna is said to mean ‘man covered in ashes’ (‘paint all over’), however, it is not clear what pilpara is – it was only encountered in R. Moyle’s fieldnotes in a song text in which it was said to mean ‘decoration’.38 The final phrase, puntu-rna=tjanampa ‘I (look for) men/kin’. Puntu ‘man’ (M) is also said to be old Pintupi; while in Warlpiri it means ‘kin, mate’.

Verse 4

See’em his own son (Patrick Smith, 11 July 2016)

According to Jupiter, Yawalyurru was walking around 20 Mile Bore perishing, looking for water when he saw his own son in a vision. As in the previous verse, this verse begins with the serial verb construction nyakula tjalkama ‘looking while

38 AIATSIS MS 5183/1/2, a485151b3s3i3pt1a, p. 66.
returning’. We can imagine his spirit’s bird’s-eye view of the physical world looking down and seeing his own son (katja waltja-rna-tja ‘my own son’ also occurs in Verses 2 and 3 of another ceremony of the tjulpurrpa genre). 39 Marie and Jupiter say that wirnta-wirnta refers to a woman’s dancing stick, which women held in the air while dancing. They also described it as ‘bamboo stick’ (15 April 2019). Note wirnta ‘sharp stick, fighting spear’ (P, M, P/Y) and in its reduplicated form can refer to ceremonial decorations and a particular ceremony. For the Warlpiri, wirnta-wirnta is performed by men wearing two pointed decorations on their heads and white body decoration … a ritual belonging to Japangardi-Japanangka subsection. 40

In ceremony, people are transformed; for some listeners, there is a connotation that Yawalyurru is seeing his son transformed. In addition, we see a symbolic association that Yawalyurru himself is undergoing a transformation from the realm of the living to that of the dead. This verse begins with the same phrase as that of Verse 3. The word nyangama in bar 5 is also the same in both verses.

Verse 5

Jack Gordon says, ‘This is a story about my brother [Yawalyurru], at Sturt Creek Station … Later he found his camp … Make a bit of a hole on the fire.’ The song is said to be about an event that happened at 20 Mile Yard on Sturt Creek Station where there is a stockyard. Yawalyurru was looking at his son near some bushes. The first phrase is yiwarra-ngara ‘a vertical path’, which was likened to a ‘super

40 Laughren, Warlpiri to English, in press.
highway’. The next phrase has *kankarra* ‘above’, which connotes the spirit realm above appearing to open up. The final word of this phrase is not known but appears to mean ‘surprise’ or ‘sparkle’. The phrase refers to something like a path going up with an opening or tear at the top, sparkling with light from above. The final phrase refers to going back down. Above and below are often used to describe the worlds of the spirits and the living. One person likened the way the spirit travels to the way that turtles travel underwater and come up for air and then go back down. Spirits observe or do something in the physical realm, and then return to travel underground. Each time the spirit pops up, it will be a new song text and dance.\(^{41}\)

**Verse 6**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kumpiranga</th>
<th>rama</th>
<th>patiyirla</th>
<th>kurrpai</th>
<th>kurrpirnai</th>
<th>yawalyirri</th>
<th>ngarna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kumpi-ra</td>
<td>nga-ra-ma</td>
<td>pati-r-la</td>
<td>kurr-pi</td>
<td>kurr-pirnai</td>
<td>yawi-irri-</td>
<td>ngarna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hide-SER</td>
<td>stand-PST</td>
<td>stick-LOC</td>
<td>sprinkle</td>
<td>sprinkle-PST</td>
<td>feel-pity-</td>
<td>Yawalyurru-ngka-ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jupiter provides the following explanation of this verse: ‘What am I doing standing around, looking for water. I’m lost! I’m a long way from my wife and kids!’\(^{42}\) The first phrase is *kumpira nga-ra-ma*, which is ‘standing around trying not to be seen; trying not to be conspicuous’. The next word, *pati-r-la*, is said to refer to a light, thin stick, which could be used as a spear or a dancing stick.\(^{43}\) Marie Mudgedell describes this as *tatji-tatji*.\(^{44}\) Note that in the 2006 performance this verse was sung to accompanying men’s dancing, all of whom held spears.\(^{45}\)

Marie states that *kurrpi-kurrpi-rnu* means ‘sprinkling water on himself’ and she notes he might have had a little bit left. Traditionally, Kukatja people sprinkled water on themselves when hot; as well as on burning green plants to make a healing smoke for the sick. It is also possible that he is performing a ceremony, mimicking a sprinkling motion, as if he is revealing himself through performing ceremony.\(^{46}\) The final word, spoken as *yawalirringkarna*, was said to mean ‘grieve’ (K) on one

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\(^{41}\) Interpreter Lance MacDonald, pers. comm., 12 October 2019.

\(^{42}\) 20190415.

\(^{43}\) No speech equivalent for *pati-r-la* could be found, although note *patar-la* ‘fragile, light’ (K).

\(^{44}\) Ngardi *tatji-tatji* is a tall thin tree used as a toy spear (Cataldi, *Dictionary of Ngardi*, 292); *rdaji-rdaji* is a type of women’s dancing stick in Warlpiri. Laughren, *Warlpiri to English*, in press.

\(^{45}\) This can be seen at 6 minutes in ‘8th National Remote Indigenous Media Festival, Balgo October 2006’, ICTV.

\(^{46}\) Interpreter Lance MacDonald, pers. comm., 12 October 2019. We note that Gurindji people introduce someone to the ancestors of the country by sprinkling water on them. Gurindji country borders on the eastern part of Sturt Creek Station.
occasion. Marie suggested that he might be feeling sorry for himself. On another occasion Jupiter noted the word’s similarity to the protagonist’s name, Yawalyurru, and Marie suggested that Yawalyurru might be talking to himself.

**Verse 7**

Dancing one that one, all the man can dance (Patrick Smith, 11 July 2016)

This has an associated dance performed by men, which is the dance that can be seen on the ICTV website (see Appendix 1). Jupiter describes this as a happy song. It is possible that this reflects one meaning of the word in this song, *ngarrurta*. In some languages this is a distressing emotion while in others it is akin to joy. Some speakers translated it as ‘rushed’, which is associated with a strong emotion that stops you from acting before you think. The last phrase means ‘I hit the rock’, which may have caused sparks and a flash (*pinpangu*). As in Verse 2, the exact form of the suffix on the verb ‘go’ is not clear as it only occurs on a long note and is subject to diphthongisation. Note that Marie Gordon does a short-long clap accompaniment while Jack does an even clap accompaniment.

**Musical and textual similarities to the song ‘Kunytjunytju’**

‘Kunytjunytju’, a song recorded by ethnomusicologist Richard Moyle at Balgo in 1981, sounds remarkably similar to ‘Puranguwana’. This song warrants full consideration as the subject of another paper; here we only summarise its similarities to ‘Puranguwana’, as these suggest a similar creative force. The song ‘Kunytjunytju’ also refers to the experience of entering the spirit world and seeing one’s son, a whirlwind and the hot sun. It has eight verses, and all share the seven-bar and 14-beat verse structure of ‘Puranguwana’ and have a similar melodic structure. Below is the first verse that was sung in 1981.

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47 A total of 17 song items (18 minutes) are on this recording, Aus 650. This recording is held at AIATSIS and the University of Auckland.
Verse 1 of ‘Kunytjunytju’

The handsome, well-muscled man’s spirit saw a turlku [song] in his stomach and followed it. 48

Note the similar vocabulary in Verse 1 of ‘Kunytjunytju’ to that in ‘Puranguwana’: nyakurla tjalka- ‘while travelling I see’ (‘Puranguwana’ Verses 3 and 4). Other words that occur in verses of both songs are ngarrurta ‘(an emotion)’, kankarra ‘high’ (‘Puranguwana’ Verses 2, 5 and ‘Kunytjunytju’ Verse 6), winta-winta ‘ceremony’ (‘Puranguwana’ Verse 4 and ‘Kunytjunytju’ Verse 4) and even entire rhythmic text phrases such as katja waltja natja ‘I saw my own son’ (‘Puranguwana’ Verse 4 and ‘Kunytjunytju’ Verse 7).

Both songs share many musical features. Neither have line repetition within the verse structure and the alignment of rhythmic text to melody never varies. As in the performances of ‘Puranguwana’, there is only one song item where the singers start elsewhere in the verse structure: one of the four song items of Verse 1 shown above. There are also similarities in the melody in both songs. This is illustrated in Figure 4 that compares the melodic descent of a song item of ‘Puranguwana’ (Verse 2) with a song item of ‘Kunytjunytju’ (Verse 1). In the musical notation in Figure 4, the lines represent a sliding (portamento) off the main pitch. In both song items, the melody hovers around a 6th (A♭) and 7th (B♭) above the tonic (C) and descends to the tonic over the space of a single iteration of the verse (line one). The second iteration of the verse centres around the tonic (line two) and has the characteristic step up to the second pitch (D), marked with a circle. This pitch movement is summarised in Figure 5, and expressed in terms of intervallic structure in Figure 6.

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48 Free translation from R. Moyle fieldnotes, MS 5132/1/2, a485151b1s3i1a, p. 51, AIATSIS. Textual and rhythmic analysis by the authors.
(a) ‘Puranguwana’ (Verse 2, song item 1, bars 1–15; 11 July 2016 performance)

(b) ‘Kunytjunytju’ (Verse 1, song item 4, bars 1–14)

Figure 4: A comparison of the main melodic descent in a verse from each of the two songs.
Both song items have been transposed down an interval of a minor 3rd to C for ease of comparison.
Boxed numbers indicate iterations of the text.
Source: Authors.

Figure 5: A summary of the main melodic descent (line 1) of the two song items (Figure 4) in terms of pitch and intervals of the two verses
Source: Authors.
Both song items have an intervallic range of a minor 7th (Figure 6).

The last melodic descent of a song item in both ‘Kunytjunytju’ and ‘Puranguwana’ descends to the lower tonic, an octave below where the first descent ends. Figure 7 shows these descents in the same two song items shown in Figure 4.

(a) Last melodic descent of ‘Puranguwana’ (Verse 2, song item 1, bars 29–37; 11 July 2016 performance)

(b) Last melodic descent of ‘Kunytjunytju’ (Verse 1, song item 4, bars 28–36)

Both ‘Puranguwana’ and ‘Kunytjunytju’ song items have an intervallic range of a 14th (Figure 8).

Figure 6: Intervalllic range of a minor 7th.
Source: Authors.

Figure 7: A comparison of the last melodic descents of the song items in Figure 4 (transposed down an interval of a perfect 4th to C for ease of comparison). These end an octave below (C2) where the previous descent ends (C3).
Source: Authors.

Figure 8: Intervalllic range of a 14th.
Source: Authors.
The similarities between these two songs was posed to Marie and Jupiter. The couple had not heard ‘Kunytjunytju’ before and they regarded it as a different song to ‘Puranguwana’. This assertion is perhaps not surprising given the remarkable stability of Aboriginal rhythmic song texts over time. The textual similarities between the two songs may be due to this genre, tjulpurrpa, having a particular theme. According to Moyle an ‘apparent feature of tjulpurrpa is songs describing the acquisition process itself’.

In 2019, however, authors Meakins and Turpin visited the late Bai-Bai Napangardi at Kapalulangu, the old women’s home at Balgo. Bai-Bai joined in the singing of a verse of ‘Puranguwana’, and then referred to it as kunytjuru ‘smoke’. Bai-Bai worked closely with Richard Moyle and was very much part of Balgo ceremonial life at that time. It is possible that ‘Puranguwana’ could be ‘Kunytjunytju’ rediscovered, ‘shorn of [its] historical references’. While not everyone regards these as the same song, the similarities suggest a clear musical and textual influence.

**Conclusion**

Yawulyurru Tjapangarti was an important songman, both in life and in death. In life, his fame extended beyond his immediate family and community. Gurindji elders some 1,000 kilometres away, who never met him, still sing his songs and speak highly of his musical talents. In death, a new song emerged from his creative energies, ‘Puranguwana’. The tragic circumstance of Yawalyurru’s death is remembered with each performance. The unusual transparency of the lyrics and the use of first person means the confusion and agony of his death is experienced first-hand by the singers. As sung by Jack Gordon and various family members who knew him, ‘Puranguwana’ shows how tragedy is remembered and grief is re-experienced. While we might think of familiar English songs that describe mourning, knowing that ‘Puranguwana’ is composed by the person watching his own mourning rituals adds a reflexive stance that is widespread in Aboriginal songs. The ‘emotional business of song’ is not only due to the subject matter, but also because of the participant’s relationship as kin and descendants of the song-maker and protagonist. The emotional business is also heightened in a world view where classical song is the means by which the living connect with their kin, both the deceased and the living in their fellow performers.

49 The couple did not move to Balgo until the mid to late 1980s.
53 For example, Son House’s ‘Death Letter Blues’ (1965): ‘Looked like there was 10,000 people standin’ round the buryin’ ground / I didn’t know I loved her ‘til they laid her down’. We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing us to this song.
54 Bracknell, ‘The Emotional Business of Noongar Song’.
The similarities between ‘Puranguwana’ and ‘Kunytjunytju’ highlight the multicultural nature of Aboriginal creative practice, bringing music and language from different groups together. They illustrate how Aboriginal songs can be rediscovered at a later date relating to a different context. Both songs are from the perspective of a spirit travelling in the sky, observing scenes in the corporeal world below involving his family as well as himself. Both songs use vocabulary associated with Aboriginal perceptions of the liminal state between life and death, such as smoke (puyu), whirlly-winds (wili-wili), home (ngurrara), above (kankarra) and below (kaninytjarra). Fabb suggests that liminal states have a particular and profound aesthetic effect in verbal arts. The verses do not so much tell a sequential story, but rather are like vignettes inspired by a set of still photographs that could perhaps be ordered by the location of their scene. Pintupi woman Linda Anderson likens such songs to a picture book, with each page a new story.

Oral history and the linguistic transparency of the song show that ‘Puranguwana’ came into being at a known time in the past, unlike many other Aboriginal songs whose origins are assigned to the distant past. ‘Puranguwana’ demonstrates how songs received in recent times can be a mnemonic for historical events, people and places; while at the same time instilling cultural beliefs and values, such as those relating to life, death, kinship and country. All of this is crafted in an artistic package that has the power to transport listeners back to a time and place and inspire emotions. With increased community access to recordings, such as through the efforts of organisations like PAKAM, it is hoped Aboriginal people will continue to receive songs that reflect their unique perspective on human experience.

Acknowledgements

We thank the following people for singing and sharing their knowledge about this song with us: Patrick Smith, Jack Gordon†, Marie Gordon, Jimmy Tchooga and Mark Moora. We also thank Neil Turner of Pilbara and Kimberley Aboriginal Media (PAKAM) and Richard Moyle of the University of Auckland for permission to access archival recordings made at Balgo; Zohl de Ishtar for welcoming us to the home of Kapalulangu; linguists Tom Ennever and Luis Miguel Rojas Berscia, whose residence at Balgo lightened the load of fieldwork. We also thank Pintupi interpreter Lance MacDonald for insights on translation. We thank colleagues at the Australian Languages Workshop 2020 and the Sydney Conservatorium of Music Work in Progress Group for providing feedback on earlier versions of this article; as well as two anonymous reviewers whose detailed and insightful comments greatly helped us improve this article.

56  Fabb, ‘Two Routes to Epiphany’.
57  Linda Anderson to Author 1, 23 May 2018.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:00</td>
<td>Men and women singing Verse 6 [m-pura50], women dancing (7 song items)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:01</td>
<td>Men and women singing an indistinguishable verse (1 song item). Men dancing holding spears. Jack Gordon can be seen wearing a red waistband with his whole body covered in white ochre leading the dancing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:34</td>
<td>Men and women singing Verse 7 [m-pura51] (1 song item)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:09–9:40</td>
<td>Kukatja story told by Angie Tchooga. The English translation here was provided by Marie Mudgedell and Angie Tchooga to Myf Turpin in April 2019.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>That old man had three or four wives. He was travelling from Old Balgo Mission (Jalyuwarn) to Sturt Creek with his three wives. He was staying at Sturt Creek. He had sons and daughters with him. Then I was born and that old man was still there at Sturt Creek.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One day he got ready to go walking to Gordon Downs. They were travelling, a whole group of them, to Gordon Downs. That old woman (one of the wives) and the rest of them, walked to a place called 26. Then they got to 20 Mile and they saw a mirage like a water. They were getting happy for water (the two children and Angie's mum). Yawalyurru carried with him two buckets. He had a yoke and two buckets I wasn't there, I was too little. Another family grew me up. My old man and the old lady were digging so that they had a cool place to lie down while Yawalyurru looked for water. He told them to cover themselves with cold sand so that they didn't dehydrate while he went looking for water. He looked but there was no water. He saw another rockhole near Gordon Downs but it was empty. He was dehydrated near a manakiji (conkerberry) tree, halfway to Gordon Downs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He was dehydrated and dizzy. He passed away and he went back home to Papurn. And that other Tjapangarti is looking after that song now. He gave it to all those old men at Sturt Creek. My dad knew all those old men really well. And he gave them this song in a dream so that they could continue it. He went back to Paapu(?).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This is the story of Purangu-wana, which means perishing in the sun. An old man, Yawalyurru, was trying to go to Gordon Downs from Sturt Creek. He camped halfway there with his wife and two children. They ran out of water because they had been walking in the wrong direction. The old man told his family he was going to look for water. He started walking a long way from the family. He followed mirage after mirage. But when he got near there was no water. He kept doing that for hours and hours. He was getting dizzy and weak from dehydration. He got worse and passed away there. Then his spirit came up and was going back to his country to the south east near Kiwirkura and Kintore. He was a Pintupi man. But before he left, he gave the song to the Jaru people and they sing it today at special events. |
Appendix 2: Lexicon of the song

For ease of comparison the spelling for all words follows that used for Kukatja.\textsuperscript{58}

Symbols

1. Underlining means that the word is either: a) a non-attested meaning of a word in the dictionaries (e.g. \textit{tjalka}-); b) a hypothesised dictionary equivalent rather than coinciding with any translation given by the singers (e.g. \textit{tingari}); or c) a root of the form in the song that occurs in a wider range of dialects (e.g. \textit{nya}-).

2. Indents signal alternatives to the proposed speech equivalent.

\begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{-larni} ‘obv’ (Ng, Warl)
    \item \textit{-ma} ‘pst.impf’ (K, P, Ng, Wang)
    \item \textit{-wana} ‘perl’ (K, M)
    \item \textit{-tju} ‘1sg.obj/poss’ (K, M), ‘erg/inst’ (K, M, Wang); ‘excl’ (M)
    \item \textit{kaninytjarra} ‘below, under’ (K, P)
    \item \textit{kankarra} ‘above’ (K, M, P, PY, Ng, Warn)
    \item \textit{katja} ‘son, sister’s son’ (K, M, P, PY, Wang)
    \item \textit{kawarn} ‘mad, forgetful’ (K, M)
    \item \textit{kawan} ‘forgetful’ (Wang)
    \item \textit{kawany} ‘ignorant’ (Ng); ‘silly’ (Walm)
    \item \textit{kumpi-} ‘concealed, out of site’ (PY, K)
    \item \textit{kurripi-rnu} ‘sprinkle pst’ (K, M, P, Wang)
    \item \textit{kurripi-kurripi-} ‘sprinkle’ (WD)
    \item \textit{-kutu} ‘all’ (PY, M)
    \item \textit{-kurti} ‘all’ (Warn)
    \item \textit{ngarri-} ‘lie’ (K, M, Wang)
    \item \textit{ngara-} ‘stand’ (K, M, P, PY, Wang)
    \item \textit{-ngkun} ‘2sg.ref’ (K)
    \item \textit{ngka-rna} ‘adj-1sg.s’ (K)
    \item \textit{ngurrara} ‘home’ (K, M, Ng, Walm, Warl)
    \item \textit{nyaku-la} ‘see-ser’ (K, Ngaa, Wang)
    \item \textit{nya-nga} ‘watch out for, look for’ (‘see-pot’) (Wang, Ng, K, PY)
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{58} Valiquette, \textit{Kukatja to English Dictionary}. 

82
'PuRANGUWANA' ('PERISHING IN THE SUN')

**nya-**
'see' (J, K, M, Ng, Ngaa, P, PY, Wang, Warn)

**ngarrurda**
'strong emotion, grief stricken, afraid, distressed' (Warl)

**ngarrurda**
'happy' (J)

**ngarruta**
'joy, happy, content' (P, K)

**ngayulurna**
'1sg.erg-1sg.s' (K)

**patarla**
'fragile, light' (K)

**patiri**
'protruding' (Warl)

**pati-**
'closed, blocked' (PY)

**pilpara**
'ashes' (MM); 'decoration' (R. Moyle fieldnotes, MS 5132)

**pinpa-ngu**
'flash, blink' (K, PY, P) ‘-pst’(K)

**pungu-ngku**
'hit-pst-adj' (K)

**pu-**
'hit' (WD)

**puntu**
'man' (M, K); 'person, Aboriginal person' (K); 'friend, kin, mate' (W)

**purli**
'rock, stone, hill' (P, K, Warn, Wang, PY)

**-puru**
'amid' (K, M, Wang)

**puru**
'again' (P); 'out of sight' (Warl)

**puyu**
'smoke’ (K, P, Wang, Warn, Ng)

**-rna**
'1sg.s' (K, M, Ng, PY, Wang, Warn, Warl)

**tirrinykati**
'rip, tear' (K)

**tirriny(pa)**
'surprise' (K, P)

**tingari**
'Dreamtime heros' (K)

**tjalka-**
*vi* 'know' (K)

**tjalka-**
*vt* 'send, let go' (K, Wang, Warn, M)

**-tjalka**
'inchoative' (PY)

**waltja**
'family, relative' (K, P, Wang, PY); 'self, oneself' (M)

**-wana**
'perl’ (K, Ng, Wang, Warn, PY)

**wana-**
'follow' (Warn)

**wilayi**
'circling, around' (Ng, J, G)

**wimaru**
'gap' (PY)

**wimarra**
'facial hair' (K)

**winta-winta**
'shavings' (R. Moyle, MS 5132/1/2, a485151b1s3i1a-p51);
'decoration for ceremony' (M)
*wirnta-wirnta* ‘name of a specific ceremony once known at Balgo’ (Moyle, *Balgo Music*, 90), ‘name of specific ritual belonging to Tjapangarti-Tjapanangka subsection’ (Warl) ‘… *wirnta-wirnta* is performed by men wearing two pointed decorations on their heads and white body decoration.’ (Laughren, in press)

*wirnta* ‘hunting spear’ (WD)

-wurru ‘commitative’ (Ng)

*wurru* ‘backway’ (K)

-wurra ‘towards’ (J)

*yani-yana* ‘go’ (WD)

*yawiyirriwa* ‘grieve’ (K)

*Yawalyurru* (personal name)

*yiwarra* ‘road, route, path’ (K, M, P, Ngaa, Warl, WD)

### Language abbreviations and source material

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<td>Wm</td>
<td>Walmatjarri</td>
<td>Richards and Hudson, <em>Walmajarri–English Dictionary</em></td>
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References

Archival source

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