

***Ngarukuruwala* – we sing:**

the songs of the Tiwi Islands, northern Australia.

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Declaration

I declare that the research presented here is my own original work and has not been submitted to any other institution for the award of a degree.

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Abstract

Through an analysis of Tiwi song composition techniques and comparison between performances recorded over the last hundred years, I give, for the first time in the literature, a comprehensive musical description of the Tiwi song repertory, showing that while it is primarily based on innovation, it forms a continuum of oral tradition, relying upon the acquisition of complex musical, linguistic and poetic composition skills. I place the Tiwi initiation ceremony, *Kulama*, as the centre-point of song creativity and instruction and suggest that its near-disappearance, along with social and linguistic change, have put the future of Tiwi extemporised song practice in jeopardy.

The framework for this study is the repatriation to the Tiwi community of ethnographic field-recordings of Tiwi songs, made between 1912 and 1981, archived at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) in Canberra. Drawing from the corpus of approximately 1300 recorded song items, I find that the fundamentally contemporary, topical and current nature of the Tiwi song culture has resulted in a rich social, cultural and historical oral record being preserved amongst the song texts. Documenting the physical, emotional and artistic journeys of a particular group of elders who travelled to Canberra to reclaim the recordings, I recount some of the outcomes of the reclamation and I discuss the impact the recordings' return is having on the current performance practice, the future of song knowledge transmission and the future of improvisatory composition skills.

In the context of *Ngarukuruwala- we sing songs*, a collaborative music project involving a group of song-women from the Tiwi Islands and jazz musicians from Sydney, I also report on new music projects instigated by a group of Tiwi women who are working to maintain and develop song and language skills in young Tiwi people, negotiating new forms of music while maintaining Tiwi song traditions.

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This thesis aims to be a conduit through which the skills and knowledge of Tiwi song practitioners and custodians (past and present) can be put into writing to create a resource for future Tiwi singers, as well as placing Tiwi song in literature. I hope that many who read this will be Tiwi. My deepest and on-going thanks go to the Strong Women's group, in whose company I have enjoyed many moving, exhilarating and rewarding experiences, learning about and sharing in their music and without whom this thesis would never have happened.



for Clementine Puruntatameri

1949-2011

*Nginja nguwuri mantawi, kapi ngininuwila ngirramini, amintiya
ngininuwila kuruwala. 'Payinga.*

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Glossary of terms

aluwiya: *Noun, Masculine.* lead songman; ceremony leader.

ayipa *free form verb.* perform final songs of or to finish *kulama* ceremony

Country: an area of land that holds cultural and ancestral significance for a particular group who identify as traditional owners through paternal inheritance.

Dreaming: a widely used Aboriginal English term for one's totemic/spiritual identity. (see **Yoi** definition 2)

kulama: *Variant: kurlama Noun, Feminine.* round 'cheeky' yam; yam ceremony.

kuruwala: *Verb* kuruwala. sing

mamanunkuni: *Variant: mamanukuni. Noun Masculine.* sad song or dance following death; dirge.

milimika: *Variant: milimuka. Noun Feminine.* circle, cleared space, for dancing, sleeping etc.

mopaditi: *Variant: mapititi; mapurtiti; moputiti. Noun Masculine. 1 •* evil spirit, spirit of dead person, ghost, devil, Satan, sin, magic things.

ngirramini: *Variant: ngarramini. Noun Masculine. 1 •* story, talk, message, words, news; law.

pinrili: *From: English. Noun.* funeral. The ritual held for the burial (currently). Encompasses a catholic mass, Yoi event and graveside ritual.

pukumani: *Noun Masculine.* death ritual, taboo; relating to the death ceremonies; can refer to a person when a close relative dies.

putiputinga: *Variant:* pitipitinga. *Noun Feminine.* spirit child
(feminine). *Masculine:* putiputini. *Plural:* putiputuwi.

tiwi: *Noun plural.* people. specifically Tiwi people but often extended to all
people, particularly in Modern Tiwi. *Masculine:* tini. *Feminine:* tinga

yilaniya: *Variant:* yilaninga. yilaniga. *Noun Masculine.* non-final funeral dance.

yiloti : 1 • *Adverb.* forever; final.

2 • *Noun.* final funeral dance.

yiminga: *Variant:* yimunga. *Variant:* yimunga. **1.** • *Noun Feminine.* spirit, life,
breath, pulse. *Syn:* pukwiyi.

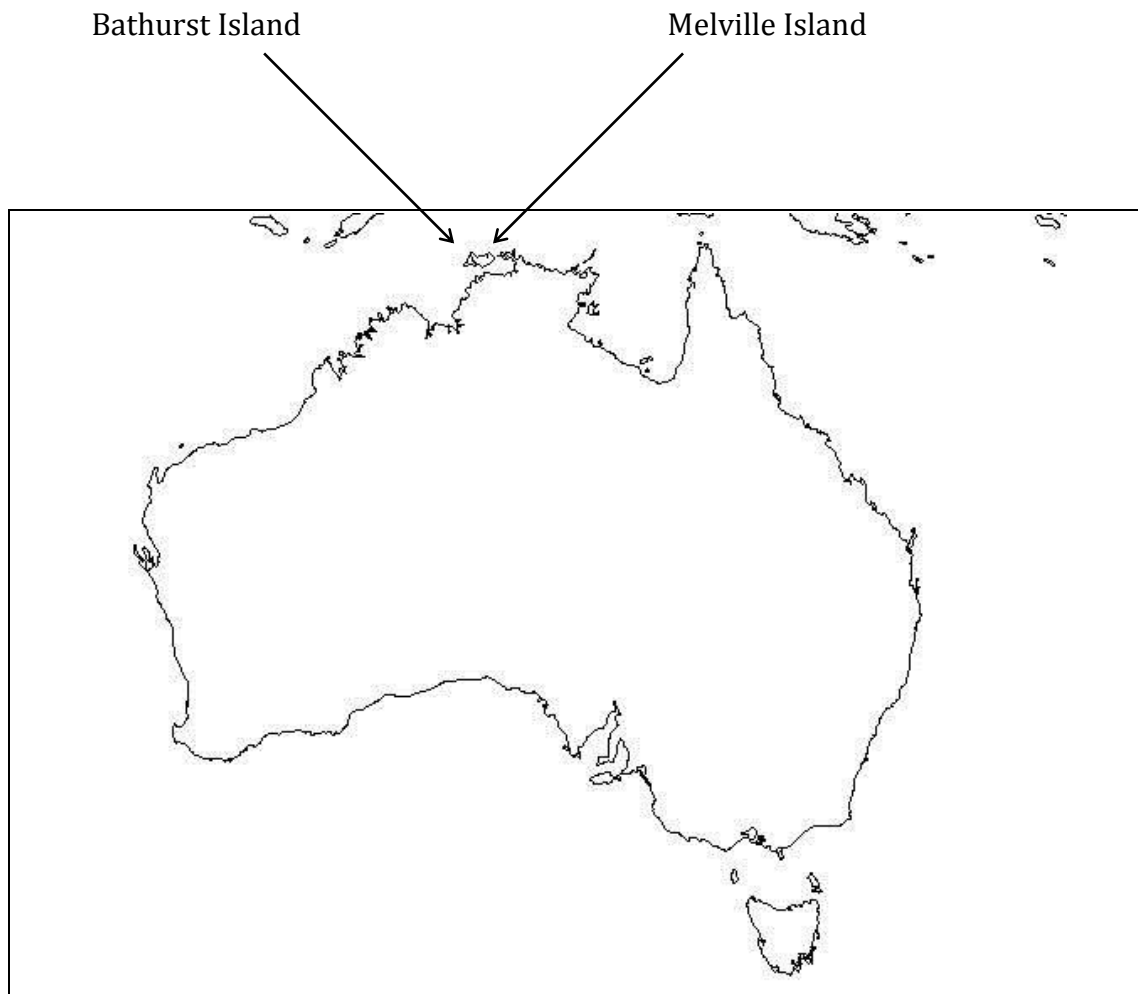
yiminga + verb with root: -angirri to breathe. *Syn:* wunijaka + verb with root
☐ -angirri. *See:* jiringa yiminga + verb with root ☐ -angirri;
pumpuni yiminga + verb with root ☐ -angirri. *Category:* **Body
functions.**

yiminga [number] + verb with root: -muwu time of day,... o'clock. Karri
yimunga punginingita ampiri-ki-muwu. when it is five o'clock/at 5
o'clock. *Syn:* yiminga

yoi: *variant yoyi* **1** • *masculine noun.* dance, ceremony

2 • *masculine noun.* dance of a particular totemic identity
(see Dreaming)

3 • *free form verb.* dance



Map 1: Showing position of Tiwi Islands in relation to the Australian mainland.

Sourced from www.geography.about.com¹

¹ Retrieved 22.6.13. Reproduced according to licence conditions.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis is about the song practice of Bathurst and Melville Islands, northern Australia, together known as the Tiwi Islands. Perhaps the most defining feature of Tiwi song is its basis in improvisation and the importance placed on the creative innovation of the individual singer/composer. Through an analysis of text and musical elements of songs recorded over the last hundred years, archived at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, and repatriated to the Tiwi Islands in 2009, I will show that Tiwi songs are fundamentally new, unique and occasion-specific and yet sit within a continuum of an oral artistic tradition. Song is the primary framework for Tiwi ceremony and ritual as well as for the transmission of cultural knowledge, the documentation of current affairs and a vehicle for maintaining language. The body of knowledge of the Tiwi people—the spiritual, historical, geographical and customary record—has been passed on orally, most of it through song.

In the face of language loss and a shrinking traditional song culture, the repatriated recordings may be seen as an important educational tool, but there is also concern amongst elders that the recordings might cause a move away from improvisatory song composition to the creation of a canon of learned songs.

The aim of the thesis is therefore three-fold:

- to present the traditional and emerging Tiwi song-types,
- to give an overview of the change that has occurred to Tiwi language, ceremony and song
- to report on the process of repatriating ethnographic song recordings to the Tiwi Islands and the potential impact the recordings' return might have on the continuation of the Tiwi improvisatory song culture.

I frame the whole in the context of my experience with the Tiwi Strong Women's group, about twenty women in their 50s, 60s and 70s living in the town of Nguiu

(also now called Wurrumiyanga), Bathurst Island.² I will begin this section with a description of the Tiwi place and an introduction to these women. Later in the chapter, I give a synopsis of the thesis and outline my association with the study.

1.1 The islands

The Tiwi Islands, located 80 km north of Darwin (see Map 1 and Map 2) at the confluence of the Timor and Arafura Seas, include two inhabited islands known today as Bathurst Island and Melville Island, separated by the Apsley Strait.³ Originally called Ratuwati Yinjara (Two Islands) they have a combined area of 8320 km² and comprise mallee scrub bush, pandanus, spring-fed waterholes, estuarine creeks, mangroves and a coastline of rocky outcrops and wide sand beaches. Turtles, dugongs and crocodiles are found in the surrounding waters.



Photograph 1: The bush on Bathurst and Melville Islands. Photograph by Genevieve Campbell

² There are also some women living at Pirlangimpi and Milikapiti who are considered Strong Women, but the group as a whole is generally regarded as being the women at Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu.

³ Also part of the Tiwi traditional lands are nine uninhabited islands dotted around the coast to the north and south.

The word Tiwi simply means “people”. Living on islands since *palingarri* (for ever, long ago, from the beginning), the people had no need for a “national” label. C.W. Hart first used the term ‘Tiwi’ to refer to all inhabitants of the islands (Hart, 1930, p.169). While Jane Goodale reported that in 1971 the term was not used by the locals (Goodale, 1974), since then it has come to be used commonly amongst Islanders to refer to themselves as a group, when talking about the entire community or when introducing themselves to non-Tiwi people, to distinguish themselves from other Australians. Within their community, however, people most often identify with the *Murrakupuni* (Country) group⁴ into which they are born, through their father’s lineage.

1.1.1 The islands today

The Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011 Census figures show the official total population of the Tiwi islands to be 2,579.⁵ In 2012 there are approximately 1700 inhabitants on Bathurst Island, living in Wurrumiyanga⁶ and about 30 at the small outstation, Wurangu. Melville Island has about 900 people spread across (in descending order of population) Milikapiti (Snake Bay) Pirlangimpi⁷ (Garden Point), and the outstations at Paru and Pickertaramoor.⁸

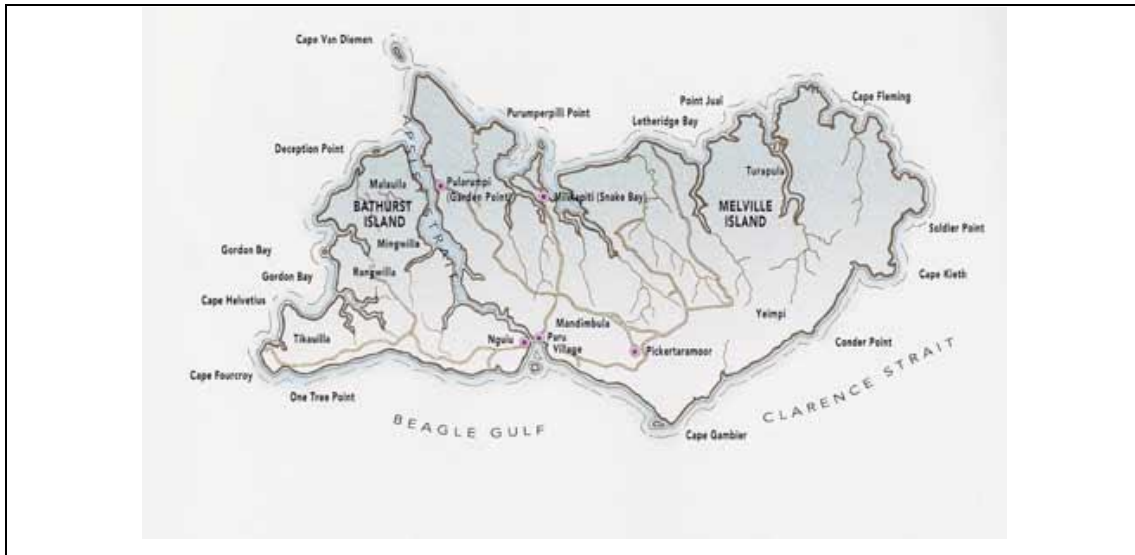
⁴ All Tiwi people belong to a Country group as part of their identity. I discuss these groups in the context of Kinship in Chapter 3.

⁵ "[Census QuickStats: Tiwi Islands](#)" Australian Bureau of Statistics. 2011-08-09. Retrieved 3.10.12

⁶ Until mid-2010 the largest town on the islands was called Nguui (Bathurst Island). It is now officially called Wurrumiyanga, but is still widely known as Nguui by many locals. As I wish to respect the feelings of all of my consultants and to aid cross-referencing I will refer to the community by the name Wurrumiyanga for contemporary statements but will use Nguui when within historical references or quotes from other sources.

⁷ Pirlangimpi is equally often and concurrently referred to as Pularumpi, for example the local primary school is called Pularumpi School, whereas the shop sign across the road announces Pirlangimpi Store.

⁸ These approximate figures sourced from the Tiwi Land Council.



Map 2: Bathurst and Melville Islands.

Source: www.tiwiart.com⁹

Since the beginnings of the Catholic mission on Bathurst Island in 1912, the Government Ration depot in 1939 (which later became a half-caste mission at Garden Point (Pirlangimpi)) and the Government Settlement at Snake Bay (Milikapiti) around the same time, Tiwi people have lived in and around these organised settlements rather than in their own *Murrakupuni* (Country). There is nonetheless a very strong sense amongst everyone of affiliation with and ownership of Country. Whenever the opportunity arises people will go “out bush”¹⁰ and spend time on their own land. The realities of modern life though mean that they live, for the majority of the year, in the towns. The Country groups determine the ownership of the land, with its use and that of any resources remaining under the control of the traditional owners. The financial implications of this situation have created shifting motivations for Country affiliation and socio-political manoeuvring which began at the time of the mission, was re-negotiated at the end of the mission, with the rise of “self-determination” in the 1970s and has continued through to today (Goodale, 1988; Grau, 2001a; Robinson, 2003). Today the islands are represented by the Tiwi Land Council, a representative body of traditional owners from each of the

⁹ Retrieved 22.6.13. Reproduced according to licence conditions.

¹⁰ A phrase commonly used by Tiwi people.

Murrakupuni groups, with statutory authority under the Aboriginal Land Rights Act, 1976.

Access between Bathurst and Melville Island relies on being able to hitch a ride with one of the very few car owners. As well, the dirt road connecting the communities is unpassable for much of the Wet season,¹¹ so inter-community travel is not a regular occurrence for those other than people on work visits or attending funerals. Each of the three larger towns—Wurrumiyanga, (Bathurst Island) and Pirlangimpi and Milikapiti (Melville Island)—is self-sufficient and has a general store, hot food shop, social club, child-care centre, aged-care facility, medical clinic, (Catholic) church, sports oval and police station. Each town has an Arts Centre and Wurrumiyanga is also the home of Bima Wear, a successful screen-printing enterprise. The Milikapiti and Pularumpi¹² primary schools are Australian Government run, while the Murrupurtiyanuwu Catholic Primary School and Xavier College High school at Wurrumiyanga are run by the Catholic Education Board, a vestige of the mission-run school on the same site. The only other secondary school is the purpose built Tiwi College, a locally owned and run weekly boarding school at Pickertaramoor on Melville Island. Alternatively, some secondary school-aged children move to Darwin to attend school.

A daily air service runs between Darwin and Wurrumiyanga, Milikapiti and Pirlangimpi. Although Darwin is only a twenty-minute flight away, the cost of a round trip is beyond the means of most people except for a special occasion.¹³ Up until 2011, during the Dry season, a ferry ran between Darwin and Bathurst Island three times per week, providing a less expensive option to get to the mainland, but in 2012 this service was cancelled and at the time of writing had not been reinstated. There is however a regular contact between the islands and

¹¹ The monsoonal Wet season extends from approximately January through to April.

¹² This is an alternate spelling, used by the school.

¹³ Some people have trips funded through their involvement in Tiwi Shire meetings, to perform at public occasions such as a football Grand Final or (with me) at a Conference. The Tiwi Land Council supports people to go across if a family member is in Darwin Hospital or to attend a funeral. It is clear that some go over far more often than others, depending on their circumstances. When I took a group of women to Darwin in 2007 for an NTArts Council-funded rehearsal workshop, it was the first trip to the mainland for one old lady.

the mainland and with television, radio and mobile phone coverage the islands are “remote” in geography only. While the only computers are those in offices and at the schools¹⁴ many people have mobile phones with internet access and are in regular contact with outside information as well as each other via social media.

The Tiwi Islands is well-known as a source of successful Australian Rules Football League (AFL) players and a number of Tiwi men have played in professional teams in the southern Australian states. The Tiwi Islands has its own competition (The Tiwi Islands Football League) with the Tiwi Football Grand Final a nationally televised event. The Tiwi Bombers, a team made up of Tiwi players, joined the Northern Territory League in 2007 and were league premiers in 2011.

1.1.2 Early contact with outsiders

From the seventeenth century, annual expeditions were made to the trepang¹⁵ beds along the northern coast of western Arnhem Land,¹⁶ by Macassans, Malays and other fishermen from the islands of the Indonesian archipelago (McIntyre, 1977; McMillan, 2007; Toner, 2000). A theory that the music of the north Australian region might have connections with long past influences from the north has been suggested and more research into this area may well discover deeper cultural links than previously supposed (Marett, 2005, p. 208; Toner, 2000). Although there is no direct evidence of musical influence of this kind on Tiwi culture there are songs that mention visitors and visiting boats from the north.¹⁷ The sea route from the Indonesian archipelago to Arnhem Land would have taken fishing boats close to the north-eastern coast of Melville Island, although the trepang beds there were not rich, so contact was probably not as

¹⁴ Students have access to these in class time.

¹⁵ Trepang is a common name for the marine invertebrate Holothuroidea (also known as the sea cucumber).

¹⁶ The Cobourg Peninsular, northwestern Arnhem land is approximately 30 kilometres across the Dundas Strait from the east coast of Melville Island.

¹⁷ Doolan J02 000628B-4, Hart C01-004240B-D29ii, Holmes S02_000181A-2, Spencer C01-00701-3

intensive. Although not well documented in the literature, Tiwi oral history recounts that at least a generation prior to the five-year British settlement at Fort Dundas on Melville Island from 1824, the Portuguese had already been taking Tiwi men from Melville Island as slaves.

Japanese pearlers had been visiting the islands seasonally from the 1880s, when they first had a temporary base at the southern coast of Melville Island. For some years there existed a seemingly mutually agreed-upon trade of goods for the sexual use of Tiwi women (Osborne, 1989; Pye, 1998). In 1930 the Australian government attempted to stop this arrangement by transporting all of the Tiwi in the area (the *Yeimpi*) to Darwin, and by patrolling the waters around the coast. A Government rations depot was set up at Garden Point (Pirlangimpi) in 1939, and more Tiwi women removed to Darwin in a further attempt to stop the contact (Hart and Pilling, 1988). In 1940 a Catholic Mission was established to care for the so-called half-caste offspring of these contacts, the mothers having been taken to Darwin. This has resulted in a group of Tiwi people who identify themselves as part of the “stolen-generation”. At the outbreak of the Second World War, Australian government intervention stopped the Japanese from pearl-fishing in waters off the islands. There are many references to Japanese fishermen (and the un-connected Japanese air raid on Darwin in 1942) amongst the recorded songs.¹⁸

Robert (Joe) Cooper (an anglo-Australian) first visited Melville Island for buffalo shooting for a short time in 1895, bringing with him a group of Iwaidja people from the mainland. In 1896, when the shooting was paused to let the buffalo population renew, Cooper left for the Cobourg Peninsular (on the Australian mainland) with eleven Tiwi people, including babies (Hart and Pilling, 1988). In 1905, Cooper returned, with a group of Iwaidja people and the Tiwi who had been taken ten years earlier (apart from one man who died at Oenpelli), and set up a permanent base at Paru on Melville Island, where they remained until 1916. Five of the Tiwi women had married Iwaidja or Gagudju men. A number of Tiwi

¹⁸ See amongst the song subjects listed in the Recordings catalogue at Appendix 3.

families today have close links with Iwaidja people and a number of Iwaidja loan-words have entered the language (Lee, 2011).

1.1.3 The Bathurst Island mission

A Catholic mission was established on Bathurst Island in 1911 by Father Gsell, a French priest of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart. He stayed on the island for nearly twenty years and is most famously known for his 150 “wives”¹⁹; the female children he took into his care between 1921 and 1938 (Gsell, 1955). Over the years, Gsell extended the scheme to taking in young boys, and so created a quasi-orphanage at Nguiu in which a generation of Tiwi children grew up being educated in English and converted to Catholicism. As a result, most Tiwi today are nominally Roman Catholic. Only those older than about forty years of age would, however, call themselves practising Catholics (attending Mass) because the presence of the Church has diminished since the mission was ceased in 1969. There is a good deal of evidence that, during the years when the mission had most influence on the Islands, the observance of traditional ceremonial practice was actively discouraged by the missionaries (Goodale, 1970, 1974; Morris, 2003; Mountford, 1958; Venbrux, 1995).²⁰

The current online Tiwi dictionary entry for *Yoi* gives the following as an example of the word’s definition and is indicative of the openness with which people speak of this issue:

Yoi: Free form verb. to dance. Awarra Pata Mankara yimani ngini, 'Ngajiti yoyi ngimp-a-ri-mi, ngajiti ngimp-a-ri-mirnikuwa pili awarra yita mapurtiti awarra.' 'Father McGrath used to say 'Don't dance, don't dress up for the dance, because that is sinful.'

¹⁹ He removed the girls from their families in order to stop the polygamous marriage system.

²⁰ I have heard many anecdotal comments from Tiwi men and women (aged in their fifties and sixties) to the effect that they were not allowed to attend ceremony and not allowed to speak Tiwi while they were at the Mission school. Opinions about the church and degrees of “conversion” vary widely amongst my consultants and I have chosen not to include them in this study.

Although acceptance of Tiwi ceremonies was reinstated in the last few years of the mission, many traditional practices had already declined or disappeared.²¹ While this may well be a case of acculturation and interruption of ceremonial practice however, there was also a combining of Catholicism with Tiwi spirituality (Grau, 2001b) that has endured.²² The women's Modern *Kuruwala* songs²³ include Tiwi translations of Catholic hymns (which I do not discuss in this thesis)²⁴ and other songs that are received by Tiwi audiences as symbolic of Tiwi and Catholic spirituality together.²⁵

The 1970s marked a resurgence of culture. The closure of the mission on Bathurst Island in 1969, the legislated (re-) establishment of indigenous land ownership through the Australian Aboriginal Land Rights Act (1976) and the formation of the Tiwi Land Council in 1977 are regarded by locals today as pivotal, with many Tiwi people (especially on Bathurst Island, most affected by the mission) able for the first time to embrace their culture and their language. Teresita Puruntatameri stated:

In 1974 Aboriginal people all over moved away from the mission to develop self-determination and that's when we voted for leaders from each skin group to become members of the Council or in Local Government. This later became the Tiwi Islands Shire Council.²⁶

At the same time, however, Brother John Pye wrote “[a]nd so in 1976 we find that the Cross has replaced the totem pole, not only on the graves but in their way of life” (Pye, 1998, p. 61). Although it is true that the big *Pukumani*

²¹ Opinion expressed in documentary film *Mourning for Mangatopi* 1975. Director Curtis Levy. Mountford (1958) Gsell (1956) and Venbrux (1995) make correlating statements to the effect that the practice of Tiwi ceremonies was banned by the Church in the early years.

²² In Chapter 3 I discuss the current blending of Christian and Tiwi mortuary practice.

²³ See 7.1.12 and Chapter 8.

²⁴ While Catholic hymns are sung in the community, they are not the focus of this study, which instead centres on the Tiwi song-types.

²⁵ “Wunijaka” (8.4.2) and “Murrntawarrapijimi” (8.6.1) are examples of this.

²⁶ Teresita Puruntatameri. Speaking at the Australasian Evaluation Society Conference in Sydney, 1 September 2011.

(mortuary-associated)²⁷ ceremonies such as those recorded on Melville in the 1970s²⁸ had disappeared from Bathurst Island, people were embarking on what they themselves call a cultural revolution.²⁹ Although the presence of the church has continued to be strong, and the blending of Tiwi and Catholic rituals is evident (Frawley, 1995; Gardiner & Puruntatameri, 1993; Grau, 2001b) attitudes towards the mission era and to the associated loss of Tiwi culture vary between individuals, and these are not the subject of this study. What is pertinent is the cultural resurgence the community has seen in post-mission days, led, in large part, by the Strong Women's group. Also, church music introduced by the missionaries has furnished the Strong Women's group with the musical basis for what has emerged as a new Tiwi song type.³⁰ I therefore include the opinions expressed to me directly in relation to the women's motivations for re-connecting with their elders when they were young adult women immediately after they left school, when they began to compose songs in their own language in order to educate their children in Tiwi culture and their recent role as community leaders in the re-engagement of Tiwi children with their language and culture.

1.2 The Strong Women's group

The term "Strong" is given to women (and men) who have a certain degree of knowledge of culture, stories, lore and song. The central position of Strong Women³¹ as role models, spiritual leaders, and the holders of stories especially, pervades indigenous Australian cultures (Barwick, 1990; Bell, 2002, 2008; C. H. Berndt, 1950; Goodale, 1974; Jilamarra, 1993; Mackinlay, 2010; Magowan, 2007; Muratorio, 1998). The Tiwi Strong Women's group³² are women in their 50s, 60s and 70s who are regarded with a special esteem due to the cultural knowledge

²⁷ *Pukumani* is discussed in 3.2.

²⁸ Two such events are the subject of the documentary films *Mourning for Mangatopi* (Levy, 1975) and *Goodbye Old Man* (MacDougall, 1977).

²⁹ Personal communication. Clementine Puruntatameri. Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 14 April 2010.

³⁰ I discuss this in 7.1.12

³¹ The term "Strong Women" is used in many cases, but not always, and I do not imply that all groups of indigenous Australian women elders are called Strong Women.

³² I use capital letters when referring to the ladies as an entity of "Strong Women".

they hold in their role as individual singers, composers and as a choral group at funerals, weddings and other public occasions. The women have been singing together since they were children boarding in the mission school when they were taught to sing Catholic hymns in English by the nuns. In their early twenties (in the 1970s) they made a conscious effort to reconnect with their parents, learn their language and attend Ceremony. As they became mothers and some became teachers' assistants³³ they grew increasingly pro-active in maintaining elements of Tiwi culture (such as traditional knowledge, ceremony and language). They translated hymns into Tiwi language and sang guitar-accompanied choral style music (in Tiwi and English) in Church and at local eisteddfods, not unlike other indigenous women's groups with a similar mission background, such as those in Galiwink'u or Maningrida, or even in the Torres Strait and Pacific islands (Choo, 2001; Diettrich, 2011; Lawrence, 2004; Mackinlay, 2010; Magowan, 2007).³⁴ In recent years the Tiwi Strong Women's group has continued their activities in the preservation of their culture, moving on from simply singing hymns in Tiwi to using song as a vehicle for preserving language and passing on stories of Tiwi ancestors and Country—absorbing non-Tiwi musical styles with the aim of engaging young Tiwi people with their culture.³⁵ The role of older people, and especially women, in cultural preservation is not unique to the Tiwi community, nor to Australia. There are numerous reports in the literature, globally, of the reinterpretation of traditions into modern (non-indigenous) contexts with cultural (and linguistic) preservation in mind (Christen, 2006; Johnson, 2011; Mashino, 2011; Onishi & Costes-Onishi, 2012). As Noel Pearson says, (of cultures generally and Australian indigenous cultures in particular) “The majority of any ethnic group passively acquires some knowledge of their people's culture from the passionate minority”

³³ Teresita Puruntatameri, one of the Strong Women's group, became the first Tiwi Principal of Murrupurtiyanuwu Catholic School, Nguiu in 1997.

³⁴ It should be noted however, that the Tiwi women's group's experience differs from that of many other Australian Indigenous communities, in that the mission was established much earlier (1913), with resulting removal from Tiwi culture and language beginning a generation earlier.

³⁵ The women's songs are a focus of the thesis overall and their songs specifically of 7.2.12 and Chapter 8. The list (at Appendix 19) of the women's Modern *Kuruwala* songs shows the scope of song subjects and demonstrates the fact that the majority refer to Tiwi culture.

(Pearson, 2009, p. 70). The Strong Women's group is, as I will show in the course of this thesis, the Tiwi people's such "passionate minority".

1.2.1 My engagement with the Strong Women's Group and an account of fieldwork

I first met the Tiwi Strong Women in February 2007. Having heard their singing recorded on a family friend's mobile phone in Sydney,³⁶ I travelled to Bathurst Island with no firm intentions other than wanting to find out more about their music. My interest in Tiwi music developed initially as a professional one.³⁷ As a musician I was most interested in discovering connections between what I do (as a horn player) and what Tiwi singers do. At first glance the phrasing, the rhythmic patterns and the melodic shapes in Tiwi songs were very different from the music I was most familiar with. I quickly realised however that, fundamentally, the music being created by my Tiwi colleagues was very much coming from the same place as the music I was surrounded by in my professional life, in terms of its relationship with performance, artistic endeavour and audience impact and I soon became interested in the potential for collaboration. With the help of funding through the Northern Territory Arts Council and the Darwin Festival I organised two week-long workshop periods involving the women's group and six jazz musicians (from Sydney and Darwin) leading up to a performance at the Darwin Festival in August of that year (see Photograph 2). In the course of developing a collegial relationship with the Tiwi women, I became aware of their interest in sustaining Tiwi music traditions, and a sense of the role that our collaborative process might have in their agenda. Much of my thesis reflects the process of the past six years of my working with these women, first as a musician and then also as a researcher and all the while as a colleague and assistant in their reclaiming of Tiwi song recordings.

³⁶ He had been at Nguuu medical clinic in a voluntary capacity and had attended a social event.

³⁷ Since 1988 I have worked professionally as an orchestral horn player.



Photograph 2: The first Ngarukuruwala performance, Darwin Festival, 2007.
Photograph by Helen Campbell

The musical group formed by myself and the Strong Women’s group is called Ngarukuruwala – we sing songs.³⁸ The word *ngarukuruwala* means “we sing” and was used by the ladies³⁹ as a self-descriptive collective noun as well as a verb and was chosen by them when we needed a name for the collaboration. It was my increasing interest in the origins of the songs we were working with that led to my seeking out the Tiwi recordings archived at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) in Canberra and my travelling there in 2009 with a group of eleven Tiwi ladies and gentlemen in order to facilitate the repatriation of Tiwi song material. This then was the catalyst for continuing music projects and the research that has become this thesis.

³⁸ See www.ngarukuruwala.org Henceforth I will call the project Ngarukuruwala (underlined) in order to distinguish it from the words *ngari kuruwala*. The spelling change *ngari* to *ngaru* reflects the vowel sound change when the two words are joined together.

³⁹ There is differing opinion as to the appropriateness of the use of the word “ladies”, some people suggesting that it is potentially patronizing or sexist. I have spoken with the Tiwi women about this, and they prefer to be called “ladies” as a more friendly and respectful term. I will therefore use both words in this thesis as is appropriate for the context.

Since the start of 2007 I have been in regular contact with the Strong Women's group, by phone, fax and, since 2011, via social media that is pervading amongst the younger people. Due to the nature of my involvement with the group in Ngarukuruwala I have been with the women, either in Darwin or on the Tiwi Islands, on average six times each year; my visits ranging in duration from a few days to a couple of weeks. We spent three weeks together in Sydney in 2008 and another two weeks in Canberra and Sydney in 2009. I lived in Nguiu for four months (January–April) in 2010,⁴⁰ the period in which much of the auditioning of recorded song material took place. Throughout the course of my candidature I have continued to be primarily a colleague of the women in the music project, with the transcribing of song texts and auditioning and documenting of recordings being seen as complementary and a source of new musical material. Over the last five years I have become the (un-paid) quasi-manager for the ladies as their "choir"⁴¹ receives invitations to perform at functions and conferences. We have also performed together in various professional engagements.⁴² On each occasion I have negotiated on behalf of the women to ensure they receive appropriate rates of pay, accommodation and transport costs and to negotiate any payments received for the use of their songs. I am co-signatory with two of the Tiwi women on a bank account that manages any associated funds for the benefit of the group and the Wurrumiyanga Women's Centre.

Having spent two years working with the Strong women's group as a colleague in the Ngarukuruwala music project before embarking on formal research (and with the music project having continued, in tandem, in the five years since), my dual roles as researcher and colleague are firmly intertwined. In 2010 we instigated and collaborated on the Strong Kids Song Project,⁴³ an educational activity supported by the Northern Territory Red Cross,⁴⁴ that involved composing, recording and performing with the Strong women, men and Tiwi

⁴⁰ This was field-work funded by Charles Darwin University.

⁴¹ I use inverted commas because the women do not see themselves as a Choir but rather as a group of women who share knowledge of songs.

⁴² A full list of the opportunities of this type is given at Appendix 17.

⁴³ I discuss this project in Chapter 8.

⁴⁴ Funded through the Red Cross Communities for Children program by the Australian Federal Government Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and indigenous Affairs.

children. Two albums⁴⁵ have been recorded, directed and produced by the core group of women and me. While I have made distinctions between these various activities in terms of funding and acquittals, musical preparation and personal experience, I have found the overlapping of theory and practice, personal and professional relationships and of my roles as researcher and colleague has been unavoidable and, I believe, highly beneficial to the Ngarukuruwala project and to this study.

1.3 Methodological considerations

1.3.1 Musical transcription

Taking into consideration the improvisatory nature of Tiwi singing, one must always be aware that a song recording is the record of *one* performer on *one* particular day. Although the song will feature textual, melodic and rhythmic patterns characteristic of its particular song-type, it is still essentially unique and must be accepted as only indicative of the song and/or song-type. Micro-tonal fluctuation, ornament, vocal timbre, vibrato and rubato are performance-specific and impossible to represent exactly via music transcription using “western” notation. A transcription can also never represent fully the embedded meaning, emotional response or technical skills of the performer nor (and this is equally important) the response of the listener (Knopoff, 2003; Marett, 2005). It is, however, an essential tool that I have used to represent the music in a way that makes it accessible to non-Tiwi readers and to facilitate detailed analysis that will place Tiwi music in the literature.

Although there has been detailed anthropological research into Tiwi culture (Brandl, 1971; Goodale, 1974; Grau, 1983a; C. Hart, 1988; Mountford, 1958; Spencer, 1914; Venbrux, 1995), as far as I am aware there is thus far little specifically relating to Tiwi song. Charles Osborne’s assertion that the musical forms of *Kulama* and *Yoi* songs⁴⁶ are “merely monotoning” and “entirely

⁴⁵ “Ngarukuruwala—we sing songs” (2008) and “Ngariwanajirri, the Strong Kids Song Project”(2011).

⁴⁶ I explain the song-types in 2.1 and in more detail in Chapter 7.

inexpressive” (Osborne, 1989, p. 155) comes from the point of view of someone un-educated in Tiwi music. Any music will only be fully appreciated for its technicalities and quality when the listener has some level of knowledge of the subtleties of harmony, melody, timbre and performance qualities that are unique to those musical traditions. Knopoff suggests there is a cultural basis for musical understanding, stating that “It is precisely because our musical ears are so culturally biased that we need analysis for a very practical purpose, as a sort of game or exercise to help us hear music in different ways” (Knopoff, 2003, p. 45). I therefore use musical notation with as much visual clarity as possible, and intend the reader to make use of the accompanying audio examples to facilitate an appreciation of the pertinent features I refer to in each. I have used symbols for rests, sparingly, between sung phrases when the break is in “time” in relation to the notes around it. Otherwise, I have indicated breaths and/or breaks between phrases with spacing. Similarly, percussive beats often do not exactly align with a particular note and so are indicated as such. I have transposed transcriptions within some examples to a common “tonic” in order to facilitate comparison, and have indicated as such. Unless otherwise stated, all musical examples are transcribed at performance pitch. With no drone or accompanying pitched instrument, there is no implied harmony or tonal centre, although each melodic shape does centre on, lead to or otherwise create the sense of a primary pitch. In the case of Tiwi music this is rarely the final. I refer to this primary pitch as the “tonic”. Please refer to Appendix 9 for an explanation of the markings used in the Music Transcriptions.

1.3.2 Text and language

The centrality of text to indigenous Australian song is well established in the literature. In all studies of song from communities around the Arnhem and Kimberley regions in particular, the recurring finding is that text is fundamental to song and informs the structuring of the rhythmic elements and the durational features of melodic elements, often called “melodic sections” (after Ellis 1985, p. 90; see also Marett 2000, Barwick 2003, Treloyn 2003, Garde 2006). The interconnectedness of language and song in terms of meaning, subject matter

and function therefore result in multiple levels of understanding for different audiences (Feld & Fox, 1994; Garde, 2006; List, 1963; Roach, 1982; Tiparui, 1993; Turpin & Stebbins, 2010; Walsh, 2007). I am not qualified in linguistics⁴⁷ and so do not pretend to have a thorough knowledge of the Tiwi language, nor to present in this study a detailed analysis of the language itself. Although my connection with the Tiwi Strong Women, the elder men and the community is primarily based on study of song, it has become clear that the changes Tiwi language has undergone since the arrival of the mission is relevant to my work because of its effect on song practice. Tiwi has undergone rapid change in the last 100 years, rendering the language that was spoken by elders in 1960 incomprehensible to all but a very few old people in the community today. All languages change over time, but as Jennifer Lee puts it,

... in recent years Tiwi has undergone, and is still undergoing, change which is greater than normal, at least in such a relatively short time, so that the actual structure of the language is changing. (Lee, 1987)

Lee's discussion of the changes that have occurred in the language over the last fifty years (Lee, 1987, 1988, 1993, 2011) have been a valuable aid in navigating the complexity of the language situation in the community, as I explain further in Chapter 5. See Appendix 2 for an orthography of the Tiwi language.

1.3.3 Song text transcription

Osborne's detailed analysis of Old Tiwi (Osborne, 1974) provides the background for my work on song texts, because they are in the "old" language,⁴⁸ and my Tiwi consultants have deferred to his work in the cases where their own knowledge of the language is insufficient. Most of Osborne's song texts (Osborne,

⁴⁷ Although this thesis was submitted through the department of linguistics, this was for administrative convenience because my supervisor, Linda Barwick, and the PARADISEC unit, through which I undertook this study, were, at that stage, affiliated with that department. PARADISEC (the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures) has hosted a number of ethnomusicological projects under Barwick's direction.

⁴⁸ "Old Tiwi" is the now archaic language in which traditional song is composed. The shift in Tiwi language is the subject of Chapter 5.

1989) are in metrical form,⁴⁹ however, not as they were actually sung.⁵⁰ As I will describe in more detail in Chapter 6, Tiwi song texts have three stages:

1: The text in prose (in spoken form).

2: The text structured into the standard Tiwi metrical form: any number of units of 5 syllables, followed by one unit of 4 syllables.

3: The text as iterated at the moment of performance (often the same as the metrical form, but not always, and in some song-types, most often *not* the same as the metrical form).

The various additions and deletions made by the singer at the metrical and then the performance stage⁵¹ make transcribing the sung form quite difficult. Without a thorough knowledge of the old language we are relying on auditory recognition of each sung syllable. I have found that those older Tiwi people who do have a good knowledge of the old language, and of the poetic devices used in extemporised song, ignore the additions and/or deletions and hear just the words. Speakers of Old Tiwi have native speaker intuitions about which syllables fulfill a communicative function, and which fulfill a purely metrical function, as they leave the latter out when speaking the song text. As I explain in Chapter 6, the additions/deletions are a feature of the metrical form and/or the sung form (not the spoken form). When re-iterating a song text so that I can transcribe it, what elders offer as the song text is not what I am hearing, but is, instead, the underlying spoken form.⁵² Added to this, most of my consultants do not have a good enough knowledge of the old language to recognise which added (or missing) syllables and changes of pronunciation belong solely to the sung form and which belong to the spoken form. The fact that Osborne has transcribed the

⁴⁹ The metrical form is the mid-way step in the process of song composition, which I explain in Chapter 6.

⁵⁰ Osborne's field-recordings (listed in Appendix 3) form the source material for his text transcriptions.

⁵¹ I explain these in Chapter 6.

⁵² Indeed I have found that singers find it very difficult (and often impossible) to speak the text of a song (rather than singing it). As soon as they speak it, they automatically revert to the spoken form. A similar example can be heard amongst recordings by Sandra Holmes in 1966.

metrical form of many song texts, without the irregularities and variations of individual performances means that the metrical forms of the words have been documented, providing a resource for those interested in learning the correct way to create songs, with the texts as source-material for their own compositions.

1.3.4 Translation

Translations presented in the thesis have come from different Tiwi informants and I have found variation in their explanations of what song texts mean. As well as actual text words, the translations I have been given include associated information, potentially inferred in different ways by the people who are listening to the song. Again, this is due in large part to differing levels of knowledge of the old language, with allusive references often only recognised by the older listeners, and younger listeners understanding a more literal meaning. Where possible I have provided glossing and I have also obtained poetic free translations that are included below the transcriptions. All translations (quoted or gleaned by myself) are presented here in consultation with elders.

1.3.5 Spelling

After some years working with Tiwi people across all generations and in many degrees of language mixing, language loss and language change, Lee commented

With all these variations and changes, some words may have a number of different pronunciations and spellings. At this stage there has been no standardization of the spelling for written materials. (Lee 1993, p. xii)

The spelling of Tiwi words is not standardized and over the years there have been several different spelling systems. The spelling I use for Tiwi words in this thesis is therefore only one version of the written language. When quoting from existing literature I use the spelling used therein. When presenting old song texts I have used Osborne's spelling and linguistic gloss (Osborne, 1989) because the text is in an old form of the language that my consultants are not familiar with.

For the texts of the women's current songs I use their preferred spelling and for all other Tiwi words I refer to the dictionary compiled by Jennifer Lee (1993) (now online (Lee, 2011)).⁵³ For consistency, equity and correctness of record I spell the names of Tiwi people quoted in the literature as they appear in that publication and my consultants' names as they prefer (see Appendix 1 for a list of my primary consultants).

1.4 People, names and place names

Every Tiwi name is unique. When a person dies their name becomes closed for *Pukumani* (a mourning restriction or taboo).⁵⁴ The restriction on the use of names of deceased people (as well as their songs and images) does not continue indefinitely, but is lifted after the *Yiloti* (Final Ceremony)⁵⁵ or at a time deemed appropriate by immediate family. Although the deceased can then be referred to by name, that name would never be used again to name a new child. In the past 80 years, with the emergence of European names being used in the mission, and with people from the mainland joining the community, there is increased likelihood of two people having the same name (although it is still very uncommon and would most likely be due to the presence of a non-Tiwi staff member or visitor).⁵⁶ The names of Tiwi people are presented here as accurately as possible, following the guidance of my consultants, and using the name by which a person is known best.

The inclusion of any names, voices and/or images of deceased people herein is with the permission of family. It is inevitable that at some stage in the future a person mentioned in this thesis will pass away and I therefore ask that any reader be sensitive to this fact when using any part of the text, sound files or images.

⁵³ The words *Yoi* and *Kulama* are spelled *Yoyi* and *Kurlama* in the online dictionary but I am using the former on advice from my consultants.

⁵⁴ *Pukumani* is discussed further in Chapter 3.

⁵⁵ I explain this in Chapter 3.

⁵⁶ I recount the experience of my name becoming *Pukumani* in Appendix 7 because it has had a significant affect on my work on this study.

1.5 Archiving Indigenous Knowledge

In creating a narrative that most faithfully and intelligently presents the data as well as the opinions and voice of my Tiwi colleagues I am following methodological precursors (Beaudry, 2008; Ellis, 1984; Knopoff, 2003; Magowan, 2007; Marett, 2005; Seeger, 1987; Tomlinson, 2007) and the very relevant and important issues surrounding the study, preservation and use of indigenous knowledge from the point of view of the non-indigenous researcher and the subject of the study itself (Brady, 2000; Knopoff, 2003; McMillan, 2007; Thomas, 2007a; Whittaker, 1994).

Martin Nakata suggests some concern over “... the emerging trend to document and database Indigenous Knowledge which belongs to a complex oral tradition” (Nakata, 2003). Although he is referring to indigenous knowledge in general, his comments are also relevant to indigenous song, especially taking into consideration the improvised nature of Tiwi songs and the fact that it is the skill of verse creation at the point of performance that is so important and highly respected. Capturing one performance on tape, designating it as the definitive example of a particular song style, or indeed of a particular singer’s technique, is problematic as it does not allow for either an appreciation of the improvisatory skill that was employed or of the performance’s place on the trajectory of a developing, changing and fluid art form. Nakata continues;

What does it mean to take knowledge developed in a complex oral tradition where it was evolving in a dynamic process and freeze it in a database, outside of the community from which it derived its meaning? (Nakata, 2003)

An important part of this study has been the repatriation to the Tiwi community of archived ethnographic field-recordings of Tiwi songs, none of which have been heard before by my consultants. The integrity of the song practice and the respect commanded by the senior holders of song knowledge has been at risk of being undermined on a number of occasions through my study, with feelings of

failure in the responsibility of continuing the traditions being felt deeply by some. I am therefore mindful of the negative as well as positive impact of returning previously unheard recordings to the islands.

In the context of our collaborative music project and the physical, emotional and artistic journeys of a particular group of elders⁵⁷ in discovering those recordings I include discussion of the impact the recordings' return is having on the current performance practice and the transmission of the song tradition itself. In my role in helping my Tiwi colleagues reclaim their recordings and then in my engagement with the song materials as both a researcher and a musician I have come across issues of copyright, ownership and moral rights as well as fundamental questions about recording an intangible culture, transmission of knowledge and the effect of the return of songs on the current song leaders in terms of preservation of traditions and the creation of new performance forms.

1.6 Chapter outline

The following is an outline of the structure of the thesis:

In this, the introductory chapter I have given a brief description of the Tiwi Islands. I have introduced the Strong Women's group as central to the study and I have given an overview of my relationship with them. I have also addressed some methodological considerations and provided a synopsis of the chapters.

Chapter 2, "Framework for this study: the songs and the recordings" is in two parts. In Part 1, I place Tiwi song in relation to other indigenous Australian genres. I give an introduction to the Tiwi song-types and the two principle performance contexts: *Yoi* and *Kulama*. I outline the musical characteristics (to be detailed in Chapter 7) that allow the song-types to be separated into two general groupings: those that are primarily group-participatory and dance-

⁵⁷ In Tiwi culture, as elsewhere in Australia, elders are regarded as being the cultural authorities so, in reflecting their views, this thesis occasionally makes statements about Tiwi culture in general, with the understanding that their opinion is accepted as representative of the Tiwi community at large.

accompanied and those that are primarily individually performed and without dance. I also introduce variation and improvisation as two important features of Tiwi songs that will be referred to throughout the thesis and particularly in Chapter 7.

In Part 2, I introduce the recordings that are the main source of data for this study. I describe the process of reclaiming Tiwi song material from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, (AIATSIS) Canberra. I argue that the direct involvement of Tiwi elders in this process has been fundamental to their responses to and engagement with the recordings, as well as those of the Tiwi community in general. I include the opinions of my Tiwi colleagues as much as possible in this section because I believe it is important that their point of view on issues of ownership, access and copyright is documented.

In Chapter 3 “Kinship, *Pukumani* and how they relate to *Yoi* Songs”, I give a background to the spiritual system that underpins Tiwi society as a basis for understanding the role of the *Pukumani* (mortuary-associated) ceremonies and the songs performed at them. I introduce *Yoi* (dance-related) songs as the main song-type in this ceremonial context and explain that their primary role is to connect people through Kinship status, Country affiliation and Dreaming identity. I give an account of the current situation with *pinrili* (funeral) and *Pukumani* (mortuary)-associated ceremonies and show that the changes in how they are performed relate to the performance (and composition) of songs. I will explain how, with these ceremonies relying on songs marking Kinship, Country and Dreaming, and with very few singers left with the skills to compose the required songs, a set corpus of songs fulfilling these requirements is emerging.

Chapter 4 describes the *Kulama* ceremony in the context of its role in improvised song composition. The *Kulama* Ceremony was an annual series of rituals primarily focussed on initiation into adulthood through the attainment of cultural and linguistic knowledge, culminating in being qualified to compose songs. In this chapter I place *Kulama* as central to Tiwi social and spiritual life,

with instruction in song composition skills underpinning it. I describe how the songs composed for *Kulama* created an ongoing oral record of the community. I report on how the return of *Kulama* songs (in the recordings) has been a particularly significant and at times emotionally powerful experience for my colleagues because of the names, places, events and historical narrative documented in the texts. I explain how the *Kulama* ceremony has all but disappeared due to radical changes to Tiwi society over the last century and, linking *Kulama* to intellectual and artistic instruction, I suggest that its decline corresponds with language loss and the resulting loss of improvisatory song composition skills.

Chapter 5 concerns language shift (and, it can be argued, loss) that has occurred over the last century. I provide an overview of the Tiwi language with particular reference to the difference between the language used in traditional song and the language spoken today. I give a description of the important differences between the Old Tiwi language (the language in which traditional song is composed) and two newer forms (Modern Tiwi and New Tiwi). Correlating to the previous two chapters and the social changes over the last century, this chapter gives an outline of the way the school system has resulted in changes to the language and affected young Tiwi people's engagement with traditional song. This is fundamental to understanding why the future of extemporised song composition is in jeopardy. Language loss affects the ability to understand songs, above and beyond the ability to understand speech, because this loss includes a loss of knowledge about metrical form (or sung form if the additions/deletions only occur in the sung form and not the metrical form). I also report on some of the experiences concerning the language situation that I have had with the Strong Women during recent language preservation projects focussed on song.

Chapter 6 concerns Tiwi song language. It describes, in more detail, the process of transforming spoken language into song text, outlining the poetic devices and metrical techniques employed by Tiwi composers. I show how composition relies on Old Tiwi and that improvisation (the basis of Tiwi song) is only possible with fluency of Old Tiwi. This adds to my finding that it is those songs that can

be learned by rote (the *Yoi* texts and a handful of *Kulama* songs that are becoming favoured) that will potentially become the basis for a canon or fixed repertoire of songs. Also in this chapter is a discussion of the fact that the language of the old song texts (including those that are being rote-learned) is now regarded as “song language”, with little connection to today’s spoken language, and is now largely untranslatable.⁵⁸ Drawing on the repatriated recordings, I give examples of songs whose meaning has either changed or been lost in the period between the song being recorded and the repatriation of the material.

Chapter 7 is a description of the Tiwi song-types with reference to musical characteristics. I present the majority of my musical analyses in this chapter. Giving transcriptions and descriptions of each of the Tiwi song-types, I compare performances of each type recorded over a spread of some years and by different singers. I outline each song-type’s function and, through analysis, show that, within a framework of pre-requisite knowledge of song technique and standard practice, all songs include elements of improvisation. The second part of the chapter shows how the women’s group have brought old songs and the old language into the contemporary musical and social arena, using elements of traditional composition techniques including metre, structure, melody and language to create songs that, while being in a non-Tiwi style, still fulfil the ceremonial and social functions of *Yoi* and *Kulama* songs.

Chapter 8 centres on Ngarukuruwala – we sing songs, the musical collaboration I instigated with the women in 2007 and the catalyst for my connection with Tiwi songs. Continuing from Chapter 7, I present the most recent innovations in Tiwi song arrangements that the women have created, working with me and my (non-Tiwi) colleagues, and I explain some of the underlying elements of Tiwi music in relation to jazz. I give some examples of the musical and personal motivations for, and results of, our work together as peers and how that relationship has

⁵⁸ The fact that my consultants call it “song language” might be the result of not understanding old song texts (i.e. syllables that once had lexical meaning now have only a metrical function). With so many parts of the text now unknown (to current speakers) the texts are regarded as part of the language of song, rather than spoken language.

informed this research and our performance outcomes. I also show how the project has been informed by the repatriated recordings and how new song activities have included not only the words and embedded knowledge in old songs, but the physical items themselves, with recordings being sampled into new work and played as part of live performances.

In Chapter 9, my concluding chapter, I give an account of four Tiwi songs in my recent experience that bring together the main considerations of this study and I draw some conclusions about the three separate but connected questions that are facing Tiwi song culture. Firstly: what impact has the dwindling of singers with the knowledge to compose had on the transmission of improvisatory song skills? Secondly: to what degree is this resulting in the emergence of the Kinship and Dreaming related *Yoi* songs (and corresponding decline of individual, topical *Kulama* songs)? Thirdly: where are repatriated recordings placed in this discussion and what role might they have in the future?

Appendices:

These are important additions to sections of the thesis as they provide extra information that is essential as source material for the study. The order in which they appear is related to their relevance to each chapter. I refer to each Appendix at the appropriate point in the thesis, and to certain Appendices throughout. Appendix 20 is included at the request of my Tiwi colleagues. A full list is given in the table of contents and each Appendix is prefaced with explanatory notes.

Chapter 2: Framework for this Study

In this chapter I will introduce the two main considerations of the thesis:

1. Describing the musical characteristics of the Tiwi song genre.
2. The repatriation of recorded song material.

In Part 1 I will summarize the key elements of Tiwi songs in relation to other Australian genres. An exhaustive comparison between the entire corpus of Tiwi song-types and neighbouring song traditions is beyond the scope of this thesis, partly due to the fact that, unlike most other studies, for example (Barwick, Birch, & Evans, 2007; Clunies Ross & Wild, 1984; Keogh, 1990; Marett, 2005; Treloyn, 2006; Turpin, 2005) it deals with a large number of musical genres.

I will give a broad picture of how the basic song elements of melody, rhythm and text across the Tiwi song corpus compare with other Australian song genres. With improvisation the single most important defining feature of Tiwi song practice, it is almost impossible to present a specific definition of Tiwi song as a whole, or to compare it (as a whole) with other genres. It is clear, however, that Tiwi music has many characteristics in common with other genres from northern Australia and some song-types share features with genres of the central and western desert. In this section I will also address the fact that the degree of variability in the different Tiwi song-types is determined largely by their performance context.

In Part 2 I will introduce the repatriated recordings (the central source material for this study) and report on the process that my Tiwi colleagues and I went through in order to repatriate them to the Tiwi community. I will include reactions to issues of ownership and copyright from the point of view of my Tiwi colleagues in order to document the complex relationship between indigenous stakeholders and a national archive,⁵⁹ which, while resulting in rewarding

⁵⁹ In this case, the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS).

outcomes, can also involve unforeseen problems. I also begin my recounting (which continues throughout the thesis) of the effect of the recordings' return to the Tiwi Islands and how the content has had personal, emotional, cultural and political impact for those hearing them for the first time. I will also provide an overview of some other ethnomusicological scholarship on repatriation.

PART 1

2.1 Tiwi songs in the context of indigenous Australian music

As in many Indigenous/Australian languages, there is no Tiwi word for music as a general concept: neither Grau (1983), Lee (1979) nor Osborne (1974) could find a Tiwi equivalent for the English word music.⁶⁰ The closest I have found is *kuruwala* (to sing). There is no Tiwi noun meaning “song” but instead people use a verb, saying they *are singing*; into *Kulama*, at *Yoi*, for their mother etc. This points to the understanding that “song” does not exist as an object, but as an act. This is not unique to Tiwi culture. Indeed many song cultures in Australia and around the world employ similar terminology (Ellis, 1978; Stone, 1998; Barwick and Marett, 2007). Those who gave me words meaning “voice” explained that this is what a song is—the sound of one’s voice—which is also the sound of one’s body. *Pupuni miraka* for example means “good voice” and can also be said to a singer in praise of their performance. Other people suggested song-type names as the closest the language has for “song”, although they understood the words to denote particular songs of that type rather than a song (of any type). *Ngirramini* was suggested as a word that describes what the song entails (a story, news or a piece of instruction or law). It has, amongst practicing Catholics, also taken on the meaning of “hymn” because it tells “the good news.” *Kawakawani* is in the Tiwi Dictionary meaning “to sing traditional style, sad singing” and *kawakawayi*⁶¹ “to sing traditional style, happy singing.” None of these however is

⁶⁰ In current usage the word *mujiki*, borrowed from English, refers to pre-recorded music played on a sound system or radio. I have never heard it used to refer to Tiwi music, apart from the tracks on our [Ngarukuruwala](#) CD.

⁶¹ *Kawakawayi* is a song text element that is widely used in *Kulama* and *Yoi* singing as well as in the more recent guitar-accompanied singing done by the women’s group. I have discussed this text element in Chapter 6.

a specific word for an individual song in the sense that we use the word in English.

As elsewhere in Australia, Tiwi music is predominantly vocal. Although in recent years the use of guitar has been incorporated into group singing at church and other community events, traditional and ceremonial Tiwi music does not involve pitched instruments. The *didjeridu*⁶² common in other northern indigenous communities on the mainland has never been a part of Tiwi culture. Tiwi music consists of vocalization, accompanied by percussion in the form of *tawutawunga* (clapping sticks), *ngirini* (mussel shells) hit together or hand clapping. When dressed in *nagi* (cloth tied around as short pants) for a formal performance occasion or a funeral the older men still use the method called *pawupawu* (slapping of hands on thighs or buttocks). This was widespread until the arrival of the missionaries and subsequent wearing of clothing that meant a decent sound couldn't be achieved. Most people these days simply clap their hands.⁶³ Beating time with sticks on soundboards such as pieces of corrugated iron sheeting is also common today and is first heard in recordings made in the 1960s.⁶⁴

Traditionally the role of lead singer at a *Kulama* or *Yoi*⁶⁵ event is performed by men, with women singing either in a supporting role⁶⁶ in *Kulama* or as part of the general group at the *Yoi*. While there are some song-types that tend to be sung either by men or by women, there are no song-types that must not be performed by either gender and, as I explain later in the thesis, increasingly men and women are sharing singing roles.

⁶² There is no Tiwi word for this instrument. The closest, *arlijuta*, meaning the trunk of the bamboo plant, is also used as a synonym in the Tiwi on-line dictionary (Lee, 2011) although I have heard Tiwi people use the words *yidaki* and *didjeridu*, always in the context of the music of other people.

⁶³ When men are dressed in *nagi* for ceremony or tourist performances they do clap their buttocks.

⁶⁴ Groger-Wurm's recordings: 510A

⁶⁵ See Glossary in front matter for full explanation of the terms *Kulama* and *Yoi*.

⁶⁶ In the *Ampirikuruwala* song-type, see 7.2.8.

Before we can consider how Tiwi songs fit into the broader context of Aboriginal Australian music, it is important to have an understanding of the Tiwi musical culture. I give a more comprehensive explanation in Chapter 7 but it is important here to give an overview of the song-types. The Tiwi song repertory comprises eleven musically definable song-types and one vocal call.⁶⁷ These are performed in three performance contexts: the *Pukumani* (mortuary-related) ceremony⁶⁸, the *Kulama* (annual song-focused ceremony)⁶⁹ and non-ritual occasions. Musically they are in one of two distinct styles: either in the *Yoi* (dance) style or *Kuruwala* (singing) style and there are a number of generalizations one can make based on this distinction. The *Yoi* style song-types, being principally for group participation and dancing (and, functionally, to connect people through Dreaming⁷⁰ or Kinship groups) are more regular in tempo and structure and have a stronger marking of the pulse with percussive accompaniment. The *Kuruwala* style song-types⁷¹ are primarily performed solo and their purpose is to express an individual's thoughts (of grief, of love or of telling news). They exhibit a greater degree of variation in tempo, structure and embellishment of melody and are generally slower with either sparing or no use of percussive accompaniment. Figure 1 (on pages 31 and 32) lists the song-types with a general overview of their musical characteristics, function and performance context.⁷² I use both "mourning" and "grieving" because both terms are used by my consultants; "mourning" sometimes implying a state of being, not within a ceremony, and "grieving" referring to an act (of wailing or crying) within ceremony. Both song types can be performed in both circumstances.

⁶⁷ These are the identified by Tiwi singers as the main musical song-types.

⁶⁸ The subject of Chapter 3.

⁶⁹ The subject of Chapter 4.

⁷⁰ Dreaming is a widely used term to refer to deep past ancestry and identity. In the Tiwi context it specifically applies to a person's *Yoi* dance through which one's totemic ancestor manifests when dancing.

⁷¹ The recent forms of the Individually created songs (song-type 11) and the Modern *Kuruwala* style (song-type 12) do, however, often involve group singing (in a non-Tiwi, choral style).

⁷² Song-types 1-5 are performed as part of the *Pukumani* series of rituals, which is held in a number of stages over some days or weeks.

Song type	Traditionally sung at	Sung by	Function	Tempo and percussion	Currently
1. <i>Jipuwakirimi</i> <i>Yoi</i> (dance) style	<i>Yoi</i> [<i>Pukumani</i>] (final mortuary ceremony)	Lead singer/composer, then picked up by group.	Dance support Kinship Dreaming Ritual	Fast Sticks and /or clapping	Sung at funerals, weddings, community events and public performances.
2. <i>Jalingini</i> (Sugarbag) <i>Timilani</i> (Mosquito) Call	<i>Yoi</i> [<i>Pukumani</i>] (final mortuary ceremony)	Group (traditionally men)	Calling of ancestral and country names Opening <i>Yoi</i> event	Single long note. No beat.	Sung at <i>Yoi</i> and at public and tourist events. (Mosquito obsolete)
3. <i>Arimarrikuwamuwu</i> <i>Yoi</i> (dance) style	Preliminary Mortuary activities Tree climbing (obsolete) <i>Yilaniya</i> (part of final mortuary ceremony)	Solo, patrilineal male kin Group interjections	Bereavement status	Fast Sticks	Still sung at <i>Yilaniya</i> but not tree climbing
4. <i>Ampirimarrikimili</i> Women's song <i>Yoi</i> (dance) style	At mortuary ritual, at battle events, for private entertainment.	Women's group, lead by soloist	Non-specific	Fast Hand clapping	No longer performed
5. <i>Amparruwu</i> <i>Kuruwala</i> (singing) style	Throughout (and adjunct to) final mortuary ceremony.	Solo. Spouse of deceased.	Mourning/grieving sorrow	Slow/ moderate No sticks	Sung in the evening of the few days before and throughout the day of the funeral.
6. <i>Mamanunkuni</i> <i>Kuruwala</i> (singing) style	Adjunct to final mortuary ceremony. <i>Kulama</i> ceremony.	Solo. Male or female.	Mourning/grieving sorrow	Slow No sticks. Sometimes soft clapping of hand on knee	Sung in Ceremony, at funerals and associated gatherings and at any time.

Figure 1: Overview of the Tiwi Song-types

Song type	Traditionally sung at	Sung by	Function	Tempo and percussion	Currently
7. <i>Arikuruwala Kuruwala</i> (singing) style	<i>Kulama</i> ceremony	Solo male	Bereavement Bestowing names Airing grievance Imparting news	Slow/moderate Use of sticks varies between individuals.	Public performances (male or female solo). Sung by male soloist at <i>Kulama</i> ceremony.
8. <i>Ampirikuruwala Kuruwala</i> (singing) style	<i>Kulama</i> ceremony	Female individual or group.	Response to male <i>Arikuruwala</i>	Slow/moderate No percussion	Sung at public performance and at <i>Kulama</i> ceremony.
9. <i>Ariwangilinjiya</i> Lullaby <i>Kuruwala</i> (singing) style	Anytime (non-ritual)	Solo usually women.	Lullaby	Slow No percussion	Sung by older women in care of infant grandchildren
10. <i>Apajirupwaya</i> Love Songs <i>Kuruwala</i> (singing) style	Private social gatherings.	Solo female.	Entertainment.	Moderate No percussion	No longer performed.
11. <i>Ariwayakulaliyi Kuruwala</i> (singing) style	<i>Kulama</i> ceremony Other (non-ritual) occasions	Male or female solo or group.	Non-specific	Moderate Sticks and/or hand clapping	Melodies now used by women's group.
12. Modern <i>Kuruwala Kuruwala</i> (singing) style	n/a	Women's group	Healing Entertainment Education	Moderate Guitar accompanied Sticks and/or hand clapping	Healing, <i>Yilaniya</i> , funeral. Community events, professional engagements.

Figure 1: continued from previous page

I will now discuss features of the Tiwi song-types in relation to how they compare with other Australian song genres. The traditional Tiwi song types show a number of general characteristics, which I will address in relation to melody and text and how they come together in performance. This will be framed in the context of important features of Tiwi song culture—individuality, innovation and improvisation. I will first discuss how the characteristics of Tiwi songs reflect the general performance contexts and musical styles that they belong to and then I will address some of these characteristics in relation to other Australian song genres.

2.1.1 Performance context affecting the relative degree of variability

There is a general difference between the solo song-types and those that involve group singing. As I indicate in Figure 1 above, the *Jipuwakirimi (Yoi)*, *Arimarrikuwamuwu* (Tree-climbing ritual) and *Ampirimarrikimili* (Women's) songs are (while led by an individual) primarily for group participation, whereas the *Arikuruwala, (Kulama)*, *Amparruwu* (Widow), *Mamanunkuni* (Sorrow), *Ariwangilinjiya* (Lullaby) and *Apajirupwaya* (Love) songs are performed by individuals. Whether creating an entirely new song (for *Kulama*) or re-inventing a Dreaming or Kinship song (for *Pukumani*), the Tiwi composer creates a new work while working within the parameters of the melodic contour, the subject context and the phonetic and linguistic structures and rules of whichever song type s/he is singing. While there are defining characteristics for each song-type, no two songs are the same. I will first address the group-participation songs.

It is important here to note the fundamentally social and inclusive nature of the *Yoi* (dance) event and the songs performed therein.⁷³ *Jipuwakirimi* songs (commonly referred to as *Yoi* songs) were traditionally performed at the final stages of mortuary rituals and are now the central element of the funeral and

⁷³ This discussion refers principally to the *Jipuwakirimi* songs. There are very few recordings of *Arimarrikuwamuwu* or *Ampirimarrikimili* songs and they are no longer performed, so I cannot generalize to such an extent.

Ceremony⁷⁴ in an event that is widely known as “the *Yoi*”. Both the old recordings and the current practice I have witnessed confirm that the primary function of *Yoi* is as dance accompaniment and group participation, regardless of the context (ritual or entertainment) in which it is sung. *Yoi* songs (and dances) are now also performed for non-ritual events such as the Football Grand Final, a community occasion or for tourists.

The extent to which group participation is a feature of the *Yoi*-associated song-types has a clear impact on musical conventions.⁷⁵ The consistency of tempo in *Yoi* songs can be attributed at least in part to group participation and pervasion of regular events, similar to what has been analysed in the *Djanba* repertory sung at Wadeye, northern Australia (Bailes & Barwick, 2011). For example, a *Jipuwakirimi* song is always performed first by the lead singer (traditionally the composer) and, after a few iterations of the text, the group joins in, singing the same words. Although there is much scope for extemporization of this text (the song would be newly composed for the occasion), the tempo and pulse are regular so as to create a constant basis for the dancers. There is also the need for consistent repetition of text in order that the group can “catch”⁷⁶ the words and join in. These are (in the opinion of my consultants) also the main reasons for the monotonic contour of *Jipuwakirimi* songs, as I discuss in the next section.

Just as group participation results in regularity of tempo, percussive pulse and melody in the *Yoi* style song-types (1, 3 and 4), the solo performances given by individual singers of the *Kuruwala* style song-types (5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10) are characterised by greater variability of tempo, pulse, melody and vocal style. *Arikuruwala* (song-type 7)⁷⁷ forms the basis of the *Kulama* ceremony. It is sung solo, traditionally by men (often with the female response creating a duet) and is a vehicle for innovation of subject matter, poetic technique and vocal artistry.

⁷⁴ “Ceremony” is the term generally used today for the Final *Pukumani* (mortuary-associated) ceremony. I therefore capitalize the word when it is used in this way.

⁷⁵ There is a clear correlation between melodic variation, performance function and song-type. I discuss this in more detail in chapter 7.

⁷⁶ This is term used by my consultants.

⁷⁷ Song-type 8 (*Ampirikuruwala*) is the woman’s response sung in a supporting role and displays the same features as *Arikuruwala*, so I will not discuss it separately here.

Certain singers in the old recordings display vocal idiosyncrasies, which have, in many cases, helped my informants identify individuals. This is also the case with the *Mamanunkuni* (Sorrow) and *Amparruwu* (Widow) songs, which are solos, sung by men and by women, with none of the constraints associated with group singing. Melismatic introduction, falling or rising of pitch on different beats, vocal timbre variations and different line-final lengths render the melodies of the *Kuruwala* style songs slightly different with each performer.

Having made a broad separation of the Tiwi song-types into *Yoi* style group-participation songs and *Kuruwala* style solo songs and how variability manifests in certain musical elements to different degrees in each, I will now address these in turn and point out how they relate to neighbouring Australian song genres. I begin with the elements in which we can see differences between the *Yoi* style and the *Kuruwala* style groupings: melody, song structure, tempo and pitch. I will then discuss rhythm and text, the important features of which apply to all of the Tiwi song-types.

2.1.2 Melody

The general impression given of Tiwi song in the literature is that it is primarily monotonic (Moyle, 1959; Moyle, 1997; Osborne, 1989; Simpson, 1951; Stubington, 1979). It must be made clear that this impression is largely the result of the fact that most of the songs recorded by researchers are *Jipuwakirimi* and *Arikuruwala*, the song-types that form the bulk of the *Pukumani* and *Kulama* ceremonies⁷⁸ and which have melodic contours that are close to monotonic. The song-types that show a greater degree of melodic interest (sung by individuals and with more personal subject matter) are performed outside of the large ceremonial events (or, if during them, off to the side rather than as a focus of the proceedings).⁷⁹

⁷⁸ *Pukumani* and *Kulama* are the subjects of Chapters 3 and 4 respectively.

⁷⁹ This perhaps goes some way to explaining Osborne's opinion that melodic interest is "a frivolity" and so only appropriate "in songs for entertainment" and that in ritual-related songs "plain monotonic ... is usually preferred so that the hearer's attention is not distracted from the meaning of the words" Osborne, C. R. (1989). *Tiwi Chanted Verse*. Unpublished microfilm. University Microform International. While it is true that it is the (non-ritual) Love Songs (song-

Most Tiwi songs employ melodies that undulate around a pitch range of close to a minor 3rd.⁸⁰ This small range sets the Tiwi genre apart from the octave-descent shape of some central or western desert genres (Keogh, 1990) or the series of pitch descents found in north-east Arnhem land (Stubington, 2007). Some Tiwi song-types are based around a cyclic melody, with each iteration corresponding with one line of text. Others use a melodic phrase that comprises two segments, across which one line of text is split, or a shorter line of text is repeated. The capacity for the extension of musical structures to allow for dancing, for ritual activity or to accommodate the desired text is a feature of most Tiwi song-types.⁸¹ Similar variability occurs in many Australian song genres (Barwick, 1995; Treloyn, 2003, for example).⁸² As I show in Chapter 7, most Tiwi melodies follow a note-per-syllable pattern. In the introductory incipits of *Arikuruwala* songs (that I describe in 7.2.7) melismatic ornamentation is sung on vocables, but not on syllables of the song text.

In Tiwi songs, as with most other genres of Australian song, there are variations or nuances of pitch and vocal timbre that reflect individuals' performance styles, but occur within the overall framework of the melodic contour, phrase structure and pattern of rhythmic cells that are indicative of that particular song genre. For the purposes of this introduction I will give examples of how one Tiwi song-type is varied within a recognisable form.

Music transcription 1 (on pages 37 and 38) gives five examples of individuals' incipits in the *Arikuruwala* song-type.⁸³ The motifs used in these introductory sections return throughout the song, creating small interludes between lines of

type 10) none of my Tiwi consultants agree that the words are less or more important in any context, nor that melodic simplicity or complexity has an effect on the listener's reception of them.

⁸⁰ The Love Songs (song-type 10) and the individually invented melodies (song-type 11), that have a range of up to an octave, may be the result of the importation of non-Tiwi musical styles, as is discussed in 7.1.11.

⁸¹ The Love Songs are the only song-type that has a fixed line length.

⁸² I discuss line extension further in relation to specific song-types in Chapter 7.

⁸³ For ease of comparison I have transposed the tonic to C in each. In the performance each incipit is followed by the song-proper (indicated with the word "text" above).

text. It is this idiosyncratic ornamentation that sets one performance apart from others of the same song-type.

Example 1: Unidentified man. 1928 (Audio example 9).

C=E

mm ah ha ha ha ha ha

Example 2: Justin Puruntatameri 1975 (Audio Example 10).

C=E \flat

hm la ha ha ma a ha ha ka ha m ma

Example 3: Foxy Tipungwuti 1975 (Audio Example 37).

C=E \flat

m e a wu wa e ma

n ka m m ma e m m m ma

Music Transcription 1: Five examples of *Arikuruwala* incipits showing individuals' variation

Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti, for example, was easily identified by my consultants because of a cough he gives on the beginning of each line (see Music Transcription 1, Example 3). Similarly, when listening to recordings made of Barney Tipuamantimeri, the then very elderly Justin Puruntatameri

recognised the vocalization *mawu* that is distinctive to Barney (and his father).⁸⁴ A particularly impressive example of melismatic incipit can also be heard amongst the recordings made by Hart in 1928 (Audio Example 63).

Example 4: Barney Tipuamantimeri 1975 (Audio Example 11)

C=F

hcl

m mawu ma hm ma ma wu m a

Example 5: Stephen-Paul Kantilla 2012 (Audio Example 12).

C=A \flat

stcks

m a m na ji m

Music Transcription 1: Five examples of *Arikuruwala* incipits showing individuals' variation (continued from previous page).

2.1.3 Pitch

While further collation of data would be needed to make a definitive statement, it seems that there is a certain degree of pitch memory amongst the Tiwi singers in *Yoi* events, and by individuals for their own solo singing.⁸⁵ This capacity in other orally transmitted performance traditions has been the topic of discussion in the literature, for example (Barwick, 1989; Will, 1998). I suggest that in the Tiwi context this is due to the collective nature of group singing occasions. Added to

⁸⁴ Personal communication. Justin and Alberta Puruntatameri. Pirlangimpi. 29 February 2012.

⁸⁵ While not a focus of this thesis, the issue of pitch is an important one to my study and I am continuing analysis of the data with the view of future publication on the subject.

this is the fact that in the past, when *Yoi* sequences were preceded by the Sugarbag and Mosquito calls (that serve as a tonic) the Mosquito call was always a full octave above the Sugarbag call, in a falsetto tessitura. Immediately after these calls the lead singer started the first song, (on the same pitch as the (lower) Sugar bag call), which is then picked up by the group. The continuous nature of the song event meant it was likely that the pitch stayed the same for each subsequent singer, often for some hours at a time. The likelihood of a collective pitch memory being established is greater when many such events were held with not a lot of time in between. Figure 2 shows the pitch of the Sugarbag call, the Mosquito call and the song series immediately following in some of the repatriated recordings.⁸⁶ While there would have been many other *Yoi* events that were not recorded, that might have been sung at other pitches, this data does show that across many years there is a spread of only two tones (C4-E4) in the pitch of *Yoi* song events.

Year of recording	Sugarbag	Mosquito	Songs
1955 (ABC)	D4	D5	D4
1965 (Wurm)	D4	D5	D4
1975 Songs of the Tiwi	E4	E5	E4
1975 (Osborne)	Db4	Db5	Db4
	E4	E5	E4
1976 (Moyle)		D5	
1981 (Grau)	E4		E4
1991 amateur video			Db4
2011 Campbell	C4		C4
2012 Campbell	C4		C4

Figure 2: Pitch of Sugarbag and Mosquito calls

The pitch of the *Kulama*-associated song-types is not consistent. This might be because *Kulama* singing is a solo performance, not involving group participation (apart from the women’s response sections) and also not sung at the same

⁸⁶ The pitch of the 1912, 1928, 1948 and 1954 recordings is unreliable due to the quality of the recording equipment and the songs running too fast. While we have slowed them down to tempi my consultants are happy with, and found they are on D4 and E4, I do not include the data here because further work is needed to confirm the results are correct.

occasion as the Sugarbag and/or Mosquito Calls. While the recordings show some consistency of pitch amongst performances of an individual, each person sings at a different pitch from others.

2.1.4 Structure

There is no definitive structural pattern for each Tiwi song-type, although generalisations can be made about them. Just as the vocal ornamentation is greater in the solo song-types, there is also greater variation in the structure of the text. Across the different Tiwi song-types there are different structural organisations of text, some song-types showing similarity to the cyclic structural style of Central Australian and Western Desert songs (O’Keefe, 2010; Turpin and Stebbins, 2010) and others more like the strophic songs of Arnhem Land (Stubington, 1979; Wild, 1985).

The *Yoi*-style songs (and, to a lesser extent, the *Arikuruwala* songs that involve the female *Ampirikuruwala* response) involve group participation and so have a greater degree of regularity in text organisation. They tend to be lineal in structure, in that each line is repeated any number of times before moving on to the next line, which is repeated in its turn and so on. The singing of each line at least twice enables the group to pick up the words. Amongst the *Kuruwala* style songs, on the other hand, the structural shape of *Mamanunkuni* varies the most, with variations in the length, symmetry and repetition of lines. The singer, free from having to work with a group, sings just as he or she desires with the random ordering of lines of text creating a stream-of-consciousness effect as they compose while they sing.

The length of a line is varied by adding metric units⁸⁷ at a particular point in the melody that is mostly consistent within each song-type. Generally speaking, one can say that the extension occurs on the pitch that is arrived at on the second unit of text and that melodic interest occurs at the beginning and end of a line of text. For example, as I explain in Chapter 7, the *Arikuruwala* song-type has the

⁸⁷ As I explain more fully in Chapter 6, a “metric unit” comprises five syllables, and correspondingly, five rhythmic notes.

potential for the longest lines, comprising up to seven units and the extension usually occurs at the beginning of the second unit (the point at which the pitch arrives at the “tonic”). The *Mamanunkuni* songs (see 7.1.6) are extended by repeating alternating pitches in the middle section of the melody (not at the first or the last units, which have relatively regular motifs).

2.1.5 Tempo

Figure 3 gives tempi used for *Kulama* and *Yoi* singing amongst each recorded collection. The *Kulama* column shows the range of tempi found in that collection, while the *Yoi* column shows the average taken of the tempi recorded.⁸⁸ Again we can see the performance style manifesting in song-type characteristics. *Kuruwala* singing is far more contemplative and individualistic and there is no need for a regular tempo, or to mark the pulse strongly, as occurs in *Yoi* singing to facilitate group dancing.⁸⁹ In the main *Kulama* style (*Arikuruwala*), when the singer does use sticks he/she more often than not ceases beating while singing the text (the beating occurring during the introductory, melismatic section and between song phrases). The beats are often irregular, slower than and/or not related to the syllabic pulse as if the singer is absent-mindedly tapping the sticks while he composes the next text phrase. The range of tempi of *Arikuruwala* singing across the recordings is so varied that it is not useful to list them in the figure below in any more detail than to give an approximation of the range in each recorded collection. Computing the tempo is made more difficult by the lack of stick beating and because the accents are often placed on the first and third syllables of each metrical unit and are thus determined by metre rather than by any underlying pulse. Although the tempi might seem to overlap between the two song-types, the syllabic pulse of *Yoi* songs is much faster than *Kulama*. The percussive beat of *Yoi* (which determines the tempo I have indicated in Appendix 3) marks groups of five or more syllables, whereas the tempo for *Kulama* singing is arrived at by creating a moderate “quaver” pulse with “beats” on each two

⁸⁸ I have not included recordings made before 1954 because the speed cannot be trusted due to speed fluctuations in the original recordings.

⁸⁹ Men dance faster than women but this does not affect the tempo of the associated song. The men’s *Yoi* dance style involves foot stamping on each beat whereas the women shift their feet on each alternate beat, giving the effect of dancing at half speed to the same song.

syllables. The *Kulama* song-types are, therefore, slower overall than the *Yoi* song-types.⁹⁰

Recording	<i>Kulama (Arikuruwala)</i>	<i>Yoi (Jipuwakirimi)</i>
1954 Mountford	44-55	77
1962 Moyle	n/a	75
1965 Wurm	32	76
1966 Holmes	n/a	80
1967 Doolan	32-46	n/a
1972 Sims	37-59	77
1974/5 Osborne	45-64	84
1980 Grau	31	78
2009 Campbell	n/a	75
2011 Campbell	n/a	77
2012 Campbell	36 - 50	78
OVERALL RANGE	30-64	75-84

Figure 3: An indication of the tempi (bpm) of recorded *Kulama* and *Yoi* song-types, showing that *Kulama* songs are more variable

2.1.6 Rhythm

The two main Tiwi song-types—*Jipuwakirimi* sung at *Pukumani* (mortuary-associated ceremonies) and *Arikuruwala* sung at *Kulama*—tend to be isorhythmic (having a repeating rhythmic pattern), similar in this way to song genres of the Kimberley and central Australia. While we can make generalisations about stick beating across the Tiwi song-types, no one type has entirely consistent rules of beating or clapping. Some singers mark the metrical sense of the text, while others mark the contours of the melody, their intake of breath or the periods between lines of text.⁹¹ There are no separate, overlaid percussion patterns in Tiwi song-styles. This is quite different from either the northern genres or the central and western desert genres, which have an independent

⁹⁰ For the purposes of comparison in Figure 3 I have halved the bpm reading that I have listed in Appendix 3. I must point out though, that the pulse of *Kulama* songs is close to, but not exactly, half the tempo of *Yoi*.

⁹¹ I discuss this in relation to text in 6.5.

repertory of stick patterns and rhythmic modes (Marett, 2005; Stubington, 1979). The *Yoi* (dance style) song-type is similar to central Australian genres in its relatively simple, pulse-based percussion. The *Kuruwala* style song-types (which do not involve dance) either have percussive accompaniment that is not regular, or no accompaniment at all. The clapping or stick rhythms tend to be more a matter of the performer's own choice and depend upon how they perceive the underlying structure of the song, segmenting each phrase into multiple periodicities accordingly.⁹² While there is an overarching pattern to which all performances of a song-type conform, no two performances have exactly the same rhythmic pattern. Small nuances in rubato, inflection and "crushed" notes that are not technically part of the generic song melody make each rhythmic rendition of a song-type different from others of that same type.

2.1.7 Text

The importance of improvised text in traditional Tiwi performance cannot be over-emphasised and it is a feature of all Tiwi song-types. Osborne wrote:

... the great majority of the songs sung at every Tiwi ritual are new songs, composed specially for the occasion, and, as there are something like a dozen big mortuary rituals every year, as well as numerous *yilanigha*⁹³, and at least half a dozen separate *kulama* rituals, the Tiwi are obliged to compose some hundreds of new songs each year. It is true that a few inherited songs are performed at mortuary rituals, but these are only a tiny minority of the total number of songs performed. (Osborne, 1989, p.115)

All *Arikuruwala*, *Amparruwu*, *Mamanunkuni*, *Apajirupwaya* and *Ariwangilinjiya* are unique compositions. *Manikay* is similar in this regard (Berndt, 1966) with innovation occurring within formulas and epithetic text portions that are

⁹² I refer the reader to Appendix 15, the music transcription of a full performance of "Going to Canberra" sung for *Kulama* by Eustace Tipiloura in the *Arikuruwala* song-type. It is indicative of this point in the degree to which the stick beats both align and mis-align throughout.

⁹³ *Yilanigha* is a smoking ritual held in the lead up to the Final *Pukumani* (mortuary) associated Ceremony.

combined in new ways by each singer. This is not unlike the way many *Yoi* songs relating to Dreaming, Country and kinship are extemporised using extant text elements. Tiwi songs are composed by the singer, not passed down through dreams from ancestors, as is often the case in other genres such as *Wangga*, *Junba* and *Nurlu*. There are very few song texts that are fixed in any way⁹⁴ and this distinguishes Tiwi song from most other Australian song genres.

The repertory of Tiwi songs is therefore enormous, but Tiwi people speak of songs that relate to a particular subject (a Dreaming, for example) as many manifestations of the same song, similar to the way *Manikay* songs are grouped (Corn, 2005). Any Dreaming *Yoi* song about Crocodile, for example, is considered to be *the* Crocodile song because it brings into the present the Country places and ancestors connected with Crocodile Dreaming. The first five free translations given at Figure 4 are from a sequence of *Yoi* songs performed at a Final Ceremony in 1977 for a man with Crocodile Dreaming.⁹⁵ The next five are translations of texts that are sung today (and that I refer to again in 7.2.3.1). Songs pertaining to the Crocodile, symbolically linking it with the family of the deceased (text 4 for example) or to places it is found (text 7) are sung by a number of singers across a whole day of ceremony. These are all referred to (by my consultants) collectively as Crocodile. Everybody says “He’s *singing* Crocodile” not “He’s singing *about* Crocodile”.⁹⁶ Note that the Aboriginal English verb “to sing” takes a direct object, in this case, Crocodile Dreaming.

⁹⁴ The shrinking of improvisatory skills is, however, seeing the emergence of a core group of songs with relatively fixed text.

⁹⁵ Quoted from the film quoted from “Goodbye Old Man, The Film of Tukuliyangenila” (MacDougall, D. 1977)

⁹⁶ Personal communication. Nguiu and Milikapiti 2010 2011.

1. The Crocodile's tail leaves a mark in the sand.
2. The Crocodile is floating out to sea.
3. The Crocodile floats in the clear water, his legs and tail hang motionless.
4. Someone pulled the spear from Mungatopi's shoulder.
5. The Crocodile floats swimming slowly.
6. I am the Crocodile man
7. I am in the mangroves breaking up everything with my strong tail
8. I am the crocodile man lying low down in the mud.
9. Crocodile goes out with the sea
10. In Wiyapurali (the country place) he saw them - he was running very fast

Figure 4: Translation of Crocodile song texts (taken from the film's subtitles) sung at a *Yiloti* (Final) Ceremony in 1977 (MacDougall, 1977)

The use of embedded meaning and symbolism with the aim of obfuscation has been documented in the songs of other indigenous Australian communities (Clunies Ross & Wild, 1984; Magowan, 2007; Marett, 2005; Turpin, 2007). For example, *Wangga* public songs have clearly defined word finals, delineated by the rhythm, whereas in secret songs opacity of text is the aim, with the rhythm obscuring word boundaries and placing accents on syllables that are not normally stressed in speech (and vice versa) (Marett, 2005). This is not what occurs in Tiwi song composition. While there is a sense that senior men and women are the holders of important knowledge, with their songs holding embedded deep meaning that perhaps only they fully understand, there are no secret songs, no restricted knowledge and no obfuscations of meaning for the sake of excluding (or protecting) the listener.⁹⁷ The language used for Tiwi song texts is glossable, being based on spoken language. Although the singer makes modifications at the metrical and sung level, word boundaries are obscured and

⁹⁷ Personal communication. Justin Puruntatameri and Calista Kantilla. Pirlangimpi. 20 June 2012.

speech stresses are not followed in the sung form, rendering the sung text difficult to understand for non-educated listeners, there is neither spirit language⁹⁸ nor intentional obfuscation of text for the purposes of secrecy such as is seen in some mainland genres (List, 1963; O'Keefe, 2010; Stubington, 2007; Turpin, 2007). Word boundaries in Tiwi songs may be unclear. While in the *Yoi* songs the boundaries of text and melodic lines match up (similar to *Junba* songs of the Kimberley (Treloyn, 2006)), in the *Kuruwala* song-types there is more evidence of text lines being split across melodic lines. This, and the technique of beginning a sung phrase part-way through a word, is similar to what has been reported in Central Australian genres in which the singing can begin and end at places other than the text boundaries. Tiwi singers always sing the entire line of text before taking a breath.

2.1.8 Conclusion to Part 1: Tiwi songs as a separate entity

Being on relatively remote islands, the Tiwi people have not had the degree of contact and exchange of song genres that has happened across the mainland. Further research is required to investigate the extent to which a sharing of songs might have happened, although I have found only a few instances of non-Tiwi song genres among the recordings, and they were most likely performed by visitors.⁹⁹ Recent studies have shown the degree to which songs have moved across language groups in northern mainland Australia (Marett, 2005; Stubington, 2007; Treloyn 2003) with Ronald and Catherine Berndt first raised the possibility of contact and cultural trade amongst indigenous people around the Cobourg Peninsular and Western Arnhem Land (Berndt and Berndt 1947, 1964). Sharing and exchange of songs between the Wadeye (Port Keats) area and the Kimberley and western and central deserts as well as into the Daly and Arnhem Land regions occurred via overland trade and stock routes. The renegotiation and variegation of song genres also occurred as people from different language groups were brought together into mission settlements during

⁹⁸ The exception to this is the use of the language of the *Nyingawi* people in *Nyingawi* songs.

⁹⁹ During my field-work I witnessed one funeral at which extended family from Barrunga performed their own songs (but were not joined by Tiwi singers or dancers) I have also been told of individuals visiting from Wadeye singing "their own song" at a funeral ceremony.

the 1950s and 1960s. Neither of these phenomena occurred on the Tiwi Islands. As far as I am aware, the Tiwi do not sing genres from other areas of Australia. Unlike *Junba*, *Lirrga*, *Wangga*, *Nurlu* and *Manikay* that have moved across wide areas and have been shared across language groups, there are very few examples of non-Tiwi genres being performed at Tiwi events, and these have been by visitors.¹⁰⁰ There is evidence of Iwaidja songs being performed on Melville Island (recorded by Spencer in 1912)¹⁰¹ and the Tiwi and Iwaidja people share the Buffalo dance (although the associated songs are different). There is also a long association between Tiwi people and Wadeye, with the Catholic Sacred Heart mission (established on Bathurst Island in 1912 and in Wadeye in 1935) and the Anglican mission at Belyuen (then Delissaville) established in 1946. While these two proximate-community links are long and ongoing there is no evidence of sharing or mixing of song genres. Tiwi people sing Tiwi songs when they visit Wadeye or Minjilang for ceremonial gatherings and Murriny Patha and Iwaidja people sing their own songs when they visit the Tiwi Islands. There is however one example of a dance having been introduced to the Tiwi culture from outside. The Buffalo Dance, which, although accompanied by a Tiwi *Yoi* song and firmly established as a dance performed by people with *Jarrangini* (Buffalo) Dreaming, travelled with the Iwaidja people who went to Melville Island at the turn of the twentieth century.¹⁰²

Although I have not included it in this discussion because it is not one of the “traditional” song-types, the Modern *Kuruwala* song-type created by the Strong

¹⁰⁰ The *Djanba* song recorded by Spencer in 1912 was performed by Iwaidja people on Melville Island temporarily. There are family connections with non-Tiwi language groups and so Tiwi people do travel to the mainland to attend funerals, and other groups travel to Tiwi (such as a group of men from Barunga who sang their own songs at a funeral I attended at Wurrumiyanga in 2011) but, as far as I have been made aware, they do not share songs of other genres.

¹⁰¹ This pre-dates what was previously thought to be the earliest recording of Iwaidja song, made by Mountford in 1948 (Barwick, Birch and Evans, 2007).

¹⁰² Joy Cardona, a woman who identifies as an Iwaidja woman and who has Tiwi, Iwaidja and European grandparents, told me:

The buffalo dance is not Tiwi. The Buffalo Dance belongs to the Iwaidja people. We don't come from our country to their country to dance Buffalo. We bring them back to the Iwaidja country because it belongs there. When we have ceremony in Arnhem Land there's a group of people over there [on the Tiwi Islands] - Coopers, Farmers, Kantillas. When we have ceremony in Arnhem Land they come to dance with us.

Women's group in the 1980s¹⁰³ should be mentioned here. Being a combination of the church choral guitar-accompanied style and elements of traditional Tiwi linguistic and metrical techniques it relates to similar music syncretism that has occurred in other communities as a result of similar history of mission influence and the introduction of non-indigenous music to the culture (Corn, 2002; Lawrence, 2004; Magowan, 2007; Wild, 1992). The embedding of traditional song practice, language and cultural knowledge into new musical forms is being achieved in other parts of Australia and the world, with the senior custodians of endangered traditions embracing new ways of continuing the transmission of songs. This "grafting" (Wild, 1992) of popular western culture into indigenous traditions is a feature of other Australian song genres today. The deeply-rooted connections with traditional song language, subject matter and musical elements place senior song men and women in positions of high esteem and, with increasing engagement with recordings, both as educational tools and as the starting point for new music, as protagonists in the future of their song traditions (Corn, 2007; Corn, Marett, & Garawirrtja, 2011).

I have referred to some points of similarity and difference, and hope thereby to add data on Tiwi songs to the body of research on interrelationships between Australian genres. I find that, in general, while Tiwi songs can be regarded as a northern genre there are also characteristics that more closely compare with song genres of central Australia and the Kimberley region.

In this section I have introduced the repertoire of Tiwi songs, separating the eleven song-types (and one vocal call) into three general performance contexts and two broad performance styles. I have introduced the notion of degrees of variability being determined by both performance context and song function and shown that, while there are defining characteristics for each song-type, no two songs are exactly the same. Whether creating entirely new text or extemporizing on epithetic material, the Tiwi singer creates a unique composition, working within the parameters of the melodic contour and the musical characteristics of whichever song-type s/he is singing. This brings me back to my first observation

¹⁰³ I describe this song-type in 7.1.12.

in this chapter, that the repertory of Tiwi songs is very large. This in turn leads into Part 2 and a discussion of the large body of Tiwi songs that has been preserved amongst the archived recordings.

PART 2 The Recordings

2.2 The Repatriation of recorded song material

The repatriation of recordings to indigenous stakeholders has, over the last two decades, become a central consideration of ethnomusicological research in the Australian region (and indeed all over the world), with the return of the recordings itself becoming an object of research (Barwick & Marett, 2003; Lancefield, 1998; Niles, 2012; Stubington, 1989; Thieberger & Musgrave, 2007; Toner, 2003; Treloyn, 2012). Reported motivations for repatriation that are relevant to my engagement with the Tiwi recordings include;

- a response to direct request from (indigenous) people with direct ownership claims,
- the facilitation of analysis and collection of essential accompanying metadata,
- as source material proving ownership in land-rights cases of Country and Kinship affiliations,¹⁰⁴
- the enhancement of cultural maintenance activities within the stakeholders' community and
- because it is the right thing to do (Seeger 1982; Treloyn and Emberly, 2013 forthcoming).

¹⁰⁴ Amongst the recordings made by Groger-Wurm is a segment in which a Tiwi woman lists family names and the Country groups they belong to. It has been used by one of my consultants to contest a current situation in the Tiwi land Council.

The power of repatriated recordings to reinvigorate interest in song practice (which has been my focus) is only one of the benefits. Old recordings hold great social and historical significance as well as holding ancestral and cultural knowledge, of Country and kinship relationships (Toner, 2003). One of the key themes also to emerge is the emotional response of indigenous owners to the material.

There have been three important and distinct areas of response to the Tiwi recordings that I can report on directly. I expand on these areas later in the thesis, but will outline them here:

1. Emotional, personal responses.

Hearing the voices of ancestors, of deceased loved ones or of themselves has had a powerful effect on some Tiwi people. There have also been strong (positive and negative) sentimental reactions to songs with subject matter pertaining to Tiwi social history. More than with just the recordings themselves, there has been a powerful sense amongst Tiwi listeners that, with their “trapped”¹⁰⁵ voices being back on the islands, an almost physical part of the ancestors themselves have been returned home.

2. Questions of ownership.

- a) Differing understandings and opinions have emerged regarding the cultural, physical and intellectual ownership of Tiwi song material. The moral and legal rights of indigenous “Traditional Owners”¹⁰⁶ and non-Tiwi copyright holders, the Archive (in this case AIATSIS) and the researcher is an issue that is an on-going underlying concern for myself and my Tiwi colleagues.

¹⁰⁵ Personal communication. Leonie Tipiloura, Canberra 18 November 2009.

¹⁰⁶ This is a term widely used in Australia to indicate the indigenous owners and /or custodians of Aboriginal land and extends to cultural knowledge and heritage.

b) Questions of ownership have been raised amongst Tiwi people with regard to individual and/or family associations to particular (recorded) ceremonies or singers and therefore the use of those recordings.

3. The effect of the recordings' return on the future of the song tradition.

There is the potential to create, with a library of recorded material, a canon of songs that might eventually take the place of the tradition of improvised, performance-specific songs. There has been significant impact, from an artistic point of view, of hearing old recordings that demonstrate higher quality linguistic and performance values and therefore confirm cultural loss.¹⁰⁷

In 2.2.1- 2.2.3 I give an account of the process undertaken by a group of Tiwi people to reclaim¹⁰⁸ the recorded Tiwi song material from the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) in Canberra in 2009. I include it here in order to document the experience of the group, as the indigenous owners of the material. This is essential to understand how the physical journey to AIATSIS and the experience the seven women and four men had there (as well as actually returning the recordings to the Community) has informed the reception given to the recordings in the context of the three areas listed above. In large part, the pro-active nature of the Tiwi group's involvement with the repatriation has added an extra level to their understanding of the procedure and therefore resulted in a personal investment in the results.

2.2.1 Gaining access to the recordings

The desire (the women's group's and my own) to find the old Tiwi recordings came about largely through the process of workshopping the Ngarukuruwala music project.¹⁰⁹ Questions asked by the Sydney musicians about the meanings, melodies and functions of Strong Women's songs sparked conversations about the lineage and associations each song had, as well as notions of how "old" the

¹⁰⁷ This is a very sensitive issue especially amongst senior men in the community.

¹⁰⁸ I use the word reclaim here because that is how the Tiwi people regarded the purpose of the journey to the Institute.

¹⁰⁹ I talk in most detail about this project in Chapter 8.

songs were. The can of worms that is ownership, copyright and intellectual property that we opened when we decided to produce a CD also necessitated a deeper inquiry into songs than simply their subject matter and melodic structure. I became aware of a large amount of Tiwi song material housed at AIATSIS and, after discussions with the Tiwi women and members of the Tiwi Land Council I requested the material listed in Figure 5.¹¹⁰

Collector	Year
Baldwin Spencer	1912
Charles Percy Hart	1928
Colin Simpson	1948
Charles Mountford	1954
ABC Radio (collection of Alice Moyle)	1955
Helen Groger-Wurm	1965
Sandra Holmes ¹¹¹	1966
Jack Doolan ¹¹²	1967
Michael Sims ¹¹³	1972
Moyle	1976
Osborne	1975
Grau	1981

Figure 5: Ethnographic Tiwi song material housed at AIATSIS

The recordings housed at AIATSIS (and problems securing their repatriation)¹¹⁴ became the focus of my activities with the Tiwi women during 2008 and 2009. I was advised in April 2009 that the only way to have the material digitized and processed for release was to have Tiwi elders appraise it in terms of potential cultural restrictions. Although Tiwi songs are not affected by secrecy or gender-

¹¹⁰ The full catalogue list of recorded Tiwi Song material is at Appendix 3.

¹¹¹ At the time of writing permission has not been secured for release of the Holmes material.

¹¹² Jack Doolan was Superintendent with the then Department of Aboriginal Affairs and living at Milikapiti when he made these recordings.

¹¹³ Father Michael Sims was a Priest at Nguiu at the time he made these recordings.

¹¹⁴ While it is not the aim of Institutions to make access difficult for indigenous stakeholders there is evidence that it is by no means a smooth and easy process, and the experience I had reclaiming recordings on behalf of my Tiwi colleagues is by no means an isolated one, with recent reports indicating too that this is not unique to Australia. See (Kahunde, 2012; Niles, 2012; Niles and Paile, 2003).

restrictions, none of the metadata accompanying the material specifically noted this and so AIATSIS, rightly, was unwilling to release the material without Tiwi approval. This posed a logistical problem. The material was not in line for digitization because it had not had cultural restriction appraisal (which could only happen if the elders listened to it). The elders could not listen to it unless it was digitized and sent to the islands (in effect, released). With time stretching on, and potentially running out for older Tiwi people with direct interest in and knowledge of this material, it became imperative to the Tiwi elders that they take affirmative action.

2.2.2 The delegation to Canberra

In November 2009 I accompanied seven Tiwi women and four men to Canberra to visit AIATSIS (see Photograph 3).¹¹⁵ The group was made up of men and women representative of different Tiwi Country and family groups in order to have as broad a spread of cultural authority as possible. The aim was to spend two days appraising the material in order for elders to give authorised permission for its release. In all, we spent one week in Canberra, also visiting the Tiwi collections at the National Museum of Australia (NMA) and the National Film and Sound Archive (NFSA). While not pertaining to song material, I include an account of these adjunct visits because they had a direct impact on the attitudes the group had during their time at AIATSIS.

The equivalency of songs with paintings and artefact as items of cultural and artistic heritage and as physical “ownable” objects became clear to my Tiwi colleagues over the course of the week, and I am certain that this has had an on-going impact on the way the *palingarri*¹¹⁶ recordings are regarded amongst the Tiwi community.

¹¹⁵ The visit was co-funded by AIATSIS, NMA, NFSA, Tiwi Land Council (Mantiupwi Family trust) and Arts NT (Northern Territory Government).

¹¹⁶ As I have mentioned earlier, *palingarri* refers to the deep past, forever or long ago. The repatriated recordings have come to be called the *palingarri* recordings.



Photograph 3: Tiwi delegation to AIATSIS, Canberra November 2009. (L to R (standing): Regina Kantilla, Francis Orsto, Agnes Kerinauia, Walter Kerinauia jnr (Wally), Stephen-Paul Kantilla, Eustace Tipiloura (seated) G Campbell, Mary Elizabeth Moreen, Teresita Puruntatameri, Jacinta Tipungwuti, Leonie Tipiloura, Sheba Fernando. Photograph by Terrilee Amatto

At the National Museum of Australia the group was shown a large collection of Tiwi artefact including ceremonial spears, arm- and head- bands, message sticks, sculptures and paintings on bark, both on public display and in the Museum storage building. None of the items¹¹⁷ was marked with the name of the Tiwi person who made it, but each was labelled with the collector's name, giving the impression that they were "owned" by the collector, and in effect rendering the Tiwi artist anonymous. The painted designs were recognised by the group, being owned by particular Skingroups and Country groups. This helped identify the painter and in a number of cases the name of the artist was added to the Museum's metadata.

The group was shown photographs of four *Turtuni*¹¹⁸ *Pukumani* poles collected by Herbert Basedow in 1911. Basedow's notes say these poles were from a *Pukumani Yiloti* ceremony held for a baby some years before he was there and that the body was exhumed, but was deemed to be in too poor condition to collect (Basedow, 1913). Basedow had these poles repainted (by Tiwi men) and

¹¹⁷ Apart from a collection of carved poles on public display which did include the names of the artists.

¹¹⁸ Most commonly referred to as *Pukumani* poles.

then removed from the site and shipped to Adelaide, where they were eventually housed at the South Australian Museum in 1934. This caused great sadness, dismay and some anger amongst the group. There was much discussion as to how the Tiwi locals must have been coerced in some way—either through payment (cigarettes or food perhaps) or a perceived position of power held by the stranger/white man—because no-one would normally ever remove *Turtuni* poles, or even suggest it. They agreed the Tiwi men must have had little understanding of the reality of these poles leaving the Island and being displayed elsewhere.¹¹⁹ Teresita Puruntatameri said “I can’t believe they pulled them out of the ground. That is bad for the spirit of the child. It breaks the spirit of the place. They should never be moved.”¹²⁰

At the National Film and Sound Archive a large collection of film material was made available (for viewing on the day and for repatriation). This again was a moving experience for the group. All saw family members, either at a time before they were born or when they themselves were young men and women. Leonie Tipiloura saw herself as a four year old in news footage about the evacuation of mission children from Bathurst Island during WWII in 1942. She did not recognise herself because she had never seen an image of herself as a young child. She told me it was an uncomfortable experience to see herself “twice at the same time.”¹²¹ As well as the emotions of sentimental reminiscing and curiosity in images from their past, people reported that it was unsettling to have the past overlapping with the present in this way.

The issue of ownership came to a head with a holiday movie taken by (anglo-Australian) tourists in Milikapiti, Melville Island, in 1965. It contains vision of men making preparations for ceremony (painting up) and a dance and song

¹¹⁹ The men resolved to return to the place and perform ceremony to attempt to heal the situation.

¹²⁰ A collection of Tiwi *Turtuni* poles on display in the New South Art Gallery, Sydney where, in 1958, the Gallery’s first indigenous Australian objects to be commissioned as works of Art rather than acquired as artefact. Since then so-called *Pukumani* poles are painted as Artworks to be sold, and they are not associated with ceremony.

¹²¹ Personal communication Canberra 18 November 2009. This correlates with consultants’ reaction to song recordings where they speak of the singer in the present tense and say that they are present when their voice is heard.

performance. Mary Elizabeth Moreen's father, Allie Miller is the song-man featured. This footage of her father in 1965 is particularly significant to her, as an active member of the Strong Women's group and a protagonist in the trip to Canberra. The copyright holder (the son of the tourists, now deceased) would not agree to its release without substantial payment.¹²²

It was within this context of discussions about the collection and ownership of indigenous cultural property and heritage, as well as a heightened sense of pride and purpose,¹²³ that the group arrived at AIATSIS ready to reclaim their song material. The older members of the group found it particularly powerful to hear familiar voices amongst the recordings. They expressed their concern at the songs being trapped in recordings and removed from the community in just the same way as some of the objects had and their sense of duty to return the voices to the islands was strong. Amongst the younger members of the group there was strong opinion that they were also the rightful owners of the recordings themselves and that there should be no impediment to their being given compact discs to return home. These discs became objects emblematic of the artefact in the other institutions and "holding on to them"¹²⁴ became just as important as listening to them.

Although most of the requested material had been cleared by the copyright holders, digitized and was ready to be auditioned, only the Hart material was on a CD ready for repatriation (pending the elders' approval). Holmes had not given permission for the release of her recordings¹²⁵ and the Mountford, Sims and Osborne material was in stasis because the copyright holders could not be traced.

¹²² NFSA has approached him since, with no success. When I contacted him directly he was very unhelpful.

¹²³ They also met with the then Federal Minister for the Arts, Peter Garrett, at Parliament House, and were praised for their pro-active role as community leaders and negotiating directly with the National Institutions.

¹²⁴ Personal communication Sheba Fernando Canberra 19 November 2009.

¹²⁵ Mary Elizabeth Moreen Mungatopi was amongst the party in Canberra. In 1966 she was the twelve-year-old daughter of Polly and Allie Miller, Holmes' primary consultants. Holmes' recordings were very moving for Mary as they contained the voice of her father (as lead singer) and of her mother and sister Eleanor as informants. It was with understandable confusion and sadness that Mary learned that Holmes had not given permission for the recordings to be released to the community.

There was an expectation amongst the group as well as from the Tiwi community, and from the Tiwi Land Council (that had given significant financial support) that the group would return with some song material.¹²⁶ With the copyright issue the only impediment, the elders signed the required “restricted material” release forms, request forms and cultural authority forms¹²⁷ so it was hoped that the process of release would, from this point on, be relatively smooth. Unfortunately, at the end of our time in Canberra there was no material ready for the group to take home and there was a clear frustration and anger amongst the group that they were not being given what they deemed rightly theirs. Overall though the experience had been invigorating and powerful as each member of the group had had at least one deeply personal discovery amongst the recordings and all felt that going in person had been the right thing to do. After some discussion, the Acting Director gave discretionary permission for release of the Holmes,¹²⁸ Osborne and Sims material.

2.3 Engagement with the recordings

The recorded Tiwi song material that I refer to in this thesis falls in to four broad categories (labelled as they are referred to on the islands).

1. The *palingarri* recordings
2. My recordings
3. The Ngarukuruwala recordings
4. The recordings at Literacy

I have seen a clear difference in the way Tiwi listeners relate to these four types of recordings.

¹²⁶ Considering it had been 18 months since I first requested Tiwi song material, and for 4 months AIATSIS knew of our planned visit (partially funded by AIATSIS itself) it was disappointing that only the Hart material had been made available for repatriation.

¹²⁷ Some of these had already been signed and posted in 2008.

¹²⁸ In late 2011 I was advised by AIATSIS that the Holmes material had been released to the Tiwi individuals for personal use only and I was not authorized to use it for research. This issue has not yet been resolved and I therefore include only passing reference to the material in this thesis.

1: The *palingarri* (old) songs recorded by researchers as part of wider anthropological study and housed at AIATSIS, Canberra.

The material repatriated from AIATSIS has an aura of specialness about it and people approach the auditioning of it with a heightened level of interest and concentration. The material that pre-dates living singers (the 1912, 1928, 1948, 1954 and 1955 recordings) and involves song texts in “hard language”¹²⁹ is listened to with reverence for the culturally significant heirloom that it has become. Older people who recall having researchers around in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s did not know there were resultant recordings kept in Canberra.¹³⁰ Even elders’ engagement with the material is therefore not as peers, nor as students, but as descendants discovering an old relic such as an old family photo album or piece of estate jewellery.

2: “My Recordings” are those made by myself. This category falls into two areas.

Firstly: the recordings I have made at the request of elder singers with the conscious motivation of preserving their songs for future generations. They want to add their own contributions to what they now understand as being a long-term archive that will become more and more significant and revered as time passes.¹³¹

Secondly: the recordings I have made of the Strong Women’s group for immediate dispersal and entertainment amongst (mostly) the women themselves. Also, on a number of occasions I have recorded their song in “draft” form, so that the following day they can listen back to it, or play it for women who have just arrived to be part of the process.

¹²⁹ Hard (difficult) language is the term commonly used by my consultants to refer to the language used in the old songs, comprising the grammatically, structurally and metrically complex word forms that are created in composition, using “Old Tiwi”. The “Old Tiwi” language is discussed in Chapter 5.

¹³⁰ Recordings were made in 1975, by Osborne, of Justin Puruntatameri. I played these to Justin in 2012. He was by then aged 87 years and had never heard them before. To hear his own voice, strong and much younger, was (he told me) a marvellous but also upsetting experience.

¹³¹ A group of elders wanted me to record Justin Puruntatameri, for example, because he was the oldest man left with the “proper” singing skills. Mr Puruntatameri did not want to sing for the recorder however, because he felt his voice was no longer good enough.

3: The “*Ngarukuruwala* recordings” are commercial or publicity audio and/or video recordings made of *Ngarukuruwala* performances, small pieces made about the group for television and radio and the two CD recordings we have produced together. The few television and radio pieces that have been made about the project have been transmitted around the community via DVD and I have helped the women create a website on which we can post photos, music tracks and YouTube clips of their new arrangements and compositions. We have used our recent recordings to reclaim ownership of some old material, by sampling it into newly produced tracks.

4: The recordings at “Literacy” are cassette tapes kept at the *Nginingawila* (story collecting) Literature Production Centre in Nguiu/Wurrumiyanga (Bathurst Island). They were made by Tiwi people and by nuns, teachers or other non-Tiwi people living locally. This material has never left the islands and so is regarded quite differently. Older people seek out the recording of *Kulama* led by the senior man in their family (for example) to listen to his voice and reminisce about him, not generally as a source of study into the songs themselves or the linguistic or musical techniques therein. There is a sense that the recordings’ existence in the Literacy Centre is taken for granted and that it will always be there.¹³² These recordings are (at the moment at least) largely ignored. With the approximately twenty-year break in engagement with these recordings it is likely that when they are digitized and installed in a publicly accessible data-base they will be the object of a “rediscovery” much like the AIATSIS recordings have.

2.3.1 Uses for the *palingarri* repatriated recordings

The fact that the recordings’ return was a result of pro-active engagement on the part of the Tiwi people themselves has informed the way they have been received. Rather than being lodged in a Library or School or Council Office, the CDs went directly into people’s homes. The physical CDs were at first the

¹³² It is only in the last five years that the need to digitize this material in order to preserve it has become an issue being discussed. The mission Museum has created a computer data-base to house digitized photographs and the online Tiwi dictionary. The plan is for recordings from the Literacy Centre to be added as they become available. Apart from at social occasions, I did not have access to this material and so do not include it in this thesis.

property of the people to whom they were posted, who then decided which family or individual should be given particular material. In this way there was a renegotiation of the ownership of the recordings and of the songs on them. Certain people, for example, were given CDs (that contained the voice of their direct ancestor) even though they had no way of playing them, but because it was decided amongst the group that they should be the “custodian” of that particular material.

Discs are played at informal gatherings and, especially when children are present, the material often becomes the subject of talk ranging from family to language to hunting to geography. They are played in vehicles’ CD machines and in people’s houses. At the towns’ social Clubs, where the music is usually firmly in the realm of rock and roll hits from the 1970s and 1980s, a few times I have been there when someone has put on a *palingarri* CD. As I discuss in Chapter 8 the women’s group has used the material as a starting point for new song projects. In recent performances we have incorporated old recordings into arrangements by playing them through the sound system either as introductions to songs (such as Francis Orsto’s “Murli la”¹³³ and the “Ngariwanajirri” Song¹³⁴) or with the band accompanying the recording.¹³⁵ Although it proved difficult and time-consuming to organize permission to play the recordings at public performances it was a matter of principle to the group that they be able to use their own cultural material. The fact that they have had to ask permission from AIATSIS to use segments of the reclaimed recordings in our performances and new recordings has been perplexing for my Tiwi colleagues. From the point of view of the indigenous stakeholders the songs belong to them as items of cultural heritage, but from the point of view of an archive (such as AIATSIS) it is more complicated than that. There are many other considerations for a library charged with the protection of intellectual copyright of the collector, of usage (commercial or otherwise) and of protecting the indigenous community in terms of respect for the voices, images and names of the deceased, all of which are the subject of

¹³³ The subject of 7.2.6.2.

¹³⁴ The subject of 8.7.

¹³⁵ We have had some difficulties gaining permissions for the use of these in performance, which I mention in Chapter 4.

recent debate (Anderson, 2005; Barwick & Thieberger, 2006; Brown et al., 1998; Kahunde, 2012; Niles, 2012; Thomas, 2007b). One outcome of this is that, in applying for permission to use a section of an old recording for a music project in 2011, the same Tiwi elder signed both the request form and the authorization form for AIATSIS. This adds an extra element to the story of the recordings, with issues of ownership, legalities and cultural property never far from people's minds.

2.3.2 Recordings as Archive and as a Teaching Resource

The recordings are important as an archive for preservation, as a focus for active engagement in the continuation of song traditions and as a primary resource for learning language, song poetry and vocal technique. As well as from a musical point of view, the recorded songs represent an important piece of cultural heritage. I will elaborate in Chapter 4 on the role of *Kulama*, especially, in the creation and transmission of oral record through song. As Barwick and Marett comment:

It is widely reported in Australia and elsewhere that songs are considered by culture bearers to be the “crown jewels” of endangered cultural heritages whose knowledge systems have hitherto been maintained without the aid of writing. (Barwick & Marett, 2003, p.144)

This is particularly apparent in the Tiwi example. A result of the current topical and context-specific nature of most Tiwi song, we find amongst the old recordings a wealth of social, ancestral and ritual information embedded in song texts. As well as this they are an invaluable resource for a new method of teaching song composition skills.

As I will reiterate throughout the thesis, individual creativity is highly regarded in Tiwi song culture, so, ideally,¹³⁶ it is not so much a matter of learning from

¹³⁶ In the opinion of elder singers.

these recordings by rote, but to learn words, phrases and the required poetic devices to be able to create one's own song.

From the mid 1970s, the marked changes to the spoken Tiwi language¹³⁷ and the shrinking of attendance at (and involvement in) *Kulama*,¹³⁸ fewer singers were able to compose. This saw people beginning to use cassette recorders to capture the songs of a highly regarded singer, not with long-term preservation in mind, but as a means of entertainment. Venbrux notes "relatively few people were able to 'copy' (re-enact) these [songs] themselves" (Venbrux, 1995, p. 122). Grau noted (speaking of the changes in instruction in *Kulama* singing)

...from what I saw it seems that modern technology in the form of cassette recorders has helped a great deal ... Every *Kulama* is taped by a number of people and these tapes are played over and over during the following weeks ... Few people state [learning] as the reason for listening to the tapes, and usually say they just enjoy listening to them. (Grau, 1983a, p. 184)

Listening to *Kulama* songs on tape was also a modern means of dispersing the messages within the songs themselves as it became more difficult for people to attend ceremonies. The songs composed for the first day of the *Kulama* ceremony, for example, that celebrate deceased kin, remain important as a way of remembering and respecting their lost loved ones. Listening to recorded performances of these has become a soothing, healing and almost spiritual experience, for some, replacing the actual ceremony. The thought of archiving these recordings was not yet on the agenda.

On the other hand, one wouldn't want to hear the voice of a recently departed loved one. Venbrux mentions a cassette-tape being destroyed after the death of the man leading the singing had died, making his voice Pukumani (Venbrux, 1995).

¹³⁷ See Chapter 5.

¹³⁸ See Chapter 4 and my discussion of *Kulama* for reasons for this.

Venbrux and Grau also report men in the 1970s and 1980s learning songs via cassette tapes and many of the older men with whom I've spoken (who are the leading singers today) say they have learned mostly this way too. This might have been the beginning of the change in learning process and the atrophying of the text resource material because men are learning from recordings, from finite performances, rather than learning the skills to create their own word patterns.

I present at Figure 6 the translation of part of a song composed by Joe Puruntatameri in February 1981 (Grau, 1983, pp175, 176) in honour of Long Stephen Tipuamantimeri, a well-respected singer, culture man and leader of ceremony.¹³⁹

They all say ' that man from Irumakulumi he is a good singer'.
 People from Nguiu send tapes to him saying 'sing for us so we can hear your voice and your words and know what is right.'
 They all make tapes of him singing
 He has got to sing in this tape *imerikungwamili*, *imerikianuwa* and *ajipa* [first, second and third night of *Kulama*]
 We will have every word in the tape and everybody will listen
 People will listen the meaning of the right words
 They all say "he had *ilantjini* [special necklace worn by the initiates, thus he went through all the initiation grades] it is why he is a good singer, we know about him".
 All the government, really old men and ladies come to listen to his songs.

Figure 6: Joe Puruntatameri's song about Long Stephen Tipuamantimeri

It says something of how conscious people were of the role of recordings as a teaching tool and as a means of preserving knowledge held in song. It also suggests that there was a sense of what was being lost, even thirty years ago. Just as in 1981, today there is a sense of reverence towards those few left who can sing and a desire to learn from them, using recording as a means of preserving their knowledge. The senior men, on whom falls the responsibility of performing

¹³⁹ I do not have a recording or the Tiwi text of this song, but the English summary is interesting and sufficient for the purpose of making this point.

at funerals, have described to me their anxiety at the thought of not being able to sing the required Country, ancestral or Dreaming songs at funerals. Some songmen are turning to the archival recordings as source material for their own compositions. As I have mentioned above, creating a digital archive from this collection of locally made recordings is now on the agenda with the Indigenous Knowledge Centres in Pirlangimpi and Milikapiti (managed by the Northern Territory Library) and the Literacy Centre at Wurrumiyanga (managed by the Catholic School Board) the likely venues.

At this stage there is no evidence that recordings are replacing live performance in ceremony. Apart from the handful of songs (no more than about a dozen) that have been passed down as favourite historical/story-telling songs and those that can be successfully repeated because of their direct function as Dreaming *Yoi* songs¹⁴⁰ the vast majority of songs are of the moment, and not ever intended to be repeated. Perhaps due to the individual and “one-off” nature of Tiwi song, the idea of learning a particular song from the recordings by rote for repetition is beyond the current thinking.¹⁴¹ The current, topical nature of their text and the over-riding culture of the individualism of composition and artistic ownership make most Tiwi songs unsuitable for long-term repetition.

There are some songs that, while not repeated exactly, are relatively stable. These are the songs that mark kinship and the songs that accompany the Dreaming dances. Both of these are essential for the mortuary-associated *Yoi* events performed at *Pukumani* ceremonies and at funerals. In the face of dwindling numbers of singers who can compose these songs (as would traditionally have been the case) there is talk of “setting” a list of the required songs that would be taught to young people, enabling the ceremonies to continue to be held in the proper way.¹⁴² It is in this context that the repatriated

¹⁴⁰ To be discussed further in Chapters 3 and 7.

¹⁴¹ The question of what the state of the tradition would be now if there were no recordings at all is one that has been considered by the author and Tiwi singers. Most consultants feel that the improvisatory nature of songs has not been affected by the recordings, and that their value is mostly as items of cultural heritage and as a source of linguistic and cultural information. See further discussion below at 4.8.

¹⁴² I was present at a meeting at the Literacy Centre in late 2012 where this was discussed.

recordings have the potential to change the entire basis of Tiwi song practice, from one that was primarily about extemporization, to one that is based on the rote learning of a finite set of songs. Deciding which songs these will be is something that has already begun to cause some concerns amongst elders. The “privileging” and reification of particular songs over others due to their inclusion in recordings (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 2006; Treloyn, 2012) is a problem that people are just starting to think about. Preserving an orally transmitted tradition by making it finite brings with it complications of ownership of the songs themselves and of the associated connection through esoteric knowledge that is passed on through oral transmission.

2.3.3 Mary Elizabeth’s Song

While the overall and community-wide results of the repatriation of recordings is broadly the subject of this entire thesis, I will discuss at this point one woman’s personal experience of the return of some of the material. As I discuss in Chapter 4, in relation to *Kulama* song subjects, many of the songs have, as subject matter, current events and the naming of babies, so creating an aural historical record. There have been many instances of current oral history (as well as record of people’s actions or opinions that were previously unknown) being reflected in the recordings.

Mary Elizabeth Moreen Mungatopi¹⁴³ is a member of the Strong Women’s Group. As a young woman she was sent away from her parents (in Milikapiti) to board at the mission school on Bathurst Island. She returned to Milikapiti as a seventeen year-old wanting to learn the language and culture she had missed out on up until then. Mary Elizabeth was among the group that travelled to Canberra with me in November 2009 to make the initial audition of the recordings at AIATSIS. Amongst the recordings made by Mountford in 1954 was one song that had a profound effect on those in the room. People had always known anecdotally that Mary Elizabeth (full name Kuwiyini Mirri Ilityipiti) had been named after the

¹⁴³ Her full name is Queen Mary Elizabeth.

Queen.¹⁴⁴ In March 1954 Mary's father Allie Miller Mungatopi travelled to Brisbane as part of a group that performed for the Royal visit.¹⁴⁵ He had taken the opportunity to embed the name in his song, in effect naming her in honour of the experience.¹⁴⁶ Now all those years later, in what was a very moving moment for all present, Mary heard her father naming her (then a new born baby). The text (shown at Figure 7) alludes to the telling of an important piece of news (symbolised by the radio). It also records the current event that was the Queen's visit to Australia (with the Queen literally being heard on the radio). The third layer of meaning is the naming of his daughter in honour of the event.

<p>Gloss of text:¹⁴⁷ <i>Kuwiyini mirr- ilityipiti ritiya wu- ni- wati- pa- wa- ningi- yangirri</i> Queen Mary Elizabeth radio np- to- morn – vol- talk – send- push</p> <p>Free translation: Queen Mary Elizabeth sends a message on the radio</p> <p>np: non-past morn: morning time prefix¹⁴⁸ vol: volitional</p>
--

Figure 7: Queen Mary Elizabeth's song. Allie Miller, 1954 (Audio Example 59)

The discovery of this song is emblematic of the significant personal effect the recordings have had on some people. It has become a tangible piece of Mary Elizabeth's family history; documented evidence of what had always been anecdotal. Mary Elizabeth has played the recording to her children and grandchildren and it has become at once an item of sentiment, a family heirloom and a piece of Tiwi social history. As well as the value of Allie's words and the

¹⁴⁴ Queen Elizabeth II of England.

¹⁴⁵ The Queen was in Brisbane March 9-18 1954. Cardo Kerinaiaua, Ali Miller Mungatopi and Aloysius Puantilura where among a larger group of Aboriginal men performing at this event.

¹⁴⁶ This is a *Jipuwakirimi* song (which I describe in 7.1.1) that Mountford says was performed at the *Yilaniya* stage of the *Pukumani* Ceremony.

¹⁴⁷ (Osborne, 1989, p. 842)

¹⁴⁸ A time-of-day marker, explained in 6.9.1.

story gained from the text, his voice is a powerful conduit between Mary Elizabeth and her father.

2.3.4 Responses to the recordings from the point of view of singers

2.3.4.1 Respect for singers of the past

Amongst the recordings repatriated from AIATSIS are performances showing a high level of vocal talent. The strength of tone, length of phrasing and quality of diction and pitch of some recorded performances can objectively be regarded as being at a technically more difficult level than found today. Over the years, through the process of oral transmission, song-men have made their own variations to vocal techniques and rhythmic and melodic ornamentation. It is only by hearing the “old men” again after sixty years or more¹⁴⁹ that these incremental changes become apparent. The singer who had attained the skills of composition through *Kulama* was a highly respected person in the community. There is a sense of performance as a means of impressing those around him or her. In a recording made by Jack Doolan of a *Kulama* ceremony in 1967¹⁵⁰ we hear the singer, Karla’s¹⁵¹ performance inspiring enthusiastic response from the ‘audience’. While not a performance in the sense of him being on the stage, Karla’s singing was of a particularly impressive quality both in terms of words and in the vocal strength, tone and length of phrases. I have played this file to a number of Tiwi colleagues and they have often given the same spontaneous response (like bravo) at the end of his songs. In this case, the recording itself has become a performance by Karla. The senior singers are remembered for particular performances and for the Ceremonies they have led.

¹⁴⁹ The 1912, 1948, 1954 and 1955 recordings have had the biggest impact in this regard.

¹⁵⁰ DOOLAN_J02-000628A 05:32

¹⁵¹ Karla (Tractor Joe) was also known as Prijina Lokemup (from prisoner lock him up). He is remembered as a particularly talented singer and the older men are listening to his recorded performances with the aim of emulating him.

Elders recall being present (as children) at Ceremony when these men sang. Current song leaders at Wurrumiyanga¹⁵² have been very interested to hear the stylistic differences between their way of performing particular parts of Ceremony and that of the men on the old recordings. While novelty and change are inherent in Tiwi song practice, it was a difficult experience for the men to hear so clearly the degree of quantifiable loss that has occurred. The numbers of people singing, the “strength”¹⁵³ of people’s voices, the length of phrases, the linguistic complexity and the number of songs in each event are all elements that my consultants had to admit to themselves have lessened in the last fifty years. This is a difficult thing to accept, especially for those elder men and women who feel the responsibility of sustaining the traditions.¹⁵⁴

2.3.4.2 Re-discovering song traditions

The reverse can also occur and rediscovering a piece of song practice can be exhilarating and empowering for the song leaders. One such instance occurred during our visit to the National Film and Sound Archive in Canberra when the group was shown a collection of film footage with Tiwi content. Amongst this was film of a *Tepuwaturinga* (Wallaby) *Yoi* dance (filmed by Spencer in 1912) that has not been performed for many years. Wallaby had been “forgotten”,¹⁵⁵ having fallen out of practice because the men who would have danced Wallaby had stopped leading Ceremony. Wallaby is not amongst Spencer’s audio recordings, but the visual had a great impact regardless. Basedow (1913,1925) and Sunter (1937) describe the Kangaroo¹⁵⁶ dance but there is no further mention of it in the literature until Grau, who writes that she never witnessed it and was told that

¹⁵² Stephen-Paul Kantilla, Eustace Tipiloura, Roger Tipungwuti, Walter Kerinaiaua snr and Robert Biscuit Tipungwuti.

¹⁵³ The strength and dynamic of the lead voices is a feature of the old recordings that a number of consultants have remarked upon, comparing their “short wind” when singing today.

¹⁵⁴ My role in analysing the songs has necessitated sensitivity in this area and respect for senior singers. I therefore note only those examples of loss of quality that my consultants discussed openly.

¹⁵⁵ Personal communication. Walter Kerinaiaua jnr. 18 October 2009.

¹⁵⁶ Among the native fauna of the Tiwi Islands are Wallabies (not Kangaroos). It seems to have been a matter of using the generalised term that has meant that at times in the Tiwi literature we read about Kangaroos (Basedow 1937; Hart, 1988).

... at Pularumpi only one old man, Mickey Geranium Warlapini, knew the dance but that he was too old to perform it, the series of jumps requiring a lot of stamina. (Grau, 1983a, p. 222)

We know from the recording made by Alice Moyle in 1976 at the Pacific Festival at Rotorua that Aloysious Puantilura, Leo Tungutalum and Max Kerinauia performed Wallaby, but without video it is difficult to make a comparison with 1912. Walter Kerinauia (jnr) has been watching the 1912 footage to learn the dance. He intends to bring it back to Ceremony when he next has the chance. The Spencer footage has been viewed around the Tiwi community since then (see Photograph 4), with Walter's performance in Canberra now part of the accompanying story.



Photograph 4: Watching the 1912 (Spencer) footage of the Wallaby *Yoi*, Ngiuu March 2010. Photograph by Genevieve Campbell

The group was invited to give a performance in the outdoor courtyard at the National Film and Sound Archive. This was a free lunchtime concert and was very well attended, with about 100 people in the audience. The men and women performed *Kulama* songs and *Yoi* songs and dances and Walter spontaneously performed Wallaby. It was a marvellous moment, one that the audience would not have been aware of, but one in which the other Tiwi performers suddenly

found themselves also amongst the audience. Walter had brought this *Yoi* to life again. Marett and Barwick report a similar occurrence when Witiyana Marika and Mandawuy Yunupingu performed two *djatpangarri* songs – *Gapu* and *Cora* that had been forgotten until their return to the Yirrikala community amongst other repatriated recordings from the 1950s (Stubington & Dunbar-Hall, 1994).

By performing "Gapu" and "Cora" ... [they] with a single stroke, cut through the dichotomy between preservation and revitalisation, and enacted an intimate connection between the preservation and recording of songs and their continuity in living tradition that has existed for several decades in various regions of Aboriginal Australia. (Barwick & Marett, 2003, p.144)

2.3.5 The effect of recordings on performance

When basing analysis on recorded examples one must take into consideration the fact that a performance will most likely be affected by the relationship between the singer and the researcher. The reason for the performance is necessarily altered, as are the social, functional and performative contexts. The venue (indoors or outdoors) has a marked effect on both the quality of the sound and the way the singer will relate physically to the microphone. Sitting in a room across the table from the microphone will result in a very different performance from one recorded sitting outside on the ground with birds, dogs, children, cars and passers-by distracting the singer and adding to the sound that is captured.

The audience aspect is perhaps the element that most affects the performance. I have had occasions when a palpable sense of respect and import is felt by the group witnessing an elderly woman recording her song, or a group of three senior singers correct each other's performances as they sing. The desire to be correct, preserving the song (and the performance) for posterity that the singer might (or might not) have been experiencing can be heard amongst the repatriated recordings. Amongst Osborne's recordings, for example, we hear some singers correct themselves as they sing, reiterating a line of text with the

syllabic count corrected.¹⁵⁷ This is how it would be done in a “real” performance context and suggests that the singer is approaching his task of recording a song in much the same way as he would a performance in ceremony. My experience is somewhat different. Perhaps it is the result of hearing their antecedents make mistakes that has meant some of my consultants ask me to delete a recording if they make a mistake, or they ask me not to record until they have practised a few times. There might well have been similar re-takes during recording sessions in the past, but it is certainly a feature of my consultants’ recording sessions that they are aiming at a correct performance to be recorded for posterity. Perhaps this is due to a heightened sense of creating an archive in the light of the repatriation of the *palingarri* recordings.

Amongst songs recorded by Mountford as part of a *Kulama* ceremony held on Melville Island in May 1954 is an interesting example of the self-awareness of the research subject and the fact that the singer uses the performance to comment, in song, on the process he is going through at the time. It is most likely Ray Giles, the ABC radio recordist who worked with Mountford, to whom the singer, Allie Miller is referring. The text is at Figure 8 (translation given by Eustace Tipiloura).

<p><i>Ngilaghama karirijiyo waliji miningu merreke wanga pinguwangamini</i> I am the radio talking</p> <p><i>Ngiyawungarri karra apuji yintawayalangimi</i> I am putting it in the radio</p> <p><i>Kalipulijimani rijio yinuwalumurri</i> He is talking on the radio</p>
--

Figure 8: Radio song, Allie Miller, 1954

¹⁵⁷ I explain the syllabic count in metrically correct lines of text in Chapter 6.

Listening to the recording,¹⁵⁸ Eustace Tipiloura told me

he's telling people about something new. That's the main part of the ceremony, around about 3pm. He must be talking about the white bloke being there with his recorder I think.¹⁵⁹

There will inevitably be questions as to the motivation of both researcher and performer in anthropological research, especially in the context of perceived cultural loss. While Tiwi people filmed and/or recorded by Spencer and Hart may well have had very little understanding of the long-term implications of their participation, the fact remains that they were being asked to sing for a visitor and this must have had some effect on their motivations and resulting performance (Venbrux, 2001). If singing into a machine that could play sound back immediately, the singer would have been aware that their voice was being reproduced and stored in some way. The experience of hearing their own singing replayed would have changed the nature of performance as a one-off. As any musician will perform in a slightly heightened state in front of an audience or at a recording session, so too Tiwi people may have altered their performance when they were being recorded or filmed. The sense of presenting the culture in the best possible way for the cameras (or recorder) might arguably result in a performance that is not entirely natural. It is very difficult to decide whether this is a problem or not. If being recorded (or having a non-Tiwi audience) inspires a more elaborate version or a more enthusiastic dance or more rehearsal then that is a valid part of the notion of performance.

Maria Brandl told me, regarding her experience with the making of the documentary films *Mourning for Mangatopi* and *Goodbye Old Man*;

Both filmed ceremonies were large - because of the importance not only of the deceased, but of the person organising them - and the credit they could call in and the money they could raise and the number of poles

¹⁵⁸ C01-002917. 00:06.

¹⁵⁹ Personal communication. Eustace Tipiloura Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 18 March 2010.

ordered and so on. The film had no influence in that respect on the holding of either ceremony. I think it influenced the way some mourners displayed their grief - grief was real - it was just that they wanted to ensure it was noticed.¹⁶⁰

Amongst my consultants there have been widely differing opinions as to the appropriateness of some recorded material, especially the recordings of mourning songs in the *Pukumani* (mortuary-associated) ceremony. Some (Tiwi) people listened with interest to the melodic and linguistic artistry of a performance, some recognised the voice of a deceased loved one with sentimental joy and some heard personal grief and pain and thought it inappropriate for anyone other than close family to listen.¹⁶¹ In the following quotation Holmes makes the distinction between ceremony and performance. The *Pukumani* Ceremony for Polly and Allie Miller's young son was held, in May 1966, at the then Bagot Aboriginal Reserve in Darwin.¹⁶² The segment below indicates the occasion was seen by the government Welfare Department as a good opportunity to give (white) people a new cultural experience. The Tiwi people were not necessarily given much of a choice in the matter. Allie is quoted as having been upset at the lack of understanding and respect for his son's ceremony "Too many white people come ... we never ask them to come, only Welfare man can say" (Holmes, 1995, p. 31).

The Welfare Branch had declared an Open Day for tourists and locals... Polly sang softly to the ghost of her dead son and signalled for me to record it ... Crowds of white visitors jostled each other for photo opportunities, staring expectantly up the hill to where the Tiwi mourners were assembled in full ceremonial regalia. (Holmes, 1995, p. 22)

¹⁶⁰ Personal communication. Maria Brandl. 16.11.11 via email.

¹⁶¹ I have witnessed a number of heated discussions about the difference between singing for family and singing for visitors/researchers (in the context of ceremony) with many people concerned that singers might not always have been aware of the intrusion of the recorder, or of the long term ramifications of being recorded.

¹⁶² The ceremony was held in Darwin because the child had died in Darwin en route to hospital.

By Holmes' accounts the ceremony was just as it would have been (in terms of structure and ritual) without any non-Tiwi onlookers. Clearly though they were being watched as spectacle. Holmes goes on to report:

At this point a senior welfare officer stood up and made a speech to thank the public for attending the ceremony and the Tiwi people for the performance. By prior arrangement the sculptures and grave posts would be sold to various dealers and other outlets. (Holmes, 1995, p. 29)

The distinction between “ceremony” and “performance” in the Welfare Officer's words (or in Holmes's reporting of his words) implies there was a difference in perception between the audience's and the mourners' experience of the event. It should really have been the other way around; the white audience was watching a performance (although with the extra exoticism of knowing it was a ceremony) while the mourners were attempting to have ceremony, knowing they were being watched and photographed.

2.4 Finding continuity through recordings of one song

While the vast majority of recorded Tiwi songs are unique, there are some that show a strong degree of continuity and this has had an important effect on those directly connected with them. It seems likely that each few generations have a horizon of living memory of knowledge; one's father learned from his, who learned from his being about as far as it goes back. By the time the current grandfather is passing on his knowledge he has defined and perhaps refined the knowledge he was taught and now owns it in order to pass it down. So we find in Tiwi songs a clear correlation and some exact stability of text and melody, but with a large degree of individual imprint and expression and a moving away from the old to create the new. This moving is so imperceptible that the elders themselves only realized it when they heard the old recordings. The *Nyingawi* song¹⁶³ gives us one such example of the transmission of a song text through nearly seventy years. Old lady Stephanie Tipuamantimeri listened to the

¹⁶³ This song is the subject of linguistic and musical analysis in 6.10.1 and 6.10.2.

Nyingawi recordings made in 1928, 1954 and 1975 in March 2010 (shown wearing headphones in Photograph 5). She then spontaneously sang her *Nyingawi* song, saying that she remembered the words from the old days.¹⁶⁴ Stephanie sang three lines that compare very closely to the old recordings and one that she created. Although she only sang four lines (whereas the old recordings had up to 7 lines), she told me she was singing it “the old way”. She did not add the initial *a* that Enrail (the original singer) always did, even though she had just heard his recorded performance and she composed a line of her own to add to the song.



Photograph 5: Stephanie Tipuamantimeri listening to the *Nyingawi* recordings (with Leonie Tipiloura) 2010. Photograph by Genevieve Campbell

When Casmira Munkara had recorded her *Nyingawi* for our CD in 2008 she told me she was singing it in “the old way”. Although it contains some text that is identical to the old recorded songs, Casmira’s performance¹⁶⁵ is noticeably different from the “old way”. People’s perception however (not having heard the recordings) is that she sings it how it always has been sung, continuing the

¹⁶⁴ This was an informal meeting on 5 March 2010 and I did not record Stephanie. She died a few months later.

¹⁶⁵ Audio Example 57.

transmission of this song through her family line. It has also become a point of pride for Casmira that she sang it at exactly the same pitch as her predecessors even though she had not heard the old recordings when she made her recording. This connection, through a recording, directly to the voices of her ancestors is another powerful and tangible outcome of the recordings' return.

2.5 Conclusion to Chapter Two

In this chapter I have, in Part 1, introduced the Tiwi song-types and given a general account of their musical characteristics in relation to other Australian song genres. I have posited variability and improvisation as the defining features of Tiwi song, and shown how these manifest to different degrees in text, melody, structure and percussion depending on the performance context and song function.

In Part 2 I explained how the “discovery” of the recorded song material in the AIATSIS catalogue, the process of going to Canberra to reclaim it, and the on-going associated negotiations regarding usage rights have created a story around the repatriated recordings that give them a presence in the Tiwi community as highly valued and important cultural property that has been returned. I have also introduced the notion of the recordings having an effect on the primarily improvised nature of Tiwi songs, while at the same time becoming an important linguistic and musical resource for the maintenance of the song culture.

This leads me to Chapter 3, in which I introduce the Tiwi spiritual and kinship system in the context of the *Pukumani*- associated (mortuary) rituals and how they relate to performance traditions of a certain group of songs, the *Yoi* songs specifically related to kinship and Dreaming.

Chapter 3: Kinship, Dreaming and Pukumani

Introduction to Chapters Three and Four

The *Pukumani* and *Kulama* ceremonies were (and to a lesser extent are) the focus of, manifestation of and reason for song composition and performance. The changing relevance, form and size¹⁶⁶ of both *Pukumani* and *Kulama* can be tracked in the changes to song practice. This and the following chapter therefore provide necessary understanding of the foundational principles of the two ceremonies and the role of songs in each.

Most Tiwi songs¹⁶⁷ pertain in some way to either or both of those ceremonies and the poetry found in their texts relates very closely to them. Figure 9 gives an idea of the focus of each ceremony by tallying the numbers of songs of each function performed at *Pukumani* and *Kulama* ceremonies and recorded by Osborne.¹⁶⁸ Amongst Osborne's recordings as well as the rest of the material I have audited with my consultants, I have not come across songs that serve more than one function. The subject matter and the song's place within a ceremony determine its function and this was consistently recognised by my (elder) consultants. We can see from the song subjects that the *Yoi* songs that made up the *Pukumani*-associated mortuary ceremonies are primarily to do with the process of the ritual, bereavement status and kinship, whereas the *Kulama* ceremony was focused on social discourse, memorializing the deceased and the communication of matters of importance.

<i>Yoi</i> : of 92 songs classified	<i>Kulama</i> : of 94 songs classified
Ritual activity 50	News 39
Bereavement status 22	Sorrow, remembrance 28
Fathers/Ancestors 12	Ritual activity 16
Dreaming 10	Personal grievances 13
	Revenge 4

Figure 9: *Yoi* and *Kulama* song subjects recorded by Osborne

¹⁶⁶ By "size" I refer to both the numbers of participants and the length of the ceremony itself.

¹⁶⁷ Of over 1300 song items amongst the recorded material, fewer than thirty songs are neither *Yoi* nor *Kulama* related. While the secular song-types (the Love Songs and the Lullabies) may be sung as often, they have not been recorded to the same extent.

¹⁶⁸ Although I have entered song subjects where possible in Appendix 3, without full information it is not always possible to identify the function of the song.

Chapter 4 introduces *Kulama*. In the present chapter (Chapter Three), I give as current as possible an account of the *Pukumani* (mortuary related) ceremonies. In order to appreciate the importance of Tiwi people's connection through Skin groups and Dreaming groups to songs and dances and hence to Country, it is important to first understand how Tiwi people identify their kinship through all three of these.

The *Pukumani* ceremonies are fundamentally centred around kinship – how people are related to each other. The Skin group, Dreaming and Country of every Tiwi person are central to their identity and the vast majority of Tiwi songs pertain to at least one of these.

3.1 Kinship

There are three levels of Tiwi existence, all existing concurrently and through which all people pass once. They are: the *Pitapitui* (the as-yet unborn); the *Tiwi* (the living); and the *Mopaditi* (the dead). The *Pitapitui* live on the same Country and within the same Kinship affiliations as do the living, and when they are “found” or “dreamed” by their father they are born (Goodale, 1974).¹⁶⁹ After living, a person becomes *Mopaditi* and joins the world of the dead. In that world all of the kinship systems, interactions and activities that happened in the world of the living continue. Death is not regarded as the end, but as a removal to another place. Death imagery in song texts therefore includes aloneness, silence, going away, being separate (Osborne, 1989).¹⁷⁰ The spirits of the dead return to the place of their birth, they live on the same land and hunt in the same way as living people do. Even with the addition of the Catholic faith to many people's spiritual beliefs, the return of a person's spirit to their Country place is the overriding truth and whenever (living) people travel through Country, they call out in greeting to the ancestors who reside there.

Each Tiwi person identifies themselves on three levels: *Yiminga* (Skin group), *Murrakupuni* (Country) and *Yoi* (Dreaming dance). A system of matrilineal and patrilineal moieties gives each person a particular relationship to their father, father's brother, father's sister, father's mother etc. These affect behavioural practice and also

¹⁶⁹ This symbolic finding of the unborn child by the father is why people have their father's Dreaming.

¹⁷⁰ See Appendix 11.14, the text of “Silent Land” by Long Stephen for an example of this.

determine the songs and dances children are taught in ceremonial contexts (Goodale, 1974; Grau, 1994; Ward, 1990). I will discuss each of these in turn.

3.1.1 *Yiminga* (Skin Group)

The system of *Yiminga* or *Pukwiyi*¹⁷¹ remains central and relevant in the community and determines social and marriage protocols, loyalties and responsibilities. In the Tiwi-English Dictionary the entry for *Yiminga* is “sun, hour, time, maternal totem group, gall bladder”(Lee, 1993, pp. 159,160) and this gives an indication of how fundamental it is to one’s existence.

The term *Yiminga* has been translated variously as “totemic groups” (Spencer 1914, p. 200), “matrilineal totemic clans” (Berndt and Berndt, 1964, p. 67), “matrilineal sibling sets” (Goodale 1974, p. 71). Grau describes *Yiminga/ Pukwiyi* as “the principle of, or essence of life” (Grau 1983, p. 201). Grau found seventeen *Yiminga* groups, all associated with particular small areas of the Islands. The term today refers to the four Skin groups: *Wantarringa* (Sun), *Miyatirtuwi* (Pandanus), *Lorrila*¹⁷² (Rock) and *Takarringa* (Mullet) with numerous sub groupings (called “clans” in English) related to particular areas across the islands. A person’s *Yiminga* inherited from their mother, is the primary kinship group to which they belong.

Figure 10 shows the four major Skin groups and the marriage connections between them. The arrows indicate allowed associations, so, for example a person from *Lorrila* can marry someone from the *Warntarringuwi* or *Takaringa* group but not a member of *Miyartuwi*. The table below shows each groups associated clan sub-groups and we can see how they are emblematically connected with the group to which they belong. The clans associated with the Sun group for example are all red-hued and those associated with Mullet all relate to the estuarine areas and the flora and fauna that are found there. Teresa Ward¹⁷³ lists thirty clans, named after the animals or geographical features of

¹⁷¹ Translated into English as Skin Groups. *Yiminga* and *Pukwiyi* are synonyms. I have asked a number of Tiwi people about the words *Yiminga* and *Pukwiyi* and have collected meanings for *Pukwiyi* including life, the sun, the heart, the pulse, the soul, one’s breath and one’s totem.

¹⁷² Also referred to as *Marntimapila* (Stone).

¹⁷³ Sister Ward was a teacher in the Catholic school at Nguuu in the 1980s. She created a number of teaching resources on Tiwi language and culture. She also took video footage of Ceremony that is now in the Literacy Centre and is accessed by locals.

the country areas with which each skin group identifies (Ward, 1990, p. 18). The connection to Country is so strong that people call particular places by relationship names.¹⁷⁴ Wulinjuwu, (a small island off the coast of Melville Island) for example, would be called *Ngintinganinga* (aunt) by people of the *Wulinjuwula* clan (within the Takaringuwi skin group) because this is the country belonging to their father. He would call the place *Yipunga* (sister). Similar to the concept of the soul, found in other religions, at death, it is the *Yiminga* that leaves the body and joins the spirit world.

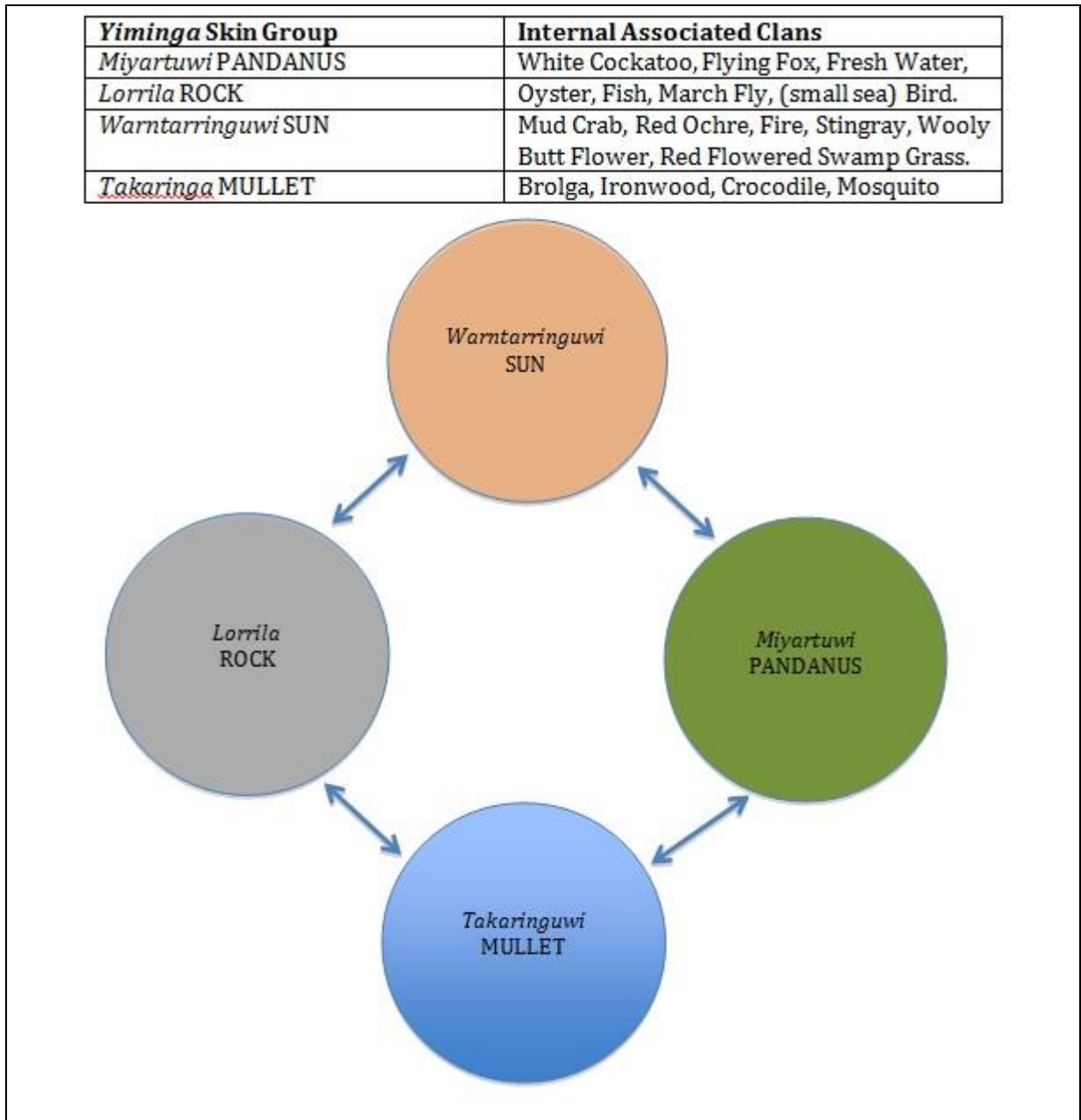
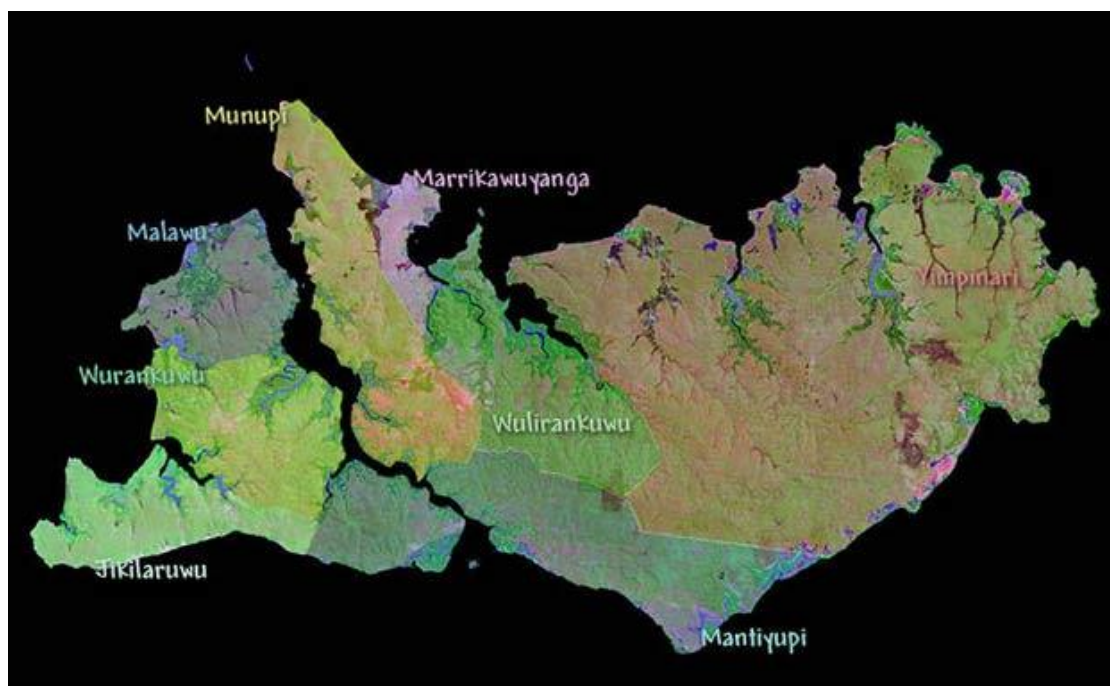


Figure 10: The Tiwi Skin Groups

¹⁷⁴ Songs that name country places are referred to in Chapter 7 and 8.

3.1.2 *Murrakupuni* (Country)

As well as identifying with a Skin Group, every Tiwi inherits a *Murrakupuni* (Country place) affiliation from their father at birth (Goodale, 1971, p13) depending upon where they were “found” or “dreamed” by him. Today there are eight *Murrakupuni* on the Tiwi Islands. They are *Munupi*, *Marrikawuyanga*, *Yimpinari*, *Wulurangkuwu* on Melville Island and, *Tikilaru*, *Wurangkuwu*, and *Malawu* on Bathurst Island. *Mantiyupi* Country straddles the channel between the two (see Map 3).¹⁷⁵



Map 3: Map of the Tiwi Islands showing *Murrakupuni* (Country) areas. Courtesy of (and with the permission of) Tiwi Land Council

The exact boundaries of these Countries, and indeed the number of Countries, have changed quite a bit over the period in which they have been documented in writing.¹⁷⁶ Although most people now live in towns rather than in their Country the spiritual

¹⁷⁵ www.Tiwilandcouncil.com. The differences in spellings of country names are the result of differing opinions as to correctness.

¹⁷⁶ Maps of the Islands showing the countries vary substantially. This is a potentially contentious issue as areas of land are increasingly becoming important as they draw Land Ownership Royalties, administered through the Tiwi Land Council. It is evidenced by different versions of the *Murrakupuni* maps that land ownership areas have shifted. This map is included courtesy of (and with the permission of) the Tiwi Land Council.

connection with the land is still paramount to one's place in the community, where one's paternal ancestors are buried and/or have Ceremony held and to which songs one owns and performs. After the 1976 Aboriginal Land Rights Act the Tiwi Land Council was formed, made up of representatives of each country group. The Land Council has remained as the structure for the system of decision-making and power on the islands. Goodale notes that

the patrilineal *aminiyati* land-based units, which Hart noted in 1929, composed of the descendants of an important and powerful father's father (*amini*) are reappearing as important units in Tiwi society in the 1980s under a dual influence of the Mission and of the Land Rights Act. (Goodale, 1988, pp. 143, 144)

This meant too that from the late seventies the names of the important men of the past (the leaders of those patrilineal country clans) came to be taken as family surnames. Goodale noted the beginning of what is firmly in place today; a balance of affiliation between the Skin group (with ancestral Country connection) of one's mother and the Dreaming and Country group of one's father. The relatively recent, non-Tiwi system of married names does not disrupt the patrilineal system. Children take their father's surname, their father's dance and their father's Country, while they have their mother's Skin group.

3.1.3 *Yoi* (Dreaming dance)

As well as identifying with a Country group, a Skin group and a Clan, every Tiwi person has a *Yoi* (dance and song) that they perform at all ceremonial and many social occasions. The *Yoi* dance and song are referred to, in English, by Tiwi people as their "Dreaming" dance (and song) using the widely-used Aboriginal English term that implies connection with the deep-past ancestors.¹⁷⁷ The Dreaming *Yoi* dances are taught from a very early age, with children aged two or three being encouraged to begin dancing their Dreaming *Yoi* whenever the opportunity arises.

The Dreaming *Yoi* dances have been created over the years by songmen in ceremony. The Dreamings relate to animals or other features of the different Country areas and so

¹⁷⁷ There is no direct Tiwi translation of the term "Dreaming".

groups of families with Country affiliation will also tend to share a Dreaming. New Dreamings and so new *Yoi* dances have been added to reflect the changes on the Islands, so as well as indigenous flora and fauna such as Sugarbag, Rainbow, Turtle, Jungle Fowl and Shark we find people who dance Horse and Cart, Ship and Buffalo. When they perform their song (and dance) they "... manifest as representations of these things. When they dance Shark or Crocodile or whatever, they are not therefore mimicking the animals ... they are showing another facet of their personalities" (Grau, 2005, p. 147). The Dreaming *Yoi* groups are listed in Appendix 6.

Teresita Puruntatameri, one of the Strong Women and among my primary consultants, explains the *Yiminga* system and how it co-relates to the paternally inherited Dreaming *Yoi* dance and to Country.

So I dance *Tatuwali* [shark] because my father was Timaepatua, but my children dance Jungle Fowl for their father [a Puruntatameri man]. I sometimes dance Jungle Fowl too because I am Mrs Puruntatameri and I have to teach my children.

Yiminga. Also for when we breathe that's *yiminga*, pulse, culture ... and also the skin group. *Yiminga* is the life ... also a life, life, from the four skin groups. So when we sing, we also make song for our country *Yiminga*, like Skin Group. The *yiminga* the four skin groups, *Yiminga* comes from the mother. So I'm *Takarringa*, my mother was *Takarringa*, my grandmother, her mother before her, always *Takarringa*. And the dance that we do comes from our father's side. So my dance shark comes from my father and his father and so on. It's always been like that. I teach my grandchildren about the four skin groups. I teach them that we are related to *Miyartuwi* but not the rock and the sun. So that's the first thing grandmothers do, they teach the young ones the skin group system, so they know that they can't marry *Miyartuwi*. They can marry *Warntarringuwi* or *Lorrila*.¹⁷⁸

It is significant that Teresita called the *Yiminga* the "Country *Yiminga*". Both the *Murrakupuni* (Country) group affiliation (determined patrilineally) and the *Yiminga* sub-groups (matrilineally) are connected to Country places. Goodale's account (Goodale,

¹⁷⁸ Personal communication. Teresita Puruntatameri Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 25 March 2010.

1974, p. 108) correlates with what I have been told, that an unborn child has the *Yiminga* of their mother and therefore ancestral connection to her country. Having been dreamed by their father they are then born, with connection to the Country of their father. We can say, therefore, that all three levels of Tiwi identity—*Yiminga*, *Murrakupuni* and Dreaming *Yoi*—relate back to Country.

3.2 *Pukumani*

The word *Pukumani* has a number of meanings, all related to the death of a person and the associated rituals. *Pukumani* is used as an adjective to describe the state of a person's name, to a place or to a song that is closed or "taboo" because of a death. It also refers to the overall state of a person affected by the death of a close relation.¹⁷⁹ For example, the deceased's name is *Pukumani* (not to be uttered), the Country to which they belong is *Pukumani* (not to be visited), a song they composed is *Pukumani* (not to be sung) and the deceased's closest kin are said to *be Pukumani* (following the restrictions associated with mourning).

I will not embark on a detailed description of the *Pukumani* ceremonies because they are already the subject of anthropological description (C. Hart, 1988; C. W. M. Hart, 1930; Levy, 1975; Mountford, 1958; Spencer, 1914). Pertinent to my study though is Hart's surprising assertion that the dances performed "had no relation whatever to the death or the deceased" (Hart, 1988, p.101). Subsequent observation and study of the ceremony and its dances (and, by association, songs) show without doubt the centrality of the deceased and their relationship to all present in all songs and dances performed for *Pukumani* (Goodale, 1974; Grau, 1983a; Holmes, 1995; Mountford, 1958; Osborne, 1989). Modifications to the ceremony and some of the effects that these have had on song practice will be discussed here.

¹⁷⁹ Rules such as not feeding oneself or gathering food were uniformly followed up until a generation ago but today are subject to the individuals' cultural conservatism.

3.2.1 The rituals associated with *Pukumani*

Pukumani is the overall state of mourning and associated ritual observance, but within that are ritual stages each having their own distinct name (as seen in Figure 11).¹⁸⁰ Some of these stages are no longer practised, or if they are, it is in varying degrees depending on the wishes of the immediate family, obligations of work, financial situation and schedules of the community. Stages one and two occur soon after the death while stages three and four occur at least one year later.

1. Burial: Includes some or all of; Catholic Mass, *Yoi* event, blessing by Catholic Priest, at interment, Tiwi sorrow songs and/or Catholic hymns at graveside. (No longer practised is the moving and preparation of the body.)
2. *Yilaniya*: Smoking of the deceased's possessions, house and places frequented by them throughout town.
3. Preliminary rituals a) *Nitipaurini taka* cutting the poles, b) *Nitaumi taka*: burning / singeing the poles, c) *Jilimarra*: painting the poles. *Yilaniya*: Healing/smoking ritual, preliminary to the Final Ceremony.
4. *Yiloti*: Final Ceremony: Includes some or all of *Yoi* event, *Pamati* (mock spousal fight), *Makatinarri* (ritual washing).¹⁸¹

Figure 11: Ideal *Pukumani* sequence

1. Burial

The important point to make about the changes that have occurred to the *Pukumani*-associated ceremonies is that prior to about 1950 the burial was a small occasion held on the day or so immediately after death, and attended by only a small group, and it was the series of rituals leading up to and comprising the *Yiloti* (Final Ceremony) held about one year after death that were the most important, and involved large numbers of mourners. Grau notes increasingly larger attendances at the burial in the 1980s (Grau,

¹⁸⁰ I use the term "ideal" to indicate what people say "should" or "used to" happen. Personal communication. Group discussion Pirlangimpi 19 July 2012.

¹⁸¹ The spousal fight and ritual washing are elements of ritual that are sometimes performed today, but as they are not relevant to my discussion of the Ceremony in relation to song practice, I will not elaborate but refer the reader to Goodale 1974, Grau, 1983 and Osborne 1989.

2001a) and today the funeral is the main (and often only) mourning event, combining a Catholic service with elements of the *Pukumani*-associated rituals.

2. First *Yilaniya* (Smoking)

This is a ritual held as soon as possible after the death, usually within a week or so. Today a small group of men move through buildings or areas the deceased had frequented such as the shop, the school or the Club and their house. Songs particular to *Yilaniya* are performed and smoke (from burning green leaves in a tin bucket) is wafted around the area in order to cleanse the place of the deceased's spirit and to discourage the *Mopaditi* (spirits of the deceased) from staying around and perhaps stealing someone else away.

3. Preliminary rituals

The ritual cutting of wood for the *Turtuni* (also called *Pukumani* poles) and their carving and painting have ritual-specific songs that are now seldom performed by those doing the work (because they are younger men who do not have the singing skills) but are sometimes sung by old men if they are around.¹⁸² These activities happen at mutually convenient times in the lead up to a *Yiloti* (if one is being planned). Other small rituals such as travelling through Country to the ceremonial ground (asking permission to enter from ancestors as they go), preparing the *milimika* (the dance ground), painting up and small smoking rituals occur depending on the motivations of individuals involved.

4. Main *Yilaniya* (Smoking)

The *Yilaniya* is the last preliminary ritual before the Final Ceremony. A series of *Yoi* songs (with their dances) is performed by those with corresponding Dreaming and kinship status. As they dance, each person moves through the smoke made by burning green leaves. This action has a symbolic healing effect and also helps to mask the living person's identity to avoid their being taken away by the *Mopaditi*.

¹⁸² Personal communication Eustace Tipiloura. Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 9 March 2009.

5. *Yiloti* The Final Ceremony

Traditionally held over a few days, this was the culmination of the numerous smaller lead-up rituals comprising songs of appropriate function. This is the largest of the rituals, attended by the entire community, and at which the main *Yoi* dance and song event occurs. It is followed by payment of ritual workers and symbolic cleansing and washing. Today this is most often simply called “Ceremony” or “*Yoi*”.¹⁸³ It is this Final Ceremony that releases the spirit of the deceased and signals the end of the period *Pukumani* and the lifting of the mourning restrictions.

The *Yiloti* / Ceremony, ideally held one year after the death, is becoming more and more problematic to organise. My consultants cite problems with finding the money required for paying the workers (the dancers, the singers, those who clear the area and those who make the poles) as being the main reason people put off holding.¹⁸⁴ This creates some tension and anxiety because the spirit of the deceased remains around town until their (Final) Ceremony, their name remains *Pukumani* and people are waiting for the cathartic event to be able to move on and let the person go. I have witnessed arguments over the degree of Ceremony to be included in the funeral, with some people suggesting that the *Yilaniya* and *Yoi* stages of Ceremony should be included in order to expedite the spirit’s release, fearing that it will likely be quite some time before Ceremony is held, if indeed at all. Others believe the traditional way should be adhered to even if that means waiting a long time for Ceremony to happen.¹⁸⁵

While most Tiwi are baptized Catholics there is (as in any society) a range of adherence to religious practice and orthodoxy. The Tiwi ceremonies pertaining to death are still

¹⁸³ Osborne reported that in 1975 the Final Ceremony was called “*Yoi*” (Osborne, 1989).

¹⁸⁴ The introduction of monetary payment for the “workers” (the pole carvers and painters, those who erect the shade over the dance ground and the singers and some dancers) has replaced the system of mutual reciprocity of the past (Mountford, 1958; Goodale, 1988). In 2009–2012 the Tiwi Land Council had “Culture Money” funding available on application for support towards these costs.

¹⁸⁵ At the time of writing I am aware of five deceased people who are overdue for their ‘ceremony’ by between one and two years. In October 2012 two Final Ceremonies were held, the first for four people (with family connection) who had died between five and two years prior, and the second for three women who had died between two years and eighteen months prior.

very important notwithstanding the addition of Catholic ritual as is noted in the following statement, from the narration of Mourning For Mangatopi.

... for many Tiwi, Christian funerals have failed to ensure the ritual journey of the dead to the spirit world and have also failed to provide the emotional release of the Pukumani ceremony. (Levy, 1975)

3.3 The role of the *Yoi* songs

Looking at the list of *Yoi* song items amongst the old recordings by subject¹⁸⁶ one might infer that the vast majority of Tiwi songs are about mundane topics such as tractors, ships, electric lights or bulldozers. While the *Ayipa Kulama* songs (that I will discuss in Chapter 4) do concern such subjects for their value as news, most often a song will carry a meaning deeper than the words at the literal level. The subject matter for each song is determined by the stage of Ceremony at which it is being performed. When there were numerous singers able to compose there would have been many newly created *Yoi* songs performed at each *Pukumani*-associated ritual. Hart states in material first published in 1960, referring to the *Yoi* songs in mourning ceremonies “Most of the day was taken up with endless repetitions of these individually-owned and individually performed dances, which had no relation whatever to death or the deceased, but which each new ‘owner’ used on every ceremonial occasion.” A footnote added to the 1988 edition reads “Goodale, who probably has seen more Tiwi mourning dances than Hart, pointed out in 1986 that the individually owned and performed dances, in fact, do bear some relation to the deceased” (C. Hart, 1988, p. 101).

The role of *Yoi* songs can be broadly summarized with the following subsections.

3.3.1 Kinship and bereavement status songs

The kinship status songs are the most important songs in the *Pukumani* context. Kinship is the central means of connecting people to each other and the entire *Yoi* event can be regarded at one level as a means of re-affirming the Kinship status of everybody present. Grau says similar of the dances, stating that “the kinship dance system is not

¹⁸⁶ See Appendix 3.

merely a reflection of Tiwi kinship” but “it is the Tiwi kinship” (Grau, 1983a, p. 333). Specific *Yoi* dances that are performed by people of each relationship to the deceased (sister, brother, father, son etcetera) are consistent with the way they were recorded by Grau (1983) There is a set order in which each kinship status song/dance is presented (see Appendix 8) and the performance of the dance appropriate to one’s relationship with the deceased is essential to the wellbeing of both the living person and the spirit of the dead person. The songs refer to the parts of the body that symbolize each kinship status, so song subjects include injury to a leg (sung by siblings of the deceased) to the penis (sung by fathers) or to breast milk or the womb (sung by mothers) (Osborne 1989, p. 319).

3.3.2 Revenge songs

Singing one’s grief and anger is an important part of a *Yoi* event. Songs symbolic of revenge and hatred for the perpetrator of a death (real or imagined) give the singer and his/her audience a ritualised context for grief. Symbolically unloading the blame of a death on to a third party helps people move on and to not internalise suffering. It has been said to me that without this outlet young Tiwi people take on a lot of anger and shame themselves and that this is having a negative impact on social health. Amongst the recordings are songs about knives and murderers, or that point the blame on the doctor or the hospital, that are not literal, but fulfil this revenge function. Tiwi beliefs do not include magical or divine reasons for death, and so every death must have a cause (and something to blame). This blame is often exacted through the symbolism of songs, with topics such as a hospital stay, an un-liked nurse or an unknown “killer” or mysterious poison. Songs sung at Smoking rituals allude to fire, sometimes literally, but more often via a ship’s engine, a generator or a blowtorch.

3.3.3 Dreaming songs

The most widely performed *Yoi* songs today are those belonging to the Dreamings that are associated with the Dreaming dances. They are performed at most funerals, at Final Ceremonies, at weddings and many other community events. We have found evidence of continuity between old recordings of Dreaming *Yoi* and those same *Yoi* today.¹⁸⁷ The

¹⁸⁷ See Chapter 7 for examples of this.

text is partly epithetic, in that certain phrases and names known to signify ancestors or Skin groups through flora, fauna or geography would be used within an extemporised text setting. The Dreaming *Yoi*, therefore, while showing some variation, is more stable, with each Country group singing their own version of a Dreaming.¹⁸⁸ Across the recordings are *Yoi* events lasting several hours, each containing numerous individual song items relating to one particular Dreaming. In the *Yoi* event recorded by Holmes in June 1966 at Milikapiti,¹⁸⁹ for example, there are fifteen distinct versions of Moonfish song performed by a number of singers. These were newly created for that day and related to specific creeks in the Country of the deceased (as well as his Moonfish Dreaming) so as to identify exactly with the occasion.¹⁹⁰

Today at a funeral or a Final Ceremony the Dreaming *Yoi* songs are relatively fixed although there are different versions of each Dreaming song, owned by the different Country groups. Most if not all *Yoi* specifically sung for the purpose of announcing each kin relationship are old songs, which are sung (with perhaps some small text variation) at each Ceremony and there have been no occasions I am aware of in the last six years of new songs being composed for the *Yoi* section of a funeral or a Final Ceremony.

3.3.4 Allusion to ritual

Amongst the recordings of *Pukumani*-associated ceremonies there are songs that describe the action that the singer is performing at the time. Ritual actions are often the subject of a song almost as though the singer has sung in a stream-of-consciousness manner what he is doing at the time. For example:

I am ... clearing the dance ground; lighting the fire; painting the face; painting the poles; calling the next dancer ...

are all loose translations of song texts that have been heard amongst the recordings.

There are also "*Payijayi*" (Payday) songs that are sung towards the end of the Final Ceremony when the workers (those who prepared the dance ground, those painted the

¹⁸⁸ In Chapter 7 I discuss the Crocodile Dreaming song, versions of which have been brought together by the Strong Women's group into one song in a new style.

¹⁸⁹ This was part of the *Yilaniya* (final mortuary ceremony) held for *Mamburringamirri* (Charlie Fourcroy Pilakui).

¹⁹⁰ My consultant Eustace Tipiloura has recently been studying this recording in order to add these song texts to his Moonfish repertoire.

poles and the singers for instance) receive their payment. Other songs refer to stages of ritual through allusion to the *Yilaniya* (Smoking) ritual through fire (such as the boiler room of a ship), to painting up (repainting a boat or a house) and to ritual washing (the sea or water). Two examples of this are at Figure 12.¹⁹¹

1. Smoking stage of ritual and kinship status.
 Burning leg:
 Warlakurrayuwuwa/Paddy Sawmill. *Yoi*, Pirlangimpi 1975¹⁹²

Ngipintirrikirrayanikurikipajiumuma
 I am scorching my leg in the fire

2. Ritual washing.
 Rising Tide:
 Stanley Munkara, *Yoi*, Pirlangimpi, 1975¹⁹³

Ngimangrrupawuntimirri
 I am a man of the rising tide

Wiyapurali munjingirampirramangima
 At Wiyapurali backwater the sea flows in.

Figure 12: Allusion to ritual stages in songs

In Example 1 Paddy Sawmill refers simultaneously to the fire/smoking stage of the ceremony and to his relationship with the deceased (brother, symbolized by the leg) as well as his bereavement (the injury). Example 2 was sung at the final stage of the ritual when people wash off their ochre paint in a ritual and emotional cleansing. It refers to this indirectly, via the sea and also places the deceased in his Country (Wiyapurali).

¹⁹¹ I have used Osborne's translation, but have used current spelling at the request of Justin Puruntatameri, who helped me audition these songs.

¹⁹² (Osborne 1989, p. 815).

¹⁹³ (Osborne 1989, p. 821).

Many song texts include names of either the singer or the kin of the deceased. As well as adding import to the song through inclusion of the actual names, this serves to evoke a sense of ancestry and mark connections between the singer, the audience and the song subject, whether an individual, a place or a narrative. This is a trait found in other Aboriginal song genres (Magowan, 2007; Marett, 2000). The recorded Bereavement songs (sung at *Yoi* and *Kulama*) are now a source of important family knowledge. Calling the names of ancestors brought them to the place while also making clear to listeners the credentials of the singer, in the context of his ancestry and country affiliations.

3.4 Continuing tradition in the face of change

In the face of significant social and religious change Tiwi people have embedded aspects of the *palingarri* (old way) ceremony into modern practice. It is a matter of record that there was strong opposition to and active dissuasion of Ceremony by the missionaries on Bathurst Island. The *Pukumani*-associated rituals were banned in the community around the mission on Bathurst Island in the 1950s and 1960s, (Goodale, 1974; Mountford, 1958) and children at the mission school were not allowed to attend.¹⁹⁴ This upset the system of holding Ceremony at the place of the burial (which should be in the Country the persons belongs to). This and the fact that most people now lived in the town rather than in Country perhaps saw the beginning of the changing connection between the burial and the Ceremony.

As a result of persistent disapproval of Tiwi ceremony by the mission and the gradual establishment of Catholic ceremonies in their place Holmes notes that, by 1985, the funeral ceremony she witnessed comprised a Catholic Mass said by the priest, followed by *Yoi* songs and dances (Holmes, 1995). Grau however reported that during her eighteen-month period of fieldwork in 1980-1982 she witnessed twenty-seven *Yilaniya* and nineteen *Yiloti* ceremonies. This is far more than occurs today. In 2009—2012 for example, while there were twenty-four funerals that I knew of there have been no more than four or five *Yiloti*.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ Personal communication. Sheba Fernando, Wurrumiyanga 9 March 2009.

¹⁹⁵ This is not to say there have not been funerals or ceremonies held that I am not aware of, but as I have been in almost daily contact with the community via social media and am often called with news of people's deaths I can record this observation as indicative of the situation.

Goodale observed a change between her time on the Islands in 1954 and in 1986 in “the [lesser] length and elaborateness of these most important rituals” but that “the basic structure and obligatory roles of kin and spouse remained as they always have been” (Goodale, 1988, p. 141).

It cannot be ignored that the Catholic mission influence since 1912 has had a massive impact on when and how the mortuary rituals are held. A number of researchers have commented on the situation of ceremonial practice in relation to the mission (Brandl, 1971; Goodale, 1988; Grau, 1983a; Grau, 2001a; Mountford, 1958; Osborne, 1989) and the general consensus confirms my experience; that while there has been significant loss in terms of the extra richness of ceremonial practice, such as painting up, making of head-dresses, *Turtuni* poles and ceremonial spears and the duration of and participation in song-based ritual, the essential elements of the *Pukumani* practice—in particular the *Yoi* songs—are still performed, if in a limited way.

3.5 Ceremony in 2012

The *Yiloti* (Final) Ceremony that I witnessed in October 2012 was attended by approximately two hundred people. It was the *Yiloti* for four people who had died over the last three years and was the culmination of many months planning and discussion.¹⁹⁶ It proceeded as follows: A *Yilaniya* (lasting about an hour) was performed, in which people danced through the smoke in kinship groups. One man sang for everybody, occasionally helped by one old lady.¹⁹⁷ This was followed by the *Yiloti* which comprised the main *Yoi* song/dance event. This lasted about three hours during which people danced in groups marking kinship status, following a strict order (see Appendix 8). The *Pamati* ritual in which spouses enact a mock fight was carried out in a light-hearted and self-conscious way by a few couples and was generally received with some laughter. After the final *Yoi* dancer, (the *Amparruwu* (widow)), the whole group wailed in a quasi-ritualized display of overt grief. This was followed by “*Payijayi*” (payment of the ritual workers). There was no ritual washing performed as a group but I was told

¹⁹⁶ Combining people’s Ceremony is not the ideal and had been done to save resources.

¹⁹⁷ I will not discuss the songs in any more detail here, because they are the focus of Chapter 7.

that the men who had painted up would later “sing the right song” when they washed the ochre off.¹⁹⁸

There was a sense throughout that this was an unusual and special occasion. The man organising, planning and hosting the Ceremony (in his role as closest male kin to the deceased) was in his forties. He was not confident with songs or procedure so had had some instruction in the weeks beforehand.¹⁹⁹ Although he was the *aluwiya* (the symbolic leader of the ceremony) he did not lead the actual singing. Those I was sitting with (a mix of older and younger people) commented on and asked questions about the sequence of dances, called out advice or opinion and encouraged young people who had not performed their roles before. Two elder men²⁰⁰ led the singing (and indeed were usually the only singers) and one old lady²⁰¹ was on her feet most of the time directing the groups of dancers, discussing procedure with the lead song-man and offering song words when necessary.

3.6 Funeral in 2012

The five funerals I attended in 2010-12 were held in four stages over two days: Healing, (Catholic) Mass, *Yoi* event and burial.²⁰² The following section is a description of this now more common version of the ritual events and ceremonies following a death.

3.6.1 Healing

A “Healing” was held the day before the funeral. A large number of people gathered at the ground designated for the following day’s funeral (on one occasion they gathered

¹⁹⁸ Personal communication. Stephen-Paul Kantilla, Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 19 October 2012.

¹⁹⁹ Personal communication. Calista Kantilla, Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 19 October 2012.

²⁰⁰ Eustace Tipiloura and Robert Biscuit Tipungwuti.

²⁰¹ Calista Kantilla.

²⁰² I attended another funeral that comprised all but the *Yoi* event. Although I have attended a number of funerals in the past five years, it has always been as a mourner, not as a researcher and so this description is cursory and only given as an indication of the mixing of traditional and new elements. I have, at the request of the women’s group, recorded a number of healing songs on the days leading up to some funerals. At the request of Clementine Puruntatameri’s family I recorded the healing, funeral and *Yoi* held for her in September 2011. This material has been given to the family. It might become the subject of further study in the future but is not included in this thesis, apart from the text of her *Mamanunkuni Kuruwala* song presented in my concluding chapter.

near the house of a family member). Songs in the women's Modern *Kuruwala* style²⁰³ were sung on and off all day. A *Yilaniya* (smoking ceremony) was held to heal and cleanse the family.²⁰⁴ In groups of kinship, mourners walked through the smoke and were patted down with smoking green branches. The Modern *Kuruwala* songs composed and performed by the strong women's group were sung as well as *Yoi* marking kinship and Dreaming.

3.6.2 Mass

On the day of the funeral people gathered at the ceremonial ground awaiting the arrival of the coffin.²⁰⁵ A Catholic Mass was held after a short introduction of traditional Tiwi song performed by senior men. While following the structure of a Catholic Mass, with readings and hymns in English, this also included – in guitar-accompanied choral style – two hymns sung in Tiwi and the *Murrakupuni* (Country) song that had been composed on the days prior by the women.

3.6.3 *Yoi* event

This was then followed by about three hours of *Yoi*, with kinship and Dreaming dances performed, as closely following the pattern of a Final Ceremony as possible, depending on who was in attendance.

3.6.4 Burial

The mourners then went to the cemetery for the interment. At two of the funerals the Catholic Priest presided over the interment as well as a senior man singing *Mamanunkuni*²⁰⁶ (sorrow). At one a young man sang a non-Tiwi rock-ballad immediately after the *Mamanunkuni* (I describe this further in Chapter 9). The mourners then stepped over the mound of earth and walked away and the entire funeral was over.

²⁰³ See 7.1.12.

²⁰⁴ As mentioned earlier, this is a new place for the smoking ritual that was (and still is) performed to cleanse the possessions of the deceased and any buildings they frequented of remaining spirit.

²⁰⁵ All deaths I have been aware of have involved the removal of the body to the Darwin morgue, and then being flown back to the Island on either the morning of or the evening before the funeral. Immediate family go to the airport to farewell and then again to welcome the body.

²⁰⁶ This song-type is discussed in detail in 7.1.6.

3.7 Conclusion to Chapter Three

One can see from the above description that elements of the “ideal” or “traditional” practice of *Pukumani* are being incorporated to different degrees in modern funerals. The preliminary rituals such as smoking (and the songs that would be sung with them) for instance, which would have been held immediately after the person’s death and at which *Yoi* songs (and dances) are now sometimes performed on the return of the coffin to the family’s home either the evening before or the morning of the funeral. Regardless of the relative amounts of Catholic ritual and/or Tiwi ritual it is essential that the Dreaming and kinship *Yoi* are performed. These bereavement kinship status songs (denoting the relationship of each person in attendance to the deceased), the Dreaming songs and the ritual activity songs (describing what is happening at various points of the proceedings) are performed at various stages throughout. The *Yoi* event (whether part of the full Ceremony or the shorter funeral) is fundamentally about the group dynamic. The attendance of all people connected through kinship is essential and every person will dance the *Yoi* appropriate to their relationship with the deceased. The difference in participation in *Yoi* dance as opposed to song is marked. Everyone knows their Dreaming dance. From very young, children are taught and encouraged so that by primary school it is almost instinctive.

There is a varying amount of *Yoi* at a funeral (and sometimes none at all), depending on the wishes of the direct family members who make the arrangements. While the *Pukumani* rituals have changed, the role of the songs to support *Yoi* dance has not. The actions of these dances are universally known (amongst adults), being entrenched in the on-going re-affirmation of kinship through events such as the Ceremony (and non-ritual occasions) but at the most recent Ceremonies I have attended there has been only one man singing. This in stark contrast to recordings made in the 1980s and 1990s in which the voices of about fifty people can be heard singing in unison. While everybody can (and must) dance (and the dance must be supported by associated song) only a handful know how to sing. This is where the problem lies. Ideally the person singing should be an elder of the family of the deceased, but the task has fallen to the same few elders. They have expressed to me the physical and emotional strain of numerous funerals, the spiritual/cultural unease that comes with singing for the “wrong” family,

and their concern that the next generation of mourners are ill-equipped to continue the appropriate practice for mourning.²⁰⁷

It is a sad reality of social, cultural and economic strain that the Tiwi community suffers a relatively high mortality rate.²⁰⁸ Funerals and Ceremony are regular occurrences and with the correlating problem that those dying are very often younger than fifty, the community is losing the next generation of singers who should be learning the required songs. Elders I have spoken to are of the opinion that having a set of the required songs “fixed” is perhaps the only way to ensure the continuation of the songs’ important function at Ceremony and funeral. With fewer elders with the skills necessary to create new songs, a “canon” of *Yoi* is being created in order that mortuary rituals can be maintained.²⁰⁹ As of early 2013, some are being written down in the hope that in the future they can be taught in school (along with the accompanying dances) in “culture” classes.²¹⁰ In the next chapter I discuss *Kulama*, the ceremonial system in which improvisatory song composition was taught and the loss of which has the potential to change the course of Tiwi song entirely.

²⁰⁷ This personal opinion has been expressed to me a number of times by Eustace Tipiloura, Robert Biscuit Tipungwuti and also by the elder women in relation to their singing at funerals (see Chapter 7).

²⁰⁸ Suicide, heart disease, renal failure and diabetes are the main causes of the regular early deaths that occur on the Tiwi Islands. This dreadful situation is not, however, in the area of my research or qualification. I feel that it is inappropriate for me to make comment, except to point out that (for example) the loss of 44 men aged 18-35 through suicide between 1989 and 2008 (Hanssens, 2009) has effectively removed a generation of potential songmen and men and women dying in their 40s, 50s and 60s is similarly having a large impact on the transmission of song skills.

²⁰⁹ As I show in Chapter 8, the Strong Women’s group has added to this by beginning to compose songs with these functions using a non-Tiwi musical style.

²¹⁰ The fact that Final Ceremony is held less often, and at the same time, children are not being taught these dances or songs is a source of worry for elders.

Chapter 4: Kulama

This chapter is about the *Kulama* ceremony. Once the central activity of song composition performance and instruction for Tiwi people, its almost complete loss can be correlated to the loss of the old Tiwi language, with both having a large impact on the continuation of certain song-types in particular and song composition, song transmission and the skills of singing in general. While there have been various opinions as to the purpose of *Kulama* (Goodale, 1970) it is beyond doubt that it was central to the functioning of the Tiwi culture with the transmission of cultural knowledge and instruction in linguistic, artistic and musical skills a primary goal and focus. The importance of song to Tiwi society is made clear when one understands that a Tiwi man was only fully initiated when he composed his own song at *Kulama*. The *Kulama* associated rituals and the main ceremony itself were structured by the performance of songs specifically composed for each stage, and instruction in the language, how to compose and how to sing were firmly embedded in the entire process. The regularity of song-focussed activity (as all young Tiwi people moved through the initiation process) would have resulted in a community in which song composition was a far more widely practised skill than it is today.

Today, rather than *Kulama* being the *vehicle* for attaining knowledge, prestige and standing in the community, it has become the *focus* of that prestige, with knowledge of the actual ceremony and how to perform it becoming what people learn. *Kulama* is now spoken of with reverence; a remnant of the past that only a few older people feel strongly enough about to persevere with. The intricacies of song composition, so reliant upon a thorough knowledge of the language and on regular and repeated instruction and practice, are becoming beyond the reach of singers these days. Elders who know how to perform at *Kulama* are revered as holders of knowledge of a bygone era, rather than as active participants in an ongoing artistic tradition. The shift of *Kulama* from an all-inclusive schooling system to the preserve of a few culture-holders has rendered *Kulama* songs items of cultural heritage rather than a means of communication.

4.1 The *Kulama* Ceremony

Before the arrival of the mission, the main *Kulama* ceremony, held annually over the course of three full days and nights at the start of the dry season, comprised numerous rituals—body painting, singing and dancing as well as the cooking, washing and eating of otherwise poisonous native yams according to specified methods. Fully initiated men and women composed and performed song and dance in order to ensure good health, community well-being and, most importantly, to ceremonially elevate young men and women through a series of initiation grades. Regular ceremonies meant that Tiwi singers lived within a sustained rich cultural atmosphere that was passed from one generation to the next with heuristic learning of extemporised composition through immersion at ceremony. Goodale notes

The aesthetic achievements are mentioned in connection with initiation, particularly one's ability to compose the songs. The presentation of one's first song was said to be the high point of the sequence of initiation. (Goodale, 1970, p. 359)

A man was not considered adult and eligible for marriage until he had passed through all the stages of *Kulama*. It was only older men (who had gained respect and knowledge through initiation) who were in a position to partake in the reciprocity of wife bestowal amongst senior men.

There are numerous anthropological descriptions in the literature of the *Kulama* ceremony with differing opinions amongst researchers as to the exact reason for *Kulama* (Brandl, 1970; Goodale, 1970; Grau, 1983a; C. Hart, 1988; Osborne, 1989; Spencer, 1914).²¹¹ It is clear that *Kulama* was important for spiritual, intellectual and personal growth into adulthood (Goodale, 1970; Grau, 1983a; Lee, 1987; Mountford, 1958; Spencer, 1914). It is however now impossible to say exactly what each stage signified. There is some difference of opinion as to the primary motivation behind the *Kulama* ceremony. Spencer was of the opinion that it was a ritual held in order to

²¹¹ Exploring these different views and the reasons for them is beyond the scope of this thesis but I plan to expand on this point in a future publication that will also address Tiwi people's opinions on motivations for *Kulama*.

ensure good food supply (Spencer, 1928). Mountford (1958), Goodale (1971), Grau (1983) and Lee (1987) have expressed different opinions, questioning the likelihood of a food increase ritual in a place with such abundance of fauna, sea and bush food as well as a relatively temperate climate. The preparation of the otherwise poisonous yam is symbolic. With so many other edible foods (including other types of yam) it is very unlikely that this yam would become relied upon as a food source. One theory of the yam's significance in the ceremony, postulated by Goodale (1971), is that it may have taken on the symbolic embodiment of the harmful magic that had been brought to the islands by the Iwaidja in about 1913.²¹² She suggests that as *Kulama's* role in long-term initiation receded, the cleaning and preparation of the yam became the focus of a relatively new need for ritual cleansing (against the magic). As the years have gone by the shift of emphasis from young initiates to the yam has made it more abstract and, now in a modern world, less meaningful to the everyday lives of the people.

If we are to fully understand the effect the almost complete loss of the *Kulama* ceremony has had on the art of Tiwi song composition, we must attempt to understand the course of and reasons for its dwindling over the last century. The main thing to make clear is that, pre-mission, the *Kulama* ceremony consisted not of only one annual event (called the *Kulama* ceremony) but also of two associated rituals held months apart and a number of intermediate periods of instruction given by elders to young initiates.

There are a number of descriptions of the annual *Kulama* ceremony in the literature (Brandl, 1970; Goodale, 1970, 1974; Grau, 1983a; C. W. M. Hart, 1930; Mountford, 1958; Osborne, 1989; Spencer, 1914).²¹³ Mountford suggests that in 1954 the pattern of the annual *Kulama* ceremony itself had hardly changed from that which Spencer described in 1912. He does however also state that the related, but separately performed, rituals associated with *Kulama* initiation had ceased entirely (Mountford, 1958).

²¹² Goodale also cites a discussion amongst the men at *Kulama* April 30-May 3 1954 "... the people of the island are small in numbers, because the white people brought other tribesmen into this land who sang magic songs of poison that caused the tribe to dwindle" Goodale, 1974, p224).

²¹³ Maria Brandl made recordings of 190 *Kulama* songs and an unknown number of mortuary songs. Unfortunately all of these were lost in Cyclone Tracy in 1974.

Although Grau witnessed a number of the main *Kulama* ceremonies during her fieldwork in 1981, she wrote that

Since the 'fifties all the information we have about the [associated] initiation is second hand, what informants told the anthropologists should happen rather than what the anthropologists witnessed themselves (Grau, 1983a, p. 155)

While we therefore cannot make assumptions about the exact nature of these associated rituals we can form a picture of a society in which ritual activity was regularly occurring.

The following overview of *Kulama* is based on what would have been the complete set of rituals, keeping in mind that all but the three-day annual *Kulama* yam ceremony had gone out of practice by 1954. I do not intend to describe the rituals as this has been done in previous research (see above) but I will explain *Kulama's* place in Tiwi society in terms of it being the focal point of education in linguistic, cultural and artistic matters and how, when it was performed in full, it provided an on-going source of newly composed songs.

4.2 Initiation through *Kulama*

The path to full initiation for Tiwi youth comprised, along with instruction in kinship systems and basic skills for life, a comprehensive bestowal of the linguistic, musical and intellectual skills needed to compose the songs required for regular ceremonies that were central to Tiwi social and spiritual life.

There were six grades of initiation to progress through, with the initiate moving up a grade at each annual *Kulama* ceremony. Other ritual events were held throughout the year. One, for instance, occurred a few weeks after the annual *Kulama*, to introduce a new round of initiates. Another marked the progression from grade two to grade three, and another involved the collecting of the *Kulama* yams that were used in the main ceremony. When the full initiation process was in action there would have been some

form of *Kulama* ritual going on every few months, and at any one time there would have been young men and women at various stages of initiation, so some were leading up to the annual *Kulama* while others were following up after it. Based on his fieldwork in 1928-29, Hart gives a brief explanation of the stages of the associated rituals. He calls *Kulama* “periodic collective ceremonies when the youth was ritually advanced from one stage of initiation to the next” (Hart, 1988, p. 103).

With the initiation process beginning at about age 10 (involving girls as well as boys (Spencer, 1914, p. 94)) and with approximately six years’ instruction, *Kulama* can be regarded as having been a form of schooling. That this was a long, ongoing and continuous part of a youth’s life is also evident in the literature (Gsell, 1955; Ritchie, 1934) and the memories of my consultants. Hart reports the practice of removal of young men for initiation between about fourteen and twenty-four years of age at various periods during the year for individual secluded instruction, in a relationship with their elder instructors not unlike that of monk and novice, learning “... all the things—chiefly ritual matters—that grown men should know” (Hart, 1988, p. 103). He also makes the point that the long periods of instruction in isolation, elaborate body painting (that must remain intact for months so was constantly renewed) and periodic ritual restrictions on food handling meant that for much of the year a large proportion of the young male population was not available for hunting or provision of food to the family group. He contrasts this with mainland communities and suggests this is an indication of the wealth and security the Tiwi people enjoyed, leaving more time for artistic and intellectual pursuits. All aspects of the *Kulama* rituals involved singing, and so a large part of instruction focussed on attaining the skills required for song composition. The poetic intricacies, knowledge of Country and ancestral lore, as well as metrical rules needed to compose²¹⁴ were imparted by senior men over the course of these years of instruction.

4.3 Changes to the function of *Kulama*

Grau, Goodale and Brandl in particular have made interesting observations on the changes that have occurred in the practise, goals and relevance of *Kulama* over the mid-

²¹⁴ See Chapter 6.

twentieth century (Brandl, 1970; Goodale, 1970; Grau, 1983a). One of the most important changes was to the motivation for initiation. With the changes to the Tiwi marriage system brought about by the arrival of the Catholic mission in 1912, the most profound of which was the cessation of a polygamous system²¹⁵ the need for a long initiation period through *Kulama* was no longer apparent. In the past the reciprocal bestowal of wives occurred between senior initiated men. Whereas, in the past, a man was only eligible to marry once he was fully initiated, with the Tiwi marriage system brought to an end over the course of a generation, men could marry much younger, and without the former pre-requisite initiated status.

The fact was too that most Bathurst Island children, and many from Melville Island, were, at the mission school (the girls boarding full-time) and so not able to spend time with their elders, with attendance at *Kulama* either discouraged or banned. It was only after they had left school that Tiwi people took part in *Kulama* (if they were interested in re-connecting with their culture). By 1954 the age at which initiation *began* had moved to at least thirty years, with those seen as being ready for initiation being “a mature man, usually married and with children” (Mountford, 1958, p. 128). It can be safely assumed that at least part of the reason for the demise of *Kulama* was also a result of mission opposition to local ritual practice.²¹⁶ “There is no doubt that this decline in the initiation procedures over the years is largely due to the influence of the Catholic Mission” (Grau, 1983a, p. 156). The initiation function of *Kulama* was no longer regarded as essential to the path towards adulthood. Rather, the focus began to shift to learning the ritual procedures and singing skills required to perform the *Kulama* ceremony itself, and so become a respected cultural elder. Venbrux states

Pragmatically, the initiation procedures were shortened and limited to the performances of the yam ritual. ... Tiwi call this initiation ‘short cut’ and it must be seen as very different from the pre-mission period when all men were kept from marrying until they had completed initiation. (Venbrux, 1995, p.29)

²¹⁵ For more on this see (Goodale, 1974; Gsell, 1955)

²¹⁶ Priests’ opposition to *Kulama* and to Tiwi burial rituals is reported by my Tiwi consultants who themselves witnessed it and in (Goodale, 1974; Hart, 1988a; Morris, 2003).

Kulama did not cease entirely though, and in the February and March of 1981 Andree Grau witnessed four *Kulama* ceremonies. She sums up the changes that had occurred.

Initiates were still ‘captured’ and they had to perform certain rites during preliminary mortuary rituals, ... but they did not have to go through all the grades until it was time for them to take part in the *Kulama* as full participants composing and singing songs for all the stages of the ceremony. (Grau, 1983a, p. 156)

Grau mentions Mickey Geranium Warlapini as one of the last remaining men who had been through all the initiation stages. He was born in 1905, so would have been close to the final stage of initiation at the age of about 23 when Hart was on the islands in 1928. In 1975 he sang for Osborne’s recorder and by 1981 he was a highly respected elder and culture man. Grau also mentions Justin Puruntatameri amongst the initiated men who were able to perform *Kulama* in 1981. Mr Puruntatameri (who in 2012 was 87 years old) learned to sing from Mickey Warlapini. I worked with Justin and his daughters, transcribing his own songs, recorded by Charles Osborne in 1975, with the view (at Justin’s request) to him using them to teach young people how to compose.²¹⁷ He lived in Pirlangimpi, and mourned the loss of *Kulama* there since “everybody’s gone and I’m too old to hold one on my own.”²¹⁸

4.4 The role of *Kulama* songs

Kulama songs told of ancestral lineage, personal achievements and important contemporary events, using a poetic artistic medium to entertain and inform, forming an oral living public record. The Tiwi had no need for a printed register of births, deaths and marriages, honour roll, a dictionary, a bible or an almanac. All such knowledge and information was put into songs. Everybody aspired to singing at *Kulama* and everyone was expected, when they were ready, to create their own new musical work. This inclusiveness meant that Tiwi people lived in a richly artistic atmosphere. At the main annual *Kulama* ceremony, songs were performed in order to satisfy various social,

²¹⁷ There had been plans to bring young men to Pirlangimpi to spend time with Justin in informal teaching sessions on *Kulama* and song in general, for which I had secured funding, but Mr Puruntatameri died in August 2012.

²¹⁸ Personal communication, Justin Puruntatameri, Pirlangimpi 9 August 2010.

spiritual and community needs. Songs of all or some of the six functions listed in Figure 13 were observed by Mountford and Goodale in 1954 (Goodale, 1970; Mountford, 1958), Brandl in 1969 (Brandl, 1970) and Osborne in 1975 (Osborne, 1989).

- Mourning songs: Remembering deceased loved ones.
- Grievance songs: Airing issues of concern.
- Songs about fathers or patrilineal Dreamings: Similar in function to mourning songs.
- Free-subject songs for entertainment: Serving as the community noticeboard.
- Songs to summon spirits of *putiputuwi* (unborn children) and to bestow names on babies and young children.
- Ritual activity songs, descriptive of each of the stages of the ritual.

Figure 13: Functional classification of Kulama songs and their use in ceremonial context

Within this framework the songs of the Kulama ceremony were a vehicle for teaching, healing, reverence, social discourse, familial connection and artistic outlet. On the second day of *Kulama*, for example, the *milimika* (the central performance area) was cleared in preparation for subsequent activities. Songs composed for this stage allude to clearing in some way: birds scratching at the dirt or a bulldozer clearing an area in town. Songs sung at the ritual washing stage (the evening of the second day, when the participants are ritually cleansed of their ochre paint and “re-born” being higher up in the initiation process) tell of water, rain and canoe or boat journeys. By extension of the theme of newness are songs about children and visitors (strangers). Through context-specific subject matter, songs alluded to ritual and added to the oral transmission of cultural knowledge. Amongst the recordings made by Mountford in 1954²¹⁹ is a song “... for placement of yams in centre of *Milimika* [central dance area of the ceremony]”.²²⁰ The text was translated, by my consultants, as “You have money in your pocket and you grabbed two packets of cards.” The cards are symbolic of the yams and so fulfil both a ritual function and allowed the performer to air a grievance at the same time. Another song recorded by Mountford tells the singer’s audience that he has dreamed his unborn

²¹⁹ 002917 Timestamp: 0:22:29.137

²²⁰ Mountford’s voice on the field-tape.

children. He sings with the aspirations of a proud parent that they will wear shoes and go to school. Again we find current subject matter being used in a traditional ritual context.

Fundamentally important to society were the songs “put up”²²¹ at *Kulama* in which fathers told of having found their unborn child, allowing them to progress to being born (as I explain in Chapter 3) and the naming of children. The categories of *Kulama* songs shown at Figure 13 indicate that the ceremony was an over-arching and in-built framework of instruction in the ceremony itself, the skills of song composition and the aspiration of artistic achievement.

4.5 The role of *Kulama* in social politics

As well as having great significance in terms of initiation, *Kulama* had a very important function in that it was a public forum, a neutral place where anyone could, in the context of song, air a grievance, bring up a topic for discussion or get out in the open something that had been bothering them. “Singing it into *Kulama*”²²² put the issue above reproach and gave the singer the opportunity to make it known to people, in what functioned as a sort of “ceremonial truce” (Goodale, 1974, p. 188). While using ambiguity and no direct names, everybody would know what he was referring to. Social responsibilities, obligations and hierarchies of respect were all embedded in the songs of *Kulama*. The loss of *Kulama* has been cited by many older Tiwi people as being part of the reason for much of the social dysfunction and disconnection of youth around the community. Without these three days of song and dance as the end-goal of initiation there is also now no vehicle for the instructional connection between elders and youth that used to occur.

Venbrux notes a number of occasions, outside the ceremonial context, when a song is performed seemingly on the spur of the moment in direct response to a need to clear the air, defend one’s reputation or put forward one’s point of view in a public setting (Venbrux, 1995). Amongst the repatriated recordings there are songs pertaining to disputes over money owed, family obligations and agreements (or disagreements)

²²¹ This is the term used by senior singers for presenting a new song at a song event.

²²² Personal communication, Stephen-Paul Kantilla, Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 19 March 2010.

between men over 'promised' women or proclamations of their intentions towards specific women.²²³

In today's circumstances, where *Kulama* is not often held, these grievance songs can be sung at any stage. Stephen–Paul Kantilla described an occasion a few years earlier when he had felt he had been treated disrespectfully by a younger man. Rather than risk a physical altercation or create ongoing or escalating bad feeling, he chose to "put up" a song at *Kulama* in which he asserted his position as a respected elder by singing his names and country affiliations. By presenting through song his ancestry and affiliations he pointed out the wrong the younger man had committed against him and made clear his high standing in the community. He then used that song again at the Club to resolve the matter once and for all.

So when I go into the club and I say to that man – sing a song, you know. That man, the young boy like that he said 'oh you're nothing' so I sang that kulama for a long time. That's my pagan name *Jamingi*. My uncle calls me that. That man, he was listening to me that I sing to him at the club like [whispering] we drink and argue. 'Old man you're nothing' and I sing a kulama song. That one I got from old people. 'That old man, my uncle called me name' I said to him and he believed me. It's in the kulama song so he has to believe me. Now he won't talk to [bother] me again... We have to follow those rules.²²⁴

Grievance songs are not sung so much these days, more because of the shrinking occurrence of *Kulama* and the very small numbers of people involved. One old man told me "If we do *Kulama* now we want to be happy and make peace. We feel proud and don't fight you know? We just sing together to make things good. No fighting anymore at *Kulama*, too important."²²⁵ From his words I got the sense that, with only the old men holding *Kulama* these days it is more a restorative, spiritually important ritual, whereas

²²³ I have not heard of this happening today although one of my female consultants told me that about fifteen years ago (when she had been recently widowed) a man sang his intentions towards her at *Kulama*. She told me that she sang back that she wasn't interested. Personal communication (Name withheld. Wurrumiyanga. June 2011. While listening through cassette tapes of *Kulama* ceremonies at the Literature Production Centre at Nguui, Marguerita Kerinauia came across a *Yoi* that caused her to chuckle. She told me "He's complaining he wasn't paid enough for the *pukumani* pole he painted". Personal communication Wurrumiyanga/Nguui 3 April 2008.

²²⁴ Personal communication. Stephen-Paul Kantilla. Wurrumiyanga/Nguui, 19 March 2010.

²²⁵ Personal communication. Justin Puruntatameri. Pirlangimpi, 20 June 2012.

in the past when everyone was involved the grievance songs stage of *Kulama* was more utilitarian and so these songs were prevalent.

4.6 The role of *Kulama* songs in social history

The songs in *Kulama* are not connected into “song cycles” or “sets” that have a connecting narrative or theme. The songs presented by each individual do not therefore have any meaning in association with each other but are stand-alone. “Each singer’s songs are an independent contribution to the ritual, composed and performed without any reference to any of the songs of any of the other singers” (Osborne, 1989, p. 600). Each stage of the ritual does, however comprise a collection of songs with similar function. The sorrow songs form the main part of the first evening of *Kulama* (for example), the free subject news telling songs are the focus of the third day and the other songs related to community business and the activities of the ritual are scattered throughout the second day and evening.

The songs sung at *Ayipa*, on the third day of *Kulama*, in effect created an aural public noticeboard. *Ayipa* is the part of the *Kulama* ceremony where the most new composition is done. It is the singer’s opportunity to impress his/her audience and *Ayipa* songs are anticipated with interest. Even today with *Kulama* not often held, songmen talk about what they might sing at *Ayipa*. These are topical songs (also known as *purakutukuntinga* or “talk about” songs)²²⁶ because their subject matter covers current events and items of novelty. As well as being performed on the last day of *Kulama* we also hear them at the end of *Yiloti* Ceremony, or these days at non-ceremonial occasions.

The oral record contained in the reclaimed recordings of *Kulama* songs has provided a rich historical record for the Tiwi community. In the archived recordings of *Ayipa* songs, a wealth of community and social history has been recorded. Figure 14 gives a snapshot of the song subjects covered in *Ayipa* songs amongst the recorded material to show the currency of subject matter for each year. The majority of songs recorded at *Kulama* are not repeated because the subject matter was contemporary to the time of performance. A particular clear example of this is amongst the recordings made by Doolan in 1967.²²⁷

²²⁶ In the context of her study of dance, Andree Grau called these “just a dance” Yoi. (Grau,1983).

²²⁷ Doolan J02-000628A 00:29:35

Four songs, sung concurrently, tell of a current item of news: the singer getting in trouble over drinking and fighting; his attending the Magistrate's court; the trial; and the reporting of the trial in the local (Darwin) newspaper.²²⁸

It is interesting to note too that we can see the emergence of some song subjects as "favourites" being performed for various researchers. A song telling of the Japanese air raid on Darwin in 1942, for example, was first recorded by Simpson in 1948. My consultants say that it would definitely have first been "put up" at *Kulama* in 1942. Bathurst Island was strafed during the Raid and with *Kulama* being held only a matter of weeks afterwards it would have been a significant recent topic. Variations of the text have been sung at subsequent performance events²²⁹ and it has become a popular song often performed by the men and the women at public events by the Ngarukuruwala group.²³⁰ Amongst the archival recordings there are also re-occurrences of songs about Fort Dundas,²³¹ sailing- and steam-ships, Japanese Pearlers, Army bases²³² and cyclones, as they would have had a significant impact on the social history of the islands. These songs, rediscovered as a result of the repatriation of the recordings, now provide a rich social history that is a source of great local interest.

²²⁸ The singer's name is mentioned in the recording but I have decided not to include it here so as to avoid causing shame to his family.

²²⁹ Mountford recorded it in 1954. It was also recorded by Moyle in 1976 at the Pacific Festival in Rotorua in New Zealand as well as by Holmes in that same year. It was also performed by the elder men in performances I was involved with in 2009, 2010 and 2012.²²⁹

²³⁰ The women have composed the "Bombing of Darwin" song in their Modern *Kuruwala* style, which I describe in Chapter 7.

²³¹ The British settlement was on Melville Island in the years 1824-1828.

²³² American and Australian army personnel were stationed on the islands during World War II.

1912 (Spencer)	1928 (Hart)	1948 (Simpson)	1954 (Mountford)	1967 (Doolan)	1975 (Osborne)
Steamship	Tractor	Visiting dentist	Telephone	Japanese Pearlers	Cyclone Tracy
Joe Cooper	Boat	Bombing of Darwin	Going to Brisbane –the	New local aeroplane	Man landing on the
Building houses	Man-o’war ship	Japanese lover	Queen’s visit	Magistrate’s court trial	moon
Train	Gramophone	A boy being taken by a	Mission farm garden	Being mentioned in	Cowboy Movie
Flour and tobacco	Man from the	shark	Clearing trees for the	the newspaper	Genie (from a movie)
Using a saw	mainland		airstrip		Helicopter
Sailing boat stuck in	Announcement of		Policeman		Bulldozer
low tide	Impending tribal fight		Meteor		A Military band
			Wet season storm		visiting the Mission
			Tractor		Television

Figure 14: Selection of *Ayipa* song subjects that were current news the year they were sung

4.7 The role of *Kulama* in maintaining an artistic space

When *Kulama* was strong the Tiwi contemporary music scene was vibrant and busy. With numerous ceremonies (associated with *Kulama* and with *Pukumani*) held each year and with numerous singers composing especially for them, there would have been hundreds of new and topical songs on the oral playlist. The degree of novelty that was in Tiwi song composition cannot be overstated. Osborne lists 128 song subjects amongst the recordings he studied (Osborne, 1989, pp. 1275-1279) and states that the Tiwi “... are entirely without any body of traditional song” (Osborne, 1989, p. 114) and that all songs are new to each ceremony or performance event.

One’s creative talent was a matter of pride. In a community where everybody sang there was a wealth of invention and a pride in performing for each other and respecting the achievement of clever, beautiful or witty song texts. Goodale reports a consultant telling her that one’s songs “... must be newly composed or ‘everyone would laugh at them if they sang an old song’” (Goodale, 1974, p. 354) What Grau calls “just a song” dances were also created in this context of artistic innovation. Just as songs were created by individuals, so too were there numerous dances that were performed by individuals. Grau notes that “there are many such dances and the repertoire keeps growing up, the Tiwi value innovation and creativity and they are prolific choreographers” (Grau, 1983a, p. 246). Those of my consultants older than about 50 years of age recognised the “just a song” dances recorded by Grau (Grau, 1983a, pp. 247-259).²³³ While they said they would have had accompanying songs, none of them (or the dances) are still performed, apart from the *Yinjula* (Old Woman that I mention in Chapter 7) and the aeroplane dance (although this is only performed with the Bombing of Darwin song).²³⁴

In an understandable response to the perceived and actual reduction of knowledge of the traditional song and dance composition skills, it is easier to teach (and to learn) by

²³³ I showed them photographs (taken by Grau) of dancers in (Grau, 1983a).

²³⁴ Although I am not qualified to comment on the state of Tiwi dance I am prepared to say that in my experience over the past five years having attended numerous social, ceremonial and public events I have not been made aware of any new dances. Further, in comparison to those recorded by Grau in the 1980s, there are fewer dances, mostly confined to the Dreaming dances connected with *Yoi* events. We can therefore surmise that there is a correlated shrinking of innovation in dance and in song, as *Kulama*, the main vehicle for song/dance performance, has dwindled.

rote a set of items than it is to teach the process of composition. Eustace Tipiloura explained²³⁵

There used to be lots more dances ... people made them for themselves you know. Now we just dance the same ones all the time. Like the songs. Not many new ones anymore. Maybe we have to start singing the old ones instead because no-one is making new ones anymore.

As well as telling news in the *Ayipa* stage of *Kulama*, Tiwi singers used current topics to symbolically refer to ritual, bereavement and kinship and simply for entertainment. Contemporary song subjects also appear in *Yilaniya* the *Pukumani*-associated ceremony in the *Jipuwakirimi (Yoi)* song-type and in *Mamanunkuni* (sorrow) songs.²³⁶ A sorrow song by Dorothy Tipungwuti (recorded by Osborne in 1975)²³⁷ refers to the deceased being jealous, imagining he is seeing his wife on television with another man (the television being a very recent arrival at the time). As I discuss more in relation to song language in Chapter 6, Tiwi songs are richly metaphoric and have layered meanings, in the majority of cases using subject matter contemporary to the time.

Some songs though did come to be repeated or reworked (such as those mentioned above and *Nyingawi*, that I discuss in detail in Chapter 6) and there are consequently a few songs which have been passed down through *Kulama* leaders, probably due to the significance of the historical event they describe, the important ancestor they name or the prestige the composer held. As I have mentioned in the context of *Yoi*, with fewer new songs being composed, these set pieces are becoming more valued and more often repeated.

As artistic instruction dwindled, the task of learning to compose became more difficult and a class of songman or woman emerged. While singing had always been a highly respected skill, it was now becoming something a few would specialise in, having shown particular talents. Goodale mentions a particular man being singled out for initiation, having shown promise as a singer (Goodale, 1970). Venbrux, who undertook

²³⁵ Personal communication. Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 23 February 2011.

²³⁶ See 7.1.6 for a description of these.

²³⁷ Song 206 C04-003855B-206.

fieldwork in 1988, mentions two men in their fifties who had tried but had been unable to compose the “intricate and complex *kulama* songs. ... They hoped the seven grades of initiation would be restored so they and others would be able to learn in small steps and at a slower pace” (Venbrux, 1995, p. 122).

4.8 It has become more a matter of preservation rather than maintenance

Many of the songs performed in *Kulama* used contemporary subject matter while fulfilling traditional ritual function. The actual ritual is not usually mentioned, but the symbolism (that would have been apparent to initiated attendees) is strong. This is another facet of the process of repatriating the old songs, as most songs have mundane topics, but with deep ritual symbolism— much of which is lost to Tiwi people listening to the songs today. One of the benefits of the return of old recordings is that many of the songs describe the process of the ritual itself and so provide a potential teaching resource. The reality is that the future of *Kulama* is very tenuous and all elders agree that if it is to survive it will be in a quite different form. It is no longer at the centre of linguistic, poetic and musical innovation and social discourse but is now regarded as a culturally esoteric and ritualised art form, knowledge of which is held by only a few.

In Wurrumiyanga in 2012 there are only three men (one aged 28, one in his mid thirties and one aged 37) who are regarded as “being initiated” which today means that they are learning the songs required for *Yoi* at funerals and Ceremonies and that they attended the *Kulama* held in 2012. One of those is doing this in the context of being a cultural leader and the other two because they are active singers of (non-Tiwi) contemporary music and have been targeted by the senior men and women to potentially take over from them. Grau had already noted thirty years ago that

[n]one of the writers looked at the problems for the men of learning, since they started to take a ‘short cut’, as the Tiwi put it, not only the ritual procedures, but also the composition techniques and singing styles, learning which over the years had ceased to be acquired formally but which somehow the men had to make theirs in order to take part in the *Kulama*. (Grau, 1983a, p. 156)

Old men I speak to reminisce about the time they were younger men and they had what they now realise was a privileged opportunity to hear and learn from the last generation of men with any degree of initiation. The situation now is that as a result of changes to *Kulama* over the years its function as instruction in song composition has ceased entirely. The passing on of song composition techniques is no longer embedded in the formalised system of *Kulama* initiation, but is reliant on individuals having the time and the inclination to learn, or to teach.

A small group of older men decided to have *Kulama* at the beginning of May 2010, towards the end of my four-month stay on Bathurst Island. The decision by these men to have *Kulama* had come about after some heated discussions about the impending demise of *Kulama* and the senior men's responsibilities in terms of its survival in particular and of Tiwi culture in general.²³⁸

Me, Walter, Stephen-Paul, Roger were there and Brian Wonaemura and Francis Damon the young fellas. We went Saturday night, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday morning. I taught the young ones. Very slowly, repeating the words so they could pick them up. They were a bit nervous but I said 'you'll be right, the second time will be easier and then the third time even better.'²³⁹

Stephen-Paul Kantilla touches on the change that has happened to *Kulama*. It is now something that is passed on, in the hands of custodians, to be preserved. There is the sense that it is only when the old men pass away that the younger ones would start singing in their place and that it has now become a case of preservation (saving intact what is left) rather than maintenance (passing on the skills of composition).

I learned the *Kulama* from the old man. ... [Bertram Kantilla] – I called him uncle, like dad. I went there when I was young boy to learn. ... So he used to sing and I learned from him. ... When my voice is good enough they say I'm ready. When I was probably about sixty. When all those people passed away then I take over, that's why— so young people can come along and learn, the young ones, so

²³⁸ Two of which I witnessed and another I was told about.

²³⁹ Personal communication, Eustace Tipiloura, Wurrumiyanga /Nguiu, 4 April 2010.

when we pass away they have to take over. ... So we have to sing that and the young ones have to learn now. ... Hard to learn. Hard words, maybe later on.²⁴⁰

4.9 Conclusion to Chapter Four

There is a clear correlation between fewer *Kulama* events and fewer trained singers/composers. It is a widely held view that singing incorrectly at *Kulama* is dangerous and disrespectful²⁴¹ and so young people are loath to try to compose if they are unsure. As I will expand upon in the next two chapters, Old Tiwi is still considered essential for song composition, but it is all but lost. *Kulama* is now regarded as a piece of ritual to be preserved as an artistic and intellectual pursuit, for elders (with the knowledge) and those younger people with incentive to learn “culture”. It is now an esoteric rather than a pervasive and inclusive event and, because it has lost much of its social currency, it is no longer regarded as essential, but more of a relic of the past and of old, revered, traditions.²⁴² The art of creating extemporised song is less likely to survive than those songs that are required for the *Yoi* event in mortuary rituals. There remains only a handful of men and now one woman²⁴³ who can perform *Kulama*. They feel a strong sense of obligation to help each other maintain and share the knowledge they have. They are aware of a looming vacuum of singers and people are seeing a real need to create some form of teaching young Tiwi men and women that does not rely on oral transmission and immersive learning.

This leads me to Chapter 5 in which I give an overview of the Tiwi language, how it has changed over the last two generations and how that change has had an impact on engagement with and creation of song.

²⁴⁰ Personal communication, Stephen-Paul Kantilla. Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu, 19 March 2010.

²⁴¹ Opinions voiced at public meeting Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu, March 2010.

²⁴² I must report though that elders have deep concerns for the spiritual balance of their society in which the positivist, renewing, discursive and instructional benefits of participation in *Kulama* are no longer experienced.

²⁴³ The deaths of four elderly culture women in 2010/11—including my primary consultant and the woman to whom even the men turned for advice on song words—has had a devastating effect on the morale of the elders in the context of *Kulama* song culture.

Chapter 5: Language

Although spoken language is not the focus of this thesis, it is necessary to have some understanding of how the language has changed over the last century in order to appreciate the difficulties faced by elders trying to maintain song culture, as well as the varying nature of engagement with the old song recordings. What Jane Goodale reported twenty-five years ago is relevant today:

The composing of songs and performing of specific dance routines is still being transmitted to the younger generation, but not with as much emphasis or success as the elders wish. Part of the difficulty, they say, is the decline in language skills among those whose education is mainly, if not entirely, in English (Goodale, 1988, p.142).

The fact that song relies on language may seem obvious. What needs to be explained here is that Tiwi song relies on a language that is no longer spoken. In this chapter I will therefore give a brief account of the Tiwi language situation in order to make clear just how tenuous the hold is on traditional song composition practice. The language has changed from what I will call “Old” Tiwi, through “Modern” Tiwi to “New” Tiwi.²⁴⁴ All three languages are to some degree co-existing while also all are in danger of disappearing. While there has probably always been some lexical replacement due to *Pukumani* protocols²⁴⁵ (Osborne, 1974, p. 5; Pilling, 1970, p. 268) Lee suggests that the major factor in the rapid shift from “Old” to “New” Tiwi is the grammatical change that has occurred as a result of exposure to English over the twentieth century (Lee, 1987, p. 2).

²⁴⁴ I use these terms because these are the terms used by my Tiwi consultants. Lee refers to Old Tiwi as “Traditional Tiwi”.

²⁴⁵ Some phonological changes might be a result of a word being removed from use because it is too close to the name of a deceased person and then having changed slightly by the time it returns. Some changes in consonants over the period 1930 – 1970 (in Old and Modern Tiwi) are documented by Mountford (1958) and Osborne (1974) and verified by my consultants who remember old people speaking in ‘the old way’. These are manifest in the recordings of 1912, 1928 and 1954. Black (1979) however, compared Spencer’s word list with Osborne’s and found that there was in fact little change in the words that were on both, and that many words that had gone out of use because of *Pukumani* (restrictions or taboos associated with death) had come back into use.

5.1 Old Tiwi

One dominant feature that defines Old Tiwi grammatically is noun-incorporation, creating a language that has many morphemes joined together to form long words. Osborne describes Old Tiwi as “... a polysynthetic mainly agglutinative language, predominantly prefixing, noun incorporating and of the type in which synthesis is in the verb” (Osborne, 1974, p. 2). Lee defines eleven prefixes and three suffixes around the verb root in a grammatically correct Old Tiwi word (Lee 1993, p.387) meaning that a word could comprise fifteen syllables, to include (as well as the verb) the noun, the time of day, the tense and the pronoun as well as indicators of mood, object and subject. The embedding of the time of the day, in which an action takes place, is an important feature of Old Tiwi in the context of its use in song texts (as I describe further in 6.8). In Old Tiwi one might say *ngirriwunimiwatijakurluwuniyajirringinji* “I see you.” Broken down this is: *ngi* (I) *rri* (you) *wuni* (there) *mi* (singular) *wati* (in the morning) *j* (connective) *akurluwunyi* (to see) *y* (connective) *ajirri* (each other) *nginji* (you).²⁴⁶ More than simply “I see you” it translates as “I see you, over there and you see me, and it is morning.”²⁴⁷

5.2 Modern Tiwi

All instruction at the mission school was done almost entirely²⁴⁸ in English until 1974, when a bilingual programme (using Old Tiwi) was started at the request of elders concerned at the children’s loss of language (Lee, 1988, p. 86). Lee reports that, because the children did not speak the (“Old”) language, a simpler form was developed for use in the school. This is now called Modern Tiwi. It differs from Old Tiwi mainly in its simpler grammatical structure in which the long and complex multimorphemic verbs were replaced by separate words indicating noun, verb, tense and gender. Lexically they are similar, relative to New Tiwi.

In comparing the pronunciation of Old Tiwi with Modern Tiwi, Lee (Lee, 1993) found that younger people were no longer using the retroflex sounds, or the velar

²⁴⁶ To enable comparison in this section I use current spelling for the Old language.

²⁴⁷ This is my translation, following Lee (1983).

²⁴⁸ There is anecdotal evidence that the missionaries learned the language but my consultants say that classes were always in English.

approximant g sound. Thus the suffix *-pagi* that we hear on old recordings with a velar approximant (the *g* is very soft at back of throat like the *ch* in German *kuchen*), now sounds like the English word *pie*. Similarly *-tiga* has become *-tiya*. The vowel glide *aa* occurs when the *g* in an Old Tiwi word such a *kularlaga* is removed to become *kulalaa* in Modern Tiwi.²⁴⁹ The *aa* is pronounced with a velar approximant glide between the two vowels. The *r* in the Old Tiwi word has also disappeared in Modern Tiwi. This has the effect of shortening and simplifying the pronunciation of the middle and final syllables.

In Modern Tiwi one could say “I see you”: *Ngi akuluwunyi nginji*. Some older speakers might include *wati* to indicate the morning, but only if they wished to specify that it was morning (whereas in Old Tiwi one would include it if one was speaking in the morning).

5.3 New Tiwi

What Lee coined “New Tiwi” (Lee, 1987, 1988) emerged from the 1960s as the language spoken by children and young adults. It has a further simplified structure with fewer Old Tiwi words and more English loan-words. Many of the finer distinctions of tense, of time (of day), of person (such as inclusive or exclusive pronouns) and object and subject indicators have disappeared. A number of new sounds have been introduced to (spoken) New Tiwi via English loan words (Lee, 1987, p. 19). The *sh* sound in the word *fish*, for example, is pronounced by young people as in English *fish* (in New Tiwi *pish*) as opposed to the Tiwi version of the word, which, although still the same loan-word, when spoken by older people sounds *pijipiji* (another example of lenition).

In New Tiwi one would say *Lukim ngi ja* (I see you).

²⁴⁹ These examples of lenition may well be a result of normal language change.

By way of comparison, and to show how much the language has changed, I will repeat the three versions of “I see you”.

Old Tiwi: *Ngirri-wuni-miwati ja akurluwunyi -ya nginji*

I-indirect object-morning.action you see/look at-TV²⁵⁰ you

Modern Tiwi: *Ngi akuluwunyi nginji*

I see/look at you

New Tiwi: *Lukim ngi ja*

Look I you

5.4 Some reasons for language shift

The Tiwi people were exposed to a number of factors with the potential to influence the Old language from the start of the twentieth century²⁵¹ but the biggest influence for the rapid and radical change in the language was the arrival of the mission on Bathurst Island (Goodale, 1988; Lee, 1987; Morris, 2001; Mountford, 1958; Osborne, 1974; Pilling, 1970). In the pre-mission family system, the complexities of the language were only fully acquired relatively late (Lee, 1988, p. 88) young girls and women learned from their older husbands or (like the young men) as they went through *Kulama*. The removal of the majority of children²⁵² from their first language by separating them from their parents and elders, and instead having full exposure to English meant that, as

²⁵⁰ –(transitive verb root).

²⁵¹ The Iwaidja people who came with Joe Cooper, the Missionaries (who spoke French and English), the Filipino workers they brought with them, the exposure of Tiwi men to Pidgin English during their time in the Army in the second World War, communicating with other patients at the East Arm Leprosarium and Tiwi camps in Darwin and the languages spoken by half-caste children taken to the Garden Point Institution would all have had an impact on the Tiwi language.

²⁵² Lee surmises that women’s change from Tiwi to English has been more pronounced and at a younger age because they were educated in the dormitory system (which continued for girls until 1972).

Capell wrote in 1942 “... the younger generation as a whole is losing the finer shades of usage in the language” (Capell, 1942, p. 26). With the generational separation of speakers, in the mid-century two forms of the language existed: Old Tiwi, spoken by adults away from the mission; and a language that Lee suggests was a type of pidginized Tiwi/English which has since become creolized (Lee, 1988, p. 88).²⁵³ By the 1970s then, Modern Tiwi, a lexically similar but grammatically simplified version of Old Tiwi was documented in written form in a conscious attempt to maintain the traditional language by teaching it in the school.

	1960s	1980s	2012
Old Tiwi <i>Yungunki</i>	Understood by those over 30. Spoken by those over 40. Used for ceremony	Understood by those over 50 Spoken by those over 60 Used for ceremony	(Mostly) understood by those over 70. Not spoken. Dwindling use at ceremony.
Modern Tiwi <i>Yuwunki</i>	Understood by all. Spoken by all.	Spoken by those over 30 (with changes). Used for songs.	Understood by those over 50. Spoken by those over 60 (with changes).
New Tiwi <i>Langa</i>	n/a	Emerging from changes made to Modern Tiwi. Spoken by youth.	Spoken by all people under 50. Understood by everyone. Not used for ceremony. Beginning to be used for secular songs.

Figure 15: Language Shift from the 1960s to 2011

Figure 15 indicates these changes, showing how in the 1960s both *Yungunki* (Old Tiwi) and *Yuwunki* (Modern Tiwi) were somewhat overlapping, while the language of ceremony and song was still firmly Old Tiwi. As the shift away from Old Tiwi continued and the spoken language changed even more, Modern Tiwi came to be regarded as the “proper” language compared with the even newer form, New Tiwi. Data from the 1980s

²⁵³ Lee points out that this is not the same as Pidgin languages that arise from multi-lingual situations.

(Lee, 1987, pp. 44,45) suggest that only people over 30 or so spoke Modern Tiwi and the women's songs composed in Modern Tiwi were appearing in a newly defined "proper" language.²⁵⁴

In the 1960s and 1970s there was some cross-over amongst Old, Modern and New Tiwi as parents used varying amounts of the older language forms with their children and older people had differing exposure to English (Lee, 1988). Amongst the recorded song material there is also incidental speech and this has been of great interest to my consultants. For example on sound file 508A recorded in 1962 by Helen Groger-Wurm, Jumbo, then an elderly Tiwi man, is recorded telling the story of Purrukupali. He makes the comment "*kalo kambakayiki*" meaning "he's dead" or "he's not coming back)". My consultants were surprised to hear him use the loan-word *kambakayiki* from English "come back". They were surprised that Jumbo, an old man in 1962, therefore born and learning his own language in the first decade of the century, and who would have been singing and speaking Old Tiwi, would also have taken on a modern phrase in this way.

Today it is only those people, (now in their 60s) who have a working knowledge of *Yuwunki* (Modern Tiwi), since *Langa* or *Apiniapi* (New Tiwi) has emerged as the primary language of this generation.²⁵⁵ The Tiwi-English Dictionary (Lee 2011) is intended to be a working dictionary based on Modern Tiwi, with a list of Old Tiwi words as a reference. It was compiled in the late 1980s and first published in 1993²⁵⁶ and so includes many words that young Tiwi people do not recognise.²⁵⁷ There are differing opinions as to the relevance and usefulness of the dictionary, with New Tiwi now most often spoken. The Modern Tiwi words documented in the dictionary are regarded as the "proper" way of speaking and so the dictionary is an important resource for the community, being used in the school and as a reference point for adults wanting to use correct spellings in printed material.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁴ I write more about these songs in Chapter 7.

²⁵⁵ In a session on the Strong Kids Song (see Chapter 8) a Tiwi assistant teacher in her mid-twenties was unable to read or pronounce the text of the song that the women's group had composed in Modern Tiwi.

²⁵⁶ It has been added to with updates since, but retains most of the "Modern Tiwi" lexicon and grammatical forms.

²⁵⁷ My observation, 2011.

²⁵⁸ Personal communication. Jennifer Lee and Marguerita Kerinaia. Wurrumiyanga./Nguiu 19 June 2012.

5.5 The effects of the school system on the language

The current situation with the Tiwi language and how it is treated in the local schools became an issue for me and the Strong Women in the context of the music project we were involved with in 2011, so here I will provide a brief summary of the recent history of the language in the Tiwi school system.

In the 1980s Lee was employed by the Northern Territory Department of Education to investigate what the children at Pularumpi, Melville Island, were speaking, in comparison to Old Tiwi. She found the noticeable difference in the language being spoken by people of different ages was creating a problem in the language programme in the schools. "The question of the viability of the bilingual programme at Pularumpi was raised because of the apparent lack of comprehension and use of 'proper' Tiwi by the children" (Lee 1987, p. 7). A bilingual programme was subsequently not introduced at Pularumpi (or Milikapiti) school. I have heard anecdotally that the effectiveness of the bilingual programme at Murrupurtiyanuwu Catholic School (MCS) in Wurrumiyanga, continued to be undermined as the language spoken widely in the community moved further away from Modern Tiwi, the language in which the readers²⁵⁹ were written, so that the children were being instructed at school (for only short periods anyway) in a language that was not in fact the language they spoke at home.

Nonetheless, I found a stark contrast in August 2010 between the children at MCS and those at Milikapiti School with regards to their proficiency in picking up the Modern Tiwi song lyrics that were the focus of the Strong Kids Song project (discussed in Chapter 8). The Wurrumiyanga children were generally more engaged in informal song sessions, and far more willing and eager to be part of the discussions about old songs, singing along with the older women as they composed the new song (in Modern Tiwi) and wanting to try writing some song lyrics themselves.²⁶⁰ It was therefore with some large frustration that we learned on our follow-up visit to the MCS school in February

²⁵⁹ Simple language books for the instruction of young children.

²⁶⁰ This is partly due to the fact that the core group of song-women are Wurrumiyanga residents and the grandmothers and aunts of the MCS children so they spend more time together and are exposed to songs outside of school.

2011 that Tiwi was no longer to be spoken in the classroom²⁶¹ and that any further work on the song project would have to be outside school hours or in a designated “culture” time.²⁶² It is not my place to comment on this more than to report the irony we all felt that this song project, funded by the Red Cross on the strength of its potential to empower and engage children, connecting them with their elders through language and song, was an activity that could not be carried out in normal school time, but was marginalized in this way.

The transmission of culturally significant knowledge through song practice is a deeply rooted tradition that the elders have, they now realise, taken for granted. The fact that this is also firmly connected to language has long been a point of opinion of the women’s group in particular, since the 1980s when they began to compose songs with the primary motivation being to pass on cultural knowledge (Frawley, 1995).

The process of reclaiming the AIATSIS recordings stimulated community discussion regarding language and emboldened the women’s group in their vocal opposition to the cessation of the school bilingual curriculum. By mid 2012 there had been a few sessions in “culture time” at the MCS school where the elders played old recordings of song to the children as a focus of talk about culture and identity. Some senior men had begun giving lessons specifically on songs to young boys (8,9,10 years of age). The women’s group are planning to organize regular afternoon singing and dancing sessions for children, leading out from sessions we had held together with the old recordings as a starting point. Interest in language and song is filtering down from the older men and women after their discussions with me and because of the activities they have been involved in through Ngarukuruwala. In 2013 we are working on recording project centred on the children sampling from the old recordings to create their own music.

²⁶¹ The Catholic Education Department had ceased the bilingual programme, in line with the Territory Government’s policy. I assisted the women in submitting their objections to the Federal Parliamentary Inquiry into Language and Learning in Indigenous Communities (28 July 2011).

²⁶² Certain sessions in the school week are set aside for lessons on Tiwi culture. They do not however, necessarily involve instruction in Tiwi language.

5.6 The effects of language change on the song tradition

Lee observed in her time in the community that, although young people did attend Tiwi ceremonial events they did not partake in composing songs due in part to a lack of interest and because they did not know the Old language well enough. She notes:

It would seem, then, that this use of [Traditional Tiwi] is being lost and it is doubtful that [Modern Tiwi] will take over this function as MT is not regarded as being a fit medium for ceremonial songs. (Lee, 1988, p. 331)

In 2010 I was present at a public meeting in Nguiu held to discuss this very problem. At a recent ceremonial event a young man had attempted to sing but had used the “wrong words” and had to break the line that he was singing and start again. One of the older women had corrected him and sung the correct Old Tiwi words to complete the song phrase. This had created anger on two accounts; there were those who thought it was not the place of the old lady to correct the young man and those who argued it was the role of elders to instruct and correct the singer in order that the song event was performed according to required standards. All seemed to agree that singing incorrectly was not acceptable but there was heated difference of opinion as to the way to resolve the problem.²⁶³ This is not a new problem. Lee wrote twenty-five years ago:

It is a very sensitive issue for many of the Tiwi people. The traditional language can only be acquired in all its intricacies through the regular and consistent use of it in the home and camp environments. However, this is an impossible situation as many of the parents of the children, being young adults themselves, do not speak the traditional language as their first language. (Lee, 1988, p. 93)

It is clear in the context of traditional song composition skills that the ongoing and long-term heuristic process of acquiring knowledge of the language has already disappeared. Listening to the more recent recordings from the 1980s we are hearing text created by senior men, born in the 1920s and whose first language (and the language of their song initiation) was Old Tiwi. Although their spoken language would

²⁶³ I will not include my personal communication reference for this occasion as it remains a sensitive issue with wider ramifications in the community, as well as the fact that I do not wish to embarrass or upset those involved.

have changed, their use of Old Tiwi in songs continued. Thirty years on, knowledge of the Old Tiwi language has not disappeared entirely, although no-one speaks it today. Eustace Tipiloura (born 1946) remembers words ending in “-*ti*” for example, and uses this suffix when he sings.²⁶⁴ He told me; “These songs are in hard language. I know the hard language but kids today don’t know it. When I was young I was there when the old men sang those songs.”²⁶⁵ This is also having an impact on people’s ability to engage with the repatriated recordings. As I explain in Appendix 2 and elaborate on in the next chapter, the combination of an archaic language and complex poetic alteration renders much of the text of the old song recordings untranslatable for all but the oldest Tiwi listeners.

The lack of proficiency in the language is the main reason that fewer people can compose, but it is not just vocabulary that is the problem. As I will explain in the following chapter, the structure of the old language (the long, agglutinative verb strings²⁶⁶) is one factor that facilitates the metrical arrangement of song texts. It is the process of modifying the complex verb structures in Old Tiwi into metre and then into song that took lengthy learning, relying on fluency in Old Tiwi as a spoken language. Without that, the comprehension of old songs and learning to compose songs using correct language is very difficult for people wanting to learn today.

The question of why the current Tiwi language does not fit with traditional improvisatory song techniques is problematic to report upon exactly. My consultants consistently tell me that one cannot compose in the “proper/hard/old” way using New Tiwi and indeed, even Modern Tiwi is only partially successful. I have not been able to confirm that this is solely due to the grammatical changes. As I will explain in Chapter 6 some critical vocabulary elements, such as time-of-day markers, have also become obsolete in New Tiwi. One could argue that words of any length can be combined,

²⁶⁴ “*ti*-” exists as a verbal prefix in the old and current languages, but as far as I can ascertain, not as a suffix. It seems to be a vocable used in songs by Mr Tipiloura specifically (and I have not been able to clarify its linguistic provenance).

²⁶⁵ Personal communication. Eustace Tipiloura, listening to Mountford’s 1954 recordings. Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 19 November 2009.

²⁶⁶ The position and structure of the verb in song and the implications of language change for the loss of composition skills is a question that has come out of this study late in the process. I intend to investigate this further in future research projects.

separated and altered to form units of five syllables.²⁶⁷ Those words in Modern Tiwi that are made up of two, three or five syllables are usable for song composition, but with a simplified verb structure, the continuous syllabic stream that facilitates Tiwi song metre is difficult to achieve.²⁶⁸ In the opinion of senior song men and song women, the numerous loan-words and further simplified grammar in New Tiwi, as well as the absence of certain linguistic elements essential for song texts (which I discuss in the next chapter) make it all but impossible to compose song using New Tiwi. There is also a degree of cultural conservatism involved in this issue. There is anecdotal evidence that for at least a generation older Tiwi people have regarded the changes in the language negatively and have been resistant to the normalization of New Tiwi through its use in school, for instruction and/or in tutor books (Lee, 1988). My own observations recently correlate, with elders particularly mourning the loss of the “proper” language in the context of song, arguing that the current form of the language is not appropriate for ceremonial occasions, for reasons of respect to ancestors and to cultural traditions. It is not only in the transmission of cultural knowledge and lore through song that the linguistic disconnect between young and old is becoming a problem, but also in matters of social and familial obligations and mentorship, with the position of elders as role models, teachers and figures of authority in danger of being undermined as communication at a deep spiritual and intellectual level becomes difficult with the language in the “half and half” state that it is in now. My older consultants have told me that there are some important elements of Tiwi-ness that one simply can’t articulate in English. As Teresita put it:²⁶⁹

You can say more in your own language. Our children are stuck half way between Tiwi and English. They need to know English of course, so they can move on into the world, but they still need to know their own language so they will always feel strong and proud about who they are and so they can learn about where they come from.

²⁶⁷ I discuss this in the following chapter.

²⁶⁸ The Strong Women with whom I have worked most closely have been actively attempting to create a sustainable song tradition based on Modern Tiwi.

²⁶⁹ Teresita Puruntatameri. From her speech at the launch of the Strong Kids Song CD. NT Parliament House, Darwin, 29 June 2011.

The general opinion of consultants is that the traditional *Kulama* and *Yoi* styles of singing will not survive in the form they are in now because the language has changed too much. I have been told a number of times that young people will have to just keep singing the old songs if they want to continue the tradition. These are in a language that less than a dozen people now can even partially translate. There is a real sense of sadness amongst those I've worked with that they are close to losing a large amount of their cultural history if the song texts are not documented to create a meaningful resource.²⁷⁰ One woman said to the group at a listening session; "We should be studying our own language. It would be sad if we lost it. It is almost gone. I don't know that hard language. Only the old people know."²⁷¹ My consultants have realized, through listening to these recordings with older people, that the loss of the language is also putting at risk a wealth of social history. The texts of old (recorded) songs include place names, point to historical events and document genealogies, ceremonial practices and endemic fauna and flora. Also amongst the recordings are texts relating to kinship and Dreaming that are essential for mortuary rituals.

The loss of traditional methods of song composition does not necessarily mean that innovation in song will cease. Just as there is evidence of lexical replacement in the Old language and the creation of new forms of words and phrases in traditional song (Osborne, 1989; Pilling, 1970) new ways of creating song texts that fulfil traditional functions are emerging. As I explain in greater detail in Part 2 of Chapter 7, the women's group in particular are meshing non-Tiwi and Tiwi linguistic elements into songs composed in new musical forms, re-shaping them in order to make them meaningful in the Tiwi context.

I saw this in very effective and interesting action one evening in 2010 when the women were composing the healing song to be sung at the burial of Regina Kantilla's daughter. The ladies flicked through a dog-eared old bible choosing phrases they found meaningful, poetic or relevant. They then translated these into (Modern) Tiwi and formed them into song phrases. One institutional effect of the women's time in the Mission school has been their attitude towards the bible as a symbol of their education

²⁷⁰ I have re-directed some of my focus towards texts for this reason and intend to continue transcription (after the completion of this thesis) with the elders who want to do this work.

²⁷¹ Personal communication. Nina Black, Milikapiti. 16 March 2010.

and literacy. As young girls they learned words from it by rote both in oral and in written English instruction. The bible has therefore become a resource for stock phrases that the older women turn to in order to express particular sentiments to do with healing, goodness and faith. As they composed the song for their daughter they called up Tiwi song words and phrases to express the woman's identity within her family, kinship and Country, but turned to the bible for phrases about heaven and the after-life. The mining of two resources was therefore in play; the orally transmitted set of Tiwi words and phrases, and the written English of the bible. As they chose words and phrases from each resource to weave into the healing song they were continuing the traditional process of ritual-specific composition in the context of current influences.

Extemporisation and improvisation within the context of epithetic Old Tiwi language elements such as this may well be the future if song composition cannot work using New Tiwi. The old recordings, with our transcriptions and translations, will become a resource of Old language words and phrases, much like the bible is already for the women's group, for use when composing their *Kuruwala* hymns for the Catholic Mass part of funerals.

Having given an overview of the current language situation I will now describe some of the complex processes involved with composing a song in the traditional Tiwi way. I will show how composition relies on a thorough knowledge of the Old language and how, without that knowledge, people younger than about sixty years of age find it difficult to create song texts or to understand the texts of the *palingarri* (old) recordings.

Chapter 6: Song Language

Having introduced language as an important factor in this study, I will now discuss the language in the context of song composition, by outlining the complexities of the traditional song composition skills. I will outline the procedures taken by Tiwi composers in creating song texts. By giving example of techniques used by composers I will show how the language of songs, while being fundamentally the same as the (Old) spoken language, is altered to a degree that makes it unrecognizable by many Tiwi people today. I will also show how some of these techniques are being used by composers today, in both traditional and non-traditional song-forms. Two underlying elements of Tiwi song texts will be explored. These are: the arrangement of all Tiwi song text into metrical units of five syllables; and the placing of the performance (through the text) in the present. Both of these rely on the Old language. Considering the fact of language shift, explained in the previous chapter, I show why there is a modification of song practice and a growing use of extant song texts and text elements, even within modern music contexts. Continuing my narrative of the role of the recordings' return in this study, I will use old recordings as examples of some of the compositional techniques found in the traditional practice as well as some reactions to them by current singers, and give a detailed account of the *Nyingawi* song, comparing the 1928, 1954, 1975, 2008 and 2010 versions of the text.

For a detailed description of the linguistic devices employed in Tiwi song text composition I direct the reader to Osborne's work (Osborne, 1989). An overview here will give an idea of the difficulties Tiwi people have today in approaching the tasks of trying to transcribe and translate these texts, as well as in teaching the process of composition to young adults who have no knowledge of the old language on which the rules are based. It also explains to some extent why written texts are not always an exact representation of what is actually being sung.

Turpin has described a similar process by which words are first set in prose, then modified to be set to metre, then modified further when sung (Turpin, 2007; Turpin and Stebbins, 2010). The steps described by her are very similar to what Osborne described in Tiwi song composition. Another way of looking at it is with Jakobson's terminology. What I am calling "metrical form", Jakobson calls the "verse instance" and

my “performance stage” is Jakobson’s “delivery instance”(Jakobson 1960). Also relevant to this study is his explanation of how performances of a line of text (“verse” in his discussion and “song” in mine) will be different with each performer, with the constancy of the metrical (verse) form compared with the relative variability of its treatment in the performance (delivery) form being described as when “(t)he verse shape of a poem remains completely independent of its variable delivery” (Jakobson 1960, p. 14).

We can therefore say that the Tiwi composer goes through three stages:

1. Creating a line of prose (Osborne’s “grammar” stage).
2. Altering the spoken form to a metrically correct poetic form (the versification stage, Osborne’s “metre”).
3. Altering the poetic form to a musically correct melodic form (the cantillation stage (Osborne’s “music and performance” stage).

Osborne, with the help of his Tiwi consultants transcribed the “verse”²⁷² text of songs recorded by Spencer in 1912, Hart in 1928-9, Simpson in 1948, Mountford, Simpson and Giles in 1955 and those that he himself made in 1972-75. I make the distinction between song text and verse text, because Osborne presents the text as lines of verse, which adhere to strict metrical rules that apply to the first process of Tiwi song composition, that in which the spoken form is altered as it is set to a metrical verse form (that I will call the metrical form). Osborne describes the process thus:

The singer goes through the following steps; grammar, metre, music, performance. The hearer must go backwards through these steps to fully appreciate the artistic and poetic skill. (Osborne 1989:204)

²⁷² Osborne’s term (Osborne, 1989).

Eustace Tipiloura, a senior songman living in Wurrumiyanga described it to me this way:²⁷³

You think about it and whisper it when you walking out bush or along the street, you think about it and the words come straight into your mind. Then you sing at ceremony. The words have to fit. The sounds of them. That's what is important.²⁷⁴

As a live performance art form, the song may also include variations resulting from the individual's performance style. This means that when listening to a song recording one only hears the sung form of the words (which might be quite different from how they would be spoken). A detailed knowledge of the language is required in order to extrapolate the metrical and then spoken forms. Being a generation (at least) removed from fluent speakers of the language of these recordings, my current consultants are faced with a very difficult task when auditioning the repatriated recordings. At the time they were performed, the songs were heard by people who had a thorough command of the language in which they were composed and so could apply this knowledge to an understanding of the song. The performers of the (early recorded) songs would have had knowledge of the versification principles (which I define in this chapter) in much the same way as a native speaker has intuitions about language. Today the listener is working backwards through the levels of cantillation to attempt to prise out from amongst the additions, deletions and alterations, first a metrical setting and finally the original phrase in prose.

6.1 The difference between spoken language and sung language

Hart reported that there was a form of the language used in song (C. W. M. Hart, 1930, p. 178) that was different from the spoken form. Osborne is in qualified agreement with this, saying

²⁷³ Personal communication Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu, 17 March 2010.

²⁷⁴ By "the sounds of them" Eustace explained that he meant that the syllables must fit into the structure of the song form, and that the grammar must be appropriate for the time of the day and stage of the ceremony at which it is performed (to be further explained in 6.2).

It differs from spoken Tiwi very considerably in lexis, as many old words and incorporated forms which have died out in speech have been retained in song. However, it is unlikely that it differs from ordinary spoken Tiwi in syntax and morphology. (Osborne, 1974, p. 3)

Jane Goodale writes of “special or ‘literary’ words not used in daily conversation” (Goodale, 1974, p. 290) being used for Tiwi songs and that “My informants often said to me that they could not translate certain of the songs because they did not know the meaning of some of the words” (Goodale, 1974, p. 291). To some degree this would have been due to linguistic change but it also points to the likelihood that the language of song has always been in some way different from the spoken language.

The primary motivation behind Tiwi composition is innovation and creativity and it seems to have also been a feature of the Old language used in song. Indeed, Osborne comments that “[t]he complex morphological structures of the verb forms are not a mere static inheritance from the past, but are always being refined, improved and further developed” (Osborne, 1989, p. 256). When his consultants in 1975 heard the Baldwin Spencer recordings, they were not so much impressed by the similarities between song texts performed in 1912 and their own as by the developments that had been made since then.

While still completely correct, song language tends to be more florid, or more expansive than necessary to present the meaning in the most economical way. This is partly the result of insertions in order to make words fit the metre but is also a literary or artistic decision of the composer, who wishes to create songs whose language is rich and layered, showing the level of virtuosity to which their many years of training have brought them. In *Yoi* songs the length of a song’s line is not simply a series of metrical units that fit a set length but rather stems from the original statement in prose—the first level of grammatical text. The song’s meaning must remain intact through the process of versification then cantillation. In some songs the stages are the same. In other words, when transcribing a recorded song item I have found that the singer has exactly articulated the metrical form of the text in the sung performance. In other cases, the performance transcription includes variations from the metrical form (deletions

and/or additions). These are (in the opinion of my consultants) either small errors or idiosyncratic creative flair on the part of the performer.

6.2 The sound of the words

When speaking of song texts, those of my consultants who compose often speak of the meaning *and* the sound of the words as mutually dependent and important. They want to create words that sound as musically fluent as possible. The lyricism of the melody is enhanced by vowel and consonant choices (such as the repeating “a” vowel sound and the soft “ng” and “m” consonants in the song shown at Figure 16, following) that in turn lead to word choices.²⁷⁵ Pirlangimpi elder Anne Marie Puruntatameri explained to me her method of composition as wanting to create a continuous stream of syllables and avoiding giving two beats to one syllable so that the song flowed “like waves”. She said that “filling up” the melody with even syllables in this way was much harder than stretching out a word across beats but it is worth it because “the words have to be the same as the melody.”²⁷⁶ By this Anne Marie means that all metrical positions within a line should be filled.

Similarly, the *Amparruwu* songs composed by Eunice Orsto in 2011 were, Eunice said, made up of “lovely words, lovely sounds, meaning, meaning”.²⁷⁷ Eunice stated that she sang in such a way as to create, with the sounds of the words and the melody, an aural image of the snake (and by association, the couple) coiling in gentle lazy circles²⁷⁸.

Figure 16 shows how Eunice sings an *a* vowel for the line-final of Line 1 and drops the *i* from the end of line 2 to give a repeating (she called it rolling) aural pattern. In line 1 she has repeated the word *ngilimpangimikimi* to emphasise the meaning, but also to lengthen the line for poetic effect, in this case (she told me) to sound lengthened, like a sigh.²⁷⁹ In Line 2 the alteration of the *a* at the end of *Jinarringa* to *u* creates a repeating rhyme between *u* and *a* (shown in bold font).

²⁷⁵ This “sound” of particular words is part of the deep level intuitive knowledge of the language of the songs that only the eldest of my consultants have.

²⁷⁶ Personal communication. Anne Marie Puruntatameri Pirlangimpi. March 22, 2011.

²⁷⁷ Personal communication. Eunice Orsto, Wurrumiyanga, 20 April, 2010.

²⁷⁸ Audio Example 16.

²⁷⁹ In the second iteration Eunice changes the consonant in *muwi* to *murri*, also (she told me) for the sake of this aural effect and for interest.

1. Spoken: *Murtinayinga awungani muwi ngilimpangimikimi*
 [Ancestral name] like that we ourselves sleeping together

sung: *murtinayinga wunganimuwingilimpangimikima nimurrimpangima*

2. Spoken: *Muwa Jinarringa awungani*
 we ourselves Black headed python like that

Sung: *Muwajinarringuwawungan*

We'll be like a snake

Understood meaning of song as a whole:

As husband and wife roll each other and I am your wife (we have sexual intercourse).

Figure 16: Example of undulating song words. Eunice Orsto. *Amparruwu* song

The composition of lines of poetry (the first step of song composition) necessitates a degree of artifice that places Tiwi song text as a higher register than everyday speech. Tiwi poetry is “highly artificial, both in syntax and in diction... in the sense that it is literary, the product of art, and so set apart from the common run of everyday discourse” (Osborne, 1989, p. 255). The poetic devices employed by singers relied on full command of the language as well as thorough knowledge of the rules of poetic composition.

6.3 Patterns of five

The principal rule of the vast majority²⁸⁰ of Tiwi songs' structure is that text lines must be made up of metrical units of five syllables each (that, following Osborne, I will call unit A), with the final unit made up of four syllables (that I will call unit B)²⁸¹. There can be any number of A units in a line of song, but there are most often between two and six, and then the line must end with a B unit. The stresses fall consistently on the first and fourth syllables in unit A and on the first and third in unit B (Osborne, 1989, p.127).²⁸²

None of my consultants was consciously aware of the fact that all the song texts follow a pattern of units of 5 and none were able to speak the text in verse (they invariably sang whenever I asked for words or text). Those who compose did however adhere to the pattern and found it difficult to say the words in speech, as they were "song words" (words modified into verse structure).

In speech the penultimate syllable of each word is stressed (Lee, 1993; Osborne, 1974). The first syllable of the word has the first secondary stress and the other secondary stresses occur on the penultimate syllable of each incorporated stem in all but a very few words in Old Tiwi, and those few are mostly loan words from Iwaidja. The following line of a song (at Figure 17)²⁸³ recorded by Simpson in 1948²⁸⁴ shows how the stresses have moved in the process of versification. In the spoken form the stresses mostly fall on the first and penultimate syllables of each incorporated form²⁸⁵ whereas in the metrical form the stresses occur consistently on the first and fourth syllable of each unit of five. So, while there are stress rules, these apply to the metrical units, not to the words. The difference, then, is that the words are grouped by syllables, irrespective

²⁸⁰ While lullabies and love songs depart from it they constitute a small percentage of the recorded songs and of the total number of songs composed. Osborne found that of the 1309 lines of song text he studied, only 13 showed metrical irregularity (Osborne 1989, p. 131). The women's Modern *Kuruwala* song-type shows a modified and yet related version of this (see 7.2).

²⁸¹ To facilitate the reader's cross-referencing I use Osborne's terminology - units A and B.

²⁸² This is now not always the case. Audio Examples 3, 28 and 77 are performances of *Arikuruwala* songs by my consultants, who consistently place the stress on the first and third syllables of the A unit. They have not been able to tell me why this is, but it might be the result of non-Tiwi musical influences.

²⁸³ (Osborne, 1983).

²⁸⁴ Audio Example 71.

²⁸⁵ The exception to this is *wampáy* (fin), which is not incorporated.

of word-boundaries. In Figure 17, the text of a *Tatuwali* (Shark) song performed in 1948 shows this.²⁸⁶ In this case the sung performance is identical to the Metrical level.

Gloss	<i>Ngénta tártuwáli-mpiwúgha wampáy ám-p-entye-rre-ké-rrayawárrri</i>			
	So	shark -	nz	fin he-f- dur- lk- eve- thresh
Free translation: The shark threshes the water with his dorsal fin.				
Spoken: <i>Ngénta tártuwálimpiwúgha wampáy ámpentyerrekérrayawárrri</i>				
Metrical: <i>Ngéntatartúwa límpiwugháwam páyampentyrréke rrayawárrri</i>				
Unit:	A	A	A	B
Syllable count:	5	5	5	4
dur durative				
eve= evening word form				
f= feminine				
lk = linking syllable				
nz= nominaliser				

Figure 17: Shark. 1948. Unidentified singer

In addition to the alterations made by the composer at the versification stage, the text is then further altered in order to fit the structure of the melody and rhythm appropriate to the song style being performed. Phonologically, the stress and intonation patterns are different and the word boundaries have been obscured and then performed with the accents on the first and fourth syllable of each unit of five (and first and third of each unit of four). Phonetically there is also a difference, with vowel harmony employed by many singers, and in the women's kulama response²⁸⁷ when an open throat *a* is used.

²⁸⁶ This is also an example of elision, with one *e* vowel in *ámpentyerrekérrayawárrri* disappearing in order that the word fits the metre. Such elisions seem to happen quite frequently in association with the consonant *rr*.

²⁸⁷ I describe *Ampirikuruwala* in Chapter 7.

6.4 Strategies for fitting words into metre

There are certain specific procedures that take place in the construction of a line of Tiwi song text that result in the reduction or increase of word length. For example, strategies for reduction include deletion, vowel fusion and consonant lenition. Increase is achieved through syllable insertion and/or repetition.²⁸⁸ Once the correct metrical pattern is achieved the text is “ready” to be sung. If, while composing on the spot, in performance, the singer finds that the words do not fit the metrical pattern, various techniques can be employed.

6.4.1 Addition

In the text of a song recorded by Simpson in 1948²⁸⁹ and transcribed by Osborne in 1975 the unidentified composer has inserted *yija* in order to make the place name *Rangini* the required five syllables thus; *Yijarangini*. Clementine Puruntatameri, who had not heard the 1948 recording when she sang her song, used a very similar alteration - *Nijarangini* - in her performance of *Murrntawarripijimi* in 2008.²⁹⁰ Clementine told me that is the way one sings *Rangini*. In this way we can see that *Nijarangini* (and the older version *Yijarangini*) can be considered “song language”. Some disyllabic forms, like *nija-*, *nita-*, *wangi-*, *wanga-* and *tani* have no linguistic function other than to turn a 3-syllable word into 5-syllable word, thus creating a 5-syllable metrical unit. Meaningful disyllabic conjunctions used in similar ways include *ngini* “as”, *pili* “because”, *nginta* “so”, *karri* “when”, *kuta*, “indeed” *marri* “well”, *niyi* “that there”, *maka* “where?”, *waya* “now”, *naki* “here” *kwiyi* “there”, *apu* “and” and *yati* “one”.

Calista Kantilla, one of the last two elderly women²⁹¹ to whom people turn on matters of language and song, explained to me how she creates a *Kulama* song.²⁹² Figure 18 shows the song text in three forms: first as she would speak the line; secondly at the metrical level and thirdly as it was sung.²⁹³ Having suggested the subject matter, Calista

²⁸⁸ For a full explanation of these see (Osborne, 1989).

²⁸⁹ Audio Example 2.

²⁹⁰ Audio Example 3. The Modern *Kuruwala* version of this song retains this linguistic device, as I describe in Chapter 8.

²⁹¹ The other is Leonie Tipiloura.

²⁹² They chose to sing as though they were telling the news of their visit (with me) to Darwin.

²⁹³ Audio Example 4.

sang the text as a *Kulama* song (within a minute or two of having spoken the sentence). She moved the position of the words, adjusted them to accommodate the metre and made alterations as she sang “because it sounds good that way.”²⁹⁴ When she arranged the words into the metrical form Calista could predict that the final unit would be two syllables short, so she inserted *nginta* (“so” or “indeed”) into the penultimate unit to rectify the problem. It was pointed out to me by the other women present that this was a skilled way of doing it, rather than partial reduplication, to create a 5-syllable metrical Unit A from a 3-syllable word, and showed Calista’s high level of compositional skill.²⁹⁵

1. Spoken form.

Kiringarra wumunga ngintirrimu awungarra Jiliyarti

Six days we were here Darwin

2. Metrical form (as it was sung).

Kiringarrawu mungaJiliya rtingintangawa ngintirrimu

Figure 18: Calista Kantilla. Going to Darwin song text in spoken and metrical forms

Another example, a song composed by Jurruputimirri (Tony Charlie) circa 1970, has the cargo ship “Marella” as its subject.²⁹⁶ Because Marella is a word with only three syllables, the composer added *pi* and *wa* in order to create the song word *pimiraluwa*, which, having five syllables, completes an A unit. This addition of *w* between vowels is one method of adding a syllable. The final vowel sound *a* in Marella is altered phonetically to sound *u*, as is necessary when preceding *wa*.

6.4.2 Deletion

If a desired word is too long to fit the required unit, the singer can reduce it through deletion. The word *ampentyrekerrayawarri* (threshing in the water), for example, in the *Tatuwali* song text at Figure 17, has been shortened by deleting the *e* in the morpheme *entye* so that it can produce a five-syllable unit A (*payampentyerreke*). Many

²⁹⁴ Personal communication. Calista Kantilla, Darwin, 19 October 2011.

²⁹⁵ It should also be noted that this was achieved with no iteration of the text between Calista saying the sentence (stage 1) and then singing it (stage 3).

²⁹⁶ Recorded by Osborne. C04-003854-137

other instances of deletion occur at the performance stage when vowels are “crushed” in order to fit syllables into the metre.

6.4.3 Fusion

In other songs we see syllable fusion. There are numerous instances in the recordings of the fusion of a word-final syllable into the following word-initial syllable. In their performance of *Ngariwanajirri* - the Strong Kids Song in the *Kulama* way (in this case meaning “old”), Calista Kantilla and Leonie Tipiloura fuse the final of *wutawa* and the initial of *walima* to produce the correct metre. So *nginiwutawa walima* becomes *nginiwutawalima*. This fusion occurs not only when the segments are identical, but also when they differ, such as in the text of the Love Song at Figure 21, which includes fusion of *lu* and *wa* to create *la*.

6.5 Variations to this pattern at the performance stage

Having composed the lyrics and written them out in “proper language” (the metrical form) for the CD sleeve and for the children to learn, the women then changed the words in the sung performance. Figure 19 shows that, having first created the correct metrical form of the text the women added and subtracted syllables to make the words fit the melody at the cantillation stage.²⁹⁷ Having given me the metrical form, which included the meaningless *api* to create correct metre, the singers then omitted it in the sung form because of further changes that they made as they actually sang. I have shown the start of the line in bold to indicate how the women moved the final unit of the line to the beginning of the line. Being originally a line-final unit B (so comprising four syllables) they had to add *wu* in order to complete a unit A (five syllables). They also then altered the preceding syllable (the last syllable of the word *ngimpurimi*) to *ma* to create the “better sounding” *mawu* (underlined). Having created the correct metre at the versification stage, the women then (for Melodic Line 1) extended the first unit with an anacrusis A (1 syllable) to the phonetically altered *waya* (from *wayi*) to create a unit A comprising 7 syllables (with an anacrusis) as well as a line-final unit of 7

²⁹⁷ In the following examples in this chapter I have presented the text structure in the Figures and the corresponding rhythmic structures in the matching Musical Transcriptions.

syllables (by adding *na*). The text is reiterated (ML2) to complete the form of the *Ampirikuruwala* song-type they were singing.²⁹⁸

Free translation: They, the ancestors are calling us.				
Spoken form: <i>Ngini wutawa walima ngawa kuwayi ngimpurumi</i>				
Metrical form: <i>Nginiwutawa walima api ngawakuwayi ngimpurimi</i>				
	5	5	5	4
Sung form : ML1 <i>Awayangimpurumawu nginiwutawa limangawaku wayingimpurimi[na]</i>				
	1+2+5	5	5	7
Sung form: ML2 <i>Nginiwutawalima ngawakuwayi ngimpurimi[n]</i>				
	7	5	4	

Figure 19: One line of song text showing cantillation. “Ngariwanajirri” *Kulama* version, Calista Kantilla and Leonie Tipiloura. 2010. (Audio Example 5)

In some performances of *Arikuruwala* songs²⁹⁹ the groupings of five-syllable metrical units are obscured by the overlay of seven-syllable melodic groupings. This re-framing of the metrical structure cannot (in the opinion of my consultants) be called a rule as such (or indeed an exception to the rule) but is rather a case of “mixing it up”³⁰⁰ to make the compositions more interesting. Amongst the recordings are numerous examples of the metre being altered in this way at the performance stage. The song in Musical Transcription 2, by Christopher Foxy Tipungwuti, shows this. The metrical form is in correct metre (5+5+4). The singer uses a rise in pitch and strong accent at *ma* to delineate a new grouping, overriding the 5+5+4 metrical pattern to create two groups of 7 syllables (shown with square brackets). I have also added the stresses on the spoken and metrical forms to give another example of how these are altered through the versification and cantillation process. The sung form suppresses all of the metrical stresses, apart from the rising in pitch on *tya* (although there is no accent).

²⁹⁸ *Ampirikuruwala* is described in 7.1.8.

²⁹⁹ The main song-type sung at *Kulama*, that I discuss in Chapter 7.

³⁰⁰ Personal communication. Eustace Tipiloura. Sydney 20 March 2012.

Spoken form: *W- íkuntýíngi- mátyatyumángilip-úngurráya*

they night³⁰¹ honey have plenty

Metrical form: *Wikuntyingíma tyátyumangíli púngurráya*

5 5 4

Sung form:

Music Transcription 2: Example of altering the metre in sung form. Christopher Foxy Tipungwuti (Audio Example 38)

The example in Music Transcription 3 is another *Arikuruwala* song in which the spoken and metrical forms are marked in differing ways in performance. It also shows a number of features found in the recordings. The melody of the song, (by Barney Tipuamantimeri) is shown with indications of pitch fluctuation and percussive accompaniment, in relation to the text. Characteristic of this song-type, the irregular percussive beats fall sometimes on and sometimes between notes and are not in the same place across different performances of the one line. Nor are they consistent, either with other songs of this type or within this performance.³⁰²

In Figure 20, I have broken down the song into its elements to show how the words are treated (I also give a detailed translation in order to show the word breaks in spoken form). The insertion of a meaningless vocable *wa* at the start means that in the first unit the stresses (marked in bold) do not fall on the strong syllables that occur in the spoken form (also in bold). Looking at Figure 20 we can see that the first two 5-syllable units are marked with a higher pitch on the initial syllables, but a 7-syllable unit is also implied with a strong accent on the second syllable of the second unit. This partly

³⁰¹ This does not mean “at night” but indicates the time of the performance (see 6.8).

³⁰² While the second stick beat first beat falls on *na*, the first beat falls between *pi* and *me*.

defines the text at the spoken level because the first two words (six syllables, not counting the initial meaningless *wa*) are separate, whereas the remainder of the line comprises one 17-syllable compound verb

warupingilimpangipimengangipimenangirrinti (he stood up).³⁰³ All syllables of this word are sung evenly and there is no vocal emphasis, apart from a slight accent on the initial of the final unit. The metrical structure is marked, however, with the quasi vibrato beginning in line with the start of the third unit and with a percussive clap on the start of the fourth and fifth units (as shown in Figure 20). We can see, then, that the third metrical unit, *ngilimpangipi*, is the only one which is not marked either by pitch, vocal stress or percussive beat. This unit coincides with a word boundary in the spoken form and so perhaps the singer felt it would be recognised as such without the need for any musical marker. In this case the singer has added an unpitched vocalization “a” at the end of the line. This idiosyncratic feature is not part of either the spoken or the metrical forms of the text (hence enclosed in brackets) and is an example of the freedom that the individual singer has to make changes at the cantillation level.

(wa) Kwi yi tu rru ngu ni wa ru pi ngi lim pa ngi pi me na ngi pi me na ngi rrin tim_ (a)

Music Transcription 3: Melody in relation to text. Barney Tipuamantimeri (Audio Example 11)

³⁰³ *-pimenangi-* is repeated in the text at the metrical level given by Osborne so I include it here.

Translation of spoken text (Osborne, 1989, p.617):

kwiyi turrunguni wa-rupi-ngilimpangi-pimengangi-rrinti
 there clearing ic- them- sleeping - get up - stand

Free translation:

There on the cleared ground he stood up to defend them.

ic = incompletive

note: *ngilimpangi* does not literally mean sleeping, but is a time-of-day and ritual stage marker (see 6.8.)

Song breakdown:

Text (Spoken)	Kwi yi	tu rru	ngu ni	wa	ru pi	ngi lim	pa ngi	pi me	nga ngi	pi me	na ngi	rrin ti
Metre	Wa kwi yi tu rru	ngu ni wa ru pi	ngi lim pa ngi pi	me nga ngi pi me	na ngi rrin ti	m(a)						
Pitch	H L L L L	H L										
Accent	>	>										
Ornaments												
Percussion	x										x	x

Figure 20: Text breakdown of *Arikuruwala* song by Barney Tipuamantimeri (Audio Example 11).

6.6 Versification using other metrical patterns

The Love Songs do not follow the rule of metrical units comprising five syllables. As I will explain in Chapter 7 they have the most regular melodic structure and so the singer does still employ a number of alterations in order to fit the text into the Love Song melody. The song I discuss here is a good example of the singer using specific cantillation techniques while also showing individual creativity. Figure 21³⁰⁴ shows the three steps taken by the composer; composition of the text in prose, its arrangement into metre and then cantillation into the sung form.

As I show in Music Transcription 4 the melody is in four phrases (numbered) and each cycle of the melody is broken up into two iterations of each line of text.

1 2
Ngin tya ngu ri yu nga tyim pa tu wi tya wu (wu)

3 4
Nga tyang tya ngu ri yu wu nga tyim pa tyu tyu

1 2
Nga ngi lam pu ka ta ngen tyi te men tyi ngi ngi tya mi ghi

3 4
Nga ngi lam pu ka ta ngen tu te men tyi ngi ngi tya mi

1 2
Yi ta nge la yi ti wa te me ni tyrra ki ni ngi la

3 4
Yi ta nge la yi ti wa te me ni tyrra ki ni ngi la

Music Transcription 4: Love Song melody showing cantillation process. Unidentified female singer, 1954 (Audio Example 23)

³⁰⁴ For extra documentation, at Appendix 12 I give a more detailed breakdown of this information.

As shown in Figure 21, each line is sung twice before moving on to the next. The first and second lines are treated differently each time, while the third line stays the same. In line 1 the line-final *-uwu* is added to the second and fourth units to create a 5-syllable then a 4-syllable metrical pattern. In the second iteration of line 1 the syllables *ngantya* are inserted (shown in bold). The syllable count is therefore increased from 7 syllables (in the spoken form) to 8 syllables in the sung form, so fitting the melody (shown in the music transcription). In each iteration of line 1 the singer deletes the first syllable of *nyempatu* to create an eight-syllable line.

<p>Free translation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I'm sad that you are leaving this morning. 2. I send all my thoughts to you 3. He gave me a torch to light my way <p>1. Spoken form:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Ngatyi ngintya nguwuri ngatyi nyem - p - atu - witya</i> Like you alas like you- np - morn - go 2. <i>Nga- ngi- lawa pukatawunga ngin -tu- wate- meny- tying-ining- ity- amighi</i> f- my- own thoughts I - p- morn - you - dur - send - go - caus 3. <i>Yita ngeni layit yi- nu-wate- meni- te- rrankining- iluwa</i> em as light he-to- morn - me- dur - light - give <p>2. Metrical form:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Ngatyingintyangu wuriyuwu ngatyinyempatu wityawuwu</i> 2. <i>Ngangilawapu katawu[nga]ngentu [wa]tementyingini ngityamighi</i> 3. <i>Yitangenila yitinuwate menityerraki ningiluwa</i> <p>3. Sung form:³⁰⁵</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>[Ngatyi] ngintyangu wuriyuwu ngatyi[nye]mpatu wityawuwu</i> ngatyang[in]tyangu wuriyuwu ngatyi[nye]mpatu [wi]ty[a]uwuwu 2. <i>Ngangilampu kata[wunga]ngentu [wa]tementyingi[ni] ngityamighi</i> <i>ngangilampu kata[wunga]ngentu [wa]tementyingi[ni] ngityami[ghi]</i> 3. <i>Yitange[ni]la yiti[nu]wate menity[e]rraki ningiluwa</i> <i>Yitange[ni]la yiti[nu]wate menity[e]rraki ningil[uw]a</i>
--

Figure 21: Spoken, metrical and sung forms of Love Song text, 1954 (Audio Example 23)

³⁰⁵ The sung form is presented in this figure in comparative perspective showing omissions and insertions in relation to the metrical form. In Musical Transcription 4 above, only the resultant syllable strings are shown.

In the first iteration of line 2 the last syllable is deleted from *pukatawunga*, as is the first syllable of *wate* (all deletions are shown in square brackets). When the text is then sung, a number of syllables are deleted as the text is modified by the melody and the singer deletes *wa* and adds the consonant *m* to alter *lawa* to *lampu*. On the first iteration the line is sung in full, but in the second the final syllable *-ghi* is deleted. This creates a repeating pattern whereby each time we hear Melodic Line (ML) 2, the last syllable is shortened in relation to ML1, which has a double “quaver” length due to the fusion of *wuwu* (underlined). Line 3 has four deletions and the cantillation (text, pitch and rhythm) is the same in each iteration, except that the final of the first iteration is a fusion of the two syllables *lu* and *wa* to give a lengthened *la* (occupying the space of two syllables), whereas in the second iteration the *uw* is not sung at all, so the line is one syllable shorter, ending only with *la*.

6.7 Vocalizations

As Turpin and Stebbins note “Song cannot simply be defined as a musical setting of words, as many songs contain vocables, such as ‘tra-la-la’, which are not words and yet are part of the song text” (Stebbins and Turpin, 2010, p3). The function of vocables and phatic elements of song texts has been discussed in the literature, with notable examples from outside of Australia that are relevant to this study including (Frisbie, 1980; Browner, 2009). There are many instances in Tiwi songs of individuals adding meaningless vocables, at line beginnings, line endings or between lines. Open-throated vowel sounds, nasal closed mouth sounds, throat coughs and other similar sounds serve to ornament and individualize performances. Other vocables are song-specific, such as the lip flutter that is added to *Tatuwali* (Shark) Dreaming songs, the growl sound of the *Nyingawi* people in *Nyingawi* songs and the short “wu” that is always added when singing *Yirrikapayi* (Crocodile).³⁰⁶ The vocalizations used in the Sugarbag and Mosquito calls are the subject of separate discussion in Chapter 7.

The vocalization *kawakayayi* in Eunice’s *Amparruwu* song (discussed further in 7.1.5) occurs in most *Amparruwu* songs and is often sung between each line of text. Although *kayayi* is untranslatable it universally indicates sadness, wailing or crying. My

³⁰⁶ Examples of these can be heard in Audio Examples 71 (Shark) and 7 (Crocodile).

consultants say it might be a development of the word *kayi* (listen!) and in the context of an *Amparruwu* song, means “listen to me, hear my grief” (directed to the deceased). *Kawakawani* and *kawakawayi* are defined as verbs “to sing in the traditional way”—*kawakawani* means “to sing traditional style, sad singing” and *kawakawayi* means “to sing traditional style, happy singing” (Lee, 2011).

There are many variations on the treatment of this vocalization and it can be altered to fit any song-type. My consultants tell me its purpose is to enable the song to continue uninterrupted while the singer prepares the next line or as an interlude between lines of the song if there is an interruption to the attention of their audience. In a performance recorded in 1975,³⁰⁷ Long Stephen makes a mistake (line 7, marked in Appendix 14) and immediately follows with a line of *Kurruwakawakawayi*,³⁰⁸ before attempting the line again.³⁰⁹ Variations of *Kurukangawakawayi* are also added to almost every “Modern *Kuruwala*” style³¹⁰ song that is performed by the women’s group and often in traditional style songs performed by men as well. It can be used to extend the length of a song or within a song if the following verse is temporarily forgotten.³¹¹ Music Transcription 5 (on pages 148 and 149) gives just six of the many examples in order to show how the words can be altered to fit different rhythms and melodies. Stresses are marked with /.

³⁰⁷ Audio Example 26.

³⁰⁸ In the old recordings the *r* is a rolled *rr* sound. Some older singers use this, but the word is usually written today with one *r*.

³⁰⁹ Appendix 13, in which I give a selection of song structures, contains more examples of this.

³¹⁰ See 7.1.12.

³¹¹ This happens relatively regularly when we perform together, either because the women are unsure who is leading (and so who is cueing the verse order), if we have to extend the length of a song to coincide with a staging requirement or if the women are dancing.

Example 1: Long Steven 1975. *Mamanunkuni*. Audio Example 27

Ku rru wa ka nga wa wa ka wa yi ku rru wa ka wa a wa ka wa yim

Example 2: Foxy Tipungwuti 1975. Audio Example 38

K(u) rru ka wa wa wa ka wayi ku rru ka wa wa ka wayi

Example 3: Eustace Brolga 2012. Audio Example 47

ku ru ka rang a wa ka wa ka yi ku ru ka wa nga wa ka way i

Music Transcription 5: Six musical treatments of *Kurukangawakayi*

Example 4: Women's group. Wurrumiyanga Wellbeing Centre Song 2009. Audio Example 51

ku ru ka nga wa ka wayi ka wayi ka wa - yi ka wayi

Example 5: Women's group. Kupunyi. 2008. Audio Example 46

ku ru ka wa nga wa ka wa yi a ku ru ka nga wa ka wa yi

Example 6: Eunice Orsto *Amparruwu* 2010. Audio Example 16

ka__ yai ka yai ka yai m__ ka yai ka yi ka yai

Music Transcription 5: continued from previous page

In all these examples we see that the core of the words is comparable, with the beginning *kuru* and the ending *wakawayi* fairly consistent but with the order of *kawanga* and the stresses being different depending on each singer and each melody.

6.8 Indicators of time

6.8.1 Times of the day in spoken Old Tiwi

A feature of the language spoken by people older than 60 is the use of different grammatical verb forms to designate three general times of the day.³¹² As I have mentioned in 5.1, this temporal aspect is embedded in the polysynthetic verb structures of Old Tiwi. With some modification, it has been retained in the speech of older Tiwi people and their songs (suggesting it is a feature of Modern Tiwi but not New Tiwi).

The prefixes *wati*³¹³ (morning) and *ki* (evening) are used to identify when an action *takes place*, not when the words are *being said*. For example *Ngiya nguwatuwujamurrakupupuni* means “I am going into the bush in the morning”, but does not necessarily imply the words are being spoken in the morning. These time-of-day prefixes appear amongst the old song recordings and also in the songs composed by Clementine Puruntatameri for the women’s group.

6.8.2 First person, present tense

In all Tiwi songs³¹⁴ the singer sings “*Ngiya...*” “I am...” making every song performance a first person, present narrative or personification. This bringing of the ancestor, the animal of the Dreaming or the deceased person into the present reflects the “self-manifesting and eternally active nature of the Dreaming” (Barwick & Marett, 2003). As the singer performs, s/he becomes the embodiment of the subject of his song. With each performance, therefore, a folding over of time is occurring, with the deep past and the present co-existing. Whether a *Kulama* song telling of current news (I am talking into the Gramophone),³¹⁵ a bereavement song sung in the voice of the deceased (why can’t I see you)³¹⁶ or a Dreaming song (I am the Crocodile pushing through the

³¹² There is no affix specifically meaning midday, but the absence of one implies the general middle of the day (neither morning nor evening).

³¹³ *Wati* becomes *watu* when followed by a *w*.

³¹⁴ I say this based on all the songs I have come across in the recordings and that I have witnessed. There might be others I am not aware of.

³¹⁵ Audio Example 67 and Appendix 11.13

³¹⁶ Audio Example 69 and Appendix 11.14

mangroves)³¹⁷ Tiwi songs were always meant to be occasion-specific, with the singer becoming a manifestation of the subject of the song. The degree to which the moment of performance was of primary importance is also evidenced by the text within many old songs that place the *performance* at a particular time.

When listening to old recordings my colleagues often comment on the time of day the song was sung, for example “he’s singing for the morning, morning words, sounds like morning”. The song is not necessarily *about* the morning and indeed there was no word for morning in the text but the Tiwi listener could “hear” morning time in the sounds of the words. Close examination of song texts shows that there are two types of time markers: those found in the (almost obsolete) spoken language and those found in song language.

6.8.3 *Kulama* stage markers

With song texts always in the present, in *Yoi* songs performed at *Pukumani*-associated rituals the ancestor, a Dreaming image, a story from long ago, a ceremonial action, a Country place or a kinship marker will exist within the moment of the song’s performance. *Kulama* songs take this a step further with elements of song text specific to certain stages of the three-day ritual. Part of a student’s initiation into *Kulama* and song composition entailed learning these grammatical structures and so how to use them for performance at a specific time of day, and the part of the ritual.

Osborne refers to these as “Stage Markers” (Osborne, 1989, p. 279).³¹⁸ In the minds of my Tiwi colleagues some of these words and affixes (for example, *-ingilimpangi*) are now used more generally as an indication of the time of the day that a song is being performed, whereas other expressions (for example, *-kunji*) would be used only in a particular stage of the *Kulama* ritual. Senior singers can tell, from the use of a particular word in a recording, that the song must have been performed at that particular stage of *Kulama*, and, by extension, at what time of day. In dealing with Mountford’s elicited recordings, confusion was caused when songs were presented out of the correct *Kulama* sequence. For my consultants the time of day of the actual performance (even

³¹⁷ Audio Example 6.

³¹⁸ This term proved confusing to my Tiwi colleagues in the context of our group performances with the word stage meaning a performance stage, so I will use the term sparingly.

an elicited performance) should determine words to be used. The words marking each part of *Kulama* are shown in Figure 22 (Osborne, 1989, p. 281).³¹⁹

Evening of the First Day Lying down time	- <i>ingilimpangi*</i> , - <i>ingilima</i> ³²⁰ or <i>ngi</i> lying down/ sleeping
Afternoon of Second Day Preparing ritual ground	- <i>inji-rri-k-iningi-</i> dur- cv- eve- hold
Evening of Second Day Washing	- <i>jingi-ki</i> or - <i>ki-mirri-ki</i> dur-eve
Morning of Third Day Fire burning down	- <i>wati-winginji-</i> , or - <i>wati-*</i> morning - dur
Morning of Third Day Cooking the yams	- <i>kunji-</i> cooking
Afternoon of Third Day Painting face	- <i>inkiri-piya</i> face-zero
Evening of Third Day Ayipa	<i>inji-rri-ki-pi-*</i>

Figure 22: Ritual Stage and Time of Day Markers used in song texts (after Osborne 1989). Asterisks indicate expressions that I have recorded or heard in recent performances of non-*Kulama* songs.

Wati- and *-ki-* (the time of day grammatical elements) are incorporated into the evening and morning-stage words. Even though they can be glossed, none of these have any translatable meaning in the context of a song, apart from placing the performance in time. The listener (who, it is presumed, has the prior knowledge about these markers and have had some years of attending *Kulama*) then engages with the song at a deeper level, feeling the sense of the time in the day when the performance occurs. Elders who listened to archive recordings (out of context of the ceremony structure) were able to tell me the time of day (and, therefore, at which stage of the ceremony) a song was performed. They were hearing those elements found in spoken grammar but they were also hearing what they called “the sound” of the time of day. Older listeners who are educated in these temporal markers told me that the proliferation, throughout a song

³¹⁹ In order that it is meaningful to Tiwi readers in 2012 I have used current spelling, rather than that used by Osborne.

³²⁰ In current usage *-ingilima* means “to kneel”.

text, of these time-specific grammatical elements give a song an aural atmosphere—a “sound” or feeling that is created by the sounds of the words.

In the Cotton Tree song recorded in 1928 by Hart, for example, every line includes the word *-ingilimpangi* (sleeping) (see Figure 23 for two lines of the song)³²¹. None implies that either the tree or the singer is sleeping, or has anything to do with sleeping³²². The word is there wholly in order to place the song in the present at the time of the performance (the evening of the first day of *Kulama*).

<p>L1. <i>Ngiya purr-wingilimpange-pili-muni-Tampungekerrayuwu</i>³²³ I they- sleeping- tree-fall- <i>Tampungekerrayuwu</i></p> <p>I am the falling Cotton Tree <i>Tampungekerrayuwu</i></p> <p>L5. <i>Ngampiripatumi</i>³²⁴ <i>tamunga nge-rr-wa-ri-ngilimpange-pili-yinti</i> <i>Ngampiripatumi</i> Cotton Tree I- p- ic- lk- sleeping- tree- stand</p> <p>I am the Cotton Tree that stood at <i>Ngampiripatumi</i></p>

Figure 23: Use of *-ingilimpange-* as temporal marker in Cotton Tree Song, Jimalipuwa, 1928 (Audio Example 70)

When people hear this song they hear not only what the song is about but also, through the temporal markers, its context in time and where it fitted into the ceremony. The time of day a song belongs to is an important part of the overall meaning and significance of the text and of the associated feeling people infer when listening to it.³²⁵ Of course there is a degree to which the lexicon places a song temporally (for example words that literally mean sunrise or dusk) but as well as that there is, according to

³²¹ (Osborne, 1989, p. 633).

³²² I must also point out that “sleep” is not a metaphor for death. The meaning is always literal. Tiwi people don’t see a dead person as having stopped engaging with the world.

³²³ This is the name of the singer’s daughter. He mentions three daughters in this way throughout the song. He is placing them as Cotton Tree people within the context of the deceased ancestor’s clan.

³²⁴ *Ngampiripatumi* is a place on Bathurst Island, and is the singer’s Country.

³²⁵ It has been an interesting subject of discussion when listening to songs sung out of context in recording sessions. Was the singer using words appropriate to the time of day the song was originally sung or to the time of day the recording was made?

senior song-men and -women, an overall aural symbolism, resulting from the particular sound of the syllables and the atmosphere invoked. “The words for morning songs sound like the morning. The birds, the low sun. At midday the words are sharper, strong, like the bright sun.”³²⁶ Exactly what is meant by “sharp” and “strong” proved difficult for me to specify, although other Tiwi singers concurred with this statement.

6.8.4 How these markers are used in song today

The temporal stage markers are only used by those very few men and women who still know how to compose for *Kulama*. My consultants aged between about forty and sixty tell me they can hear the difference between the “old” way of singing (with the temporal stage markers) and the “new” way of singing (without) but cannot pinpoint the words from a given text. In what can be seen as a combining of two systems, the women’s group does not use the *Kulama* stage markers in their compositions (because they are not singing at *Kulama*) but, they do use the (Old spoken language) time of day grammar that is appropriate for *when* they will sing the song.

Like say if a man is singing it's in the morning so when he sings he has to sing the words that he sings in that song's got to be morning words. Grammar *kuwa* [yes] and if he sings at night he's got to make the words into night. We do that now when, say if we make a song for the funeral and the funeral will be in the morning then we got to, you know, use the words in the morning. (Teresita Puruntatameri)³²⁷

Figure 24 shows one line of a song composed by Clementine Puruntatameri.³²⁸ The text includes the chirping of the birds, as well as the grammatical morning marker *wati* to set the time of day at which she knew the song would be sung. It is “... daylight, singing in the morning, let us know that it’s morning” I was told by the women. “We hold the Mass in the morning so we sing those words.”³²⁹

³²⁶ Personal communication. Eustace Tipiloura, Wurrumiyanga, 17 March 2010.

³²⁷ Personal communication, Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 25 March 2010.

³²⁸ I present this song in full at 7.2.3.2.

³²⁹ Personal communication, Calista Kantilla. Darwin 19 October 2011.

listeners there will always be more than one understanding of a song. Although, unlike in other Australian traditions, there is no attempt to create obfuscation due to secret, sacred or gender-restricted songs, Tiwi singers do aim at poetry with multiple meanings, ambiguity and evocation rather than literal meanings. Osborne states “The technique of expression developed by Tiwi poets, especially in ritual contexts, is allusive, oblique and highly symbolic” (Osborne, 1989, p. 392).

A group of people affiliated with a specific country place will share a unity of identity because of their recognition of those places when named in song. Similarly, amongst close members of a clan there would be understanding at a deep level of certain poetic metaphors and allusions within a song text. Osborne points out that

... the Tiwi vocabulary includes a wealth of synonyms, and it is the exploitation of these resources which permits the development of a distinctive poetic diction.... In any set of synonyms, one word ... by virtue of its common usage in the everyday language, becomes the ordinary prose member of the set, while others... because they are less frequently used, acquire a literary or poetic character. (Osborne, 1989, p. 310)

A song performed in 1975 by Long Stephen has taken on new meaning for a new audience via the recording (made by Osborne).³³³ Although it was sung as *Mamanunkuni* (sorrow) for a particular person on a particular mourning occasion, as a result of hearing the recording, some elders with whom I am working have embraced it as a sorrow/healing song for their whole community. The text (in full at Appendix 14) is in the first person, the voice of the deceased who is in the transition between the world of the living and that of the dead and feels displaced, wondering why he cannot hear either the voices of the (living) people around him or of the *Mopaditi* (the deceased ancestors). The land is “different and changed and not beautiful like it was and people can’t hear the ancestors anymore.”³³⁴ This recording had a strong impact on the three senior men I played it to, and they spent some time singing with it, learning the words, and decided it should become a song that is handed down. The original

³³³ Audio Example 69.

³³⁴ Personal communication Eustace Tipiloura. Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu, 21 October 2010.

intention of the song has changed through the process of its being recorded and heard by senior men with different motivations, forty-five years later.

6.9.1 An example of the effect on song interpretation of language loss

As I have outlined earlier in this chapter, two elements that are fundamental to traditional Tiwi song are;

- 1) the correct metre must first be achieved before a text can then be put into song (even though there might then be further alteration at the performance stage) and
- 2) the text must be first-person, present tense using grammatical markers that are specific to the time of the performance.

Eustace Tipiloura, Stephen-Paul Kantilla, Robert Biscuit Tipungwuti and Roger Tipungwuti, four of the last handful of men who are qualified to sing for ceremony, all told me that it is too hard to compose using New Tiwi because it does not fit.³³⁵ By this I originally inferred that they meant that the simpler, shorter forms of words (without the “poly-agglutinative” verb forms) were difficult to arrange into units of five syllables. I now believe that New Tiwi’s lack of the “time-of-day” word elements, which always featured in the improvisation of text into metrical units, may be an equally significant factor. With the old language no longer spoken, even these old men have taken to studying the old recordings in order to re-learn these and other words as source material. Due to the obfuscation of many of the word boundaries and the stresses of the spoken language, the texts of the old recorded songs are now only partially translatable.³³⁶ Although the commonly used additions are recognized by older listeners, there are many words that have, through deletion, been altered beyond recognition today. This is (I surmise) why the few songs that have been passed down through the generations contain words that are not understood, not really translatable and are called “song only” words. The songmen now compose using words or phrases that they cannot translate precisely but that have a meaning by association with a

³³⁵ Personal communication, Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu April 2009.

³³⁶ By Tiwi people. Detailed linguistic analysis using Osborne’s and Lee’s work does enable translation, but none of my consultants have embarked on this.

particular singer and his kinship group or because the song has been passed on in modified form. The Train song (Figure 25) gives us an example of this.

<p>Example 1: 1912 Train song (Old Tiwi)³³⁷</p> <p>Spoken form. Glossing by Osborne</p> <p>Line 1. <i>Pe - tu- wuntying-ala-yontye</i>³³⁸- <i>rranungun-atyirr-ami</i> They -f- dur- ? -engine- jolting- recip-mv Free translation: Wagons jolting forward one by one</p> <p>Line 2. <i>Wong-atyirr am-p-etye-matyikingikerirra-yala-pungilup-itya</i> Alone -recip she-f-dur- linked together -?- further -go</p> <p>Free translation: Each by itself moves a little further</p> <p>Sung form:</p> <p>Line 1. <i>Petuntyingala yontyerranungun atyirrami</i> Line 2. <i>Wongatyirrampe tyematyikingike rirrayalapu ngilupitya</i></p>
<p>Example 2: Current Train Song (Modern Tiwi)³³⁹</p> <p>Line 1. <i>Putajingala yamarritipi ajirrami</i> (2011 singers do not know the meaning of these words)</p> <p>Line 2. <i>Tututingampi kimajingiki rrayangilampu kuluputa</i></p>

Figure 25: Train Song showing text change between 1912 and 2011

Sung at *Kulama* by Tungutalum after a visit to Darwin when he saw a train, and recorded by Spencer in 1912, it must have been very well received at the time because

³³⁷ 1912 text (Osborne 1989, 850). The 1970s and 2011 text given by my consultants.

³³⁸ The word *yontye*, which in this song refers to the engine or carriage, is used in another song recorded in 1912 to describe a saw. *Yontye* actually means “shellfish” or “something hard” and is used in other old song texts to describe any hard metal object.

³³⁹ The spelling used in Modern Tiwi and New Tiwi texts is the current orthography, a “j” having replaced “ty” in Osborne’s transcription done in 1975. The changes in the first two vowels of the first word are, similarly spelling changes that reflect the slight modification of phonetics.

it has become a well-loved and often-performed song, one of only a few songs that have been passed down for that reason.³⁴⁰

A feature of Old Tiwi syntax, that makes it so different from the language spoken in the community today is noun incorporation (Osborne, 1974), or the way the noun is embedded within the structure of the verb rather than being a separate word. This can be seen in Example 1, Figure 25³⁴¹ where *yontye* (*onji* in current spelling), the noun referring to “engine”, is surrounded by the verb and its prefixes and suffixes.

A word containing fifteen syllables works well for Tiwi song composition because it can provide either three units of five syllables for a non-line-final position or two units of five syllables and one final unit of four syllables for a line-final position (by removing one syllable). In the sung form of the 1912 song *wu* is elided to create the correct metre (a 5 syllable unit), *Petuntyingala*. It is interesting that Osborne could not find a meaning for *ala* in line 1 or *yala* in line 2 Presuming the *y* in line 2 is an intervowel consonant, the two are synonyms. As an incorporated form *-ala-* is listed in the current dictionary as “the spirit of a dead person” and that has been added to the general associated meaning for people singing it today.

Since sometime in the 1970s³⁴² the text of the Train song has been sung with words shown in Example 2 in Figure 25.³⁴³ The extent to which these changes are the result of change in pronunciation and/or the change from one singer to another is not known. The loss of the ‘n’ coda from the second syllable of unit one is another recent change. The second unit of the 1970 song has a couple of possible explanations but neither can be confirmed. *Ya* is either an addition to complete the metric unit or a transitive verb root suffix to the first word meaning “look at”. *Marri-* is a connective marker meaning

³⁴⁰ A train is an unlikely song subject for a composer living on an island north of Darwin in 1912. There has never been a train on the island, but there was a goods train in Darwin. Oral history tells us that Tungutalum (the singer) had travelled to Darwin in 1911 and had seen the goods train there, and on his return sang this song in the *Ayipa* stage of *Kulama* ceremony, a time for putting on public record the important or interesting news of the day.

³⁴¹ 1912 text (Osborne, 1989, p. 850).

³⁴² No-one is sure, but they guessed at this date because the old men they heard singing in the 1970s sang it this way. A recording made in the mid 1970s (“Songs of the Tiwi”, publication date unknown) includes a performance of “Train” with a variation of the words shown at example 2.

³⁴³ The 1970s and 2011 text were given by my consultants. The spelling used in Modern Tiwi and New Tiwi texts is the current orthography, a ‘j’ having replaced ‘ty’ in Osborne’s transcription done in 1975.

“with”. *Marriji* is a term for the Rainbow serpent and might be a symbolic reference to the winding movement of the train. The Train song is still sung using the words from the 1970s version today, although they are no longer understood by singer or audience, as Barry Puruntatameri explains:

I do that [song]. I learned as a young boy. It’s not spoken language. This is thing that my great great uncle he sat by himself in the bush there. He made up those words about the train and it became a real Tiwi song today. People sing that song. He chose those words himself. The young boys, they wouldn’t know the word meaning of it but they know the sound. You can’t turn it into English. It’s just the words.³⁴⁴

The onomatopoeic effect of the now meaningless words has now become most important.³⁴⁵ Those younger than about 50 years of age with whom I spoke had the opinion that the words are merely the sound of the train. Others agreed that the words mean nothing, showing the extent to which knowledge of Old Tiwi has disappeared. They said that much of the context of an old *Yoi* song such as this comes from the accompanying dance and that people imbue the song with associated meaning rather than from the text. Regina Kantilla said;

It’s only a word. You know it’s a train by looking at the family and we recognize that Tungutalum – it’s their song. Tipuamantimila. His father composed the song. It must be the dancing. That word [*tututingampi*] is I think the train sound but the first one is only a word.³⁴⁶

My consultants, including Justin Puruntatameri (who, when he died in 2012 aged 87, was the oldest and most knowledgeable songman on the islands) said that *tututingampi kimatingiki* (the first and second units of line b) are onomatopoeic words describing the train’s whistle and the way it clatters down the tracks. Whereas in 1912 this song was composed using the language spoken (and understood) by everyone, the distance of

³⁴⁴ Personal communication. Barry Puruntatameri, Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu, 15 October 2009.

³⁴⁵ We have no evidence of whether or not the text might have been onomatopoeic when it was first composed, but, since Osborne’s consultants were able to gloss it, we know that it did not consist entirely of vocables, even though, today, people cannot translate any of the text.

³⁴⁶ Personal Communication. Regina Kantilla, Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 15 October 2009.

time and loss of Old Tiwi, have rendered the literal meaning of this song (and many others on the archival recordings) incomprehensible.

6.9.2 An example of associations and speculation in relation to song: Allie Miller's "Death of a Father" song

Alluding to past occurrences, social norms or previously told stories is another way the composer can choose to imbue his song with contextual information. In many instances in addition to any common symbolic references, there will also be reference to a fact that only those who are part of the group connected to the singer will be aware of. Listening to songs or looking at the texts many years later has meant that even for Tiwi people many of the old songs are only partially meaningful because they were sung for a contemporary audience who were privy to recent news and the latest happenings in the community. Allie Miller's Kulama song, for example, composed in 1954 for his deceased classificatory father Waniyamperi, includes a number of poetic and linguistic devices that made it richly layered with different connotations and meaning for different people. Figure 26 is the full song text (using Osborne's spelling).³⁴⁷

<p>1. <i>Ngiya rringani perrantyuwali latemani ni-ngilimpange-marri-pumwari</i> My father Prince of Wales letter-man loc-sleeping- with- leave My father the Prince of Wales has left me.</p>
<p>2. <i>Pantirri-wini ngurarri-n a-meni-me- ngilimpa- ngilani- kunte- rringilani yaketapumi</i> Flag- m many -m he-me- wet- sleeping- flag- ? - flag -hold out Many flags are held out for me</p>
<p>3. <i>Terayini tayikuwa-nga ngen-ti-wingilani-kitiraghi</i> Train many f I- f- flag- depart In many trains I departed³⁴⁸</p>

Figure 26: "Death of a Father." Allie Miller, 1954 (Audio Example 1)

³⁴⁷ Osborne's gloss and translation, including his question marks, presumably indicating text elements he was not able to elicit a gloss for (Osborne, 1989, p. 644).

³⁴⁸ This is the translation for line 3 given by Osborne. It makes no mention of flags.

Mountford gives the following free translation.

This is Allie's song of the Pukumani. My father was King and I am Prince of Wales. As King George is King, so is the old man on the hill my father. I shall have war ships, money and a flag of red and white.³⁴⁹

While this may have been the explanation given to Mountford by the singer, it is not a translation. The song text is not a close match. The allusion to the Prince of Wales is not literal. It is a term that was commonly used by Tiwi singers in the 1950s as symbolic of someone having power, being highly respected or being someone whose opinions should be heeded.³⁵⁰ In this context it would have been used to mark the high status of the deceased.³⁵¹

Bereavement songs often include imagery related to departing or being left behind. The reference in line 3 to the deceased leaving in a train most likely came about because Allie had seen a train in Brisbane in March 1954³⁵² and so, singing at *Kulama* only a month later, the train would have been a newsworthy inclusion in his song.

In the following analysis of this song I will present the several different references that those I played it to have made, showing that one's relation to a song, and to its recording when heard out of context, is a very personal one, as well as being affected by the associations and experiences each listener brings to the occasion of listening. With word boundaries obscured in song form, it is difficult for modern listeners to determine what the word elements are, which can also lead to varying translations. Referring to Figure 26, I will comment on some of the words in turn.

- Elders recognised *ngilimpange* (line 1) as a “time” marker indicating that the song belongs to the evening of the first day of *Kulama*, the lying down time, when bereavement songs are sung. Those younger than about 50 years of age told me the

³⁴⁹ Mountford's spoken introduction. Audio example 1.

³⁵⁰ Prince of Wales (the son of George King) was a senior Larrakiya elder and prominent dancer in Bagot (Darwin) in the 1950s and it is likely that Tiwi men were aware of him.

³⁵¹ Similarly, a “letter man” alludes to people in positions of power – office workers or people from whom letters come (the written word in those days being something that ‘clever’ or ‘powerful’ people were capable of.)

³⁵² I mention this trip in reference to another song by Allie Mungatopi in Chapter 4.

word means “he has died” or “sadness for his death” because they recognise the word is always sung in these types of songs.

- In line 2: *-me-* (now spelled *-mi-*) means “wet season” or “rain”. Perhaps indicating that it was wet season (or raining) either when the song was performed or when Sugarbag’s death, burial or Final Ceremony took place).
- Osborne translates *rringilani* (line 2) and *wingilani* (line 3) as flag. Putting a flag outside the house of a recently deceased person was a common occurrence.³⁵³ I have not been able to find *ngilani* in either Osborne’s or Lee’s dictionary however and none of my consultants heard the words as flag.
- In line 1, *rringani* is translated as “father”. The syllable *rri-* is a past tense prefix and also a verb stance prefix meaning “away from camp, at a distance” and some of my consultants understood this to mean the deceased father or ancestor was back in his Country. The iteration in line 3 *wi-* might be either a meaningless addition to create correct metre or a mis-hearing.
- Osborne gives no translation for the word *kunte* in line 2. Opinion is that it might be *kunji*, an Iwaidja loan-word, meaning door³⁵⁴ referring to the flags being held outside the door of the house of the deceased. Alternatively, *kunji* as an incorporated form relates to cooking – the time marker for the morning of 3rd day of *Kulama*. Some also heard *kuntirri* meaning “to be covered” symbolising the body or the coffin being covered at the funeral.
- *Wingilani* (line 3) was heard differently and so resulted in different translations. Some of my consultants heard *wingi* meaning “food”. This fits with the singer’s possible use of words marking the “cooking” stage of the *Kulama* ceremony. The word *wingili* means both “ochre” and “initiation song” and some listeners therefore

³⁵³ The origin of this practice has not been confirmed but it might be from contact with Macassan fishermen. The connection has been made between this and communities in north-east Arnhem Land and it seems plausible that the same contact might have happened. The other possibility is that the custom came with the Iwaidja people.

³⁵⁴ From Hindi, via Macassan (Lee, 2011)

heard in the text the symbolism of the *Kulama* ceremony's role as an initiation ritual or of the deceased's role as a songman. Instead of *ti-wingilani* some heard *tiwingi*, "*tiwi*" meaning "people" and the suffix *ngi* meaning "out bush" or "in Country". Not recognising *lani* they treated those syllables as metrical "fillers". In the current dictionary *-riyi* is listed, meaning "to depart" indicating there has been a vowel change from *-raghyi* to *-riyi*. The syllables *ki* and *ti* can be separated from *kitiraghi* — *ki* an evening 'time' affix and *ti* a past tense prefix — so *ngilanikitiraghi* suggests the deceased has gone to his Country.

This song and the "Train" song are examples of the complexities faced by Tiwi listeners when approaching the old songs, but they also show how new ways of approaching the old texts are potentially just as meaningful in terms of their continued place in the Tiwi repertory.

6.10 Continuing versification and cantillation techniques in modern song-forms

In songs composed by the Strong Women's group (to be explained further in 7.2) a number of linguistic techniques found in the traditional song practice have been maintained, in the context of the newer "Modern" Tiwi language. While they are not creating the traditional songs' metrical structures, the women do employ some of the traditional techniques such as syllabic fusion, deletion and addition as well as the obfuscation of word boundaries, in their new songs. As I have explained in Chapter 5, Modern Tiwi has lexical similarities with Old Tiwi, but with a simplified grammar. It is regarded as being appropriate for composition of some song genres, including those with the traditional 5-syllable metre. With the lead composers in the group being the oldest, and so having the stronger connection with Modern Tiwi (now itself archaic) as well as knowing some culturally significant words from Old Tiwi, these songs are beginning to be recognized as an important resource for the continuation of Tiwi song culture. I will give an example of each of these techniques found in songs in the current repertoire and give some context as to how the renegotiation of language is a central part of both a song's composition and its reception.

The "Murli la" song is discussed more fully in Chapter 7, but I mention it briefly here to point out an interesting example of how one young man is emerging as a songman

in the Modern *Kuruwala* song-type as well as in traditional song practice. Francis Orsto is in his late twenties and has been learning song skills from the senior men and women. He therefore has a relatively strong knowledge of the older forms of the language (Modern and Old Tiwi) in the context of song composition. His 2011 version of “Murli- la” includes elements of both the Modern Tiwi and New Tiwi languages, in a non-Tiwi musical style.

Translating even this modern song posed the same sorts of problems as some of the older texts did. With the (older) Tiwi listener expecting the singer to be altering words they can hear a number of meanings. In Figure 27 are four understandings of one line from the version of “Murli la” recorded in 2011.³⁵⁵

<p>Example 1: What Francis composed (and sang) and his translation</p> <p><i>Ngiya nuka nginta ngimpangintamurri</i> I will never forget you</p> <p>Example 2: Dictionary glossing of what Francis composed</p> <p><i>Ngiya arnuka nginta ngimpa nginta murri</i> I not indeed I will indeed us</p> <p>Example 3: Women’s glossing of text</p> <p><i>Ngiya arnuka nginta nimpangi nginta murri</i> I not indeed goodbye you us together</p> <p>Example 4: Agreed translation. A compromise. Goodbye, I will never forget you and what there was between us.</p>

Figure 27: Four possible interpretations of one line of “Murli la”. 2011

Example 1 is how Francis wrote out the words for me (which closely follows the phrasing of the way he sings it) along with his translation. At Example 2 I have given a translation using the Tiwi Dictionary. Example 3 is the transcription and translation given to me by some of the older women (who sang on the recording with Francis and have performed the song since). They hear (and sing) *nimpangi nginta*, which is a song-phrase they use in other songs, meaning “goodbye (to you)”. They are expecting the

³⁵⁵ Audio Example 53.

syllable fusion of the final *-ngi* of *nimpangi* with the initial *-ngi* of *nginta* and so they hear the two words even though the syllable *ngi* is missing. In their translation the women have added the sense of being together (*murri*) and so I have arrived at two “translations” from contemporaneous current sources, both with the same essential meaning, but using different words. It is an indication too of the added word associations of the whole song and its connection to its *Apajirupwaya* (Love Song) predecessors that the word “forget” was offered by everyone I asked, although it is not there in the Tiwi text. The final translation the group decided upon for our purposes was an amalgam of the two versions (line 4).

The text of line 1 shows Francis’ understanding of traditional song metre. To create the correct metre, the words *Ngiya arnuka* (I do not or I am not) can be fused into *Ngiyarnuka*³⁵⁶ for a four-syllable unit or *Ngiyamarnuka* for one comprising five syllables. Although this song does not adhere to this metrical structure and does not use a Tiwi melody it does employ this device in order that the words fit the desired melodic phrase. Francis uses the first option as he joins the words *Ngiya* and *arnuka* to sing the four-syllable *Ngiya nuka*.³⁵⁷ The fact that he wrote it out in this way (therefore changing the word *arnuka* to *nuka*) indicates that it was the sung form of the words that he wanted to document. This song, recorded for a project aimed at maintaining interest in language amongst Tiwi children, is being played and sung amongst young people. This has the potential to change the language further in future, because people learning the song from the written text or the recording might accept it as the way the word should be.

6.11 A song about the *Nyingawi*, the first *Kulama* teachers

I will now discuss the “*Nyingawi*” song. I include it here for four reasons. It is an example of highly complex song poetry technique, it includes the un-translatable language of the *Nyingawi*, we have examples of the song’s text spanning 94 years of performance, and in both its traditional and modern musical forms it is an unusual example of a song’s transmission through generations.

³⁵⁶ Spoken Tiwi does not permit adjacent vowels, so *ngiya arnuka* would be spoken “*ngiya nuka*”.

³⁵⁷ In speech, these adjacent vowels would be treated the same way.

The *Nyingawi* are small hairy people, who live in the mangroves near the shores of both islands (in Malawu and Wrangku country). They taught the *Kulama* ceremony to the Tiwi people in the *palingarri* (deep past). They are still occasionally seen by locals who have a real wariness of them and teach their children to be careful whenever alone in the bush. A performance of a *Nyingawi* song was first recorded by Hart in 1928.

Although the singer is not identified, it is the opinion of my Tiwi colleagues that it is Enrail Munkara. It is a matter of family oral history that (some time prior to 1928) he first sang “*Nyingawi*” to revere his deceased father Munkara, having heard the *Nyingawi* themselves singing and so incorporating some *Nyingawi* language.³⁵⁸ Enrail then recorded it again for Mountford (who identifies him as Jibunglialumi) in 1954.³⁵⁹ It was then performed by his son, Stanley Munkara in 1969 at Enrail’s mortuary ceremony and recorded by Osborne.

The song has been passed down through Stanley and other members of the Munkara family.³⁶⁰ I have auditioned a number of recordings of this song with Stanley, noting which text elements were composed by each singer, and which are original to the *Nyingawi* (and the first recording). Apart from small soloistic variations, the melody is unchanged.³⁶¹ Much of the text is in the language of the *Nyingawi* but each custodian makes it his or her own by adding text and varying the original, such that, although people speak of *the Nyingawi* song, a number of different versions exist. Both men and women can sing *Nyingawi* and it would usually be a member of the Munkara family or someone with *Nyingawi* Dreaming who leads the performance. All versions of the text follow throughout the standard metrical form for the line of a number of A units (of 5 syllables) followed by one B unit (of 4 syllables).³⁶²

³⁵⁸ This process of receiving song words from non-humans also happens in the *Wangga* and *Junba* songs of the Daly and Kimberley regions, see (Keogh, 1989; Marett, 2000; Treloyn, 2006).

³⁵⁹ The fact that *Nyingawi* songs were only sung in that generation by Enrail Munkara makes it likely that Jibunglialumi was one of Enrail’s names.

³⁶⁰ Grau notes that a young man (Neill John Tungutalum) regularly danced *Nyingawi* (Grau 1983, 57) but I have not seen anyone dance the *Yoi* version. Indeed my consultants tell me it is only performed now by the women’s group in the *Kuruwala* style.

³⁶¹ The melody is unique to *Nyingawi* songs and I classify it as *Ariwayakulaliyi* (song-type 11).

³⁶² As I show in Figure 32, the cantillation can introduce some interesting changes from the metrical form.

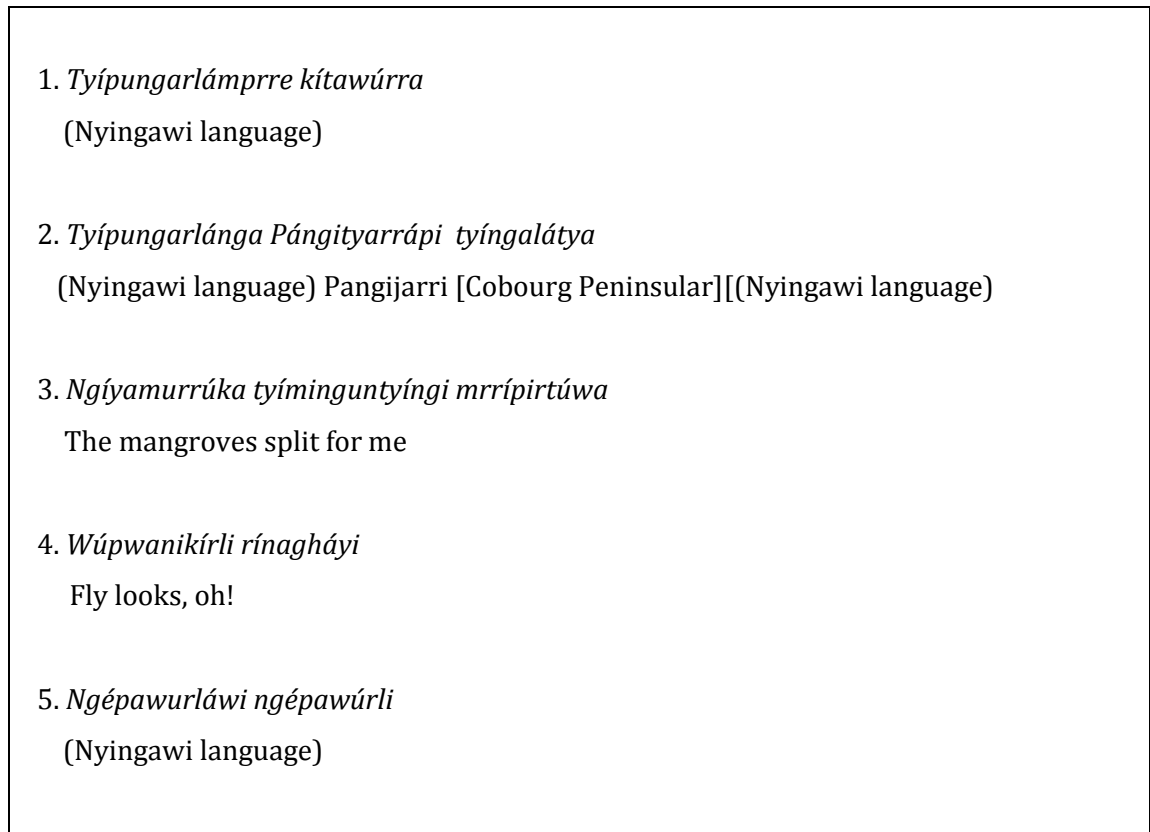


Figure 28: 1928 “Nyingawi” song text. Enrail Munkara

In the text of the 1928 *Nyingawi* song (Figure 28)³⁶³ we see that many of the words are in *Nyingawi* Language so Lines 1, 2 and 3 are not translatable, apart from *Pangijarri* in line 2, which is the old name for the Coburg Peninsula on the Australian mainland to the south-east of Melville Island.

Figure 29 shows the text of Enrail’s performance of *Nyingawi* recorded by Charles Mountford in 1954.³⁶⁴ Here, the eight lines of text are ordered at the discretion of the composer in performance and so occur in a different order from the 1928 recording. The metre follows the same pattern as in 1928, with all lines except line 5 made up of one unit of 5 and one unit of 4 syllables. Line 1 is the same as line 1 in his 1928 performance and line 6 is the same as line 4 in 1928. In an example of vowel harmony

³⁶³ Gloss by Osborne (Osborne 1989, p1074). Osborne makes the distinction between “unintelligible” text (in lines 1 and 2) and “meaningless” text (line 5). My consultants regard all as *Nyingawi* language so I indicate as such.

³⁶⁴ Translation by author with Tiwi consultants. Musical Transcription 21.

at the cantillation stage (from verse to song), when he sings, Enrail alters all the line finals to *a* regardless of the actual word final in speech.³⁶⁵

1. <i>Tyípungalámprrre kítawúrra</i>
2. <i>Tyórawuntyíni wéntyrrekími</i> Noises they are doing it (the Nyingawi)
3. <i>Mánterikámpe tyíngalátya</i> Cockatoo just sitting there watching them
4. <i>Yíkiyikáwu níyimámi</i> The cockatoo screeches
5. <i>Múrrupawúnga ngéntuwuntyínge mrrípiirtúwa</i> I move through the mangroves
6. <i>Wúpwani kírlí rínagháyi</i> Fly looking
7. <i>Mínikiyáangan túwirrámi</i> He is biting on my shoulder
8. <i>Mútatiwúntyé rrínamíla</i> The kite leans on to his chin

Figure 29: 1954 “Nyingawi” song text in metrical form. Enrail Munkara, 1954 (Audio Example 56)

Stanley Munkara (Enrail’s son) recorded his “Nyingawi” song for Charles Osborne in 1975. In Figure 30³⁶⁶ we can see that line 2 is the same as line 1 in the 1954 recording, line 3 corresponds with line 8 and line 6 is the same as line 2. The slight changes in translation in some of the text are examples of the different levels of understanding of

³⁶⁵ For ease of comparison with Figure 29 and Figure 30 this is not shown. It can however be heard in Audio Example 56.

³⁶⁶ The free translation was provided to me by Stanley Munkara.

the old language. Stanley learned the meanings in the context of the song, rather than interpreting a language he spoke fluently.³⁶⁷

<p>1. <i>Pérrerimáki tyínyawáni</i> They threw their fighting sticks</p> <p>2. <i>Tyípungalámprrre kítawúrra</i> [Nyingawi language]</p> <p>3. <i>Mútatiwúntyte rrínamíla</i> The cockatoo leans over watching</p> <p>4. <i>Ngíyamerána wúrrinawíntyte rrángemíli</i> My son is lying there</p> <p>5. <i>Wúpwanikírli rínawáyí</i> Flies are on the baby</p> <p>6. <i>Tyórawutyíni wéntyrrékími</i> [The noises they make while they move about]</p> <p>7. <i>Yíkiyikína wéniyingéntyte rráwalári</i> The cockatoo is flying up high</p>
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Figure 30: 1975 “Nyingawi” song text in metrical form. Stanley Munkara

I will now use the 1928 text of the “Nyingawi” song, sung by Enrail, to show some of the linguistic techniques employed by Tiwi singers, and a particularly interesting feature of alteration from the metrical to the sung form.³⁶⁸ Figure 31 shows the three forms of the text for line 5. The metrical form follows the pattern found in most songs; (some) units

³⁶⁷ Also of note is the change in spelling (by Osborne) of *aghayi* (in line 6, 1954) to *awayi* (line 5, 1975) suggesting perhaps his consultants for the latter used the newer spelling.

³⁶⁸ The same effect is produced in the 1954 and 1975 performances of “Nyingawi”.

of five syllables (A) followed by one unit of four syllables (B), with accents (marked with ´) falling on the 1st and 4th syllables of each A unit and on the 1st and 3rd of each B unit. The sung form shows a further displacement of the accent throughout the line caused by adding the vocable *a* to the beginning of the line.³⁶⁹

Spoken form: <i>Ngíya murruwúka tyíminguntyíngi márripirtúwa</i>
Metrical form: <i>Ngíyamurrúka tyíminguntyíngi mrrípirtúwa</i>
Sung form: <i>Ángiyamúrru kátyímingúntyí ngímrripírtuwá</i>

Figure 31: Line 5 of the 1928 “Nyingawi” song showing the shift of accents across spoken, metrical and sung forms of text

This means that although the stress still falls on the 1st and 4th syllable of the first unit, it does not correspond with either the spoken or the metrical form. In fact the extra syllable has the effect of reversing the stresses in the spoken form. This pattern is consistent throughout the whole song, as shown in Figure 32.

³⁶⁹ There is difference of opinion among my consultants as to whether this is an additional grunt (of the *Nyingawi*) along with the line final *a*, or whether it is inserted purely to shift the accents.

Metrical Form	Sung Form
1. <i>Tyípunǵarlámprrre kítawúrra</i> 5 4	<i>Átyipunǵárlam prrékítawurrá</i> 5 5
2. <i>Tyípunǵarlánga Pángityarrápi tyíngalátya</i> 5 5 4	<i>Átyipunǵárla ngáPangityárri pítyingálatyá</i> 5 5 5
3. <i>Ngíyamurrúka tyíminguntyíngi mrrípir túwa</i> 5 5 4	<i>Ángiyamúrri kátyímingúntyi ngímrrípir túwá</i> 5 5 5
4. <i>Wúpwanikírli rínagháyí</i> 5 4	<i>Áwupwanikí rlírínagháyíá</i> 5 5
5. <i>Ngépapurláwi ngépapúrli</i> 5 4	<i>Ángepawúrri wíngépapúrlá</i> 5 5

Figure 32: Cantillation from Metrical to Sung Form resulting in addition of syllable to final unit in 1928 performance of “Nyingawi”. Syllables shifted from a previous metrical unit shown in bold.

Whereas the metrical form conforms to the pattern whereby the last unit of a line comprises four syllables, the added syllable in the sung form creates a unit of five syllables to end each line (syllable counts shown with numbers). Furthermore, in these final 5-syllable units, the last syllable is stressed, creating the pattern of 1st, 3rd and 5th syllable stress in contrast to non-final 5-syllable units, which stress the 1st and 4th syllables. This line-final stress also creates a definite break between lines.

This particular singer (Enrail) systematically manipulated stress and syllable patterns at the point of performance to show his skill and creativity of invention. Throughout the Tiwi repertory recur examples of a composer using metrically correct lines of verse as a basis on which to improvise freely at the cantillation stage.

6.11.1 The new *Nyingawi* song

Sometime in the 1980s the women composed a new version of “Nyingawi” as a way to teach the old song to children and to pass on the story of the *Nyingawi*. They have incorporated the old *Kulama* text (Figure 33) in an expanded lyric that tells more of a story about the Nyingawi (Figure 34). By embedding the Old Tiwi language within a text in Modern Tiwi, the women hoped to imbue the old words with associated cultural meaning and to expose the children to the old song in a context they can relate to.³⁷⁰ In the same way as other old songs have become “traditional” or a favourite as a result of being often performed, the old words in this song are now sung by many children and adults, although some of the literal meaning is no longer understood. The first two lines of text are always sung by a soloist, in the manner of a *Kulama* song, and using the old *Kulama* melody. When Casmira Munkara sings the introduction³⁷¹ she shifts the stresses from the spoken form (see Figure 33, marked ´) in a way that is slightly different from the way her predecessors did. The song then moves into a ‘western’ sounding guitar-accompanied verse/chorus structured piece.

Spoken form: *Múrtati wúntyerrínamíla*

Sung form: *Múrtati wúntyerrínamílá*

Figure 33: Nyingawi Song. Casmira Munkara. 2008 (Audio Example 57)

In the last five years “Nyingawi” has been further re-arranged, with the addition of horns, bass and drums and it has become somewhat of a hit with the Ngarukuruwala group,³⁷² partly because of the flamboyant dancing style of Leonie Tipiloura, one of the oldest ladies, who has enacted the “Nyingawi” in performances at the Darwin Festival,

³⁷⁰ As I have mentioned earlier, the texts in Modern Tiwi are now mostly beyond the reach of Tiwi children. This is not unlike the experience of Hawaiian song custodians dealing with various levels of language competence (Szego, 2003).

³⁷¹ In deference to her as a custodian of *Nyingawi* songs, she is always given the role of singing the introduction.

³⁷² Audio Example 57.

in Canberra and at the Sydney Opera House.³⁷³ I have often asked the women about the derivation of the song, always to be told that it is a traditional song with an old melody. Figure 34 shows the text of the *Kulama* introduction (some of which is repeated in the chorus) of this version of “Nyingawi”.³⁷⁴ Similarly to Enrail’s performances, the vocable *amm* (the “grunt” of the *Nyingawi*), has become a vocalisation at the end of the lines in the chorus.³⁷⁵

Jípalámpri kútawurrá amm

Nyingawi Language

Múrtati wúnjirránamilá amm

The cockatoo leans on to his chin

Nginja awungarri kirama nyimpiripirni jarra amm

You always dance very well

Ngumpawula ngumpawula amm

We keep going/continue on

Jipangalampirrikutawurra Jipangalampirrikutawurra amm

Nyingawi Language

Figure 34: Text in Modern *Kuruwala* “Nyingawi” that is in Old language (Audio Example 57)

³⁷³ Mrs Tipiloura’s leading role in this dance has had the extra outcome of re-affirming her place as a leading cultural elder and mentor, while connecting with Tiwi youth via the new arrangement.

³⁷⁴ English translation given by Clementine Puruntatameri. The full text is at Appendix 11.15.

³⁷⁵ Note that the third line of text in the recorded performance (used for the transcription comparing melodic contours) differs slightly from the written text given to me.

In 2010 we had a meeting with a representative from APRA³⁷⁶ in which we began the process of attributing the songs on our CD³⁷⁷ either to individuals or families in order to best serve the women and the community in terms of copyright and royalty payments. When we came to “Nyingawi” (one of the tracks on the CD) it turned out that the “old” melody was developed from one they had heard on the radio—“Sing a Song of Freedom” recorded by Cliff Richard in 1971. The Tiwi text is what defines the rhythmic patterns in the song, so the notes of the original melody are shortened or lengthened in order to suit the Tiwi phrases. This is by no means a “cover” or translation of “Sing a Song of Freedom”.³⁷⁸ It is only the melodic contour that has been borrowed, and with the alteration to phrase lengths and rhythm due to the imposition of Tiwi language structures, the “Nyingawi” song is regarded as an entirely Tiwi song. Indeed these days it is regarded as an *old* Tiwi song.³⁷⁹

6.12 What happens when the old language is lost

My consultants talk of ‘song language’ but it seems this is in part because the language in the songs is Old Tiwi, a language that is not spoken today and known today only through songs. Perhaps this also reflects their understanding of the processes of text modification from prose through poetry to song. As I have explained in Chapters Three and Four, song poetry composition was a skill taught over many years’ immersion and participation in *Pukumani* and *Kulama* associated ceremonies. The attainment of the skill of composing was highly regarded. Grau notes “[singers] gain prestige in creating songs and the audience appreciate a clever use of metaphors, allegories, and poetic images...” (Grau, 1983a, p. 55). Although word alteration and obscured word boundaries are features of almost all Tiwi songs, there is no overt aim to make the text opaque to the listener. Rather it is designed to display the cleverness of the singer. Perhaps, though, there is a sense that the songmen who had attained the skill of how to compose in this way are revered for holding a knowledge that not everybody is able to

³⁷⁶ The Australasian Performing Right Association.

³⁷⁷ *Ngarukuruwala—we sing songs*. 2008, Thornleigh NSW: Stolen Planet Productions.

³⁷⁸ The Tiwi women have used other (non-Tiwi) melodies to create Tiwi songs in this way, rather than singing the original versions as covers or with Tiwi translations. See 7.2.6.

³⁷⁹ Advice from APRA is that the women are safe from litigation regarding the influence of the melody on their “Nyingawi” song.

access. It is consistently stated by Tiwi people in discussions about song composition that the alteration of words from speech to singing creates text that flows well and sounds good within the parameters of Tiwi artistic and musical aesthetics.

However, my consultants have often commented that the language is “hard” and different from the spoken language. This is certainly in large degree today the result of the language shift and the fact that there is nowhere near the immersion in song that occurred in the past. Calista Kantilla commented: “These songs are in hard language. I know the hard language but kids today don’t know it. When I was young I was there when the old men sang those songs.”³⁸⁰ Even listening to the more recent recordings from the 1980s, we are hearing songs composed by people who would have been born in the 1920s and whose first language (and the language of their song initiation) is Old Tiwi. At the time of my research people did not talk about songs and song composition in terms of a precursor stage of creating lines of verse (as described by Osborne).

I have outlined the complex procedure involved in composing song text and have also shown how the Tiwi language is radically different today from the language in which song text is composed. As this and the following chapter explain, songs that adhere to the correct metrical patterns (for the traditional song styles) and use the correct required vocabulary (such as the time-of-day markers) can only be composed using the Old Tiwi language. Only absolute fluency in that language and mastery of its grammar would make composing possible. Add to this the fact that, having thought through items to be mentioned, singers would normally improvise their songs at the point of performance, and we start to get an understanding of how difficult the process is today for people who have never spoken the language. The additions, deletions, fusions and stress alterations that occur at the metrical level and then at the point of cantillation result in song text that is so different from the spoken language (and with that language now archaic) that most songs in the recorded material are now only partially translatable.

I will now, in Chapter 7, present a musical analysis of the song-types that make up the Tiwi song repertory and explain how, while most are still sung in traditional way,

³⁸⁰ Personal communication Calista Kantilla, listening to Mountford’s 1954 recordings. Wurrumiyanga /Nguiu 19 March 2010.

others are being re-negotiated within the context of new musical forms. In both instances I find that the basic linguistic procedures I have outlined in this chapter are followed in song texts using the “Old” and the “Modern” forms of the Tiwi language.

Chapter 7: A description of the Tiwi song-types with reference to musical characteristics

Tiwi music is an area that has not been dealt with in the literature to any depth until now. In this chapter I will give an overview of Tiwi song-types and present an inventory of Tiwi melody as a basis for relating the traditional practice and song-types to contemporary Tiwi music (which is the subject of part 2 of this chapter, and of Chapter 8). In Chapter 2 I gave an overview of the musical characteristics of each of the eleven traditional song-types currently performed or within the memory of current singers, and discussed the variability and extemporization that can be seen in Tiwi songs within the framework of traditional song-types. In part 1 of this chapter I will give a more detailed analysis of these song-types accompanied by some examples, in both old and recent recordings, of their defining musical characteristics. In part 2 I will discuss emerging musical genres, showing how the Women's group's new songs employ a number of points of continuity of composition practice, musical and linguistic elements and song-function, even in the context of non-Tiwi musical styles.

7.1 Tiwi song-types

Tiwi songs can be separated into three general performance context classifications, those connected to the *Yoi* events held at the mortuary-associated Ceremonies, those connected to the *Kulama*³⁸¹ ceremony and those songs that are secular.³⁸² Tiwi songs are also categorized into two performance styles— *Yoi* (dance) style and *Kuruwala* (singing) style.³⁸³ In my discussions with consultants I have found that many of the song-types documented by Osborne and outlined in this chapter are referred to simply as *Kulama* songs rather than by the specific name such as *Arikuruwala* or *Ariwayakulaliyi*. While most of the song-types are recognized by my (older) consultants, not many of the names are still used. People tend more often to speak

³⁸¹ As explained in Chapter 4, *Kulama* is the name of the annual initiation-related ceremony. *Kulama* is also however often used to refer to all the songs sung at *Kulama*, as well as, more generally, “old” or “traditional” song styles (and this does tend to cause some confusion).

³⁸² There is no over-arching Tiwi term for secular songs.

³⁸³ Modern *Kuruwala* songs (song-type 12) performed by the women's group do have actions, but in the traditional song-types, the *Kuruwala* song-type does not involve dance.

simply of *Yoi* songs, *Kulama* songs and *Kuruwala* songs. Grau found similar: “They always use the verb *kuruwala* plus whatever the intention of the singer was: ‘he sings to say goodbye’, or ‘he sings to give a name’” (Grau, 1983a, p. 55).

I have identified twelve musical song-types (including one vocal call) either in current use or at least recognized as what should be performed. Ten of these song-types were documented in the early twentieth century and their interrelationship according to performance context is shown in Figure 35 (Figure 42 shows how these contexts have changed today with the addition two new song-types).³⁸⁴ As I explain in my description of each song-type, there are occasions when some song-types are performed outside of the context I have specified. It must be understood that while they are traditionally performed in the context indicated in Figure 35 and Music Transcription 6, they are not confined to these. It must be said that with changes in ceremonial contexts since the most recent literature on the subject (Goodale, 1988; Grau, 1983b; Osborne, 1989) as well as a difference of opinion amongst my consultants depending on individuals’ relative adherence to cultural orthodoxy, these designations must not be taken as the definitive state of affairs.³⁸⁵

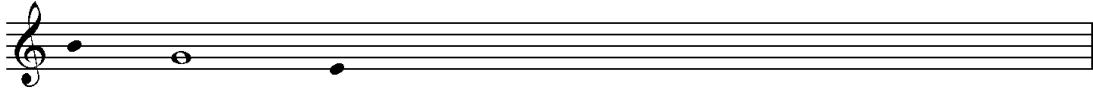
Because it is not a Tiwi song-type I will not discuss the Catholic hymns here, except to say that I include them (and the Church as a performance context) in Figure 35 to indicate their long-standing presence in the Bathurst Island community, which has inevitably had an impact on subsequent song practice.

³⁸⁴ The relationship of the song-types to *Ngarukuruwala* is also discussed further in Chapter 8.

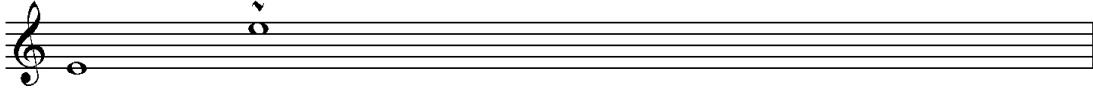
³⁸⁵ There have been changes in the last forty years to the classification of song-types, some explanation of which can be found in Appendix 10.

Yoi

1. Jipuwakirimi Yoi (Dance)



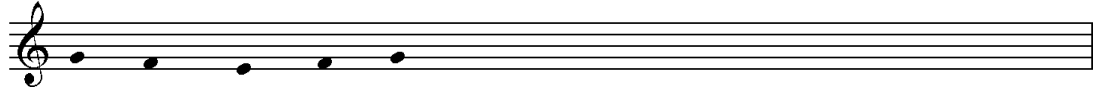
2. Sugarbag, Mosquito Call



3. Arimarrikuwamuwu (Ritual Tree Climbing)



4. Ampirimarrikimili (Women's Song)



5. Amparruwu (Widow)



6. Mamanunkuni (Sorrow)



Music Transcription 6: Outline of Melodic Contour for each of the Tiwi Song-types

Kulama

7. Arikuruwala (Kulama)



8. Ampirikuruwala (Female response)



Non-ritual

9. Ariwangilinjiya (Lullaby)



10. Apajirupwaya (Love Song)



11. Ariwayakulaliyi (Individuals' Songs)



12. Modern Kuruwala (Women's Group).

This song-type uses variations of melodies used in song-type 12 and non-Tiwi melodies, and therefore has no specific melodic contour.

Music Transcription 6: continued from previous page

I begin with the song-types performed at *Yoi* events (either within or around mortuary-related *Pukumani* or funeral ceremonies), then discuss those songs that are sung at *Kulama* and then songs that are not associated with ritual. Song-type 12 is the Women's Group's "Modern *Kuruwala*" song-type. It uses a number of melodies (including those that are not Tiwi) and so I do not include a melodic contour in Music Transcription 6.

Comparing the basic melodic structures we can see some similarities between particular song-types. *Jipuwakirimi* (1) and *Arikuruwala* (7) songs employ the least pitch variation, with the majority of each line of text on one pitch, preceded by a fall from a higher note and followed by a fall of approximately a minor 3rd.

Ampirimarrikimili (4) and *Amparruwu* (5) (both women's song-types) have a fall of a minor 3rd and return, by tonal step, to the original note. Apart from the *Apajirupwaya* (10) (Love songs) and the *Ariwayakulaliyi* (11) (individually invented songs) all of the Tiwi songs comprise an introductory higher pitch (sometimes with ornamentation) to an extended monotone and then a variable ending (either a pitch fall or a return to the main note).

7.1.1 *Jipuwakirimi*: *Yoi* Style. Ritual (and now Secular)

As Grau states:

Yoi is not only defined by the Tiwi as 'the dance' and 'to dance', and 'the event including dance' but also as 'the song used for dance', 'the rhythm of these songs' and 'to sing for a dance'. Thus *Yoi* denotes the phenomenon, the act of dancing, the music associated with dance, and the performance of that music. (Grau 1983, p. 49)

Grau's understanding of the term *Yoi* correlates with today's usage. In the context of this section, this song-type is most correctly called *Jipuwakirimi*,³⁸⁶ although everyone calls it *Yoi*. *Yoi* songs are seen as accompaniment to dance. Without being of less consequence (indeed the dance would rarely be performed without the song) it is nonetheless primarily a support for a dance, and dancing always happens when a *Yoi* is sung. Traditionally they are new songs composed especially for an event, either prior to or at the time of performance.

Yoi songs are defined by their monotonic and isorhythmic structure. The syllables are presented with no break between words or metrical units and the text is structured in the standard 5-syllable metrical pattern. However, the rhythmic enunciation of

³⁸⁶ This is in the opinion of my most senior Tiwi consultants. Osborne calls it *Ariwakirimi* (Osborne 1989, p 172) but this term was not recognized by my consultants. The part of the word *-kirimi* means "to make something" and so the song name implies "making up a song".

syllables within the constant pulse creates a rhythmic interest that varies with each singer. As is indicated by the examples in Music Transcription 7, the five syllables in each unit A can be altered at cantillation to produce rhythmic interest within a constant beat. At the fast tempo at which this song-type is performed the standard pattern of stresses on the first and fourth syllables of a metrical unit is often not distinguishable. For each example I present first the text in metrical form, and then show how it is altered in the sung form (the deleted syllables in parentheses). As example 1 in Musical Transcription 7 shows, the metrical units (shown with square under bracketing) do not always match up with the rhythmic units, because, at the performance stage, some syllables are not sung.

In her notes accompanying her 1962 recording, Alice Moyle describes the *Yoi* thus; “Despite variations in pitch the general effect is closer to monotone chanting than to singing” (Moyle, 1997, p. 33). This is an appropriate description. Considering the (rapid) speed at which the words are sung, (with one syllable per “quaver” and no melisma or long-held notes of more than a crotchet’s duration). *Yoi* performance is closer to a rhythmic calling of the text. The *Yoi* song contour does, though, include raising and lowering of pitch approximately a third above and below the principal tone (on the initial and/or final of the song line).

This is the fastest song-type with the stick/clap beats starting at about 75 bpm and, at a particular point,³⁸⁷ doubling. A *Yoi* song consists of one line of text, repeated numerous times (as many as thirty according to Osborne) (Osborne, 1989, p. 173), as determined at the time of performance. The lead singer also repeats one phrase at a time so that the group can join in, picking up more words with each iteration. Barry Puruntatameri told me that the lead singer might have to repeat the phrase a few times more “if the others can't keep up or if the dancing men need more time to get in to the right spot”.³⁸⁸ The composer will try his/her best to have the words sorted out before he sings, but if words are too difficult to remember or deemed to not fit well enough with the metrical pattern (units of 5+5+4 syllables for example) then a new word or phrase will be

³⁸⁷ Cued by the dancer. I discuss this feature more in the context of group performance in Chapter 8.

³⁸⁸ Personal communication Barry Puruntatameri, Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu April 2007.

used.³⁸⁹ The song must continue to enable the dancing of kinship and Dreaming dances. As well as group dancing, individuals take their turn to dance and so this will require more iterations of the song.

Looking at Example 1 in Music Transcription 7, the “*wu*” is an interjection specific to Crocodile *Yoi*, given as a cue by the dancer at the end of their dance and “*a eya*” is the immediate response, from both the lead singer and the group.³⁹⁰ This interjection can come at any point in the text, or at the completion of the line, with the singer then beginning that line again or moving on to a new line as the next dancer takes their turn. Sometimes people will finish their dance (by singing *wu*) in unison, but more often they choose their place to stop individually. If five people are dancing concurrently the singing will be interrupted at up to five separate points that do not correspond with a line final. This is the only song-type that has the capacity for interruption of the text in this way. Audio example 74 is the beginning of a *Yoi* event at a *Yiloti* recorded by Grau in 1981. I include it as a clear example of the group dynamic. The lead singer begins, and is joined after two iterations of the text by others around him. At four points throughout the song (each about thirty seconds apart) we hear the “*a eya*” interjection as each dancer completes his/her turn dancing. At a point half way through (01:38 in this example) the group sings Sugarbag (but not Mosquito, see 7.1.2) and then the song continues until approximately 03:05 when the end of that song text is marked by “*a eya*”. The percussive beat³⁹¹ continues and a new song begins. In the complete recording³⁹² the *Jipuwakirimi* singing continues for another twenty-five minutes (with no break in percussive beat) on the same pitch.

In the *Jipuwakirimi/Yoi* introduction to the Crocodile song (Audio Example 67) recorded in 2008 we can also hear that while the group is singing in unison, as each individual completes their section of dancing they interject with *wu* and the group responds “*a eya*”, regardless of the point of text they are up to. In his “*Parakajiyali*” song

³⁸⁹ In the *Yoi* events I observed at the *Yiloti* (Final Ceremonies) in 2012 there were occasions when the singer/s were not sure of the words needed for the particular song that was next in the proceedings. There was a lull of a few minutes while they mulled over the words and when one person had a phrase ready they started singing.

³⁹⁰ Other *Yoi* have other vocal interjections specific to the Dreaming (if a Dreaming song). In a general subject, the interjection is “*poop*” or similar. All responses are “*a eya*”.

³⁹¹ Alignment with the vocal part is indicated here and throughout with an x. See also Appendix 9.

³⁹² A01-002970.

(Example 2 in Music Transcription 7 and Audio Example 55) Eustace Tipiloura has added similar calls “a we” even though he sings solo, because (he told me) it is part of the form of this song-type and there would normally always be other people involved.

Example 1: Aloysious Puruntatameri. From *Yirrikapayi* song.1976. Audio Example 6.

Metrical form:

Wiyapurali yuwunjingima piyirumuji ngipijimi

In Wiyapurali [Country place] he saw them

Sung form:

C=E

Wiy-a - pra li (u) wun-ji ngi ma (yu) yiru (pi) ji-ngi (mu) ji mi (pi) wu a - eya

A A A B

Example 2: Eustace Tipiloura. From *Parakajiyali* song. 2011. Audio Example 55.³⁹³

Metrical form:

Ngawamukala pilajuwunji rrikimajirri miyajirra

He has given them flour, sugar, blanket, niki³⁹⁴

Sung form:

C=Bb

Nga wa mu ka la pi la ju wun ji rri ki ma ji rri mi ya ji rra a na wey a wey

A A A B

Music Transcription 7: Two examples of rhythmic interest within the constant pulse of the *Jipuwakirimi / Yoi* song-type

³⁹³ This text line is at 01:30.

³⁹⁴ Nicotine.

The tempo and metre of *Yoi* songs are fairly consistent across the repertoire, and usually the beat will continue while one song moves seamlessly into the next, the only means of differentiation being the text change and perhaps a change of singer. A *Yoi* event, within the context of a *Yilaniya* (smoking), *Yiloti* (Final Ceremony) or the *Yoi* dance stage of a funeral, is, in effect, a continuous succession of songs with accompanying dances, linked by periods in which the stick beating³⁹⁵ continues while people organize the next person/s for dancing. Often the beats continue for a minute or so before people are ready for the next song/dance.

Across the recordings one can hear singers make small variations to the duration of the syllables. Similar to the process of “swinging” quavers in western music, Tiwi singers, to varying degrees, push and pull the quaver beats within the framework of a consistent tempo and pulse (marked by percussive beats)³⁹⁶ determined by the metrical structure.³⁹⁷ The arrangement of words and syllables into complex rhythmic patterns that fit into the constant pulse is highly regarded and appreciated by Tiwi listeners. Music Transcription 8 shows how the rhythmic treatment and stick accompaniment of the same text (within one song) changes, although the pulse remains constant. This performance (recorded in 1912)³⁹⁸ is regarded highly by my Tiwi colleagues as a complex example of a *Jipuwakirimi* (*Yoi*) song. The singer begins in a rhythmically even pattern, presenting the words clearly and with no accents. As the song continues and the group joins in, the rhythms shift until the patterns are very different, to the point where in section two (shown in Musical Transcription 8) we can say that the placement of the syllables has moved from a duple subdivision of the pulse to a triple subdivision of the same tempo pulse, further organised into compound 6/8 metre. The maintaining of a regular beat and tempo while varying the rhythmic organisation to this degree is highly complex and has been widely discussed amongst senior singers.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁵ This can also be beating of a stick on a corrugated iron sheet and/or hand clapping.

³⁹⁶ Audio Examples 7 and 55 are clear examples of this.

³⁹⁷ I explain Tiwi metre in Chapter 6.

³⁹⁸ Audio Example 6.

³⁹⁹ A similar example of this complex relationship between the two sections of a *Yoi* can be heard in a song recorded by Simpson in 1948. Audio example 2.

First section.

Ngi-ya-Ke ma-rri-ya-nge-ni-la \ Nga ngi-nu ni nga ma ngin-ty rre ke-ma-tyi-nga-wu-rri-ni

Second section.

Ngi ya Ke ma rri ya ngen la \ Nga ngi nu ni nga ma ngin ty rre ka ma tyi nga wu rri ni

Music Transcription 8: 1912 *Yoi* performance showing alteration of rhythmic pattern between first and second sections. *Yirrikapayi*, Tungutalum (Audio Example 6)

Yoi songs do not include this first section today. Within a constant pulse, the beating doubles part-way through a performance, and the relationship between the rhythms in the single-beat and double-beat sections is closer. The rhythm tends, however, to be somewhat looser in the single-beat section and more regular in the doubled-beat section due to two factors: accents on the first syllable of each metrical unit give more space to the singer to stretch syllables, whereas having a stick (or clap) beat twice as often confines the syllables into an even duple pulse. Music Transcription 9 shows a more recent performance of a *Jipuwakirimi/Yoi* song (the same performance as is in Example 1, Music Transcription 7) showing the single and double beat sections. I have used dotted bar lines for ease of comparison.

Single beat

Wi - a - p(u)ra li wut - ji ya na(pi) yi ru-(mu) - ji - ni(pi) ji mi

Doubled beat

Wi - a - pra li wut - ji - a - nap- yi - ru - mu - ji - ni - pi - ji - mi
(u) (i)

Music Transcription 9: 1976 *Yoi* performance showing alteration of rhythmic pattern between single-beat and double-beat percussive accompaniment (Audio Example 7)

7.1.2 *Jalingini* (Sugarbag) and *Timilani* (Mosquito) Call. Ritual (and now secular)

I list the Sugarbag⁴⁰⁰ and Mosquito Call along with the song-types because it is a performance item that has been recorded numerous times over the last century. Although they are named separately, Sugarbag and Mosquito can be considered one item made up of two parts, one of which (Mosquito) has now fallen out of use.⁴⁰¹ The two were always performed together-Sugarbag being the lower (mid-range in a man's vocal tessitura) sung first, with the Mosquito sung a complete octave higher (up to F5). These vocalisations are unique to the Tiwi Islands and, due to the very high pitch, two calls amongst Spencer's 1912 recordings have caused some confusion amongst researchers as to whether they were vocalizations or produced by an instrument of

⁴⁰⁰ *Jalingini* (also called "Honey") is said to have originated with people of the Honey/Sugarbag clan, who first performed *Pukumani* ceremonies (Goodale, 1974, p. 284). I use the term Sugarbag because that is how it is most commonly referred to today.

⁴⁰¹ Examples of both Sugarbag and Mosquito are found amongst the live recordings made by Hart (1928), Simpson (1948), Mountford (1954), ABC Radio (1955), Wurm (1965), Holmes (1966), Sims (1972), Osborne (1975), Moyle (1976) and Grau (1980), so we can say that Mosquito was still in practice until then. People cannot recall exactly when or why the Mosquito part of the call stopped being performed. They say Mosquito is not performed anymore because it is very difficult vocally. They all agreed they would like to see it reinstated in the future. Some people refer to the call sung today (which is at the lower pitch) as Mosquito, no longer making a distinction between the two. Personal communication. Eustace Tipiloura, Bernard Tipiloura, Teresita Puruntatameri, Darwin 30 August 2009.

some sort (Moyle, 1959, p. 13; Osborne, 1989).⁴⁰² Sung by the group of men at Ceremony or at tourist performances, the calls served as the opening to the *Yoi* event, and also as markers for new sections of Ceremony.

The Sugarbag call was sung on an open vowel (*yo*) lasting about ten seconds. The lead singer then switched to the high Mosquito Call, one octave higher than the preceding Sugarbag call and in the (male) singers' falsetto tessitura. The group followed, staggering their breathing so as to give an unbroken sound that continued for about twenty seconds. The Mosquito call was not a single note, but each singer enunciated *yiyiyi ...* giving the overall effect of a high pitched vibrating sound (imitating a Mosquito). Today at group events such as *Yoi* dance sessions held either as part of mortuary rituals or public performances for visitors the proceedings open with Sugarbag and the calling of Country place names.⁴⁰³ I have included an example at Audio Example 18.

7.1.3 *Arimarrikuwamuwu* Tree Climbing. *Yoi* Style. Ritual

This is a type of bereavement song that was sung at the tree-climbing stage of the *Yilaniya* (smoking) ceremony, that was a preliminary stage of the Final Ceremony rituals (Goodale, 1974). Today tree-climbing is not done and *Yilaniya* is often held at a time separate from the Final Ceremony so songs of this type are rarely sung. They were performed (solo) by men in the same patriline as the deceased. Although it is a bereavement song-type, the subject matter is light-hearted and often humorous and the tempo is faster than the *Mamanunkuni* or *Amparruwu*.⁴⁰⁴

This song-type comprises lines of varying length and varying amounts of lines. A pattern is created by the singer using a higher pitch for each non-final line and a lower

⁴⁰² Alice Moyle incorrectly thought the calls in "Boat" and "Train" recorded in 1912 by Spencer were produced with a high-pitched didjeridu. The audition notes accompanying the material from AIATSIS lists "conch" in these song items. In both of these songs, although they are vocally similar to Mosquito, according to my consultants the calls are descriptive — of the Boat's siren and the Train's Whistle. See Appendix 5.

⁴⁰³ The Women's Group also begin their performances with *Ngarukuruwala* in this way.

⁴⁰⁴ Osborne notes that the recorded examples range from 144 to 168 beats per minute. Osborne comments on the consistency of tempo in his three recordings of Stanley Munkara (which I was not able to obtain) saying that he sang at exactly 152 bpm each time, a number of days apart (Osborne, 1989, p. 188). I was not able to access Osborne's recordings. The performance recorded by Moyle in 1976 is approximately 145 bpm.

one for the final line, creating a pattern of AB, AB and so on. The clearest recording I have been able to access is one made in 1955 for an ABC radio program.⁴⁰⁵ The tempo is approximately 172 bpm, although this might be slightly too fast.⁴⁰⁶ Music Transcription 10 is taken from the 1955 recording.⁴⁰⁷ The singer begins with an incipit while the group is singing Sugarbag. The melody proper is in two parts. The first melodic line (ML1) features a drop of a major third on the final of each alternate metrical unit of 5 syllables. The second part (ML2) is a tone down and alternates between semi-tones. The text segment “*tyonta*” is the call of the Goose and is regarded (by my consultants) as an interjection by the animal. In the recording (Audio Example 17) we hear that the singer begins his song while the group is singing the Sugarbag call. Unlike all other *Yoi* event performances I have come across (in which the soloist takes the pitch of the group call) the singer begins his song on a lower pitch, as indicated in Music Transcription 10 (the singer in 1976 does the same). Also unusual is the fact that the group holds their unison note for some beats after the soloist has begun, whereas in *Jipuwakirimi* singing the Sugarbag and/or Mosquito call finishes before the soloist begins. A feature of this song-type are the interjections shouted out by the group throughout the song in order (according to my consultants) to show support of the singer and approval of the song he is creating.

The free translation is:

I rose up on my behind

Tyonta, tyonta

I counted the crowd of Tyuwantipila

⁴⁰⁵ There is one example of *Arimarrikuwamuwu* amongst the Hart recordings from 1928 but the sound quality is not good enough for more than recognizing the melodic contour. The 1976 recording was made at an outdoor tourist performance and so includes atmospheric noise.

⁴⁰⁶ My consultants’ opinion was that all of the performances on this recording are faster than they should be.

⁴⁰⁷ The text was given to me by Clementine Puruntatameri. It was also transcribed by Osborne (1989, p 1059). It is incorrectly introduced on the 1955 recording as a “battle song”.

(group)

yo

A ya ya a ya ya ya ya a ya ya ya ya

Rri wa ngen te pa ke li ngi ra

ML1 5 5 5 ML2 5

Nga pi ngi ya ku rri wa ngen te pa ke li ngi ramp a tyon ta tyon ta Rri pwan ti wi la

4 5 5 5 7

ti pil(i)ma_ Rri pwan ti wi la Tyu wan ti pi la ti ni ngerr wi tyan ker li ke ri ngi rram pam(ani)

ML1 5 5 5 5

A pa ngi ya tya rri nya tyu wi tyan ker li mu ngar li ngi ya mi na pa

(group)

yo

tyon ta tyon ta tyon ta tyon ta tyon ta tyon ta

Music Transcription 10: *Arimarrikuwamuwu* tree-climbing song. Wampayawityimirri Black Joe, 1955 (Audio Example 17)

7.1.4 *Ampirimarrikimili* Women's song. *Yoi* Style. Ritual and secular

Ampirimarrikimili songs were recorded by Hart in 1928, by Simpson in 1948, by Osborne in 1975 and Grau in 1981.⁴⁰⁸ They were sung by women, either solo or by a group with a leader. Although Osborne recorded two examples he reported they were no longer sung or composed at the time of his fieldwork (Osborne 1989:192). This song-type is not performed today although the older women recognize it as a “woman’s tune.”⁴⁰⁹ My elderly female consultants remember this style and have been listening to the recordings with the aim of perhaps singing it again. The songs had a variety of functions and were sung both at *Pukumani*-associated ceremonies and at informal gatherings.

The melodic contour of the *Ampirimarrikimili* is consistent across the recordings. It is similar in contour to the women’s *Amparruwu* songs in that it covers a minor third by steps, beginning and returning to the tonic.⁴¹⁰ The function, context, performance style and tempo of this song-type vary across the recordings as the two examples I present here show. Example 1 in Musical Transcription 11 is from the recording of a group of women made in 1948 by Simpson. The performance style is typical of Tiwi group singing, with a regular beat (marked with hand claps) and a high dynamic level. The 8-syllable text of ML 1 is fitted over 3 percussive beats while the 14-syllable ML2 is fitted over 4 percussive beats.⁴¹¹ Note that, unlike the second line, first line does not conform to the standard metrical structure (5+5+4). The first line of text is repeated almost identically 14 times. The second line of text (and ML2) is sung three times before the recording is faded out so I can not say how many more repeats there might have been or whether there was a return of ML1.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁸ 2 items by Hart in 1928; 2 items by Simpson in 1948; 3 items by Osborne in 1975 and 6 items by Grau in 1981. I was unable to access Osborne’s recordings. A group of school children sings this melody while dancing in the documentary film “They Walked in Darkness” made in 1975.

⁴⁰⁹ Personal communication. Leonie Tipiloura, Darwin, 20 February 2012.

⁴¹⁰ I use the term “tonic” to refer to the note that serves as the principal pitch reference of the melody, either because it is the pitch with the largest time-allotment or it is the melody final (with a melodic contour that leads towards it).

⁴¹¹ In order to show this change in the musical metre clearly I have used time signatures. This does not imply however, that the singer was consciously using these time signatures.

⁴¹² This recording was edited together with others for the Radio piece “Island of Yoi” and so the singing is faded out under the return of the narrator.

Example 2 is a solo performance recorded by 1981 by Grau. The singer did not use any percussive accompaniment and the pulse and space between phrases (indicated with breath marks) are less defined. The melodic contour is used for this and four subsequent songs on Audio Example 20. I have marked three melodic lines (numbered and with brackets below the staff). Although ML1 and ML3 are very similar the singer makes a distinction between the pitch initials of ML1 and ML3, and ML1 is a two-part repeat of the motif. I have presented the rhythm (of the first song) as closely as possible to show how, within the relatively regular contour of each melodic line the rhythm varies each time, with the musical stresses reflecting the patterns of the words as they would be spoken.⁴¹³

Example 1: 1948

Free translation:⁴¹⁴ You [crocodile] are running fast on the beach

C=G

hcl ML1 ML2

× × × 14x × × × 3 × 3x (then fades out)

Mu(wu)mwa ka a li ka ti nga Ngin ta nga ni tyu tyi pi yar ti nger ru mi kepi

Example 2: 1981

Free translation:⁴¹⁵ Well, really, we are going away from here.

C=F

ML1

yi ta wa ngi ni ta pwa yawu payi nga yi ta wa ngi ni ta pwa yawu pa

ngi ni ti rrawu mur li lawu pawu ti ngi wun ti ngi ni rrawu mur li lawu pawu tingi wun ti ngi ni

Music Transcription 11: Two *Ampirimarrikimili* melodies: 1948 (Audio Example 21) 1981 (Audio Example 20)

⁴¹³ This is an important point of difference (also found in the in love songs) compared to the other song-types, which do not reflect speech patterns.

⁴¹⁴ Text transcription and translation by consultants (not confirmed, due to difficulty in audition).

⁴¹⁵ Text transcription and translation by author with Calista Kantilla.

7.1.5 *Amparruwu*: Widow songs. *Kuruwala* Style. Ritual and secular

*Amparruwu*⁴¹⁶ songs are sung by the spouse of the deceased⁴¹⁷ and are still sung by older people.⁴¹⁸ *Amparruwu* songs often have a sexual connotation because they typically describe the relationship between the singer and their spouse. They are sung at any time during the final stages of the Final Ceremony, either off to one side while the rest of the group are continuing on with the main event or after the day's activities are over, in the silence of the night. They do not require an audience.

The melody follows a definable contour: a rise of a tone on alternating line initials followed by a monotonic middle section and then a drop of a third before stepping up by tones to the original note on each alternate line ending (see Music Transcription 12). This return to the original note makes the *Amparruwu* melody similar to the *Ampirimarrikimili* melody (Song-type 3) and establishes both as a woman's tune.⁴¹⁹

Musical Transcription 12, Example 1 is a transcription of a performance by Dorothy Tipungwuti, recorded by Osborne in 1975. I show lines 5,6,7 and 8 of her performance, showing that lines 5 and 6 are the repetition of one line of text across the two-part melody. Lines 5,6 and 8 each comprise two metrical units and line 7 comprises three units (each unit marked with square brackets). In Example 2 (a recording I made of Eunice Orsto in 2010) I have shown how the singer does not define the 5-syllable structure, but extends the second unit to 12 syllables by creating a string of evenly produced notes.

⁴¹⁶ *Ampiripijukwaya* is the name listed by Osborne as the musical form. In all my discussions with consultants I have not heard this term. As I mentioned earlier, it seems that many of the sub-category terms collected by Osborne are no longer in use. I include it here for the purposes of record.

⁴¹⁷ Or if the spouse is not alive, the role is taken by the spouse's sibling, of the same gender, so that, for example, a sister of the widow would sing *Amparruwu* for her (deceased) brother-in-law.

⁴¹⁸ I have not heard young widows sing *Amparruwu*, but instead older men and women singing in their place.

⁴¹⁹ Personal communication. Calista Kantilla and Eunice Orsto. Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu, 20 April 2010.

Example 1: Dorothy Tipungwuti 1975 (Audio Example 14).

Free translation: Now we must stop what we used to do, and be chaste, wife.⁴²⁰

G=A 5 6

Mu wa wa ya par li nga rri la a mu wa wa ya par li nga rri

7 8

Mu wa wa ya ni ngi ni mu rri ngen tye rrum wa ri e nga pa mu ngu na yi nge kay

Example 2: Eunice Orsto 2010 (Audio Example 16).

Free translation: We lie together coiled like a snake.⁴²¹

C=E 1 hcl

Mur ti na yi nga wu nga ni mu wi ngi lim pa ngi mi ki ma ni mu rri ngi lim pa ngi ma

2 x x x x

Mu wa ji rri nga mu na ji rri mu ngi nin ka mi na

Music Transcription 12: Two Examples of the *Amparruwu* melody. Dorothy Tipungwuti 1975 (Audio Example 14) and Eunice Orsto 2010 (Audio Example 16)

7.1.6 *Mamanunkuni*: Sorrow songs. *Kuruwala* Style. Ritual and secular

Mamanunkuni (sorrow) songs can be sung at any time in the lead up to or during a funeral, *Yiloti* (Final) Ceremony or at *Kulama*. They are quite slow and there is often a melismatic introductory section, sung in a wide variety of ways (as discussed in 2.1.2) and the pattern of line repetition is not consistent. The standard melodic contour is

⁴²⁰ From Osborne (1989, p 953).

⁴²¹ From Eunice Orsto.

similar to *Amparruwu*, the difference being that *Mamanunkuni* songs do not return to the tonic. There is no stick or clap beating in this song-type. Example 1 in Musical Transcription 13 shows lines 1 and 4 of a performance by Long Stephen, recorded by Osborne in 1975 (Audio Example 26). The melody is broadly similar across all recordings of *Mamanunkuni*, with two Melodic Lines (marked ML1 and ML2). Line 4 shows how text line extension is achieved by singing three, rather than two, 5-syllable A units (shown with square brackets). The 3rd unit A of Line 4 is accentuated by the singer with a raise of pitch (on “*tyi*”). In this performance Melodic Line 2 always comprises one unit A and one unit B. I have included the complete performance transcription of this song at Appendix 14 in order to show the variation to the melodic contour that occurs, as well as the irregular order in which the text is presented, which I mentioned in Chapter 2.

Example 2 is of line 1 of a performance by an unidentified woman, recorded by Mountford in 1954.⁴²² The singer sings an extended unit of *Kayay*⁴²³ (I have used stemmed notes in this example to show the rhythm) and then two iterations of the text line, once on Melodic Line 2 (because it follows Melodic Line 1) and once on Melodic Line 1. Each line consists of one 5-syllable unit and one 4-syllable unit (marked with square brackets).⁴²⁴

The function of *Mamanunkuni* is, like that of *Amparruwu*, the expression of the singer’s personal grief at the loss of a loved one. While *Amparruwu* singing is directed specifically to the singer’s (deceased) spouse and is performed around the time of the related rituals for that person, *Mamanunkuni* songs were sung during *Kulama* in remembrance of (sometimes long- since departed) loved ones. Today they are sung at any time of private grieving.

⁴²² Mountford states on the recording that it is an *Amparruwu* song. Although the woman may have been *Amparruwu* status to the deceased the musical song-type is actually *Mamanunkuni*.

⁴²³ A vocalization indicating sadness (discussed in more detail in 6.7).

⁴²⁴ As it is not metrical I have not bracketed the *Kayai* phrase. It is the same length temporally as each of the two-unit phrases of text.

Example 1: Long Stephen, 1975. (Audio Example 26).

Free translation: Oh my brother.

C=B

Line 1
 ML1
 Yu wu ni yu wu nin ka ya yang Yu wu ni yu wu nin ka ya yang
 ML2

Line 4
 ML1
 Wa ka ma tyu wa ri kun tyi nge ma tyi nge ma nge ke ra rrup wa tang

Line 1
 ML2
 Yu wu ni yu wu nin ka ya yang

Example 2: Unidentified woman, 1954 (Audio Example 15).

Free Translation: Why did you leave me?

C=C#

ML1
 ML2
 ML1
 Ka yay ka yay ka yay ngim pa ngu wu na yi ni ya wa ngim pa ngu wu na yi ni ya wa

Music Transcription 13: Two examples of the *Mamanunkuni* melodic contour. Long Stephen, 1975 (Audio Example 26) and unidentified woman, 1954 (Audio Example 15)

The recording context has a marked impact on the way *Amparruwu* is sung. The tempo also varies greatly between the recorded examples — the slowest being around 60 bpm and the fastest up around 80 bpm. In recording sessions the performance style is calm and the melody more clearly defined than in recordings made at Ceremonies when, understandably, the emotional state of the singer is heightened and the surrounding noise of the group (both the others continuing to sing and from general talk, children crying, dogs barking etc.) give the recording a degree of vocal fluctuation and wailing that makes transcription and analysis all but impossible. It is also inappropriate to include either in transcription or audio an act of personal grieving. What I will say is that, while wailing and sobbing form a large part of the recorded *Amparruwu*, these do not alter the melodic structure beyond recognition. The singer is able to express intense grief within the formalities of the song-type.

7.1.7 *Arikuruwala: Kulama Songs. Kuruwala style. Ritual*

As I explain in Chapter Three, *Kulama* is the name of the annual ceremony that was traditionally held at the start of the dry season. *Arikuruwala* singing is the backbone of *Kulama* ceremony, its melodic form being heard across the three days and nights of the ceremony. It is perhaps due to its ubiquitous role that the name *Arikuruwala* means simply “singing” (with either the masculine *ari* or feminine *ampiri* prefix) and that people call it “*Kulama* style”.

The *Arikuruwala* melody was also used for bereavement-related songs during the *Pukumani* Ceremony (when they were held over the course of some days). Today the melody is similarly used for bereavement songs performed within or outside of the *Kulama* ceremony and, in fact, with the almost complete demise of the ceremony, *Kulama* songs are these days most often sung out of context, either spontaneously by an older person as part of telling a story or as an introduction to a “Modern” style song performed by the women’s group.⁴²⁵ In the past *Arikuruwala/Kulama* songs were performed by a male soloist but today women perform them just as often.⁴²⁶ Like *Jipuwakirimi*, each line of *Arikuruwala* text is sung on evenly spaced regular syllables with no breaks between units, and word boundaries going across the metre. The tempo

⁴²⁵ I discuss this context further in Chapter 8.

⁴²⁶ When a *Kulama* ceremony is held the traditional gender roles are adhered to.

ranges from around 65 up to 110 bpm across various singers, although the “quaver” pulse is slower than the *Yoi* song-types.⁴²⁷ The general rule is that the (self-accompanying) beating at the start, before the singing begins, is slower than the subsequent song-proper.

The melodic contour is consistent across recordings and contemporary performances, with the individual adding his or her own variation to the introductory melisma, using the vocables *ma*, *mm* or *aa*. The line length in this style is variable, with anywhere from three (the minimum) to eight metrical units recorded in the data (Osborne, 1989). The point at which the pitch steps down is not exactly fixed. In Example 1 in Musical Transcription 14, the singer uses the pitch fall to mark the fourth syllable of the first metrical unit, whereas in Example 2 the pitch changes occur at the line initial, the second syllable of the second metrical unit, the start of the third metrical unit and (at the second iteration) on the line final.

When the line is extended in length the added metrical units are sung on the note that is arrived at on the second metrical unit (the third pitch of the melody, used for the monotonic section of the song), with the phrase-beginning and the phrase-end remaining consistent in pitch and duration (a unit A and a unit B respectively). Vibrato is often added to the second and subsequent units. Example 2 at Musical Transcription 14 comprises an incipit with stick beats and then the first line of text, which is five units long (four A units and one B unit).⁴²⁸ Each iteration of one line of text (in this case comprising four A units then one B unit) is separated with a breath, and the metre is marked with accents on the first and fourth syllables of each unit.

⁴²⁷ See 2.1.5.

⁴²⁸ The complete song comprises 9 different lines of text, each repeated a varying number of times to result in a performance that is 85 lines in length (and three and a half minutes long).

Example 1: Foxy Tipungwuti. 1975. Audio Example 37.

C=B

stks | *incipit*

m e a wu wa e ma n ka m m ma

e m m m ma Ngi ya wi pa ngi tya rri ni la ngi ya wi pa ngi tya rri ni la

Example 2: Tractor Joe. 1975. Audio Example 29.

stks | *incipit*

o hm a ha ha hm ma ha ha hm me ma

Warn ta wu nga rra ngi ya rri pwa ka tyi me ni nge la na pu ngi te rru mwa ri ta ghim (a)

Music Transcription 14: Two examples of the *Arikuruwala* melody. Foxy Tipungwuti (Audio Example 37) and Tractor Joe (Audio Example 29)

A varying number of repetitions of the line is performed, first with the soloist seated, and singing at a relatively low pitch then, with the soloist standing, a number of iterations are given at a higher pitch (close to or actually an octave higher), the entire sequence lasting for about ten minutes. Each singer begins with stick beating that is irregular and much slower than the tempo of the song. The sticks can continue under a melismatic vocable but they do not always accompany the song text. In between each line of song there might be a few stick beats, not of a specific number. The overall impression we must get from *Arikuruwala* is that is a musical form that no two singers perform in exactly the same way. As well as two examples in Musical Transcription 14,

at Appendix 15 I give a full performance transcription of another *Arikuruwala* song.⁴²⁹ Comparison of these three versions exemplifies the range of vocal ornamentation that makes each performance unique.

7.1.8 *Ampirikuruwala: Kualama Songs. Female response. Kuruwala style. Ritual*

The *Ampirikuruwala* is the response sung by one or more women as part of the man's *Arikuruwala* song.⁴³⁰ It has a melodic contour not unlike the *Arikuruwala* except that it includes improvised ornamentation on the first unit. Traditionally these are sung at *Kulama* ceremonies, but today they are also performed by the women's group in Ngarukuruwala performances. The important feature of this song-type is the polyphonic effect created by the way in which the supporting group follows the leader in a staggered-entry response form. The response begins in time with the start of the last metrical unit of the soloist's first line. The line final is then repeated before the singer starts from the beginning of the line. This creates a seven-syllable unit with shifted accents so that the first, third and sixth syllables are stressed. This means the response is sung two syllables behind the soloist, with the accents falling on different syllables for each singer. Two or three iterations of the line will be sung, with no pause between the lines (unlike the soloist's rendition).

In performance the (usually male) soloist repeats the line a number of times alone. When she feels confident she has picked up the words, the *Ampirikuruwala* singer begins. The traditional function of this song-type, creating a duet between husband and wife, was an important symbolic gesture of spousal support, respect and sharing the knowledge within the song.⁴³¹ In a recording made in 1975 by Osborne⁴³² Tractor Joe continues to sing the text while first one woman⁴³³ and then a group sings the response. It is impossible to transcribe the two vocal lines with any exactness because of the rhythmic looseness of the singing. Musical Transcription 15, however, shows the melodic contour of each, to represent the polyphonic effect and to show how the staggered entry places the text two syllables apart. The text is taken from Osborne's

⁴²⁹ Corresponding to Audio Example 78.

⁴³⁰ It is never performed without the *Arikuruwala* solo (whether that is sung by a man or by a woman).

⁴³¹ Personal communication, Calista Kantilla. Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 25 February 2012.

⁴³² Audio Example 29.

⁴³³ The female singer is not identified.

transcription (1989, p.459).⁴³⁴ This is from the same performance as Musical Transcription 14, Example 2. I have removed pitch fluctuation markings and have bracketed the start of each line of text.

The image shows a musical transcription of a Tiwi song, consisting of three systems of staves. Each system has a male part (man) and a female part (woman). The lyrics are written below the notes, with brackets under the start of each line of text. The key signature has one flat (Bb).

System 1:
 man: Warn ta wu nga rra ngi ya rri pwa ka tyi me ni nge la na pu ngi te rru mwa ri ta ghim (a) Wa ma rri ngen te wa tyi mi nge rra
 woman: te rru mwa ri ta gha ya Warn ta wu nga rra ngi ya rri

System 2:
 man: nyu wu li gha wa ngar na pa gham Wa ma rri ngen te wa tyi mi nge rra
 woman: pwa ka tyi me ni nge rra nyu wu li gha wa ngar na pa gham Wa ma rri

System 3:
 man: nyu wu li gha wa ngar na pa gham Wa ma rri ngen te wa tyi mi nge rra etc
 woman: ngen te wa tyi mi nge rra nyu wu li gha wa ngar na pa gha

Music Transcription 15: *Arikuruwala* with *Ampirikuruwala* response. Tractor Joe and unidentified woman. 1975 (Audio Example 29)

In Musical Transcription 16 I give an example of the singer continuing to vocalize, while not singing the text, when the female response is sung. This is a common variation of this song-type.⁴³⁵

⁴³⁴ In this example I have not included the microtonal variation in order to make the figure clearer.

⁴³⁵ This corresponds with 00:30 in Audio Example 37.

man
Ngi ya wi pa ngi tya rri ni la ngi ya wi pa ngi tya rri ni la

woman
pa nga tya rra_ (ni) la a

man
a m o

woman
Ngan ta wa pa nga tya rra na la_ ngan ta wa pa nga

man
o a m o

woman
tya rra na la_ Ngan ta wa pa nga tya rra nga la nga_

Music Transcription 16: Showing relationship between *Arikuruwala* and *Ampirikuruwala* vocal lines. Foxy and Dorothy Tipungwuti, 1975 (Audio Example 37)

In the old recordings I have studied, the response follows the same format as is used today. The response singer replaces any iteration of *ngiya* (I) with *nginta* (you), creating a dialogue between her and the soloist (or the animal or ancestor he is the embodiment of). In performances recorded by Mountford and Osborne the women's response is also altered by transposing all vowels to an open *a* sound. The effect of the man's continuing to sing (either the same text or vocables) while the woman sings is to create an undulating melody with the two lines revolving around each other in heterophony. Listening to the recordings one can hear the man responding to the pitch fluctuations of the woman's line. The result is, aurally, highly complex. The ability to sing a line of text starting part-way through a word, altering the accent pattern and giving all syllables equal weight and value while hearing those same words sung concurrently but a step behind shows considerable musical skill. The fact that in most cases the song text would be new to the 'response' singers adds to this.⁴³⁶ My

⁴³⁶ In the *Ngarukuruwala* performance context the words are usually known by the group because the *Kuruwala* song texts are relatively set. The words are not exactly the same, however, as the soloist will usually change the text slightly each time and so the 'response' group is in effect repeating what they

consultants agree that this type of singing needs both people to be listening carefully to each other. Whether the soloist continues singing after the group begins is not consistent.⁴³⁷ In the recording I made in 2012⁴³⁸ the lead male singer (Stephen-Paul Kantilla) vocalizes on an open vowel (similar to the 1975 example) while two women (Leonie Tipiloura and Calista Kantilla) sing the response. Audio Examples 31, 60 and 61 are included as aural examples, each showing a different performance style within the characteristics of *Ampirikuruwala*.

7.1.9 *Ariwangilinjiya* Lullaby. *Kuruwala* Style. Secular

This song-type is slow and monotonous and the structure of the song includes a repeating meaningless vocalization, (*ayayaya..*) the aim being to induce sleep. There is no percussive accompaniment in this style, because the singer is usually holding a small child and waving the fingers of one hand in small gentle circles above the child's face. In the recording made by Mountford in 1954⁴³⁹ a man sings first, followed by a woman who performs the same song. Two important and interesting features of Tiwi song practice are evident in these: the differences between individuals' renditions of the same song, and the style of the *Ampirikuruwala* response in which the woman sings her version.

The woman sings almost entirely monotonically. The syllables are slurred together into quasi-melismatic phrases giving a hypnotic soothing effect, more as one would imagine a lullaby to be sung. While the singer uses metrically correct units, she fuses the last two syllables (*puwi*) of Text Line 1 (shown underlined in Example 1, Musical Transcription 17) and truncates the final unit of that line in all but two of the seven lines of the full performance, creating a "breath" while not affecting the pulse (marked with //).⁴⁴⁰ The most obvious difference between the two renditions of this lullaby in

have just heard. It is therefore always a feature of *Ampirikuruwala* that the response is just that—a direct response to the words being sung by the lead singer.

⁴³⁷ Whether this is due to the circumstances of the recording session or the singer's personal style I do not know.

⁴³⁸ Audio Example 31.

⁴³⁹ Audio Example 22.

⁴⁴⁰ Transcribing this song proved very difficult because my consultants were unable to recognize most of the text. *Patipatingini* (a small lizard), the first word of the song when sung by the man, is known but the words *wankelarrampuwi* 'to close one's eyes' and *kuwunawina* 'flea' given by Osborne (Osborne 1989, p1142) bear no resemblance to equivalent words in today's language. The text and translation given by

the 1954 recording are that the man uses more variation of pitch and articulates the syllables and rhythm more strongly. The man sings a melody moving across a minor 3rd and the rhythmic and syllabic delineation is more accentuated than in the woman's performance. He makes similar alterations to the end of Line 1, sometimes deleting the final syllable *wi*. My consultants' opinion is that the man was singing "to show off the words" whereas the woman sang "to really put a baby to sleep".⁴⁴¹ The melody used by the man is not recorded elsewhere, nor is it known to my consultants. I have included the text of these examples (with translation at Figure 36)⁴⁴² to show how the woman has started part-way through the line, following the *Ampirikuruwala* method of "response" singing.

Patupating am - pu - nginyu - winkelarrampuwi

Lizard she- non past- you- close eyes

Lizard will close your eyes

Kuwunawin a- minyi- ngu- wankelarrampuwi

Flea he- you- hw- close eyes

Flea will close your eyes

Figure 36: Translation of Lullaby text, 1954

Osborne for the 1954 recording and for his recording of Kituwulumi singing the same lullaby in 1975 use identical text apart from the replacement of 'lizard' by 'ant' (*walawalinga*).

⁴⁴¹ Personal communication, Strong women's group, Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 23 February 2010

⁴⁴² (Osborne, 1989, p. 1142).

Woman's performance:

1 (partial)

1

ngi nyu wan ke la rram puwi Pa tu pa ti ngam pu ngi nyu wan ke la rram puwi

2

(K)uwu na win a mi nyi ngu wan (k)e la rra A ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya

1 2

Pa tu pa tingam pu ngi nyu wan ke la rram puwi Ku wu na win a mi nyi ngu wan (k)e la rra

Detailed description: This block contains three staves of musical notation for a woman's performance. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a first ending bracket labeled '1 (partial)'. The lyrics 'ngi nyu wan ke la rram puwi Pa tu pa ti ngam pu ngi nyu wan ke la rram puwi' are written below. The second staff continues the melody with a second ending bracket labeled '2' and includes the lyrics '(K)uwu na win a mi nyi ngu wan (k)e la rra A ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya'. The third staff concludes the piece with a final melodic phrase and the lyrics 'Pa tu pa tingam pu ngi nyu wan ke la rram puwi Ku wu na win a mi nyi ngu wan (k)e la rra'. First and second endings are clearly marked with '1' and '2' above the notes.

Man's performance:

1

a ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya Pa tu pa ti ngam pu ngi nyu wan ke

1 2

la rram pu wi Pa tu pa ti ngam pu ngi nyu wan ke rra lam pu wi Kuwu na(wi) na mi nyi(ngu) wan ke

2

la rram pu wi ku wu na(wi) na mi nyi(ngu) wan ke la rram (puwi) Ku wu na(wi) na mi nyi(ngu) wan ke

1 2

la rram pu wi Pa tu pa ti ngam pu ngi nyu wan ke la rram pu wi

A ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya a ya a ya ya ya ya a ya ya ya ya

Detailed description: This block contains five staves of musical notation for a man's performance. The first staff starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a first ending bracket labeled '1'. The lyrics 'a ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya Pa tu pa ti ngam pu ngi nyu wan ke' are written below. The second staff continues the melody with a second ending bracket labeled '2' and includes the lyrics 'la rram pu wi Pa tu pa ti ngam pu ngi nyu wan ke rra lam pu wi Kuwu na(wi) na mi nyi(ngu) wan ke'. The third staff continues with the lyrics 'la rram pu wi ku wu na(wi) na mi nyi(ngu) wan ke la rram (puwi) Ku wu na(wi) na mi nyi(ngu) wan ke'. The fourth staff concludes the piece with the lyrics 'la rram pu wi Pa tu pa ti ngam pu ngi nyu wan ke la rram pu wi'. The fifth staff features a final melodic phrase with the lyrics 'A ya ya ya ya ya ya ya ya a ya a ya ya ya ya a ya ya ya ya'. First and second endings are clearly marked with '1' and '2' above the notes.

Music Transcription 17: *Ariwangilinjiya* (Lullaby), 1954 (Audio Example 22).

7.1.10 *Apajirupwaya*: Love songs. *Kuruwala* style. Secular

Love Songs were performed solo and unaccompanied. Goodale mentions Love Songs being sung by young women and that they belonged specifically to the woman who composed it, and should only be sung by that woman⁴⁴³ (Goodale, 1974, p. 40 and 131). The Love Songs are a product of the time when physical liaisons outside of the marriage promise system (under which girls were promised, often before birth, to adult men in order to fulfil mutually beneficial obligations and kinship groups) were common and, if not publicly condoned, at least widely accepted. It seems that as long as they were in secret and no public shame came to the family, extramarital liaisons were tolerated as an inevitable result of the large age gap between husband and wife that the system produced.⁴⁴⁴ These songs therefore refer to secret meetings, mostly at night, with allusions to sexual encounters veiled under references to longing, waiting and meeting by torchlight.⁴⁴⁵ They are considered far more suggestive and evocative than the *Amparruwu* songs (described earlier) that overtly mention sexual acts and body parts. The texts are not specifically about or descriptive of actual physical contact, but they paint a picture of the atmosphere, the night time, the secrecy, the waiting to meet and then thinking about it during the day. It is precisely the lack of detail that makes them all the more sensual. As one woman said to me, the listener “can fill in the blanks with whatever they imagine”.⁴⁴⁶ These were songs to be sung for the entertainment of women and were sung at informal gatherings. They were not secret however, nor regarded as naughty, and they have been played openly (sometimes in the presence of men) in our sessions together. My older female consultants recall the songs from the days they were young girls in the Bathurst Island mission and the women from across

⁴⁴³ By 1975 this might have changed because Osborne notes that a song can become well known and sung by women around the community. Amongst his recordings are songs that were performed (for the recording) by a woman who was not the composer.

⁴⁴⁴ For a thorough explanation of the pre-mission marriage system see Goodale, J. C. (1974). *Tiwi Wives. A Study of the Women of Melville Island, North Australia*. Seattle, London: University of Washington Press, *ibid*, Hart, C. (1988). *The Tiwi of North Australia* (3rd ed.). New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, Mountford, C. P. (1958). *The Tiwi: Their Art, Myth and Ceremony*. London: Phoenix House, Venbrux, E. (1995). *A Death in the Tiwi Islands. Conflict, Ritual and Social Life in an Australian Aboriginal Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁴⁴⁵ The *Apajirupwaya* songs serve a similar social function to Iwaidja *Jurtbirrk* (Barwick, L., Birch, B., & Evans, N. (2007). Iwaidja *Jurtbirrk* songs: Bringing Language and Music Together. 2, 6-34. While *Jurtbirrk* are composed and performed by men, Tiwi love songs are exclusively a women’s genre. There are similarities, however, in that the text of a Tiwi Love song relates to real events and real people (rather than spiritual or sacred subjects) and that they are implicit rather than explicit.

⁴⁴⁶ Personal communication Eunice Orsto. Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 23 February 2010

the Aspley Strait at Paru (Mantiyupi country) would sing that melody.⁴⁴⁷ The melody of the Love Songs is the most florid of the traditional song-types, with a rising and falling scalic passage on the second, third and fourth units. While these songs are no longer sung as love songs, the women's group version⁴⁴⁸ has become very popular.

The recordings of only one singer's *Apajirupwaya* were available to me (recorded by Mountford in 1954). It is therefore difficult to say what degree of variation might have been employed by other singers, including those whom Osborne recorded.⁴⁴⁹ This is the only song-type whose lines of verse are of regular length. This is because the melody has a fixed length. This makes the Love Song structure different from all the other song-types, in that it is regular and always comprises eight metrical units in total.

The women I spoke with about these songs tell me the melody is from Mantiyupi country.⁴⁵⁰ I was not able to obtain the recordings of the love songs that Osborne made in 1975, but comparing his description of the melodic contour (Osborne, 1989, p. 199) with the melody sung by an unidentified woman in 1954 (recorded by Mountford) we can presume it is basically the same. Music Transcription 18 (on pages 210 and 211) shows this melody at Example 1, with the four melodic parts numbered. I present two cycles of the melody to show the variation the singer added (in this performance) to the end of the first segment. The metrical pattern of five- and four-syllable units is not followed in this song-type. In Example 2 I give a transcription of line 1 of another performance by the same woman in 1954.⁴⁵¹ It shows how she has used the basic melody with the same cycle of four melodic parts repeating once, but with less ornamentation and so conforming to the metrical pattern.

⁴⁴⁷ They didn't sing love songs themselves because they grew up at the mission and so were not exposed to them or their social function. Personal communication Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 23 February 2010. Mountford's recordings in 1954 and Osborne's recordings in 1975 are all from Melville Island.

⁴⁴⁸ "Murli la" is discussed in 7.2.2 and 7.2.4.

⁴⁴⁹ Osborne says that the love songs he recorded in 1975 are, while "broadly similar" in musical form to the 1954 recordings, different in melody (Osborne, 1989 p.198).

⁴⁵⁰ This concurs with their memories of it being sung primarily by the women at Paru, that is in Mantiyupi country.

⁴⁵¹ 002916 00:26:45.

Example 1: Torch.

Free Translation:

I am sad that you are leaving this morning. I send all my thoughts to you.

He gave me a torch to light my way.

C=C#

1 2

Ngin tya ngu ri yu nga tyim pa tu wi tya wu

3 4

Nga tyang tya ngu ri yu _____ nga tyim pa tyu tyu

1 2

Nga ngi lam pu ka ta ngen tu te men tyi ngi ngi tya mi ghi

3 4

Nga ngi lam pu ka ta ngen tu te men tyi ngi ngi tya mi

1 2

Yi ta nge la yi ti wa te me ni tyrra ki ni ngi la

3 4

Yi ta nge la yi ti wa te me ni tyrra ki ni ngi la

Music Transcription 18: Transcription of *Apajirupwaya* (Love Song) melody. Two performances by an unidentified woman, 1954 (Audio Example 23).

The following three *Ariwayakulaliyi* song melodies are credited to particular composers.⁴⁵⁴

Melody 1: Music Transcription 19: Long Stephen.

A song performed by Long Steven in 1975⁴⁵⁵ is credited as having been composed by Tungutalum (who died in 1935) (Osborne 1989, p1076). There is no record of whether the melody or only the text was Tungutalum's, but Long Steven does not use this melody in any of his other recorded performances. It is different from the other songs in that it spans a fourth and uses major scale.

Free translation:⁴⁵⁶

L1: I am the falling star, Wurangampityimirri

L2: Showing off, anyhow, I walk right through the middle

L1
Ngi ya pri pi yam prre ki tu ra ngam pi tyi mi rri— ya la pwi yi

L2
Pa ki te pa ke mwa ri yang wa rri ngi wi pi yam prre ki ti ki li wu ri ta ma mi

L2
Pa ki te pa ke mwa ri yang(a) wa rri ngi wi pi yam prre ki ti ki li wu ri ta ma mi

Music Transcription 19: *Ariwayakulaliyi* melody, Long Stephen 1975 (Audio example 47)

⁴⁵⁴ Although Osborne does not classify Examples 1,2 or 3 as *Ariwayakulaliyi* songs it is the opinion of my consultants that they should be included in this section.

⁴⁵⁵ Recorded by Osborne. Audio Example 47.

⁴⁵⁶ Osborne 1989, p 1076.

Melody 2: Music Transcription 20: Eustace Tipiloura.

Eustace Tipiloura composed this melody and it has been used by the women's group in their *Kuruwala*-style healing songs in recent years.⁴⁵⁷ Here he explains how he owns the song, but that others have learned it from him and it is now sung at funerals for members of his kinship group.

They use it for when my family die, my father's side, blood side. That's the one they sing in the church. That's mine it's only me. They just catch it. Somebody took it from me at Garden Point and I said "all right". That was six years ago I think, six or seven years ago.⁴⁵⁸

Free translation:⁴⁵⁹

I am Brolga. I am watching in [my homeland] Wurangku

stks

[a] Ji pa pu la rri — ji pang ku lu pu rra ra ying wi ji [Wu]rang ku li mi

ji pa pu la rri ji pang ku lu pu_ rra ya yi ngun ji [Wu]rang ku li mi

Music Transcription 20: *Ariwayakulaliyi* Melody. Eustace Tipiloura (Audio Example 48)

⁴⁵⁷ In 7.2.2.2 I discuss Wurangku Murrakupuni, a song that uses this melody in a non-Tiwi musical style.

⁴⁵⁸ Personal communication, Eustace Tipiloura, Sydney 19 March 2012.

⁴⁵⁹ Translation given by Eustace Tipiloura.

Melody 3: Music Transcription 21: Enrail Munkara.

Enrail Munkara's melody is unique to *Nyingawi* songs. It is similar to the *Arikuruwala* melody where additional metrical units in a line are accommodated by additional repetition of the "tonic" pitch.⁴⁶⁰ The final unit is marked by a rise of a tone (at a non-specific place) and fall of a third occurs on the penultimate note. In this performance the singer has retained the metrical form of the text, although the rhythmic treatment of each 4-syllable unit B differs each time. In the first iteration of the line each unit B is extended to five "quaver" beats and in the second iteration it becomes seven "quavers". The melodic treatment of the text also differs on the second iteration. The pulse is even and consistent, a feature of *Nyingawi* songs in the old recordings.⁴⁶¹

Free translation:⁴⁶² First 2 units of each line are untranslatable *Nyingawi* language

3rd and 4th units of each line: the branches make a cracking noise

The image shows a musical transcription of a melody in C=F. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff has four metrical units labeled A, B, A, and B. The lyrics under the first staff are: "Tyi pu ngar lam prre ki ta wu rra Tyo ra wu tyi ni wen tyrre ke ma__ m". The second staff also has four metrical units labeled A, B, A, and B. The lyrics under the second staff are: "Tyi pu ngar lam prre ki ta wu rra__ Tyo ra wu tyi ni wen tyrre ke ma m". The melody is written in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (C=F). The notes are mostly quarter and eighth notes, with some rests and a final note that rises and then falls.

Music Transcription 21: *Ariwayakulaliyi / Nyingawi* Melody. Enrail Munkara, 1954 (Audio Example 56)

⁴⁶⁰ The tonic pitch in these songs is defined not by final position but by internal repetition. In other words, it is the most frequently repeated note.

⁴⁶¹ This has been modified in current performances of "Nyingawi" by Casmira Munkara (Audio Example 57). She places stresses on the first and fourth syllables, creating a rhythm that is similar to the Paujimi melody that has developed into some of the women's Modern *Kuruwala* songs.

⁴⁶² Translation given by Stanley Munkara.

7.1.12 Modern *Kuruwala* the Strong women's group's songs. *Kuruwala* style. Secular (and Church)

The most recent song-type is called "Modern *Kuruwala*" or "modern story-telling songs" by the Strong Women's group. It is characterized by the influence of non-Tiwi music and the years the women spent as children in the mission, learning to sing Catholic hymns in a guitar-accompanied choral style. It uses modifications of the melodies of the *Ariwayakulaliyi* song-type that have become associated with Country groups, although they can be sung (in the context of the Modern *Kuruwala* song-type) by people from any Country group. Non-Tiwi melodies have also been "borrowed" by the women, having heard pop- and folk-music songs on the radio and being taught by the nuns to sing hymns at school and at Church.

At Music Transcription 22 I give three examples of melodies that are now used for numerous songs.⁴⁶³ To show the similarity of melodic shape and structure I present them on one system (they would not, however, be performed simultaneously). They are generally at a moderate tempo and often feature group singing in two-part harmony. They are (melodically) most like the Love Songs in that they have scalar passages and larger intervallic leaps than the ritual-associated song-types. While they have demonstrably different melodies, they are all based on a ternary structure in which the first line starts on the tonic, the second line starts on a pitch higher and the third line returns to the tonic (sometimes with slight variation to the return of A, as in the case of example 3). Traditionally performed solo and with hand-clapping or sticks accompaniment, this song-type has been transplanted onto the guitar-accompanied musical style of the women's group songs with minimal melodic change (as I discuss in 7.2.1.1).

⁴⁶³ I discuss some of these songs in 7.2.

Example 1: “Murli la”

Free Translation: Hey, let’s go, together.

Example 2: “Yirrikapayi” (Crocodile)

Free translation: The crocodile man is sitting down making a spear

He was at his Country, Wiyapurali on the beach

Example 3: “Wunijaka” (Spirit of the wind)Free translation: *Jipayamurriningimirri* (ancestral name)

He is high up above us

ML1

Example 1
Murli la 1

Mur li mur li la mur li mur li la

Example 2
Yirrikapayi

Ki ma rri ya ngi ni la (a)ra wun ki ri nga rra a(mu)wa ni

Example 3
Wunijaka

Ji pa ya mu rri ni ngi mi rri

ML2

1

Mur li mur li la mur li mur li la

Ki ma rri ya ngi ni la ra wun ki ri nga rra yu wun ji rri(ti)

Ji pa ya mu rri ni ngi mi rri

ML1

1

Mur li mur li la mur li mur li la

rra m(u)wa ni (ML1 var) Kap(i)wa ta ta nga(ri) ma Wi ya pra li ti nga ta

Yi ta wa rra nga wa rri nga ni

Music Transcription 22: Three *Ariwayakulaliyi* melodic contours, composers unknown

To summarize part 1, I have documented ten traditional song-types, one traditional vocal call and one recently created song-type. These have definable characteristics while showing capacity for variability. This capacity correlates with the performance context of the song-type, with group participation resulting in more regularity while the more soloistic song-types show a greater degree of melodic, rhythmic and tempo variation.

Having described the song-types I will now explain how some song-types have been modified in current practice, while retaining fundamental elements of their musical and linguistic characteristics and function.⁴⁶⁴

7.2 Emerging musical genres

The role of women in Tiwi song practice is an important one. As briefly explained in Chapter 2, traditionally there are three main roles for women in singing

1: solo singing of widow songs (song-type 5) the lullabies (song-type 9) and the love songs (song-type 10);

2: the wife of the composer (or a group of women led by her) singing in response to the male lead (song-type 7);

3: singing *Yoi* as part of a group (of women and men) joining in a song being led by the male composer (song-type 1).

Added to these traditional roles is the recent growing call on older women to lead ceremonial singing because of the dwindling number of qualified men available. Over the past thirty years or so, in parallel with the traditional ways of singing, the Strong Women's group has developed their own song composition practice, having been taught to sing guitar-accompanied Catholic hymns and religious songs by the nuns in the mission. Building on this, they created Tiwi translations of many of those hymns as well as their own new songs. As some of them became assistant teachers at the local

⁴⁶⁴ Further renegotiations of these song-types are then discussed in the context of *Ngarkuruwala* in Chapter 8.

school they also created simple (Modern Tiwi) versions of non-Tiwi children's songs as well as songs about Tiwi animals and stories.⁴⁶⁵

This Modern *Kuruwala* (also called "Story-telling") song-type that emerged some time in the 1970s has been developed by the Strong Women's group as a way for traditional functions of song to be continued by being renegotiated in a changing society and changing musical context. As this section explains, the songs being composed and performed by the women's group can be divided into three categories: re-workings of traditional songs, substitutions of traditional song-types (continuing the former's function), and entirely new songs. In Figure 37 I have listed the categories of women's Modern *Kuruwala* songs along with the traditional song-types with the same function.

Function	Traditional song	Women's Contemporary song
Sorrow, bereavement.	(Mamanunkuni, Amparruwu and some Kulama songs)	Healing songs
Telling news, putting events on record.	Ayipa songs sung on third day of <i>Kulama</i> .	Story-telling songs.
Entertainment.	Love songs.	Murli la songs.
Imparting cultural knowledge.	Certain <i>Kulama</i> songs	Songs about flora and fauna.
Dreaming and Country.	Jipuwakirimi/Yoi	Dreaming songs, Country songs.

Figure 37: Functional correlation of traditional song-types and Modern *Kuruwala* songs

⁴⁶⁵ Amongst the recordings made by Grau in 1980 are children singing a simple Tiwi language version of "Kookaburra Sits in the Old Gumtree" and, in English "Six Little Ducks" and "Shoo Fly" (see Appendix 4). See also Appendix 19 for the numerous songs composed by the women as educational tools for children.

I will now discuss, with reference to particular songs, how this Modern *Kuruwala* song-type is emerging as one with the potential to take on (and potentially replace) the functional role of some of the traditional song-types, with *Kuruwala* style songs composed for specific funerals (and so naming an individual's Country, Dreaming and ancestors) and for community events (and so making record of current events). I have grouped the songs according to the following considerations:

- The re-casting of traditional musical features into modern forms.
- Functional substitution of traditional songs with a new song-type.
- The imparting of cultural knowledge
- The re-interpreting of traditional song-types into a rehearsed context.
- Absorbing non-traditional melodies into the Tiwi repertoire.

All of the songs include elements of traditional song practice that show a strong continuity with the process of composition that I explained in Chapter 6 and in part 1 of this chapter. I begin with songs that show how Tiwi songs are being re-invented and significantly changed while retaining fundamental elements of the music and the song-language.

7.2.1 Recasting of a traditional song-type in contemporary forms

7.2.1.1 Daniel Paujimi's melody

This melody (in the *Ariwayakulaliyi* Song-type) is now most often performed in the Modern *Kuruwala* song-type. Different song texts are composed using the melody, in the same way as other Tiwi melodies are used for numerous song texts and for different functions. My information confirms that it was composed by Daniel Paujimi, presumably sometime in the 1940s or 1950s. It was used in Church for parts of Mass sung in Tiwi by Daniel (who was a Church assistant).⁴⁶⁶ By association it has come to be

⁴⁶⁶ Personal communication. Eustace Tipiloura. Sydney, 19 March 2012.

owned by the Tikilaru Country group (Daniel's Country).⁴⁶⁷ In a recording made by Father Michael Sims in April 1972 Daniel Paujimi sings eight songs, in Tiwi but with Catholic subject matter, all of which use this melody (see Example 1, Music Transcription 23).⁴⁶⁸ Daniel's tune is fluid and lilting, and repeats a small circling melody around a "tonic", not dissimilar to European liturgical chant. Comparison with the motivations behind the composition of Church Lirrga in Wadeye (Barwick, 2003) can be drawn. Metrical and rhythmic patterns of the traditional song practice were set by the composer to texts relating to Christian liturgical stories, in a sense, creating a Tiwi version of the liturgical singing he heard in Church (performed by the Priest, and that he learned as an acolyte). Local opinion is that Daniel started to sing this melody in church and it has since been taken up by others, taught to children at school for secular and religious texts, and also by the women's group.

Although it is not the oldest recording of this melody, I present Daniel Paujimi's performance recorded in 1972 first in Music Transcription 23⁴⁶⁹ because it is regarded as the original version (him being the composer). Seven items using this melody were recorded by Osborne in 1975. The six of these that were sung by Daniel Paujimi are unfortunately not available for audition.⁴⁷⁰ Osborne also recorded Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti singing an *Apajirupwaya* (Love Song) composed by Marjorie Wonaemirri.⁴⁷¹ The melody that Mr Tipungwuti uses (Example 2 in Music Transcription 23) is the same as the first phrase of Daniel Paujimi's melody (not the Love Song melody). The melody used by a group of Bathurst Island schoolboys, recorded by Moyle at the Darwin Eisteddfod⁴⁷² in 1962 (see Example 3, Music

⁴⁶⁷ When Daniel Paujimi's son died (23.2.1010) this melody (used also for "Kupunyi", "Yinjula" and a couple of Catholic hymns) was closed for a period of time.

⁴⁶⁸ The recording Sims lodged at AIATSIS is a re-dubbing of the original recordings he made and we hear him speak and then press play on a second machine (on which the original performances were recorded). That machine has a regularly undulating pitch that should not be regarded as part of Paujimi's melody or singing style. Unfortunately this has also meant that I have not been able to elicit a complete text transcription.

⁴⁶⁹ For ease of comparison I present all six examples concurrently, in Music Transcription 23, across pages 222, 223 and 224.

⁴⁷⁰ Osborne lodged all but one of his field tapes from 1974-75 at AIATSIS and these songs are on that tape.

⁴⁷¹ Song number 204 on C04-003855B. I list this as an *Ariwayakulaliyi* song-type because although the text is from an *Apajirupwaya* (Love Song) it uses the *Ariwayakulaliyi* melody.

⁴⁷² The history of eisteddfods in Australia and Aboriginal participation in them is outside the scope of this study. These are the only recordings of Tiwi participation in eisteddfods that I am aware of.

Transcription 23) also has this melodic phrase, as well as what we can presume would have been sung as the alternating phrase by Daniel in 1975 when recorded by Osborne.

It is also used by school children at Milikapiti in 1964, recorded by Wurm, for their “Dugong”, “Yinjula” and “Whirlwind” songs (Example 4, Music Transcription 23). The women I have played this recording to are confused as to why Milikapiti children would have known that melody, as it is firmly associated with Bathurst Island people (the Tikilaru group) and the mission school. Presumably someone from Bathurst Island had taught it to them.⁴⁷³

The 1962 recording is interesting because it is the earliest recorded example of what the Strong Women call the Modern *Kuruwala* style. In this performance (Audio Example 46) we can hear the beginning of a shift from a straight duple beat to the swung compound beat that is the rhythmic feature of the women’s *Kupunyi* song, which also uses the same melody. It is evident from the recordings that over the years, the “quaver” beats have been modified as a duple time signature was imposed on to the traditional form. What are almost exactly evenly-spaced syllables grouped into units of 5 in Paujimi’s and Tipungwuti’s solo performances (Examples 1 and 2, Music Transcription 23, page 222) become a triplet, duplet in the 1962 and 1964 recordings (Examples 3 and 4, Music Transcription 23, page 223), in which the clap beats (in Example 3 only) delineate the units of 5 syllables following the standard pattern which places a stress on the first and fourth syllables.⁴⁷⁴ In the two recordings I have of the women’s group singing this melody (Examples 5 and 6, Music Transcription 23, page 224) the addition of guitar sets up a 4 beat pulse over which first three of the five syllables of the metre are set into a “swung” quaver rhythm.

⁴⁷³ Mary Elizabeth Moreen, Teresita Puruntatameri, Regina Kantilla, Calista Kantilla, Casmira Munkara. Personal communication. Darwin 20 February 2012.

⁴⁷⁴ As I have defined in 6.3.

Example 1: Daniel Paujimi. 1972 (Audio Example 41).

C=F

Example 2: Pearling Boat. Foxy Tipungwuti. 1975 (Audio Example 42).

C=F

Tyi pi lim pwa ra re wem pe ni nga ku ta wa rra ngin tya man ta nar lu kwam pe[nga]wu

Music Transcription 23: Six variations of Daniel Paujimi's *Ariwayakulaliyi* melody
(examples 1 and 2)

Example 3: Tiwi School boys. 1962 (Audio Example 43).

C=F

ML1
hcl

Ngu ka ku rram pa lur a yu wa na ru pi nga la rra yi ta wa yi

ML2

Ngu ku ku rram pa mu ra yu wa na ru pi nga la la yi ta wa ya na

ML1

Ru pi yu wa na nginta yu ri pu ru pi wi ya ngi ti ya gha yi

Example 4: Yinjula. Milikapiti School children. 1965.⁴⁷⁵ (Audio Example 44).

C=D

ML1

Ji pa ji rring yin ju la a yam pi ni wi ngi lam pu tya

ML2

Ji pa ji rring yin ju la a yam pi ni wi ngi lam pu ti ya i ya

ML1

ji pa ji rring yin ju la a yam pi ni wi ngi lam pu tya

Music Transcription 23 (examples 3 and 4) continued from previous page

⁴⁷⁵ Helen Groger Wurm's recordings of school children at Milikapiti in 1965 include two other songs that have a similar melody. Whether these are different melodies or whether they are variations on Daniel's tune is a matter of differing opinions amongst my consultants.

Example 5: Yintoola. Leonie Tipiloura. 2011 (Audio example 45.)

ML1

Ji pa ji rring yin ju la wa yam pi ngi ni ngu rru pu ngi la wa yi

guitar strumming

ML2

Ji pa ji rring yin ju la wa yam pi ngi ni ngu rru pu ngi la wa yi

ML1

Ji par tir ti ka tir ti ka yam pi wi ngi nga la pir ti ya wa yayi

Example 6: Kupunyi. Ngarukuruwala. 2008. Audio Example 46.

Ku pun yi tar tu wum pu ni nga pi

guitar strumming

mi ku ji rra kwi ya ngi lu wu ku wu la rri ngi

Music Transcription 23 (examples 5 and 6) continued from previous page

Sometime in the late 1980s the women re-arranged the song into a western-style guitar-accompanied song *Kupunyi* (Canoe), keeping elements of the old melodic structure intact. The rhythmic pattern of the *Kupunyi* text/melody follows the metre of the old songs. Although the language is Modern Tiwi, the words have been arranged into a five-syllable metre with stresses aligning to the metre rather than to reflect natural or everyday speech. Every line is metrically correct, comprising four 5-syllable A units and one 4-syllable B unit. The rhythmic pattern is “swung” to a greater or lesser extent depending on the style of guitar but the groupings of five remain clear. In Music Transcription 24 I have marked the metrical units with square brackets, to show how the women have modified the rhythmic pulse from the traditional song form to fit into a 4/4 time signature, but kept the sense of groups of five syllables.

line3 ML1
Pu tu pwa rra tu wa rra yi kun ji nu kun ji rra kwi wu mu ru pi ya ngi rra mi ya

line 3 ML2
Pu tu pwa rra tu wa rra yi kun ji rra kwi ya ngi lu wu mu ru pi ya ngi rra mi ya

line 4 ML1
Ngi ni nga ji mirn ta ti wa ra ngam pi ni wi ngi rra kwi ya ngi lu wu mi ri nga rra

Music Transcription 24: Three treatments of the word *rrakwiyangili* (dugong) in the Modern *Kuruwala Kupunyi* (Canoe) song, 2008. (Audio Example 46)

In this song the Old Tiwi word for dugong, *rrakwiyangili* is used.⁴⁷⁶ Comparing line 1 (Example 6, Music Transcription 23) with lines 3 and 4 (Music Transcription 24)⁴⁷⁷ one can see how in each line the women have altered the sound of this word and the stresses within it,⁴⁷⁸ in order to fit the metre, in much the same way as was done in the past. The two renditions of line 3 differ in that part of the word is deleted in each and in

⁴⁷⁶ The new Tiwi word for Dugong is *marntuwunyini* or *jimayi*.

⁴⁷⁷ The first iteration of line 3 was an error and the women corrected the metre as they sang.

⁴⁷⁸ The full song is at Appendix 11.11. Lines 1, 2 and 3 are the same, but 4 and 5 change.

all three lines the stresses fall on different syllables, none of which correspond to the spoken form of the word. Another feature of the old song technique is that the women change the vowel sound at the end of *rrakwiyangili* to a *u* in order to smoothly join it to *wumurupiya* (line 3) and to *wumiringarra* (line 4).⁴⁷⁹ In performance the women further elide vowels and/or add syllables in order to fit the words into this five-syllable pattern.

7.2.1.2 The Football Song

The Football song (and the Wurrumiyanga Wellbeing Centre song, and one version of *Murli la* that I discuss later in this section) all use variants of a broadly similar three-part melody, which I have defined as one of the *Ariwayakulaliyi* song-type (see example 1, Musical Transcription 22). It has a three-phrase structure similar to the melody composed by Daniel Paujimi (Music Transcription 23) and is also demonstrably similar to Eustace Tipiloura's melody (shown at Music Transcription 20). While it is similar to the melody used for *Kupunyi* and other individually composed songs, this melody creates a different relationship between text and rhythm. This melody is set to text in an additive rhythmic pattern. The rhythmic duration of a line is determined by the number of syllables in the text. A section of the melody can be extended from the second metrical unit through to the penultimate unit when the melody steps down through that and the final unit of the line (as I will show through examples here). This melody (belonging to *Mantiyupi* Country people) is considered⁴⁸⁰ a derivation of the love songs from Paru (on the south western shore of Melville island, in *Mantiyupi* country) recorded by Mountford in 1954. The tune is known these days as the "happy" tune that was sung by old women when they went out bush in order to keep in contact with each other and not get lost.⁴⁸¹ My consultants tell me it is definitely a pre-guitar melody and would have been used for unique compositions and one-off performances.

This melody has become a standard in a way similar to how the traditional melodies were used for new compositions. In the performance context the women maintain the

⁴⁷⁹ Similar vowel harmony happens in line 1, with *tarti* becoming *tartu* to join it to the next word *wumpuni*. I have not been able to establish whether this only happens in song, or if it is also a feature of speech.

⁴⁸⁰ In the opinion of older members of the Strong Women's group.

⁴⁸¹ The women still do this, but they sing other songs.

traditional practice of “putting up”⁴⁸² lines of song even while following a verse, chorus structure and chord progression and the number of beats may change from line to line. The structure comprises three melodic phrases, each of which has a variable length. In order to accommodate the varying lengths of each line of text, rather than thinking in terms of bars and phrases of a set length (as the non-Tiwi musicians do) Tiwi singers count the number of syllables and this determines the number of bars and therefore the length of the phrase. Even when a song text is fixed (having been printed out and added to the “song book” that is kept at the Literacy Centre) the order of the lines will most likely change each time it is sung as either the lead singer (if there is one) or women in turn “put up” a line that everyone knows and so can join in with after the first word or so that acts as a cue. This creates an ensemble dynamic very similar to the traditional *Yoi* singing, where the leader singer/composer sings a line and repeats it until the group joins in (in the modern style, the phrase is repeated once only). In a clear example of the women continuing old performance practices within a new style of performing we can also draw a comparison between a song with a number of text lines performed in changeable order and a string of *Yoi* songs that make up a *Yoi* event.

An important feature of the role of the women’s songs is that they are embraced by the whole Tiwi community, and their performance at the Tiwi Islands Football League Grand Final each year is a fixture. Within a mostly fixed text that tells the story of a football game, they make small changes to reflect the teams that are playing and the country place they affiliate with. This is a direct parallel with the women’s funeral songs and traditional songs for Ceremony that, while to some extent are fixed, are altered to include the individual’s kinship, dreaming and country. Music Transcription 25 shows four versions of the song text. The rhythm changes to accommodate the words and certain words have syllables deleted (shown in parentheses) in order to fit the melody. The five-syllable unit rule is not strictly followed in this song, although we can see groupings of five in the first unit of each line. Examples 2, 3 and 4 also show how the melodic line is extended from the second metrical unit (shown in square brackets) in order to accommodate the required text. The line at Example 1 is always in the song and is the standard form of the melody. Example 2 is a line that is added at the

⁴⁸² A term used by senior song-men to refer to presenting a new song at a *Yoi* or *Kulama*.

Grand Final, to include visitors to the island, and the television audience.⁴⁸³ The four examples show a variety of rhythmic alterations made to the first two crotchet beats to incorporate the different texts including appropriate team names.⁴⁸⁴ The full song text can be found in Appendix 11.7.

1
Um pi rri ma ni lo wa ji wun jing(im) pi ya man ta(wu) ni
The umpire is looking at the football and blowing the whistle

2
Nga ji nga wu la Ti wi ma mu rru ta wi nga ri pi ngu ji(ngi) ma(ja) ku(lu) mu
All of us Tiwi people and white people are watching the game

3
Mu lu wu rri la Wrang ku wu la wu ta ka li wi(ngu) ti ngi ma rru wu(ngi) li pi
The Muluwurri and Wrangku teams are running onto the field with the ball

4
Im u lu wu la Ta pa li ngu wi wu ta ka li wi(ngu) ti ngi ma rru wu(ngi) li pi
The Imulu and Tapalinga teams are running onto the field with the ball

Music Transcription 25: Football song examples of line extension

⁴⁸³ The Tiwi Grand Final is broadcast national television.

⁴⁸⁴ Although they seem to follow spoken rhythms, I am not able to fully explain the choice of particular rhythmic subdivisions of the beats.

7.2.2 The substitution of traditional song functions with a new song-type

The Football song is also an example of the use of context-specific composition that is a feature of all Tiwi songs, and makes it also belong to this grouping of modern songs that respond to and document current events.

Ayipa songs played an important role in the *Kulama* ceremony as a means of putting news and current events on record. Although *Ayipa* is a functional classification, rather than a musical one, many of my consultants talk about *Ayipa* songs as a style, indicating the composition and performance techniques involved in creating an *Ayipa* song. The songs sung at *Ayipa*, on the third day of *Kulama*, in effect created an aural public noticeboard.⁴⁸⁵ *Ayipa* is the part of the *Kulama* ceremony where the most new composition is done. It is the singer's opportunity to impress his/her audience and *Ayipa* songs are anticipated with interest. Even today with *Kulama* not often held, songmen talk about what they might sing at *Ayipa*. I call these "topical" songs (also known by some as *purakutukuntinga* or 'talk about' songs)⁴⁸⁶ as their subject matter covers current events and items of novelty. As well as being performed on the last day of *Kulama* we also hear them at the end of *Yiloti* ceremony, or these days at non-ceremonial occasions. I have included an *Ayipa* song that conforms to the *Arikuruwala* song-type at Figure 1 of Chapter 9 and the following two "Story-telling" songs are examples of the continuation of the *Ayipa* song function, composed by the women's group for any occasion they feel should be chronicled in the community's history.⁴⁸⁷

7.2.2.1 The Wurrumiyanga Wellbeing Centre song


The Wurrumiyanga Wellbeing Centre Song was composed by the women in October 2009 to celebrate the opening of the Wurrumiyanga Wellbeing Centre, a facility for Mental Health services provision. At the time there had been heated discussion around the possible re-naming of Nguiu to Wurrumiyanga (a name particular to the Country in which Nguiu stood, and owned by one group of Tiwi Traditional Owners, not everyone

⁴⁸⁵ At Figure 14 I list a selection of *Ayipa* song subjects.

⁴⁸⁶ In the context of her study of dance, Andree Grau called these "just a dance" Yoi. (Grau, 1983a).

⁴⁸⁷ Others include songs written for the arrival of the Olympic Torch Relay in 2000, a Kidney Health Day in 2012, the 100th Anniversary celebration of the mission and the modern version of the Bombing of Darwin song performed at the 75th Anniversary commemoration in 2012.

who lived there) and the women I spoke with were of the opinion that both the naming of the Centre and embedding it in this song were significant, for some in a positive way and for others in a negative way.⁴⁸⁸ We can see from the full text (Appendix 11.6) that the song mentions the name Wurrumiyanga four times and that the narrative makes clear that the project was achieved by the Traditional Owners. As I have pointed out in Chapter Three, singing something into *Kulama* was a way of putting it beyond reproof, putting it on record and giving it validity.⁴⁸⁹ This song can be seen as having this same function. Music Transcription 26 includes a free translation⁴⁹⁰ of the first line of the story.



Ngam pi Wu rru mi ya ngim pi la pi ka rri ngi ni yi pu rru wun ji ni ni ya ngi rri

The people from this country, the Traditional Owners, wrote a letter to the government

Music Transcription 26: Line 1, Wurrumiyanga Wellbeing Centre Song. (Audio Example 51)

7.2.2.2 “Wurangku Murrakupuni.” A Healing song

With the small number of men and women who are able to sing in the old way, the women’s group is relied upon more and more to sing at funerals and at the “healing” events and smoking ceremonies that are often held before the funeral day. The women have expressed their conflicted feelings about this growing reliance on their singing services. On the one hand they are happy to be needed, indeed they are the focus of the event as they sing both the Catholic hymns if required for a Mass and they also compose the important *Mamanunkuni* (sorrow) song, now usually only sung in *Kuruwala* style, the words being printed out on an ‘order of service’ sheet and handed out to all mourners. At the “Healing” (usually held the day before the funeral) the women are

⁴⁸⁸ Personal communication. Names with-held. Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 14 October 2009.

⁴⁸⁹ Such as one would take heed of news or information that is in the newspaper or in a history book.

⁴⁹⁰ Provided by the composers.

again central and lead the singing. At “healing” the family sits around for the whole day while songs are sung (for a mutual sense of togetherness and well-being rather than with a structured ceremonial purpose) and members of the extended family gather, as they arrive from out of town. As I have explained in Chapter Three, the degree to which elements of traditional ceremony (and so song) are a part of this day varies from family to family, but all funerals I have witnessed have included at least one song in the *Kuruwala* style but with *Mamanunkuni* (sorrow) function. I will describe my experience of the process of composition of a mourning song for a young woman in order to give an idea of the process of group composition these days.

The “Wurangku” Song⁴⁹¹ was composed for the funeral of a young woman from Wurangku Country who was the daughter of one of the Strong Women’s group. The funeral was held in October 2010 and this song was created in the few days prior. The melody is a traditional one composed by Eustace Tipiloura (see Music Transcription 20). Because the song text was composed by an older woman⁴⁹² who had a strong knowledge of traditional song language and composition technique, it retains much of the metrical pattern of the *Yilaniya* songs, whose function it serves these days. The full text is at Appendix 11.9, but at Figure 38 I show Lines 3 and 4⁴⁹³ in their spoken and metrical forms (the sung form is the same as the metrical form in this case). In Line 3 *yi* has been added to *ruruwari* in order to create a four-syllable unit B. ⁴⁹⁴In Line 4, rather than fusing the final of *nyirrara* and the initial of *ampi* (an option used in other songs) the women have deleted the second syllable of *ampi* and the *y* from the beginning of *ya* are deleted so that the words *ampi yawungaji* become *ampawgungaji* to create a five-syllable unit A.

⁴⁹¹ I am using the spelling preferred by the women’s group.

⁴⁹² Clementine Puruntatameri.

⁴⁹³ This line order correlates with the recording at Audio Example 49. When they sang the song at the funeral, the women sang line 3 first.

⁴⁹⁴ I have underlined each unit for clarity.

Line 3:

Spoken form: *Pili ngurupa yuwunyirraji watujingimarruwari*

The ancestors are calling out

Metrical form: *Pilingurupa* *yuwunyirraji* *watujingima* *rruwariyi*

5 5 5 4

Line 4:

Spoken form: *Kapi nyirrarra ampi yawungaji jiwati yinguji liyarra*

You have gone there our daughter, for a long time we will talk to you

Metrical form: *Kapinyirrarra* *amp(i)(y)awungaji* *jiwatiwungu* *jilyarra*

5 5 5 4

Figure 38: Example of retaining standard Tiwi metrical structure in “*Wurangku Murrakupuni*” Healing Song, 2010 (Audio Example 49)

Music Transcription 27 also shows these three lines of the song, and we can see how the metre of Unit A (five syllables) and Unit B (four syllables) is adhered to, with two cycles of this pattern completing each musical phrase.⁴⁹⁵ It depends on the guitar player (and the rhythmic accompaniment they play) as to whether the two-bar phrase comprising one sequence of five- and four-syllable units is emphasized, or whether the over-arching structure of four-bar phrases is emphasized.

⁴⁹⁵ The pattern of the old songs is lines of two or more units of five syllables with the last unit of each line comprising four syllables. Although in this song the pattern is of only one unit of five (followed by one of four) each time, the musical sense of five is strong nonetheless.

TL1 5 4 5 4
 Ngam pi wu ta Wu rang ku wu la pi rra tu wu ji ngu mu war ni

TL2 5 4 5 4
 Ngam pi wu ta wa ta nga ri ma pa ya wu rru ra ting a ta wi

TL3 5 5 5 4
 Pi li ngu ru pa yu wun yi rra ji wa tu ji ngi ma rru wa ri yi

TL4 5 5 5 4
 Ka pi nyi rra rra am pa wu nga ji ji wa ti wu ngu ji li ya rra

Music Transcription 27: Example of traditional metrical structure in non-traditional music form. Line 1, “*Wurangku Murrakupuni*” Healing Song (Audio Example 49)

Although this was a group activity, senior song-woman Clementine Puruntatameri’s authority was unquestioned, and once she’d sung it a certain way that was what was written down. She used some Old Tiwi words and she told me “I mix them up with the modern words so the young people can understand.”⁴⁹⁶ Then the group would sing through the line a few times, practising the pronunciation and how to alter the accents and syllabic lengths to make the words fit the correct metre. Although they had a series of suggestions for the text on paper in front of them it could only really be sorted out by singing it through. From the initial list of words that *must* be included, words could be swapped, shortened, repeated or morphologically altered in much the same way as formerly used in song composition. Referring to Music Transcription 27, in Text Line 1 the final of *Ngampiwutawa* is deleted and the first syllable of *Wurangkuwila* becomes the 5th syllable of a Unit A. The syllable *u* is added to the 3-syllable word *ngumwarni* to create *ngumuwarni*, 4 syllables, which is a complete Unit B.

These alterations were not at all random, or simply a matter of crushing the words into a pattern. Some versions didn’t scan well and everyone knew it. A new version would be tried by individuals around the group as suggestions until one suddenly felt right, at

⁴⁹⁶ Personal communication, Clementine Puruntatameri Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 21 June 2010.

which point there was spontaneous outburst of self-congratulation and laughter. The sense was very much of group composition. While the person who came up with the eventual successful line was congratulated for their “good words” or “clever singing” it was more a matter of everyone being pleased with their collaborative achievement. There was also a sense of collective healing and mourning through the process of articulating their grief, and Marina’s identity in the song words.

The women spent about ten hours—the whole day and into the evening—singing words, calling names and places and working them into a song to be sung at the funeral the next day. The text had to include ancestral lines by kinship terms; (“father’s mother” for example). Because the deceased could not be mentioned by name, the woman’s song identifies her through her relationship to the world she had just left. It names the country places from Wurangu through to Wurrumiyanga so as to track her spirit’s journey from Wurangu (where her spirit was first found, as an unborn child) through the places she went in her life and connections she made through marriage, to Wurrumiyanga where she died, and then back again one by one to return her spirit to Wurangu. In the song is the text (lines 12 and 16 in Appendix 11.9) of her country’s *Yirrikapayi* (crocodile) song to denote her dreaming. These text elements would be performed the next day at the funeral in *Yoi* form also, but only on the day, in the old way by the old men (and women) who would lead the *Yoi*. This song will become the most lasting record and document of the woman’s life. As Jacinta Tipungwuti commented, “It says everything that she was.”⁴⁹⁷ It places her in the realm of the past, with all the lives that have happened and the ancestors. The women knew that the youths at the funeral would not understand much of this song for the old lady. Still, it would be added to the collective oral history. It was also written down and put in the Literacy Centre as source material for future *Wurangu Murrakupuni* songs that will need to be composed (with additions and alterations to make them individual-specific).

7.2.3 Imparting cultural knowledge

I have mentioned a number of times throughout this thesis that the Strong Women’s group have made a conscious effort to use their “modern” songs as a medium for engaging Tiwi children with their culture. Although I have discussed them in reference

⁴⁹⁷ Personal communication, Jacinta Tipungwuti Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 21 June 2010.

to other features, “Nyingawi”,⁴⁹⁸ “Kupunyi”,⁴⁹⁹ “Murrntawarripijimi”,⁵⁰⁰ “Pangiyatuwi”⁵⁰¹ and “Tikilaru”⁵⁰² were all composed in order to pass on long-held ancestral knowledge. I refer again to Appendix 19 that lists the titles of a number of songs created by the women fundamentally in order to embed cultural knowledge in a musical medium and language that is, in their opinion, more approachable for young people than the traditional songs and language. The guitar-accompanied nursery-rhyme style song “Mopaditi”, for example, which is taught to children of pre-school age, tells of the *Mopaditi* (the spirits of the deceased) and warns to be wary around ceremony grounds so as not to be taken by them. It is a mock-frightening song that children love (in the same way as they do “Nyingawi”), but it also imparts deeply held ritual belief. The “Tiwi Yoi” song is another example, having a simple lyric about being Tiwi people and then listing each of the Dreaming *Yoi* in turn, and embedding the traditional *Yoi* song text of each Dreaming (Shark, Buffalo, Crocodile, Jungle Fowl etc.) so that children learn to dance and sing their *Yoi*. Another, which the women have composed recently for inclusion in a new project to record children’s songs for use in the schools, is the *Pupuni Yingiti* (Good Food) song, which lists the “bush foods” endemic to the islands and surrounding waters.⁵⁰³ These songs have been composed over the last thirty years as the women have brought up their children and grandchildren and have continued their traditional role of imparting such knowledge and information, but within a new musical (and linguistic) context. The following song is an example of preserving old song language as well as passing on an ancestral story.

7.2.3.1 The Crocodile song

The Strong Women’s group has composed a modern *Kuruwala* version of *Yirrikapayi* (Crocodile) that includes some of the text of the *Yoi* songs. Although the Dreaming songs are relatively stable in terms of text, they are often altered slightly at the time of performance. Singers with Crocodile Dreaming have over the years added to the

⁴⁹⁸ See 6.10.2

⁴⁹⁹ See 7.2.1.1

⁵⁰⁰ See 8.6.1

⁵⁰¹ See Appendix 11.12

⁵⁰² See 7.2.6.1

⁵⁰³ This song has become particularly important to the women not only because it lists the Tiwi names of many flora and fauna, but it impresses upon children the high nutritional quality of traditional food and will, they hope, inspire at least a partial return to a healthier diet.

repertoire by creating their own *Yirrikapayi Yoi* song. By way of example⁵⁰⁴ I present, at Figure 39, the texts of the crocodile song recorded in 1912, 1976, 2008 and 2010. These are song texts that are regarded as inherited Dreaming songs and are taught, passed on and continue to be used in *Yoi* current practice.

Example 1: 1912, composed by Tungutalum (Mantiyupi Country)

Ngiya kimarriyanginila⁵⁰⁵ anginumungama ngumangu wujirriki mangawurrini

I am the crocodile man. I am in the mangroves breaking up everything with my strong tail

Example 2: 1976, composed by Aloysious Puantiloura. (sung by Tikilaru country people)

Wiyapurali yuwunjingi mirrapiyamurrijingi kipijimi

In Wiyapurali (the country place) he saw them - he was running very fast

Example 3: 2008, composer unknown (sung by Mantiyupi people)

Ngiya kimarriyanginila pirlamirrawu jingimuwu

I am the crocodile man lying low down in the mud.

Example 4: 2010, composer unknown (sung by Wurangku people)

Pikilijipiyanginila winga winga ampakulumurri

Crocodile goes out with the sea

Figure 39: Text of *Yirrikapayi* (Crocodile) Song: 1912 (Audio Example 6), 1976 (Audio Example 7), 2008 (Audio Example 67) and 2009 (Audio Example 66)

The same principle applies to Ngarukuruwala's current Crocodile song. In my five years working with the women in the Ngarukuruwala group I have noted the text varying, often from one rehearsal to the next. Clementine told me "it was different on [that] night because we were following Regina. Her country clan sings that version. My

⁵⁰⁴ This should not be regarded as the complete or finite set of *Yirrikapayi* song texts.

country clan sings this version”.⁵⁰⁶ Just because one has crocodile dreaming it doesn’t mean one will sing the same crocodile song as the next person. There are numerous different versions sung across the Tiwi Islands, each connected to its own country and family groups. The song changes each time we play it because a different woman leads, so sings her own *Yoi* song and the group, to show respect to her and her country, sings it with her. Their *Kuruwala* style *Yirrikapayi* song is therefore an amalgam of numerous *Yoi* song text phrases, and has the potential to be added to in much the same way as in the past a person would create their own new *Yirrikapayi* song for a new event. The women’s group have consciously pulled these traditional song texts together into a longer song that tells the crocodile story in order that children of crocodile clans engage with their Dreaming. The *Yoi* songs are surrounded by text that tells the story of the first crocodile man. The narrative in the song (at Appendix 11.5 and corresponding with Audio File 67) was created by the women in order to embed the old story and the “hard words” of the old *Yoi* songs into a song that was approachable and learnable for children.⁵⁰⁷ It is now considered an “old” song. The text in bold font (in Appendix 11.5) is taken directly from extant *Yoi* song texts.

Line 11 (Appendix 11.5) is identical to the song recorded by Alice Moyle in 1976 (Example 2, Figure 39). An interesting modification of the 1912 word *Kimarriyanginila* can be seen in the new song text (Example 1, Figure 39), as well as in the texts of older songs. The masculine suffix *-iyanginila* can be added to a number of words indicating ‘big,’ or ‘a lot of’ so *kimarriyanginila* is a man with a big crocodile tail,⁵⁰⁸ or a big crocodile (manifested through the man who is singing). It was created as a name in 1912 and has now become to refer specifically to the singer whenever it is performed. In the 2010 text (sung by people from Wurangu country) *Pikilijipa* (mangrove tree) is given the suffix *yanginila* to create the word *Pikilijipiyanginila* (used in L13 in the new song at Appendix 11.5) that also means “a person of crocodile dreaming”.

The melody of the *Kuruwala* version of “*Yirrikapayi*” (owned by Tikilaru country people) is a three-part form, defining it as a derivation of the *Ariwayakulaliyi* melodies

⁵⁰⁶ Personal communication. Clementine Puruntatameri, Darwin 20 August 2010.

⁵⁰⁷ The ladies have told me that not many children can sing the song, although they have tried to teach it to them

⁵⁰⁸ *Kimarri* means crocodile’s tail.

(see Example 2, Musical Transcription 22). The melodic/textual relationship in this song is such that a line is sung on Melodic Line 1, repeated on Melodic Line 2, then the next line of text is song on Melodic Line 3. This pattern is usually followed in performances of this song but not always, as evidenced in the full transcription at Appendix 11.5, the repetitions sometimes crossing the 2nd and 3rd Melodic Lines. In all performances I have heard there are six beats (of guitar and sticks) between ML1 and ML2, and no rest between ML2 and ML3. The number of beats between that and the next ML1 varies. In this song the metrical form of the text is suppressed by the strong duple beat of the pulse. The example at Music Transcription 28 shows how the old text (in Example 2 in Figure 39) has been significantly altered through deletion of vowel sounds.

stks

Wi ya p(u)ra li (yu)wun ji(ngi)m(i)rra pi ya murr(i)ji ngi ki pij(i)mi

Wi ya p(u)ra li (yu)wun ji(ngi)mi rra pi ya mu(rr)i ji ngi ki pij(i) mi

Wi(li)ya (a)ra wun(i) ki ri ji ngi rra wa m(i)ya ki li mi gi

Music Transcription 28: *Yirrikapayi*. Modern *Kuruwala* Melody. Strong Women's Group, 2008 (Audio Example 67)

7.2.3.2 *Mingatalini Mamanunkuni*. The sorrow song for Clementine Puruntatameri

This song (translated as “Her Father Sorrow song”) was composed by Clementine Puruntatameri in 2011, to be sung at her own funeral. I refer to the context of this song’s composition in more detail in Chapter 9, but I will discuss its language and

function here because it is a strong example of the transmission of ancestral lore and knowledge through song.⁵⁰⁹

Figure 40 is a translation of the text. It tells the story of Clementine's ancestors (whose names I have marked in bold font) leading a large and elaborate ceremony on Melville Island for a relative with Crocodile Dreaming and is a piece of oral history that only the oldest people hold.⁵¹⁰ The text includes allusion to the ancestral story and Dreamings that Clementine wanted to document, and, through this song, pass on to her children. Line 6 is sung in the voice of the performer of the song (in this case, members of the women's group), telling the story of the brothers who (in the story) were singing at ceremony. Line 7 is sung in the voice of Clementine's father, who says, in first-person, present tense that *Alungurumirri*, the ancestral dog is teaching the song (in the historical ceremony) to another female ancestor. This continues traditional practice, bringing the ancestor into the body of the performer and the story into the present. Line 8 returns to the voice of the (current) performer of the song, telling us how the ancestors are singing sorrow for the deceased (understood by most to be Clementine, and also, by the eldest listeners, to be the deceased for which the historical ceremony was performed).

The fact that it is Clementine who has passed on this knowledge through the song is embedded in the text with the inclusion of her dreaming *Piki piki* (pig) (Line 9) as well as the bloodline of her brother (Line 6). There is reference to Crocodile in order to mark the Dreaming of her classificatory brother, a much older relation of her father's generation who was a leading song-man. In Line 5 the reference to a female crocodile building a nest is taken to be a manifestation of Clementine, connecting her to a female ancestor with crocodile Dreaming.

⁵⁰⁹ It is included here with the permission of Clementine's children.

⁵¹⁰ None of the women younger than about fifty recognized the significance of the names in the text. Personal communication Calista Kantilla. Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 19 October 2011.

- L1. *Mantirijipi rijipi agayi, yatipili-wati winkirinjimi aga*
The sound of the bird singing in the morning, let us know that it's morning.
- L2. **Mingatalini, Pilajimarri** *Mamanunkuni pirratuwujingi-wayamukuriyi,*
[ancestors' names] sorrow they are singing.
- L3. *Ngini kamini nginjirriki-majiliya-punguni-ngiyatiyi naninga-nani ngawurayi*
What has happened to my daughter? I lost her.
- L4. *Nginya yimajulujinginta Pirrawuyati Ngumanampi Juwunjirradi Ngurumayi*
I am (crocodile names)
- L5. **Arntilimingila,** *ampatilaya murrungumani jiwatipaki juntuwingurumumanyayi*
She builds her nest she built a strong like a basket to protect it from the tide.
- L6. **Tampurruwayi, Pilakirrawujimi** *wuta pirratuwujingi-wangimiji, ngirringaniya*
[Two brothers' names] they continued on with the song line calling out to his father
- L7. *Nginya Alungurumirri pili ngiya-minijingikuwaluwamamni wangi Marrakitijimawu wangini*
[Father speaking] I am Alungurumirri [name of the dog] so the dog says "I am teaching you the song".
- L8. **Purruntawulimi** *ampatimingu-jurruwilingi-rrangiraga*
[ancestors' names] he is singing *mamanunkuni*
- L9. *Jiwatyingujingiwanga ngiya Pikipikinga*
She calls herself I am (female) pig [Clementine speaking]
- L10. *Yirrikapayi kuruta-nguluwu kangi kulinjini*
Crocodile is in the swampy area, in the water and long grass
- L11. *Mawunga awungaji ngimpitu-wu-ji-ngi-ma-jili-ki-rimani*
Where she built that mound digging in the swamp

Figure 40: Text of "Mingatalini Mamanunkuni" song by Clementine Puruntatameri, 2011

The words *rijipi rijipi* in Line 1 are an onomatopoeic reference to early morning bird-call and can be translated as "the sound of a bird that calls in the morning".

Watiwinkirinjimi is a linguistic marker for morning.⁵¹¹ I was told this line was especially clever and followed the old way because funerals are always held in the morning so

⁵¹¹ See further explanation of this in 6.8.

Clementine composed the song using the correct grammar, that is, the time-of-day words/affixes appropriate to the time at which she knew it would be sung.

Clementine's skill at song-poetry is evident in this text and the depth of associated meaning and use of old word-forms⁵¹² were often commented upon as the women learned the song in preparation for the funeral at which they would perform. It is regarded as probably the last song in the Modern *Kuruwala* style to use "hard" words.

7.2.4 Re-inventing traditional songs in new performance contexts

"Murli la" songs have taken the place of the *Apajirupwaya* (Love songs) (Song-type 10). The text is relatively stable, in that it tells a particular story (of a girl and a boy who are in love but can't be together) much in the same vein as the old love songs that allude to secret, and often "extra-marital" meetings. It is performed regularly by the Strong Women's group (locally as well as for non-Tiwi audiences) and is always accompanied by laughter and banter related to the "naughty" nature of the subject. The words "Murli la", that are repeated throughout, translate roughly as "Let's (you and me) go away together" (similar to the suggestive "Hey how about it?" in English). It serves the same purpose as the Love Songs as a light-hearted entertainment for women with a deeper (unspoken) understanding of the complications of love and desire.⁵¹³ The full text is at Appendix 11.2. The melody used by the performer in 1954 (song-type 10, also a *Mantiyupi* Country melody) was reworked sometime in the 1980s into the Modern *Kuruwala* love song "Murli la".⁵¹⁴ This "Murli la" melody (see Example 1, Music Transcription 22, above) has a structure of two melodic phrases, repeated in an ABA pattern, each comprising eight beats. Being a women's song, it has become a favourite of the Strong Women's group as the final song in *Ngarukuruwala* performances. Often in these performances the women are asked to dance their "traditional" dances and so they perform *Yoi*, often as an "encore". A number of times this has happened not while they sing traditional *Yoi* (*Jipuwakirimi*) but within "Murli la".

⁵¹² There are some words that the women could not translate.

⁵¹³ Although the "arranged" system of marriage is a thing of the past, there are still strict rules relating to the Skingroups and problems of "wrong-side" liaisons between young Tiwi people are often the subject of conversation, especially amongst the older women.

⁵¹⁴ Audio Example 52.

In a recording of “Murli la” made during the Ngarukuruwala rehearsal process in 2008⁵¹⁵ one can hear that interspersed with text of the “Murli la” song, individuals sing dreaming *Yoi* text to the “Murli la” (*Mantiyupi*) melody and dance the appropriate *Yoi* movements. At Music Transcription 29 I show how the women sing “Murli la” text and Dreaming *Yoi* song texts to the “Murli la” melody.⁵¹⁶

In this instance the women are singing Dreaming *Yoi* to a new melody (and not *Jipuwakirimi*, that is usually used for *Yoi*). They are also singing (and dancing) *Yoi* to a non-Tiwi musical form. The jazz ostinato played by the band sets up a continuing pulse and repeating rhythmic pattern, not unlike in a *Yoi* event, allowing for repetition of each song to accommodate numerous dancers and the change from one song to the next without the beat stopping. The women told me too that it is the text that enables them to dance their *Yoi* even though the music is quite different (and not traditional).

⁵¹⁵ NG2008-12

⁵¹⁶ The Dreaming *Yoi* texts were offered as possibilities during discussion with the women. Brackets indicate syllables that are deleted in the sung form.

Murli la : I might get in to trouble



Tatuwali (Shark): The Shark's fin pushes through the water



Payawura (Buffalo): Buffalo walking along



Ampiji (Rainbow): Our Rainbow looking at you.



Yirrikapayi (Crocodile): I am the Crocodile.



Music Transcription 29: *Murli la* melody with examples of insertion of Dreaming Yoi text

7.2.5 Re-interpreting a traditional song-type in a “rehearsed” context

In 7.1.8 I described the *Ampirikuruwala* response sung by women in the Kulama ritual. A feature of this type is the fact that the woman sings in direct response to a song she is hearing for the first time and so the resulting duet is loose. In *Ngarukuruwala*, perhaps as a result of rehearsing together with the desire to make their songs sound more polished, the women’s group now sings the response quite differently. In a recording made of the women’s group in 2008 (Audio example 54) the soloist does not sing while the response happens. They have modified the exclamatory first unit into a melodic motif, kept the stress pattern of 1st and 3rd syllables of each unit of 5 (that the soloist sang) intact, and do not change the vowel sounds as women of the past did.⁵¹⁷ The response begins on the last syllable of the last metrical unit of the line. The line final is then reduplicated, which has the effect of creating a seven syllable metrical unit with accents on the second and fifth syllables. A recent development to further enhance the polyphonic effect is that sometimes the response group splits into smaller groups, each with their own entry point (following the rule of starting in sync with the first syllable of the last metrical unit of the line they are following). In *Ngarukuruwala* performances the women have split the response group into a three-part canon creating three or four concurrent lines depending upon whether the soloist also sings or not. This came about after the women had heard a women’s group response amongst the archived recordings in which the singers did not align their entries. Rather than have randomly staggered entries the women decided to set up a three-part canonical effect that they have performed with great success. Music Transcription 30 is taken from a video recording of the women in rehearsal in 2010.

⁵¹⁷ To the same degree that the older women do.

The image displays a musical score for a rehearsed Ampirikuruwala singing performance. It is organized into three systems, each with four staves. The top staff in each system is for the Soloist, and the three lower staves are for Response group 1, Response group 2, and Response group 3. The lyrics are written below the notes in a syllabic style.

System 1:

- Soloist:** Pu rru ku pa li Wa ya yi ngi mi nga ra ngum pa mu ngu nga yi ngam
- Response group 1:** ngu nga ra ngum pa mu ngu nga yi ngam
- Response group 2:** ngu nga ra ngum pa mu
- Response group 3:** ngu

System 2:

- Soloist:** Pu rru ku pa li Wa ya yi ngi mi nga ra ngum pa mu ngu nga yi ngam Pu rru
- Response group 1:** ngu nga yi ngam Pu rru ku pa li Wa ya yi ngi mi nga ra ngum pa mu ngu nga yi ngam
- Response group 2:** nga ra ngum pa mu ngu nga yi ngam Pu rru ku pa li Wa ya yi ngi mi nga ra ngum pa mu
- Response group 3:** (No lyrics shown for this group in this system)

System 3:

- Soloist:** ku pa li Wa ya yi nga ra ngum pa mu ngu nga yi ngam
- Response group 1:** Pu rru ku pa li Wa ya yi nga ra ngum pa mu ngu nga yi ngam
- Response group 2:** ngu nga yi ngam Pu rru ku pa li Wa ya yi nga ra ngum pa mu ngu nga yi ngam
- Response group 3:** (No lyrics shown for this group in this system)

Music Transcription 30: Example of rehearsed *Ampirikuruwala* singing. Strong Women, 2010

7.2.6 Absorbing non-traditional melodies into the Tiwi repertory

I will now look at songs that have Tiwi text and subject matter, but that use a non-Tiwi melody.

The non-Tiwi melodies of some *Kuruwala* songs have been appropriated into the culture to the point where they are now referred to as country melodies and are identified with particular country groups who are credited with having created the song in that form. The issue of copyright becomes an interesting one in this instance. It was only in the course of registering the women as composers with the Australasian Performing Right Association (APRA) that these “borrowed” melodies were consciously recognised as not being Tiwi-owned. They are not covers of the original songs and have been altered enough that they do not constitute plagiarism. At some time in the past (thirty or forty years ago) a (non-Tiwi) song would have been heard on the radio and become popular. In the tradition of improvisation and compositional creativity, people made it their own by reworking the words and the rhythms while learning the chord progressions to play on the guitar (which of course would tend to follow western musical traditions as the guitar did not exist in the Tiwi musical context). I am aware of approximately five songs (out of about fifty) that comprise melodies borrowed from the radio. In all these cases the words are not translations of the original song, but are entirely new compositions, meaningful and specific to Tiwi people. The “Nyingawi” song discussed in Chapter 6 is one of these. The examples I will give here are the Country song “Tikilaru” and a new version of the Love Song “Murli la”. The “Murrntawarrapijimi” song, (an ancestral story) will be discussed in the following chapter.

7.2.6.1 The Tikilaru Country Song.

The “Tikilaru” song belongs to the descendants of Munkara and the Tampurampi group. At a *Kulama* or *Pukumani* ceremony in the past, singers from Tikilaru country would incorporate country place names into their compositions in order to mark their affiliation with that land. Maria Munkara wrote the modern *Kuruwala* style song sometime in the 1980s or 90s using the tune of “Happy To Be On An Island in the Sun” by Demis Roussos. The song fulfils the same function as a country song in *Kulama* or Ceremony. It is now sung by older women to teach their grandchildren the place names within Tikilaru country and give them a sense of identity with that country group. The full text is given at Appendix 11.4 but I show part of the song in Musical Transcription 31 by way of comparison. Example 1 is the Demis Roussos song. The rhythms, while syncopated in places, serve to outline the stresses of the words as they would be spoken. In Example 2 we see that while the melody is almost exactly the same and the women have not retained any of the metrical system of traditional Tiwi song they have altered the words in order to fit the melody and so obscured the word boundaries and spoken stresses, as occurs in traditional song practice. The women told me they were inspired to composed the “Tikilaru” song to this melody because of the island reference and because Tikilaru country has “beautiful sunny beaches, just like in that song”.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁸ Personal communication Regina Kantilla, Sheba Fernando, Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 14 October 2009.

Example 1: Demis Roussos

Sit-ting in the sun wait-ing for a Sen-o - ri - ta to show

Gui-tars play-ing mel_ o - dies from Spain and Mex i_ co_

Soft wind blow - ing the smell of sweet ro - ses to_ each and ev' ry one

Hap-py to be_ on_ an isl - and in the_ sun

Example 2: Tikilaru Song. Women's group.

Nga wa ngi ni nga wu la mu rra ku pu ni Ti ki la_ ru

Wu ta nga waam pi a(wu) nga ruwu ta nga ri ma_ yi ma mi ni

Nga wa tu a wu nga wu nga wa ngi ni nga wu la Mu rra ku pu ni Ti ki la ru

Nga wa ku ku na ri ngim pi ri mi ngi ni nga(wu) la ti ma ni

Music Transcription 31: Text/Melody relationship comparison between “Happy to be on an Island in the Sun” and “Tikilaru” Song (Audio Example 73)

7.2.6.2 A new version of “Murli la”

A version of “Murli la” was composed by Francis Orsto as part of the Ngarukuruwala group’s activities in 2011. He used an alternative Love Song melody that his Auntie Carmeline Puantilura Pilakui had taught him in the early 1990s when he was a small boy. Carmeline had composed her version of the love song as a farewell for her husband Tony when he travelled overseas in about 1991.⁵¹⁹ Having spent some time rehearsing and recording it, Francis performed the song as part of our presentation at a Symposium held in Darwin in 2011.⁵²⁰ Afterwards, *Ku-Ngarakany* elder Kathy Mills pointed out that this melody had been borrowed from the American “country and western” song “Once a Day”, written by Bill Anderson and originally recorded in 1964 by Connie Smith, with popular covers by Loretta Lyn and George Jones.⁵²¹ The text of the chorus alludes to feelings of longing very similar to the Love Songs and so one can see why it came to inspire a new rendition of the form. It is interesting to note that neither Francis nor the women I have spoken with were aware of the link with “Once A Day” and indeed he could not hear the similarity between the two when I played the original to him. Just as traditional melodies would have been passed on within the time-horizon of living memory, or a generation or two, the origins of this melody have been forgotten and it has become a Tiwi Country melody used for love songs. The full text of “Murli la” is at Appendix 11.3. When we compare the melody of “Once a Day” with the equivalent section of melody in “Murli la” (Music Transcription 32) the similarity is clear.⁵²²

⁵¹⁹ Personal communication Tony Pilakui, Jacinta Tipungwuti, Calista Kantilla, Regina Kantilla Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 23 October 2012.

⁵²⁰ The 10th Annual Symposium on Indigenous Music and Dance. 13th and 14th of August 2011.

⁵²¹ Personal communication. Kathy Mills. Darwin. 14, August 2012. I have not been able to verify any particular occasion that people heard “Once a Day”, so can only guess it might have been on the radio either on the islands or in Darwin.

⁵²² Francis sings “Murli la” in D major in the recording I include here. The commercial recordings of “once a Day” are in various keys.

Mur-li mur - li la mur-li mur - li la Ka pi ngim pa

Once a day all day long and once a

rrimi mur ye ti a warru Ngi ya nu ka ngin ta ngim pa

night from dusk 'til dawn The on_ ly_ time I wish you weren't

ngin ta mu rri Ngi ya nyangu wa nga ngin ta ngi mi ni pi ngi tayi

gone is once a day ev' ry day all day long

Music Transcription 32: Musical Comparison between “Murli la” and “Once a Day”

Comparing one line of text that is in both versions of *Murli la*, we find another element of traditional singing practice found in both the old and new songs (and in this case, in a song with a non-Tiwi melody). In both instances the text has been altered to fit the melody. As shown in Figure 41, in the 1990s version (using the Mantiyupi tune) the women do not pronounce *ri* or *ya* in the word *nyimparimiya*. When Francis sings his version (to the tune of “Once a Day”) he enunciates all but the final syllable *ya*, but deletes the word *nginta* from the line entirely. We can also see the change from the women’s text in the 1990s version that uses the older form of the word *awungarruwu* (over there - distant). In the sung form the women do not pronounce the second syllable, *wu*. By 2011 when Francis wrote out the words of his version the word had become *awarruwu* (what is now listed in the dictionary as an alternative).⁵²³

⁵²³ Francis’ spelling of *muryeti* is also different from the way the older ladies spell the word (*muwiyati*) but it is pronounced the same way.

Kapi ngimparrimi muwiyati awungarruwu
 Wherever you go that's where I will go too

As sung by women's group (1990's version).
Kápi ngínta ngímpa[ri]mí[ya] muwiyáti á[wu]ngarruwu

As sung by Francis Orsto⁵²⁴ (2011 version).
kápi ngímparrími muryéti áwarrúwu

Figure 41: Text alteration in two versions of “Murli la”

The primacy of text over the non-Tiwi musical form in Francis' version results in an irregular “time signature”, moving the strong syllable and necessitating the addition of two extra beats' rest between each text phrase (as I show in Music Transcription 33).⁵²⁵ Performing this song with the Ngarukuruwala band has highlighted a difference of perception between Tiwi and non-Tiwi musicians. With the text as the primary structure on which the song sits, this shift of stress was very natural to Francis and easily picked up by the women accompanying him, but proved difficult for the band to adjust to, because it shifted the downbeat and so affected the placing of the tonic and dominant chords (indicated with roman numerals).⁵²⁶

⁵²⁴ Spelling given by Francis Orsto.

⁵²⁵ Audio Example 53, 04:06.

⁵²⁶ This has been regularly the most difficult aspect, for the band, of working with Tiwi songs.

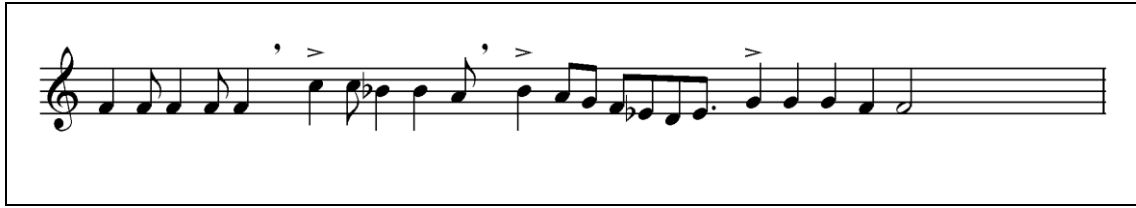
Mur-li mur - li la mur-li mur - li la Ka pi ngim pa
 rri mi mur ye ti a wa rru Ngi ya nu ka ngin
 ta ngim pa ngin ta mu rri Ngi ya nya ngu
 wa nga ngin ta ngi mi ni pi ngi tayi

Music Transcription 33: Shift of stresses in “Murli la”. 2011 (Audio Example 53)

This “Murli la” has also been re-worked by the Ngarukuruwala group. Audio Example 53 begins with the 1954 recording of a Love Song that I have described in 7.1.10. This is followed by an improvised trumpet solo, echoing the melody (shown at Music Transcription 34).⁵²⁷ This then leads into an instrumental arrangement that I wrote. Music Transcription 35 shows the first four bars of the arrangement.⁵²⁸ The guitar and vocal section (performed by Francis) was recorded in Wurrumiyanga, while the band section was recorded in Sydney. The instrumental arrangement was devised initially as a means of moving from the key in which the 1954 soloist sings and the key Francis used for his song. It is in 5/8, partly as a reference to the 5-syllable metre of Tiwi songs, and partly because the trumpet player had created a loosely quintuple feel in his solo and my arrangement led on from there.

⁵²⁷ Audio Example 53, 0:28.

⁵²⁸ Audio Example 53, 0:59.



Music Transcription 34: Improvised trumpet response to 1954 Love Song (Audio Example 53)

Music Transcription 35: Instrumental arrangement of 1954 Love Song (Audio Example 53)

This song is emblematic of the conduit between the old recordings and new forms of Tiwi music making and represents what is perhaps the future of the relationship between the next generation of Tiwi singers and the ancestors from whom they will continue to learn. It is also demonstrative of the collaboration between Tiwi and non-Tiwi musicians in the context of working with the old recordings.

7.3 Conclusion to Chapter Seven

In the first part of this chapter I presented the main song-types of the Tiwi genre, with reference to their function, their performance context and their musical characteristics. Through musical analysis I have identified the defining characteristics of each song-type while showing the degree of variability, finding there is room for improvisation and innovation within each recognisable melodic form. Song-type 11 (the individuals' melodies) and song-type 12 (the women's

Modern *Kuruwala*) can be regarded as a cross-over between the traditional and the contemporary song practice, with a number of re-interpretations of the former manifesting in the latter. I have also explained (in part 2) how, since becoming active in song composition in the 1980s, the Strong Women have continued to compose new songs with a number of motivations that can be seen as being equivalent to the composers of traditional song-types: linguistic instruction, the transmission of stories and cultural knowledge, marking Dreaming, kinship and Country and as social record.

Having presented the traditional Tiwi song-types and some of the ways in which they are being replaced, reinvented or preserved, I close this chapter with an updating of the diagram I presented at the beginning of part 1.⁵²⁹ The diagram in Figure 42 shows that the performance contexts of Tiwi songs have become more overlapping, with the diminishing of the *Kulama* context and the expansion of the *Yoi* context to include church and funeral occasions as well as non-ritual events. It also shows that many of the traditional song-types are now performed within Ngarukuruwala. This leads me to Chapter 8, in which I provide some discussion of Tiwi musical practice in terms of concept and performance that have come up in the process of my working with the women in Ngarukuruwala and how the women are continuing the fundamental functions of song traditions in their new work.

⁵²⁹ See Figure 35.

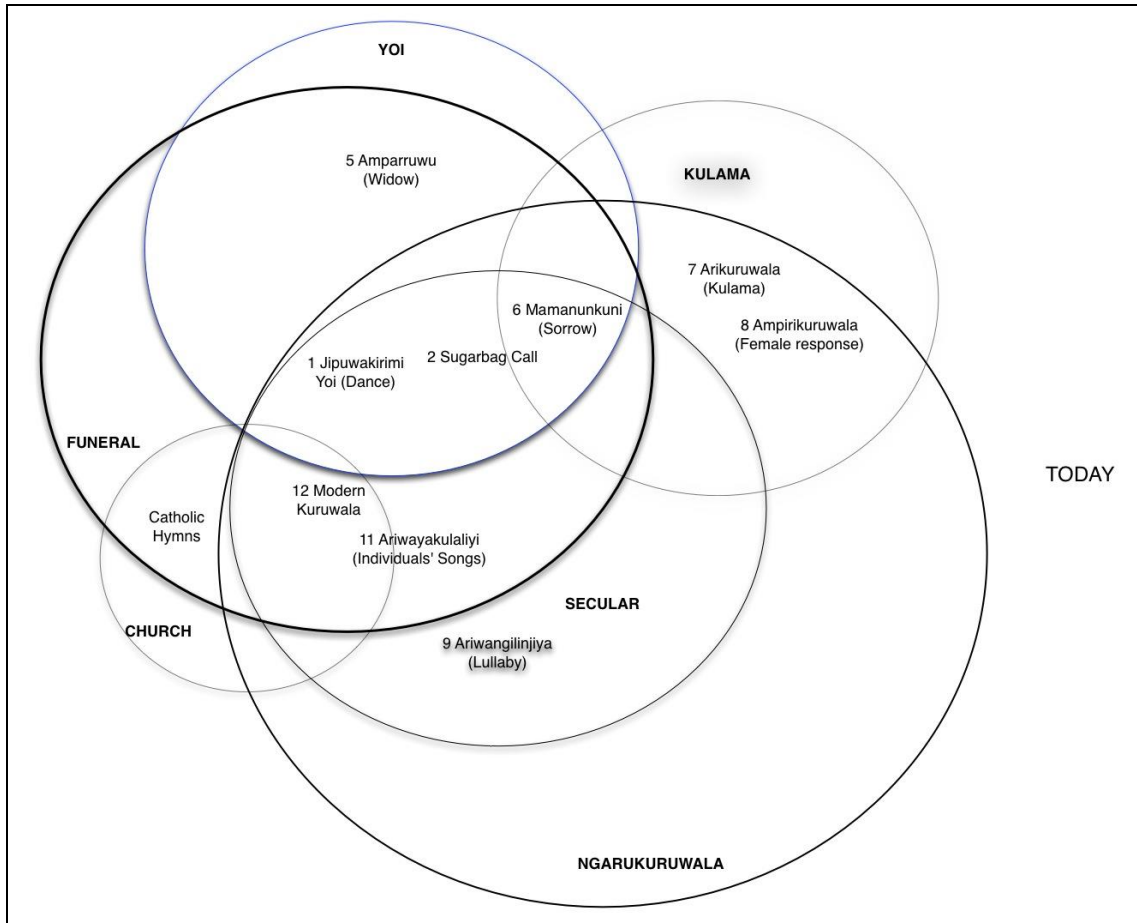


Figure 42: Tiwi song performance contexts. Today

Chapter 8: Ngarukuruwala—we sing songs

Having described in the previous chapter how the women’s group has re-cast old songs and maintained their functions in the context of a new song type, I now continue with their most recent re-inventions and new ways of thinking about the role of song through our collaboration in Ngarukuruwala—we sing songs. This will take the form of examining the collaborative rehearsal, performance and recording processes and the ways in which the project has led to the senior women (and men) using music as the basis for community projects aimed at improving social health and ameliorating language loss. By giving an account of Ngarukuruwala’s activities over the last six years I will show how the function and meaning of the songs the Tiwi women perform have not changed substantially from those of the songs in their traditional form. This serves as a precursor to my concluding chapter because Ngarukuruwala has been the foundation of my association with the Tiwi community and the conduit through which all of my study of Tiwi music has occurred. Many aspects of my research on the traditional song-types, language, composition, performance practices and the repatriation of the old recordings have been encountered during—and indeed because of—the Ngarukuruwala collaboration.

8.1 The Ngarukuruwala project

I have explained earlier in the thesis how the Strong Women’s group has become pro-active in the task of “preserving” their culture through the medium of song and also in inspiring the maintenance of song practice. Having realised how much of their cultural identity they lost through their own childhoods, in the mission, they have taken on the challenge of saving what they can of the traditions and inspiring interest and pride in songs amongst young Tiwi people. One of the project’s core aims, therefore, has been to invigorate and share Tiwi song culture, both within the community and beyond, through new music collaborations based on old Tiwi songs.⁵³⁰

⁵³⁰ These were goals expressed by the Women’s group in our initial discussions in early 2007.

In the context of Ngarukuruwala we have been working on two tandem—distinct, yet interconnecting—song based activities. The collaboration has been the impetus for the women’s group to engage with the repatriated recordings as source material for new music and as a pedagogical tool with children, in whom they hope to inspire interest in the language and the actual songs themselves. While listening to old recordings, out of which come discussions of place, spirituality, heritage, family, sentiment, memories, language and song traditions, they are also creating their own body of new work and recording it, both for current community-based music projects, for Ngarukuruwala and for posterity. There is interweaving of old and new, with old stories, text elements and melodies combining with new (and non-Tiwi) musical ideas. For example, a recording session on a new song might bring up talk of a particular Country place named therein or a reference to an ancestor. I will then search for an old recording using the growing database we have of singers, Country affiliations and/or Dreaming subjects. This in turn leads back to decisions about who should sing the new song, which (Country) melody and whose version of text should be used. When the Strong Women direct the creation of a new arrangement of one of their songs for our band they are continuing traditional practices of innovation within the continuum of knowledge transmission.

As I have shown in the previous chapter, when the women sing in non-Tiwi musical styles they often keep to the underlying metrical rules of Tiwi singing. In the Ngarukuruwala collaboration, a song may be (melodically and harmonically at least) hardly recognisable from its *Yoi* or *Kulama* version, but it is considered, by the women, and therefore the whole ensemble, as the same song. The meaning and resonance of the song have survived the process of re-invention very much intact.⁵³¹

⁵³¹ The fact that the “Ngarukuruwala we sing songs” CD, won Best *Traditional* Music Recording at the 2008 NT Indigenous Music Awards attests to the success of this project and is something of which the whole group is very proud (my italicization).

8.1.1 The Ngarukuruwala band

The initial group of players and I worked together in 2005 and 2006 in a “contemporary jazz” group. This had been my first foray into jazz playing and when, in early 2007, I began planning collaboration with the Tiwi women it seemed to me that jazz would be a successful musical fit. Since 2007 there have been fourteen instrumentalists involved in various line-ups in the band. All are professional players, friends and colleagues. For various reasons, mostly of availability,⁵³² each time we have had a performance or recording opportunity I have brought together the best combination possible with the available funds to produce a balanced ensemble. Although we have never all played together there has been enough of a crossover of players that we all know (mostly!) what is going on. I list the band members and instrumentation at Appendix 16, which indicates that at each performance there has been a rhythm section and at least two brass/wind instruments and we have not had exactly the same ensemble more than twice. The women’s group personnel have, similarly, changed slightly, depending on individuals’ health and availability. The changeable nature of the ensemble has meant that, although there are songs we have all now played a number of times, each time we get together we are, to a degree, starting from scratch. Before each rehearsal or performance activity the band members have met to discuss logistics of venue and transport that might inform decisions about instrumentation⁵³³ and playlists, but all musical decisions are made once the whole group is together.

8.2 Why Tiwi songs work well with jazz

As I have shown throughout this thesis, Tiwi musical culture predominantly values novelty and innovation—a contemporary music scene if ever there was one—and it can be compared with some elements of jazz. When an elder song man “puts up” a song he is creating something new. His song is unique to him,

⁵³² Only one person chose not to return to the project due to personal and artistic reasons. All others have been proud and eager to be involved again.

⁵³³ The use of electric or acoustic bass and the amount of percussion has depended on transportability to and from the islands.

and to his performance. He has perhaps been singing quietly to himself for days beforehand, mulling over ideas for words and making sure they fit with the melody he'll use. At the actual time of performing though, he is extemporizing around the structure of melodic, metrical and rhythmic rules that he knows well. As I have outlined in Chapter 6, the process the Tiwi singer goes through in the moment of performance is a complex one. Just as a rap artist or scat singer creates as they sing, so too a Tiwi song-man or song-woman composes words into song poetry as they sing. The melody, the text and the musical feel of a jazz "standard" remain similar enough to the original for it to remain recognisable and yet each performer (singer or instrumentalist) has the creative freedom to modify, ornament and improvise around the elements that define it. The *Yoi* songs can be regarded in the same way. The Dreaming songs (Shark, Crocodile or Moonfish for example) can be regarded as "standards" and yet each time they are sung they are varied according to the creative improvisation of the performer.

Extemporization of text that fits the required metrical form while being poetically, symbolically, spiritually and/or socially meaningful and artistically complex and interesting requires great skill. It is not random luck, just as a jazz player doesn't just play anything, but relies on their musical training, instrumental technique and artistic sophistication. The chord progressions, rhythmic patterns, phrases and overall structure of the piece are known to the player and s/he improvises within that framework. In all our work together there has been this sense of improvisation, with a constant interplay between the band and the ladies in terms of phrasing, tempi and keys, with very little written down and most (and in some performances, all) of the music happening spontaneously and aurally. While the underlying processes of improvisation were quite different for Tiwi and non-Tiwi musicians, the relationship between the extemporising soloist and the supporting ensemble in Tiwi practice and in jazz was, we discovered, not so dissimilar. The organic nature of the group dynamic, in terms of changing "lead" singer or instrumentalist, the elongation of sections of a song for dance and/or instrumental soloing and visual as well as musical cues for beginning and ending phrases or sections saw a number of correlated aspects. The improvised instrumental sections were, of course,

different each time, while always being informed by the melody and rhythms of the song that the women sing. In the same way the women alter their performance of the accompanying dance, both in terms of actions and structure, to fit the tempo and beat of the band.

I will give one example of this: “Yirrikapayi” (Crocodile).

8.2.1 Jazz “Yirrikapayi”

In 7.5.1 I described the Modern *Kuruwala* version of “Yirrikapayi” as a series of lines of text that can be combined in different order, not unlike a string of *Yoi* songs. The Ngarukuruwala recording of “Yirrikapayi” (Audio Example 68) comprises not only this *Kuruwala* song, but also a traditional *Jipuwakirimi* song as an introduction with an improvised instrumental bridge between the two. During the recording process it was decided amongst the band members to take the tempo up a notch and the pitch down a tone to represent an expansion out from the old song. The drummer and bass player take over the rhythmic modes of the *Yoi*. The drummer takes over the beat and embellishes it with rhythms from the *Yoi* text. The bass plays a repeating melodic line imitating the *Yoi* melody which creates an ostinato and the horn, clarinet and saxophone play fragments based on the *wu a eya* call of the *Yoi* “Yirrikapayi”.⁵³⁴ This is an improvised piece, recorded in one take and is the band’s response to the *Yoi* song.⁵³⁵

The fact that there are many different texts for Crocodile means that the *Kuruwala* version of the song is also partly improvised. Depending on which combination of women is singing there will be slightly different text, so line lengths and phrasing change, necessitating different chord change points — all issues of some importance to the band who are working aurally, listening for the melody, chord changes and phrases, not knowing the intricacies of the language. This question of different understandings of musical structures has been in large

⁵³⁴ See 7.1.1.

⁵³⁵ In this recording, when the band takes over the women do not sing but in other performances they have re-introduced the song during the band’s improvisation.

degree the main point of difference between the Tiwi women and the Sydney and Darwin musicians.

All of our performances (of Crocodile and other songs) therefore have included sections of instrumental improvisation, sometimes as accompaniment to the women singing and sometimes as accompaniment for dancing *Yoi*. Transcription is not necessary to document these, as the idiom of jazz improvisation is one the reader would be familiar with, so I refer instead to Audio Examples 54, 68 and 77.

8.3 Group dynamics

The way in which a musical ensemble works together varies across ensemble types and musical styles. In a *Yoi* event there is an almost symbiotic connection between singer and dancer whereby the song can be repeated an un-specified number of times and, with the singer watching the dancer closely to catch a specific movement and the dancer listening for the correct point in metre of the song, the two will synchronise the end their performance to within one beat.⁵³⁶ This happens consistently in traditional *Yoi* performance and also in the way the women work together as a group. The women (singers and dancers) work off each other's aural and visual cues to create an organically unfolding organisation of verses and choruses (if the song has that structure) and the "coda" that is often a number of repetitions of the text line "*kurukangawakayi*"⁵³⁷ will, similarly be cued in and cued out with a combination of dance movements and vocal markers. This makes for a steep learning curve on the part of the non-Tiwi musicians who are accustomed to a combination of written music, a designated leader and a pre-determined plan for the structure of the piece. Augusta Pautjimi (shown at Photograph 6) spent some time explaining to bass player Brendan Clarke where the chord changes should be, and made the following comment:

⁵³⁶ I comment on this in 7.1.1.

⁵³⁷ Explained in 6.7.

It was good you know, to be showing Brendan how to play [his bass] at the right places. Maybe he thought it would be easy. No way! he said, you mob changing it up all the time! (Augusta Pautjimi, May 2008).



Photograph 6: Augusta Pautjimi teaching Brendan Clarke the phrase structure of “Kupunyi” Nguuu, May 2008. Photograph by Genevieve Campbell

The women also maintain the general principle of support singing from the *Ampirikuruwala* song-type.⁵³⁸ Rather than attempting to come in on the same beat it is more respectful of the leader to start singing part-way through the line. This staggered entry effect is a feature of the women’s choral technique that was, at first, quite difficult for the band to follow, but now that we expect it (as Tiwi musicians do) we are able to work with it well.

Traditionally (in Tiwi music) certain people were authorized to sing certain song subjects in line with kinship and Dreaming connections. With fewer people able to sing there has been a necessary loosening of these protocols but it is certainly preferable that the correct person sings the song with which they identify. In our professional performances in Ngarukuruwala the protocol for leading is followed just as closely as in a ceremonial context. The *Kulama* introduction will be sung by whoever is deemed the most appropriate, for reasons of affiliation to the song’s ownership group (kinship or Country) and/or rank as an elder. Playlists

⁵³⁸ I describe this song-type in 7.1.8.

have almost always changed between sound-check and performance, as have the women's physical arrangement on stage, who plays sticks and guitar and who sings *Kulama* solos, due to the motivations, kinship obligations and emotional state of the women. While this makes it difficult for producers who would like the name of the soloist for the programme, or the stage manager who wants to set lighting and sound technicians who need to set microphones, we simply have to wait until the performance to know who will sing a particular introduction or which song will be performed. Certain songs have become favourites over the course of our performances. This is in part due to the women's growing sense of wanting things to go as planned, and to rehearse, and they have chosen to sing songs we have done successfully before such as Crocodile or Canoe. One could say that in response to our collaboration the Tiwi women have become more interested in replicating performances while the band has become more interested in improvising.

8.4 Meshing and aligning motivations for performance

In Chapter 2 I noted the potential for performance being affected by the relationship between singer and researcher/recorder. There are also differing attitudes to performance, especially for indigenous people for whom the art form they are contracted to perform is not a rehearsed, created item, but a public showing of what is in essence, what they do anyway. Tourism and the objectification of indigenous performance as a motivation for (and also as the outcome of) cultural re-invigoration is the subject of discussion in many cultures (Bendrup, 2008; Mackley-Crump, 2013; McIntosh, 2012; R. Moyle, 1993; Taylor, 2001) and indigenous cultural festivals⁵³⁹ in Australia and the Pacific have provided Tiwi performers (amongst others) with performance opportunities that have been the subject of this discussion in relation to the recorded material.⁵⁴⁰ As Grau and Venbrux have noted, Tiwi people have long been negotiating notions of authenticity and of sharing their culture while retaining

⁵³⁹ The Garma and Barunga Festivals as well as the Tiwi Milimika Festival (that I mention in the following chapter) is in its second year and have similar motivations behind their inception.

⁵⁴⁰ The performance by a group of Tiwi men in Brisbane in 1954 and the group recorded by Moyle performing at the Pacific Festival in Rotorua in 1976 are examples of this.

ownership of decisions about which song they will share with onlookers (Grau, 2011; Venbrux, 2007). The Darwin Festival’s engagement of Ngarukuruwala for various performances across four Festivals (and of the Tiwi women and men on other occasions) have been openly motivated by the desire by producers to have indigenous cultural content, giving Tiwi singers opportunities they might not have had otherwise.⁵⁴¹ At each occasion the Tiwi singers have been very aware that they are performing for tourists, choosing songs and dances accordingly, such as the Bombing of Darwin dance, for which they have become well-known, a *Yoi* such as *Kupunyi* that enacts a fishing/hunting story (see Photograph 7), or the women’s group “Tiwi Dreaming” song that has a repeating verse structure to incorporate whichever Dreaming *Yoi* songs and dances are represented amongst the group.



Photograph 7: Wally Kerinaia, Teresita Puruntatameri, Stephen-Paul Kantilla and Eustace Tipiloura performing “Kupunyi” with Ngarukuruwala, Canberra, 2009
Photograph courtesy of NFSA Still Image Services, NFSA

There have also been times, however, when various performance motivations have collided. The difference between singing for an audience (either a group of tourists or at a professional performance) and singing for family or at a funeral has been pertinent to the women’s engagement with the Ngarukuruwala project

⁵⁴¹ Other performance opportunities the women have had have been at Conferences aimed specifically at indigenous issues, or as a “local indigenous welcome” style entertainment at corporate events.

and to my study of Tiwi song practice. The questions of what makes a performance, why one performs, and the difference between *performing* and simply *doing* have different answers for different people and all of these have informed our work together. While we all have a desire to present good quality music and a polished performance, there are certainly different attitudes to audience, to stage presence and to rehearsal that the non-Tiwi musicians have had to learn. While the band might feel under more stress if the audience is large or the venue is high-profile, the women have articulated their opinion⁵⁴² that they are not concerned about the size of an audience and sing in the same way in a large venue as they would if they were at home.⁵⁴³

There is often a deeper meaning in a performance that is missed by an outside audience. There have been a number of occasions within a public, professional performance when something intensely personal and important has happened; a particular song being performed on a sudden whim, an old lady getting up to sing her *Kulama* solo, having steadfastly refused to do so throughout rehearsals and sound checks, a spontaneous dance performance, or the first sharing of a song with a non-Tiwi audience, for instance. I will give a short account of two examples of this:

8.4.1 Singing Healing for Marina Tipungwuti

For the two performances we gave at the Darwin Festival in 2010 we had prepared programme notes with song lyrics and translations and a set-list that coincided with a slideshow displaying visual elements relating to particular songs. A week before the gig Marina Tipungwuti, one of the old ladies in the group, suddenly died. As well as causing much grief and sadness, this presented problems because her name was in the program and on the CD cover, as was her photo, both of which had to be closed for *Pukumani* on her death. Two songs on

⁵⁴² Personal communication, members of the Strong Women's group, a number of times throughout 2008, 2009, 2010.

⁵⁴³ The women performed at the Closing Mass of World Youth day Celebrations in Sydney in 2008 in front of a crowd of 400,000 people. They did not suffer from any "stage fright" whatsoever, nor were they overly impressed by the fact that they were singing in front of more than 200 times the population of the Tiwi Islands.

our set-list were also closed because they were too closely connected to her. One extra song was inserted; a healing song that called Marina's ancestral spirits and brought her Country and Dreaming through the women into the performance space. The women knew they should really have been at home singing with family, but they had committed to this performance so they went ahead. All this was of course lost to the audience but made the night a powerful experience for the band, and for the women it became a part of their grieving process. It was their way of renegotiating traditional mourning practices in a modern setting. Experiences such as these have taken the performances and our relationship to a new level, while to the audience it may have appeared we were doing what we had rehearsed.

8.4.2 “Wunijaka” (Spirits of the Wind)

The Healing song “Wunijaka”⁵⁴⁴ is another example of multi-layered meaning and with different responses from singers, the band and the audience. The song combines Tiwi and Catholic spirituality and Tiwi and non-Tiwi musical characteristics. The text (some of which is at Figure 43)⁵⁴⁵ includes Tiwi ancestral names and Country places.

Reference is made to the Tiwi spirits of the land, to the Yamparriparri (the shooting star Dreaming spirit)⁵⁴⁶ and to the (Catholic) Holy Spirit. The dual meaning of *Ngirringani* (Father) as (Catholic) God and as the Tiwi Ancestors, make this song culturally important and spiritually meaningful. Whenever it is sung there is deep emotion felt (and demonstrated) by the performers and this always has an effect on their audience.

⁵⁴⁴ *Wunijaka* translates simply as “wind” but the women translate the song title as above.

⁵⁴⁵ As with many of the Women's songs, the text of “Wunijaka” differs between performances and my recorded example (NG2008-9) does not correlate with the printed songbook held at the Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu Literacy Centre.

⁵⁴⁶ *Yamparriparri* is defined in the Tiwi Dictionary as “evil spirit” (Lee, 2011) but my consultants also describe it as the meteor or shooting star ancestor, without “evil” connotation.

Jipayamurriningimirri Ningingajima pawunapi Yukujingima yipijita
Puruntatameri Ancestor names and places

Jipiyaputuwiya pirramanimpa
When he's up flying, rising up

Parriwingunji ngimpiya Ngimpuniwunjiyalajirri
We keep telling each other this story

Ngarrangarrangatawa
He's the most high

Yita warra ngawarringani Ngirringani
Our Father most high

Pirripi kuriyuwu ngininginunji ngimpiya prrukutuwiya pirramanimpa
They are up above and we stretch out our arms

Figure 43: Text from “Wunijaka” (Spirits of the Wind)

The women (some of whom are devout Catholics) sing “*Wunijaka*” as a Hymn and dance with their arms raised in a Christian pose of praise. They also dance their *Yoi* and have explained the song in the context of Tiwi ancestral spirits. Audiences are usually affected (depending on how it is introduced)⁵⁴⁷ by the sense of this being an Aboriginal Healing song and often come towards the women to dance with them in a conscious embracing of cross-cultural harmony.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁷ Some women introduce it as a hymn to the Holy Spirit while others call it a Tiwi Healing song.

⁵⁴⁸ The women sang “*Wunijaka*” to a dying (non-Tiwi) friend of my parents during their visit to Sydney in 2009. The *Ngarukuruwala* recording was subsequently played at the man’s funeral and I was told that the power of the song transcended both Catholic and Tiwi spirituality for those who witnessed it.

Those occasions at which traditional cultural practice provides a crossover into modern and non-Tiwi culture, brings me to an important outcome of the Ngarukuruwala activity. Traditional practice, while being emblematic of the past and of indigenous heritage, with the elders as examples of “how things used to be”, also has the potential to engage elders as performers in a new way. When senior men and women perform *Yoi* on stage to a paying audience they are not just performing for the crowd. Certainly they are proudly showing their skills to an audience and entertaining people, but just as importantly they are calling the Country names of those in the group, bringing the ancestors to the place and telling them where they (the women) are and what they are doing.

Beyond the music, too we have found a connection that, while not the stuff of analytical research, is worth mentioning here simply because it has been in fact a very large part of the success of the project. As Daniel Rorke (saxophonist) put it

One of those ... moments was when my newly adopted Aunty Clementine held mine and drummer Jamie Cameron’s hand and said, “the way things are now, we are part of you and you are part of us.” At that point I became aware as to what this project was truly about. This is not about some white musicians coming to Tiwi and playing with indigenous singers. This was about becoming one community, one people and music was simply the vehicle by which we were travelling to that place.⁵⁴⁹

While not ignoring the existence of a strong feeling of cross-cultural goodwill and a deep respect felt by the band towards the women (and their songs) as indigenous Australians, the over-riding relationship amongst the group is as musical colleagues. My aim has been to treat the women with the respect, care and consideration one would for any elderly ladies (and gentlemen) and I have been impressed by the ease with which the young(er) men of the band (with little or no experience of working with indigenous Australian people) have interacted with the old(er) Tiwi women. While there have been occasions when the singers’ sensitivity to or understanding of a situation is affected by their

⁵⁴⁹ Personal communication via email 2008 (record of exact date unknown).

identity as Tiwi people, most often their opinions of musical, instrumental and staging ideas have reflected the fact that they are a close-knit group of women in their 50s, 60s and 70s.

8.5 Rehearsal and “development”

It is perhaps inevitable that a project that is the recipient of Arts funding through categories aimed at new work and workshop processes will be under a certain amount of pressure to show “development”. I have been advised by Arts funding bodies to employ an Artistic Director to create staging, organize the women’s choreography and formulate a scripted thematic narrative to make the show “slick and marketable”.⁵⁵⁰ We have resisted such temptations, fearing it would negate the whole point of what we are aiming to do. The Tiwi songs and the women who are singing them are always the starting point and, although complex arrangements could be made using the melodic and rhythmic material in the traditional songs, true collaboration is not possible if some members of the group do not understand or enjoy what the others are doing. In early 2007 I transcribed a number of Tiwi melodies that were worked into instrumental arrangements and rehearsed by the band in Sydney. In the first workshop with the ladies (in Darwin in May 2007) we discovered that some of these arrangements, while intellectually and artistically stimulating and closely informed by the Tiwi melodies, were unsuitable because the women did not engage with them musically and so were not comfortable or confident when performing. Within the scope of the musical tastes of the women, and enabling true collaboration, the instrumentalists have instead experimented with different styles of music to give the old songs new treatments.

The fact that the Tiwi singers do not read music (and so do not conceptualize the music in a visual way) has meant that the non-Tiwi players have had to rethink the rehearsal process. At first we worked with notated charts, transcribing the melodies in order to visualise the song and its structure as a starting point for an arrangement. It is perhaps a natural response for musicians embarking on a

⁵⁵⁰ Personal communication, name withheld. May 2010.

project based on music they do not know much about, to deconstruct that music to make it less unknown. While we wanted to create quality music that stretched all of us artistically, we agreed very early on that it must not be at the expense of the (Tiwi) women's engagement, comfort and confidence. By saying this I do not at all imply that the women have a lower level of musical knowledge or ability. Indeed the instrumentalists have found some of the women's songs to be very complex structurally, making them difficult to align with standard jazz forms and their performance cues sometimes difficult to follow.

The women do not, though, have training in musical notation, the jargon of musical markings, keys, tempi or the process of rehearsals. While we could create complicated arrangements based on the small details of Tiwi melodic or rhythmic patterns and embed them into complex chord progressions, if that alienates our Tiwi colleagues then it is not a true collaboration and will not be a successful experience either for the performers or for the audience.

A balance had to be found between presenting Tiwi song in its traditional form (which is more interesting for the non-Tiwi musicians) and presenting "westernised" arrangements (what the women wanted to do). It was an interesting conundrum that I wanted the ladies to sing in the "old" way for the jazz musicians to respond to, while the women wanted to sing their old songs to a reggae beat. We all were attracted by what we perceived to be the other's exoticism. I found myself feeling frustrated that while I wanted to create loosely arranged instrumentations to accompany traditional song styles the women were far more interested in composing a verse/chorus structured song with a bossa nova feel! For some performances we have prepared charts using a song's melody and overall chord structure as well as an instrumental introduction, bridge and coda, to be inserted at appropriate points in the songs. I have also created instrumental lines that explore different key centres to sit underneath the women's singing. This of course presumes that the women will want to continue singing while we play. In reality this has not often been the case. Often times on stage when we start playing what we have prepared as accompaniment, the women have stopped singing and turned to listen to us instead. True and

equal interaction in performance is the most important consideration for the group and so arrangements that are texturally and harmonically more complex are more successfully achieved in edited recordings.

In the recording studio there have also been a number of occasions when different understandings of the process and desired outcomes have made for interesting sessions. The idea of playing numerous takes of a song for instance, was not something the women had any notion of. Extraneous noises such as coughs, doors opening or birds or dogs outside were not a concern to them (and indeed we decided those noises added to the live nature of our recordings anyway so were happy to leave them in). It did become all but impossible though to record takes that could be edited together because the song was seldom exactly the same the next time they sang it.

Over the five years of sporadic musical meetings (often on stage at the sound check, rehearsals being a luxury we can't always afford) it has been very interesting to see the development of the music from both the Tiwi and the Sydney and Darwin musicians' point of view. It has been an on-going point of interest for the band that so much of what the women sing has this "feel" in five. The drummer, Jamie Cameron told me

From my perspective it was really exciting when we started to get glimpses of the "old old" songs.... Hearing the asymmetric 5-note rhythm of [Murrntawarrapijimi]⁵⁵¹ was a real ear-opener. Growing up with Western music, you never hear that kind of rhythm. Those songs also led to a delicate situation - we wanted to hear more of those versions of the songs, rather than the contemporary/Church influenced strummy guitar repertoire. "Yes, those guitar songs are nice, we like them ... but what about *those* ones!"⁵⁵²

⁵⁵¹ See 8.6.1.

⁵⁵² Personal communication via email 3 December 2012.

The women have articulated their desire to try new ways of presenting their songs and the jazz musicians are becoming more confident in suggesting changes. Of course there is still (and always will be) the sense that we are working with a very special culturally significant body of work in the old Tiwi song, but the notion that it is untouchable, immovable and must not be corrupted is not something we as a group⁵⁵³ are interested in perpetuating. Teresita Puruntatameri put it this way:

We need to think of new ways to sing our songs, to make the young people want to learn how to sing. They need to learn to sing those songs because they have all the things you need to know in life. Changing the music around is a good thing. The words are always there and we can make it fit with your kind of music.⁵⁵⁴

8.6 Continuity of tradition

I will now discuss the musical structure of two songs that have been created by the Ngarukuruwala group: one a re-working of an old Tiwi song and one new composition, as demonstration of how the composition of a song, while being fundamentally in a non-Tiwi style, involved a number of elements of traditional practice. The first, *Murrntawarrapijimi*, is from our first workshop period in 2007 and exemplifies the project in a number of ways that can be explained musically. The second, *The Strong Kids Song*, is included because it is our most recent collaborative effort and has taken on an interesting and important symbolic role in the community.

8.6.1 The song about *Murrntawarrapijimi*

This song was composed and first sung by *Pilayapijimi* (Clementine Puruntatameri's husband's father) at *Kulama* in 1949, shortly after the death of *Murrntawarrapijimi* (Emanuel Puruntatameri). *Murrntawarrapijimi* was *Pilayapijimi's* eldest son, so was Clementine's husband's older brother.

⁵⁵³ By the group I refer here to the singers and the band.

⁵⁵⁴ Personal communication, Teresita Puruntatameri Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu August 17 2010

Clementine told me that this is a song that her mother sang, although she (Clementine) formally learned to sing it from her brother. In the time of my association with the song, Clementine was the only person who could perform the *Kulama* song, Her daughter told me that the “*Kulama* words are very strict and really special.”⁵⁵⁵

The text tells the story of how Murrntawarrapijimi’s death was central to the dissolution of a dispute between the *Jilaruwi* (Brolga) and *Takaringuwi* (Mullet) tribes who were involved in a tribal war that involved throwing spears. These spear throwing ‘mock fights’ were not intended to end in death (Osborne, 1989) but were an important part of community politics. When Emmanuel was struck in the temple and killed, everyone was so shocked they stopped these mock fights. His death is regarded as emblematic of the change in the Tiwi community regarding “the old ways” and since then there have been no tribal fights of this kind.

The modern *Kuruwala* song uses a melody borrowed from the song “Ten Guitars”, written in 1966 by Gordon Mills (also known as Englebert Humperdinck).⁵⁵⁶ “Ten Guitars” became popular in the Tiwi community in the 1970s in the form of Tom Jones’s 1968 cover. It is still played often on the Social Club CD player. Clementine composed an expansion of her family song “Murrntawarrapijimi” to this melody for her daughter, Ella, to perform at a local Eisteddfod in 2002. By composing a song for this modern forum Clementine was officially passing it to her daughter (and continuing its patrilineal transmission), reaffirming ties with her ancestors and at the same time introducing the story to the next generation. In much the same way as in the previously mentioned women’s Modern *Kuruwala*-type “Nyingawi”, “Kupunyi” and “Yirrikapayi” songs, “Murrntawarrapijimi” includes Old Tiwi *Yoi* song words embedded in a Modern Tiwi text to create a narrative that tells the larger story (to which the *Yoi* song alludes). While the story remains the same, at each performance of the *Kulama*

⁵⁵⁵ Personal communication Ella Puruntatameri Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu, 20 October 2012.

⁵⁵⁶ It became something of an anthem amongst Maori people in New Zealand. See <http://folksong.org.nz/tenguitars/index.html>

section of the song the lyrics or the order of lines will change. As each line of text was a separate entity the order did not affect the narrative of the song. Clementine said that it is more important that the story of the song is told, than to get the words right every time. This meant that, as I have mentioned in the context of other women's group songs, when the song was performed,⁵⁵⁷ the group followed Clementine and picked up the words as she sang. The full text is presented at Appendix 11.8. At Music Transcription 36 I show the old *Arikuruwala* text that Clementine sings in the introduction.⁵⁵⁸ At Music Transcription 37 we can see how the text is directly transferred into the Modern *Kuruwala* song (with the "Ten Guitars" melody).⁵⁵⁹ The repetition of *pirrukutuwiya* (which would normally happen when Clementine sang this in *Kulama* style, as can be heard in Audio Example 77) is deleted and the imposition of the non-Tiwi melody has altered the stresses of the words and created the need to lengthen some syllables. I have included time signatures in these examples to indicate the difference between the *Kulama* introduction, which is in a strongly accented 5 beat pattern defining the underlying metre of (in this case) four units of 5 syllables and one of 4 syllables, and the *Kuruwala* song, which is in common time. Clementine always put stresses on the first and third beats of the unit whenever she sang this song-type.⁵⁶⁰ Although across the recordings most singers place the stresses on the first and fourth beats (see 6.3) it is no longer consistently one pattern or the other.

⁵⁵⁷ I use past tense referring to performances of this song as, since Clementine died, in August 2011, the song has not been performed by Ngarukuruwala. She also owned the modern version, which she had composed. On her death in August 2011 the song was closed. It was first sung again by the women's group (although without the *Kulama* song) at the funeral of Clementine's son in late 2012. In a break with the traditional Pukumani protocols, the recording was played at Clementine's funeral.

⁵⁵⁸ Also Audio Example 3.

⁵⁵⁹ 06:36

⁵⁶⁰ This can be heard in her performance of "Purrukupali" Audio Example 77.

Text: *Ngintarangini nginiwatu wunturruwiyapirrukutuwiyapirramanimpa*

People are looking at him flying

Ngin ti ra ngi ni ngi ni wa tu wun tu rru wi ya prru ku tu wi yam pu ram pa ni pam

Music Transcription 36: *Kulama* introduction to “Murrntawarrapijimi”. Clementine Puruntatameri, 2008 (Audio Example 54)

Ngintarangini nginiwatu wunturruwiyapirramanimpa

People are looking at him flying

Ngin ta ra ngi ni ngi ni wa(tu)wun tu rru wi ya pi rra ma nim pa

Pi rri pa li ku wi_ pi ti ni_ wa ti mun tu lu wi ya lum wan ti

Music Transcription 37: The chorus of the Modern *Kuruwala* version of “Murrntawarrapijimi” 2008 (Audio Example 54)

In *Ngarukuruwala* performances the women performed the *Kulama* introduction, with Clementine leading, in the *Arikuruwala / Ampirikuruwala* song-type creating a polyphonic canon. Figure 44 gives a structural map of the entire song, showing the tonal centre and metrical form of each section. The italicized song-types indicate the women’s sung sections, with the band’s role below.

<i>Arikuruwala</i>	<i>Ampirikuruwala</i>		<i>Arikuruwala</i>		<i>Kuruwala</i>
		Instrumental improvisation		Band Arrangement	
5-syllable metre		5/4 time signature		4/4 time signature	
A \flat “tonic”		B \flat minor	B \flat major	C major	

Figure 44: Performance mapping of “Murrntawarrapijimi” (Audio Example 54)

The recording I have taken this transcription from was made in 2008 for the Ngarukuruwala CD and is included at Audio Example 54. The band section that followed Clementine’s introduction was devised by the musicians in the rehearsal process as a response to the strong rhythmic pattern of quintuplets in that Clementine sang. This section was loosely arranged but had an open-ended improvised section that we modified at each performance to align with Clementine’s re-entry with the *Kulama* song. It was particularly impressive that this woman who had had no experience in an instrumental ensemble such as this, could so confidently superimpose her solo over what we were doing. Another interesting point to make about this recording is that in our first few times together it was very difficult for the women to adjust to different musical keys. Being so set in their own soundscape and vocal tessitura, and also the keys in which the guitar players could play, it was all but impossible to use modulations in our arrangements. This recording for example is telling of the fact that, regardless of the key in which the band was playing an introduction (in this case in B \flat major, having taken Clementine’s *Kulama* solo tonic note A \flat as a flattened leading note) the women came in in their own key (in this case C major).

At the end of the modern song a “coda” is always performed (with accompanying actions): *kurawu* (jungle fowl) and *kurrupu* (a native night bird) which signify Emanuel’s great great uncle, then “*aaiii*” (the noise one makes when nervous or afraid) and then the word *ngingja* (peace to you, the end) on the final beat. Even with its non-Tiwi melody and “up-beat” musical feel this was always a serious song for the women because of its subject matter. Since Clementine’s death the

recording has also taken on extra significance. In a break with the traditional Pukumani protocols, the recording was played at Clementine’s funeral and I have on a few occasions witnessed older women calling young people to stop and listen carefully when it is played, both out of respect for the story of the fight and for Clementine as a revered song-woman.

8.7 Ngariwanajirri - The Strong Kids song project: using repatriated recordings in a new work

*Ngariwanajirri*⁵⁶¹ The Strong Kids song project was an activity instigated by the Strong Women’s group in response to concern over the loss of language amongst Tiwi school-aged children.⁵⁶² Figure 45 is a statement from the elders printed in the resulting CD booklet as the principal motivation behind the project.⁵⁶³

Karri alalinguwi wurrukurunuwi wurrima
Wuta awungarri wurumungurumi ngingawula
Awarra pupuni ngirramini, awarra wurraningurimagi

When they grow into young women and young men
 They will understand about our culture
 This important culture, wherever they go it will be with them.

Figure 45: Statement from the elders for the Strong Kids Song project, 2011

Over the course of six informal sessions held around the islands in late 2010 and early 2011 (see Photograph 8) a song was composed by the women and their grandchildren. In a process that followed “the old way” of learning⁵⁶⁴ the children were encouraged to make up their own set of phrases, in English (they were incapable of doing so in Tiwi) around the song’s theme, with the women then teaching them those phrases in Tiwi. The older women then created song

⁵⁶¹ *Ngariwanajirri* means “working together and helping one another”.

⁵⁶² For a fuller discussion of the beginnings of this song project see (Campbell, G. 2012).

⁵⁶³ Ngariwanajirri. The Strong Kids Song Project 2011.

⁵⁶⁴ Personal communication. Clementine Puruntatameri. Nguui, 13, August 2010.

words from these.⁵⁶⁵ The Strong Women’s groups and their grandchildren in Wurrumiyanga, Milikapiti and Pirlangimpi were each tasked with creating their own verse, with the idea being to bring the three verses together in one song. With each group having their own country melody that should be used, however, there were problems bringing it all together and the resulting CD has a number of versions of the song, using different country group variations (much as we see in the traditional song repertory).



Photograph 8: Strong Kids song session, Wurrumiyanga, 13th August 2010. Photograph by Genevieve Campbell

The women worked one version of the lyrics into a song in their Modern *Kuruwala* style, using the Mantiyupi country group-owned melody⁵⁶⁶ and with guitar accompaniment. They then worked with the Ngarukuruwala band musicians on musical ideas for a modern treatment. A number of children and young adults were involved in choosing the sound and “groove” for the modern section. As a revered senior song-woman Clementine Puruntatameri performed a call to the spirits of the country at the beginning of the song. Its function at the beginning of the song is the same as in Ceremony, when a song-man calls to the ancestors at the start of a *Yoi* event. It was sampled into the modern section in order to symbolise the connection between young people and their elders and to

⁵⁶⁵ The full song text is at Appendix 11.1.

⁵⁶⁶ This melody is discussed in 7.1.11.

provide an example of a strong, proud Tiwi voice to which the children can aspire.

The chorus presented an extra challenge. The way the words had been arranged made it very difficult to sing the word *Ngariwanajirri* (the title of the song) in a position at the start of a line of text. The women wanted it there in order to give it importance as a motto for the children (work together and listen to each other). Cynthia Portaminni came up with the idea of using the melody of the chorus from “By the Rivers of Babylon”⁵⁶⁷ and placing the word *Ngariwanajirri* in a silent bar in between the verse section and the chorus section. Following the Kuruwala song is a studio-produced section that was devised in a number of sessions in Darwin and in Sydney, using recordings of Tiwi children speaking short phrases of text that were translated into English. Two songs from Baldwin Spencer’s recordings of 1912 (“Boat” and “Train”) were incorporated into the new arrangement. This has brought the voices of the ancestors physically into the song as well as having the effect of reclaiming ownership of the recording. Eustace Tipiloura and Roger Tipungwuti, as senior song-men, chose the Boat song for its reference to the tide in the Apsley Strait, making the song a symbolic connection between the people of the two islands. They used “Train” for two reasons: because it shows how Tiwi people always sing about new things and because it is a good example of a large group Yoi performance.⁵⁶⁸ It features at the end of the *Ngariwanajirri* song, giving the voices of the ancestors the last word and pride of place as the last voices the audience hears. The accompanying drum track (played by Jamie Cameron) creates a duet spanning one hundred years.

Figure 46 is a section mapping of the Strong Kids Song, with each section (numbered 1–6) defined both in terms of its musical derivation and of its cultural significance. The bottom line describes the video clip made to accompany the song (Video Example 1). I edited the photos and film taken by

⁵⁶⁷ Music and lyrics by Brent Dowe and Trevor McNaughton, 1970. Made popular by Boney M. 1978.

⁵⁶⁸ Personal Communication Roger Tipungwuti. Darwin, 28 June 2011.

myself and others throughout the process in order to reflect the narrative of both the song and the project.⁵⁶⁹ The first section of the song is accompanied by images of the women's group working with the band and of the women and children singing together. The first of two samples of 1912 audio material bridges the change of the music into the more modern section and is marked with images of the children, taken at singing/dancing sessions in the schools and in the community. Footage of Clementine painting up (supporting her voice in the audio) and of a performance by the senior men at the Darwin Festival in 2010 as well as images of their performance at NFSA in Canberra (in 2009) are incorporated into this instrumental section to connect tradition (and the elders' traditional performance). Images of the elders coincide with the lyric "listen to what the elders say, they are strong and so are you". The older children chanted "Ngariwanajirri, listen to each other. Let us not lose our culture and the language we speak" and they chose photographs of themselves to include at this point.

An image of Justin Puruntatameri listening to the 1912 recordings (see Photograph 9) leads into the final section in which silent film taken by Spencer in 1912 and old photographs of men and boys dancing are interspersed with current photographs of the men, women and children dancing. The visual juxtaposition of old and contemporary is mirrored in the music, which is the 1912 recording of "Train" sampled into a digitally produced coda featuring an improvised drum solo. The clip concludes with images of the women and their grandchildren on Tantipi beach, Bathurst Island (see Photograph 10) reinforcing the Strong Women as role models for their "Strong Kids".

⁵⁶⁹ It was important that every one involved (especially each child) was included in the video clip and so a combination of photographs and film footage was used (some of which is of a lesser quality than was perhaps desirable).



Photograph 9: Justin Puruntatameri listening to the 1912 Spencer recordings with his daughter, Jemma. Pirlangimpi, Melville Island, August 2010. Photograph by Genevieve Campbell



Photograph 10: Regina Kantilla and Latina Puruntatameri dancing *Yirrikapayi*. Tantipi, Bathurst Island, March 2010. Photograph by Bruce Cartwright

Section of song	Function	Accompanying vision
1. Solo introduction	Call to country. Traditional opening of song event	Artwork
2. <i>Kuruwala</i> song by women's group. Using country melody and non-Tiwi melody.	Story telling song. Song text in Modern Tiwi. Central role of women's group as grandmothers.	Images of the women, the children and the band working together.
3. Digitally modified voice, 1912 "Tide" song recording, electric guitar riff.	Connection of traditional and modern music. Bringing the past into the present.	Footage of children performing <i>Yoi</i> . Images of elders painting up and performing traditional dance.
4. Spoken statements by children	Song text elements in English. Letting the children's voices be heard	Images taken by the children of each other.
5. Jazz dance groove, band.	Improvised instrumental break signifies the band's role.	Footage of <i>Yoi</i> performance given at the Darwin Festival in 2011.
6. Chanting, older children.	Text of chorus in English. Anthemic delivery by teenage kids as a rally call.	Images of children with their grandparents and at school.
7. 1912 recording of "Train".	Bringing the 1912 songs into the present. Drum accompaniment symbolizes the 1912 voices being the leaders. The calls are traditionally the way a group <i>Yoi</i> event concludes.	Archival images of children and adults dancing interspersed with contemporary images of children and elders dancing. Images of women with their grandchildren on the beach.

Figure 46: "Ngariwanajirri" Strong Kids Song Section Map

Also on the CD are new treatments of Tiwi traditional song. Inspired by their work with me in the past year documenting and transcribing these recordings, the elders wanted to record for posterity their ceremonial and country songs. A few of these songs, some in traditional form and some re-worked through the Ngarukuruwala group, form the additional tracks on the CD.

The rhythms of the 1912 and 1954 songs in particular presented a stimulating challenge. The *Yoi* song “Parakajiyali”⁵⁷⁰ performed by Eustace Tipiloura was reworked by two young Tiwi men⁵⁷¹ (with Mr Tipiloura’s direction) to include added digital drumbeats. He wanted the song to remain intact in the old way while sounding modern so the electronically produced drum beats double at the point Eustace does, in the same way as a group would in *Yoi* performance.

The entire collaborative musical process was an opportunity for young Tiwi people to be involved in their own custodianship and re-invention of Tiwi song culture through contemporary music and media. The CD has been made available free-of-charge amongst the community. It has been further disseminated around town via CD copies and Mp3 downloads to players and mobile phones. It is hoped that this will help make the song well-known so that the lyrics and their message sink in. The accompanying video clip that was filmed through the course of the project is up on YouTube and is on the CD so that all involved can further engage and identify with the outcome of their working together.

8.8 Making decisions of cultural integrity in a modern context

As well as the aforementioned ways in which the women’s group are re-inventing Tiwi songs while maintaining cultural practice they are taking a lead role in decisions about how songs are used in a number of new situations and they are being trusted with keeping the integrity of Tiwi song practice while overseeing its modification. I will mention two recent examples of this here.

⁵⁷⁰ Audio Example 55.

⁵⁷¹ Silverius Tipungwuti and Bonaventure Timaeputuwa.

Jason de Santis (a young Tiwi man) wrote and workshopped a play for the Darwin Festival in 2011. Called *Walamanayuwu and the Seven Pamanui*⁵⁷² it is a Tiwi re-telling of the *Snow White and the Seven Dwarves* tale, and incorporates elements of Tiwi culture in modern and old ways. At the point in the play when the father dies, a song is sung that is referred to in the performance as a *Pukumani* sorrow song.⁵⁷³ Mary Elizabeth Moreen (who had been employed as culture and language adviser) told me she had given them permission for a particular song to be used. This “*Pukumani*” song is actually “Ticket to Heaven”, a well-known Catholic hymn that the women’s group learned from the nuns in the 1950s, and is now sung translated into Modern Tiwi. It is interesting that Mary Elizabeth put this forward as a *Pukumani* song. When I asked her about it she told me that it is

what we sing at funeral these days and they want it [the play] to be modern so it’s a good one for them to use. They can’t sing a real one from ceremony. That’s not right.⁵⁷⁴

A “real” sorrow song would of course refer to and be composed for a specific person. To compose a sorrow song for an actor who, apart from the obvious problem of being alive, also wouldn’t have the kinship or country affiliations necessary for the composition would create problems that were easily avoided by Mary’s choice. This example is also perhaps an indication of the shifting of what constitutes “traditional” culture, that a Catholic hymn (although sung in Tiwi) could be now presented as a *Pukumani* song in a theatre piece whose producers, throughout its entire creation process, have taken great pains to present traditional culture and refer to ceremony in an authentic way. It shows that in the modern Tiwi world this has become authentic mourning song.

8.9 The Strong Women as role models

I have outlined earlier in the thesis the fact that the women have made a conscious decision to maintain language and culture through song. Their creation of a new song-type with the primary motivation of preserving traditional stories and knowledge in a

⁵⁷² Produced by the Darwin Festival. Directed by Eamon Flack.

⁵⁷³ More correctly this would be *Mamanunkuni*.

⁵⁷⁴ Personal Communication Mary Elizabeth Moreen. Milikapiti. 22 March 2011.

form that can be taught to children has confirmed their position as cultural mentors and educators. Crossovers between the maintenance of traditional Tiwi music and the development of contemporary Tiwi music coming out of Ngarukuruwala have further raised the women's profile as leaders in Tiwi musical culture. As well as being respected for their hymns and *Kuruwala* songs, they are now being taken seriously as active proponents for cultural maintenance and integrity, continuing to explore new ways of engaging Tiwi youth, with songs at the centre of their activities. This in turn has led to their being involved in a number of activities (which I list at Appendix 17) concerned with cultural maintenance. As women they are also strong role models for their daughters and granddaughters, with interest growing amongst young women to be involved with the women's "choir" as the income from performing, sales of their CD contribute to self-esteem and sense of purpose.⁵⁷⁵ Through professional performance, participation in conference presentations and submissions to government—all non-traditional forums—the Strong Women are continuing and re-affirming the traditional role of song as the vehicle for knowledge transmission and artistic pursuit while also renegotiating the context in which they occur.

Ngarukuruwala has been embraced by the women (and men) as the framework in which Tiwi/non-Tiwi collaboration, performance and recording opportunities can be supported and developed into the future. Although it has been the catalyst for recent innovations in Tiwi music, Ngarukuruwala must also be regarded as a reflection of the long-standing tradition of creativity and re-negotiation in Tiwi musical practice. In the next chapter I return to this—the fundamentally contemporary nature of Tiwi song— as a theme central to the thesis.

⁵⁷⁵ Although the choir's activities do not provide substantial or regular income, any monetary reward is either distributed amongst individual performers or used for the benefit of the group through the Wurrumiyanga women's centre.

Chapter 9: Re-negotiating the traditions: Tiwi music in a state of flux

In this thesis I have outlined techniques of Tiwi song composition and the traditions of Tiwi performance, the changes to language and to ceremonial practice and the resulting effect on song. I have explained that there is a clear correlation between fewer *Kulama* events, fewer trained singers/composers and less improvisation, and that what is emerging is a corpus of extant *Yoi* Dreaming and kinship songs. Drawing on my experiences with the Strong Women's group and the collaborative performance project Ngarukuruwala—we sing songs, I have reported on the impact that the repatriation of significant song recordings has had, finding that they are playing a pivotal role both in maintaining old song traditions and in creating new ones. I have shown that although new forms of Tiwi music are moving away from the traditional song-types there is still a strong continuation of the fundamental elements of traditional Tiwi song composition—the transmission of cultural knowledge through song, musical innovation and improvisatory, context-responsive text.

The entire thesis is the result of a closely collegial relationship between myself and my Tiwi consultants—a small group of senior singers especially—with whom I have shared the experience of discovering, auditioning, transcribing, translating and documenting a large amount of recorded song-material. It is through this process, as well as through the physical, personal and musical journey we have shared, that a picture of the traditions and the innovations of Tiwi song have been formed into this thesis. I am hoping that my approach to this research (as musician and colleague in the first instance, and investigator in the second) has resulted in a presentation of Tiwi music that is both academically sound and adds to the developing inter-disciplinary and inclusive future of ethnomusicology. In this concluding chapter I will draw together these considerations in a description of four recent song-based experiences that I have witnessed, all of which exemplify the capacity for Tiwi song traditions to continue in the face of change.

9.1 Attitudes to change

There is some comment in the literature suggesting that Tiwi people have been remarkably passive in the twentieth century contact situation and accepting of the

radical changes their living situation and culture have gone through (Goodale, 1974; Grau, 1983a; Pye, 1998) with Goodale remarking that “[t]raditional ways are disappearing with little apparent anxiety” (Goodale, 1974, p. 339). My elder Tiwi colleagues agree that Tiwi people have been, mostly, accepting of change as an inevitable result of westernisation and, to a degree, naturally occurring modification to traditions.

Nevertheless, the fact that the elders (and the Strong Women in particular) have developed a sense of socio-political empowerment through the process of “fighting” for their song culture cannot be ignored. Amongst my Tiwi colleagues and consultants there are many who are angry and disheartened by the social degradation that has come about over the past 100 years, with the resulting loss of traditional Tiwi cultural and intellectual pursuits manifesting in real problems for the community as a whole and the current young-adult generation in particular.

There are few outbursts of opinion (in public, at least) but I have witnessed a number of public meetings and presentations by the women’s group at which my Tiwi colleagues have voiced very strongly their sadness at the state of their community, with a loss of connection with culture and language being the main reasons cited. It is an interesting ethical and methodological issue for me to consider that it is perhaps the very process of returning the *palingarri* recordings to the community that has instigated conversation about the past and about loss, in terms of Tiwi song, ceremony and knowledge transmission in particular. Seeing the artefacts in the Australian National Museum collected by Hart and Mountford, the *Turtuni* poles displayed in the New South Wales Art Gallery, the photographs taken by Basedow, the cinematographs housed at National Film and Sound Archive and of course the recordings archived at AIATSIS has been, for some, a confronting first experience of comparing the past to the present and engaging with the problems of ownership and the objectification of cultural property.

The general view of the anthropologists cited above, that Tiwi people accept and indeed embrace change is, though, certainly consistent with my experience on this project. As the body of recorded song material shows (and there is no reason to think it was not the case before the recordings), Tiwi singers have long been adding to and updating the

body of oral knowledge through song with new experiences and resources in a continuing re-negotiation of Tiwi song traditions.

9.2 Four examples of contemporary Tiwi music being firmly connected with tradition

In this section I give four very different examples of Tiwi singers negotiating old and new forms of music-making: an ancestral story embedded in a newly composed healing song, a young man singing a 1980s rock ballad as a sorrow song, a *Kulama* song about our visit to Canberra and a Tiwi contemporary music festival.

9.2.1 Passing on knowledge through song

The first song I will mention is the sorrow/healing song composed by Clementine Puruntatameri for her own funeral. I have discussed the text in detail in Chapter 7,⁵⁷⁶ but refer to it again here as it is a strong example of the oral transmission of cultural knowledge, and, in the context of this thesis, it demonstrates the on-going continuity of traditional song practice. I have mentioned Clementine⁵⁷⁷ often in this thesis and her knowledge, opinion and compositions are included numerous times. She was a very important song-woman and was highly respected for her ability to compose as well as being the person to whom people turned on matters of culture.⁵⁷⁸ Clementine had been ill for some time before she died, and a few weeks before her death she gave her daughters the words for this song, knowing it would become her *Mamanunkuni*.⁵⁷⁹ Her daughter Ella told me that she had said she didn't trust anyone else to compose her song because only she knew the story that needed to be recounted, and the words that must be used. I was with the women when they were learning it from the words that Ella had written down as her mother dictated it over a number of days. It is called *Mingatalini Mamanunkuni*, "Her father sorrow song" and its primary purpose was to place Clementine within the ancestral lineage. I have included three lines of the text again (shown at Figure 47), because they are a powerful demonstration of how Tiwi singers

⁵⁷⁶ At 7.2.3.2.

⁵⁷⁷ See Appendix 20.2.

⁵⁷⁸ She was the person I was taken to, to discuss my idea for collaboration on my first visit to Bathurst Island. She was also relatively unusual, as a woman who sang in what were traditionally male roles.

⁵⁷⁹ Personal communication Ella Puruntatameri Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 19 October 2011.

bring the ancestor into the present and into the moment of the performance. They also represent a complex multi-layering of personification. Line 6 is sung in the voice of the performer of the song (in this case, members of the women's group), telling the story of the brothers who (in the story) were singing at ceremony. Line 7 is in the voice of the father of the deceased. He is, in turn, singing in the voice of the ancestral dog, who is teaching the ancestor,⁵⁸⁰ and, through him, the performer of the song. Line 8 returns to the voice of the performer of the song. Added to this is the fact that the women sang knowing they were singing Clementine's words. In these three lines of text, a lineage of song men and women is traced back to the *palingarri* (the deep past) ancestor. The use of first person, by the father brings him and the ancestral Dog into the present and creates a real-time dialogue between the contemporary performers, the (deceased) composer, her ancestors and the Dreaming ancestor.

L7. *Ngiya Alungurumirri pili ngiya-minijingikuwaluwamamni wangi Marrakitijimawu wangini*

[father speaking] I am Alungurumirri [name of the dog] so the dog says "I am teaching you the song"

Figure 47: One line of text from *Mingatalini Mamanunkuni* by Clementine Puruntatameri, 2011

9.2.2 Using a contemporary, non-Tiwi song for a traditional Tiwi function

On the day of her funeral the women's group sang Clementine's *Mamanunkuni* song at the conclusion of the Catholic Mass. At her graveside there were two other sorrow songs performed. The first, by senior song man Robert Biscuit Tipungwuti, was in the traditional *Mamanunkuni* style (and language). The other was "Street of Dreams"⁵⁸¹ sung by Clementine's son Clancy who accompanied himself on guitar. He sang this rock ballad with its original English lyrics because, he said, it "said all the right things".⁵⁸² People commented that the song "sounded Tiwi" (Figure 48 is part of the song text) because, to Tiwi ears, the lyrics allude to the Mopaditi spirits ("the sound of voices in

⁵⁸⁰ In the full context of the song the ancestral dog teaches the song to a female ancestor at a ceremony performed long ago.

⁵⁸¹ By the Hughes Turner Project. Lyrics by Blackmore and Turner.

⁵⁸² Personal communication Clancy Puruntatameri 28 September 2011

the night”) and the way people hear the voices of the ancestors calling out to them when they are in the bush.

I heard the sound of voices in the night,
 Spell bound there was someone calling
 ...
 There you stood a distant memory
 So good like we never parted
 ...
 Will we ever meet again my friend
 Do you know just who you'll see do ya
 On the street of dreams
 You can be who you want to be oh yeah
 I can hear you calling me

Figure 48: Text of “Street of Dreams”

Clancy’s song was accepted as having the same ceremonial function as the preceding *Mamanunkuni* and there was no difference in the way it was received by the mourners (young and old). In this moment Clancy was, in everybody’s eyes, fulfilling the appropriate role of the son, singing sorrow. In the process of interweaving traditional function with contemporary content he imbued the text with the deeper layer of allusion to the ancestors, to Country and he related it specifically to Clementine, creating a dialogue between the singer and the deceased, just as is often the case in *Mamanunkuni* songs. The fact that his listeners shared a collective sense of place and identity that has always been marked through song meant that they heard in the words all of the associated allusion that made it, at that moment, a Tiwi song.

9.2.3 Adding to the oral record at *Kulama* in 2012

The song I discuss here is the latest in the line of songs recorded over the last century that tell of Tiwi people’s relationship with recordings. Eustace Tipiloura composed the song “Going to Canberra” (Figure 49) for *Kulama* in March 2012. Prior to the ceremony he told me that he wanted to “put up” the story of what we were doing and the

repatriation of the recordings. He explained that while everyone knew I was around and that we'd been to Canberra in 2009 it had never been properly put on record.⁵⁸³ The song tells of his journey to Canberra to collect the material.

1. *Ngintirri ngirranguwungimiji*
I grab the canoe (paddling from there to Darwin)
2. *Ngirruwingi ngatirrapuji Mindilpiji jimani*
I get there with the canoe to the beach
3. *Warjingala ngirrimamani kapuwutawa kunukuluwi tangarima awungaji*
I was walking I went down to where the big shots are
4. *Ngirrilimpanganayi*
This is what I am doing
5. *Ngirringuwi wayarri*
I asked them. I want to take it back
6. *Apuwaya awarra yingiti ngirrimatakupawuli*
I took back the stuff
7. *Wartjinga ngirrimamani*
I started walking on the hillsides and walking back
8. *Mindilpiji tongulaka nginti wirramiji*
I got back to Mindil beach [in Darwin] and got the canoe
9. *Kapungawula tangarima Tuwarrampila tangarima awungaji ngirramajirra purti*
With the canoe I have come back home with all the stuff for my people.

Figure 49: Going to Canberra. Kulama song by Yikliya Eustace Tipiloura, 2012 (Audio Example 78)

⁵⁸³ I recorded him singing it a couple of weeks later when he was at my home in Sydney.

Following traditional practice, Eustace has used poetry to tell the story, with symbolic references to the land, the journey and the process to (in his words) “tell the story in the Tiwi way, with words that will always stay true”.⁵⁸⁴ The canoe (line 1) is symbolic of the journey away from the islands (he actually flew to Darwin). Similarly the return journey was by aeroplane, not on foot, but telling of “walking across the hillsides” symbolises the great distance and difficulty of the journey. The “stuff” (the recorded material) is referred to in Tiwi as *yingiti*, meaning “food”. This gives a sense of the high importance of the material. The word *Ngirrilimpanganayi* in the fourth line is an example of the *Kulama* words that place the song’s time of performance (in this case the evening).⁵⁸⁵

9.2.4 The Milimika Festival

My fourth example serves as a pre-cursor to my thesis’ conclusion. It is Ngarukuruwala’s performance at the Milimika⁵⁸⁶ Festival, held on August the 4th and 5th 2012 at Wurrumiyanga. It exemplifies some of the renegotiations and continuities in Tiwi song practice, the outcomes of our work together and the impact the repatriated recordings have had. Organised and produced by the Tiwi Islands Shire Council, the Milimika Festival was hailed as a community Arts Festival with the aim of engendering pride and participation in culture. Along with other locals and performers from the mainland, Ngarukuruwala was invited to perform. It had been almost two years since a couple of the band members had performed with the women, and nearly a year since any of us had played together. It might seem unwise in this situation to consciously do no rehearsal for a concert at all, but I knew that the more we tried to lock anything in the less successful it would be. If we used charts or set keys then we would want to follow them. Our preparation entailed listening to the CD on my phone while we sat waiting for the plane, having a sing through a couple of songs with the women at the sound check at Wurrumiyanga just so we could set some tempi, and making sure the bass player had an eye-line to the Tiwi lady playing guitar so that he could see the shape of her hand and follow her chord changes.

⁵⁸⁴ Personal communication Sydney 19 March 2012.

⁵⁸⁵ The full performance transcription of this song is at Appendix 15.

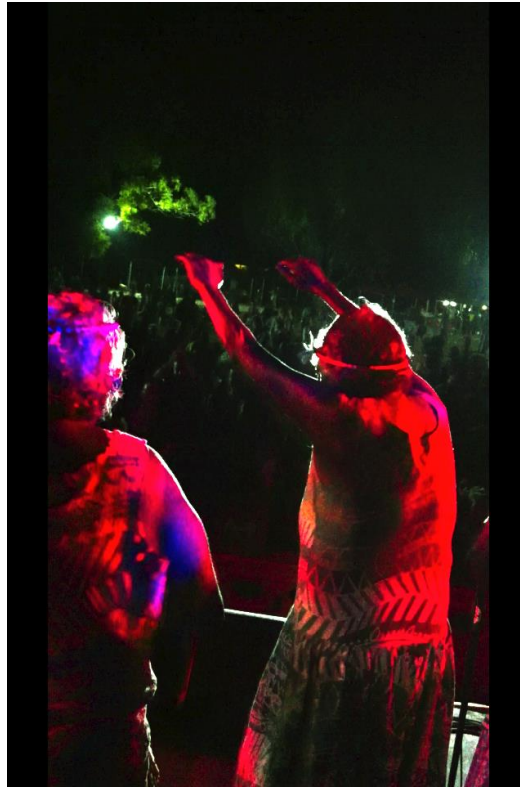
⁵⁸⁶ The *Milimika* is the area of ground cleared for ceremony and dancing at *Kulama* and *Yoi*.

A young man had died the day before and there was some argument over what songs should or should not be performed, for respect and also to not be seen to be too happy (a difficult situation for the Festival organisers generally). The women took the stage and started to sing. Leonie Tipiloura led on sticks while the drummer, Jamie Cameron, followed and created a reggae groove for the “Kupunyi” (Canoe) song that the women followed, swinging the rhythms of their words to go with the feel. We played “Wunijaka” as a healing song for the community in light of the death, with the phrase lengths changed even from the afternoon’s sound check after some talk about which place names should be included for the young deceased man.

We played the 1954 recording of the unidentified woman’s Love Song through the PA and then played Francis’ new version of “Murli la”, which then morphed into an up-tempo jazz jam to which the women danced their Dreaming *Yoi*.

To give the women a rest, the band decided to play “Wipe-Out”.⁵⁸⁷ The women were stunned at first but quickly joined in, some dancing their own *Yoi*, instinctively in time with the very un-Tiwi beat, and some doing a very convincing impression of 1960s beach party go-go moves. Calista Kantilla has been one of my closest consultants and is one of only two elder women in the Strong Women’s Group who have any knowledge of the old language or song technique. She has always been adamant that things must be done in the correct way, is called upon at ceremony for help with singing and is vocal in her opinions on preserving language, song and *Kulama* in particular. Her dancing *Ampiji* (Rainbow Dreaming) to “Wipe-Out” caused a sensation (see Photograph 11). The audience (mostly young Tiwi people) were impressed and amazed to see this strong old lady bringing traditional Tiwi *Yoi* and western pop culture together in such a convincing and meaningful way.

⁵⁸⁷ The hit instrumental piece by Bob Berryhill, Pat Connolly, Jim Fuller and Ron Wilson and recorded in 1963 by the Surfaris.



Photograph 11: Calista Kantilla dancing Ampiji (Rainbow Dreaming) to “Wipeout”. Photograph by Genevieve Campbell

A group of senior men performed the *Mopaditi Yoi* dance and song that had not been done for years, until Wally saw it on film in Canberra. The crowd loved it, the children screamed in mock horror and delight and people talked about how wonderful a *Mopaditi* he made.

In a way this gig manifested many of the topics of my thesis. A repatriated recording was played as part of our improvised new music, the old woman’s voice brought back into the moment and her old language picked up and transformed into a New Tiwi song text by a young man who is in the process of learning the craft of composition himself. The Strong Women sang traditional songs to a reggae beat, danced *Yoi* to improvised jazz and to 1960s surf pop. All of it was in language, all of it was new and all was unique to that concert. We will never give exactly that performance again and that is largely because it was based on Tiwi song practice.

The next day the women were the talk of the town. They enjoyed a new two-fold respect, for their ability to sing in the old language (many young people didn't realise they could do this) and because these old ladies could really groove! In the audience was an elderly Tiwi lady who lived at the Aged-care Facility. She sat in her wheelchair and sang along with all the songs. She died the following evening. Staff from the facility rang me to say that she had been so happy on the Saturday night and that she had told her carer how wonderful it was to hear the proper language still being sung by these (from her point of view) younger women and how glad she was they were carrying the songs on.

9.3 New ways of continuing traditional song skills and new ways of creating new music skills, using the recordings

I have shown in previous chapters that the Tiwi song-types have recognisable features but also show a high degree of variation, and the corpus of recordings attests to the large amount of unique songs. I have also shown that certain songs are performed today with almost identical text as in the past, as we find among the recordings taken in 1912 ("Crocodile"), 1928 and 1954 ("Nyingawi"). Others, while called "traditional" or "old" songs and regarded by people as having been passed down, have quite substantial variation of text (such as "Train") or, in the case of the Modern *Kuruwala* style, be substantially different musically, but retain much of the text. Recordings are making what was an intangible, unique and individually owned performance a tangible, repeatable and sharable item. They are also a non-refutable record of how songs were in the past and have become, for some, a trigger for action to slow the demise of traditional song traditions.

The *palingarri* recordings repatriated in 2010 have become a resource closely studied by a few elder women and men, who have, in small groups, listened particularly to the *Kulama* songs recorded by Spencer (1912), Hart (1928), Mountford (1954) and Osborne (1975). Attempting to devise a new way of composing using the recordings as linguistic source material, they have held discussions about words and phrases, their patterns, sounds, lengths and deep meanings and have helped me transcribe song texts so that at least some of the poetry and the song language will be preserved. Many are now items

of historical record, of value mainly as documentations of the past. The songs with subjects concerning current events (new buildings, farm projects and visiting boats for example) would not be sung again but are interesting pieces of local history. Those about larger events such as the bombing of Darwin, Cyclone Tracy or the Moon Landing might survive as part of a collection of historical songs that are performed at public events. All constitute a useful and important teaching resource as examples of the process of creating song language. While this might seem to render them of a lesser value, the opposite is happening, with their preservation via the recordings having created a new role for them as highly valued items of artistic heritage.

It is the songs relating to Country, Dreaming and the Ancestors that will potentially become a corpus of Tiwi ceremonial song, providing the support necessary for dance and for those elements of mortuary and *Kulama* ceremonies that survive into the future. Being in an archaic language they may be passed down, either orally or using recordings, by rote, the original deep referential meaning becoming more and more obscure to each new singer.

9.3.1 In conclusion

This thesis presents, for the first time, musical transcriptions of the Tiwi song types. While this fixes those melodies in print, it does not set them in stone in terms of performance. Every time it is sung, each melody (while recognisable for its song-type) contains the idiosyncratic features of spontaneous creativity that come from live performance. It is an interesting outcome of my study that while the recordings have “trapped” these unique performances the process of musical transcription has also confirmed extemporization as the dominant feature of Tiwi performance practice. Importantly, the process of audition and transcription has also re-affirmed individuality and invention as characteristics of the tradition that are worth maintaining. I am very proud to report that the work my consultants and I have done has been the catalyst for new discussion around the state of the song culture and its future. No-one will ever sing a Tiwi song the same way twice and today’s Tiwi singers (elders and young people) are continuing to extemporize using traditional elements to create unique, new songs.

Having largely lost the luxury of an environment rich with the intellectual pursuits of poetry and song composition, social, linguistic and cultural pressures now necessitate the creation of a canon. A fixed repertory of set-text pieces, in a song culture that was always based on the creation of contemporary songs, would constitute a big change. It will take a deal of rethinking and changing of perception for older people to accept the repetition of old songs in this way.

The challenge for the current elders is how to retain the spiritual, social and artistic functions of Tiwi song culture in a new language and new musical frameworks. My observation is that there are two responses emerging. Senior men and women are developing strategies for preserving the skills of singing in the old way and sustaining and potentially building upon the performance of *Kulama*. They are also (and these are not mutually exclusive) maintaining a strong connection between culture and song by embracing new music styles and making them work to the advantage of Tiwi song practice.

With the work the Strong Women are doing to reinvent old songs, create new syncretic musical forms and engage children in song-based cultural activities, song will continue to hold an important, relevant and contemporary place in Tiwi culture. The role that the recordings are having now and will have into the future is multi-faceted. This corpus is not just an archival record but a social artefact of continuing relevance and reference today. It is a source of linguistic and musical material and a repository of ancestral, ritual and cultural knowledge. The individual recordings have also become highly valued items of cultural heritage.

Unique, improvised songs have long been the main vehicle for individual and collective expression and affirmation of cultural identity. In a new, but arguably no less “traditional” way, the art of Tiwi song may well continue to provide these. One could say that Tiwi song practice is in a state of flux, but then one could also say that it always has been.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Names of the Strong Women's group and my primary consultants

The following is a list of the women with whom I have worked most closely in the course of this study.

The Strong Women's group (in alphabetical order by surname)

Alimankini, Gabriella Tumurayilawayu †
 Babui, Anna-Maria Polijiyapila Tipiloura
 Fernando, Marcella Pulakatu
 Fernando, Mel Sheba Pampiyamo Portaminni
 Garlaga, Virginia Pirringitapijimawu
 Kantilla, Calista Jukura Tipiliyampawurra Tipuamantimeri
 Kantilla, Marie Carmel Tipurupilimau
 Kantilla, Regina Ampurulumu Portaminni
 Kelantumama, Consolata Kuraringawayu Portaminni
 Kelantumama, Dulcie Mary Pungantiluwayu
 Moreen, Mary Elizabeth Mungatopi
 Munkara, Casmira Milangimpanimauru Palipuaminni
 Orsto, Connie Milika Palipuaminni
 Orsto, Eunice Mirrukuku Palipuaminni
 Pirrnupantatila, Annunciata
 Puaungaji, Augusta Purruwurrika Portaminni
 Puruntatameri, Clementine Majitiwaya Kantilla †
 Puruntatameri, Judith Wiyalupuwayu Fernando
 Puruntatameri, Teresita Kilapayu Timaepatua
 Tipamaetua, Barberita Tampilaningimau Tipungwuti
 Tipiloura, Doreen Kimarringilayu Orsto
 Tipiloura, Emerentiana Tipungampurrimau Tanukurrupungala Palipuaminni †

Tipiloura, Gerarda, Puliwitjimawu

Tipiloura, Leonie Pukutungumi Tipuamantimeri

Tipuamantimeri, Stephanie Tipilipatu Tipungwuti †

Tipuluwaningalayuwu, Bernadette

Tipungwuti, Eugenie Tipirrapulawu Kerinaiaua

Tipungwuti, Jacinta Tipulumuntayu Portaminni

Tipungwuti, Marina Pirjipijawayu Portaminni †

Tipungwuti, Rosemary Pupantuwu Portaminni

Younger women singing with the group

Kerinaiaua, Melinda Lakurrapiyanayi

Kerinaiaua, Deborah Ampurrayumawu

Portaminni, Cynthia Timaepatua

Puruntatameri, Anne-Marie Apilipanu

Puruntatameri, Cypanthea-Rose Puluwamijayu

Puruntatameri, Ella Lama

Puruntatameri, Michaeline Makarila Tipungwuti

Puruntatameri, Francilia Kutuwapijimawu

Tipiloura, Karen Kujarrapijila

Other consultants

Black, Nina Kerinaiaua

Brown, Kay Piripanirila

Bush, Bonnie

Bush, Doriana

Brook, Pamela

Kantilla, Philippa Ngangurrumawu †

Kantilla, Stephen-Paul Jamingi Tankarriyamari

Kerinaiaua, Leah †

Kerinaiaua, Walter jnr

Kerinaiaua, Walter Pirranuwamiya †

Munkara, Alice
 Munkara, Stanley Tamurrimala Jipwarlamparripa
 Orsto, Francis Jules Manginjirrimi
 Pilakui, Tony
 Portaminni, Genevieve Sue †
 Puantilura, Madeline
 Puruntatameri, Justin Wamunkinimirri †
 Puruntatameri, Patrick
 Tipiloura, Bernard Mandilimiyu
 Tipiloura, Yikliya Eustace
 Tipiloura, Theodore Pirrakingimiri
 Tipuamantimeri, Marie-Simplicia
 Tungutalum, Hyacinth †
 Tungutalum, Leslie James
 Wurandabalu, Aileen

Names used to refer to singers in the *palingarri* recordings.

Nicknames given to some of the Tiwi men and women from the 1930s through to the 1950s are used in much of the literature and on the recordings and this has also made correct identification difficult. English names and nicknames were given to men by members of the Australian Defence Force stationed on the islands during the Second World War, and also by priests and nuns during the mission period, because “they couldn’t pronounce our hard Tiwi names.”⁵⁸⁸ Although some of these were initially nicknames for the fathers, now the children have inherited them as surnames. The name Brown, for instance, was given to Jipuwampi, who then became known as Danny Brown. He was the father of a woman called Kaye whom I have been working with. She was therefore christened Kaye Brown. Another of my consultants, Nina Black, knows her father was Bartholomew Kerinaiua Wampiaujimirriell (having been given a Christian name at the mission as well as his Tiwi names he was given by family). He

⁵⁸⁸ Personal communication Leonie Tipiloura Darwin 19 February 2012.

was called Black Joe by Missionaries and so is referred to by that name by Mountford both in his written account (Mountford, 1958) and on the recordings he made.⁵⁸⁹ His son Paul inherited Black as a surname and this has been further established as a surname through his children.⁵⁹⁰ Paddy Bush is another senior song-man whose Tiwi name was passed over for the sake of simplicity. The Brown, Black and Bush families have expressed concern that these names, given to their forbears in a derogatory context (albeit a paternalistic and perhaps well-meaning one) have become entrenched in Tiwi society at the expense of the Tiwi family names that should have been respected. The fact is, however, that these names are used so widely in the literature and in the recordings that I include them for the sake of cross-referencing. I have, wherever possible, included singers' Tiwi names in the complete list of recorded material. Since the practice of baptizing children into the Mission began, most Tiwi people now have a Christian name as well as Tiwi names. Calista Kantilla explained it this way:

I have one Christian name that Bishop Gsell gave me when I was a baby. That is Calista. Then big mob other names from my mother and *Jukura* that my father gave me when I was five years old at *Kulama*. That is what everyone calls me and myself. It is in my heart.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁹ C01-002917

⁵⁹⁰ Other descendants took one of his Tiwi names, Kerinaia, and it has also become a surname.

⁵⁹¹ Personal communication Calista Kantilla, Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 2 March 2010.

Appendix 2: An Orthography of Modern Tiwi and a discussion of some issues relating to spelling and translation

2.1 Orthography for Tiwi language used in the thesis.

This Orthography applies to Modern Tiwi, which is the basis information and song texts given to me by my consultants, with advice from Nguiu Nginingawila Literacy Production Centre and referring to (Lee, 1993).

a as in 'a cow'; before **y** it sounds like **e** as in 'met'

i when in the middle of a word as in 'bit'; at the end of a word as in 'beet'.

j preceding **i** or **u**, as in 'cheese'; preceding **a** or **o**, it is a soft **d** as in 'indigo'.

k as in 'ken'

l as in 'like'

ly as in 'million'

m as in 'man'

n as in 'now'

ng as in 'sing'

ny as in 'menu'

o between the **o** in 'gong' and that in 'port'

p as in 'pat'

r as in 'cheery' but with tongue tip curled back.

rl digraph: like **l** but with tongue tip curled back

rr as in Scottish 'sporrán' with rolled **r**

rn like **n** but with tongue tip curled back

rt diagraph: like **t** but with tongue tip curled back

t as in 'tea'

u as in 'put'

w as in 'wand'

y when at the start of a word it is short as in 'igloo', when within a word it is like the **y** in 'yes'

Variations to pronunciation:

i becomes neutralised to schwa **ə** when it is preceded or followed by **p, w, m, ng** or **k**.

i and **u** sound like **a** as in 'about' when in a non-stressed syllable.

Consonants differences between Osborne's and Lee's orthography.

tye is now spelled **ji**

agha is now spelled **aya**

e is no longer used (replaced by **i**, with no distinction between the two in current spelling)

2.2 A note on difficulties in transcribing the song texts.

One interesting issue that came up in field-work is that consultants often gave me the words that they *expected* to hear rather than what was actually on the

recording. The sung form of words are markedly altered in terms of stresses and phonetics due to the poetic protocols of song composition, rendering them, especially to a modern ear (which has not heard Old Tiwi for a generation) very difficult to decipher. Often what I was hearing was quite different to what consultants told me was being sung. I questioned this and was told that “not all the words are real.”⁵⁹²I take this to refer to the syllabic repetition and/or omission, phonemic variation and meaningless syllables that exist in the metrical and sung forms of song texts. Consultants gave me the spoken forms of the words rather than the performance text. My notes therefore include both what I heard (transcribed phonetically) and what I was told by consultants (using the spelling they suggested).

Another challenge in transcribing song text from recordings came from the lack of front teeth in many of my consultants. This led to a lot of confusion with consonants. It is interesting to note that Pilling mentions the effect of a lack of teeth on the t sound (Pilling, 1970). Osborne uses t in his orthography but it has disappeared from the spelling today. There are also variations in the way individuals (both consultants and performers on the recordings) pronounce words. Lee points out that “[t]here is no contrast between voiced and voiceless stops and the amount of voicing varies from speaker to speaker” (Lee 1987, p. 26). It would take a deeper linguistic study (probably not possible due to lack of spoken recordings further back than the 1970s) to find out how much of this can be attributed to front teeth (or lack thereof).

Lee also notes that “[b]ecause there are so few contrastive vowels in Tiwi, the range of the allophonic variation for each vowel is much wider than for the corresponding vowel in English” (Lee, 1987, p. 26). There are other variations in pronunciation such as pre-nasalised or non-pre-nasalised stops i.e. *pumpuni/pupuni* (good). A number of phonetic changes in the language (as a result of its transition from Old to Modern Tiwi) are described by Lee (1987:33-48) and I have found that the singers in recordings taken in the 1960s and 1970s (within the corpus of songs in the Old language) there are many phonetic differences.

⁵⁹² Personal communication Calista Kantilla, Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 14 March 2010.

Charles Osborne's work *The Tiwi Language* (Osborne, 1974) remains the major document on Old Tiwi language in terms of definitive analysis of word and grammatical structure. When discussing songs that have been transcribed by Osborne I present his transcriptions. In order that they are meaningful to contemporary Tiwi readers I have changed some spelling to conform to Lee's orthography. Because much of my transcription of song texts from the repatriated recordings has been done phonetically, with the help of Tiwi consultants who do not speak the language used in the songs, there have been differences of opinion as to how to spell various words. The variations between Old Tiwi, Modern Tiwi and New Tiwi⁵⁹³ serve to add to the choices of spelling.

Past researchers have each used their own orthography and so we find in the literature numerous spellings for many Tiwi words. For example, the Tiwi name of Allie Mungatopi is currently spelled Warabutiwayi. Simpson spells it Oruputuwaie (1951) and Holmes spells it Wurrayputiwai (1995).

Younger people tend to hear what I hear because they do not expect to understand the text.⁵⁹⁴ Some recordings have poor sound quality and not all text has been clear enough for people to hear in its entirety. Consonants can be particularly unclear and a different consonant can change the meaning of an entire word, and therefore an entire text phrase. Some songs include Old Tiwi words that are not used today and so consultants are uncertain (or have conflicting opinions) as to their meaning. In most cases we have however been able to produce a transliteration that the elders are happy with in terms of documenting the song in a meaningful way. In some cases it has transpired that my consultants preferred to provide translation into English as they feel that is a more valuable tool and resource for the community. I therefore present these as well as Osborne's translations where necessary for my argument. In examples that focus on musical elements I give a free translation that indicates the meaning of the text.

⁵⁹³ See Chapter 5 for explanation of the Tiwi language situation.

⁵⁹⁴ I have found, too, that people often think they hear the syllables in a word that they know, adding or omitting syllables to make the word fit what they know is correct rather than reporting what is actually in the recording. This has resulted in some contradictions between transcriptions and translations.

1. Abbreviations used in text translations (following Osborne).

Osborne's abbreviations:

eve: evening word form

caus: causative

dur: durative

em: emphatic

f: feminine

ic: incompletive

lk: linking syllable

morn: morning time prefix

np: non-past

nz: nominaliser

p: past

vol: volitional

Appendix 3: Catalogue of the recordings on which this study is based.

This catalogue has been collated through auditioning of the song material with Tiwi consultants. Where the collector has noted the song subject I use their term to facilitate cross-referencing. Gaps in the metadata reflect the amount of information I have been able to gather on each collection. This has depended on the sound quality of the recording affecting the ability of my consultants to discern song texts. Recordings of ceremony outdoors, for example, have been more difficult to audition. Some collections have been of greater (or lesser) interest to my consultants and I have also aborted work on some collections due to circumstances beyond my control. Pieces of information that are unconfirmed are marked with a question mark (?). I also include note of incorrectly identified recordings amongst the archive material.

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
FILE										
SPENCER							12.1912	Bathurst Island		
C01-00701-1	Group				Call		12.1912	Bathurst Island		Call
C01-00701-2	Capstan	Jipapijingimirri			Building houses		12.1912	Bathurst Island		Jipuwakirimi
C01-00701-3	Lopez	Paujimi			Ship	Dreaming	12.1912	Bathurst Island		Jipuwakirimi
C01-00701-4	Unidentified man				Saw		12.1912	Bathurst Island		Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C01-00701-5	Lopez	Paujimi			Flour		12.1912	Bathurst Island		Jipuwakirimi
C01-00701-6	IWAIDJA						12.1912	Bathurst Island		
C01-00701-7	Unidentified man				Boat and Tide		12.1912	Bathurst Island		Arikuruwala
C01-00701-8		Purruntilayi Orsto	Db		Crocodile	Dreaming	12.1912	Bathurst Island		Jipuwakirimi
C01-00701-9		Purruntilayi Orsto			Ship's funnel	News	12.1912	Bathurst Island		Jipuwakirimi
C01-00701-10		Tunguntalumi			Train	News	12.1912	Bathurst Island		Jipuwakirimi
C01-00701-11		Tunguntalumi			Ship Awaits Tide	News	12.1912	Bathurst Island		Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 20:05										
HART								North-east Bathurst Island and north-west Melville Island (exact place unknown)		
C01-004240A-D3	Unidentified man						1928			Arikuruwala
C01-004240A-D4	Mariano						1928			Arikuruwala
C01-004240A-D6	Malakajin				Country places	Culture	1928			Arikuruwala
C01-004240A-D7	Mrs. Duke?	Puruntatameri			Shark	Dreaming	1928			Jipuwakirimi
C01-004240A-D8	Mrs. Duke?	Puruntatameri			Mopaditi	Culture	1928			Mamanunkuni
C01-004240A-D10	Mariano				Buffalo	Dreaming	1928			Jipuwakirimi
C01-004240A-D11	Mariano						1928		Yilaniya	Mamanunkuni
C01-004240A-D12	Mariano						1928			Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C01-004240A-D13i	Unidentified woman				Tractor	News	1928			Ampirimarrikimili
C01-004240A-D13ii	Unidentified woman				Mythical dog	Country/ances tors	1928			Ampirimarrikimili
C01-004240A-D15	?				?		1928			Jipuwakirimi
C01-004240A-D16i	Unidentified man				Rain invocation	?	1928			Jipuwakirimi
C01-004240A-D16ii	Unidentified group				Mosquito call Shark vocable		1928			Call
C01-004240A-D17	Unidentified man						1928			Arikuruwala
C01-004240A-D18	Unidentified man				Tatuwali (Shark)	Dreaming	1928			Jipuwakirimi
C01-004240A-D19	Poochery?						1928			Arikuruwala
C01-004240A-D20	Jerry?	Jiparimapiligi					1928			Arikuruwala
C01-004240A-D23	Unidentified man						1928			Arikuruwala
C01-004240A-D24		Limba?					1928			Arikuruwala
C01-004240A-D27		Tibiyu?					1928			Arikuruwala
C01-004240A-D28		Kande?			Purramamula	Country	1928			Arikuruwala
TOTAL: 31:29							1928			
C01-004240B-D29i	Danny Bubu	Jimalipuwa			Cotton Tree	Yiminga	1928		K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C01-004240B-D29ii	Danny Bubu	Jimalipuwa			Man o' war	Ancestors' song	1928		K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C01-004240B-D30	Unidentified man				Naming places in Turupi country	Culture	1928			Arikuruwala
C01-004240B-D33		Tunguntalum			Gramophone	News	1928		K 3rd eve / Ayipa	Arikuruwala
C01-004240B-D35	Unidentified man	Pukuantimirri (my info)					1928			Mamanunkuni

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C01-004240B-D36	Unidentified woman				When she lost her son	Bereavement	1928			Mamanunkuni
C01-004240B-D37	Jerry	Jiparimapiligi			His Dreaming		1928		Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
C01-004240B-D38i	Mal?	Malakijani? Tungutalum?			Going to war	Ritual marker	1928		Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C01-004240B-D38ii	Mal?	Malakijani					1928			Arikuruwala
C01-004240B-D40	Mal?	Malakijani					1928		Yilaniya	Arimarrikuwamuwu
C01-004240B-D44	Unidentified man						1928			Mamanunkuni
C01-004240B-D45	Sam?						1928			Arikuruwala
C01-004240B-D48	Mariano?						1928			Arikuruwala
C01-004240B-D49		Munkara			Nyingawi	Story	1928			Ariwayakulaliyi
C01-004240B-D50		Kerinaiaua					1928			Arikuruwala
C01-004240B-D84	Mrs. Duke?		C4	79			1928			Arimarrikimili
C01-004240B-D85i	Unidentified man						1928			Mamanunkuni
C01-004240B-D85ii	Unidentified man				Buffalo		1928			Jipuwakirimi
C01-004240B-D112	Unidentified man						1928			Arikuruwala
C01-004240B-D113	Unidentified group				Ancestor Call		1928			Call
TOTAL: 31:31										
SIMPSON										
LA4730-i	Group		F4, 5		Sugarbag/Mosquito	Ritual marker	1948	Milikapiti	Yoi	Call
LA4730-1	Jacky Navy	Murrumayuwa		104	Boat/Lugger	Entertainment	1948	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
LA4730-2	Unidentified woman				Sorrow for her son	Bereavement	1948	Milikapiti	Yoi	Mamanunkuni
LA4730-3	Unidentified man				Shark	Dreaming	1948	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
LA4730-3a	Group		F4, 5		Sugarbag/Mosquito	Ritual marker	1948	Milikapiti	Yoi	Call
LA4730-3b	Unidentified man				Shark	Dreaming	1948	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
LA4730-4	Female group		G4	97	Crocodile	Dreaming	1948	Milikapiti	Yoi	Ampirimarrikimili
LA4730-5	Female group				Flying Dentist	News	1948	Milikapiti	Yoi	Ampirimarrikimili
LA4730-5a	Unidentified group				Country Call	Ritual marker	1948	Milikapiti	Yoi	Call
LA4730-5b	Group		F4, 5		Sugarbag/Mosquito	Ritual marker	1948	Milikapiti	Yoi	Call
LA4730-6	Unidentified man		F4	97	Ship	Dreaming	1948	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
LA4730-7	Unidentified man		E3		Air Raid (Bombing of Darwin)	Story	1948	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
LA4730-7a	Group		F#4, 5		Sugarbag/Mosquito	Ritual marker	1948	Milikapiti	Yoi	Call
LA4730-7b	Group				Sugarbag/Mosquito		1948	Milikapiti	Yoi	Call
LA4730-7c	Group				Sugarbag/Mosquito	Ritual marker	1948	Milikapiti	Yoi	Call
LA4730-8	Unidentified man				Turtle	Dreaming	1948	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
LA4730-9	Group		F#4, 5		Sugarbag/Mosquito	Ritual marker	1948	Milikapiti	Yoi	Call
TOTAL: 41:45										
ABC radio										
Not Tiwi until 03:25										
36-004069-1					Tiparrimukirri		1955	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
36-004069-2	Group		D4		Country calls		1955	Milikapiti	Yoi	Call

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
36-004069-3					Fight		1955	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
36-004069-4	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	G3	176	Goose	Dreaming	1955	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Arimarrikuwamuwu
36-004069-5					Radio	News	1955	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
36-004069-5a					Argument		1955	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
36-004069-6					Country Call		1955	Milikapiti	Yoi	Call
36-004069-7					Crying		1955	Milikapiti	Yoi	Call
36-004069-8			E4				1955	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 19:36										
MOUNTFORD										
C01-002916										
Numbers coincide with Osborne's for sake of cross-referencing										
C01-002916-1-5	Enrail Munkara	Tipungirralumi	F#3		Nyingawi x6		1954	Milikapiti	Pukumani	Nyingawi
C01-002916-6	Enrail Munkara	Tipungirralumi	F#3	77.6	Stick race/skinnyfish	Ritual marker	1954	Milikapiti	Yoi/carrying poles to grave	Jipuwakirimi
C01-002916-7	Jimmy	Pirlangimpiwiyi	F#3		Brolga	Dreaming	1954	Milikapiti	Yilaniya/Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C01-002916-8	Jimmy	Pirlangimpiwiyi	F#3		Boat	Ritual marker	1954	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
C01-002916-9-12	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Telephone	News	1954	Milikapiti	Yilaniya/Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C01-002916-13	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Boggy ground	Ritual marker	1954	Milikapiti	Yilaniya/Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C01-002916-17-18	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Payday	Ritual marker	1954	Milikapiti	Payment of workers	Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C01-002916-19	Unidentified Man		F3		Lullaby	Lullaby	1954	Milikapiti	Secular	Ariwangilinjiya
C01-002916-20	Unidentified Woman		F4		Lullaby	Lullaby	1954	Milikapiti	Secular	Ariwangilinjiya
C01-002916-21	Unidentified Woman				Torch	Love Song	1954	Milikapiti	Secular	Apajirupwaya
C01-002916-22,23	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Payday	Ritual marker	1954	Milikapiti	Payment of workers	Jipuwakirimi
C01-002916-24	Unidentified Man				Policeman	Payment of workers	1954	Milikapiti	Jipuwakirimi	Jipuwakirimi
C01-002916-25	Unidentified Man				Owl	Dreaming	1954	Milikapiti	Jipuwakirimi	Jipuwakirimi
C01-002916-26	Unidentified Man				Call	Ritual marker	1954	Milikapiti	Jipuwakirimi	Call
C01-002916-27	Unidentified group				Crying	Ritual marker	1954	Milikapiti	Jipuwakirimi	Crying
C01-002916-30	Unidentified Woman				Waiting all night	Love song	1954	Milikapiti	Secular	Apajirupwaya
C01-002916-33	Unidentified Woman				He has gone	Love song	1954	Milikapiti	Secular	Apajirupwaya
C01-002916-34	Unidentified Woman				Empty house	Love song	1954	Milikapiti	Secular	Apajirupwaya
C01-002916-36	Unidentified Woman				Before you go	Love song	1954	Milikapiti	Secular	Apajirupwaya
C01-002916-37	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi	Bb3		Prince of Wales	Bereavement	1954	Milikapiti	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
TOTAL: 31:05										
C01-002917-38	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi	Bb3	116	Radio bloke	News	1954	Milikapiti	K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-39	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi	Bb3		Dead Uncle	Kin status	1954	Milikapiti	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-40	Jacky Navy	Murramayuwa	E3		Canoe journey	Bereavement	1954	Milikapiti	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-41	Jacky Navy	Murramayuwa	E3		Journey to Darwin	Bereavement	1954	Milikapiti	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-42	Unidentified Female		Ab3		Why did you die?	Sorrow	1954	Milikapiti	Kulama	Mamanunkuni
C01-002917-43	Unidentified group				Crying	Bereavement	1954	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Crying
C01-002917-44	Jacky Navy	Murramayuwa	G3		Jirringa	Grievance	1954	Milikapiti	Kulama	Arikuruwala

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C01-002917-45	Jacky Navy	Murramayuwa	G3		Shark	Dreaming	1954	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-46	Jacky Navy	Murramayuwa	G3		Ship	News	1954	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-47	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi	Gb3		Garden	News	1954	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-48	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi	Gb3		Brisbane	News	1954	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-49	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	Gb3		Goose	Naming	1954	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-50,51	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	Gb3		Wash with fresh water	Grievance	1954	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-52	Tuki				Mother-in-law	Grievance	1954	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-53	Tuki				Storm	News	1954	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-54,55					Meteor	News	1954	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-56	Unidentified Man		Bb3		Drowned children	Sorrow	1954	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Mamanunkuni
C01-002917-57	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Cards	Ritual marker	1954	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-58	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Spears	Ritual marker	1954	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-59	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	Bb3		Hot stomach	Kinship status	1954	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-60	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	Bb3		Stars on the flag	Ayipa	1954	Milikapiti	K 2nd pm	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-61	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	Bb3		Shark	Dreaming	1954	Milikapiti	K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-62	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	Bb3		Leo Hickey's Boats	Ayipa	1954	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-63	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	Bb3		Enemy plane	Ayipa	1954	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-64	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	Bb3		Pitapitui	Finding children	1954	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
C01-002917-65	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	Bb3		Argument with Tom Carol	Grievance	1954	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Arikuruwala

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C01-002917-66	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	Bb3		Eugenie Fruit	News	1954	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
TOTAL: 32:09										
C01-002918-67	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	Bb3		Children dancing on the beach	Spirit children	1954	Milikapiti	Kulama	Arikuruwala
C01-002918-68	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	Bb3		Mother-in-law	Bereavement	1954	Milikapiti	Kulama	Arikuruwala
C01-002918-69	Tuki		Bb3		Washed up Firewood	Art	1954	Milikapiti	Kulama	Arikuruwala
C01-002918-70	Tuki		Bb3		Flying into the sky	Palingarri	1954	Milikapiti	Kulama	Arikuruwala
C01-002918-71	Tuki		Bb3		Tractor digging trees for airstrip	News	1954	Milikapiti	Kulama	Arikuruwala
C01-002918-72	Tuki				Spirit children taking tobacco	Finding children	1954	Milikapiti	Kulama	Arikuruwala
C01-002918-73	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi	Bb3		Spirit children going to Carslake Island	Finding children	1954	Milikapiti	Kulama	Arikuruwala
C01-002918-74	Unidentified Man		G3		Fort Dundas soldiers	News	1954	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C01-002918-75	Unidentified Man		C4		Purrukupali	Palingarri	1954	Milikapiti	Yoi	Call
C01-002918-76	Unidentified Man				Bima's song of remorse	Palingarri	1954	Milikapiti		Speech
C01-002918-77	Unidentified Man		Gb3		Deceased wife	Mourning	1954	Milikapiti	Yoi	Amparruwu
C01-002918-78	Unidentified Man				Deceased wife	Mourning	1954	Milikapiti	Yoi	Arimarrikuwamuwu
C01-002918-79	Unidentified group		C4, 5		Sugarbag, Mosquito	Ritual marker	1954	Milikapiti	Yoi	Call
C01-002918-80	Unidentified group				Crying		1954	Milikapiti	Yoi	Crying
TOTAL: 12:35										

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FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
ALICE MOYLE										
Songs from the Northern Territory		Only tracks 7-9 are Tiwi								
Songs NT-7a	Group school boys		Fmaj	45	Army Tent	Entertainment	1962	Darwin	Eisteddfod	Ariwayakulaliyi
Songs NT-7b	Group school boys		Fmaj	63	Bomb on Darwin	Entertainment	1962	Darwin	Eisteddfod	Ariwayakulaliyi
Songs NT-9a	Group school boys		Gmaj	75	Dinghy/canoe	Story	1962	Darwin	Eisteddfod	Jipuwakirimi
Songs NT-9b	Group school boys		Gmaj	75	Buffalo	Dreaming	1962	Darwin	Eisteddfod	Jipuwakirimi
Songs NT-9c	Group school boys		Gmaj	75	Crocodile	Dreaming	1962	Darwin	Eisteddfod	Jipuwakirimi
Songs NT-9d	Group school boys		Gmaj	75	Shark	Dreaming	1962	Darwin	Eisteddfod	Jipuwakirimi
Songs NT-9e	Group school boys		Gmaj	75	Pukumani status	Culture	1962	Darwin	Eisteddfod	Jipuwakirimi
tracks 8 and 10 are spoken text of the songs. Spoken by Noel Puantilura										
TOTAL: 06:30										
Recorded by Helen WURM										
507A	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri			Describing Bark paintings					Speech
507A-1	Peter				Purrukupali	Ancestors	10.1965	Milikapiti		Call / speech
507A-2	Peter				Country names	Culture		Milikapiti		Arikuruwala
507A-3	Peter				Purrukupali	Ancestors		Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 30:28										

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
507B = speech	Elicitation of narratives on Bark Paintings.									
508A = speech until 00:19:29										
508A-1	Children			85	Yinjula	Entertainment				Ariwayakulaliyi
508A-1a	Eric Brooks				Yinjula	Entertainment				Speech
508A-2	Children				Dugong	Story				Ariwayakulaliyi
508A-2a	Eric Brooks				Dugong	Story				Speech
508A-3	Children				Whirlwind	Story				Ariwayakulaliyi
508A-3a	Eric Brooks	Bungarralungduma			Whirlwind	Story				Speech
508A-4	Eric Brooks				Big Army tent	Story				Ariwayakulaliyi
508A-4a	Eric Brooks				Big Army tent	Story				Speech
TOTAL: 1:04:39										
508B-5	Jumbo	Iyaturrewi			Purrukupali	Ancestors				Speech/Calling out
508B-6	Peter				Queen sends ship	News				Arikuruwala
508B-7	Peter				Death/Purrukupali	Culture				Jipuwakirimi
508B-8	Paddy Bush	Pukapunali			Purrukupali	Ancestors				Arimarrikuwamuwu ?
510B-1	Group	poor quality, distortion, speed fluctuation			Sugarbag/Mosquito	Ritual marker		Milikapiti	Yoi for Charlie Two	Jipuwakirimi
510B-2	Group		D4, 5	80	Sugarbag/Mosquito	Ritual marker		Milikapiti		Call
508B-3	Unidentified man		D4	80				Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
508B-4	Unidentified man		E4	80				Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-5	Unidentified man		D4, 5	80				Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
508B-6	Group				Mosquito			Milikapiti	Yoi	Call
508B-7	Group							Milikapiti	Yoi	Crying
508B-8	Unidentified woman		D4					Milikapiti	Yoi	Amparruwu
TOTAL: 1:04:38										
510B-9	Unidentified group							Milikapiti	Yoi	Crying
510B-10	Unidentified woman		D4					Milikapiti	Yoi	Amparruwu
510B-11	Group		D4		Sugarbag			Milikapiti	Yoi	Call
510B-12	Group		D4	73				Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
508B-13	Group		D4	73				Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
508B-14	Group		D4	73				Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-15	Group		D4	73				Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-16	Group		D4	73				Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-17	Unidentified man		D4	73				Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-18	Unidentified man		D4	73				Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
508B-19	Group		D4	73				Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-20	Group		D4	73				Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-21	Unidentified man							Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-22	Unidentified man		D4					Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-23	Unidentified woman		D4					Milikapiti	Yoi	Amparruwu
510B-24	Unidentified man							Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-25	Group							Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-26	Group		D4, 5		Sugarbag/Mosquito			Milikapiti	Yoi	Call

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
510B-27	Unidentified man							Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-28	Group							Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-29	Group		?					Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-30	Group		E4					Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-31	Unidentified woman		E3					Milikapiti	Yoi	Amparruwu
510B-32	Group		E4					Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-33	Unidentified woman		E3					Milikapiti	Yoi	Amparruwu
510B-34	Group		E4					Milikapiti	Yoi	Crying
510B-35	Unidentified man		E3					Milikapiti	Yoi	Mamanunkuni
510B-36	Unidentified man		E4					Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-37	Unidentified man		E4					Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-38	Unidentified woman		E3					Milikapiti	Yoi	Amparruwu
510B-39	Group		E4					Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
510B-40	Group		E4					Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 69:00										
HOLMES										
S02_000181A-1	Group		Eb4	80	Shark	Dreaming	16.5.1966	Bagot	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181A-1a	Group		Eb4		Sugarbag	Ritual marker	16.5.1966	Bagot	Yoi	Call
S02_000181A-2	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi	Eb4		Ship	Dreaming	16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181A-2a	Group		Eb4		Sugarbag	Ritual marker	16.5.1966	Bagot		Call
S02_000181A-3	Unidentified man		Eb4		Killing	Revenge	16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S02_000181A-4	Unidentified man		Eb4		Crocodile	Dreaming	16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181A-4a	Group		E4, 5		Mosquito / Country Call	Ritual marker	16.5.1966	Bagot		Call
S02_000181A-5	Woman		Eb3		Aeroplane	Bereavement	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181A-6	Group						16.5.1966	Bagot		Crying
S02_000181A-7	Group				Baby Dreaming	Finding children	16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181A-8	Unidentified woman						16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181A-8a	Group				Sugarbag		16.5.1966	Bagot		Call
S02_000181A-9	Unidentified woman						16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181A-10							16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181A-11	Deaf Tommy			81	Crocodile		16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181A-12	Unidentified man		E4		Crocodile		16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181A-13	Unidentified man		G4				16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181A-14	Unidentified man				Sorry		16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181A-15	Female group						16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181A-16	Group		F#4				16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181A-17	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi					16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181A-17a	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Yirrikapayi	Dreaming	16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181A-18	Unidentified man		F#4		Crocodile	Dreaming	16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 32:35										
S02_000181B-19	Polly Miller	Payaningamayuwu					16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S02_000181B-20	Group		G4				16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181B-21	Polly Miller	Payaningamayuwu	G4				16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181B-21a	Group				Calls		16.5.1966	Bagot		Call
S02_000181B-22	Polly Miller	Payaningamayuwu				Bereavement	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181B-23	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi	G4		Crocodile	Dreaming	16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181B-24	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi	G4		Crocodile	Dreaming	16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181B-25	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Mother's bosom	Kinship status	16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181B-26	Female group						16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181B-27	Unidentified man						16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181B-28	Unidentified man						16.5.1966	Bagot		Mamanunkuni
S02_000181B-29	Group						16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181B-30	Group						16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181B-31	Group						16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181B-32	Group						16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181B-33	Group						16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181B-34	Agnes						16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181B-35	Agnes						16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181B-36	Female group				Jealous husband	Bereavement	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181B-37	Female group				Jealous husband	Bereavement	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181B-38	Female group				Don't mess about	Bereavement	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181B-39	Group						16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181B-40	Agnes				Don't look at him	Bereavement	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S02_000181B-41	Group						16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181B-42	Group				Broken leg	Kinship status	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181B-43	Agnes					Bereavement	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181B-44	Female group				Crocodile head	Bereavement	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181B-45	Female group					Bereavement	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181B-46	Female group					Bereavement	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181B-47	Female group					Bereavement	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181B-48	Female group					Bereavement	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000181B-48b	Group				Call		16.5.1966	Bagot		Call
S02_000181B-49	Tractor Joe	Karla			Breast	Kinship status	16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181B-50	Tractor Joe	Karla			Breast	kin status	16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000181B-51	Tractor Joe	Karla			Breast milk	kin status	16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 33:09										
S02_000182A-1	Polly Miller?	Payaningamayuwu	A3, 4				16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000182A-2	Female group		A				16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000182A-3	Unidentified woman		A3, 4		Sorry	bereavement	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000182A-4	Unidentified woman			110	Challenge		16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000182A-5	Unidentified woman				Kissing	bereavement	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000182A-6	Unidentified woman				Kissing	bereavement	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000182A-6a	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputwayi			Purrukupali	death	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000182A-7	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputwayi			Spear	kin status	16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182A-8	Unidentified woman				Goodbye	bereavement	16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S02_000182A-9	Group						16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182A-10	Group				Wingaputingima		16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182A-11	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Shark	Dreaming	16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182A-12	Group				Crocodile	Dreaming	16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182A-13	Unidentified woman				You can't see me		16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000182A-14	Group and women						16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu and Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182A-15	Group and women						16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu and Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182A-16	Unidentified woman						16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000182A-17	Unidentified man						16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000182A-18	Unidentified woman						16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182A-19	Agnes						16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000182A-20	Female group						16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000182A-21	Agnes				Father at East Arm		16.5.1966	Bagot		Amparruwu
S02_000182A-21a	Group	Harry Carpenter's Dreaming			Mosquito		16.5.1966	Bagot		Call
TOTAL: 28:53										
S02_000182B-24	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi	Ab4		Shark		16.5.1966	Bagot		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182B-24a	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi	Bb3		Sugar bag		16.5.1966	Darwin		Call
S02_000182B-24b	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi	Bb4		Mosquito		16.5.1966	Darwin		Call
S02_000182B-25	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Ship	Dreaming	16.5.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182B-26	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Speaks		16.5.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182B-27	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Killing	revenge	16.5.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S02_000182B-28	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Speaks		16.5.1966	Darwin		
S02_000182B-29	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Crocodile		16.5.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182B-30	Harry Carpenter				Aeroplane bombs	killing	16.5.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000182B-31	Harry Carpenter				Machine gun		16.5.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000182B-32	Harry Carpenter				Machine gun		16.5.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000182B-33	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Dreaming a baby into being		16.5.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182B-34	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Women challenge to fight		16.5.1966	Darwin		Ampirimarrikimili
S02_000182B-35	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Crocodile		16.5.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182B-36	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Crocodile		16.5.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182B-37	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Woman's sorry song		16.5.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000182B-38	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi					16.5.1966	Darwin		talking
S02_000182B-39	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Man can take three girls		16.5.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000182B-40	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Crocodile deep in water	Dreaming	16.5.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182B-41	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Crocodile		16.5.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182B-42	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Crocodile dives		16.5.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000182B-43	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Crocodile dives		16.5.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL 31:32										
S02_000183A-1	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Mother's bosom		16.5.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000183A-2	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Jealous husband		16.5.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000183A-3	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Don't mess about		16.5.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S02_000183A-4	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Jealous husband		16.5.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000183A-5	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Don't look at him		16.5.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000183A-6	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Crocodile		16.5.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000183A-7	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			My sweetheart		16.5.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000183A-8	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Fighting stick		16.5.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000183A-9	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Breast milk		16.5.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000183A-10	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			I can't touch you		13.6.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000183A-11	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			I can't touch you		13.6.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000183A-12	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			I can't touch you		13.6.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000183A-13	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			I can't touch you		13.6.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000183A-14	Polly Miller	Payaningamayuwu			I can't touch you		13.6.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000183A-15	Allie Miller	Wungurraputuwayi			I can't talk to you		13.6.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000183A-16	Polly Miller	Payaningamayuwu			Sorry my girlfriend		13.6.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000183A-17	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			I can't kiss you		13.6.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000183A-18	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Purrukupali		13.6.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000183A-19	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Spear		13.6.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000183A-20	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Goodbye my girlfriend		13.6.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000183A-21	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Going for water	ritual stage	13.6.1966	Darwin		Jipuwakirimi
S02_000183A-22	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Lover you can't see me		13.6.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000183A-23	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			East Arm		13.6.1966	Darwin		Amparruwu
S02_000183A-24	Allie Miller Mungatopi	Wungurraputuwayi			Bird Call		13.6.1966	Darwin		Call
TOTAL: 25:13										

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S03_000184A-i	Group		D4		Sugarbag		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya (630pm)	Call
S03_000184A-1	Charlie One	Tankila Punguwanji	Bb3	77	Waves turn Moonfish	Dreaming	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-2	Unidentified woman		Bb3		Liking paint	Ritual stage	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Amparruwu
S03_000184A-3	Unidentified man and group			150	Waves turn Moonfish	Dreaming	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-4	Unidentified man and group				Waves turn Moonfish	Dreaming	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-4a	Group				Call		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Call
S03_000184A-5	Group				Waves turn Moonfish	Dreaming	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-6	Group				Tide coming in / moonfish	Dreaming	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-7	Group						3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-8	Group						3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-8a	Unidentified man				Names	Kinship /Dreaming	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Call
S03_000184A-10	Group				Moonfish spikes	Dreaming	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-11	Group		Bb3		Spirit people fishing	Ancestors	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-12	Group				Two creeks running	country	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-13	Group			166	Two creeks running	Murrupiyanga	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Call
S03_000184A-14	Yana Fourcroy leads				Two creeks running		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S03_000184A-15	Group				Stringybark torches	ritual	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-16	Long Len	Pupartingirriti			Stringybark torches		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-17	Long Len		B3		Stringybark torches		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-18	Group				Stringybark torches		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-18a	Group				Names and country		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Call
S03_000184A-19	Group				Stringybark torches		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-20	Group				Stringybark torches		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-21	Group				Stringybark torches		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-22	Group				Murrupiyanga	Country	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-23	Group				Murrupiyanga	Country	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-24	Group				Murrupiyanga		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-25	Group				Tide coming in moonfish		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-26	Unidentified man and group				Going with the tide		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184A-27	Group				Murrupiyanga		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 32:05										
S03_000184B-28	Group				Murrupiyanga		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-29	Group				Murrupiyanga		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-30	Group				Vine net		3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-31	Doris				Bathurst Island people come	Bereavement	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Amparruwu
S03_000184B-32	Daisy				Arranawu (be careful)	Bereavement	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Amparruwu
S03_000184B-33	Daisy					Bereavement	3.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Amparruwu

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S03_000184B-33a	Group		D4		Sugarbag		4.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd morn	Call
S03_000184B-34	Group		D4		Red Ochre		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-35	Group				Waves turn moonfish	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-36	Unidentified man				Waves turn moonfish	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-37	Unidentified man		D4		Country Call	Ritual stage	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Call
S03_000184B-38	Group				Waves turn moonfish	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-39	Doris						4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Amparruwu
S03_000184B-40	Group				Moonfish	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-41	Group				Moonfish	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-41a	Group				Call names of country		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Call
S03_000184B-42	Group				Tide brings moonfish	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-43	Group				Fast tide	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-44	Group				Murrupiyanga	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-45	Unidentified man				Moonfish puffs cheeks	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-46	Unidentified man				Moonfish puffs	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-47	Daisy				Why does my sister cry?		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Amparruwu
S03_000184B-48	Unidentified man				Stranded moonfish	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-49	Group				Stranded moonfish	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-50	Daisy				Why does my sister cry?		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Amparruwu

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S03_000184B-51	Daisy				Why does my sister cry?		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Amparruwu
S03_000184B-52	Group				Moonfish in mangroves	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000184B-53	Group		Eb4	163	Moonfish in mangroves	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 31:51										
S03_000185A-1	Group				Moonfish in mangroves	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-2	Unidentified woman						4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Amparruwu
S03_000185A-3	Group				Mopaditi at edge of water	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-4	Group				Tide pulls moonfish	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-5	Group				Tide pulls moonfish	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-6	Unidentified man				Moonfish through weeds	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-7	Group				Moonfish through weeds	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-8	Group				Moonfish spines	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-9	Group			160	Moonfish spines	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-10	Mickey Geranium				Call country names		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Call
S03_000185A-11	Mickey Geranium				Moonfish spines	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-12	Mickey Geranium				Moonfish spines	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-13	Mickey Geranium		Eb4		Three brothers fishing law	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-14	Mickey Geranium				Three brothers fishing	Call names	4.6.1966	Milikapiti	Mock fighting	Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S03_000185A-15	Mickey Geranium				Lots of fish	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-16	Mickey Geranium				Lots of fish	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-17	Mickey Geranium				Lots of fish	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-18	Mickey Geranium	Atyawangi			Lots of fish	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-19	Paddy Sawmill	Warlakurrayuwuwa			Shark	Dreaming	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-19a	Group				Honeybee		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Call
S03_000185A-20	Daisy		G3		Army flag	Bereavement	4.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Amparruwu
S03_000185A-21	Daisy		G3		Army flag	Bereavement	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Amparruwu
S03_000185A-21a	Group		D4, 5		Sugarbag/Mosquito	Ritual marker	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Call
S03_000185A-22	Group						4.6.1966	Milikapiti	tree-climbing	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185A-23	Group				Sugarbag	Performance	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Call
TOTAL: 32:03										
S03_000185B-24	Group		D4	80	Building a house		4.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-24a	Group		D4		Sugarbag then ancestor names		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Call
S03_000185B-25	Group		D4	80	Lights on verandah	To remove Mopaditi	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-26	Pinni		D4		Lights on verandah	To remove Mopaditi	4.6.1966	Milikapiti	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-27	Pinni		D4		Lights on verandah	To remove Mopaditi	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-28	Pinni	Piliputimirri	D4		Summons a widow		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-29	Pinni	Piliputimirri	D4		Call	Performance	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-30	Pinni	Piliputimirri	D4		Places where there are lots of houses	To remove Mopaditi	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S03_000185B-31	Pinni	Piliputimirri	D4		Houses		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-32	Pinni	Piliputimirri	D4		Lights on verandah	To remove Mopaditi	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-33	Pinni	Piliputimirri	D4		Lights on verandah	To remove Mopaditi	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-34	Pinni	Piliputimirri	D4	181	Painting houses		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-35	Pinni	Piliputimirri	D4		Other dancers' turn		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-36	Pinni	Piliputimirri	D4		Lights on verandah		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-37	Pinni	Piliputimirri	D4		White man boss		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-38	Pinni	Piliputimirri	D4		Summons a widow		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-39	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Houses		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-40	Pinni	Piliputimirri			House		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-41	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Lamps in houses		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-42	Pinni	Piliputimirri		155	Lots of houses		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-43	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Women's dance summons		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-44	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Lights on verandah		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-45	Pinni	Piliputimirri		80	White man boss		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-46	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Other dancers' turn		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-47	Pinni, Foxy, Charlie, Uncle				Lights on verandah		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-48	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Painting houses		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-49	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Painting houses		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000185B-50	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Women's dance summons		4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S03_000185B-51	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Cape geese?	Ancestors	4.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 31:27										
S03_000186A-1	Mickey Geranium		E4	154	Painting houses		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-2	Mickey Geranium				Lights on verandah		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-3	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Houses by the road		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-4	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Lots of houses (Purrukupali)		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-5	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Naming new house for daughter		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-6	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Naming new house for his daughter, Piliputerili		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-7	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Naming new house for his daughter, Piliputerili		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-8	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Naming new house for his daughter, Piliputerili		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-9	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Old people		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-10	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Priest looking after the church		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-11	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Widow dancing	Kinship	5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-12	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Lamps on verandah, place with lots of houses		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-13	Pinni	Piliputimirri	E4	166	Lamps in houses		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S03_000186A-14	Paddy Henry	Pakirlipuwamirri			Old man summons		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-15	Paddy Henry	Pakirlipuwamirri			Light in the sky		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-16	Paddy Henry	Pakirlipuwamirri			Light in the sky		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-17	Paddy Henry	Pakirlipuwamirri			Places where there are lots of houses		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-18	Paddy Henry	Pakirlipuwamirri		76			5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-19	Pinni	Piliputimirri					5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-20	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Painting houses		5.6.1966	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-21	Pinni	Piliputimirri			Walking stick		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186A-22	Pinni			80	Lights on verandah		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 30:35										
S03_000186B-23	Group				Lights on verandah		5.6.1966		K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186B-24	Woman (Croker's wife?)		E4		Mourning		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Amparruwu
S03_000186B-25	Pinni				White man boss		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186B-26	Group				Call names of country		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Call
S03_000186B-27	Group				Union men approval		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186B-28	Group				Old woman summons		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186B-29	Group				Union men approval		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186B-30	Group		A3		Places where there are lots of houses		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186B-31	Group				Places where there are lots of houses		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S03_000186B-32	Group				Places where there are lots of houses		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186B-33	Group				Union men approval		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186B-34				159	Union men approval		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186B-35	Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti	Awunjingijimirri	A3		Roof and Sky		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186B-36	Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti	Awunjingijimirri			Roof and Sky		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186B-37	Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti	Awunjingijimirri			Roof and Sky		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186B-38	Foxy and Pinni				Bosses look at roof		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186B-39	Group				Old woman with stick		5.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000186B-40	Female group		B3		Don't look at your daughter		6.6.1966	Milikapiti	K 3rd morn	Amparruwu
S03_000186B-41	Daisy?		B4		Don't look at your daughter		6.6.1966	Milikapiti	end of Yilaniya	Amparruwu
S03_000186B-42	Daisy?		B3		Don't look at your daughter		6.6.1966	Milikapiti		Amparruwu
S03_000186B-43	Female group		B3		Hit me		6.6.1966	Milikapiti		Mamanunkuni
S03_000186B-44	Group		C#4, 5		Sugarbag/Mosquito		6.6.1966	Milikapiti		
S03_000186B-45	Group									
TOTAL: 31:43										
S03_000187A	Group							Milikapiti		Amparruwu
S03_000187A	Unidentified woman				Your turn old woman			Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S03_000187A	Unidentified man				Spear	Revenge		Milikapiti	Fire	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187A	Unidentified man				He is a devil	Revenge		Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187A	Group			160	Sugarbag	Performance		Milikapiti		Call
S03_000187A	Mickey Geranium	Atyawangi			Spear and burn the man responsible	Revenge		Milikapiti	Fire	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187A	Group		D4, 5		Sugarbag/Mosquito			Milikapiti		Amparruwu
S03_000187A	Unidentified woman		C4		Lost the key to the dead man's house	Grieving		Milikapiti		Amparruwu
S03_000187A	Group		D5		Mosquito			Milikapiti		Call
S03_000187A	Group				Call			Milikapiti	spears thrown at house	Call
S03_000187A	Unidentified man							Milikapiti		Mamanunkuni
S03_000187A	Unidentified man		C4		Here is my daughter (in deceased vox)			Milikapiti	clearing house	Mamanunkuni
S03_000187A	Unidentified man		C4	90	Walking stick			Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187A	Mickey Geranium	Atyawangi	C		This is the first time I've been here I'm honoured			Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187A	Mickey Geranium	Atyawangi	C4		Murrupiyanga	Country		Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187A	Unidentified group					Revenge		Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187A	Unidentified woman		C4					Milikapiti		Amparruwu
S03_000187A	Group		C4		Murrupiyanga			Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187A	Group		C4		Spear in leg	Kinship status		Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187A	Group		C4		Murrupiyanga			Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
S03_000187A	Group		C4		Old woman's turn			Milikapiti	spears	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187A	Unidentified woman		C4		Holding cheeks	Bereavement		Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187A	Mickey Geranium	Atyawangi	C#4		Sugarbag			Milikapiti		Call
S03_000187A	Mickey Geranium	Atyawangi	C#4	90		Revenge		Milikapiti	breaks spears	Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 31:51								Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187B	Mickey Geranium	Atyawangi	C#4		Ironwood spears	Ritual		Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187B	Group				Call			Milikapiti		Call
S03_000187B	Mickey Geranium	Atyawangi	C#4		Summons to women	Performance point		Milikapiti	spears	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187B	Mickey Geranium	Atyawangi	C#4	159				Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187B	Mickey Geranium	Atyawangi	C#4					Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187B	Mickey Geranium	Atyawangi	C#4					Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187B	Unidentified man		E4					Milikapiti		Mamanunkuni
S03_000187B	Group		E4		Call			Milikapiti		Call
S03_000187B	Group		C#4					Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187B	Unidentified man		D4					Milikapiti	spears	Jipuwakirimi
S03_000187B	Unidentified woman		F					Milikapiti		Amparruwu
TOTAL: 09:28										
SIMS										
A2480A-1	Daniel Paujimi	Tungwarinawayi	F	78	The Passion		11.4.1972	Nguiu	Church	Ariwayakulaliyi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
A2480A-2	Daniel Paujimi	Tungwarinawayi	F		God in the Bush		11.4.1972	Nguiu	Church	Ariwayakulaliyi
A2480A-3	Daniel Paujimi	Tungwarinawayi	F		Peace		11.4.1972	Nguiu	Church	Ariwayakulaliyi
A2480A-4	Daniel Paujimi	Tungwarinawayi	F		Thank you lord		11.4.1972	Nguiu	Church	Ariwayakulaliyi
A2480A-5	Daniel Paujimi	Tungwarinawayi	F		The Old World		11.4.1972	Nguiu	Church	Ariwayakulaliyi
A2480A-5	Daniel Paujimi	Tungwarinawayi	F		Trinity		11.4.1972	Nguiu	Church	Ariwayakulaliyi
A2480A-6	Daniel Paujimi	Tungwarinawayi	F		God is Our King		11.4.1972	Nguiu	Church	Ariwayakulaliyi
A2480A-7	Daniel Paujimi	Tungwarinawayi	F		The Last Day		11.4.1972	Nguiu	Church	Ariwayakulaliyi
A2480A-8	Stanley Munkara	Jipwarlamparripa	F-sharpish		Sorrow	Bereavement	12.4.1972	Nguiu	Kulama	Arikuruwala
A2480A-9	Stanley Munkara	Jipwarlamparripa	F-sharpish		Boat	News	12.4.1972	Nguiu	Kulama	Arikuruwala
A2480A-10	Stanley Munkara	Jipwarlamparripa	F-sharpish		Buffalo	Dreaming	12.4.1972	Nguiu	Kulama	Arikuruwala
A2480A-11	Stanley Munkara	Jipwarlamparripa	F-sharpish		Electricity	News	12.4.1972	Nguiu	Kulama	Arikuruwala
A2480A-12	Stanley Munkara	Jipwarlamparripa	F-sharpish		Father's death	sorrow	12.4.1972	Nguiu	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
A2480A-13	Daniel Paujimi	Tungwarinawayi	F		Love Thy Neighbour		12.4.1972	Nguiu	Church	Ariwayakulaliyi
A2480A-14	Celestine Kantilla	Kuwinangtuwa?	Eb	118	Train		12.4.1972	Nguiu	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
A2480A-15	Celestine Kantilla	Kuwinangtuwa?	Eb		Cutting timber		12.4.1972	Nguiu	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
TOTAL: 26:46										
A2613A-1	Unidentified man		D				5.8.1972	Nguiu	Yoi 1st eve	Mamanunkuni
A2613A-2	Group		D		Sugarbag/Mosquito		5.8.1972	Nguiu		Call
A2613A-3	Group		F and D				5.8.1972	Nguiu	Yoi 1st eve	Jipuwakirimi
A2613A-4	Group		F	156			5.8.1972	Nguiu		
TOTAL: 1:05:20	(SIMS cont.)									
A2613B	Poor sound quality and distant vocal			2613A and B = 75 mines total						

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
OSBORNE										
From funeral ceremony for son of Geoffrey Mungatopi April 1974.										
C05-008043-1	Long Lynn	Punginarlingirrinti	Db4		Ambush of Fathers	Payment of workers	Jul-74	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-2	Long Lynn	Punginarlingirrinti	Db4		Carrying spears	Ritual marker	1974	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-3	Long Lynn	Punginarlingirrinti	Db4				1974	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-4	Long Lynn	Punginarlingirrinti	Db4		Departing Crocodile	Washing	1974	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-5	Romuel Puruntatameri	Kilupwarlapiwiyi	C4		Knife	Murderer	1974	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-6	Romuel Puruntatameri	Kilupwarlapiwiyi	C4		Fire		1974	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-7	Romuel Puruntatameri	Kilupwarlapiwiyi	C4		Swimming Crocodile	Washing	1974	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-8	Tractor Joe	Karla	C4		Battleship		1974	Pirlangimpi	Lying down	Arikuruwala
C05-008043-9	Charlie One	Tipakilippa Lampimayuwa	Eb4				1974	Pirlangimpi		Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-10	Charlie One	Tipakilippa Lampimayuwa	Eb4		Five crocodiles	Dreaming	1974	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-11	Phelan Kantilla	Jipirrapunga	Eb4		Cypress Pine	Ritual marker	1974	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-12	Charlie One	Tipakilippa Lampimayuwa	Eb4		For his son	Bereavement status	1974	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-13	Charlie One	Tipakilippa Lampimayuwa	D4		Dead Crocodile	Bereavement status	1974	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-14	Charlie One	Tipakilippa Lampimayuwa	D4		Cotton tree	Ritual marker	1974	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-15	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri	Ab3		Dreamed crocodile	Dreaming	1974	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-16	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri	Ab3		Pregnant woman	Bereavement status	1974	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C05-008043-17	George Norm	Yirripungwayamirri	C4		Wounded leg	Bereavement status	1974	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-18	Tony Charlie	Tyurruptimirri	G3				1974	Pirlangimpi	evening	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-19	Tony Charlie	Tyurruptimirri	G3				1974	Pirlangimpi	morning	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-20	Long Stephen	Putyuta	G3		Jealous dead	Bereavement status	1974	Pirlangimpi		Amparruwu
C05-008043-21	Long Stephen	Putyuta	G3		Jealous brother in law	Bereavement status	1974	Pirlangimpi	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-22	Maurice Tunguntalumi	Pungitarlipiyuwa	E4			Bereavement status	1974	Pirlangimpi		Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-22a	Maurice Tunguntalumi	Pungitarlipiyuwa	E4			Sorrow	1974	Pirlangimpi		Mamanunkuni
C05-008043-22b	Maurice Tunguntalumi	Pungitarlipiyuwa	E4				1974	Pirlangimpi		Jipuwakirimi
C05-008043-22c	Maurice Tunguntalumi	Pungitarlipiyuwa	E4			Sorrow	1974	Pirlangimpi		Mamanunkuni
C05-008043-d	Maurice Tunguntalumi	Pungitarlipiyuwa	E4				1974	Pirlangimpi		Arikuruwala
TOTAL 34:53										
C05-008044-23	Aloysious Puantilura	Tyupwanikini	F		Knife	Murderer	1974		Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008044-24	Aloysious Puantilura	Tyupwanikini	F		Pregnant woman	Bereavement status	1974		Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C05-008044-25	Aloysious Puantilura	Tyupwanikini	Bb				1974		Kulama	Arikuruwala
C05-008044-26	Jimmy Portaminni	Kulumuntinguwiyi	E			Sorrow	1974		Yiloti	Amparruwu
C05-008044-27	Daniel Paujimi	Tungwarinawayi	Db			Sorrow	1974		Yiloti	Amparruwu
C05-008044-28	Stanislaus Puruntatameri	Piripitinikiniwirri	A		Knife	Murderer	1974		Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C05-008044-29	Hilary Munkara	Kitimpungawirra	Bb				1974		Kulama	Arikuruwala
C05-008044-30	Hilary Munkara	Kitimpungawirra					1974		Kulama	Arikuruwala
Mistaken overdub. Wurm eliciting translation of Tiwi narratives.			10:08 until end of tape (34:26)							
TOTAL 10:08										
C04-003851a Until 00:19:10 is Limilngan language elicitation.							15.1.1974	Darwin		Speech
C04-003851a-31	Paddy Bush	Pakupunarli					Jan-75	Milikapiti		Arikuruwala
C04-003851a-32	Paddy Bush	Pakupunarli	C4	74	Bulldozer	Ritual marker	Jan-75	Milikapiti		Arikuruwala
C04-003851a-33	Paddy Bush	Pakupunarli	C4	74	Cutlery	News	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
C04-003851a-34	Paddy Bush	Pakupunarli	C4		Cockatoo	Ritual marker	Jan-75	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003851a-35	Paddy Bush	Pakupunarli	C4		Electric light	Country/kin	Jan-75	Milikapiti	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003851a-36	Paddy Bush	Pakupunarli	Ab3		Jungle Fowl	Ritual marker	Jan-75	Milikapiti	K 2nd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003851a-38	Paddy Freddy	Muriningimirri	Eb4		Burnt Leg	Kinship status	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851a-39	Paddy Freddy	Muriningimirri			Goose	Kinship status	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851a-40	Romuel Puruntatameri	Kilupwarlapiwiyi			Secret Killer	Ritual marker	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851a-41	Romuel Puruntatameri	Kilupwarlapiwiyi			Dugong	Dreaming	Jan-75	Milikapiti	2nd day of Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851a-42	Romuel Puruntatameri	Kilupwarlapiwiyi			Goose feathers	Ritual marker	Jan-75	Milikapiti	2nd day of Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851a-43	Paddy Bush	Pakupunarli			Mother's brother's killer	Kinship status	Jan-75	Milikapiti	1st day of Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851a-44	Paddy Bush	Pakupunarli			Birth of a son	Kinship status	Jan-75	Milikapiti	2nd day of Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851a-45	Mickey Geranium	Ajawangi			Question to killer	Ritual marker	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C04-003851a-46	Mickey Geranium	Ajawangi			Hurt face	Kinship status	Jan-75	Milikapiti	2nd day of Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851a-47	Mickey Geranium	Ajawangi			Grievance	Grievance	Jan-75	Milikapiti	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003851a-48	Deaf Tommy	Kijiwilingimirri			Fighter plane	Ayipa	Jan-75	Milikapiti	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003851a-49	Deaf Tommy	Kijiwilingimirri			Fallen trees	Kinship status	Jan-75	Milikapiti	2nd day of Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851a-50	Deaf Tommy	Kijiwilingimirri	Db4		Killing of fathers	Kinship status	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851a-51	Geoffrey Mangatopi						Jan-75	Milikapiti		Mamanunkuni
C04-003851a-52	Geoffrey Mangatopi						Jan-75	Milikapiti		Mamanunkuni
TOTAL: 47:03										
C04-003851b-53	Wilfred Roberts	Wupijirrimuwiyi	Ab3	132	Flag	Kinship status	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851b-54	Wilfred Roberts	Wupijirrimuwiyi	Ab3		Murder spear	Revenge	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851b-55	Wilfred Roberts	Wupijirrimuwiyi	Ab3		Children play	Country/kin	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851b-56	Nora Cook		Db4	157	Hurt face	Kinship status	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851b-57	Bob One	Majulutingija					Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851b-58	Bob One	Majulutingija			Roasting the killer	Revenge	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851b-59	Bob One	Majulutingija	Gb3		Dispute	Grievance	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851b-60	Bob One	Majulutingija	Gb3		Jipakulawa	Fathers/ancestor	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851b-61	Paddy Bush	Pakupunarli			Burnt face	Revenge	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851b-62	Paddy Bush	Pakupunarli			Payday	Ritual marker	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851b-63	Phelan Kantilla	Jipirrampunga			Cloth	Revenge	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851b-64	Phelan Kantilla	Jipirrampunga			Hair circlet	Kinship status	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851b-65	Morris Tunguntalum	Pungitarlipiyuwa			Bloated killer	Revenge	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C04-003851b-66	Morris Tunguntalum	Pungitarlipiyuwa			Cut penis	Kinship status	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851b-67	Morris Tunguntalum	Pungitarlipiyuwa			Goose	Dreaming	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851b-68	Romuel Puruntatameri	Kilupwarlapiwiyi			Fire in boiler	Kinship status and ritual marker	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003851b-69	Romuel Puruntatameri	Kilupwarlapiwiyi			Mother water	Kinship status	Jan-75	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 19:45										
OSBORNE							19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003852-1			E4	89	Goose	Dreaming	19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003852-2							19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003852-3					Country		19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Call
C04-003852-4							19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003852-5							19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003852-6					Shark	Dreaming	19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003852-7							19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003852-8					Sugarbag and Mosquito		19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003852-9							19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003852-10					Country		19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Call
C04-003852-11					Crying		19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003852-12		Lampimayuwa			Dugong		19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003852-13							19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003852-14							19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C04-003852-15							19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003852-16							19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003852-17							19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003852-18							19.1.1975	Milikapiti		Jipuwakirimi
This is Osborne's numbering. It does not match up at this point.										
										Jipuwakirimi
C04-003852-70	Phelan Kantilla	Jipirrampunga	G3	68	Hurt Loins	Sorrow	31.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852-71	Phelan Kantilla	Jipirrampunga	G3	80	Wife	Sorrow	31.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852-72	Phelan Kantilla	Jipirrampunga	G3		Father's Grave	Sorrow	31.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852-73	Phelan Kantilla	Jipirrampunga	G3		Stolen Brother-in-law	Sorrow	31.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852-74	Long Steven	Pujuta	G3		Broken Promise	Grievance	31.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852-75	Long Steven	Pujuta	G3		Names	Grievance	31.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852-76	Long Steven	Pujuta	G3		Legend of ancestors	Symbolic	31.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852-77	Phelan Kantilla	Jipirrampunga	Ab3	82	Northern Territory Water	Painting up	2.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852-78	Hector Tipungwuti	Wungurralmirri	Ab3	128	Mangrove Worms	Commemorate father's country	2.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852-79	Long Steven	Pujuta	F3				2.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852B-80	Long Steven	Pujuta			Promised Girl	Grievance	2.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852-81	Long Steven	Pujuta	F#3		My father's songs	Commemorate father	2.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852-82	Long Steven	Pujuta			Adam and Eve	Entertainment	2.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C04-003852-83	Long Steven	Pujuta			Travelling boat	Commemorating father's country	2.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852-84	Long Steven	Pujuta			Clouds	Entertainment	2.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
no number	Group				Sugarbag					Call
C04-003852-85	Bernard Morris	Walankipitawu	F4, C4	99	House	Sorrow	7.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852-86	Tractor Joe	Karla	Bb3	113	Dead brother	Sorrow	7.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852-87	Bernard Morris	Walankipitawu			Dead mother's brother	Sorrow	7.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852-88	Tractor Joe	Karla			Dead sister	Sorrow	7.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003852-89	Tractor Joe	Karla		90	Mother-in-law's shoulder	Grievance	7.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
TOTAL: 49:43										
C04-003853-90	Tractor Joe	Karla			Dead sister	Sorrow	9.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd morn	Arikuruwala
C04-003853-91	Morris Tungutalum	Pungitalipiyuwa			Dead cousin	revenge	9.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd morn	Arikuruwala
C04-003853-92	Tractor Joe	Karla			Crying woman	Sorrow	9.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd morn	Arikuruwala
C04-003853-93	Morris Tungutalum	Pungitalipiyuwa			Ruby	Grievance	9.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd morn	Arikuruwala
C04-003853-94	Tractor Joe	Karla			Dead father	Sorrow	9.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd morn	Arikuruwala
C04-003853-95	Bernard Morris	Walankipitawu			Brother leaving	Sorrow	9.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd morn	Arikuruwala
C04-003853-96	Tractor Joe	Karla			Dead brother	Sorrow	9.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd morn	Arikuruwala
C04-003853-97	Morris Tungutalum	Pungitalipiyuwa			roasting fathers	ritual	9.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd morn	Arikuruwala
C04-003853-98	Tractor Joe	Karla			Roasting fathers	ritual	9.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd morn	Arikuruwala
C04-003853-99	Tractor Joe	Karla		62 / 89	Crocodile		9.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C04-003853-100	Morris Tungutalum	Pungitalipiyuwa	Db4		Woolly butt blossoms		9.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003853-101	Bernard Morris	Walankipitawu			Buffalo		9.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003853-102	Tractor Joe	Karla			Hurt face	Sorrow	9.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003853-103	Bernard Morris	Walankipitawu			Flag	old favourite	9.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003853-104	Tractor Joe	Karla		78	Calling spirit	Dreaming	9.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
TOTAL 46:55										
C04-003854A-105	Tractor Joe	Karla			Father's grave	Country	8.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 2nd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003854A-106	Tractor Joe	Karla			Hurt face	Kinship	8.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 2nd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003854A-107	Tractor Joe	Karla			Sea journey	Ritual	8.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 2nd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003854A-108	Tractor Joe	Karla	A3		Brother gone	Sorrow	8.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 2nd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003854A-109	Tractor Joe	Karla			Falling leaf	Grievance	8.2.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 2nd eve	Arikuruwala
TOTAL 11:53										
C04-003854B-110	Paddy Henry	Pakirlipuwamirri		108	Dead Crocodile	Sorrow	24.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003854 B-111	Paddy Henry	Pakirlipuwamirri			Promised girl	Grievance	24.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-112	Paddy Henry	Pakirlipuwamirri			Crocodile	Respect of fathers	26.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-113	Paddy Henry	Pakirlipuwamirri	Gb3		Cyclone	News	26.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-114	Harry Jack	Jampuwu			Promised girl	Grievance	24.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-115	Harry Jack	Jampuwu			Sorrow song	Sorrow	24.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-116	Harry Jack	Jampuwu			Brolga	Ritual	25.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	2nd day	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-117	Harry Jack	Jampuwu			Brolga	Ritual	25.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	2nd day	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-118	Tony Charley	Tyurruptimirri								

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C04-003854B-119										
C04-003854B-120	Tony Charley	Tyurruptimirri			Pukumani	self reference	26.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-121	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri			Dead brother	Sorrow	24.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-122	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri			Flag	Putani	24.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-123	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri			Wife's hurt leg	Sorrow	24.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-124	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri			Wounded face	Sorrow	25.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	2nd evening	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-125	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri			Wounded face	Sorrow	25.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	2nd evening	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-126	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri			Brother's killers	Revenge	26.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd morn	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-127	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri			Calling names	Sorrow	26.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd morn	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-128	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri			Promised girl	Grievance	26.1.1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd morn	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-129	Long Stephen	Pujuta			Man on the Moon	News	1975	Pirlangimpi		Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-130	Long Stephen	Pujuta			God and Satan	Entertainment	1975	Pirlangimpi	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-131	Tractor Joe	Karla			Cowboy moses	Entertainment	1975	Pirlangimpi	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-132	Long Stephen	Pujuta			Yamparriparri		1975	Pirlangimpi		Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-133	Long Stephen	Pujuta					1975	Pirlangimpi		Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-134	Long Stephen	Pujuta	G3				1975	Pirlangimpi		Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-135	Long Stephen	Pujuta	B3		Jet Fighter	Entertainment	1975	Pirlangimpi		Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-137	Tony Charlie	Tyurruptimirri			Cargo Boat	Entertainment	1975	Pirlangimpi	Ayipa	Arikuruwala
TOTAL 49:47										
no numbers 138-150										
C04-003854B-151	Polly Miller	Payaningamayuwu	Eb4			Sorrow	1975	Pirlangimpi		Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-152	Dori Tipakulipa		Eb5			Sorrow	1975	Pirlangimpi		Arikuruwala

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C04-003854B-153	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri			Jungle Fowl	Ritual marker	1975	Pirlangimpi	K 2nd Day	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-154	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri			Pig	Dreaming	1975	Pirlangimpi	K 2nd day	Arikuruwala
C04-003854B-155	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri			Genie	Entertainment	1975	Pirlangimpi	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
TOTAL 49:47										
C04-003855A-156	Barney Tipuamantimeri		C4		Ship	Sorrow	25.4.75	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003855A-157	Barney Tipuamantimeri		C4		Grievance	Argue with Maninkuwila	25.4.75	Nguiu	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003855A-158	Barney Tipuamantimeri		C4		Argument	Grievance	26.4.75	Nguiu	K 2nd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003855A-159	Barney Tipuamantimeri		C4		Sailing boat	Ritual	26.4.75	Nguiu	K 2nd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003855A-160	Barney Tipuamantimeri		C4		Cyclone	News	27.4.75	Nguiu	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003855A-161	Barney Tipuamantimeri									Arikuruwala
C04-003855A-162	Aileen Summit	Pitapitui	C4		Cards	Sorrow for husband	1975	Pirlangimpi	Yoi 2nd day	Amparruwu
C04-003855A-163	Nellie	Wantiripila	C4		Drinking	Sorrow for husband	1975	Pirlangimpi	Yoi 2nd day	Amparruwu
C04-003855A-164	Aileen Summit	Pitapitawu	C4	94	Cards	Sorrow for husband	1975	Pirlangimpi	Yoi 2nd day	Amparruwu
C04-003855A-165	Nellie	Wantiripila	C4		Drinking	sorrow for husband	1975	Pirlangimpi	Yoi 2nd day	Amparruwu
C04-003855A-166	Clara Wilson	Jipaputimayuwu	D4	84	Parnintuwila wives	Sorrow for husband	1975	Pirlangimpi	Yoi 2nd day	Amparruwu
C04-003855A-167	?	Group	Eb4	84				Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-168	Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti	Awunjingijimirri			Thirsty for milk	Kinship status		Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-169	Hector							Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-170	Mickey Geranium	Ajawangi	Ab3		Giving the Breast			Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C04-003855A-171	Declan Apaujimi	Kitiminawulinguwiyi			Goose Feather Ball			Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-172	Declan Apaujimi	Kitiminawulinguwiyi						Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-173	Bob One	Majulutingija		70	Making the spear			Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-174	Bob One	Majulutingija						Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-175	Bob One	Majulutingija	Db3	70	Jipupwarninkerayi	Umbrella'		Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-176	Bob One	Majulutingija	Db3/4	70	Panglumwayamirri			Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-177	Long Steven	Pujuta			Spearing of fathers	Kinship status		Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-178	Long Steven	Pujuta	Ab3		Pitirrawulimirri	Kinship status		Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-179	Long Steven	Pujuta	Ab3		Pelican dance	ritual		Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-180	Long Steven	Pujuta			Going to war	ritual marker, carrying the posts		Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-181	Romuel Puruntatameri	Kilupwarlapiwiyi	F3	69	Beating the killer	murderer		Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-183	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri	Ab3	68	Calling Spirits	Kinship status		Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-184	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri	Ab3	70	Calling Spirits	Kinship status		Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-185	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri	Ab3	74	Spirits and Fire	Dreaming	May-75	Pirlangimpi		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-186	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri	Ab3	74	Watching Spirits		May-75	Pirlangimpi		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-187	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri	Ab3	74	Watching Spirits		May-75	Pirlangimpi		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-188	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri	Ab3	74	Land of Fathers			Pirlangimpi		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-189	Justin Puruntatameri	Wamunkinimirri	Ab3	74	Ship going to War	Dreaming		Pirlangimpi		Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855A-190	Tony Charlie		B3	62	Earth Spirit	Kinship status		Pirlangimpi		Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL 45:03										
C04-003855B-191	Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti	Awunjingijimirri	G3	60	Argument	grievance	Early 1975	Nguiu	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C04-003855B-192	Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti	Awunjingijimirri	G3	60	Bulldozer	ritual	Early 1975	Nguiu	K 2nd day	Arikuruwala
C04-003855B-193	Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti	Awunjingijimirri	G3	65	Man from the East	ritual	Early 1975	Nguiu	K 2nd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003855B-194	Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti	Awunjingijimirri	G3	74	Death of kinsman	revenge	Early 1975	Nguiu	K 3rd morn	Arikuruwala
C04-003855B-195	Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti	Awunjingijimirri	G3	60	Helicopter	News	Early 1975	Nguiu	K 3rd eve	Arikuruwala
C04-003855B-196a	Long Steven	Pujuta			Ironwood	Yiminga	12.6.1975	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855B	George Norm	Yirripungwayamirri			Turtles	Dreaming	12.6.1975	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855B	Group		E4	Calls continue for 12 mins			12.6.1975	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
C04-003855B-197	Mary Curry		G3/4	55			12.6.1975	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya Yoi	Amparruwu
C04-003855B-198	Long Steven	Pujuta	A3	93	Drinking together	sorrow	June1975	Pirlangimpi	soon after death	Mamanunkuni
C04-003855B	Long Steven	Pujuta	B3	78	Waking up	sorrow	June1975	Pirlangimpi		Mamanunkuni
C04-003855B-200	Tractor Joe	Karla	E3		Majilwila killers	sorrow	24.5.1975	Pirlangimpi	burial	Mamanunkuni
C04-003855B-201	Long Steven	Pujuta			Silent land	sorrow	26.5.1975	Pirlangimpi	evening	Mamanunkuni
C04-003855B-202	Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti	Awunjingijimirri						Pirlangimpi		Arikuruwala
C04-003855B-203	Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti	Awunjingijimirri	B3					Pirlangimpi		Arikuruwala
C04-003855B-204	Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti	Awunjingijimirri	B3		Pearling boat Japanese lover			Pirlangimpi		Ariwayakulaliyi
C04-003855B	Dorothy Tipungwuti	Mirrirawayuwu	A3, 4	50	Loving has ended	Bereavement		Pirlangimpi		Amparruwu
C04-003855B-206	Dorothy Tipungwuti	Mirrirawayuwu	A3, 4	57	Thoughts from afar	Bereavement		Pirlangimpi		Amparruwu

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
C04-003855B-207	Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti	Awunjingijimirri	G3	74	Rainbow serpent	Dreaming	Jul-75	Pirlangimpi	Final Yoi	Amparruwu
C04-003855B-208	Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti	Awunjingijimirri	G3	70	Honey	Sorrow		Pirlangimpi		Mamanunkuni
C04-003855B-209	Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti	Awunjingijimirri	F3	70	Dead son	Sorrow		Pirlangimpi		Mamanunkuni
C04-003855B-210	Maria Summit	Pupungunjikimawu	G3, 4	50	She passed me by (voice of deceased)	Bereavement	May-75	Pirlangimpi	2nd day of Yoi	Amparruwu
C04-003855B-211	Maria Summit	Pupungunjikimawu	G4	50	Blunt Axe	Bereavement		Pirlangimpi		Amparruwu
C04-003855B-212	Dorothy Tipungwuti	Mirrirawyuwu	A3	50	On the beach	Bereavement		Pirlangimpi		Amparruwu
C04-003855B	Dori Tikapalipa	Jipulimatuwu	D3, 4	50	Faithful wives	Bereavement		Pirlangimpi		Amparruwu
C04-003855B-214	Maria Woodie	Jipilayupula	B3	62	Scraping the mullet	Bereavement		Pirlangimpi		Amparruwu
C04-003855B-215	Maria Summit	Jipilayupula	C#4	57	Under the blanket	Bereavement		Pirlangimpi		Amparruwu
TOTAL 1:02:25										
Songs of the Tiwi	Commercially released. Publishing details unknown (not on Cassette Liner)									
Side 1										
ST-1.1	Group		E4, 5		Sugarbag and Mosquito	Performance point	1975?			Call
	Aloysious Puantiloura and Group	Tyupwanikini	E4	75	Boat					Jipuwakirimi
ST-1.2	Aloysious Puantiloura and Winnie Munkara	Tyupwanikini	A3 A4		Cyclone Tracy					Arikuruwala
ST-1.3	Group		E4, 5	78	Sugarbag and Mosquito	Performance point				Call

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
	Phelan Kantilla Paddy Munkara	Jipirrampunga			Murderer					Jipuwakirimi
Side 2										
ST-2.1	Group		D5		Mosquito	Performance point				Call
	Raphael Apuatjimi		E4, 5	76	Train					Jipuwakirimi
ST 2.2	Leo Tungutalum		B3		Aeroplane	News				Arikuruwala
ST 2.3	Muriel Tipungwuti		Ab3	50	Deceased brother					Amparruwu
ST 2.4	Group		Eb4, 5		Sugarbag and Mosquito	Performance point				Call
	Phelan Kantilla	Jipirrampunga	Eb4	78	Crocodile	Dreaming				Jipuwakirimi
			E4, 5		Sugarbag and Mosquito	Performance point				
TOTAL: 16:21										
GRAU										
A01-009270-1	Unidentified group		E4	143			28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-2	Unidentified group						28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-3	Unidentified man						28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-4	Group		E4	143			28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-5	Group		E4	143			28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-6	Group		E4	143			28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-7	Group		E4	143			28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-8	Group		E4	143			28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-9	Group		E4	143			28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-10	Group		E4	143			28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
A01-009270-11	Group		E4	143			28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-12	Group		E4	143			28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-13	Group		E4	143			28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-14	Group				Sugarbag/Mosquito		28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Call
A01-009270-15	Group		E4	143			28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-16	Group		E4	143			28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-17	Group		E4	143			28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-18	Group		E4	143			28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-19	Group				Sugarbag/Mosquito		28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Call
A01-009270-20	Group		E4	77	Shark		28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-21	Group		E4	77	Shark		28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-22	Group		E4		Shark		28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-23	Group		A3		Shark		28.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-24	Group		E4				31.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-25	Group		E4	79			31.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-26	Group		E4				31.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-27	Group		E4				31.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-28	Group		E4				31.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-29	Group		E4				31.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-30	Group		E4				31.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-31	Group		E4				31.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-32	Group		E4				31.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
A01-009270-33	Group		E4				31.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-34	Unidentified group		E4				31.7.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-35	Unidentified group		E4	78	Sugarbag then low growl		2.8.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Call
A01-009270-36	Unidentified group		E4				2.8.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009270-37	Unidentified man		E4		Country Call		2.8.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Call
A01-009270-37	Group		E4	168			2.8.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 57:00										
A01-009271-38	Group		E4				2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009271-39	Group		E4	78.5			2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009271-40	Group		E4				2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009271-41	Group		E4				2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009271-42	Group		E4	150			2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009271-43	Group		E4				2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009271-44	Group		E4				2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009271-45	Group		E4				2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009271-46	Group		E4				2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009271-47	Group		E4				2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009271-48	Group		E4				2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009271-49	Group		E4				2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009271-50	Group		E4				2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009271-51	Group		B3	81			2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009271-52	Group						2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
A01-009271-53	Group						2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009271-54	Group						2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009271-55	Group						2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 48:57							2.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yilaniya	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009272	Unidentified man		F#4	77			3.8.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
51:55:00										
A01-009273	Group		E4	83			7.12.1980	Paru	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009273	Unidentified woman		F4				7.12.1980	Paru	Yiloti	Amparruwu
	Unidentified man						7.12.1980	Paru	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009273	Group		Meeting about Munupi ownership				18.9.1980	Pirlangimpi		Speech
TOTAL: 55:39										
A01-009274	Group		Meeting about Munupi ownership				18.9.1980	Pirlangimpi		Speech
TOTAL: 1:00:28										
A01-009275-1	Unidentified man		Bb3	62	Name giving		24.9.1980	Pirlangimpi	kulama	Arikuruwala
A01-009275-2	Group		D4		Sugarbag/Mosquito		29.9.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Call
A01-009275-3	Unidentified man		D4	80			29.9.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Amparruwu
A01-009275-4	Group		D4	161			29.9.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009275-5	Group		D4				29.9.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009275-6	Unidentified woman		D4				29.9.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Amparruwu

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
A01-009275-7	Group			81			29.9.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 1:02:07										
A01-009276	Group						29.9.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 1:02:03										
A01-009277-1	Group			156			29.9.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009277-1	Young girls				Aeroplane		30.12.1980			
A01-009277-1	Young girls				Shoo fly		30.12.1980			
A01-009277-2	Young girls				Kangaroo/Koala		30.12.1980			
A01-009277-3	Group		Eb4	84			28.12.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009277-4	Children				Six little ducks		30.12.1980	Pirlangimpi	English	
A01-009277-5	Children				Kookaburra sits		30.12.1980	Pirlangimpi	Tiwi	
A01-009277-6	Children				Kirimpika		30.12.1980	Pirlangimpi	Tiwi	
A01-009277-7	Children				Duck		30.12.1980	Pirlangimpi	Tiwi	
A01-009277-8	Children				Kitirika		30.12.1980	Pirlangimpi	Tiwi	
A01-009277-9	Children				Shoo fly		30.12.1980	Pirlangimpi	English	
A01-009277-10	Children				Six little ducks		30.12.1980	Pirlangimpi	English	
A01-009277-11	Children				Mopaditi		30.12.1980	Pirlangimpi	Tiwi	
A01-009277-12	Children				Kangaroo		30.12.1980	Pirlangimpi	English	
A01-009277-13	Unidentified Woman 1		F4		Kangaroo		6.1.1981	Pirlangimpi		Ampirimarrikimili
A01-009277-14	Unidentified Woman 1		F4				6.1.1981	Pirlangimpi		Ampirimarrikimili
A01-009277-15	Unidentified Woman 1		F4				6.1.1981	Pirlangimpi		Ampirimarrikimili

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
A01-009277-16	Unidentified Woman 2		Bb4				6.1.1981	Pirlangimpi		Ampirimarrikimili
A01-009277-17	Unidentified Woman 2		Bb4				6.1.1981	Pirlangimpi		Ampirimarrikimili
A01-009277-18	Unidentified Woman 2		Bb4				6.1.1981	Pirlangimpi		Ampirimarrikimili
A01-009277-19	Unidentified Woman 3		Ab4				6.1.1981	Pirlangimpi		Amparruwu
A01-009277-20	Unidentified Woman 3		Ab4				6.1.1981	Pirlangimpi		Amparruwu
A01-009277-21	Unidentified Woman		Gb4				6.1.1981	Pirlangimpi		Amparruwu
A01-009277-22	Unidentified Woman		F4				6.1.1981	Pirlangimpi		Amparruwu
TOTAL 53:02										
A01-009278-1	Unidentified Man		G				14.9.1980	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Arikuruwala
A01-009278-2	Unidentified Man		G				14.9.1980	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Arikuruwala
A01-009278-3	Unidentified Man		G				14.9.1980	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Mamanunkuni
A01-009278-4	Unidentified Man		Eb				14.9.1980	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Mamanunkuni
A01-009278-5	Unidentified Woman	Daisy?	Ab				14.9.1980	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Amparruwu
A01-009278-6	Unidentified Man		Ab				14.9.1980	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Mamanunkuni
A01-009278-7	Unidentified Man		Ab				14.9.1980	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Arikuruwala
A01-009278-8	Unidentified Man		Ab				14.9.1980	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Mamanunkuni
A01-009278-9	Unidentified Woman		Db				14.9.1980	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Mamanunkuni
A01-009278-10	Group		F		Sugarbag/Mosquito		14.9.1980	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Call
A01-009278-11	Unidentified Man		F	89			14.9.1980	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009278-12	Group						14.9.1980	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009278-13	Unidentified Man						14.9.1980	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
A01-009279							14.9.1980	Milikapiti	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009280			Eb		Sugarbag/Mosquito		8.11.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Call
A01-009280				78			8.11.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
A01-009280				155			8.11.1980	Pirlangimpi	Yiloti	Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 65:12										
A01-009282				50 song items			25.2.1981	Pirlangimpi	Yoi	Jipuwakirimi
TOTAL: 38:00			F				25.2.1981	Pirlangimpi	K 1st eve	Arikuruwala
A01-009283				69 song items			26.2.1981	Pirlangimpi	K 2nd day	Arikuruwala
TOTAL: 47:45										
JOHN O'SULLIVAN										
J01-013265-1	Raphael Apaujimi								Kulama	Arikuruwala
J01-013265-2	Tommy Stockman	Turuwulinga							Kulama	Arikuruwala
J01-013265-3	Aloysious Puantiloura	Tyupwanikini							Kulama	Arikuruwala
J01-013265-4	Declan Apaujimi								Kulama	Arikuruwala
TOTAL: 1:03:55										
J01-013266									Kulama	Arikuruwala
TOTAL: 50:51										

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
JACK DOOLAN										
J02-000628A-1	Tractor Joe Karla	(Pirijina lokemup)	F3	92	Tatuwali		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628A-2	Tractor Joe Karla	(Pirijina lokemup)	F3	65	Tatuwali		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628A-3	Tractor Joe Karla	(Pirijina lokemup)	F3		Japanese		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628A-4	Tractor Joe Karla	(Pirijina lokemup)	F3		Rope sits on water		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628A-5	Tractor Joe Karla	(Pirijina lokemup)	F3		Tatuwali		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628A-6	Tractor Joe Karla	(Pirijina lokemup)	F3				1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628A-7	Agnes and Bessie				Tatuwali		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628A-8	Slim Mick				Aeroplane, long before the war		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628A-9	Big Jack		A3		Trouble over drinking/fight at Banjo beach/fines		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628A-10	Big Jack		A3		Magistrate's court (cont of song)		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628A-11	Big Jack		A3		Trial		1967			
J02-000628A-12	Big Jack		A3		Name in Newspaper		1967			
J02-000628A-13	Patrick Farmer		A3		Woman promise		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628A-14	Patrick Farmer		A4		Woman promise		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628A-15	Barney Two		F3		Rain, thunder, lightning		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
J02-000628A-16	Barney Two		C4		Rain, thunder, lightning		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628A-17	Tractor Joe	Karla			Big ship before white men		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
TOTAL: 1:02:17										Arikuruwala
J02-000628B-1	Tractor Joe	Karla	C4	68	Pukatikuparri	Palingarri	1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628B-2	Big Jack		E3	62	Tribal fight with spears	Palingarri	1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628B-3	Big Jack		A3	92	Star and moon		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628B-4	Long Slim		Ab3	41/118	Olden time boat	Palingarri	1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628B-5	Young Brook		Ab3		Man singing for a woman		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628B-6	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri			Goose		1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628B-7	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri					1967		Kulama	Arikuruwala
J02-000628B-8	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri					1967		Kulama	Arikuruwala
J02-000628B-9	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri			Melville spear fight	Palingarri	1967		K 3rd day	Arikuruwala
J02-000628B-10	Big Willy				Deceased son	Sorrow	1967		Kulama	Mamanunkuni
J02-000628B-11	Young Brook		Bb3				1967			Arikuruwala
J02-000628B-12	Young Brook		Bb3		Ngimpange		1967		Evening	Arikuruwala
J02-000628B-13	Young Brook		Bb3		Fighting		1967		Evening	Arikuruwala
J02-000628B-14	Young Brook		Bb3		Looking for girl		1967		Evening	Arikuruwala
J02-000628B-15	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	Bb3		Red Ochre		1967		Evening	Arikuruwala
J02-000628B-16	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	Bb3		Red Ochre		1967		Evening	Arikuruwala
J02-000628B-17	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	Bb3				1967			

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
J02-000628B-18	Black Joe	Wampayawijimirri	Bb3				1967			
J02-000628B-19	Happy Cook				Purrukupali		5.4.1971	Darwin	Narrative	Speech (Tiwi)
J02-000628B-20	Happy Cook				Purrukupali		5.4.1971	Darwin	Narrative	Speech (English)
TOTAL: 59:45										
ALICE MOYLE										
18424	until 15:30 = not Tiwi									
018424-1			D4,5		Honey Bees and Mosquito		1976	Rotorua, NZ	Tourist	Call
018424-2			D4	79	Pukumani dance			Rotorua, NZ	Tourist	Jipuwakirimi
018424-3	Aloysious Puantiloura	Jipuwanikini	D4	79	Boat			Rotorua, NZ	Tourist	Jipuwakirimi
018424-4	Aloysious Puantiloura	Leo Tungutalum, Max Kerinaiaua	D4	83	Wallaby			Rotorua, NZ	Tourist	Jipuwakirimi
018424-5	Leo Tungutalum, Paddy Munkara dancing		C#4	63	Nyingawi			Rotorua, NZ	Tourist	Nyingawi/Yoi
018425-1	Bertram Kantilla		D4	91	Bombing of Darwin			Rotorua, NZ	Tourist	Jipuwakirimi
018425-2	Bertram Kantilla		D#4	92	Shark			Rotorua, NZ	Tourist	Jipuwakirimi
018425-3	Aloysious Puantiloura	Jipuwanikini	D#4	92	Yirrikapayi			Rotorua, NZ	Tourist	Jipuwakirimi
018425-4	Raphael Apuajimi		D#4	87	Ancestor			Rotorua, NZ	Tourist	Jipuwakirimi
018425-5	Paddy Munkara		D#4	84	Ancestor			Rotorua, NZ	Tourist	Jipuwakirimi
018425-6			D4	145	Tide			Rotorua, NZ	Tourist	Arimarrikuwamuwu
TOTAL: 29:07										

FILE NAME	English name	Tiwi name	Pitch	BPM	Subject	Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
Songs of the Tiwi										
side 1-1	Group		E4,5		Sugarbag and Mosquito		1975?			Call
2	Aloysious Puantiloura	Tyupwanikini	E4	80	Boat	Dreaming	1975?			Jipuwakirimi
3	Raphael Apuajimi			80	Boat	Palingarri	1975?			Arikuruwala
4	Aloysious Puantiloura and Winnie Munkara	Tyupwanikini	A3/4		Cyclone Tracy	News	1975?			Arikuruwala
5			E4,5		Honeybee and Mosquito		1975?			Call
6	Phelan Kantilla and Paddy Munkara	Jipirrampunga	E4	82	Murderer	Bereavement	1975?			Jipuwakirimi
7					Sugarbag and Mosquito		1975?			Call
side 2-1	Group		D5		Sugarbag and Mosquito		1975?			Call
2	Raphael Apuajimi		E4	78	Train	has whistle	1975?			Jipuwakirimi
3	Leo Tungutalum		Ab3	63	Aeroplane		1975?			Arikuruwala
4	Muriel Tipungwuti		Ab3	66	Sorrow for brother		1975?			Mamanunkuni
			E4,5		Sugarbag and Mosquito		1975?			Call
	Phelan Kantilla	Jipirrampunga	E4	87	Crocodile		1975?			

FILE NAME	English name	Relevant production information		Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
Ngarukuruwala-we sing songs	Stolen Planet Productions	Recorded by Dan Davies. Mixed and mastered by Bob Wheatley. Extra instrumentals on tracks 3,7,10 recorded and mixed by Steve McMillan						
NG2008-1	Clementine Puruntatameri	Strong women's group and band	Murrntawara pijimi	Ancestor Story	2008	Wurrumiyanga		Arikuruwala, Modern Kuruwala
NG2008-2		Strong women's group and band	Kupunyi	Canoe	2008	Wurrumiyanga		Modern Kuruwala/Reggae
NG2008-3		Strong women's group and band	Tikilaru	Country	2008	Wurrumiyanga		Modern Kuruwala
NG2008-4		Strong women's group and band	Ngawatu Ngimpitimati Nginta	Healing song	2008	Wurrumiyanga		Jazz
NG2008-5	Casmira Munkara	Strong women's group and band	Nyingawi	Palingarri	2008	Wurrumiyanga		Ariwayakulaliyi/Modern Kuruwala
NG2008-6		Strong women's group and band	Twinkle/Kirim pika	Children's songs	2008	Wurrumiyanga		Jazz
NG2008-7		Strong women's group and band	Yirrikapayi	Dreaming	2008	Wurrumiyanga Sydney		Jipuwakirimi/instrumental Improvisation
NG2008-8		Strong women's group and band	Yirrikapayi	Dreaming	2008	Wurrumiyanga		Modern Kuruwala
NG2008-9		Strong women's group and band	Wunijaka	Healing song	2008	Wurrumiyanga		Modern Kuruwala
NG2008-10	Clementine Puruntatameri	Strong women's group and Daniel Rorke	Purrukupali	Creation story	2008	Wurrumiyanga /Sydney		Arikuruwala/instrumental improvisation
NG2008-11		Strong women's group and band	Murli la	Love Song	2008	Wurrumiyanga		Modern Kuruwala
NG2008-12		Strong women's group and band	Murli la	Love Song	2008	Wurrumiyanga		Improvisation
NG2008-13		Strong women's group	Tikilaru	Country	2008	Wurrumiyanga		Modern Kuruwala
TOTAL: 55:00								

FILE NAME	English name	Relevant production information			Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
Ngariwanajirri The Strong Kids Song project		Stolen Planet Productions Recorded by Dan Davies, Marty Hailey and Genevieve Campbell. Mixed and mastered by Bob Wheatley. Track 2 Mixed and mastered by Marty Hailey							
SKS-1	Eustace Tipiloura				Call to Country Ancestors	2011	Wurrumiyanga		Call
					Parakajiyali	2011	Wurrumiyanga		Jipuwakirimi
SKS-2	Clementine Puruntatameri, Strong Women's Group, children, band				Ngariwanajirri	2011	Wurrumiyanga Milikapiti, Pirlangimpi, Sydney		Modern Kuruwala/digital production/sampled 1912 material
SKS-3	Calista Kantilla, Leonie Tipiloura				Ngariwanajirri	2011	Wurrumiyanga		Arikuruwala
SKS-4	Strong Women's group and children				Nginingawula Pupuni Ngirramini	2011	Pirlangimpi		Ariwayakulaliyi/Modern Kuruwala
SKS-5	Children				Ngini ngajingawula kukunari ngawurrami	2011	Wurrumiyanga		Folk
SKS-6	unidentified woman, Francis Orsto, Strong women's group, band				Murli la	2011	Paru, Wurrumiyanga Sydney		Apajirupwaya/American Country
SKS-7	Strong Women's group and band				Ngawatu	2011	Darwin		Modern Kuruwala
SKS-8	Strong women's group				Pupukatinga	2011	Wurrumiyanga		Modern Kuruwala

FILE NAME	English name	Relevant production information				Function	Date	Where	Ceremony	Song type
SKS-9	Clementine Puruntatameri, Strong Women's Group, children, band				Ngariwanajirri	Extended dance mix	2011	Wurrumiyanga /Milikapiti/Pirl angimpi/Sydney		Popular
TOTAL: 29:00										

Appendix 4: List of recordings referred to herein as Audio Examples and included on the accompanying CD

This Appendix lists the Audio Examples referred to in the thesis. I include the AIATSIS catalogue number and (when the Audio Example is edited out of a larger sound file) I give a time-stamp to indicate the position of the song item in the complete sound file. The Hart and Mountford examples are numbered according to their numbering in the original collection. Audio Disc 1, Audio Disc 2 and Video Disc 1 accompany the thesis.

Audio Disc 1

Audio Example	CD Track	Singer	Year of Recording	Song Subject	Song-type	Recorded by	Catalogue	Time-Stamp
1	1	Allie Mungatopi	1954	Prince of Wales	Arikuruwala	Mountford	C01-002916-37	0:29:42
2	2	Unidentified man	1948	Turtle	Jipuwakirimi	Simpson	Island of Yoi	0:25:44
3	3	Clementine Puruntatameri	2008	Murrntawarrapijimi	Arikuruwala	Ngarukuruwala CD	NG2008-1	
4	4	Calista Kantilla	2011	Being in Darwin	Arikuruwala	Campbell	111019GC3	
5	5	Calista Kantilla / Leonie Tipiloura	2011	Ngariwanajirri	Arikuruwala	Davies	SKS2011 -3	
6	6	Tungutalum	1912	Yirrikapayi	Jipuwakirimi	Spencer	C01-00701A	0:13:29
7	7	Aloysious Puantiloura	1976	Yirrikapayi	Jipuwakirimi	Moyle	18425	0:05:43
8	8	Romuel Puruntatameri	1975	Dugong	Jipuwakirimi	Osborne	C04-003851A-41	0:30:46
9	9	Unidentified man	1928	Tirupi Country	Arikuruwala	Hart	C01_004240B-D30	0:02:40

10	10	Justin Puruntatameri	1975	Genie	Ayipa	Osborne	C04-003854-155	0:40:44
11	11	Barney Tipuamantimeri	1975	Argument with Maninkuwila	Arikuruwala	Osborne	C04-3855A-157	0:02:11
12	12	Stephen-Paul Kantilla	2012	Sorrow for father	Mamanunkuni	Campbell	120225GC1	
13	13	Allie Miller Mungatopi	1954	Cards	Arikuruwala	Mountford	CO1-0020917	0:22:40
14	14	Dorothy Tipungwuti	1975	Sorrow	Amparruwu	Osborne	C04-003855B-205	0:42:19
15	15	Unidentified woman	1954	Why Did you leave me?	Mamanunkuni	Mountford	A02917	0:05:09
16	16	Eunice Orsto	2010	Coiled like a snake	Amparruwu	Campbell	100420GC1	
17	17	Black Joe	1955	Goose	Arimarrikuwamuwu	ABC	ABC_36-004069-4	0:05:37
18	18	Male Group	1948	Jalingini and Timilani Calls	Calls	Simpson	Island of Yoi	0:26:10
19	19	Unidentified man	1981	Sorrow	Mamanunkuni / Amparruwu	Grau	A01-009278-4	0:03:49
20	20	Unidentified woman	1981	?	Ampirimarrikimili	Grau	A01-009277	0:44:31
21	21	Unidentified women	1948	Yirrikapayi	Ampirimarrikimili	Simpson	Island of Yoi	0:16:25
22	22	Unidentified man	1954	Lizard	Lullaby	Mountford	CO1-002916-19, CO1-002916-20	0:17:00
23	23	Unidentified woman	1954	Light	Love song	Mountford	CO1-002916-16	0:24:24
24	24	Tractor Joe	1967	Tatuwali	Arikuruwala	Doolan	J02-000628A-1	0:00:33
25	25	Long Stephen	1975	Father	Arikuruwala	Osborne	C04-003852B-81	0:03:31
26	26	Long Stephen	1975	Drinking together	Mamanunkuni	Osborne	C04-003855B-198	0:30:55
27	27	Long Stephen	1975	Waking up	Mamanunkuni	Osborne	C04-003855B-199	0:32:15
28	28	Eustace Tipiloura	2012	Sorrow for wife	Arikuruwala	Campbell	120320GC1	
29	29	Tractor Joe and wife	1975	Sister	Arikuruwala	Osborne	C04-003852b-88	0:28:51
30	30	Tungutalum	1912	Train	Arikuruwala	Spencer	C01-00701A	0:16:59

31	31	Stephen-Paul Kantilla	2012	Sorrow for wife	Mamanunkuni	Campbell	1200225GC3	
32	32	Tungutalumi	1928	Boat	Mamanunkuni	Hart	04240BD38	0:12:55
33	33	Unidentified man	1954	Sorrow for wife	Arikuruwala	Mountford	CO1-002918	0:09:02
34	34	Mrs Duke?	1928	Mopaditi	Mamanunkuni	Hart	04240AD8	0:08:02
35	35	Mariano?	1928	Sorrow for father	Mamanunkuni	Hart	04240AD11	0:12:55
36	36	Unidentified woman	1948	For son	Mamanunkuni	Simpson	Island of Yoi	0:08:11
37	37	Foxy Tipungwuti / Dorothy Tipungwuti	1975	Pangityiarri man	Arikuruwala	Osborne	CO-0003855B-193	0:06:38
38	38	Foxy Tipungwuti	1975	Honey	Mamanunkuni	Osborne	C04-003855B-208	0:47:55
39	39	Foxy Tipungwuti	1975	Rainbow Serpent	Amparruwu	Osborne	C04-003855B-207	0:45:59
40	40	Unidentified woman	1928	Tractor	Arikuruwala	Hart	4240A-D13	0:15:23
41	41	Daniel Paujimi	1972	God in the Bush	Ariwayakulaliyi	Sims	M03-002480-2	0:06:15
42	42	Foxy Tipungwuti	1975	Pearling Boat	Ariwayakulaliyi	Osborne	C04-003855-204	0:41:03
43	43	Schoolboys	1962	Army Tent	Ariwayakulaliyi	Moyle	Songs of the NT-7a	
44	44	Schoolchildren	1965	Yinjula, Dugong	Ariwayakulaliyi	Wurm	508A	0:19:32
45	45	Leonie Tipiloura	2011	Yinjula	Arikuruwala	Campbell	111018GC7	
46	46	Women's group	2008	Kupunyi	Modern Kuruwala	Ngarukuruwala	NG2008-2	
47	47	Long Stephen	1975	Yamparriparri	Ariwayakulaliyi/	Osborne	C04-003854-132	0:28:04
48	48	Eustace Tipiloura	2012	Brolga	Ariwayakulaliyi	Campbell	120319GC1	
49	49	Women's group	2010	Wrangku	Modern Kuruwala	Campbell	100412GC7	
50	50	Women's group	2010	Football	Modern Kuruwala	Campbell	100311GC7	
51	51	Women's group	2009	Wellbeing Centre	Modern Kuruwala	Campbell	091014GC2	0:39:49
52	52	Women's group	2008	Murli la	Modern Kuruwala	Ngarukuruwala	NG2008-11	0:02:11

Audio Disc 2

Audio Example	CD Track	Singer	Year of recording	Song subject	Song-type	Recorded by	Catalogue	Time Stamp
53	1	Francis Orsto and group	2011	Murli la	Modern Kuruwala	Ngarukuruwala	SKS2011-6	
54	2	Women's group	2008	Murrntawarrapijimi	Modern Kuruwala	Ngarukuruwala	2008NG-1	
55	3	Eustace Tipiloura	2011	Country calls/Parakajiyali	Jipuwakirimi	Ngarukuruwala	SKS2011-1	
56	4	Enrail Munkara	1954	Nyingawi	Nyingawi	Mountford	C01-002916-1	0:04:25
57	5	Casmira Munkara and women's group	2008	Nyingawi	Nyingawi	Ngarukuruwala	NG2008-5a	
58	6	Ngarukuruwala	2011	Ngariwanajirri	Modern Kuruwala	Ngarukuruwala	SKS2011-2	
59	7	Allie Miler	1954	Mary Elizabeth	Arikuruwala	Mountford	CO1-002916-9	0:11:39
60	8	Unidentified man	1980	Name giving	Arikuruwala	Grau	A009275-1	0:03:05
61	9	Unidentified man and woman	1967		Arikuruwala	Doolan	J02-000628A	5:35:00
62	10	Mariano	1928		Mamanunkuni	Hart	C01_004240B-D48	0:21:07
63	11	Foxy Tipungwuti	1975	Sorrow	Mamanunkuni	Osborne	C04-003855B-202	0:36:33
64	12	Mary Curry	1975	Jealous women	Amparruwu	Osborne	C04-003855-197	0:27:24
65	13	Francis Orsto	2009	Yirrikapayi	Jipuwakirimi	GC	090309GC2	
66	14	Sheba Fernando	2009	Yirrikapayi	Jipuwakirimi	GC	090309GC3	
67	15	Women's group	2008	Yirrikapayi	Modern Kuruwala	Davies	NG2008-8	1:25:00
68	16	Women/band	2008	Yirrikapayi	Improvisation (Instrumental)	McMillan	NG2008-7	
69	17	Long Steven	1975	Silent land	Mamanunkuni	Osborne	C04-003855-201	0:34:38
70	18	Jimalipuwa	1928	Cotton tree	Arikuruwala	Hart	C01-004240B-D29i	0:00:12

71	19	Unidentified group	1948	Tatuwali Shark	Vocable	Simpson	Island of Yoi	0:13:32
72	20	Tungutalum	1928	Gramophone	Arikuruwala	Hart	C01-004240B-D33	0:04:52
73	21	Women's Group	2007	Tikilaru	Modern Kuruwala	Campbell	070221GC6	
74	22	Unidentified group	1981	Yoi, Jingalini, end cues.	Jipuwakirimi, Calls	Grau	A01-009270	0:00:27
75	23	Unidentified woman	1954	Waiting All Night	Love Song	Mountford	CO1-002916-9	0:26:52
76	24	Ngarukuruwala	2011	Ngariwanajirri Dance Mix	Hip Hop	Campbell	SKS2011-9	
77	25	Clementine Puruntatameri	2008	Purrukupali	Arikuruwala	Davies	NG2008-10	
78	26	Eustace Tipiloura	2012	Going to Canberra	Arikuruwala	Campbell	120319GC6	

Video Disc 1

Video 1	Ngariwanajirri, the Strong Kids Song	Year of recording	Subject	Song-style	Recorded by	Type	
	Women's group, children, band	2011	Ngariwanajirri	Contemporary	Campbell	Video	

Appendix 5: Additional information on the Baldwin Spencer recordings that clarifies misinterpretations in previous literature

The Spencer recordings are the earliest recordings of Tiwi songs. This makes them a very important collection for comparative analysis and as an item of Tiwi heritage. I include here a brief account of some findings that have come out of auditioning this collection.

1. The Sound Recordings and the Filmed Footage

These were originally recorded on hand-cranked Edison wax cylinders then transferred to cassette in 1978 by the British Institute of Recorded Sound and then deposited at AIATSIS in 1979. Each cylinder is two minutes in length and there are five surviving cylinders of Tiwi songs recorded by Spencer on Bathurst Island. They were then digitized at my request in March 2008. Although he had visited Melville Island on two occasions previously (March 1911 and June 1912)(Spencer, 1928) he did not have recording equipment with him. He notes in his diary that Cahill, a colleague, had brought a phonograph with him from Melbourne, arriving in Katherine on October the 26th(Spencer, 1928). He arrived on Bathurst Island on November 29th.

In the course of my work with Tiwi colleagues on this material I was often asked whether the songs correlate with the ceremony that was filmed. A *Yirrikapayi* (Crocodile) *Yoi* dance is recorded on film and a *Yoi* song on audio. The film is taken from a distance of about 15 metres. To get a good audio result the singer would have to be standing close to the wax cylinder machine and sing straight into the input. I therefore surmise that the audio was probably recorded at a separate event. Spencer mentions making recordings of songs associated with a *Pukumani* ritual he observed. Not all the song subjects he refers to are on the cylinders that have survived. Buffalo and Wallaby dances are in the footage but we do not find those songs on the recordings.

2. The Vocalizations

A musicological study was done on Spencer's recordings in 1957 by Alice Moyle (A Moyle, 1959). Moyle noted that the songs on Cylinders 4 and 6 are melodically different

from the others on Spencer's Tiwi recordings but, presuming they were Tiwi, wrote;

Spencer's recordings of the 'conch' are important. Those from Bathurst Island (Cylinder Nos. 4 and 6) point to a wider distribution of this 'aerophone' ... than is indicated by later recordings from Arnhem land and the Kimberleys. And the sample from Katherine (Cylinder No. 24), in which several 'conches' deliver high-pitched, unmusical sounds is unique among Australian records... The Bathurst Island performances may have resulted from a recent importation of the trumpet from the mainland. It is possible that didjeridu players from Port Essington accompanied Cooper to Melville Island. Spencer, however, says nothing of a new importation. On the contrary, he seems to imply a wide-spread and already well-established use of the conch on Bathurst Island. (A Moyle, 1959, pp. 13,14)

My Tiwi consultants immediately recognised these two cylinders as being not Tiwi but Iwaidja. We know there was a group of Iwaidja people (from Coburg Peninsula, north-west Arnhem Land) were working for Robert Joe Cooper, a (white) buffalo hunter who had a camp on Melville Island. It is surprising that Spencer would not have guessed that some of Cooper's party of Iwaidja people might have joined in the performance put on for his benefit. My most current information suggests the performance is related to an open ceremony belonging to groups from North West Arnhem Land and is perhaps the same ceremony as Ngurlmak also known at Oenpelli as "Ubar".⁵⁹⁵

All the literature lists these as Tiwi and there are at least two publications that discuss the interesting departure from tradition by the Tiwi in this segment of the recording. Osborne transcribed and translated the Tiwi songs on the recordings in 1967 with assistance from Tyukuliyanginila, (who also identified the singers). Osborne must have found the Iwaidja songs with the help of his Tiwi consultants. Written correspondence between Alice Moyle and Charles Osborne in 1967 confirms clarification of the discrepancy of these mis-credited songs.⁵⁹⁶ Unfortunately Osborne didn't publish this clarification and indeed 16 years later he criticized Moyle's "confusion and error" (Osborne, 1989).

⁵⁹⁵ Ongoing discussions with colleagues in the field.

⁵⁹⁶ AIATSIS on-line collection of Alice Moyle's correspondence. Retrieved 17.6.10.

3. Cylinder 24

Cylinder 24 was another, quite different misinterpretation. It is identified (probably again from being in the wrong box) as having been recorded at Katherine River, Northern Territory. From Spencer's diary we know that he was in Katherine, recording in the Victoria River country, with Waduman and Mudburra⁵⁹⁷ people between getting the phonograph on October 26th and the end of November (just prior to his going to Bathurst Island). Moyle describes "high-pitched conch 'blasts' in the 'Tjadpa' corroboree (cylinder 24)" and her experiments with tubes of various lengths until she found a 3 ft length with which she could produce a note "approximately 82 cycles or the first 'E' below the bass stave. In contrast to this the pitch of the recorded 'blasts' is approximately E/5 (660 cycles)" (Moyle, 1959, p. 14). Although her attempt produced a note three octaves too low⁵⁹⁸ she did not entertain the possibility that the notes might be vocalisations and theorized that they "may have been produced from a short tube; the method may have differed; or the blowers may have been learners"(A Moyle, 1959). The fact is that these 'blasts' are vocalisations; imitating the whistle of a train in the Train song composed by Tungutalum. It is not clear why the Train song on cylinder 24 is identified as a Tjadpa corroboree. This word, or anything similar, is not Tiwi. One presumes it is simply that the box in which cylinder 24 was incorrectly stowed was inscribed with "Tjadpa corroboree from Katherine River natives, the Marungga Tribe, Oct 28, 1912."⁵⁹⁹ I have not been able to establish where the actual recording from Katherine is, or if it exists. At some stage the cylinders were transferred to reels and at that point the incorrect inscriptions must have been transferred to the reels.

⁵⁹⁷ Spencer's terms. Spencer, B. (1928). *Wanderings in Wild Australia*: MacMillan.

⁵⁹⁸ Moyle's note corresponds to E2 which is 82.4069HZ and is two below middle C, whereas that sung by the Tiwi men in the recording is 659.255HZ, the second E above middle C.

⁵⁹⁹ Audition notes accompanying archive tape 701a. AIATSIS

Appendix 6: The Tiwi Dreaming Groups

Dreaming	English name	Families who belong to it
Aljarraka amintiya Pakitiringa	Frog and Rain	Illortaminni, Yirinkiyarti
Ampiji	Rainbow Serpent	Fernando, Tipuamantimeri
Jarrangini	Buffalo	Tipungwuti, Palipuaminni, Pokilari, Wilson
Jipankuna	Boat	Babui, Mukwankimi, Pangirimi
Kapala	Battleship	Munkara, Kelantumama, Mirrikijimala, Pirrajikipiji
Karlapurti	Black Whip Snake	Daniels
Kirilima	Jungle Fowl	Puruntatameri, Mirrikijimala, Patlas
Mantupwawi	Sugarbag Fly	Cook
Maratinga	Ship	Tungutalum, Alimankinni
Nyarringari	Goose	Johnson, Wonaemirri, Black, Bush
Nyingawi	Mangrove spirit people	Tipungwuti, Palipuaminni
Pika	Horse	Tipiloura

Rawaturrunga	Pig	Kantilla, Womatikimi
Tarangini	Snake	Pautjimi
Tarikulani	Turtle	Punguatji
Tatuwali	Shark	Pupangamirri, Kerinaiaua, Tuwujimirri, Murtangini, Pirrakijipiyiti, Timaapatua, Tipuamantimeri
Tayamini	Dingo	Puautjimi, Pangarimini
Timilani	Mosquito	Wonaemirri
Tuwiyika	Whirlwind	Babui
Wunijaka	Wind	Apuatimi
Yingwati	Sugarbag	Tungutalum, Alimankini, Mirrikijimala
Yirrikapayi	Crocodile	Portaminni, Pilakui, Orsto, Poantumilui, Kerinaiaua, Miliwirri, Puantulura, Mungatopi, Ulungura, Tiparui, Intalui, Tipiruntiyama

Sourced from Ward (1990) and confirmed, with some changes, by my consultants in 2011.

Appendix 7: An account of my name becoming Pukumani and the implications of this to my research

In May of 2007 an elderly Tiwi lady called Genevieve Puruntatameri passed away. According to *Pukumani*, the name Genevieve would no longer be spoken around town and I needed a new name. A number of the women I had recently been in close contact with were of the Crocodile dreaming so they chose to give me a name associated with it, *Jikipayinga*, (female Crocodile).⁶⁰⁰ A young woman living in Nguiu called Genevieve also changed her name – to Sue. Sue and I continued to share the bond of having the same birth name although neither was now called it.

My name being closed had bureaucratic ramifications that became problematic. Preparing funding applications with the Tiwi women, posting public notices to satisfy University ethics clearance requirements, writing letters to the Land Council and other correspondence that would normally require my legal name became a source of distress. Although I was known as *Jikipayinga* widely enough in the community to be able to book a local flight or a bed or leave a phone message, although her Final Ceremony⁶⁰¹ (usually trigger for lifting *Pukumani* restrictions) it was decided amongst the women that “Genevieve” could be used in writing. Sue remained Sue and she was an active part of the younger group of women interested in the songs.

When Sue died suddenly in 2011, the name Sue was closed and Genevieve (her birth name) was closed again.⁶⁰² The situation was compounded by the fact that my place in the kinship system means I am a Portaminni woman, as was Sue, so she and I were both Genevieve Portaminni. The fact that we had shared a name created a bond that people saw as potentially dangerous to me on the ceremony days. I was therefore smoked second, immediately after the spouse (the closest relative and so most in danger from

⁶⁰⁰ I was given a Tiwi second name on the night after the funeral of a ‘daughter’ of mine in order to mark my first ceremony in the role of mother at such an event. This name is *Janjiliwayu*. These names identify me with a country group, a family and a kinship classification, thus setting up reciprocal obligations and placing me under the care (and responsibility) of those who call me sister, mother or grandmother. These assumed kinship terms are as relevant and binding in the social structure as biological relationships.

⁶⁰¹ The subject of Chapter 3.

⁶⁰² Although the name (referring to the deceased old lady, to Sue and to myself) can now be written without causing offence, it is not used in the community. The *Pukumani* period for these women has now passed so I am able to include their names here.

the Mopaditi) and during the days I was at Wurrumiyanga for the funeral people treated me with great sympathy and care.

At the time of writing we are still finding my name a problem, with some older people uneasy with the fact that often when we perform, present or travel together I am referred to as Genevieve.

Appendix 8: The structure of the Yoi dance event

As explained by Teresita Puruntatameri:⁶⁰³

When we have a funeral we start with the relationship to the deceased. The first dancers would be the sons and daughters of that person. My husband - if he passed away - my children and his brothers' children would be the first dancers to dance at that ceremony.

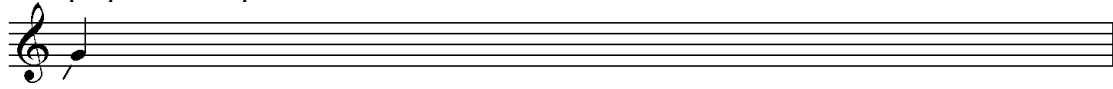
The next dancers would be my husband's cousins from his mother's brothers' children would be the second dancers.... and then the next dancers would be - they call my husband [grandfather] and they dance you know how when men carry their child on their shoulder? They dance like that.... The next dancers would be the mother. Whoever calls him his mother and [her] brothers and sisters they dance the breast dance, and then the next dancers would be my uncle - his in-laws.... They dance with leaves on their shoulder because that one called in-law, shoulder. So men and women. The next dancers would be the ones that are grandfathers' brother ... mujini and the last dancers in the family relatives would be his brother and sister and from the mother side. If his mother had a sister then those children would dance the same and they paint their leg - that's to show that. They are the last dancers and then to finish that dance the widow dance. They end the ceremony.

When we finish that relationship dance then we go on with the dreaming dance. If my children dance were the first dancers they dance turra mean that they are like his children. They Yoi turra and then after that they do their dreaming dance. When we are first enter that milimika where we dance, that's the ceremonial ground, the special ground for when we Yoi. I first learned the sequence of those different dances when I started to dance in that milimika ring.

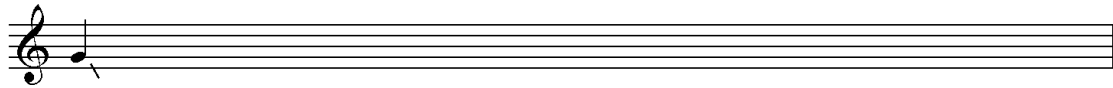
⁶⁰³ 100325GC3 Timestamp: 0:01:37.069 - 0:07:39.285

Appendix 9: Explanations of markings used in my Musical Transcriptions

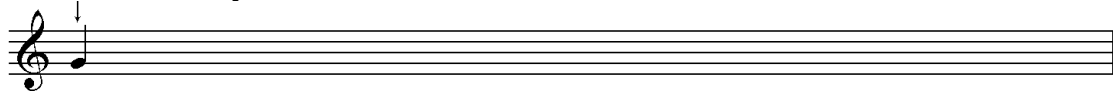
Scoop up to initial pitch



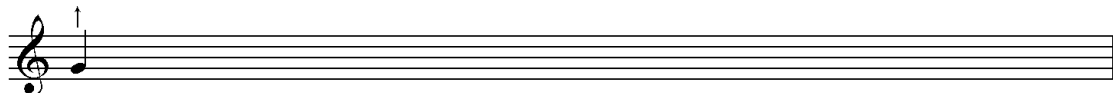
Fall at end of pitch



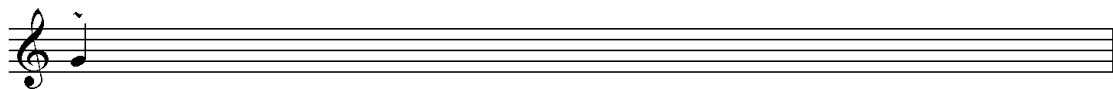
Microtonal lower pitch



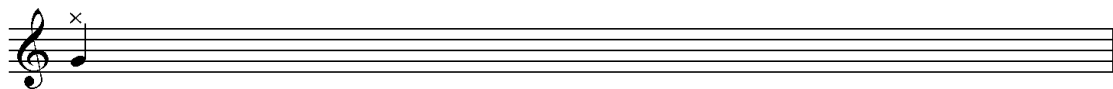
Microtonal higher pitch



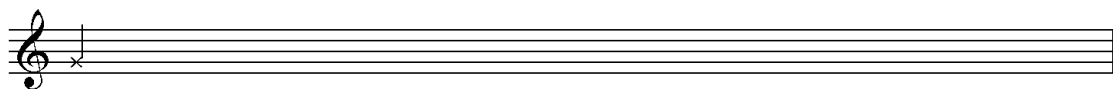
Vibrato



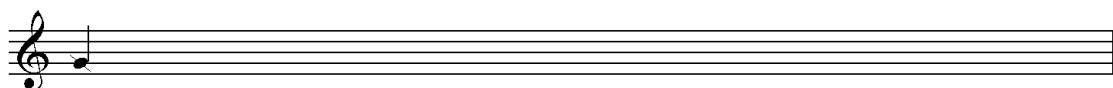
Percussion (stks = sticks, hcl = handclaps)



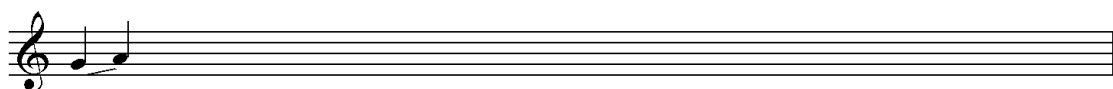
Aspirated note (no pitch)



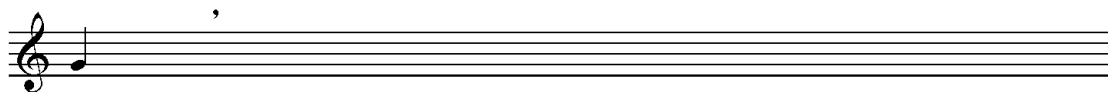
Cough or growl on note



Pitch slide



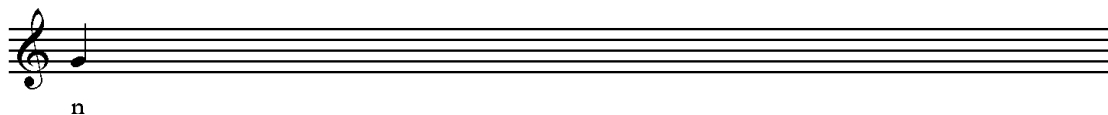
Audible breath



Closed-mouth vocalisation



Closed-mouth vocalisation (nasal)



Open-mouth vocalisation (eu)



Open-mouth vocalisation (ah)



Notated rests are used where the break between notes is in time with the syllabic pulse. This does not imply that the singer is singing in a time signature. Where there is a non-timed break between notes or text phrases I use visual spacing to indicate its length; ie a blank space on the staff indicates a period of silence between notes. I do not use bar lines unless the music has a time signature (such as in the case of more recent songs in non-traditional music style). Similarly, I have not attempted to transcribe exact rhythm, but rather to give an educated representation using musical notation (crotchet, quaver etc) as close to the performance as possible while retaining clarity.

All examples are transcribed at the pitch of the recording, unless otherwise stated. In some examples, for instance, I have transposed to a common key for ease of comparison (and this is indicated on the relevant Musical Transcription). In the case of semitone pitch change I use an accidental at the first change, and then a natural to indicate a change. As an example, below (part of Musical Transcription 15), the reader should infer that from the quaver on the syllable *tyi* until the semiquaver on *ta* all

the notes are B \flat . I have re-indicated B \flat (on *wa*) when that pitch returns, and then similarly, subsequent notes are also B \flat .



I have used stemmed and unstemmed notes in my examples for the sake of clarity. Where the pitch and/or melodic shape is the only element I wish to focus on.

Because of unreliable recording speed in old recording technologies, I have not included tempo markings in many of my Musical Transcriptions. Tempo markings (where measurable) are included in the Catalogue of Recordings (Appendix 3). I also give comparative tempo indications in my description of the song types in Chapter 7.

I have indicated rhythmic treatments as closely as possible in order to give a clear documentation of the performance being presented and so that it can be read by a reader familiar with western musical notation if the audio example is not available. I do, however, presume and hope that my written descriptions are read in tandem with the audio files. It is only when accompanied by the recordings of the songs themselves that my explanations will be fully useful.

Appendix 10: Discrepancies found between Osborne's song-type classification and today's understandings

I have found quite a lot of variation between my data and the data in previous literature. An inevitable feature of a knowledge system that is held by each subsequent generation of elders is that words, stories and understandings develop and change as they are re-owned and re-told. I have encountered a number of examples of quite different understandings amongst my consultants of elements of information (about Skin Groups and Country areas for instance) from what I have gleaned from the literature. Having spent some time reading Osborne's descriptions of the song-types and functional categorizations to the elders I have been working with they are of the opinion that his information is important for historical reference but is not what most people know now. The distinction between the classification of songs by functional and musical means is one such instance. Osborne identifies fourteen song-function types (Osborne 1989:119-125). As the function-types relate to the song subjects and/or when and by whom they are sung, rather than their musical form, I do not elaborate on those in this thesis. Some of the names given by Osborne to the musical forms are descriptive words in Old Tiwi and most are no longer recognised.⁶⁰⁴ I have found that there is not a consistent use of either song function or musical form name; while a few older people tend to refer to a song using the musical form name, most people (young and old) refer to songs by their function. I have attempted to give those musical form names that are still used a meaning, by glossing their definition.

By way of example, the word *ampiriwayatyuwityighi* (*ampiriwayajuwijiyi* in current spelling) is the musical form listed by Osborne for *Mamanunkuni* (sorrow) song function⁶⁰⁵.

The word *ampiriwayajuwijiyi* was not recognized by any of my consultants. A breakdown of the structure of the word gives us the rough translation "says (or sings) it at the end". We do find in the current language the noun-feminine prefix *ampiri* with which most of these form names begin, but none of the words stemming from *ampiri*

⁶⁰⁴ For a full listing of the song forms and functions see Osborne, C. R. (1989). *Tiwi Chanted Verse*. Unpublished microfilm. University Microform International.

⁶⁰⁵ Song-type 6.

given by Osborne's consultants is in current dictionary. *Waya* is an incorporated form meaning "words", "talk", "bite" "mouth".

ampiri = noun feminine

waya = says

juwa = finished

jiyi verb subject PAST = he or she did something

Songs of this type are now called *Mamanunkuni* along with all laments with this melodic form and are sung at the funeral, during the Final Ceremony or in the bereavement songs stage of *Kulama*. I surmise that, like this, the other names given to the forms are descriptive of why or when they were sung. With many of the specific stages of ritual now either not performed or performed in modified form (and at different times) today, this deeper level of classification and the accompanying descriptive names are not used, but songs are now known by their function type.⁶⁰⁶

In August 2011 Stephen-Paul Kantilla sang at the point of a funeral ceremony at which Osborne's classification of *Ampiriwayajuwjiyi* would be expected. The woman I was sitting with told me he was singing *Mamanunkuni* (i.e. a sorrow song).

1. Numerous musical forms.

In the course his detailed analysis of song texts (Osborne, 1989) Osborne lists forty musical forms: including two musical forms of *Ampirikuruwala*, six of *Ampirijukwaya* and ten of *Ampiriwayajuwjiyi*. It is the opinion of the elders I asked that these should not be regarded as separate musical forms (of each type) but rather the one form with variations due to the artistic individuality and spontaneity of each performer. For example, the ten forms of *Ampiriwayajuwjiyi* listed by Osborne are sung by ten different people and the 2nd-6th forms were each recorded once only in his data. It is likely that

⁶⁰⁶ As this is primarily a musical study I will present song types in terms of their distinguishing musical features and refer the reader to Osborne Osborne, C. R. (1989). *Tiwi Chanted Verse*. Unpublished microfilm. University Microform International. for classification of songs relating to their function.

this is the result of the way those particular individuals sang that song-type. Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti and Stanley Munkara each sang two *Arimajingipapujiya* songs, consecutively, in a recording session and these are each classified by Osborne as a separate musical form. It is my contention that these recordings should not be taken as the definitive versions of two separate forms. Speaking of the way Foxy raises the pitch on the third syllable of the second metrical unit in each three-unit line, Osborne comments “This feature is not found in any of the other recorded performances of laments of any type” (Osborne, 1989, p. 187). It is feasible that he used this embellishment in both songs because he sang them in succession for the recording. At another time he may well have created a slightly different pitch embellishment.

2. A change in a song-type name.

My consultants say *Ampirikuruwala* refers to the women’s response singing in *Kulama* and Ceremony. *Apuputyngapirni* is the term Osborne gives to the “women’s response” within the *Arikuruwala* style⁶⁰⁷ and uses the term *Ampirikuruwala* to refer to the two elements together; the solo man’s singing, with response from the women’s group. Whether this is a change of definition between 1975 and 2012 or a matter of differing understandings of the situation remains unclear.

The obsolete song-type *Ampirimarrikimili* is another interesting example.⁶⁰⁸ My consultants did not know this as a song-type and were bemused by my mentioning it. *Ampiri-* is a feminine prefix. In the current Tiwi Dictionary *marri-* is a connective marker meaning “with” and *-kimili* means to have sexual intercourse. The derivation of this song-type might therefore relate to women’s singing with reference to them being wives (with the connection then being drawn with sexual intercourse).

3. Sorrow Songs

I must also include a note on the use of the word “sorrow” relating to song-types. In current usage “sorrow songs” refer to *Mamanunkuni* (which is the traditional sorrow song-type) but also to refer to *Amparruwu* (widow) songs as well as *Arikuruwala* songs sung at *Kulama*. When I recorded Stephen-Paul Kantilla and Eustace Tipiloura in March

⁶⁰⁷ See 7.1.7. and 7.1.8.

⁶⁰⁸ See 7.1.4.

2012 (for example) singing their songs from the recently held *Kulama* ceremony they both introduced their performances as “sorrow” and then sang the *Arikuruwala* melody. A recording made by Grau in 1980 suggests that this has long been the case.⁶⁰⁹ Recording a *Yiloti* (Final Ceremony), Grau introduces the section as “sorrow songs”. What follows are three *Arikuruwala* songs (two of which include a female *Ampirikuruwala* response) and then a *Mamanunkuni* by the same man (Audio Example 19) followed by the woman singing *Amparruwu*. It seems likely that Grau’s consultants regarded all these as “sorrow songs” because they all referred to the deceased and were sung for grieving.

⁶⁰⁹ The beginning of A01-009278.

Appendix 11: Full texts of songs referred to in part in the body of the thesis

1. Ngariwanajirri. The Strong Kids Song, 2011. Mantiyupi Country Melody (Audio Example 59).

Karri ngumpuriyi kapi ngawa murrakupuni
When we enter our country we can feel their spirit calling us

Ngini wutawa walima api ngawa kuwayi ngumpurumi
Make proper law to live well

Kapi ngawa ampi ngini yinukuni ngarimuwu
That our ancestors have done for a long time

Najingawula Tiwi ngawayati ponki ngarrimi
To share, to keep our peace and remember

Chorus

Ngariwanajirri ngawurra ninguru magi awarra ngini
Ngariwanajirri working together to listen and helping one another

Ngawa ampi ngamaninguwi putuwurumpura Tiwi ngirramini ngini ngawa ngampangiraga
Hang on to old stories from our ancestors that they left behind

Kurukangawakawayi kawayi kawayi kawayi

Ngajirti awa jawaya mulinjupa
Let us not lose our culture and the language we speak

Ngawatu kapinganki kakarrijuwi ngawurraningirrumarri nginingawula ngirramini
We young people get together

Ngawurra ngungurumagi ngini ngawa ampi ngirramini putuwurrumpurra
We remember our ancestors' stories

Ngawa ngawutimarti kakarrijuwi ngini pupuwi pumatama
We want our children to be strong and healthy – to follow the right path

Ngawurra ngingurumangi amintiya kukunari ngawurami
We support one another and are happy and to be a strong people.

Pilingawa yati ngaparinga ngingingawula pupuni ngirramini
We are the Tiwi that speak our Tiwi language

2. Murli la. Strong Women's group, circa 1990. Mantiupi Country Melody (Audio Example 51).

ML1, ML2 *Ngiya nuka marringarru kangatawa turratuwula*

I'm not going to the other side (of the Strait) because I might get into trouble

ML1 *Piliwiya ngirramini ngikuntirrarri ngiya aghayi*

I might get in to trouble

ML1,ML2 *Milalaya wantirraya ngimanikinawurrumi*

I'm crying for you

ML1 *Kapi ngimparrimi muwiyati awarruwu*

Wherever you go that's where I will go too

ML1, ML2 *Ngimpata murrika ngimpata murrika*

Don't leave me

ML1, ML2, ML1 *Murli murli la murli murli la*

note: *ngirramini* = "trouble" in this context is used in the sense of telling stories/gossip.
turratuwula = trouble

3. Murli la. Francis Orsto, after Carmeline Puanjiloura. 2012. Melody by Bill Anderson (Audio Example 52).

Karri nginta ngiya ngimpingingta kurruwuni
When you look at me

Nginya tu awungarri kukunari ngirrimiji
That's when I'm happy for you/ because of you

Apiwaya angilawayimingampulapa
That's when my heart starts beating

chorus
Murli murli la. Murli murli la.
Let's go

Kapi ngimparrimi muwiyati awarruwu
Wherever you go that's where I will go too

Nginya nuka nginta ngimpangintamurri
I'll never forget you goodbye indeed between us

Nginya ninganguwanga nginta ngiminipingitayi
That's when I think of you/am in love with you

Karri ngiya nguwarematirripi
When I'm sleeping

Yinilinjayi manka ngimpangilingimi
An image of you comes to me

Api wayu ngarri yatari ngirrimiji
I'm looking around for you

Pilikama nganggi muwawangintajirri
Why are we apart?

**4. Tikilaru Song. Strong Women's group, circa 1995. Melody by Demis Roussos
(Audio Example 73).**

Ngawa nginingawula murrakupuni Tikilaru
Our country Tikilaru

Wuta ngawa-ampi
Them our grandparents

Awungarruwu tangarima yimamini
Long ago they used to live there

Ngawatu awunganuwanga ngawa nginingawula
It is also ours

Murrakupuni Tikilaru
Country Tikilaru

Ngawa kukunari ngimpirimi Nginingawula timani
Ware all happy in our country

Chorus

Mawuntuwu, Kilimaraka, Yilinapi, Turtuyanguwu,
[Country places within Tikilaru]

Yawalinga, Japarrinapi, Tangiyawu, Ampwanikiyiti,
[Country places within Tikilaru]

Kukuni, Atawunampi, Wulipingirraga, Pawunapi
[Country places within Tikilaru]

Jipirriyapa, Pirnimata, Malikuruwu, Jawularimi
[Country places within Tikilaru]

Ngumpupji jupunyini amintiya Kilimpiti
Looking from the cliff at Kilimpiti

5. **Yirrikapayi (Crocodile). Strong Women's Group, circa 1995. Tikilaru Country melody (Audio Example 69).** The text in bold font is taken directly from extant Yoi song texts.

L1: ML1,ML2 **Kimarriyanginila** arawunikiri ngarra yuwunjirritirramuwani (x2)
The crocodile man is sitting down making a spear

L2: ML3 *Kapi ngawata tangarima Wiyapurali tingata*
He was at his Country /home Wiapurali on the beach

L3: ML1, ML2 *Kurrukangawawayi kawayi kawayi kawayi* (x2)
[meaningless]

L4: ML1, ML2 *Ngarra mamanta Jikilawula pirrimiwangirlinjiga* (x2)
His people [of the tribe] Jikilawula did not like him

L5: ML3 *Pilimurrakupuni ngarra yimajirranuwurliyi*
Because he did not share the land

L6: ML1, ML2 *Kurrukangawawayi kawayi kawayi kawayi*
[meaningless]

L7: ML3 *Pilimurrakupuni ngarra yimaj[i]rranyuwiyurligi*
Because he did not share the land

L8: ML1 **Pirlamirrawu jingimuwu Pirlamirrawu jingimuwu**
Lying low down in the mud

L9: ML2 *Turliyuwurtimi awungarri yimajurtungimarnuwa*
When he crawled away and he changed into the crocodile

L10: ML3 *Waya ngampi mirripaka yimajurtiyapingari wu*
He crawled towards the sea with the spear in his back

L11: ML1, ML2 **Wiyapurali yu wunjingimirrapi yamurrijingi kipijimi**
At Wiyapurali they saw him - he was running very fast.

L12: ML3 *Wiliya arawunikiri jingirrawamiyakilimigi*
The sharp pointed spear went through its back.

L13: ML1, ML2 **Pikilijipiyanginila winga winga ampakulumurri** (x2)
Crocodile goes out with the sea

L14: ML1,ML2 *Ngarra-mamanta Jikilawula purruwurtiyapamula* (x2)
His people [of the tribe] Jikilawula did not like him

L15: ML3 *Nginjatuwu waya awarra nanki nginja Yirrikapayi wuwu!*
They all said you will be, from now on, the crocodile wuwu!

6. Wurrumiyanga Wellbeing centre song, 2009. Mantiyupi Country Melody (Audio Example 51).

L1: ML2,ML1 *Kurukangawakawayi kawakawayi (x2)*

L2: ML1,ML2 *Ngampi Wurrumiyangimpila pikarringini purruwunjini niyangirri (x2)*

The people from this country, the Traditional Owners, wrote a letter to the government

L3: ML1 *Kurukangawakawayi*

L4: ML1,ML2 *Ngampikirrakunukuluwipukarringini purruwunji kirrimiya (x2)*

The government read the letter and had a talk then wrote back

L5: ML1 *Kurukangawakawayi*

L6: ML1,ML2 *Wanginiwarra Wurrumiyangimpila pulawujinga ngawuniwunji rrakirayi (x2)*

We must give them that house, said the Traditional Owners

L7: ML1 *Kurukangawakawayi (x2)*

L8: ML1,ML2 *Najingawula Tiwimamurruntawi kukunari*

ngawanarrimngawangimarrimi piwunji (x2)

We are happy for the locals and the staff. We are happy we put the building up

L9: ML1 *Kurukangawakawayi*

L10: ML1,ML2 *Wayawungarra Wurrumiyangapulawujinga ampatu wunjirriniliyinti (x2)*

The building is now standing up at Wurrumiyanga

L11: ML1 *Kurukangawakawayi*

L12: ML1, ML2 *Wurrumiyanga tiljinga ampi kimajingimpi raya tirramimirratingami*

(x2)

All of us at Wurrumiyanga are celebrating for that house.

L13: ML1 *Kurukangawakawayi*

oh, oop weya

7. Football Song. Composed by Wurrumiyanga Strong Women's group for the game between Imalu and Tapalinga. 8.3.2010. Mantiupi Country Melody (Audio Example 49).

ML1, ML2 *Najingawula Tiwi mamurruntawi ngaripinguji ngimajakulumu* (x2)
All of us, Tiwi people and white people, are watching the game

ML1 *Imuluwula Tapalinguwi wuta kali winguti ngi marruwungilupi*
The Imulu and Tapalinga teams are running into the field with the ball

ML1, ML2 *Ampayamani yilowaji wunjingimpiya mantuwuni* (x2)
The umpire with the football bouncing the ball

ML1 *Wijilipayamanangirri pulamuningayurugi*
[Descriptive of the umpire's action bringing the knee up and arms down to indicate a goal]

ML1, ML2 *Wúrrukurrunúwi wújingimarri piningijirri ngájirrami* (x2)
Young people are pulling each other's football jumpers

ML1 *Kuruwamuta wutawungaji wíngumjingímpi nawajirri*
Punching, pushing, tackling one another

ML1, ML2 *Jipakawularumagha ampjipiningintagayi* (x2)
He gets a free kick and he kicks a goal

ML1 *Najingawula yajilotuwi kukunari ngaripingujingimarrimi*
Every one of us [Australians] are really happy to see the best team win

ML1 *Nirrawaya awungarra yilowa ampjiringi piningimpaya*
That's the end of the football season 'til next year

8. **Murrntawarrapijimi. Clementine Puruntatameri, 2002. Melody “Ten Guitars” (Audio Example 54). Text in bold font taken directly from Kulama song.**

Palingarri yurruma Jilaruwi amintiya yurruma Takaringuwi kiyi japinari
Long ago the Jilaruwu and Takaringa tribes were formed.

Murrntawarrapijimi yiwatuwiriya pinkaringini
Murrntawarrapijimi [his name] went to the church

Yuwurtiyarra ngawa-rringani
He told him [praying to God] to take his life away
Ngiyatuwu tamarruwuriyi
Take me away take my life away

Ngini wiyi ngiya-rringanuwi papuranjuwi wuruma
So they can live in peace

Ngarra awunarripayakirritimirri ponki iwatirrimi
The father said to the people. Make peace, throw your weapons
away because my son got killed.

Nilipontinginawu munakawutinga piluwaya ngiyamiirrani
He called out to them don't be afraid, let's make peace

Puli iwatirripi pilinkitipirratimimi kuwayi iwaturupumi ngarra marrukulupi kipilinkiti
They cried for him because he had died

Pirratimimi wutamirrani wutamarrikuluwuni
Everyone crying

Chorus

Ngintarangini nginiwatu wunturruwiyapirrukutuwiyapirramanimpa
He has returned to his Country (Rangini)

Pirripalikuwi pitinuwati muntuluwiyalumwanti
People are looking at him flying

*Ngiya pirratupu **Yiamparriparriwi iyamurrutuwu***
I am Yiamparriparriwi iyamurrutuwu [shooting star spirit]

Yitawarriyuwu ngirratingunjurruwiyampirranginili
A minmin light, he landed in Warriyuwu (his Country)

**9. Wurangu Murrakupupuni. Strong Women's Group, Composed for the funeral
16.4.2010. Malawu Country Melody (Audio Example 49)**

1. *Ngampiwutawu rankuwula pirratuwuji ngumuwani*
Their land, Wurangu people
2. *Ngapiwutawa tangarima payawurrura tingatawi*
Their home at the Payawurra beaches
3. *Pilingurupa yuwunyraraji watujingima rruwari*
The ancestors were calling out
4. *Kapinyirrarra ampiyawungaji jiwatiwungu jiliyarra*
You have gone there our daughter for a long time we will talk to you
5. *Jiwatiyingu jingiminta wanganuwangi mirananga*
Our daughter has really gone, our grand daughter
6. *Karripilimatuwu nyirra wangatagaji watu wujingima*
Mangrove fruit [for healing] is hers and the ancestors
7. *Wutawaya awungarri yiminga jiwiningujirralilimigi*
Since long ago we are all her people.
8. *Wutangimirananga pituwa tuwu jilanikitimighi*
They the father's sons [ancestors] are now embracing her
9. *Pilikitima manukuni pirratuwujingiwaya mukurigi*
All of us [crocodile people] are crying together
10. *Kulumutunguwi yirrikipayi yiwatuwujingikiringirri*
She was only a young [crocodile] woman
11. *Marruwamirrila nyirra jiwatuwujingiwangiawura*
Remembering her even though she is gone away to the ancestors
12. *Pikilijipiyanginila winga winga ampakulumurri*
Big mangrove roots, the sea goes out
13. *Payawurrurawula pirratuwujingiwaya kinajirri*
Payawurrurawula people are talking to us from a long way away
14. *Pikilijipawama ayinguji liyampi ngimayawalari*
Pikilijipawama [Ancestor's name] since a long time his spirit is here
15. *Kurukawangakawayi akurukawangakawayi*
meaningless
16. *Pikilijipiyanginila winga winga ampa kulumurri*
Big mangrove roots, the sea goes out

10. Rrakwiyangili Dugong. Romuel Puruntatameri, 1975. (Audio example 8).

Spoken Form:

Rangini-nga-la tyakupwayinga ngen-ti-ni-mi-nge-rrignart-ighi
Rangini- f- of bark canoe I- f- to-him-hw- immerse-tr

Pakinya ngen-ti-ni-mi-nge-rrakwiyangili pu-murarrinty-ighi
First I- f- to-him-hw- dugong- / coil up - tr

Mapetyan yi-nu-wa-ngi-nge-rrakwiyangili-pi-nge-rruninkuwa
Muddy water he-to-ic-me- hw- dugong / - /- line up

Krrupukini ngen-ti-wi-nge-rrakwiyangili-matyerrangil-ighi
Harpoon I- f- cv- hw- dugong - spear- tr

Metrical Form:

Ranginingala tyakupwayinga ngentiniminge rrignartighi

I launched my Rangini⁶¹⁰bark canoe to go after him

Pakinyangenti nimingerrakwi yangilipumu rarrintyighi

First I coiled up the rope in readiness

Mapetyaninu wangingerrakwi yangilipinge rruninkuwa

When he made a trail in the muddy water

Krrupukiningen tiwingerrakwi yangilimatye rrangilighi

I speared the dugong with my harpoon

⁶¹⁰ Rangini is a place in north-western Melville Island.

11. Kupunyi (Canoe) song, 2008 (Audio Example 45). Text transcribed from recording (first line = the text as requested for documentation, second line = what is sung).

Line 1. *Kupunyi tarti wumpuningapi mikuji **rrakiyangilu** kuwularringi*
Three men were paddling in a long canoe looking around.

sung:

ML1,ML2 *Kupunyitarti wumpuningapi mikujirra**ki yangilu**wuku wularringi (x2)*

Line 2: *Pilamingarra purukunji **rrakiyangilu** munukumuni*
The tail of the dugong is very big.

sung:

ML1 *Pilamingarra pú[ru]kunjirra**ki yá**ngiluwúmu núkumuní*

Line 3: *Putupwarra ayikunji **rrakiyangilu** wumurupiyangirramiya*
The tail of the dugong is flipping around on the water

sung:

ML1 *Pútupwarrá(tu pwárra)[a]yikúnji níkunjirra**ki** [yangilu] wúmurupíya ngírramiyá*

ML2 *Pútupwarrá(tu pwárra)[a]yikúnji [níkunji]rra**ki** yangilu wúmurupíya ngírramiyá*

Line 4: *Nginingaji Mirntati⁶¹¹ waranga ampiniwingi **rrakiyangilu** wumiringarra*
The dugong is swimming around the stone in the sea

sung:

ML1, ML2 *Ngíningajímírn tátiwarángaam píníwingírra **kí**yangilúwu míringarrá*

Line 5: *Piripati **rrakiyangilawu**, Piripati **rrakiyangilawu**.*
Spearing the animal

sung:

ML1 *Pír[i]patirra**ki yá**ngiláwu. Pír[i]patirra**ki yá**ngiláwu.*

they are happy because they have speared the dugong

Line 6: ML1,ML2 *Kurukawangawakawayi*
(meaningless)

⁶¹¹ This is a rock off the coast of Melville Island. Another meaning given by younger women (in their 60s) for this line = "He looks like a big stone - his back is smooth".

12. Pangiyatuwi ancestor song. Sheba Fernando and Rosemary Tipungwuti. circa 1990.

Ngawa mini yinimarruri ngarra purnayuwu amintiya ngarra mamurampi
He brought with him his wives and his children

Awungarra wuta tangarima ngampi murrakupuni
He called out to that Country place

Ngawa murka nginitawuluwu wuni ngawamini
We lost him a long time ago, our grandfather

Arikuta ngarra wantirrana pupuni
He was a very good man

Ngarra ngurri ngarri mini
We will never see him.

Ngawarringanuwiwi purutumarti karaka
He collected eggs for all our fathers

Api yuwuntiarra muwa awungarra
He told them

Api karri ipatuwala kurrukala
He went across the creek

Waya awungarru ipa mulujupa
He got lost forever

Ngawatu makayimi ngawa yirriangarri
Where is our father? They said

Awuta ngawarringui pirripangirra
That is what they said

Ngawuni ngawuni kulala ngawurrami
Let's go and look for him

Tinga tinga pirrimarri mapiyalupurri pirrimapiya kuluwunyi
They carried him up from the beach

waya awungarru wuta pirikijika
They buried him

Ngampi Wurrarikini Pirripingimamula
Named Wurrarikini and the place Pirripingimamula

Ngawangurri ngawa mini
We have never seen him

13. Gramophone Tungutalum, 1928. (Audio Example 67).⁶¹²

This transcription is from audtion with my consultants but, at their request, I have used Osborne's translation. A further four lines of the song, have been transcribed by Osborne, but my consultants were not satisfied with their transcription and so I have not included it here.

Jontayampinga ngapujingipi yaninkilirri pujingayawu kalawiyi
Come, let's all go and see the talking gramophone

Ngipingipiya minkirajimin kemawula
I'll wind it up tightly with the handle

14. Silent Land. Long Stephen 1975 (Audio Example 69).

Although a translation is given by Osborne (Osborne, 1989, p.996) I present this song using current spelling and word breaks given by Tiwi elders who hope to use it as a teaching reference for future singers.

Nginiwa ngawungan ampingikirraniyuwima?
How is my country now?

Pili nunkwa wanga anikunjirri ngirraniyuwi mitingali
It doesn't seem so beautiful

Pili nginta nunkwa anikunjirringirraniyuwi yangiraya
It doesn't speak to me

Wakamiwikunjirringirraniyuwuntali?
Why is it so still?

Wakamawanga wikunjirringirraniyuwimilingipiyawi?
Why is the land so silent?

⁶¹² While they wanted to give their own transcription of the Tiwi text (and use modern spelling) my consultants advised me to keep Osborne's translation. A further four lines of the song, while transcribed by Osborne, were not audible enough for my consultants to be prepared to present it for this study.

15. Nyingawi. Strong Women's group 1980s (Audio Example 57).

Ngampi yuwulupi yawurlama wuta awungarruwu Nyingawi purumuwu
There in the jungle they the Nyingawi live there

Wuta yingwampa purruwuriyi Tumarripi, Tiritiringa, Tuwartipi, Pirnimawu, Punjilawu, Yimarlanu
The others lived in those places [Country places]

Wuta waya awungarruwu tangarima awujingima amm
They will always live there

Wuta pakinya Nyingawi pitirikipirni ngirawiyaka
They were the first people singing in the *Kulama*

*Waya awungarri pirimi **Murru-jayampi-jingilaja***
That's when they said [Nyingawi language]

Yita murruka ngintuwujingimarripurtuwa
Then hurried back to where their children were

***Pitirijikilamwari** wuta Nyingawi pirimi*
[Nyingawi language] those Nyingawi said

"Ngawulimpwari, ngawulimpwari"
Go away, go away

Wuta Tiwi purruwunipirni wuta waya awungarri pirimi
The Tiwi hit them then they said

"Wurruka, wurruka amm"
[Nyingawi language (in pain/scratching themselves)]

Wuta waya awungarri Nyingawi pirimangarti
They were there, the Nyingawi drowned themselves

Wuta Tiwi pirripakupawurli ngampi wuta murrakupuni
Then the Tiwi went back to their country

Waya awungarri Tiwi pirimi
Then there the Tiwi said

Kurukangawakawayi, ngampikangawakawayi, kurruk amm
[meaningless vocalisation]

Appendix 12: Cantillation of 1954 Love Song (Audio Example 23)

This table refers to 6.6 in which I outline the alterations the singer makes from the spoken to the metrical and then the sung form of the text and the resulting change of syllable count. The metrical form is shown in blue font. The shaded boxes show where the spoken stresses are altered in the sung form. Compiled with the assistance of Linda Barwick.

syllable insertion	borrowing from front of next word	nasal syllable fusion	syllable deletion ∅	syllable reduction	(palatalisation)	vowel harmony	stress
-----------------------	--	-----------------------------	---------------------------	-----------------------	------------------	------------------	--------

LINE 1

1	2	1	2	1	2	3			=7
nga	tyi	ngin	tya	ngu	wu	ri			
nga	tyi	ngin	tya	ngu	wu	ri	yu	wu	=9
nga	tya	ngan	tya	ngu	wu	ri	yu	wu	=9
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	

Metrical: interpolation (-yuwu), borrowing from front of next word (ngu).

Sung: vowel harmony. 2+2+3 > 5+4 > 5+4

1	2	1	2	3	4	5			=7
nga	tyi	nyem	pa	tu	wi	tya			
nga	tyi	nyem	pa	tu	wi	tya	wu	wu	=9
nga	tyi	m	pa	(tyu)	wi	tya	wu	wu	=8
1	2		3	4	1	2	3	4	

Metrical: interpolation (-wuwu), borrowing from front of next word (nyempatu). Sung: syllable reduction (nyem > m), palatalisation (tu > tyu). 2+5 > 5+4 > 4+4

LINE 2

1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	5	=9		
nga	ngi	la	wa	pu	ka	ta	wu	nga	[ngi	ntu]	=11
nga	ngi	la	wa	pu	ka	ta	wu	∅	nge	ntu	=10
nga	ngi	la	m	pu	ka	ta	∅		ngi	n(ty)i	=8
1	2	3		4	1	2			3	4	

Metrical: borrowing from front of next word (pu-, ngintu-), nasal syllable combination (nga+ngi>nge). Sung: syllable reduction (wa > m), syllable deletion (wu > ∅), vowel harmony (ngentu > ngintyi), palatalisation (-ntu > ntyi). 4+5 > 5+5 > 4+4

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	=12
ngi	ntu	wa	te	meny	tyi	ngi	ni	ngity	a	mi	ghi	
-	-	∅	te	meny	tyi	ngi	ni	ngity	a	mi	ghi	=9
			te	meny	tyi	∅	ni	ngity	a	mi	ghi	=8
			1	2	3		4	1	2	3	4	

Metrical: syllable deletion (wa > ∅). Sung: nasal syllable combination (ngi+ni>ni). 12 > 5+4 > 4+4

LINE 3

1	2	1	2	1	2	=6					
yi	ta	nge	ni	la	yit	[yi	nu	wa	te]		
yi	ta	nge	ni	la	yit	i	nu	wa	te		=10
yi	ta	nge	∅	la	yit	i	∅	wa	te		=8
1	2	3		1	2	3		4	5		

Metrical: borrowing from front of next word (la, yinuwate).

Sung: nasal syllable fusion (nge+ni > nge), borrowing from end of previous metrical unit. Syllable deletion (nu > ∅) (or perhaps nasal syllable fusion (nu+wa > wa). 2+2+2 > 5+5 > 3+5

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	=13
yi	nu	wa	te	me	ni	te	rra	ki	ning	i	lu	wa	
-	-	-	-	me	ni	(tye)	rra	ki	ni	ngi	lu	wa	=9
				me	ni	ty	rra	ki	ni	ngi	lu	wa	=8
				1	2		3	4	1	2	3	4	

Metrical: palatalisation (te > tye) (note: elsewhere this seems to happen in sung version); Sung: syllable reduction (tye > ty). 13 > 5+4 > 4+4

Appendix 13: Examples of structural organisation in each song-type

In this Appendix I give a selection of songs across the main song-types, showing the way in which the text is structured. The ordering of lines of text is more or less variable depending on which type the song belongs to. There is a correlation between the individually performed song-types and a higher degree of variability. The incidence of the meaningless *kurukangawakayi* line is also noticeably higher in the *Amparruwu*, *Mamanunkuni* songs.

I use numbers for each line of text. K indicates a meaningless text string (*kurukangawakayi* or *kayay* or other similar) and A indicates *ayaya* in the Lullaby texts. An aborted line is indicated with (ab). Inaudible sections are indicated "...".

***Jipuwakirimi* (Song-type 1)**

As explained in 2.1.4, *Jipuwakirimi* songs are structured lineally, with (any) number repetitions of each line, before moving to repetitions of the next line and so on.

***Arimarrikuwamuwu* (Song-type 3)**

Black Joe. Goose. 1955 (ABC36-004069)

1,1... 2, 3, ... 3, 3... 3, 3, 4, 4, 3... 2, 3, 3, 3...

Stanley Munkara. Rich man. 1975. (Osborne, 1989, p. 1057)⁶¹³

K, 1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 2, K, 3, 3, K, 1, 1, 3, K

***Ampirimarrikimili* (Song-type 4)**

Unidentified women. 1948. (Simpson LA4730-4)

1 x 14, 2 x 3 (before recording fades out).

Unidentified woman. 1981. (Grau A01-009277 - 00:45:00)

Song 1: 1, 1, 2, 2, 2,

Song 2: 1, 1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 2

Song 3: 1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 3, 3, 3, 2, 2, 2

⁶¹³ I did not have access to the recording of this song.

Amparruwu (Song-type 5)

Amparruwu songs are personal narrative-style expressions of grief, often in the form of either the singer talking to his/her deceased spouse or of the voice of the deceased talking to the singer. They therefore tend to be linear, with numerous interjections of the meaningless *kayayi* vocalization and some repetition of lines, but with no set pattern.

Christopher Foxy Tipungwuti. Rainbow Anus. 1975.

(Osborne C04-003855 song 207).

K, K, 1, 2, 2, 2, 3, 4, 1, 1, 4, 5, 5, 5, 4, 5, 3, 3, 2, 2, 4, 5, 2 (ab), K, K, K, 2, 2, 3, 3, 1, 1, 4, 5
Eunice Orsto 2010 GC

Mamanunkuni (Song-type 6)

Long Stephen. Waking Up. 1975 (Osborne C04-003855-199).

K, K, 1, 2, 3, 3, K, K, 4, 4, 5, 6, 1, 2, 3, K, K, K

Long Stephen. Silent Land 1975 (Osborne C04-003855-201).

1, 1, 2, K, K, K, 1, K, 2, K, 3, 3, K, K, 4, K, 5, K, 2, K, 4, 5, 5, 5, 5, K

Arikuruwala (Song-type 7)

I have not included Ampirikuruwala (Song-type 8) here because the woman's response follows the same structure as the man's performance.

Unidentified man. Boat Awaits Tide. 1912. (Spencer C01-00701-7)

...1, 1, 1, 1, 2, 2 ... 2, 3, 3, 3, ... 4, 4, 4

Tungutalum 1928 (Hart C01=004240B-D33)

1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 2, 3, 4, 5, 2, 1, 4, 5, 1, 1, 2, 6, 6, 6, 6

Tractor Joe. Grievance over promised woman. 1975. (Osborne C04-003853-89)

This example shows a full performance in the *Kulama* ceremonial context. The singer gives two text strings in the seated position, singing at the lower octave and five text strings at the upper octave. Only those recordings made in ceremonial context are of this length. Recordings made in sessions are much shorter.

(low octave) 1, 1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 2, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5

(low octave) 1, 1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 2, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 5, 6, 6,

(upper octave) 1, 1, 2, 2, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6, 6,

(upper octave) 1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 6, 6, 7, 7, 7, 7,

(upper octave) 7, 7, 7, 7, 2, 2, 3, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 6, 6, 7, 7,

(upper octave) 1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6, 6, 7, 7, 7,

(upper octave) 1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 6, 6, 7, 7, 7

***Ariwangilinjiya* (Song-type 9)**

Unidentified man 1954 (Mountford C01-002916-19)

A, A, 1, 1, 2, 2, 2, 1, A, A, A, A, 1, 1, 2

Unidentified woman 1954 (Mountford C01-002916-20)

1, 1, 2, A, A, 1, 2, 1, A, A, 1, 2

***Apajirupwaya* (Song-type 10)**

Unidentified woman 1954 C01-002916-21

1, 2, 1, 2, 3, 3, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4

Maria Woodie 1975 (Osborne, 1989, p. 1109)⁶¹⁴

1, 2, 1, 1, 2, 1, 3, 4, K, 1, 1, 1, 3, 4, K, 1, 3, K

⁶¹⁴ I did not have access to this recording.

Ariwayakulaliyi (Song-type 11)

In these examples I group each three lines as they are sung in ML1, ML2, ML1 – ML1, ML2, ML1 etc.

Group of School boys 1962 Songs from the Northern Territory- Track 9a

1, 1, 2 - 2, 2, 1 - 3, 3, 2 - 2, 2, 3 - 4, 4, 2 - 2, 2, 3 - 3, 3, 2 - 2, 2, 3

Christopher Foxy Tipungwuti 1975. (Osborne C04-003855-204)

K, 1, 1, 2 - 3, 1, 1 - 2, 3, 3 - 2, 1, 2 - 3

Women's group Murli la 2008 (NG2008-11)

1, 1, 1 - 2, 2, 1 - 3, 3, 1 - 4, 4, 1

Appendix 14: Full performance transcription of Mamanunkuni song by Long Stephen (Audio example 26)

This example shows the lines of text (numbered 1-9) indicated with square brackets above each corresponding melodic phrase. K indicates a line of meaningless vocalisation. The order in which the lines of text are sung and the pattern of their repetition are unique to this performance. I include this example as an indication of the variability of line order. I refer to it also as an example of the insertion of the vocalisation *Kurukangawakayi*, immediately after an aborted attempt at a line (in this case line 7) so that the song melody (and so the performance) can continue while the singer corrects the line in his mind before attempting it again. *Kurukangawakayi* is also used, in other performances, to enable the singer to compose the next line in his/her mind.

1
Yu wu ni yu wu nin ka ya yang Yu wu ni yu wu nin ka ya yang

2
Ngin tya pu nga la yu wu mi rrang Ngin tya pu nga tye rra ya mi rrang Wa ka ma tyu wa ri kun tyi nge

1
ma tyi nge ma nge ke ra rrup wa tang Yu wu ni yu wu nin ka yang Ngin ta wa tyin ke rra

5
nge la yang Ng tya wa tyin ke rra nge la yang Wa ka ma tyu wa ri kun tyi nge ma tyi nge

1
ma nge ke ra rru pwa tang Yu wu ni yu wu nin ka ya yang Mu pu

6
li pu wa ke ma ngu wa ya ti pi ya rrang Mu pu li pu wa ke ma ngu wa ya ti pi ya rrang

7(aborted) ↓ K
Wa ka tyu ku ni tu ram pu ngun ti kun ti ngu ma a a a a ang Ku ru wa ka wa wa wa ka wayang

7 8
Ke ni ya tyu ram pu ngen tyi kun tyi nge ma tyi nge ma nge rra tyu wu rang Ng in tya pu rra nge na

9 8
pi wa yang Ngin ta Ngin ta pwi yan ke li rri wu ghang Ngin tya pwi yan ke li rri wu ghang

7 1
Ke ni tyu ram pu ngen tyi kun tyi nge ma tyi nge ma nge rra tyu wu rang Yu wu ni yu wu nin ka ya yang

Appendix 15: Going to Canberra. Eustace Tipiloura, 2012

This transcription of Eustace Tipiloura's "Going to Canberra" song is included here as an example of the *Arikuruwala* song-type. I refer to it in relation to the variability of percussive accompaniment and of order of lines of text in *Kulama* singing (2.1), with reference to alterations made to words in the sung form (6.1), time of day markers (6.8) as an example of the *Arikuruwala* song-type (7.1.7). I also include it to show how the text given by a consultant differs from what they sing. Eustace gave me the text of this song, quoted in 9.2.3, immediately after he had sung this performance. The additions, deletions and repetitions in the sung form render the words quite different from the song text that the performer (who had sung it immediately prior) offered as the "correct" text. Eustace and I transcribed the recording phonetically in an exercise aimed at showing clearly what a Tiwi singer is doing when he (or she) sings. It is an indication of how instinctive the process is that Eustace agreed that even he could not exactly define the distinction between the words he knew he was singing and the sounds that he actually sang. There is a large degree of word alteration with the addition of vowels (such as the addition of *i* in *Mindil Piji* (Mindil Beach) to become *Mindili Piji* to create correct metre.

I use stemless noteheads for the regular "quaver" pulse of the phrase, and indicate the other rhythms with standard note values. I have used spacing to indicate the breaks between phrases, and notated rests only when they are in "time". The placement of the stick beats is as close a representation of the performance as possible. This performance is indicative of the many recordings of *Kulama* singing in the way the sticks align with metrical units in some lines, and are very loose in others. The transcription (across pages 418-421) corresponds to Audio Example 78.

m a _____ pi m ma _____ pi m a _____
 nga m m na _____ m na _____ m na A wun ja rra
 Tu wa rram pi la ta ngi lim pa nga ngin ti ngi ni lu ngin ti rri wi ngi rra ngu wu ngi mi jim a wun ja rra Ta wu rram(pi)
 a wun in ja rra Tu wa rram pi la ta ngu la pa gha ngin ti ngi rri ngi lim pa nga rra ngi wu ngi mi jim a _____ n a _____
 a Min di li pi ji ti nga ta wi ngi rri lim pa nga rra ngi wu n a _____
 Min di li pi ji ti nga ta wi rri ngi lim wi rri ngi lim wi ngi lim pa nga na ya pu tay ti Min di li pi ji ti nga ta ngi

wi ngi lim pa nga rra ni yu n a____ e na____ a Min di li pi ji ti nga ta ngi wi ngi ni lim pa nga rra ni yu wu
 ti ngin ta____ ngi wi rri lim pa nga rra nyu wa pu ta way wi rri ngi lim pa nga rra nga nyu wa pu ji yim a____
 ngin ji ngi rrii ngi lim pa nga rra nyu____ mwa ri to ngu la ka wu ngin ji
 ngi ji rri ngi lim pa nga rra nyu____ mwa rim m____ ma
 a War ji nga la wu ngi rri ngi ngu war ji nga la pi ya wu li ma yi
 War ji ng la wu ngin ji ngi li yi yi lim pa nga rra ngu li ma yim a____ m ma____ ji
 n Ka pu wu ta wa ku rra ku nu ku lu wi ta nga ri ma wu nga ji ngi rri yi ngi rra ngi yu ngu ra yam Ka pu wu ta wa ku rra

ku nu ku lu wa wu nging ji nging ri nging lim pa nga rra nyu wu pu ra yam a_____ m ma_____ ji

Nging rra nging rri nging rri lim pa nga rra nyu ji rri ya rra_____ pi li wi nging lim pa nging rra nyu ti rra rram

n ku pu pu rru kur nu ku lu wa wu nging ji nging wi yi ku nu lu wi lim pa nga rra ni yi ji rra rram a_____

Nging ya rra nga nging nging ji in ti nga ka ra ri ji ti nging ti ma ta ku pa wu la Nging ta wa ya a nging yi nging ti ni wi ma ta ku wu pa

wu lim a_____ Ka pu rru ta wa ta nga ri ma pi li wi lim pa nga ma wa yi pu wu ta wa

ta nga ri ma pi li nging lim pa nga ma wa yim Wa ya nging yi rri ki ma kirr a_____

Wa ya nging ir ke ma ta ngu lu ma yim rra ya nging ni ki ma ta wu lu ma yim

War ti nga la ni ngim pu ngi wi ngi lim pa nga mi ma ma ni pi nga la ngi ngi rri ni lim pa nga ma ma nim

m na mi Min di li pi ji ti nga ta ngin ti wi yi lim pa nga rra nyu ngu wu mi

Min di li pi ji ti nga ta ngin ji rri ngi lim pa nga rra nyu wu mi jim To ngu la ka wu ngin ti ngin ji rri wi lim pa nga rra nyu wu wu mi ji

To ngu la ka wu ngin ti ngin ji rri wi lim pa nga rra nyu wu wu mi ji na a

Tu wa rram pi la ta nga ri ma wu nga ji ngi rri ngi lim pa nga ma ji rra pur ta am m

Ta a wu pi la ta nga ri ma wu nga ji ngi wi ngi lim pa ngi ma ji (rra) pur ta am a wi m

Appendix 16: Ngarukuruwala band line-up in each performance, showing the cross-over of personnel and instrumentation

	2007 Darwin Festival	2007 NTIMA	2008 CD	2008 Sydney Opera House and Recital Hall	2008 Art Awards Darwin	2009 NFSA SCM	2010 Tiwi FL Grand Final	2010 Darwin Festival	2011 Strong Kids Song project and CD	2011 Nguuu Club	2012 Milimika Festival
Gai Bryant	sax										
Genevieve Campbell	horn										
Jamie Cameron	drums										
Daniel Rorke	tenor sax										
Michael Hohnen	bass										
Brendan Clarke	bass										
Alex Boneham	bass					NFSA					
Jason Noble	clarinet										
Dan Davies	sound engineer/guitar										
Dan Dinnen	guitar / blues harp										
Casey Nicholson	trumpet										
Simon Bartlett	trombone										
Dave Manuel	drums					SCM					
Richard Maegraith	alto sax										
	NTIMA: Northern Territory Indigenous Music Awards				SCM: Sydney Conservatorium of Music			NFSA: National Film and Sound Archive, Canberra			

Appendix 17: Activities resulting from the Ngarukuruwala project involving the Strong Women's Group

At 17.1 I list the performances given by the Ngarukuruwala group. I have also included performances that involved the women's group only (indicated) but that came about directly because of Ngarukuruwala and at which arrangements and/or recordings created in Ngarukuruwala were used.

At 17.2 I list the presentations that I have given with Tiwi co-presenters. They are included because the process of preparing for and attending these events has built on the role that my Tiwi colleagues have as mentors and community leaders in the maintenance of culture and language through song.

1. Professional Public Performances

(2013, 28 May) Darwin Convention Centre. World Indigenous Network Conference. Closing Ceremony. Women.

(2012, 4 August) Wurrumiyanga, Bathurst Island. Milimika Festival. Women and Band.

(2012, 19 February) Parliament House, Darwin. Prime Minister's Function to commemorate the 70th Anniversary of the Bombing of Darwin. Women.

(2011, 12 August) National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Art Awards, Northern Territory Museum and Art Gallery Darwin. Women.

(2011, 13 August) Darwin Festival: Northern Voices. Women (and GC on horn).

(2010, 13, 14, 15 August) Community performances in Wurrumiyanga, Milikapiti and Pirlangimpi, Tiwi Islands. Women and Band.

(2010, 17, 18 August) Darwin Festival. Women and Band.

(2009, 23 August) Sydney Conservatorium of Music. Women and Band.

(2009, 18 November) National Film and Sound Archive, Canberra. Women and Band.

(2009, 30 August) Darwin Festival "Wanga Mirak" Indigenous Dance Event. Women (joined by six Tiwi men).

(2009, 22 March) 13 March 2010. Pre-game and half-time entertainment at Tiwi Islands AFL Grand Final. Nguiu, Bathurst Island (National broadcast live ABC TV). Women and Band.

(2008, 15 August) National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Art Awards, Northern Territory Museum and Art Gallery Darwin. Women and Band.

(2008, 17 July) Angel Place Recital Hall, Sydney. World Youth Day International Arts Festival. Women and Band.

(2008, 12 July) New South Wales Art Gallery. Women.

(2008, 13 July) Message Sticks Festival, The Studio, Sydney Opera House. Women and Band.

(2007, 25 August) Northern Territory Indigenous Music Awards. Women and Band.

(2007, 24 August) Darwin Festival. Women and Band.

2. Performances and presentations involving Tiwi consultants as co-presenters.

(2011, 1 December) *Ngariwanajirri - The Strong Kids Song: Awarra pupuni ngirramini. Awarra wurraningurimagi. This important culture. Wherever they go it'll be with them.* 34th National Conference of the Musicological Society of Australia and the 2nd International Conference on Music and Emotion. University of Western Australia, Perth.

(2011, 18 October) Meeting with Northern Territory Minister for Arts and Museums the Honourable Gerry McCarthy. (With subsequent written

report to the Federal Parliamentary Inquiry into Language learning in Indigenous communities.) Government House, Darwin, Northern Territory.

(2011, 14 August) *Ngariwanajirri–The Strong Kids Song*.

10th Annual Symposium on Indigenous Music and Dance. North Australian Research Unit, Australian National University, Darwin, Northern Territory. With ten Tiwi co-presenters.

(2010, 18 August) Presentation and performance. Jingili Primary School, Northern Territory.

(2010, 16 August) Charles Darwin University. Public presentation, workshop and performance (including band). Darwin, Northern Territory.

(2009, 16 August) Sydney Conservatorium of Music, Sydney, New South Wales.

(2009, 18 August) Presentation on initial findings and responses to the archived Song Material, Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory.

(2009, 16 November) Ceremonial calling of Tiwi Ancestors. Meeting with Federal Minister for the Arts, Hon. Peter Garrett. Parliament House, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory.

(2009, 16 November) Presentation and performance. Croydon Public School, Sydney, New South Wales.

(2010, 23 September) *Ngariwanajirri – The Strong Girls' Song*. Paper presented at 9th World Indigenous Women and Wellness Conference. Darwin Convention Centre, Darwin, Northern Territory.

(2008, 17 August) *Ngarukuruwala – the changing voice of Tiwi Song*. Paper presented at 7th National Symposium of Indigenous Music and Dance. Charles Darwin University, Darwin, Northern Territory.

- (2010, 17 August) *Ngarukuruwala - we sing songs: The return of songs to the community and the impact it has on the project*. "Talk with the Artists" public lecture series presented by Darwin Festival at Northern Territory Library, Darwin, Northern Territory. With Teresita Puruntatameri.
- (2010, 10 March) *Returning Tiwi Songs to the community: using archived song recordings to rediscover language, history and art practice*. Seminar delivered at North Australia Research Unit (ANU) Casuarina Campus, Darwin, Northern Territory. With Eustace Tipiloura.
- (2009, 20 November) *Accessing the Archives. A visit to NMA, NFSA and AIATSIS by 11 Tiwi men and women*. Seminar given at AIATSIS, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory.
- (2009, 15 August) *Ngarukuruwala - we sing songs: Old Tiwi song in the context of a new music project*. Paper presented at the 8th National Symposium of Indigenous Music and Dance. Charles Darwin University, Darwin, Northern Territory.

Appendix 18: Tiwi audio-visual material repatriated by the National Film and Sound Archive, Canberra

The following film material was made available for viewing by the Tiwi delegation at National Film and Sound Archive November 2009. All but item #273659 was provided to each individual for return to the community.

Baldwin Spencer. Nitrate Film 1912:	<i>Yoi</i> dance event and segments of <i>Pukumani</i> ceremony.
718302. Birtles, Francis, 1929	"Coorab and the Island of Ghosts".
204052: Cinesound Review (0359) 1938:	"Civilisation comes to primitive children: Bathurst Island, NT".
9680: Cinesound Review (0883) 1948:	"Convair aeroplane flight across the world". (Stopping in Darwin and met by a group of male dancers from Melville Island).
55699: Cinesound Review, (1347) 1957	"Aboriginal Mission in Australia's far north: Bathurst Island".
13586: Movietone News (#1289) 1938	"Aboriginals find their utopia on Bathurst Island".
30159: Movietone News (#A0418) 1942:	"Island Mission sends native kiddies south".
61276: Movietone News (#A1685) 1959:	"Graveyard Posts: Unusual Gift to N.S.W. Art Gallery".
64305: Movietone news, (#A1838) 1961:	"Melville Island: Home for Aborigines. Northern Territory".
273659: R. L. Anthony 1965:	Home Movies taken by tourists on Melville Island.

Appendix 19: A selection of the Modern Kuruwala songs composed for the Mother's Club Eisteddfods in the 1990s

The following are song titles from the Nguiu Mother's Club Eisteddfod songbook printed by the Literacy Production Centre, Nguiu, 1994. I have grouped them into general subject classifications. Not all of these songs performed today, but the book is quite often referred to for lyrics.

Stories of ancestors

Ngirramini Karri Piripini Murrntawarrapijimi

Mulankinya

Ngirramini Ngini Ngarra Turumpi

Palingarri Puntiyakilimi

Ngirramini Ngini Mangirrikijiringa

Ngirramini Ngini Ngarra Tambuwu

Ngirramini Ngini Awuta Ngawa-mamanta Wupanginimili Yangimara

Dreaming /myth related songs

Kupunyi Hunting Turtle and Dugong in a Canoe

Nyingawi the Story of the Nyingawi people

Wunijaka Spirits of the Wind

Tini Ngini Yirrikapayi Yima Kapi Wiyapurali The Story of the man who became a Crocodile

Japarra, Purrukupali amintiya Wayayi The Story of Japarra, Purrukupali and Wayayi (Tiwi creation story)

Arripwatinga Ancestral Dog Story

Children's Songs (nursery rhymes)

Kitirika, Kirimpika, Yirrikapayi. Turtle, Crab, Crocodile

Mopaditi The Spirits of the Dead

Tapalinga

Country Songs

Tikilaru Country Song

Wurangkuwila Wurangku People

Jipalangantila amintiya Payapururayuwu Country Group song

Educational/ message songs

Nginingawula Yingiti Bush Foods and in which Country they are found.

Ngawa ampi Karri Karluwu Jana When we are not sick

Ngimpirimajipwara karri Ngawa Ngimpiriwayatipi How Beer affects people

Ngirramini Ngini Pukumani Explaining the importance of Pukumani

Katirrikani Bush Trees

Ngirramini ngini Tiwi Angawula Yiminga The Tiwi Skingroups

Ngawa Ngajitingawulamiya Ngawari pingintayamiya We don't think about fighting

Tiwi Nginingawula Ngirramini It is good that this Tiwi Land is Ours

Ngari kuruwala nginingawula murrakupuni We sing about our Country

Kurrumpuni Yikwani Ampiliwanikimutamini

Tiwi Papirrumawurri Tiwi Ancestors are important

Entertainment songs

Murli la Love Song

Yinjula Old woman

Nuwa Nguwuriyi You are sorry

Pupuka Tinga Mijuwalinga Muluwurri Beautiful Woman

Nginingawula Ngawa-ampi puturupura Walk away let's forget

Historical songs

Ngj-Patajyali The Story of Father Gsell

Kurrunjakayi Japanese Man

Ngarra mirananga taringa juwurri A man's daughter, a snake bit her

Appendix 20: Personal accounts, explanations and stories included at the request of particular individuals

The texts in this Appendix are pieces of extra information included at the request of my Tiwi consultants.

1. Purrukupali. Told by Clementine Puruntatameri.

Long long ago there was a man called Purrukupali and he had a wife called Bima. They were the first people who lived here on the Tiwi Islands. They had one son called Jinani. One day Purrukupali told his wife that he was going out. He left his wife and Jinani at home and went hunting. While Purrukupali was away, Bima went to meet up with her lover, Tapara, the moon man. She was gone for too long and her baby Jimani was left lying in the sun. He started to cry for his mother's milk. After a while he died from the hunger and the strong sun. When Purrukupali came back he found his son dead and he called out to his wife. Bima tried to call back but Tapara was blocking her mouth and kept her quiet. Purrukupali called again and this time Tapara let her go. She ran to find her dead baby and her husband was angry. Then Tapara, the moon man, came and he said to Purrukupali, "give me your son, I'll take him up to the sky for three days and he will come back alive". Purrukupali said "no". Then Purrukupali picked up a fighting stick and he threw it at Tapara. Tapara was wounded and escaped back up into the sky and that's the mark you can see on his face. Then Purrukupali picked up his dead son and walked towards the sea saying "my son is dead and now we all follow him". Then they both disappeared into the sea. That is how death came to the Tiwi islands. Tiwi had to start to have ceremonies to bury the dead and make sure they went to the spirit world properly.

2. An account of the importance of Clementine Puruntatameri as a songwoman.

She was such an important strong woman. The one. She composed all the songs we sing today. She sang *Kulama*, and Ceremony, wrote new words for the children to learn. She was the only one woman who sang the hard way. She taught *Yoi* – the songs and the dances. She knew how important it was to hold on to trying to keep the hard way going. (Mary Elizabeth Moreen)⁶¹⁵

Clementine's father, Mungatalini Reno Kantilla, was a leading song and culture man. She told me that he came to the world flying like a *Yamparriparri* spirit. Her grandfather was Wanamatyuwa. He was a young man when Father Gsell arrived on Bathurst Island. Local oral history tells that Wanamatyuwa approached Father Gsell, who gave him an eye-glass and told him to take it back and show it to the others as a sign of how clever the white man was. It was Wanamatyuwa who referred to the area as "Nguiu" when Gsell asked what the land was called.

Statement made on "Stateline" program, ABC TV⁶¹⁶ 14 April 2010.

Good Morning my name is Clementine Puruntatameri. I was born at Melville Island and when I was a little girl my mother when my dad died when my mother was pregnant with me and she had me she came travelling by canoe to Bathurst Island and then as I grew up I was brought up by a convent by the nuns and I didn't know how to speak Tiwi because of the mission which didn't allow me to speak Tiwi. I used to speak only English and then when I left school I was about 18 years old. That's when I took interest I went to *Kulama* ceremony where my brothers had *Kulama* and I used to listen you know. I kept on going 'til I picked it up bit by bit... That was in 1960. I took most interest about the *Kulama* ... and then I started to sing on my own. And then they [her brothers] had big *Kulama* down there [and] I helped them sing. And it was a surprise for them to see me. I can sing

⁶¹⁵ Personal communication Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 27 September 2011.

⁶¹⁶ Australian Broadcasting Corporation television.

up to them [laughs] and my mother used to talk to me about the language you know. She taught me a lot and that's how I picked up the language.

Clementine is regarded as the first woman who sang in what would normally be men's roles at Ceremony and Kulama. Justin Puruntatameri told me she "sings like a man and knows the real words." She spent some time in Sydney teaching dance to the Bangarra Dance Theatre and at Tranby Aboriginal College in the mid 1980s.

She was involved with all Ngarukuruwala activities on the islands and in Darwin⁶¹⁷ as a lead singer, composer and decision maker on matters of song choice and musical arrangement. She was one of the five primary consultants with whom I worked most closely auditioning the repatriated recordings.

Clementine's death in August 2011 had a marked impact on the Strong Women's group, on Ngarukuruwala and on our work together. In what I was told was an unprecedented break with tradition, a photograph (of her singing on stage with Ngarukuruwala) was placed on her coffin and her performance of "Purrukupali" was played through the loud speaker at the funeral.⁶¹⁸ It was announced at the funeral that this was being done because her voice and her singing had been so important to the community that her family wanted everyone to hear it. For a period of many months the women with whom I was in regular contact were unable to continue our research or music projects due to the vacuum of leadership and direction Clementine's death had left. Although they have been able to continue to compose for subsequent events, the absence of Clementine and her knowledge has been commented upon many times.

⁶¹⁷ She was not part of the Sydney or Canberra trips because her health meant she could not be away from home for more than a few days at a time.

⁶¹⁸ Audio Example 77.

3. Sheba Fernando tells the story of her Grandfather, Pangiyatuwi.

This narrative told by Sheba is the ancestor story that belongs to the women who call me sister and so I was taken to the Country to be told the story and given the song. I was subsequently asked to include it in this work as “my story”.

Sheba:

This was the story that was passed on to us. Old man who is buried here. Old man, Daddy. Edward Portaminni. That is Marina's father. He passed the story to us of what happened to our Grandfather [Pangiyatuwi]. He brought his wife and his children ... they called that place Makapurrumuwu, there at the beach. They made a camp there ... and they lived there, him and his wife and his children. Grandfather, he went out hunting and he came back with lots of eggs -turtle eggs - and he shared to his children. Old man Daddy. My father was there too, Jacinta's father was there too, Regina's father was there. All of them was there at Makapurrumuwu ... He gave them all turtle egg but one was left out. Their sister Simplicia. Her name was Simplicia. They didn't give it to her. She was crying, crying, crying for turtle egg. All our fathers, my father, Eustace's father, Jacinta's father, Regina's father, Marina's father ...everybody was there. They didn't give her turtle egg. She was keep on crying and crying, and the one who's buried here Amanayi, grandfather, Pangiyatuwi, he went back hunting to get some bush food for her. All our fathers and grandfathers was at home and the sun was going down. They waited longtime for him to come back home. You know where I show you long beach other side? He went across there. Instead of coming back he never came back to his children.

All our fathers [Pangiyatuwi's children] said “where's our father? With the sun going down and he's not back home yet. Where, where our father? Let's go and look for him” they said. All of my father's family... They all went across. They all searched for him. They went inside the mangroves and where the water is. They found his dead body there. Everybody was crying for him. Amanayi Pangiyatuwi.

They carry him, carry his dead body. Along the beach they carry his dead body. Carry him right up here. That's where they bury him, and they call that place Purranikini. That's the name of the place, that's where he is buried. That's the story that old man told us when he was alive.

Rosemary Tipungwuti (Sheba's sister) speaking of the song they composed:

I don't know what happened to him but I remember my mother- sister telling me that he was lost there for the sake of his daughter. The chorus part we made that we never seen him. Maybe he's a nice man. We never met him. Me and this one [Sheba] and Marina, Consolata. *Ngara wuri* means we are sorry for him. *Ngawa mini* mean we never see our grandfather. Maybe he's a nice looking man. That's the chorus we made... and we sang about his children. That's the story that was passed on to us about that old man.

My father died when I was twelve years old... [Sheba] was seven. That's the time when we was in convent. The last day he took us out to Wuranguku to the long beach. We stayed there for one month. I remember the words my father said to me look after this land. This is our soil. This is your country.

Sheba:

We wasn't born that time but they told us the story. Pangiyatuwi and Pukumunura are the men dancing in 1912. One time [Yikliya]⁶¹⁹ went over there he heard my voice and her [Rosemary's] voice but he was frightened. He heard my voice. I was singing and laughing. He thought how come these two girls their voice here? I went there. I went to Paunapi but I was a bit frightened too. I only heard his voice. My hair went up when I heard his old voice calling out.

We made song about him when he went to look for egg and he brought some the egg for his children but one person was left out. Simplicia. My mother told me

⁶¹⁹ Eustace Tipiloura.

that's a sad song you make for your Grandfather. The old man he told me the story and we made the song. We sang that when the old man died. We made that song for him. And before he died I told old man "Daddy should I be allowed to sing that song?" "Alright that song is open for all of you my children" he said. When they forget that song they come to me because I know the words.

4. Statement by Eustace Tipiloura.

[Speaking of the repatriated material]. It's really brilliant because something that belongs to us has been released. It was locked for many years. Many decades. So it was good. Something that I didn't even see when I was a kid growing up. Now I realise how important it was for us to go down [to Canberra] and have a look. I think it's going to help us for a strong culture and hopefully we carry on the hearts of our ancestors that's left behind. [The young people] will learn, gradually they'll pick up the words.... If they can't pick it up they can still always asked the older people what it means and how you pronounce it. That's the most important thing.

In my point of view the recording should be owned by the Tiwi, not the bloke who recorded it. I believe this bloke who recorded them didn't even pay for them. Who owns this, the recording? Why don't they give them to us? You're doing it [speaking to the author], which is great. Much more great than anybody else. I never even heard of you but here you are and you stuck around to make this happen. There's only few of us who know the really hard language. Myself, sometimes Walter, sometimes Wally because he's just learning. Calista, Clementine, Leonie. She's alright because she didn't go to school since she was about twelve. I mean in the convent. In those days girls used to go in the dormitory and were not allowed to go outside.

We all help each other sing you know? Otherwise people might laugh at you. Two rules. You're doing the singing the right way. Or you're singing wrong way. They're listening. They make sure that everything is alright, the way you sang. If you don't they correct you and say "say it this and that's the right way." Some people like

Calista [Kantilla] and Leonie [Tipiloura] and Robert Biscuit Tipungwuti, Walter [Kerinaia], that's about it and Justin [Puruntatameri] - he's dying slowly. He's one of the elders of the Tiwi people. We are trying to teach.

Personal communication. Eustace Tipiloura, Wurrumiyanga/Nguiu 7 April 2011.

Walter, Justin and Clementine have since passed away.