

Djalu! Gurruwiwi, Garma Festival 2002, Guḷkuḷa, Northeast Arnhem Land

Language: Gälpu (Dhaṅu)

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This paper, a key part of Randin! Graves research on the cultural foundation of the yidaki in northeast Arnhem Land, also contributes to the recording of life stories of Yolḷu elders and documentation of the Dhaṅu language. Originating as the answer to the simple question, “tell us a story about yidaki,” it contains stories about different types of clan-specific yidaki, Djalu's experiences with the instrument, details of kinship, and his feelings on the state of Yolḷu learning today.

The first column is a transcription of a speech given by Djalu, the second and third provide literal and free translations.

Outline:

- 1 The story of the Gälpu yidaki called Djungiriny! and an introduction to those who hold the story.
- 2 Expression of Djalu's openness to non-Aboriginal visitors interested in the yidaki.
- 3 Introduction of holders of Gumatj knowledge and their Djungaya, or cultural custodians.
- 4 More discussion of overseas visitors who come to learn from Djalu!.
- 5 Introduction to the Guḷkuḷa area and discussion of the maintenance of knowledge.
- 6 Description of family lines and totemically associated physical landmarks, again moving to importance of sharing knowledge.
- 7 The significance of knowledge, Yothu Yindi relationships, and ceremonial behaviour.
- 8 More discussion of Yolḷu kinship, naming of ancestors.
- 9 The local mining operations and sharing of knowledge and ceremony.
- 10 Djalu's trip to Germany to teach about the yidaki and his culture.
- 11 The Garma Festival - joining black and white together.
- 12 Different types of yidaki a bit of the story of the Gumatj yidaki called Dhambiḷpiḷ.
- 13 More discussion of Yothu Yindi and Yolḷu kinship.
- 14 Comments on some other clan groups and conclusion.

1 Yow, dhawum  
 nhäpawuy yidakiwuy  
 ŋunhal nhälän Ŋaypinya  
 Gurruwurrü ga ŋayi nhan  
 Winirriŋ ga ŋayi nhan  
 Yunawalthamana,  
 Dhararrarra ga Yirrkay<sup>1</sup>  
 banhaya ŋayi ringitj<sup>2</sup>  
 malanyna. Ŋayi ringitj  
 ŋalanuru banha...

Ga banhayam yidakim...  
 yidakim nhan banhaya  
 nhan dhupal märrma' -  
 Marrakulu ga Gälpu<sup>3</sup>.  
 Yidaki-waŋan dhupal  
 Marrakuluyu, ga nhanam  
 mä nhangü malikinan yaka  
 nhan wata-wulan.

Banhaya nhan  
 Djungirriŋy'ŋa ŋayim.  
 Djungirriŋy'ŋa. Ŋunha  
 Gurruwurrü'ŋa. Ga  
 Djungirriŋy'ŋa ga  
 Manhdharr<sup>4</sup>, ga  
 Ŋaypinyan. Manyamak?

Yes, this/focus  
 that/about yidaki/about  
 there there Ŋaypinya  
 Gurruwurrü and place it  
 Winirriŋ and place it  
 Yunawalthamana,  
 Dhararrarra and Yirrkay<sup>1</sup>  
 that place ringitj<sup>2</sup>  
 plural/focus. Place ringitj  
 from there that...

And that particular  
 yidaki/focus... yidaki/  
 focus it that it they<sup>2</sup>  
 two - Marrakulu and  
 Gälpu<sup>3</sup>. Yidaki-spoke  
 those two Marrakulu/  
 actor and it/focus didn't  
 work for them didn't  
 work well no it wind-  
 blew.

There it Djungirriŋy'!/at  
 place/focus.  
 Djungirriŋy'!/at. There  
 Gurruwurrü/at. and  
 Djungirriŋy'!/at and  
 Manhdharr<sup>4</sup>/at, and  
 Ŋaypinya/focus. Okay?

This story is about the  
 yidaki, at the place called  
 Ŋaypinya, Gurruwurrü,  
 Winirriŋ,  
 Yunawalthamana,  
 Dhararrarra, and Yirrkay<sup>1</sup>.  
 From those ringitj<sup>2</sup>  
 places.

And that yidaki... there  
 were two yidaki -  
 Marrakulu and Gälpu<sup>3</sup>.  
 Those two clans played  
 the yidaki, and when the  
 Marrakulu played, it  
 didn't work well and the  
 sound didn't carry.

That happened there at  
 Djungirriŋy'!. Djungirriŋy'!,  
 Gurruwurrü, Manhdharr<sup>4</sup>,  
 Ŋaypinya. Okay?

1 Names of freshwater Gälpu clan places.

2 The term ringitj refers to sacred places sharing "totemic" connections which are sung ceremonially to stress connections between groups. (Garŋgulkpuy 2004)

3 Two patrilineal clans of Northeast Arnhem Land, Gälpu being Djalü's clan.

4 Manhdharr is another Gälpu estate.

<p>Banhayam yidakim, banhayam Djungirriny<sup>15</sup> nyäku. Yidaki-wañanham bala nhan maḷikuyinan ḷupthuwanan dupthuwanam nhan ga dhurrwarāṅa Manhdharrṅa dhal'yuwan.</p>	<p>That particular yidaki/focus, that Djungirriny<sup>15</sup> my. Yidaki- talk then it went bad submerge throw down it and mouth/at Manhdharr/at landed.</p>	<p>That particular yidaki called Djungirriny<sup>15</sup> is mine. The Marrakulu yidaki sounded, but then went bad, and sank. The sound threw itself it into the water at the river mouth at Manhdharr.</p>
<p>"Nanapurrunguny dhuwal yätjthinan, yapa."<sup>6</sup> Bitjan nhan. "Nay wilak nhuman birr'kay'yuwa."</p>	<p>"Our (pl exc)/focus this no good, sister."<sup>6</sup> Like that it. "Here maybe you.pl try."</p>	<p>1. "This one of ours is bad, sister."<sup>6</sup> That's what they said. "Here, Gälpu, maybe you try."</p>
<p><u>Dit'thuṅ</u>-dhuwanam<sup>7</sup> nhanam miwukthuwanan<sup>8</sup> wata Bärra!<sup>9</sup> Bärra! Yalyal miwukthuwan bala ḷiyuwan Gurruwurru. Gälma<sup>10</sup> against nhan banha ḷiyuwanan Gälma. "Yäw, manymaktjinan," bandakwulanynha ḷiyuwanam Matjindji.<sup>11</sup> <u>ḷiyuwanam</u>. "Yow, gatjuynha<sup>12</sup>. Goulburn ga Njappinya."</p>	<p>Yidaki play<sup>7</sup> that/focus rising wind<sup>8</sup> Bärra!<sup>9</sup> Bärra!. Soft wind stirred, then hit Gurruwurru. Gälma<sup>10</sup> against it that hit Gälma. "Hey, that's good," bandakwulanynha hit Matjindji.<sup>11</sup> Hit/vibrating. "Yes, off you go/focus.<sup>12</sup> Goulburn and Njappinya."</p>	<p>The yidaki sounded<sup>7</sup>, then the wind Bärra!<sup>9</sup> stirred<sup>8</sup>. Bärra!. This soft wind stirred, then reached Gurruwurru. It reached Gälma<sup>10</sup>. "Hey, that's good." It hit the bandakwulanynha and Matjindji<sup>11</sup>. Hit and vibrated. "Okay, take it<sup>12</sup>. Goulburn and Njappinya."</p>

5 Djungirriny<sup>1</sup> is both a place name and the name of the related Gälpu yidaki.  
6 Spoken by the Marrakulu, sister clan to the Gälpu.  
7 Dit'thuṅdhun - to play yidaki in the "Dit'thuṅ" style of the Gälpu and other Dhuwa groups, or the action of the yidaki itself being played, as if the yidaki is acting on its own.  
8 Miwukthuwanan - stirring, rising or coming alive, referring to wind or water. Vintr.  
9 Bärra! - the west wind.  
10 Gälma - the home of Wititj, the olive python, an important totem for the Gälpu clan. Gälma is not a specific place name, but can refer to any home of any "Wititj," for instance the house of a Gälpu person or the womb of a Gälpu woman.  
11 Important Gälpu symbols and sacred objects. Bandak refers to an upright forked stick. A pair of Bandak are called Bandakwulanynha or Banakaka.. Matjindji is a sacred dilly bag. These objects are all together at/with the Gälma previously referred to, and all were hit and vibrated by the arriving wind.  
12 The Marrakulu are saying to the Gälpu that since they played the yidaki well and stirred the west wind, that the yidaki and the playing style they used were theirs to take, along with the related people of Goulburn Island where the sound reached.

Ga balam nhan  
rirrakaynha ṅaṅ'thuwan  
Gomumuk. Gomumuklin.  
Ga Mirarrmina. Ga  
Gurwana, Many'punurru,  
Yapayapa.<sup>13</sup>

Yow, banhayam part  
nyäkuway, ṅunha  
Djuṅgirriny!, Goulborn  
ṅoya yaka, dhunupa.<sup>14</sup>  
Njunhaya walṅa baḍak  
ṅunha. Baḍak ṅunhaya.  
Njarru nhunu bayiṅ bitja  
ṅunha nhunu bayiṅ ma  
wakin wekaṅ rrupiya  
yolṅuyu.<sup>15</sup>

Njunhaya nhan ṅoya yaka.  
Banhayam Gälpulwu  
yiḍaki ṅunhayam ṅurruru.  
Manymak. Bala di'thuṅ-  
dhuwanan yakan ṅaya.  
Njanapilingu ṅalaṅalṅmi,  
djinaṅ wala ṅanapu yaka  
di'thuṅdhun. Bala  
miwukthun yalyal.

Njunha di'thuṅdhun yaka,  
ṅupanṅarruṅ ṅunha aah  
ṅunha bayma. Mayṅupa,  
Gurrarpa, Djinbiḍitnha  
ṅunha bayma.

And then/focus it  
noise/focus went  
Gomumuk. Gomumuk/  
to/focus. And Mirarrmina.  
And Gurwana,  
Many'punurru, Yapayapa.<sup>13</sup>

Yes, that/focus part  
my/emph, this  
Djuṅgirriny!, Goulborn  
lying cont., straight.<sup>14</sup>  
There alive still it. Still  
there. But you if picture  
that you would bit big  
give money yolṅu/actor.<sup>15</sup>

There it lie cont. That  
particular Gälpu/for  
yiḍaki that one first.  
Okay. Then yiḍaki play  
cont./focus I. Our old  
people, nowadays we  
cont. play yiḍaki. Then  
rising wind soft wind.

When yiḍaki sound cont.,  
wandering there there  
there. Mayṅupa, Gurrarpa,  
Djinbiḍitnha there there.

And then the sound  
went to Gomumuk. And  
Mirarrmina. And  
Gurwana, Many'punurru  
and Yapayapa.<sup>13</sup>

Yes, that one yiḍaki is  
mine, the Djuṅgirriny!. It  
is lying there at  
Goulborn, straight.<sup>14</sup> It's  
still alive there. Still  
there. But if you take a  
picture there, you would  
have to give a lot of  
money.<sup>15</sup>

It is lying there. That  
first yiḍaki belonging to  
the Gälpu. Okay. And I  
am still playing yiḍaki  
that way. Nowadays we  
play yiḍaki the same like  
our ancestors. Then the  
soft wind rises.

When the yiḍaki sounds,  
it wanders around there.  
There at Mayṅupa,  
Gurrarpa, Djinbiḍitnha.

13 Places further west, near Ramangiṅ, where Wititj is called Birritjama by the Liya-galawumi.

14 The instrument itself is straight, not curved. Djalu' has said that the Gälpu Djuṅgirriny! is merely a relection of the actual most sacred instrument that lies at Goulburn. (Djalu' Teaches vol. 2 CD)

15 Guests taking photographs at the sacred location would owe monetary payment, just as Yolṅu would owe payment as part of Yolṅu ritual exchange systems.

<p>Ŋawaṭ'ŋawaṭ<sup>16</sup> ŋunha bayma. B̄arra!. Dhanum Ŋaypinya, Gayarrara, Wiŋirri, Yunawalthamana, Mätjitjpa, Gulukurru, Yirrkawuy. Sacred ŋunhayam ŋayi. Yuwalk!</p>	<p>Ŋawaṭ'ŋawaṭ<sup>16</sup> there there. B̄arra!. Here/ focus Ŋaypinya, Gayarrara, Wiŋirri, Yunawalthamana, Mätjitjpa, Gulukurru, Yirrkawuy. Sacred there/focus place. True!</p>	<p>And there at Ŋawaṭ'ŋawaṭ.<sup>16</sup> B̄arra!. Here at Ŋaypinya, Gayarrara, Wiŋirri, Yunawalthamana, Mätjitjpa, Gulukurru, Yirrkawuy. Those are sacred places. It's true!</p>
<p>Baḍak ŋunha. Yaka ŋarru nhan entering. Ŋarru Mandawuy ga Galarrwuy<sup>17</sup> dhupal yaka ŋayathan. Djuŋgaya.<sup>18</sup></p>	<p>Still there. No future he/she entering. But Mandawuy and Galarrwuy<sup>17</sup>/actor they<sup>2</sup> cont. hold. Djuŋgaya.<sup>18</sup></p>	<p>It's still there. No one will enter. But Mandawuy and Galarrwuy<sup>17</sup> are holding it, as Djuŋgaya.<sup>18</sup></p>
<p>Yow, ŋayam ga Gurritjiri<sup>19</sup> ŋupandawu<sup>20</sup> ŋunhukuya ŋayi malanyha banha ŋupan. Yaka yuṭa, ŋurru-ŋaŋgal bewaḷi. Banhayam nhan<sup>21</sup> wekanhan bitjanan, "ŋay' Gurritjiri dhanum nhuŋgulim bilmam,<sup>22</sup> ŋay' Djalul' yidaki dhanum nhuŋguli.<sup>23</sup> Yaka nhuma ŋarru baḍatjunma."</p>	<p>Yes, I/focus and Gurritjiri<sup>19</sup> chase<sup>20</sup> that place/for/emph group/obj will chase. No new beginning ever since. That/focus he<sup>21</sup> gave like this, "here Gurritiri this/focus your/emph/ focus clapsticks/ focus,<sup>22</sup> here Djalul' yidaki this/focus your/emph.<sup>23</sup> No you/pl will fail."</p>	<p>Yes, Gurritjiri<sup>19</sup> and I sing<sup>20</sup> those lands. This is not new, but ever since the beginning of time. Then he<sup>21</sup> gave it like this, "here, Gurritjiri, the clapsticks are for you,<sup>22</sup> and here, Djalul', the yidaki is for you.<sup>23</sup> You must not fail."</p>
<p>Ga belaŋ nhuma ŋarru maka-ŋupan,<sup>24</sup> yolŋu banha</p>	<p>And whoever you/pl. will come here to learn,<sup>24</sup> people that</p>	<p>And to whoever of you who come here to my land to learn,<sup>24</sup></p>

16 Places to the west near Goulburn, which share a connection through the west wind.

17 Yunupingu Gumatj brothers, sons of Mungurrawuy, and the well known lead singer of Yothu Yindi and the chair of the Northern Land Council, respectively.

18 A Djuŋgaya is the custodian of another clan's (his mother's) sacred business.

19 Gurritjiri Gurruwiji is Djalul's full brother.

20 Ŋupandawu, normally "chase," can be used in "old style language" to mean "singing the land."

21 Djalul' and Gurritjiri's father Monyu.

22 To hold and preserve. Holding the biḷma, or clapsticks, means holding the clan songs, in order to lead ceremony with singing and biḷma.

23 To hold and preserve.

24 Maka-ŋupan - thigh-chase. Come to this land to learn from it and its people.

ɲaya yaka bitjan gam'  
“gululu go banham maka-  
ɲupanda.”

**2** “Go, ɲaykaɲan.  
Nhäwu nhuma ɖukɖuk?  
Dhambal nyiniya gululu.  
Ma! nhäwu nhuma  
ɖukɖukma?” Nhumam  
bitjana yaka, “watharr  
bewali, ɲäpaki ɲay' ɲay'  
ɲay' nhumalingum ɲay'  
nyelingum ɲay' ɲunhukum  
warrawu. Dhaɲu bayma  
Australia ga be bala raypa  
buɖapthun overseas. ɲay'  
nhumalingum yidaki  
munhdhurr bitjan  
munhdhurr dhuka-boyan<sup>25</sup>,  
waripuwu.”

ɲanapu ɲarru rakunyin.  
ɲayam. Dhanalim ɲarru  
bitjan, "Djalu'wuɲ dhaɲu  
dhuka ɲoya yaka.

ɲay' nhumalingum  
yuɖamayam. ɲay'  
nyelingu. ɲay' nhungum.”  
Ga bilanɲ yutjuwalam  
wekaɲ ga ga bilanɲ nhäwu  
nyäku ɲathawu wu  
duraku.

I cont. like this like this  
“welcome, come,  
that/focus come here.”

“Come, come. For what  
you/pl want. To here sit  
welcome. Okay, for what  
you/pl want/focus.  
You/pl/focus like this  
cont., “white from there,  
non-Aboriginal here here  
here for you/pl/focus  
here you/pl/different  
further away group here,  
for that one plural/for.  
This here Australia and  
from there other side  
cross over overseas. Here  
for all of you/focus yi  
ɖaki gift like this gift  
path-collect<sup>25</sup>  
another/for.”

We/pl.exc. will die.  
I/focus. They/focus will  
like this "Djalu/from this  
path lie cont.

Here you.pl/for make  
new/focus. Here for  
you.pl.. Here for  
you.sing./focus.” And  
sometime little bit/focus  
give and and sometime  
for what for me food/for  
or truck/for.

I say, "welcome, come to  
our land."

“Come, come! What do  
you want? Welcome, sit  
here. Okay, what do you  
want?” You are saying  
this, “non-Aboriginals  
from different places,  
here, here, here, this is  
for all of you, and this is  
for you, and this is for  
them. Here in Australia  
and from there across  
overseas. Here, yidaki is  
a gift for you, like a gift  
making the way<sup>25</sup> for  
another.”

We will die. I will. They  
will say, "Djalu' has made  
the way.

Here, renewed for all of  
you. Here, for you. Here,  
for you.” And sometimes  
give a little money, or  
sometimes something for  
me - food or for my  
truck.

<sup>25</sup> Dhuka-boyan, literally “path-collect,” means “making the way.” Djalu' suggests that he's making the way for others to come into his culture.

Manymak. Bili warrpam  
ṅäpakiwura gali'ṅa  
munhdhurrmi. Ga Yolṅu  
gali'ṅa munhdhurr. Yapay,  
bilanya nhan yulṅum.

Ga banhayam latjun  
banha ṅaya yaka bitjan,  
"Gululu go go  
ṅaykaṅwarra ṅalaṅuramu?"  
Bewali, bewala buḍap.  
Bärrkuṅuru, ga gobay  
ṅaykaṅan dhambal  
nyiniyan. Yow, ga go  
nyelim ṅaykaṅ.

Gulṅkha nyäkurum  
Dhaṅumi.<sup>26</sup> Warrpam goṅ  
munhdhurrmin buku-  
liw'lyuman. Dhaṅum  
ṅäpakim warra bayatj  
waripum dhäruk. Njaru  
waṅgany ṅalma dhaṅu  
yulṅum. Waṅgany. Bili  
bayiku ṅalma djäl

Okay. Because all non-  
Aboriginals we2.incl.  
side/at gift/having. And  
Yolṅu side/at gift. Okay,  
like that it like that.

And that/focus  
good/focus that I cont.  
like this, "Welcome come  
come come from where?"  
From there, from there  
across. Far/from, and  
come on come here sit.  
Yes, and come you.pl  
come.

Cut off me/from/focus  
Dhaṅu speakers.<sup>26</sup> All  
hand gift/having/focus all  
around. This/focus non-  
Aboriginal/focus plural  
doesn't matter  
other/focus speech. But  
one we.pl.incl. this okay.  
One. Because for that  
one we.pl.incl. want

Okay. Because everyone  
on the non-Aboriginal  
side has gifts. And on  
the Yolṅu side - gifts.  
Okay, it's like that.

And that's good, I say,  
"Welcome, come come,  
from where?" From  
there, there across the  
sea. From far away, come  
on and sit here. Yes, all  
of you come.

Separate from me, Dhaṅu  
speakers.<sup>26</sup> All of the  
people from everywhere  
have gifts. It doesn't  
matter that these non-  
Aboriginals have different  
languages. We are all  
one, right? One. Because  
we all want

26 Djalu' is suggesting that others of his group split off from him to look after other visitors.

27 Dhäruk-bakthuman, literally word-break, is used to mean "come to agreement."

28 Mala-yarr'lyun, literally group-split, or separate people where they belong, in clan groups.

nhäpawu ŋalma ŋarru  
 ļuŋ'dhun mala-manapan.  
 Bala dhäruk-bakthuman<sup>27</sup>  
 bilinyawun banha ya?  
 Yolma nhunum? Nyäkum  
 dhaŋu, ŋaļapaļ. Yow,  
 ŋalma ŋarru rakaram  
 djarr'lyun mala-yarr'lyun.<sup>28</sup>  
 Yaka ŋarru mengum.

Ŋalambal nhuma duktuk?  
 Dhuka ŋanapu ŋarru  
 birra'lyun mururrmal.  
 Dhaŋu ŋanapilŋgu  
 Yolŋuwu dhuka  
 baman'ŋuwuy. Ga nhuma  
 ŋarru ŋanapilŋgu dhaŋun  
 ŋanapilŋgum.

Ŋäpakiwum warrawu  
 dhuka mururrmal ga  
 ŋunhalayan mala  
 banhayam. Yaka dhanal  
 biṭiwit'miyim wo  
 ŋurrunharamin wo yol  
 rakaram yana ŋarru "go  
 go ŋaykaŋ warra," bitjan  
 banha ŋaya ŋurruŋu.  
 Bitjan, "gululu go bäy  
 dhaŋum minhdhalam<sup>29</sup>  
 ŋarru bilayanhawun  
 malawu."

for what we.pl.incl. will  
 come together group-  
 together. And word-  
 break<sup>27</sup> like that this for  
 that? Who/focus  
 you/focus. My/focus this,  
 old people. Yes,  
 we.pl.excl will tell choose  
 group-splitting up.<sup>28</sup> No  
 will forget.

Where to you.pl. want.  
 Path we.pl.excl. will think  
 straight and clear. This  
 for us.pl.excl. Yolŋu/for  
 path long ago/infix/from.  
 And you.pl will for  
 us.pl.excl this for  
 us.pl.excl/focus.

Non-Aboriginal/  
 for/focus plural/for path  
 straight/clear and  
 there/focus group that.  
 No they.pl confuse  
 (reflexive) or fight (refl)  
 or who tell until will  
 "come come come  
 plural," like this I first.  
 Like this "welcome come  
 okay this/focus spreading  
 sheet<sup>29</sup> will for them  
 group/for."

for us all to come  
 together. And come to  
 agreement.<sup>27</sup> Who are  
 you? This is my ancestor.  
 Yes, we will tell how to  
 split up groups.<sup>28</sup> We  
 won't forget.

Where do you want to  
 go? We are thinking  
 straight and clear. This is  
 our Yolŋu way from long  
 ago. And you will  
 recognize that this is  
 ours.

Non-Aboriginals have  
 similar paths. It is not for  
 them to confuse or fight  
 with each other, or to  
 welcome some people  
 and send away others, or  
 say who they are, just,  
 "come, come, come all,"  
 like I said in the first  
 place. Like this,  
 "Welcome, come, okay?  
 Here's the place prepared  
 for you to sit."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Minhdhalam means to spread a sheet to sit on, and by extension to welcome people by preparing a place for them.



Waripiṅuru, waripiṅuru,  
waripiṅuru ga dhambalan.  
Ga bilanya bitjan ṅanapu  
yaka wekaman. “Ṇay'  
nhuṅgum, ṅay nhuṅgum,  
ṅay' nhuṅgum, ṅay'  
nhuṅgum, ṅay' nhuṅgum.  
Yow, ṅalma ṅarru gana'  
ṅaya'ṅayadhan. Yow nhä  
malany? Yana bayiṅ  
ṅayaṅuwum, ya' yaka goṅ  
ami ya' nyena.”

"Yol rakaram, gatjuy  
nhunum ṅaṅ'thuwa  
watharr."

Yaka, “go bay ṅarriya  
dhambalan nhinaya nhäwu  
nhunu dukṭukma.”

Ga dhaṅuya, bitjuwiḷak  
manymaknha banhayam  
dhuka. Ṇunhawaḷi ṅaya  
ṅarru rakaram Djapanṅuru  
bewaḷi bala Americaṅuru  
bewaḷi bala Englandṅuru,  
Italy, Germany “go bäy  
dhaṅu. Dhunuku.” Ga  
dhawuru bala Sydneyṅuru,  
Melbourne, Darwin “go  
bäy, gululu, go, go.  
Nhäwu dukṭuk? Yapay ga  
dut'kay.”

Other/from, other/from,  
other/from and here.  
And like this like this  
we.pl.excl cont. give.  
“Here for you/focus, here  
for you/focus, here for  
you/focus, here for  
you/focus, here for  
you/focus. Yow,  
we.pl.incl. will enough  
holding. Yes whatever.  
Just for that  
desire/focus, okay, no  
shy okay, sit.”

“Who you are, go away  
you/focus run away  
white.”

No, “come come here  
here sit for what you.sing  
want/focus.”

And that, something like  
that good/focus. that  
path. From here will tell  
Japan/from from there  
then America/from from  
there then England/from,  
Italy, Germany “come  
okay here. Here.” And  
from this area  
Sydney/from, Melbourne,  
Darwin, “come okay,  
welcome, come, come.  
For what want? Okay  
and sit down.”

From all the different  
places to here. And like  
this, we are giving. “Here  
for you, here for you,  
here for you, here for  
you, here for you. Yes,  
we have enough to hold  
on to. Yes, whatever?  
For teaching, for your  
desires. Okay, don't be  
shy, okay? Sit.”

(Some would say) "Who  
are you, go away you  
non-Aboriginals."

No, “come, okay, sit  
here, for whatever you  
want.”

And that, something like  
that is the good path.  
From that, I will talk  
about people from  
people from Japan, from  
America, from England,  
Italy Germany, “come  
here. I'm here.” And  
from here in Australia,  
Sydney, Melbourne,  
Darwin, “come here,  
welcome, come come.  
What do you want?  
Okay, so sit down.”

Ga weka'wekaman gana'  
yow, waripu malanyinha.

**3** Bitjan n̄arra n̄aya  
n̄arru ganana  
nyäkuwaynha n̄arru  
dhambalan Yirritjali<sup>30</sup>  
wapthun. Ga n̄ayam  
djun̄gaya. N̄arru gul̄ku  
n̄anapu djun̄gayam. N̄aya  
n̄arru rakaram bitjan  
gam'.

Dhupaliny djun̄gaya  
Mandawuy ga Babadji<sup>31</sup>  
n̄unhuku bala, nyäkuru  
n̄ayiwu. Ga n̄ayam  
djun̄gaya wo Witiyana,<sup>32</sup>  
waripu warra ga djinaku.<sup>33</sup>  
Gam' n̄arra, n̄arra.  
Garmam n̄arra.

**4** Bilinya ḷiṅgu, “go, go,  
dhurr'thurr n̄alma  
dhambal, n̄alma  
n̄anharami. Nhan  
n̄humaliṅgu biṭiwit̄ n̄unha  
gali'ṅa ga n̄unha  
n̄anapiliṅgu. Mä n̄alma  
n̄arru rulwa'rulwan̄thuna.

And give enough yes,  
other group/focus.

Like this sacred business I  
will leave my/emph/ obj  
but this one Yirritja<sup>30</sup>/to  
jump. And I/focus  
djun̄gaya. But many  
we.pl.excl.  
djun̄gaya/focus. I will tell  
like this.

They2/obj. djun̄gaya  
Mandawuy and Babadji<sup>31</sup>  
for this to, my/emp.  
place/for. And I/focus  
djun̄gaya or Witiyana,<sup>32</sup>  
other plural and for  
this.<sup>33</sup> Like this sacred  
business. Garma/focus  
ceremony.

Like this the same,  
“come, come gather  
we.pl.incl. dhambal,  
we.pl.incl. listen/reflexive.  
It for you.pl. ideas this  
side/at and this for  
us.pl.excl. So that  
we.pl.incl. will put down.

Then we give until they  
have enough, then  
another group comes.

Now I will leave my own  
sacred business, and  
move on to the Yirritja<sup>30</sup>  
side. Because I am  
djun̄gaya. But there are  
many of us djun̄gaya. I  
will tell it like this.

Those two, Mandawuy  
and Babadji<sup>31</sup> are  
djun̄gaya for my home.  
And myself, Witiyana<sup>32</sup>  
and others are djun̄gaya  
for this.<sup>33</sup> Like sacred  
business. Garma business.

It's like this, just the  
same, “come, come, let's  
gather together here,  
and listen to each other.  
All ideas from your side,  
and those from ours. So  
that we can lay it all out.

30 Yirritja and Dhuwa are the two patrilineal moieties, or complimentary halves of Yolṅu culture. All people and things belong to one or the other moiety, and marry to the other. In crossing over to discuss Yirritja issues, Djalul, a Dhuwa man, is acting as djun̄gaya, speaking about his mother's clan's business.

31 Another name for Galarrwuy Yunupijū.

32 Witiyana Marika, Rirratjiṅu clan, original dancer and singer with the band Yothu Yindi.

33 Referring to his location at the time, his mother's Gumatj land and business at Gul̄kuḷa.

Dhaṅum nyäku, dhaṅum nyäku, dhaṅum nyäku. Njala nhumalingum?"	This/focus my, this/focus mine. Where yours.pl."	This is mine, this is mine, this is mine. Where's yours?"
"Dhaṅum ṅanapilingu, ṅäpakiwu warrawu."	"Here/focus ours/pl.excl., non-Aboriginals/for plural."	"This is ours, non-Aboriginals!."
Yow. Ga bitjuwilak nhäpa rom <sup>34</sup> , manikay yaka dhawaṭṭhun ṅalaṅuru... inside... ṅunha buwayak. Banham banha wuṅuḷi bilinya ya dhaṅu. Wuṅuḷi. Yaka dhaṅu yuwalkma, ṅunha bala hiding djinawa ṅutuḷḷa.	Yes. And like that that rom <sup>34</sup> . Song and come out from there... inside... this invisible. That/focus that image like this okay this. Image. No this true/focus, this to hiding inside secret-sacred business in entirety/at.	Yes. Just like that rom <sup>34</sup> , where the music comes out... from inside... that's invisible. Just like a reflection. Reflection. It's not the whole truth, that's hidden deep inside sacred business.
Banha ṅanapu bayiṅ miyamanma, banham dhuka rakaram Yolṅu warrawu dhaṅu ṅarru gulṅiya go bäy gulṅiyan.	When we.pl.excl when sing, that path tell Yolṅu plural/for this will enter come okay enter.	When we sing, this is telling the way for Yolṅu people to enter, come, come in.
Bilinya gamḷ, bitjan ṅali ṅarru bitjaḷ gulṅiya bala nhäman yaka. Dhaṅu ṅali yaka nhäma. Yaka ṅali yaka nhäpam. Nṅaya ṅarru rakaram bitjan gam. Nṅaya wilak nhäma nhäyiny wilak.	Like this, like this we2.incl will picture enter to see/focus cont. This we2.incl. cont. see. No we2.incl. there and umm/focus. I will tell like this like this. I maybe see what it's like maybe.	Just like when we go in to see a picture. We are seeing it. We are not... I will tell like this. Maybe I will see what it's like.
Bala bukun buṅaki bala balayan yaka ṅarruṅa. Räliny.	Then head/focus hit then go cont go. To here/ focus	Then you keep coming back here for it. To here.

<sup>34</sup> Rom - an all-encompassing word, referring to all cultural practices and law, but in this case referring to secret-sacred inside ceremony.

Ga baya nhuma ḡarru bitjan waḡa "nhäääää bayaḡu ḡaya marḡiyinam, nhä ḡunha," bala ḡitjuna. Ga baḡak ḡali ḡarru nhäpa yaka. Muḡkurr-ḡarruḡa<sup>35</sup> muḡkurr. Thinking "nhämu banha dhanal yakan ḡunhal nhäpa rakaran. Nhä banha."

Yaka banham nhunu yaka gulḡiyam, bilinya ḡärra gam<sup>1</sup> ḡärra ḡarru rakaram, courtli ḡanapu ḡarru law courtliya. Gulḡiya bala yothugunharamin. Bala nyenan. Ga bilinya bitjan nhäpa ḡarru rakaram example banhayam yana nhan nhäpa. Marrparaḡunhami bilinya gam<sup>1</sup> lawyer nhä ḡarru buthuruli waḡa ḡaḡga. Bala ḡarru wäḡam nhanam ḡarru bitjana dar<sup>1</sup> ḡalim ḡarru mukthuna. Bilinya nhan dhaḡum.

Ga ḡuḡan nhuḡu ḡarru nhan dhä-mukthuman girrikirri<sup>36</sup> yäku djinalam.

And when you.pl. will like this speak "what nothing I learned/focus, what this" then return. And still we2.incl will something cont. Mind-go<sup>35</sup> mind. Thinking "what it was that they.pl. were/focus there something tell. What this."

When this/focus you cont. enter/focus, like this secret ceremony like this ḡärra cont. tell, court/to we.pl.excl. will law court/to/emph. enter then become like children. Then sit. And like this like this umm will tell example this/emph. only it umm. Become peaceful like that like that lawyer what will ear/to talk softly. Then will talk whoever cont. like this dar<sup>1</sup> we2.incl./focus cont. quiet. Like this it this/focus.

And give for you will him mouth-quiet girrikirri<sup>36</sup> name here.

And when you say, "I have learned nothing, what did I miss?" and then come back here. But still we are there in our minds.<sup>35</sup> Thinking, "what was is they were telling? What is that?"

When you are inside, that secret ceremony is like you're in court. When we enter, we humble ourselves, like children. And sit. For example, you will become peaceul. Just like a lawyer, speaking softly into your ear. When someone says something powerful and to the point, we will be quiet. It's like this.

And he will silence you with something from this area called girrikirri<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Muḡkurr-ḡarruḡa, mind-go, is to travel in your head, to think of other places.

<sup>36</sup> The inside layer of the bark of Gaḡayka, the stringybark tree. It has a bitter taste and numbs the lips, and is used as punishment for those who say wrong things - like "washing your mouth out with soap."

Nhunum n̄arru mukthuna  
moḡan!<sup>37</sup> Mukthun. Ga  
manymaknha nhunu. Yaka  
wurraḡatjarra dhan̄um  
n̄arra. N̄arru n̄arra dhan̄u  
ga n̄unha barkthu nhan  
yalala n̄arru dhawaṭṭhun  
banhaya bili nhuma  
nhāma'nhāma.

Miny!tji-yarpunhara  
bilinya. N̄unhan  
djaḷumbu<sup>38</sup> dhanaliḡu  
rakaram bayiḡ n̄unhaya  
nhāpa malanyha  
biṭi'yundam<sup>39</sup> ga nyāku  
n̄unha waḡgany  
biṭi'yundam. Ga nhā  
mayali dhan̄uyam? Bilinya  
bitjan n̄apakimurru nhuma  
marḡgi. Banhayam nhan  
ga waripu nhan n̄arra ga  
n̄unha bala ga yaka n̄arru  
n̄arra miyalk gulḡiya.  
Ḋirramu yana.

**5** Waḡgany n̄aya  
yiḡakiwuy rakaram miyalk  
warra bu!yun n̄unhal  
yalala n̄arru rakaram.  
Yalala after dhawuru.  
Germany n̄aya rakaram.

Bili n̄arru dhan̄u nhālaḡ  
Guḷkuḷa.

You/focus will quiet  
moḡan!<sup>37</sup> Quiet. And  
good/focus you. No  
undisciplined this/focus  
n̄arra. Will n̄arra this and  
when come out it later  
will come out that  
because you.pl. see.pl.

Designs-painted like that.  
This/focus hollow log<sup>38</sup>  
for them.pl. tell with that  
that whatever group/obj.  
carry<sup>39</sup> and my this one  
carry. And what meaning  
that/focus. Like this like  
this non-Aboriginals/side  
you.pl. know. That/focus  
it and other it n̄arra and  
this then and no will  
n̄arra woman enter. Men  
only.

One I yiḡaki/about tell  
woman plural play this  
later will tell. Later after  
from this. Germany I tell.

Because will this  
whaddyacallit Guḷkuḷa.

You will be quiet, like  
moḡan!<sup>37</sup> Be quiet, and  
you are okay. This sacred  
ceremony is not  
undisciplined. And when  
this ceremony comes out,  
you will know that you  
have seen it.

Painted designs are like  
that. When you see their  
hollow log coffin<sup>38</sup>  
painted with their  
designs, it will tell what  
group it belongs to. I  
have one with designs as  
well. And what does that  
mean? Just like you  
know things from the  
non-Aboriginal culture.  
Women don't enter the  
sacred ceremony. Only  
men.

First I will tell you one  
story about yiḡaki, then I  
will tell later about  
women playing. Later,  
after this. I will tell  
about Germany.

Because it is here, at  
Guḷkuḷa.

37 Moḡan! refers to boys coming out of dhapi, or circumcision ceremony. They are silent and respectful, and usually accompanied by their male dhuway, or cousins.

38 The hollow log coffin, a large segment of a hollow tree painted with sacred designs, used for holding the bones of the deceased in later phases of mortuary ritual.

39 Biṭi'yun - carry, but in this context, carrying and holding culture, not a physical object.

Guḷkuḷa area ga ṅunha mining company Barrinybarriny. Barrinybarriny mean ṅunha, nhan ṅarru watayu yaka bitjan ya nhä moving ya ga ṅunha stop nhan gul'yuwan nhan. Ga watayu liyun Barrinybarriny. Nhan ṅarru bitjana yaka, nhäpa ṅunha nature ṅalmaliṅgu ya ṅarruṅa yaka live banhaya banhalaṅaya. Bukmak ṅaliṅgu.

Bili waripu warra nhäpa dhumbal'yun ṅunha Yolṅu warra ga dhumbal'yun waripu warra, yaka ṅarruṅa räli. Njunhalaya buḷ'yun yaka. Nhuma ṅarru dhuditiṅha ṅanapu waripum warra rakunydjini, ṅarru live banhayam. Gululu, go, go. Yalalam ṅarru yakan bilinya happening. Bitja ṅunha bala galkulam yaka.

Bala ṅarru rangaman, "ṅalan banha Yolṅu warra?"

Guḷkuḷa area and this mining company Barrinybarriny. Barrinybarriny mean this, it will wind/actor cont. like this okay what moving okay and this stop it stop it. And wind/ actor hit Barrinybarriny. It cont. like this cont. whatever this nature for us.pl.incl. okay go cont. and live there life-containing. All for us2.

Because other plural whoever not know that Yolṅu plural and not know other plural, no go here. There play cont. You.pl. will realize later/obj. we.pl.excl. other/focus plural die, will live that/focus. Welcome, come come. Later/focus will no/focus like this happening. Like this this then wait cont.

Then will look around "where/focus that Yolṅu plural.

Guḷkuḷa and the mining area is called Barrinybarriny. Barrinybarriny means the wind is shaking the trees, then they stop. And the wind hits Barrinybarriny. It's like our nature on our land is moving and alive there. It's all for us.

Because others who don't know, and Yolṅu who don't know, do not come here. There they are playing around. You will realize later when we are dead, that it is alive now. Welcome, come come. It won't be happening the same later. Like those who are waiting - future generations.

Then they will look around, "where are the Yolṅu?"

Dhuka dhanal boyan  
 ṅaḷapaḷmi. Way, bayanṅun  
 dhaṅum balanhandan.” Ga  
 ṅäpakiwum, ṅäpakiwu  
 banha dhanal yidakiwu  
 mayam banha welcome  
 banha guṅan, yana bitjan  
 gam!. Yow, minhdhalaram  
 ga gululu'yuna. Ga dhaṅu  
 Babadjiyu, Mandawuyyu  
 go welcome  
 minhdhalaram.

Ga dhäruk ṅarru  
 ṅunhambal yaka  
 rulwaṅdhun, dhäruk. Bala  
 balan bitjan ṅarruṅa,  
 ṅaḷapaḷ ṅalmaliṅgu ṅunha  
 Canberra wo Darwin wo  
 ṅula bala. Bala ṅarru  
 nhäman yäw. Bili ṅätjil  
 yakan baḡatjuwan<sup>40</sup>  
 ṅaḷapaḷmiwura.

**6** Yow dhaṅum Gumatj  
 ga Gälpu ga ṅunha bala  
 nhäpa ṅunha... märi<sup>41</sup>  
 nyäku ṅunha - Yirrkala.  
 ṅarru Yirrkala ṅunha märi

Path they make old  
 people. Hey nothing/  
 focus this/focus tread  
 on.” And non-  
 Aboriginals/for/focus,  
 non-Aboriginals/for that  
 they.pl.excl. yidaki/for  
 get that welcome this  
 gave, only like this like  
 this. Yes, prepare seating  
 area and welcome  
 (Vintr). And this  
 Babadji/actor,  
 Mandawuy/actor come  
 welcome spreading sheet.

And speech will to here  
 no put down speech.  
 Then to like this go, old  
 people our.pl.incl. there  
 Canberra or Darwin or  
 anywhere. Then cont.  
 see/focus yes. Because  
 before cont. miss<sup>40</sup> old  
 people/at.

Yes this/focus Gumatj  
 and Gälpu and this then  
 whatever this.... märi<sup>41</sup> my  
 there - Yirrkala. So  
 Yirrkala this märi

The old people who  
 made the way. Hey,  
 there's no foundation to  
 walk on.” And non-  
 Aboriginals are given  
 welcome for the  
 yidaki, like this. The area  
 to sit is prepared and  
 they are welcome. And  
 Babadji and Mandawuy  
 welcome them.

Words and stories will be  
 maintained. Then our old  
 people will go to  
 Canberra or Darwin or  
 anywhere. And will be  
 seen, good. Because  
 before old people were  
 missed.<sup>40</sup>

Yes, the Gumatj and  
 Gälpu and over there,  
 my märi<sup>41</sup>, the Rirratjingu  
 at Yirrkala. So Yirrkala is  
 my märi,

40 In past generations, the words of the elders were not recorded in western ways, but now thanks to Djalul and others who are passing on stories, the old people's words are being recorded and passed on to other places, such as Canberra and Darwin.

41 The important mother's mother's clan, within which Yolṅu have key responsibilities and privileges.

nyäku ga Yirrkala ŋunha  
Rirratjɪnuwu. Mother's  
line nhäpaŋa. Dhaŋu  
nhäpaŋa gam' nãŋdiwura  
ga dhaŋum bāpawura.

Ga dhaŋum Babadjium  
bāpa'miŋum warra three  
ŋunhawaļi Balay'palay.<sup>42</sup>  
Rrirrawu bāpa'miŋu yaka  
djinakuwuy. Ga  
māri'miŋum dhanaliŋu  
Yunupiŋum. Ga Njalarran<sup>43</sup>  
dhaŋun. Djinalaya. Ga  
waripu nyäku ŋatji'miŋu,  
ga wālaŋ. Gäyura,<sup>44</sup>  
Njalarra nhaŋgu ŋan  
di'miŋu dhaŋu Yirrkala.

Ga dhanalim  
Dhapuyŋuŋuru.<sup>45</sup> Njaru  
dhanal mayanam dhaŋu  
ŋayi dhaŋu... dhaŋu ŋunha  
bala yarrupthun,  
Makumaŋ<sup>46</sup> ŋunha bala  
yarrupthun. Gapu ŋunha  
ŋoy, ga diltji.

Ga Yirrkala ŋunha nyäku  
bāpa'miŋu malthuwan

my and Yirrkala this  
Rirratjɪnu/for. Mother's  
line um/at. This um/at  
like this mother/from  
and this father/from.

And this/focus  
Babadji/for/focus  
father/kin/focus plural  
three from this  
Balay'palay.<sup>42</sup>  
Dhudi-Djapu Tribe  
father/kin no from here.  
And māri/kin/focus for  
them.pl Yunupiŋu/focus.  
And Njalarra<sup>43</sup> this/focus.  
There. And also my  
ŋatji/kin, and others.  
Gäyura,<sup>44</sup> Njalarra his  
mother/kin this Yirrkala.

And from that  
Dhapuyŋu<sup>45</sup>/from. Will  
they.pl. here this place  
this... this this then go  
down, Makuma<sup>46</sup>/at this  
then go down. Water  
there beneath, and bush.

And Yirrkala there my  
father/kin went with

and Yirrkala belongs to  
the Rirratjɪnu. Mother's  
line. There's the mother's  
line and the father's line.

And Babadji has three  
fathers from  
Balay'palay<sup>42</sup>. Father's  
clan, the Dhudi-Djapu, is  
not from here (the  
mothers of those 3  
fathers). And their māri  
was Yunupiŋu, and  
Njalarra - child of a  
Rirratjɪnu mother.<sup>43</sup> From  
there. My other  
grandfather, what's-his-  
name. Gäyura<sup>44</sup>, his  
mother was Rirratjɪnu,  
from Yirrkala.

And they are from the  
Dhapuyŋu<sup>45</sup>. And their  
land goes from here  
down to Makuma<sup>46</sup>, and  
the nearby land. Beneath  
the water and in the  
bush.

And at Yirrkala, where  
that rock is standing,

42 Dhudi-Djapu clan land.

43 Njalarra is Rirratjɪnu land - a cliff near Rainbow Cliff. Mentioning the connection to his Rirratjɪnu mother in this way illustrates strength - like the wall that nothing can pass.

44 Gäyura was Wangurri.

45 Dhapuyŋu was a separate clan sharing sacred connections with the Dhudi-Djapu, but now has been incorporated into the latter clan.

46 The waters off of Cape Arnhem.



nhäpa yaka dhaya. Bändä  
Dhanitjpuma Murruwirri  
Lathuwana,<sup>47</sup> ŋunha ŋoyŋa  
gapuŋa.

Ga liyun nhanany yaka  
Mändula nhanany yäkum  
Mandul'mandul, Warrana  
nhan yaka dhäya. Njunhal  
bala yarrkyarrkthun. Ga  
milmaraman nhanany yaka  
ga Larrpandhu,  
yarrupthunma.<sup>48</sup> Larrpan,  
Garambaka...<sup>49</sup> banha  
yaka mill'maram. Maŋutji  
nhanŋu guŋku nhäma nhan  
yaka. Larr'yuman nhan  
yaka nhäma djinawa.

Yow. Ga bitjan nhana  
Yolŋuyu nhäma. Bili  
Yirrkala ŋaraka ŋalapaŋmi  
ŋaykanan. Dhanu Guŋkuŋa  
ŋaraka ŋalapaŋmi  
ŋaykanan. Njunham,  
dhuwan ma lurrkun'nha.  
Djäŋa,<sup>50</sup> Mandawuy ga  
Babadji. Ga malan  
ŋanapum nhäpa.  
Waku'miŋu<sup>51</sup> dhanalingu  
djunŋaya. Ga  
dhanalŋanapilingu  
waku'miŋu.

whatever cont. stand.  
Rock Dhanitjpuma  
Murruwirri Lathuwana,<sup>47</sup>  
there beneath/at  
water/at.

And hit it cont. Mändula  
it name/focus  
Mandul'mandul, Warrana  
it cont. stand. That way  
way out there. And  
pointing it cont. and  
Larrpan/actor, pointing  
down.<sup>48</sup> Larrpan,  
Garambaka...<sup>49</sup> that is  
pointing. Eye his many  
see it cont. Open up it  
see inside.

Yes. And like this it  
Yolŋu/ actor see. Because  
Yirrkala bone old people  
moved on. Here Guŋkuŋa  
bone old people moved  
on. This/focus now there  
is few/obj. Djäŋa,<sup>50</sup>  
Mandawuy and Babadji.  
And groups/focus  
we.pl.excl./focus what.  
Waku<sup>51</sup>/kin for them.pl.  
djunŋaya. And they.pl.  
our.pl.excl. waku/kin.

is where my father's  
spirit came from. Bändä  
Dhanitjpuma Murruwirri  
Lathuwana<sup>47</sup>, there in the  
water.

The water called  
Mändula, Mandul'mandul  
or Warrana hits where  
that rock is standing.  
There it is way out  
there. And that cloud  
Larrpan points down at  
it<sup>48</sup>. Larrpan,  
Garambaka...<sup>49</sup> that is  
pointing. It has many  
eyes looking at that rock.  
They are seeing right  
through to the inside.

Yes. And just like that,  
the Yolŋu see. Because  
the old people of Yirrkala  
have passed away. Here  
at Guŋkuŋa the old people  
have passed away. Here,  
now there are few.  
Djäŋa<sup>50</sup>, Mandawuy and  
Babadji. And also us  
others, their waku<sup>51</sup> and  
djunŋaya. And they are  
our waku.

47 More names for the rock also known as Dhäŋgaŋ.

48 Pointing towards the rock.

49 Larrpan and Garambaka are names for a cloud that gathers to the east of Yirrkala.

50 Djäŋa Yunupinju, deceased June 2004. Son of Mungurrawuy Yunupinju and a Njaimil mother.

51 Waku - sister's children. Waku are djunŋaya, looking after their mother's clan's business.

Bilinya nhan dhanju. Ga dhanjum rom dhanjuya, njarra. Njaru gu!ku njalma njarunan miyalk, dirramu njaru mu!kurri njalma heartli dhambal.

Ma njaru ditjun nhunu raypirrim mayam. Raypirri bilinya banha nali bayiḅ njunhalana njaḅma njarra courtja law courtja. Yow nhumalingu banhayam. Njanapilingu dhanju. It's same. Njanapu balaya njaruna. Njam gu!kumi njarunan balaya.<sup>52</sup>

Yow, ga lifema nalingu, watharrwu ga gurrnangu, nyaku, bilaḅ marinharra nhanhara. Bili minhdhalaram bala nyenan yaka. Barkthu nhuma njanjan ga waripu warra njanjan<sup>53</sup>. Nhanam rom'ma, dhuwan yaka njanapu njan'nanthunma, "gatjuy gatjuy gatjuy gatjuy, dhanju njanapilinguway," yaka, "go go go go, nyiniyan dhambalan."

Like this it this. And this/focus law that, ceremony. Will many we.pl.incl. go woman, man will head/to we.pl.incl. heart/to to here.

So will return you discipline/focus get. Discipline like this this we2.incl. with that there hear ceremony court/at law court/at. Yes for you.pl. that/focus. Our.pl.excl. this. It's same. We.pl.excl there go. I/focus often go there.<sup>52</sup>

Yes, and life/focus our2.incl., white/for and black/for, my, whatever without trouble nothing. Because spread sheet there sit cont. Tomorrow-departing you.pl. travel and also plural travel.<sup>53</sup> The law/focus, this no we.pl.excl. chase away, "get away get away...", this we.pl.excl.emph." No, "come come come come, sit here/focus."

It's like this. And this law here (Garma) is ceremony. Many of us will come, women, men to learn with their minds and hearts.

So when you return you will get discipline. Discipline like we hear in court. Yes, that is your way. And this is our way. It's the same. We also go there. I have been there many times.<sup>52</sup>

Yes, our life together, white and black, my people, is fine, no problems. Spread out the sheet for sitting. Tomorrow you will go back, and others will come.<sup>53</sup> This law (at Garma) says we won't chase you away saying "shoo shoo shoo shoo, this is ours alone," no, "come come come come, sit here."

<sup>52</sup> Been there - to that place of quiet, discipline and law, as in deep Yolḅu ceremony and western courts.

<sup>53</sup> Njanjan is used as travel or move on, both to arrive and to depart.

Bilinya nhan dhanju  
rom'ma. Bala marngiyim  
banha yuwalk marngiyim.  
Ga yaka marngiyim bala  
dhakan-guman nunhalam  
bala nhunu njaru  
rirrikthuna rakunydjin,  
yawilanya.

Bitjana nanapu ga yaka  
dhakan-gum nunha bala  
law. Lawm banhayam  
bewali England, America,  
Australia, Commonwealth,  
ga dhanuyam rom nalma  
yaka dhakan-gu. Ga yol  
warra banha dharraymi  
warra dhanju dapthun  
njaru.

**7** Bili natjiliṅu balanya  
gam, natjiliṅum nhäpa  
bilinya. Bidilyuna bitjana,  
bitjan bidilyuna gayu ga  
gam' naku nyaku djäma.  
Ga bidilyuna nay' narra  
nyaku djäma. Baya njaru  
dhawar'yuna ga nanapu  
naykaman. Ga nhumam  
banha bilinya lingu.  
Nhumam djorra'  
nyapakiwu. Nay'  
Mandawuy ga nanapu  
njaru djinalaya. Ga  
nanapilingu bilanya,

Like this it this  
law/focus. Then learn  
that true learn. And no  
learn then go wrong  
then/focus to you will be  
sick die, like that.

Like this we.pl.excl. and  
no mess up this law.  
Law/focus that/focus  
from there England,  
America, Australia,  
Commonwealth, and  
that/focus law we.pl.incl.  
no go wrong. And who  
plural that care for/ref.  
plural this stay will..

Because before like this  
like this, before/focus  
whatever like this. Paint  
like this, like this paint  
stick and like this canoe  
my work. And paint here  
ceremony my work.  
When will finish and  
we.pl.excl. leave. And  
you.pl. that like this  
same. You.pl./focus paper  
non-Aboriginals/for. Here  
Mandawuy and we.pl.excl.  
will here. And for  
us.pl.excl. that,

This is the law. Then you  
learn, when you really  
learn. Don't learn and  
then go wrong, or you  
will get sick and die, like  
that.

Like we don't mess up  
the other law. Law from  
England, America,  
Australia, Commonwealth.  
We don't mess with this  
law. And those upholding  
that law will stay here.

And it was like this  
before, in the old days.  
Painting on message  
sticks, like, "make me a  
canoe." And painting,  
here, "make me a sacred  
ceremony. And when it is  
finished, we will go." And  
yours is the same. Paper  
is for you. Here  
Mandawuy, and we will  
all be here. Ours is the  
same,

nhä banha yäku wilak Buļany nhäpa, yuwalk Gudjuk. <sup>54</sup>	what that name maybe Buļany umm, true Gudjuk. <sup>54</sup>	what is the name, maybe Buļany, really Gudjuk. <sup>54</sup>
Yow, nhäpam bidilyuna bitjan warr warr warr ga dhäwu ñaläpalmi marŋgi. Djinaŋwala yaka yaka use banhaya bitjan yana gulku ñunha djorran' yaka gulkuysi ga nhanam dhaŋuyam nhäpam gäyum ga dhikan bayan.	Yes, that/focus paint okay like this push push push and story old people know. Nowadays no cont. use that like this only many this paper/focus cont. many/emph. and to me/focus there/focus that/focus. stick/focus and not there.	Yes, the old people knew the meaning of the body painting, like this (stroke stroke stroke). Nowadays, lots of paper is used, but those message sticks have disappeared.
Njunha waripu half ñoya'ñoya ñarru. Yow, ga bilinya rom'ma djinakum Yirrkalawum. Njarru waripum ñaläpalmi ñanapu ga ñamunharami ñaläpalmi. Yana bitjan gam' gatju nhumalinguway, ga yalala nhänany ñarru ñaläpalyu nhäma. Gulkuysi nhänany yaka bitjan, "yolku nhuma yaka dhuwan djämam? Nhuŋguway?" "Ñe, dhaŋu ñaya warkthuna nyäkuway."	This other half lie will. Yes, and like this law/focus for there/focus Yirrkala/for/focus. But other/focus old people we.pl.excl. and not recognize old people. Just like this like this go away for you.pl.emph., and later me/obj cont. old people/for see. Many/actor me/obj. no like this, "for who you.pl cont. that one work/focus. For yourself?" "Yes, this I work mine/emph."	The other half is lying there. And that law of Yirrkala. But other old people are not recognizing. I'm letting it all go to you, and later old people will see me. Many are saying to me, "who do you do this work for? Just for yourself?" "Yes. I work for myself."
Ga Yothu Yindi <sup>55</sup> ñunhaya	And Yothu Yindi <sup>55</sup> that	And this Yothu Yindi <sup>55</sup>

54 Speaking to someone sitting with him, calling him by mälk, or "skin name."

55 Yothu Yindi, usually translated as Child and Mother, refers to the kinship and constant cultural interaction and responsibilities between the two moieties, Yirritja and Dhuwa.

nhäpa yindi. Nhäpa.  
 Bitjiwilak nuku dhulaṅ  
 Yothu Yindiwu. Nuku  
 dhulaṅ bayiku  
 marrparaṅgunhara nhunu  
 ṅarru ṅarruṅa djudup,  
 marrparaṅ banhayam.  
 Yaka nhunu  
 ḍawa'dawa'yuna bitjan  
 bala gulṅiya. Yana  
 marrparaṅnha djudup,  
 dhaṅum nhuma yaka  
 marrparaṅ nyena.

Bili dhaṅum ṅärra ṅärra...  
 inside dhaṅum outsidema  
 yaka, but insidenha  
 dhaṅum ṅärram. ṅayathan  
 yaka. Banha ṅali ṅarru  
 yalkunharayunmi nhunum  
 ṅarru wiḍi'yuna ṅarruṅan.  
 Banha nhan banham nhan  
 dhä-warranydjaḷ  
 yalkunharamin ṅanapu  
 bayiṅ nhäpa nhanam  
 baḍatjuna ṅaḷapaḷmi.

Yow. Ga dhulaṅ biḍi'yuna,  
 ga ninadhunṅana nhanma  
 bayiṅ ḷarryunam banham  
 nhunu dhä-mayulkma  
 gatjuṅ yuṯṯhuwan.  
 "Minyḷtjim nhunṅu  
 ḷarryuwanan dhuwan.  
 Yakan nhunu ṅarru  
 djinalam." Bala  
 ṅarruṅanan. Raypirri-wä  
 ḍatj.

that big. that... Just like  
 footprint painting Yothu  
 Yindi/for. Footprint  
 painting that way  
 become confident you  
 will go enter,  
 confident/bold  
 that/focus. No you look  
 around like this to enter.  
 Only peaceful/emph.  
 enter, this you.pl. and  
 confident sit.

Because this/focus ṅärra  
 ṅärra... inside this/focus  
 outside/focus no but  
 inside/focus this/focus  
 ṅärra/focus. Hold cont. If  
 we2.incl. will lie/reflex.  
 you/focus will lost go.  
 That he that/focus he  
 mouth-gossip lie  
 we.pl.excl. with that that  
 that/focus miss out old  
 people.

Okay. And painting paint,  
 and wearing it/focus with  
 that comes off  
 that/focus you be  
 disrespectful off you go  
 run away. Art/focus your  
 come off this. No/focus  
 you cont. be here. Then  
 go. Discipline-without.

concept is big, the  
 foundation, paintings for  
 Yothu Yindi. With that  
 foundation, you become  
 confident and enter.  
 Confident like that. You  
 won't look around, but  
 just go in. Only the  
 confident enter, and you  
 will sit confidently.

Because this deep  
 ceremony is only inside,  
 not outside business.  
 We're holding this. If we  
 lie to each other, you  
 will be lost. And that  
 lying big mouth will miss  
 out on the law from the  
 old people.

Okay. And if that body  
 painting wears off, you  
 are disrespectful, so go  
 away. "Your painting has  
 come off. You do not  
 belong here." Then he  
 went. Undisciplined.

Ga dhaṅu ṅāpaki nhuma  
ga bilinya liṅgu nhuma  
ṅarru ṅarruṅa, ga bala  
yutjuwaḷagunhami ga  
nyena buthuru-bitjun, ga  
mäyaṅ bala diṭ!tjuwan.  
Nhāwu nhunu yuwalk  
ṅarruṅan.

Yuwalk wilak yiḍakiwu  
wilak ṅarra'wu. Yiḍaki  
banham manymak ṅarru  
nyäku banha dhuyu.  
Inside dhuyu nyäku ga  
outsidenha banham nhan  
wata-wulan. Diṭ!thuṅ-  
dhuwan Djungirrinyl. Ga  
dhaṅum nhan rirrakay  
ḍupthuwan ṅunha Guḷkuḷa  
djinal ṅunhuṅ yaṅunha  
dhäya yaka ṅarru statue  
ṅunha statue bilinya.  
Dharrada yaka dhaya.<sup>56</sup>

**8** Ga nhanam banha  
rom'ma guḷwuḷyuwanan ga  
Mandawuywuli wekan  
bitjanam ga Babadjiwuli  
bitjan ṅay!  
Mungurrawuyyu. Njayiwu  
ga maḍayin! ṅunha  
djinawa banha nhunum  
ḍalkum yaka ṅayi.

And this non-Aboriginal  
you.pl. and like this  
already you.pl. will go,  
and then become  
children and sit ear-  
listen, and get then go  
back. For what you true  
go.

True maybe yiḍaki/for  
maybe ṅarra'/for. Yiḍaki  
that/focus good will my  
that sacred. Inside sacred  
my and outside/focus  
that/focus it wind/blow.  
Diṭ!thuṅ-dhuwan  
Djungirrinyl. And  
this/focus it noise throw  
there Guḷkuḷa here that  
one there over there  
stand cont will statue  
this statue like that.  
Steady cont. stand.<sup>56</sup>

And it/focus that  
law/focus sunk and  
Mandawuy/to gave like  
that/focus and  
Babadji/to like that here  
Mungurrawuy/actor.  
Place/for and sacred this  
inside so you/focus will  
uphold (V) cont. place.

And this is same for you,  
non-Aboriginals, you  
come, become childlike,  
and sit and listen, learn  
then go back home.  
What did you really  
come for?

Maybe really for yiḍaki,  
maybe for secret  
business. Yiḍaki is good,  
but it is my sacred  
business. The inside is my  
sacred business, and  
outside is like stirring up  
the wind. The sound of  
playing the Djungirrinyl.  
And that noise thrown  
from here, Guḷkuḷa, that  
one statue standing  
there. Standing steady.<sup>56</sup>

And that law that sunk  
there was given to  
Mandawuy and Galarrwuy  
by Mungurrawuy. For this  
place and the sacred  
inside, so you will uphold  
this place.

<sup>56</sup> Referring to the statue of Ganbulapula, Yirritja ancestor being and player of the first Gumatj clan yiḍaki at Guḷkuḷa, which was erected at the inaugural Garma Festival in 1999.

Ga bilanḡ Yolḡu warrawu dhukam ḡapthuma? Dhanal ḡunhuḡ ḡarru maka-ḡupan nhāwu. Yana ḡapthuma bitjan ḡatji, nyāku ḡatji.<sup>57</sup>

Dayḡumbu number onema nyāku ḡatji, ga secondma nyāku ga Djuḡaltjuḡa, ga thirdma nyāku ḡatji lastpuyma ga Mungurrawuy. ḡarru gulḡun family dhanḡum boyanam, mala. Ga nyākum ḡatji number onema Dayḡumbu ḡarru... nyāku ḡapipi ga ḡāḡḡi'miḡu. Djikulu ḡāḡḡi'miḡu, ḡarru bayanḡun.

Yow, ga lurrkun' family ḡanapu. Five ḡunhawaliyam number oneḡurum ga gulḡum ḡunhan bala Cannon Hill ga Jabiru, ga Fifteen Mile ga ḡunha nhālaḡ Humpty Doo.

Yow, gulḡu ḡunhayam. ḡalinyum ḡunhayam

And why not Yolḡu plural/for path/focus open. They there will thigh-chase for what. Only open like this ḡatji, my ḡatji.<sup>57</sup>

Dayḡumbu number one/focus my ḡatji, and second/focus my and Djuḡaltjuḡa, and third/focus my ḡatji last/about/focus and Mungurrawuy. Cont. many family this/focus gathered/created, group. And my/focus ḡatji number one/focus Dayḡumbu cont... my uncle and mother/kin. Djikulu mother/kin, cont. nothing/focus.

Yes, and few family we.pl.excl. Five from there/focus number one/from/focus and many/focus this/focus there Cannon Hill and Jabiru, and Fifteen Mile and there where at Humpty Doo.

Yes, many there/focus. We2.excl./focus here/

And why not open the path for Yolḡu? They will come here for something. Open it up like my ḡatji did.<sup>57</sup>

Dayḡumbu was my eldest ḡatji, and my second ḡatji is Djuḡaltjuḡa, and third and last is Mungurrawuy. And there's lots of family from him. My uncle and mother are from my first ḡatji Dayḡumbu. Djikulu was my mother, but she has passed away.

Yes, we are a few families. Five from the first one. And many at Cannon Hill and Jabiru and Fifteen Mile and there at Humpty Doo.

Yes, there are many. We are

<sup>57</sup> Referring again to his maternal grandfather Mungurrawuy who was important in early communication between Yolḡu and European-Asutralians.

märrmam' family. Ga  
guḷkum ga  
Mungurrawuywun. Family  
dhaṅaṅma. Bilinya.

9 Ga mä lurrkun' ṅaya  
rakaranam Yirrkala,  
Guḷkuḷa ga ṅaypinya.  
Yolṅu dhaṅu dhawul  
bayaya ṅaya yaka rakaram  
gutha'miṅu nyäku  
dhawulyin.<sup>58</sup>

ṅunha Gurruwurru  
banhaya ṅaya Gurruwurru  
rakaram ga dhaṅum  
Barrinybarriny, Guḷkuḷa  
dhaṅum ṅaraka, dhaṅu  
mining dhanal yaka. ṅarru  
dhanal baḍatjuwan  
ṅatjiyu. Bala yaw'yuwanan  
dhanal miningnha. Bili  
yaka guḷku dhanalinṅgura  
nhäpa. Dhunupayaman  
dhanalinṅu ṅäṅarr  
ṅalmalinṅu watharrminy.  
Dhärük. Bala ba  
ḍatjunminan bala  
yaw'yuwanan.

ṅarru manymak, ṅarru  
dhaṅuyam bala ṅali ṅarru  
rom ṅarru bitjanaya  
goṅan.

focus two/focus family.  
And many/focus and  
Mungurrawuy/for/focus.  
Family many/focus. Like  
this.

And so three I tell  
Yirrkala, Guḷkuḷa and  
ṅaypinya. Yolṅu this  
finish forgive me I am  
saying younger  
brother/kin my passed  
away.<sup>58</sup>

There Gurruwurru there I  
Gurruwurru tell and  
this/focus and  
Barrinybarriny, Guḷkuḷa  
this/focus bone, this  
mining they.pl cont.  
Because they.pl. missed  
out ṅatji/actor. Then dig  
up they.pl. mining/focus.  
Because no many  
they.pl./at whatever.  
Straight their.pl. language  
our.pl.incl. white/  
having/focus. Language.  
So mistake then dig up.

But good, will that/focus  
then we2.incl will culture  
will like that give.

two families. And there  
are many from  
Mungurrawuy. Many  
families. Like that.

And so I will tell you  
three stories, from  
Yirrkala, Guḷkuḷa and  
ṅaypinya. Forgive me for  
saying the name of my  
younger brother who has  
passed away.<sup>58</sup>

There at Gurruwurru, I  
was telling you about  
Gurruwurru, and here,  
Barrinybarriny, Guḷkuḷa,  
this land, this place they  
are mining. Because they,  
the old people, missed  
out. Then the miners dug  
it up. There weren't  
many with the old  
people, to help  
communicate between  
white and Yolṅu. So they  
misunderstood each  
other, then they started  
digging.

But it's okay, we will  
share our cultures.

<sup>58</sup> A younger brother named ṅaypinya had passed away some time previously. It is Yolṅu custom to avoid the names of the deceased for a period after death.



Ga bala nhumalingu  
wekam ga räli ga  
buthuru-bitjun. Yaka ñali  
ñarru mä-yuḷkthunmin  
bayaya nhuma ñäpakim  
warra ñarru yaka mä-  
yuḷkthuwan rom'ma.  
Yalala ñalma ñarru  
malkarr waripum dhäya  
buṅgulña. Waripum ñarru  
buṅgul join yolṅuwuḷi ga  
mariyuna yaka. Banham  
manymak.

And so you.pl. for give  
and here and ear-listen.  
No we2.incl will don't  
believe.refl no matter  
you.pl. non-Aboriginals  
plural will no not  
believe.refl law/focus.  
Later we.pl.incl. will with  
many spears other/focus  
stand ceremony/at.  
Also/focus will ceremony  
join Yolṅu/with and  
dance cont. That/focus  
good.

And so we give to you,  
so come here and listen.  
We should not disbelieve  
each other. No matter if  
you're non-Aboriginal,  
you shouldn't disbelieve  
our law. Later we will  
stand with many spears  
at ceremony. Join up  
with Yolṅu and dance.  
That's good.

**10** Banha ñaya  
buṭṭhun nhälaṅulin  
Germanyli. Ga bilinya,  
“way Djalul, dhaṅu guḷku'.  
Yidakiwu yaka djälmiyi.  
Nhalpiyan nhunu yaka  
dhaṅu? Warkthunma  
marrma' pieces? Gulkthun  
bala nhäpan? Wilak  
milkuṅ ñanapilingu yidaki  
bilarṅ nhämunha  
marthaṅayli wapthuma. Ṇ  
alma wilak nhäma.”<sup>59</sup>

There I flew what do you  
call it/to/focus  
Germany/to. And like  
this, “hey Djalul, this  
many. yidaki/for cont.  
want/reflex. How you  
cont. this. Work two  
pieces. Cut then what.  
Maybe show us.pl.excl.  
yidaki sometime how  
many boat/to put in.  
We.pl.incl. maybe see.”<sup>59</sup>

I flew to what's it  
called... Germany. And  
they said, “Hey Djalul,  
there are many here who  
want yidaki. How are you  
doing this? Making two  
pieces? Cut them and  
then what? Maybe show  
us. Get so many yidaki,  
and put them in the  
boat. Maybe we will  
see.”<sup>59</sup>

Yow dhethuṅgan ma ñaya  
bala travellingna ga  
ñunhal Germany. Ga  
ñayam ñarru buṭṭhun,  
ñanapum.<sup>60</sup>

Yes put in so I then  
travelling and there at  
Germany. And I/focus  
cont. fly,  
we.pl.excl./focus.<sup>60</sup>

Yes, I put them in  
(shipped some yidaki)  
then travelled there,  
Germany. And I was  
flying, we were.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Djalul is speaking of the request for him to come to Germany and teach how to play and make yidaki. The boat he refers to is the barge. He cut a large number of yidaki and shipped them unfinished to Germany for students to craft there.

<sup>60</sup> Djalul was accompanied by his wife Dhopiya Yunupiṅu, brother Gurritjiri, sister Dhāṅgal, son Winiwini, daughter Raliny, grandson Liyakindirr, and non-Aboriginal coordinators Guan Lim and Frank Thill.

Ga nhäma bala njaya  
yapyapthumana. Ga  
warkthun njaya ma  
“nhumam ma nhumam  
warkthuwa.” Ga dhanalim  
warkthun ga yidakin, yaka  
bilanj njaya nhäpa yikin!  
mayarra ga bujalguwarra  
bala warkthuwaran.<sup>61</sup>

Ga dhanal banha bitjan  
yaka thinking, njunhal  
Germany. Ga bitjana,  
“Djalul wilak milkuj  
njapilingul. Nhä dhanu  
yuwalk yidaki? Pieces  
marrma!, marrma!,  
mitthunda?”

“Yaka wangany, dhoyu.”  
“Njarru yolthun njarrgam  
boyan?”

“Gäna yana diltjiña,  
gundirr dhika nhä.”

“Yow, ga go wilak njariya.  
Galkinjuru milkuj.”  
Bala njaya bujthuna. Bala  
bitjana, “dhanum njarrga,  
njoygam bathala ga  
dhanum bala yutjuwalañ.  
Ga njoygam njunham njarru  
wambuluyu laplaphuman,

And see and then I  
unwrap. And worked I so  
you.pl./focus so  
you.pl./focus make. And  
they/focus worked and  
made yidaki/focus, no  
even I that knife/focus  
got and split then work.<sup>61</sup>

Ga they that like this  
cont. thinking. There  
Germany. And like this,  
“Djalul maybe show  
us.pl.excl. What this true  
yidaki? Pieces two, two,  
cut.”

“No one, complete.”

“But who/actor/focus  
hole made.”

“Separate only forest/at  
termite mound  
somewhere what.”

“Okay, and come maybe  
come here. Close/from  
show.” Then I flew. Then  
like this this/focus hole,  
beneath/at/focus big and  
this/focus then and small.  
And beneath/at/focus it  
cont. wire/with open,

And saw and then  
unwrapped the yidaki.  
And I worked them and  
then said, “now you  
work.” And they worked  
and made yidaki. I didn't  
even get a knife to split  
it in two and work on  
it.<sup>61</sup>

And they are thinking  
that, in Germany. They  
said,  
“Djalul, maybe show it to  
us. What is the real  
yidaki? Is it two pieces,  
cut in two?”

“No, one whole.”

“But who made that  
hole?”

“It's just like that in the  
bush, with termites or  
whatever.”

“Okay, maybe come here.  
Show us up close.”  
Then I flew, then I said,  
“see this hole inside is  
big, and this one small.  
And open up the inside  
with a chisel.”

<sup>61</sup> The references to splitting yidaki in two pieces to craft them come from the instruments he saw overseas. Due to the lack of proper species of termites and trees overseas, those fascinated with making didgeridus for themselves have learned to split trees in two, hollow the insides, and then glue the resulting pieces back together. Djalul seemed quite fascinated with the idea.

<p>djimukuyu. Ga yidaki-waṅan ga yidakiny.” Rirrakayma dhawatthuna. Dhanalim bitjan goṅma.</p>	<p>iron bar/with. And yi daki-talk and yi daki/focus. Sound/focus come out. They.pl./focus like that hand/action.</p>	<p>Play it, and then it's a yidaki.” The sound came out, and they clapped like this (claps his hands).</p>
<p>“Way. Nhä dhaṅun?” bitjan. “Yaka dhaṅun magic dhika nhä. Just natural one dhaṅuyam yana nhunu ṅarru ṅarruṅan bala bitjana knockna bilinyan yidakin. Bala ṅarru ḡundirr larryun banham yidakiny. Gulk gulk gulk bilin. Djämam yi daki. Waripu.</p>	<p>“Hey. What this” like this. “No this/focus magic something what. Just natural one that/focus just you cont. go to like this knock/focus (knocks) like this yidaki/focus. Then cont. termite mound open up that/focus yi daki/focus. Cut cut cut like this. Work/focus yi daki. Other.</p>	<p>“Hey, what is this?” they said. “It's not magic, it's just something. It's just a natural one, you just go knocking (on the trees) and there's yidaki. The termite rubble comes out, and it's a yidaki. Cut cut cut, finish. Make that yidaki. Another one.”</p>
<p>Yow bilanyawu banha dhanal ṅarruṅam ga wartkhuna ṅanapu ga waripu warra one week. Ditjun ga waripu one week ditjun. Ga dhapirrkna warrpamha. After bayawalim buṅulnha, “go, ṅalma marryuna.” Marryuna gitja'yuna<sup>62</sup> bitjana, "burr burr burr," bitjana.</p>	<p>Yes like this/for that they.pl. go and work us.pl.excl. and other plural one week. Ditjun and other one week ditjun. And good/focus all/focus. After all that/focus ceremony/focus, “come, we.pl.incl. dance.” Dance gitja'yuna<sup>62</sup> like this, "burr burr burr burr," like this</p>	<p>And they came for that, we worked together, and then others came for one week. They left, and then others came for another week. And they were all good. After all that, ceremony, “come, let us dance.” And danced waving branches like this,<sup>62</sup> “Burr burr burr burr” (chanting sounds).</p>
<p>“Gitja'yuna ṅäpaki go, go. Bidj'yuna bitjana ṅäpakin.</p>	<p>“Dance non-Aboriginals come, come. Paint up like this non-Aboriginals.</p>	<p>“Dance like this, non-Aboriginals, come come. Paint up like this.</p>

<sup>62</sup> Gitja'yun - refers to a specific spirit being or Yolṅu danced by Dhuwa groups, waving small branches of gaḍayka.

Yow. Yaka dhanal ṅarru bitjan yaka go, go.”

## 11 Bili banhayam

bilinyan nhan dhaṅu, Garma. Ga ṅalma ṅarru Garmali joining balaya. Bayaṅun banhayam banha bilin gam!, “gululu, go, go, ṅaykaṅ. Nhāwu nhuma duk!tuk!ma. Burr!yuwan ṅāpaki bitjan wo bandirraṅaṅ<sup>63</sup> dhika banha. Bilinya malany dhaṅu. Yaka ṅalma nhāma banha, yawitjan.”

Banhayam nhan goṅmiyi nhunu ṅarru bitjiwiḷak nhāpa, malan ṅalma waṅgany, ṅāpaki ga Yolṅu. Njunha ṅaḷapaḷmi ṅunha waripu warra yaka dāpṅhun, ṅayam ṅaḷapaḷ marryun. Nṅayam yaka dālwur. Njunhuku bala buthuru-dhumukku yaka melkum “way ṅunha ṅaḷapaḷ marryun nhāwu. Rakunydjīn ṅarru nhan!”

“Yaka, go nhunum ṅarriyan dhambalan

Yes. No they.pl cont like this no come, come.”

Because that/focus like that/focus it this, Garma. And we.pl.incl. cont. Garma/to joining there to. Nothing/focus that/focus now like this “welcome, come, come, come here. For what you.pl. want/focus. Dance non-Aboriginal like this or flag<sup>63</sup> there that. Like this law this. No we.pl.incl. see this, like this.”

That/focus it be happy (Vintr) you cont. like this what, group/focus we.pl.incl. one, non-Aboriginal and Yolṅu. This old people this other plural cont. stay I/focus old dance, I/focus no stupid. For this then ear-deaf/for cont. show “hey this old people dance for what. Die will he.”

“No, come you/focus come here to this

Yes, don't you all just stand there like this, come, come.”

And it's just like that here at Garma. We're all joining here at Garma. Not like the past, now it's, “Welcome, come, come come. What do you want? Okay. Dance like this, non-Aboriginals, or like this, the flag dance.<sup>63</sup> That's the law here. We don't just watch.”

If it's like this, you will happy, and we will all be one group, non-Aboriginals and Yolṅu. Other old people are sitting, I am dancing. I'm not stupid! I'm showing those who don't listen, who say, “hey, why is this old man dancing? He will die!”

“No, you come here,

<sup>63</sup> Djalul is referring to the red flag dancing of the group from Numbulwar who first appeared at Garma in 2002.

ṅaya baman marryuwan  
garr'yuwan ga gulkurun.”  
Nhämi dhaṅu ṅäpakim  
warra? Dhaṅum baya  
ṅäpakim latju. Nṅayam,  
ṅayam bayiṅ nhäma,  
ṅäpakiwum buthurum  
latju ga Yolṅum buthuru  
wilak nhämi, dhukunmi  
wo nhä, baya ṅe?

one/focus I/focus long  
ago dance pick up and  
too hard.” What/having  
this non-Aboriginal/  
focus plural? This/focus  
maybe non-Aboriginal/  
focus good. I/focus,  
I/focus that see, non-  
Aboriginals/for/focus  
ear/focus good and  
Yolṅu/focus ear maybe  
how, rubbish/having or  
what, forget it okay?

I've been dancing a long  
time, trying to get you  
to join but it's too hard.”  
What about these  
ṅäpaki? Maybe they're  
good. I'm seeing it like  
this, ṅäpaki ears are  
good, and Yolṅu ears,  
maybe what, full of  
rubbish, or what, eh?

**12** Dhaṅum yiḍaki,  
märrma' yiḍakim. Guḷkuḷa  
dhumbuḷ, Guḷkuḷa yiḍaki.  
Ga banha weyinma, banha  
ṅunha nyäku, Djungirrinyl  
yiḍaki bala yarrupthuna.  
Ga Dhumar'ma ṅunha  
nhälaṅ Gurka'ṅa ga  
Gurka'ṅa ga ṅunha bala  
raṅiṅa.<sup>64</sup> Lake Evella galki.  
Three, ṅarru guku banha  
Yolṅum nyäku yapa'miṅu.  
Nṅunha nhan yiḍaki  
dhumbuḷ. Dhanalingum  
mä yarrupthun yaka  
nhanam Guḷkuḷa gaṅga  
nyäkura.

This didjeridu, two  
didjeridu/focus. Guḷkuḷa  
short, Guḷkuḷa didjeridu.  
And that long/focus that  
this mine, Djungirrinyl  
didjeridu. then go down.  
And Dhumar'/focus that  
where gurka'/at and  
gurka'/at and that there  
beach/at.<sup>64</sup> Lake Evella  
close. Three, cont. honey  
that Yolṅu/focus my  
sister/kin. That it yiḍaki  
short. Their.pl./focus so  
that go down cont. and  
it/focus Guḷkuḷa a bit  
with mine.

There's two yiḍaki. The  
short yiḍaki from  
Guḷkuḷa, and the long  
one, that's mine,  
Djungirrinyl, which heads  
down that way, (to the  
west). And Dhumar',  
which comes from  
Gurka', Gurka' and that  
beach<sup>64</sup> that way. Close  
to Lake Evella. Three  
different clans, but it is  
wild honey, my sister. It's  
a short yiḍaki. It goes  
down to here (showing  
the size of the yiḍaki on  
his chest), and the  
Guḷkuḷa yiḍaki is closer to  
mine (a bit taller).

<sup>64</sup> He is referring to two places known Gurka', Gurka'wuy the well known Marrakulu homeland at Trial Bay, and the Golumala clan land at Barrkira/Nṅadayun on Cape Wilberforce, and the beach referred to as Raymaṅgirr, Marranṅu land at Buckingham Bay.

Dhaṅu gam' djaka, e' ya' dhaṅu. Yow. Dhambiḷpiḷ djinakum yidaki. "Dup dup dup,"<sup>65</sup> bala n aṅ'thuwanan nhan.

Nāṅ'nha ga dhaṅu Yarrapay nhāṅal Wurṅula Bandarrpandarr ga bala--- nhālan ṅunha Dhambaliya Wuḍupula Banyiwurru. Ga burr'yuwan bitjan ṅarru ga bitjanan biḷmam (clap clap clap clap). Burr'yunma dhanal, wo yalala.<sup>66</sup> Banhaya ban umbirr banhaya clap, "bilṅ bilṅ bilṅ djāw' bilṅ bilṅ bilṅ djāw'," bitjana. Ga Dhuwa buṅgulma ga Yirritja yuṅgurrma, manikayma. Njunhaya Bandarrpandarr ṅunha Yirrkala. Ga Wurṅula ga ṅunha Wuḍupula ga Dhambaliya ṅunha bala runu'.

**13** Djinaku ṅayi dhika Yolṅu ga buṅgulma dhaṅu dhaṅum Gumatj

This like this size, e' ya' this. Yes. Dhambiḷpiḷ for this/focus yidaki. "Dup dup dup,"<sup>65</sup> then ran it.

Ran and this Yarrapay saw Wurṅula Bandarrpandarr and then--- there at there Dhambaliya Wuḍupula Banyiwurru. And danced like this cont. and like this/focus clapsticks/focus (clap clap clap clap). Dance they.pl., or later.<sup>66</sup> That morning star that clap, "bilṅ bilṅ bilṅ djāw' bilṅ bilṅ bilṅ djāw," like that. And Dhuwa ceremony/focus and Yirritja line/focus, song/focus. There Bandarrpandarr here Yirrkala. And Wurṅula and that Wuḍupula and Dhambaliya that way island.

For this place there Yolṅu and ceremony/focus this this/focus Gumatj

Like this size (showing), like this. Yes. Dhambiḷpiḷ is the yidaki for this place (Guḷkuḷa). "Dup dup dup,"<sup>65</sup> and the sound ran off.

Ran and saw Yarrapay, Wurṅula, Bandarrpandarr, and then there at Dhambaliya, Wuḍupula, Banyiwurru. And danced like this, with clapsticks like this (clap clap clap). Danced like this, or later.<sup>66</sup> That Morning Star, (claps), "bilṅ bilṅ bilṅ djāw' bilṅ bilṅ bilṅ djāw," like that. The dance is Dhuwa, but the song is Yirritja. There at Bandarrpandarr, Yirrkala. And Wurṅula, Wuḍupula, Dhambaliya, there at the island.

This place is for this man (referring to someone seated there), and this dancing is for Gumatj,

<sup>65</sup> "Dup" indicates the sound of the higher trumpeted note on the yidaki, which was first sounded by Ganbulapula at Guḷkuḷa as a call to other clans to gather for ceremony.

<sup>66</sup> Suggesting that they may perform this dance later in the day at Garma.

ga dhaṅum ṅaya Gälpu,  
ga ṅunha Rirratjiṅu, ga  
ṅunha Dhaḷwaṅu,  
Warramiri, ṅunha bala  
Wangurri ṅarru Yothu  
Yindi, Yothu Yindi, Yothu  
Yindi.<sup>67</sup>

Njunhaya dhuka ṅoya  
ṅarru. Ga baya ṅarru  
dhaṅu bala Laynha<sup>68</sup>  
gali'ṅa ga bilanya ḷiṅgu  
Yothu Yindi, Yothu Yindi,  
Yothu Yindi  
djutjtjutjnhawala. Ga  
ḍuwaṅṅa. Nunhan bala  
nhälāṅun Roper, ṅunha  
Groote ḍuwaṅṅa. Nunha  
bala walu ṅarru guljiya. Nj  
unhaya Yothu Yindi

Ga bilanya bitjan ṅanapu  
yaka nyena ga ṅunhaya  
lirriwi, lirriwi, lirriwi, lirriwi<sup>69</sup>  
ṅoya ṅarru ga dhuka  
ṅunhaya ṅoya ṅarru.  
Bilinya bitjan gaminyarr,  
waku, gutharra,  
momalkur. Momalkurma  
banha banham  
momalkurma bitjan nhan  
ṅarru, mukulnha  
baṅgalam, mulkulyum  
ṅarru

and this/ focus I Gälpu,  
and that Rirratjiṅu, and  
that Dhaḷwaṅu,  
Warramiri, that way  
Wangurri cont. Yothu  
Yindi, Yothu Yindi, Yothu  
Yindi.<sup>67</sup> That path lie  
cont. And like that cont.  
way Laynha<sup>68</sup> side/at and  
just the same Yothu  
Yindi, Yothu Yindi, Yothu  
Yindi and so on. And go  
up/focus. There/focus to  
where to Roper, there  
Groote go up/focus.  
There to sun cont. enter.  
There Yothu Yindi.

And like that like that  
we.pl.excl. and sit and  
there ashes, ashes, ashes,  
ashes<sup>69</sup> lie cont. and path  
cont. Like that like that  
gaminyarr, waku,  
gutharra, momalkur,  
momalkur/ focus that  
that/focus  
momalkur/focus like that  
it will mukul/obj carry  
mukul/actor/focus will

and for me, the Gälpu,  
and the Rirratjiṅu and  
Dhaḷwaṅu, Warramiri, and  
the Wangurri are all  
Yothu Yindi, Yothu Yindi,  
Yothu Yindi.<sup>67</sup> That way  
is still here. It's like that  
all over the Laynha<sup>68</sup>  
area, Yothu Yindi Yothu  
Yindi Yothu Yindi, and so  
on. And it goes up to  
Roper, to Groote, to  
where the sun goes  
down. There is Yothu  
Yindi.

Just like we are staying  
here, there are ashes,  
ashes, ashes, ashes -  
families scattered  
everywhere,<sup>69</sup> and a path  
lies through the family  
lines. Like gaminyarr,  
waku, gutharra,  
momalkur. That momalkur  
with will bear my mukul,  
and mukul will

67 Djalul is stating that these are proper Yothu-Yindi clan pairings, who should intermarry and act as custodians of each others' business.

68 Laynha refers to the southern coastal areas of the Yolṅu cultural bloc, commonly the homelands south of Yalaṅbara, or Port Bradshaw.

69 Smouldering ashes all over, like the related families scattered throughout Arnhem Land.

baŋalam nyäku miyalk.  
 Bitjawilak ŋunhaya  
 promise ŋunhaya  
 ŋoya'ŋoya ŋarru  
 ŋunhalaja bala ʃirwi'ŋa  
 djinalaja, djinalaja,  
 djinalaja. Ŋarru djinaŋum  
 bala waphu'waphuna  
 Yolŋu warra, bala rälin.  
 Ga gulkun yakan nhäpam  
 dhukaŋam yana bitjawilak  
 badwaduynmin yaka  
 bayaya wo yaka  
 manymak.

Ŋarru dhaŋum ŋanapu  
 djäma banha ŋarru bitjana  
 gam' dhaŋum djalkthuwan  
 ga dhaŋum, ŋarru dhuka  
 yuŋaguman. Ŋarru ŋäpaki  
 warra gulŋiya. Ga  
 burr'yuna ŋarru bitjana  
 waripuŋuru, waripuŋuru,  
 waripuŋuru ŋarru  
 dhanalim yaka waripun  
 warra duŋduŋjin. Wilak  
 nhä, rirrikthun dhanal  
 yaka ŋarru bayaya. Ŋunha  
 nhämunha ŋurruk mala  
 Yothu Yindi - Gumatj,  
 Gälpu, Rirratjiŋu ga  
 Wangurri.

**14** Ga Gupapuyŋu  
 bayaju. Gupapuyŋum  
 waŋgany. Yow.

carry/bear my woman.  
 Like that that that  
 promise that lie cont.  
 there to ashes/at there,  
 there, there. Cont. with  
 this there jump Yolŋu  
 plural, to here/focus.  
 And many/focus  
 no/focus what/focus  
 path/at/focus only like  
 this erase cont. leave it  
 or no good.

If this/focus we.pl.excl.  
 work that will like this  
 like this this throw away  
 and this/focus will path  
 make new. So non-  
 Aboriginal plural enter.  
 And dance will like this  
 other/from, other/from,  
 other/from will they.pl./  
 focus no other/focus  
 plural be lazy. Perhaps  
 what, sick they cont. but  
 whatever. That how many  
 group group Yothu Yindi.  
 Gumatj, Gälpu, Rirratjiŋu  
 and Wangurri.

And Gupapuyŋu nothing.  
 Gupapuyŋu/focus one.  
 Yes.

bear my wife. That's the  
 promise system, it exists  
 for this family, and this  
 and this and this. Yolŋu  
 jump to different places,  
 back and forth. A lot of  
 people are not on the  
 right path, just mucking  
 things up, some say it's  
 okay, others say it's not  
 good.

And if we work in this  
 way, not throwing things  
 away, we will make a  
 new path. So ŋäpaki will  
 enter. And dance like  
 this, people from  
 elsewhere, all the  
 different places. Some  
 others are lazy. Maybe  
 what, they are sick, but  
 it doesn't matter. There  
 are lots of groups -  
 Gumatj, Gälpu, Rirratjiŋu  
 and Wangurri.

And not the Gupapuyŋu.  
 Gupapuyŋu are one. Yes.



Ga lawm dhanalingu  
 banha dhapirrk rom ga  
 bilinya rom yindi ga  
 n̄arra!. N̄unha bala n̄arra  
 still bilanya bitjan n̄unha  
 bala nhunu marŋgi, n̄e!<sup>70</sup>  
 Gunapipi. Yow, n̄arru  
 nyäku banha n̄arru yaka  
 n̄aya n̄arru balaya.  
 N̄unha bala djungaya  
 malany Yurrwi<sup>71</sup> ga nhälan  
 Ramangin̄. Gulku. Däl  
 dhanalingu rom, yaka  
 n̄arru entering balaya.  
 N̄arru lawm banha nyäku.  
 N̄arru bilmam dhanalingu  
 banha nunukum bala  
 djinawawum dhanal  
 marŋgi nayam yaka  
 marŋgi nunukuya. N̄arru  
 nyena ga bitjan lingu,  
 “gululu.”

Yow. Ga nyena n̄aya  
 n̄arru ga bitjan yothu ga  
 dhanal n̄arru rakaram. Ga  
 n̄unhuku Mandawuywu ga  
 Babadiwu n̄unhaya  
 n̄ändi'miŋu dhupalingu  
 n̄unha bala nhäpa  
 Wilitjmi warra. Yow, yow.  
 Manymak?

And law/focus for  
 them.pl. that good law  
 and like that law big and  
 n̄arra!. That way n̄arra  
 still like that like that  
 that there you know,  
 eh?<sup>70</sup> Gunapipi. Yes, but  
 my that will no I will  
 there. That way djungaya  
 group/focus Yurrwi<sup>71</sup> and  
 there Ramangin̄, Many.  
 Strong their.pl law, no  
 will entering there. But  
 law/focus that mine. But  
 clapstick/focus their.pl.  
 that for that inside/for/  
 focus they.pl. know  
 I/focus no know that.  
 But sit like this just like  
 this, “welcome.”

Okay. And sit I will and  
 like this child and they  
 will tell. And for this  
 Mandawuy/for and  
 Babadji/for that  
 mother/kin for them<sup>2</sup>  
 that way what  
 Wilitj/having plural. Yes,  
 yes. Okay?

Their law is strong, the  
 big laws and ceremony.  
 Over there, sacred  
 ceremony is still there,  
 like that, you know, eh?<sup>70</sup>  
 Gunapipi. But I am not  
 to go there. There are  
 djungaya there at  
 Yurrwi<sup>71</sup> and Ramangin̄.  
 Many. Their law is strong,  
 not anyone is allowed to  
 enter. But that law is  
 mine. The bilma is theirs,  
 they know the inside,  
 but I do not know this.  
 But sit here, and say,  
 “welcome.”

Yes. I will sit there like a  
 child, and they will tell.  
 They are mother for  
 Mandawuy and Babadji,  
 because they also have  
 the Wilitj, or Olive  
 Python, as totem. Yes,  
 yes. Okay?

<sup>70</sup> Spoken to someone present who had spent a good deal of time in that region.

<sup>71</sup> Another name for Milingimbi.

Ga Galiwin'kuṅuru bayāṅu  
dar'yundami  
ṅalinyganhami.<sup>72</sup>  
Njunhuku Rirratjiṅu ga  
Liya-gawumirri, bilinya  
nyäku märi'miṅu. Nunhal  
Gäwara'ṅa<sup>73</sup> nhan  
ḍuy'yuwan ṅarru  
bukmakkura. Bukmakku  
banha, buḷaḷ tribe dhanal  
ṅarru bitjan, bayāṅu  
yiḍaki, yana biḷma.<sup>74</sup>

Yow, ṅalinygam, “brr brr,”  
bitjan. Nṅarru bayāṅu. Ga  
gulku dhaṅu Yolṅum ṅaya  
ṅarru gulkthumana  
djinalan bili ṅalparr nyäku  
ḍoy'yuwan. Ne? Liṅgun.  
Yow, ga manymak.

And Galiwin'ku/from  
nothing Liya-gawumirr  
dance.<sup>71</sup> For this Rirratjiṅu  
and Liya-gawumirri, like  
this my märi/kin. Here  
Gäwara!<sup>72</sup>/ at it arrive  
will all/from. All/for that,  
two tribe they.pl willlike  
this, nothing yiḍaki, only  
clapsticks.<sup>73</sup>

Yes, walking with digging  
sticks, “brr brr,” like this.  
But nothing. And many  
this Yolṅu/focus I will  
cut there because phlegm  
my arrive. Yes? Finished.  
Yes, and good.

And the Liya-gawumirr  
who dance the  
Djaṅka'wu<sup>72</sup> have not  
come from Galiwin'ku.  
The Rirratjiṅu and the  
Liya-gawumirr are the  
same, my märi. Everyone  
came to Gäwara!<sup>73</sup> It's  
for everyone, but those  
two clans sing like that,  
without yiḍaki, just  
clapsticks.<sup>74</sup>

Yes, walking with those  
digging sticks, chanting,  
“brr brr,” like that.  
There's a lot of Yolṅu  
stories but I'm cutting it  
off here because I've got  
a flu. Okay? Finished.  
Yes, good.

72 Dar'yundami ṅalinyganhami - refers to a Liya-gawumirr dance related to the Djaṅ'kawu sisters. It is danced with pairs of digging sticks.

73 Gäwara! - sacred sandhills at Yalaṅbara.

74 Referring again to the Liya-gawumirri and also Rirratjiṅu clan Djaṅ'kawu dances, which are performed without yiḍaki accompaniment.