

**Text 3: Pumping water for a thirsty bull**  
**Mervin Street, 1982.**

This is story, designated a humorous story by the narrator (see McGregor forthcoming-g), is about pumping water for a thirsty bull in the early days. The narrator is perhaps the youngest fluent speaker of the language. (This text is discussed at length in McGregor forthcoming-g; see also Allan forthcoming for an alternative analysis.)

- 1 / *niyi -nhingi ngirndaji thangarndi / joolang jijag -ji /*  
that ABL this word [name] say (3sg)N+I  
*ngaddagi -nhingi /*  
my ABL

'Now that Frank has told his story, it's my turn.'

- 2 *babiddi ngirnda birnboorni -ya / baajathngarna /*  
below this [name] LOC [name]  
*woombadda / warang -biddi / bambim -bidda gamba /*  
[name] sit (3pl)N+I pump (3pl)N+A water  
*booloomarni -yoo /*  
cattle DAT

'Below here at Birnboorni, Baajathngarna and Woombadda were living,  
pumping water for cattle.'

- 3 *niyi -nhingi / yoowarni nyiddaji ward -ji gamba -yoo /*  
that ABL one bull go (3sg)N+I water DAT  
'Then one bull came up for water.'

- 4 *yoowarni -ngga / gamba bambim -gila -nga /*  
one ERG water pump FACT (3sg)N+A  
'One of them was pumping water.'

- 5 *bambim -nga: niyaji / nyiddaji wara -yi /*  
pump (3sg)N+A this bull stand (3sg)N+I  
'He pumped, while the bull stood there.'

6 well .. *ngirndaji* -*ngga* / *bambim* -*gila* -*nga* *gamba* /  
 this ERG pump FACT (3sg)N+A water  
 'This one was really pumping water.'

7 *wara* -*mi* *wara* -*mi* *wara* -*mi* *niyaji*  
 stand (3sg)N+MI stand (3sg)N+MI stand (3sg)N+MI this  
*nyiddaji* /  
 bull  
 'It stood and stood and stood, the bull.'

(This is the only instance in the entire corpus of the verbal lexeme *wara*- 'stand' collocating with a classifier other than +I.)

8 *ngirndaji* / *ngoonyoo* -*nhingi* *nyiddaji* *ngirndaji* /  
 this where ABL bull this  
*joowoorloo nyamani* / *ward* -*ji* /  
 stomach big go (3sg)N+I  
 "'Where did this bull come from, the one with the big stomach?'"

9 nd *ngirnda* *bida* -*wa* -*yi* *no?* / *wayaddmi* /  
 and this get:stiff PROG (3sg)N+I now (he:left:off??)  
*bambim* -*nhingi* *gamba* /  
 pump ABL water  
 'He was getting stiff, and left off (??) from pumping water.'

(The meaning of the term *wayaddmi* is uncertain. On playing back the tape recording of this story, I was informed by the narrator that it meant 'arm'. It is not, however, among the terms I have elicited for 'arm'. The most likely possibility — both semantically and formally — seems to me to be that it is a careful, or dialectal variant of the verb *wadd*- 'leave off, forget'.)

10 *baa* -*mi* -*nhi* / *yaanya* -*yoo* / *nginyji* -*ga* now /  
 call (3sg)N+MI (3sg)O other DAT you ERG  
*bambim* -*ja* -*wa* *ngirndaji* -*yoo* / *nyiddaji* -*yoo* /  
 pump SUBJ FUT+(2sg)N+A this DAT bull DAT  
 'He called out to the other one, "You now, you can pump water for this bull."'

11 well *niyi* -*ngga* / *miga* -*mi* -*nhi* / *nginyji* -*ga* /  
 he ERG tell (3sg)N+MI (3sg)O you ERG  
*nyiddaji* / *thangarndi* *gard* -*boowoo* / *joowoorloo nyamani*  
 bull mouth hit (2sg)N+BINI stomach big

*niyaji nyiddaji /*

this bull

"Well, he said, "You should punch the bull in the mouth; it's got too big a stomach."

12 *gad -bi -ya -wani / yaabja -yoo /*

leave IT SUBJ (3sg)N+BINI some DAT

*boorloomani -yoo /*

cattle DAT

"Let it leave some water for the other caule."

13 well *niyi -nhingi wila / ngirndaji thangarndi*

that ABL finish this word

*ngaddagi -nhingi /*

my ABL

'Well, that's all my story.'