8. Cross and Square: Variegation in the Transmission of Songs and Musical Styles Between the Kimberley and Daly Regions of Northern Australia

Sally Treloyn

Early in 2010 I heard for the first time a recording of a performance of *balga* songs made in 1974 in Port Keats (Wadeye). Intrigued to hear this performance of *balga*—a dance-song genre championed by language groups of the Kimberley region, but here being sung by people some hundreds of kilometres away in the Daly region—I was immediately struck by two songs that were very similar to two songs in the *balga* repertory of the Ngarinyin/Wunambal composer Scotty Martin.¹ Some months later I had the opportunity to listen to the recording in the company of Martin and other elder performers of Kimberley *balga* and *junba*.² Martin immediately recognised the two songs as very much like his own. How the songs came to be performed in Port Keats in 1974, less than five years after Martin composed them, however, was a mystery, and there was much discussion about who the singers, particularly the lead singer, could possibly be. Martin, himself an expert composer and singer of song styles of the Kimberley (including all types of *balga/junba* and *wolungarri*)³ and the didjeridu-accompanied genres of the Daly (*wangga* and *lirrga*) provided an authoritative analysis of the songs: while the songs were indeed his and the entire repertory sounded Ngarinyin/Wunambal, they were ‘cross and square’ and ‘mixed up at the beginning’.

The chapters in this volume are concerned with the exchange and movement of records of culture through time, communities, and place. In the Kimberley and Daly regions of northern Australia, circulation via the sharing and adoption of songs, dance-songs and musical styles between neighbouring and distant groups permeates the social, ceremonial, linguistic and musical landscape. Ngarinyin elders have reported the movement of primarily vocal *balga/junba* repertories

1 A selection of these songs is presented in Linda Barwick and Scotty Martin, *Jadmi Junba by Nyalgodi Scotty Martin, Traditional Songman of the Dreamtime* (Sydney: Rouseabout Records, 2003), tracks 27–31.

2 There is substantial published research on the public Kimberley genre *junba*. The term *balga* is used in the east Kimberley to refer to *junba*, and elsewhere to delineate a subgenre of *junba* that uses string crosses and painted boards, also known as *jorrogorl* or *galinda*. It is distinguished from other subgenres of *junba*, including *jadmi* and *gulowada*.

3 *Wolungarri* is a ceremonial genre, performed annually in private settings.

beyond the Kimberley into the Daly since at least the 1950s, and genres such as *wangga* and *lirrga* have moved from the Daly into the Kimberley. *Djanba*, created in the early 1960s by composers in Port Keats (Wadeye) as a sister genre to *wangga* and *lirrga*,⁴ presents a particularly interesting case: *djanba* composers drew on the musical style of the Kimberley *balga/junba* genre to create a new sounding genre;⁵ the *djanba* genre was then traded back into the Kimberley.

Drawing on Nicholas Evans' description of the way in which small societies distinguish themselves from neighbouring and distant groups by a 'constructive fostering of variegation' in their languages,⁶ Linda Barwick has considered the elements of *balga/junba* (from the Kimberley) and *wangga/lirrga* (from the Daly) in *djanba*. Through this analysis, Barwick shows how the new variegated Kimberley/Daly *djanba* song form supported the Port Keats tripartite ceremonial complex and enhanced social cohesion in the new social world of the mission community in the 1960s. Barwick found that, while the creators of *djanba* drew on the musical style of *balga/junba*, they did so within the musical framework of the *lirrga* (and *wangga*) traditions with which they and their Port Keats ceremonial partners were familiar. In doing so, Barwick showed that the *djanba*-holding clans and composer/performers 'consciously differentiated' their music, as well as their linguistic, cultural and geographical identities, from those of *lirrga*- and *wangga*-performing clans within or around Port Keats.⁷ Akin to the 'intentional hybridizations' described by Sarah Weiss,⁸ the conscious variegation of *balga/junba* and *wangga/lirrga* within *djanba* involves a selection and deliberate uptake of aspects of a musical style or song of an 'other' and juxtaposition or overlaying of these with aspects of one's own musical style. In the case of *djanba*, the creators consciously designed a uniquely variegated *wangga/lirrga:balga/junba* dance-song genre in order to articulate something of their own identity in relation to but also distinct from those of their *wangga*-holding and *lirrga*-holding neighbours.⁹

Barwick's analysis describes the role of conscious and intentional variegation in the development of the new *djanba* musical style in Port Keats based on a pre-existing one from the Kimberley. This chapter will investigate the occurrence

4 Linda Barwick, 'Musical Form and Style in Murriny Patha *Djanba* Songs at Wadeye (Northern Territory, Australia)', in *Analytical and Cross-Cultural Studies in World Music*, eds Michael Tenzer and John Roeder (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 316–54.

5 See also Allan Maret, *Songs, Dreamings, and Ghosts: The wangga of north Australia* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2005), 25.

6 Nicholas Evans, *Dying Words: Endangered languages and what they have to tell us* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 14.

7 Barwick, 'Musical Form and Style in Murriny Patha *Djanba* Songs at Wadeye (Northern Territory, Australia)', 348.

8 Sarah Weiss, 'Permeable Boundaries: Hybridity, music, and the reception of Robert Wilson's "I La Galigo"', *Ethnomusicology* 52:2 (2008): 203–38.

9 Barwick, *Musical Form and Style in Murriny Patha *Djanba* Songs at Wadeye (Northern Territory, Australia)*, 48.

and role of variegation in the aforementioned *balga* performance in Port Keats recorded by Michael Walsh in 1974.¹⁰ I also consider the reactions of Kimberley *balga/junba* experts to the sound of *djanba* and to the Port Keats *balga*. Taking Martin's analysis of the *balga* performance as 'cross and square' as an entry point, I consider evidence that a kind of 'conscious variegation', grounded in an enduring *Larlan* (Dreaming) practice of articulating 'difference against a background of similarity' in social relationships,¹¹ is invoked when listening to and discussing the musical styles of linguistically, culturally and geographically distant, but connected groups. The chapter investigates the role of variegation in both the uptake of songs and styles transmitted from a neighbouring region, and in the reception of variegated songs and styles back in their source communities. The chapter considers what 'cross and square' means in relation to the transmission of songs from person to person in the Kimberley and in Port Keats (Wadeye) as well as to the geographies, cosmologies, and histories through which the songs have travelled; and how this 'cross and square' explanation of song transmission might also apply to the reception of songs heard across these boundaries, either via person-to-person sharing and innovation, or via legacy recordings.

The chapter is in three parts, beginning in Part One with an overview of the sharing and transmission of *balga/junba* repertoires within and beyond the Kimberley, the trade of *wangga* and *lirrga* songs from Port Keats into the Kimberley, and an account of the characterisation (by expert Kimberley *balga*, *wangga* and *lirrga* singers) of traded *djanba* and *balga* musical styles and songs as variegated, same but different and, in the case of *balga*, 'cross and square'. Parts Two and Three consider how this located variegation is manifested in the 1974 Port Keats *balga* performance, through an analysis of its musical features in relation to those of Kimberley *balga*, and specifically those displayed in Martin's *balga* repertory. Using the analysis of this recording by Scotty Martin as like Kimberley *balga* but 'cross and square', the chapter will examine the role of variegation in the transmission of songs and styles, and their reception across cultures, time, languages, and geographical space.

10 A4357A and A4357B, AIATSIS, Canberra.

11 Anthony Redmond, *Rulug Wayirri: Moving kin and country in the northern Kimberley* (PhD, University of Sydney, 2001), 136.

Part One—Transmission of Songs and Styles in and between the Kimberley and Daly Region

Kimberley and to the Daly

In the Kimberley, the *balga/junba* genre originates with the Wurnan, a network of trade paths and an ethos of sharing between independent but complementary individual and community partners. Wurnan transactions reaffirm identities in relation to family, Country, ancestors, and changing social and economic landscapes.¹² Redmond has explained how Wurnan transactions and journeys, such as these, are founded in the ‘collectivising’ and ‘differentiating’ actions of the ancestral moiety heroes, Wodoi (the Spotted Nightjar) and Jun.gun (the Owlet Nightjar). As Redmond argues, continual, mutually provoked fights between Wodoi and Jun.gun laid the foundation for relationships between individuals, mother and child, and clans. When Wodoi and Jun.gun articulated shared and collective but differentiated identities, they set a foundational pattern of establishing relationships through assertion of ‘difference against a background of similarity’. Redmond explains that this ‘is something which requires continuous human interaction and effort’ and must be ‘socially created to elicit relationships’.¹³ The pattern set down by Wodoi and Jun.gun continues to this day in exogamous marriage, indirect matrilineality, and the sharing of resources, including *balga/junba* repertoires, between clans of opposite moieties according to Wurnan.¹⁴ In these transactions, identities and relationships between individuals, generations, and clans, are established, negotiated and reaffirmed.

Balga/junba repertoires, including songs, dances, and associated paraphernalia, have been transmitted between clan groups and communities, and across cultural and linguistic boundaries guided by Wurnan since its formation in the *Larlan*.¹⁵ According to elder Ngarinyin people, this movement of Wurnan items, including *balga/junba*, to Port Keats (Wadeye) to the north-east was

12 Redmond, *Rulug Wayirri*; Anthony Redmond, ‘Places That Move’, in *Emplaced Myth: Space, narrative, and knowledge in Aboriginal Australasia and Papua New Guinea*, eds Alan Rumsey and J. F. Weiner (USA: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001), 120–38; Sally Treloyn, *Songs That Pull: Jadmi Junba from the Kimberley region of northwest Australia* (PhD, University of Sydney, 2006); Anthony Redmond, ‘Tracking Wurnan: Transformations in the trade and exchange of resources in the northern Kimberley’, in *Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies II: Historical engagements and current enterprises*, eds Natasha Fijn, Ian Keen, Christopher Lloyd and Michael Pickering (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2012), 57–72; Anthony Redmond and Fiona Skyring, ‘Exchange and Appropriation: The Wurnan economy and Aboriginal land and labour at Karunje Station, north-western Australia’, in *Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies: Historical and anthropological perspectives*, ed. Ian Keen (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2010), 73–90.

13 Redmond, *Rulug Wayirri*, 136–8.

14 Redmond, *Rulug Wayirri*; Redmond, ‘Places That Move’; Treloyn, *Songs That Pull*.

15 A *balga* repertoire composed by the Worrorra man Alan Balbangu on the western coast of the Kimberley in the 1930s, for example, was traded to Ngarinyin people and then on to the far east and north-east Kimberley, as far as Legune Station (home of a large expatriate Garamau (Murrinhpatha) population from the Daly region) and possibly even further to Port Keats (Wadeye). Treloyn, *Songs That Pull*, 48–50.

not uncommon. A handful of recordings provide a record of the emergence of Kimberley *balga/junba* as a popular style through the late-1940s to 1970s amongst singers from Port Keats, who performed the genre both there and further afield. In 1948, Colin Simpson recorded *balga* performed by a group of people from Port Keats at Delissaville (now Belyuen); in 1957, W. E. H. Stanner recorded several different groups singing *balga* at Daly River; in 1962, Alice Moyle recorded *balga* at the Darwin Eisteddfod.¹⁶ By far the most substantial recording of the performance of *balga* in Port Keats is that recorded by Michael Walsh in 1974. Walsh's recording comprises some twenty-one distinct songs, many of which are performed multiple times, led (most likely)¹⁷ by Jaminjung speaker Frank Jinjair, a resident of Port Keats. While the song items contained in the earlier recordings clearly exhibit some distinctive elements of *balga/junba* musical style,¹⁸ the Walsh recordings provide the first evidence that suggests that particular, identifiable songs that were composed in the Kimberley, by Kimberley composers, were incorporated into repertoires in Port Keats. By the time Barwick and Marett were conducting research in Port Keats (Wadeye) in the 1980s there was no *balga* being performed.¹⁹

Daly to the Kimberley

The trade and sharing of songs and song styles has also occurred in the other direction, from Port Keats (Wadeye) into the Kimberley. The movement of *wangga* and *lirrga* songs into the east Kimberley and across into the west Kimberley has been documented in a range of sources. These include numerous references to the movement of *wangga* into the east Kimberley by Jack Sullivan (Miriwung), Grant Ngabidj (Gadgerong) and Peter Ngunung (Garamau);²⁰ Allan Marett's description of the trade of *wangga* into the Kimberley over 'many decades'²¹ and his detailed analysis of the textual and melodic features of *wangga* and *lirrga* songs performed by Button Jones in the north-east Kimberley, Scotty Martin in the north-central Kimberley, and Jack Dann in the west Kimberley; as well as descriptions of *wangga* and *lirrga* spreading into the Kimberley via Wurnan

16 Linda Barwick and Allan Marett, 'Aural Snapshots of Musical Life: Simpson's 1948 Recordings', in *Exploring the Legacy of the 1948 Arnhem Land Expedition*, eds Martin Thomas and Margo Neale (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2011), 355–75. Barwick, 'Musical Form and Style in Murriny Patha *Djanba* Songs at Wadeye (Northern Territory, Australia)'.

17 Michael Walsh, personal communication, 2 March 2010.

18 Barwick and Marett, 'Aural Snapshots of Musical Life'.

19 Linda Barwick, personal communication, 5 February 2013.

20 Bruce Shaw, *Countrymen: The life histories of four Aboriginal men* (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1986); Bruce Shaw, *My Country of the Pelican Dreaming: The life of an Australian Aborigine of the Gadgerong, Grant Ngabidj, 1904–1977* (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1981); Bruce Shaw, *When the Dust Come in Between: Aboriginal viewpoints in the east Kimberley prior to 1982* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1992); *Banggaiyerri: The story of Jack Sullivan* (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1983).

21 Marett, *Songs, Dreamings, and Ghosts*, 26.

and stock routes provided by elder men and women in the course of my own research. It is also likely that *wangga/lirrga* moved to the Kimberley via the Murrinhpatha diaspora living in Kununurra and the east Kimberley, as well as via sea routes linking Port Keats to the east Kimberley, possibly via ports at Victoria River and Wyndham.²² Substantial recordings of *wangga* and *lirrga* in the Kimberley have been made by me between 2000 and 2002, and earlier in 1963 by Peter Lucich, Alice Moyle in 1968 and Lesley Reilly between 1973 and 1981. To this day, *wangga/lirrga* is a common and popular form of dance-song across the Kimberley, performed at almost all public festivals and other informal events, as well as in ceremonial contexts.²³

Djanba: The Kimberley to Port Keats to the Kimberley

One of the most intriguing cases of the transmission of songs between the Kimberley and the Daly region is presented by the genre of *djanba*. Invented in Port Keats in around 1960 by Murrinhpatha man Robert Dungoi Kolumboort²⁴ as the third genre in a tripartite ceremonial complex to enhance social cohesion in the new community,²⁵ the musical style of *djanba* was based on that of Kimberley *balga/junba*.²⁶

Indeed, the *balga/junba*-like sound of *djanba* has been observed by scholars and singers alike.²⁷ Many aspects of *djanba* sound like *balga/junba*: there is substantial repetition of text phrases; song texts are performed isorhythmically and are accompanied by a regular percussion accompaniment of clapsticks and handclapping; and melodic settings consist of a series of descents followed by a period of level tonic movement.²⁸ Together, the combination of melody, text and rhythm give the overall impression of a cyclical musical style that places *djanba* and *balga/junba*, along with another genre from Wadeye called *malgarrin*,²⁹

22 Michael Walsh, personal communication, 30 March 2011.

23 While elder performers differentiate *wangga* from *lirrga*, in the west Kimberley generally both are mixed in performances, collectively referred to as '*wangga*'. A distinction between *wangga* and *lirrga* appears to be retained in the east.

24 Barwick, 'Musical Form and Style in Murriny Patha *Djanba* Songs at Wadeye (Northern Territory, Australia)'.

25 See also Marett, *Songs, Dreamings, and Ghosts*.

26 The archetypal Centralian stylistic elements of *balga/junba* (such as the absence of didjeridu, substantial repetition of text, the cyclical treatment of melody and isorhythmic texts, and the use of a regular percussion accompaniment), provided a distinct contrast to the northern musical conventions of the other two genres in the complex, *wangga* and *lirrga* (use of the didjeridu, clearly strophic treatment of melody and text, and non-isorhythmic setting of texts).

27 Alberto Furlan, *Songs of Continuity and Change: The reproduction of Aboriginal culture through traditional and popular music* (PhD, University of Sydney, 2005); Marett, *Songs, Dreamings, and Ghosts*; Barwick, 'Musical Form and Style in Murriny Patha *Djanba* Songs at Wadeye (Northern Territory, Australia)'.

28 See also Barwick, 'Musical Form and Style in Murriny Patha *Djanba* Songs at Wadeye (Northern Territory, Australia)'.

29 Murriny Patha Song Project, 'Malgarrin: Australian Research Discovery Project', accessed 3 February 2013, <http://azoulay.arts.usyd.edu.au/mpsong/songs/songs/malgarrin.html>.

at one end of a continuum of musical style reaching to the south into central Australia.³⁰ In 2002, when discussing the various references to *djanba* that appear in Bruce Shaw's east Kimberley oral histories with three senior Ngarinyin *balga/junba* experts, one of the most senior knowledgeable *balga/junba* singers in the Kimberley commented to me: 'He like a *jorrogorl* too that *djanba*.'³¹ 'Yo', replied another.

Clearly *balga/junba*, both its style and particular songs, has played a significant role in the development of *djanba* in Port Keats (Wadeye).³² At the same time, *djanba* is also clearly marked as a northern genre, with much in common with its ceremonial partners *wangga* and *lirrga*: its texts and melodies, while containing cyclical material, are variable and strophic; and the rhythmic setting of texts is variable rather than isorhythmic.³³ In the continuation of my 2002 discussion with the Kimberley *balga/junba* experts, the singers linked *balga/junba* and *wangga/lirrga* explicitly:

Singer 1: But he pretty fast longa *garn.bag* [clapsticks], *manamana-ngarri* [quick tempo].

Singer 2: Yuwe [Yes].

ST [Sally Treloyn]: *Manamana-ngarri gan.barg* [quick clapsticks]?

Singer 1: Mm [Yes], pretty fast. [demonstrates the quick, interlocked rhythmic pattern performed by two pairs of clapsticks in *wangga/lirrga*, and ends with a vocalisation common at the end of *wangga*].

ST: How do those *gan.barg* go? Like in *wangga*?

Singer 2: Yah.

Singer 1: [Demonstrates the distinctive *wangga* pattern again] Like a horse galloping.

30 Sally Treloyn, 'Songs That Pull: Composition/performance through musical analysis', *Context: Journal of music research* 31 (2006): 151–64.

31 As noted above, *jorrogorl* is an alternative name for *balga* used by some Ngarinyin people.

32 In addition to adopting elements of the musical style of *balga/junba*, there is explicit reference to particular Kimberley *balga/junba* songs in the Port Keats *djanba* corpus and in the glosses provided by the respective performers of these songs, suggesting that particular Kimberley repertoires may have been key to the development of the new genre. For example, Flora Walkerbier's Ngarinyin *balga/junba* songs 'Iliji' (s05) and 'Wunbarowa' (s12), Aeroplane Nungulngunda's *balga* song 'mulala/Iliji' (s01), and Scotty Martin's *balga* song 'Wunbara' (s07), inform a *djanba* song composed by Robert Kolumboort 'Yilidji'. See PARADISEC, 'Wadeye Song Database', http://sydney.edu.au/arts/indigenous_song/wadeye/songtexts/169_Djanba000. Full texts of the Kimberley *balga/junba* songs can be found in Treloyn, *Songs That Pull*.

33 Barwick, 'Musical Form and Style in Murriny Patha *Djanba* Songs at Wadeye (Northern Territory, Australia)'.

A third expert singer then quietly sang a *djanba* song.³⁴ ‘That the *djanba* now’, explained Singer 1. ‘That’s it. Yo’, confirmed Singer 2.³⁵

Interested to elicit more detailed perspectives of expert Kimberley *balga/junba* singers on the sound of *djanba*, in 2010 I played a recording of Philip Pannikin Manbi and Button Jones singing *djanba*—recorded by Allan Marett in Kununurra³⁶ in 1998—to two Ngarinyin *balga/junba* experts and a Miriwung elder who was also an expert *wangga* singer and a countryman of the singers heard in the recording. Following a revealing question by one Ngarinyin expert, ‘*wangga?*’, the second Ngarinyin expert and his Miriwung colleague explain that *djanba* is like *wangga* but different, marked by the absence of didjeridu. They go on to explain that *djanba* is also like *balga/junba* but different, marked by a quick *wangga/lirrga* stick pattern, and distinctive *wangga* dance style:

Ngarinyin singer [NS] 1: *Wangga?*

Ngarinyin singer [NS] 2: *Djanba*.

Miriwung singer [MS]: *Djanba*.

NS1: Ah.

NS2: He like a *wangga* too.

MS: He like a *wangga*. He different.

NS1: Ah.

Sally Treloyn [ST]: Like *wangga* with no didjeridu eh?

NS2: Hm. But this one he got nothing. He don’t have didjeridu.

MS: That’s the Pannikin now, they bin call him ‘Djanba’ then. Djanba himself, yeah, two bala [Button Jones and Pannikin Manbi] here singing.

ST: Do you think this sounds like *junba* at all? Does this sound more like *junba* or more like *wangga*?

NS2: Yeah, like a, he like a *junba*.

MS: He like a *junba*.

34 Barwick later identified this song as one composed by Philip Pannikin Manbi, appearing as Djanba066 in the Murriny Patha Song Database (personal communication, March 2010). See PARADISEC, ‘Wadeye Song Database’, http://sydney.edu.au/arts/indigenous_song/wadeye/songtexts/204.

35 Names have been omitted due to cultural sensitivities.

36 Kununurra *thanpa* (*djanba*) songs performed by Pannikin Manbi and Button Jones, recorded by Allan Marett, 3 September 1998 at Kununurra, WA (A16946-A16981, AIATSIS, Canberra).

NS2: [But] they never put it that way. Some *djanba* proper fast, people got to dance real fast too. [MS laughs]. [Listening to the recording] They gonna start soon, I think, that quick one.

[We listen, until sticks change from a slow pattern found in both *balga/junba* and *wangga*, to a quick pattern found in *wangga*]

NS2: There now. Quick one now. ... They dance like a *wangga* too.

MS: Hm.

...

NS2: Ke! [NS2 joins in the singing at the end of the song] [MS laughs]

Djanba is an intriguing variegated form marked by both Kimberley *balga/junba* style and songs brought to the Daly via the Wurnan, and the pre-existing Daly styles, *wangga* and *lirrga*, that partner *djanba* in ceremony.

In her detailed discussion of the relationship between *djanba* and *lirrga*, Barwick explains the musical influences in *djanba* style as an example of what Nicholas Evans has described in relation to languages of small, isolated societies as a 'constructive fostering of variegation'.³⁷ Musical style is one of a number of ways in which *djanba* and *lirrga* are 'consciously differentiated by their creators', the others being dance and body paint designs, and use of language and references to place, ancestors and so on, in song texts.³⁸ Barwick makes the point that the *djanba* genre 'needs to be different enough from its sister repertoires *wangga* and *lirrga* to allow it to be instantly recognisable from a distance, as the group approaches the ceremonial ground'. At the same time, Barwick continues, *djanba* music and dance needs to be similar in structure to *wangga* and *lirrga* so that ceremonial actions common to all three genres can be conducted.³⁹

The responses of Kimberley *balga/junba* experts to the sound of *djanba* suggest that a similar 'conscious' and 'constructive fostering of variegation' is at work in the act of listening to and recalling the sound of *djanba* in the Kimberley. *Djanba* is heard as 'like a *jorrogorl* [*balga*]' but different, and 'like a *wangga*' but different. There is a recognition of variegation, similarity and difference in musical style that is part of a broader social and ceremonial complex, previously dominated by *balga/junba* and *wolungarri*, and into which *wangga/lirrga* then

37 Evans, *Dying Words*; Barwick, 'Musical Form and Style in Murriny Patha *Djanba* Songs at Wadeye (Northern Territory, Australia)', 349.

38 Barwick, 'Musical Form and Style in Murriny Patha *Djanba* Songs at Wadeye (Northern Territory, Australia)', 348.

39 Barwick, 'Musical Form and Style in Murriny Patha *Djanba* Songs at Wadeye (Northern Territory, Australia)', 349.

djanba entered. A great deal more is yet to be understood about the movement and role of *djanba* and *wangga/lirrga* in the Kimberley. Little is known about the cultural and ceremonial role that *djanba* took on in the Kimberley, other than that it arrived with the Wurnan into the east Kimberley and that it was performed by people from Kununurra in the north-east, including by Pannikin Manbi and Button Jones, and at Auvergne Station⁴⁰ and Karunjie station in the east.⁴¹ Whether it was used as an alternative to *wolungarri* and *wangga* in initiation ceremonies, as it is to *wangga* and *lirrga* in Port Keats, or whether it was simply used as Wurnan trade item and in informal contexts is not known at present.

We do know that *djanba* was introduced into the Kimberley via the Wurnan,⁴² possibly via both sea and overland routes. We can also imagine that it was likely a part of an 'efflorescence' of Wurnan ceremonial activity in the Kimberley, particularly Karunjie Station, in the 1960s and 1970s as Aboriginal station workers drew on both increased ritual exchanges and a new cash economy to negotiate the new relationships, economic and social structures imposed by the pastoral industry.⁴³ Insofar as the sharing of *balga/junba* and *djanba* on the Wurnan was partly done to forge and maintain relationships with the Daly region Murrinhpatha peoples, increasingly residing and working in the north-east Kimberley, the descriptions by *balga/junba* singers of *djanba* in the Kimberley as 'like a *jorrogorl*' but different, and 'like *wangga*, but different', likely spring from the mode of social reproduction of asserting 'difference against a background of similarity', founded in the ancestral actions of Wodoi and Jun.gun, the Wurnan and guiding relational and social interaction with closely and more distantly related groups. There is a bedrock identification of shared musical style and organisation when the Kimberley experts observe the *djanba* style: 'He like a *jorrogorl*', 'He like a *wangga*'. But in each case there is also recognition of difference. The case of *djanba* therefore reveals much about composers' uses of variegation to adopt and adapt a musical style to a pre-existing social and ceremonial context, as well as about listeners' attention to variegation to foreground what is familiar and what is unfamiliar, what is the same but different, in the musical styles of distant language groups with which they have ceremonial, and increasing social and economic contact.

A performance of songs in Port Keats (Wadeye) that are identified by the performers as *balga* provides us with further insight into the role of variegation in the transmission and reception of musical styles and songs across cultures, languages, time and space.

40 Alice Moyle recorded people from Auvergne Station (led by Barney Munggin, a resident at Daly River) at the Darwin Eisteddfod in 1963 performing *djanba* and *balga* together.

41 Nugget Gudurr Tataya (dec.), personal communication, date unknown 2010.

42 Shaw, *When the Dust Come in Between*, 51.

43 Redmond and Skyring, 'Exchange and Appropriation', 87.

‘Cross and Square’: Kimberley Responses to Port Keats *Balga*

It is clear that two songs in Walsh’s 1974 Port Keats *balga* recording are based on two songs in Scotty Martin’s *balga* repertory, the texts of which are set out here along with glosses provided by the composer.⁴⁴ Sketches of the Port Keats versions are also provided.

Scotty Martin’s Bulgumirri (36SM-s06)		
Text	<i>Bulgumirri wona</i>	<i>Borangala gamarangerri</i>
Gloss	From Bulgumirri* *House Roof Hill	‘Oh, that bloke he got to that place Borangala* already’, one agula said * Marshland area near Wyndham
Port Keats version PKBalga-s09	<i>Pulkumirri jana/jalya</i>	<i>Darrarru ? ...</i>
Scotty Martin’s Jilinya (36SM-s08)		
Text	<i>Jilinya mangalaluma</i>	<i>winjawurru badi bindi gala lemburr badi bindi</i>
Gloss	[Someone is saying] ‘She [the Jilinya] came out here already’	She came out when that sun [lemburr] went down
Port Keats version PKBalga-s06	<i>Jilinya mangalaluma</i>	<i>winjawurru badi bindi gala lemburr badi bindi</i>

Figure 1: Two *balga* songs composed by Scotty Nyalgodi Martin c. 1972–1974 and Port Keats versions.⁴⁵

During a session of listening by Martin and other *balga* singers and dancers in the Dodnun community in the north-central Kimberley, Martin immediately recognised both songs—PKBalga-s09 (Bulgumirri (36SM-s06)) and PKBalga-s06 (Jilinya (36SM-s08))—as very much like his own. A number of other songs were also identified as containing text and musical material from other Ngarinyin or Wunambal *balga* repertories. As described in the introduction to the chapter, Martin, who is an expert composer and singer of song styles of both the Kimberley (including *balga*-type *junba*, *jadmi*-type *junba*, and *wolungarri*) and

44 The glosses are drawn from a number of ‘barra-barra’ or talking sessions with Martin, Maisie Jodba, and other senior performers of the songs, conducted by Linda Barwick in 1999, and the author in 2001, 2002, and 2010. These sessions, structured around the transcription and elicitation of song texts (which do not change from performance to performance), their meaning, and any associated information about the song or its context that the participants wished to share, were recorded and then transcribed.

45 Each repertory in the *balga/junba* corpus has been assigned a unique identifier, consisting of a number and the composer’s initials. See Treloyn, *Songs That Pull*. Martin’s *jorrogorl balga* repertory is assigned the prefix 36SM. Songs in the Port Keats performance (recorded by Michael Walsh, 1974, AIATSIS archive number A4357A and A4357B) are given the prefix ‘PKBalga’. Each unique song in a repertory is numbered s01, s02, and so on.

Port Keats (*wangga* and *lirrga*), provided an authoritative analysis of the songs: while the songs were indeed his and the entire repertory sounded Ngarinyin, they were ‘cross and square’ and ‘mixed up at the beginning’.

I began by introducing Barwick’s analysis that *djanba* presents a uniquely variegated *wangga/lirrga:balga/junba* dance-song genre, consciously designed in the 1960s to mark a distinctive identity within the ceremonial and cultural context of Port Keats. The testimony of Kimberley singers has also demonstrated that variegation of *balga/junba* and *wangga/lirrga* in *djanba* is heard and noted by singers, and that this variegation fits within a broader social framework of managing and fostering new and changing relationships across the geographical, cultural, social, economic, and linguistic reach of Wurnan. In the second and third parts of the chapter I take a closer look at the musical form of Kimberley *balga* and the Port Keats *balga*, and consider what Martin’s analysis of the latter as ‘cross and square’ tells us about musical variegation in more direct transmissions of songs and a musical style.

Part Two—Kimberley *Balga* in the Daly: Variegated Musical Style

In the Kimberley, the terms ‘*balga*’ and ‘*junba*’ denote a tradition of dance-song that enacts relationships between living people, the spirits of their deceased relatives, their hereditary Country, and their stories and ancestral foundational events.⁴⁶ By articulating these relationships in song and dance, and in Wurnan trade, *balga/junba* conception stories, songs and dances inscribe and are inscribed with the physical, spiritual, personal, social and economic landscape. Since 1999, approximately 340 Kimberley *balga/junba* songs, encompassing thirty-one repertories, have been recorded or documented.⁴⁷ At present Scotty Martin, pictured in Figure 2, is one of only two living composers of *balga/junba*. Martin has received in dream and composed two repertories (comprising at least forty-six songs), one a *jorrogorl balga* and the other a *jadmi junba* (repertories 36SM and 11SM, respectively).

While the *jadmi* style of *junba* has been described and analysed at length, little attention has been paid to the *balga/junba* style. As a master singer and composer, still active in leading and teaching today, Martin’s performances and explanations of his repertory provide an exemplary record of this style to use as

46 See Brown, this volume, for a discussion of a repertory that has a similar function in western Arnhem Land.

47 These recordings (made by the author, Barwick and others), and a handful of archival recordings dating from the 1960s–1990s provide the sample for the account of *balga* musical style upon which the description and analysis in this chapter is based.

a basis for such a description. The analysis presented here is therefore based on a sample of thirty-one song performances, consisting of multiple performances of twelve distinct songs that make up the current recorded corpus of Martin's *balga*, supported by the larger corpus of *balga/junba* songs, including those referred to as *galinda* and *jorrogorl*.⁴⁸

Figure 2: Scotty Nyalgodi Martin: master *junba* (*balga* and *jadmi*) and *wangga/lirrga* composer and singer.

Source: Photograph by Sally Treloyn, 7 July 2014.

Martin composed his *balga* in two sets. The first of these, consisting of seven songs (referred to here as 36SM-s06–36SM-s12), was composed by Martin between 1972 and 1974 when he was shown them by the spirit of his mother's deceased father in dreams. I recorded this early set of songs in March 2002. A later, second set, consisting of a further five songs (36SM-s01–36SM-s05), was composed in the early-to-mid-1990s and was recorded by Linda Barwick at Bijili near Dodnun in May 1999.⁴⁹

48 The terms '*galinda*' and '*jorrogorl*' are used to refer to *balga/junba* in Worrorra and Ungarinyin languages, respectively.

49 These were later released by Martin on CD. Barwick and Martin, *Jadmi Junba*, tracks 27–31.

Walsh's 1974 Port Keats *balga* recording includes thirty-three distinct song items. Twenty-one distinct songs—here labelled PKBalga-s01, PKBalga-s02, and so on—are included in the performance. Many are audibly accompanied by dance. From my first hearing of this recording in 2010, it was very clear that the songs shared the basic characteristics of the Kimberley *balga/junba* style:

1. the melodic contour is reminiscent of the Kimberley *balga/junba* melodic contour;
2. texts are performed cyclically and isorhythmically;
3. the cycling of the text is interrupted and recommenced at melodic cycle boundaries;
4. the singing is accompanied by a regular percussion accompaniment consisting of clapsticks and clapping that is paused and restarted at regular intervals throughout each song performance.

Indeed, as described above, when Kimberley *balga/junba* experts, including Martin, listened to the Port Keats recording, the consensus was that the songs by and large sounded like Ngarinyin *balga*. Furthermore, Martin made a clear analytical statement that the songs that were most like his—Bulgumirri (PKBalga-s09/36SM-s06) and Jilinya (PKBalga-s06/36SM-s08)—were 'cross and square' and 'mixed up at the beginning'.

A closer look at the performances reveals evidence of variegation of musical style, distinguishing the musical style of the Port Keats songs from that of Kimberley *balga/junba*, and aligning it with other Daly genres such as *wangga/lirrga* and *djanba*. This variegation occurs on multiple levels of the organisation of the repertoire, from song order to melody, text and rhythm, and how these are combined.

Song Order

As is common throughout the Kimberley *balga/junba* corpus, each song in the Port Keats *balga* performance is repeated once or twice, before moving on to the next. Marking a distinct contrast to danced Kimberley performances, there is very little repetition of songs otherwise. The deployment of songs in Kimberley *balga/junba* performances features the repeated reiteration of one or sometimes two songs known as *galanba* (also known as *guroguro* or *warami*), 'warm up' songs. These songs have the purpose of drawing the singers, dancers and audience to the performance space in the lead up to the danced performance. Throughout the performance these songs, which are not accompanied by dance, are returned to and repeated, giving the dancers the opportunity to prepare for

the next dance and drawing the dancers onto the dance ground.⁵⁰ By contrast, in the Port Keats *balga* performance almost all songs are introduced one after the other. In the sample of twenty-one songs, only one song is returned to following its introduction. While this contrasts the Kimberley style, it clearly flows on from the conventional series-based, juxtaposition-orientated format of other Daly genres, such as *lirrga*.⁵¹

Melody

Melodic Cycles

Both Martin's *balga* and the Port Keats *balga* songs are performed with a basic melodic contour that consists of a series of two or more melodic cycles. Each melodic cycle features a long descent section led by the song leader sometimes with other men singers.⁵² This is often followed by an extended period of level movement on a tonic pitch (the lowest pitch of the melody contour) carried by women singers, referred to here as the tonic section.⁵³ The descent section incorporates in both cases small reiterative ascents and descents to a third or second above the tonic pitch.

As set out in Figure 3, in both repertoires, melodic cycles take one of two forms, depending on the use or non-use of the tonic section:

1. a 'Short' form that consists primarily of the descent section with either no or just a very short section of level tonic movement;
2. a 'Long' form that consists of the descent section, followed by the tonic section that may be as long or longer than the descent section.⁵⁴

In both repertoires, 'Short' and 'Long' melodic cycles are deployed in the performance of each song in one of two ways. Songs are performed with either a series of 'Long' cycles only (| | : Long : | |); or alternating 'Short' and 'Long' cycles, beginning with a 'Short' cycle (| | : Short + Long : | |).

50 Sally Treloyn, "'When Everybody There Together ... Then I Call That One': Song order in the Kimberley', *Context: Journal of music research* 32 (2007): 105–21

51 Linda Barwick, 'Marri Ngarr Lirrga Songs: A musicological analysis of song pairs in performance', *Musicology Australia* 28:1 (2005): 1–25.

52 This moves through three registers or *langgan* 'throats', referred to in Ungarinyin as *arrungun* (high), *belaga* (middle) and *alya* (low) registers. See Treloyn, *Songs That Pull*.

53 This tonic section corresponds to the *biyobiyo* 'pulling' section previously described for *jadmi junba*. See Treloyn, *Songs That Pull*, and Treloyn, 'Songs That Pull'.

54 Note that these are not to be confused with 'Short' (Type II) and 'Long' (Type I) descents in *jadmi* style *junba* which are differentiated from each other on the basis of the starting pitch (short descents commencing a third lower than long descents). See Sally Treloyn, 'Scotty Martin's *Jadmi Junba*: A song series from the Kimberley region of northwest Australia', *Oceania* 73:3 (2003): 208–20; Treloyn, *Songs That Pull*.

In the sample of Martin’s *balga* and the Port Keat’s *balga*, every time a song is performed it is performed with the same pattern of deployment, as set out in Figure 4.

Figure 3: Melodic cycle forms in Martin’s *balga* and the Port Keats *balga*.

Melodic cycle contour	Song	Proportion of repertoire
Scotty Martin’s <i>balga</i>		
: Short + Long :	s01, s02, s03, s04, s05, s06, s09, s10	8/12 (66%)
: Long :	s07, s08, s11, s12	4/12 (33%)
Port Keats <i>balga</i>		
: Short + Long :	s06, s08, s09, s10, s11, s12, s13, s14, s15, s16, s17, s18, s19, s20, s21	15/20*(75%)
: Long :	s02, s03, s04, s05, s07	5/20 (25%)

Figure 4: Song item melodic contour: deployment of Short and Long melodic cycles in Martin’s *balga* and the Port Keats *balga*.

* Only twenty of the twenty-one songs are included as only a short excerpt of one song (s01) is included in the Walsh recording and melodic contour cannot be determined.

While ||: Short + Long :|| and ||: Long :|| melodic cycle contours are deployed in relatively similar proportions across both repertoires (66%:33% in Martin’s *balga*, and 75%:25% in the Port Keats sample) the melodic contours of repertoires diverge significantly when it comes to the number of melodic cycles that are used in each song performance. In Martin’s *balga* a high proportion of song performances comprise an even number of melodic cycles (two, four, six, and so on). This is the case in all but two of the thirty-one items in the sample of Martin’s songs and marks a striking contrast to *jadmi*-type *junba* repertoires, which show a preference for odd numbered descents (three, five, seven, and so on). However, in the Port Keats sample,

while all of the $||$: Short + Long : $||$ form songs are (logically) performed with an even number of descents, all but one of the five songs with the $||$: Long : $||$ form are performed with just three cycles.⁵⁵

Melodic Sections

Looking more closely at the internal contour of the melodic cycles, for the purposes of analysis the descent can be divided into four ‘melodic sections’, labelled melodic section (MS) 1, MS 2, MS 3 and MS 4. While both repertoires share basic melodic cycle contours, the range of the descent in the Port Keats *balga* is cropped. In Martin’s *balga* songs, the descent section covers an octave (transcribed as c – C), however the majority of the Port Keats *balga* songs (including the versions of Martin’s songs, PKBalga-s09 and PKBalga-s06) cover a range of only a fifth or sixth (transcribed as G/A – C). As set out in Figure 5, these cycles comprise only Melodic Sections 2–4, followed (in the Long form) by the tonic section.

Long melodic cycles					
Scotty Martin's <i>balga</i> s01 – s12					
Port Keats <i>balga</i> s02, s03, s04, s05					
		Port Keats <i>balga</i> s06, s07, s08, s09, s10, s11, s12, s13, s14, s15, s16, s17, s18, s19, s20, s21			
Melodic sections [MS]	MS 1	MS 2	MS 3	MS 4	Tonic

Figure 5: Melodic sections in Long melodic cycles in Martin’s *balga* and the Port Keats *balga*.

Text

Balga/junba songs comprise relatively short texts that are repeated in a cyclical fashion through the course of a song performance. The text of a song is unique

⁵⁵ Intriguingly, each of these three-cycle performances is followed by a performance with two cycles. These songs therefore appear to be performed as a pair of song items, the first time with three cycles and the second time with two cycles. While it is common for songs in the Kimberley sample to be performed twice, no such pairing based on the number of melodic cycles in the contour occurs to my knowledge.

and is the key factor that distinguishes one from another. The glosses provided by Martin, and patterns of repetition within the text cycle, delineate ‘text lines’, as set out in Figure 6. These text lines are labelled ‘Text line A’ and ‘Text line B’.

Scotty Martin’s Bulgumirri (36SM-s06)	
Text line A	Text line B
<i>Bulgumirri wona</i>	<i>Borangala gamarangerri</i>
From Bulgumirri* * House Roof Hill	“Oh, that bloke he got to that place Borangala* already”, one agula said * Marshland area near Wyndham
Scotty Martin’s Jilinya (36SM-s08)	
Text line A	Text line B
<i>Jilinya mangalaluma</i>	<i>winjawurru badi bindi gala lemburr badi bindi</i>
[Someone is saying] “She [the Jilinya] came out here already”	She came out when that sun [lemburr] went down

Figure 6: Text lines in Bulgumirri (36SM-s06) and Jilinya (36SM-s08).

As set out in Figure 7, in a large number of songs from both Martin’s and the Port Keats repertory A and B text lines are deployed in a ‘doubled’ form, in which each is repeated once before moving on to the next (AABBAABB, and so on). Each repertory also displays a significant number of ‘undoubled’ forms. In Martin’s repertory, six text cycles have the ‘undoubled’ structure in which each text line is performed only once before moving on to the next (in the form AB or ABC). The Port Keats *balga* repertory demonstrates a greater range of structures, as well the multiple text cycle forms (A repeated for several melodic cycles, followed by B repeated for several melodic cycles (A/B), for example).⁵⁶ These structures are common in wider Kimberley *balga/junba* corpus.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ While the ‘doubled’ AABB form is the predominant and usual structure in the *jadmi* corpus of Kimberley *junba*, previously described by Treloyn, *Songs That Pull*, and Barwick, ‘Musical Form and Style in Murriny Patha *Djanba* Songs at Wadeye (Northern Territory, Australia)’, these forms occur frequently in the wider Kimberley *balga/junba* corpus.

⁵⁷ While these structures maintain an essence of cyclic patterning, they also point towards the traditions of the Daly region. Evidence of variegation in Kimberley *balga*, however, is beyond the scope of the current chapter.

Text cycle structure	Repertory and Song	Occurrence
Scotty Martin's <i>balga</i>		
Doubled AABB	s03, s07, s08, s09, s11, s12	6/12 (50%)
Undoubled AB or ABC	s01, s02, s04, s05, s06, s10	6/12 (50%)
Port Keats <i>balga</i>		
Doubled AABB	s01, s02, s03, s04, s05, s08, s09, s11, s12, s14, s16, s17, s19, s21	14/21 (66%)
Undoubled AAB, A, A/B, or A/B/C	s06, s07, s10, s13, s15, s18, s20	7/21 (33%)

Figure 7: Deployment of text cycle structures in Martin's *balga* and the Port Keats *balga*.

Rhythm

As is common in Kimberley *balga/junba* of all types, songs in both repertoires are accompanied by a regular percussion accompaniment, of clapsticks (played by the song leader) and clapping performed by the rest of the singing ensemble at half the rate of the clapsticks. Throughout this repertory the clapsticks (transcribed as x) and clapping (transcribed as ○) exhibit a 2/4 pattern.

Also, as is common in Kimberley *balga/junba* of all types, songs in both repertoires are performed isorhythmically, and each time a text is repeated it has an identical rhythmic setting, as set out in Figure 8.

36SM-s06 Bulgumirri and PKBalga-s09 Pulkumirri			
Repertory, Song and tempo	Text line A	Text line B	
	Rhythmic segment	Rhythmic segment	
36SM-s06 ♩ = c.82 bpm	Bulgumirri wona ⊗ x ⊗ x	Borangala gamarangerri ⊗ x ⊗ x ⊗ x	
PKBalga-s09 ♩ = c.78 bpm	Pulkumirri jana/jalya ⊗ x ⊗ x	Darrarru ? ⊗ x ⊗ x ⊗ x	
36SM-s08 Jilinya and PKBalga-s06 Jilinya			
Repertory, song and tempo	Text line A	Text line B	
	Rhythmic segment	Rhythmic segment	Rhythmic segment
36SM-s08 ♩. = c.112 bpm	Jilinya mangalaluma ⊗ x ⊗ x ⊗ x	winjawurru badi bindi ⊗ x ⊗ x ⊗ x	gala lemburr badi bindi ⊗ x ⊗ x ⊗ x
PKBalga-s06 ♩. = c.104 bpm	Jilinya mangalaluma ⊗ x ⊗ x ⊗ x	winjawurru badi bindi ⊗ x ⊗ x ⊗ x	gala lemburr badi bindi ⊗ x ⊗ x ⊗ x

Figure 8: Rhythmic settings of Bulgumirri/Pulkumirri and Jilinya.

Moreover, as set out in Figure 8, in both repertoires, the rhythmic setting of text lines comprises one or two rhythmic segments, defined by patterns of repetition and the occurrence of one or a series of two (in the case of Bulgumirri) relatively long durations.⁵⁸ As is common throughout the entire *balga/junba* corpus, most rhythmic segments consist of two, three or four clap (♩ or ♪) beats. 36SM-s06 comprises a two-beat rhythmic segment (♩ ♪, *Bulgumirri wona*) followed by a three-beat rhythmic segment (♩ ♪ ♪, *Borangala gamarangerri*). 36SM-s08 comprises one three-beat rhythmic segment (♩ ♪ ♪, *Jilinya mangalaluma*) in Text line A, and two three-beat rhythmic segments (3+3) in Text line B (♩ ♪ ♪, *winjawurru badi bindi*; ♩ ♪ ♪, *gala lemburr badi bindi*).

These characteristics closely align the Port Keats performance with Kimberley *balga/junba*. However there are also a number of differences. Firstly, while the Port Keats *balga* percussion accompaniment displays the common Kimberley

⁵⁸ As is common in northern genres such as *wangga* and *lirrga*, these units coincide with the end of meaningful text segments. While detailed linguistic analysis of the texts is yet to be done, it is clear from the glosses and explanation provided by Martin that the rhythmic segments that are demarcated by these long durations are coterminous with semantic and structural units within the text cycle, such as text lines and phrases.

balga/junba 2/4 metre, the clapsticks are also performed at half their usual rate. This marks a striking departure from Kimberley *balga/junba* style and, simultaneously, an affinity with Daly genres such as *wangga* and *lirrga* that exhibit a greater range of stick beating patterns.

Secondly, while the percussion accompaniment in Kimberley *balga/junba* is performed at two tempi—‘slow’ (80–86 bpm) and ‘fast’ (112–114 bpm) (referred to as *abalan* or *banngun-ngarri* and *manamana-ngarri*, respectively, in Ungarinyin)—three tempi occur in the Port Keats repertoire: ‘very slow’ (72–74 bpm; 77–80 bpm); ‘slow’ (78–86 bpm); and ‘fast’ (96–104 bpm). Again, this marks a striking departure from Kimberley *balga/junba* style and, simultaneously, an affinity with Daly genres such as *wangga* and *lirrga* that exhibit a greater number of tempo bands.⁵⁹

Thirdly, in both repertoires the isorhythmic settings display just one of two different metres: a simple duple metre (such as in Bulgumirri 36SM-s06/PKBalga-s09) and a simple triple metre (such as in Jilinya 36SM-s08/PKBalga-s06). However, in Martin’s repertoire all simple duple texts are performed at the slow tempo (80–86 bpm) and all simple triple songs are performed at the fast tempo (112–114 bpm). Thus the repertoire exhibits just two rhythmic modes: slow 2/4 (see 36SM-s06) and fast 3/8 (see 36SM-s08). In the Port Keats repertoire, by contrast, while texts in the simple triple metre occur in the fast tempo (see, for example, PKBalga-s06), texts in the simple duple metre occur at three tempi: ‘very slow’ (72–74 bpm; 77–80 bpm); ‘slow’ (78–86 bpm) (see, for example, PKBalga-s09); and ‘fast’ (96–104 bpm). Consequently, this repertoire displays no less than four distinct rhythmic modes: very slow 2/4; slow 2/4; fast 2/4; and, fast 3/8.

Finally, while song performances across Kimberley *balga/junba* corpus only ever use one rhythmic mode,⁶⁰ four of the twenty-one songs in the Port Keats *balga* (PKBalga-s02, PKBalga-s04, PKBalga-s11, and PKBalga-s16) use two rhythmic modes in the same song item. In each case they use the undoubled very slow 2/4 mode, followed by the doubled fast 2/4 mode.

Each of these points—the number of stick patterns, tempo bands, and rhythmic modes used in a repertoire, as well as the number of rhythmic modes used in any one song performance—marks a striking departure from Kimberley *balga/junba* style and, simultaneously, an affinity with Daly genres such as *wangga*,⁶¹ *lirrga*⁶² and *djanba*.⁶³

⁵⁹ Treloyn, *Songs That Pull*.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*

⁶¹ Marett, *Songs, Dreamings, and Ghosts*.

⁶² Linda Barwick, ‘Tempo Bands, Metre and Rhythmic Mode in Marri Ngarr “Church Lirrga” Songs’, *Australasian Music Research* 7 (2003): 67–83; Barwick, ‘Marri Ngarr Lirrga Songs’.

⁶³ Barwick, ‘Musical Form and Style in Murriny Patha *Djanba* Songs at Wadeye (Northern Territory, Australia)’; Freya Bailes and Linda Barwick, ‘Absolute Tempo in Multiple Performances of Aboriginal Songs:

Coterminous Versus Non-Coterminous Melodic Contour

A key factor that distinguishes *djanba* from *balga/junba* relates to the coincidence of boundaries between melodic cycles and text units. Barwick finds that *djanba* displays a ‘coterminous’ relationship between melody and text, wherein the boundaries of text stanzas coincide with those of melodic units.⁶⁴ In Kimberley *balga/junba*, however, the relationship between melody and text/rhythm is relatively non-coterminous with independently cycling text cycles and melodic cycles.⁶⁵ Evidence of non-coterminosity in the current sample requires some further consideration.

As noted earlier, the cycling of texts in both Martin’s and the Port Keats repertoires is interrupted and recommenced at the beginning of each melodic cycle. It is not uncommon for the structure of text cycles to be broken between one melodic cycle and another as in 36SM-s07 and PKBalga-s17 (marked in bold in Figure 9).

Scotty Martin’s <i>balga</i> (36SM-s07), MD200218				
Melodic cycle in song item	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Text lines	AABBA	AABBA	AABBA	AABBAA
Port Keat’s <i>balga</i> (PKbalga-s17), A4357B				
Melodic cycle in song item	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Text lines	AABBAA	AABBAABBAA	AABBAA	AABBAABBAA

Figure 9: Breaking of text cycles at the commencement of new melodic cycles in Martin’s *balga* and the Port Keats *balga*.

This has previously led to the conclusion that text is somewhat strophic in relation to melodic cycles (i.e. there is a degree of coterminosity): the boundaries in the text are determined by melodic cycles.⁶⁶ If we take a closer look at the

Analyzing recordings of Djanba 12 and Djanba 14’, *Music Perception: An interdisciplinary journal* 28:5 (2011): 473–90.

64 See Barwick, ‘Musical Form and Style in Murriny Patha *Djanba* Songs at Wadeye (Northern Territory, Australia)’.

65 Relativity is cited here because, as argued elsewhere—Treloyn, *Songs That Pull*—compared to Centralian style isorhythmic cyclical songs, *junba* exhibits a relatively strophic relationship, suggesting a degree of coterminosity between melody and text.

66 Treloyn, *Songs That Pull*.

melodic cycles, however, namely how a regular cessation and recommencement of the clapsticks cues melodic contour in each of the repertoires, it is clear that text and melody also remain independent. It has been well established that the cessation of clapsticks in *jadmi* type *junba* cues melodic structure. In *jadmi* type *junba*, where melodic cycles commence from one of two different pitches, the cessation and recommencement of the sticks correspond to two different melodic descent types, suggesting that the stick pattern provides a melodic cue to the singers.⁶⁷ Such a device is not needed in *balga*-type *junba*, however, where all melodic cycles in a song performance commence from the same pitch. In *balga*-type *junba*, the lead-singer appears to stop and restart the sticks instead to indicate that the melodic cycle currently being sung will be a ‘short’ melodic cycle (with no tonic section), rather than a ‘long’ melodic cycle (with a tonic section). In both Martin’s and the Port Keats repertoires, in songs that use the ||:Short + Long:|| melodic contour, the percussion accompaniment ceases at the commencement of each ‘short’ cycle, restarting shortly after. In these songs the accompaniment stops at the beginning of the first, third, fifth descents and so on (shaded in Figure 10).

Scotty Martin’s <i>balga</i>				
Melodic cycle form	Short	Long	Short	Long
Melodic cycle in song item	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Port Keats <i>balga</i>				
Melodic cycle form	Short	Long	Short	Long
Melodic cycle in song item	1st	2nd	3rd	4th

	Cessation of clapsticks
--	-------------------------

Figure 10: Cessation of clapsticks in ||: Short + Long :|| song performances in Martin’s *balga* and the Port Keats *balga*.

Likewise, in Martin’s *balga* songs that use the ||: Long :|| melodic contour, the cessation also occurs, usually at the beginning of first, third, fifth melodic

67 Treloyn, ‘Scotty Martin’s *Jadmi Junba*’; Treloyn, *Songs That Pull*.

cycles and so on, as in all Kimberley *balga*.⁶⁸ This cessation of sticks on the first, third and fifth melodic cycles throughout the Kimberley repertory has a major implication. It has the effect of pairing cycles together, regardless of their ||: Short + Long :|| or ||: Long :|| format; each pair is marked by a cessation of the sticks. The even length of all performances in the repertory (i.e., two, four, six cycles) further supports this grouping. Viewed in relation to the text, which, irrespective of this pairing, is organised around the commencement of each new melodic cycle, a 2:1 non-coterminous relationship between melodic and text units emerges, as set out in Figure 11.

By contrast, in the Port Keats *balga* repertory the accompaniment ceases and restarts at the commencement of *every* cycle in song performances that have the ||: Long :|| form (rather than just the first, third, fifth, and so on) (see Figure 11). The use of an uneven number of melodic cycles in ||: Long :|| songs and the marking of every cycle with a cessation of the sticks), suggests that melodic cycles in the Port Keats contour are conceived of as individual (unpaired) cycles that are coterminous with the text units: each new iteration of the text coincides with a new melodic unit.

Scotty Martin's <i>balga</i>	Paired melodic cycles, non-coterminous with text				
	II: Short + Long :II	Melodic cycle pair		Melodic cycle pair	
		Short	Long	Short	Long
	II: Long :II	Melodic cycle pair		Melodic cycle pair	
		Long	Long	Long	Long
Port Keats <i>balga</i>	II: Short + Long :II	Melodic cycle pair		Melodic cycle pair	
		Short	Long	Short	Long
	Unpaired melodic cycles, coterminous with text				
	II: Long :II	Single melodic cycle	Single melodic cycle	Single melodic cycle	
		Long	Long	Long	

Cessation of clapsticks

Figure 11: Coterminous (Port Keats) versus non-coterminous (Martin's) treatments of melody and text.

68 While additional analysis is needed, it appears that this marks an historical melodic form, wherein the descent section comprised two descents (one an octave lower than the other) before moving onto the tonic section. In the present day ||: Long :|| forms, it appears that the sticks remain as a trace of this earlier form that was, assuming octave equivalence, in effect also a ||: Short + Long :|| form.

Again, this element of the Port Keats setting clearly distinguishes Port Keats *balga/junba* from the Kimberley practice and appears to mark it as a Daly musical tradition.

The Port Keats *balga* repertory is clearly based on Kimberley *balga* musical style. However, as shown, song order, elements of rhythm and rhythmic mode, and the coterminous relationship between melody and text clearly mark it as a Daly performance. The Port Keats *balga*, like *djanba*, is variegated, marked both with new musical traditions of the Kimberley and the familiar ones from the Daly.

A question that emerges is: how do performers who are familiar with the musical styles in question perceive this variegation? Is this variegation conscious and intentional as observed by Barwick in *djanba*⁶⁹ and elsewhere by Weiss⁷⁰ and Evans⁷¹ or is it ‘implicit’ musical knowledge⁷² arrived at simply through complex comparative musical analysis? To begin to answer these questions, I now turn to Martin’s observation that the Port Keats *balga* is ‘cross and square’.

Part Three—Cross and Square

Cross and Square Text/Rhythm and Melody

As noted, two Port Keats songs are clearly based on Martin’s *balga* repertory. The texts and rhythmic settings of these songs are set out in Figure 12 for reference throughout the following discussion. PKbalga-s06 has an identical text and rhythmic setting to Jilinya 36SM-s08; PKBalga-s09 begins by naming Bulgumirri (House Roof Hill) that occurs in 36SM-s06 and, while the remainder of the text varies from Martin’s song, the two versions have an identical rhythmic setting.

69 Barwick, ‘Musical Form and Style in Murriny Patha *Djanba* Songs at Wadeye (Northern Territory, Australia)’.

70 Weiss, ‘Permeable Boundaries’.

71 Evans, *Dying Words*.

72 Richard Widdess, ‘Implicit Rāga Knowledge in the Kathmandu Valley’, *Analytical Approaches to World Music* 1:1 (2011): 73–92.

36SM-s06 Bulgumirri and PKBalga-s09 Pulkumirri			
Repertory, Song and tempo	Text line A	Text line B	
	Rhythmic segment	Rhythmic segment	
36SM-s06 ♩ = c.82 bpm	Bulgumirri wona ⊗ x ⊗ x	Borangala gamarangerrri ⊗ x ⊗ x ⊗ x	
PKBalga-s09 ♩ = c.78 bpm	Pulkumirri jana/jalya ⊗ x ⊗ x	Darrarru ? ⊗ x ⊗ x ⊗ x	
36SM-s08 Jilinya and PKBalga-s06 Jilinya			
Repertory, Song and tempo	Text line A	Text line B	
	Rhythmic segment	Rhythmic segment	Rhythmic segment
36SM-s08 ♩. = c.112 bpm	Jilinya mangalaluma ⊗ x ⊗ x ⊗ x	winjawurru badi bindi ⊗ x ⊗ x ⊗ x	gala lemburr badi bindi ⊗ x ⊗ x ⊗ x
PKBalga-s06 ♩. = c.104 bpm	Jilinya mangalaluma ⊗ x ⊗ x ⊗ x	winjawurru badi bindi ⊗ x ⊗ x ⊗ x	gala lemburr badi bindi ⊗ x ⊗ x ⊗ x

Figure 12: Songs that occur in Martin's and the Port Keats *balga*.

While similarities between the songs and style were noted by Martin, he was also strongly of the view that the singing was 'all a bit cross and square', and that they were 'mixed up at the beginning'. On first listening to the songs, two differences immediately stand out. Firstly, whereas Martin presents the song-text of Jilinya (36SM-s08) with a doubled AABB form, the Port Keats group presents the same text (PKBalga-s06) with an undoubled AAB form; and, whereas Martin presents the Bulgumirri (36SM-s06) song-text with an undoubled AB structure, the Port Keats group presents it with a doubled AABB structure.⁷³

⁷³ Also, in the Jilinya song, whereas Martin sets the text to the | | : Long : | | melodic cycle contour, the Port Keats group set it to the | | : Short + Long : | | form.

Jilinya		
Repertory, Song	Text structure	
Scotty Martin's 36SM-s08	Doubled	AABB
Port Keats PKBalga-s06	Undoubled	AAB
Bulgumirri/Pulkumirri		
Repertory, song	Text structure	
Scotty Martin's 36SM-s06	Undoubled	AB
Port Keats PKBalga-s09	Doubled	AABB

Figure 13: Changes to text structure between Martin's *balga* and the Port Keats *balga*.

Secondly, as described in Part Two, while Martin's songs cover a range of an octave (MS 1–MS 4), the Port Keats versions cover a range of only a fifth/sixth (MS 2–MS 4).

Previous analysis of Martin's *jadmi junba* repertory has shown that these two factors—the cropping of the melodic range and whether a text is doubled or undoubled—have a profound effect on the melodic contour of a song.⁷⁴ It is here that we see the clearest illustration of Martin's point that the performances are 'cross and square' and that they are 'mixed up at the beginning'. In short, because the basic melodic contour in the Port Keats *balga* repertory melodic cycle has a compressed range of a fifth/sixth and the structure of the texts is altered, there is a necessary realignment—a 'cross'—of some melodic sections, text lines and rhythmic segments, in order that others can be aligned—'square'. Before showing this it is necessary to briefly describe the alignment of melodic sections, text lines and rhythmic segments in Martin's *balga* repertory.

Detailed analyses of the expansion and contraction of a basic melodic contour within melodic cycles to accommodate text lines and rhythmic segments of different lengths has been conducted for various Kimberley repertories.⁷⁵ The key observation to note in these analyses is that there is a regular relationship between melodic sections, text lines and rhythmic segments each time a

⁷⁴ Treloyn, 'Scotty Martin's *Jadmi Junba*'; Treloyn, *Songs That Pull*.

⁷⁵ Ray Keogh 'Process Models for the Analysis of Nurlu Songs from the Western Kimberleys', in *The Essence of Singing and the Substance of Song: Recent responses to the Aboriginal performing arts and other essays in honour of Catherine Ellis*, eds Linda Barwick, Allan Marett and Guy Tunstill (Sydney: Oceania, University of Sydney, 1995), 39–51; Treloyn, 'Scotty Martin's *Jadmi Junba*'; Treloyn, *Songs That Pull*.

particular song is performed: while the number of melodic cycles, and the number of text lines in those melodic cycles may change from performance to performance in relation to dance or other accompanying action, the alignment between the first, second, third, fourth rhythmic segments, and so on, and MS 1, 2, 3, 4 does not alter. The primary factor that guides this is that the cycling of the text in the course of a song performance is, as described above, interrupted and recommenced from the beginning of the text cycle at each new melodic cycle: each melodic cycle begins with a new text cycle.

In the sample of twelve songs from Martin’s repertory, four songs, including Bulgumirri (36SM-s06) have an undoubled AB structure with one rhythmic segment in each line. These display a straightforward alignment wherein the first text line (A) coincides with MS1, the second text line (B) coincides with MS2, and the third and fourth text lines (A and B) coincide with MS3. The fifth text line (A) coincides with MS 4, and the tonic section commences from the sixth text line (B).

Melodic sections	MS 1	MS 2	MS 3	MS 4	Tonic
Text-line, rhythmic segment length	A 3 beats	B 3 beats	A 2 beats B 3 beats	A 2 beats	B beats ...

Figure 14: Alignment of melodic sections and undoubled, one rhythmic segment, text lines in Bulgumirri (36SM-s06).

When text lines have a duration that is longer than three beats and/or consist of more than one rhythmic segment, such as in Jilinya (36SM-s08), the alignment becomes more complex. Jilinya (36SM-s08) has one three-beat segment in its A text line, and two three-beat segments in its B text line. In this case melodic sections, text lines and rhythmic segments are deployed as set out in Figure 15.

Melodic sections	MS 1	MS 2	MS 3	MS 4	Tonic
Text-line, rhythmic segment length	A 3 beats	A 3 beats B 3+3 beats	B 3+3 beats	A 3 beats	...

Figure 15: Alignment of melodic sections and rhythmic segments in Jilinya (36SM-s08).

The modifications of text and melody that are made to Bulgumirri (36SM-s06) and Jilinya (36SM-s08) in the Port Keats *balga* repertory have dramatic ramifications for these melodic settings. In Figure 16 the alignment between melodic sections, text lines and rhythmic segments in 36SM-s06 (Bulgumirri) and PKBalga-s09 are compared. In order to accommodate the cropped cycle range and the use of

a doubled, rather than an undoubled structure (described above), a number of modifications are made: the first A text line in PKBalga-s09 is set to MS 2 (rather than MS 1); the second articulation of the A text line is set to MS 2 (rather than MS 3); and the first B text line is set to MS 3 (rather than MS 2). The settings of the first B and second A text lines literally ‘cross’ over between Martin’s version and the Port Keats version: the setting is literally ‘mixed up at the beginning’ as Martin observed. By the time the second rhythmic segment of MS 3 is reached, the settings become ‘square’, and both are set to the second articulation of the B text line. Likewise, MS 4 is set ‘square’ to the third articulation of the A text line.

Melodic sections	MS1	MS2	MS3	MS4	Tonic
Bulgumirri 36SM-s06	A 2	B 3	A 2	B 3	...
Pulkumirri PKBalga-s09	A 2	A 2	B 3	B 3	...

Figure 16: Cross and square alignment of melodic sections, text lines and rhythmic segments (Bulgumirri/Pulkumirri).

Similarly, though less dramatically, in Jilinya (36SM-s08 and PKBalga-s06), in order to accommodate the cropped cycle range and the use of an undoubled, rather than a doubled structure, the first three text lines of PKBalga-s06 are shifted from MS 1 and MS 2 (in Martin’s version) into MS 2 and MS 3; the B text lines compress or condense into one melodic section. The settings ‘square’ themselves again by MS 4.

Melodic sections	MS1	MS2	MS3	MS4	Tonic
Jilinya 36SM-s08	A 3	A 3	B 3+3	A 3	...
Jilinya PKBalga-s06		A 3	B 3+3	A 3	...

Figure 17: Cross and square alignment of melodic sections, text lines and rhythmic segments (Jilinya).

As Martin is an expert singer and composer, with acute aural comprehension, knowledge and expertise that is considered to be at the peak of the *balga* tradition, it seems possible that his analysis was indeed speaking of this ‘cross and square’, ‘mixed up at the beginning’ realignment of pitch and text in the Port Keats versions of his songs.

Cross and Square Perspectives of Country

Finally, it is important that we consider the semantic content of these songs, specifically the geography and stories to which they refer. The songs, as in other *junba* repertoires, relate the composer’s experiences in dreams in which he travelled with spirits of deceased family members. Bulgumirri (36SM-s06) cites the speech of a spirit, standing at Bulgumirri (House Roof Hill) in the north-east Kimberley between the towns of Kununurra and Wyndham, observing another spirit arriving in Borangala, marshland near the town of Wyndham (see Figure 18). Jilinya (36SM-s08) describes a Jilinya spirit travelling to Borangala, and cites another spirit who observes that the Jilinya already had arrived when the sun went down. Other songs in the repertoire refer similarly to spirits, ancestral and contemporary events, and name and describe places in the north-central Kimberley, and in the north-east Kimberley, moving beyond as far as Darwin. They describe contemporary events such as the wake of Cyclone Tracy, ancestral events and beings, conversations, animals, and natural phenomena such as water and fog.⁷⁶

While we cannot know without further research in Wadeye what the Bulgumirri and Jilinya songs meant to performers in Port Keats in 1974, or what they mean to them today, it does appear that both repertoires name places in the north-east corner of the Kimberley. Preceding one song (PKBalga-s05) it sounds as though a male voice amongst the singers exclaims ‘Bulgumirri! Jigumirri!’, referring to Bulgumirri and the nearby Jigumirri (False House Roof Hill). Bulgumirri is itself named in PKBalga-s09 as ‘Pulkumirri’. However, while Martin’s song pairs Bulgumirri (House Roof Hill) with Borangala (Wyndham Marshland), the Port Keats version appears to pair Bulgumirri with (what sounds like) Darrarru (Cockburn Range), to the south-west of Borangala. In short excerpts of spoken commentary on the Port Keats songs that are included in Walsh’s recording, Harry Luke Palada Kolumboort can be heard explaining that one song (PKBalga-s11) is about places on Legune Station: Kulamanguwa (the site that the station is on) and Parrindarr (a place about 11 kilometres away from Kulamanguwa).

⁷⁶ Text transcriptions, glosses and explanations were prepared by Barwick with Martin for s01–s05 following the 1999 recording session, and by Treloyn with Martin for s01–s12 in 2001, 2002 and 2010.

What is interesting here is the perspective that the respective performance groups bring to these places. Whereas Martin's Bulgumirri song speaks of a spirit travelling from Bulgumirri north-west to Borangala (near the port of Wyndham), the Port Keats song appears to refer to travel from Bulgumirri across to Darrurru in the south-west. Any conclusions from this are tentative at best, and further research into both repertoires is needed, but it does appear that the paths travelled in these songs 'cross' between the versions, as represented in Figure 18. When we take into account the origins of the performances and the fact that these songs may relate to contemporary or historical Wurnan trade, it is apparent that Martin's songs outline a northbound route from the central Kimberley where he resided (Mt Elizabeth Station), north-east to Bulgumirri, further north to Borangala. Other songs refer to Wunbara, a place west of Adolphus Island, even further to the north, in the passage where boats come through, and ultimately, as is described in one song, Darwin. Given that the Wurnan moves outbound from the Kimberley (presumably via Kununurra, Wyndham and stock routes towards the Northern Territory) it is possible that the songs outline an outbound Wurnan route connecting the Kimberley with the Daly.

The Port Keats (Wadeye) versions of the songs, on the other hand, appear to point towards a different perspective on this and follow a westbound route from the Daly to the Kimberley: from Port Keats (Wadeye), through Kulamangguwa and Parrindarr (Legune Station), to Bulgumirri and then further to the west to Darrurru, following the Wurnan trade into rather than out of the Kimberley.

Figure 18: Cross and square perspectives on Country.

Source: Google Earth 7.0.3.8542, private data set by author, accessed 30 July 2014, www.google.com/earth/index.html.

In this way the paths ‘cross’ different perspectives on the Wurnan system (one viewed from Port Keats into the Kimberley, and the other viewed from the Kimberley towards Port Keats). However, insofar as they share a Wurnan trajectory and ethos they are, indeed, ‘square’. Thus, in true Wurnan style, when Martin points towards the alignment of melody, text and rhythm in the Port Keats *balga*, and possibly the alignment of places, he gestures not only to musical features but also an underlying relationship founded on Wurnan connections and continued in the contemporary economy of the pastoral industry: the Port Keats performers, like their music, are same but different, ‘cross and square’.

Conclusion

The Port Keats *balga* performance, like *djanba*, exhibits variegation in its musical style evident on multiple layers, ranging from song order, to melodic, rhythmic and textual components, to the way in which these are combined. Barwick explains the emergence of *djanba* in Port Keats as an example of a ‘constructive fostering of variegation’ wherein aspects of a new musical style are drawn upon to differentiate its bearers from those of partner genres *wangga* and *lirrga*.

Djanba is consciously and intentionally variegated, drawing on the distant *balga* tradition and the local *wangga/lirrga* tradition, in order that ceremony shared by the clans that hold all three genres can be conducted and so that new social structures can be negotiated.

Like *djanba* in the Kimberley, we know relatively little of the social and ceremonial role of *balga* in Port Keats. Also like *djanba* in the Kimberley, *balga* in Port Keats has fallen out of use. Therefore we can say little about the issue of whether and how the variegation identified in the Port Keats *balga* is intentional.⁷⁷ It is clear, however, that this variegation is noted and foregrounded by Kimberley singers, namely the composer Scotty Martin, who when listening to the recording declared that they were Kimberley *balga/junba* but ‘cross and square’. It is also clear that the songs likely ended up in Port Keats via the Wurnan system of exchange. Port Keats is said to have been a frequent destination for repertoires travelling from the west to the east-north-east in Wurnan exchanges, and the songs emerged in Port Keats in the 1970s, a time when travel by singers/stockmen between Port Keats and the east Kimberley cattle stations increased, hand in hand with a flourishing or ‘efflorescence’⁷⁸ of Wurnan ceremonial exchange.

Like the use of conscious musical variegation in *djanba* to adapt to changing ceremonial and social circumstances, Wurnan transactions are underpinned by a productive, relational assertion of ‘difference against a background of similarity’⁷⁹ that has enabled people to reinforce and foster new relationships with other people, places, and histories as social structures and economies have changed in the region. Relationships are fostered and maintained by noting what one shares with an ‘other’, and what sets them apart.

On first hearing, it seemed to me that Martin’s reaction to the Port Keats performance pointed towards inadequacies or inaccuracies, as if the Port Keats performers simply got his songs wrong in some way. However, I have considered strong evidence that Martin, as a highly-skilled expert in the musical organisation of genres from across the Kimberley and Daly regions, was referring to a located variegation of style and a realignment of melody, text and rhythm, when he

77 Adding further to the questions that arise from the analysis presented in the chapter, and as something of a postscript, in June 2014 (some eighteen months after the initial composition of this chapter) I played an excerpt of the Walsh 1974 *balga* recording to a senior Miriwung singer of *balga*, *wangga*, *lirrga* and *djanba* in Kununurra. In his opinion the singers were Gija (from the east Kimberley) indicating that the recording may in fact be of an east Kimberley group visiting Port Keats. I was unable to enquire further at the time or to clarify whether he was aware that the recording was made in Port Keats. Clearly if the singers were Gija, the interpretation of the analysis presented in this chapter may indeed be revised. Irrespective of whether the singers were Gija from the Kimberley or from Port Keats, however, Martin’s response to the performance as if they were from somewhere distant but connected to his own group holds.

78 See Redmond, *Rulug Wayirri*, citing Kim Akerman, ‘The Renascence of Aboriginal Law in the Kimberleys’, in *Aborigines of the West: Their past and their present*, eds Ronald Berndt and Catherine Berndt (Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1979), 234–42.

79 Redmond, *Rulug Wayirri*.

observed that the Port Keats *balga* songs were like his, and like Kimberley *balga*, but ‘cross and square’. I have also considered how this ‘cross and square’-ness outlines distinctive respective geographical perspectives of Port Keats (Wadeye) and Martin in the north-central Kimberley on Wurnan trade routes, potentially represented by the recombination and selective naming of places in song texts. If we consider Martin’s analysis of the Port Keats *balga* as ‘cross and square’ in the context of the Wurnan ceremonial network we can see that, as well as an astute analysis of musical organisation, it also gestures towards a relationship with Port Keats (Wadeye) people. Variegation in song styles across the Kimberley and Daly is musical, social and relational, citing and eliciting relationships between distinctive groups of people across time, cultures and place.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Linda Barwick for comments on early drafts of this chapter as well as Scotty Martin and other elders quoted for sharing their insights into various performance traditions of northern Australia. This article is based on research funded by AIATSIS (G2001/G6569 and G2009/7458) and the Australian Research Council (LP0990650, investigators Sally Treloyn and Allan Marett).

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This text taken from *Circulating Cultures: Exchanges of Australian Indigenous music, dance and media*, edited by Amanda Harris, published 2014 by ANU Press, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.