THE CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE

of the

WAṈINDILJAUGWA

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SYNOPSIS

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the Wanindiljaugwa

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Introduction

The theoretical standpoint from which this study was approached is outlined, together with a consideration of its methodological implications. Analysis of the social system of the Wanindiljaugwa is presented in terms of process and change, and the significance of the term 'structure' is not confined to the formal structure nor to repetitive patterns.

Chapter 1: The Geographical Setting and the Historical Background

The Wanindiljaugwa of Groote Eylandt were only brought under White control from 1921 onwards; the pre-White density of population in this area was one of the highest for Australia. Today, the Wanindil-
Jaugwa are no longer nomadic, and are divided between two institutions on the island.

Historical knowledge of this region dates back to the early seventeenth century, but contacts with Whites were only sporadic before 1921. Makassans from the Celebes, however, visited the coast of northern Australia annually from at least the late eighteenth century up to 1907, and the effects of this contact are discussed. Relations with the Makassans were not generally harmonious, and early White contacts were similarly unfortunate. The neighbours of the Wanindiljaugwa, and the world known to the Wanindiljaugwa, are described, together with the principal geographical features of the area.

Chapter 2: The Natural Environment and the Economy

The natural environment of the Wanindiljaugwa and the particular importance of the well-watered regions and of the sea-coast are described. The area is a rich one, and the aborigines have a detailed knowledge of its animal and plant resources. The importance of the seasons and their effect on social life is outlined. Quantitative estimates of food produced by hunting and collecting are given, with an account of the major staples, including the poisonous yam, mungura. Methods of
cooking are described, and the mode of distribution of the products.

The material culture of the people was a simple one, and raw materials were obtainable from the bush. The tools used are described, and the importance of local deficiencies in stimulating inter-tribal trade and specialization is emphasized.

Economic relations with the Malays undermined this self-sufficiency and had considerable effects on social life. The effects of the Makassan impact, however, was limited for several reasons, and no radical alteration of the traditional mode of life resulted from this contact.

Chapter 3: Totemism and the Amunduwuraria

The clans of the Wanindiljaugwa are patrilineal descent-groups, have a particular clan-territory, and are grouped into unnamed moieties. The size and clan-territory of each clan is given.

Each clan has a number of totems which may be divided into principal and secondary totems, though there is often a complex of totems rather than a single totem, the totems being linked in a myth. Some
origin-myths exist, but there is no longer any ritual, nor any ritual attitude, towards the totem. Three groups of totems are described—those deriving from features of the natural environment, the wind-totems, and the Ship totem. Modern additions include totems connected with an airbase on the island.

The totems act as symbols of the clan, and by virtue of the sharing of totems by members of the same moiety, may express moiety-affiliation. At the level of the tribe, a certain totemic mimetic performance unites most of the clans, whilst relations with the mainlanders are regularized by equating Groote Eylandt moieties with the Dua and Jiridja moieties of Arnhem Land.

Totemism also expresses the primary economic interests deriving from a hunting and collecting way of life, but the inroads made upon this way of life by Makassans and Whites are reflected in the emergence of new totems, the process of emergence being analysed.

The principal religious ceremony of Groote Eylandt, the Amunduwuraria, is now practically defunct, but variations are apparent in the content of the totemic myths in the Amunduwuraria, and the mainland
origin of this ceremony is clear. Evidence of age-grading in the Amunduwuraria is discussed.

Chapter 4: The Life-Stages

The rich terminology relating to age-grades is presented, and a description of the various stages in the life of the individual given. The circumcision-ceremony marked the beginning of a period of guardianship during which a boy was attached to his nenija (theoretically his mother's mother's brother's daughter's son); this period ended with the cutting of cicatrices on the boy's chest. He was then considered adult, but did not usually marry until about thirty years of age. Various taboos relating to age-grading and the privileges of the senior men are described.

On the death of a young person, bone-boxes were constructed which were kept by senior female relatives of the deceased, and the relationship of these bone-boxes to the symbolic dolls made for young boys is discussed. Young girls had a separate set of dolls quite distinct from the boys' dolls, the female members of each clan being represented by different species of shells, and the males by a slab of wood, whatever their
The various spirits believed in by the Wanindiljaugwa, including the spirits of the dead, are described, and the way in which these spirits are utilized in situations where there is a desire to explain strange phenomena, to justify behaviour which is felt to be shameful or wrong, or merely to rationalize, is discussed. On death, the spirit of the dead person is said to go to Bralgu, the mythical Land of the Dead. The differences between this concept and the parallel myths of the mainland are examined.

Chapter 5: Kinship and Marriage

The ideal pattern of kinship terminology given by the Wanindiljaugwa is clearly a variant of the Aranda/Nyul-Nyul type. In this, the ideal marriage is with the mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter. However, actual behaviour differs considerably from the ideal norm; one cannot predict that if a certain term is used towards a particular individual, an appropriate term as given in the ideal pattern will be applied to another related individual as it should be. A description of the complex kinship terminology is given.

The former practice of segregating marr-
ingebale women, and excluding the younger adult men from marriage is described, and its symbolic expression, the use of the jinuwamba bark-coverings by the women. The myth validating this custom is recounted, and is compared with mainland variants in which the original significance of the myth has become obscured.

This exclusion led to polygamy, and wife-stealing was common in pre-White days. Young girls, and boys as potential initiates under a neninjia guardian, changed hands rapidly. This situation was not the result of external influences.

By examining statistical regularities, the solid core in the kinship system is isolated—the patrilineal clan-relatives of Ego provide a locus of stability in this system. The different ranges of patrilineal relationship are described, and the emergence of the nuclear family as the centre of the patrilineal core. The composition of the clan is analysed, and the interrelations of large patrilineages within the clan described.

Closeness of relationship is the determining principle by which kinship terms are decided upon, close relationship taking priority over other links. Stratification of kinship terms into generational
levels occurs as a result of the constant readjustment made necessary by wrong marriages. The system is essentially a personalized, pragmatic one.

The four lines of descent are traceable, but are no longer important except for Ego's own patrilineal line. It is shown that even with pronounced polygamy, no shortage of women occurred. Comparisons are made with the findings of Kaberry and McConnel.

Chapter 6: Settlement Life

Early relations with the Whites were bad, culminating in the murders of the 'thirties. The history of recent White contact is recounted, and its effect on native life and native attitudes. In spite of high infantile mortality, the population is increasing.

The settlement at Unbakumba is described, and an analysis made of the relative effectiveness of gardening and hunting-and-collecting as methods of producing food. The reasons for native dislike of gardening are examined, and the financial resources of the settlements described, together with the diet, wages and employment of the natives. Trade and exchange between the natives themselves is not based
on kinship considerations, while property rights are not rigidly stressed.

Polygamy has been virtually abolished, and taboos and avoidances have greatly diminished. Old patterns of segregation have given way to new patterns imposed by the Whites; the children receiving special attention in this regard.

Love-magic and adultery are discussed, the latter being the commonest source of friction between the natives themselves, and the methods of settling disputes are described. The giving of publicity to a grievance is a primary consideration. Native knowledge of the outside world, of Government and White law, is discussed.

Relations between Whites and aborigines are characterized by constant friction. The development of new ideas through schooling has resulted in a merging of indigenous cosmology and Christian ideas; attitudes towards the Japanese are discussed. Antagonisms produced by this situation of general disharmony arise between White and aborigine, between the aborigines themselves, and, at times, failure to effect any change in the environment results in fantasies in which only subjective and temporary satisfaction is gained.

The situation is seen as one in which there is complete blockage of all attempts by the aborigines
to alter the situation. Indigenous institutions are disappearing, but new ideas are arising, and a wider consciousness of the position of the Wanindiljaugwa as a part of a wider community.

Appendix 1

A brief outline of Enindiljaugwa, the language of the tribe, is given, with a list of Indonesian words introduced into the language.

Appendix 2

An account of the methods employed in analysing the kinship system is given, evaluating the relative merits of quantitative and qualitative methods, and describing the genealogical method used.

Appendix 3

A list of the principal plants used by the Wanindiljaugwa as food or as part of their material equipment, together with botanical identifications and Enindiljaugwa names.
The work on which this thesis is based is entirely original except where specifically acknowledged. The dissertation is based on field-work carried out on Groote Eylandt between December 1952 and September 1953, under the auspices of the Australian National University. I wish to record my thanks to the Australian National University for making this study possible, and in particular to Professor S.F. Nadel and Dr. W.E.H. Stanner who supervised the work.

My thanks are also due to Professor A.P. Elkin and Dr. A. Capell of the University of Sydney, who assisted me by making available Mrs. Short's linguistic study of Enindiljaugwa. My debt to Mrs. Short will be apparent in these pages.
CONTENTS

Introduction ........................................... Page 1

PART 1

Chapter 1: The Geographical Setting and
the Historical Background

Introduction ........................................... 1
The Early History of the Gulf ..................... 4
The Wanindiljaugwa and Their Neighbours ...... 19

Chapter 2: The Natural Environment and
the Economy

The Environment and the Traditional Economy .... 29
The Material Culture of the Wanindiljaugwa ... 59
Local specialization and Trade ...................... 72

Chapter 3: Totemism and the Amunduwuraria

Clan and Moiety .................................... 82
The Totemic System ................................ 89
The Amunduwuraria ................................ 122

Chapter 4: The Life-Stages

Life-Stages: the Terminology ...................... 140
From Birth to Circumcision ....................... 144
Circumcision ....................................... 149
The Period of Attachment to a Neninja .......... 158
Adult Status ....................................... 162
Death, Burial and Mourning ....................... 164
Spirits and the Land of the Dead ................. 175

Chapter 5: Kinship and Marriage

The Kinship Terminology .......................... 190
Social Practice ................................... 210
The Reordering of Kinship ....................... 224
PART 2

Chapter 6: Settlement Life

- The Coming of the Whites
- Population-Trends
- Settlement-Economy
- Property and Exchange
- Kinship and Marriage
- Adultery and the Settlement of Disputes
- Black-White Relations

Appendix 1: The Enindiljaugwa Language
Appendix 2: The Methodology of the Study of Kinship
Appendix 3: Principal plants eaten by the Wanindiljaugwa

Map: Groote Eylandt and Adjoining Region

Bibliography
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 1.</td>
<td>Rainfall in Inches per month for years 1947-53 inclusive</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 2.</td>
<td>Naturally-occurring foods brought in to Umbakumba settlement</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3.</td>
<td>List of clans with names and locations of clan-territories</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 4.</td>
<td>Size of clans</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 5.</td>
<td>Totems of the Wanindiljaugwa</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 6.</td>
<td>Groote Eylandt Kinship Terminology: the Ideal Pattern</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 7.</td>
<td>Nyul-Nyul/Aranda Kinship Table</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 8.</td>
<td>Possessive suffixes used with kinship terms</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 9.</td>
<td>Inclusive forms of reciprocal kinship terms</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10.</td>
<td>Numbers of liaisons entered into by sample of 53 men</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 11.</td>
<td>Number of men to whom a woman has been wife</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 12.</td>
<td>Number of men to whom a man has been initiate</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 13.</td>
<td>Application of same terms to individuals in successive generations</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 14.</td>
<td>Main terms applied to parents of 0, with percentages of each term as proportion of total sample</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 15.</td>
<td>Population by age-groups</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 16.</td>
<td>Tabulation of identifications in respect of five categories of relationship</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIGURES

Fig. 1. Relationships exhibiting complete regularity Page 226

Fig. 2. Relationships exhibiting a high degree of regularity " 227

Fig. 3. Relationships exhibiting considerable regularity " 228

Fig. 4. Simplified portion of genealogy of WanunaDaPbalagwa clan " 233

Fig. 5. Descendants of Namamugura " 236

Fig. 6. Terms applied by Ego to members of clan of opposite moiety, their spouses and children " 240

Fig. 7. Determination of relationship within own moiety by priority of clan-ties " 242

Fig. 8. Determination of relationship by closeness of ties to Ego " 243

Fig. 9. Record of sheets used in recording kinship terms " 369
Introduction

Many of the early classical studies of the social life of the Australian aborigines attempted to present a comprehensive picture of the culture of a whole tribe or group of tribes. The works of Spencer and Gillen, Howitt and others covered a wide range of ethnological data, albeit in a compendious and often mechanical fashion, with more or less attention being paid to different aspects according to the interests of the writers. Such studies had certain defects: for example - the attempt to cover the whole field at the expense of close analysis of social institutions of central importance, a tendency to discuss the various features of the society in isolation from one another, and a theoretical concern to fit the material into preconceived schematic categories. Nevertheless their solid virtues are so considerable that all succeeding workers are permanently indebted to them not merely for the rich and objective ethnological material which they made available, but also for their pioneer efforts at synthesizing and interpreting the material.

Such comprehensive accounts have been sadly lacking in recent years. Studies of Australian society for many years were concerned almost exclusively with kinship and totemism, and dealt with particular institutions rather than attempting
to give a rounded picture of the whole society. Since World War 2 there has been a shift towards studies of religion and art, with a strongly-marked, and exaggerated, emphasis on the mystical aspects of aboriginal culture. Certain fields have been neglected throughout the years, notably studies of aboriginal economy and of the effects of White control and influence on aboriginal communities.

In this study, we have attempted to give an integrated account of the social organization of the Wanindiljaugwa, relating particular institutions to each other as parts of a whole, and have sought to avoid the merely descriptive and enumerative by paying particular attention to institutions of central importance. We have not attempted, therefore, to cover every aspect of the social life of the Wanindiljaugwa — the art, for example, has not been examined in detail here, except incidentally.

In beginning with an account of the historical material on contacts between the Wanindiljaugwa and non-aborigines, we have laid special emphasis on the nature of the economic relationship between the aborigines and the Makassans, a relationship which, where it has not been neglected, has usually been misunderstood. The studies of the natural
environment of the Wanindiljaugwa, and the use made of this environment by the natives, have also been presented in some detail in view of the paucity of studies in this important field.

The Wanindiljaugwa have thus been placed in their concrete setting by examination of their specific history, economy and geographical environment. These specific features are seen to affect the totemic system, the spatial distribution of groups, mythology, religion, etc. Finally, we have not concentrated solely upon the past and the traditional, much of which can never now be accurately ascertained, but have examined the recent changes in Groote Eylandt social organization. The Wanindiljaugwa, therefore, are not presented as a tribe entirely unaffected by, or artificially abstracted from White influence, but as they really exist, i.e. living on settlements under White control and administration.

Since the material was gathered under these conditions, an abstraction and part-reconstruction of the traditional social order has had to be made, the reality being a new social order in which traditional institutions have been abolished or modified, and interact with new social forms which have been imposed or otherwise introduced. The material
has been roughly divided into Part I, dealing with the traditional order, and Part 2, dealing with recent changes.

Since what we know about the past is principally obtained from contemporary statements, there is inevitable cross-reference between Part 1 and Part 2. In Part 1, where material about social behaviour in the past is lacking, and can only be inferred from contemporary activities or by comparative study, there are continual references to settlement life and contemporary activities. For reasons of convenience, we have also placed the material on the settlement of disputes in Part 2, more particularly because most of the evidence on this matter is inferred from contemporary events. Such an arrangement is, perhaps, arbitrary, but it was considered that the few scraps of information on the traditional methods of settling disputes, and of actual cases, would merely break up the continuity if inserted in Part 1. This method of layout, coinciding roughly with the actual temporal sequence of development, allows us to obtain a general picture of the indigenous social inheritance before proceeding to examine recent changes. It also avoids the compartmentalization of institutions which a discussion of each institution in turn over the whole known history of the tribe would entail. Further, we have attempted to relate the history and
social system of the Wanindiljaugwa to those of neighbouring tribes in order to assist in comparative regional analysis.

The material in this study is treated historically, not merely because there is a particularly clear time sequence evident in the material, but rather as a deliberate methodological approach. The nature of the material, however, is such as to make such an approach more fruitful than it might be in the case of those tribes for which historical information is scanty or non-existent.

The social system of the Wanindiljaugwa is viewed as a changing system, with analysis of directional trends. It is possible, for example, to represent motion as taking place within a fixed framework, as a mere repetitive form of motion. Thus Radcliffe-Brown, in defining 'function', stresses the part "any recurrent activity plays in the social life as a whole and therefore the contribution it makes to the maintenance of the structural continuity" (Radcliffe-Brown, 195 p. 190). Recurrent activities, however, may well serve to alter the social structure and not merely to maintain it.

It is probably because of a preoccupation with the fixed social units and institutionalized forms within a society that Radcliffe-Brown arrives at this point of view. As we shall
see below, the established forms of the kinship terminology - the terms themselves in their 'ideal' pattern of interrelation - still remain as a concept, but the way in which these terms are used has changed in practice, behaviour no longer following the ideal pattern.

Again, Radcliffe-Brown analyses totemism in terms of the relationship between man and man, and of the relationship between Man and Nature. The relationship of the aborigines to Nature has changed, however, the aborigines are no longer solely hunters and collectors, and do not appropriate the products of Nature. Changes in the totemic system reflect these changes in everyday life, so that we find the content of totemism no longer principally concerned with the emphases Radcliffe-Brown describes. Important economic and social relations with the Makassans, and later with the Whites, have given rise to changes in the totemic compendium. In analysing the role of totemism in the contemporary society of the Wañindiljaugwa, moreover, we have not exhausted the subject, for the totems themselves have been adopted at different periods of time, and thus give us some indication of the way in which such changes take place. We should not be misled into thinking that totemism is based on philosophical absolutes arrived at in the process of contemplating Man and Nature merely because totemism manifests little change
In most aboriginal societies. In such societies, the relatively slowly-changing pattern of social life is accompanied by a comparatively stable totemic system. When society changes rapidly, however, the totemic ideas change quickly also. The apparent stability of totemic ideas and practices in the former type of society is not the product of absolute concepts, but rather of a type of society where directional change is slightly in evidence. As Homans has remarked on Radcliffe-Brown's discussion of totemism:

"...he assumes that the societies in question are not just maintaining their structures unchanged...he assumes a Paretoan definition of social equilibrium. In a changing Australian society totemism mights have a 'function' rather different from the one Radcliffe-Brown assigns to it" (Homans, p.119).

Social activity, then, does not necessarily have the 'function' of reinforcing or perpetuating the formal structure of a society. Nor does the persistence of the actual formal elements of the structure mean that its content remains unchanged. We have seen that the same kinship terms are in use today, but that their application differs from the recognised pattern. Formal structure is not to be identified with the whole of the social structure, it is only part
of it. Nor is the native formal statement of their interpretation of their own social structure necessarily an exact and accurate picture of the society. It may be merely a record of the fixed units and positions in that society, or it may be an interpretation of the society which is completely idealized, or which in other ways does not reflect reality.

There is a popular illusion that the ethnographer's task is merely to elicit the subjective impressions and ways of thought of the natives themselves in regard to their own social system. Criticising the approach of Durkheim and Mauss, Lévi-Strauss remarks that whilst these writers "have always taken care to substitute, as a starting-point for the survey of native categories of thought, the conscious representations prevailing amongst the natives themselves for those grown out of the anthropologist's own culture.....these authors were not sufficiently aware that native conscious representations, important as they are, may be just as remote from the unconscious reality as any other" (Lévi-Strauss, p. 527). Though the Wanjindiljaugwa are aware that behaviour diverges from the ideal pattern, they will speak of their kinship terms and of the inter-relations of the people using
these terms, as they should exist, and not as they do exist. Far from being a more objective approach to the study of society, this method merely substitutes the subjective notions of the people under study for those of the anthropologist.

If 'structure' is not merely the fixed order of society, not a reproduction of native concepts about their own society, it is equally not merely normative behaviour. Nor is it necessarily equivalent to modal behaviour, which may represent insignificant or atypical behaviour lying between two significant poles. Average or modal behaviour are not necessarily any more typical of social action, in that they merely give us a surface patterning as distinct from an insight into the inner motive forces of society.

Proceeding from this estimate of the value of studying the normative, whether it be the ideal, the average or the modal, we have collected the material on kinship, for example, empirically, with the aid of certain statistical methods described below. Instead of constructing an ideal scale of logical possibilities, and attempting to fit the system of the Wajindiljaugwa into this scale, we have examined the actual kinship terms in use and deduced the mode of classifying relatives from studying the terms as they are used in the
context of social action and not merely as norms. The use of approaches which differ from this has led to considerable difficulties in the study of aboriginal kinship systems. Writing of the protracted discussion on the Murngin (Wulamba) kinship system, Levi-Strauss remarks that "it has been treated by different authors as a 7-class system, or less than 7, or 4, or 32....By getting a good statistical run of actual marriage choices among other excluded possibilities, one could get at a 'true' solution"........"Lawrence and Murdock have tried to invent some system which would fit with the requirements of both the marriage rules and a system of the same kind as described by Warner. They invented it, however, as a sort of abstract game, the result being that, while their system meets some of the difficulties involved in Warner's account, it also raises many others. One of the main difficulties implied in Warner's system is that it would require, on the part of the natives, an awareness of relationships too remote to make it believable. Since the new system adds a new line to the seven already assumed by Warner, it goes still further in that direction. Therefore, it seems a good hunch that the 'hidden' or 'unknown' model which the Murngin borrowed recently from tribes with completely different
marriage rules is simpler than the latter and not more complicated" (Lévi-Strauss, p. 543).

The present work seeks to avoid any 'assumptions' of this kind, and, by a more empirical approach, to avoid the barren 'game-playing' cited above. The type of statistical material presented in this work presumably typical of what Lévi-Strauss had in mind in the above passage. One suspects that much of the fruitless 'pure' theorizing about the Murngin system might be rendered unnecessary were the same amount of energy devoted to acquiring more field data. (If 'hunches' are permissible, moreover, it is not unlikely that these neighbours of the Wanindiljaugwa may in fact have some 'hidden' model bordering relationship similar to that of the Wanindiljaugwa, since the latter is equally not a surface phenomenon).

Whilst Homans writes of a changing Australian society, with the implication that there are other Australian societies which are not changing, we regard all societies as changing societies. The rate of change may be more or less rapid, it may indeed be almost imperceptible. The directional trend may be difficult to deduce, particularly in a short period of field-work such as most anthropologists undertake. Generally, however, theoretical assumptions affecting methods of approach
and analysis are more serious limiting factors in the analysis of social change than are the mere technical difficulties.

Change may be difficult to discern and may be very slight; it nevertheless exists. Firth has suggested that "in the aspect of social structure is to be found the continuity principle of society; in the aspect of organization is to be found the variation or change principle by allowing evaluation of situations and entry of individual choice" (Firth, p. 40). Apart from the problems raised by calling upon abstract principles of this kind to interpret social process, there are certain objections to the separation of these two 'aspects' of social life. The aborigine who departs from the traditional gift-exchange and demands a fixed price for his product instead of accepting a kinship-qualified gift, is thereby altering the social structure. The mere alteration of behaviour by one individual certainly does not radically affect the existing mode of exchange, even less does it lead to its replacement or overthrow.

If such behaviour is merely aberrant or represents an individual abnormality, it makes no radical change. If it is part of a more general pattern of behaviour, or constitutes the beginning of a wider trend, then the structure of the
society is clearly modified. Firstly, the existing formal structure will no longer be the channel for all types of exchange, and is thereby weakened, and secondly, new structural forms emerge alongside the old. The older pattern, in time, may become merely an ideal or a norm which is not observed. As a formal structural pattern, however, it may well persist. Firth recognises that the formal structure itself may become modified when he remarks that "a person chooses, consciously or unconsciously, which course he will follow. And his decision will affect the future structural alignment" (op. cit., p.40). A person's behaviour, however, affects the present structural alignment and not merely the future. Firth is clearly correct in stressing the future insofar as the formal social structure may change relatively slowly. The small changes effected by each divergence from the existing norms, however, are cumulative. Radical changes, clearly, do not take place until the gradual cumulation of actions which do not follow the established patterns have led to a considerable divergence between actual behaviour and expected, enjoined, or ideal behaviour. We cannot, then, accept Firth's dichotomy between social structure and social organization, from which he concludes, speaking of the sphere of social organization, that "Time enters here" (op. cit., p.40).
Time also enters into the realm of social structure itself. Both the old formalized structure and the new structural forms are parts of the total social structure. Preoccupation with the formal structure alone artificially limits the meaning of the term 'structure' and inhibits our understanding of the movement of society.

Nor do we limit our discussion of social process merely to the analysis of cyclical or repetitive patterns. If we study a society as an isolate with unique cultural features, or as a unique 'Whole' we artificially restrict our field. By consciously restraining ourselves from wider comparisons whether the comparisons be with other societies in the geographical region or which share the same cultural inheritance, or a comparison on a much wider basis, such restriction of the field goes beyond legitimate limitation of what is ultimately an indivisible reality in the direction of a false holism. Apart from the exclusion of spatial relationships to other peoples, and cultural communities embracing more than just one tribe, time is often rigidly excluded from social analysis. The pejorative label 'conjectural history' has thus often been used to cover not merely illegitimate conjecture, but also much legitimate inference, comparison and even verifiable historical evidence.
It is significant that much contemporary structural analysis utilizes imagery drawn from the fields of Euclidean geometry, structural engineering, etc. - in general, the analogue is a mechanical one, not one which expresses process.

Changes in society, moreover, cannot be attributed solely to the effect of individual choice. Even outside the limits imposed by the formal structure of society, the behaviour of any individual has to take account of the relationship of that individual to his fellow-men, and has thus a limited range of possibility, unless it is to fall into the special category of anti-social behaviour. Moreover, individual choices which depart from the norm are not necessarily random; they are likely to exhibit some regularity which enables us to classify them, and to note the formation of new patterns and of directional trends. Individual choice is not entirely 'free', for the actions of even rebels and innovators follow predictable and classifiable patterns.

The product of individual choice, again, is not necessarily what is intended by any one of the individuals or groups of individuals, for their intentions may conflict, or the efficacy of actions based on a false appreciation of reality may fail to secure the desired end. A rigidly-fixed social structure may allow no room for innovators, and may inhibit
change to such an extent that only two courses may be open -
the elimination of the innovators, and therefore the main-
tenance of the social structure by conscious regulation,
or the splitting of the society. Otherwise, new structural
forms emerge, based on common interest, and leading to
association on the basis of this interest, or for the purpose
of altering the existing structure. The logical ultimate
of 'free choice' in a society where other courses are
blocked, is death, whether by suicide or at the hands of
those who seek to preserve the existing limitations on choice.
This, however, is an ultimate freedom incompatible not only
with membership of a society, but even the continued exist-
ence of the individual.

The stress on choice also ignores the limits imposed on
individual choice by natural limitations of, for example, a
geographical or technological nature, as we note in examining
the concentration of population among the Wañindiljaugwa in
certain rich and well-watered regions. Choice may also be
limited by social restrictions. No matter how strongly
individual Wañindiljaugwa choose to go to Darwin, for example,
their choice would be frustrated. Choice here does not lead
to the desired change, though the frustration of choice will affect mental attitudes and thus conduct. In addition to the frustration of choice, change may be imposed and not merely "selected". The imposition of monogamy on the Wanindiljaugwa was not the result of choice, but was enjoined. To speak of choice without full reference to these considerations smacks of the social contract; in the extreme, it seems to suggest that people select a particular form of social organization much as they might select an article from a shop-counter after having weighed the relative merits and demerits of the various commodities. Firth does, of course, explicitly recognise the limitations placed on choice in referring to "a limitation to the range of alternatives possible" provided by structural forms, though the structure of a society may be said to impose limitations rather than provide them. Limitations on choice are not necessarily "arranged to 'provide' a recognised and accepted range of variation of possible behaviour; they may equally be accepted with resignation but not approval.

Finally, it may be noted that individual choice is not necessarily the agent of change, for an individual may act in a way that coincides with the established structural patterns.
or may consciously seek to reinforce them.

In adopting a more empirical approach to our material, we do not fly into the arms of 'pure' empiricism, for the acceptance of the established findings of science and methods of investigation, as a point of departure in this work, will be evident. We have thus been attempting to avoid mere mechanical enumeration or description of surface phenomena, in order that our analysis may be more 'truly' objective than mere 'photographic' registration and reproduction, and thus closer to reality.
CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The Wanindiljaugwa, the people who form the subject of this study, are members of an Australian aboriginal tribe who used to inhabit Groote Eylandt, the largest island in the Gulf of Carpentaria, together with certain neighbouring islands, the most important of which were Bickerton, Chasm, Woodah, Winchilsea and Connection Islands. Groote Eylandt itself lies some 30 miles off the western coast of the Gulf, with the 137th parallel of longitude running along its eastern coast, and is roughly bisected by the 14th parallel of latitude. The total area inhabited by the tribe is probably no more than 1000 square miles, and was set aside as an aboriginal reserve in 1920, eleven years before the large mainland reserve in Arnhem Land was created. Since it has been estimated that there were some 300 Wanindiljaugwa in 1940, and this may well be an underestimate, the density of population was clearly high for an aboriginal tribe. The average pre-1788 figure for the whole of Australia has been estimated as 1 person to 12 square miles; excluding the desert areas, there was probably one person to 6.7 - 7.5 square miles, whilst the areas of highest density, such as the Goulburn-Murray area and the Portland district, were
of the order of 1 person to 2.5 or 3 square miles
(Radcliffe-Brown, 1930 b, pp. 691-2). The density of
population for Groote and associated islands was probably
around one person to 2.6 - 3.3 square miles, and consequently
one of the highest in Australia.

The Groote Eylandt Reserve comes under the administrative
control of the Department of Native Affairs of the
Northern Territory Administration, and therefore,
ultimately, like the rest of the Territory, under the
Federal Government, since the Department of Territories
is responsible for the Northern Territory itself. Part
of the Reserve has been allocated to the Church Missionary
Society, the body which first opened up the island in 1921
by establishing a mission station on the Emerald (Jadigba)
River in the south-west of the island; in 1943 the Mission
moved to its present site on the Aŋuṟgwa River higher up
the west coast. Although the missionaries were for many
years primarily concerned with half-castes brought from
the mainland, today their attention is wholly turned
towards the Wanindiljaugwa themselves. It was not until
the years immediately prior to World War 2, however,
that the natives finally adopted a settled form of life,
some of them at the mission-station, and others at the
secular settlement at Umbakumba (properly Ambugwamba) on
Little Lagoon in Port Langdon, in the north-east of the island. There are now 275 aborigines at the mission-station and 175 at Umbakumba, a total of 450, the adults being employed in horticulture, work on settlement buildings, etc. The children receive schooling at both establishments, the majority of them living in dormitories, whilst their parents live in a separate native camp.

In 1938 an emergency base for flying-boats on the England-Australia route was opened at Little Lagoon. This was taken over by the R.A.A.F. during the war, and many natives were employed by them and other organizations. Contact between the Wanindiljaugwa and non-aborigines has thus greatly increased over the last thirty-five years, leading to the abandonment of the traditional hunting-and-collecting mode of life, except for short and irregular periods in the bush; a few people still stay out of the settlements for long periods of several months.

These recent developments are by no means the whole recorded history of the Wanindiljaugwa, however, for these aborigines have a known history of considerable interest, extending over three centuries.
The Early History of the Gulf

The history of European exploration and colonization of Australia presents a paradox, for those regions of the continent first discovered by Europeans and known to Europe for over three hundred years, have been among the last to be brought under effective administrative control and are still only partly integrated into the national economy. The Gulf of Carpentaria and Arnhem Land, in particular, are two such areas; although Groote Eylandt, our special concern, has been known to Europe since 1623, it was not until 1921, three centuries after the original discovery, that the isolation and independence of the islanders came to an end.

The original discovery had been made when two Dutch ships, the "Pera" and the "Arnhem", under the command of Jan Carstenszoon and Willem Joosten van Colster (or Van Coolsteerdt), penetrated into the Gulf of Carpentaria, discovered seventeen years earlier by another Dutchman, Willem Janszoon, and placed on the map new discoveries, including the region of "Arnhemsland" and Groote Eylandt. The exact details of the voyage are not known, but by 1644, the date of Tasman's second voyage, the discoveries
were incorporated into a map so important in the history of exploration that it has been commemorated by being inlaid into the floor of the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

These early explorers had as their primary objective "commerce, increase of territory, colonies" (Heeres, p.xiv), their expeditions being directed by the General Dutch Chartered East India Company, but the unproductive appearance of the country, and the low cultural level of its inhabitants, caused the explorers to report unfavourably on the commercial possibilities of the Gulf region. The relative decline of Dutch mercantile activity in the latter half of the seventeenth century led to a dropping-off in the work of exploration, not to be vigorously resumed until the expansion of English colonization and exploration.

Cook's passage through the Torres Straits in 1770 was followed by Flinders' voyage in 1803-4, during which he surveyed the Gulf of Carpentaria and circumnavigated Groote Eylandt. He visited Chasm Island where he found and described several aboriginal rock-paintings (Flinders, pp. 183-198). The settlement at Port Jackson, however, occupied the prime energies of the early colonists, and in spite of abortive attempts to establish military settlements on Melville Island in 1824 and 1827, and later
at Port Essington, this northern part of Australia was destined to be left alone for a lengthy period. Indeed, not until 1916 was the Great Island of the Dutch explorers first examined by white men with a view to establishing a settlement there. Sporadic contacts with the natives had been made by vessels crossing the Gulf consequent upon the increased activity in this region, particularly round the Roper River and Borroloola, stimulated by the development of the pastoral industry and the opening up of the Overland Telegraph line in 1879. Searcy, for example, records being shipwrecked at Groote Eylandt, and discovering another white man on the island who was also in difficulties with his boat; Searcy made two other visits to the island (Searcy, 1912, pp.231-234). The missionary voyage of exploration undertaken by Warren and Dyer in 1916 (Warren, passim) was the beginning of sustained contact with the people of Groote Eylandt, and destined to change their whole way of life. Earlier contacts with visitors such as Searcy, or Cadell, who landed on Bickerton Island in 1867 (Cadell, p.5) were merely brief, though probably striking, reminders to the natives of the existence of the white man.
It is worth while examining briefly the relations of the early explorers with the natives of the Gulf region, particularly Groote Eylandt. The Dutch East India Company in instructions issued in 1622 (Heeres, p. 21) ordered the captains of their vessels to exercise extreme caution in their dealings with the natives, and that the latter be treated "with due care that they suffer no molestation by our men". Somewhat contradictorily, they also ordered that natives be brought back to Batavia "by adroit management or other means". The very first voyage to the Gulf (Willem Janszoon, 1605-6) resulted in a clash with the natives of Cape York Peninsula. No amount of "adroit management", apparently, could induce the natives to leave their homeland, and indeed, it would appear that no very serious efforts were made to use such methods. Inevitably, classes resulted. In 1606, a man from the "Duyfken" was killed; in 1623, several natives were killed at Cape Keerweer, and one seized further south. It is significant that the effects of the 1606 voyage had already resulted in greater hostility from natives encountered between 11 and 13 degrees of latitude than from those in the previously uncontacted area to the south.
Whilst not affecting Groote Eylandt directly, these incidents are representative of early contacts throughout the Gulf region. When Flinders visited the smaller islands to the north of Groote in 1804, he found even then that the natives were suspicious and often hostile, though in this case, he was to find that Indonesian voyagers, and not white men, were responsible for the hostility. Flinders, an acute and fair observer, was surprised at this hostility, a circumstance not previously noted in the Wellesley Islands to the east, where he remarked on the 'timidity' of the 'Indians' (Flinders, p.146). On Morgan Island, he clashed with natives, the master's mate, Mr. Whitewood, being wounded, and one native killed. These natives were probably the ancestors of the present-day Wanindiljaugwa: their first contact with white men resulted in the death of one of their number. Again, near Point Alexander on the mainland, hostilities resulted from native theft and Flinders took a hostage whom he later released. Finding this behaviour "so contrary to all I have known or heard of their countrymen" (p.213), Flinders correctly attributed it to contact with 'Asiatics', some signs of whose presence he had observed at Bentinck Island, the
Pellews, and on the mainland opposite Groote Eylandt.

A short time later, in a famous meeting, he came upon the 'Asiatics'. At Malay Road, off the north-eastern tip of Arnhem Land, he found six vessels "covered over like hulks, as if laid up for the bad season". These proved to be Malays from Makassar in the southern Celebes, part of a fleet of sixty prahus belonging to the Rajah of Boni, and carrying one thousand men. The Malays visited the coast of northern Australia, known to them as Marege (Marega) (Heeren, p. 150), the modern Arnhem Land region- and as Kai Djawa - the coastal region west of Darwin - their principal objective being the procurement of trepang (bêche-de-mer) for the China trade. Later evidence shows that the Malays also fished and traded for pearl-shell, pearls, turtle-shell, timber, and according to one account (Searcy, 1909, p. 94), manganese. Honey and beeswax were also desirable commodities at Koepang, but we do not hear of any purchases from the aborigines. Slaves were a more important commodity, and it seems hard to believe that part of the later hostility to the Malays was not in part due to attempts to seize apparently defenceless natives, though this might well have conflicted with their
other commercial activities in northern Australia. The relations between the aborigines and the Makassars were far from healthy even at that period. Pobassoo, the Malay commander, cautioned Flinders to beware of the aborigines, and told him of numerous clashes, in one of which he had himself been wounded. Searcy, writing some ninety years later, recounts dozens of violent incidents between Malays and aborigines, leading to retaliatory measures on both sides, year after year.

Since Flinders states that these Makassans only began visiting Australia about 1780, according to their own account, and later confirmed by the Dutch at Koepang, their seems little justification at present for placing the date of the Makassar arrival any earlier, although such evidence might well be found. At present, however, such estimates as the early sixteenth century (Berndt, R.M. and C.H., 1954 p.15) must be viewed with caution, since no definite archaeological evidence is yet available. It is evident, however, that the earliest known contacts between aborigines and Makassars, like the first contacts between aborigines and whites, were not such as to inspire mutual confidence. Contacts with the Makassans, however,
were much more frequent, and therefore more important. Groote Eylandt, in particular, was an important source of pearls, pearl-shell, and turtle-shell, and stories of the fabulous pearlbeds worked by the Makassans still drew white men to Groote for many years after the Malays were banned from Australia (Searcy, 1909, p.102 and Harney, pp.121-2). Today, the Makassar period is depicted by the aborigines, quite emphatically, as a Golden Age: this contradicts so flatly the evidence contained in the literature and, in particular, the remarks of N.Tindale, who visited Groote in 1921-2, that I ventured to ask Mr. Tindale to elaborate some of his remarks, especially the following:

"The Malays whenever possible obtained possession of native women and took them away on their homeward journeys. The Ingura (Wanindiljaugwa P.M.W.) native thus learnt that women should never be seen. The island natives, being comparatively few, were frightened by the Malays, who robbed them, enticed them with drink, and beat them when they would not work. Their attitude to the Malays was one of hate: sometimes they tried to kill them, and stories of ambushes and attacks are told in the camps" (Tindale, 1926, p.131).
Not only did Mr. Tindale confirm these statements, but further stated that he saw the remains of stringray-tail whips hanging in tamarind-trees, whips used by the Makassans on the aborigines. It is thus apparent that the present-day stories of the extraordinary generosity, kindliness and helpfulness of the Makassans, as compared with the parsimony and unpleasantness of white men, explain more about the attitude of the Wañindiljaugwa to their present situation than they do about the Makassan period.

Apart from its significance to the natives as a Golden Age, there are certain features of the Makassan period which are of great importance, but which are usually glossed over in discussions on the effects of Indonesian contact. Some of the important economic innovations caused by the Makassan visits might have been expected to have had deeper long-term effects on the aboriginal society, but their impact was lessened in various ways discussed below. It is probably because of the ephemeral nature of the economic changes that they are generally ignored, but they merit consideration even if the long-term effects were limited, and even if many of these features disappeared with the passing of the Makassans themselves. One may briefly summarize the principal effects of the coming of the Makassans under eight headings. Each of these points will be
expanded throughout this work:

1. The Makassans introduced the aborigines to the practice of working for wages, although the wages were not fixed or paid in any single medium of exchange.

2. They introduced a large volume of goods and a number of types of goods not previously known to the aborigines. This stimulated exchange generally in north-eastern Australia.

3. The aborigines began to produce goods in order to exchange them with the Makassans and not for their own immediate use. The limited production of goods for the purposes of exchange was thus increased.

4. Hunting and collecting was made more effective by the introduction of more efficient tools.

5. Physical mobility was greatly increased, facilitating exchange and further exploitation of the environment. The dugout canoe is particularly important in this regard.

6. Knowledge of other parts of the world, and of other peoples, enlarged the world-view of the aborigines, and increased their consciousness of themselves as a culturally distinct people.

7. The importance of the Makassan visits is expressed in totemic innovations.
8. Other social and cultural effects are manifest in linguistic usages, art-forms, etc.

Since most of the very old men who can remember anything of the Makassans were only young children when the Makassans last visited northern Australia, considerable caution has to be exercised in accepting their accounts, whilst only superficial information is usually given. The Makassans (no mention is made of the Buginese) are variously known as (Wura)Magasa, WuraMaleja, Wurandjura, and also as Wuramungadira, which last term is also used sometimes of whites and half-castes. It is emphasized that the Makassans did not bring women or children with them, though one informant stated that young Makassan children who died whilst accompanying their fathers on one voyage were buried in Winchilsea Island. When voyaging to 'Borroloola', however, they used to seize women, as did the Wanindiljaugwa themselves - four of the mothers of men now in their fifties are known to have been thus abducted.

All the men who visited Indonesia on board the Makassans' ships are now dead, so that little can be learnt of their experiences. Many names of "Makassan"
countries are given, but must be treated with suspicion, since one "country" named Bonabi, later proved to be a reference to Fanny Bay Gaol near Darwin. The most frequently-cited Makassan "countries" are Djubunda (used as a personal name by a living man), Badjauni, Djindji, Gonabara, Buradawa, Daridju, Degorona, Djawudjawu, etc. Some of these are possibly merely places to the west. A few of the personal names of the last Makassan 'bosses' (bungauwa) are remembered, particularly Burajuma or Buraija, who was in command of the vessels which worked the Dalimbo area; Demadala or Demadali, who was bungauwa of the ships at Bickerton Island; Demandergwa, the 'brother' of Mubana, an aborigine now about 55 years of age; Mandaga (also used as a personal name by a living aborigine); and Maridja. The use of kinship terms between the Makassans and the aborigines, especially important senior aborigines, is clearly similar to indigenous practice between aboriginal trade-partners. One Makassan interviewed in the Celebes, stated that his father was 'like' a brother to i Bangkala, the 'headman' (hoofd) of Daeng Lompo (i.e.Dalimbo) (Cense, p.264).

The aborigines usually mentioned the Winchilsea-Badalumba-Djaragba-Umbakumba route as the principal one
taken by the Makassan vessels, but it is well-known that they also worked at Dalimbo and also on the west coast. Descriptions of the work of obtaining and preparing trepang agree with those in the literature (cf. Flinders, pp. 228–233; Searcy 1909, pp. 27–8; and 1912, p. 46; etc.), whilst the aborigines also comment on the size of their fishing-nets, which were so large that the labour of many men was required to haul them in. The Makassans depended on fishing a great deal for food, but the foods they brought with them are still remembered, above all rice, whilst their clothes, including turbans (djalanda), pots (wira, gawa and other kinds) baskets, liquor (anidja) tobacco and cigarettes are still remembered. The cigarettes were hollow reeds filled with tobacco, and called variously bamduga, buwabuwa or mamamijadia. A large number of names of material objects have passed into the aboriginal tongue (see Appendix 1), but there appears to be little other linguistic influence other than words connected with sailing, again principally names of parts of canoes, etc. Some of the aborigines would undoubtedly have had a good grasp of Malay, Makassarese and possibly other Indonesian tongues but it is unlikely that general knowledge of these languages
would be very widespread or consist of much more than knowledge of the names of important objects (cf. White, p.145).

Warner's conclusions that the influence of the Malays was very limited, and principally confined to the introduction of a few material objects, (Warner, 1932) have now been shown to be quite incorrect as a result of research-work in north-eastern Arnhem Land (Berndt, R.M. and C.H., 1954, passim). Similarly, Tindale's conclusion that "the influence of the Malays on the ceremonial life of the natives is almost negligible" (Tindale, 1926, p.131) must be regarded with caution, in view of the clear Malay influence on Groote Eylandt totemism (see below). Today, the memory of the Makassans is still strong, but they are principally mentioned in conversation for their generosity in leaving great quantities of food, tobacco etc. for the aborigines (said to last until the return of the Makassans the following season), a generosity which is contrasted with the parsimony of the white man. Again, the equality of treatment they are said to have received from the Makassans, particularly epitomized in their eating together and in the use of kinship terms, is contrasted with the segregation of the natives by white men. Whilst there is
undoubtedly a real basis for this comparison, it must be remembered that the generosity and friendliness of the Makassans is undoubtedly exaggerated; the Makassan era has become a Golden Age, an age of plenty and harmony which becomes even more golden in aboriginal consciousness the more they become dissatisfied with their present life.

The Makassans kept coming to northern Australia until 1907, but the trade was discouraged by a variety of means before that date. With the development of the pastoral industry and the putting through of the Overland Telegraph Line, white Australians became more conscious of the Makassans, and of the rich trade they were carrying on, and were ultimately successful, in 1907, in having the trade officially forbidden, thus leaving the field open for white pearlers and trepangers. The arrival of many white Australians in the Gulf region during the period 1879-1916, however, did not directly affect the Wanindiljaugwa, but they were aware of conditions at the Roper and McArthur Rivers through their relatives in other tribes, and through visits by canoe or prahu. Searcy's comments on Borroloola in 1886 are significant:

"For thousands of miles round the M'Arthur the district was in a state of terror. This was no exaggeration, for the crimes committed were beyond
description. All the outlaws of Queensland made for the Territory, for they had nothing to fear; in fact this country was a sanctuary for every ruffian in Australia” (Searcy, 1909, p.169).

Two years later, he records great improvements, but the brutalities he describes, committed against aborigines, would not be easily forgotten. Stories of the decimation of aboriginal camps, abduction of native women, the use of aborigines in criminal activities, and of white men's brutality, were carried over to Groote long before white men ever settled there. Fear of non-aborigines was to be heightened by the events of the 'thirties, particularly by clashes with whites and Japanese who illegally entered the reserves, and by a police punitive expedition.

The Wanindiljaugwa and Their Neighbours

The nearest neighbours of the Wanindiljaugwa were the Balamumu on the mainland to the north-west, and the Nungubuju on the mainland south of the Balamumu. The exact status of the Balamumu is obscure. Warner states that "the Dai and the Barlamomo can hardly be ranked as tribes, except that the terms are loosely used by the natives for groups of clans belonging to either moiety (i.e. the Dua and Jiridja moieties of north-eastern
Arnhem Land P.M.W.); and since they cannot be phratries, and belong to both groups of the dual division, and since there is a vague recognition of their distinctiveness in their having names and being considered by the people to the north as each one people, they have been ranked as tribes by the writer, with full recognition that such a designation is too ample and solid a term to describe them" (Warner, 1937, p.37). As far as the Wanindiljaugwa are concerned, the Balamumu are a tribe like themselves, though it is recognized that the Balamumu are part of a wider cultural group; the people of Groote Eylandt similarly regard the Nungubuju as a tribe.

The languages of the Nungubuju and Balamumu are quite distinct from Enindiljaugwa, the language of Groote Eylandt, though Nungubuju shares an almost identical grammatical structure with Enindiljaugwa, but has a totally different vocabulary. The language spoken by the Balamumu, on the other hand, is not a multiple-classifying language like Nungubuju and Enindiljaugwa, but a non-classifying suffixing

Unless indicated, I use "Groote Eylandt" throughout to include the other islands inhabited by the Wanindiljaugwa.
language (Capell, 1941, p.40) one of the tongues spoken throughout north-eastern Arnhem Land by the people nowadays called the Wulamba (originally called Murungin by Warner, the name Wulamba being introduced by Berndt; cf. Berndt, 1951). To the Wañindiljaugwa, the Balamumu are known as the Wanunduguna, and the Nungubuju as the Wañungura. Earlier writers called the Wañindiljaugwa the Ingura (e.g. Tindale, 1925 and 1926). This is believed to be a term used by the Nungubuju for the Wañindiljaugwa, but the present-day Nungubuju are quite aware not only of the correct name for the Groote Eylandters, but also have a good knowledge of their clan and totemic systems. It will be noted that the name Ingura is similar to the name for the Nungubuju, Wañungura, the prefix Wañ- indicating plural class. The stress, however, is different - Ingura and Wañungura. It is possible, therefore, that the name may have had something of the significance of 'neighbours' or 'the people across the water'. The indigenous name for the west wind, Winungura, may have some connection with these names.

Considerable intermarriage took place with both these mainland tribes. Twenty-five Nungubuju appear in the genealogies of the Wañindiljaugwa tribe, mainly women who
have settled virilocally, their husbands being usually men of the WuraMura clan of Bickerton Island. Many of these Bickerton Islanders are bilingual, whilst the Waŋunj-Amadada clan is said to have sprung from the descendants of one Nuŋgubuju man, an immigrant from Amadada on the mainland opposite Bickerton. They are definitely part of the Waŋindiljaugwa tribe, however. It is quite possible indeed that this development is recent: the size of the clan does not necessarily tell us anything about its age, since the descendants of one philoprogenitive living man, Naugwarba (Dagalara or Banjo) number 32 out of the total of 80 recorded in WaŋunjAmadada genealogies, by seven different wives. The small Wurunjiljaŋba clan of Bickerton Island is also of mainland origin. Significantly, both these clans have the same totems as the WuraGwaugwa of Groote, and are said to have borrowed these totems from the WuraGwaugwa.

Intermarriage with the Balamumu was quite common also. The inhabitants of Woodah Island, the WaŋunjAnywurerigba, are also bilingual (Balamumu and Enindiljaugwa); nine Balamumu appear in the genealogies of this small clan (21 recorded names), and they often refer to themselves as Durili, the name of a phratry of the Wulamba "too nebulous in (its) composition to give (its) clan membership" (Warner. p.35).
Here again, the WaŋuŋAnwurerigba are part of the Waŋindiljaugwa tribe, but they occupy a special geographical and social position. As noted, a certain amount of intermarriage also took place in the past with the Borroloola tribes, women and boys being abducted by Waŋindiljaugwa visiting that area on Makassan prahus. It is noticeable that practically all these extra-tribal marriages are with women from the mainland: not a single case of Waŋindiljaugwa men marrying and residing abroad was recorded (cf. Tindale, 1925, p.71).

The following table indicates the proportion of extra-tribal marriages, as remembered by the aborigines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balamumu (Waŋunduguna)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nungubuju (Waŋungura)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Borroloola&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of individuals recorded in genealogies is 798. People of foreign origin therefore represent around five per cent of the population. In addition, some marriage or at least sexual intercourse with the Makassans must have taken place, at least, in the earlier phase of contact, since Malay features are apparent in the Groote
population, though such subjective impressions may be superficial (cf. Tindale, 1925, p. 67 and Fig. 25). As the marriage-evidence reflects, the closest cultural ties of the Wanindiljaugwa were and are with the Balamumu and Nungubuju, ties with the latter being somewhat more important. Thus, the principal religious ceremony of the Wanindiljaugwa, the Amunduwuraria, is of mainland origin, and the principal religious leaders are men of direct mainland descent or Bickerton Islanders whose links with the Nungubuju are strong.

Considerable trade was carried on with the Balamumu and Nungubuju, facilitated by the possession of the large dugout canoes which the Makassans introduced. Social intercourse was frequent, whilst the mainlanders would visit Groote occasionally for economic and social purposes. During their 1953 visit to Umbakumba, the Balamumu revealed detailed knowledge of the resources of the northern coast in particular. However, it was also with these two tribes, especially the Balamumu, that intertribal fighting occurred. These fights were usually limited to those involved in a particular dispute, or those present in a particular area, and were not in the nature of organised war-parties of all able-bodied males. More casualties resulted from intra-
tribal disputes than from inter-tribal fights. The Wanindiljaugwa and the Balamumu still have considerable respect for each others' fighting abilities, though the Wanindiljaugwa consider themselves the better fighters. Stories of the ruthlessness of Balamumu invaders are still told, though it is interesting to note that individual Wanindiljaugwa leagued with the mainlanders in certain fights, and fought against their own tribesmen. The conflicts were thus not necessarily even on an inter-tribal basis, but seem often to have been determined by kinship or other considerations.

In pre-Makassan times the world of the Wanindiljaugwa was bounded to the south by the tribes around the Roper River, and to the north by the Caledon Bay region. In the vast Gulf to the east, they knew of no land, though Tindale reports a story of a canoe-journey eastwards which reported sandbanks with many birds' eggs, but no land. Flotsam from New Guinea and Cape York Peninsula drifts onto the east coast, however, including cocoanuts, bamboo, timber and occasional canoes (the latter not recently). This may well have contributed to the eastwards location of the mythical Land of the Dead, Bralgu, to which the spirits of dead Wanindiljaugwa journey via the North-East Isles. The flotsam today is augmented by objects from passing steamers: neon-light tubes, pillows, lifebelts, etc. can be found on the east coast.
Although the Wanindiljaugwa did not penetrate very far beyond the coastal region of the mainland, they knew of other inland tribes and of such practices as sub-incision. Their knowledge of the outside world was greatly increased by the coming of the Makassans, and in particular by the journeys undertaken by Wanindiljaugwa men aboard Makassan prahus. To the south they visited the Pellews and the mainland around the present-day Borroloola, whilst they also became acquainted with the northern coast of Arnhem Land in addition to the islands north of the Australian continent. Of the tribes with whom they had some contact before 1921, the Wadere of the Borroloola region (called the Wurawaďawadira by the islanders) are often mentioned, whilst today thejalagan, Jandi, Rembaŋa and Ridaŋno remnants around the Roper River Mission are well-known. The Nuŋgubuju are further recognised as having subdivisions, probably local clan-names—the Wuramangura of the Cape Barrow-Bennett Bay region, and the Wanumburinda. Many Wanindiljaugwa have recently visited Darwin, Thursday Island, Katherine, and other nearby points in the Northern Territory, but have rarely travelled further afield.

Groote Eylandt itself is merely known as Ajanadanba; Island, a name which is not very often used, since some more specific area, such as a particular clan-territory, is
usually referred to. Most place-names refer to quite small areas or spots, but the principal geographical names referring to clan-territories or other extensive areas and other important points have been indicated on the map. As with the word Ajanadaiba, so the word for 'mainland': Amaguliumuda, is not a proper name in the usual sense, but has a meaning equivalent to the English word 'mainland' itself, being derived from -maguliumuda: huge.

Many other points such as Randjeri, Ramralja, Garangari (Blue Mud Bay/Caledon Bay region), Madjaqa (probably inland along Walker River, and possibly a name for the famous Ilibidji flint-quarry), etc., are not clearly identifiable, especially as they are not now visited. Similarly, other names of social units, e.g. the Malafgi (people south of the Balamumu), are not precisely identifiable. The breakdown of the tribal system on the mainland has made identification difficult, but, more than this, the old tribal affiliations are no longer so important. Thus, the Wanindiljaugwa do not bother to specify the tribal origin of people at the Roper or Rose Rivers, since this is no longer very significant; instead they speak of the people there as 'Roper River boys' or 'Rose River boys', using the pidgin English terms. It is even not quite clear whether the
term

term

jugura applies to the Roper River or the Rose -
the English names are nearly always used nowadays. The
Hart River, rarely mentioned, is probably the Agurgi, the
same name, with Enindiljaugwa modification, as that of the
Agurgwa River at the Groote Mission; other place-names
on Groote Eylandt, such as Djaragba, have equivalents on
the mainland also.

Certain places on Groote Eylandt are frequently
mentioned in a form of exclamation expressing astonishment,
etc.: amangara Jandaŋa! amangara Amagula! amangara Barabara!
being the most common. Amangara: true, might be rendered
"is that so?", with the place-name as a kind of oath:
"by (Jandaŋa) indeed!" etc. These places are not
necessarily outstandingly important, except for Jandaŋa
(Central Hill) which figures in the Creation Period myths,
and the exclamation today has no deeper significance than
its surface meaning, though it may possibly be a vestige
of swearing by important points in clan-territories. I
did not find this usage limited to members of particular
clans with whose territory the place-name is associated.
Other places called on in this fashion were Badalumba,
Jadigba, Amagaljuwagba, Maliffa, etc.
CHAPTER 2

The Environment and the Traditional Economy

The Waŋindiljaugwa are essentially a coastal people. It has been pointed out, in a detailed ecological survey (Specht, passim), that the main population of the whole of Arnhem Land has always been concentrated on the coast, with its rich supplies of marine products, its more abundant water-resources and vegetation. This is particularly true of Groote Eylandt, which has a rocky and fairly barren interior, with large areas of sandy soil and stringybark forest. The dominating feature of the island is Central Hill (named by Flinders, and later called Mt. Ellie by a missionary), known to the aborigines as Jaŋdaŋa: Central Hill is the highest point in the Gulf, 600 feet high and dome-shaped in appearance (cf. Australia Pilot, Vol.V, p.70). From Central Hill every part of the island is visible, and it forms part of an irregular ring of hills in the centre of the island from which small ranges run down towards the coast. From this ring of hills spring the Amagula, Jadigba, Jinuma (Aŋurŋwa) and other minor rivers, many of them permanent. From it also flows the river which runs down to the east coast forming a large,
almost circular lagoon, which flows down to meet the sea along a narrow channel with parallel-sided banks of striking regularity rising to high dunes of sand. This forms the shape of a stingray with a circular body and a long tail, as may be seen from the map; the dome-shaped appearance of Central Hill may also be said to be like a stingray, though to a lesser extent. The consequent importance of the stingray in mythology will be shown later. The aborigines speak of the river at Ajuŋgwa and the river which flows into Lake Hubert as both being the Jinuma River (see myth below), but in fact they are two separate rivers. Loosely, Ajuŋwurugurigba, the name of the clan-territory in which Lake Hubert is situated, is often used when referring to Lake Hubert and its river.

The rivers and billabongs, being a perennial source of fresh water, and stocked with fish, crabs, prawns, water-goannas, fresh-water turtles, crocodiles, and often ducks, geese and other birdlife, attract the natives as hunting- and fishing-grounds. There also grow many plants not found in the drier areas, whilst larger game such as wallabies frequent their banks. The "jungles" (murunwena), well-watered pockets, thickly overgrown with a profusion of monsoonal growth-creepers, pithy reeds and many other plants - are also favourite spots for wallabies, the largest
land-animal, besides many edible plants and fruit-bearing trees. Here also grow the giant paper-bark trees and other large trees suitable for making dugout canoes, and other species of trees not found elsewhere which are useful for making such objects as spear-shafts, coffins, pipes, etc. Special vegetable-foods, such as the pandanus fruit, are found in and near the "jungles." The importance of the riverine and "jungle" areas in the life of the people is thus plain. The coast itself yields large quantities of fish, turtles and turtle-eggs, sharks, dolphins, stingrays, shellfish and seabirds' eggs - all vital in the aboriginal economy - together with specialized trees, such as figs, and other plant-life.

Linguistic usage reflects the importance of the coast and of the watered areas. Direction is generally expressed in relation to either the coast or in relation to billabongs, rivers and creeks, or lakes. The verb -dorinda, whilst signifying 'to go down', usually implies going down from the hilly interior to the coast. Similarly the verb -riberiga implies "coming ashore" or "going inland" from the coast. Both these words might be presumed to be obvious derivations from the shape of the island, the coast being an obvious point of reference, but this is not entirely so. One can use these words in reference to a billabong or other body of inland water; here also one goes up or down
from the banks or edges of the inland waters to an extent. The real core of the conception, however, is that of movement in relation to water, but the coast is usually one's reference point, so receives greater stress. The interior is often referred to as 'on top'.

As Specht notes, it would be largely during the wet season that the interior would be inhabited, though seasonal berries and roots growing in the interior are certainly collected whenever they are available, whilst inland waters, such as the Dalimbo lakes, the Augwalamadja billabong, just west of Umbakumba, etc., were frequented for fishing and other purposes at all times of the year.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the major rivers, the Amagula, the Jadigba, the Jinuma (Anurgwa), and Lake Hubert, were the key areas within particular clan-territories, with another major concentration of population round the Dalimbo lakes. The waterfalls, streams and billabongs around Malirba Hill on Bickerton were similarly important. As we shall see later, the hordes which exploited the clan-territories were by no means limited to these particular territories. No doubt they possessed a more intimate knowledge of the resources of their own territories, and would appear to have spent more of their time in these areas than in any other for this reason, but
they used to roam all over the island if they so desired, and there were no tribal rules against entering or exploiting the territory of another clan. Even the neighbouring islands and the mainland would be visited from time to time for various purposes, including economic.

Some idea of the richness of this region, though barren to the undiscerning eye of the white man, may be gained from the following list of bush-products consumed by the natives, one which could be expanded:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Edible Kinds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land-animals (incl. reptiles)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birds (sea and land)</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marine animals (fish, dugong, stingrays, dolphins, etc.)</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plants</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crabs and shellfish</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Harney remarks of a white friend of his, Roger Jose, "one of the best bushmen I ever saw", that he regarded Groote Eylandt as one of the richest areas for bush-foods that he had ever visited, being even richer than the Daly River (Harney, p.176). Apart from the richness of the region, the above list indicates the prodigious knowledge of their environment possessed by the aborigines. It has been well said that the basic research in identifying, and
later domesticating, animals and plants was carried out by primitive man over centuries of experiment and practice. The natural species included in the above list, moreover, are only the edible products of the bush; the aborigine's knowledge extends to a much wider range of natural species—those which provide him with the necessary materials for making objects of material culture, those which are harmful, and those which he merely observes for various reasons— their commonness, their unusualness, or possibly because they possess some striking feature. Since the aborigine's major concern is with those natural species which provide him with food and with materials, his knowledge of the characteristics of these species is considerable. He observes, for example, that changes in the foliage of plants indicate when the plant is ready for eating. Nevertheless, since his primary interest in these species is derived from their importance as food, he is not quite so interested in the less relevant characteristics of the plants and animals, e.g. those which are not of great concern from the point of view of food-getting. There is thus greater interest in the mature plant or fish which is ready for eating, and less interest in or knowledge of the developmental stages of its growth. Again, classification of natural species
proceeds on a rough-and-ready basis, mainly by the use of external criteria such as shape, colouring, etc., since the relationship of the different species has little practical significance to the aborigine. The natives will refer to a certain fish as the 'mother' of a smaller kind of fish of similar external appearance, but they do not make clear whether they regard the 'mother' as a larger related species or as the actual mature form of the smaller fish. To them these distinctions are largely academic, whilst classifications based upon such criteria as the arrangement of the internal organs, etc. are even less important. There is a corresponding paucity of terms for the internal organs. The liver (awa) is distinguished, since it is particularly prized, but mulugwa is used for stomach, womb, intestines, etc. and andonda for heart or kidneys. The aborigines are not pure pragmatists, however; they certainly observe characteristics of natural species other than those which are significant for reasons of utility, partly because they are interested in all natural species, a habit of mind encouraged by their way of life and their training as children, and partly because they are intelligent people who observe the world around them.

Writing on the tribes of Cape York Peninsula and of the mainland of Arnhem Land, Thomson, (1939 and 1948/9
respectively), has shown that the natives recognise and name six distinct seasons of the year, according to the economic opportunities offered by the environment at each period. On Groote, only two major seasons are so recognised — the hot, wet season (aljegadadara) and the dry, cool season (aguljerimindada) — other intermediate seasonal phases are recognised, but are not regarded as of major importance or distinguished by names (adadara and-mindada actually signify 'hot' and 'cold'). These two seasons are characterized by, and symbolized by, the north-west monsoonal wind of the 'Wet', and the south-east trade winds of the dry season. These seasons are of fundamental significance in aboriginal life, as the following table indicates:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Jan</th>
<th>Feb</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Apr</th>
<th>May</th>
<th>Jun</th>
<th>Jul</th>
<th>Aug</th>
<th>Sep</th>
<th>Oct</th>
<th>Nov</th>
<th>Dec</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>7.05</td>
<td>4.79</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12.59</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>02</td>
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<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>5.25</td>
<td>11.89</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>14.45</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>4.59</td>
<td>5.71</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>5.96</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>13.02</td>
<td>8.86</td>
<td>5.46</td>
<td>21.69</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>5.46</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>8.26</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1. Rainfall in inches per month for years 1947-1952 inclusive (Source: Umbakumba station records)**
Thus the S.E. wind which blows from April to September brings virtually no rain. From October to March, the N.W. wind, preceded by a period of irregular winds and north winds, brings the monsoonal rains, and seasonal plant life provides a considerable variety of berries and fruits such as native plums and grapes, to supplement marine products and meat-supplies from land-animals. The temperature changes similarly, being at its highest from November to January, before the rains break, with the coolest period extending from May to August. Only rarely does the peak temperature of the year exceed 100 degrees F.; in the cool season the night temperature may sink as low as the middle forties.

As the seasons change, so do the available food-resources. Throughout the year, the aborigines adapted themselves to these changes, moving to suitable localities, spreading out during the wet season, and concentrating round water-resources in the dry season (cf. Thomson, 1948/9). They never, of course, merely wandered at random over the countryside, but exploited the well-known and changing resources in a rational manner. The seasonal variations in plant life have been well described (Specht, q.v.), showing the varying importance of the various types
of habitat - monsoon forest, the mixed open-forest of the coastal dunes and sandy deltas, the large areas of stringybark forest, the sandstone hills, paperbark swamps and mangrove forests. Although they are of importance all through the year, the monsoon and mixed open forest areas were of greatest importance during the wet season, whilst the fresh-water swamps were more frequented during the dry season. It may be noted here that since this life has now virtually disappeared, it is impossible to do otherwise than to piece together the evidence gathered from bush-trips of limited duration, such as are performed nowadays, and to combine this knowledge with the literary descriptions of other writers, most of which deal with short periods of the year. Tindale and Wilkins may be consulted with profit, whilst the accounts of Specht and McArthur are of particular value, the former being more comprehensive, but the latter a more intensive study. Since the indigenous economy is usually neglected in modern anthropological studies of the aborigines, we will devote some attention to this most important sphere of life, particularly in view of its effect on the whole social structure. Unfortunately, it is now impossible to present much quantitative material on the food-gathering operations of the aborigines over a complete year's cycle.
A fundamental distinction in Enindiljaugwa is that drawn between animal and vegetable foods. There is, however, no general word for 'food'. Anuŋa (or amuraja, from the verb -muraja: to be hungry) is generally used to refer to settlement food, but this name really only applies to vegetable foods, since settlement rations principally consist of wheat, rice, and flour as staples, meat forming an irregular and small part of the whole. Another word used for vegetable foods is enunwijegba. Anwindjadja describes meat of land-animals, including, however, flesh from fish in inland waters. The importance of fish in the economy may be seen in the colloquial use of the word augwalja: fish to describe any animal-flesh, whether it be shark, goat, wallaby, goanna or fish itself. Amadaŋwa merely has the significance of the English 'flesh'. The gathering of vegetable-foods and shellfish is the responsibility of the women, whilst men hunt wallabies and other land-animals, spear or hook fish and harpoon large marine animals. Women, however, will kill any small animals which come their way, and some of the older women will fish with spears on their own, away from the men. Similarly, men will pick odd fruits encountered in the bush, but do not generally settle down to collecting them. Either sex will chop out the highly-
prized hives of the native stingless bee ('sugar-bag'), on which they will often subsist for days. 'Sugar-bag' is the greatest natural luxury the aborigines know, and the white men's sweet foods such as sugar, treacle, jam, etc. are similarly sought after. Sweet foods are preferred even to meat, a relatively scarce item in the diet, and it is difficult to convey the strength of the aboriginal desire for 'sugar-bag'; the flowers of the honeysuckle, paper-bark and other trees are also appreciated for their sweetness. Several cases of death from falling off trees in search of sugar-bag are recorded in the genealogies. The flowering of the paper-bark and other trees towards the end of the dry season is greeted with joy as a harbinger of (amongst other things) increased supplies of wild honey. Since the berries and fruits found in the bush are relatively tasteless as compared to cultivated ones, and generally far from sweet, wild honey forms an attractive item of diet. It is interesting to note that this food, besides having a high calorie-content (see below) is prized for its taste and not merely for its energy-giving qualities. Even the more tasty berries such as the wild plum, native grape and red love-apple (the latter was first noted by Flinders on Chasm Island) are not very sweet. The last-mentioned is a
particular favourite with children who even brave the 'dangers' of the cemetery on Little Lagoon in search of red love-apples; it was the dying wish of one sick child to be given this fruit to eat.

The principal plant-foods may be grouped under four headings (A); roots, nuts, fruit, and shoots. Of root-foods, the most important are lily-roots, two distinct kinds of yam, and the adamiya and amundagarurunura roots. All these are collected in large quantities. The most important nuts are those of the mijarawa (used by whites as a substitute for coffee), the burrawong and the pandanus, the last being more of a luxury than a staple. Fruits are gathered mainly in the wet season, particularly the native plum and grape, the red love-apple and the mularungwa; the burrawong is also eaten in this season. Of the many shoots eaten, only those of the fan palm are of any great importance. In addition to these staple plant-foods, there are numerous others, of which the spike-rush, hogweed, native cabbage, fig, and arda are

(A) This account draws considerably from McArthur and Specht. In order to avoid overloading the text with systematic names, and in the absence of vernacular names for many plants, the native names are used where no vernacular term exists. For botanical identification, see Appendix 3.
the most important quantitatively.

Both the pandanus fruit and the native plum are hot to the taste. The parsnip yam is very much appreciated, even by whites, but the so-called 'cheeky yam' *(mungura)* much less so. Like the burrawong nut, this yam contains a poisonous principle which has to be removed before the food can be eaten. According to Tindale, "the chief vegetable food" in 1921-22 was the burrawong nut. This was only prepared once during my stay, possible because it is not abundant in the Umbakumba area, and requires soaking for two nights before use so that the natives, who are 'sent bush' at weekends, do not have time to prepare it. Most of the bush trips in which I participated, moreover, occurred during the dry season, whilst the natives would not have enough time during their weekends out of the camp to prepare this food properly, even were it available. The remarkable feature of the preparation of burrawong 'damper' is the extraction of the toxic substance *(Tindale, 1925, pp. 76-7)*. I have observed this carried out for the *mungura* yam, and Tindale further observed it in the case of the zamia fruit *(macrozamia miquelii)*. The *mungura*, a 'hairy' globular root, is first cooked by piling the yams, which are covered with sand,
heated stones, and more layers of yams. The whole clamp
is then covered with leaves and sand, whilst water is
poured over the pile, and the cover (usually paperbark)
quickly thrown on, presumably in order to retain the re-
sulting steam. This cooking loosens the skin of the yam,
which is pulled off, and also softens the flesh. The
shell of a small snail (Xanthomelon janellei Le Guillou;
Enindiljaugwa jumunderima) is then pierced with a piece
of wire to make a small hole, and the shell then used in
the same fashion as a potato-peeler. A stake or iron bar
is jammed into the ground pointing towards the woman peel-
ing the root, and the yam is quickly shredded into a
stringybark container. The shredded yam is then soaked
overnight in a running rivulet, enclosed in a rectangular
structure made of fronds of the burrawong; this permits
water to pass through the fronds, but retains the pieces
of mungura. In the morning, the food may be eaten - the
same process of soaking in the case of burrawong nuts,
however, usually requires two nights' soaking. McArthur
records cases where the yam was only soaked for 1½ hours,
when the aborigines were no doubt pressed for time. This
is regarded by them as a dangerous risk. When ready, the
yam has even then a somewhat chemical taste in the writer's
opinion, but is not unpleasant even if rather neutral in
flavour, resembling a tasteless potato. This remarkable extraction of toxic substances is an indication of the relatively advanced techniques known to the aborigines, who, even though they may not have advanced beyond the hunting-and-collecting stage of economic organization, nevertheless have reached a high level of skill in that type of life, and are by no means limited to the crudest techniques. It is unfortunate that Warner attributed so much importance to the inferiority of women in economic life when putting forward his thesis that their lower social position may perhaps be attributed to the fact that they only perform the simplest and crudest of tasks. This is not so, as may be seen from the above description (Warner, p. 134).

Tindale refers to the burrawong, and Wilkins to the shoots and hearts of the fan palm, as "the" staple food. It is clear that what they have described as the main staple has depended on the season during which they were making observations, and also on the types of plants available in a particular area. The different stress laid by these writers on the 'staple' food is an interesting exemplification of the danger pointed out by Thomson in generalizing about aboriginal economy from limited data (cf. Thomson, 1939, passim). The full cycle of the year needs
to be seen, and the widely differing resources of various localities examined. Observation and discussion lead to the conclusion that plant-foods form the lion's share of the food-supply. It is therefore the women, who dig the yams and water-lily roots, who collect the burrawong, mijarawa, native plum and grape, etc. who provide the regular bulk of the food-supply.

Other than the tamarind, numbers of which are to be found, especially on Winchilsea Island, the Malays introduced few plants. Cocoanuts floating from New Guinea and Cape York Peninsula are often picked up on the east coast, and eaten with relish, though to the white man's taste, they are generally somewhat advanced in decomposition. A few of these are said to have taken root in the past, but the aborigines, being a collecting and not an agricultural people, ate the edible portions of the plants rather than let them grow in order to secure the regular fruit. Other trees left at the abandoned Airbase suffered the same fate.

The contribution of the men lies in the hunting of land-animals and birds, particularly wallabies, goannas, blue-tongued lizards, possums, bandicoots, flying-foxes, fresh-water turtles, water-goannas, native cats and echidnas. Even with the assistance of hunting-dogs these are relatively unreliable and generally small sources of meat. Of
the 75 kinds of birds and flying creatures (collectively called wuradjidja, together with flying insects), only the goose and the larger birds are of any real importance - the jabiru, the jungle-fowl (and its eggs), the pelican, brolga and the spoonbill, together with the eggs of many other birds, of which the dubudegbuda (oyster-catcher) is the most important. Birds' eggs are not a very important source of food, though young children raid the nests, and hunt tiny birds with toy spears, and venture out to the sandbanks for the dubudegbuda's eggs. McArthur records that the work of four women and girls for 1½ hours only resulted in the procurement of two jungle-fowl's eggs.

It is the sea which can nearly always be relied upon to provide food. Fishing by line or wire-pronged spear (the latter with extraordinary accuracy) is a major source of animal protein; nowadays European hooks are nearly always used. It will be noted that nearly 100 species of fish were recorded, and in some areas, especially in coastal rock-pools, fish can usually be obtained within ten minutes. The larger sea-animals such as dugong, turtle, shark or stingray, however, provide a larger supply of food which lasts for some days, and may be kept far longer. Nowadays domestic cattle which have gone wild may be hunted,
especially in Dalimbo. Although meat may be dried over a fire, or in the sun, or very crudely salted either in sea-water or in the salt left by the evaporation of sea-water on the rocks, this is rarely an effective preservative, and meat is eaten in a state which appears revolting and even dangerous to the European's eyes.

An excellent description of dugong-hunting by harpoon is given by Tindale (1925, pp. 78-9). He notes that this was the principal animal food of the aborigines on the west coast, where the dugong frequents the shallower and more sheltered bays in which the sea-grass (Enindiljaugwa mawurura) on which they live, grows. The easterners depended more on the turtle, and it is this that provides the principal source of meat at Umbakumba to-day. Turtles were and are especially common at the North-East Islands, where they may easily be taken by turning them over on their backs when they come up the beach to lay their eggs. Large quantities of eggs are also gathered, recorded clutches numbering between 70 and 130.

Shellfish collected by the women supplement the diet, but the smaller species rarely provide enough for a solid meal, although the young girls collect them scrupulously. Larger shellfish such as bailers, conches or clams are
sometimes found in large numbers, whilst oysters, including mangrove oysters, are also valued foods.

Some idea of the richness of the natural environment may be gathered from the following figures. Although rough, they give some indication of the amounts that can be obtained at certain seasons. No estimates of numbers of hunters involved, time spent, etc. can be given, but at peak hunting-periods, probably no more than 70 adults were mobilized, whilst periods like late 1949, mid-1950, and mid-1952 were times of special activity. Fluctuating demands for garden-labour affect the hunting-force. Except where indicated, the periods are quarter-years, and amounts in pounds.

Cooking usually takes place either by placing the food on a fire (large quantities of sand being consumed in the process of eating), by cooking in hot sand and ashes, or by heating stones which are then used as described for mungura. Shellfish are cooked by placing on hot sand. Turtles may be jammed into the sand, the head removed and the stones dropped into the body cavity (cf. McArthur, op. cit.).

Tindale describes a special method of cooking large stingrays and sharks:
averaging between 200-300 lbs. All others are sea-turtles of varying size, probably settlement records.

**TABLE 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Occupancy</th>
<th>Foods brought to Umbakumla settlement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neve</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ducane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Groups</td>
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*Source:*
"After the creature has been gutted and placed on the fire for a few minutes, it is cut into small portions and passed round to those in camp, who tear the portions with their teeth and chew them, forming the pulpy mass into balls with their fingers. Several pounds of this article are spread out on a sheet of bark, fat derived from the creature is placed on it, and a small fire formed of two sticks laid over the whole. The fat melts, and is absorbed in the mass, which after being kneaded up well is made into flat cakes and baked in the ashes" (Tindale, 1925, p. 84).

It is important to note the special attention given to the intestines and liver or other fatty portions of the animal - this is a marked feature of all the native cooking. Much of the fish and shellfish, on the other hand, is eaten semi-raw. Nowadays, boiling in tins is occasionally practised, e.g. for bailer-shell flesh; in the past, the lack of suitable indigenous receptacles prevented this type of cooking being undertaken.

In spite of the richness of the "bush tucker", there are often days when the hunters have no luck. Areas have to be traversed where food is scarce, and although supplies may be carried in bark containers, they are not always
available. Again, at certain seasons, shortages are experienced so that such foods as wild honey, minute shellfish, etc. may be all that is available. Sometimes only watered-down honey is consumed for several days on end; it is interesting to observe that this food has a high calorie-content, and is rich in fat and carbohydrate, as compared to most vegetable foods (Fysh, Hodges and Siggins, Table, q.v.) The procurement of food is an incessant task. Without advanced techniques of preservation and storage, even the killing of a dugong only relieves the pressure for a short period, and even a large supply of meat like this will soon be consumed when relatives have to receive their shares. In addition, variety is much appreciated, and it was noted that after a party of four men brought back a turtle of about 300 lbs. weight, together with thirty fish, in one morning, nearly everybody went out hunting again after a short rest, looking for luxuries like wild honey or pandanus nuts, or foods to add variety to the existing supply. After killing a wild bullock, one man who, like all of us, had eaten well, came over and asked me for some turtle-eggs that I had buried in the sand as protection against marauding sea-gulls. On being asked why, he remarked that he felt like a change from beef.
Hunting is an ingrained habit - no opportunity is ever missed of procuring food, and walks along the sea-coast are constantly interrupted for spear-throws at fish, irrespective of the state of the 'larder' or one's stomach. It must be acknowledged, however, that there are few times when such a supplement to the diet would not only be a welcome addition from a quantitative point of view, but also as a relief from monotonous settlement rations. The sighting of a bandicoot or native cat in the camp is the signal for the dropping of all other activities, and the animal rarely escapes. Journeys through the bush are constantly broken by examination of likely trees for wild honey hives, or digging with a spear-thrower into the burrows of goannas and other animals, while fruit in season is plucked on the march. The aborigines, it may be noted, do not lay the countryside waste, and elementary conservation measures are adopted. Thus, in digging out yams, a small portion of the tuber will be left in order to ensure further growth next year (Specht, p.6). In the case of animals, however, I have not been able to discover any conservation methods, such as the avoidance of killing pregnant females or young, but this may be a consequence of more intensive present-day exploitation of the area round
Umbakumba and the mission.

The attractiveness of a locality is measured, not by the pleasantness of the view, but by its food-producing potentialities, although aesthetic appreciation is by no means absent. Opinions on the attractions of towns like Darwin and Thursday Island usually place the variety and abundance of food in the shops as the first consideration, although the appeal of cinemas, etc. also arouses much comment. Children play games dividing out portions of imaginary foods, and gaze with fascination at magazine illustrations of food, playing such games as pointing and saying "This is mine", "That's yours". In the stories and myths of the Wanindiljaugwa, the characters are always on the move. Time and time again, the word 'nalugena': they went, recurs, for people cannot stay in one place if they are to survive. Again, stories are full of descriptions of the animals killed and the vegetables collected by the characters, and how these products were divided amongst them. In their spare time on the settlements, the young boys who, like the girls, are prodigious swimmers at an early age, splash about in the shallow water and spear tiny fish with their toy spears, or go inland and spear small birds; girls collect even
the tiniest shells and other foods appropriate to women, and cook them in hot sand. Older boys graduate to larger fish, and youths spend hours of their spare time watching for fish, fearlessly tackling even sharks and stingrays with anything to hand — if nothing better is available, a length of wood will do. Such intrepidity is frequently rewarded with success.

The division of the food does not follow a very rigid pattern, but certain principles may be discerned. It is fairly evident that traditional modes of distribution have started to fall into desuetude. Persistent inquiry into the principles of division, and continual observation (necessarily limited to-day) only indicate that everybody gets a share, young or old, whilst adults receive more than children, except in the case of some titbits, where young children may wheedle some out of their fathers when the women get none. Older men with many descendants and relatives by marriage, and, in the past, those with one or more young boys under their control as initiates, whom they would teach hunting and other manly skills, would receive gifts and thus a larger share. Children or youths take any large prize like a stingray to their fathers, mothers' brothers, or other
senior or important relatives who may be around; lesser foods, like small birds and fish, they generally eat with their friends. Division of the food is generally undertaken by the senior man present, or in the case of a canoe-expedition, by the owner of the canoe who also directs operations, but there is no rigid pattern. The highly-prized fat portions and thighs of animals go to senior men, though some may be given to women also. Fat, like honey, is greatly sought after, and in paintings of stingrays, the fat glands are often marked. Turtle-eggs are similarly enjoyed, and here again, analysis shows that they are rich in fat as compared with most vegetable foods (*Fysh, Hodges and Siggins*, Table). In recounting a hunting-success, one is always asked "Was it fat?" and also asked to describe how the portions of the animal were distributed. When large animals are killed, there are enough valued parts for all to share, dugong, with its fat layer under the skin and flesh like beef steak, being especially prized. Tindale states that there used to exist a "definite food-sharing custom" (*op.cit*, p.82), whereby one man always distributed the food, the bringer of the food receiving nothing. This custom is not practised nowadays, but no doubt did occur, for a similar distributive arrangement has been recorded from other parts of Australia,
where it has been interpreted as a means whereby the elders maintain their control over social life, since the younger adults who actually obtain the food, would otherwise usurp their power (cf., e.g. Mountford, 1948, pp. 121-2). Young people may receive less, and the less-valued portions (although not the very young), but they are not excluded, nor is the bringer of the food, nowadays. The relative claims of a father, a mother's brother, of real and classificatory relatives, etc. are not formalized, and queries as to the priority of different categories of relative only elicit the most vague responses.

Hunting may call for the combined efforts of several men, as in turtling or burning off the bush in order to drive game, but generally a man will go off with one wife, another male companion or on his own; even when accompanied, they will often part ways in the bush and meet later. Women may also combine to form a party for shell-gathering or for yam or lily-root gathering. Whilst out in the bush, they often take snacks from the vegetables they are collecting, but the men, occupied in the arduous work of hunting turtles, etc. will probably not eat anything until the late afternoon. All will take a light snack in the early morning if any food is left over
from the previous day, but often there will be nothing. Whilst out in the bush, the men may consume odd wild fruits, a part of a chance 'sugar-bag' or other minor find, but both they and the women bring the great bulk of all finds back to the camp for the main meal of the day, in the evening. Some of the products may be prepared (e.g. women's foods) by cooking in the bush, but most of the cooking is carried out on return to the camp; if there is a great deal of food to cook, economy of effort is ensured by building an oven of hot stones, thus obviating the need for separate cooking of small amounts of different foods, but unless there is a fairly large animal to be divided, each family-unit often takes care of its own needs, provided that the others all have some food. There is little hesitation about asking for a share in another's food, and it is hardly ever refused; no shame is involved in an unlucky day's hunting, though consistently good hunters are well-known and respected as such, whilst some individuals tend to lean unfairly on the good hunter.

The hunting-and-collecting existence of the past, in which most of the present-day adults were brought up, and which is still partly in effect, has impressed upon the aboriginal consciousness the importance of food. Quantity,
variety and, to a lesser extent, quality, of food are still his major concerns in the settlements, especially in view of the limitations of the diet provided there. In addition, the constant movement, change of scene, freedom from authority (particularly white authority) and variety of activities, with occasional excitements of the chase, give the bush life an attraction that contrasts strongly with routine monotony, the lack of independence, and constraints of authority associated with settlement-life. This is clearly expressed by the Balamumu who spend part of their time in the bush, but from time to time call in for spells at Yirkalla, Umbakumba or Aqurgwa for a rest, a change, for the purpose of obtaining tobacco, clothing and other European goods, and for social purposes. Nowadays visits to settlements are obligatory if these purposes are to be served.

The Material Culture of the Wanindiljaugwa

Not only did the bush provide food, but also all the materials for making artefacts used in everyday life and in ceremonial activity. The simplicity of the aboriginal economy is emphasized by the nature of the tools they used in their daily life, and particularly by nature of the tools they used for making tools. Other than stone-knives and the stone heads for spears, most of the latter category of tools
were hardly modified from their natural form. Thus stones for cooking purposes or for flaking to make knives and spearheads, sharkskin for smoothing objects, thorn-twigs for scratching out their pipes, etc. were used just as they occurred in Nature for the most part. Later, the introduction of metal and glass led to a much greater variety of basic tools, such as hammers, axes, metal knives, glass knives, etc. coming into demand.

Many artefacts were made with the aid of only the simplest tools - a piece of wood would be needed for twisting fur or human hair to make string; other artefacts would only be very slightly modified, as for example, the sticks used for fire-sticks, which would have their ends shaped, or bailer shells used for baling out canoes. These latter are placed in sand, with the under surface upwards. The 'bulge' is covered with sand to within an inch or so of the top, and heat is then applied to the part protruding from the sand. This softens the shell, which turns white, and enables the heated portions to be easily and accurately chipped off; an opening then results in the top of the 'bulge', and the inner volute can be grasped by the hand, forming a reliable grip. The

* Experienced men and women can still produce fire with the aid of the sticks very rapidly, often within 40 seconds.
principal tools used to-day are considerably more varied than fifty years ago, owing to the introduction of new commodities, but Makassan tools and other artefacts had accustomed the aborigines to the use of objects which they themselves did not make. Besides the traditional spears, spear-throwers, knives, dilly-bags, bark-containers, digging-sticks, bark-canoes, and so on, European fish-hooks and fishing-lines, axes, dugout canoes, tins, string and rope, cloth bags, etc. are all in common use. Natural products still form a large part of the total equipment, however, and such important equipment as the snail-shell 'peelers' and the fronds of the burrawong used in the preparation of the mungura may be picked up for the asking. The Malays were the first people to create inroads on this self-sufficing economy, with their tobacco, metal tools, dugout canoes and new foods.

The largest of the present-day artefacts is the dug-out canoe. As one of its names implies, it was not known before the Makassan arrival (libaliba in Enindiljaugwa; lépa-lépa in Makassarese; cf. Matthes, p. 482, and Collins, p. 14), but even though the Makassans had been coming to Groote for scores of years, it appears that these canoes were not actually manufactured by the aborigines until quite recently. Instead, they used to receive them as
payment for labour, or in barter from the Makassans, and informants quote the names of two individuals who, only two generations ago, actually started to make the dug-outs themselves. No doubt the slackening of the Makassan trade and the eventual ban in 1907 forced the aborigines to undertake the production of canoes themselves. Paintings of Makassan prahus often show large numbers of canoes on the decks, and manufacture by the Wanindiljaugwa was doubtless unnecessary at that time. Much of the sailing terminology was taken over from bark-canoe sailing but new words had to be introduced for sails and other novel features and are clearly Makassarese or Malay in origin (e.g. *dumbala*: sail; *midjana*: ship; *libaliba*: canoe; *lauli*, *bajabaja*, and *punalunda* for the sheets attached to the sail, etc., etc.), though the verbs and parts of speech other than names of objects are pure Enindiljaugwa and not, as suggested in the literature, 'Malay' (*Harney*, p.132).

The biggest canoes measured up to 25 feet in length and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width; the smallest observed was only some 13 feet in length and 2 feet in width. This latter was made in three weeks' continuous work by one man with sporadic assistance, but two or three months can be spent in the construction of a large one, with several men
participating in the work. Paperbark and Leichhardt pine trees are the most favoured, though Tindale mentions also the use of the fig (*ficus glomerata*). An excellent description of the mode of construction and details of the sails is also given by this author (*Tindale, 1926, pp. 103-112*).

So familiar is the dugout canoe to the contemporary aborigine that is hard to realize what a marked step forward the introduction of this type of canoe must have represented. The indigenous bark canoe (*agandiljuba*), extremely frail in comparison with the dugout, is unstable and suitable only for limited journeys in more sheltered stretches of water; it can carry far less people, and is easily holed or broken. Although it has a short life, on the other hand it is quickly made, and considerable journeys have been made in these craft. Rafts (*aguruwamuduna*) were also made, principally for use on inland waters, and usually of fallen pandanus logs lashed side by side to form a platform, with all the narrow ends of the logs at one end, resulting in the well-known wedge-shape. The dugout canoe, however, not only extends the range of voyages, thus permitting the exploitation of new areas such as outlying islets and sandbanks where turtles and their eggs, etc. may be found, but also allows much more efficient hunting
of large marine animals, transportation of larger quantities of goods, and increased mobility as far as intertribal trading and social intercourse is concerned. One 21 foot canoe was noted carrying over 1100 lbs. of cereals with ease, but this was only for ferrying purposes, and such a load might not be practicable on open stretches of water.

The bark-canoe has virtually died out, though the older men can make them; some were made, at my prompting, for children to play with, but it was noted that these were constructed with the smooth inner side of the bark outwards (for streamlining purposes according to the natives), the opposite way to that mentioned by Tindale (op.cit., p.103). The natives were just as categoric about this procedure as they were to Tindale in defending the opposite method.

Spears of many types existed in the past, notably the metal-bladed "shovel-spear"; various types of barbed spear, (single rows of barbs, double rows, thinly joined barbs, double heads with barbs facing inwards for fish-spears, and reversed barbs at the lower ends of rows); plain wooden shafts; wire-pronged spears (generally four prongs); stone-headed spears; bamboo-shafted spears (imported from the mainland); glass-tipped spears, and so
on. Over sixteen types are named. The huge harpoons, with, generally, wooden heads for porpoises and metal heads for dugong, often achieve a length of over 15 feet and curve downwards when held horizontally for throwing, owing to their weight. Ordinary spears are also very long, up to 10-11 feet, and tend to curve similarly. Since the shovel-spear and the barbed spear are now forbidden, the four-pronged wire fish-spear is now the universal hunting and fishing spear, though the others are still secretly made, because the wire spear is not as powerful as the metal-bladed spears for dealing with larger animals such as wallabies, whilst the barbed spear has the advantage of remaining in the animal's body. Spear-throwers are always used being a powerful lever, those used for harpoons being much stouter and usually circular in section. The old lanceolate spear-thrower has given way to the flat mainland type, whilst the spear-thrower with human hair at the grip (cf. Spencer, 1928, Fig. 412) from the mainland to the south (e.g. Umbaia and Gnanji tribes) appears to have only been used for ceremonial purposes on Groote.

Drone-tubes, string, rope, paddles, canoe-masts, bark dishes, ceremonial poles, digging-sticks, music-sticks,
personal ornaments and ceremonial articles made from bird-feathers, are all derived from bush materials. The elaborate decoration practised in former times has practically disappeared - even bark-paintings are only made on request nowadays, and this art is not being carried on by the younger generation. Many weapons and other artefacts have virtually disappeared: throwing-sticks and clubs are rare. All the stone weapons (only one stone spear-head was seen), public tassels of shredded wattle-bark, nose-peggs and nose-rings are no longer found, whilst the availability of cloth has led to a reduction in the number of dilly-bags made from native string. Articles formerly made from human hair, such as waist-bands, are not common. The only message-sticks seen were one sent from mainlanders as a token of good faith preparatory to a visit, some made for myself, and one sent to me as something of a 'novelty' from a native in the bush with a message.

The bark containers (adjamunda) are of particular interest as no exact description of their manufacture seems to have been given. Light containers of similar design, made from paper-bark, are also used, their particular merit being that they will float when water-lilly root collecting is being done. The more important type is that made from
stringybark. A cylinder of bark, about 2 feet long by 1 foot in width is cut and levered off a tree. The outer bark is then shaved off with a knife and the narrow ends made parallel; the bark is allowed to close up again into a cylinder to see if the lengthways cut has resulted in the other two sides being parallel - if not, they are made so. The bark is then flattened, the smooth inner, side being placed downwards, and a cut made about 4"-5" from either narrow end, across the narrower width of the bark on the outer surface. This cut must be very precisely made to about half the thickness of the bark, and results in two side flaps which are bent over along the cut, inner surface to inner surface, and forced flat. The two flaps are then thinned by inserting the knife into the bark at the edge and levering thin strips off, resulting in two pliable flaps. This again, is a very precise job, since if too much bark is removed, small holes will result and the container will not hold water. Thin saplings, 1" thick, of mijarawa, are then taken and heated in the fire; the outer green surface is scraped off, and long, thin strips about 1/16" wide made from the bark.

A side flap of the stringybark is then taken, and a bend made about 1" from the edge on the longer side. Further bends are continued right across the flap, resulting in a concertinaed side-panel, as below (Stage 4):
The resulting side-panel looks thus from the side view:

- tied
- holes
- stitches

The top of the 'concertina' is then tied to hold it in position. Holes are then pierced with a wire between the creases of the 'concertina' at the top, first at one end, and then at the other, and finally between the intermediate creases. The mijarawa strips are pushed through the two end-holes and pulled tight, thus holding the shape. The ties are now released, and the mijarawa thrust through each hole in turn, threaded over and under the length of the first lateral binding.

The resulting container is usually about 1 foot long by 6" wide and 4"/5" deep, with a semicircular section; it may be used for carrying food, or almost anything, but a well-made one will hold water. This work, primarily the women's, is an indication of their craftsmanship, the result being pleasing to the eye as well as utilitarian; sometimes the containers may be painted on their outer surface.

Pipes of Makassan design are a very important item on Groote Eylandt. They are made in hundreds from a pithy
reed, the *iljara*, which gives the pipe its name (*scaevola frutescens*: there are two *iljara* in Enindiljaugwa). A pipe can be made in ten minutes, the only tool desirable being a piece of No. 8 fencing-wire about 14" long, with its end flattened 1/2" from the end, and turned upwards at 90 degrees to the axis of the wire to form a hoe-shaped tool. This is used to remove the pithy centre of the stick, and replaces the old *auguradada* thorn-twig which previously was used; the new 'scratcher' has the same name. .50 cartridge-cases are in great demand, and the supply is diminishing since the R.A.A.F. left the island, though many are still found in the sand at the airbase. They are used as bowls, but any piece of metal is bent into shape if a cartridge-case is not available. When the pipe eventually burns through just below the bowl, it is merely cut shorter, and the end again stuffed with a wad of paper-bark. Old pipes are often only a few inches long, and quantities of hot ash are often swallowed; this can occur at any time, so a device is used to obviate this discomfort. This is merely a circular piece of soft wood with a small hole in the centre, which is plugged into the mouth of the pipe-stem, and permits the passage of smoke, but not ashes and sparks. It is said that in the past, some smokers, for a powerful smoke, used to employ three
bowls, instead of one. Very long pipes up to 4 feet are occasionally cut, and they are one of the few types of object that receive any adornment, though most are plain. Men are always scraping the outside of their pipes clean, and some rub them with red ochre and incise them.

Toys, such as canoes fashioned from mabalba and cottonwood, shell-dolls (see below) and imitation soft toy bark-boomerangs, are still made. Tops, pandanus whirlers, and other indigenous toys are still made by the children themselves, and many new toys have been introduced or copied.

Bark is still universally used for innumerable purposes, paper-bark being used for kindling fires, picking up hot stones, wrapping up food, etc. whilst stringy-bark has also numerous uses, some of which we have indicated. One of its less material uses is in bark-paintings, whilst a pliable bark of the amindjurwada tree is used for making coffins (see below).

One of the techniques used in manufacturing spears and other long wooden objects is that of splitting the trunk of a tree lengthways, and then gradually re-splitting these long pieces until the desired thickness is obtained. This might appear a roundabout method when a spear of only 1" diameter is desired, but probably makes for greater accuracy, whilst it would also be difficult with the tools available
to cut out only enough wood to suit the thickness of the final product. The same splitting method is used for producing thin pieces of wood used as "male" dolls which young girls play with.

The principal metal objects used are now an integral part of the technological equipment, having been obtained from the Malays for scores of years. Of these, the knife is perhaps the most fundamental, replacing the stone knife, but axes are also greatly in demand, principally for cutting out hives of wild bees, but also for making dugout canoes and other objects. The skill with which axes are handled is most striking; these aborigines are excellent woodsmen, unlike many of their fellows who have not developed any great skill in this direction owing to the limitations of the stone axe. Large metal bush-knives are sought after, whilst any pieces of metal, even round bars, are useful for making shovel-spear-heads. Since they have no method of making the iron itself, and have to take what they can pick up, men will sit down patiently and beat out pieces of metal for days on end, finally producing a well-shaped spear-head. The effect on the hammers used is devastating, and hammers are always in demand, not only because of their more obvious uses, but also because the manufacture of shovel-spear-heads soon ruins them. Fencing-wire, for the making of pipe-scratchers and other purposes, such as
burning holes in wood, is a desired material, and iron bars often replace the digging-stick, or are used as hand-rests when the women shred the mungura. Files are greatly in demand, principally for sharpening knives - a method which also results in a short life for most knives and most files.

Local Specialization and Trade

Only a few objects or materials had to be imported in pre-Makassan times. The principal of these was stone (flint, etc.) for spear-heads and knives, and even later, stone was never entirely replaced by metal; after 1907, indeed, the loss of contact with the Makassans resulted in a temporary return to the old stone implements, until the whites filled the gap. Tobacco similarly disappeared for a period, other than that which was obtained from mainland trade partners. Other imports were certain ochres for painting, described below, boomerangs, (now forbidden), birds' plumes, and bamboo-spears. In exchange, the Waŋindiljaugwa traded feather ornaments ( jeribala and gagbaladj), but above all their superb spears, particularly the long barbed spears. Tindale comments on the special skill of the Waŋindiljaugwa in spear-making; "all examples (of barbed spears P.M.W.) met with on the mainland among tribes as far removed as the Allawa and the Mara were identified as having been traded from tribe to tribe from
the islanders" (Tindale, 1925, p.97). These spears were usually made in sets, and personal peculiarities of design and decoration were clues to the identity of the maker.

From the above list of objects traded, it is clear that the main impetus of trade arose from local deficiencies in certain materials. The ochres (especially those of good quality), emu-feathers, bamboo and stone for spears, are not to be obtained on Groote. Boomerangs, however, could have been made, but there was no attempt to copy the imported specimens, except for the toy ones cut out of soft bark. Specialized local skills like boomerang-manufacture or spear-making may represent deficiency of certain materials, but it seems likely that the mainlanders could have made barbed spears, and the islanders boomerangs, had they so desired. The local specialization of crafts is therefore not entirely conditioned by considerations of the supply of raw materials. The absence of suitable stone for stone-spears on Groote, may however have given rise to an inter-tribal division of labour, the Wanindiljaugwa concentrating on wooden spears in return for the products of the mainland stone-specialists, and in time acquiring superior skill in the manufacture of wooden spears. These latter were made in large quantities, and old men to-day still enjoy practising
the craft, although it is forbidden, taking great pains over the work and deriving much satisfaction from it. The making of delicate feather-ornaments, again, was not limited to Groote, but the islanders seem to have particular skill and aesthetic taste in this respect; the feathers are fixed to string by means of wax from native bee-hives, or with "cement" collected from the red cement tree, or blood-wood resin, materials which are also used for hafting spear-heads, fixing spear-thrower pegs, and many other uses.

The material on indigenous trading practice, since it can now only be inferred from observation of contemporary exchange, will be considered later, but it may be observed here that no such highly-structured system such as described for the mainland (Thomson, 1949) has been recorded for Groote Eylandt, nor were relations between individual trading-partners very formalized.

Economic relations with the Malays were of a different kind. Firstly, the aborigines were employed in the work of diving and dredging for trepang, pearl-shell etc. in boiling, drying and smoking the trepang, in preparing pearl-shell, in wood-cutting, building boilers, smoke-houses and wells, and in fishing. They probably also worked on the ships in harbour, since those who visited, Indonesia at least would have some knowledge of shipboard life. For this they were given
food, tobacco, cloth, etc. and received irregular quantities
of such goods over and above those needed for their immedi­
ate needs. Besides these commodities, gin, knives and other
goods were often obtained either as wages or as 'presents',
plus a large signing-off payment of food, tobacco, etc. when
the Makassans left for Indonesia. The aborigines were thus
fully acquainted with wage-labour long before the Europeans
arrived to stay. The apparently unformalized method of
handing over the wages, the absence of any defined quantity
of goods, or of any single medium of payment or fixed wage,
and the variety of goods given as wages, plus the 'gifts',
handouts, etc. which cannot now be precisely classified,
should not blind us to the real nature of the relationship
between the two groups - it appears to have been essentially
a form of wage-labour. Again, the use of fictional kinship
terms between the Makassans and the natives, and the very
personal nature of their contacts, tends to obscure the real
relationship. The use of kinship terms was similar to
indigenous trading-practice, and to the aborigines, indeed,
the fact that much of the work was similar to the hunting-
and-collecting pattern of their own society, and the fact
that they 'handed over' to the Makassans these natural
products 'in return' for consumption goods, may well have
masked, for them, the quite different nature of this economic
activity. Here, instead of exchanging goods for goods, they were working in return for goods. Even this distinction might have been less vivid to the aborigines, for they would regard such work in return for payment in kind as similar to the co-operative hunting-parties of their own society; whereas they would consume the products of such hunting-parties themselves, however, the products they produced for the Makassans were taken away to be marketed in Koepang, Makassar and other places. The work was clearly disciplined to a great extent, and they were not at complete liberty to act with the independence that characterised their indigenous economic activities. Complaints by aborigines about Makassan methods of compulsion are well-known, and it is recorded that in 1837-43, on the coast of Arnhem Land, every other 'Malay' was under arms, whilst the others worked (Stokes, p.388). This was undoubtedly primarily as defence against attack by the natives, but natives already working for the Makassans under such conditions would be quite conscious of potential disciplinary methods which their employers might adopt.

The introduction of new commodities, especially tools which were far more efficient than the indigenous products, and many artefacts which were entirely new (such as the dugout canoe), acted as a great stimulant to the circulation
of commodities in Arnhem Land (cf. Thomson, 1949). Apart from the special value of more efficient tools and the novel additions to the equipment of the aborigine, the quantity of such objects must have been considerable, and undoubtedly served to increase trade by virtue of mere numerical availability as much as by virtue of purely qualitative considerations.

The aborigines at this time greatly increased the volume of production designed for exchange and not for their personal use. This had previously been fairly limited, as we have seen, but they were now able to dispose of any amount of such products as turtle-shell, pearls and pearl-shell. These products, moreover, could be obtained without necessarily interfering with the normal hunting-routine in the case of turtling and in pearling to a lesser extent, though the meat of the pearl-oyster is eaten. But, whether these new activities affected the traditional economic pattern or not in this way, they still did not represent a very radical departure from established hunting and fishing. The importance of the men would be enhanced in this new sphere of economic life. On the return of the Makassans, the products amassed during the September-March period were then bartered for goods (cf. Searcy, 1909, p.32, and 1912, p.233). It is possible that there may have been some strengthening of true bartering within the
aboriginal economy as distinct from the kinship-qualified "gifts", but there is little evidence that this actually occurred, and modern exchange is very much affected by considerations of kinship.

Apart from the new production of commodities meant to be exchanged with the Makassans, the new tools and materials gave rise to improved hunting techniques. Metal was an especially valuable improvement on the older stone implements, but on the whole, it must be recognised that no very radical change resulted from these improved techniques; most tasks could well be accomplished with stone implements, which are very sharp, but the metal axe would be the greatest step forward in technological equipment.

The introduction of the dugout canoe was probably the most important innovation, enabling longer journeys to be undertaken and greater weights to be transported; though such an improvement in physical mobility would, of course, be limited to water-movements.

Although the Makassans affected the life of the aborigines considerably, the long-term effects were limited. There are several reasons for this. None of the material innovations they introduced had any fundamental effect in changing the basic nature of the aboriginal economy. The aborigines were enabled to improve their existing techniques to a degree, but they still remained hunters and collectors.
Agriculture was not introduced (though stories of the planting of crops by the pre-Makassan Baijini on the mainland are given in the literature) nor were any other important techniques introduced. The pots and metal objects brought by the Makassans were not made in Australia (remains of pottery on the mainland suggest that some pottery was made there, cf. Bernot, R.M. and C.H., 1950), and knowledge of the techniques involved in their manufacture was consequently not spread amongst the aborigines, nor did they participate in their making. As we have noted, the dugout canoes only seem to have been actually made in Australia quite recently. The informal and unsystematized methods of payment probably inhibited the development of more advanced methods of estimating value, or establishing a common equivalent in terms of which the value of all commodities might be measured. In aboriginal society, no real evidence exists that fixed equivalents were widely used, though partial conventionalized rates of exchange between specific commodities may have existed. Kinship and friendship seem to have modified or affected all trading exchanges. Certainly the Makassan trade did little to alter this situation: no fixed rates of exchange for specific commodities appear to have been generally accepted; no expected rates of payment, or prices, seem to have
developed; no generalized commodity, in terms of which all exchanges might have been conducted, least of all a money form, arose from Makassan expeditions. In view of the limited part played by trade in the total economy, such concepts and devices were never developed even with the stimulus of Makassan trade and increased commodity circulation. A most important limitation on the Makassan influence on the aboriginal economy, however, was the fact that their visits were limited to a defined portion of the year. During the months in which they were absent from Australia, the aborigines carried on their accustomed activities, and the effect of Makassan trade was thus largely compartmentalized. For at least half the year they were still nomads, whilst not all of the able-bodied males would be employed even when the Makassans did arrive. The women and children were not involved in the activities of the Makassans at all, so that hunting-and-collecting was not seriously weakened in any way as the basic pattern of life. On the whole, whilst the Makassan impact is mirrored in many ways in social life, nevertheless, its effects were not radical, so that Warner wrongly tended to dismiss them as negligible and limited principally to the introduction of a few material objects (Warner, 1932). This view can no longer be accepted in view of the widespread religious, totemic and artistic
manifestations of Makassan influence described since he wrote, but he may be regarded as correct to the extent that the effects of Makassan contact did not lead to any radical change in aboriginal economy.
Chapter 3

Clan and Moiety

Since most of the activities of the tribe rarely involve more than a small proportion of the total population, it is not very often necessary to refer to the tribe as a whole. In relation to other tribes, however, the name Wanindiljaugwa has frequently to be used. This name is actually the name of the largest clan in the tribe, a clan which probably represents the oldest stratum of the population, gradually pushed into the south-eastern corner of the island by successive waves of immigrants. Today, with wider knowledge of other peoples and with concentration of the population there is more occasion to refer to the whole tribe, but just as the mainlanders are referred to by pidgin terms such as 'Roper River boys', 'Rose River boys', etc., so the description 'Groote Eylandt boys' is often used. The re-drawing of social boundaries is no longer necessarily on a tribal basis, but on the basis of residence in or contact with a settlement or other institution. A more general term for the Wanindiljaugwa as a whole is wanamamalia: people, which, in its wider sense, refers to all aborigines as opposed to whites, half-castes, 'island boys', etc; its significance is thus relative.

A popular jingle (sung to the tune of 'John Brown's Body')
expresses the latter usage well, and reflects the aboriginal knowledge and consciousness of other ethnic groups:

"wanamamalia, wurabalanda, Djabani, Malei..." etc.

These are the principal groups which matter to the Wanindiljaugwa—the aborigines themselves, the whites, the Japanese and the Malays, the only considerable group omitted being the 'island boys' of the Torres Straits and New Guinea, regarded, in a friendly way, as fellow-blacks, but whose strange fuzzy hair and different customs and way of life also provokes amusement and a limited hostility.

Within the tribe there are twelve clans, divided between two unnamed moieties, with six clans in each—a equal arrangement which, as we will see later, has no special significance. The clan is a patrilineal descent-group possessing certain totems, totemic songs and myths, and has a traditional clan-territory, to which, however, its members were not confined in their economic and social activities. The moiety, however, plays the more important role in social organization and is the exogamous unit.

There is no word for moiety, but a relative term, with the root -gabura, is employed to indicate moiety-allegiance. One can refer to 'we-moiety-fellows' and 'they-moiety-fellows', and thus distinguish the moiety by
Island or Woodah Island; although the Bickerton clans have no general names for their territories, certain important places within these territories are frequently referred to:

WuraMura clan- Başubanduwa, Jiŋbijja, Rorarora
WuraMaŋba clan- Ağuragba, Muŋ(ru)djira, Malirba, Ajingga
WurEngiljaŋba clan-Aruwara

The twelve clans with the names and location of their territories are shown in the table below. It will be noted that certain clans are shown as having local component groups with which smaller areas within the clan-territory are associated. Such are the WänuŋAŋwurugurigba and the WänuŋAmaminjaŋmadja, together known as the WuraGwaugwa (in addition, because the WänuŋAmadada and the WurEngiljaŋba have adopted the totems of the WuraGwaugwa, they are sometimes loosely referred to by this latter name). The WänuŋAmagula and the now extinct WuraMurugwilja, both component parts of the Wänindiljaugwa clan are two other such groups. These sub-groups are probably hordes which used to frequent a particular locality within the clan-territory, but with the passing of the nomadic life, it is now difficult to determine the exact areas in which the hordes would spend most of their time. Indirect evidence, such as records of places of birth, suggests that the members of hordes, although they might move over the whole island and even over the whole archipelago
by this method. Ego will refer to \textit{jireni\text{gabura}}: \textit{we-moiety-fellows}, whilst the man he is talking to will use exactly the same term to indicate that he and his fellows belong to the opposite moiety. By using different prefixes according to number, person and gender, inclusion or exclusion, one can refer to other categories of moiety-relationship, e.g. \textit{dadagabura}: \textit{she-fellow-moiety-member}; \textit{gireni\text{gabura}}: \textit{you-all-moiety-fellows}, \textit{jiradagabura}, \textit{janigabura}, etc., etc. (see Appendix 1 for prefixes).

The root \textit{-gabura}, whilst not a proper name, thus serves to distinguish moiety-affiliation. In the literature, one may find such "names" for the moieties as \textit{oranikabura}, \textit{wirinikapura}, \textit{irenikabura}, \textit{jirenikapura} and so on. These terms have been given to other workers by a specific native who has said that his moiety-fellows were known as \textit{jireni\text{gabura}} and those in the other moiety as \textit{wurenigabura}. The native is quite correct, but the terms are nevertheless not the proper names the white men have taken them to be; natives in the opposite moiety would have used the same relative terms with the opposite absolute significance.

Nor is there any word for clan. Clans are referred to by the name of the clan-members, a name which \textit{is} usually derived from the name of the clan-territory. All the clan-territories on Groote Eylandt have names, but not on Bickerton
at times, spent most of their time not only in the clan-territory but in a more limited horde-territory within the clan-territory.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Name of Clan Territory</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MOIETY 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.  WanunaDaFalanka</td>
<td>Badalumba</td>
<td>N.W. Groote, incl. Winchilsea I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.  WanunaDjaragba</td>
<td>Djaragba</td>
<td>N.Groote, incl. Eirene Archipelago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.  WanuGwayga</td>
<td>Central and east-central Groote</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(incl. Anwurugirgba)</td>
<td>WanuAmaminja Amadja</td>
<td>West-central Groote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.  WanuAmadada</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>West Bickerton I.(and mainland opposite Amadada)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.  WurEggiljagba</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>North Bickerton I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.  WanuAwerigba</td>
<td>S.W.Groote</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Jadigba)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MOIETY 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.  Wanidiljaugwa</td>
<td>Dalimbo</td>
<td>S.E.Groote, incl. area of Amagula River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(incl. WanujAmagula &amp; WuraMurugwilja)</td>
<td>(Diljagurugba)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.  WanuAmulanja</td>
<td>Chasm I.</td>
<td>The small mainland strip opposite Chasm I.is known as Amulanja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amulanja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clan Name of Clan</td>
<td>Territory</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. WañuŋAmagadjiragba</td>
<td>Amagadjiragba</td>
<td>N.E. arm of Groote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. WañuŋAwurerigba (Durilli)</td>
<td>Añwurerigba</td>
<td>Woodah I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. WuraMaɾba</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>South Bickerton I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. WuraMura</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>South-central Bickerton I.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3. List of clans with names and locations of clan-territories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Numbers recorded in genealogies</th>
<th>Numbers to-day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MOIETY 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. WañuŋDaɾbalŋwa</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. WañuŋDjaragba</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. WuraGwaugwa</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. WañuŋAmadada</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. WurEŋgiljaŋba</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. WañuŋAwerigba</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOIETY 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. WañuŋDiŋjaugwa</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. WañuŋAmulaŋwa</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. WañuŋAmagadjiragba</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4. Size of Clans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Numbers recorded in genealogies</th>
<th>Numbers to-day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. WanuŋャAJwurerigba</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. WuraMaŋba</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. WuraMura</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first column of figures gives the clan-affiliation of all individuals recorded in genealogies; the second column gives the affiliations of living people. The largest clan by far is that of the Wanindiljaugwa, but it is more likely that historical reasons rather than mere numerical preponderance explain the use of the name of this clan for that of the whole tribe. The WanuŋャDaŋbalaŋwa, owing to their geographical position, were in closer contact with the Balamumu than some other clans, as were the WanuŋャAmularŋwa and the WanuŋャAmagadjiragba, whilst the four Bickerton clans had the closest links with the Nungubuju, but since all the islanders were constantly on the move, contact with these mainland peoples were by no means exclusively limited to those clans in closest proximity. We have noted that there
are also two foci of population within the territory of the WuraGwaugwa, but they are in no sense separate groups socially. Whilst the special local connections of these two groups and such groups as the WanuŋAmagula are recognised by the aborigines, they emphatically reject any suggestion that such groups might be sub-clans. The WanuŋaDjaragba have a certain peculiarity in that they have claims to special connections with a small area on the central south coast in addition to their northern territory. This area, Jinaŋagumandja, is said to be associated with the clan, not by virtue of residence, etc., but because of mythological links through the totemic myth of the Porpoise.

The Totemic System

In order to carry further our analysis of the clan-system, it will be necessary to consider totemism on Groote Eylandt. Table 5 gives the more important totems of each clan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Principal Totem</th>
<th>Secondary Totems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MOIETY 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. WanuŋaDarbalagwa</td>
<td>N.W. wind</td>
<td>Cypress-pine; parrot-fish (jembiŋga and jinuŋwenunbuna); dugong; echidna; paperbark sp.; scrub-fowl; goose; crow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clan</td>
<td>Principal Totem</td>
<td>Secondary Totems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. WαnubuntuDjaragba</td>
<td>N. wind</td>
<td>cicatrice; gunguna fish; jinumbuna snake; blue-tongued lizard; &quot;small stones&quot;; seagull (idjara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. WuraGwaugwa</td>
<td>Central Hill-stringray complex</td>
<td>(complex includes Central Hill, parrot, stingray, sawfish, Jinuma River, combfish or shark-ray; Neribuwa and Dumariŋenduma). Cotton-wood tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. WαnubuntuAmadada</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. WuraEngiljaŋba</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. WαnubuntuAwerigba</td>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>garfish; grasshopper</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MOIETY 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Principal Totem</th>
<th>Secondary Totems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. Wαnindiljaugwa</td>
<td>S.E. wind</td>
<td>bark canoe; casuarina tree; stringy-bark tree; stringy bark; caterpillar; barbed spears; praying mantis; &quot;place&quot;; shark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. WαnubuntuAmularŋwa</td>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>conch; bailer; porpoise; shark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. WαnubuntuAmagadjiragba</td>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>shark; dove; turtle; Catalina complex;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. WαnubuntuAŋwurerigba</td>
<td>Ship</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. WuraMarba</td>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>cocoanut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. WuraMura</td>
<td>Snake-Maliřba- (complex includes Maliřba water complex hill; water and waterfall; snake; frog);</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 5. Totems of the Wαnindiljaugwa*
The importance of the seasons in the life of the Wanindiljaugwa has already been described, whilst our analysis of the indigenous economy has emphasized the importance of the sea and the well-watered regions in the life of the people. It will be seen that the totems may be classified under three headings: those which are either natural features of the topography of the islands, or natural species; the wind-totems; and the ship totem. Moreover, three clans of Moiety 1 share the same principal totemic-complex, while four clans of Moiety 2 share the ship totem.

Under the first heading fall the totemic complexes deriving from myths in which Central Hill (Jaydaña), and Malifba Hill on Bickerton, feature. Here we have not merely one totem, but a complex of totems, all of which represent important elements in a myth. Thus, the myth concerning Central Hill relates how Jaydaña first came from the mainland, stopping at various spots, each of which he found unsatisfactory, until he reached his present site where he can see clearly without obstruction. This Central Hill myth is not the only one in the complex, and whilst each myth contains several elements which are totems, there are several such myths. Linked to the Central Hill myth cited, is another concerning Parrot (wuruweba) who came over at the same time and also hunted Stingray. This myth partly over-
laps with another concerning two mythical individuals, a man, Neribuwa, and a woman, Dumarijenduma, and their activities in hunting, killing, and cooking Stingray. As with most of the totemic myths, these characters are now to be seen as rocks on the east coast, and the spots where various incidents took place are marked by natural or man-made features. Finally, attached to this group of myths, is the story of the Comb-fish (or in other versions, the shark-ray) Sawfish and Stingray who opened up the present river at Aquirgwa and also the river on the other side of the hills and Lake Hubert. We have thus several separate myths, connected in the aboriginal mind, and possibly part of one epic story at one time. Maliřba Hill, on the other hand, has no origin-myth, but figures in the myth of The Land of the Dead, and associated with the hill are water, waterfall (from a spot on the hillside), and water-creatures such as frogs, snakes etc. In the latter may be seen vestiges of the Rainbow Serpent myth, but it is not given a very prominent place in the mythology; nevertheless, the importance of the snake in the totemic myths of the WuraMura clan and its association with the various water-creatures reveals that the same theme plays a part in Groote mythology. The python, though frequently mentioned, is not regarded as the specific snake, since this totemic snake seems to refer
to snakes in general, including sea-snakes, water- pythons, etc. In this way, one clan may have several totems, derived from a single myth or a group of myths. As we shall see later, there are other totems besides these primary ones.

The only important totem of the classical Australian type, concerned with only one natural species or object, is that of the WanujAwerigba clan, Eagle. There is a myth concerning this totem which explains how Eagle came to eat fish raw (having captured a garfish) and how Man came to cook his fish. The central significance of this myth thus seems to be the stress on the difference between Man and animals, emphasized by the possession and use of fire by Man. The only other totem to be considered under this heading is that of the Hawk, jinigarga, which is another totem of the WuraMura clan, the clan which possesses the Malirba Hill totem. Rocks which are said to be the places where the hawks finally alighted after their travels from Bickerton Island (as with Parrot and other totems, there are often many parrots or hawks referred to, and not merely one) may be seen at Mangala in Dalimbo near rock-shelters covered in paintings. Details of these myths, and of the exact routes of the totemic animals and mythical heroes, are often the subject of minor discrepancies in different versions of the myths, whilst occasionally
different animals are given, e.g. different species of stingray, or the shark-ray instead of the comb-fish in the Central Hill myths. Whilst such variations are often merely due to decay of the traditional culture or imperfect knowledge of the myth, they sometimes have a sociological significance. Thus, most of the myths as told by informants whose closest mainland connections are with the Balamumu give the original point of departure on the mainland as being in Balamumu country; those people who are more closely related to Nungubuju describe the mythological wanderings as starting in Nungubuju country.

The wind-totems have no such myths associated with them. If, as would appear, these totems are of Makassan origin, this is understandable, but since the totems are clearly also symbolic of the seasons, the absence of origin-myths is less explicable. Minor wind-totems appear on the mainland opposite, whilst they are not unknown elsewhere in Australia (cf. Langloh Parker, pp. 16-19, 82, 100).

Nevertheless, it is possible that these totems may actually have arisen as a result of Makassan contact; even if wind-totem already existed, their importance would be greatly increased. The south-east wind, mamariga, is also known as dungwara (Makassarese toĕnggâra; Standard Malay tênggara);
the north-west wind, bara, is derived from the Malay barat (Makassarese bārā) - also found on the mainland (Berndt, 1952, p.82); timburu, the north wind, presents a problem in that timboró in Makassarese means 'south'. The south wind, dalada, is not a totem (St. Mal. sēlatan; Mak. sallâtaŋ).x

In view of the importance of the Makassan trade, and the connections of this trade with the N.W. and S.E. winds, these foreign names are not surprising. The two principal winds still retain their indigenous names, mamariga (S.E.) and jinungura (N.W.) - it is possible that the other minor winds had no special names before the Makassan period.

Although origin-myths are lacking, there are places and, in some cases, ceremonies connected with the wind-totems. Since these places are generally not in the territories of those clans which possess the wind-totems, nor even on Groote itself, this again suggests that they may not be of very long standing. The south-east wind is spoken of as coming from that general direction, but several places are mentioned, including an island towards Borroloola named Andawara (probably the Pellews), and islets off the south-coast or occasionally spots on the south-east coast. (Rose; 1940, p.16

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x Malay and Makassarese terms and orthography from Hendershot & Shellabear and Heeres respectively.
was given the name "Garoer"). In general, it appears that no one spot was associated with this wind, but rather a general direction; similarly, the N.W. wind is particularly associated with Madjaña, probably up the Walker River on the mainland to the north-west. Like other ceremonies, those performed to bring the N.W. wind were generally performed by westerners, not necessarily members of the WanuYaDařbalajwa clan. These rites are said to include the 'scratching' of anthills at Madjaña, or striking flakes off flint, but bloodwood trees at Jadigba in the S.W. of Groote were also used. There is, then, no specific centre for wind-ceremonies. In order to bring the S.E. wind, one stood in the sea up to one's neck, sprayed water from the mouth, or splashed the water, singing words which are not Enindiljaugwa, as with most magical songs. Besides these more formalized ceremonies, it is said that individuals could also carry out rites designed to secure suitable winds for canoe-journeys, etc., just as any individual could sing for rain and other desirable phenomena. The now non-existent ceremonies described by Rose for the making of the three major winds (Rose, 1940, pp.13-4) whilst usually performed in the correct country for those totems, were not confined to these places and could also be carried out by individuals. His reference to a specific 'old man' is
denied by informants, however, who state that any senior man might initiate such ceremonies. It will be noted that the ceremonial objects constructed from grass and the hair of the participants of the correct clan were made in the symbolic shapes used as wind-symbols in paintings.

Apart from this type of ceremony, the north wind does not appear to have any special increase ritual, but Funnel Island in the Eirene Archipelago is probably associated with it. Here, the wind passing over tubular holes in the rocks produces a moaning sound (Wilkins, p. 231).

A final indication of possible Makassan influences on the adoption of such totems comes from a note in the literature that with the Malays, "when leaving a camp-place some ceremony was gone through for the purpose of making wind" (Searcy, 1909, p. 81). Rose's suggestion that the totemic designs representing the three wind-totems were derived from the sails of Makassan vessels further reinforces the theory that aboriginal totemism has been affected by contact with the Makassans (Rose, 1947).

In the case of the ship totem, the recent origin of this totem is obvious. Ship is associated with a locality in southern Bickerton Island, and with a myth which explains how the division of people into black and white came about,
a division for which the Makassans, logically enough, were responsible. The myth, although recent, has undergone even further changes. I give it here in its most modern form.

Originally, a Makassan ship and a European ship came from the south to Groote Eylandt, stopping at Golambmadja on the east coast, where the spirit of a Makassan is still said to live in a cave. As they went on towards Bickerton Island, they stopped at various places in Dalimbo, at Umbakumba, and in Djaragba and Badalumba, and asked the people in the Makassan tongue "What people are you?" The natives, not understanding these words, merely repeated them, an incident in the myth that evokes roars of laughter. At Bickerton Island, they repaired the Makassan ship, and made it very long so that it would sail quickly; the European ship needed no repairs. The Makassan ship proved to be too long, however, and a portion was therefore cut off; this still remains at Bickerton Island at Bandubanduwa.

The ship then went on to Melville Island (near Darwin, called Lau or Lauwa by the Wanindiljaugwa, the Melville Islanders being the WanugaLauwa). There the people knew the Makassan language well, and the Makassans stopped and made a huge fire that was blown by the N.W. wind all over the mainland and over Groote, so that the people turned black. Before that they were white or like half-castes.
The smoke covered everything like a fog, and the Melville Islanders, being right amongst the thickest smoke, became particularly black. Other tribes on the edges of the smoke-cloud were not so strongly blackened.

The significance of this myth can be realized by comparing it with two others concerning the Makassans and Dog (Warner, pp. 536 and 537). The real point of the myth, besides establishing a mythological origin for ships, is that it explains how aborigines came to occupy their present inferior position. In the mainland versions, the Makassans offered many desirable things to the Dog (who is equivalent in the myth to the aborigine), but owing to Dog's failure to understand what was being said, he missed the opportunity to get these goods. Thenceforth, the Makassans had everything desirable and the aborigines nothing; the aborigines had to work for the Makassans in order to get the things the Dog had lost for them. The myth of the ship now visible at Bandubanduwa has obviously been modernized on Groote Eylandt; the original myth merely recounts how two ships were built by the Makassans in southern Bickerton Island, and no mention of European vessels occurs but in the modern version, the original pair of ships includes a European ship. Significantly enough, this was a superior vessel to that of
the Makassans (it needed no repair) just as the whites were technologically more advanced and politically more powerful than the Makassans. The association of colour with inferior status is a simple reflection of present-day reality. There is no ceremonial activity connected with the ship totem. The modernization of the myth is also parallel in the totemic song, which mentions smoke from funnels, propellors, sirens and engines.

It can thus be seen that Groote Eylandt totemism has undergone considerable modification. Whereas it is often difficult to ascertain any historical sequence in the culture of non-literate societies, the material here shows a definite succession of features, thus revealing that totemism is by no means a fixed and unchanging system.

Turning to the secondary totems, it is necessary to point out that the distinction between primary and secondary totems is one drawn by myself, and should not be regarded as very rigid. The three wind-totems are always cited first by the members of those three clans as their respective totems, though they have others. Similarly, Ship will usually be given by any of the four clans who own that totem, though a secondary totem might be given. Eagle will always be given by the WanuŋAwerigba and usually Stingray or Parrot
or Central Hill by the clans who own those totems. In general, the totems distinguished as primary are those which a native would give first of all his totems, those which he discusses more than any others, and which appear to be the most important to the observer. They are not, however, rigidly distinguished, and one may be given any one of a number of totems. In the case of those totems which are owned by several clans, it is equally doubtful whether there is any point in trying to distinguish which clan is the 'real' owner of the totem. Most of the myths tell of the movements of the totemic creatures and thus several clans may claim association with the totem, and point to spots in their territory where the totem halted during his travels. However, the clan in whose territory the wanderings of the totem finally ceased, and where the totemic creature is usually to be found as a rock or other natural feature, generally appears to be the clan particularly associated with that particular totem. Thus the WaŋupAmulaŋwa are usually mentioned in connection with Conch and Bailer, though the WuraMaŋba have some connection with these totems also, and the WuraMaŋba are especially concerned with Ship; in the territories of these two clans, the last visible "remains" of the totemic creatures and objects may be found.

As with the primary totems, the secondary ones may be either single totems or complexes of totems derived from
myths. In the case of the single totems, these have generally been borrowed from mainlanders, but will no doubt be fitted into the existing myths in time, just as several totems appear in different myths, indicating coalescence. The secondary totems also have myths associated with them similar in nature to the myths already cited; such are the myth of the Dugong and the Echidna, which tells how these two animals came to have their present characteristics and how they came to inhabit different environments. The WanunjAmulajwa clan has another myth in addition to Ship, concerning Porpoise, and how this animal was bitten in two by the Shark, though this myth is rapidly being forgotten. Shark also appears in a secondary myth of the WanunjAmagadjiragba clan; he jumped out of the water at various spots round Little Lagoon which are commemorated by certain trees, and finally disappeared into Augwalamadja billabong near Umbakumba, where he can be seen today as a patch of reeds. The largest clan, the Wanindiljaugwa, has a myth which is particularly associated with the WanunjAmagula group of this clan. This myth contains various totems: bark-canoe, casuarina tree, stringybark tree, barbed spears, etc. The exact import of this myth is now difficult to determine, but it probably principally concerned with the mythological origin of bark-canoes and barbed spears rather than the other objects. The WuraMura have another myth,
in addition to the Snake-Malirba Hill-Water complex, that of Hawk (*jinigarga*), who went from Bickerton Island (and probably originally from the mainland) via Jagged Head (Mowanđamadja) down to Mangala in Dalimbo.

All these are secondary myths containing several totems. In addition to these totemic complexes there are a number of isolated totems belonging to various clans, which have no myth or traditional places associated with them, and where all trace of its origin or mythical validation appears to have been lost. The explanation for this is clear in many cases: many of these totems have been borrowed from the Balamumu or Nungubuju and adapted into the Groote Eylandt system. Such are the Scrub-fowl and Goose (*WanujaDabarlaywa*) and the Dove and Turtle (*WanujaAmagadjiragba*). Of such totems as Cypress-pine, Blue-tongued lizard, Praying Mantis and a few others, little appears to be known by the aborigines. In some cases, such as the totem Parrot-fish, the totemic song remains but nothing else.

None of the totems of the Wanindiljaugwa are regarded as being eponymous ancestors of the clan, although we have seen that there origin-myths relating to the totems themselves. Nor is there any real conception of a Creation Period still in existence - the word *aragbawija* sometimes used in recounting myths merely means "a long time ago",.
but the former belief in a Creation Period can be inferred from the myths and ceremonies. In the totemic songs and myths, the movements of the creatures are similar to those of other tribes where clearer notions of the Creation Period still exist. The totemic songs are particularly important and will probably survive long after the myths die out because of their aesthetic appeal. They are sung at all important ceremonies but also on occasions of no special significance. Exactly the same totemic songs are sung at night-time in the camp for pleasure as are sung on more serious occasions though special ceremonial songs also exist. There is nothing esoteric about them today, although at one time women were not allowed to hear them. The songs usually refer to various places through which the totemic creatures passed on their wanderings, and are mainly lists of place-names, with a few 'secret' names of the animals etc. and occasional descriptions of some of their characteristics. A typical example is this version of the Cocoanut totem (galugwa or jinagbarña): the places mentioned are on Bickerton I.:

\[(\text{niljigbina } jinagbarña \text{ Lilijañalawa})\]
\[(\text{they-float cocoanuts from-Lilijaña})\]
\[(\text{Langururalaywa Jirimbiragbalaywa})\]
\[(\text{from-Langurura from-Jirimbiragba})\]
There is no special relationship to or ritual attitude towards the totem. If an animal, it may be killed and eaten by anybody; increase rites are not performed. Remains of such ritual, often commemorative rather than concerned with increase, can be discerned however. Small heaps of stones south of Lake Hubert were said by the natives to have been connected with the Stingray myth, and vague remarks by one old man indicated the possibility that there might have been some commemoration of the incidents in the myth performed at that spot in the past. These stones, about as big as a human fist, were in cairns about a foot high, placed some ten yards away from each other, and there were about twenty such cairns. Pairs of these cairns were joined by a trail of sandy soil which ran round each cairn and linked one to the other. Rose (1940, p.15) refers to a circle of stones of larger size which he considered might have been a Makassan grave. It may, however, be connected
with the Central Hill complex, since the site was in Ayfurugurigba just south of Lake Hubert where there are several heaps of stones in this region all connected with the Central Hill mythological complex. (McCarthy, 1953a, describes some of these. Another similar site, associated with the *jinubuna* snake totem of the WaňunaDjaragba clan is to be found in the Hempel Bay region (McCarthy, 1953b). Again, a small islet off the S.W. Cape is said to be the nest (*mijeria*) of the Eagle totem, whilst other spots associated with totemic ceremonies have been recorded (cf. Mountford: dugong, wild honey, etc.). Today, however, these rituals have disappeared, and only some vague memory of them remains, together with the stones and other natural features. Many of the natural features are often quite insignificant: the rocks which are the remains of Neribuwa and Dumariyenduma are only two small rocks out of a large number some of them much larger and more striking on bluff on the east coast.

There are strong aesthetic elements in Groote Eylandt totemism as certain linguistic usages indicate. In order to find out a person's totem, one asks "What is your song (*emeba*)?" or "What is your myth (*alauwudawara*)?" There is no specific word for totem, but as this usage indicates, it is the myth and song which are the important
features of the totem, and by reference to which the totem may be distinguished. The word alauwudawara is also used string-figures, paintings, and any object, especially small objects, of an intriguing or attractive nature. I have thus heard it used to describe an unusual mole on a person's body, a very small and neatly-contrived medical phial, a miniature pencil, etc. Since it is the myth and the song which are important in Groote Eylandt totemism, and not the performance of totemic ceremonies (except for certain totemic performances in the Amunduwururaria religious ceremony, a somewhat specialized case), any invented song is liable to become assimilated to this somewhat decadent totemic system. Whilst some songs are recognised as purely frivolous or designed for aesthetic satisfaction, no very clear line is drawn between the traditional totemic songs and modern compositions about events of social importance. Because most songs refer to matters of serious and lasting interest to the community and are not merely for amusement, events and developments of more than ephemeral significance provide subject-material for new songs which become integrated into the totemic system. Such are the songs about the Makassans, various ships, etc. Informants deny any sharp distinction between such songs and the well-established totemic songs. A classic case of this process is that of a most
gifted and imaginative man, Baringwa, a person with a great flair for the dramatic and telling story or song. He has created several new songs about the Airbase; flying-boats; the Gulf cargo-vessel, the 'Cora'; the Umbakumba vessel, the 'Wanderer', etc. Since his totem was Ship in any case he logically regards flying-boats("Catalina") as an appropriate additional totem. The flying-boats and the Airbase at which they landed thus become additional totems; he composed new songs about them which were then accepted and sung especially by the WañunAmagadjiragba and other clans of the same moiety. (His primary totem, Ship, also provided a precedent in that it had an allied song about the Makassans, "Magasa"). The "Cora" and the "Wanderer" are obvious totemic material for a man of the Ship totem, whilst the R.A.A.F. forces manning the Airbase during the war (known as "Army" to the aborigines) also gave rise to a new song-"Army". This song is an amusing comment on the peculiar activities of the 'soldiers' in sea-bathing. It also indicates how far removed is this latest growth of 'totemic' songs from the earlier forms associated with animal and vegetable species:

(nanembena nanembena nanembena nanembena
(they-bathe ""

(midjiribijamadja nuwadjarina djuba
(in-the-open-sea they-wash-themselves (with) soap etc.)
We are now in a position to consider the significance of totemism on Groote Eylandt. We have seen that the movements of the totemic creatures and objects parallel those of the aborigines themselves, firstly, in that these totems are also nomads always moving around the country, and secondly, in the way the myths tell of the animals following the routes which the aborigines themselves follow in their foot- and canoe- journeys, particularly those routes which are used as immigration-channels. It is interesting to note that when a person who has close links with the Nungubuju recounts one of the myths, he cites the place of departure of the totemic creature as being in Nungubuju territory; when a man who is socially connected to the Balamumu relates the same myth, the point of departure is always in the Blue Mud Bay/Caledon Bay region; there is thus no absolute myth any longer as far as the 'jumping-off point' is concerned; at a later stage in the myth both versions then coincide.

The principal routes mentioned in the myths are as shown below. Aborigines cite the routes Woodah I.-BurneyI.-Ennga (?Wedge Rock) -Anywadinamadja (a small island near Winchelsea I.) and Amadada (mainland opposite Groote E.) -Bickerton I. -Connection I. as the most important routes used in approaching Groote Eylandt from the mainland; both these are parallel to the mythical routes of totemic creatures.
The majority of totems relate to the natural order—animal species, topographical features, the important articles of material culture made from bush materials, etc. Attention has already been drawn to the characteristics of two major topographical features on Groote Eylandt—Central Hill and the stingray-shaped Lake Hubert. Central Hill is not only the highest point on Groote Eylandt and in the Gulf, but is also the key point in the hilly area from which the rivers spring. Malirba Hill on Bickerton is similarly associated with water in the mythology. Again, the seasons receive particular stress in the totemic system, symbolized by the wind-totems, (with the additional modern connotation of the important Makassan trading-expeditions). A large number of animal species, not necessarily edible, are also found.

Plainly, these totems mirror the importance of the natural environment to the aborigine, particularly the well-watered parts of the islands. The crossing of Groote Eylandt is often effected along the line of the Jinuma rivers, and it is interesting to note the native view of the island, as presented in drawings, as being covered with a network of 'roads' (mamarigwa). On the other hand, water does not play quite such a marked role in Groote Eylandt totemism as it does on the mainland where clan-wells are
all-important, and where the finding of water is more of a problem. Radcliffe-Brown has remarked that the selection of animals and plants as totemic symbols derives from the dependence of the aborigines "on the hunting of wild animals and collection of wild plants" (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p.126). However, whilst this type of economic activity undoubtedly makes for the special consideration given to natural phenomena in this totemic system, it is not carried out in a simple or direct way. Wider emphases on such features of Nature as the seasons and on water largely replace the simple use of animals and plants. Again, such important animal-species as wallaby and dingo (the former an important source of meat) are missing from the totemic compendium (these two totems are used on the mainland, and sometimes 'borrowed' by Wanindiljaugwa), and although there are over thirty-five totems in each moiety, there are notable omissions of natural species, whilst many totems are not natural species at all. Plant-life is unrepresented, except for a tree or two used, not as food, but for making articles of material culture.

In view of such facts, one might, as Goldenweiser attempted to do for totemism on the Pacific north-west coast of America, attack the whole concept of totemism as a sociological category (Goldenweiser, q.v. ) Using such an empiricist approach one might inquire whether natural
phenomena like sleep, diarrhoea and dysentery (Radcliffe-Brown, 1929, pp.399-sqq.) and vomiting sickness (Curr., pp.296-303) may be classified among those natural phenomena which "enter into and become an essential part of the social life" particularly characteristic of totemism in Radcliffe-Brown's view (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p.130). Such criticism, however, would miss the point, since the main content of the totemic compendium still relates to the natural order, even if not in the same specific way as elsewhere in Australia, and the principal features of Groote Eylandt totemism have much in common with the classical systems, as described, for example, for the Aranda (Spencer and Gillen, chaps. iv-vii).

It may well be, however, that Radcliffe-Brown has tended to exaggerate the systematization and orderly arrangement of totemic systems. Whilst division of large numbers of natural phenomena according to moiety or other divisions is commonly found, and in some tribes systematic division of types of trees animals etc. (Kelly, pp.464-6) such a division is rarely as thorough-going as is sometimes implied, and certainly does not embrace more than a part of the more obvious or important features of the environment. Each totemic system has its particular characteristics, the products of specific historical and local conditions, and in many cases we are unable to discover how these arose.
Groote Eylandt totemism, however, shows certain historical features which can be analysed more precisely. Thus, the growth of the Makassan trade has affected the totemic system as well as other aspects of social life, as the existence of the Ship totem, and probably the wind-totems, reveals. Again, the Ship myth reveals the social distinctions and inequality which existed between Makassan and aborigine, whilst the later myths and songs concerned with European vessels, "Army", etc. derive from the importance of these vessels, which bring new European goods and food, and the "Army" men who treated the aborigines in a friendly manner and provided them with food and presents, besides employing them. Although the new totems rise to prominence through the cultural medium of the song and myth, this is only a vehicle of expression by means of which new important social relations are given social recognition. No doubt many of the songs which merely express ephemeral changes or isolated incidents would pass out of existence, but songs referring to important developments, like the coming of the Makassans and the Whites which affected their whole way of life, are likely to remain as parts of the totemic system for generations. Whilst the development of new totems might thus appear to be solely an aesthetic matter, it is fundamentally determined by the importance of the social material out of which the new totems are created.

If we consider relationship of the totems to social
units, it can be seen that totems clearly serve as symbols of group-allegiance and group-identity. At the level of the clan, the principal totem or totemic-complex, however, is often insufficient to distinguish one clan from another. It is here that the secondary totems have a diacritical significance, enabling us to distinguish each of the clans sharing a principal totem from each other. They may also be distinguished in other ways, of course, e.g. by the clan-names. Thus, the WaññuAmularwa besides possessing the principal totem, Ship, also have Conch and Bailer shells, and the myth of the Porpoise and the Shark; the WaññuAmagadjiragba have the totems derived from the Jumping Shark myth together with the Catalina complex and certain single totems borrowed from the mainland; the WaññuAnwurerigba have various Balamumu totems, as amongst this intercalary group there are many people with Balamumu mothers; the WuraMarba have Cocoanut. The fact that these four clans possess Ship in common reflects the large mainland component in their make-up, one which was probably reinforced from generation to generation. The group of clans sharing the Central Hill complex have no distinguishing secondary totems, but the borrowing of this complex from the WuraGwaugwa by the Bickerton clans is known to be recent, and they would probably acquire other totems in time. Even now, they sometimes claim Nungubuju totems. Thus the secondary totems have a diacritical function to a large extent.
however, is complicated by the fact that the moiety is the more important social unit. Although the number of a particular clan or class have a particular and special relationship to their totems at the level of the clan, at the moiety level, the other clans in the same moiety claim relationship to the totem. In ceremonial, for example, moiety-fellows help to sing all the totemic sons of the clans in their moiety, whilst moiety designs are painted on the chests of initiates. One may blow the drone-pipe (jiraga) for members of the opposite moiety and one may dance to their music, but one may not sing their songs. This sharing of the songs of any clan in one's own moiety, in this context, obscures the 'diacritical' aspect of the secondary totems. The social solidarity of a moiety is thus symbolized in the sharing of totemic songs - it is the moiety that is important, not the clan - and in the interdependence of the moieties if expressed in the jiraga-playing and the dancing, as in the simultaneous singing of the ordinary totemic songs by the two moiety-groups during a ceremony. Finally, the totem serves as a symbol of group-allegiance at the level of the tribe. In a superficially pointless piece of buffoonery at the conclusion of major ceremonies such as those for circumcision and death, a representative of each totemic group participates in the buffoonery, and members of both moieties thus co-operate in the performance. By virtue of correlations between Groote
moieties and those of the Balamumu and Nuggubuju, often expressed by means of totems, social relations with those tribes are carried on within a definite framework. Thus the Balamumu Dua moiety is equivalent to the Wañindiljaugwa Moiety 2 and to the Nuggubuju Mandaju moiety; the Balamumu Jiridja is equivalent to the Wañindiljaugwa Moiety 1 and the Nuggubuju Mandiridja.

It is worth noting here that whilst the general features of the totemic system are clearly Australian, even closer parallels may be found with other Australian tribes. Possibly further examination of the systems on the mainland opposite would reveal a similar system (it is recorded that historical incidents commemorated in song become fitted into the totemic system, cf. Elkin and Berndt, pp.66-7) but the closest known parallel appears to be that of the so-called Tiwi tribe of Melville and Bathurst Islands. There also, the totems, which we associated with a particular locality, linked, though the clans are matrilineal, and the totems are therefore scattered through different hordes. There is little reverence towards the totem, and it may be eaten. Whilst the Tiwi have three phratries instead of the moiety-division, the phratry seems to play a similar role to the Groote Eylandt moiety. The phratries are exogamous groups, and contain a number of clans; although unnamed, they tend to use the name of the major clan as an identification of the phratry. There is no special relationship to the totem - the bond is one between one clan-member and another through the totem, not
between clan-member and totem. The myths also refer to prominent characteristics of the clan-territories, e.g. an area abounding in sand-flies is the sand-fly totemic area (Hart, 1930a). Sir James Frazer, citing this and other evidence from northern Australia (i.e. from the Iwaidja of the Port Essington area, etc. etc.) points out the absence of sections in this area and in south-eastern Australia, and suggests that "the organization is essentially a local one, with, in the north, an attendant, well-marked totemic system" (Frazer, p.9). The striking similarity of the Tiwi system of naming to that of Groote again suggests parallel developments in these two island areas (Hart, 1930b).

Totemism on Groote Eylandt can be regarded as having two major aspects; it expresses the relations between Man and Nature, and it also expresses the relations between man and man. Radcliffe-Brown has performed a valuable service in pointing out the deficiencies of Durkheim's solidarist approach, in which Durkheim tends to limit the significance of totemism to its function as "a concrete representative or emblem of a social group" (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p.125), sacred because of the powerful sentiments of solidarity arising from group-membership (Durkheim, p.294, p.315, etc.). Durkheim is thus led into difficulties when he tries to answer the question as to why natural species are used as totemic emblems. Radcliffe-Brown correctly places the stress on the relationship of the aborigines to their environment, and not
solely on the relations of the aborigines to each other. Whilst, for most tribes, the relationship to the environment is conditioned by "the hunting of wild animals and collection of wild plants", this way of life has been modified on Groote Eylandt by Makassan and white influences, and the totemic system modified accordingly.

Moreover, the relationship of the aborigine to his environment is a relationship to a particular environment, not to Nature in the abstract. The location of plants, animals, water-supplies, etc. is intimately known to the aborigine, and the Wanindiljaugwa are therefore interested in their environment in a selective manner, taking as their totems, for example, specific geographical features, not merely the general totem 'hill' or 'river', whilst the animal species themselves are identified with particular localities. His interest in these animal species, again, arises from his hunting-and-collecting way of life, and not from abstract contemplation of the world around him. He is not interested in the best areas for uranium or bauxite supplies, but in the best areas for wallabies and dugong.
His relationship to Nature, then, is a particular kind of relationship, deriving from his economic activity. This economic activity, and much of his social life outside the economic field, was considerably modified by the arrival of the Makassans, and the totemic system altered in accordance with this new development. Finally, the impact of the Airbase and the war further affected totemism, as did the new dependence of the tribe upon the goods brought in the white man's ships, and expressed in the new songs added to those of the Ship totem. Whilst a direct relationship to Nature had been characteristic of his earlier social life, now more complex ways of living have led to changes in the totemic system. Animals still predominate in the totemic compendium but other kinds of totem play a very large part and are often more important than animal species. This process of proliferation and diversification of totemism away from its original focus paves the way for wider developments and the incorporation of historical incidents into the same framework through the composition of songs expressing these newly-found social interests.

Since the relationship of the aborigine to Nature was of a direct and specific kind, we do not find any abstract principles of classification in the totemic compendium.
There are large numbers of natural species and objects absent from the compendium as we have noted, whilst a great deal of the 'compendiousness' is in fact the product of historical accumulation rather than any attempt to classify large sectors of the natural environment according to abstract philosophical principles. Thus the borrowing of mainland totems has led to the inclusion of large numbers of totems within the Groote Eylandt scheme, giving an appearance of thorough-going classification on the basis of moiety-divisions to what in fact has been built up through a process of accumulation.

But the aborigine is also a member of a society having particular social forms: his social groupings therefore also condition the way in which his relationship to the world of Nature is expressed, and we have shown that totemism is interlocked with social organization at every level. The phenomena of Nature are classified and ordered, not on the basis of an abstract philosophical scheme, but in accordance with the order of aboriginal society: it is not 'Nature' in the abstract which is expressed in totemism, but the environment as interpreted by a hunter-and-collector in a clan society. Thus it is noticeable that the plant-species collected by women are omitted from the totemic
compendium in this strongly patrilineal society, although such species are most important as a source of food; all the edible species included are those hunted by the men. Man's social order therefore conditions his approach to the natural order, and Durkheim's isolation of 'society' from the world in which it exists may be seen to be misleading.

Radcliffe-Brown's extension of his argument is less acceptable, however. He goes on to state that "external nature comes to be incorporated in the social order as an essential part of it" (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p.131), and that the universe is not governed by natural law for the aborigine, but by "ritual law". The popular writer, Miller, puts forward an opposite point of view when she states that the aborigines do not possess their tribal territories, but are possessed by them (Miller, p.21). Both these views swing to opposite sides of the truth. They arise from an incorrect estimation of the relationship of the aborigine to his environment, and from attempting to separate the social and natural orders too rigidly. As we have seen, the aborigines have quite clear ideas of natural law, independent of human existence and human thought. Thus, they clearly recognise the changes of the seasons, the connection of the winds with these changes; they carefully observe the characteristics of the animals they hunt, etc.
their knowledge of natural law, then, though limited, is therefore by no means limited to certain technical contexts (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p.130). Mountford remarks, correctly, that the Wanindiljaugwa state that the performance of wind-magic at any time of the year would bring the desired wind (Mountford, q.v.), but this is a statement of quasi-theological dogma rather than a statement in accordance with what they know from real experience. In fact, I have spent days with the aborigines waiting for a change of wind so that we could resume a canoe-journey. At no time did it occur to any aborigine to perform wind-magic - they recognised that it would be quite inefficacious. They do recognise natural law to a marked degree, but the limitations of their knowledge of natural processes and their limited ability control their environment, both give rise to magical belief, and at the same time, limit the efficacy of their magical techniques. This contradiction, implicit in the clash between magical dogma and practical limitations on the control of the environment which they accept at the same time as they accept the dogma, certainly does not mean that the universe is governed, for them, by "ritual law".

The Amunduwuraria

The principal religious institutions of the Wanindiljaugwa
is called the Amunduwuraria. This is a series of ceremonies concerned with the mythical totemic creatures which moved around the country in the Creation Period, their activities being commemorated in myths, songs, and mimetic performances. A special ceremonial-ground (jinigana) is cleared in the bush, where huts are built, one or more for each moiety; in the huts sacred poles are housed, and certain ceremonies carried out. On the ceremonial-ground, forked sticks are inserted into the ground, with a log leaning against them (the details vary in different accounts); these are later mounted by the ceremonial leaders of the two moieties when they call out sacred names of totemic creatures. Also used in the ceremonies are the sacred paperbark bundles which are beaten on the ground to notify the ancestors of the holding of the ceremonies. The ceremonies conclude with ritual ablution and the ritual eating of burrawong 'damper'. A detailed description of an abridged Amunduwuraria may be obtained from the literature (Mountford, in press (2)), whilst a film record also exists of this particular performance. No Amunduwuraria was held during my stay.

The existence of these ceremonies was first brought to the attention of anthropologists by the finding of a number of the decorated and carved sacred poles in an old native camp by members of an ornithological expedition who
visited the island in 1921 (Tindale, 1925, p.62). These poles were described by Sir Baldwin Spencer, but little account could be given at the time of their social significance (Spencer, 1922, p.102 and Plate 20; cf. also Tindale, loc. cit., Plate VI, Figs. 29,30 and 38 and Wilkins, photograph facing p.250). It was realized that the poles had some connection with the religious ceremonies, since similar poles had been found at the Roper River in huts erected for ceremonial purposes. The missionary who found them described the poles as 'idols' (Warren, pp.8-17).

In July 1921, more poles were obtained from the Amaljigba ceremonial ground by white men, and an investigation of the area was made "against the protests of the natives" (Tindale, op.cit., p.84). Shortly afterwards, other white men visited the same area and more poles were taken (Wilkins, p.288). The information gleaned from natives by Wilkins was inaccurate, probably because his informants were from further south on the mainland, but Tindale's

* Tindale refers to the poles as jimudunga, i.e. jimunduna: cypress-pine, the material from which they were made. They have no special name, unlike the logs mounted by the ceremonial leaders which are known as agarara; milkwood (alunagaragba) was also used for making the poles.
account is of great interest, although he did not actually witness a performance. It will be realized that the intentions of the white men were viewed with great suspicion by the aborigines after these repeated removals of their sacred ritual objects.

The ceremonies which were called the Amalipa ceremonies by Tindale, after Amaljigba, the area at which they were held around the time of his visit, have also been referred to as the "Arawaltia ceremony" by Mountford, a name probably derived from the word auwarawalia: shade, hut, etc., referring to the huts erected for the Amunduwuraria. It is also called by the natives Madaian, derived from the mainland term maraian-mardaian-mareein, etc., and in pidgin English, "Big Sunday".

The use of this last name gives a clue to the origin of the ceremonies. They are essentially importations from the mainland, very similar to the Nara ceremonies described by Warner for the Wulamba (Warner, pp.340-370) and also closely resembling the principal religious ceremonies of the Nungubuju. Not only are the ceremonies themselves of mainland origin, but the leaders in the ceremonies are also of mainland (principally Nungubuju) descent, or affinally related to Nungubuju and to a lesser extent, Balamumu.

Such men are Naugwarba (also called Dagalarra, Nenuwarura
or Banjo), Nabidjuŋwaŋa (Homer), Mandaga, Galagurma (Virgil), Galeawa (Charlie), Nariŋamura (Old Bill), Namangangona, etc. Many of the songs and invocations, moreover, are in the Nungubuju tongue. Thus the invocations recorded as "Gunbor!" and "Birka!" by Warner for the Wulamba, and described as conventional announcements that the sacred names of the totems of each moiety are about to be called, are also found on Groote Eylandt as Gunbul and Brigar; they must not be taken as moiety-names.

In the past, mainlanders would participate in the Amunduwuraria when it was held at places convenient to the mainland such as Bickerton Island; the Waŋindiljaugwa (particularly the westerners) also visited Cape Barrow and the Rose River in order to take part in the ceremonies of the Nungubuju. When the Amunduwuraria was held on Groote Eylandt itself, at such places as Amaljigba, Aŋuŋgwa, Jadigba, Amagula, etc. mainlanders would not usually attend. The last Amunduwuraria, held at Ariwa, near Umbakumba, in 1948, was specially performed for the benefit of the Arnhem Land Expedition, but no further Amunduwuraria has been held.

It is said that in the past, the initiative lay with mainland men to initiate the holding of the Groote Eylandt Amunduwuraria. Thus, one old man at the Roper River,
Liganda (also called Rigandi or Nawidja̱ra) is said to be the leader of the Amunduwaruria for one moiety, and authorises the starting of the ceremonies by sending a message across to Groote Eylandt. No mainland was specified as the 'boss' of the other moiety, but in this moiety Dagalara, a Groote Eylandter with a Nungubuju father, is particularly qualified to organize the ceremonies, and is a very powerful personality to boot. The Nungubuju have a considerable knowledge of Wanindiljaugwa clans and totems, as the existence of special Nungubuju names for groupings of Wanindiljaugwa clans reveals. These were given me by Bajida, a man with close Nungubuju connections, but could not be checked with the Nungubuju themselves. The Groote clans are classified according to the possession of common principal totems or totemic complexes, resulting in a grouping of clans intermediate between the levels of clan and moiety. Such a grouping might be said to occur amongst the Wanindiljaugwa, though only in the context of ceremonial activity, and only to the extent that the three clans sharing the totems of the Stingray-Central Hill-Parrot complex, for example, will be grouped together. They do not, however, form any kind of phratry or subdivision of a moiety whatsoever, and do not form a corporate group. The real referents for the Wanindiljaugwa are clan and moiety, not the totems. They
share totems because they are moiety-fellows; they are not moiety-fellows by virtue of some totemic link. The Nungubuju classification, then, is correct insofar as it groups together clans sharing the same principal totems or totemic complexes (such a grouping would be most apparent on ceremonial occasions when Nungubuju might be present and note the totemic affiliations of the Wanindiljaugwa), but if the Nungubuju envisage these groupings as having any social cohesion or special functions apart from the totemic and ceremonial context, they are misinterpreting the Groote Eylandt system. It is possible that they are imposing a phratry pattern on Wanindiljaugwa similar to that recorded for the Wulamba, and which the Nungubuju may themselves possess. In this case, they would be interpreting Wanindiljaugwa society in terms of their own. It will be noted that the classification below wrongly groups two clans possessing different wind-totems together:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nungubuju name</th>
<th>Groote Eylandt clan</th>
<th>Principal totem</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WanuŋaGaragari</td>
<td>(Wanuŋaŋwurugurigba</td>
<td>Stingray-Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(WurEngiljaŋba</td>
<td>Hill-Parrot</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(WanuŋaAmadada</td>
<td>complex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WuraMuŋgunu</td>
<td>(WanuŋaDaŋbalaŋwa</td>
<td>N.W. wind</td>
</tr>
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<td>(WanuŋaDjaragba</td>
<td>N.wind</td>
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Turning to the mythology of the Amunduwuraria, it is clear that a large part of it coincides with that already discussed in Chapter 3. The myths show how two sets of totemic creatures, one belonging to each moiety, moved around the western side of the Gulf and created various natural features during their travels. Jungle-fowl, Snake ("aitja": Mountford, op. cit.), Freshwater turtle, and Crab are the creatures associated with Moiety 2, whilst Stingray, Sawfish, Goose and Water-goanna are the creatures associated with Moiety 1. (These moieties are called wirinikapara, i.e. wurenigabura, and oranikapara, i.e. iirenigabura, by Mountford, indicating that the informant who gave these 'names' was a man of the latter moiety). The first group of creatures are said to have migrated from the Amagula River region to the mainland via Bickerton Island, whilst the second group came from Nuŋgubuju country to Groote Eylandt, ending up on the east coast. It will be seen that this latter myth corresponds to the myths of the WuraGwaugwa clan previously described, except for Goose, which is a mainland totem, gradually becoming accepted as a totem of the WậnunaDařbalança.
clan. Several linked myths are omitted from the mythology of this moiety as found in the Amunduwuraria (i.e. the myths of Parrot, and of Neribuwa and Dumariyenduma), whilst the totemic myths of other clans in this moiety are also omitted. The greatest difference between the ordinary totemic mythology and that of the Amunduwuraria occurs in relation to the opposite moiety. The creatures in the Amunduwuraria myths of this moiety are said to have journeyed from S.W. Groote Eylandt to the mainland. Although I also recorded myths in the first month of my field-work which told of the movement of such totemic creatures as Hawk, Dove, etc. from Groote Eylandt to Bickerton Island, these proved to be incorrect versions on further examination, and were contemptuously rejected by the older men. All the myths, in their correct versions, showed the movements of the totemic creatures as being from the mainland to Groote Eylandt.

One might be inclined, therefore, to attribute the difference in the Amunduwuraria myths to a similar error. There is no valid reason to doubt the accuracy of Mountford's account, however, particularly as it does not depend solely upon the myths themselves, but is backed the evidence of the ceremonies and dances. It thus appears that the Amunduwuraria ceremonies have been introduced from the mainland, have adapted a part
of the indigenous Groote Eylandt mythology (the Stingray complex), but have introduced or modified other parts of the mythology (the Jungle-Fowl, aitja Snake, Freshwater Turtle and Crab myths).

It is significant that the totemic creatures which figure in the ceremonies, a large number are not true totems of the Wanindiljaugwa. Bandicoot, Lorikeet, Native Companion, and Crane (Tindale, op.cit., p.87, and Crab and Jungle-Fowl (Mountford, op.cit.) are all mainland totems. All these, of course, will be accepted by the Wanindiljaugwa as valid totems, and can be fitted into one moiety or the other, but it will always be pointed out that these are really Balamumu or Nuggubujju totems. Most of these totems are, significantly, only associated with a moiety, and have not been adopted by a particular clan, but there are transitional stages where a clan will recognise one of these totems as "its" own, but as still of mainland origin. Such a totem is Crab (also Goose), now linked to the WanutjaDarbalajwa clan.

Certain mimetic performances, indeed, could only be performed if mainlanders were present to enact them. Mountford notes that if "Tanmanraka" from the Roper River were not present, the Jungle-Fowl and Bandicoot performances could not be held. This is not nec-
essarily due to any ritual injunction against the performance of the appropriate ceremony by men other than actual totemites, but largely because nobody would know the correct procedure.

The basic content of the Amunduwuraria, then, is totemic. The same relations between Man and Nature and between man and man in specific social groups are expressed in the Amunduwuraria as well as in the ordinary totemic system. As ever, the moiety is the most important unit, and there does not seem to be any real evidence to support the statement made by one informant to Mountford that the 'wirinikapara' moiety (i.e. Moiety 2) is the "dominant group". The Amunduwuraria unites both moieties in complementary activities; it is particularly symbolized in the ritual eating of the burrawong "damper" by both moieties; according to Mountford's account, the food is taken from the foot of the pole belonging to the opposite moiety by a representative of each group back to his moiety-fellows some distance away.

Although both moieties perform their dances and carry out mimetic performances in turn, in parts of the ceremonies, both moieties participate in the activities simultaneously, though in separate groups. This in-
terdependence is symbolized in many ways throughout the Amunduwuraria. Ritual ablution, again, is carried out by each moiety separately, but as part of the same ceremonial, at the conclusion of the Amunduwuraria.

Apart from the emphasis laid upon structural units such as clan and moiety, there is an additional stress in the Amunduwuraria on less structured groupings. It is significant that much of the ceremonial is similar to that of the circumcision-ceremonies, which are concerned with age-grades rather than corporate age-sets. A similar stress is apparent in the Amunduwuraria, since a social distinction is drawn between the older men who have participated in previous ceremonies, and the young adults being admitted to the secret parts of the ceremony for the first time. This distinction is symbolized in the custom whereby a sacred pipe (jibunganwa iliara) may be smoked by the older men during the Amunduwuraria, but not by the young adults. These latter are eventually admitted into the ranks of those eligible to smoke the pipe after permission has been given by one of the leaders.

It is now impossible to discover whether there was a series of stages in the admission of men to greater and greater privileges, as on the mainland, but it
would seem likely that increasing age, knowledge, skill and social importance would be paralleled by some grading of privileges within the Amunduwuraria, and informants make vague statements which support this view. The admission of young adult men into the privileged ranks of the smokers is thus a further step in the series of life-stages of which circumcision is the first major step. Severe sanctions could be brought to bear against those who attempted to assume such privileges without being entitled. Similarly, severe taboos existed which prevented women and young children witnessing the more secret parts of the Amunduwuraria; infringement of the taboos is said to have been punishable by spearing. In the final stages of the Amunduwuraria, women join in the ritual ablution, and, with the children, may witness non-secret dances, though they do not appear to participate in the ritual eating of the burrawong "damper". The whole adult community is thus brought together in the closing stages of the Amunduwuraria. When compared to Warner's account of the parallel Nara and allied ceremonies, women seem to be far more rigidly excluded from participation in such ceremonies on Groote Eylandt, than on the mainland, a feature which accords with the whole ethos of Wanindiljaugwa society.
Warner has pointed out that the Wulamba ceremonies are principally concerned with totemism and with age-grading, an analysis which is supported by the evidence from the Wanindiljaugwa, though age-grading is perhaps not so carefully stressed as on the mainland. The Wanindiljaugwa themselves explicitly recognise the connection between the circumcision-ceremonies and the Amunduwaruaria, a connection which they express in terms of the similarity of the performances at each. This surface resemblance, however, is symbolic of a deeper connection between the different ceremonies, a connection of content as well as form.

Two other mainland ceremonies are known to the Wanindiljaugwa, some of whom have witnessed them on trips to the mainland. Even most of the older men only have a very superficial knowledge of the Gunabibi, though some of the Mission natives in contact with the Nungubuju have a greater knowledge and understanding of this ceremony; a few Mission natives expressed the intention of trying to get over to the Rose River for a Gunabibi ceremony which, they said, was to be held there in September 1953. Distinct from such special knowledge on the part of a few is the more general acquaintance of the
Wanindiljaugwa with the mainland Mendiwala ceremony. This ceremony, Warner's "Marndiella", is a special circumcision-ceremony undertaken when the boys are too large to wait another year (Warner, p. 329), and has occasionally been held on Groote Eylandt when mainlanders have visited the island and conducted the ceremony. It is especially appreciated by the Wanindiljaugwa for its songs and dances, which are said to be extremely rapid and vigourous.

It should be pointed out that the Wanindiljaugwa, far from being perpetually preoccupied with ritual, cult and mystical matters, regard the ceremonies as interesting, important and enjoyable occasions, but do not devote much thought to them at other times. Outside the immediate context of the ceremonies, they are not greatly concerned about such matters. They also appreciate the social significance of the ceremonies—the age-grading aspects, the expression and reinforcement of group-solidarity—and derive much pleasure from the music, the dances and mimetic performances, but they are not greatly concerned about any 'mystical' aspect of the ceremonies. Their ability to give the most meticulous and detailed account of a journey, a food-gathering expedition, etc. contrasts strongly with the inexact descriptions
they give of ceremonies, told without animation or precision. This is not because they are loth to discuss such things, but because they are not so vital to them; the long intervals between one Amunduwuraria or circumcision-ceremony and another tends to push these matters to the backs of their minds.

This lack of concern with the Amunduwuraria is partly the consequence of lack of knowledge of the ceremonies. The former easterners are comparatively ignorant about the Amunduwuraria, since it was a foreign importation and is mainly in the hands of Bickerton Islanders. They participate in and enjoy the ceremonies, but hardly any of them are qualified to play a leading part. As one man remarked, "We just sit and look". The recent division of the tribe between two settlements has meant that contact between the Umbakumba natives, mostly easterners, and the Mission natives has greatly diminished; the Amunduwuraria, always in the hands of the Bickerton people, has become more and more remote to the natives at Umbakumba. One member of the Waniindiljaugwa clan, describing the Amunduwuraria ceremony held at Ariwa, spoke of the three huts erected for the ceremonies as being the huts of the WuraMura and WuraMa̱ba clans in one moiety, and of the Wana̱ŋAmadada clan in the other moiety. In fact, all clans used these
huts, but he singled out the Bickerton clans as the key people in the Amunduwuraria. Thus the traditional ignorance on the part of the easterners is reinforced by settlement life and isolation. In addition, the decline of the Amunduwuraria has been speeded by the hostility of Whites towards indigenous religion, and by the diminished significance of totemic rites under the present conditions of life.

One of the most striking aspects of the decline of the indigenous culture is the loss of any clear conception of the Creation Period. We have seen that such a conception is implicit in the totemic mythology and in the mythology and ceremonial connected with the Amunduwuraria. On the other hand, this period has no name, and it would be distorting native conceptions to suggest that they now clearly conceive of the classical type of Creation Period. After discussing the Gunabibi with one old man, I put it to him that the mainlanders obviously had some idea of a Creation Period when the trees, animals, etc. were brought into being, and the order of the Universe established. He replied "Well, we don't ".

The events related in myths took place "a long time ago"; that is all. They took place before the time of the Makassans, but this period is thought of in
historical terms, as an earlier period in history, when "miraculous" events, indeed, took place, but which is conceived of as a pre-Makassan period rather than as a Creation Period. The cast of thought is historical rather than mythopoeic. The Wanindiljaugwa, because of their contacts with the Makassans, have themselves a consciousness of historical process, and of change and sequence in time. On the mainland, it is said that the Makassan period is regarded as following the classical type of Creation Period (with an intervening period when the so-called Baijini, a pre-Makassan non-aboriginal people, visited the mainland). On Groote Eylandt, the Creation Period is not looked on in this way. It would seem that the disruption of the comparatively unchanging pattern of life occasioned by the arrival of the Makassans, and later the Whites, has led to the development of a more truly historical viewpoint, parallel perhaps to that of a rigidly fundamentalist Christian, for whom the events of Genesis would stand in the stead of the events of the Creation Period. It will be seen later that Genesis is in part displacing the Creation Period.
CHAPTER 4

Life-Stages: the Terminology

In discussing the Amunduwuraria, we have observed that the Wanindiljaugwa lay considerable stress upon the different life-stages and on the transitions from one stage to another that may be marked by a rite de passage or by admission to special privileges. The richness of the terminology relating to the life-stages is an indication of their social importance.

A new-born baby is known as numurugbalja, from the adjective -murugbalja: soft. The use of this adjective here implies fragility and lack of toughness, and mirrors the high infant mortality amongst the Wanindiljaugwa. Like usages reported from other parts of the world, where a newly-born baby is regarded as being "like water" and is hardly yet to be counted as an individual well-set on the road through life, it reflects the fate of a large number of children who never get beyond this stage. The more general term for baby, nayaria, is used a little later, covering the different stages when the child sits up, starts to crawl and finally becomes a toddler (nenabagwa).

* Only masculine forms will be given where noun-prefixes vary according to sex.
After this, he is known as nurugudjira (-djira: small); other terms for such small children are wurijugwajuwa (wuralugwaluwa) from another adjective -jugwajuwa: small (cf. Wulamba term for younger brother, yukiyuko, Warner, p. 60), or wurandjanalija. A general term for a young girl is dadiera, but for boys, who pass through a larger number of clearly defined stages, there is a much richer terminology.

Before circumcision, a boy is called nawiljauugwa; after the operation he becomes namuguduwama or numiluwaruma. Both boys and girls of about fourteen years of age have the term nenigoma/jada/dadagoma/jada respectively applied to them, but a youth of about twenty years of age is nenigomababa (about this time he would, in the past, have been an initiate attached to an older man; see below). The cutting of the first cicatrice on his chest makes him nenujundamura (jinugunda: cicatrice), and symbolized the end of his period as an initiate and the beginning of adult life. At this time, he might also be referred to as naruwu/muguma: 'single boy' in pidgin.

On marriage, new terms are used, the married man being nadarijingamura (dadariysa: woman) and the woman dad(un)ungwarbamure (nenuungwarba: man). The birth of a child makes the father nanariamumurena and the mother nanariamindjena (nanaria: baby). These terms are frequently used to circumvent taboos on the
use of names by referring to woman as, e.g. the mother of Dajarjaluwa: Dajarjaluwanindjena, or a man as, e.g. the father of Nebwinigalguma: Nebwinigalgumamurena. An only child is distinguished by the term nenunwandalamura, whilst the eldest child is known as nenigabarugwena. The sequence of children can be indicated (within limits characteristic of aboriginal numerical systems) by calling the first child nenunwadinagbawija (adinagba: first, leading), the second child nenunwuljara (wuljara: middle), and the third child nenunwaridjilaywa (aridjilaywa: last). Twins are called wurembirgadareba: there is no definite evidence that twins or one twin were put to death; indeed, genealogies show several cases of twins who reached adulthood. Although the Wanindiljaugwa have a more advanced numerical system than most aboriginal tribes, having borrowed from Malay, the limitations of the method of distinguishing the order of birth of children points to an older type of numeration; to go further one has to start using circumlocutions.

The final stage of life is that of old age, when a woman becomes dadiawagwa and a man neniarinya. The extra descriptive term nugura (jugura: grey hair) may be applied, especially for men, and it is used as a nickname for Namawada, an old man at Umbakumba who is the picture of dignified, white-haired old age; it has no contemptuous implications.
After a person's death various methods of reference are used when it is desired to speak about the deceased; many of these methods bear a strong resemblance to the name-avoidances described for the Tiwi (Hart, 1930b). The use of the name of a person who has died recently is especially avoided, but after some time has elapsed the Wanindiljaugwa will mention personal names, even of the dead, without much embarrassment, though they are less likely to do so in company or if they stood in certain avoidance-relationships to the deceased. A recently-deceased woman can be referred to as dadunwadinuba (adinuba: "close-up", i.e. recently or, in other contexts, soon), but if this description is not adequate to distinguish her from other dead people, one can use the name of the place where the death took place. Thus, for a certain woman who died of measles at Darwin, one can say 'Darwinuwa'; another old man who died in the bush at Arjwurugurigba is 'Arjwurugurigbawa' (-wa usually indicates motion towards). A woman who died a good while ago, on the other hand, is dadumaluda. Teknonymy may also be used as described above. The extension of the name-avoidance to words having similar harmonic sounds which is so very marked on Melville and Bathurst Islands (Hart, 1930b) is met with on Groote Eylandt also, but such coincidences of sound are not very common, and only one case was noted. This was that of a woman, Dambuma, (a nickname - 'the
deaf one'). One cannot use this word nowadays, but must say dumungaramundjala instead.

From Birth to Circumcision

Among the many spirits which haunt the bush are some of special importance known as the wanamawurina. These are similar to the spirit-children of classical literature. They live in the bush, and when their fathers dream that they are going to have children, the wanamawurina leave their abode, which is always the clan-territory of the father, and enter their mothers' bodies. They say to themselves "Now I'll go to my father and mother. I want to go to their place".

The women then feel the wanamawurina which have entered them and become children. Occasionally the wanamawurina are responsible for mischievous actions, such as the theft of a piece of tobacco, just as most other spirits will be blamed for such losses. One case of this type of theft occurred when a young pregnant woman was sharing a camp with another family, but generally the mischief of spirit-children seems to be displayed before they have entered the womb.

The stress laid on the father in this connection is typical of Groote Eylandt society, with its strong patrilineality. The spirit-child comes from the father's clan territory; in addition, it is generally the father who
dreams about the imminent arrival of the children, not the mother. It much be emphasized, however, that the Wanindiljaugwa have a good knowledge of physical paternity, the processes of procreation, etc. When questioned about the dual belief - the belief in the spirit-children and their knowledge of natural processes - the women state that they know the natural processes perfectly well, and recognize the onset of pregnancy by the cessation of the menses, etc. At the same time, they say, we also accept the spirit-children idea. The ideas about spirit-children are thus a kind of theological dogma which is accepted although the natural processes are understood. Warner states that the Wulamba know the physical processes also, but relegate them to a minor role, "the spiritual conception of the child looming so large in native thinking" (Warner, p. 24). The thinking of the Wanindiljaugwa is not dominated by 'spiritual' conceptions; with them the physical facts are foremost, and the spirit-children concept a dogma.

Senior women assist at birth, which takes place in the bush even to-day; there is no rigid specification as to who should attend, but a woman's own mother and mother's sisters, mother's mother, etc. will usually attend. Any senior female relative may attend, however, while specific relatives may not be available. The umbilical cord is cut off, and a piece of beeswax moulded onto it. Thereafter, the mother
keeps the cord and gives it to the baby to play with if the child becomes fractious. When the baby clutches it, he is said to stop crying, whilst its loss causes him to cry a great deal. There seems to be no special ritual attitude towards the umbilical cord, which is kept until the child reaches the age of about four or five years when it is disposed of by wrapping it in paperbark and depositing it in a tree or in an anthill or other place in the bush. These cords used as soothers are not seen a great deal to-day.

Young boys are later given objects known as *wanamembilja* (or *wanunembilja*). These are made by fathers for their sons, and consist of a thin slab of wood about eight inches long and about four inches wide. The slab is painted with a moiety design similar to those painted on boys' chests during circumcision or on bone-boxes, and, again like a bone-box, is decorated with coloured wools wound round the top and bottom and also round the middle. These objects are beautifully painted, and are the object of loving attention by the maker and the child to whom they are given. They may also be decorated by hanging buttons, coins and other trinkets on them; a few specimens have no moiety-design on them, or are painted according to taste.

 Whilst they are thus similar to dolls in our own society to a certain degree (other dolls exist for girls),
they appear to have a special significance since the child calls this doll by the kinship term for "son", and gives it a name which is usually the name he gives to his son later; other relatives may refer to the child by appropriate kinship terms. Further, the child usually leaves the nenunembilia in his mother's or grandmother's keeping once he is past puberty, though the doll will ultimately be handed over to his wife when he marries. The wife then carries it round with her until a child is born. Although female dolls of this kind were said to exist, only male dolls were noted, and this would seem to conform with the rest of the culture of the Wanindiljaugwa. After the wife has given birth to a male child, the doll is usually kept by the husband's mother who carries it with her, just as she carries the bone-boxes of her deceased children and grandchildren (see below). Sometimes the doll may be disposed of, and some dolls may be seen in the possession of men. Indeed, quite adult men who had not yet married still had these dolls, though they often passed them over to their mothers for safe-keeping. One case was noted where the doll given to the first-born child (a boy) was passed on to his baby sister to play with. Not all children have the dolls nowadays.

The aborigines themselves pointed out that the grandmothers like to carry the dolls around because they no
longer have any babies, while the young wives like them as a substitute before their own children are born.

For girls, other dolls are made which have no such significance. Although they are used merely as playthings, the girls' dolls, which are marine shells, represent the females of different clans, according to the kind of shell, although not every clan is represented. Thin wooden slabs, about 3" long by 1½" wide, represent males, but the clans of the males are not distinguished. Both the shells and the slabs are painted according to the taste of the painter, not with totemic designs. The clan-affiliations of the female dolls (shells) are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Enindiljaugwa name of shell</th>
<th>European name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WuraGwaugwa</td>
<td>wuradagagaugwa</td>
<td>conus capitaneus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WanuŋAmagadjiragba</td>
<td>wuradagajalugwa</td>
<td>oliva maura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanindiljaugwa</td>
<td>wuradagangwara (wuradidjara)</td>
<td>dorioconus textile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WanuŋAwerigba</td>
<td>wuradagaljagwa</td>
<td>rollus geographus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WanuŋAmulagwa</td>
<td>juguna</td>
<td>melo amphorus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefixes to the names of the shells are clearly feminine (wurad-). In the first type, the name of the shell would seem to have been derived from the name of the clan-members, WuraGwaugwa or WuraGaugwa); the bailer shell, however, has no feminine-prefix. The dolls are used in
games similar to those of white children: playing house, dressing the dolls in scraps of cloth, making beds, tables and chairs for them out of pieces of wood and fibro, and calling some dolls mothers and fathers, others children, etc. These dolls, however, have no symbolic importance like the wanunembilja, and are not handed on or kept by parents and grandparents, except for safekeeping. The parallels between the role of the wanunembilja dolls and the bone-boxes, their similar shape, and decoration, the vague use of the word for bone-box (nenamaluda) instead of nemunembilja, the fact that one of these dolls was used in a funeral ceremony, all suggest close parallels in the aboriginal mind between the wanamembilja and the bone-boxes. This does not indicate any idea of reincarnation, or of a perpetual stream of life, but rather a similarity of function between the two types of object in that they both symbolize human beings - those as yet unborn, and those already dead.

Circumcision

Circumcision was the first major social event in a boy's life. It is likely that in the past, the ceremony took much longer than it does to-day, and that there was considerably more ceremonial. A ceremony witnessed by McCarthy in 1948 lasted for one month; in December 1952,
I witnessed a circumcision ceremony which lasted only one night. It will clearly not be too long before the ceremony disappears altogether; already the mimetic performances relating to totemic mythology are being omitted, and the ceremony is being reduced to the singing of totemic songs, dancing, and the actual operation.

The ceremony held at Xmas time, 1952, was attended by a number of natives from the Mission, but many people were unable to attend. Amongst the Mission natives were several important ceremonial leaders, in particular Naugwarba and Namangangona, the latter of whom directed the ceremony. Five boys were circumcised, four from the Wanindiljaugwa clan and one from the WuraGwaugwa.

Towards dusk, the boys were brought to the dancing-ground in the centre of the native camp, and made to lie down on a blanket spread on the sand. A moiety totemic design, known as mindje, was then painted on their chests which had been first smeared with orchid-juice, the four boys of the one clan having the same design. No particular relative did the painting, but, as in other ceremonial situations, any senior relative can perform this duty, not necessarily even a close agnatic or affinal relative. During the painting, the other men grouped themselves into two moiety-groups and began singing the totemic songs of their respective moieties, to the accompaniment of the didjeridoo and clapping-sticks.
After the painting, the men put various decorations on the initiates: armlets (mijalja) made of coloured wool bound over lawyer-vine were worn, twenty and more on each arm; beads (ananara) were placed round the neck; a chest-decoration made of two skeins of coloured wool running over each shoulder and joined in front in the middle of the chest; and the head-dress, which is also made of coloured wool, and runs round the head, with another set of strands running from the front to the back of the head. Hanging from this head-dress at both ears and on the forehead are bunches of wallaby incisor teeth, decorated with lorikeet-feathers worked into string with beeswax. Three boys had tufts of white cockatoo feathers mounted on a thin stick with beeswax, pushed into their hair and hanging over the backs of their heads. More armlets were placed on the wrists, and the face painted with lines of white across the forehead, down round the line of the jawbone, across the points of the cheek-bones and nose, and the space between the lines filled with white dots. It was emphasized that these preparations were only a pale reflection of the elaborate decorations formerly worn - one boy had no armlets at all, and another lacked the cockatoo-feather head adornment. Again, there was no jiniba paint available, only the normal red ochre.

Three of the Mission natives shared the work of painting with seven Umbakumba men, working in pairs. The ringing of
the settlement meal-gong was answered by sending the women and children to collect the food for everybody. By 7.25 p.m., the painting was complete, and the initiates put on their decorations once more, and had their bodies rubbed with red ochre; new loin-cloths were put on, and the initiates then taken to the dancing ground where they lay down on blankets.

The dancing now commenced to the accompaniment of the totemic songs, and the didjeridoo and clapping-sticks. These were not special dances, and the ordinary totemic songs were sung. Over a dozen songs were sung, usually one from each moiety in turn, including Central Hill, Eagle, S.E. wind, Parrot, Ship and Snake. After about a dozen dances, there was a pause, then a circle was formed by the most active dancers, with one man in the centre who began to beat a pair of large, deep-toned clapping-sticks rapidly. Suddenly he changed the tempo to half the beat and the whole group walked off down the dancing-ground, and then back again, murmuring the while. Then a double row of dancers was formed with two men in between facing each other and separated by the leader with the clapping-sticks. They danced as if in a threatening manner, the leader acting as if he were separating them and holding the peace, though this is only an impression. The two men then separated and danced round, one behind each of the two rows, finally re-entering the
'gauntlet' from the opposite end from which they had left it. This circling dance is found in several ceremonies. The signal for the two men to move round was given by the ceremonial leader who called out "Gaaa!" Finally all danced off, and the phase was concluded.

The initiates were now brought in, accompanied by loud chanting from the leader, and the beating of the sticks. The initiates were hoisted onto the shoulders of various men, (again, no particular relative) and walked up and down. The leader stands in a conventionalized attitude when calling out these invocations, shielding his eyes in the crook of one elbow and making the spear-thrower held out behind him in his other hand quiver. This phase concluded at 8.30 p.m., the initiates being then laid on blankets and given food to eat by their fathers. It has been stated that the Wanindiljaugwa starve the children during these ceremonies and force them to submit to all kinds of hardships, and that the balmuknuk drum of the mainland is used in the ceremonies. All these statements are incorrect.

The children were put to sleep at 8.47 p.m., and nothing further happened until signs of dawn began to appear at 4.15 a.m. Then Namangangona, the leader, began a slow beat on the large clapping-sticks, and sang a slow chant, extremely beautiful even to the ear of a white man.
This was a Nungubuju song, and although the singer knew the meaning, the ordinary Warindiljaugwa did not. Some of the other Nungubuju songs obtained during this ceremony were ordinary Nungubuju totemic songs (e.g. Star and Goose).

The singing by the ceremonial leader went on until 5.35 a.m. when it was light enough to see what I was writing. The clapping-sticks were then rapidly beaten as before, and the initiates were woken and taken to the ceremonial leader. The "Gaaa!" dance was again performed, and the initiates then hoisted onto the men's shoulders, carried out of the crowd, and walked back again. Their head-dresses were readjusted, and they were laid on the blanket. A long chant was then sung by the leader, and at 6.20 a.m., rusty razor-blades were produced and the boys' foreskins cut off. They did not exhibit the stoical courage often required in circumcision ceremonies, nor was it expected of them, for they struggled and cried, and had to be held down by the adult men. At this, the women, who were in a small enclosure of boughs some twenty yards away, and who could therefore really see everything, began to cut their heads ritually with knives, wires, etc. The boys were then smoked in the fire and the men warmed their hands and bunches of leaves pressing them on the boys' things and round the wounds to 'heal' the wound; this probably aids in congealing the blood. In two cases, the operators were neninjä to the boys (the relative to whom they would in the past have been attached as initiates); in
two other cases the operators were classificatory father's mother's brothers and in the last case, the mother's mother's brother. Sweat from the armpits of the operators and others was wiped onto the boys to 'strengthen' them and to 'stop them crying'.

Soon afterwards, a man with a cloth in his mouth ran onto the dancing-ground, his hands turned back behind his body, with a stick in one hand which he made to quiver just as the ceremonial leader had done with his spear-thrower earlier. Four other men appeared, coming from the beach in each case, and they moved around, seemingly trying to take the cloth from the mouth of the first man with their own teeth. He mimed resistance, but was finally deprived of the cloth. The men were said to represent sharks and a crocodile chasing the gunguna fish, and the sharks should have been assisted by the eagle, water-snake and barrimundi. This mimetic performance was also enacted at the conclusion of a mourning ceremony some weeks later, but the incompleteness of the performance was emphasized. The cloth represented a fish which the others are trying to take off the gunguna (a representative of the Wañura Djaragba), and the performance related to the arrival of these mythological creatures from the mainland: the shark from Rose River country, and the gunguna from the Balamumu country; the shark group are said to have fought the gunguna and stolen
its food. Several points emerge from this 'play'. Firstly, it is a performance bringing relief to the serious atmosphere of the ceremony (whether circumcision or mourning), and quite clearly has a cathartic function. The whole performance is regarded with considerable amusement, and is described as 'play' (namaliangenamurara araghawija; Ajanguljumudalaywa: they played long ago; from the mainland).

Secondly, the performance is enacted by representatives of several clans and no doubt had representatives from all clans in the past. In this way, it brings together all the different clans in one performance, and thus symbolizes the interdependence of clans and the unity of the tribe. Thirdly, the similarity between the circumcision and mourning ceremonies cannot be ignored. The young boys are symbolically dead as far as their pre-circumcision stage of life is concerned; they are now starting on a new phase of life. It is for this reason that the women cry for them and ritually cut their heads as they do for the dead. Most ceremonies connected with the life-stages share the same basic pattern, the singing of totemic songs by the two moieties being the most important element, whilst other resemblances such as the 'play' above can be found. There is nothing far-fetched or one-sidedly psychological in these conclusions, moreover, since many of the implications of the ceremonies are suggested by the natives themselves.
The importance of the circumcision ceremony as a rite de passage, and not primarily as an expression of totemic beliefs, may be seen from the persistence of the ceremony even though it has been shorn of much of its esoterica. When McCarthy witnessed the ceremony in 1948, an important part of the ceremony concerned the myth of the Stingray, about which various mimetic performances were carried out (McCarthy, 1953a). These elements were omitted from the compressed ceremony I witnessed, when the actual operation, the singing of clan songs and the 'play' formed the bulk of the ceremony. It is thus age-grading and group identity which are stressed, not esoteric doctrines and beliefs. It is interesting to note that only the Stingray myth was performed at the 1948 ceremony, thus reinforcing the suggestion that this myth, part of the indigenous mythology, is more deep-rooted in the culture of the Wanindiljaugwa, and that the myth of the group creatures who travelled from Groote Eylandt to the mainland, found in the Amunduwraria, finds no place in the circumcision ceremony.

It will be noted that almost the whole of the ceremony was seen by women and young children. They were kept away from the scene of the actual operation, although they were near enough to see it, and, in spite of nominal seclusion, were in close touch with what was happening. Indeed, their presence and participation was necessary, for they set up
their cries of grief and commence cutting their heads as soon as the boys were circumcised, without being told that the operation was finished.

Until their sores are healed, the boys are in a special ritual state (wurengwabugwaba) and have to observe various food taboos. Animal flesh, in particular, is tabooed, and it appears that in the past some of these meat-foods remained taboo for boys until they were quite adult. Things they caught themselves during the period of healing could apparently be eaten, but the whole taboo-system has been greatly broken down under the influence of settlement-life, since European foods, such as flour, do not fall under the taboo, and form the bulk of their diet. Release from the taboos was given some days later by the ceremonial leader.

The Period of Attachment to a Nenija

For young boys, the next important stage in their lives used to be the period during which they were attached to their nenija. Usually a boy would be 'promised', together with his sister, to the nenija, who should have been a mother's mother's brother's daughter's son but was often some other relative. Such relationships were established as a result of arrangements between the children's father and the person who was to become their nenija. If this person was not already called by this term, it would now be
introduced; the term neninja is used reciprocally. The girl would live in the neninja's camp even before puberty, and was his wife, although no sexual intercourse took place until the girl reached puberty. The girl's brother was under the control of the neninja also, and had to perform various tasks for this man, who taught him the manly crafts. The verb to marry: -jada, was used for relationship of the boy as well as the girl to the neninja. The neninja to whom a boy was attached was generally much older than himself, due to the virtual monopoly of the younger women by those adult men in the prime of their life. "During this time" says Tindale, "the boy is removed from the women's camp, and placed under the guardianship of a middle-aged man, who has charge of him for several years. The lad calls his guardian 'nababo', and is called by him 'nanigi' (nababo, i.e. nabibi, is a familiar form of neba, mother's brother, used alternatively for (senior) neninja, though a man's neninja is not necessarily his mother's brother also. Nanigi is properly neninja P.M.W.). Circumcision takes place between the ages of ten and thirteen. After the ceremony (the boy) is kept in the men's camp, and takes his share in paddling, firewood gathering, collecting fish bait, and generally waiting on his elder companion. One such guardian had two boys under his care; they were never allowed out of his sight, followed him when hunting, and
when in camp attended frequently to his person, combing
his hair, removing lice therefrom, and sometimes red ochre-
ing his body all over. The hole in the nose, 'anyuenya',
is bored at about the same period as the circumcision"  
(Tindale, 1925, p. 68; the word 'anyuenya' should be
anjunwinja).

The period of residence with a neninja can no longer
be observed under modern conditions, nor are the boys' noses
bored. In the past, the young men were not "allowed to
approach the women, who are compelled to live apart in camps
guarded by the old men, but they are visited secretly by
those entitled to the privilege. The younger men,
'wanumamalia' (wanamanamalia: people, probably misinterpreted
P.M.W.), are not allowed near places where the women are
likely to be yam-digging or burrawang-nut gathering, or to
look at them, under penalty of spearing. Should a young
native accidentally come upon them he must turn away and
give warning of his presence" (Tindale, op. cit., p. 71).
This is fully confirmed by all other evidence. The period
of guardianship came to an end with cicatrization, a custom
which has also been abandoned under white pressure." At
about sixteen or seventeen the first cicatrix is made on
the chest of the initiate. The ceremony reached its climax
at dawn, when the boy has held down on the ground while a
deep cut was made by an old man with a spear-head, extending
from side to side on his chest, just below the nipples" (Tindale, op. cit., p.68).

Since cicatrization was forbidden shortly after Rose completed his work in 1941, only a few cases can be added to his statistics on this custom. These figures, indicating the relationship of the man who made the first cut on a youth's chest to the youth, show that of 55 cases, 20 were made by the man to whom the youth was neninja; in 28 cases the first cicatrix was made by another relative, and 7 cases were doubtful. In the case of circumcision, he records that 14 cases out of 53 were of circumcision by the neninja, 9 by the sister's son, 8 by the mother's father, and 8 by the wife's mother's brother; the remaining 14 cases were of circumcision by relatives classified by other terms (Rose, 1940, pp.53-4. These relatives are both real and classifactory). It can thus be seen that the neninja was formerly the most important relative in both situations, but that the rule was not strictly followed. Just as many mainlanders attended the Amunduwuraria from time to time, so they occasionally participated in circumcision and cicatrization ceremonies; many of the Wānindiljaugwa have been circumcised or cicatrized by Balamumu men.

The conclusion of the period of guardianship did not mean that the young man would necessarily obtain a wife immediately. Few men under thirty obtained wives in the
past (Tindale, op. cit., p. 71); old men comment on the early marriages which young men enter into these days. Minimini also stated that in the past, the old men would go to the single boys' camp to sing totemic songs, where they could not be heard by the women, but such measures are not taken nowadays. It is interesting to note that he also referred to the single boys' camp as being on the beach and the women's camp as being concealed in the bush, thus expressing the layout in terms of coastal residence, although the Wanindiljaugwa were not always on the coast.

Adult Status

Following the cutting of the cicatrices, the teaching of the clan-song was the next important step. This ceremony is still performed, but during my stay only two boys were thus instructed. A record of the songs taught would throw valuable light on the problem of which totem is regarded as being the principal one. The ceremony witnessed, the boys were taught the S.E. wind song and the Parrot song respectively. During the ceremony, the song is sung over and over again, until finally a senior relative sits behind the youth, who is seated on the ground, and holds him around the body, with his legs on either side of the youth. He then tells the boy "This is your song - this is the one you are to sing - no other - do you understand?" and so on. This is murmured during a quiet passage of singing, but no other instruction was
given; it is, in any case, purely symbolic, since the youth has known the song from his earliest days. The instruction is an expression of the new stage he has reached in his life, rather than a singing lesson. The youth himself then sings the song, the two I heard being so overcome by shyness as to be practically inaudible. This ceremony now takes place at about fifteen or sixteen years of age.

Further cicatrices used to be made around this time on the shoulders and stomach, but these are merely light cuts, and are made by age-mates and others, being regarded as demonstrations of hardihood and also as desirable decorations.

The status of a married man becomes more and more important as he becomes older - or rather did so in the past. Then, the birth of children to his wife or wives made him an important individual in the eyes of other men seeking wives, whilst his own kinship links with other members of the tribe were multiplied by marriages, even though many of these were ephemeral liaisons, wife-stealing being a well-established practice to an extent unknown in most aboriginal tribes. His higher status was mirrored in the respect accorded to old men in such matters as the guardianship of initiates, the use of special terms which were forbidden to the young adults, the privilege of smoking the ceremonial pipe at the Amunduwuraria, etc. The special terms in use included the word wuradarinya: women, and the word wanugwarba: men, now both in everyday use.
These words were replaced by *wanuŋwareberigba* for 'women' and *wanamaliemura* for 'men'. Only the older men and aged women were allowed to use the first pair of terms. Similarly, aged women were allowed to witness certain parts of the circumcision-ceremony forbidden to others.

The special seclusion of women peculiar to Groote Eylandt will be analysed when we turn to kinship and marriage, but it may be noted here that, as we have seen, women were rigidly segregated, especially from the younger adult men.

**Death, Burial and Mourning**

The death of a person is the occasion for a series of mourning ceremonies. Tindale relates that "on a death taking place there is a great commotion and consternation in the camp. A circular space is cleared in the scrub near the place, and preparations made for the disposal of the body. Meanwhile, in the camp chants, apparently meaningless (probably the totemic songs P.M.W.) accompanied by drone-pipe music and throwing-stick clapping, are kept up for several hours" (*Tindale, op. cit.,* p. 74). He then describes how a coffin of the well-known hollow-log type used on the mainland and probably introduced by the Makassans, is prepared and the body placed inside it. After decomposition, the major bones were replaced in the coffin together with
the skull, and a bone removed in order that divination might be carried out to discover who was responsible for the death. The major bones are later "collected and placed in caves and crevices in the rock. Each type of bone is deposited in a different place. For example, at Amalipa (Amaljigba P.M.W.), several small caves or rock-shelters were discovered, and in one of them were piled up thigh-bones; in another were shoulder-blades; while under a rock at some distance were found lower jaw-bones" (Tindale, op. cit., p. 75).

This account differs from others in which the same general sequence of actions is described, but where the body is said to have been deposited in a tree, the tree-burial was known as jejera, and an example may be seen in a photograph in Barrett's "Up North", (Barrett, p. 19). This was not a final burial, however, the bones later being removed. It is doubtful whether the practice of using the log-coffins was widespread on Groote Eylandt, and natives claim that the well-known log-coffins on Winchilsea Island were those of Babalama, the 'boss' of the Makassans who worked the Badalumba region, Babalinda, the 'boss' of Dalimbo, and two young boys - not of aborigines. Burial-grounds, such as the one at Amaljigba for the WanunyaDabralajwa clan, also existed for other clans. The WanunyaDabralajwa also used Araramadja on Winchilsea Island; the Wanindiljaugwa buried their dead on a small islet, Erujwa, off the south coast, and also at
A jamadja in Murugwilja; the Wanuwerigba are said to have used a tree at Jadigba and another spot at Amurungura (the south-west arm of Groote Eylandt); the WanuAmagadjiragha had a burial-ground at Alinmadja, while the WanuAnwurugurigba buried their dead at a rocky place called Jinindenamadja up in the hills. The WanuAdjaragba had a burial-ground in Djaragba. Wanindiljaugwa informants state that they used to visit Erugwa after storms to see if all was well; and that members of other clans were not allowed there on pain of spearing. Men were often buried with cloth obtained from the Makassans and other valuable objects. It is possible that remains of interest to archaeologists might yet be found, but I was unable to visit the sites, and it is reported that crabs, sea-birds and other creatures destroy the burial-goods. Individual burials are not unknown, however, for I found the bones of a man in a most inaccessible spot on the western side of Chasm Island, under a ledge painted with numerous stencilled hands.

Nowadays, native forms of burial are forbidden and corpses are buried at the cemetery along the beach westwards from Umbakumba, or at the Mission cemetery. Even people who die in the bush are now buried there, and the bones are brought in for burial, though neither whites nor natives seem to regard this as an urgent matter, for one old man has been 'coming in' for about two years to Umbakumba.
No adult person died during my stay, but two children died shortly after birth, one in the bush. In the case of the death at the settlement, the father of the dead child greeted the death with deep sobbing, though the mother, a somewhat flighty young woman, spared only a few tears. Next day, a grocery-box containing the child's body was taken to the cemetery by a party of men. The closest relative is always present on such occasions, in this case the father, but the other mourners are again not necessarily people who stand in particular relationships to the dead. In the present conditions of settlement life, where work-demands often determine whether a person can attend or not, fortuitous aggregations of individuals make up the burial parties. At one mourning ceremony, for example, the bulk of the ritual was carried out by a group of men who were not working because they were in disgrace with the whites.

On the way to the cemetery, there was much joking, wrestling, etc., probably to ease the tension of the occasion. One or two men stopped to spear fish on the way, whilst there was much discussion on the availability of water at the cemetery and on whether there was enough tobacco to go round. The disposition of the two moiety-groups was arranged at the burial-site, and the usual totemic songs were commenced to the accompaniment of the didjeridoo and clapping-sticks. That morning, the father of the dead child
had been sharply rebuked by his brother for not having brought the child in from the bush for earlier medical attention. In his grief and self-accusation, the father had wounded himself on the head with an axe. The procedure of the ceremony was like most other occasions, with no special songs or ritual. Two men from the opposite moiety to the deceased were deputed to dig the grave, and these men were obliged to observe certain taboos. It was said that if they killed any animal, they alone could touch it, nor could they touch other people's food, but, like most taboos, the exact details of prohibition are becoming somewhat vague.

After the actual burial, the making of a bone-box is proceeded with. These objects are always made when the deceased is a young person up to about thirty years of age, and are known as *wanamaluda* (cf. *dadumaluda*: a woman who died sometime ago, etc.). They are not made for old people, but a memento of the dead person called *mamudamuda* is made, in the form of a portion of the deceased's hair tied up in a strip of cloth, and resembling a small dilly-bag.

The manufacture of a bone-box is carried out ceremonially, to the accompaniment of the usual totemic songs, though on two occasions only the moiety-songs of the deceased's moiety were sung; on another both moieties sang as usual. This musical
accompaniment is regarded as essential, the drone-pipe phrase being repeated over and over, as is the short musical phrase sung by the voices, though from time to time the drone-pipe phrase is varied, the vocal line remaining the same. At one stage when the musicians had rested too long, the bone-box maker pointed out to the singers that he had nearly finished one operation and that they had better start singing before it was too late. Several men singers participate at one time, but one takes the lead, occasionally handing over to another man. The short phrases, with changing words, are repeated for up to ten minutes or so, with short pauses interspersing the songs. One succession of 180 such phrases was noted.

The bone-box is made from the bark of the amindjunwada tree which is very thin and pliable, but quite strong. A piece of bark is folded over so that it forms a flat container about 1' x 6" wide the edges being sewn together with shreds of lawyer-vine. Inside the box are placed a lock of hair of the deceased together with one or more bones of the fingers of the right hand, usually up to the second joint from the finger-tip. These objects are normally wrapped in cloth or in a small cloth bag and placed in the centre of the bone-box, the rest of the space inside the box being most carefully filled with pieces of stringybark and paperbark.
The greatest care is taken over the manufacture of the bone-boxes, and careful measurements are made to ensure that both edges are parallel. The box is then painted with a moiety design like the chest-paintings and decorated with strings of lorikeet feathers, skeins of coloured wool, as in the case of the wanungambilja dolls, and individual feathers inserted into the lawyer-vine stitches.

Precautions were taken to ensure that women and young children did not see the objects inserted, but during the sewing, the women who were sitting under a 'shade' of boughs nearby commenced crying and cutting their heads ritually (the latter operation is called aburada); at this time blood pours down over their faces. One woman approached near the scene of the manufacture to cut her head in this way. The factor of personality has much to do with the selection of persons to perform the various operations, overriding purely kinship considerations. One outstanding individual, Neridjaga, is obviously determined to equip himself in every way to play a leading part in social life though he is only in his early thirties. He always undertakes such tasks as the making and painting of bone-boxes, although there are often more senior men present and other men who are more closely related to the individuals around whom the ceremonies are centred. He also plays an important role in settling disputes, etc.
In one case where the deceased was a newly-born baby, no bones were inserted, but a nenunembilja doll was used instead. This was not even the doll carried by the mother prior to the baby's birth, because this particular mother did not have one, but belonged to a full-brother of the bereaved father, an adult brother who had not yet obtained a wife and whose nenunembilja was in charge of his mother. This man, had two wanunembilja which he had made himself. The doll was clearly used as a symbol of a child in this case where no actual remains were available.

During the manufacture of the bone-box, no great solemnity is maintained, as on other such occasions; banter is exchanged, though not in any ceremonial 'joking' form; the atmosphere is quite normal, except for the conventionalised strained face which singers wear, and the conventional crooking of the forearm over the face whilst singing, and the bowed head. These conventions, however, are observed even in the singing of songs in camp any night of the week, occasions of no ritual significance.

After having completed the painting of both sides of the bone-box, the next stage in mourning is the dancing and handing over of the box to its keeper. The dancers paint themselves with white ochre on the chest and arms, with a white band over the head from front to back. Others rub red ochre
on their arms in haphazard patterns. Such painting is becoming rarer, and only a few men paint themselves and participate in the central dance of handing-over, partly because they are conscious of White amusement at their decorations. (Red ochre is also rubbed on the nose and other parts of the body, rarely nowadays, as a luxury of personal adornment for older people at any time).

Only once was the full mourning ceremony performed during my stay, the stage now to be described being normally omitted. The standard dances were performed, and the accompanying music became more and more intense, grew in volume, and the tempo was speeded up. As the dance reached a climax, the dancers, one of whom held the bone-box, gradually worked their way over towards a spot where two classificatory mothers of the deceased were seated on the ground. The man with the bone-box, without interrupting the dancing, firstly dropped the cloth covering of the bone-box into the hands of one of the grandmothers. Then the dancers moved away, to return once more. This time, the woollen skeins round the box were dropped off, and finally the dancers came up to the old women once more and deposited the box itself with them. At this, the old women immediately got up and went over to the women's enclosure where all the women broke into wailing and started cutting their heads.
This was followed by the 'play' described above, and at night the dancing was resumed. In this dancing, the bone-box is placed on the ground in front of the dancers during the early stages of the dances, but later one of the dancers picks up the box and dances with it during the circling dance similar to that already described for the circumcision-ceremony. Two men circle behind the dancers, who are all facing the audience, exchanging their positions on the end of the row every now and then, and hold their arms out like a bird, making the bone-box (or spear-thrower) quiver. This dance, which is said to be connected with the Stingray myth, is accompanied by hissing from the dancers, bird-like cries, and is performed to the accompaniment of any totemic song (cf. McCarthy, 1953, pp. 97-8).

Not only do the bone-boxes physically resemble the wanuembilja dolls, and are painted and decorated in the same way, but they are also ultimately handed over to the senior female relatives for safe-keeping. The mother or father of the deceased may carry the bone-boxes around for some years, but they generally end up in the hands of the grandmothers. The significance of the two types of object as symbols of human beings who are not living members of society – the unborn and the dead – is thus emphasized in their physical resemblances, and by the use of a nenuembilja doll inserted
into a bone-box as described above. They also act as substitutes in the affections of mothers-to-be and parents of the deceased, whilst the old women who no longer have any young babies to care for (and the Wanindiljaugwa have an extremely deep love for children) and who have plenty of dead to remember, lavish their affection on these objects. One will frequently see an old woman set out for the bush with only a tin can, a bark container and possibly a ragged blanket or an axe. She will, however, carry several wanugembilja and bone-boxes with her, objects which are an inconvenience in the bush. After some years, the dolls and bone-boxes are usually deposited in an anthill in the bush, or in a hole or rocky place. A favourite place for leaving these objects is in a tree; there is one tree in the native camp at Umbakumba where large numbers of coffins may be seen, often disintegrated by the action of the weather, with bones lying on the ground. Even pieces of a baby's skull from an old tree-burial there may be seen, but seem to evoke little respect from the children who showed me them. Only recent burials evoke much respect from the children.

Tindale describes a ceremony which used to be held for the purpose of divining who was responsible for the death. This used to result in the despatch of an avenging-party to expiate the offence, and normally ended either with the death
of the 'guilty' person or in an institutionalized spear-throwing (Tindale, 1925, pp. 75-6, and Figs. 33 and 34).

The chief person responsible for leading the avenging expedition used to wear a special dilly-bag containing a bone of the deceased, bags which are referred to with respect and fear. Such dilly-bags were also worn during other kinds of fighting and stories of Balamumu invasions always emphasize the fact that they wore these dilly-bags. The men's bodies were also painted with streaks of white paint as in the mourning ceremonies, or with powder from a dark yellow fungus called aqwara.

**Spirits and the Land of the Dead**

The Wanindiljaujwa talk of a considerable number of spirits, most of which are not clearly distinguished from each other, and descriptions of which vary from person to person. Particularly malevolent are the wuramadjina (-madjina: to strangle) who live everywhere in the bush, but only become the cause of alarm when there is general tension in the air (as after a death) or when some strange incident takes place. These and other malevolent spirits are often confused with the spirits of the dead. I was present at a manifestation of the wuramadjina one day, when conversing with two old men who were herding goats. Suddenly, all the goats, which were standing on the beach, turned towards the bush and
focussed their attention on something there. My companion suggested the presence of *wuramadjina*, but on the other hand also advanced the (probably correct) theory that a dingo was lurking in the bush. There are innumerable tales of such incidents. On another occasion, a group of women were collecting berries near a 'jungle' and were surprised by a spirit in the 'jungle', which caused them to flee in terror for hundreds of yards. 'Jungles' are favourite spots for spirits, probably because they are densely overgrown and one cannot see any distance inside them, whilst animals concealed therein startle people with their movements. This particular spirit wore a singlet and shorts, and returned to the attack at night when he heard clapping-sticks. The atmosphere of alarm created by this story caused a party of little girls to see a spirit a day or two later; this one had a totemic chest-painting and wore a loin-cloth. The *wuramadjina*, like most spirits, are described as being like human beings, and generally paint themselves on the body and forehead. Sometimes they wear on their heads a cone-shaped hat (*gudara*), some 6" high and made of bark or cloth. They generally appear at night, and like most unpleasant spirits, are particularly abundant on the mainland, from whence they visit Groote Eylandt. Another type of malevolent spirit is the *nenawabunagba*, which often has a forked beard (like many
Arnhem Land natives). He is often very hairy and may also wear feathers round his head, and, like the Wañindiljaugwa themselves during a fight, will bite his beard in a mixture of rage and contempt. Both this spirit and the wuramadjina attack and kill people, strangling them, taking out their vitals or destroying them with wasting diseases, or simply by spear or knife. Nowadays they are often armed with rifles. In addition to killing people, they are robbers (the word is often used in pidgin), and will remove scraps of food, etc. Another type of spirit is the numbarola (jimbarula, etc.). These are very tall, with extremely long spear-throwers, and resemble the dununara spirit who is described in one story as killing human beings, drinking their blood and cooking and eating their flesh.

Robbery is a typical activity of these malevolent spirits. In one case, when a man claimed to have been struck and robbed of his damper when in the bush by such a spirit, he returned to his camp at night and informed his wife of the calamity, pointing to his invisible throat-wounds. Not being afflicted with a "prelogical" mentality, she briefly informed him that he was a barefaced liar and had eaten the damper himself. Next day, the wuramadjina again made their presence felt, for this man was involved in a fight which proved fatal for him. The wuramadjina were said to be responsible for his death, in that they placed the fatal weapon
handy for the man who killed him to use. These incidents reveal the real significance of these beliefs in the spirits. They do not merely arise from some animistic view of the Universe, although ignorance of natural and other processes is the background against which such beliefs are projected. They arise from attempts to explain, rationalize and justify strange or unpleasant events. The frequent petty thefts of food and other articles, unfortunate accidents, indefensible behaviour, in short, events departing from natural and social norms, provide a wealth of material which is interpreted in terms of the "spirits".

Although it is recognised that a certain person killed another, it is often stated, in one way or another, that the spirits either provoked him into doing it, or used him as a tool, or made him do something he never intended, or, in some cases, actually did the killing themselves. Whenever it is desired to excuse an action, therefore, the blame is laid at the door of the malevolent spirits. Thus, one man who had killed his wife (reputedly in a fit of temper) told me that he did indeed kill her, but that the real power behind the killing was the wuramadija. He was not, however, depicting himself as a helpless puppet of unseen forces, for under any other circumstances he would have recognised that human beings control their own actions; he was merely excusing himself, being ashamed of the deed. Other men pointed out (probably wrongly) that the wife had previously abused
him with filthy language. It is typical of the patrilineal bias/Wanindiljaugwa that the blame has to be thrown on the woman if any human being is to be blamed. All accidents - deaths in overturned canoes, falling from trees, etc. - are attributed to the evil influence of the wuramadjina or other spirits, even though the real cause is known. If however, there is no implication of individual guilt or shame involved, the aborigines will freely admit that a person may have died from old age, or some other natural cause. The unknown and the alien are always spheres particularly haunted by these spirits. The spirits are especially abundant in the territory of other tribes, and many of the killings on Groote are laid at the door of foreign spirits. It is often unclear from accounts of killings by mainlanders in the past whether it was an actual human being who did the killing or a spirit. The distinction does not matter in fact, for the same attitudes of fear and mistrust of the foreign are implied, and the attribution of the killing to a spirit is merely an expression of the same attitude of fear and mistrust of the unknown which gives rise to similar attitudes to the foreigners. Foreigner and spirit become merged as symbols of the strange and potentially malevolent.

This does not mean that foreigners are hated purely
and simply; as we have noted, the Wanindiljaugwa traded and intermarried with the mainland tribes. But strange accidents and misfortunes can more safely be blamed onto such people, with whom there is always an element of difference and of latent tension, without creating friction within the tribe itself. One of the names given to a type of malevolent spirits, *mulunwe*, is of mainland origin, a particularly bad species.

Not all the spirits recognised by the Wanindiljaugwa are extremely malevolent, though none can be said to be friendly. Such relatively harmless spirits as the *wuranalja* water-sprites receive little attention, though even these are said to lure people into the billabongs, remove their hearts and substitute 'water-hearts', so that they become *wuranalja* themselves. The spirits of the dead, *wuramugwa*, are not feared to the same extent as the types already discussed, but their activities around the camp, knocking on roofs, making noises, stealing scraps of food, etc., especially shortly after their mortal owners have died, arouse some fear. Often the *wuramugwa* will be confused with and identified with the other malevolent spirits. Another vague

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XA Whether there is any connection between the *wuramugwa* and the *wuramu* 'Crook man' of the mainland it is difficult to say, but the Enindiljaugwa word is indigenous, and the 'crook' activities of the *wuramugwa* in stealing food, etc., can hardly be compared with the vague legends of Dutch customs men and raiding hill-people in the Celebes associated with the use of the *wuramu* on the mainland (*Elkin and Berndts*, pp.54-5.)
term for malevolent spirits, vaguely used for any of the above, is wanamalja; the only other kind of spirit recorded was that of a Makassan who lives in a cave at Golambmadja in Dalimbo where his hurricane lamp may be frequently seen. He is dangerous and is armed with a knife. (It may be noted that this spot is mentioned in the myth of the Makassans and the Ships).

The belief in these various types of spirit, then, has several clear implications. Like magic, it provides an answer to the queries raised by peculiar phenomena (as in the dingo incident), of unfortunate accidents and unforeseen events. In addition, it provides a useful rationalization in cases where it is desired to shift moral responsibility from the shoulders of human beings onto those of someone else, where shame or moral censure are involved. In addition to focusing explanation on the vagaries of evil-intentioned and unpredictable spirits, it also further avoids friction within the tribe by attributing calamities to spirits which are to one degree or another identified with foreigners, not the Wan- indiljaugwa themselves. Such avenues of rationalization and avoidance of internal conflict would accord well with the relatively minor role played by sorcery in this society, a practice which is comparatively rare, as in north-eastern Arnhem Land, and which is also attributed to foreigners for the most part.
These processes are recognised fairly clearly by the people themselves. Thus, on inquiring into causes of death in genealogies, I was continually told that the old people were killed, usually strangled, by the wuramadija, and that this used to occur much more frequently in the past than to-day. On pressing the informant, he would often come out with a more specific and natural cause of death, e.g. falling off a tree, and say "Perhaps because of that, perhaps because of the wuramadija; we don't really know - it was a very long time ago". Or they may say "I don't know what he died of; it must have been the wuramadija". They thus recognise, more or less frankly, that they are using this 'explanation' to fill in the gaps in their knowledge, and will quite often say, on being told the real cause of death, "Oh, it wasn't the wuramadija, then, it was because he was drowned" and would be pleased that what they clearly recognised as the real cause of death had been discovered, and that it was no longer necessary to resort to 'stop-gap' explanations. On the other hand, belief in the existence of the spirits would still be firmly asserted by the same individual, because only one gap in knowledge had been filled; life offered many problems which would have to be rationalized in some way.

The Land of the Dead

Spirits of the dead (wuramugwa) make a journey to the
Land of the Dead which is marked by several incidents. Firstly, a mythical being named Nunbudugbuda blows the drone-pipe. People die soon afterwards, and their spirits go to Malipba Hill on Bickerton Island, and thence to Central Hill on Groote Eylandt. From there, the spirits journey to the North-East Islands, and dive into the sea. A fish, (or a shark, in some versions) eats up the spirit, who then go on until they reach Bralgu the Land of the Dead. There they are met by Nunbudugbuda, who is standing on a rock, and spears the spirits slightly, and then puts ants on them. The spirits then roll over and over, then get up, and go to Nunbudugbuda, who gives them food (reeds) to eat. He also sends his wife to bring water for the dead persons, and then directs them on the correct path. They journey onwards, flicking themselves with a jimurugwa (human-hair spear-thrower), until eventually they come to two birds (dubudegbuda: oyster-catcher, known as "red-leg"). These birds are cooking shellfish, and they ask the spirits to take the fish out of the fire for them, but not to eat any as it is taboo to spirits. They take out the food, but surreptitiously taste some, and are immediately spotted by Nunbudugbuda's wife who gets a stick, pokes it in their mouths, and pulls out the pieces of shellfish, throwing them in her own mouth.

Various sea-creatures, appropriate to the clan of the deceased, are said to act as vehicles for the spirits on their journey (see below).
They then go on, running hard, until they come to a frilled lizard, who is angry with them, and stabs them in the thigh, until the blood runs down. They then go on until they come to the Land of the Dead. There other spirits recognize them. Fathers recognize their sons, husbands their wives, and thereafter they remain in Bralgu for ever and ever. Some versions also mention an encounter with a dragonfly en route, and later with a blue-tongued lizard.

The principal characters in this myth are not greatly important in other Groote Eylandt myths. However, on the mainland, the frilled lizard is featured in the Ulmark ritual, which, with the Djungguan, Gunabibi and Marndiella ceremonies, is concerned with the rites de passage (Warner, p.324).

The stress on Malirba and Central Hills is parallel to the importance of these two features in the totemic system. Other details evoke little comment from natives, but they point out that the infringement of the red-legs' taboo is not due to deliberate wilfulness, but indicates the ignorance of the newly-dead person, who has not yet learnt the behaviour appropriate to a spirit. The anger of the lizard is not explained. An interesting feature about Bralgu (the same name is used on the mainland for the Jiridja moiety Land of the Dead) is its location beyond the North-East Islands. This conforms with the mainland myths which place it also to the north-east, north of Groote Eylandt. It seems
clear that this myth has again been adapted by the Wanindiljaugwa, and the north-eastern location amended to suit the geography of Groote Eylandt. It is worth noting that one of the small islands between Woodah Island and the mainland (probably Roundhill Island) is also called Bralgu, but natives scot the notion that there is any connection with the Land of the Dead. Nevertheless, it is not imposable that this island might have once been a burial-ground, and that the myth has gradually been altered to push the Land of the Dead further out to the East. A separate Land of the Dead for each moiety is not found on Groote.

Of interest from a comparative point of view is an associated myth which describes how a Balamumu man once visited Bralgu. The same myth may be found, with variations, in Warner's account (Warner, pp. 524-8), and I have collected versions both from the Wanindiljaugwa and from the Balamumu. The Wanindiljaugwa version is simplified, and the Balamumu origin of the myth is acknowledged. The myth relates how a Balamumu man, Jawulugura, saw a star in the sky one day, and felt a spark fall onto his thigh. He knew then that he would be going to Bralgu next day, so he filled his bark-canoe - a very large one - with food and slept.

He left Bugralalin Caledon Bay, and dropped anchor in the Gulf, sleeping once more. When the morning-star arose he journeyed on, and slept again one more night. The fire
which he had instructed his two wives to keep burning so that he could find his way back, fell below the horizon. For many days he paddled on.

Eventually he saw a fire in the distance reaching down to the earth. He landed on this island, which had no soil on it, only rocks (some versions say that he passed it at night, and that he only heard the breakers). In the morning, he saw the morning star very close to, and then land became visible, with breakers on the shore. He stood up and looked, and saw that there were three headlands at this place; he then redoubled his paddling. He observed fires for cooking turtle and said to himself, "The place where my mother and father are is not far away now". All over the beach were yams which turtles had dug up.

After landing, he climbed a tree and shook it a little. From the tree he saw tracks. He then put his canoe in a creek in the mangroves and started to dig water-lily roots. His mother was watching. He sat down at some distance from his mother and father on a blanket. His mother then started to ritually cut her head and his father cried. He then spoke to everybody there, everybody began singing and dancing; later he took all these songs and dances back with him, including the Amunduwuraria.

He met two girls there, who gave him dilly-bags, although at first they ran off because they were his (classiictory) daughter's daughters. They also gave him
spear-throwers, possums, and a pipe, plus blankets, cloth, an axe, etc. This was the Balamumu part of the Land of the Dead.

After a while, he started back, taking fourteen days on the way, and eventually saw the fire in the distance. Late in the evening he reached his camp, and was greeted with tears of joy and much dancing. He then proceeded to teach the people all the dances and songs he had learnt at Bralgu.

In view of the considerable amount of attention that has been given to these myths of the Land of the Dead it is interesting to glance briefly at the Jawulugura myth in its Balamumu version. Here again, sparks (ashes) fall on his head (in Warner, it is a yam-leaf). He was camping at Wunjijmara (between Caledon Bay and Port Bradshaw), and wrapped the ashes in paperbark, putting them in an armlet he was wearing. He filled bailers, conches and paperbark containers with water ready for his journey (in Warner's version, the sea itself was fresh water at that time, until his return journey). The long rope which enabled him to anchor whilst out at sea is emphasized, whilst the Morning Star is mentioned, as in the Groote version, but only as an indication of his proximity to land, and not because it occupies the central role in the myth, as with Warner's myth. The intermediate island was called Gajaugawura: here he got turtle-eggs
and yams and water, and went on. There was a big 'road' leading to the spirits' land. He found two wuramugwa (spirits of the dead) named Gojibilma and Jawurugura (the same name as his own - l and r interchanged - but no explanation offered) who were singing and playing the drone-pipe. The immense tree he found was the place of the dead, a tree several miles across. The spirits gave him bangles, hair-belts, lawyer-cane armlets, etc. and yams and other food to eat. He saw the morning star very close to up amongst the branches of the tree; the spirits put cockatoo feathers in his hair, gave him a ceremonial human-hair spear-thrower, a dilly-bag, and a dinbuga dilly-bag together with some wuramiljalja food. He then said farewell, and on his way he met two huge durugba birds as big as a man. On arrival he was covered in these bangles, and painted himself white all over. After staying a little while, he died and took his wives and children with him back to Bralgu.

These three versions form an interesting series. The key role of the morning star is much reduced in this Balamumu version, whilst in the Groote version, it has virtually disappeared. The huge tree also diminishes in the version, whilst we find the introduction of the two birds in the Balamumu myth, obviously the origin of the two dubudegbuda birds in the Groote myth of the Journey to the Land of the Dead which all spirits undertake. The Balamumu say that
they do not know of Badu, the Jiridja Land of the Dead mentioned by the Berndts, whilst they equate Jawulugura with Nugbudugbuda sometimes calling him Balirbalir. These variants are of interest particularly in that they indicate how the essential function of the myth is maintained whilst the specific details are incidental. The central significance of this myth, apart from its 'explanatory' value in depicting the fate of the dead, clearly validates the songs, dances and ceremonies which are still performed to-day and which were no doubt much more important in the past. It is worthy of note that the Balamumu, although part of the Wulamba congerie, denied that they had a separate Land of the Dead for each moiety as do the Wulamba groups described by Warner and the Berndts. They thus seem to culturally intermediate between the islanders and the people of northeastern Arnhem Land, and do not extend the moiety principle to the same extent as the northern Wulamba. The equivalence of Nugbudugbuda and Jawulugura may indicate syncretism (original Groote Eylandt plus mainland) or, as is more likely, modification of a mainland myth.

To-day, the myth of the Journey to Bralgu has to compete with Christian teaching, the latter backed by powerful forces, and the younger generation do not accept the traditional story. These changes, and modifications of the Bralgu myth will be discussed later.
The Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the Wañindiljaugwa can be presented in the orthodox form of a chart, as in Table 6. It must be realized, however, that such a presentation gives us a picture of the ideal pattern of relationship as envisaged by the natives. The actual way in which these terms are used differs for each individual, the terms being used in a pragmatic and personalized fashion, as we will see below.

The system of terminology, however, in its ideal form, has clear affinities with the type of kinship system designated the Aranda/Nyul-Nyul by Professor Elkin, the most widespread type of kinship system in Australia. This system implies a preferred marriage with the MMBDD, the various interrelationships between individuals to whom particular terms are applied being indicated in Table 7. It must be remembered, however, that the resemblance between the Aranda/Nyul-Nyul system and that of the Wañindiljaugwa ideal pattern is a resemblance between patterns of behaviour, symbolized in verbal form by the kinship terms themselves. We will see that the pattern of behaviour implicit in the ideal pattern of Groote Eylandt
Table 6. Groote Eylandt Kinship Terminology: the Ideal Pattern
Table 7: Nyul-Nyul/Aranda Kinship Table
(after Elkin, 1948, p. 63)

Note: The numbers 1-4 indicate lines of descent.
terminology is in fact at variance with the present-day practice of the Wanindiljaugwa to a very marked extent. It might therefore be asked how we can state that the system is, or rather was originally, a variant of the Aranda type. The answer to this question may be obtained from statements by the aborigines about the ideal pattern of relationship-statements about such matters as who should marry whom, what one calls the child of a sister's son, and so on. By correlating the information thus obtained with statistical analysis of modal or average behaviour between individuals using particular terms towards each other, one can further infer something about the way in which the patterns of behaviour implicit in the ideal pattern have been and are being modified. Where the ideal pattern coincides with observation of actual behaviour, the drawing up of a formal chart of kinship terminology presents no difficulty, but it will be seen later that no ideal pattern exists for certain relationships, including some very important relationships, whilst statistical analysis reveals no definite pattern of terminology applicable in all or even the majority of cases of such relationships. Indeed, statistical analysis which is based on incorrect assumptions or unsuitable criteria, will be seen to impede rather than assist our understanding.
In the Groote Eylandt chart (in which Ego is a male), the terms may be grouped into complementary pairs. Thus, if Ego uses the term nenugwa:son in speaking to or of a certain person, he will inevitably be called nunwa:father by that person. Such complementary usages are rigourously observed. Only three pairs of terms are fully reciprocal, on the other hand, these being B:B, O:O and N:N (using the key letters shown in the Table 6 in place of the full term). The complete list of paired terms is as follows:

**Own moiety:**  B:B  L:D  E:J  G:H  N:N

**Opposite moiety:**  A:K  M:C  F:I  O:O

It should be noted that a woman will refer to her own children as nabura/dabura (i.e. the terms signifying sister’s children when used by a man) and to her brother’s children as nenugwa/dadiawa (i.e. the terms signifying son and daughter when used by a man). Since there are masculine and feminine versions of each term (indicated by the appropriate prefixes n- and d- respectively, together with dual, trial and plural forms), it is usually only necessary to indicate the root term, except where sex-distinction is important. Nabura/dabura, for example, will be indicated by the use of the key letter F(for root -abura), and all other pairs of siblings by similar letters as shown in Table 6.
Comparison of the Wanindiljaugwa chart with that of the Aranda reveals the essential similarity of the two systems. There are, however, important differences. In the case of certain relationships in the former system, we cannot make any definite statement about the term which will be applied in all or even most specific cases of such relationship. We cannot predict, for every individual, that if Ego calls individual A by term 1, and A calls B 'sibling', then Ego will also call B by term 1. The most striking areas of difference between the two systems are apparent where the relatives MBS and MBD are concerned. The special term dialel (cross-cousin) in the Aranda system has no counterpart in the Groote Eylandt system. Not only is this special term for cross-cousin missing in the latter system, but no prediction can be made about what this relative will actually be called, except in relation to each individual Ego. We cannot, that is, predict that a cross-cousin will be always, or even mostly, term 1 or 2; we can predict what term will be applied by each individual. The reasons for the replacement of a relatively standardized and internally consistent system of terminology, coinciding with the pattern of terminology actually applying for most individuals in the society, by a pragmatic and personally orientated method of organizing relationship will be considered below.
Other differences apparent in the Aranda system are the use of the term kamad in both generation 2A (for MMB) and in Ego's own generation (for MMBSS and MMBSD) and the use of the terms kamad, djam, and kalod in both generations 2A and 2D. In the system of the Wanindiljaugwa, the term used for spouse of a cross-cousin (called kamad in the Aranda/Nyul-Nyul system) can again only be predicted in relation to each individual, as in the case of cross-cousins themselves. In the Groote Eylandt system also, there are separate terms for each of the four types of relative in generations 2A and 2D respectively (with appropriate masculine and feminine prefixes, there are eight terms in each of these generations). It will be observed that this use of reciprocal terms between individuals two generations apart is met with in the Groote Eylandt system only in one case, i.e. in Ego's own patriline numera-nunwa-naija-nenugwa-numera (FF-F-Ego-S-SS). The importance of the patriline will be seen later, whilst the dislocation of terminology apparent in the variability of the terms used for cross-cousin and spouse of cross-cousin will be considered in the general setting of the breakdown of the observance of the 'preferred' marriage and the readjustments made to cope with this situation.
Complementary, but not reciprocal, terms exist between the other pairs of individuals two generations apart, so that the essential affinities of this practice with that of the Aranda are obvious. These complementary terms may be grouped as follows:

**Own moiety:**  L:D  
**Opposite moiety:**  M:C  K:A

It follows from the existence of these complementary terms and of the reciprocal term *numera* that the four lines of descent found in the Aranda system presumably were formerly to be found on Groote Eylandt. Today, however, only the end-points of three of the lines are discernable in the system of the Wanindiljaugwa; the fourth line, Ego's own patriline, is extremely important, however, and constitutes the locus of order within a reorientated system of reckoning kinship. Actual behaviour does not disclose the consistent following-through of the other three lines. On the chart of kinship terminology, therefore, we are unable to indicate the relationships by marriage which can be shown for all individuals on the Aranda chart, and the critical cross-cousin relationship lacks definition. Statistical confirmation of the stability of Ego's own patriline as compared with the other lines may be found when terms applied to the mothers and fathers of Ego's relatives I and J are examined. The father of an I, who is
ideally K, is in fact 52% I, and only 32% K; the mother of an I, who is ideally L, is in fact almost any relative in Ego's own moiety; the father of a J is the most regular relationship, being 62% B; but the mother of a J is only 29% M, the ideal term, and is 33% K, the 'ideal' mother's mother's brother.

Differing from the Aranda system, the two terms given for ZSW cannot be predicted for Groote Eylandt, or only for each individual. A close link with the Aranda practice is found in the existence of a separate term for father-in-law, nangiia, amongst the Wanindiljaugwa. Professor Elkin has pointed out that in the Aranda/Nyul-Nyul system "the prohibition of marriage with both kinds of cross-cousin (in contrast to the Kariera system, where either cross-cousin may be married, P.M.W.) has also resulted in the differentiation of the "uncles" (m.brs.) and "aunts" (f.srs.) who can be parents-in-law, from those who cannot .... In Ego's own generation, too, there is a distinction of wife .. and wife's brother .. from cross-cousins" (Elkin, 1948, p.62). The Aranda system thus distinguishes FZ and MMBD, as also MB and WF(FFZS). Both these distinctions are also to be found in the Groote Eylandt system, but whereas the latter distinction is made in the Aranda system by adding a qualifier to the term for MB, i.e. by the use of the term kaga diaminir (WF), from the term kaga (MB), the Wanindiljaugwa have a special term nangiia, and have thus carried the distinction further.
This term, however, is not necessarily used, and in fact, one is normally given the term neba for WF, without any qualifier. The parallel to the Aranda usage is thus clear. It is likely that the use of the term nangija to replace neba for WF was not very firmly established amongst the Wanindiljaugwa, and that nangija was only in the process of displacing neba for WF. This displacement has been checked by the breakdown of the original marriage-system, since wife's father is not necessarily the ideal nangija today. The term neba is nearly always used, and includes a number of correct WFf, who ought to be designated nangija (FFZS). There is an additional tendency to use nangija loosely for actual wife's fathers, even if they are not the ideal relatives FFZS. We might infer, from the fact that the mother of an O, who is ideally N, is in fact only N in 2% of recorded cases in a sample, that 2% of wife's fathers would also be the correct nangija, but we will see that even where the dadidja is in fact the mother of one's spouse, we cannot assume that her husband is necessarily a nangija; she may have married wrongly.

It will be seen from these figures that the ideal 'preferred marriage' is in fact no longer necessarily entered into, and that less than a third of Groote Eylandt marriages follow the MMBDD norm.
Before passing on to consider the causes of this breakdown and the process of reordering of kinship, some further examination of kinship terminology, as distinct from simple kinship nomenclature must be made. The existence of the terms shown in Table 6 is only the beginning of the rich kinship terminology. The elaborate nature of this terminology bears witness to the importance of kinship in such a society, where all the members of the tribe are close kin, where all relations are direct, and where many different kinds of relations are affected by kinship considerations and expressed in kinship form. It must not be imagined, however, that kinship relationships are necessarily primary determinants of behaviour, or that they necessarily determine associational patterns. If a man wishes to organise a party for hunting, if he takes sides in a fight, if he wishes to trade, etc. he is not necessarily guided in his choice of associates by purely kinship considerations. In fact, he makes his choice of associates usually on far other grounds, being guided by such considerations as friendship, knowledge of his associates' skill as hunters, trading partners, etc. Since his relations with these people are direct and face-to-face, and since he is actually related at least
in a classificatory manner to every member of the tribe, and indeed even to non-tribesmen, he will tend to rationalize his choice of associates in terms of kinship, even if his choice was in fact based on other grounds.

The special importance of kinship as a pre-existing relationship in terms of which all other, and new, relationships may be expressed, is mirrored in the special richness of the kinship terminology. Whereas possession is indicated for most nouns by means of possessive adjectives, and in the case of certain intimately-possessed nouns by means of possessive prefixes, a special set of possessive suffixes for kinship terms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sing., dual, trial, plur.)</td>
<td>-arga</td>
<td>-arga</td>
<td>-arga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. pers. (sing.)</td>
<td>-ena</td>
<td>-ena</td>
<td>-ena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. pers. (masc. sing.)</td>
<td>-enigba</td>
<td>-ena</td>
<td>-ena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. (fem. sing.)</td>
<td>-adugba</td>
<td>-ada</td>
<td>-ada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. (plural)</td>
<td>-enunwa</td>
<td>-enunwa</td>
<td>-enunwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. pers. (dual, trial, plural)</td>
<td>-arunba</td>
<td>-arunba</td>
<td>(-arunba)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Possessive suffixes used with kinship terms

* -arijanwa is given for 1st. person dual, trial and plural by Capell (unpublished field-notes). This form was not heard.
Thus, using the kinship term nabura:sister's son, one may find naburenigba:his sister's son; naburadugba:her sister's son; naburena (naburalena):your (sing.) sister's son, etc. Besides these possessive-suffix changes, the prefixes of the kinship terms change according to noun-class. Thus we find nabura:sister's son; dabura:sister's daughter; wurabura:sister's children. The combination of possessive-suffix changes with changes in class-concord gives such forms as naburenigba:his sister's son; daburadugba:her sister's daughter; wuraburanba:their sister's children. In addition to the changes in prefix according to class-concord, first and second persons have to be indicated, both for singular, dual, trial and plural; one also finds irregular distinction between masculine and feminine subjects in the dual forms. This further consideration gives a minimum of eight further prefixes which have to be used. Besides the indication of class in the prefix, a speaker may add dualizing and pluralizing suffixes to the noun (-gia and -wia respectively) or a form equivalent to the pidgin English 'mob', the suffix -muria. If he wishes, he may also indicate a trial subject by prefixing, after the class-prefix, -bugu-(variants - bu, -b-, or -gu-); further prefixes of a 'separating' nature may be placed before the root in trial and plural forms of the noun. Reduplication of the root may occur (in varying ways), together with changes in root-vowels (thus wurajebijenunwa:your elder sisters,
from dijaba:elder sister). The following forms, superficially close, but quite distinct, may produce confusion:

wurungwena: his mother's mother's brothers (from nungwa:MMB)
wurungwena: his two mother's mothers (from dungwa:MM) wurunwena: his fathers (from nungwa:father)

Passing to the reciprocal forms we noted earlier, we find a special series of nouns expressing an inclusive form of the relationship:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic term</th>
<th>Inclusive form</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dadinjia (MMBDD)</td>
<td>-dunamadija</td>
<td>wuradunamadija: those women who are dadinjia to each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neninjia (MMBDS)</td>
<td>-ninamadija</td>
<td>jineninamadija: we are neninjia to each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nadidjia (MMBS)</td>
<td>-(ma) (na)delgamadija</td>
<td>wurugademadija: the two women who are dadidjia to each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numera (FF)</td>
<td>-namuramadija</td>
<td>jinamuramadija: we are numera to each other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Inclusive forms of reciprocal kinship terms
Another relationship which should be grouped together with these reciprocals is that of sibling. Although terms for younger and elder sibling (of each sex) exist and are normally used, (though such age-distinction is unimportant today, and is absent in the Aranda/Nyul-Nyul system) a term for sibling, ignoring seniority, is often used. This term is -arugwa. Thus, whilst the basic form nenigumandia:YB, is used in the word iinenigumandia:we two are younger brothers, and the basic term nawa:EB in the word jirawabulena: we (plural) are your (2nd person sing.) elder brothers, if one wishes to ignore the question of relative age, or if one is speaking to a mixed group of elder and younger siblings, one uses -arugwa, e.g. jirarugurugwena:we are your siblings. It will be noted in the word jirawabulena that the extra 'separating' syllable -bul- has been inserted before the possessive suffix -ena; again, in the word jirarugurugwena, we see an instance of reduplication, jira- being the subject, -rugw- the root, and -ena the possessive suffix. The -rugu between jira- and -rugw- is reduplicative. Such reduplication is peculiar to kinship terms in their dual, trial and plural forms, and also to the age-grade terms described in Chapter 4 (e.g. wuramugumugnadu: circumcised
boys, from numugaduwama). Since even a single syllable can be of critical importance, as we saw in the three cases cited above, such reduplicative forms are apt to be confusing, especially as they tend to vary from one speaker to another. The existence of the reciprocal term -arugwa naturally furnishes a further reciprocal inclusive form similar to those derived from neniinja, etc.

This form is - (ma) (na) dijerimadia, an example of its use being naramadijerimadijawia:we (plural) are siblings (-wia:'all of us').

Finally, we should note that the inclusive forms we have already noted for reciprocal terms are also found in the case of complementary pairs of terms, even though the two terms in these pairs differ. Thus we find jineniganguwamandia:we stand in the relationship of ZDS and MMB to each other. Now the inclusive term for reciprocals does not inform us which one of a pair of individuals is which. For example, of the two people who refer to each other as neniinja, one should be the sister's husband and the other the wife's brother. The inclusive forms of complementary terms, however, do provide a clue to the relative positions of the persons included under this term. If Ego wishes to say "we
stand in the relationship of MMB and ZDS to each other. He will base his usage of the inclusive term on his own position in this relationship. If he is the ZDS, he will form an inclusive term derived from nenigangwa, as in the example above. If he is the MMB, he will form the inclusive term from nungwa. The use of inclusive forms derived from complementary pairs of terms is comparatively rare, however; the inclusive forms from the reciprocals neninja, dadigia, dadidja, and nadidja and that indicating siblingship being the most common.

Enough has been given to exemplify the complexity of the terminology; the number of possible forms can be imagined. It only remains to examine the slang, vocative and foreign terms in use, and certain avoidances. The vocative forms are of interest in that they are the only forms in which the basic kinship term appears without prefixes or other modification. Normally, of course, a kinship term is modified according to the user and the person to or of whom it is used. Thus, whilst the basic term for son is nenugwa, it is always somebody's son who is referred to - nenugwargma: my son; nenugwenigba: his son, etc. The basic form is only heard in the vocative nenugwa (similarly, nabura! neba! etc.). For the term numera, however, the vocative form is namura!, whilst nagwa! is frequently used to call a father (numwa). The only modification of the
basic term found in the vocative form is the common change of the final -a to -e or other vowel, e.g. nanwe!; father!, parallel to the vocative change of final vowel found in personal pronouns, e.g. gawe!:you (singular)!, from nunguwa, and guruwe!:you (plural)!, from nunguruwa.

Colloquial and slang terms are often found to be of foreign origin, the Balamumu tongue providing most of these. One often hears nebibi instead of neba, from the Balamumu term nabibi (MB);wawa instead of nawa(EB); baba instead of nunwia(F), and jandi!:mother! used as an exclamation, an expression which has become a catchword and provokes much amusement amongst the children. Nalamu instead of neba for wife's father (nangija in the ideal pattern) is said to be "half-caste" language. The latter term has probably been picked up in Darwin from the natives of the Kimberleys (cf. lambere:wife's father in the Lunga language of the Kimberleys, Kaberry, p.118).

Older men know the terms derawadana(YB), sarawadana:elder brother, nananana:son or daughter, and baba:father, all of which are said to be Makassan terms. Only the last is used at all, but this is also a Balamumu term; it also occurs frequently in aboriginal proper names of Makassan origin such as Babaduma, Babawada, Babadarindja, and has an honorific significance, being mainly applied to
old men. English has lent such baby-words as *mama*, *dadi*, etc., while *andi* (auntie) and other such terms are used irregularly, although in a classificatory manner and not limited in range as with the English usage. The natives use *gadjin* (cousin) for *nadjia*, a practice which is liable to be confusing initially; this is apparently not derived from the English 'cousin', but from a 'Roper River' term equivalent to *nadjia* (MMBS), though the aborigines regard it as being derived from 'cousin', and thus misunderstand the latter term.

A few special uses of kinship terms may be noted. These terms may be applied to dogs, but this does not appear to have been a thorough-going practice, and is recognised as a pleasant fiction; possibly the owner of the dog would call it his 'son', and his immediate family would apply appropriate terms, but the practice would not go much further than this. Dogs were, and are, given proper names and the whole practice is not dissimilar to our own, whereby dogs have names, though actual kinship terms would not be used, except very lightheartedly, in our society.

Rose conducted an elaborate investigation into taboos and avoidances in relation to specific relatives, his major conclusion being "that the two most tabooed relations are *dadidja* and *dadinja* when the latter is not
one's own wife" (Rose, 1940, pp.22-4, Table 7).

These particular avoidances are mirrored in the use of kinship terms. When identifying relatives, the aborigines will go to considerable lengths to avoid using these two terms, even less giving the personal name of any relative to whom either of the terms is applied, this in spite of a great weakening of all avoidances. As with the names of dead relatives, they will use oblique modes of reference, such as saying *daga;* literally, "this(fem.)" instead of *dadinja*, or merely look embarrassed or grunt in recognition or assent. These are infallible indications that the relative in question is called by one of these two terms. In addition to this, however, the avoidance was formalized by the existence of the avoidance term *darunala* instead of *dadidja* (narunala instead of nadidja); as with the special senior men's terms already mentioned for 'women' and 'men', the use of the basic terms *dadidja* and *dadinja* seems to have been restricted to the senior men in the past, when they were used at all. Others, i.e. women and young men, used and still sometimes use *narunala/darunala*, but the taboo has broken down today and anybody may use the basic terms.
Social Practice

The ideal pattern of kinship terminology implies an exchange of sisters, although, judging by contemporary indications, it is unlikely that own sisters would have every been exchanged. The correct marriage being that with the MMBDD, the dadinj, the brother of this woman, the neninja, was also attached to his sister's husband as initiate. The same word -jada: to marry, is used of the girl and the boy in their relationship to this man. We have seen that the neninja to whom the boy and girl were attached was responsible for teaching the youth the manly arts, and in return received the services of the youth in the performance of various chores. Such a relationship implies a difference in age, however, between the two neninja, whilst it is known that women married at an earlier age than men. Tindale remarks that after circumcision, "the boy is removed from the women's camp, and takes his share in paddling, firewood gathering, collecting fishbait, and generally waiting on his elder companion. One such guardian . . . had two boys under his care; they were never allowed out of his sight, followed him when hunting, and when in camp attended frequently to his person" (Tindale, 1925, p.68). The difference in age between the two neninja is thus clear, a difference which applied even more as between the boy's sister and the
Whether sister-exchange ever existed on Groote Eylandt, we cannot say, but the earliest available records show that in fact, a boy and his sister were attached to a far older man, the girl becoming the man's wife, and the boy, as we shall see, usually receiving some assistance from this man in obtaining his future wife.

The marriage of young girls by men in the prime of life was a highly formalized institution, an institution which led to the breakdown of the pattern of behaviour implicit in the 'ideal' picture and the reorganization of the method of reckoning kinship in accordance with these changed patterns of marital behaviour. The virtual monopoly of the younger women by the adult men was accompanied by strict seclusion of the women and by severe taboos on contact between the younger adult males and the women. The well-known Groote Eylandt custom of the segregation of women becomes meaningful in terms of this monopoly. Tindale remarks that there was "general and strict enforcement of seclusion on the women of the tribe. No native from the time of his initiation until he is of age to marry, and no stranger, are allowed to approach the women, who are compelled to live apart in camps guarded by the old men, but they are secretly visited by those entitled to the privilege. The women
are in a minority, and are monopolized by the older men, who each have two or more if possible... The younger men...are not allowed near places where the women are likely to be...or to look at them, under penalty of spearing". "Few men under about thirty, unless they are of exceptional prowess...are entitled to wives". "Old men are sometimes deprived of their wives, and it depends on their influence whether they are assisted to find their former wives or not...several solitary old men, practically hermits,...have lost and been unable to regain their women. For the above reasons no women were seen by any of our party except by accident" (Tindale, 1925, pp. 70-72).

Such an account might seem to be a typical distortion of native life by a (then) non-specialist. Such a conclusion, however, would be quite erroneous; Tindale's account is confirmed by all other accounts and by my own investigations (cf. Wilkins, p. 233). After several years of mission work, a missionary's wife eventually succeeded in contacting the women, but not until 1937 did the women actually come in to live at the Mission.

The custom which symbolized this segregation was the wearing of hinged sheets of bark in the presence of strangers, unauthorized men, and, above all, young men. These objects (jinugwamba, from the paperbark tree of that
name, though other kinds of bark were also used) were held close to the body, so that, according to the account of the lady mentioned "they looked like so many giant 'jack in the box'" (Tindale, op.cit., p.72). The head was also sometimes covered, but the positioning of the sheets seems to have been conventional, since Wilkins walked round to the side of one woman who had placed a sheet between herself and him, and found that she made no attempt to move the sheet, but merely looked at him. The next time that he saw the women, they only covered themselves fore and aft (Wilkins, pp.244-5). This extraordinary custom, now non-existent, is given mythological sanction in the story of Wuradiljaugwa. I did not hear this story myself, but references to it occur in the literature. The version given by Mountford is included amongst myths from Groote Eylandt, but Mr. Mountford tells me that he actually recorded it at Yirkalla, which may explain why I did not hear it. Again, we hear of the 'Spirit-Woman' Wuratilagu (Berndt, R.M. and C.H., 1954, p.210) who is associated with the segregation of the sexes, and appeared on the mainland where "her cult did not flourish". Another reference to the existence of this myth shows that the mainland version has little to do with the institution
of segregation, but has become overlaid with a wealth of new detail and myth, unconnected with the original significance of the myth. Thus Warner describes the Balamumu myth of "The first men coming from the trees" (Warner, pp.538-540), and gives the name of a Groote Eylandt man Ur-ai-ta-lai-ko, and his male companion, Ur-ai-tjur-o, and their adventures. All these versions refer to the same myth, but what is important about the myth is that it refers to the peculiar position of Groote Eylandt women. The plural term for females of this tribe is Wuradiljaugwa, whilst the general term for children is waridiura. These are obviously the names variously transliterated by the authors cited.

The myth (Mountford's version) merely describes how Wuradiljaugwa lived at Amagula, and started out on the usual type of journey mentioned in myths, camping at many different spots, and finally ending up at Lake Hubert. During the journey, afraid lest men see her, she ran away on the approach of males, and eventually covered herself with bark. Since that time, all women have done likewise. This myth is a very obvious sanction for the institution we are considering, and Warner's waridiura indicates that the myth probably contained a reference to the children normally under the women's care. The interesting thing about the further development of the myth is that it has evidently been
elaborated on the mainland — there is certainly no 'Spirit-Woman', the subject of a cult, on Groote Eylandt, but such a development does seem to have taken place on the mainland, the resulting mainland myth being far removed from the original story. The reason for the occurrence of this story on the mainland is the striking nature of the segregation of women on Groote Eylandt and the existence of the jinugwamba, facts which have obviously made a deep impression on the consciousness of mainland visitors to the island, who have taken the myth back home with them, and proceeded to elaborate it.

By excluding the younger men from marriage the older men were enabled to secure more wives. Since the sex-ratio was fairly equal, and there are very few recorded cases in genealogies where a man failed to obtain a wife at all, the extra women who were needed to make widespread polygamy possible were obtained from amongst the young girls. Although men would take these girls at a very young age to live with them in their camp, sexual relations were not entered into until the girl was past the age of puberty. Warner has suggested that the parallel development of polygamy on the mainland was made possible by the killing off of a proportion of the
men who would otherwise have competed for wives (Warner, p. 159) an interpretation refuted by Kaberry who points out that the additional women were in fact obtained through an earlier marriage-age for girls as on Groote Eylandt (Kaberry, pp. 113-4).

The extension of polygamy made possible by these measures led to the situation whereby most adult men had at least two wives, as the following table indicates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of liasons</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of liasons from which children resulted</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Numbers of liaisons entered into by sample of 53 men

In this table the difference between the number of women with whom these men associated casually for shorter or longer periods differs from the number of stable liaisons entered into by the same men. The high rate of turnover of women is reflected in these figures, which may well err on the side of caution. In spite of the frequency with which women changed hands, however, the number of permanent unions is much less than is apparent from the figures for all types of liaison.
(equally called 'marriage' by the aborigines). Only liaisons of reasonable duration and stability have been included in the second category, using the criterion of whether the union produced children or not. The first category therefore reflects the marked extent of casual associations, the practice of stealing women and young girls as potential marriage-partners, and the extent of adultery, which the aborigines look upon with marked tolerance. Even today, there is no great strictness about casual intercourse with another man's wife, though the uncovering of adultery does cause much public remonstration by the offended husband. Only when adultery actually threatens to break up a marriage completely, however, do the aborigines treat it as a very serious matter. It is noticeable that casual intercourse of this kind was not a cause for spearing in the past; the abduction of a woman, or other serious blow at a stable marriage, was. This point will be dealt with later in our discussion of legal mechanisms.

The institution of polygamous marriage (for which the verb -mundug(un)a:to be married polygamously, is used, and applies to both males and females) is, of course, not prevented by any such mechanism as the kinship terminology, which allows a man a number of potential wives. Equally,
the system of terminology implies the potentiality of conflict between siblings who have the same women available to them as wives; such conflicts were most likely to occur between full-brothers. Such sources of potential conflict were increased by the monopoly of the women by senior adult men, and its corollary, the exclusion of the young men from marriage. Tindale has shown that few men under thirty possessed wives, whereas most senior men had at least two. Such a situation inevitably leads to conflict, and it is not hard to see how the maintenance of this dominance by force and segregation led to friction between the less placid younger men and their elders. The use of a strong right arm to maintain this situation, however, was extended further than to the young men only. It is little exaggeration to say that the history of marriage in the pre-White era on Groote Eylandt is the history of wife-stealing. Such thefts of women were carried out not only by the more daring of the deprived younger adults, but also between the senior adults themselves. The friction generated between younger and older adult men seems to have set in motion a general tendency towards the acquisition of wives by force. The following table indicates the rate at which young initiates and their sisters changed hands in the past:
Each column 0-5 indicates the number of men to whom a man has been initiate or to whom a woman has been wife. These figures again tend to be on the side of caution, for many such changes of hands get forgotten, and cases occur in genealogies where one man has had thirteen and more wives (casual liaisons included) and several women have passed through the hands of seven men each. Even today there is one man living who has had at least nine liaisons, from seven of which he has produced thirty-two children. The tables also indicate that wives were more highly prized than initiates, since they changed hands with greater frequency. Such a change of marriage-partners is remarkable; innumerable
stories are told of fights in the old days over women, of the passing of young boys and girls from one hand to another, etc. These are not lurid pictures, but accurate accounts. It must be noted, however, that a large number of men only had one wife, and that the majority of polygamists only had two or three wives.

There is no direct evidence to suggest that this marriage-pattern is attributable to Makassan or White influences. Tindale has suggested that the institution of segregation was the result of Makassan attacks on native women (Tindale, 1926, p. 131) but the intra-tribal developments described above explain enough about segregation and wife-stealing to obviate any need to appeal to external influences. If parallel developments had been noted amongst other tribes affected by Makassan contact, more weight might be added to the argument, but although large-scale polygamy of the Groote Eylandt type has been noted from the Balamumu, it does not appear to have been accompanied by segregation of the women and exclusion of the younger men. Genealogical and other evidence shows that these customs were in existence long before White influence became important.*

* Similar changes in marriage-systems were taking place in the Kimberleys before White contact. (cf. Kaberry, p. 115)
The extension of polygamy and the rapid changing of hands of young women struck a blow at the traditional organization of marriage. These polygamous unions were by no means unions with the 'correct' marriage-partners, so that some readjustment of kinship terminology had to be made. A man who married wrongly proceeded to re-term his wife dadjia, but did not extend this reordering over a great range of other relatives, as we will see below. It is now impossible to discover what were the alternative marriages before these radical reorganizations took place, but it would seem probable that a distant MBDB was an alternative to marriage with the MMBDD, judging by the absence of a specific term for this cross-cousin and the area of overlap between nayja and neba, and also by analogy with similar marriage-systems. Owing to recent modifications, it is not possible to separate out those marriages which might fall into this class of alternative marriages from those which are merely wrong. Kaberry's figures for the Kimberleys, however, where alternative and wrong marriages together made up from 26.9% to 62.6% of the marriages recorded from six different tribal groups, and where specifically wrong marriages ranged from 4.4% to 24.8% of the total, seem to be generally exceeded by those from Groote Eylandt. We have seen that if we take the criterion of the occurrence of N as wife's mother as indicating 'correct' marriage, only 29%
of the actual marriages conform to this norm, and that even of these marriages, the spouse of N is not necessarily the correct person. Two-thirds of the Groote Eylandt marriages at least, then, do not conform to the norm.

Wrong marriages through wife-stealing and through mere non-observance of the norm are marked features of the Groote Eylandt genealogies. Even cases of men marrying women termed I(mother) are not unknown. The one principle that is thoroughly observed, however, is that of moiety exogamy.

The terms applied to wife's father and wife's mother, on the other hand, are not completely arbitrary, and whilst these relatives may not be the nangila and dadidia respectively, a limited number of kinship terms are applied to these relatives. There is therefore, some patterning of relationship, the significance of which will be considered below. If we examine the figures for these relationships we find that the father of 0 is 53% L and 23% F, while the mother of 0 is 37% J and 29% N. It might be inferred, therefore, that besides the preferred marriage with the MMBDD (where the mother of 0 would be N), there are also alternative marriages with a MBD (where the father of 0 would be I) and with the ZSD (where the father of 0 would be F). Such alternatives would conform with
those found, for example, in four-section societies, where the MBD and ZSD are recognised alternative marriages to that with the MMBDD, and where these women fall in the same sub-section. The parallel, however, is a surface resemblance only, as we will see. Again, a similar superficial resemblance to the patterns of other aboriginal societies might be deduced from examination of the following relationships which appear to suggest an Ungarinyin type of kinship system:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father of relative</th>
<th>E is 6% E</th>
<th>son of relative</th>
<th>E is 17% E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>F &quot; 13% F;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>F &quot; 30% F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>I &quot; 77% I;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>I &quot; 42% I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>M &quot; 60% M;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>K &quot; 6% K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>N &quot; 2% N;</td>
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<td>N &quot; 2% N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>D &quot; 14% D;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>D &quot; 47% D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>J &quot; 2% J;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>J &quot; 1% J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>O &quot; 17% O;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>L &quot; 6% L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13  Application of same terms to individuals in succeeding generations
(after Rose, op.cit.)

The Ungarinyin system applies the same terms to individuals of succeeding generations (cf. Elkin, p.67) in the same way as indicated in this table, but the resemblance of the above extracts to the Ungarinyin system will be seen later to be a resemblance of form rather than content. The low statistical incidence of most of the above relationships will be noted.
The Reordering of Kinship

Rose's particular contribution to the study of this kinship system lay in his demonstration of the divergence of actual behaviour from the ideal pattern as revealed by the rigorous statistical examination of the terms actually in use. He was able to show that no one individual orders his relationships in accordance with the ideal pattern as a whole, and that we cannot predict, for example, that the father of an I will be K, as he should be according to the norm. Even further, one cannot state that even modal behaviour will exhibit conformity with the ideal pattern.

One major deduction can be made from the tables given in Rose's work, however, i.e. the existence of areas of regularity amongst the shifting-sands of the terminology. 'We have now to consider how the aborigines make sense of this apparent chaos, and the principles on which they base their reorganization of the kinship system.'

It must be recognised that whilst this particular statistical approach was largely imposed by the nature of the material, and served a valuable purpose in laying bare the extent of divergence between the ideal and social practice, the extent of chaos in the system was
partly exaggerated by the use of techniques that were not designed to solve the problems we are considering, but rather to collect the evidence. Whilst additional quantitative methods might be introduced to carry the investigation further, the answer to the problems under consideration can equally well be found by purely qualitative methods, and statistical demonstration would be necessarily elaborate and laborious.

Starting from an examination of the regularities shown in Rose's tables, we find that in addition to strict observance of moiety exogamy, certain principles emerge. Separating out those relationships which show complete regularity we find the following: the mother of A is always dadiwa (56 cases); the father of B is always nenugwa (21 cases); the child of nenigumandia is always E (13 cases). In addition, the father of K is always F, but only three cases of this relationship occur. If we put the first three relationships in tabular form, the following picture emerges:
Fig. 1. Relationships exhibiting complete regularity

All the terms indicated in the table and in succeeding figures are those used by Ego. The arrow indicates the relationship under consideration, e.g. Ego calls B's father E. The number by the side of the arrows indicates the percentage of recorded cases in which this usage prevails. In all examples shown above, the percentage is 100%.

Plainly, what is depicted in Fig. 1 is the patrilineal group composed of Ego, his sibling G and their descendants. This high degree of regularity in Ego's patriline is further brought out in the following:
Fig. 2. Relationships exhibiting a high degree of regularity

Here again, other of Ego's siblings and their descendants occupy fairly regular positions as indicated by the percentages shown. Further regularity is also apparent in affinal relationships:

This model, however, obscures the fact that only 29% of the mothers of a person called 0 are one's dadidja (N). Where the mother of an 0 is actually N, then, the above
pattern may obtain, but the number of cases upon which the above N-L model is based is only three, and too much stress should therefore not be laid on this particular relationship. In all other cases, unless specified, at least 50 cases are used as the basis of any model.

One further relationship which exhibits a high degree of regularity needs to be considered, i.e. the pattern

$$\begin{array}{c}
    \hat{p} \\
    \downarrow \\
    \hat{J}
\end{array}$$

As with the model N-L, the apparent regularity of this model obscures the true position, since the converse by no means obtains; only 5% of the fathers of J are M. This divergence between relationships when viewed from the position of the senior generation and when viewed from the position of the junior generation will be considered below, together with the peculiar situation
The following chart summarises the results already obtained:

Fig. 3. Relationships exhibiting considerable regularity

Rose noted earlier that a definite stratification of kinship terms could be observed. Those terms appropriate to the second ascending generation in the ideal pattern, - K, L, M and B - are nearly always applied to individuals who are, in fact, older than Ego and usually the oldest living adults. (B is also applied to generation 2D). Similarly, terms appropriate to generation 2D - A, B, C and D - are nearly always applied to individuals who are very young.
These boundaries are not precise, for such grouped physical generations do not, of course, exist, and much overlap occurs, but in general one can predict the rough age-grade of persons to whom these terms are applied. In theory there is no reason why the kinship terms need have any correlation with the physical age or with age-grade. A man may well be older than his 'grandfather' in most aboriginal societies, and divergence between age and kinship generation is only to be expected. Here we have an indication of the mode of reckoning kinship on Groote Eylandt, for a correlation between actual age-grade and generation of kinship terms implies constant revision of the terms in use, counteracting the inevitable tendency of the two to drift apart. This process of stratification of the kinship terms is, however, an effect of the reordering of kinship on the basis of other considerations rather than a primary mode of readjustment itself.

In order to clarify the mode of readjustment, we will examine a typical portion of a genealogy (greatly simplified). The terms shown are those used by Ego:
Here can be seen the correct application of the term J to one's father and his brothers (full brothers, half-brothers, and more remote classificatory brothers, e.g. FFs), and the application of the correct terms for sibling to the children of these men. The child of a female J, however, becomes I in this example, while the wives of one's father's brothers, though sometimes correctly I, are also F, O and in one case K. Outside the patrilineal group of Ego's fathers and their descendants, therefore, there is not the same integrated order. The extension of the term O to siblings of one's husband does not extend beyond the patrilineage of the husband (i.e. to children of a group of real brothers), but this extension of the term O is wider than usual. In the following excerpt from a genealogy (Fig. 4) it will be seen that whilst the full brothers of O are called O also, brothers and sisters of one's O by the same
father but different mothers are not called 0, but two of them are I and one A. Ego's patrilineage is again highlighted in that he applies terms for siblings consistently to all his half-brothers and-sisters. The spouses of these siblings, however, are variously F,A,K,I, etc.

Irregularity is particularly to be found in the ascending generations. It will be noted from the tables of relationships exhibiting high and complete regularity that the stable relationships are principally those in Ego's own and descending generations. Both these facts are aspects of the same situation and are implicit in our ability to state that the father of B is 100% E, and our inability to state that the reverse applies -- 62% of the fathers of J are in fact B. It is clear that these relationships are not ordered as part of a system which possesses complete internal integration, but on the basis of some other principle of classification. The integration of the system is continually being broken up by irregular marriages, and these marriages have mainly taken place in the ascending generations. It is for this reason that we find more disorder in the ascending generations, whilst the people in descending generations have not yet married irregularly,
Fig 4. Simplified Portion of Genealogy of

Wan upa Darbalanwa clan

(terms as used by Gulbidja)
so that the terminology applied to them has not had an opportunity to become so disordered.

This regularity within descending generations applies firstly with regard to the stratification of terms - the allocation of the junior terms A, B, C and D to the youngest people - and secondly, to the internal order of the terms applied within Ego's patrilineage. Only the latter exhibits complete integration, however, for whilst stratification is evident in the terms applied to spouses of these junior members of the patrilineage, there is not the same homogeneity of terms outside the patrilineage. Thus, whilst Ego's siblings and the patrilineal descendants in generations 1D and 2D are called by the correct terms and interlock, the terms applied to their spouses vary.

It is obvious that in a society of this size, each individual will be related to every other individual fairly closely, given moiety exogamy (and, as we will see, avoidance of marriage with close kin). If one takes the genealogy of any individual, one finds that Ego calls the following categories of person 'sibling': all his siblings by the same father and mother (full siblings),
siblings by the same father and different mothers (half siblings), and siblings who are children of his fathers' brothers, real and classificatory (classificatory siblings in different degrees). In addition, as we will see, children of one's own mother by different husbands of the mother are called sibling. Besides these relatives with whom real agnatic ties can be traced, all other individuals of one's own generation within the clan are also called siblings. In effect, there is but one genealogy for the whole clan, and this is the way in which the Wanindiljaugwa regard their relationships within the clan. The existence of large polygamous families such as the one shown in Fig 5 is generally used as a core to which other smaller patrilineal descent-groups attach themselves, by linking their groups of siblings to appropriate levels in the large patrilineage. The depth of genealogies, on the other hand, is shallow, generally only extending to five generations.

The large patrilineage in Fig. 5 has been formed by the numerous polygamous marriages of the two men Niljimbijadjia and Nenujalewa. Out of the total clan-membership of 183 individuals, 138 are therefore the descendants of one man, Namamugura, or at least are regarded as such by the aborigines. The remainder of the clan-members are linked to this core by classificatory
extension of siblingship outside their own patrilineages to the different generation-levels of the large core.

Fig. 5 Descendants of Namamugura
Thus members of a small patrilineage who cannot claim any direct relationship to Namamugura link themselves to the group of his patrilineal descendants by claiming, for example, that their oldest male member was a 'brother' of one of the men in generation 1A; by this means the whole of the clan is brought into relationship and one single genealogy of vast span results. The great lateral expansion of such a genealogy means that the recording of a single genealogy of a large clan entails the work of months.

Having noted the different ranges of patrilineal relationship within the clan, we have seen that this unity is partly fictional. Not only is the extension of siblingship outside the range of relatives with whom direct kinship can be traced fictional, but even within this range we are not necessarily dealing with an accurate picture of blood relationship. It would be falling into the simplest of traps, typified by the statement occasionally met with in amateur writings on kinship, that a tribe of ten thousand people appears to have expanded with extraordinary rapidity since genealogies only reveal three or four people a few generations ago,
if we were to accept the genealogies of the "Wanindiljaugwa" as being objective historical records. They have a large core of truth, but the processes of fictional integration of the patrilineage can actually be observed at work. Thus one often finds that the real father of a child whose genitor has been long since dead is virtually forgotten by all but a few people. To the majority of members of the society, the child is the offspring of his 'last' father, and the genitor is forgotten or may never have been known. Only where the totems of genitor and pater differ is this process of merging checked, but such cases are few, since widows generally remarry a 'brother' of their deceased husband, usually within his clan, though not by automatic operation of the levirate, but rather because stratification of kinship terms tends to make marriage-partners of suitable age 'brothers'.

So far we have considered Ego's wider patrilineal relationships. The actual parentage of Ego, and the real physical ties within the nuclear family are not obscured, however. In fact, the nuclear family is most clearly stressed in the re-wording of the kinship terminology.
In Fig 4 we saw that Ego calls his own wife's full siblings by the same term that he applies to his wife, 0. Siblings of his wife by the same father and different mothers, however, are not necessarily 0, and are in fact called 0, I and A. Thus Ego restricts the extension of terms to the nuclear family of his wife, and does not necessarily apply the term 0 even to half-siblings of his wife. The nuclear family thus emerges clearly. Again, Ego calls his full brother's wife 0, but calls the spouses of his half-siblings variously 0, F, A, K and I. Ego's own nuclear family, as well as that of his wife, is thereby emphasized.

Passing now to consideration of how relationships outside the clan are ordered, we have to examine relationship to people in other clans of the same moiety, as well as relationships to people in the opposite moiety. These may be considered in conjunction.

The mode of reckoning extra-clan relationship is again based on Ego's own patrilineal relationships and on his nuclear family. Since irregular marriage has been taking place for so long and each irregular marriage means the reordering of a certain proportion of the terms in use, it is obvious that the terms used towards individuals outside one's own patrilineage and clan will exhibit
considerably more irregularity, since they are not brought into internal relationship, with each other, as are the terms within Ego's clan, but are only brought into harmony with Ego's own patrilineal relationships. An actual illustration will clarify this apparent chaos in the extra-clan field:

Fig. 6 Terms applied by Ego to members of clan of opposite moiety, their spouses and children

Here we see that the terms applied to this group of siblings in the opposite moiety, all of whom call each other sibling, are quite different: in this case, 0 and I. This is because of irregular marriages and the consequent readjustments of the terms in use. Order is re-established, however, by relating all these siblings to Ego's own stable patrilineal group. This relationship to Ego is
effected through Ego's relationship to the spouses of this group of siblings, i.e. his relationship to members of his own clan or moiety. It is rarely necessary for Ego to have to utilize the more remote links of moiety-membership, however. In such a small-scale society, there are usually closer links than this which can be utilized, and in the example shown above, which is by no means atypical, Ego can in fact claim very close relationship with two of the women who have married into this group of siblings. The two women H, marked with an asterisk, are his half-sisters; consequently he calls their children F (sisters' children). More than this, he extends the term F to children of the co-wifes of these half-sisters, even though he calls the co-wife herself N (and therefore, according to the ideal pattern, should call her children O). His close relationship to these two women thus provides him with a link which overrides the more remote relationship, N to the co-wife. Again, children of his moiety-fellow-sibling E are A, being so termed by virtue of his relationship to a member of his own moiety, and not by his relationship
to her husband I.

If there is no closer relationship than that of moiety-fellowship, then moiety-fellowship will determine the term to be used. If, as is common, there is a closer tie than mere moiety-fellowship, then that tie supersedes the tie of moiety-fellowship. This is emphasized when relationship has to be determined outside Ego's clan, but within his own moiety. Thus Ego, in the example below, has own-moiety relationship to the group of siblings who are members of another clan in his moiety. Nevertheless, he does not determine the terms he uses towards the offspring of these moiety-fellows on the basis of this moiety-link, but on the basis of the marriage of these siblings with the children of his clan-siblings (F). Ties with members of his clan are thus more important than other ties with members of his moiety:

Fig 7. Determination of relationship within own moiety by priority of clan-ties
Finally, there are even closer relationships than clan-fellowship, i.e. those derived from Ego's nuclear family. These take priority over all other ties. The determination of relationship on the basis of successively closer ranges of relationship may even result in the following situation, where the relationship to the child of different marriages is determined in some cases through the father of the child, and in other cases through the child's mother, though in both cases via the closest possible relative:

![Diagram](image)

**Fig 8.** Determination of relationship by closeness of ties to Ego (the group of siblings belongs to the opposite moiety)

Here the first child C is so termed by virtue of descent from a sister's son; the second child F is so termed by virtue of descent from a sister; the next two children F are so termed because the mother G is a full sister of Ego, and the F relationship term applied to her child is extended to the children of her co-wife N; the last child E received this term by virtue of being the offspring
of the full brother of a spouse of one's own sister. It may thus be seen that the relatively simple formula put forward for the Wulamba cannot be adjudged adequate for the Wanindiljaugwa. Warner states this as "the practice of tracing the descent of relatives within the clan through the father, and outside through the mother .."

(Warner, p. 27). As we have seen, relationship outside the clan, for the Wanindiljaugwa, may be determined either through the mother or the father, closeness of relationship being the determinant, and not merely the clan-affiliation of the parents.

It is likely, judging by the existence of the ideal terminology, and its obvious Aranda/Nyul-Nyul affinities, that the changes in the Groote Eylandt system are of reasonably recent origin, though one cannot put any date upon this development. It is therefore striking that although the present method of reckoning relationship implies and relies upon the recognition of different ranges of patrilineal relationship, such a recognition is not accompanied by specific linguistic recognition of these different ranges of patrilineal relationship. It would appear that the language has not yet been fully adapted to express the heightened importance of these distinctions. There are no formalized terms equivalent to
'full', 'half', and the different ranges of 'classificatory' relationship. Nevertheless, such distinctions can be drawn by periphrastic usages. In normal speech, however, when the terms themselves have been established, and when attention is not being focussed on the method by which they were established, it is not necessary to highlight the ranges of relationship. In the clan-genealogies mentioned, common generation stratification and siblingship is emphasized rather than biological family identity.

Indeed, one has to rigourously pursue biological relationships when recording these genealogies, for the aborigines tend to blur over the exact biological relationships, e.g. between different categories of sibling, they merely emphasize common siblingship. Real fathers, for example, are not distinguished from 'half' or more remote classificatory fathers except when the social context makes this necessary. Even if a person speaks of his 'true' (amangara or amandaywa) father, he does not necessarily mean his genitor- a classificatory father's brother is equally a 'true' father. Similarly, the use of the possessive form, e.g. my father: njanjakwa nugwarga, does not necessarily mean the genitor. It is possible
to indicate the genitor however, by periphrastic means. One boy thus spoke of his genitor as his 'first' or 'leading' father (amandangwa nunwargwa nanjangwa nilengma: true my-father my leading (i.e. first)). Similarly one can indicate that the fathers and mothers of two 'brothers' were wuremninga: different.

Specific words exist, however, to indicate step-relationship, i.e. the verb -rugwamal;e:to be a step-parent, and -auguradina:to 'mind' a child, e.g. nenaminauguradjinamure nunwenigbamedia: he minded him for his father (i.e. acted as step-father). Bilaterality is recognised in speech by saying that the mother bears the child (-ranba:to bear a child), but that the father gives the child its song:emeba (i.e. totem which symbolizes his clan-affiliation). There is no word, on the other hand, for 'to sire', but it is said that a man 'gives' a woman a child. It should be noted that the word -ranba:to bear, is again used in a classificatory manner, e.g. baranbamura: they bore (all his mother's clansmen did).

We are now in a position to examine the way in which a rough stratification of kinship generational terms according to physical age is brought about. The solid core of patrilineal relatives who use terms towards each other that are interlocking and which coincide with the ideal
pattern, allows a reordering of relationships outside this range of real and fictional agnatic kinship in terms of Ego's agnatic relationships, which are fixed. The past dislocation of the terminology outside these limits wrought by wrong marriages, and the continual wrong marriages entered into today, mean that further readjustments are always necessary. Therefore, if people of roughly one's own age to whom one applies the kinship terms appropriate to generations 2A and 2D (whether by virtue of previous wrong marriages, or merely by the inevitable tendency towards separation of physical age and kinship generation owing to generation overlap) now proceed to take a spouse whom Ego calls sibling, then these people will now be called O by Ego and their descendants E or F, according to the sex of Ego's sibling. Children resulting from these unions will now be known to Ego by terms roughly appropriate to their actual age, rather than by terms which bear no relation to their age. Through one's relatives who marry into the opposite moiety, one's relationships with members of that moiety are also brought into line, together with those of their descendants. Since the younger children have not yet had time to create further readjustments by marrying people whom
they call by terms other than 0 (and the choice of relatives to whom they are promised in marriage is determined by their parents), relationships in generation 2D show considerable regularity in that they will generally be one of the four categories termed A, B, C and D. Thus the unity of the agnatic group constantly brings the kinship terms back into line, distributing the 'youngest' terms amongst the descendants of Ego and of Ego's children and a large proportion of the 'oldest' terms amongst the really aged. The latter, however, are more affected by past wrong marriages and are not so clearly stratified as the 'youngest' terms.

This polarization of terms is not 100%, for physical generations do not exist, and there is constant terms overlap, but the/appropriate to generation 2D occur mostly amongst the very young and, to a lesser extent, terms appropriate to generation 2A amongst the oldest people. In between these two extremes, however, there is a very considerable area in which generation overlap and the reallocation of terms consequent upon wrong marriages is very marked. Each of the generations 1A, Own and 1D may include persons older, younger, or roughly of the same age as oneself. This imprecision is mirrored in the vagueness of the scope of kinship terms applied to affinal
relatives, as we have indicated in the discussion of the neba/nangijia overlap, the absence of definite terms for MBD, etc. We therefore find that whilst 29% of the mothers of 0 are N (generation 1A) and 37% J (generation 1A), 14% are G/H (own generation). One's spouse, then, is generally from the same generation as oneself or generation 1A. The terms applied to father of 0 reveal less regularity owing to the varied number of relationships subsumed under the labels I and F, the exact physical relationship to Ego often being undeterminable. Fathers of 0 are thus 53% I, a term which may cover various relationships, and 27% F. These latter, however, are not sisters' sons of generation 1D, but terms applied to older men as a result of past irregular marriages. The term J applied to the mother of an 0 also covers a number of relationships which may be distinct, e.g. MBW, FZ, etc. The parents-in-law may thus be drawn from any of the three generations 1A, Own and 1D, which lie between the two poles 2A and 2D, and even then, a little overlap is possible:
Table 14. Main terms applied to parents of 0, with percentages of each term as proportion of total sample

It will be seen that the marriage with the offspring of an O (one's ideal 'preferred' spouse) is very rare. The children of all these marriages, will, of course, be E to Ego and F to his wife, irrespective of the various terms applied to O's parents. Differences in age which occur between people to whom the same kinship term is employed, and the consequent likelihood of a man finding an appropriate marriage-partner of roughly his own age whom he would call by a term appropriate to one or two generations removed, mean that there is consequent variability in the terms applied to the parents of O.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Spouse's father</th>
<th>Spouse's mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1A</td>
<td>neba (incl. nangija)</td>
<td>dadidja dunwila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>neninja</td>
<td>dijaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1D</td>
<td>nabura</td>
<td>dadiawa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1A         | neba (incl. nangija) | dadidja dunwila | 53% | 29% |
| 0          | neninja         | dijaba          | 4%  | 12% |
| 1D         | nabura          | dadiawa         | 27% | 4%  |
About half the recorded marriages, however, show that the parents of one's spouse bear a kinship term appropriate to
generation 1A. The resemblance of this system to an
eight-section type of organization, in which MMBDD, MBD,
and ZSD are possible marriages, if thus only a surface resemblance.

Finally, the problem of the application of the same term to people in successive generations must be considered. This situation, far from being a basic structural pattern, as in the Ungarinyin system, is the result of irregular marriage and readjustment of kinship. If, for example, Ego marries, irregularly, the daughter of a man he calls O, then both Ego's wife and her father will be O. If, again, a 'half'-father termed J marries the child of an I, then Ego will call both the child and its father I. Similarly with other relationships in Table 13.

The method of reckoning relationship amongst the Waniindiljaugwa, then, may be seen as a pragmatic, personally-orientated one, in which all relationships are worked out in relation to the stable core of Ego, his nuclear family, extended family, patrilineage, clan and moiety in that order of priority. Whilst the terms in use are classificatory and not descriptive, the
range of extension of the terms varies according to each particular situation. Outside the clan, and particularly outside the moiety, relationship terms tend to be less widely extended than within the clan, since terms are not generally extended beyond the full siblings of a person to whom a definite relationship has been established. This may lead to the position whereby Ego may call a group of half-brothers by different terms. To this extent, it may be said that the Wanindiljaugwa live with contradiction, but such a system is only contradictory if one is looking for absolutes. The existence of one relationship does not necessarily imply a whole series of logical deductions of further relationships from that one relationship, for the centre of each set of kinship terms used by each individual is Ego. Only in the rare case of full siblings marrying full siblings does the set of terms used by one individual ever coincide fully with the set of terms used by another individual. It is for this reason that we are unable to indicate, as Elkin does for the Aranda/Nyul-Nyul system, the exact intermarriages which are expected to occur between different individuals shown in the kinship chart of the Wanindiljaugwa (Table 6). Moreover, we cannot indicate the following-through of the four lines of descent;
all that remains of these, outside Ego's own patrilineage, is the existence of complementary pairs of terms used between individuals two generations apart, the end-points of the old lines of descent.

Because of this personalized focus, an apparently chaotic picture results if one attempts to relate the kinship terms used by one individual to those used by another individual. It might be supposed, at first glance, that such a system would result in the development of a descriptive system, but such tendencies are limited by the stress on siblingship and the unity of the patrilineage. The continued readjustment of kinship terms on the basis of Ego's own patrilineage, therefore, results in change being canalized, not into structurally absolute patterns, but in accordance with a relative principle of readjustment, in which Ego is the centre of a set of kinship relationships and terms which will not necessarily coincide with those of any other Ego. Outside, the clan, nevertheless, there is a tendency towards the restriction of range of classificatory terms.
The extent of change in this system may be gauged by the examination of the terms applied by 27 individuals to 207 other individuals in 1939-40, as compared with the terms used by the same individuals in 1952-53. Of these 5,589 identifications, 640 had changed in roughly 14 years—a change of approximately 11%. Instead of leading to complete chaos, however, these changes merely follow prescribed and predictable channels.

Since choice of marriage-partners is theoretically limited by the kinship terminology, as well as by moiety-exogamy, it is worthwhile examining how far the availability of wives, as evidenced by the existence of marriageable women termed O, has been affected by the changes outlined above. We have seen that polygamy did not result in a situation whereby some men were unable to find wives.

* Rose's figures show 36% of the mothers of O as N in 1940, and my own showing 29% in 1952-3 indicate that the ideal marriage is becoming less frequent. These figures are arrived at in slightly different ways, since I excluded reduplication of any of Ego's full siblings, and any full siblings of Ego's O, in my sample. The reduplication in Rose's sample, however, should cancel out, and deviation from the norm may be regarded as increasing. The system, then, is not merely repetitive. My own sample was based on 100 cases.
A sample of 10 unmarried boys examined in 1952/3 called an average of 10 living people dadinjia out of 260 individuals (about half the population). Of these dadinjia, a proportion are already married (such a consideration would not necessarily have meant that they would have been regarded as unmarriageable in the past, for quarrels over women were particularly common between brothers who both called the same women 0). The average, however, obscures the range of distribution as between one boy and another. There are boys with 23 dadinjia in this sample, and others with 20, 14, 10, 9, 8, and 7, whilst others have only 5, 4, 3 and 1. It is clear that the selection of marriage-partners in accordance with the limitations of kinship terminology alone would result in the non-availability of women for some men. Excluding the dadinjia already married, some boys have 6 or 7 potential wives allowed by the kinship terminology, whilst at the other pole there are 2 boys with no available dadinjia at all. Since the kinship terminology thus excludes them from marriage,
the terminology has to be changed if a marriage-partner is to be found. In fact, the fathers of such boys make arrangements to marry their sons to the daughters of other men (often consulting the boys' neninja guardian in the past), and proceed to rearrange the kinship terms in use. The children then call each other O, whatever they may have called each other previously. These arrangements generally seem to have been made by the time the boys are about 6 years of age, though one boy of 14, whose genitor is dead, has not yet been given a prospective wife. Apart from catering for such special cases, all other marriages are generally formalized at about this age, and the children are aware who their future wives will be. White interference has resulted in the establishment of monogamy and a considerable measure of direction in the choice of marriage-partners, though the advice of the natives has usually been sought to avoid serious breaches of moiety exogamy etc. What the ultimate effects of this interference will be on the kinship system and on the terminology cannot yet be predicted.
The English term 'promise' is often used of the marriage-arrangement, and in Enindiljaugwa it is said of the boy that the girl is "his" (enilagwa) wife or that he will marry her (-jada:to marry), although, as we have seen, these terms are often used in a classificatory sense. One principle which is carefully observed, though rarely mentioned, is the selection of a distant 0 as marriage-partner; there is still a strong attempt to avoid the marriage of close kin. It is impossible to say whether this is based on genetic considerations; it is certainly not a novel innovation. The aborigines themselves never mention genetic considerations, and it seems far more likely that they seek to avoid the confusing of relationship which might arise if Ego was related to another person by two close ties. Only one case of such conflicting ties has been noted, as shown below:
The woman R is a half-sister of Ego, and the girl E a half-brother's daughter. The former relationship, being much closer, determines that the child of F and E is C and not B. Such situations are rare, and are avoided by marrying a distant relative.

In presenting this analysis, we have attempted to give a detailed and reasoned examination of a somewhat complex system, together with some account of methods of approach to the problem. We have not contented ourselves with generalized, unsystematic or intuitive formulations, for although roughly similar
conclusions appear to have been reached by other workers, no adequate evidence for these conclusions seems to have been presented. The brief examination of this question by Kaberry, writing of the tribes of the Kimberleys in the 1930's, concludes with these words:

"The kinship terms .. refer first and foremost to relationships within the family" ..." .. outside the limits of the family and own affinal relatives, kinship terms are less closely linked with behaviour" (Kaberry, p.123). Her general conclusion is that "blood ties and the marital relationship take precedence over all others" (op.cit., p.124). Whilst conforming with the results of our own analysis, it is clear that either a) the Wanindiljaugwa carry their reordering of the kinship terminology much further than the Kimberleys tribes or b) the Kimberleys tribes are so reduced in numbers and socially disrupted that no more extensive reordering is possible, or c) that the question of the reorganization of relationship beyond the limits of the family and Ego's affines needed further investigation. The meaning of the phrase 'less closely linked with behaviour' seems to suggest that behaviour may have changed, and that the kinship terminology might
now be used in a new way in accordance with this changed behaviour, i.e., the behaviour-patterns which gave rise to the ideal pattern of kinship terminology may no longer exist outside the narrow limits specified. Kinship terms are presumably still linked with behaviour, since they are still in use. The question remains as to what is the new pattern of behaviour, and how does the use of kinship terms reflect changes in behaviour, for kinship terms are merely a set of symbols which can be applied in different ways as behaviour changes.

Writing of the Wik-Munkan tribe of Cape York in the early 1930's, McConnel remarks:

"It is noticeable nowadays, when numbers are depleted and marriages less easily arranged, that (the) exogamous moieties are used as a guide almost more than are the special kinship terms, so that whereas exogamy is still rigidly observed, differences in generation are sometimes ignored. In the case of irregular marriages, the nearest links are observed and the more distant ones disregarded" (McConnel, pp.355-6).

It is likely that similar processes were at work in these two areas to those noted for the Wanindiljaugwa.
It will be observed that new kinship terms have not been found necessary by the Wanindiljaugwa. Radcliffe-Brown has stated that "as far as Australia is concerned there is a very thorough functional correlation between the kinship terminology of any tribe and the social organization of that tribe as it exists at present" (Radcliffe-Brown, 1930, p. 427). This statement is part of an argument against appeal to the past in order to explain features of present-day kinship organization. We have seen in this chapter that such a functional correlation can indeed be made for Groote Eylandt, but it also appears reasonable to suggest that the same kinship terms were probably in use with the different system of behaviour implicit in the Aranda/Nyul-Nyul-type ideal pattern of Groote Eylandt terminology. The same kinship terms may thus be used in connection with quite different patterns of behaviour. If Radcliffe-Brown's statement is taken to mean that a kinship
terminology does not exist as a 'thing-in-itself', and that we should not be misled into reifying a set of terms into some kind of self-standing algebraic scheme, then the statement has considerable value. If, however, it is meant to imply, as would appear, that appeal to the past can be of no value in studying kinship, then the present study would seem to refute this. Examination of the implications of the ideal pattern will tell us a great deal about bygone patterns of relationship; examination of the way in which the same terms are used today will show us how behaviour has changed. The terms, however, are neutral: they can refer to any system of behaviour, and their use changes as behaviour changes.
The Coming of the Whites

After the banning of the Makassans from Australian waters, the activities of the Whites in the Gulf region greatly increased. In 1907, a missionary expedition concerned with the selection of a suitable mission-site in the area of the Roper River contacted the natives on Groote Eylandt (White, p. 145 ff.), and in the following year a medical tour of inspection touched briefly at Groote Eylandt (Strangman, q.v.). After the establishment of the Roper River mission-station as a result of Bishop White's visit, another party set out from the Roper River for Groote Eylandt itself (Warren, q.v.) a few years later, and in 1921, the first Groote Eylandt mission-station was opened at Jadigba, on what was named the Emerald River. This station, established only one year after the gazetting of Groote Eylandt as a Native Reserve in 1920, was established for half-castes from the mainland; it was to be several years before the missionaries turned their attention to the aborigines of the island.

The natives had seen many European vessels before the Whites actually came to take up residence on the island, some of which we have already mentioned in Chapter 1. In general, however, they avoided white men, for reasons which the following incident reveals. It is related that shortly after the opening of the mission-station, a man was shipwrecked
during a cyclone at Alerumadja on the east coast. The white man and his vessel were found by a now-deceased native who happened to be passing that way on his own. A confused story indicates that the aborigine and the white man, being frightened of each other, soon became involved in a battle of spear against rifle, in which the native scored the first hit, wounding the white man in the arm. The white man then left his vessel, having bound up his arm, and, taking various articles, set out for the Mission. He left behind him blankets, food, water-bags and various metal objects, all of which were appropriated by the Wanjindiljaugwa, the metal objects being converted into shovel-spears, and the vessel being broken up. On reaching the western side of Port Langdon, the white man 'disappeared', according to some accounts; other versions suggest that he was eaten by a crocodile, but it appears fairly definite that he was despatched by natives who had been warned of his behaviour by the native who first found him. Because this man fired at the native in the first instance the Wanjindiljaugwa feel no regret at his fate, but describe the fight with great enthusiasm, as they do all fights against white men, particularly those in which they have come out victorious.

Since the primary purpose of the missionaries was not the proselytization of the natives, and since the aborigines treated them with considerable reserve and suspicion, contact with the missionaries was very slight for several years. The attraction of the white man's goods, however, soon exercised
its effect, and although the females of the tribe were not contacted until 1925, whenever the aboriginal women came near the mission-station a female member of the Mission staff got into touch with them, whilst a male missionary maintained more regular contact with the men. The Mission-station remained a half-caste establishment until 1936, however, the half-castes being brought from cattle-stations and other places on the mainland. Wilkins writes of the pathos of their life, in particular the realization of the girls that they could not "legally and contentedly" marry full-bloods, whilst whites would not marry them. They envisaged a life of drudgery. "Life for them was very terrible. With a little learning they had aspirations; they wanted self-expression, freedom, soul development according to their power and understanding. They accepted some of the principles of the Church, but they, like many others, were not fully satisfied with them. Being of widely different temperaments, they could not conform to one set type, for although the missionaries were kind and helpful, they were firm controllers and worked within narrow lines. These girls could not see through the dark days to a clear light beyond". (Wilkins, p. 258). Their influence on the natives cannot be said to have been very great, though they are often spoken of with affection, since they did not attempt to disassociate themselves from the aborigines to the same extent as the Whites. Moreover, their slightly higher status and their
acquisition of some of the ways of the Whites induced a certain
evy and admiration in the natives, who looked on them to some
extent as privileged relatives of clearly aboriginal affinities.
The half-castes were eventually dispersed on the mainland,
though one or two remained in contact with the natives who
occasionally visited the mainland; two half-castes have stayed
on Groote Eylandt ever since, except for short intervals, and
are employed in administrative work on the settlements. They
are paid wages, and given better living conditions than the
Wanindiljaugwa; the half-caste man at the Mission has parti-
cularly high status. By virtue of his knowledge of the native
tongue, and his interest in and understanding of indigenous
customs, this man has a particularly strong influence over the
aborigines, and is regarded with considerable friendship. Both
the half-caste men are admired because they demonstrate in
their lives that coloured people are capable of doing the same
work and leading the same type of lives as the Whites.

Another early incident which had a profound effect on
native attitudes towards white men was the disappearance of a
native named Wadala. This man was said to have been journeying
from Woodah Island to the mission-station by canoe, when he en-
countered a steamer (specifically stated to have been a metal
boat, and not a ketch), coming from the direction of 'Borroloola'.
Wadala was never seen again, and the Whites are said to have
seized him and taken him to Darwin, where he has been seen several
times by visiting Balamumu, who recognised him by his 'bent' back,
and the songs of his homeland which he sang. During the wartime evacuation of Darwin, he is said to have fled to the Arnhem Land Reserve, and was last seen at Oenpelli some years ago. It is said that he married two women from Melville Island and had four children, including two boys who became a 'captain' and an 'engineer' respectively. The accuracy of this story remains in doubt, particularly the striking success of the sons, but like many such stories, it is a clear reflection of the attitude of mistrust and dislike of white men, and the desire to glorify the aborigines themselves.

The unfortunate relations established between the aborigines and the Makassans, followed by equally bad relations with early white visitors, did not improve as white contact increased. All incidents pale into insignificance, however, besides the events of the late 'twenties and early 'thirties, in particular, the Woodah Island murders, the police punitive expedition of 1933, and the trials of the mainlanders connected with the Japanese killings at Caledon Bay in 1932. These events have been discussed at considerable length, and with marked accuracy and fairness, by Mr. and Mrs. Berndt, whose interpretation is fully corroborated by my own material. Following the earlier clashes of mainlanders and the Wanindiljaugwa with white men, in particular the shooting of one native, Najaqumanjera, in the thigh by white trepangers in 1927, the incidents of the 'thirties were the culmination of a series of events which led to the worst possible relations between natives and Whites, and to the
establishment of attitudes of mistrust and hostility which persist even today. It might be observed, however, that the position was never as black as one statement in the literature implies. Harney, a former trepanger, is quoted (possibly misquoted) as saying:

"...while we were working Groote Eylandt thirty whites were killed there by the blacks. They never got Horace (Foster, another trepanger, P.M.W.) and me because one of us always stayed on guard on the boat while the other went ashore. The blacks only killed for tucker" (Devanny, p.235).

Since there had hardly been thirty Whites who had visited the island at this time, Harney has either been misquoted or is greatly in error.

The authoritative comments of the Berndts on the killings of the early 'thirties are of interest. "As a rule... (the aborigines) killed only on provocation" (Berndt, R.M. and C.H., 1954, p. 153); "the evident cause of the murder (of two white men, Traynor and Fagan, on Woodah Island) was the Europeans' interference with native women without the consent of their husband(s)" (op.cit.,p.140). Of the Japanese murder trials they remark that "no white man would have been convicted on such evidence" (op.cit.,p.173), etc.etc. These miscarriages of justice, censured in most severe terms by these authors, together with the memory of assaults on their women and the shooting of their menfolk and their Balumumu relatives, made a
deep impression on the minds of the aborigines. It was noted, even much earlier, in 1908, that the natives were surprised that Bishop White's party had not interfered with their women (Strangman, q.v.); their expectations, however, were fully confirmed by the events of the thirties. A hint of the state of relations between Whites and aborigines is given in the activities of the missionaries during the state of emergency declared in a period of panic following the Woodah Island murders. Defensive barbed wire entanglements were erected at the mission-station in anticipation of an expected attack by natives. The nature of black-white relations is perhaps brought out even more clearly in the remarks of a missionary from Groote Eylandt to the Darwin court during one of the murder trials:

Mr. Dyer "contended that for nearly sixteen years the Arnhem Land aborigines had been neglected. He was told that the natives had twenty-eight kills to their credit. If he were dictator he would drive all the abos. into Liberty Square and give them all a good flogging. Mirera (Merara), who had been acquitted, was as big a scoundrel as any of them, and he would be among those flogged. Then he would let them see a bayonet charge and have the soldiers up to show them a volley and then tell them if there was any more killing they would all be shot down on the beach. He was not speaking as a missionary or a protector but as dictator. He knew his mission friends would not agree with his utterances" (Berndt, R.M. and C.H., 1954, p.145).

So strongly rooted are the attitudes of the natives
engendered by such incidents, and by the attitudes of white men towards them, that their accounts of white evilness are of unrelieved blackness, except in the case of one or two individual white men. It is therefore often difficult to separate fact from fancy in some of their stories. It is stated, for example, that a mainland native who was arrested by the police was tied up and spreadeagled, and had his food thrown at him, so that he had to lick at it as it ran down his body. Later he was given four pieces of meat, which he ate, and was said to have been told that the meat was taken from his wife's body. Again, the aborigines have no difficulty in explaining the mysterious disappearance of the acquitted native, Dagiar, after his trial for murder. They say that he was put in a box bound with iron bands, his legs and arms tied, and was then taken out into Darwin harbour and dumped overboard. This is said to have been common knowledge in Darwin, and natives say the Whites used to tell the natives about it as a threat. It is possibly not too far from the truth, for Dagiar was never seen again shortly after the trial.
The exact truth of this incident can perhaps never be ascertained, but it is apparent that the native version may be correct, and, almost more important, are the attitudes implicit in such an account. Similar accounts of ruthless methods used by the 'firm controllers' amongst the missionaries in the early days, to use Wilkins' phrase, cannot now be verified, but clashes involving the use of firearms and the locking up of natives as punishment are recorded from other sources. We have noted that the repeated removal of ceremonial sacred poles and attacks on other indigenous institutions also gave cause for alarm amongst the natives.

By 1934, a dormitory for boys was maintained at the mission-station; by 1936, some girls came to school for short daily periods, going back to their families in the afternoon. Only in 1937 does fulltime residence of whole families appear to have become the accepted rule, and even by this date not all the natives had come in to the station. Even today, a small remnant prefers to 'go bush' for quite lengthy periods. The maintenance of those in residence became a full charge on the Mission.

In 1938, the opening of the emergency flying-boat base at Little Lagoon for aircraft on the U.K.-Australia route led to the collection of the remaining natives from the bush, a supply of native labour being required for the construction of the Airbase. These natives were not brought in by the missionaries, however, but by a trepanger, F.H. Grey, who formed a secular
settlement at Umbakumba with these natives as a nucleus. The settlement was initially unrecognised by Government, but the existence of a *fait accompli* was recognised a few years later, and a process of gradual extension of Government assistance began. By 1943, some of the children were taken into dormitories. Between December 1945 and September 1947, the settlement population was moved over to the abandoned Airbase, except for a skeleton maintenance group, but owing to the poorness of the soil, gardens could not be cultivated as at Umbakumba, and the people had to fall back on hunting and collecting for a large part of their food-supply.

During the war, the men were mainly employed and fed by the RAAF and the Main Roads Commission. The Mission also transferred its station to its present site on the Anurugwa River, and dormitory-life became the norm for the older children. Schooling was made general for the Mission children in 1944, but at Umbakumba no qualified teacher was available until after the war, though some elementary schooling was undertaken before this date.

The tribe has thus been divided into two, on arbitrary lines; we have noted, however, that the present division results in the settlement of most Bickerton Islanders and many west-coast natives at Anurugwa, and a large proportion of the east-coast natives at Umbakumba. Contact between the two settlements is frequent, particularly at weekends, when the more energetic men come to Umbakumba from the Mission to buy tobacco. Visits are also
occasionally made for social purposes, such as a circumcision-ceremony, when time permits, but such occasions are few. Whilst certain individuals visit Umbakumba fairly frequently, the older people are rarer visitors, and contact between the two groups is maintained principally through a limited number of people.

Population-Trends

Since the Wañindiljaugwa form an isolated, identifiable tribe, and since white men have been in contact with them since 1921, it was to be hoped that well-checked demographic data might have been forthcoming from this area, data such as is available for few Australian tribes. Unfortunately, the nomadic life of the aborigines during the first years of contact made census-work difficult. The major difficulty in presenting demographic material today, however, lies in the unsystematic, fragmentary and sporadic nature of such records as exist. These have been collected on different bases, are frequently internally contradictory and contain many doubtful points. It is thus difficult to separate out population-changes due to immigration and those attributable to natural increase.

We have already seen that the density of population was high for Groote Eylandt, being somewhere in the area of $1.26/1.33$ square miles, a figure which reflects the richness of this coastal region. The rate of increase indicated by existing figures is also high, since a population of some $300^*$ has expanded to $450$ over roughly twelve years. Whilst a large part
of the increase at Umbakumba from 125 individuals in December, 1944, to 176 in January 1953, was, of course, due to immigration which cannot be definitely separated out owing to vague records, the rate of natural increase is still remarkably high. The following table indicates that half the population of both settlements taken together is under 14 years of age. (The Umbakumba figures include one Balumumu man now resident there, whilst the Ajuṟgwa figures include a small, unspecified number of Nungubuju or Roper River people).

It will be noted that there are 214 men to 236 women, but that in the 0-14 years group, there is a much higher proportion of females, viz. 127 females to 102 males. The records of births and deaths for Umbakumba show an excess of 20 births over deaths between 1945 and 1952, whilst the more reliable portions of genealogies indicate that the average number of live births in the case of women who have reached the end of their childbearing life is 4.28. This increase in population has occurred in spite of high infantile mortality. Of 331 known causes of death, deaths before the age of puberty number at least 81, i.e. some quarter of all deaths for which the causes are known occurred to children who had not reached the age of puberty. The figures given for infantile mortality at Ajuṟgwa (106.8 per thousand), for Yirkalla (157.2 per thousand), and for Oenpelli (108.0 per thousand) with an average of 127.1 per thousand, are cited as "very high" as compared with the rates for white
<table>
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<th>Male</th>
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<td>88</td>
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<td>134</td>
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| TOTAL        | 83   | 92     | 175   | 131  | 144    | 275   | 450         |

Table 15. Population by age-groups
children (Billington, q.v.), but would appear to be considerable underestimates. So difficult is the elicitation of exact information from informants, even when one knows them well and when they are co-operative, that one hesitates to accept these figures. Even excluding many uncertain cases, the figures for Umbakumba would appear to indicate an infantile mortality rate of about double the above figures.

In spite of this, a great increase of population has been achieved. Since the (uncertain) figures for all Australia seem to show that a decline of the full-blood population is still in evidence, the Groote Eylandt figures are interesting in that they show the existence of at least one point where the decline has not only been halted, but reversed. In spite of high infantile mortality, the Wanindiljaugwa are one people who will not be wiped out by the effects of white contact, unless some unforeseen catastrophe occurs. Although babies are still-born out in the bush, and hygiene and medical standards are very poor at Umbakumba, the Mission has the services of a triple-certificated nursing sister, and some unskilled elementary medical attention can be given in Umbakumba also. In recent years, the use of new antibiotics has had much to do with the extension of control over disease, although preventive measures are almost non-existent. In serious cases, patients can be flown out to Darwin by air, since medical assistance can be called for by wireless. For Umbakumba patients, however, the lengthy and sometimes rough journey by sea to the Mission-station has to be made since no
air-strip exists at the former settlement. The radio service can also be used to request advice from medical authorities at Darwin, a service which is frequently used.

The major causes of death in persons over the age of 14 years, are disease (71 cases out of 331), accidents (30 out of 331), and killings (27 out of 331). These figures from genealogies are presented with full realization of their likely defects, and include all known causes of death, whether in the pre-white era or post-1921. Settlement records, which in most cases are not much more reliable than genealogies, also show disease (particularly introduced diseases, e.g. epidemics of whooping-cough, measles and flu) as the principal cause of death (14 cases out of 37), 24 deaths being those of children under 14, and three deaths those of women in childbirth.

A factor inhibiting the effectiveness of such medical services as are available on the spot is the reluctance of the natives to report sick if they dislike a particular white person on duty, or if they feel that they will be 'growled' at. Minor complaints therefore tend to develop into major complaints, and minor complaints are often concealed. It is this consideration which keeps indigenous medicine alive, for it would undoubtedly disappear if greater confidence existed that sympathetic treatment would be forthcoming. Indigenous bush medicines, generally infusions of leaves, are rarely used however, the sick person usually being content to lie down until the sickness has passed,
or merely avoiding work as much as possible.

The Wanindiljaugwa, unlike many aboriginal tribes, are singularly free from major diseases, even though disease is still the principal cause of death. This state of affairs obtained before the coming of the white man, and although diseases such as leprosy, which resulted from the employment of infected Chinese labour on the mainland, had already penetrated to Groote Eylandt before 1921, even today malaria is virtually unknown and hookworm non-existent. Although there are anopheline mosquitoes on Groote Eylandt, it is considered that there is an insufficient parasitic reservoir amongst the natives to create a malaria problem. Venereal disease is also limited; some cases of soft sore exist, but yaws has been wiped out by injections. Leprosy has been brought under control, in a negative manner, by the removal of the known cases to Channel Island leprosarium outside Darwin. Syphilis and gonorrhoea have not been reported, though a few suspects have been noted, together with a few tuberculosis suspects. (About one-third of the natives at Umbakumba showed positive reactions to the Mantoux test.)

Eye lesions and skin infections are very common, owing to the insanitary conditions of camp life, and the lack of any proper washing and toilet facilities. No taps are available in the adults' camp at Umbakumba, and the use of the bush as a lavatory is particularly dangerous, the one proper lavatory which existed (for the young girls) becoming so filthy that the girls would not use it. Head lice are practically universal,
and delousing is a favourite occupation of both young and old.

In spite of these unpropitious conditions, then, the health of the natives is remarkably good. The worst epidemics have been those of measles, whooping-cough and flu, all of which have devastating effects. In one whooping-cough epidemic alone, 11 children died at Umbakumba and many more at the Mission, but in spite of these epidemics the population is increasing and not declining.

Settlement-Economy

Today at Umbakumba the natives live in dwellings not greatly different from their pre-white structures. The adults live in one special area, known as the 'camp', a separate part of this area being inhabited by the 'single boys', i.e. the unmarried youths. A few of the younger married men and their families live in corrugated iron structures which approximate more to an actual house, but the greater part of the adults use only a "shade" of boughs in the warm weather or perhaps a wind-break of corrugated iron, stringybark or any other suitable material; in the wet season they make more solid structures of iron and bark, though these are very small, the roofs being rarely more than four feet from the ground, and the whole structure rarely exceeding six feet by six feet in length and breadth. These are usually abandoned after the rains, though they may also be used in cold weather. It is more likely, however, that a person will sleep in the open, even in cold weather, with a fire
to keep him warm. Fires are also lit in the hot, wet season to drive away mosquitoes.

The children live in dormitories, that of the boys being a solid construction of concrete and tree-trunks. This is part of a long building partitioned off into sections; besides serving as a somewhat crowded boys' dormitory, another section is the schoolroom, another the dining-room, and another a store. The solidity of this building only extends to its walls, however, for the roof of light poles and paperbark fell down in 1953, fortunately at a time when only one man was inside the building. He escaped without injury. The girls' dormitory is a structure with corrugated iron walls and a sand floor, unlike the concrete floor of the boys' dormitory; this building is usually locked up at night; if the girls wish to urinate or defecate, a tin is provided

Other buildings in the settlement include the kitchen, also of corrugated iron, and singularly insanitary, having one section partitioned off as living-quarters for a half-caste assistant, open fires and a sand floor. A small fibro building acts as a meat-house where turtles are kept alive until needed, and in which other meat is hung. Three buildings, one of concrete and timber and two of fibro, house the White staff of the settlement.

At the Mission, somewhat better housing conditions exist for the natives, since the existence of a sawmill and the presence of suitable timber, particularly the white-ant-resistant cypress pine, allows the construction of houses made from planks, but with much stringy bark used to supplement this material.
In the adult camp at Umbakumba, no definable residence-patterns can be discerned. As with most other associational groupings, kinship is not the primary determinant, but a person will phrase his 'reason' for residing near a particular individual in terms of the kinship relationship existing between them. There is a tendency for married sons to make their sleeping-place near their fathers, whilst some men sleep near their wife's father's place or near their wife's brother's sleeping-place (i.e. the real nangija and neninja respectively), but no rigid pattern exists. Residence-patterns also change from time to time, particularly in the case of older women whose husbands are dead or who no longer have sexual relations with their husbands. These old women tend to sleep in a group, or occasionally go to sleep at the sleeping-place of their sons or other relatives. The 'single boys' form the other major group in the adult camp, young boys leaving the dormitory graduating to this sleeping-place on the beach. One young man who has been married for some years likes to spend his nights back in the camp of his age-mates rather than with his wife, but this is somewhat unusual.

**Economic Activities**

Both settlements employ a large part of their labour-force on the production of subsistence crops, but although large quantities of food can and have been produced from the gardens, the vagaries of tropical agriculture and the restrictions imposed by lack of finance and equipment and properly trained personnel
have militated against the steady development of horticulture. The Mission now has the services of a trained agriculturalist, whilst the Umbakumba Superintendent has farming experience.

In addition to horticulture, a number of aborigines are employed in work around the settlements, particularly in constructing kitchens and other settlement buildings, and in the construction of houses for the white staff. Houses for the natives are now under construction at the Mission. This building activity at the Mission involves the employment of a number of men in the sawmill and in the getting of timber from the bush.

In addition to these activities, the necessity of earning some cash income has been met in various ways in the past. This necessity has been less marked at the Mission which is partly supported by the contributions of white adherents, but at Umbakumba has meant the adoption of several courses. Labour used to be hired out to the Airbase authorities, including the RAAF during the war, with the bulk of the wages going into settlement funds. At various times the sale of photographs of 'native life' and other curios and souvenirs manufactured by both the natives and the Superintendent to flying-boat passengers and RAAF personnel, together with the sale of fruit, vegetables and eggs to the Airbase, brought in some revenue, as did sporadic pearling and similar marine activities. On the whole, however, no permanent means of raising cash has been found and activities in this direction change from time to time.

Besides the financial receipts from these enterprises,
there are two other major sources of revenue. The first of these, the payment of Child Endowment allowances to the Protector of Aborigines at the present rate of 10/- for every child under fifteen years of age used to be the most important single cash income at Umbakumba, an income without which the continuation of the settlement might well have proved impossible when the closing of the Airbase brought local sales to an end. The payment of Child Endowment allowances is a source of friction between the aborigines and the Whites which, whilst not often giving rise to overt expressions of this underlying feeling, often comes to the surface when open disputes with Whites occur. The natives know that this money is paid to the settlement, but since they are not accustomed to handling money, nor to having the money paid to themselves directly, they do not yet visualize or press for, the payment of the money direct; they do, however, wish to have the use of the money, even if they are agreeable to using the settlement as a bank. A typical instance of their attitude towards Child Endowment allowances was the remark of one man during a dispute with a white official: "Why do you say there's no money in my credit account? I've got plenty of children here, haven't I?" The money paid into his personal credit account is 2/- weekly, but this man did not compartmentalize his finances thus, and regarded the child endowment money as a personal credit and not something which was to be used as part of general settlement revenues.

Whilst it is clear from this statement that the native
regarded the allowance as something which he might spend as he wished and not merely for the direct benefit of his children, it must be acknowledged that this distinction is equally more honoured in the breach than the observance on most settlements, since these allowances are merely used as a part of general revenue and not specifically for the benefit of the children, nor is the way in which such money is spent necessarily accounted for separately.

The reasons why Government pays these allowances are somewhat obscure to most aborigines, but one man advanced the suggestion that it was because there are already large numbers of white men, and the government wished to balance this by having more black people; there were 'not enough' of the latter.

Another source of revenue from the Commonwealth is the provision of direct subsidies to aboriginal institutions. The amounts provided by these subsidies has increased in recent years, as have the prices of the goods imported by the settlements. Even with all these sources of revenue, however, the settlements have a hard struggle to make ends meet, whilst expansion and the improvement of such matters as native housing is rendered extremely difficult, even were priority given to their needs rather than those of the white staffs. Such subsidies, moreover, have only been granted since late 1952 (in the case of Umbakumba), and are at present almost equally balanced as a source of revenue by income from sales of shells which are exported as raw material for the manufacture of women's jewellery, or as made-up strings of
shell-necklaces, etc. The return from this export trade is considerable, but the whims of fashion make it unlikely that this field of enterprise will be open for very long, especially at the high levels of 1953. In that case, revenue from Commonwealth sources will again become the principal cash income at Umbakumba, unless the various potential resources of the area are exploited, as they might well be.1

The one activity which is carried on with consistently, however, is gardening, even though this is periodically interrupted by cyclones, droughts and insect pests which destroy the gardens. Gardening, and indeed the whole life of the settlement, may also be interrupted by the lack of other foods, principally flour, wheat and similar staples, all of which have to be imported, and without which the settlements cannot feed their residents. In such cases of emergency, the aborigines are sent into the bush to fend for themselves. Although a considerable area was put under cultivation at Umbakumba in 1953, and although there were no major disasters other than a longish period without rain, the returns from this work were very disappointing. The quality of the land is not such as to make primitive hoe-agriculture a sound proposition, since it is only in the richer riverine areas:

1. It was estimated in 1947 that a potential market of £1M. per annum existed for pearl-shell alone. This field of enterprise is eminently suitable for settlements such as those on Groote Eylandt.
such as the mission-site at Anurgha that suitable soil exists. Water deficiencies could be overcome to a greater extent by irrigation.

Such setbacks do little to stimulate the enthusiasm of the natives towards horticulture. It is often said that the Australian aborigine is incapable of developing any interest in horticulture, the grounds of the 'incapability' rarely being examined, though it is often implied that there is some congenital factor. Such observations are usually based on the undoubted lack of interest displayed by most aborigines in garden-labour, and their consequent low productivity. Both these are observable facts, but there is no evidence that the aborigines are inherently incapable of interest in horticulture or opposed to it. Their negative attitude is based on their knowledge of agriculture under specific conditions, i.e., under the primitive and unrewarding type of horticulture we have been considering. Under these conditions, and in view of the hard hand-labour which has to be put into such enterprise, their enthusiasm is understandably slight. Only by constant harassing and incessant supervision can the aborigines be induced to put any effort into gardening, and this very control arouses stronger resistances. As soon as the white overseer disappears out of sight, hoes are dropped, and everyone sits down.

It is the form of activity that replaces gardening, once the aborigines have sat down, however, that sheds light on their attitude towards gardening. Besides regarding horticulture
as of limited value, for the reasons stated above, their general relationship to the White conditions their attitude to the type of economy he has introduced, and to the type of labour he has laid down for them. The aborigines are quite capable of sitting for a whole day in the gardens, once the white overseer is out of sight, and spending their time complaining to each other about such matters as the work they are forced to do, the low wages they receive, the small quantity of food they are given, the general unpleasantness of white officials, and the desirability of getting away to Darwin.

This type of conversation will be repeated day after day, and indeed is the main type of conversation to be heard. These sessions undoubtedly have an important cathartic effect for the aborigines, as we will see, as does the very act of stopping the disliked labour. It will thus be seen that the attitude of the aborigines towards agriculture is not conditioned merely by a weighing-up of the pros and cons with regard to the effectiveness of horticulture as a type of economic enterprise, nor even by a comparison of the effectiveness of horticulture as against hunting-and-collecting as a method of producing food. The aboriginal attitude towards horticulture is profoundly affected by the general state of relations existing between themselves and the white men who employ them. Friction and antagonism in any other sphere is thus reflected in lack of interest and low productivity in horticulture itself.
The contrast often drawn between the hunting-and-collecting mode of life and horticulture, moreover, does not necessarily show the superiority of the latter. Apart from natural disasters which may wipe out the results of months of labour, the gardens by no means provide all the food needed even in a good year. With favourable harvests, enough vegetables to provide two meals a day per head for six months of the year may be produced (together with marine products). This position is not often achieved, whilst even in good years, the remaining six months of the year have to be provided for. Storeable crops are not generally produced, so that the diet for about half the year becomes extremely monotonous, and is often deficient in various nutrients. The natives also point out that food was sold to the Airbase in the past, and consider that the failure of the Whites to provide a greater quantity and more interesting variety of food is solely due to parsimony, idleness or malice, since it is believed that unlimited financial resources can be drawn on from the banks in Darwin, Brisbane and other cities. It is well known, moreover, that large stores of food exist in these places. The poorness of the diet is thus due, in the native view, as much to the inefficiency and malice of the Whites as to the limitations of horticulture under such conditions.

To understand their resentment, it is necessary to glance at the diet of the natives, a diet which they contrast unfavourably with that of the Whites. Native meals consist mainly of a wheat, rice or other cereal basis, with some additional food
in the form of vegetables, marine products, or beef, or goat-meat from time to time. For lengthy periods, however, cereal alone is often issued, a situation aggravated by the irregularity of the supply-ship's movements. Besides these staple foods, tea, sugar, jam and other items are issued with varying regularity (cf. Arnhem Land Exp. Rpts.), whilst naturally-occurring foods are used to supplement the diet when available (cf. Table 2). It would seem that if it were not for the latter, and for the additional naturally-occurring foods secured at weekends and in spare time, dietary deficiencies would inevitably be more strongly-marked than they are. Whilst most stations issue rations which the aborigines cook themselves, some issue cooked 'dampers', and others, such as Umbakumba, provide all the food in the form of cooked meals. Whilst this last method may well represent a step towards improved nutrition, in the context of Black-White antagonism, it merely serves as another irritant, in that the natives regard the issue of cooked meals as further regimentation, to which many of their fellows are not subject at other settlements. Their objections to the monotony of the diet have more substance.

We have noted that the aborigines are sent out at weekends to obtain their own food from the bush. This is greatly resented, being regarded as an unfair practice, since it is considered that a week's work should entitle them to be fed at weekends also, when they are not actually employed on settlement work. In fact, since there is often pressure to collect shells, etc.,
during these weekend trips, and since the sale of such articles can bring some return to the aborigines in the form of payment in tobacco or other goods, or money, the weekends are, in fact, not entirely available for the purpose of finding food. At the Mission, food is issued to those who attend services, a practice described (with no hint of sarcasm) by one aborigine as 'No pray, no tucker'.

The practice of sending the natives out bush at weekends is justified on the grounds that it serves to keep up their indigenous way of life. We have seen, however, that the parallel to the nomadic hunting-and-collecting of the past is a superficial one, since other demands on the time of the aborigines exist during these weekend trips. In addition, the area around the settlements becomes increasingly "eaten out" (Umbakumba is not a rich area as far as bush foods are concerned), so that it becomes more and more difficult to find food. Since the natives have to be back in camp for Monday morning, they are unable to travel too far from the settlement. Such a situation would not have occurred under normal circumstances in the indigenous mode of hunting-and-collecting. Only the sea provides any considerable amount of animal protein, moreover, and at certain seasons even fish are not so plentiful. Often, therefore, the most active hunter will find his efforts poorly rewarded.

Social tensions enter again into this situation, for there is a growing feeling that these weekend trips are unnecessary,
and that the aborigines should not have to go out to fend for themselves. Often, therefore, they make very little effort to find food, not merely because they know that it will be difficult, but because they resent having to hunt, and deliberately make do with a minimum until Monday morning. The aged are particularly liable to go without because of their diminished efficiency as hunters.

Hunting is still a matter of great interest to most Wanindiljaugwa, partly because it supplements the station-diet, and also because they are obliged to hunt at weekends. It is still greatly enjoyed for itself, however, and opportunities of securing food are rarely missed. Obligatory hunting at weekends is looked at in a different light.

Because of this perpetuation of traditional hunting techniques, there is no evidence of any decrease in the skill of the aborigines as hunters. We have seen in Chapter 2 the extent of their knowledge of the environment and the natural resources of both land and sea, as well as their skill in securing these products. Even the young are very knowledgable on these matters, and boys will play games imitating the tracks of various animals and birds by making marks in the sand with their hands and fingers. 1.

1. Skill in the recognition of footprints is still high, but varies considerably from person to person. Footprints are not known indiscriminately, however, and the footprints of those with whom one habitually associates will be more easily recognised. A young girl of 16 was the most expert person in this regard.
The natives do not show the same degree of skill remarked on by Warner for the Wulamba, when he states that even "a little girl eight or nine years old can immediately tell one who made a particular footprint even though there are a hundred or more people who have placed their footprints on the earth about it". (Warner, p.140). Such ability does not necessarily indicate the degree of skill in hunting, however, though it indicates the sharpness of their observation, a necessity in hunting and collecting. However, recognition of footprints is valuable in a society of shoeless people if only as a means of identification.

Besides making this comparison between the hunting-and-collecting life and horticulture, often to the detriment of the latter, the natives also object to the type of work involved in horticulture - hoeing, weeding, etc. as dull and arduous forms of work, which have none of the attractions of the bush life, with its comparative freedom to choose one's own course of activity, the occasional excitement of the chase, and the constant movement and change of scene, all of which compensate for the ever-present pressure to find food, and even for the possibility of not finding it. At times, much hard work is put into the gardens, particularly at the beginning of the planting season, when the prospect of obtaining a good harvest obtains. Failures, and the unpleasantness of the work, soon blunt the edge of this enthusiasm, however.

One factor inhibiting the development of more favourable
attitudes towards horticulture and settlement labour in general is the withholding of responsibility from aborigines. Most of the skilled tasks are performed by white men or half-castes, although some progress is being made in training a few men in such work as boat-management, etc. For the great majority of the aborigines, however, only the most unskilled and laborious jobs are available, and responsibility for the execution or supervision of tasks is rarely allocated to a native. Lack of interest in an arduous and boring job is thus reinforced by resentment of constant supervision and the lack of any real responsibility in the performance of the task.

The sum total of these antagonisms and smouldering, though frustrated, resentments, is what can only be described as passive resistance where it is not open sabotage.

After food, tobacco is the major pleasure and concern of the aborigines. The provision of tobacco is laid down by government regulation, but so far this has not been carried out at the Mission. The Wanindiljaugwa, with two or three exceptions, are heavy smokers when they have the opportunity, and soon get through the rations issued to them at Umbakumba. Journeys made by mission natives to Umbakumba nearly always have the primary objective of purchasing tobacco, but the amounts they are allowed to purchase are controlled by the Superintendent, whether the money is available or not. (The tobacco is sold at slightly under cost price).

The natives at Umbakumba receive a morning tobacco
ration of a quarter of a 'stick', a stick being approximately .50 oz., and half this amount again in the evening. This ration, however, is only given to adult men employed around the settlement, and to three women permanently occupied in kitchen-duties. If sent bush, the natives may receive some tobacco to last them for a while. The weekly ration would amount to about 1.6 oz., valued at slightly over 1/6d. In addition to this, those who are fully employed receive two shillings a week, which is placed in credit accounts which can be used for the purchase of goods from the settlement shop. Tobacco would probably be the favoured article purchased, were free choice allowed, but usually money may not be spent on this commodity, though when stocks are high both Mission natives and Umbakumba natives may be allowed to purchase tobacco. Other favoured commodities are cloth, mirrors, combs, and similar articles. The natives are convinced, wrongly, that these goods are sold to them at prices higher than those which obtain in Darwin and on Thursday Island.

Property and Exchange

At neither settlement do the aborigines receive money, other than that which finds its way from the mainland and which usually ends up being spent in purchases at settlement shops. None of the property-schedules recorded revealed the possession of more than a penny or two in cash by any aborigine; when money is acquired, it is quickly spent. Personal possessions
consist mainly of clothing; mirrors, pencils, suitcases, knives, axes, pipes (European and aboriginal), belts, towels, billy-cans, torches, enamel mugs, hammers, blankets and similar articles, form the bulk of the rest of the usual possessions, though few individuals would possess all of these; and even some very senior men have very few possessions.

Other than a dress or two, a pipe and possibly one or two other objects, the women have no defined personal property, but have the use of their husbands' possessions, and keep their meagre goods with his. Under the conditions of camp life, few articles are preserved in good condition for very long, and the constant use and handling of goods by relatives (especially children) soon leads to the ruin of most possessions. Even where they survive, and the poor quality of many trade-goods does not make for a long life, they become battered and filthy. A few men manage to keep some articles in good condition, but the general condition of most possessions is such that a value of no more than a few pounds could be put on even the largest collection of personal property. The acquisition of worldly goods is partly a matter of initiative and partly accident. A man who is a good turtle-hunter may soon run up a credit balance, being paid for the number of turtles he brings in. However, the aborigines do not compete for those limited jobs, such as turtle-hunting, which might bring in a monetary return. If they feel like turtling, they will ask to be put onto this work; if they are tired of it, or do not enjoy turtling, they will never seek such employment even if it is the only avenue for securing
cash. Thus, some men never make much money at all, in part because they never have any interest in or opportunity of doing the type of work which brings in cash. Opportunities of securing cash returns in the form of a credit balance are thus unequal.

It is open to everybody, however, to bring in bush foods from weekend and other bush trips. These are sold to the settlement, and may be paid for in tobacco or other goods, or an entry made in the seller's credit account. Credit accounts thus include wages, income from sales of products obtained as part of the normal working-task (e.g. turtles), and income from products acquired during bush-trips. These credit balances are sometimes wiped out as individual or collective punishments. Such occurrences, and ignorance on the part of the natives of the exact amounts in the accounts, and the ways in which deductions are made, bring the whole credit system into distrust among the aborigines.

The unequal opportunity to earn a money income is paralleled by the unequal opportunity of obtaining goods from the outside world. The usual visits paid to the outside world by Groote Eylandt aborigines, are to Darwin for court-cases, either as witness or prisoner; to Thursday Island, in the case of the Umbakumba natives, when the settlement vessel goes there to buy stores in emergency; to the mainland opposite, particularly to the Roper River, and, for some Mission natives, to the Rose River. While in Darwin, under the control of the Native Affairs Department, witnesses are given clothes, blankets and
money. These acquisitions are brought back to Groote Eylandt, the money often being converted into further clothing, etc. en route, so that a man who has had occasion to visit Darwin one or more times acquires a stock of articles far in excess of his fellows, a stock which may last him some years if he can restrain his relatives. 1.

In the past, exchange was conducted via specific trading-partners, all of whom would be relatives, or, if mainland men previously unknown, would be brought into fictional kinship relationship. Today also, men have particular friends at the Mission and on the mainland, especially the Roper River, through whom they obtain goods. The selection of a trading-partner, as we noted earlier, is based, not on any norm of kinship itself, but on such considerations as friendship, generosity, etc. The expression of this relationship, and the 'reasons' why this particular person has been selected, are always in terms of kinship, however.

The channels of exchange via the Roper and Rose Rivers, and via partners at Caledon and Blue Mud Bays, were established long before the arrival of the Whites. Today, there is a chain from the mainland concentration of aborigines at the Roper River 1. It may be noted that some men have acquired wives in Darwin whom they brought back with them, but whom they were forced to abandon at the Roper River.
and lately from the new station at Rose River, via the Aŋuŋgwa Mission-station to Umbakumba. A less important chain runs from Yirkalla, via the Balamumu groups whose tribal territories lie around Caledon and Blue Mud Bays, to Groote Eylandt. These chains are not formalized in the same way as those recorded for the mainland (Thomson, 1949, passim, Stanner, etc.) nor does any specific ceremonial exist in connection with the exchanges. A trading-partner is merely known as aburuwamura or wuragala, translated by the aborigines as 'mates', and the channels of trade follow naturally from the present-day locations and connections of the different groups. Other cultural influences also reach Groote Eylandt along these channels, such as the madjarara love-magic songs. In the acquisition of cultural and material possessions, the Waŋindiljaugwa and especially the Umbakumba people are at the end of a chain in more than merely geographical sense.

Property changes hands very rapidly, for in most cases a relative has only to ask sufficiently strongly for some thing to be given what he wants. The history of the travels of a single article from hand to hand is correspondingly lengthy. No definite exchange-equivalents emerge from these exchanges, however, whether in the form of a certain quantity of commodity A as being equivalent to a certain quantity of B or C, whilst even less is the value of a commodity for exchange purposes measured in terms of any single commodity such as tobacco or money. In view of this indigenous background, and since the aborigines do not
handle money, and have not learnt its significance, whether as a measure of value or in any of its other functions, no system of equivalents has emerged even today in exchange between the aborigines themselves. Even the older and more travelled men or the more educated youths, have no knowledge of the relative values of a shilling and a half-crown, though they realize that paper money is generally 'bigger' than coin.

On the other hand, they know that profits are made by selling goods produced at the settlement on the market outside. The younger married women who make up the shell necklaces for a while received 1d. per string, but this payment ceased after a while. The commonest type of these strings are sold for 3/6d. to wholesalers in the South, who in turn retail them at at least double this price. The natives, who have seen these necklaces on sale in the towns, and who are told by the Whites that the necklaces are sold to bring in revenue for the settlement, feel that they should receive a higher return in terms of food, clothing etc. than they actually do, especially the women concerned in their production. Apart from this complaint, they consider that the Whites have only to write to the towns for supplies of money or goods as they desire. When one bank account is exhausted, they say, the white man has only to write to another town where he has an account. If all banks in Australia fail to produce the money, there is always England. In any case, the white man can call on his 'brothers' in all these places to put more money into the bank for him. So great is the wealth of the white man in their
eyes that any explanation of limited resources is met with more or less polite derision.

Records of actual exchanges show that the amounts given in return for a particular article vary according to the ability of the purchaser to pay. He is not expected to hand over anything if he has no money or goods to exchange, and is therefore not excluded from acquiring goods merely by virtue of poverty. Moreover, all trading-partners are kinsmen, so that there is always some claim on their generosity by virtue of close relationship. Even in the case of valuable large possessions, there is no evidence of real buying and selling.

As far as ownership is concerned, the same considerations come into play. Thus a man who wishes to make a canoe will call on his relatives to assist him, again, not necessarily relatives who occupy a specific position in an integrated kinship order, but those to whom he looks on other grounds, e.g. their ability as workers. These people will not necessarily be regarded as part-owners, though they may be, but if they wish to assert some claim to the use and control of the canoe, they may do so. If a person needs a canoe badly, he will be able to approach relatives for this purpose even if he has not actually assisted them to make the canoe. The owner's rights are not rigidly held against all others, and unless he is actually using the canoe, or envisages using it at some future date, he will probably hand it over to anyone who puts in a serious request. Goods may be
handed over in return, and they may not, the guiding criteria
being the ability of the 'purchaser' to pay and the relative
needs of the two parties. This free-and-easy system does not
seem to be radically abused. Whilst there is no evidence that
certain people systematically batten on relatives who are more
energetic, skilful or richer than their fellows, good hunters
may find themselves contributing more than an equal share. Those
individuals who have been fortunate enough to acquire a stock
of goods in Darwin may indeed receive numerous requests for goods,
but this procedure is not due to idleness on the part of the
askers, but merely to their inability to obtain such goods by
their own efforts.

One man is a noted maker of canoes, and although he
often gives them to relatives who ask him to make them a canoe,
or who come to him once they know that he has one available, his
personal efforts are not entirely unrewarded. A man will normal­
ly try to give some thing in return if he is able, so that the
maker of canoes thus receives some recompense in most cases.
Claims on the generosity of a relative are not made merely in
the case of close relatives. Thus one man who had made a canoe,
Munjrarubuna (canoes are named, the names often being transferred
from canoe to canoe), shortly gave it to his classificatory young­
er brother in return for various articles of clothing; another
made a canoe which he gave to a classificatory father, who in his
turn, exchanged it for clothing and other goods with a classifica­
tory nabura. Such cases could be multiplied, but these cited
indicate that the claims of close relatives are not the only ones entertained. Once the owner ceases to use his canoe, he may allow another person to take it in exchange for other goods, or may merely let it pass into the hands of another person who persistently uses it, and whose property it becomes by virtue of constant use. There is not necessarily any formal exchange or handing-over of the canoe.

This attitude towards property is reflected in the language, where no word for 'to own' exists (there are, of course, possessive forms), nor even a specific verb 'to have'. The aboriginal concept of exchange is mirrored in the use of the verb -reijgena: to exchange. This verb is used in referring to the first step in exchange: if one hands over money in a shop, one is said to -reijgena: if one is given the goods first, equally the other person is said to -reijgena. In return, the second person 'gives' something (-uguguna, -ugugwa: to give). The English word 'pay' is often used in the same way as -reijgena, and has become a substitute verb -beijendena equivalent to the indigenous term. Thus, in speaking of the natural products brought in by the aborigines and sold to the settlement, the aborigines say nibeijendena jimenda: he 'hands over' turtles, this step in the transaction being followed by the handing over of money by the other person (here a woman): jiinugwa mani: she gives him money.

We have seen how kinship is used as a language in terms of which other relationships are expressed. Kinship is thus a permissive form of relationship which may become 'activated'
when other considerations make the stressing of a kinship link desirable. The desirability may be a matter of material interest, as in the case where a relative wishes to form a hunting-party, and calls on a skilled hunter to accompany him. If this man is, say, his 'father', according to the terminology, he will then state that B helps him because he is his 'father'. Similarly, if A desires a certain commodity owned by B, he will approach him, perhaps offering something in exchange, but if he has nothing available, appealing to him on the grounds of close kinship. The kinship relationship is still permissive in such a case to the extent that anyone might approach anyone else in such a closely-knit society, and not merely certain prescribed relatives.

It follows, however, that rigid rules in regard to the ownership of property or an insistence on fixed standards of exchange are unlikely to arise in a society of this kind. The permissive nature of kinship and the fact that everybody is closely related in this society makes for fluidity in economic relationships, a fluidity further reinforced by the poverty of material possessions of the aborigines. Although one can conceive of rigid property-rules and exchange-procedures even in a society where property is very limited, nevertheless the lack of durable and valuable possessions inhibits the growth of more definite concepts of ownership and of exchange. (Even the most valuable artefacts such as canoes, the product of weeks of labour, have only recently been made on the island, and are treated in much the same way as other possessions).
One economic situation in which prescribed patterns of behaviour might be expected to emerge is that of inheritance. Although no adults died during my stay, it appears that there is considerable fluidity about the procedure in regard to disposal of a deceased person's property. There is generally little to be inherited, and whilst a man's son and his nenija will normally receive the lion's share, informants insist that a MMB, a MB, a FF, or a FM may also inherit. The major inheritors thus seem to be one's sons and close affines (the nenija), with a secondary claim on the part of senior relatives. Inheritance is limited to males, and wives do not inherit. A woman's few possessions would go to her daughters and husband, but particularly personal possessions of the deceased person, such as the clothes they normally wore, would probably be destroyed. Inheritance rules, then, exhibit the general lack of rigidity evident in other economic behaviour-patterns.

**Kinship and Marriage**

The foregoing consideration of the significance of kinship in economic contexts leads us to an examination of present-day modifications of the indigenous kinship and marriage systems, the general outlines of which we have already discussed. Polygamy was an early object of attack both at the Mission and Umbakumba. The use of force, persuasion and moral pressure, backed by material sanctions such as the ability to withhold food and to expel natives from the settlements, has led to the rapid
diminution of polygyny. At Umbakumba today, there are only four polygynists left, all old men, after whose death polygyny will come to an end. The aborigines, whilst recognising the superior power of the white man to enforce this change, do not accept the arguments by which the change is justified, although one or two Christianized and privileged men at the Mission will profess a nominal revulsion at the idea of polygyny.

Men who have had wives taken from them and handed to other men, nurse a vain hope that they may one day regain these women. Even the younger men initially made some attempt to take more than one wife, sometimes by fleeing into the bush after seizing the women, but were pursued and the women taken from them. The attitude of even the young boys towards monogamy is not one of approval. When asked how many wives he would like when he grew up, one boy gave a typical reply. He stated that three would be desirable: one for cutting out 'sugarbag', one for digging yams, and one for collecting shellfish. The reply was always in terms of these material considerations. Women, on the other hand, are divided in their opinions, some saying that polygyny was unobjectionable—especially those who got on well with their co-wives—and others stressing the friction that used to occur between co-wives. Few of the younger women expressed any desire to be partners in polygamous marriages, but all of these found sexual partners outside marriage.

One of the strongest sanctions available to the Whites is their ability to expel natives who do not conform. Women have been taken off men as punishment for various 'crimes', but expul-
sion is a much more serious matter. One man, accused of adultery was expelled from the Mission for six months, and spent this period wandering around the northern part of the island with his father, mother and sister, who decided to accompany him into exile. Apart from being cut off from certain material advantages of settlement-life, complete separation from human society is a sanction severe enough to deter even the most rebellious and non-conformist native.

Under duress, therefore, the natives have accepted the inevitability of monogamy, and make their marriage-arrangements on the basis of one wife per man. These arrangements are usually agreed to by the Whites, whose major concern is to pair the natives off. Only one case has been noted where an arrangement has been made to marry a young girl to a much older man who has already one wife: this will, of course, be prevented. As Table 15 shows, the sex-ratio is roughly equal, so that there is no great problem of non-availability of wives in the long run. As far as the immediate situation at Umbakumba is concerned, there are only two adult men (one of 29\(\frac{1}{2}\) years of age, and the other 28) without wives. These men will take wives from amongst the young girls now approaching the age at which they will leave the dormitory. Their future wives will thus be much younger than they are. Table 15 also reveals an alarming disparity between the numbers of males and females under 14 years of age, both at Umbakumba and Aguragwa. This will undoubtedly create great problems in the future, since the existence of a superfluity of 25 women in this age-group may
well lead to revived pressure from the natives in favour of the reintroduction of polygyny. This problem has yet to be faced by both whites and natives.

It may be noted that many of the young boys react violently to the suggestion that X or Y will, in fact, be their future marriage-partners. How far this is due to embarrassment on the part of a people who are very reticent on such subjects, it is very difficult to say, but there is no doubt that a number of them do not wish to be married to the persons destined for them. It also appears probable that some of them will resist such proposals, and will attempt to find partners for themselves. An increase in 'adultery' may therefore be expected.

Many of the traditional social controls in the field of marriage and kinship have broken down. In 1940, Rose conducted an elaborate survey of avoidances, showing that these were still observed, but today virtually nothing remains of these practices. Firstly, rigid segregation of the adult women from the young males has been broken down by the conditions of camp life. Furthermore, constant contact with the women in the course of work around the settlement, at the kitchen at meal-times, etc. makes segregation impossible. Although the young girls and young boys collect their food separately from the kitchen, and the women and men likewise, this is a settlement rule, and not one instituted by the natives, though at least initially, it would have met with their approval. Whilst there is no rigid segregation of the old type, as far as the adults are concerned, however, some avoidances may still be
observed from time to time. An older man will generally sit at some distance from his dadidia even though he may be talking to her. More important than this, however, is the care men take not to be left on one's own in the camp or elsewhere with a woman. Such a situation would automatically lead to suspicion on the part of the other adults that the pair had adulterous intentions.

Though traditional patterns of segregation have been greatly modified and restricted, new patterns have been imposed by settlement life. The first of these is the separation of the children from their parents. From about 5 to 6 years of age, the children are taken into the dormitories (at the Mission, the age of entry into the dormitories is later, around 10 to 11 years). At the Mission, the children are allowed to visit their parents in the evenings and at weekends, but at Umbakumba the children are not allowed into the adults' camp in the evenings, and are rounded up at night when the time comes for them to go to sleep. Except for casual contacts during the daytime, therefore, children do not see much of their parents during the week. At weekends, they are allowed to go to the adults' camp, but since the adults are sent out into the bush at weekends, in fact this permission does not mean very much. This policy is explained as part of an attempt to wean the children away from the 'tribal' influence of the older people, and to introduce them into more 'civilized' ways. Since, however, the children are
constantly trying to see their parents and are attracted to the camp when events of social interest occur, they are continually getting into trouble, and end up by being punished.

The placing of the children in dormitories appears to have met with some initial support from the parents, but at the present-day this policy arouses the strongest opposition from parents. When a young child is about to be taken into the dormitory, the greatest care is taken to avoid a clash with the parents if it is expected that a parent will object, by such methods as removing the child when the parent is out working. A father who might otherwise have resisted, thus tends to accept a fait accompli. Whilst the children themselves find some initial attraction in the companionship of the dormitory, the novelty wears off, and the desire to see more of their parents and relatives leads to impatience with the restrictions imposed on them.

Besides this segregation-pattern, there is a considerable barrier placed in the way of contact between the young girls and the boys. Though they attend the same classes, they live in different dormitories at both settlements. In the past, very rigid measures were enforced to ensure that contact between the half-caste boys and girls at the Mission was kept to a minimum, or took place under supervision. The dormitories were locked at night, and the windows secured. Today, vigorous methods are still employed with regard to the aboriginal girls, although the 'firm control' of early years has been modified.
At Umbakumba, the girls' dormitory is locked at night, and at both settlements, selected natives are given the task of watching over the girls. The boys at Umbakumba sleep in close proximity to white living-quarters, thus enabling close supervision, a white assistant being allocated the responsibility for supervision of the girls' dormitory, with the additional help of a native couple who supervise the girls when they are out working in the bush or at other times when they were not at school. When stores run out, necessitating the sending of the great majority of the natives into the bush to fend for themselves, the girls were sent out as a party under the control of this native couple, who had the responsibility of providing for them as well as watching over them. In the past, young children would have been provided for by their parents, nenjinja, or other relative with whom they were living. The problem of providing for over twenty young girls in one party, therefore, would never have arisen, and it is not surprising that the young girls reported that they were going hungry and having to satisfy their hunger withattle-bark and resin. One young girl ran away repeatedly to her father, being recaptured each time, and eventually punished by being beaten by the native in charge of the young girls. Eventually the situation necessitated the allocation of more men to the young girls' party for the purpose of ensuring a bigger food-supply. As with the weekend bush-trips, therefore, the analogies between such bush-expeditions and indigenous practice are superficial, and living off the land therefore proved ineffective.
In addition to segregation in different dormitories, and supervision at other times, there are separate parts of the beach on which the boys and girls are expected to play separately, and on which they are expected to stay after work or school is finished. The parts of the sea where each sex may swim are similarly defined.

Associated with this new pattern of segregation is a strongly-marked prudery amongst the young children. This is in part a continuation of the attitudes established as a result of indigenous sex-segregation, though these attitudes have been reinforced by the new way of life. The existence of such attitudes, however, does not mean the observance of rigorous moral standards in practice, rather the opposite, since the development of healthy attitudes towards the other sex is thus inhibited. It is, indeed, the proclivity of the Waŋindiljaugwa towards frequent illicit intercourse that gives this nominal puritanism its strength. In a situation where everybody suspects his neighbour of having potential, if not actual, designs on his wife, more particularly amongst the younger married adults, the separation of the sexes at an early age reinforces, rather than weakens, the traditional pattern. The prudery of the Waŋindiljaugwa is especially noticeable in comparison with the attitudes of the mainlanders towards sex. Even allowing for a degree of over-statement and special interest in this field of social life, the literature does indicate a willingness, if not an enthusiasm on the part of the Wulamba to talk about such matters,
and to discuss the most intimate details of sexual life. 
(Perndt, R.M. and C.H., 1951). Such attitudes are entirely 
foreign to the Wanindiljaugwa who shun all such conversation, 
profess ignorance of sexual matters, and are most reticent 
about providing any information about their own or other people's 
sexual behaviour. On the other hand, they talk with great 
interest about known cases of adultery, though they never discuss 
the sexual details, but rather the social repercussions.

The young children, unaccustomed to harmonious asso­
ciation with the opposite sex, arrive at the age of marriage 
ill-prepared for this step. From the time of puberty onwards, 
there is some attempt to indulge in sexual association with the 
opposite sex, fostered rather than inhibited by enforced segre­
gation. Sexual association with members of one's own sex was 
not noted, though it is difficult to elicit much evidence on 
this matter from the young girls. Innuendoes and sexual jokes, 
however, are common.

The attitudes established by the indigenous forms 
of segregation, then, have hardly been changed by settlement 
life, but possibly intensified. The struggle between the 
younger men and their elders arising from the exclusion of the 
young men from early marriage and from contact with the women 
in the past led to the development of prudery and avoidance of 
discussion of sexual matters, accompanied by a considerable 
amount of adultery and illicit intercourse. As we shall see
below, adultery remains extremely common.

The growing interest of the youths in sex is reflected in the introduction to Groote Eylandt of mainland love-magic. This consists in the singing of magical songs, generally in the Mungubuju language, and the performance of various symbolic magical rites designed to attract a woman for the purpose of sexual intercourse. This type of magic, the only really flourishing type amongst the Wanindiljaugwa today, is imported from the Roper River Mission, an especial hotbed of the madjarada or diadara love-magic. From thence it is carried over to Anurugwa, where it is now well-established, though not all youths are familiar with it. Although all known instances are those in which the magic is to be used by males, it is said that some of the women at the Mission are also practitioners.

The effectiveness of this magic is said to be considerable. The song is sung privately by the person working the magic, and some action is taken which establishes real or imagined contact between the singer and the object of his attentions. One may light a fire, the smoke of which will be seen by the girl; one may give her food, tea, or an object such as a blanket impregnated with magic (or with "poison", i.e., a magically effective substance. Other contacts are imaginary: one may, for example, play with an 'aeroplane' (a wooden whirling toy) which is pulled until it breaks. (There are other parallels to this symbolic movement in the magical practices). The piece of wood then flies off to where the girl is lying with her legs apart.
The 'aeroplane' hits her vulva, which becomes covered with blood, and then flies back to the youth. When he goes to pick it up, the girl is standing there. The youth, on being asked by the girl, denies that he has charmed her, but she takes him away, and they have intercourse. The great variety of objects which may be charmed includes sugar, a handkerchief, a canoe, food, marbles, (which the girl sees in the sky like a moon), flowers, razor-blades, letters and clothing. (The specific denial on the part of the youth that he has charmed the girl recurs in most versions). In one text, the girl asks "Nungu' da jinjurauwamura?: "Did you "poison" me?", and the youth replies "Ningenibala da": "I don't know anything (about it)"

Adultery and the Settlement of Disputes

Since most disputes occur over adultery, or at least use known cases of adultery, past and present, as pretexts for precipitating disputes which may arise from other causes, it is appropriate to consider adultery and the settlement of disputes together.

Whether magical means are used or not to induce a woman into participating in illicit sexual relations, such relations are extremely common. We have seen that the stealing of young girls as marriage-partners was common in the past, as was the steadling of grown women. Today, such practices have come to an end as a result of white power, but people enter into illicit sexual
relations for shorter duration very frequently. Scarcely a week or two goes by without some case coming to light, and in a society where the movements of every individual are always under the notice of at least one other person, and where life is lived out-of-doors, very few cases of adultery escape notice. Since there are no unmarried women, and sexual relations between the older youths and girls in the dormitories are now effectively prevented, all illicit relations are in fact adultery.

Whilst there is a general tendency to indulge in these illicit relations, it is principally the younger men and women who are involved, and of these, some individuals are more active in this direction than others. Many of the men who call another women *dadigia*, but who are only permitted one wife, feel no compunction about sexual relations with such a woman, and regard their actions as largely justifiable. Further, they seem to extend this attitude towards almost any other women of the opposite moiety, the moiety thus being a limiting institution even in illicit relations.

When a couple are discovered (often by young children who run across them in the bush), there is a great deal of recrimination. Accusations are hurled about, past misconduct on the part of the guilty parties and on the part of the accusing husband or wife is recalled, and the utmost publicity given to both the present incident and all others in which the various parties have been involved.

Information on indigenous legal mechanisms is
unfortunately limited, but enough exists to give a general picture, using hints in the literature and comparative material in addition. Disputes, of course, soon bring in other relatives on both sides, and it is fascinating to watch the development of a public dispute, for a crowd of people will suddenly separate out into opposed sides, when a critical stage is reached, as when the throwing of a spear precipitates rapid alignment. In a confused and milling mass, each man will have to watch his neighbour, for allegiances are decided upon on the spot, and do not necessarily follow established patterns. The man standing by one's side, therefore, may throw in his lot with one party to a dispute and decide that you are a suitable target for his wrath, by virtue of some kinship relationship to the principal parties or on the basis of other considerations. In such disputes, in fact, once the initial alignment has been shaped, the individuals who precipitated the outbreak, whilst often in the centre of the fray and swaying its course, may become merely minor figures, and the leadership of the dispute taken up by other individuals on both sides. The resurrection of old scores with mutual recrimination and accusation, soon spreads the dispute far beyond the initial parties to the dispute and often far beyond the initial casus belli. It is for this reason that occasions on which large numbers of people came together in the past such as the Amunduwuraria, were fraught with tension in the initial stages, and needed careful control by the elders. Often there was a ceremonial affirmation of friendship between the
different groups participating.

In the past, disputes which arose over a serious crime, such as a spearing, or which had dragged on for a long time, and had led to serious strife between different groups, were settled by means of the institution described by the verb gwadijununa. This consisted of a formalized throwing of spears at the guilty person by the offended parties, the offender being allowed to take evasive action. An eye-witness description of the gwadijununa procedure may be obtained from Tindale's account of an incident in which the person who had the spears thrown at him was accused of being "responsible", according to divination, for the death of another person (Tindale, 1925, pp. 75-6). The ceremonial stabbing in the thigh which marked the conclusion of such disputes in the mainland equivalent institution, the makaratj, has not been reported for Groote Eylandt. Any number of spears might be thrown by the wronged person and his allies. It appears that the different sides in such disputes were not formed on the basis of specific kinship relationships, nor on the basis of clan or moiety allegiance, though the principles described in the reckoning of kinship (cf. Chapter 5) operated here also, since a person would seek the alliance of close relatives of various kinds, his own patrilineal relatives being the people most likely to assist him.

In general, the types of dispute, and the methods of settling disputes, were practically identical with those described for the mainland (Warner, pp. 168-176). Ceremonial settlement
of disputes by the throwing of spears would only be held in the case of more serious offences, such as a killing, 'responsibility' for a death as above, abduction, etc. Today this procedure is forbidden, though there was talk of staging such a settlement when some Balamumu arrived at Umbakumba, one of whose members was accused of having precipitated trouble in the past for which expiation had not been made. The older men restrained the hot-heads, pointing out that the white man's law would not make any discrimination if killings ensued.

This type of settlement stands at one pole of the range of available methods. At the other is the settlement of minor disputes by the persons involved, sometimes accompanied by an exchange of abuse or a fist-fight. Rarely can any cause of dispute other than the most trivial be kept within such bounds, however. The offended party will stamp up and down the camp, cursing the wrongdoer, threatening violent action and attempting to enlist the sympathies and practical assistance of bystanders. He usually succeeds, and soon weapons are seized. Forbidden shovel-spears and boomerangs appear from nowhere and the scene is filled with milling figures.

The essential point of this procedure is the giving of publicity to the case, the exposure of the wrongdoer, and the mobilization of support. It is, in Warner's well-chosen words "a kind of debate where angry men may air their fancied or actual grievances and state their position in controversial matters." (Warner, p.168). The apparent chaos and arbitrariness
of the proceedings thus mask a very important function served by this 'uproar'. In a society where no formal courts exist, in which there are no special legal organs, no judge, jury or lawyers, other than one's own relatives and friends, a case can only be presented to the community at large. The pros and cons are given the widest publicity, and the judging of the case is carried out by the bystanders, often in the form of direct support of one side or other in the fighting. Whilst the older men do exercise control in these disputes, and seek to restrain the more violent participants, everybody is entitled to a voice (the women, of course, are excluded and stand to one side), and there is not even a formal council of the old men in which such cases may be brought up.

The real function of the shouting of accusations and expression of feelings and opinions may be seen when a man actually throws a spear during one of these disputes. Although the Wanindiljaugwa can hit a mark at up to sixty feet, they hurl their spears at their opponents in these battles from very close distances, but even from ten yards away, they will carefully miss. They do not, in fact, really intend to hit anyone, since this would precipitate a really serious dispute, rather are they concerned to show the strength of their emotions about the issue under dispute.

In these disputes, as when people -gwadijuna, the alignment of forces is not according to a prescribed kinship pattern, nor necessarily according to clan or moiety ties. There is
some tendency for those who are on one side in one particular
dispute to line up again on the same side in a related dispute,
but much of the alignment is ad hoc and changes from case to case.

Usually, the dispute is brought to a close by the exhaustion and satisfaction of the principal and most active parties, and the gradual calming-down of both sides by the old men, and nowadays by the Whites. The next stage is a discussion, nowadays usually in the form of a camp 'meeting'. Serious cases which result in spearings or killings lead to the committing of the offenders for trial in Darwin.

If the dispute can be referred to a meeting, however, the usual procedure is to allow both sides to speak their case, with perhaps some comment or guide from the older men and the Whites. A wronged husband will thus upbraid his wife before the assembly, the accused adopting a number of defences. He will rarely show any great signs of remorse in an adultery case, however, and one may be fairly certain that no pangs of conscience are felt. An attempt at self-justification will always be made, if there is a peg on which to hang such a defence. Thus, if a man calls a woman with whom he has had adulterous relations dadinji, he will point this out, and suggest that she really ought to have been his wife, and that he does not accept the present position. He will claim that his right to the woman is as strong as that of the husband, if not stronger, especially if the husband called his wife by some other term than dadinji.
before marriage, as it is very likely that he did. Failing this, he will adopt the line that the husband is himself no model of virtue, and will probably be able to cite instances in support of this argument also. Finally, he may extend this argument by suggesting that although the guilt may be laid on his shoulders, he has done no more than most of his fellows.

A particular case may elucidate the procedure. Two men were surprised in the bush with two women who were the wives of other men. These two women are notorious seducers, and their husbands notoriously tolerant of their lapses. The guilty parties were surprised in the act by another two men, X and Y. With the agreement of the white superintendent, the man X, but not the husband, punished one of the women by hitting her with a leather belt. The other woman did not appear to receive this punishment. A little later it transpired that X was particularly incensed about this case, and had volunteered to carry out the punishment, instead of the husband, not because of his high moral standards, but because he and his partner who had found the adulterers, had themselves only recently had illicit sexual relations with the two women. A further meeting resulted, at which it was decided that payment should be made by all four men to the wronged husband.

The payments were never actually completed in one case because the guilty man had not enough possessions with which to pay, and the matter was therefore not pressed. As with the amounts handed over in exchange, there is thus no rigid demand for one's pound of flesh; the specific situation of both parties and the
practicability of the proposal are taken into consideration. The amounts decided upon (one or two pairs of trousers and one to three shirts) were also varied according to the wealth of the guilty persons.

The two men who had discovered the adulterers conducted their defence on the grounds that they called one of the women dadinja, and added that her husband had never compensated them in the form of some gift for foregoing their rights to this woman. Such a suggestion was probably a rationalization of their position, for although it was customary for men to make presents to the fathers of their children's spouses, and men might also give presents to their wives' fathers, such customs were highly informal, and in any case, did not apply to the foregoing of rights over a woman, according to all other evidence. It will also be noted that this defence only applied in the case of one of the women.

The effects of white influence on the methods of settling disputes are considerable. The gwadijuna institution has been replaced by the committing of serious cases for trial in Darwin. Besides the sending of prisoners for trial to Darwin, the forces of the law can be called on in other ways. Policemen may be called in from the Roper River or other points to deal with cases, or the visit of a Native Affairs Department Patrol Officer utilized to show the power of the Administration. The natives therefore make no great distinction between Patrol Officers and policemen - they are both 'Government' and appear to them to have
similar functions.

The aborigines are fully conscious, however, that the step of calling in outside assistance cannot be lightly undertaken, since it would lead to a reflection on the ability of the White settlement staffs to control their settlements. They are also aware that the use of firearms and similar methods of control are illegal. Whilst they know that they are entitled to present their case to visiting policemen and Patrol Officers, they are aware that there is a community of interest between white men which makes it unlikely that their side of the case will receive equal attention. When such officials visit the settlements, they are housed and fed by the white settlement staff, with whom they are personally friendly, so that real criticism of the actions of white men on the settlements is at the very best inhibited. As far as inspection of housing and living conditions is concerned, the visits of outside officials are well known in advance, so that a period of preparation may be undertaken. There is, however, some pressure on the white settlement staffs to attempt to solve disputes on the spot, and to avoid calling in outside help unless unavoidable.

In spite of the wide formal powers of a Protector of Aborigines, however, and the existence of wider powers in fact, since he may be far from centres of higher authority and free from direct supervision, there are no radically new legal mechanisms which he can introduce himself beyond the use of superior
force. Superior force can take several forms. In one case of adultery, the offending party had his own young wife removed from him and sent back to the dormitory for a period. Expulsion from the settlement for a period is another powerful sanction, as are the withholding of credit balances or the wiping-out of the latter altogether. Recently three men were banished altogether from the island, and held at places on the mainland. In one of these cases, arms were carried by white men, a practice which has diminished of recent years, the revival of which led to great perturbation amongst the natives. Electric shocks have been administered in the past by whites as punishment, and it is alleged that visiting officials have given floggings.

In general, however, disputes have to be solved by discussion and reconciliation. It is for this reason that the open dispute of the 'debate' type still persists and will probably continue to persist in the absence of any other suitable legal mechanisms. The apparent chaos of this procedure, however, as we have seen, masks a very real method of settling disputes.

When prisoners are sent to Darwin for trial, there are usually a number of accompanying witnesses. One prisoner who had committed two murders, and was acquitted on both occasions, was detained in custody working for a Native Affairs officer in Darwin. As a result, he came back a fairly rich man by native standards, and apparently enjoyed his time there within certain limits. Witnesses are also made to work whilst staying
in Darwin, and for this reason no very clear distinction is
drawn by the natives between going to Darwin as a witness and
going as a prisoner. This does not mean that they do not ap­
preciate the difference, for they realize that Fanny Bay gaol
is not an institution to which one would wish to be sent. How­
ever, owing to the accident of acquittal in this and other cases
(acquittals which appear to have been justified), the prospect
of going to Darwin on trial is not quite as alarming as it might
be expected to be.

Since the court proceedings, conducted in English, are
practically meaningless to the natives, their knowledge of the
significance of white legal procedure is further limited, though
they know enough to distinguish the law from justice (cf. Elkin,
1946, passim). Whilst criticising individual officials for
brutality, they do not fail to remember cases of friendliness
and sympathy, and wait for a man to show his true colours be­
fore condemning him. Individual policemen will therefore be
spoken of with friendliness, and one man remarked without the
slightest trace of irony: "Native Affairs are very good to us.
They mind us when we go to prison". As far as 'Government' in
general is concerned, the natives rarely have much contact with
'Government' except in the person of the Patrol Officer or
policemen. It is sometimes said that natives do not visualize
the Government as an institution, and can only understand that
certain persons are manifestations of 'government'. This does not
do enough credit to the aboriginal ability to think in abstract terms, for the Wanindiljaugwa, at least, are aware that 'Government' is some sort of body invested with great powers, of which the officials they actually see are merely representatives, and minor representatives into the bargain. Although they know the chain of authority up to the level of the Director of Native Affairs, they have no knowledge of higher levels of Government, and none at all of Parliament or of the relationship of the Northern Territory to the Commonwealth. Whilst not confusing the office-bearer with the office (though the extent of knowledge varies from person to person), they are confused about the policy of 'Government', for individual officials tend to administer justice and administrate on the spot with a free hand, and policies vary from official to official. Whilst it is realized that two officials belong to, and are representative of 'Government', there is often complete confusion as to what the intentions of 'Government' are. One representative may be kind and sympathetic, the next harsh and one-sided.

**Black-White Relations**

Although we have necessarily considered Black-White relations throughout this work, it is necessary to examine the subject somewhat more closely. We have seen that the present-day situation is fraught with numerous specific sources of tension, all important in themselves, and all to one extent or another serving to exacerbate Black-White relations in other
fields, and eventually leading to a total situation of near-permanent hostility.

Under these conditions, even the simplest situations may lead to the development of further friction. The misuse of aboriginal names and the lack of understanding of the aboriginal system of naming, for example, together with an unwillingness on the part of Whites to learn the working of this system, creates constant irritation. Lack of a proper list of correct names leads to considerable trouble every time that a full register is needed, and a parade of all natives has to be called. Names then have to be sorted out on the spot; these names have then to be correlated with the versions (often totally incorrect) in existing records. In such a situation, natives are accused of altering their names, a practice which is condemned, of failing to co-operate, and of failing to pay attention.

Names in fact do change. Not only does a person receive a name at birth, or before birth (cf. the institution of the wanunembilja dolls), but any one of his relatives may give him a name of his own devising. Each of these names will be perfectly valid, though only one or two will be in general use; each individual may well have a large number of different names. A person may receive a further name from a senior relative who decides to hand on his personal name to a son or other junior relative. This generally occurs when fathers hand their personal names on to sons (not necessarily the eldest), but a MB
may equally hand his name down to a ZS, and not to his own son. A similar practice occurs between women, though to a lesser extent. Other names are obtained as honorifics, especially by the use of Makassan names in the past. Finally, nicknames very often pass into common use as the normal name by which a person is known. Such nicknames comment on some peculiarity of the individual - a broken leg, a large head, his habit of gossipping - or they may be given him in childhood and persist long afterwards. Some young men are still called by names signifying 'constant excreter' and 'constant crier' from their baby-days. Ordinary names may often be derived from the names of places in the clan-territory of the person named, whilst one case was noted where a man had exchanged his name with a mainland man.

Such complications are not easy to follow, but the absence of any attempt to understand this system inevitably leads to friction, since the natives do not respond to the name recorded in registers. They resent what they feel is an affront to their personal rights when told that they are using a name which is not recorded and that they should stick to one which they have abandoned or handed onto somebody else. Confusion is worse confounded by the inability of white people to speak the native tongue.

In view of the importance of means of communication, especially verbal communication, and the communication of ideas, between Black and White, it is worthwhile examining briefly the characteristics of present-day education. At Umbakumba a combined
class for children of both sexes and all ages is normally the rule, with some effort at separating the very young from other age-groups. Limited staff and facilities, however, place a great strain on any teacher who attempts to split up the class, and as a result the older children tend to get bored with drawing, singing and similar pursuits, whilst much of the instruction passes over the heads of the younger children. Teaching is carried on by exposure to Standard English, with the addition of the use of some pidgin. The children thus pick up what they can of the language, and of the instruction given in the language, as they go on. There are a few natives at the Mission who have a fair command of Standard English, but none at Umbakumba, and at both settlements, the normal medium of intercourse is pidgin. At Umbakumba, there is no white person who speaks Enindiljaugwa (a few isolated words are used), though a half-caste assistant has a good control of the native tongue. At AjuRGwa, the staff used to include one white speaker of the language who has since left, but there is a half-caste who speaks Enindiljaugwa well. At the latter place, efforts are being made to instruct the white staff in the native tongue, but as yet nobody has acquired any practical control of the language. Teaching at the Mission is carried on under the supervision of a trained teacher, and since the war, a trained teacher has also been available at Umbakumba; in both places, more or less skilled natives act as assistant teachers.
The principal subjects taught at Umbakumba are reading and writing, religious instruction, drawing, singing, English and recitation. At Anurgwa higher standards exist, and one native has started on a correspondence course for more advanced study. Inability to speak the native language, crowded classes, inadequately trained assistants, and lack of suitable materials and facilities, however, all combine to frustrate the work of even the best-intentioned teacher. At Umbakumba there is a tendency to use the school-time for various forms of play-singing, games, etc. - rather than formal instruction. The standard of scholarship, therefore, is not high, and the notions acquired by the pupils of the outside world somewhat confused. Though Umbakumba children know by rote over a hundred songs and hymns, the significance of which they do not necessarily appreciate, they have virtually no knowledge of geography, history, mathematics, etc.

A large part of education consists of religious instruction. The children show great interest in the stories from the Bible, and even the older adults show a considerable knowledge of Biblical lore. As we will see, this instruction has had considerable effects on their world-outlook, not because it has led them to Christianity, but rather because it has been combined with indigenous mythology to provide a new interpretation of the Universe. The ineffectiveness of religious teaching as a means of proselytization may be seen from the fact that the first baptism at Anurgwa was only recorded in 1951, after thirty years of contact.
with the natives (*Australian Church Record*, p. 8).

Apart from schooling, which occupies from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 hours in the morning and about two hours in the afternoon at Umbakumba, the time of the children is taken up in the performance of various tasks which have to be carried out in the morning before school, and after school in the evening. (The adults are also required to bring in a certain amount of firewood in the early morning in order to qualify for breakfast). Such tasks include feeding and giving water to poultry, milking goats, watering gardens, acting as house-servants, washing clothes, minding children, collecting hens' eggs, etc. All of these tasks have to be performed daily and are usually allocated to specific individuals, but other tasks are carried out before school and after school as the needs of the settlement require. Such tasks include the carrying of bags of soil, or goat-manure, working in the gardens, collecting shells, etc. If urgent, such tasks take priority over school-work.

All these tasks are avoided by the children as assiduously as the adults avoid doing the work allotted to them. The desire of the children to play instead of work is so strong that they risk punishment time after time. Even after a severe beating with a heavy rubber strap, they soon revert to the behaviour which has brought them punishment, and may be found playing in corners of the settlement. They rarely seem to bear much open animosity towards the individuals who administer punishment, and have to a large degree accepted such punishment as inevitable under their present conditions of life. The contrast with the extremely
indulgent behaviour of parents towards their children, a feature also noted by Warner for the Wulamba (Warner, p.91), is very striking, and in private both children and parents deplore the use of physical violence towards children. In the past, some of the parents did not accept this as quietly, and certain defections from the settlement occurred which natives attributed mainly to the parents' resentment of the beating of their children.

Apart from resentment at the use of such methods of control, parents say that they can see little point in the education that children receive, and ask what value there is in learning songs, poetry and games. They acknowledge that the children enjoy much of the instruction, but are unable to see any connection between this form of education and the life the children will be called upon to lead when they leave school. Present-day education is contrasted with indigenous patterns of education, whereby a child was brought up to play his part in the life of the community from the earliest age, and was also allowed considerable opportunity to indulge in childish pastimes, in the way that appealed to him, and not only in the form of organized games. The more advanced instruction given to children and youths in the past, their initiation into the wider fields of knowledge about the institutions of the society through such media as the learning of the clan-song and during other ceremonies connected with rites de passage, have no parallel in present-day education, they point out. The institution of guardianship and instruction by the nenija, moreover, has completely
disappeared.

In spite of the limitations of present-day education, the teaching of the Whites has had certain effects on the aboriginal conception of the world, as distinct from the achievement of its explicit aim of imparting a certain amount of information. The totemic scheme has been modified, as we have seen, but wider modifications of ideas on cosmogony and cosmology have resulted from white contact and white teaching.

The ultimate fate of mankind, as far as the older men are concerned (the men who 'don't savvy alogura (house)' or who 'don't savvy Jesus') is still the journey to Bralgu. The modern spirit of the dead, however, instead of making the final stages of his journey, as some versions of the myth suggest, by using a totemic animal appropriate to his clan as transport, often uses modern means of transport (cf. Warner, p.366). Other versions suggest that after leaving the North-East Islands for Bralgu, the spirits actually change into these animals. The animal or other transport-medium is derived from a suitable totem; the clans having the Ship totem now go by this means or by the newer totem, Aeroplane (Catalina). Lights seen moving over the sky at night are often said to be the spirit of a dead person of one of the Ship clans on his way to Bralgu; these clans can also use the dolphin. The Wanuna Darbalaguwa go by dugong, goose, native companion, crow, or parrot-fish and the Wanindiljaugwa by shark; the Wura Gaugwa can utilize the service of the parrot, sawfish or
stingray; the WanuAwerigba the eagle; the WuraMura the hawk, etc. It will thus be observed that the traditional sea-journey sometimes becomes an air-journey. The modern amendments to the myth therefore follow the changes in the totemic system previously discussed.

Whilst it is generally accepted that the old people will go to Bralgu, it is also said that the young people will go to Heaven. If argument about these dual other-worlds is pushed very far confusion appears, but the existence of the two different other-worlds for the two groups is adhered to. White people, especially missionaries, the natives say, will go to Heaven because they don't steal or 'humbug' other people's wives. This attitude, reflecting an ideal picture of white behaviour as contained in the moral injunctions transmitted in religious instruction, conflict with the accounts of the conduct of white people given at other times by the same natives. In spite of nominal acceptance of the accusations of the Whites that the aborigines are sinful people, the Wanindiljaugwa, though acknowledging a belief in the existence of Hell, refuse to admit that any of their members are likely to go there. When asked who of the aborigines was liable to go to Hell, names were rarely forthcoming, because 'none of our people are bad'; occasionally the name of a notorious shrew might be put forward.

In addition to this modification of ideas on the afterlife, native conceptions of the origin of the Universe have also been profoundly affected by Christian teaching. In place of the
classical picture of the Creation period, a merging of the traditional origin-myths and those of Genesis has been effected. This new syncretism is not only put forward by the children, but by even the oldest men who have any knowledge of missionary teachings. Since the myths of the Creation Period do not differ radically from the type of myth found in Genesis, the adaptation of the latter presents no problems.

It is said that a very long time ago Eve and Adam (the names are not widely known), who were white people, as were all early mythical figures, such as Moses and Abraham, were the ancestors of mankind, Black or White. They were white because the pictures show them to be so, though some of these early figures seem to have been more like half-castes. There was a garden in Heaven in which God put this man and his wife, and in which one tree was taboo, the apple-tree (some say the orange). The Snake then came along, inspired by some evil power, possibly by the wuramugwa spirits of the dead, and persuaded the woman to eat the tabooed fruit. In those days, snakes were like men, and had legs, etc. As punishment for this infringement of the taboo, God gave to women the pain of bearing children (cf. Genesis 3:16). Men were punished by having thenceforth to submit to the ordeal of circumcision, and the Snake was punished by being made to crawl on his belly from that time onwards (cf. Genesis 3:14). Previous to this time, God had made human beings by using the ribs of women, which meant that men had more ribs than women; now the task was handed over to the women themselves. As further punishment, he
said that the aborigines should only have the benefit of the fruits of trees found in the bush, most of which are small and unattractive in comparison to cultivated species. For the white men, however, the more attractive trees such as the apple, orange, pawpaw, etc. were to be available.

Certain obvious features stand out in these accounts. The world is divided into the privileged Whites and the unprivileged aborigines. The myth/division of the human race into two stocks - the Makassans and the aborigines - which we noted in an earlier myth, is now superseded by a new myth which is a product of the more recent contact with non-aborigines. Both myths exist side by side, and no attempt to reconcile them is made, though less stress is laid on the older Makassan myth. The parallel to the classical origin-myth of the Australian aborigines is clear, and the Snake, so important in aboriginal mythology, is seized on and elaborated. The punishment meted out to men and women respectively explains certain important differences in their physical make-up and their relative social roles, and validates the important man-making institution of circumcision.

The children firmly adhere to the doctrine of the omnipresence of God, who is thought of as an old white man with a beard who lives in the sky. He 'helps' people in that he really creates everything. Thus, although a certain man may be known as the progenitor of a particular child, the 'help' of God was necessary in order that this man should have made the child. Equally
he 'helps medicine to be effective. He also helps people in another sense when they are in distress. Evil people, however, are not assisted, but when asked for examples of such people, none were forthcoming - all Wanindiljaugwa are reasonably good. The personal record of each person is kept in a Book. In this attitude towards God, and His role in 'helping' actions to be effective, the magical elements will be noted.

Finally, religious instruction has given rise to new apocalyptic ideas about the end of the world. The following views, however, were only expressed by one young Mission native, and may not have spread very widely as yet. This youth arrived at Umbakumba one day with the news that a "new" Bible had arrived at the Mission, a Bible which said that God was very impatient of the continual wars of the white man, and would punish them if they went to war again. This was to be their last chance, for if another war broke out between 'soldiers' (white Australians) and Japanese, the earth would be destroyed by flood and fire. The aborigines, according to the youth, would be safe, for they would all go with their possessions to Central Hill (an important place in traditional mythology, particularly in the myth of the journey to the Land of the Dead), and the sea would then flood the country and lift them up to Heaven.

Here again, the aborigines are absolved from sin, and the blame thrown on the Whites. Only in the more abstract reproduction of missionary teaching, such as the statements above on Heaven and Hell, is it ever suggested that the aborigines are sinful
people. (It may be noted that in this youth's opinion, people passed through Heaven en route for Hell).

Other Biblical tales, such as the story of David and Goliath, Abraham's sacrifice, etc. are frequently related. These, however, are not necessarily distinguished from non-Biblical stories. Thus after relating several Biblical stories, one boy then proceeded to relate "another good story", the tale of Little Red Riding-Hood. The children derive equal interest and pleasure from all these stories, and find it difficult to distinguish one category from another. It is ironical that this is exactly what happens when white amateurs record aboriginal 'myths'. Important creation-myths, stories meant for entertainment or moral instruction, totemic myths, semi-historical stories, etc. are all lumped together in one collection as 'aboriginal myths', the varying social significance of these myths and stories being ignored.

The reference to the Japanese and the warlike proclivities of the Whites is connected with the pre-war clashes with the Japanese and white men, including the police punitive expeditions, and with the measures taken to control Japanese penetration of northern Australia immediately before World War 2, as well as the actual war itself. The aborigines regard the outbreak of the war as a continuation of a state of affairs which had existed long before 1939 or 1941. They themselves had been resisting the Japanese for many years, often with arms in their hands. The Whites, however, had cravenly avoided fighting the Japanese until much later. It has been well remarked of the killings of the
Japanese by aborigines in the 'thirties that "today we would call such defence 'guerilla warfare' and perhaps look upon the defenders as patriots" (Berndt, R.M. and C.H., 1954, p.133). As far as the aborigines are concerned, this is exactly their point of view. Although the aboriginal attitude implies the acceptance of the existence of common interests between Black and White in opposition to the Japanese, they nevertheless feel that the Whites, besides being cowardly, rewarded the heroism and leadership shown by the aborigines by trial in the Darwin courts.

The aborigines think of this relationship with the Japanese as an absolute, however, rather like the inter-tribal antagonisms which result in periodic outbreaks of fighting. The end of the war in their view, was not the end of struggle with the Japanese, and the arrival of the Japanese pearling-fleet in Australian waters in 1953 was greeted with an "I told you so" attitude, by many aborigines. Tales of the heroism and extraordinary feats of their own people during the war and in the 'thirties are as popular as stories of successful fights against white men. The Balamumu man who is said to have brought down a Japanese plane with his stone-headed spear is one such legendary case, although many real individual acts of valour were performed by aborigines in Arnhem during the war.

Young boys say that they are only too ready to tackle the Japanese if they return, for bitter memories of the pre-war Japanese, and the experience of the war, have created a tradition
which has been handed on to the younger generation. The possibility of some excitement, in contrast to the monotony of settlement life, and the possibility of some avenue of aggressive action which would relieve the present social tension to some degree, are powerful reinforcements of this attitude.

The Korean War presented some difficulty, but, almost inevitably, the photographs of Korean and Chinese soldiers were interpreted as photographs of 'Japanese' and the opposing forces as 'soldier' or 'we'. The occasional scraps of knowledge gleaned about other national or racial groups are also usually interpreted in terms of the general distinction between 'we' (the white Australians and the aborigines) and 'Djabani', i.e. the enemy. As we noted earlier, no history or geography is taught to the Umbakumba children.

It can be seen that there is occasional expression of community of interest between White and Black, though such expressions are rare and limited to particular situations. Similarly, the aborigines do not indiscriminately condemn all Whites, though the number exempted from general condemnation is small. Two married couples who displayed a sympathetic attitude towards the Umbakumba natives during their stay as members of the settlement staff are particularly remembered as 'good' white people. In general, however, hostility and distrust are the normal attitudes towards Whites.

All the specific sources of antagonism— the separation of children from their parents, White interference with marriage
customs, and even methods of burial - combine to create a situation in which the aborigines feel they are not treated as human beings with rights and opportunities to behave as they see fit and correct. From being an independent and self-sufficient community, they have become a people dependent on hand-outs and are virtually obliged to beg for almost anything they may need, and to carry out instructions rather than take decisions themselves or assume their own responsibilities. In such a situation, even the mildest banter, a form of communication very common between Black and White, is edged with mutual irritation. Since they are unable to predict the reactions of white men - whether they will be met with sympathy, annoyance, banter, or curses, in any given situation, they tend to cut down contact with Whites to the unavoidable minimum. Many people, for example, avoid going for medical treatment for minor injuries.

Antagonism and frustration generally emerge in action in three ways: in the form of aggressive behaviour directed against the Whites, in the form of aggressive behaviour amongst themselves, and in various forms of fantasy.

The type of behaviour which constitutes the first category, may be seen from the following incident. After a period of two weeks and five days during which no tobacco had been issued, owing to the non-arrival of the supply-ship, tension between natives and White staff came to a head in the refusal of any of the men to volunteer for a task which involved pushing a barge
through the shallow water along the shore-line of Little Lagoon to the Airbase, which is some miles distant if this route is followed. The threat that everybody would be 'sent bush' if volunteers were not forthcoming added to the general irritation of the natives, as did their belief that tobacco was actually being held in secret, and being handed out to favoured individuals. (In this case, the suspicion was not correct, but the word of the White man will not be accepted in such situations, especially as natives are aware that tobacco has been secretly distributed on a discriminatory basis in the past). The threat of temporary expulsion was followed by a show of force against the children who, infected with the general mood, were idling instead of working, but who did not alter their behaviour even when the strap was prominently displayed.

A few days later pressure was applied in the form of the wiping-out of all credit balances, the reason being advanced that sweet potatoes had been stolen from the settlement gardens. The natives regarded this as collective punishment, and stated that the real object was to punish the community in general for non-cooperation. Next day, natives who were occupied in hauling large concrete piles and who were being supervised by Whites, told the white men to take themselves away, that they were interfering with the work by their constant harassing advice and instructions, which constituted a dangerous distraction to people engaged in this heavy work. These comments were accompanied by much hooting and jeering, and resulted in the retirement of the
Whites, and the abandonment of the work. A noisy demon­stration of horse-play then followed from the natives.

Three days later, a native was accused of having taken two helpings of food from the kitchen instead of his entitle­ment. The natives defended him, stating that he had taken the extra food for another man, that they were tired of the constant 'growling' over such matters, and that they had been 'growled' at earlier in the day for bringing in insufficient firewood before breakfast. On being told that they could all 'go bush' if they felt this way, the offer was taken up by five men, who started preparing to leave with their families. During this time, accusations of lying and unnecessary interference with the activities of the natives were hurled at a White member of the staff, whose path was barred and who was threatened. At this stage the leadership of the natives passed into the hands of two younger men who had the vague support of a group of youths.

When the work-bell was rung, only a handful of men responded. At this stage, one of the young leaders (a man noted for his involvement in numerous cases of adultery) was stamping round the settlement with boomerangs in his hand. No work could be started, nor was school begun. A period of lengthy confusion ensued, in which protracted talks took place between Whites and the natives, a procedure which always takes place during such incidents, and in which the general background of the dispute, including long-standing scores, was brought up for discussion. The natives who had opted for the bush, at this stage changed
their minds, and merely hung around the settlement, still not offering for work. On being asked why they had not carried out their professed intention, they replied that they realized that it was fruitless to go off into the bush as people had done in the past under similar circumstances, since they would inevitably have to return. Moreover, they stated, this was their country and had been long before the arrival of the white man. It was the white man who was in the wrong and who should leave, not they, and they declared their intention of asking the Native Affairs Department officials to do something about this. The threats of the white man, they said, were empty; he knows that he is in the wrong, and will not, therefore, call in outside assistance, since this would reflect on his management of the settlement.

The position was eventually resolved when all the natives resumed work, including the leaders, after they had satisfied themselves by this declaration of their position and physical demonstration of their anger. Next day, a fight broke out over a case of adultery, the significance of which will be discussed below, and the police were called to the settlement by radio. The natives stated that the police were being called in, not because of the adultery case, but in order to show force in an unsettled situation. On the following day, the women were sent into the bush for not working, and various children were punished with the strap (one for hitting another boy in the eye with a stone).
means in attempting to deal with such situations. Even amongst themselves, witchcraft is practically unknown, and there is little evidence that it was ever widespread in the past. It has been noted that witchcraft was also weakly emphasized in Wulamba society, though, like the Wanindiljaugwa, neighbouring groups were considered to be dangerous practitioners of evil magic. (Warner, p. 223)

Though this attitude may perhaps be regarded as a projection of attitudes of hostility onto the society's neighbours, there would seem to be some evidence that the Roper River people and Nungubuju practised witchcraft to a greater extent than the Wanindiljaugwa, for most evil magical spells known to the Wanindiljaugwa are in the Nungubuju language, and "poisons" (magically-effective substances) are imported from the mainland. As far as the name "poison" is concerned, this may cover such substances as love-philtres, but there may be more accuracy about the use of this English word in certain cases (in Enindiljaugwa, the word awuraria: bad, is used for these substances, indicating the general intentions of the users and social evaluation of the significance of these substances).

Shortly after the arrival of one vessel from the mainland, considerable alarm was expressed by Umbakumba natives about the presence of "poison" in the camp, "poison" which had been given to some men by mainlanders on the ship. The "poison" was contained in two small bottles and in a cut-down .50 cartridge-case, all of which were wrapped up in the traditional mawada dillybags, used for carrying magical charms, in ceremonies and in fights. These were
worn around the necks of the men from whom the "poison" was taken, and occasioned much alarm in the camp. The bags were opened, and the powder-like contents sent to Darwin for chemical analysis. It was revealed that one contained plain boracic powder, the second ground glass and human hair, and the third pure strychnine. In general, however, both witchcraft and poison are uncommon amongst the Wanindiljaugwa. This does not preclude the possibility that both the Wulamba and the Wanindiljaugwa have adopted the practice of obtaining these materials from other tribes, which tribes are always regarded as having sinister characteristics by virtue of their foreignness. The practice of witchcraft can thus always be imputed to the foreigners, whose "poisons" would be treated as especially unpleasant and effective, being tinged with the unknown and thus, to some extent, the feared.

The actions of the Wanindiljaugwa, then, whatever their objective effectiveness, are not attempts to control the environment by magical means. It will be seen below, however, that absence of magical action does not necessarily imply the absence of fantasy, and the indulgence in forms of action known to be ineffective in altering the environment, but which lead to a release of tension within the individual psyche.

One striking incident stands out in the series of events described above, i.e. the occurrence of an outbreak of hostility amongst the natives themselves over a case of adultery, in the middle of the friction between Black and White. Under the ex-
existing conditions of tension, there is a tendency for the natives to indulge in aggressive behaviour directed not merely at the Whites, but also at their fellows. A period of heightened tension such as the one cited leads to a general spilling-over of aggressive action from the field of Black-White relations to the field of relations between the aborigines themselves. Under such circumstances the nominal 'cause' of the dispute is in fact a trigger-mechanism leading to the release of tensions generated by wider social antagonisms. The usual casus belli, in this as in other situations, is a quarrel over adultery, though it often appears that quarrels take place over adultery in which actual proof of adultery is not forthcoming. Only one major dispute was observed which was not over adultery, however, a case in which a young man accused his sister's husband of maltreating the sister, and precipitated a large-scale fight. It is also noticeable that the principal participants in these fights, the men who generally take the action (whether of committing an offence or exposing an offence) which leads to open hostility, are the younger adults. It is precisely these men who feel the frustrations of their present situation most strongly, who voice the clearest criticism of white men and their policies, and who are most keen to go away to the towns. Whilst one can only record an impression in this respect, the impression is that the constant friction which breaks out between the natives themselves is not merely occasioned by the declared and limited "cause" of the dispute, but is conditioned by the frustration felt by these
individuals as far as the totality of their social relations is concerned.

The third category of reaction to the general tension-situation is that of fantasy. We have seen that the Makassan period is idealized to an extent which accords ill with known historical fact, and that this idealization is always expressed as a contrast to the unpleasantness of the present day, and in particular the unpleasantness of white men and their policies. So strong is this belief in the Golden Age that the Creation Period now occupies a minor part of the native cosmology and of the native version of tribal history. This weakening of the significance of the Creation Period is not solely conditioned by attitudes to present-day conditions, however, but, as we have seen, is also a product of the Makassan impact on native life, an impact which has given them a more clearly-defined historical outlook than exists in those tribes in which the relatively unchanging pattern of life was maintained throughout the centuries.

Associated with this type of response is the type of behaviour parallel to the periodic outbursts nominally provoked by specific incidents such as adultery, but expressive of a more deep-seated tension. We have noted that the natives will spend very long periods sitting in the gardens grumbling about the life they lead and the evilness of the Whites. Such protracted grumbling serves as a form of action when other action is impossible, albeit only a verbal form of action. Besides complaining generally to each other, the natives also indulge in the formulation of future lines
of action by which their dissatisfactions will be remedied. The most striking case of this type of behaviour occurred during the weeks preceding the announced visit of a Patrol Officer. Men were constantly remarking how they would tell the Patrol Officer about various complaints they had, how they would tell him about the activities of different white men, how they would ask his permission to leave the settlement and go to Darwin, etc. etc.

When the Patrol Officer appeared, however, not one of the men said anything at all. All the brave resolutions, and the 'come-what-may' attitudes freely expressed beforehand vanished into thin air, and the official's visit passed off without any complaint being made, and without any request to leave the island being made, even by the most outspoken men. Whilst such behaviour may not be dismissed merely as fantasy, in that the natives were conscious of the probability that their words would prove of no avail, and whilst the failure to speak up was conditioned by a sober estimation of the sanctions which might be imposed on them if they made such requests or complaints, nevertheless there was a strong element of fantasy in the whole situation, for it was clear enough, long before the projected visit, that the complainers would not in fact say anything when the time arrived. Just as the grumbling in the gardens was an ineffective means of effecting any objective change in their environment, but represented a possible form of action when all others were blocked, so the period of preparation and discussion of a plan of action which it was never intended actually to implement served
a similar purpose. The course of appealing to a Patrol Officer was a real possibility as a course of action; the elaboration of a detailed plan which it was never intended to carry out was a form of fantasy which only led to some temporary lessening of tension within individual psyches.

Whilst the natives often give specific and cogent statements of their case in discussing relations between Black and White, they also mingle their factual condemnations of specific actions on the part of white men with fantasy. The hostility between the two groups is mirrored in the native condemnation of even the most innocent actions of the white man as being motivated by evil intent. As a corollary, the actions of a native are rarely censured. Thus, in one incident in which a party of natives had taken the settlement vessel out in a river against express instructions, and had broken the mast in the process, the wrath of the white man was said to be a sign of his bad temper and unreasonableness, whilst it was pointed out that they had 'paid' for the damage, anyhow. The payment in question was a fine of a few pounds which by no means compensated for the damage done. Although the cost of such damage could not be visualized by the natives, their stressing of the fact of 'payment' was a rationalization of their feeling of guilt, and reluctance to admit the white man right, rather than any expression of conviction that the damage had really been paid for.

This strong solidarity of the native vis-à-vis the Whites, which results in a refusal to condemn the actions of
their own members, has led to the paradoxical situation in which not a single native said a word against one of their number who sided with the Whites in a dispute. It might be remarked, however, that such cases are very few and novel, and that further examples of such co-operation with the Whites might well lead to censure of those natives who lined up against their fellows.

Associated with this justification of their own actions, is the censure of white men for even the most innocent behaviour. White duplicity and immorality is a constant theme, while the Whites are blamed for the break-down of indigenous forms of social control. The disappearance or undermining of indigenous institutions is referred to as a cause of present-day social disintegration, a point of view for which there is much justification. The Wanindiljaugwa are particularly appalled at the birth of several mixed-blood children, for although they treat these children as they would any others, they are nevertheless regarded as a disgrace. Although the children are the offspring of half-castes and not white men, the Whites receive the censure a) because they produced the half-caste fathers in the first place and b) because the whole problem has only arisen because of the coming of the white man. One half-caste who was allowed to marry a native woman who was previously classified as his 'sister', a violation of moiety exogamy, is regarded as an outstanding illustration of the evil effects of white interference with native marriage, though this man is treated with friendship and respect in most situations. Similarly, the birth of mixed-blood children is further blamed on
the Whites because most of these births occurred to women who were living in the dormitories as young girls. It is said that this disgrace is the result of the laxity of the Whites in allowing the girls under their protection to fall by the wayside, and that in the past a father would have made sure that such illicit intercourse never occurred.

To buttress charges of White immorality, fictitious incidents of sexual intercourse between white men and native women are cited, and few white men disliked by the natives can expect to avoid this charge. The native case, is, of course, susceptible of ample substantiation on the mainland, and has some backing in fact even as far as Groote Eylandt is concerned. Nevertheless, much of the 'evidence' cited is purely fictitious and designed as a more or less conscious attempt to blacken the white man's character in every conceivable way. This not only compensates for the humiliations and gratuitous insults they themselves have suffered, but also reinforces their self-esteem. It is also a method of revenge that entails no danger of retaliation.

The present situation has many parallels to the type of situation which has elsewhere given rise to millennial movements. Considering the glorification of the Golden Age, the native views on the white man's financial and economic system and the native knowledge of the way in which goods arrive by sea or air, and the presence of at least one apocalyptic story predicting a radical change in the social order, the punishment of the Whites, and the salvation of the natives, the stage would seem to be well set for a
Cargo Cult of the type common in New Guinea. There are no indications, however, that such an occurrence is likely to take place.

The Wanindiljaugwa, however, have never given any indication of tendencies to utilize mystical modes of thoughts. Magic and witchcraft are both weakly in evidence today, and do not appear to have been much stronger in the past. The actions they have taken to cope with social problems have been realistic and not magical. We have seen that they respond to contemporary tension-situations by attempts to change the environment which are far from magical. The present-day position of the Wanindiljaugwa is such, however, that their efforts are blocked on all sides, so that whatever course they adopt can only be more or less ineffective. Attempts to solve their problems by altering social relations within the settlement are doomed to fail, since overwhelming power is held in the hands of the Whites, who can also call on external forces when necessary. Attempts to alter the situation by appeal to external assistance are frequently talked of, but dismissed as useless. Nor can the earlier solution of flight into the bush be adopted, for, whilst this course is theoretically open to them, in practice the destruction of the old way of life has made such a course impossible. It would mean, apart from loss of the material advantages of settlement life, the cutting of ties with one's fellows. In fact, such a course of action would also be resisted by white authority.
Such complete blockage on every side has led to the adoption of a number of alternative courses of action, each of them more or less tinged with fantasy, since they are not correct evaluations of reality, and are often not intended to cope with the problem of changing the environment. Such actions, however, do lead to a temporary release of tension but leave the external conditions which give rise to such subjective tensions unaltered, and are therefore ultimately ineffective.

The passing of the old way of life, the growing remoteness of the old culture for the younger people in particular, and lack of enthusiasm for the new life, are reflected in the decay of traditional arts and crafts. If one examines the artefacts in daily use only some thirty years ago one cannot fail to be struck by the elaborate ornamentation and decoration of even the most prosaic articles (cf. Tindale, 1925/6, illustrations). Even paddles were painted with artistic designs, though the paint would be washed off when the paddle was used, whilst spear-throwers, spears and other such artefacts were covered with painted or incised designs. Today, only the minimum of effort is put into even the manufacture of such articles. A spear-thrower, far from being painted or carved, will be made from any available piece of wood, roughly shaped so that it will do the job required of it, but given no attention beyond this. Similarly, the traditional art of rock-painting has come to an end, whilst bark-paintings are only made when requested by white men.
The indigenous institutions of the Manindiljaugwa are rapidly disappearing. It is likely that the Amunduwuraria will pass into oblivion before very long, whilst other forms of totemism have already been stripped of whatever religious significance they may once have possessed. Kinship is no longer an internally consistent system of the classical type, though we have seen that it has been given a new systematization on a different basis. It will no doubt remain organized on these principles for a long time, as long as moiety-exogamy lasts, and as long as relations remain direct and interpersonal relations of status.

Out of the wreckage of the indigenous order, however, certain institutions survive with a strong degree of vitality. These are the institutions connected with the life-stages, for whilst ideas on cosmology may change as society changes and new knowledge is acquired, nevertheless children are still being born, youths are growing into men, and old people passing away. It is the circumcision-ceremony, and the mourning ceremonies, therefore, which show the greatest persistence, and although these ceremonies are being shorn of much of their esoterica, the basic stress upon the stages of life remains. Indeed, some demand is expressed for new ceremonial forms appropriate to the new social conditions, and some men express envy of the natives who are married, with some ceremony, at the Mission, in contrast to the prosaic nature of their own marriages, where the woman merely joins the husband.

In spite of regrets at the passing away of the old pattern
of life, these regrets are mainly on the part of the older people. The younger natives show if anything contempt for the indigenous traditions, which they stigmatise as 'myall' or 'bushman', as they are taught to do. Their own culture is not wholly condemned, however, for they enjoy the stories and music of the traditional type, even if the art is no longer practised. Nor can anyone who has known the lively and intelligent younger generation accuse them of lack of interest in life. Few of the Wanindiljaugwa, however, can foresee what the future holds for them, and they are undecided about what to do for the best. Since their actions are controlled within narrow limits, they are very limited indeed as to what they can do, and the virtually complete blockage of the present situation is very real to them. It is not surprising, therefore, that few of them express specific ambitions, because they do not see any opening for the attainment of such ambitions.

Such a situation, fraught with dangers and tensions, is likely to persist until considerable modifications of the present pattern of settlement life are made. The adoption of such steps as the development of local resources in a systematic way, on the basis of careful examination of the potentialities of the area, and the giving of greater financial assistance to the settlements, are necessary material prerequisites of any such change. These changes, however, will not relieve the present tensions until radical changes in social relations take place. These
must inevitably include the right of the natives to order their own lives, equipping them for this task by means of improved education and civilized living-conditions, and the paying of respect to the aborigines as people who have their own traditions and culture, and who merit respect as human beings.

The Wanindiljaugwa are already reaching a stage where they are evaluating their changed circumstances, drawing conclusions from their experiences and considering how best to act in the future. The remarks of the young men about the rights of the aborigines to their own traditional territory which the white men have invaded, point to the development of more definite concepts of their rights as a people. They go further than this, however, and speak of all aborigines, the Nuggubuju and the Balamumu, the Roper River people, and the aborigines they have met in Darwin and other towns as wanamamalia: people, as opposed to white men. They display great interest in all aboriginal and other coloured visitors to the island, especially those whose standard of life is higher than theirs, and evince great respect for their more advanced brothers from the mainland. It is to be observed therefore, that wider concepts of aboriginal identity and community of interest, extending far beyond the tribe, are developing, and that the example and influence of the more advanced aborigines will have a considerable effect on the Wanindiljaugwa.
Appendix 1
The Enindiljaugwa Language

Enindiljaugwa, the language of the Wanindiljaugwa tribe, is structurally akin to Nungubuju, as we have noted, the vocabularies of the two languages differing radically, however; Balamumu, on the other hand is a non-classifying suffixing language of the southern sub-group of "Murngin" languages, and has no close relationship to either Nungubuju or Enindiljaugwa (cf. Capell, 1942, p. 40).

Capell has remarked of these latter tongues that they are "by far the most complicated languages in north Australia, perhaps in the whole of Australia" (Capell, 1942, p. 376). His outline of these languages is of great value, but the most authoritative and intensive study of Enindiljaugwa is an unpublished MS. by Mrs. Short of the Church Missionary Society, (Short, q.v.). I rely principally on this latter work, with the addition of the notes of Dr. Capell and my own field-notes, in presenting this necessarily brief sketch of the language.

The following table of sounds and corresponding symbols is based on the values attributed to the various letters in Capell, 1945 (pp. 145-8), except for the use of the letter o to replace Capell's a, for the sound like the u in but, and
the indication of the trilled r by r̃ and the untrilled r by r. My own ability in this field is limited and much more detailed phonetic description may be obtained from Mrs. Short's work. It may be noted here that the vowel exhibits the instability mentioned by various writers (e.g. Nebes, 1940, speaking of the Kimberleys: "the natives attach a greater importance to consonants than to vowels"); "Vowel sounds are rarely critical in Australia", Capell, 1939, p. 251, etc.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LABIAL</th>
<th>INTERDENTAL</th>
<th>PALATAL</th>
<th>CEREBRAL</th>
<th>VELAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PLOSIVES</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dj</td>
<td>ď</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASALS</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nj</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>j̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROLLED</td>
<td></td>
<td>r̃</td>
<td>r̃</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATERAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td>ľ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTINUANTS</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r̃</td>
<td>j̃</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Close</th>
<th>Half-close</th>
<th>Half-close</th>
<th>Open</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This sound "varies with accented i in some speech and with all vocoids in unaccented positions" (Short). Cf. the discussion on i, Capell, 1941, p. 365) as found in Rainbarngo, Buan, etc.

The main stress falls upon the antepenultimate syllable, with secondary stress normally on the initial syllable. Vowel-length is not phonemic, whilst tone has no semantic significance.

Enindiljaugwa and Nungubuju are languages with multiple-classification of nouns, the classes in Enindiljaugwa being indicated by the following prefixes. (For fuller discussion of the semantic content of the classes, indicated here, cf. Worsley (in press):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>masculine singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2</td>
<td>wun-</td>
<td>masculine dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 3</td>
<td>wañ-</td>
<td>masculine and feminine plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 4</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>feminine singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 5</td>
<td>wurun-</td>
<td>feminine dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 6</td>
<td>a-(e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 7</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>non-personal nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 8</td>
<td>ji-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 9</td>
<td>wañ-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wur-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Agreement has to be made in the accompanying adjectives and verbs by means of prefixes which differ according to the class of the noun, e.g.

(Narinidjunwa anguljaba, aburuŋulaŋwa waridjura
They died altogether, their children
Here the prefix to the first verb (root-ñjuw̱a), narinja-, and the adjective aburunjulaw̱a (formed from the feminine dual cardinal pronoun aburunjula, together with the suffi- lanwa: belonging to, are determined by the subject of the clause, two women (feminine dual, Class V). The adjectival concord wanj-, and the verb-prefix nuw- agree with the subject of the second clause waridjura: children (personal plural, Class 3). It will be noted that in the case of personal nouns, some concords are also derived from the cardinal pronoun, not solely from the prefix of the noun-class.

The extension of this process to pronoun-objects is also found in Enindiljaugwa:

(Nanjañja naradjalañwa dadiñjenigba
(He-seized-her goanna's his-wife,
(dadiera duguljubena
(a-young-girl pretty

Here the prefix -ja- refers to the object of the sentence, the young girl (fem. sing., Class 4). In addition to pronoun-incorporation, Enindiljaugwa has noun-incorporation, where the actual nouns mostly parts of the body or a glosseme standing for the noun are prefixed before the verb-stem. Noun-incorporation only occurs in the case of a
limited number of nouns. Thus the prefix -mire- in agimiregururina: we throw away the intestines, is one such glosseme, the word for intestines being mulugwa, whilst the prefix -munguru- in the word nurumunguruguruna: I touch my cheek, is the noun (a) munguru: cheek, slightly modified by vowel-harmony.

Possession is indicated by the use of possessive adjectives formed from the cardinal pronouns; by the use of a verbal prefix, indicating the possessor and the time, placed before the name of the object possessed, and the addition of the suffix -mura after the noun; by prefix-possessive concord in the case of certain intimately-possessed nouns; and by special possessive suffixes in the case of kinship terms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinal Pronouns</th>
<th>Possessive Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sinc. 1st person</td>
<td>gaaij(uw)a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>nunguruwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. (Masc.)</td>
<td>jinuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. (Fem.)</td>
<td>aburuguwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>nunguruwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. (Masc.)</td>
<td>abinuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. (Fem.)</td>
<td>aburuguwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual. 1st pers. (incl.)</td>
<td>jaguwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(excl.)</td>
<td>jinuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>nunguruwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. (Masc.)</td>
<td>abinuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. (Fem.)</td>
<td>aburuguwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural 1st.</td>
<td>naguruwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st. (excl.)</td>
<td>jiruwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>nunguruwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>aburuguwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>nunguruwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd.</td>
<td>aburuguwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Trial forms may be indicated by affix -bugu- e.g., nuigurubugururuwa: you three, whilst nouns may have a
dualizer -gia and pluralizer -wia suffixed to the noun,
even where dual and plural prefixes exist, as in the personal
noun-classes.

The second type of possessive construction is important
in the absence of a verb 'to have', e.g. niyi-malamugwa-mura:
I have a canoe (malamugwa: canoe). Prefix-possessive
concord may be seen in the words dadumamuwau: (the (scrub-
fowl's) eggs (doguruwirwa: scrub-fowl, Class 4) and
jiniamamua: (the turtle's) eggs (jimenda: turtle, Class 8),
the word (a)mamuwau: egg, being one of the nouns subject to
such changes. The kinship possessives have already been
noted.

The complex Enindiljaugwa verb can only be sketched here
but the following notes are of value. There are ten major
types of verb, recognisable by the different forms of the
endings in the Present Continuous and Future, and in the
Past Tenses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Present &amp; Future Tenses</th>
<th>Past Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>verb stem-ena</td>
<td>stem-ag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>&quot;           -ena</td>
<td>stem-ena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;           -ina</td>
<td>stem-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>&quot;           -ina</td>
<td>stem-ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Present &amp; Future Tenses</td>
<td>Past Tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>verb stem + -a</td>
<td>stem +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot; + -uguna</td>
<td>stem + -ugwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot; + dja/-a</td>
<td>stem + -apa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>&quot; + -djina</td>
<td>stem + -dja-djua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>&quot; + -ina/-iija</td>
<td>stem + -eja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>&quot; + -una</td>
<td>stem +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negative tenses are formed by the use of the word nara: no/ not, followed by a form of the verb consisting of the prefix a-, the verb-stem and the suffix -una or -aguma for the Present, Future and Imperative tenses, and for the Past tense by the use of nara followed by a verb-form consisting of the future/prefixes, the verb-stem and the past-endings of the verb, e.g. nara adaruma: do not spear; nara giiji-lepi-aija: she did not go.

Causative forms of the verb may be made by the use of the affix -ga-; reflexive forms by the use of the suffix -dju-, and verbs may be made from adjectives and nouns by using the verbalizer -d-. Thus niğari,jugudjiragamurua: I made it small (adjective - jugudjira: small); niğinari,niğadjugumunamurua: I see myself; (verb-ringa: to see) narumudina: he is getting big (adjective - aruma: big). As with other grammatical statements in this brief survey, all these general models are susceptible of much richer variation, only the most obvious and simple forms being given here. The effects of vowel-harmony will be noted in the above examples.
The verb-subject prefixes are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Tense</th>
<th>Future Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pers.</td>
<td>niye-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. pers.</td>
<td>nuugu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. (masc.)</td>
<td>na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. (fem.)</td>
<td>ji3i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pers. (incl.)</td>
<td>ji-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pers. (excl.)</td>
<td>jina-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pers. fem.</td>
<td>jiri3i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. pers.</td>
<td>gira-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. pers. masc.</td>
<td>neni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. pers. fem.</td>
<td>nari3i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers. incl.</td>
<td>nara-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st. pers. excl.</td>
<td>jiri-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. pers.</td>
<td>gira-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. pers.</td>
<td>nara-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that the use of these subject-prefixes together with further prefixes acting as incorporated pronoun objects gives rise to complicated forms of the verb. The complexity of pronoun-incorporation cannot be fully discussed here, but the following paradigm may serve as some indication of the changes which occur in the verb, when prefixes change according to the noun-class or person of the object. The verb chosen is ringa: to see, and the subject here remains unchanged, being a third person plural noun:
Subject: They

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>SAH</th>
<th>WILL SEE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>buryinga</td>
<td>gaburyinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us-2(incl.)</td>
<td>jabu(isa)ginga</td>
<td>jabagulararisinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us-2(excl.)</td>
<td>jirabulararisinga</td>
<td>jirabulararisinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us (incl.)</td>
<td>naraburinga</td>
<td>agaburinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us (excl.)</td>
<td>jiraburinga</td>
<td>jiraburinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you(sing)</td>
<td>bu-tinga</td>
<td>gaburinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you(dual)</td>
<td>sirabulararisinga</td>
<td>jirabulararisinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you(plur.)</td>
<td>kiraburinga</td>
<td>jiraburinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td>nendirinya</td>
<td>ginirinya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2</td>
<td>naralarirginga</td>
<td>garalarirginga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 3</td>
<td>nararinga</td>
<td>gararinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 4</td>
<td>nariringa</td>
<td>gararinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 5</td>
<td>nariringa</td>
<td>gararinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 6</td>
<td>narininga</td>
<td>gararinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 7</td>
<td>narimaringa</td>
<td>garimaringa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 8</td>
<td>neniringa</td>
<td>ganiringa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 9</td>
<td>nararinga</td>
<td>gararinga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By the use of various prepositions suffixed to the verb other forms may be created. Thus:

-mandja  on, to, etc. with the future tense= if, when
-lapwa- belonging to, with the verb= later, after, etc.
-jada  for the purpose of, with the verb= purposive etc.

Of particular sociological interests is the influence of Indonesian languages on Enindiljangwa. A large number of loan-words exist in the language, mainly borrowed (excluding English) from Makassarese-Buginese and from Standard Malay:
The origin of many other loan-words, such as djaragwa: horse and bigana: fish-hook, has not yet been ascertained. For further examples, Tindale (1926) may be consulted.

It will be observed that most of the above words are names of objects introduced by the Malays. There has been little modification of the grammatical structure of the
language, the borrowing of words for new objects constituting the most important effect of Indonesian influences. A most interesting development of the system of numeration has occurred, however, in which the original Enindiljaugwa system, probably based on a method of counting on one hand and possibly originally using the word *amamua*: finger, has been expanded beyond the original limits of the numbers 1 to 5 as far as 20, with some consequent variation in the first five numbers caused by the Malay overlay. Few people, however, go beyond the number 10, and many misuse 15 and 20:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Enindiljaugwa</th>
<th>Malay Original</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-uljaba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ambiljuma or -ambambua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-abiacabia</td>
<td>ampat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-(m)big(m)bua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-amaqbara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-amaqbara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-uljaba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>-emembergwa</td>
<td>cf. Malay'-'teen'ending (belas),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wuragriabalanwa and ending puloh in words for 20,30,40 etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>amaburgwagbala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2

The Methodology of the Study of Kinship

It will have been observed that the material used in Chapter 5 was gathered by two different methods, one involving quantitative analysis and the other a genealogical method of inquiry. The initial work carried out by Rose was a quantitative approach to the problem, arrived at during attempts to apply orthodox genealogical methods to the study of the kinship systems of aborigines around Broome, Western Australia (cf. Rose, 1940, passim).

Rose considered that the mere elicitation of an ideal pattern of terminology and behaviour is only one side of such an investigation, an opinion which we would share. He further considered that a quantitative approach of this kind is needed in all studies of aboriginal kinship systems. Whilst we would agree that break-down of relatively standardised patterns of behaviour makes this imperative at the present day, and whilst we have noted evidence from the Kimberleys and from Groote Eylandt that such breakdown was probably in progress before the arrival of the whites (thus making the use of quantitative methods advisable), there seems to be no need to insist on the application of such techniques in societies where behaviour is relatively
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Native Name</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Nenibalinjiguma</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spouse</th>
<th>Circumcised by Nenejibiljana</th>
<th>-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offspring</th>
<th>-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lineage</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Amarurugurugiba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Totems</td>
<td>Wanururugurugurugiba (WuraGuaugua)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Haburupubala (33)</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Damajidja (139)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**NOTES:**—

**RELATIONSHIPS:**—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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<th>6</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>L'</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>L</td>
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<td>L</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>E</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Etc., etc., etc.</td>
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</table>

**Fig. 9. Example of sheets used in recording kinship terms.**

**Note 1.** This sheet is one of the originals as used by Rose. It is possible to decrease the number of items to be filled in, e.g., since a knowledge of the clan automatically gives one the totems, locality, etc., these items need not be inserted.

**Note 2.** "Lineage" moiety.

**Note 3.** The letter by the name of the circumciser indicates the kinship term used by 20% towards this man.

**Note 4.** Numbers refer to the number allotted to each aborigine in a general census.

No. 284
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELATIONSHIPS:</th>
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<td>410</td>
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<td>430</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
standardised and in which the system of kinship
terminology manifests more regularity and internal
consistency. Even in the latter case, however, precise
quantitative statements are highly desirable, and have been
notably absent from past studies in this field. Thus in
order to make any precise analysis of, for example, the
extent of divergence of actual behaviour from the 'norm',
or to show how far such divergence applies for all members
of the society, quantitative analysis is necessary.

Rose's method involved the preparation of printed sheets
(see Fig. 9) for each individual aborigine. On this sheet
was entered his name, clan, totems, and other sociological
data. The matrix which occupies the remainder of the sheet
is merely a convenient way of providing a large number of
spaces, one space for every other member of the tribe (a
total of 439 spaces is available). Each member of the tribe
is given a number, and the appropriate space on each sheet
therefore refers to the individual so numbered. Since Rose
carried out his investigations when many of the aborigines
were still partly nomadic, aborigines were allotted numbers,
and had a sheet made out for them, as they were contacted.
As each aborigine was contacted he was asked to give the
kinship term he used towards all aborigines for whom sheets
already existed. This meant that those aborigines contacted early in the investigation would be identified by all those contacted later, and that there would thus be a large number of identifications for those aborigines contacted in the earlier stages, and a lesser number of identifications for those contacted towards the end of the study. This explains a) why some of the spaces are blank in Rose's work and b) why there are varying numbers of identifications for different aborigines. It may also be noted that, in spite of a prodigious amount of work in collecting 25,000 such identifications, limitations of time prevented Rose from contacting all the aborigines. His results thus cover, to one degree or another, 221 aborigines out of some 300; the complete fulfilment of the task would have involved the collection of some 48,841 identifications.

In the appropriate space allocated to each aborigine, Rose entered the kinship term used towards the native whose name appears at the top of the sheet. If one took the sheet of aborigine 56, therefore, and looked in space 158, one would find a record of the kinship term used by 158 towards 56. For convenience, letters were allotted to each kinship term, the same letters as indicated in Table 6, so that it was merely necessary to write the appropriate letter in each space
and not the full kinship term.

On the basis of this material, Rose proceeded to make a statistical analysis of his results, an analysis which was empirical in approach. In order to avoid the use of incorrect identifications, only those identifications which were confirmed by the existence of a pair of complementary terms in use between two individuals, were used for the analysis. As we have mentioned, the use of a particular term by aborigine A towards Aborigine B implies that aborigine B will use another complementary term towards A. This rule is only broken when an aborigine makes a mistake; if it is found that two individuals do not use the two terms of a complementary pair of terms, one of the aborigines (or both) will be found to have been in error, and an aborigine will give the correct term when the error is pointed out, or when he can consult his fellows as to the correct term. This particularly applies to young children or to cases where the term has been changed only recently. If an aborigine rarely sees another aborigine towards whom he should be using a new term, so that there is little opportunity or necessity of using the new term, he may consequently make a mistake in identification and give the old term.
Such cases are few, however, and only those which were fully confirmed were used in the analysis of the material. Wherever practicable, there are at least 50 cases taken for each relationship in the analytical tables, though for some items, e.g. 'Father of Relative L', fewer cases are available, owing to the stratification of kinship terms (see Chapter 5), since there were few cases of a relative L having a living father from whom data could be obtained.

Taking each category of relative in turn, Rose then constructed tables showing the following categories of relationship:

1. Father of the relative
2. Mother of the relative
3. Child of the female relative
4. Child of the male relative
5. Whom the female relative marries
6. Whom the male relative marries

Since each letter covers two terms which are thought of by the aborigines as being the same term varied (by the use of different prefixes) according to sex, and used in this way by them, it is unnecessary to use a separate symbol for the sex-distinctions for each term. Thus, nenigumandja and dadiamandja (younger brother and younger sister respectively) only differ in the form of the prefix. The
only case on which different terms exist for a pair of siblings, one of each sex, is in the case of the term denda for 'mother', and neba for 'mother's brother'.

Because of the stronger taboos and avoidances existing in 1940, and for reasons of convenience, Rose used photographs of each individual which were attached to the sheet made out in his name. The aborigine who was identifying him then only had to look at the photograph and give the term he used towards the person photographed. The difficulties arising from name — and other avoidances was thus circumvented. In my own work, names were used, since avoidances and taboos had broken down, and since I had an adequate knowledge of the language. An example of the method of analysis of the resulting data is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELATIVE A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
RELATIVE A (Continued)

Table 16. Tabulation of identification in respect of five categories of relationship.

The number under each letter represents a percentage of the total number of cases in the sample, not an absolute figure. From this table, for example, in which we are considering relatives whom Ego terms A, if we take category i (the father of the relative), we see that the father of A is 5%, B 14%, D 26% E, etc.

We have used the results of this method of analysis in Chapter 5. Certain shortcomings in the results made available by this method of approach may be noted, though they are not of great importance. These identifications are limited to living persons; the range of the data could be increased by obtaining identifications of dead people, but it must be acknowledged that this would have been somewhat difficult in 1940, owing to the avoidances relating to the names of dead people, which Rowe would have been unable to circumvent without deeper knowledge of the language (particularly the periphrastic modes of reference to the dead mentioned above). Another difficulty which cannot be overcome without using further, and necessarily somewhat
elaborate statistical methods, arises from the fact that the kinship terms may cover several specific relationships, e.g. a *nabura* (F) may be a sister's son, but he may also be, in descriptive terms, a mother's brother's child, or indeed other specific kinds of relative. Again, in order to distinguish actual blood relatives, for example, from relatives *classified* by the same terms used for blood relatives, further breakdown of the material would be needed. This would be quite possible, using the sheets on which the data is recorded for each individual, but such a procedure seemed to the author unnecessarily laborious. Although Rose's tables served the purpose for which they were designed - i.e. to reveal the extent of 'fit' between actual kinship terms in use and those implied in the ideal pattern, and to indicate the degree of internal consistency of the terms in use - they do not serve the purpose of answering another important question, namely, "What methods of readjusting the terminology do the aborigines employ?".

Rather than carrying out the construction of further tables, I adopted a qualitative approach to this latter question. It must be said, however, that this does not mean that the question could not have been answered by quantitative techniques, but rather that such techniques
appeared unnecessarily laborious. On the other hand, the results achieved by Rose's tabulation could equally have been indicated, in a more generalized fashion, by qualitative methods; it would have been impossible, however, to express these results with the precision achieved by quantification. The present discussion on methodology, then, does not attempt to suggest that quantitative methods are necessary in order to answer any of these questions, though they yield a precision of statement that cannot be achieved by orthodox genealogical techniques (certain qualitative assumptions are, of course, evident in the quantitative methods described above, e.g. the pairing of masculine and feminine versions of kinship terms).

Rose's method of inquiry was followed up by the collection of a further 11,322 identifications by myself in 1952/3, 6,188 of these being repeats from 28 individuals who had already made previous identifications in 1940. I was thus able to calculate the rate and extent of change, as
shown in Chapter 5. Rose's method of recording
the kinship terms was altered, however, to the
extent that whereas he had recorded on each indi-
vidual's sheet the terms applied to that individual
by every other person, I recorded on each individual's
sheet the terms applied by that individual to every
other person. The latter method means that one
then possesses a fully-completed sheet for every
individual interviewed. In Fig. 9, aborigine
Nenibali$\tilde{n}$iguma (No. 284) thus calls aborigine No. 1
N, aborigine No. 2 N, aborigine No. 3 J, etc.

Having the advantage of being able to
compile a list of names before commencing this work,
I was thus able to complete a sheet for each person
interviewed, and did not have to omit any aborigines
until they could be personally identified and photo-
graphed as Rose was obliged to do. Differences also
obtain in the method of recording the data at the head
of the sheets. "Lineage", by which term Rose referred
to moiety, is omitted, as are totems. It is necessary
only to note the clan, if one already possesses a
list of clans and totems, since each clan automatically
gives one the moiety, and the totems, which are the
same for all clan-members.
Apart from the question of the relative value of quantitative methods as opposed to qualitative, Rose's method has importance merely as a technique of recording. The reason for this will emerge when we consider the genealogies of the Wanindiljaugwa.

At the same time as following up Rose's methods, I embarked on the recording of the genealogies of the people. Starting with a given individual, I asked for his own father and mother, for his own siblings, and for siblings by the same father but different mother. In the case of a polygynous father, this resulted in a genealogy of considerable lateral span. Following up agnatic relationships, the father's own brothers, their wives and descendants, were then recorded, giving a further considerable lateral span in many cases, especially where such brothers had also been polygynists. Men whom Ego calls 'father' by virtue of their being descendants of a brother of Ego's father's father also have to be included on a genealogy.

Because of the classification of other men of the father's generation as his 'brothers', even though no real links between them are known, it was
also necessary to record all these brothers, who were as much 'real' brothers to the aborigines. A genealogy thus contains a large number of father's brothers, some undoubtedly his siblings by the same father and mother, some half-siblings by the same father but different mothers, and others brothers of the father by virtue of being descendants of a pair of real or fictional brothers of the father's father. Any exclusion of any of these categories of brother would falsify the concept of aboriginal/descent since they insist on the fact that all these men are brothers and must be included in any genealogy. As we have noted, other father's 'brothers' exist, although no real or even fictional intermediate links can be found. Nevertheless, because a certain man was called 'brother' by Ego's father, he will be cited when the brothers of Ego's fathers are being given. These remote brothers must therefore be included. This situation is a product of the generational stratification of kinship terms.

The final result can be represented in the following simplified diagrammatic form, with the different categories of person called 'brother' by Ego, in this case, indicated by numbered areas of demarcation:
As we have described, the whole clan is thus integrated by bringing different lineages within the clan into relationship. The dotted line which joins the 'father' of the Ego's 'brother' in area 4 with the father of the 'brother' in area 3, indicates that no actual link can be traced between these two agnatic lines, but that the agnatic lines are joined by virtue of the sharing of the kinship terms for brothers between the two men in generation 1A.

There is, in fact, only one genealogy for the clan. No matter where one starts, one must inevitably record all these links if one is not to cut the genealogy short in an arbitrary manner that is foreign to the aboriginal conception of kinship and clanship. This does not mean, of course, that the differences between these categories of sibling are ignored, for the aboriginal method of reckoning kinship depends on the recognition of different kinds of relatives to whom, however, the same kinship term is applied.

One might go further, and say that there is
only one genealogy for the moiety, for through the links provided by 'brothers' in other clans, one can, and does, establish correspondences between generation-levels in one's own clan and the other clans in the moiety. As we have seen, however, it is rarely necessary to rely on moiety-fellowship in order to find a link with people outside one's own clan, for closer ties usually exist.

There is one feature of the above genealogies which departs from normal usage. The links through women who have married clansmen are not followed through on the clan-genealogy. They can be followed through, however, by noting, e.g. the mother's clan, as indicated by the side of her name on the genealogy, and then turning to her own clan-genealogy. Her own links only become significant, of course, when Ego is discussing the terms he applies to members of her clan, and, as we have seen, the terms applied to members of a mother's clan exhibit far less internal consistency than those applied within Ego's own clan. Unless the father's mother provides a link with members of other clans which has not been superseded by
more recently-established relationships, her name and even her clan-affiliation will be forgotten. Few women of generation 3A are remembered, and there is no more fruitless task than trying to follow through the successive links in the chain for a relationship such as MMBDD, for one of the intervening links will inevitably have been forgotten; this is not the way in which the aborigines work out their kinship links.

There is another, and more important reason for not following through the mothers line on the one genealogy, a reason of expediency. As we have seen, the recording of even a single clan-genealogy is a big task, and the resulting production is physically large. The genealogy of the Wanindiljaugwa clan, for example, occupies a roll of paper twenty-three feet long (laterally); if one were to fill in the mothers links too, the genealogy would be unmanageable. Moreover, one would have to fill in the whole clan on the female side every time one came to a clansman's wife — an impossible and unnecessary procedure.
It will be seen, therefore, that one cannot record a separate genealogy for each individual, and indeed there is no value in doing so. Unless the Wanindiljaugwa are quite unlike any other Australian tribe, one wonders just what is recorded as a 'genealogy' by workers who follow orthodox methods of recording, and who profess, at least, to include all the relatives of Ego on one genealogy. Some arbitrary delimitation must be introduced if this method is followed.

There is one important set of sociological data which cannot be recorded on the genealogies described. The kinship terms have to be recorded separately, since these are not individual genealogies, but clan-genealogies. For recording the kinship terms used by Ego, there is no better method than the use of a matrix of the type which Rose introduced. By using the genealogies in combination with the kinship terms recorded in matrix-form, one has a full picture of the kinship system. One could then embark on a recording of all known kinship terms, applied to both living and dead, a task
which would only be completed, however, by the elicitation of over 600,000 kinship terms. As previously noted, Rose limited himself to living individuals; my own work involved obtaining the kinship terms used towards a number of dead individuals in addition to those living, but of the living, the children of Mission natives were omitted. All living persons at Umbakumba, and all those persons included in Rose's original work (whether living at the Mission or at Umbakumba), and whether dead or alive, were given separate sheets. Since I had not the time to complete a 100% survey even of this limited number of individuals, only a sample of terms as applied by 37 individuals towards 306 other individuals was recorded, a total of 11,322 identifications.
### Appendix 3

**Principal Plants eaten by the Wanindilaugwa**

The systematic names for edible plants given below were obtained from R.L. Specht’s "Ethno-botany of Arnhem Land" *(q.v.)*, the Enindilaugwa names given in Specht's work have been corrected. Other plants used by the natives have been added to this list, but botanical identification of these latter was not possible. In order to assist in filling out our knowledge of the ethno-botany of this area, however, the native names of these plants are given. Not all the plants in the list below were actually seen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enindilaugwa name</th>
<th>Vernacular name</th>
<th>Systematic name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mununa</td>
<td>burrawong</td>
<td><em>Cycas media</em> R.Br.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mansuurgwa (tree)</td>
<td>pandanus/screw-</td>
<td><em>Pandanus spiralis</em> R. Br.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milarungwa (fruit)</td>
<td>palm</td>
<td><em>Heteropogon triticeus</em> R.Br. Domin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aragbula</td>
<td>spear-grass</td>
<td><em>Triglochin procera</em> R.Br. var. dubia Benth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dunaduranwena</td>
<td>small arrow-grass</td>
<td><em>Eleocharis dulcis</em> (Burm. f.)Trin. ex Hensch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abulguma</td>
<td>spike rush</td>
<td><em>Livistona humilis</em> R.Br.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>migora</td>
<td>fan palm</td>
<td><em>Cartonema parviflorum</em> Hassk. and <em>Cartonema spicatum</em> R.Br.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mandebe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jileriba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enindiljaugwa name</td>
<td>Vernacular name</td>
<td>Systematic name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munworaguljanda</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>Calostemma scott-sellickiana F.M.Baill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamiljena</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>Curculigo ensifolia R.Br.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amundagarugura</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>Dioscorea sativa L.var. elongata F.M.Baill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mundageriera</td>
<td>parsnip yam</td>
<td>Dioscorea sativa L.var. rotunda F.M.Baill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mungura</td>
<td>round yam</td>
<td>Celtis philippensis Blanco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agaragaba</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>(Ficus aculeata A.Cunn. ( micracantha Benth. (Ficus scobina Benth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magada</td>
<td>sand paper fig</td>
<td>Ficus glomerata Willd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mungarata (Specht)</td>
<td>cluster fig</td>
<td>Ficus henneana Mig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manjunwinia</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>Ficus platypoda A.Cunn. var. cordata Specht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambarambura</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>Malaisia scandens (Louv) Planch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuramijala</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>Banksia dentata L.f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enundurugwa</td>
<td>honeysuckle</td>
<td>Persoonia falcata R.Br.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awulga</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>Opilia amentacea Roxb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emiruwa</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>Boerhavia diffusa L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magurada) maridia</td>
<td>hogweed</td>
<td>Nymphaea gigantea Hook, var.violacea(Lohm.)H.S Coward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anbudha (plant)</td>
<td>blue waterlily</td>
<td>Nymphaea brownii Baill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuraingura (rhizomes)</td>
<td>blue waterlily</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mebina</td>
<td>wattle</td>
<td>Acacia torulosa Benth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(N.B. the gum and bark of this tree are eaten, especially in time of hunger).
angaiwaja } tamarind Tamarindus indica L.
alamba

?mandjawa

mularungwa

jawudara )
ii(nu)munavudara
?iiigwa

manga rba green plum Buchanania obovata Engl.
arijuwa

augurena (fruit) native grape Cissus acet osa F. Muell.
midiabura (root) 

abijabija

mamurinia )
mamuriniinjia)
umalunggumara (Specht) Grewia breviflora Benth. (?) Grewia retusifolia Kurz

eridia kurrajong (Hibiscus radiatus Cav. (Hibiscus zonatus F. Muell.

mijarawa red-flowering kurrajong Brachychiton paradoxum Schott

mabalba

--- Sterculia quadrifida R. Br.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Common Name</th>
<th>Scientific Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mugwara</td>
<td>billy-goat plum</td>
<td><em>Planchonia careva</em> (F.Muell.) R.Knuth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munaloga</td>
<td>native almond</td>
<td><em>Terminalia grandiflora</em> Benth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iinumanunga</td>
<td>red love-apple</td>
<td><em>Eugenia suborbicularis</em> Benth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emenungwa</td>
<td>Darwin stringybark</td>
<td><em>Eucalyptus tetradonta</em> F.Muell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamara</td>
<td>paperbark</td>
<td><em>Melaleuca leucodendron</em> L.(sens.lat.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angidiugura</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>Pouteria arnhemica</em> (F.Muell.)(ex Benth.) Baehni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immarunga(Specht)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>Pouteria sericea</em> (Ait.) Baehni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iligera</td>
<td>Queensland ebonywood</td>
<td><em>Maba humilis</em> R.Br.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arkwirua(Specht)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>Carissa lanceolata</em> R.Br.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mugunara</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>Ipomoea gracilis</em> R.Br.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamandura</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>Ipomoea graminea</em> R.Br.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maburawilaa</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>Ipomoea pes-caprae</em> (L.) Roth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adamiya</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>Ipomoea velutina</em> R.Br.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marunmuda</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>Vitex glabrata</em> R.Br.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mumunga</td>
<td>---</td>
<td><em>Morinda citrifolia</em> L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iliara</td>
<td>native cabbage</td>
<td><em>Scaevola frutescens</em> (Mill.) Krause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
iliara --- Ptychosperma elegans (R.Br.) Blume?
mamabura red cement tree Terminalia carpentariae C.T.White
alunjagaragba milkwood Alstonia actinophylla (A.Cunn.) K.Schum.

Unidentified:
madiuwa; ganiawura; anakagga (said to be like anaragaba);
iiiradira; julba; amadama; mulugawduwa; buruma; magbija;
maduradura; mawudara (a red berry); mawiliungwa; mil-
erindi; india; meridia (a sand-creeper with edible roots);
jimurungwa (red berries); galora (green berries).

In addition to the above, cocoanuts, which
float in from the north-east, should be counted as a
food (galugwa or iinagbatya).

given by McArthur (q.v.)

other paperbark trees with quite distinct bark are
recognised by the aborigines. These are called aialugwa,
iirarunjandia, and iinugwamba. The sweet 'honey' from the
flowers is often licked off by children, and is called
malijana. Some of the plants contained in the above list
are only used as medicines(Specht, q.v.), usually as an
infusion made by boiling the leaves.
GROOTE EYLANDT AND GROOTE EYLANDT
NEIGHBOURING REGION
(Nota: numbers indicate clan-territories; see Chapter 3)
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