DREAMING ANIMALS WITH HUMAN FACES

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Summary of Thesis

In chapter 1, I describe myth as narrative; the structuralist method to approach the subject; and the background of this work. The main topic of this project is to analyze Aboriginal narratives based on samples surveyed from Waterman's (1978) tale-type index of Australian Aboriginal oral narratives. In all, 295 narratives were taken as the data base of this work. Two things are of interest to this study, the animal agents used in the narratives as dramatis personae, and the allegorization of the Aboriginal social context in their narratives.

In chapter 2, I describe the narratives in context. The first part describes various approaches and previous works done on animal symbolism and mythology. Next, I describe the social ideas of animals, why they are important in the narratives and how are they related in traditional Aboriginal life. Since most narratives are part of Aboriginal religion, the following part discuss the conception of the Dreaming and its relationship to the narratives.

Chapter 3 is the analysis of the sampled narratives. Three main questions posed in chapter 1 (i.e. on the most recurrent oppositional registers; on animal

characterization in the narratives; and on the embedded social ideals presented in the narratives) were used as framework of this analysis. Here, each narrative was broken into analytical units or constituent parts (its constant and variable) and classified to suit the framework of the problems. I have shown that, based on the most recurrent oppositional registers, the issues of maintenance of survivability, group coherence, and social order are the most important ideals embedded in the narratives as a whole. In bringing out those ideals, animal species were assigned various cultural roles in the narratives, and their social characterizations correspond with their characteristics in nature.

Chapter 4 concludes this work by showing that the issues presented in the narratives (as reflected in their constant social themes) may be reduced to narratives which concerned the creation of the natural environment and narratives which concerned conflict in the social environment. The result of the analysis of the narratives indicated that the implicit meanings of the stories concern conflicts between the concepts of ideal behavior and abnormal behavior. Animal species seem to be a convenient tool to convey human social paradoxes, where in these narratives show that ideal human social life does not always correspond with reality, and that although humans are ideally superior

to nature because of their culture, this does not always hold. The narratives then, serve the Aborigines as a means of resolving the paradoxes that are present in their daily life.

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Acknowledgment

I came to Australia as a part of the University of Indonesia's plan to establish an Australian Studies center. With the help of many people I was able to learn and expand my knowledge of the Aboriginal culture, a culture which in many ways is not unlike my own Sundanese culture. A part of that learning process has resulted in this thesis.

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1. Looking into Aboriginal Narratives

A. Background of This Work

A myth is a narrative. It is a structured, predominantly culture-specific and shared semantic system which is well known among the members of a particular community or society. Such narratives explain the origins of natural and social phenomena and the interrelationship among people, their deities, the universe, and their surrounding environment, thus enabling the members to understand each other and to cope with the unknown (Georges 1968:230; Maranda 1972:12-13).

Myths are important in Aboriginal life because they constitute the body of narratives in which their beliefs find a "relatively standardized verbal expression" (Berndt and Berndt 1965:198). Lévi-Strauss (1972:208-212) has said that myths may be seen as a language comprised of constituent units which are represented as discrete actions embedded in the narratives of the myths. Narrative consist of a series of events or actions and relations between units: an

agent, or dramatis personae, with other agents or objects. These units in the narratives are related with other units of the same story thus forming what is called a "bundle" of events (Lévi-Strauss 1972:211), something like a series of unilineal orchestral scores which form the melodies (ibid., 1979:211). This series of events is commonly termed the syntagmatic chain. The implicit meanings in each narrative may be discovered by comparing one to another, first by breaking the narrative down into constituent units, or bundles. That is, by reducing them into simple statements, so that they may be arranged according to their similarities or oppositeness. With this method it is hoped that the relations between the event or action may be discovered.

Through this procedure, it is hoped to discover a series of relations from comparisons of the bundles. According to Lévi-Strauss (1979:190), when one tells a narrative, then one is actually reading a series of events synchronically from beginning to end, from top to bottom. But when one wishes to understand the narratives, then one should compare the events or relations diachronically between one narrative and the other. In the narratives, the series of events or actions is termed the parole of the language of myths, and the relations between one myth and another forms the langue of myths (Lévi-Strauss 1972:209; 1979:187).

Through analysis, this procedure should result in a

set of relations or events which are present in binary oppositional form. According to Leach (1982:111-115) binary oppositions are intrinsic to the process of human thought. In every myth system there will be a persistent presence of sequences of binary discriminations, or oppositions. Any description of the world, according to Leach, must show relations or discriminations between categories in the form of "a is x" or "x is not a". A thing is seen to be alive or not alive, and one could not formulate the concept of "alive" except as the converse of "dead". In every myths's narrative then one can expect to find a persistent sequence of binary discriminations, for example, as between human/non-human, natural/supernatural, male/female, good/bad, life/death, and so on.

This persistent presence of oppositional relations in narratives is, according to Lévi-Strauss (1972:226), a form of Hegelian dialectic. According to the dialectic an opposition in the narratives is often followed by a mediation between the opposing categories which leads to a resolution in the form of a syntheses. The mediation is achieved through an introduction of a third category, which is anomalous in terms of ordinary rational categories. That is why myths are full of fabulous monsters, incarnate gods, anthropomorphic animal beings, virgin mothers and the like. Leach stated (1976:82-83) that it is this middle ground of

the abnormal, the non-natural, or the supernatural which is regarded as sacred and holy, and which is typically the focus of all taboo and ritual observance.

The the nature of dialectics is more complex, for there are arguments differentiating between the contrary (i.e. the "polarities of difference" such as between fire/water), and contradiction (i.e. contradictory propositions such as the statement of "x is a and not a") which concerns states of oppositions which must be resolved in the narratives, and which the critiques argue as important in understanding the situational context of the story (see Beckett 1975, Burridge 1967, Murphy 1972). However both Lévi-Strauss and Hegel did not distinguish between the two. The distinction between contrary and contradictory oppositions, is important, according to Palmer (1981:102-103), because it leads to distinguishing the type of dialectic and syntheses involved. He adds:

> contraries, if they become opposed through social action, may be resolved by reconciliations. Contradictions,...must be resolved by the exclusion of both and the emergence through complete transformations of a new order of being.

This thesis is concerned most with the dialectic of contradictions, because the majority of the sampled narratives concern transformations as a form of resolution.

This approach to the analysis of myths derives originally from techniques of structural linguistics

associated with Jacobson and Hale (1956), but its application in anthropology is attributed mainly to Lévi-Strauss (1955). Lévi-Strauss's model has been applied by other anthropologists using different bodies of mythology, e.g. Hebrew (Leach 1962, 1966), Maori (Jackson 1968), Sinhalese (Robinson 1968), and Ndembu (Turner 1974), and has been applied to Australian Aboriginal myths by numerous writers (see Hiatt 1975 and Berndt and Berndt 1988 for bibliographies). Useful summaries, applications, and critiques of Lévi-Strauss's treatment of myth may be found in Hayes and Hayes (1970), Leach (1969, 1970), Rossi (1974), and Nathhorst (1969).

Although many anthropologists have been sympathetic with Lévi-Strauss's objectives in the study of myth, British social anthropologists have criticized his methods and conclusions, which often seem to be intuitively derived and difficult to verify (cf. Cohen 1969, Hayes and Hayes 1970, Leach 1967). In the British empirical tradition, Willis's works (1967, 1974) represent an explicit challenge to Lévi-Strauss's methods. Willis suggested that the analysis of mythological thought need not eschew concrete ethnographic data and can be accommodated within the normal parameters of social anthropological investigation (see Middleton 1967 for other examples of analysis in this tradition). Nevertheless, Lévi-Strauss's influence and method has been pervasive,

even among people who do not wholly agree with his assumptions. Maddock (1975:107-108) has emphasized that there can never be a single correct or final structural analysis of any myths because there are always other possibilities. The positive advantages in structural analysis is that it need not imply total commitment to a single conceptual frame or a single set of procedures. It can stimulate a variety of approaches to narrative materials.

In analyzing myths, workers usually start from a preselected series used as the basis for their deep structural analysis of the myths. However, Richards (1967:122, quoted in Maddock 1975:107) said that "'the application of the 'principles which serve as a basis of structural analysis' does not seem absolutely to guarantee that the myth has not been solicited to respond to the a priori ideas of the analyst". Further, when reading the results of any deep analysis of myths, "the chances of opening up at a place when the analysis seem fruitful, inconsequential or hopeless might be about equal" (Hiatt 1975:17), because the success of one analysis as compared with another depends in some measure on the set of myths which is chosen for analysis.

This thesis attempts to meet some of the criteria of structural methodology by looking into the patterning of a body of myths when they are arranged randomly en masse. It intends to examine the general features of

ideas embedded in Aboriginal narratives. However, in carrying out any structural analysis of myths, one may obtain different results from another person analysing the same myths. Maddock (1975:107) remarks that "it does not seem possible to make the structural analysis, and indeed, it may be doubted that this ever will be done". This is mainly due to the fact that, as Lévi-Strauss himself (1964:11) posited, myths may have an indefinite number of structures and none which may be said as the correct structure. Thus, the analysis and their theories cannot claim to be definitive.

Originally, the data available for this work was derived from Waterman's (1978) Tale-type Index of Australian Aboriginal Oral Narratives. In it she cataloged 737 narratives collected at random from all parts of Australia. From these it may be seen that 90 percent of the narratives were listed in the index under animal actors. I have used this list as the basis of this project. This project, then, is basically a survey of narratives with animal actors, rather than being concerned with motif-indexes which are variable and immense in number. (Waterman arbitrarily defined her motif-index numbering for the tale-types from 1 to 3500). From this selected sample alone there are 74 named species of birds, present in 328 narratives, 22 named species of mammals in 108 narratives, and about 22 species of reptiles in 139 narratives, all either mentioned in passing or as the dramatis personae in the

narratives. The rest include some plant species, fish and molluscs, insects, or human actors. The real world of the Aborigines certainly contains more than these, and the Aborigines themselves would certainly have known more of them. In Arnhem Land alone, for example, there are thousands of narratives which contain animal characterizations, allegories and metaphors in conjunction with the social context embedded in them.

There are two things which are of interest to this study: the animals themselves, and the allegorization of the Aboriginal social context in the narratives. Arising from these, three main questions have formed the framework of this survey. The first question concerns with the narratives themselves: if "the purpose of the narratives is to provide a logical model" (Lévi-Strauss 1955:443) which is presumably capable of overcoming contradictions presented in it, what then are the contradictions which are most of interest to the Aborigines as implied from their narratives? And what are the modes of their resolution? The second concerns the animals in the narratives: in bringing out these contradictions with the use of animal agents, do the narratives use certain characterizations for each animal species to express particular behavioral modes or actions, or were the agents used at random whereby any animal species in the narratives may have multiple and/or ambiguous roles? The third question concerns the social themes embedded

in the narratives: what are the main themes presented in this surveyed samples, and in the samples of narratives with social actions what are the ideals of social behavior and relations presented? This framework of questions is intended to be consistent with Berndt and Berndt's (1988:4) qualification of Aboriginal narratives, and as a mean to examine their interpretation that:

> Aboriginal mythology, for any particular group of Aboriginal people, was and is like a huge mirror that reflected -- sometimes dimly, sometimes in an exaggerated way, sometimes phantasmagorically -- what was familiar to them, something they expected to see and something that they could identify. It was not necessarily a mirror reflecting reality in the sense we normally use that word. But in many cases it was very close indeed to that. Much of Aboriginal mythology focused conflicts situations, and on providing explanations of how social and natural phenomena come about. This was a powerful literary device which took much of ordinary, everyday social living for granted. It did this because the intent was, apparently, to emphasize that aspect by underplaying it, by highlighting violence, lust, treachery, and so on. It capitalized on happenings of that kind in order to clarify danger areas of social living, and perhaps as a deterrent to complacency.

B. The Data

The narratives on which this project is based centre on animals as dramatis personae. These are independent narratives without any reference to length, degree of complexity, or sacredness. In Mauss's terms, the agents acted as symbols of the social relationship which they represent in the narratives, because they condense within themselves the structure of these relationships. Munn (1970:141) regards them as iconic or expressive symbols of these relationships.

Many studies of Aboriginal narratives have focused on the descriptive aspect on the function of myths and the role of myths within the context of Aboriginal religion and ritual. Other works, such as those by Wilpeert (1970) and Waterman (1978) have attempted to examine in general the distribution and ordering of a wide selection of Aboriginal tales. Waterman's collection in particular has provided a wide sample of representative data on Aboriginal narratives in which 737 oral narratives, previously collected by various workers over a span of one hundred years, are listed.

In Waterman's view, the narratives could not be classified according to Aarne and Thompson's (1961) classification of animal tales, ordinary tales and jokes based on the dramatis persoane. Instead she has arranged them according to the motifs presented in the

narratives, and classified all her samples into two superclasses: those which pertain to the Ordering of the Universe and those that pertain to Ordinary Tales. Narratives of the first superclass was divided into classes with motifs of the nature of the earth, celestial phenomena, the first humans, the creators, and the establishment of environment and culture. The second superclass was divided into classes of narratives with motifs of cannibals, heroes, tricksters, disagreements and contests, lechery, encounters with spirits and strangers, and other tales. But other workers such as Miller and Wundt have proposed that Aarne-Thompson's scheme is applicable however seemingly superficial, because in Aboriginal narratives such a correspondence between the dramatis personae in the stories and the classification scheme does exist (cf. Propp 1975:5-6, 16).

The classification of animal tales into any system of narratives will remain problematic. This is so first, because in Aboriginal tales there is a constant unity of, and transformations between, human/non-human or culture/nature, so that these phenomena cannot easily be demarcated. Second, in Aboriginal narratives there are many fantastic beings and events in which animals play major role in a human social context. As such, narratives with animal agents are difficult to fit into any prescribed classification system.

C. Qualifying the Data

Heeding the omni-present difficulty of determining whether the dramatis personae are people or animals, it was proposed to use the following qualifications for selecting which narrative was to be included for analysis.

The first step was to arrange the narratives according to the named classes and species of the dramatis personae. It was determined that only where a named species played a major role in a narrative was it to be included for analysis. Other species appear in Waterman's index such as molluscs, insects, and plants. However, after cross referencing them to the narratives, it was discovered that these animals did not take part as dramatis personae so that they were excluded. "Animals" in this analysis include all named birds, mammals, and reptile species in the index. This term is used to avoid confusion with the term used by other workers , where "animals" only referred to mammals and is separated from birds, reptiles and other classes (e.g. Smith 1970:19; Waterman 1978:330 ff.).

When the defined animal species had been selected, it was cross referenced and compared with the role of the named species in Waterman's tale-type listing. Where stories are mainly concerned with human actors and have no bearing on the ontogeny of the named

animal, then it is excluded from the survey list. Where a story is concerned with an animal or several agents and it reflects their behavior and/or the animal's relations with other agents then it is included in the list. However, in many cases the named animals listed in Waterman's narratives could not all be traced and included in this survey, particularly when the following applied: the animal listed in the index could not be found in any of the narratives; the narratives did not mentioned any animal cross referenced from the index; the named species is misidentified in the narratives; the animal in the narratives is depicted only as a bystander or a victim of an activity, such as hunting; or the animal is not an agent in the story.

From the total of 737 narratives, 655 of them mention one or more named animal species in each narrative. Originally, there were 74 species of birds mentioned in 328 narratives, 22 species of mammals in 188 narratives, and about 20 species of reptiles in 139 narratives, all of which were mentioned either in passing or played an important part as dramatis personae. From this survey, after examining the narratives according to above qualifications, 295 sampled narratives were taken for further analysis, this included 67 named species of birds in 158 narratives, 22 species of mammals in 86 narratives, and 15 species of reptiles in 45 narratives.

All the stories in the survey list are classified

neither as sacred/inside nor as non-sacred/outside version, although these distinctions were recognized by the Aborigines. This is because Waterman could not determine such distinctions from her original material. Further, the narratives were not grouped into categories of myths, legends, or tales, although such terms are recognized by long usage in the field of folklore studies.

D. Inside, Outside

In Aboriginal society, there are multi-level "inside" and "outside" forms of narratives.[1] The inside versions, especially, are intrinsically connected with religious beliefs and with Aboriginal wissenschaft and weltanschauung. Their beliefs, rituals, and myths operate at different levels of secrecy beginning from "outside" or camp versions, to "inside" or secret-sacred form. Children, especialy males, gradually learn public versions of narratives, and with the growth of age and the passing of various initiation rites, they are given more access to secret-sacred versions of narratives which are more esoteric in nature.

All this forms part of the basic outlook of Aboriginal religion. Myths form the body of verbal expression, and the ceremonies and rites are the

[1] Refferences to this number see Appendix 5.

extended organized behavior which expressed myths, albeit in complex and indirect ways. In this activity, material objects or other forms of physical representation are used to symbolise certain totemic species, spirits or ancestral beings; all which may be performed at sites which are the country associated with various totemic beings, usually local landmarks, because most of Aboriginal myths and rituals are to some extent always localized (Berndt and Berndt 1965:198; 1988:5-6, 11-14). All these activities must operate on a graded level from the "outside" public form to the "inside" secret versions.

Myths and rituals are mutually complimentary. Ritual acts out the events or instructions embedded in the narratives, and in turn the myth justifies or explicate the whole range of rituals. These myths, then, tie people to the natural and the supernatural world in one coherent unit.

E. Methodology

As stated earlier, myths consist of syntagmatic chains of related units or elements. These are often repetitive and redundant. Lévi-Strauss (1955, 1979) stressed that the analysis of myths is not only characterized by reading it in syntagmatic terms, but must also be looked paradigmatically to understand the

relations between the meaningful units in the narratives. The supporting population which is actually involved in narrating, listening, and performing the narratives, may be unconscious of the relationships between those units in the myths, even though they are semantically rich.

The basic relationship present in the narratives are usually presented in a format of proportions as:

$$a/\text{not } a \;\underline{\sim}\; b/\text{not } b.$$

To reach such a formulation, certain conditions must be met (Greimas 1972:162-170):

a) The analysis must reduce the information into smaller units of significance and define the constituent units for each narrative that are to be compared. Because the narratives used in this work are taken at random, for the practical purpose of analysis, the constituents have been divided into two types: that is, specific constituents for the analysis of separate narratives, and main narrative constituents. The specific constituents consist of the dramatis personae (the main actor), other agents (co-actors), events and issues, and the resolution or moral action presented in each narrative. The main constituents are the basic and constant theme of the narrative and its situational events, and the variable explanatory elements i.e. the characteristics of the events, places or

transformational processes affecting the agents.

b) The units of significance should be arranged in a linear relational system. In the analysis in this work, each pair of similar or dissimilar units presented in each narrative is compared. Most often the units are present, implicitly and explicitly, in binary oppositional forms. Because one of the stated problems is to look for the most recurrent oppositions, contradictions, or contrasts present in all the sampled narratives, these binary units have to be presented in such a way so that they may be compared between all the narratives. One way of doing this is to specify the types of binary units and put them in a coded register form so that they may be presented and compared as constant units for all the surveyed samples.

c) The units of significance of the narratives should be correlated to arrive at formulation. In an attempt to find the embedded ideological themes in the narratives, the main constituent units (the constant and the variable explanations) had to be defined and specified in such a way that they may also be comparable in all the surveyed samples. These unit of narrative is what Greimas (1972:164) termed as "distinctive feature of meaningful units", which, following Lévi-Strauss, may be related and correlated to other narratives, so that that "its function in the description of the semantic substance may be generalized". Thus, with the reduction of specific

analytical constituents to the main narrative constituent, all the binary forms and their interpretative relations may be correlated together in a generalized formulation as:

A/not A ⌣ B/not B ⌣ C/not C, and so on.

Myth, then, as metalanguage, may be described based on selected units of analysis or "units of measurement" (Greimas 1972:169). These analytical units may be manipulated in terms of their relations and operations, to gradually construct the structural wholes and finally suggest a general interpretation of the narrative system.

2. Myths and Animals

A. Approaches to the Study of Narratives

The notion that Aboriginal myths are in many ways untrue and absurd is naive and shows misunderstanding of its nature. Such a view, which dates as far back to the 19th century, still finds some expression today in the popular mind of Australia, and might well be presented by Schurman's view (quoted in Woods 1879:241):

> The natives have many more similar tales among them; the above however, which sees to posses more of an interest than any of the rest, will be sufficient to show their monstrous and in every respect ridiculous character.

In myths, according to Middleton (1967), it is that seemingly ridiculous untruth which becomes the defining characteristic. Here, truth is irrelevant, because myth, as the embodiment of religious expression, is itself the truth. The unreal world of the Aboriginal Dreaming myths is the world which contained all their fundamental truths (cf. Morton 1985:80-95). As such, a myth is a statement about society and people's place in it and in the universe as they understand it. The

statement is expressed in symbolic terms and an important anthropological problem becomes one of understanding the reality that the statements symbolize.

In general, anthropologists have approached myths and symbols as cultural phenomena, or in Durkeheim's terms "collective representations" or "social facts". The underlying implication of this view is that myths and cosmological notions embedded in them are not mere fairy tales, exotic and quaint expression of a primitive mentality, rather, they are statements which were made deliberately by the people who tell them.

There have been several ways in which anthropologists have tried to explicate the problem of these symbolic statements. Tylor (1873) and Frazer (1935), representing early intellectualists, saw myths as expressing the half forgotten origins of mankind, the origin of nature and events that occurred in history. Although this approach has been outmoded, it provided an obvious truth of anthropological significance: that myths are concerned with the relationships of man with man, man with nature, and man with the supernatural.

The evolutionist and functionalist schools of Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown and Evans-Prichard are important in that they formed a kind of historical bridge with the previous conceptions on the nature of myths and religious belief. But as the currency of

social evolution dimmed in social anthropology, new theoretical concerns were being worked out. For example Webers's (1947) exploration of the relationship between economic and religious institutions and his recognition of the importance of the problem of meaning, or Freud's psychoanalytic insights on the relationship of religious thought and emotions to unconscious motivations and the treatment of religion as a projective system. However, Evans-Prichard (1965) posited that the explanation of religion based purely on the sociological (as represented by works of Weber and Parsons) or psychological (as represented by works of Freud and Roheim) is inadequate. He stressed, rather, the importance of belief, meaning, and interpretation in the study of myths and religion. A growing awareness of this conception of the "sociology of ideas" and further understanding of the manner in which these social ideas are transmitted have produced many works on myths, ritual, religion, and symbolism. Turner (1975) has provided an in depth overview of the recent direction in the field, and his other works (1967, 1969, 1974) have provided valuable contribution to this field.

Other works in this field may be seen from edited collections by Banton (1966), Leach (1967), La Fontaine (1973), Willis (1975), and Lessa and Vogt (1979). Other works on symbols, myths and rituals which concern Australian Aboriginals include Eliade (1973), Firth

(1973), and Munn (1973). While works by Douglas (1970, 1975) and Needham (1973) represent in-depth investigations into the role of symbols in social life, and Leach (1979) has provided a summary of the general structuralist methods to the field of mythology. Works by Mauss (1954), Lévi-Strauss (1963, 1966, 1969, and others), and Leach (1954, 1976, 1979) have further stimulated the field of anthropology of religion, particularly on aspects of myths and ritual by offering novel and provocative perspectives. This structuralist approach regards myths as a means of explaining the paradoxes of social order within extra-social chaos, the paradoxes of the relationships of authority, power, kinship, etc.

This growing field of symbolic analysis in anthropology covers a wide range of approaches varying from the interpretation.of the role of cultural symbols in social life as presented by Turner and Geertz (1960, 1964, 1968), to the analysis of the self-contained logic of symbolic systems as exemplified by Lévi-Strauss and others. Other anthropologists have turned to different fields such as philosophy, psychology, literary criticism, aesthetics, information theory, semiotics, and linguistics to gain different perspectives into the analysis of symbols and myths and their uses.

Some works in the field of symbolic studies have focused on animals as cultural symbol or as the

mediating agent of cultural transmission. Most of these, however, concern the significance of bestiaries and their symbolic meanings within Western societies. Nevertheless, these works indicate a perennial interest in animals and their symbolism. Most notable among them are studies by McCulloch (1960), White (1954), and recently by Rowland (1974) which look into various myths and legends about animals and their roles as they were perceived in the Middle Ages, and continuities in their significance to the present time.

Studies on the individual role of animals have been done by Janson (1952) who investigated the role of apes during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Leach (1961) investigated the lore and cosmological significance of the dog, while a similar study on the role of ponies was forwarded by Dent (1962).

The social relations and significance of animals have also been looked into. Leach (1964) has made a study of linguistic taboos based on symbolic animal categories and various verbal obscenities related to them, and the social valuations of various animals as perceived by Western people. Londsdale's (1981) study focuses more on animals as progenitors of dance in various ancient and ethnographic societies as reflected through their art, lores, and myths. Willis (1974) inquired into the significance of the hierarchy of animal categories among the Nuer, Lele, and Fipa of Central Africa, a similar approach to that of Douglas

(1964, 1967). Other studies of animal symbolism in African societies have been done by Turner (1962), who investigated animals in the context of hunting rituals among the Ndembu hunters of Rodhesia, and by Beidelman (1967) who looked into the social significance of hyena and the rabbit among the Bantu of East Africa. Needham (1967) has studied mockery of animals among the Penan and Semang Bushmen of Kalimantan in Indonesia. Other expositions on the use of animals in symbolic classification may be exemplified by Bulmer's (1967) study of the cassowary in Irian, Tambiah's (1969) study on cultural perceptions towards animals in Thailand, and Lévi-Strauss's (1962) analysis of aboriginal "science of the concrete" and the logic of totemic classification in various North American Indian cultures.

Symbolic representations of animals in Australian Aboriginal society have been studied by various people. Radcliffe-Brown (1951) saw the use of animal species as they are present in Aboriginal totemism and narrative systems as of something that is of symbolic significance, as something that is "good to think". Lévi-Strauss (1979:142) saw the use of animals in narratives as symbols to express contrast and oppositions. What is important here, is that the choice of animals made by the Aborigines from among the whole range of species which are actually known in the real world becomes a means to express differences

between people and this expression is put into their narratives. Maddock (1975) did an analysis of a series of narratives with emus as the dramatis personae. He posited that the presence in many myths of emus in relationship with other birds indicates a desire for a resolution of the difficulty of Dalabon thought about the classification of emu (a flightless bird) and birds that fly. Elsewhere, Maddock (1970) has posited that Aborigines frequently attribute culturally creative roles (such as the invention of fire) to animals, while the people themselves are regarded as passive innovators concerned mainly with the maintenance of their traditions. Blows (1975) reevaluated the role of eaglehawk and crow in myths and posited that the conflict between the two species symbolized a father-son antagonistic relationships. Van der Leeden (1975) saw the gecko and emu myths as a reflection of the dualistic contrast between moieties among inland and coastal populations in Arnhem Land. Radcliffe-Brown (1926,1929) did some studies on the significance of Rainbow Snake, an animal which is supposed to have control over rain, monsoon season, and the rainbow as its manifestation. The symbolic significance of this creature has been reevaluated by Hiatt (1975). Recently, Palmer (1981) has looked into the role of birds in various myths of conflicts from Pilbara region, and Morton (1985) has examined the significance of kangaroos, emus, and native cats in

Central Australian Aboriginal cosmology.

Morphy (1989) has edited works concerning the theme of how people have represented animals in their art. This book conveys stages in the process of interpreting art and include articles on identifying images of the art, how art encodes meaning, relationships between images and compositions, the meaning of the animal images, and the composition of a wider cultural system. Ucko and Rosenfeld (1967) have previously described the complex nature of human/animal relationships in Paleolithic cave art and they have examined that special characteristic of expression through art.

Most recently, three edited works have come out as the result of World Archaeological Congress 1987, in Southampton, England, by Clutton-Brock (1988), Ingold (1989), and Willis (1990). Clutton-Brock edited the volume on the theme of the appropriation, domination, and exploitation of animals. It examines and stresses the critically important ecological balance between humans and their animal foods in various places and time periods. Ingold's volume concerns the significance of animals to humans, and emphasizes that a clear-cut division of the the world into humans and animals on the basis of simple economic or attitudinal criteria is likely to be a serious oversimplification of the actual situations to be found in any cultural system. The volume edited by Willis represents a range of new anthropological information about the significance of

human/animal totemic attitudes and practices which are relevant for archaeological interpretation, and it challenges archaeologists to reconsider their material. Many of the papers in Willis's edition reveal the complexities of concepts about the human form and human nature and their assumed relationships with non-human/animal forms and characteristics. Such complexities are often made explicit in myth and ritual, and therefore demand that archaeologists recognize the distinction between rigour in their methodology which only focuses on the material evidence and the intricacies and complexities of the indigenous classificatory system of the culture they are studying. This includes the realization that the ascription of significance to a particular category of animal species is not merely due to economic reasons but also to the particular belief system of the culture concerned.

Aside from the above works, there are also many others on general Aboriginal mythology some of which give lists of various narratives without reference to social, economic, or religious life (Smith 1932; Bozic and Marshall 1972; Berndt and Berndt 1988). Much of the literature, however, deals with Aboriginal social organization and ritual, and among the gamut of the materials available include works by Berndt (1952), Robinson (1966), Tindale (1959), and Warner (1937), while interest in narrative analysis,including studies of diffusion, and structures may be exemplified by

Berndt (1970), Massola (1975), Megitt (1966), and Stanner (1963), among others.

B. The Social Idea of Animals

Boas (1910) once asked why narratives in many cultures are preferably attached to animal species? Lévi-Strauss (1979:142-143) posited that the answer lies

> so it seems, not, as the functionalist school assumes, in the utilitarian properties of biological species as mankind conceive them, but rather in their logical properties, that is, their ability to serve as symbols expressing contrast and oppositions.

The embedding of animals in Aboriginal mythological and ritual systems is, according to Lévi-Strauss (ibid.), due to three precise conceptions: a) that which concerns the idea of a culturally discrete set, i.e., a segmentary society, b) the idea of a naturally discrete set, i.e., the awareness of the empirical discontinuity of biological species, and c) that there is some kind of homology between the above two systems of differences.

Leach (1976:40-41) has given an example for this, and has termed such a conception as "metaphoric condensation":

I suggest that from the point of view of a participant member of an Australian Aborigine totemic group the metaphoric condensations are roughly as follows:

(1) 'We are are all members of one social group because we are descended from a common ancestors' is initially an idea 'in the mind'.
(2) Similarly, 'they are all members of one social group because they are descended from a common ancestor' is initially an idea 'in the mind'.
(3) 'Those white birds are Eaglehawks; those black birds are Crows' are classificatory statements belonging to the context of non-human Nature.
(4) '"We" differ from "they" as "Eaglehawks" differ from "Crow"' is a simple metaphor.
(5) 'We are Eaglehawks because our first ancestor was an Eaglehawk; they are Crows because their first ancestor was a Crow' is a 'logical' consequence of collapsing 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Pursued thus far, the ideology of totemism is primarily a system of social classification. Social groups in human society are recognized for what they are using the analogy 'the difference between human groups is like the difference between animal species'. But this aspect of the matter, which has been elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, leaves out of account the religious attitude involved. These call for further sets of condensations:

(6) 'We and they live in time bound ordinary life; events happen one after another; all living things are destined to die' is a statement expressing normal experience.
(7) 'If we were not destined to die, events would not happen one after another; happenings would be timeless, as in dream' is a logical derivation from (6) which implies the following oppositions:

Normaltime/Dreamtime : Beginning → End/Beginning = End : Life → Death/Life = Death : Ancestors no longer exist/Ancestors still exist : We are mortal (Men)/Ancestors are immortal (Gods)

(8) 'In adopting ritual attitudes towards the species Eaglehawk and the species Crow, we and they are showing reverence to our ancestors, who are Gods, who exist now in dreamtime' is a condensation of 5, 6, and 7. The first recorded ethnographic descriptions of Australian totemism were, as it happens, very similar to the last

formula (8).

In Morton's (1985:82) view the Dreamtime, as constituted by these "totemic complexes", is the Aboriginal religion itself, while Stanner (1975) separated the Dreamtime totemism[2] from Aboriginal religion as a dichotomy of the social and the religious within the domain of "macro-experience" of the Dreaming.

Londsdale (1981) has analyzed various forms and relationships of indigenous dance, myth and art from all over the world and has posited that (ibid., 1981:12):

> if there is some explanation to be offered as to why animals are so widely used ...(in myth, art, dance and ritual) perhaps it is the emotional bond existing between human and animal kingdom and man's participation in the animal nature...Man is an animal.

But people's attitude towards animals is also ambivalent. On one hand people experience an extreme degree of familiarity towards animals, and on the other there is hostility towards them (cf. Willis 1974). The Aborigines were the master of, and at the same time dependent on, the animals. This attitude is reflected in their art, dance, ritual, and myth, where people exhibit infinite superiority over animals, but at the same time they also humble themselves before the animal model which became part of their laws and beliefs.

The Aborigines also have a need to explain the

origins of the existence of beings, why people do what they do, and how things come about. This need have prompted imaginative explanations in myths with animals. Here is a summary of a myth of fire (one of many) from Wotjobaluk tribe of Victoria:

> Cockatoo was the sole owner of fire. He kept the fire on top of his head. Crow, sparrownawk, and pigeon tried several times to steal his fire but always failed. Sparrowhawk then feigned friendship with cockatoo, until one day he succeeded in stealing the fire and threw it all about the countryside. Now people can get fire easily, and cockatoo has colour markings on his head. (narrative no. 25-1278.3)

In Aboriginal formal expressions (myth, art, dance, ritual), the Aborigines' sense of mime and powers of the imagination combine in a complex and seemingly endless array of pattern to save, know, and reflect on the mysteries of the animal's nature. The imaginative mind of Aboriginal people also attribute magical powers to animal's capacity for non-verbal communication (Londsdale 1981:18-24). Animals are assumed to be capable of influencing the weather, the fertility of natural species, influencing the will of others and even the will of the supernatural. Here is a summary from Boorong tribe:

> When the earth was dark, Puperimbil bird who was one of the old spirits threw an emu egg into space. The egg became the sun. Puperimbil bird then went into sky before people were created. Now if people kill this bird, they will cause a great flood on themselves. (narrative no. 2-385.1)

Its is assumed that if people can succeed in understanding and imitating the animals' behavior (in this case personified as ancestral beings) in their myths, art, dances, and rituals, then they too may achieve the power of persuasion and access to privileged information, and at the same time maintain their survivability (Londsdale 1981, Berndt and Berndt 1988:76, 123-124).

Londsdale (1981:12) also remarks that "man's quest is ultimately a spiritual one for the instructive origin", and that

> ... if his (myth, art, dance, and ritual) return the performer to his earliest rhythm of life, the animal image confirms the link of man to his animal brethren ineradicably residing within him the form of animal instinct.

This bond is almost symbiotic and was forged into their forms of myth, art, dance, and ritual which depict and imitate animal's behavior. This connection, according to Londsdale (1981:14 ff.), may be traced back to their origins, and the evidence for this link may be found in many rock art sites, ethnographically observed corroborees and rituals, and in their narratives.

However, man's attitude towards animals is not just iconic. People are not using animals merely for drawing elaborate picture of themselves, nor are they necessarily all the time using animals for posing and answering profound metaphysical problems (Douglas

1990:33 ff.). People's attitude towards animals is also economic. People have practical reasons for trying to understand the animal's ways so that they may predict the animal's behavior in order to hunt and kill them. Animals are not just "good to think", they are also "good to eat".

C. Animals in the Aboriginal World

The Aborigines traditionally survived by means of their subsistence economy, and were directly dependent upon the environment and the flora and fauna which thrive in it. Between people and nature there were three main technologies basic to their survival: fire, stole tools, and digging sticks. This is apparent from the narratives, and they are frequently mentioned in them. These basic technologies also acted as buffers in times of crises. Crises may take form as disasters which are caused by flood, drought, or disappearance of animals as food source. In such situations, it is no less than a matter of life and death that some of their narratives explicate and which the people also ritualize. The explanations and the ritualization of their myths are made in the hope of the continuance of the natural order so that the supply of their food resources would not diminish and their social coherence may be maintained. The main concern of myths is thus with matters in which people are most vulnerable; the

order of life and death, fertility, and the social order of relations between people.

People have long understood that animals behave similarly to humans, and probably for the same reasons. Animals, like humans, have their own territories, gather with their own kind in groups, have conflicts among themselves or with other species, give birth, and die. It is no wonder that Aborigines have thought animals to resemble them in many ways, and that they link these resemblances to motivations. The Aborigines have seen animals as exemplifying human traits which they have either admired, feared, or disliked, and have taken these ideas about animals and their similes in behavior into their symbolic system of beliefs and myths. The animals which are represented in the narratives are transformed metaphorical personifications of the human social order, or, in Rowland's term (1974:xvi) they are "a sermon in shorthand".

For the Aborigines, animals remain an important part of their symbolism. They are abundantly present in their art, dances and narratives. Although the Aborigines today live in a situation where many modern symbols (as seen in television, traffic markings, books) are strictly contemporary, many of their own symbols are still current, esoteric and form the basis of private codes which only the Aborigines can interpret (Morphy 1987:204-209). Most animal symbols

among the Aborigines are traditional, in the sense that they belong to the Aborigines' religious outlook and their mythology, and are present in their collective awareness of the Dreaming where everything is symbolic. The Dreaming itself is a compelling repository which the Aborigines have exploited either purposely or intuitively to evoke an immediate profound response.

D. The Dreaming

The core of Aboriginal religion is closely linked with the experience of the mythic dimension. Time and the world of the present is understood as the expression of time and the world in their mythology and Dreaming (Stanner 1987:225). In the belief of the Dreaming, the mystery of the existence of people, for example, is not understood through the act of creation but it is comprehended as a formal participation of the mythological beings which are regarded to be present in everyday life (Berndt and Berndt 1965:188).

The mythological time, termed <u>unqud</u> among the Ungarijin, <u>altjeringa</u> among the Aranda, <u>mura</u> among the Dieri, or <u>mungunj</u> in Pilbara, or generally translated as Dreamtime, is regarded as the period of creation and creativity. The Aboriginal conception of time is comprehensive, but at the same time it centers on totemic beings which were their ancestors. Mythic beings, in Aboriginal belief, may be identified with the sky, moon, geographical features, rocks, animals, etc. in the natural environment. What is important to the Aborigines is the act or event of the creation itself which formed the operational structure of the Beginning, and at the same time still determines the conditions of their world of the present time. Those beings are remembered by the Aborigines as their progenitors, and regarded as truly present today as may

be demonstrated by what those beings have left, ranging from features of the landscape to human customs.

The Dreaming, then, denotes mythical realities as conceived by the Aborigines. According to Strehlow (1971:614) it is a conception which refers to the eternal, to the uncreated springing out of itself. Strehlow saw that the Dreaming may best be looked at as a state where supernatural beings have always existed and that no one has created them thereby nothing preceded them. Morton (1985:112) saw the Dreaming as "related to a doctrine of first causes", as a basic "cosmological datum" but which still manifest itself through dreams.

In the Dreaming narratives, the spiritual beings, who moved though the landscape creating various phenomena, are even today regarded as the source of energy for the maintenance of natural life. Tonkinson (1978:14-15) writes:

> The Aborigines ground their entire existence firmly in a conception of spiritual beings as holders of live-giving and life-sustaining power that is automatically accorded to those who act out the life design formulated by these beings. The living conform to the dictates of a culture transmitted by their forefathers but attributed to spiritual, not human, actions.

The concept of the Dreaming, then, may be seen as a fundamental concept of the Aborigines' <u>weltanschauung</u>, or as Strehlow put it (1964:727), as "their all embracing view of the world which is expected to have

full validity for all times".

More specifically, Palmer (1981:5) viewed Aboriginal religion as "compounded of a complex series of statements, that concern metaphysical aspects of the physical world". The statements, as presented in their myths and narratives, concern the past, the present, social life, and their world, and which may be enacted though their rituals. These statements together form their wissenschaft, or what the Aborigines call "knowledge".

For the Aborigines, the Dreaming, as expressed in their narratives, is regarded as both a historical and a creative time, where mythological characters are believed to have traveled across the land each with different adventures. Their actions have resulted in modifications of the countryside, or have themselves transformed as part of the natural world. These modifications and transformations may now be seen in the form of certain sites, waterholes, or other features of importance. Because these characters were the ones who created the landscape and its particular feature, named particular places and demarcated the areas of land to be occupied by designated groups of people, most traditional myths were always thus told with reference to the land. According to Berndt and Berndt (1988:5):

> No traditional Aboriginal myth was told without reference to the land, or to a specific stretch of country where the incidents it narrates were believed to have taken place. No myth is free-floating, without some local identification. Without their anchorages, they could be regarded as being simply 'just so' stories. In other words, the land and all within it was irrevocably tied up with the content of a myth or story, just as were (and are) the people themselves.

The mythic characters may take many forms, such as birds, mammals, reptiles, or simply as human beings, but often they were able to transform to different forms. In the narratives, when these beings die, they are also transformed into animals with which they shared common spirituality during their time in this world, or into other objects, such as celestial phenomena (sun, moon, milky way) or sites. According to Palmer (1981:58, citing Stanner) one important element of the Aboriginal narratives concern the theme of an "immemorial misdirection" where various events had the result of Dreaming characters changing into animals of the present time permanently. But beside creating, these beings were also the ones "responsible for the ordination of all social, economic and religious practices which they auspicated during the time they lived on earth". Palmer (1981:59-60) concluded:

> The dreaming is for Aborigines an ontological concept that is framed in metaphysical terms and is symbolic of the motive forces that characterize human interaction. By an appeal to an historically creative period, during which precedents for social and cultural actions were inaugurated, Aborigines place their continuing practice of traditional action within a metaphysical context . Similarly, by appeal to a contemporary spiritual motive force they also place daily changes and interactions in the context of a metaphysical realm of discourse. The Dreaming is then the concept, symbolic of mythical source of all life, that both justifies and sustains the contemporary reality of Aborigines".

Having looked into the ways in which to analyse myth, and its context within the Aboriginal society, the next chapter will delve further into the myth itself, focusing primarily with animal agents and how they are used to communicate the ideals of Aboriginal social life.

3. Animals With Human Faces: Analysis of the Narratives

This chapter will analyze the surveyed narratives sampled from Waterman's (1978) index of Australian oral narratives. It will also attempt to address these questions: What are the most recurrent oppositions represented in the narratives? What do certain agents characterize most in the narratives or are the characterizations given to several agents, so that any agent may have multiple and ambiguous roles in the narratives? These questions will also be linked to the question of what are the main ideologies of Aboriginal social behavior and relations embedded in their narratives of the surveyed sample. It is hoped that the answers will give a general view of the main concerns in Aboriginal traditional life as expressed in these narratives through the analysis of the surveyed samples.

From the total of 737 narratives which Waterman collected, 655 of them involve one type of animal species or more. From these, I have taken a sample of 295 based on the qualifications set out in chapter 1. The sample includes 67 named species of birds, 22

species of mammals, and 15 species of reptiles in the narratives which come from most parts of Australia.

A. The List of Sampled Narratives

To approach the above questions, the sampled narratives have had to be broken down first into a set of analytical propositions (see Appendix 1) to form a database for subsequent analyses. For the purpose of this study, each narrative is classified according to animal species where the species is the dramatis personae; thus all narrative where the main character is a bird is put in that class according to its named species in the index. Three classes of animal have been defined: birds, mammals, and reptiles. This classification is arbitrary, and does not confirm to any Aboriginal taxonomic system (for discussions on Aboriginal taxonomies, see Waddy 1988, Ellen and Reason, 1979, and Brown 1984). Each narrative is listed using an arbitrary number from 1 to 295, with reference to Waterman's original index number, and improved area identification. Each narrative is then broken into two basic syntagmatic chains which concern the issues or events, and its subsequent resolution or moral action implied in the narrative. The fourth proposition concerns the representation or characterization of the dramatis personae in each

narrative, for example as an ancestral being, progenitor of some natural phenomena, a vengeful father, etc. This element is to be used for analysis of species characterization in the narratives and to determine whether such an idea is constant or ambiguous. The next proposition concern the "constants" of motifs (the repetitive, redundant themes and motifs) in the narratives, and "variants" in the use of range of characters for the same motif. In Waterman's index this is basically her tale-type motif, but which is not cross referenced to identify other variants in the use of species transformations. This element was included for the purpose of future folklore study. The sixth element of analysis is the register for potential disjunction which occurred in the narratives. This disjunctive register is represented as both implied and explicit oppositions between the agents in the narratives. The disjunctive registers range from man-woman social opposition to cooked-raw opposition. These registers occur constantly in the narratives, and for practical purpose they have had to be presented in coded form. In all, at least 58 coded oppositions have been used, but no doubt more could be added to this number. It is hoped that these elements will reflect the priority of the narratives in general. Appendix 1 lists all the sampled narratives used in this study, broken down into the analytical propositions as explained above. All subsequent

analysis of the surveyed narratives will refer to this appendix.

Palmer (1981:35) mentions that there are two ways to understand Aboriginal narratives: first, they may be seen as a commodity of transferable knowledge, and second, they contain implicit meanings. Aboriginal narratives may be understood as a transaction between the narrator and the listener where the commodity is the knowledge embedded in the stories, concerning both religious and secular matters, which is exchanged and utilized by the Aborigines. But the embedded knowledge, which is more implicit, contains meanings which may be discovered from within the narratives themselves, and it is different from other explicit exchangeable knowledge (e.g. ceremonies, circumcisions) also distributed within Aboriginal society.

Within the series of sampled narratives above, as presented in Appendix 1, it may be seen that each narrative contains a string of oppositions which rise from the conflict presented. These strings were obtained from the common features which could be identified from the relations between the dramatis personae and other agents in the narrative. The presence of these oppositional meanings may be said to be a reflection of a paradox which could not be resolved and consciously admitted by the listener or by the narrator. The paradoxes are implicitly embedded

within the structure of the narrative, and according to Lévi-Strauss (1972:21) these structures are representative of the unconscious structure of every human institution and custom.

Elsewhere, Lévi-Strauss (1967:30 ff.) has explained the presence of relationships between the unconscious meanings of a narrative and those who listen to it. According to him, speculations about cultural institutions have nothing to do with the reality of social structure, but rather it is related to the inherent and potential possibilities. Speculations in the narratives are not intended to depict reality, rather they aim to justify the shortcomings of that reality, because the agents which partake as units or elements of extreme positions in the narratives were only imagined for the purpose of showing that those positions are untenable. Lévi-Strauss further suggests that such matter indicate an implicit admission of the fact that social realities which are represented in the narratives is marred by contradictions which could not be resolved and understood by the society.

Narratives which contain such paradoxes, according to Lévi-Strauss (1972:216) are at the same time logical tools used to explain the presence of conflicts which rise from the paradox. The paradoxes in the narrative consist of a series of oppositional meanings, and the relationship of these oppositional meanings is dialectical. The synthesis of this dialectic in the

narratives, which forms the resolution, is achieved through a sort of transformation of an agent into another form which is derived from the combination of the oppositional elements. Thus, in terms of its use, these narratives may be seen as tools to teach both the narrator and the listener and to impose the ideas of order.

B. The Oppositional Registers

In the surveyed sample for this work, there are at least 58 oppositional statements consistently present in the series of narratives. Arbitrarily they are divided into oppositions which implied social order, oppositions which implied natural order, and oppositions which implied cultural order. These oppositional registers are coded (using combinations of arbitrary letters, a, b, c, d, e, f, and numbers, from 1 to 10) and listed under the sixth analytical proposition of each narrative explained above.

The coded oppositional registers which implied social order include:

a1 man (husband) : woman (wife), a3 age : youth, a4 pure : impure, a5 hunter : gatherer (in terms of gender roles), a6 superordinate : subordinate, a7 social (cooperation): asocial (non-cooperation), a8 moral : amoral, a9 diligence : laziness, a10 father (uncle) :

son (nephew), b1 sacred : profane, b2 superior : inferior (in terms of knowledge, magical powers), b3 authority : laxity, b4 initiated : uninitiated, b5 request : denial, b6 greed : temperance, b7 prohibition : permission, b8 prohibition : punishment, e1 benevolent : evil, e2 avenger (abductor) : avenged (punisher), e5 sharing : deglutition, e6 reward : punishment.

Coded oppositional registers which implied natural order include:

a2 big : small, c1 dry : wet, c2 seen : unseen, c3 light : dark, c4 life (survivability) : death (starvation), c5 vernal : nocturnal, c6 temporality : permanence, c7 peculiarity : generality, c8 fertilizing : fertilized, c9 good : bad (seasons), c10 natural (human) : supernatural (non-human), d1 aquatic : terrestrial, d2 celestial : terrestrial, d3 aerial : aquatic, d4 inland : coastal (in terms of habitat or population), d5 monochrome : polychrome, d6 major (plural) : minor (singular), d7 flight : flightless, d8 earth : sky, d9 prey : victim, d10 aerial : terrestrial, e3 netherworld (underworld) : uperworld, e4 spirit (beings) : physical (objects).

While registers which implied cultural order include oppositional matters of:

f1 fire : water, f2 cooked : raw, f3 fire : fireless, f4 animality : humanity, f5 progenitor : innovator, f6 owner : stealer, f7 nature : culture, f8 depraver :

provider (of cultural constituents), f9 water : waterless, f10 food : foodless.

Each narrative contains a series of these oppositional registers, and when each is counted together with the rest of the sample, it is hoped that a pattern of the most recurrent paradoxes in Aboriginal narratives may be obtained. A count of the above oppositional categories from the sampled narratives is presented below:

Table 1
Count of Oppositional Registers
From the Surveyed Narrative Samples

Register	a	b	c	d	e	f
1	75	53	24	27	20	9
2	46	29	4	23	97	12
3	100	7	6	18	17	31
4	8	10	135	25	40	45
5	18	26	8	2	28	34
6	76	23	18	3	1	35
7	122	10	1	22		29
8	85	71	6	10		41
9	6		1			15
10	2		75	77		16

In terms of numbers, register c4, the matter of life or survivability versus death or starvation in the generally Australian harsh and arid environments, seems to be the prime issue of the narratives, it is present in 135 cases. This it seemed, is also linked to the second most recurrent register a7 (122 cases), the matter of social and asocial behavior between agents interacting on the issue of life and death. But why should these registers be the most recurrent in the

narratives? The answer, I suggest, may be found in the traditional economic mode of life.

Traditionally, Aborigines were hunter and gatherers, they did not maintain any agricultural technology to provide food surplus.[3] In a marginal environment, Aborigines had to live in small groups of individuals so that their mobility in subsistence activities could be maintained. These small population groups with their semi-nomadic lifestyle occupied a particular area where they had traditionally acknowledged rights and responsibilities toward their land and its resources. The sustainability of their life in such environment was dependent not only on the individual, but also required cooperative relationships among individuals within the group aggregate. In this way, Aboriginal social life centered mainly on local interests among people who were mainly linked by kin relationships, language, marriage rules, and cultural values. On a broader scale, however, they also had relationships with other groups in neighboring areas which were maintained through interactions of kinship relations, marriages, religious connections and trade.[4]

But there were also conflicts among individual members of a group or between groups themselves. In the narratives it does not take much to arouse conflict, any abnormal action which is contrary to the norms, such as stealing, trickery, deceit, seems enough to cause a paradoxical situation. This point is certainly

referred to in the narratives, as suggested by the recurrence of register a7 in which there are 122 cases, and a8, present in 85 cases. Other points of conflicts which occur repeatedly in the narratives are between age and youth (a3, 100 cases), and men and women (a1, 75 cases). These registers are frequently depicted as conflict over matters ranging from food deceit to murder. In the narratives, it is these conflicts which seek to be resolved, the implication being, as we will discover below, that failure of this resolution will ultimately lead to the demise of the group itself.

In the traditional Aboriginal mode of production, the division of labor is clear. The men do the hunting, while the women and children have the responsibility of gathering supplementary vegetable foods, and even small game. But, in practice, this sort of division of labor is not rigid, because men also frequently gather food together with the women and children. Although the women are the constant providers of vegetable food, meat is usually more appreciated. Vegetable food is restricted for familial use, but meat catches were usually spread over a greater number of people. In this way, men are more intimately caught up in a wider network of kinship relations and ritual obligations which involve sharing as well as receiving food, goods and services, while women's responsibilities are not as extensive. In this ideal situation, the men are superordinate in the family,

with the responsibility of providing meat and protection, and are involved heavily in the ritual sphere, while the women and children are subordinate, with responsibility as a general provider (register a6, 76 cases). Each individual then, is ideally an economic asset, save for some old people and incompetents who are unable to contribute but who nevertheless must be fed. Conflict occurs when this ideal state is broken by an irregular action on any part of the group. For example, when a wife accuses her husband of not getting enough meat, or when a man complains that his wife is lazy in not gathering enough vegetable food for the day, as depicted in narratives nos. 5, 82, 107, 138, and 195.

When such an ideal state is broken, the result would be disastrous. In an unpredictable environment, like the desert regions, all able men and women had to go out each day to find food, there is no other way of getting food. Failure to do so meant that the family group would starve and ultimately die. That is why in the narratives, particularly those from marginal areas, according to Berndt (1970:243 ff.), "there is underlined a preoccupation with the vicissitudes of desert living, an endeavor to cope with an essentially unpredictable environment". This may seem to be an overstatement, but the narratives imply that when an ideal situation is broken a resolution must immediately be effected otherwise a dire consequence will befall

the Aborigines.

Other recurring oppositional registers concern the natural (human) and the supernatural (non-human) (c10, 75 cases), and the sacred and the profane (b1, 53 cases). The recurrence of these registers may be attributed to the fact that in many of the surveyed narratives many agents present in a particular event or situation are depicted as ancestral spirit beings, interacting with humans or with various other natural species in an ever shifting time span. And from these narratives it may be seen that the background of their activities is the distinctly Australian environment with its contrasts and harshness. Within the sampled narratives (e.g. nos. 39, 48, 49, 52, 55, 64, 80, 86, 94, 96, etc. (see also Appendix 3)), these non-human beings are regarded as having supernatural characteristics. It was they who created the present world, established sacred sites, and who established the laws used by generations of Aboriginal people.

This ideal situation lasted at least until its destruction with the arrival of another different being, the white people. In narrative no. 198, white men are depicted as destructive cannibal beings in the form of half man half horse, hence they are also depicted as counterparts of the supernatural beings.

However, although many of these beings are regarded as sacred, they do not necessarily behave piously. In the narratives they behave as any other humans, the

difference being that they posses supernatural powers. In great religious narratives, especially, these dramatis personae are the ones which behave in a most reprehensible manner compared to the daily human behavior in reality (see also Berndt and Berndt 1988:3).

The problems of morality (a8, 85 cases), vengeance (e2, 97 cases), and punishment (b8, 71 cases), are other registers which occur prolifically in the narratives. These registers co-occur with various conflicts arising from irregular individual action such as deceit, theft, jealousy, lust, lechery, greed and antagonism. Violence seem to be inherent within these narratives, for to raise a conflict the protagonists do not need any significant provocative action. What is clear from these narratives is that they admit that conflicts between individuals exists and cannot be avoided as a fact of daily social life.

It should be noted here that some of these registers are implicit in the narratives. At times these narratives are not explicit in determining what is right and moral, and what is wrong and amoral in a particular social action, and do not seem explicitly to condemn any weak or brutal action. However, through registers e2, b8, or a8, or through various effects of transformational process within the narratives, it is tacitly indicated that all abnormal actions are wrong. Further, it should be noted that all the narratives in

this survey are presented as is, without the embellishment of drama or censorship (e.g. no. 34 or 181). In these narratives what is regarded to be benevolent or evil, good or bad, moral or amoral is presented as a fact of life in human relationships.

It seems that the question of morality is not of great importance in the narratives, and that it does not necessitate any explicit explication (cf. Berndt 1970, Hiatt 1975). The moral and amoral are simply put together in such a manner that one distorts the other until it is difficult to differentiate them. The problem of morality is seldom attached to the agent committing an amoral action, rather, it concentrates on what the agent is doing, what took place, and what happened.

The role of the supernatural beings in the narratives is also concerned with actions of creating, adding, or establishing an event or phenomenon that is now observable, i.e. the natural and social phenomena of the present. The transformational events that took place and which affected the agents in the narratives are important in this context in that they provide a tangible reminder of the past events, a reminder which now can be attested by the Aborigines. The results of these transformations are taken as proof of the narrative's veracity -- proof of the fact that the agents in the narratives did create or leave their marks in the present world and time for people. For

example, in narratives nos. 58, 59, and 60, the call of the curlew bird is now an omen of death because it was the result of the action Curlew man in the Dreamtime who wanted men to die permanently. In narratives nos. 183-185, it was the actions of the dogs which left the ochre deposits in various sites.

C. Characterizations of Animal Species

Having looked into the most recurrent oppositions represented in all the surveyed narratives, the second question is: in bringing out paradoxical relationships in the narratives, do certain animal agents represent or characterize certain human modes of behavior, or actions, or are the named animal species taken randomly, so that any agent may have multiple or ambiguous roles?

In the Aboriginal conception of the Dreaming as explicated in the narratives, there is a notion that animals which abound today were originally human beings who had the same characteristics as the present species' counterpart (e.g. narratives nos. 2, 4, 13, 26, 27, and 197), while the present human population itself was established from various species during the Dreamtime (e.g. narratives nos. 40, 41, 163, 164, 260, and 295). But Dreamtime beings were in fact shape-changing. The shapes they take can vary from that

of humans, animals, celestial or other objects. Their transformation in the narratives occurs as a process throughout the story or at the end of the story as the final event. But in any of the shapes they take, the beings retain anthropomorphic characteristics.

According to the Berndts (1988:18), what is implied in these narratives with non-human and human agents is the "life stream" which is present in all living creatures. This common life stream is the energy which flowed from the Dreaming characters themselves, and even today their impact is still relevant to the Aborigines.

The beings which in the narratives assume a certain species' shape, or which at the end of the narratives effect a transformation whereby they become or change into something non-human, act as a symbolic model. This model is a mean of which mythical beings and their human counterparts may build their complex symbolic ideologies within the narratives. And the model would later serve as proof of various natural, cultural and social phenomena, as had been established in Aboriginal traditions and customs. The use of animal species in the narratives, particularly birds, as models of symbolic ideologies and as objects of transformations is, according to Palmer (1981:246), a problem of "characterization and verisimilitude". To examine this, I have made a list of various animal species present in the surveyed narratives and correlated their

natural characteristics with the characterization in the narratives. The complete list is presented in Appendix 2.

There seems to be a general correlation between the natural characteristics of each animal species with their corresponding characterization in the narratives, not only in the case of birds, but also mammals and reptiles.

It can be seen from the list, that for any particular species several characteristics are obvious in its natural state, but in the narratives not all of its natural characteristics are implied, but usually only one or two main natural characteristics are represented in each narratives. Looked diachronically, there are contradictions of the characterization of species throughout the narratives. Each species may be represented as a positive or negative character, depending on the geographic area where the narratives of the species occur. However, there are several species which have constant characterization in the narratives throughout Australia. Some of these characterizations will be discussed below.

D. The Animals in the Narratives

The bustard's prominent feature, it seems, is that it lays only two eggs. In the narratives it is represented with negative feminine characteristics, particularly as a trickster who was punished for her abnormal behavior (greedy, deceitful) thus accounting for her giving birth to only two chicks.

The chikenhawk, by contrast, is represented with a positive masculine character. In nature, the bird is a good hunter and fast flyer, and because of this superior attribute it is given the role as provider of the most important cultural constituent: fire. Conversely, the cockatoo, is given the role as selfish possessor of fire, a characterization which is frequently connected with its colorful plumage. Because of its mysterious dark plumage also, the black cockatoo in narrative nos. 28 and 29, is depicted as nocturnal beings from the underworld (the dark world below the ground) , albeit friendly, who save those who accidentally fall into it back to the diurnal world.

The crane with its long beak is a natural fisher, and to account for these features in the narratives nos. 35, 36, and 38, it is characterized as a deceitful thief taking food (particularly fish) from other fishermen, and subsequently to be punished by spearing.

The curlew is one species which seems to have a

constant characterization. In the narratives nos. 58-60 it is associated with death. According to the Berndts (1988:197) this bird is a "taciturn and gloomy fellow" whose wailing cry echoes mournfully and is taken as presaging death.

The crow is one of the most prominent birds in the narratives, perhaps because it is so common in the wild, and because its characteristics are readily identifiable with human behavior, making it suitable for allegorical purposes. Because of its multiple characteristics in its natural state, the crow, being both a scavenger and a social creature, is represented in the narratives as ambiguous, holding both good and bad characteristics. Out of 19 narratives with crow, 15 of them depict crow in a negative light, as a thief, murderer, lecher, scavenger, selfish fire owner, or wife stealer, and is usually opposed to eagles. The rest depict crow as a clever man (no. 47), traveling ancestor (no. 48), obedient wife (no. 57), and creator of moieties together with eagle, its natural enemy.

The eagles are natural predators, and unsurpassed hunters. In the narratives too they are frequently depicted as great hunters, and as such, they always hold masculine characteristics, as the authoritative male (11 cases out of 15). Its superior aerial domination and its large size make it the ideal image for superior ancestral beings which bore important cultural constituents (fire, circumcision ceremonies,

marriage rules) to humankind. As was stated above, eagles and crows are not on the best of terms, and in the narratives the conflict between the two frequently occurs.

There have been many explanation as to why there are so many narratives of conflict between eagles and crows in Australia. Matthew (1899) saw the relationship between the two species of birds in the narratives as representing conflict between two human races, one of Melanesian stock, the other of the more superior Dravidian stock, for the possession of Australia during prehistorical times. Such a view was accepted by Ehrlich (1922) and Tindale (1946), but was rejected by Radcliffe-Brown (1952) as imaginary history. Radcliffe-Brown saw instead that the relationship between the two was a metaphor for the relations between the moieties, a view which was taken up by Lévi-Strauss (1964:82-91). Radcliffe-Brown (1958:115) related the narratives of conflict between eagles and crow to their natural characteristics. During Aboriginal hunting activities using fire to drive game, eagles will be seen flying above waiting to catch prey escaping the flame, while the crows will be seen waiting in camps for their opportunity to steal or scavenge meat. The narratives of conflict between both birds, based on what was naturally observed by the Aborigines, reflected oppositions between two natural phenomena holding similar forms but opposite

characters.

Blows (1975:27 ff.) thought that the narratives of conflict between the two species cannot be seen as transformation of logical relations into social relations, for the represented more than mere analogy. He concluded on the basis of his sampled narratives that the conflict between crow and eagle represented sexual rivalry between son (crow) and father (eagle) to gain crow's mother and eagle's wife attention. A similar argument had previously been essayed by Roheim (1925:39) who believed that the relationship between crow and eagles represented the clash between father and son at the dawn of humanity, and explained the formation of moieties as a compromise between the two parties.

Emus are prominent birds in the open Australian landscape, and as such they too are frequently used in the narratives. Like the crows, emus also exhibit some aspects of behavior that are reminiscent of humans, so its behavior is also utilized in the narratives, particularly those representing greed, deceit, jealousy, or vanity. In the sampled narratives, the emu shows ambiguous characterizations: it can be depicted in a masculine role, but because of its size, posture, and foraging habits, it is depicted as poor hunter (e.g. nos. 87 and 88). In other narratives it is depicted in a feminine role, as jealous, deceitful or vain female.

Narratives of conflict between emu and bustard or native companion (e.g. nos. 16, 90, 92, 94, and 95) are widespread in Australia, and various workers have described them (see Mountford, 1976; Tonkinson, 1974, Maddock 1975). These narratives combine necessary explanations of the bird's behavior and other aspect of the species as observed by the Aborigines, and at the same time woven it messages implying the dire outcome of abnormal behavior due to jealous personal competition. Other narratives depict emu in competition with other bird species (e.g. nos. 14, 15, 88, 89, 91). According to Maddock (1975:102-120) such stories represented, at least for the Dalabon of Northern Territory, a mode of resolving the difficulty for Aboriginal thought about emu as the only flightless bird in Australia in contrast to other smaller birds and other terrestrial animal species.

There many species of hawks and eagles known in Australia, but the narratives are not specific about them. Hawks, like eagles, are also predatory birds and excellent hunters and in the narratives they are always given masculine characteristics. With these superior characteristics they were also assigned as culture bearers for the Aborigines (cf. no. 102-106), which includes fire, stone blades, and initiation rites.

Another prolific species in Australia is the magpie. Because of its black and white plumage and its dawn call, the animal is depicted as the progenitor of

daylight (no. 117). According to Morton (1985:181-183) it is the species which embodied the contrast between night and darkness with light and daytime. In other narratives, its contrasting plumage is also explained in the narratives as the result of being burned as punishment for acting as a thief or cannibal (e.g. nos. 118, 119).

Other small bird species, like the tit, thrush, wagtail, parrots and lyre birds, are basically foragers feeding on seeds and insects, and in the narratives they are frequently given female characterization as food gatherers, therefore as a constant source of food (e.g. nos. 132, 133, 148). In its inverted meaning, the birds are depicted as poor hunters (e.g. nos. 149, 150), or as cannibal beings who are also poor hunters as in nos. 149 and 155.

Having looked at the birds, which dominated the bulk of the narrative samples, we move on to the mammals. Bandicoots are solitary and nocturnal creature. In the narratives this characterization is manifested as that of an ancestral being who is opposed to light, or invertedly as sole possessor of fire (e.g. in nos. 160, 161) but which was saved by the hawk for man.

Bats and flying foxes, because of their social and sexual habits are frequently associated with progeny of first humans (nos. 163, 164) and involved in various sexual excesses such as lechery, incest and wife

stealing. Waterman (1978:228) noted that bats in Aboriginal narratives are traditionally lecherous.

Dingoes are skilled hunters and as such are given masculine characteristic in the narratives, either as good husband or as a sexually excessive male (e.g. nos. 178,180, 181). On the other hand (domesticated) dogs are poor hunters and in one of the narrative they are depicted as such, no. 186. But in other narratives the dog is characterized as provider of various cultural constituents to mankind. It gave man his first language, ochre deposits, fire, and water.

Echidnas or porcupines are the most suitable species for the purpose of explicating the etiology of its natural characteristics, and imposing ideas of punishment for asocial behavior. The animal itself is small and slow moving thus enabling it to be characterized as a poor hunter or lazy person. From eleven narratives with this species, all of them end with the spearing of an agent as result of punishment towards various deed such as lechery (nos. 231, 236), greed (nos. 232-234), poor hunter (nos. 195, 299), or selfishness (no. 193).

One of the most interesting animals in this sample is the horse, an animal which is not native to Australia. In narrative no. 198, the horse is depicted as half man half animal cannibal beings which came from the east, killing all Aborigines on its path. This is one example of depictions of European intruders, as

metaphorized evil spirits or monsters. In the narrative, the animal's powers was such that it took many attempts on the part of Aborigines to finally triumph over it.

Kangaroo and wallaby are also prolific species found everywhere in Australia. In the surveyed narratives nos. 204, 205, and 240, depicted kangaroo as possessor of ceremonies, while other narratives depict kangaroo in various social conflicts over food, shelter, or personal possessions. Morton (1985:415 ff.) posited that kangaroos are present in many descriptions of ceremonies in Central Australia. The mother-joey relationship and the general social structure of kangaroos provide the Aborigines with a model of their social groupings. That is perhaps why the sampled narratives here pertain more to human relations as modeled by the kangaroo. According to Morton, kangaroo social relationship mirror Aboriginal social situations almost perfectly, and fits with Freud's idea of the "primal horde".

Reptiles are represented in the narratives even less than mammals, and in this survey the most represented are crocodiles, lizards, and snakes.

The crocodile, like the bat, is traditionally lecherous (Waterman 1978:230), and in fact all of the sampled narratives with this agent depict it as such (cf. nos. 250, 251, 252). Here the crocodile is

presented in a situation involving itself in various excessive sexual escapades which range from rape, spouse stealing, to incest with a whole range of tabooed relations.

Lizards are common throughout Australia, they form one of the main meat components in the diet of the Aborigines. But in the narratives they are often used as phallic symbols in Central Australia (Meggitt 1966:119), reflected in narratives in the sample (e.g. nos. 259, 267-270). Lizards are also frequently present in narratives of ordination (e.g. nos. 255, 260, 261, 266). Morton has suggested that the occurrence of lizards in many creation myths of both humanity and animal species is because they were observed to be born with every dawn (with the warming of the sun, lizards which are frozen in the night cold, seem to come alive again in the morning).

Snakes dominate the sampled narratives with reptiles as agents. They are frequently depicted as spirit beings which traveled across the continent creating mythic tracks and shaping the natural world and human scene (e.g. nos. 271-276). The Berndts (1988:74) regarded the behavior and characteristics of the snake as the background of the formation of mythical events and its various interpretations although not as a guide to be followed precisely. Spirit snakes are depicted as large, dangerous, and frightening beings (e.g. nos. 276, 277), but in other cases as helpers (e.g. nos.

278, 279, 280).

Snakes in the narratives are commonly related to aboriginal cosmology and religion, and are often attached to rituals which pertain to important issues such as seasonal fertility, renewal and maintenance of life-sustaining resources in nature. Fertility of the landscape is highly dependent on rainfall, and the snakes, frightening as they are, provide this one important source of energy for fertility, as depicted in narratives nos. 272, 274, and 275. In these narratives, then, particularly from northern Australia, the snakes are related to the arrival of monsoon season which brings with it the all important rain and thus new fertility to the previously dry land. The respect for the snake, more popularly called the Rainbow Snake, is so strong that to even mention its name is to invite danger (Berndt and Berndt 1988:76, 123). The Rainbow Snake is mainly regarded as living in watery places, and being itself a rainbow, its presence may be seen from the reflection in the form of rainbow in the sky (see Radcliffe-Brown, 1930; Hiatt, 1975, and Buchler and Maddock, 1978, for further discussion of the significance of Rainbow Snake).

E. Role Assignment of Animals in the Narratives

What can be said on the role or representation of animals in these narratives? Are they all ambiguous and random, or is there any pattern to it?

As we have seen from the summary presented in Appendix 2 and from the above analysis, for any form of a human characterization in the narratives a multitude of animal species may be utilized. Put in another way, no animal species is stereotyped as having a particular anthropomorphic character. Any animal species can have several ambiguous characterizations if the narratives are arranged based on the description of the species. A representation of an anthropomorphic character in a narrative, using any named animal species, is based on one or more of the most obvious natural characteristic of the named species used, not on the whole characteristic of the species or animal class.

In broader terms, there seems to be a fixed pattern in the role assignment of animal classes, rather than species. In the bird, mammal, and reptile classes the following assignment of roles may be summarized :

Table 2
Assignment of Roles in Narratives with Animals

1. Assignment of Roles in Narratives with Birds

Large birds	Small birds	Medium birds
hunters	gatherers	foragers
male	female	male/female
provider:meat	provider:plant	deceitful
provider:fire	possessor:fire	stealer/possessor:fire
e.g.:	e.g.:	e.g.:
eagles, hawks	parrots, cockatoo, etc.	crows, emus

2. Assignment of Roles in Narratives with Mammals

Foragers	Predators	Scavengers
poor hunters	cannibals	poor hunters
involved in	involved in	involved in
anthropomorphic	spiritual	cultural order
relationship	relationship	
e.g.:	e.g.:	e.g.:
bat, kangaroo	dingo, cat	dog, mouse,rat

3. Assignment of Roles in Narratives with Reptiles

Aquatic	Terrestrial	Amphibian
social order	social order	cultural order
natural order		
e.g.:	e.g.:	e.g.:
snakes, crocodiles	lizards	frogs, turtles

What these summaries tell is that in general the birds were assigned progenic roles of fire, while the mammals were assigned anthropomorphic social relationships (conflict over spouses), and the reptiles were assigned progenic role of nature, although there may be an overlap of role assignments in the narratives.

To confirm this in numerical format, I have counted the cases of narratives according to the animal classes and the incidence of events that occur in each animal class. The result is as follows:

Table 3
Animal Characterization in the Narratives

Incidence:	Fire	Social	Cannibalism	Culture	Nature
Birds	29	11	10	4	15
Mammals	5	16	16	8	1
Reptiles	1	7			20

Birds are undoubtedly associated with fire (and social roles), mammals with social roles and conflicts, including cannibalism, and reptiles with natural events. This then may give rise to the notion that there is a general pattern of animal characterization, though not on species level, in relation to human (anthrophomorphic) social characterizations in the narratives, and that the narratives do reflect to some degree man's desire to project his social image into a different level or plane played by other non-human agents, to be used as a means of communicating and resolving within the Aboriginal population, various aspects of social paradoxes of their society.

Up to a certain point the world of Dreamings is similar to the world of the Aborigines as they know it, and in the narratives most aspects of social life such as gender roles, social behavior and means of subsistence is similar in the Dreaming as in the present. Male beings in the Dreaming follow similar modes of activities of male Aborigines such as hunting or performing rituals, and their female counterpart gather food.

Birds, especially, follow such a pattern. There are among them predators, foragers and scavengers, and as such they are the most convenient class of animal to be used in the narratives. Other animals, like mammals, also exhibit a similar division, but most of the species in Australia are foragers, and grazers. Only a few of them truly hunt for food. This however does not mean that they are less useful in the narratives. Compared with the birds, mammals are closer to humans in terms of physical attributes and social behavior; both are terrestrial, both give birth to young, both protect their young and group members from external threats, both live in social groupings. This is perhaps why in the narratives with mammals they were assigned anthropomorphic social roles more than any other .

F. Ideals in the Narratives

Having looked into the potential of animal roles as projection of Aboriginal society in a different plane within the narratives as means of communicating the social paradoxes in their society, what then are the Aboriginal ideals of social behavior, and how are they embedded in the narratives?

To approach this problem I have to return to the list of narratives in Appendix 1 and rearrange them in another way to observe its constituents. Within each

narrative there are elements which are "constant" and elements which are "variable" (Propp 1972:139-150). From the surveyed narratives, the constant elements include recurring social themes as well as types of narratives (i.e. those which imply conflicts and those that do not contain conflicts). The variable elements are the events, places, and processes explicated in the narratives. For practical purposes a variable is presented as a short statement of the main events, whether or not it implies an explanation of a place, and what ever the process that occurred at the end of the narrative. Each narrative, having been broken into these two main elements is listed according to the original listing of narratives in Appendix 1, with the same sequential number and animal class division. The list of this narrative constituents is presented in Appendix 3.

As the list of narratives is scanned, one can detect that there are various ideas embedded in each narrative, but these ideas are never unique, rather they recur in stories of different places, or with different dramatis personae.

There are at least four general ideas recurring in all the surveyed samples; they concern: a) the theme of the formation and creation of natural phenomena and b) etiology of natural species, c) the theme on right and wrong social action, and d) the resulting consequence of the actions. But within each of these general ideas

in the narratives there are still other more specific themes which recur persistently and therefore must be specified. The specific break-down of these general themes is presented below together with the count of recurring cases of narratives for each theme:

Table 4
Count of Social Themes in
the Surveyed Narratives

Coded Social Themes		Recurring Cases
A1	Creation of natural phenomena	42
A2	Creation of sacred sites	2
A3	Creation of fire	31
A4	Creation of water	4
A5	Creation of humans	5
A6	Creation of culture	7
A7	Establishment of marriage rules	7
A8	Establishment of language	4
A9	Establishment of dance/ rite	4
A10	Effector of social order	2
A11	Effector of permanent death	6
A12	Creation of magic powers	2
B1	Occupant of underworld	2
B2	Traveling ancestor	6
B3	Etiology of species characteristic	32
C1	Punishment for cannibalism	18
C2	Punishment for refusal to share food	16
C3	Punishment for refusal to share water	3
C4	Punishment for refusal to share fire	1
C5	Punishment for refusal to share shelter	2
C6	Punishment for adultery/ lechery	22
C7	Punishment for incest	2
C8	Punishment for laziness/ deceit	5
C9	Punishment for harmful deed	7
C10	Punishment for wife stealing	9
C11	Punishment for greed	5
C12	Punishment for murder	6
C13	Evil spirit being punished	1
C14	Punishment for unsuccesful hunt	1
C15	Punishment for refusal of sacred object	1
C16	Punishment for uncooperation	2
C17	Punishment for child neglect	2
C18	Punishment for improper behavior	6
C19	Punishment for wife/ child abduction	3
C20	Punishment for insubordination	6

T2	Transformation to mammal/ reptile	52
T3	Transformation to birds	66
T4	Transformation to place	27
T5	Transformation to celestial body	25
T6	Transformation to permanent death	4
T7	Revival from death	2
T8	Transformation to objects	17

Each of these ideas further contain general situations of creation, or ordination, by mythical agents in Dreamtime. This sort of situation contains no conflict between the protagonist in the narratives. The other situation is the presence of conflict between the protagonists in the narratives which finally leads the agents to a process of transformation at the end of each narrative of conflict.

Narratives with situations of non-conflict seldom depict any social interaction between the agents, rather these describe the travels and actions of certain mythical agents in creating natural phenomena, or ordaining certain cultural constituents to the Aborigines such as ceremonies, sacred sites, etc. Thus the narratives with non-conflict situations contain ideas of natural creation, and ideas of cultural ordination. Palmer (1981: 237) called these narratives "myths of ordination". In this survey, after each theme was identified, there were 84 narratives with non-conflict situations.

Narratives with situations of conflict depict a series of events of social interaction between the protagonists and describe various kinds of conflicts and social relations between opposing agents.

Palmer (1981:238-239) posits that there is a main topic which is present within all the narrative with conflict and which forms the reference for the narratives. It concerns transformation of subjects to objects as a result of what has been described as "immemorial misdirection in human affairs" (cf. Stanner 1959:40; Munn 1970) where the Dreaming beings transformed themselves into animal species or various objects in nature. The world of the Dreaming is basically similar to that of the present but at the same time it is an extraordinary world with supernatural beings and important events, where the conflicts between these beings result in their transformation into the natural phenomena of the present. In Palmers's sample and in this survey, all conflicts presented in the narratives arise mainly from disagreements over basic human necessities: food, sex, marriage, children, work, laziness, and cooperation, which reflects the necessity of human relations of reproduction and production.

The problem of reproduction is important in that it concerns the continuity of the group, and the problem of production pertains to the survivability of the group. Both of these aspects, survivability and continuity, are dependent upon the individuals within the group where each of them is related to certain kinship ties and social obligations in the form of individual and group cooperation. Ideally then, only

with this cooperation can the individual and the group maintain their continuity and exploitation of their natural environment to maintain their survivability. In most small human communities, this character of cooperation is the most important aspect of their social life.

Conflict could arise from any sort of disagreement or action perpetrated by the agents in the narratives. It can be a disagreement over food, lack of cooperation, refusal to share fire, sex, or fear of supernatural beings. It can rise from individual abnormal behaviors which may be regarded as contrary to the prevailing norms, like wife stealing, murder, child neglect, or laziness. As may be seen from the list of social themes above, there are at least 35 themes of possible reasons for conflict, and as the analysis of conflict in Appendix 3 indicate, there are 211 cases of conflicts in this survey. What is clear from this listing, is that the narratives contain points of disagreements or conflicts between various agents who behave contrary to the ideal social standard of interaction and its subsequent outcome or punishment as understood by the Aborigines.

In these examples of narratives, the majority of cases indicate that wrong action can lead to punishment, tragedy, or disaster. All mythical agents are subjected to similar process of social control as those relevant to the present Aboriginal situation. The

narratives reveals a concern with basic issues of social life, couched symbolically in terms of relations between men and women, the sacred and the profane, physical and spiritual, life and death. The narratives, then, contain an expression of reality, and provide a mean to regulate individual actions and group relations which conform with Aboriginal social rules and traditions. They contain, in summary, a guide for action (Berndt 1970:243).

G. The Need for Explanations in the Narratives

Having looked into the first constituents of the narratives, we shift to the second variable, which concerns the explanation of the characteristics of ordination or conflict events and the resulting effect of such events in the form of transformations.

The explanation of characteristics in each narrative contain ideas of events which arise from conflict between the participating agents in a particular social theme. The explanation of characteristics in this survey is varied, but even in this variety there seems to be a pattern. The explanations in the narratives seem to reflect an urgent need to express why an event or phenomenon is as it is now, and why those things are important to the Aborigines. There are at least four types of expressions which occur in the sampled narratives. First, the explanation natural phenomena, why they are there and how they happened. This theme is exemplified by narratives no. 2 (the sun), 146 (the moon), 44 (bush fires), 274 (thunderstorms), 37, 38, 46 (birds), etc. Second, is the explanation of social phenomena and human social behavior, why rules are there and what happen when they are broken. This theme is exemplified by narratives nos. 19, 40, 81 (marriage rules), 103, 104 (circumcission rites), 143, 171, 267 (lechery, incest), 37, 193 (theft, wife stealing), 51, 53 (murder), 58, 59, 60 (death). Third, the explanation

of the presence of items of technology, where did they come from and how was it used. This theme is exemplified by narratives nos. 103, 104 (stole blades, circumcision), 134, 135 (canoes). And fourth, is the explanation of how fire came into the possession of man, as explicated by narratives nos. 20, 21, 23-26, 44, 162, etc.

The explanation of transformations into places in the narratives, including certain terrestrial sites or celestial locations, may be presented incidentally or implicitly. Thus, in most narratives there is an explanation about how a certain place or celestial location (of moon, stars, sun) came about. In this survey there were only 25 cases with such explanations present. The explanation of transformations into other phenomena (animals or objects) in the narratives is presented explicitly, usually as the effects of the previous chains of events in the narratives. This type of explanation is the most common. Of these, the explanation of transformation to birds (66 cases) is most used in the narratives, while only 54 cases explicate transformations to mammals or reptiles.

The narratives indicate that the Aborigines in traditional times, whom many still consider to be completely subservient to the need of not starving, of continuing to be able just to subsist in a very harsh natural environment, are in fact just as capable of ordered thinking as any people. The Aborigines were

also moved by the need to understand the world around them, its nature and their society. Lévi-Strauss (1978:17 ff.), when speaking about the mind of the Aboriginals, said that to achieve their goal in accumulating knowledge "they proceed by intellectual means as any other scientist would". This does not mean to say that their thinking is scientific, rather it means that the Aborigine, through their narratives, "aims to reach the shortest possible means to a general understanding of the universe". The narratives, as a reflection of their wissenschaft, cannot possibly give them material power over their environment, but it can give them, according to Lévi-Strauss, "very importantly, the illusion that (they) can understand the universe and that (they do) understand the universe" (Lévi-Strauss, ibid.).

The presentation of transformations in the narratives is a means of providing a resolution to underlying paradoxes. This problem has been discussed by Palmer (1981) in length, and I think it applies well to the surveyed sample presented here, and as such I will summarize it in the context of this work.

For the Aborigines, these narratives form a part of their religion and religious knowledge, and therefore all events presented in the narratives are believed to be true. The veracity of the events and their results may be proven by attestating to, and pointing to, various phenomena of the present environment. Various

natural phenomena which may be observed today, such as birds (T3), mammals and reptiles (T2), places and secret sites (T4), celestial objects (T5) and other objects, are the effects of transformations which occurred in the Dreamtime as told in the narratives. Palmer (1981: 306 ff.) points to two factors why transformations form an important part of Aboriginal narratives: a) because transformations are the direct effect of the events in the narratives and therefore proof of the veracity of the narratives of Dreamtime. As such the events and phenomena mentioned in the narratives may also form a part of religious knowledge, and b) transformations contain implicit meanings. The animals and objects in nature are wild and do not form a part of the human cultural world. We have noted that these animals were regarded previously as humans in the Dreaming world, as may be proven by their corresponding characteristics and behaviors (see also Appendix 2). These beings today, as they did in the past, still hunt, gather food, live in social groupings, have their own young, and maintain their own territories. Other objects come to beings as direct result of them metamorphosing to sun, moon, stars, rocks, etc. According to Palmer, these animal are, mythically, mediators between the world of mankind and the world of animals.

Looked at in Hegelian dialectical terms, the series of oppositional registers which has been discussed

above, are representative of a dialectic. In each narrative, this dialectic is resolved by moving from states of opposition into a syntheses of transformation. The product of this transformation, then, is a synthesis of combinations of the opposing registers described in the language of the narrative, and not as a consequence of synthesis of the natural world and the human cultural world. According to Palmer, the Dreaming beings which experienced these transformations did not live in a world without social harmony or of natural chaos, rather they are mythically a form of resolution as a result of the contrary states of oppositional registers. The transformed beings in the narratives may be regarded as the mediators between the opposing categories which constitute the dialectic. Palmer (1981:308) concluded that:

> Within the language of the narratives the possibility of disorder and chaos is at first admitted and then mythically resolved through the implicit process of the dialectic of the myth. By the resolution of the dialectic in the narratives the myths serve implicitly as a means which Aborigines may endorse their cultural integrity and thereby confirm and assume its perpetuation.

H. The Embedded Ideas of Social Relations

I have considered the most recurrent contrary oppositional elements, patterns of species roles assignment, and narrative constituents. The next problem to be addressed concerns the question of what are the possible ideals embedded in the sampled narratives of this survey?

It has been noted that most of the surveyed narratives fall into one of four categories of major themes: that which concerns the creation of natural phenomena and natural species (social themes A and B), that which concerns social phenomena and social conflicts (social theme C) , and that which concerns with the outcome of the events, or series of transformations (explanation of T (transformation)). Out of these general themes, the problem of conflict contains the most specific categorization with at least 20 categories.

The survey presented in Appendix 3 indicates that 211 of the narratives concern conflict. Conflicts, then, may be regarded as a normal feature of social living admitted in the narratives. In the narratives, conflicts are the source of the series of events which form the story, where violent scenes or abnormal behavior of individuals are depicted. The animal species used to depict an agent in the story is a convenient tool to express any anthropomorphic abnormal

behavior, and it is these kind of stories which form the dramatic element in the narratives.

The kinds of conflict which are presented in this survey may be further reduced into at least three themes: conflicts which concern individual and group relations, conflicts which concern familial affairs, and conflicts which concern fire. Each will be discussed below. Through these themes the narratives symbolically embed the main ideals of Aboriginal social behavior and relations. (For a complete listing of categories of social themes and their corresponding narratives, see Appendix 4.)

I. Individual and Group Relations

Social themes which concern this topic may be found in categories C1, C2, C3, C4, C5, C11, C14, C15, and C16. Category C1 explains the conflicts between the natural (human) and the supernatural (non-human) world where cannibals wish to dominate the human world. Category C2 explains conflicts over sharing of food. Category C3 explains the creation of water through conflicts arising from an individual agent refusing to share with others. C4 explains the creation of fire through conflicts over sharing of fire. C5 explains the etiology of species characteristics through conflicts over sharing of shelter. C11 explains conflicts over

sharing of food and greedy behavior. C15 concerns conflict arising from an an agent refusing to share a sacred object, and C16 concerns conflict over uncooperative behavior between the agents.

In all those situations, the conflicts begin from an individual who refuses to share an item and fails to cooperate, contrary to the rules of reciprocity. The conflict itself may be between an individual and another member of his family or other members of the group. The subsequent event which follows the abnormal behavior is punishment and the transformation of the agent. In all these narratives, there is a situation that if the agents had complied with the principles of reciprocity or sharing then there would be no need of any conflict between them. However, because one of the protagonists did not comply, the narrative then describes a situation whereby an individual commits an abnormal behavior contrary to the normal daily social relations as set by tradition and custom.

It is clear from the narratives that items of daily necessity, like fire, food, water, and even sacred objects, are important for the maintenance of normal life, particularly in marginal environments, and that cooperation between individuals within a family or a group is paramount for the survivability of all concerned. Any uncooperative, or abnormal, action which threatens the balance would be regarded as behavior which upsets the basis of community life, and would

result in disastrous effect as the variety of transformations indicate.

In a marginal environment, Aborigines must lead a semi-nomadic life in order to obtain their subsistence resources. This results in local groups fluctuating in size and their mobility must be dependent upon the availability of water and food sources (cf. Gould 1969, 1980). The mechanism to mitigate this constraint is through cooperation between individuals and between groups through long distance social networks. These networks permit families to move from their own area to other areas in times of crises brought about by drought or flood. Elaborate social institutions including cross-cousin marriages and subsections foster this sort of contact and movement. Each of these mechanisms in turn operates to limit the number of eligible spouses a person will find within his or her own local area, forcing that person to look to other areas for potential spouses (this general pattern does not apply to all Aboriginal groups, because in some cases close marriage is more desired, Ian Keen 1990: pers. comm.). This tendency is further strengthened by widespread occurrence of polygyny which results in multiple in-law relationships over long distances and in various directions. These long distance kin relationships involve obligatory sharing of food, material goods, knowledge, and access to key resources (Myers 1982, Goodale 1982, Williams 1982). Within each of these

relationships there are rules that govern the interactions between individuals. For example, in-law avoidance behavior, where they avert their eyes, step aside on paths, and avoid direct contact (exept in ritual occasions). However, all are bound by the principle of reciprocity, where even in-laws must exchange food and goods constantly. Gould, in describing the Western Desert Aborigines, (1982:72-73) suggests:

> that avoidance behavior of this sort negates any tendency for sharing relationships to be based upon whim or sentiment, thus guaranteeing that sharing of essentials between in-laws will occur whenever stressful circumstances arise, regardless of how the parties involved may feel about each other.

In sharing hunted meat this rule of cooperation also applies. An animal must be divided into a fixed number of pieces at a place close to the kill site. The spearer receives only the entrails, while each of his relatives who joined the hunt may take pieces of their choice. In a descending order, first the father-in-law (or classificatory fathers-in-law), brothers-in-law, brothers, and finally the hunter himself (for similar description see Altman 1987:129-152, who has worked with Arnhem Land Aborigines).

In the narratives, the presence of behavior inverted from what is normally expected in a certain normal social situation, is an expression of the language of myths. Through this expression, there are multiple

possibilities of developing contrasting and opposing situations, characters, and expressive social behavior which is contrary to the common perceptions understood by the people who tell and listen to the stories.

In these surveyed samples of narrative categories, then, there is a need to explain normal and abnormal social situations which contradict with daily life. Palmer (1981:256) has summarized similar relations between the agents in the narratives of conflict which pertain individuals and band as contrary categories of oppositions where:

Band cooperation/ Individuality $\underline{\subset}$ Success of individual within aggregate/ Failure of individual outside aggregate

According to Palmer, in speaking about his Pilbara myth samples, these types of narratives describe a situation where an agent or agents deny cooperation with band or kin members, the situation which is contrary to the need of economic subsistence of a hunting and gathering economy .

The narratives of the categories here imply the presence of relationship based on the principle of cooperation and mutual support. In an ideal situation, the man of the family is expected to be good provider and good hunter, and in his interaction with other members of his group he is bound, like others, by

expectations of cooperation. Wives are also expected to cooperate with their husbands and other co-wives, so that cumulatively, all the group members exist in a situation of mutual support.

However, in daily happenings this ideal does not always operate. There is always someone who does not comply. The narratives of this category then try to find means of explicating and absolving the paradox by admitting and exposing situations where abnormal behavior occurred.

Non-cooperative action which forms the base of a conflict can come in many forms; greed, selfishness, treachery or deceit. These characteristics may be opposed to positive characteristics of cleverness, good hunters, cooperation, benevolence, trust. It should be said that any cooperative action is based on trust between the individuals involved, but when the breech of trust from an agent or agents occurs collectively in a form of any of the negative characteristics listed above, then the situation will cause a chain of events which ultimately leads to anarchy and chaos and therefore the destruction of the balanced normal life.

The narratives of these categories, then, also imply that there should have been a reciprocal relations between the agents involved. However, they depict instead asymmetrical exchanges which caused the conflicts, and attempted to communicate the disastrous result of any such abnormal exchanges.

I believe that the narratives analyzed here try to convey more than just the problems of abnormal individual action, asymmetrical exchanges, or non-cooperation. The narratives imply the ideal social institutions as understood by the Aborigines and what was hoped from them: the maintenance of balanced normal life. From the analysis of oppositional registers, and variety of specific social themes above, it has been demonstrated that the problems of survival, group coherence and cooperation, and the maintenance of normal life are most important social ideals explicated in the narratives. I suggest that the narratives as a whole can be summarized:

Group cooperation & trust/ Individual non-cooperation & greed $\underline{\sim}$ Survivability/ Starvation $\underline{\sim}$ Normal life/ Disaster

These oppositional ideas are constant throughout the sampled narratives, and I believe that they reflect an urgent need for the fulfillment of Aboriginal traditional life and ideas in order to maintain group and community survivability, and a coherent normal life through the cooperative action of each individual.

Lévi-Strauss (1967:30) has posited that in many narratives, social life is disturbed by insurmountable difficulties. In the narratives, these difficulties are expressed as paradoxes which are presented as a series

of oppositional registers. The whole structure of the narrative may be said to examine the paradox of social life as experienced by the agents involved, and which is also a reflection of the society which maintains the narratives. Those who listen and narrate the stories are also able to identify the similarities between the agents in the narratives and those in real life, and are able to perceive which agents are selfish, greedy, lazy, etc. with those who are actually among them. The use of animal agents in the narrative is a convenient method blurring and replacing human agents in order to express those conflicts and paradoxes. But paradoxes must be resolved, and the way to that resolution is through the implied cooperation between every individual, otherwise, as the narratives predict, the destruction of the communities' social life will result.

These narratives, then, also speculate on the possibilities of the presence of abnormal social action which is contrary to those already understood and sanctioned by tradition and custom. In almost all of these narratives, abnormal behavior leads to punishment or permanent transformation of an agent to an object. In Hegelian terms, those transformations are the resulting synthesis of contrasting oppositional registers in the narratives. The synthesis, or the object of transformation (present day animals, rocks, sites) is proof of the effect of abnormal behavior, and

therefore proof of the veracity of the narratives.

J. Familial Affairs

Social themes C6, C7, C10, C12, C17, C18, C19, C20 are categories of narratives which concern conflicts over family relations, with conflict over matters of spouses as represented by theme of lechery dominating this category (22 cases). C6 category concerns narratives with lechery and adultery, and C7 contains the same motif but concerning incestuous actions in particular. C10 contains narratives of wife stealing. C12 contains conflicts of wife-murder and its subsequent actions (retaliation or punishment). C17 contains narratives of child neglect. C18 contains narratives of improper behavior and its subsequent punishment from supernatural beings. C19 and C20 contains conflict between spouses over child abduction, wife abduction, or insubordination. (Please refer to Appendix 4 for corresponding narratives for each category of these themes.)

In most of these narratives, the agents involved have specific familial relations between one and the other, such as father-son, husband-wife, mother-in-law-son-in-law, uncle-nephew, etc. Within each of these specified relations the Aborigines understand that there is a set of rules which

determines how one agent is to behave with the other in a particular circumstance. However in the narratives these normal relational rules are frequently broken, with the protagonist effecting various abnormal actions contrary to the rules of familial relationships. Thus there are narratives of wife-stealing by another man, or by own son; lechery; incest between son-in-law and mother-in-law, between father and daughter, between brother and sister; and lecherous actions by old men. It is this abnormal behavior which must be resolved by the narratives, often taking the form of transformations. And as has been noted previously, the transformations may take many forms, with the common ones being transformation into animal species, particularly birds.

The narratives with these themes are characterized by ideas of social and economic obligations between individuals as members of a family which are understood by the Aborigines to be correct principles. It is these general principles which guides the actions and behavior of an individual in daily social relations, and thus are a means of social order. Husbands, wives, and mother-in-laws are individuals who are bound in a nexus of exchange, where the man is obliged and expected to be good meat provider, good hunter, and protector of women. The women in turn are obliged and expected to be good gatherers of vegetable food, obedient subordinate, and a good reproducer. In a wider

context, this system of exchange also applies to other social relations which involve brothers, sisters, uncles, nephews, cousins, etc. where their relationships are also regulated by kinship ties and obligations. In the traditional Aboriginal mode of life, these matters were determined by the need to maintain economic survivability and continued social reproduction through negotiated exchange and seldom involve matters of emotions like "love" (Palmer 1981:267). The maintenance of these relationships is thus based on the idea of mutual cooperation between the producers and the reproducers which will guarantee domestic support and the continuance of the group's survivability. This ideal situation may be maintained providing that the individual members fulfill their obligations and expectations.

In the narratives of these categories, such an ideal situation is again disregarded. In most of the stories, all normal kinship obligations and relations are broken. Narratives in category C10, for example, described various actions of wife stealing, either by other men or even by a man's own son, while narratives in category C6 described a series of whole range of lecherous and tabooed actions, and categories C8, C12 and C18 described various abnormal behaviors of spouses, like laziness, refusing sex to the husband, or child neglect, all which are contrary to the norms.

From the surveyed narratives of this theme, it may

be observed that the stories wish to convey the ideal connubial and familial relations as regulated by the principle of kinship obligation and cooperation. But the actions of the agents involved have made this ideal secondary, concentrating instead on their own individual asocial actions. When not resolved, this paradoxical situation may lead to anarchy and chaos in daily life. The narratives, then, at the same time, describe both the ideal social behavior and admit the presence of abnormal asocial behavior in Aboriginal daily life.

Individual freedom to do what a person likes, such as freedom in sex, freedom from obligation to attend children's needs, or being lazy, is something that is wished by everyone but cannot be obtained because the social circumstances and the environmental conditions demand otherwise. And had that freedom been given to all individuals, then what would subsequently result is total anarchy, chaos, where the means of traditional economic production and social reproduction, as had been set by custom, would be destroyed and ultimately lead to the demise of the community. The implication of these narratives with familial themes in summary may suggest that:

Right social action/ Asocial action ⇆ Providers/ Depravers ⇆ Social order/ Chaos

The narratives of this particular theme, then, are a medium whereby the supporting population may subconsciously evaluate various discrepancies between the ideal and the abnormal and between the mythical and the empirical everyday life as they understand it.

K. Affairs of Fire

The narratives of fire merit special mention, because they are the the most recurrent stories in the survey. It has been mentioned above that Maddock (1970) posited that among the Aborigines there is a tendency to reject human responsibility for cultural creation and instead assign that task to the animals. According to Maddock (1970:178), the reason is that, "...to create or innovate culturally is to be more or less than human". That is perhaps the reason why narratives concerning the progeny of culture (fire, artifacts, marriage rules, language, etc.) are given to animals. But fire seems to be the domain of the birds.

From the series of narratives of fire (cf. categories A3 and C4) in this survey, there is a general pattern of sequence of events: a) an agent possesses fire but refuses to share with others; b) meanwhile people who do not have fire try to steal it, or another agent tries to steal it and destroys the fire; c) a third agent intervenes and restores fire to

people, either directly, or through another medium such as an ignited tree or bush fire. There are other narratives, particularly of ordination, where the above sequence does not occur, as in nos. 20, 95, 105, 111, 144, 158, and 165.

In the narratives, fire is possessed by animals who were able to cook their food by it, and leave humans to eat theirs raw. Fire is denied to people, and the possessors of fire seem to wish to maintain that situation. Fire thus had to be competed for. But there is also a sequence of effects in the narratives where the possessors of fire must try hard to defend its possession from others. This situation seems to create jealousy among other species who do not have them and subsequently a conflict arises. In the ensuing fights, the possessor of fire finally loses it to the stealer of fire, usually a faster, stronger and more aerial bird, who provide it to humans.

In these narratives too, as in the narratives with social themes, there is a description of a social situation where an agent behaves in a non-cooperative manner which would have caused chaos and the loss of fire from humans, had it not been for the cooperation of other animal species. The agents who took and provided fire for man are characterized as cooperative, good hunters, and fast flyers. In the ensuing fights between the possessor and the providers, there is usually a series of events which finally leads the

selfish agents to be burned, and explicating at the same time the etiology of the characteristics of the different species such as the coloring of their plumage.

As may be seen from the previous analysis of species characterization, particularly of birds, different roles are assigned to different kind of birds. This is constant in the narratives of fire. The role provider or restorer of fire to humans is given to large birds of prey, like chikenhawks and sparrowhawks (e.g. narratives nos. 102, 105, 106, 146, 147, and 161) which are fast flyers and the best hunters, and thus are assumed to be the most able of all bird species. The role of sole possessor of fire was given to ground foraging birds such as the cockatoo, parrot, or crow (e.g. narratives nos. 24, 25, 26, 43,44, 132, and 133) which are depicted as poor hunters, slow, and selfish. Between them there is sometimes other agents, the thieves, who are small birds, fleeting flyers, and faster than the possessors, such as the finch, wagtail, or wren in narratives no. 43, 99, 127, 158.

According to Palmer (1981:293 ff.) the role assignment of possessor of fire and restorer of fire reflect man's desire to retain fire and assure cultural integrity and group coherence. Man is regarded as being more associated with the ground birds who are the possessor of fire, although, mythologically, they also wish to be associated with the more powerful and

superior birds of prey who are the providers and restorer of fire. Thus, the oppositional register contained within the narratives which are derived from the role of the agents may be summarized:

Possessors of fire, Restorers of fire/ Stealers of fire $\underline{\sim}$ State of human culture/ State of animality in nature

This summary is similar to that reached by Maddock (1970:178), and I tend to agree with both Palmer and Maddock.

However, it has been noted in the analysis of oppositional registers above, that the problem of survivability dominates the theme of the narratives. The main issue of the narratives of fire, beside being symbolic of human state of culture which is separate from nature, is that fire is an important element in maintaining group coherence, familial unity and the survivability of the human group. Fire is shared and is symbolic of sociality.

Fire is one of the basic element in the maintenance of human culture and its continuity. The narrative of fire conveys the need for people to understand that group incoherence will lead to disaster if there are individuals who go out on their own ways contrary to the rules of reciprocity and not sharing fire. As long as men possesses fire together, they may achieve a

position of control over their environment much better than other natural species themselves. But such a situation may change beyond human control especially if the principle of reciprocity and cooperation is broken. The narratives then also intrinsically implied that individual or abnormal means of living which are contrary to the prevailing norms will never succeed. The narratives' oppositional registers as a whole may be summarized as follows:

Cooperation in maintenance of fire/ Individual possession of fire ⟷ Cultural humanity/ Natural animality ⟷ Normal life/ Chaos

It seems then, that most myths in this survey (whether they are of the theme of individual and group relations, familial affairs, or fire) are inevitably comparable. They also seem to be redundant and repetitive. Maddock (1975:111) also posited "comparable inevitabilities" found in his analysis of myths of fire (1970), death (1972), and emu anomaly (1975). That is why the resulting interpretation of the summaries in this theses seem repetitive and pointing to the same causes and effects. This, according to Maddock (ibid.) is the paradox of the mythology itself: the simulations of motifs and themes in a widely separated localities of seemingly arbitrary creations.

4. The Survey of Narratives: Conclusion

In the previous sections I have attempted to look into the various questions posed at the beginning of this work, that is, questions of the most recurrent oppositions in the surveyed narratives, the stereotyping of certain species for metaphoric expression, and the embedded ideals of Aboriginal social behavior.

The most recurrent oppositions present in Aboriginal narratives, were of life or survivability/death or starvation, correct social action/asocial action, man/woman and age/youth relationships. These registers were the most repeated oppositions expressed right through the sampled narratives. Other complimentary registers which also recur repeatedly are of avenger/avenged, natural/supernatural, and aerial (bird)/terrestrial (man), particularly in the narratives of conflicts. The presence of these registers are enough to suggest that the content of myths is not random or arbitrary, and that they are ordered, and representative of the ordered thinking of the Aborigines. More significantly the recurrence of these registers suggest the priorities of the

Aboriginal ideologies in their daily life.

In presenting these oppositions, animal agents are frequently used as convenient substitutes for human actors, therefore attempting to avoid any possibility of shaming a particular member of the group of listener attending the narratives. In the narratives, the animal agents are subject to more or less the same process of social control as the people who narrate and listen to them. But looking into the possibilities of stereotyping of animal species in the narratives, it was discovered that each animal species may have multiple and ambiguous roles. No one animal species is assigned certain metaphoric personification. In terms of animal classes, however, there seem to be a role assignment for each. In the narratives of ordination, for example, birds were assigned the role of providing fire, mammals, who are closer to humans in physical characteristics and subsistence mode, were assigned the role modeling human society in the narratives (see also Morton 1985:416), for they were frequently depicted in a social situation of human conflicts. And reptiles were assigned the roles of natural creation.

Together with the oppositions and the use of animal agents as substitutes for human actors, the narratives attempt to convey and communicate various social ideals of behavior as were understood by the Aborigines. These ideals, presented implicitly in the narratives, concern mainly individual and group relations, cooperative

action, applications of the principle of reciprocity, and kinship obligations. But within these relations it was recognized that not every individual conforms to the ideal and conflicts would consequently arise. It seems, then, that all these relations are important for the maintenance of normal daily Aboriginal life in traditional circumstances. And the priority of communicating and maintaining correct social ideology to all individual members points to one thing; the survivability and coherence of group solidarity. In the narratives it was depicted that any failure to comply with the above principles would result in dire consequences both to the individual and to the group as a whole in the form of transformations.

When the narratives were arranged according to its constituents (Appendix 3) it was found that each one falls into a certain category of social theme, and these categories in turn may be reduced to narratives which concerned ordination (or creation) of the natural world, and narratives which concerned conflict in the social environment. As they seem to make up the whole of this survey, I will conclude by discussing these themes.

From the resulting survey of the sampled narratives, there are a series of stories which concern the creation of the universe, the natural world, and culture. The stories fall under social themes with categories A and B in Appendix 3 . In all, there are 84

narratives of ordination in this sample.

There were no events which led to a conflict situation in these narratives, and they required no resolution to the story. In these narratives there is an impression that the present world of the Aborigines was similar in many ways to the world of the mythical beings. The technologies and social rules known by the Aborigines were already present and used by the beings in Dreamtime. What the Aborigines had was ordinated to them from the animals in Dreamtime. Perhaps that is why Aborigines always attribute their creative culture to the animals who were beings of the Dreaming. Maddock (1970;177) remarks that:

> There is among them what can only be described as a profound resistance to crediting themselves with their own cultural achievements. All they will claim credit for is fidelity of tradition, or as they put it, for "following up the Dreaming", the cultural features of human societies having been established entirely by the acts of mythical beings, who, demiurges or animals-to-be, are alone conceived of as active and creative, men being passive beneficiaries of unmotivated generosity.

The narratives of this category contain explanations on how the world was created and how culture as the Aborigines know it were brought about. They explained how Dreamtime animals brought people their technology and social rules. According to Palmer (1981), myths of ordination explained the "correct use of cultural constituents". Besides this, they also explained the genesis of fire, water, sites, and rites, elements

which are important in Aboriginal life.

But these are not the only reasons for the presence of such narratives. Together, the narratives concerned the need of the people to explain and understand their universe. Although it may seem that the thinking of the Aborigines is different, or to some inferior, in other ways to that of most westernized people, it is because, according to Lévi-Strauss (1978:17), "their aim is to reach the shortest possible means to a general understanding of the universe, and not only general but a total understanding".

The narratives of ordination as a whole, then, are concerned with the cosmological knowledge of the Aborigines, and just as they grow to learn to use cultural constituents "the right way" they also learn about the formation of their universe according to tradition. It is these Dreaming narratives which become the means to legitimize their knowledge of the universe, and which is referred to as proof of their veracity.

The narratives of ordination are very different from the narratives of conflict because the narratives of ordination are concerned with the explanations of the universe and of what is right and ideal as set down by Dreamtime beings, whereas narratives of conflict, which will be summarized below, are concerned with the problems of abnormal social behavior, that is, with actions that are contrary to the norms, and also with

implicit social ideals.

From the analysis of the previous section concerning the embedded ideas of social behavior in the narratives of conflict (211 cases), the following summaries have been formulated:

1. Group Cooperation and trust/ Individual non-cooperation and greed ⊆ Survivability/ Starvation ⊆ Normal life/ Disaster

2. Right Social Action/ Asocial action ⊆ Providers/ Depravers ⊆ Social Order/ Chaos

3. Cooperation in maintenance of fire/ Individual possession of fire ⊆ Cultural humanity/ Natural animality ⊆ Normal life/ Chaos

From the above summaries, it is clear that all oppositional registers refer to the paradox of normal social life which concern with the continuity of life and with the abnormal social life which may result in disaster. Summaries no. 1 and 2 concern social relations between individuals in a group aggregate and in a familial situation: all of which is laid down in the prevailing social norms as set by the Law from the Dreaming. Summary no. 3 concerns the category of relations between humans and animals in relation to fire.

In summary no. 1, which referred to individual and group relations, there is an implicit idea that the success of maintaining normal life is dependent upon cooperative relations between each individual in the community, especially in a marginal environment, where the survival of the community is dependent on hunting and gathering subsistence. Any presence of abnormal behavior from an individual that is contrary to norms as set by the Law will result in disjunction, incoherent social relations and disruption in subsistence routines. This idea is presented in categories of social themes C1, C2, C11, C14, C16. The idea conveyed a message that in the absence of resolution of conflict between the individuals will lead to the disruption of normal life and such a disruption when continued will lead to starvation and ultimately death. In these narratives, besides messages of the moral obligations and social cooperation, there is also a warning message which implies that any abnormality is contrary to the teachings of the Law, and speculation about what outcome will result from such actions.

In summary no. 2, which referred to familial relations, the embedded ideas are similar to those of individual relations above. Here normal life is depicted as being dependent upon the responsibilities and obligations of each member of a familial group. Each member of the family has a vital role because the

division of labor is explicitly defined: men hunt, protect the family, and carry out ceremonial duties; women and children are the protected, gather vegetable food, and provide support for the man. The presence of any conflict between the members of the family will cause disruption in the maintenance of normal life and subsistence activities and also cause incoherent relations.

The idea of these kinds of familial relations is presented in categories of social themes C6, C7, C10, C12, C17, C18, C19, and C20. Besides maintaining their duties and responsibilities, the members of the family is also restricted by a set of rules which govern how each member should behave towards the others. In the narratives these relations are depicted as opposing categories between those who conform to the rules (in maintaining social order, not committing incest), with those who follow alternative behavior (in committing incest, causing chaos). These opposing categories arise from the uncooperative behavior of an individual, characterized for example by greed, lust, deceit, laziness, or neglectfulness. Such contrary behavior when not controlled will disrupt social order and social life within the family and the community and thus also threatens the coherence of the community.

Summary no. 3 referred fire. As in the samples of individual and familial relations, in these narratives too the individual agent is contrasted with a group in

terms of non-cooperative and the cooperative action of sharing fire. Fire is the most important element in the maintenance of cultural life, it must be maintained and shared among the members of a community. Fire is also used by humans alone, which, it is implied, makes them superior to the rest of the natural species. Any contrary behavior to the principle of sharing and maintaining fire will lead to despair and degradation of humanity to the level of animality where men, as in the narratives, had to eat meat raw.

From the results of this survey, it may be stated that the problem of survivability (successful economic living through cooperative action) is the main ideal social message embedded in the narratives. This is contrasted with the situation of starvation (failure of economic life caused by selfish individual action) as a speculation of what might be faced in daily life. These contrary and opposing categories create a paradox which must be resolved in the narratives of conflict. The narratives depict oppositions between the ideal normal social behavior, as set by traditions, and abnormal, asocial behavior, as faced in the empirical world. Normal social behavior is correlated with ordered human institutional systems, while abnormal asocial behavior is correlated with the chaotic nature. The narratives imply that ideal social behavior will guarantee human social and cultural coherence and its continuity, while

abnormal behavior will result in cultural incoherence, chaos, and the degradation of humanity to animality. According to Palmer (1981:305), who was speaking of Yaendarra mythology, but whose remarks apply just as well here:

> The myths are a cultural mechanism whereby man implicitly endorses the validity of ideal cultural and social values. The myths provide a means by which inadmissible discrepancies between ideal and alternative practices are tacitly admitted, but the alternative practices are shown to be untenable, and so, mythically, they are dismissed.

All the narratives of conflict, then, attempt to communicate the idea that if abnormal behavior is taken as an ideal social model, and the traditional ideal is disregarded, then what will result is a series of events which will lead to disaster. Any abnormal behavior that is contrary to the norms only leads to cultural degradation, and thereby leads to similarities with the natural species which are characterized by chaos and lawlessness. Abnormal behavior only benefits certain individuals temporarily, that is why cultural coherence is highly dependent upon the continuity and the maintenance of ideal cultural values.

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APPENDIX 1
LIST OF SAMPLED NARRATIVES

Note, all the listed narratives are arranged according to the following analytical propositions:
1) List no.- Waterman's index no.; Tribe (Area)
2) Issues/ Events
3) Resolutions/ Moral actions
4) Representation/Characterization
5) Constants/ Transformation/conjunctions
6) Disjunctions/Oppositions codes (see listed coding below)

Class I: Birds

Non-specific birds

1) 1-114.2; Encounter Bay (SA)
2) young men refused to share food with elder, old man made rain and refused shelter to young men
3) men became birds
4) birds as transforms of punishment for refusal to share
5) flood by moon/bird
6) a3, a6, a7, b2, b5, c10, e2, e5, f10

1) 2-385.1; Boorong (VIC)
2) spirit bird threw emu's egg to sky
3) egg became sun and place of spirit bird; to kill this bird (eastrelda temporalis) will cause flood
4) bird as progenitor of natural phenomena
5) sun as tossed egg
6) a3, a6, b1, b8, c4, c10, d2, d6, d7

1) 3-750.2; Kaitish, Anmatjera (NT)
2) little bird, emu, beetle, plum tree ancestors wandered the countryside
3) creations of totemic landmarks
4) birds (totemic women spirits) progenitors of natural phenomenons and sacred sites
5) female creators
6) b1, b2, c6, d10, e4, c10

1) 4-1000.1,2; Queensland
2) birds, animals, were men who fought each other in a crisis
3) men became animal species, but their children are now men with their natural species as their totems
4) birds affecting natural phenomena
5) humans become animals; in 1000.3, bird is transformed as jew lizard

6) a3, a7, a8, b1, c4, f4, d10, f7

Billabong bird

1) 5-1876.3; Djaumujum (NT)
2) billabong bird punished wife for being lazy, neglectful and gossiping
3) wife driven to water and became lily bulb, bird now runs about angry and muttering
4) bird effecting punishment for laziness, etiology of species characteristic 5) lazy women punished; from Mungkan in 1876.5, bird acts as brother opposing sister; in 1876.4 from Karajeri division of labor is explicated, in 1876.4, 6 from Mungkan women is in conjunction with shellfish
6) a1, a2, a3, a5, a6, a7, a9, b3, b8, d3, f10

Bellbird

1) 6-1640.4; Urabunna (SA)
2) bellbird and lizard sent 2 painted finches to save smallhawk brother-in-law, who was burned by eaglehawk
3) finches kill predator eaglehawk, now men don't eat eaglehawk because he is a cannibal
4) birds effecting punishment for harmful deed; food taboo established
5) eagle predators
6) a2, a3, a7, a8, a6, a10, b7, b8, c4, d9, d10, e1, e2 b7

1) 7-2094.5; Arunta (NT)
2) bellbird always on prowl
3) women from the wrong section will be abducted by bellbird man
4) bird affecting social order
5) lecherous man; cf. wallaby, native cat, cockatoo, lizard, crocodile, porcupine as variables of dramatis personae
6) a1, a3, a4, a7, a8, b1, b2, c10

Bowerbird

1) 8-1618.2; Nyol-nyol (WA)
2) bowerbird offered to show dances to lure people, magically made them sleep and kill them
3) people and medicine man killed bird and threw him into hollow tree
4) cannibalism punished
5) cannibal man lures victim; in version from Noongahburrah bird is replaced by mockingbird as dramatis personae, cf. turkey variation
6) a7, a8, b8, d10, c4, e1, e2, d7

1) 9-1910.1b; Narran, Wirraidjuri, Wongaibon (NSW)
2) bowerbird magically sang bat's wife to life after

bat killed her for a new wife
3) brown hawk tricked and killed bat in fire
4) bird provider of life, effector of social order
5) wife stealer punished; cf. opossum, and emu version
6) a1, a7, a8, b5, b8, c4, f8

Brolga

1) 10-62.1; Northern Australia
2) moon killed son for not sharing food
3) wives chased moon who fled to sky and became moon, wives became brolgas still chasing and crying
4) birds affecting transformation of natural phenomena
5) moon flees
6) a10, d2, a6, a3, a1, a5, a7, a8, a9, b3, c5, e2

1) 11-1174.9; unidentified
2) brolga and emu fought over the excellence of their chicks
3) emu threw brolga's egg to sky and it became the sun
4) birds as progenitors of natural phenomena
5) etiology of animal characteristic; cf. bird version2, emu, native companion
6) a3, a6, c4, c10, d1, d10, d7, d2

1) 13-1394.4; Djauan, Murinbata (NT)
2) brolga drained remaining pool of water and fled to mountains. Frog had first gorged most of the water
3) frog speared brolga's water bag, releasing the water, now men are frogs and brolgas can fly
4) bird receiver of punishment from sole possessor of water
5) frog impounds water; cf. eagle variation
6) b8, c4, c10, d3, d4, b6, e2, e5, f6, f8, f9

1) 14-1964.2; Dalabon, Djauan (NT)
2) brolga and jabiru bound cuckoo's feet so he can hunt kangaroos, while greedy emu was sent to get grass, birds ate all the meat
3) emu swallowed stones, now lays egg
4) bird effecting punishment for greed
5) greedy emu tricked
6) a2, a3, a5, a7, c4, d1, d10, d7, b6, e2, e5, f10

1) 15-1994.1; Nunggubunju, Northern Australia
2) brolga shared roots but emu hid hers,and when brolga went out emu ate all root flour and the grinding stone
3) emu and brolga fought, now both bear markings and live in separate habitat
4) birds effecting etiology of respective species
5) emu swallows grind-stone
6) a3, a7, a9, b5, b8, c6, c4, d1, d10, d7, b6, e2, e5, f10

Bustard

1) 16-1174.6; Euahlayi (Ualarai, NSW)
2) bustard persuaded emu to cut her wings and emu ask bustard to kill all but her 2 chicks
3) now emu can't fly and bustard lays only two eggs
4) birds effecting etiology of respective species
5) etiology of animal characteristic through trickery
6) a2, a3, a6, a7, b7, c4, c6, d10

1) 17-1946.1; Karadjeri (WA)
2) bustard collected better locust than owl's but slyly returned all food owl had shared with him
3) owl discovered his trick and frightened him away with night cry so owl can eat all good food and reproach bustard for his greed
4) bird effecting punishment for greed
5) deceptive food exchange
6) a3, a7, a9, b5, b8, c4, c5, b6, e2, e5, f10

1) 18-2030.1; Karadjeri
2) bustard got angry when curlew bored a nose ornament on him
3) bustard speared curlew and both became stars
4) bird as progenitor of celestial phenomena
5) nose-bone disagreement; birds=boys

Chicken-hawk

1) 19-110.1; Koko-jalunju (QLD)
2) chikenhawk took eagle woman to his country and bore many children
3) their daughters were given to other people and marriage rules established
4) birds establishing marriage rules
5) marriage rules
6) a1, a3, a6, b1, b7, c4, c8, f7

1) 20-1246.4; unidentified
2) chikenhawk sole possessor of fire but people could not make fire and had to get it by chasing bush fires
3) chickenhawk took pity and put fire into trees and thought men how to make firesticks
4) bird progenitor of fire
5) first fire given by sole owner
6) c4, c10, b2, f3, f4, f7, f5, d10

1) 21-1270.8; Ngalakan (NT)
2) chikenhawk retrieved fire which was stolen by emu from goana and women
3) chickenhawk sets the grass alight; women became stones and burned emu now has small wings
4) bird progenitor of fire through theft
5) theft of fire from sole owner
6) a1, a2, a7, b2, b8, c4, c10, d10, e2, e5, f3, f4, f5, f6, f8, d7

for 1270.10 see dog

1) 22-1296.5; Karadjeri, North Piddington
2) chikenhawk found cuttlefish who stole firestick from sparowhawk and crow; cuttlefish micturated in fright making the sea salty and chikenhawks spear extinguished the lighted firestick
3) now chickenhawk remain in the sea, and wedge-tailed eagle thought people how to make fire
4) bird progenitor of fire
5) fire saved from water
6) a2, a7, b8, c4, d3, c1, e2, f1, f3, f6, f8

Cockatoo

1) 23-1276.5; Wongaibon (NSW)
2) black cockatoo danced with blood running down his legs with kangaroo rat and bronze-wing pigeon. Cockatoo hid fire in a nut. Sparrowhawk stole the nut and put fire in all trees
3) now firesticks obtained from tree, and cockatoo has red stain under tail, and sparrowhawk has rusty appearance
4) bird progenitor of fire and effector of natural phenomena (firewood)
5) theft of fire;
6) a1, a3, a7, c4, d10, f3, f6, f5, f8

1) 24-1278.4; Booandik (Bunganditj, SA)
2) Cockatoo fire owner invited to share kangaroo meat by others. Small cockatoo stole a lighted stick, making the owner angry and burned the country
3) musk duck made water that now fills lakes and swamps
4) bird progenitor of fire, effector of natural phenomena (water bodies)
5) theft of fire by feigned friendship
6) a2, a3, a5, a7, b2, b8, c1, c4, d3, d6, f3, f6, f1, f2, f8

1) 25-1278.3; Wotjobaluk (VIC)
2) Cockatoo sole possessor of fire, kept on top of his head. Crow, sparrowhawk, pigeon try to steal fire. Sparrowhawk feigned friendship and throw fire about the country
3) now man can get fire and cockatoo has markings on his head
4) bird progenitor of fire
5) theft of fire by feigned friendship
6) a3, a7, b2, c4, d6, f3, f6, f7, f8

1) 26-1280.2; Booandik (SA)
2) Cockatoo hid fire on his head when invited to a ceremony, red breast stole a brand from cockatoo's head and lighted the grass
3) in the ensuing fight people turned into birds and

whales
4) bird progenitors of fire, affector of natural species
5) theft of fire through fight
6) a3, a7, b2, c4, f3, f6, f7, f8

1) 27-1360.1; Nguluwonga (NT)
2) in a great flood cockatoo wife asked black duck husband to make canoe, but she took refuge in a hollow tree and duck thought that she had drowned
3) husband now black duck, and wife who had to dig away from trees with her bill, she became cockatoo
4) bird bearer of culture (canoe), etiology of species characteristic
5) birds and flood
6) a1, a6, b2, c4, c1, d3, d4, f7

1) 28-1704.2; Kurnai (VIC)
2) mopoke told sparowhawk to dig hole for grave, but hawk fell into netherworld and met black cockatoo, after a while hawk became homesick
3) black cockatoo took hawk to surface
4) bird occupant of underworld
5) hospitable netherworld
6) c2, c3, c4, c6, e3

1) 29-1704.3; Murray River (SA)
2) magpie fell into underworld and met cockatoo
3) cockatoo later flew magpie to surface
4) bird occupant of underworld
5) hospitable netherworld; transformation of black cockatoo are little people (Kurnai), mimi spirit (Oenpelli, New South Wales)
6) c2, c3, c4, c6, e3

1) 30-1856.1; Njigina
2) cockatoo and crow women, wives of eagle, fought over share of termite egg because cockatoo kept all the better ones. Crow killed cockatoo with digging sticks
3) eagle warned by magic stone of the events and killed crow in fire
4) bird (husband) effecting punishment for wife murder
5) retaliation for wife's death
6) a1, a7, a8, a9, b5, b8, b6, c4, c10, e2, e5, f10

1) 31-1856.2; Karadjeri (WA)
2) cockatoo and crow women, wives of crow fought over jealousy because crow preferred cockatoo. Crow woman axed cockatoo to death
3) crow built fire and killed crow wife in it, now their tracks are stars
4) bird (husband) effecting punishment for wife murder, and celestial phenomena
5) retaliation for wive's death
6) a1, a7, a8, b7, b8, b2, c4, c10, d2, e2

1) 32-1862.1; Oenpelli (NT)
2) old cockatoo refused copulation by two young wives, and he stranded them in a cave
3) women became parrots, cockatoo killed by eagle and became rock
4) lecherous bird (old man) affecting punishment
5) wives stranded; other versions from Gunwinggu, Murngin, Yirkala with human actors ending with etiology of anthills
6) a1, a3, a7, a8, b5, b7, b8, c3, c4, c10, e2

1) 33-2002.2; unidentified
2) people feared to light fire because of spirit dogs and sent for cockatoo and robin who went to the dogs' cave
3) cockatoo and robin killed the dogs, a woman who stayed in the cave became dingo
4) bird effecting punishment to evil spirits
5) spirit dogs
6) b1, c2, c3, d10, e1, e2, f3

1) 34-2094.6; Walbiri (NT)
2) cockatoo man walked with his penis coiled around his head and sent it underground to copulate with any solitary women he met
3) when finished he hauls his penis like a leg-rope
4) bird affecting social order
5) lecherous man; cf. bellbird version
6) a1, a2, a3, a4, a7, a8, b1, b2, c10

Crane

1) 35-1172.11; unidentified
2) crane hid fish catch from pelican, but mangrove bird warned pelican of it and they all fight
3) pelican's leg broken now he wades the sea shore, crane burned by ashes getting his dark body color, mangrove bird occupies the shallows
4) bird affecting punishment for not sharing food, etiology of species characteristics
5) etiology of animal characteristic through fight
6) a2, a7, b8, c4, d5, d4, d10, b6, f8, f10

1) 36-1772.1; New South Wales
2) blue crane stole a cod fish from crow, crow hit crane while he slept and then crossed the river in canoe. With charmed cod fish head crow made river rise and swept crane
3) crow warns sons of crane that harm will come to those who steal from Wahn (crow) and the rivers magically widened
4) bird affecting punishment for stealing food; etiology of river
5) crow's adventures, cf. crow
6) a1, a3, a7, b8, b6, c4, c10, d10, d6, d1, f6, f10

1) 37-1910.2; Goulbourn, Kulin (NSW)
2) white crane abducted wife of eagle, fight ensued
3) crane speared on leg and became bird and eagle transformed into an animal
4) bird affecting punishment for wife stealing
5) wife stealer punished, cf native cat, turtle, wattlebird variations
6) a1, a3, a7, a8, b8, c4, d3, e2, f6, d10

1) 38-1940.1; Jindjiparndi, Ngarluma (WA)
2) white crane fished together with people, but he cooked and ate fish without sharing
3) people pushed heated cooking stones up his anus and crane remained a bird
4) bird affecting punishment for not sharing cooked food
5) punishment for food not shared, cf. duck version
6) a7, a8, c4, b8, d10, f1, f2, f3, f4, b6, f6, f8, f10

Crow

1) 39-270.1; Pirt-kopan-noot, Western District
2) crow desired eagle girl who refused hi, crow then changed into a grub in tree, when the girl poked into the tree, crow changed back its form
3) crow flies the girl to sky and they became stars
4) bird progenitor of celestial phenomena
5) star women tricked by crow; same version from Mara
6) a1, a7, a8, b5, b8, c3, c4, c6, d2, d8, d10, c10

1) 40-462.1; Wotjobaluk (VIC)
2) crow was a mosquito who desired a wife. He hid a sharp stick in dense fire smoke to lure tree creature. Eaglehawk girl jumped down and was impaled on the stick
3) crow and eaglehawk established moiety marriage rule
4) bird progenitor of first human beings and establisher of marriage rule
5) first being from tree
6) a1, a2, a3, a7, a8, b7, c8, d10, f4, f7

1) 41-500.1; Kurnai, Murray River (SA)
2) crow discovered woman in his canoe and subsequently produced a boy and a girl
3) when the children come down from tree they became the parents of present people
4) bird progenitor of first human beings
5) first being from tree
6) a1, a3, c1, c4, c8, d3, d10, f4, f7

1) 42-1172.2; Boulia District (QLD)
2) crow fought with hawk, hawk rolled crow in ashes making him black
3) hawk punished by being made to eat raw meat
4) bird effecting etiology of species characteristic

5) etiology of animal characteristic through fight
6) a2, a3, c4, f2

for 1174.1 see emu, crow as medicine man

for 1240.2 see bat, crow sent the first rain

1) 43-1270.4; Mara, Western District
2) crow's fire stolen by fire-tailed finch who threw it to kestrel-hawk. Hawk dropped the brand and set the bush alight
3) now people have fire
4) bird progenitor of fire
5) theft of fire from sole owners; cf. turtle, owl, bandicoot variation of sole owners
6) a2, c4, c6, d5, f3, f4, f5, f6

1) 44-1276.3; Kamilaroi (NSW)
2) only crow had fire and people eat their food raw, so they invite crow to ceremony and to humor him. When crow was distracted sparrowhawk stole crow's fire bag, chase ensued but fire escaped bag
3) crow was burned black trying to extinguish fire
4) bird progenitor of fire
5) theft of fire through humor; cf. death adder, jackass, variation of sole owners
6) c4, d10, f2, f3, f4, f5, f6

1) 45-1282.1; Yarra (VIC)
2) crow stole fire from Karakarok, but would not share and kept and cooked food for himself. Punjel creator told men to scare crow
3) fire was thrown to people but crow got burned, and with Punjel he became rock
4) bird progenitor of fire
5) fire theft; same versions from Woiwurong with Karakarok replaced by 5 young women (Karatgurk), men replaced by fire-tailed finches, also same version from Bunurong, Wurunjeri
6) b5, b6, b8, c4, d2, e2, f2, f3, f4, f5, f6, f10

for 1296.5 see chikenhawk

1) 46.1380.8; Wheelman (Wiilman, WA)
2) pair of crows lived on left overs of wedge-tailed eagle's kill and had to drink brackish water claimed as the only source by hawks. Crow saw eagle drink good water and fight ensued
3) many crows joined to help, eagle was hit, now has white feathers on head and crows live in flocks
4) birds effecting punishment for refusal to share food and water
5) sole possessor of water bested; cf. echidna, native turkey, koala, robin, turtle variation of sole possessors of water
6) a1, a7, a8, c1, c4, b5, b8, d4, e2, e5, f6, f8, f9

1) 47-1600.3; Wirraidjuri (NSW)
2) crow, owner of magic shield, chased cannibal woman around 5 kinds of trees killed her and broke the water trough
3) now ceremonial bullroarers made from wood of these trees
4) bird effecting punishment for cannibalism, progenitor of bullroarer
5) cannibal woman

for 1692.2,3 see emu

1) 48-1772.1; New South Wales
2 and 3)
a. see blue crane
b. crow tricked by eaglehawk, avenged by taking possession of hawk's camp
c. crow stole eaglehawk's wives, killed his pursuers
d. crow killed boy who refused to share food, father then avenged boy
4) bird as traveling ancestor
5) crow's travels
6) a1, a3, a7, a8, b1, b5, b8, c4, c10, b1, c9, c10, e2

1) 49-1774.1; Awamin, Babaram (Qld), Jerldekald (SA), Maraura (NSW), Tangane (SA), Wakaman (Qld)
2 and 3)
a. crow copulated with 2 tabooed sisters, sisters married kingfisher owner of fire to flee from crow, crow blinded by girls' feces
b. crow put children up a tree, they were rescued by initiated man
c. crow followed women underground but came up stupid and changed people's decent to patrilineal
d. crow returned to kill eaglehawk's son, but is instead buried by eagle, now both remain birds
4) bird as traveling ancestor
5) crow's travels
6) a1, a3, a7, a8, b1, b8, c4, c6, c10, e2

1) 50-1776.1; Madimadi (NSW)
2 and 3)
a. crow always sneaked after women, punished by eaglehawk
b. crow stabbed by eaglehawk when fishing, crow remained as bird
4) bird as traveling ancestor
5) crow's travels
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8, b5, b8, c4, c6, c10, e2

1) 51-1780.1; Murray River (SA)
2) crow was charged to guard eagle's son, son was told to drink from river until he grew to immense size
3) crow burst the boy and the water flooded the countryside

4) bird depraver of life
5) crow kills eagle's son
6) a10, a2, a3, b8, c1, c4, c19, e1, e2, f8

1) 52-1778.1; Wiradjuri, Wongaibon (NSW)
2) crow speared Kurikuta (ancestral woman) for complaining not being shared food
3) Kurikuta went up to sky
4) bird, son of ancestral beings
5) crow punishes mother
6) a1, a3, a7, a8, b1, b2, c4, d2, c10

1) 52-1784.1-3; Ngarluma, Njijapali, Kariera
2) crow and eagle hunted together, crow stranded eagle in a hole and stole his wife to copulate. Eagle eventually escaped and fight ensued
3) eagle decreed that crow will eat and make rubbish, and remain black, while crow said eagle would only prey on animals
4) bird committing tabooed relation with own mother-in-law
5) crow steals mother-in-law
6) a10, a2, a3, a7, a8, b3, b8, e2, f6

1) 53-1786.1; Maung (NT)
2) crow was not shared good fish with seahawk and eaglehawk by man, in anger he cut a sacred paper-bark tree and flooding the country
3) the hawks remain as birds screeching their names and crow decreed he would eat any kind of food
4) bird effecting punishment for refusal to share food
5) crow causes flood
6) a3, a5, a7, a8, b5, b8, c1, c4, d4, d6, b1, f2, f8

for 1788.1, see bat version

1) 54-1790.1; Ngarluma (WA)
2) crow and eagle hunted kangoroo together, but eagle's spears are better than crow's and are hidden from crow
3) crow stole the spears and made copies, now birds are separate
4) bird progenitor of spears
5) birds and spears
6) a3,a6, b2, b8, f5, f6, f7

1) 55-1792.1; Murray-Darling Rivers (SA)
2) crows and eagles were Nooralie ancestor beings always fighting, until people sang "strike crow on the knee, I will spear his father"
3) crows and eagles made peace and established two exogamous moieties
4) bird as ancestor beings, establisher of marriage rule
5) birds and moieties
6) a3, a6, a10, d10, e4, f7

1) 56-1794.1; Victoria
2) crow stole emu's egg but was discovered. Crow killed emu and cooked it but taking only the head which was put on tree
3) crow decreed that emus would not defend nest against men
4) bird establishing species behavior
5) crow kills emu; cf emu version 1692.4 from Kulin
6) a7, a8, b8, c4, d9, d10, f4, f8

for the following index numbers involving crow, see cockatoo, 1856; wattle bird, 1910.4; porcupine, 1952.3; owl, 1986.3

1) 57-2026.1; Burrabinga (NSW)
2) crow wives, tired of being tricked into repairing hut, was kicked by emu husband. Crows avenged by throwing hot coal to emu
3) now emu has dark patch and still rolls on its back
4) bird effecting punishment for rudeness
5) hut repairs; same version from Noongahburah
6) a1, a2, a7, a8, b8, c4, d10, e2,

for cockoo, see brolga, 1964.2

Curlew

1) 58-1066.2; Kaitish (Kaititja, NT)
2) old curlew wanted men to die permanently, so he pushed dead bodies of wallaby men to sea, after 3 days
3) now men die permanently, curlew dies and made totem center
4) bird effecting permanence of death of people
5) origin of death
6) f4, c4, c6, c10

1) 59-1066.3; Aranda (NT)
2) curlew people rose from their burial, but magpie speared them and put them back to earth
3) now all dead men die permanently
4) bird effecting permanence of death of people
5) origin of death
6) f4, c4, c6, e3, c10

1) 60-1120.4; Tiwi (NT)
2) curlew and angle fish, wives of Purykuparli, held first funeral dance after the death of their son
3) pelican and white breasted eagle were the original dancers in rite
4) bird establisher of death ceremonies and progenitors of dance
5) death ceremonies initiated; cf. snake, 1120.1 version, in versions from Walbiri, the initiators are old women, or spirit women from Yirkala, in version from Jeralde and Unmatjera the initiators are men
6) f4, c4, c6, c10

1) 61-1358.2; Murinbata (NT)
2) stone-curlew (father of bird men) was a man who changed into bird to lead men to mountain top to flee from flood. He was opposed by king-quail. Curlew cut finger of boys's left hand to stop flood and sent bird men to find land
3) blood stopped the flood; bird men became birds, curlew became star
4) bird suspending flood
5) flood escape; other flood narratives from Victoria and Wheelman region in similar motif
6) d3, f4, c4, c10

1) 62-1374.1; Wheelman (WA)
2) curlew led men to escape drought fire and gave water to men, but men eat birds making curlew angry
3) curlew burned their camp, now curlew screams for rain water and his call means death or trouble
4) bird suspending fire, effector of death
5) fire escape
6) a7, a8, b6, f1, f4, f9, c4, e5

for 1940.1 see wedge-tailed eagle

1) 63.2014.2; Narran (NSW)
2) young curlew always unsuccessful in hunt, so he cuts own flesh from leg for his hawk mother to cook until he became ill
3) women beat him on his leg and decreed that it became long, red, fleshless, and he would perpetually cry like bird
4) bird affecting punishment for unsuccessful hunt
5) son unsuccessful hunter; cf. pigeon version
6) a3, a5, a6, a7, a9, b8, c4

see bustard for 2030.1

Dollar-bird

1) 64-1446.2; Anula (Janjula, NT)
2) dollar-bird (rain-bird) friend of snake who spit from waterhole
3) spit became rainbow, rain, clouds
4) bird affecting natural phenomena
5) rain from spit; other version from Groote Eylandt personifies giant swamp gecko as progenitor of natural phenomena, and from Oenpelli and Yirrkala depicting thunder-man urinating and causing the natural phenomena
6) d3, c10, e4, f9

Duck

1) 65-1170.5; Murngin (NT)

2) whistle duck exchanged feathers with young brother red-breasted parrot
3) now duck live on water, parrot on land
4) bird effecting etiology of species characteristic
5) etiology of animal characteristic through exchange
6) a3, b2, d1, d5

for the following index number involving duck see 1360.1, cockatoo; 1044.3, bat; 1350.1 snake

1) 66-1894.1; Waramungga (NT)
2) some ducks ridiculed pelican and crane tried to dissuade them
3) pelican put crane in ashes, making it white, and ducks were burned marking a spot
4) humiliator punished
5) ridiculed man burn people; cf. native cat variation
6) a3, b2, d5, e2

1) 67-1940.2; Ngolokwangga (NT)
2) young duck, wive of crocodile, ate yams secretly gathered but was discovered by crocodile, fight ensued
3) wife now remain a duck and husband became crocodile both in separate habitat 4) bird affecting punishment for refusal to share
5) punishment for food not shared; cf. crane version, other versions from Wandanian, and Pitjandjara involve human agents
6) d1, e2, a1, a3, a5, a6, a7, b6, b8, e5, f10

Eagle

for 1394.3, see Kangoroo; 1640.1, see mouse

1) 68-1640.2; Noongahburah (NT)
2) Mullion, the eagle cannibal, had a giant spear and lived in tree with opossum and flying squirrel wives, they cook and eat flesh of victims
3) woodpecker and climbing rat one day came and burned their tree house, now the eagle's family are stars
4) cannibalism punished
5) eagle predator; eagle=evil spirit being
6) a2, a7, b8, c10, d2, c4, e1, e2

for 1640.6, see mouse

1) 69-1846.1; Gippland, Kurnai (VIC)
2) eagle trapped mopoke on tree, fight ensued but they made peace
3) now eagle use tree top to hunt food, and mopoke live in tree hollows
4) bird effecting etiology of habitat
5) eagle predator
6) a2, a5, a6, c4, d10, e5

for 1856.1, 1862.1, see cockatoo

1) 70-1892.1; Djaber-djaber (WA)
2) eagle send lizard up a tree to get egg, but lizard was afraid so he held up smaller egg. Angry eagle made tree grow taller trapping lizard
3) lizard came down and cut off eagle's head with boomerang
4) bird affecting punishment for being too authoritive
5) victim takes revenge; eagle (uncle), lizard (nephew)
6) a3, a6, b2, b3, d10, e2

for 1904.5 see opossum; 1910.2, see crane; 1916.1, see wallaby

1) 71-1986.1; Baad (WA)
2) wagtail tricked eagle into a sharpened stick trap which was supposed to be bandicoot hole
3) eagle was saved by people, wagtail fled camp
4) bird escaping harm with people's help
5) sharpened stick trap; eagle=uncle of wagtail
6) a2, a3, a6, b3, b8, d10

Eaglehawk

1) 72-1986.2; unidentified
2) eaglehawk ate most food and shared little with wagtail and pigeon boys. Boys put eagle in sharpened stick trap. Native companion removed the sharp sticks from eagle
3) river gushed from eagle and he became star
4) bird effecting punishment for refusal to share food
5) sharpened stick trap; eagle=uncle of wagtail and pigeon
6) a2, a3, a6, a7, a8, b3, b6, e2, e5, f10

1) 73-60.5; Gippland, Kurnai (VIC)
2) eaglehawk shared food with moon but moon ate all, including eaglehawk
3) near a well eaglehawk's wives cut open moon and the bird emerged alive
4) bird affecting death and rebirth
5) greedy moon
6) a7, a8, d2, c10, c4, c5, d8, e2, e5, f10

1) 74-206.1; Nambutji, Ngatatjara (NT)
2) eaglehawk ancestors rose from the ground, traveling the country and performed circumcision ceremonies
3) ceremonial strings were fastened on men's head, now they are eaglehawks, the strings are stars
4) bird establishing circumcision rite
5) celestial phenomena; bird=ancestors being; cf.

wallaby version
6) e3, e4, f4, f7, b1, b4

for 462.1, see crow

1) 75-600.2; Kulin, Woiworung (VIC)
2) eaglehwak (Bunyil) was headman with of 6 young birdmen who created man, animal, and landscape. He met crow who opened his bags and blew crow and family to sky
3) now they are stars
4) bird as the ultimate being, progenitor of the world
5) culture-hero creator; cf. emu version
6) a10, b1, b2, c10, d2
for 1000.6, see flying fox

1) 76-1045.4; Unmatjera (NT)
2) old eaglehawk was asked for tjuringa from another eaglehawk but refused
3) both eagles died and became totemic spot
4) bird affecting punishment for refusal to share sacred object
5) totemic ancestors; other versions with human agents from Aranda
6) a3, b1, b2, b5, d10

1) 77-1256.3; Mara (NT)
2) black eaglehawk hid fire in his wings to prevent white hawks from giving it to his own moiety. Fight ensued and the grass was alighted
3) black hawk killed, white hawk gave fire to men from totemic group
4) bird sole possessor and progenitor of firestick
5) first firestick from ancestor;
6) c10, d2, f3, f4, f5, f7, f8

1) 78-1380.9; Esperence Bay (WA)
2) eaglehawk sole possessor of water which he hid in tree bark. Fishhawk found out
3) fishhawk lifted the bark and water flowed making rivers, lake, creeks
4) bird sole possessor of water and progenitor of natural phenomena (bodies of water)
5) sole possessor of water bested
6) c1, c4, d3, d4, f4, f7, f8, f9

for 1392.2, see koala; 1530.3, see dingo; 1640.6, see mouse

1) 79-1618.3; Noongahburah (NSW)
2) eaglehawk was searching for his hawk cousin. Then threw mockingbird cannibal into his own fire
3) in fight, a bird flew from cannibal's head, now mockingbird still has black hole in its head and imitates many sounds
4) bird affecting punishment for cannibalism
5) cannibal man; cf. bowerbird, wallaby versions
6) d10, e1, c4, d9, d6

1) 80-1704.1; New South Wales
2) eaglehawk went to netherworld with man and received hospitality of monsters
3) man refused hospitality, eaglehawk became powerful
4) bird receiving magic power from underworld
5) hospitable netherworld
6) c10, e3, e4

for 1772.1, 1774, 1776, 1780.1, 1784.1-3, see crow

1) 81-1782.2; Kabi (QLD), Wakka (QLD), Victoria, Jindjiparndi (WA), Pinikura
2) young eagle sent up a tree by crow's magic song but was rescued by 2 rosella parrots, parrots wash eagle like baby
3) eagle grew rapidly and married the parrots
4) bird effecting marriage rules
5) bird placed up a tree
6) d6, d9, c10

1) 82-1860.1; Yaora (WA)
2) eagle lied about his fight, his pigeon wives became suspicious. Pigeon followed eagle to camp and saw his camp faked by grass fire and wounds made by his own boomerang and spears
3) when discovered, he changed everybody into birds
4) bird effecting self punishment for lying
5) self inflicted wound
6) a1, a2, a5, a9, b3

1) 83-1958.1,2; Narran (NSW)
2) eaglehawk and soldierbird hunted together but bird stole all emus eagle had killed and went underground via trapspider's door
3) eaglehawk killed all the bird's family
4) bird effecting punishment for food stealing
5) food stealer avenged
6) d10, b6, c4, e2, e5

1) 84-1970.1; Aranda (NT)
2) two cannibal eaglehawks killed many of their own species until they became sick and vomited stones full of evil magic
3) now stones must be kept covered with sticks and must not be seen
4) cannibalism punished
5) magic stones; cf. rat variation
6) d10, b6, c4, c10

1) 85-3144.1; unidentified
2) eaglehawk was a native doctor who stole moon's daughter and purified her ritually
3) sun mother allowed her to stay on earth and marry eaglehawk
4) bird sorcerer effecting marriage with celestial body

5) strange wives
6) a1, a4, b1, c10, d2

Emu

1) 86-600.5; Karadjeri (WA), North Pidington
2) giant emu, Marimari, came from sea and created the land and islands, initiated boys and gave them daughters as wives
3) two hawks speared them, now they are all stars
4) bird as creator being, progenitor of marriage rule
5) cultures hero creator; cf. eaglehawk version, in version from Arunta emu men rearranges marriage system in the late period of Dreamtime
6) a2, a1, a3, b4, c10, d2, f7

for 60.4, 1030.1 see dog; 750.2, see birds

1) 87-1170.7; Wotjobaluk (VIC)
2) slow emu exchanged sinews with energetic stump tailed lizard but emu never returned it
3) now emu can go hunting and runs faster
4) bird effecting etiology of species characteristic through exchange
5) etiology of characteristic through exchange
6) a2, d10, d7

1) 88-1172.12; unidentified
2) emu fought with pigeon, emu's arms cut by boomerang
3) emu can't fly, dark headed inland people fight fair headed coastal people
4) bird affecting etiology of species characteristic through fight
5) etiology of characteristic through fight
6) a2, d10, d7, d4,

1) 89-1172.20; Murngin (NT)
2) emu fought with jabiru nephew for not sharing food properly, stone were thrown at emu and jabiru was speared
3) now emu has short arms, jabiru has got his bill and they live in different habitat
4) bird effecting etiology of species characteristic through fight
5) etiology of characteristic through fight
6) a3, a6, c1, d1, d4, d7, e5, f10

1) 90-1174.1; Mungkan (QLD)
2) emu hid chicks of native companion when they hunted but got burned. Crow doctor healed emu's burn, and emu avenged with hot gums
3) emu sank into earth at totemic spot, native companion made lagoons in their jumpings and have red spot where burned and have only 2 chicks
4) bird effecting etiology of species characteristic through trickery
5) etiology of characteristic through tricks
6) a2, d1, d4, d7, e2

1) 91-1174.2; Queensland
2) emu stole waterhen's egg when she went out but was discovered, fight ensued waterhen threw ashes on emu, emu threw waterhen in fire
3) now emu has brown feathers, waterhen has red legs
4) bird effecting etiology of species characteristic through trickery
5) etiology of characteristics through tricks
6) a2, d1, d4, d7, e2

1) 92-1174.4; Kurnai (VIC), Pitjantjara (SA)
2) emu tricked native companion to kill her chicks but emu refused to kill hers, fight ensued
3) emu got a curved neck and can't fly, native companion has red marks on bill and lays only 2 eggs
4) bird effecting etiology of spices characteristic through trickery
5) etiology of characteristics through tricks
6) a2, d7, e2

1) 93-1174.5; Wheelman (WA)
2) emu tricked native companion to kill chicks but emu refused to kill hers. Native companion sent long tailed goana to eat emu's chicks but emu had told them to escape to coast, fight ensued. emu built stilt with strong stick, native companion with bent stick
3) now emu has long legs and many chicks, native companion has thin bent legs and only 2 chicks
4) bird effecting etiology of species characteristics through trickery
5) etiology of characteristics through tricks
6) a2, d7, e2

for 1174.6, see bustard; 1174.7, see brolga

1) 94-1174.11; Murray River (NSW)
2) before there was sun emu could fly. Native companion told emu to cut her wings so she could fish and dance with other birds and emu told native companion to kill all but 2 of her chicks, fight ensued
3) in fight emu throw her egg to sky and it became the sun
4) bird effecting natural phenomena (sun), progenitor of dance
5) etiology of characteristics through tricks
6) a2, d7, e2, d2

1) 95-1330.1; Nguluwonga (NT)
2) emu tought his plain turkey wife to use fire, but she accidentally burned emu's wings with ashes, and caused conflagration from huge fire she made
3) wife remained a bird, emu now flees from flame
4) bird progenitor of fire
5) emu and fire
6) a2, a1, b2, d7, f3

1) 96-1692.1,2; Western District, Victoria, Wotjobaluk

2) giant cannibal emu chased crow, crow told Bram-bram brothers to kill emu
3) from feathers they cut created male and female emus of present size and lays eggs. Ancestor emu and crow are now stars
4) bird progenitor of species; cannibalism affecting punishment
5) giant emu killed by 2 heroes
6) a2, c4, c10, d2, d7

for 1692.3, see swamphawk; 1692.4, see crow; 1692.5, see bat; 1762.1, see dog; 1794.1, see crow, 1904.1-5, see wildcat; 1952.3, see porcupine; 1064.2, 1994.1, see brolga variations

Finches

1) 97-1396.1; Koko-rarmul (QLD)
2) finch stole rain from Hann River country, in turn red bird stole bamboo from finch country
3) now rain and bamboo grows in both countries
4) bird effecting natural phenomena
5) retaliation for water theft
6) c1, c8, d1, f8, f9

1) 98-1692.3; Kurnai (VIC)
2) fan-tailed finch girl used as decoy by swamphawk and 2 heroes to trap giant emu, heroes told emu to lay eggs, but birds fought over emu thus getting their separate characteristics
3) finch made fire from tail and cooked emu, small bird help eat it
4) bird progenitor of fire, effector of species characteristics
5) two heroes kill giant emu
6) a2, a3, b6, c10, d10, f3,

1) 99-1844.2; Kurnai
2) fan-tailed finch wife of lyre bird always sent into wombat hole to catch it, later wife told lyre bird to live appart
3) wife trapped lyre bird in hole, latter they took him back
4) bird effecting punishment to cheating husbands
5) wives trap husband
6) a1, a6, b3, e2,

for 1270.4, see crow; 1380.1, see echidna; 1844.3, see bat versions

Fishhawk

1) 100-1172.13; Pennefather River (QLD)
2) fishhawk were two men who fought over turtles because one always get males and the other females
3) their broken noses now are hawk's hooked beak.

feathers are cut marks, and they can't eat turtles, only fish
4) bird effecting etiology of species characteristic
5) etiology of characteristics through fight

6) horizontal register between birds; d3, d4, e5

for 1380.9, see eagle

Galah

1) 101-1172.9; Noongahburah (NSW)
2) galah was accidentally hit on head with a boomerang by lizard thus removing its skin and feathers, in turn galah rolled lizard in thorn bush
3) now lizard has spiny appearance
4) bird effecting etiology of species characteristic through fight
5) etiology of characteristic through fight
6) d10, e1,

Hawk

1) 102-70.7; Warraminga (NT)
2) two hawks just discovered fire set the grass alight and burning a woman who was chased by moon
3) all rose to sky
4) bird progenitor of fire, effector of celestial phenomena
5) moon and women
6) d2, d8, d10, a1, c10, c4, f3, f5, f7

1) 103-850.2c part only; Nambutji, Ngadadjara (WA), Walbiri (NT)
2) group of Ngarnga (initiated men, star people) met hawks who took stone knives from their own eyes
3) hawks instructed men how to use knives as circumcision tool
4) bird progenitor of stone blade, establisher of circumcision rite
5) traveling group creators
6) d2, d8, d10, e4, f4, f5, f7, b1, b4

1) 104-900.2 part only; Arunta (Aranda, NT)
2 and 3) hawks introduced stone knives for circumcision and four class names during the middle period of Dreamtime
4) bird progenitor of stone blade, establisher of circumcision rite and moieties
5) totemic creators; hawk= celestial ancestor being
6) d2, d10, e4, f4, f5, f7, b1, b4

1) 105-1256.1; Warramunga (NT)
2) Warapulapula and Kirkalanji, two hawks, came from underground and performed ceremonies
3) Warapulapula made firestick but set the country alight, burned Kirkalanji

4) bird progenitor of fire, establisher of secret rites
5) first fire from ancestors; hawk= nether world being
6) e3, d10, e4, f3, f4, f5, f7, b1,

1) 106-1270.5; unidentified
2) hawk and blue pigeon asked woman to share fire which she hid in her armpits, woman refused, the birds spied her
3) birds spear woman, stole the fire
4) bird effecting punishment for refusal to share fire, progenitor of fire
5) theft of fire
6) d2, d10, e4, e5, f3, f4, f6, f7, f8

for 600.5, see emu; 1270.4, see finch; 1270.10, 1530.3 see dog; 1618.3, see eaglehawk; 1640.4, see belbird; 1844.3, see bat; 2014, see curlew variations with hawk's involvement

1) 107-1860.2; Worora (WA)
2) hawk stabbed himself with spear saying he had been attacked, but wives found out his lies from his dogs, fight ensued
3) hawk remained a bird screeching and calling, wives became crow flying after hawks and calling
4) bird affecting punishment for lying/ refusing to hunt
5) self inflicting wound
6) a1, a2, a5, a9, b3,

Heron

1) 108-1946.3; Murinbata (NT)
2) heron and crocodile hunted lily bulbs and shared them, but crocodile always get bitter bulbs and he deceptively passed them to heron, heron did same, fight ensued
3) in the heat they waded into water and remained in respective habitat
4) bird affecting punishment for deceptive food exchange, effector of etiology of species characteristic
5) deceptive food exchange, cf. owl - bustard; rat kangoroo - bandicoot variation
6) d3, d9, e5, e2,

Jabiru

1) 109-1372.2; Tiwi (NT)
2) a man accidentally speared his mother when fishing, mother went to sea, her urine became salty sea
3) mother changed to jabiru, son became white-headed sea eagle
4) bird affecting punishment for killing own mother
5) salt sea from urine; cf. wallaby - cockroach

variation
6) a1, a3, a7, d4, inv. f4

1) 110-1624-1; Warramunga (NT)
2) jabiru cannibal sent boys to hunt for people, native cat bonned jabiru to death, boys were killed by old pelican
3) stones now mark the totemic spot
4) cannibal bird punished
5) cannibal man and pointing bones
6) a2, a3, a4, a8, b6, c4, c10, d1, d9, e1, e2, e4

for 1964.2 see brolga; 3012.1 see native cat

Jay; see 1692.5, 3018.1, bat

Kestral; see 1296.12, turkey

Kingfisher

1) 111-1246.1; Djaberdjaber (WA)
2) Kingfisher was sole possessor of fire kept in his head, people eat their food raw and asked kingfisher for fire
3) firesticks were given to women, fire myths given to men
4) bird progenitor of fire, myths
5) fire from sole owner
6) d10, f2, f3, f4, f5, f7, f8

King Quail; see 1358.2, curlew

Kookaboora

1) 112-1066.1; Ngarluma (WA)
2) blue winged kookaboora told people to burry their dead, because they would not return to life as before and would putrify
3) now people die permanently
4) bird establishing death rite
5) origin of death from bird; cf. curlew variation
6) c4, d10, e4, f4, f5,

1) 113-1632.1; Kattang (NSW)
2) two men tricked giant cannibal into sharing half of koala meat and ran away, in chase one jumped across a river into a rotten log, teasing giant and laughing
3) the log broke, man became laughing kookaboora
4) bird affecting change from tricking giant
5) giant cannibal
6) a2, a3, c10, d1, e1, e2

for 1174.9, see brolga

Lark

1) 114-1172.7; Adelaide (SA)
2) lark and whale fought, lark speared whale in the neck
3) whale now live in the sea blowing water through his hole
4) bird effecting etiology of species characteristic
5) etiology of characteristics through fight
6) a2, d3, d4,

for 1380.3, see native cat

Loon, see pelican 1394.1 version

Lyre bird

1) 115-3156.3; Jaitmatang (VIC)
2) owl met solitary lyre bird at a fire, they foght, but lyre bird capitulated and offered food and warmth
3) owl married lyre bird
4) bird establishing marriage
5) bird disguised as man (bird=female)
6) horizontal registers between birds; a1, a6, d10,

1) 116-3180.6; New South Wales
2) spirit being stole wives and girls to put in caves. Women escaped and trapped spirit in turn
3) spirit being became lyre bird crying and scratching up heaps of sticks and stones
4) bad spirit metamorphosing to bird as punishment for wife stealing
5) spirit being defeated
6) a1, c4, c10, e2, e3

for 1380.5, see koala

Magpie

1) 117-50.1; Wotjobaluk (VIC)
2) sky rested on earth preventing the sun from moving until magpie propped it with a long stick
3) now the sun can move about the earth
4) bird effecting celestial phenomena (sun)
5) sky props; other versions from Woiworung and Wurundjeri uses human agents
6) d2, d10, b1, c4

1) 118-1172.6; Narrinjeri (SA)
2) magpie stole cooked fish pelican had caught, fight ensued
3) magpie became black from ashes and pelican became white from eating white fish and smeared with fish scales (feathers)

4) bird effecting etiology of species characteristic through fight
5) etiology of species characteristics through fight
6) d1, f3, f6, f8

1) 119-1618.4; New South Wales
2) magpie was a cannibal who was burned by two specially painted medicine men
3) now magpie has black and white colors from fire burns
4) cannibalism punished
5) cannibal man; cf. wallaby and echidna versions
6) a2, a7, b1, c4, c10, d9, d10, e1

for 1692.3, see finch; 1704.3, see cockatoo; 3018.1, see bat

Mockingbird, see koala

Mopoke

1) 120-1380.6; Kurnai (VIC)
2) in drought only robin had water which he hid in tree, mopoke found out and fight ensued
3) mopoke chopped robin, now has red breast, and cut tree releasing the water
4) bird effecting punishment for refusal to share water
5) sole possessor of water
6) a7, c1, c4, d10, e2, f9,

1) 121-1694.1; Victoria
2) mopoke refused food to two heroes, Brambram. Heroes trapped mopoke in tree, mopoke asked watle bird and woodpecker brothers to help, but they chopped the tree and mopoke, mopoke avenged by loosing cyclone on Brambram's camp
3) mopoke now as white marks on its belly, Brambram brothers are stars
4) bird affecting punishment for refusal to share food
5) heroes and mopoke; cf. eagle version
6) a7, b1, d2, e2, f10

1) 122-1966.3; Jindjiparndi (WA)
2 and 3) mopoke ate tobaco quid, he vomited and made a mountain
4) bird effecting natural phenomena (mountain)
5) food ingestion; other versions using human agents or Muramura ancestors from Queensland, Karadjeri, Pandjima

Native Companion

1) 123-1380.2; Wotjobaluk (VIC)
2) only native companion had water during drought which he hid under a stone, but tree creeper discovered it just when native companion and swan came

3) native companion jumped into water and its overflow is now a lake
4) bird possessor of water, effector of natural phenomena (lake)
5) sole possessor of water
6) c1, c4, d10, d7, f9, f8

1) 124-1380.3; Mara (NT)
2) native companion hid water under a stone, but lark found the well
3) now they splash water from wings whenever they fly and founded waterholes
4) bird possessor of water, effector of natural phenomena (waterholes)
5) sole possessor of water
6) c1, c4, d10, f9, f8

1) 125-1966.2; Queensland
2) native companion ate ground chile in a ceremony; his head and beak became red and he reeled
3) thus he learned dance steps
4) bird progenitor of dance
5) food indigestion

1) 126-2038.1; Forrest River (QLD)
2) native companion drank water full of lice when wild turkey told him that his mother-in-law (tabooed) was at waterhole, then native companion made caves and turkey told him the same, but himself took possession
3) native companion kills turkey, both became stone
4) bird effecting punishment for trickery
5) wise and foolish
6) a1, a3, a8,

Owl

1) 127-1270.2; Kokoworra (QLD)
2) owl's fire stolen by wag-tail who flew to his island and set the bush alight, fight ensued, wag-tail scared owl with his crocodile
3) now wag-tail is often seen with crocodiles
4) bird progenitor of fire
5) sole possessor of fire
6) c3, c4, d3, f1, f3, f5, f6, f8,

1) 128-1986.3; Jindjipandi (WA)
2) owl tried to seduce eaglehawk's wife, after he trapped eaglehawk with stingray barb ball, but was cut to pieces during a dance
3) now eaglehawk has beak and claws like stingray barb
4) bird affecting punishment for wife stealing
5) sharpened trap
6) a1, a3, a8, c5, d4

1) 129-2044.1; Thangatti (NSW)

2) owl left to guard ground hole nest by wren, wren was hiding there from other birds after he cheated other birds in a race by riding on eaglehawk's back
3) now birds hate night owl
4) bird effecting etiology of species behavior
5) birds contest
6) a2, c5, c4, d9,

for 3052.1, see bat; 3156.3, see lyre bird

Parrot

1) 130-1170.6; Murngin (NT)
2 and 3) parrot, son of crab, told to exchange beaks since parrot does not need a weapon on land but crab need it in the mud
4) bird affecting etiology of species characteristic through exchange
5) etiology of species characteristics through exchange
6) a3, a10, d1, d4,

1) 131-1172.4; Boulia District (QLD)
2) gallah parrot and lizard fought, lizard hit parrot on the head with adze making a top knot and streaking blood on neck and breast (now red feathers)
3) parrot struck lizard with fire, now lizard has back like warts
4) bird effecting etiology of species characteristic through fight
5) etiology of characteristics through fight
6) d10, a3

1) 132-1296.2; Worora (WA)
2) parrot made fire from wood collected by Wandjina spirit beings to cook rock cod, fire fell near a crocodile who took it
3) parrot snatched the fire back but now has red wings
4) bird progenitor of fire
5) fire saved from water
6) b1, b2, d1, d2, d4, f1, f2, f3, f5

1) 133-1296.8,9; Forrest River (QLD), Oenpelli (NT)
2) blue mountain parrot took firesticks from alligator who was trying to make waterholes, medicine man tried to steal firesticks from bird
3) as birds flew fire was dropped, now men have fire
4) bird progenitor of fire
5) fire saved from water
6) d1, d4, f1, f3, f5, f8, f4, f7

for 1172.3, see opposum; 1276.4, see crane; 1610.2, see eaglehawk; 1782.1, 2 see crow; 1788.1, see bat; 1862.1, see cockatoo; 1916.1, see wallaby

Pelican

1) 134-1394.1; Brabrolung, Kurnai, Lake Eyre
2) pelican made canoe to save people from flood caused by a laughing giant frog pelican then was refused wife by the people he saved
3) pelican transformed himself to a stone
4) bird bearer of culture (canoe)
5) impoundment of water
6) a1, a7, b5, c4, d1, d10, e2

1) 135-1940.3; Wandanian
2) spirit man spat blood in four direction making a wind storm because his son-in-law gave him bad meat
3) people became ducks and shags, except a man saved by pelican in his canoe
4) bird bearer of culture (canoe)
5) punishment for food not shared
6) a10, b1, c10, d1, d10, e2

for 300.1, see crow; 1172.6, see magpie; 1624.1, see jabiru; 1894.1, see crane

Pheasant Coucul

1) 136-1370.1; Jindipandi, Ngarluma (WA)
2) pheasant coucul man called the sea to retreat from inland
3) the sea retreated, man became pheasant whose name and call is pudpud (down)
4) bird effecting natural phenomena (sea tide)
5) sea retreat commanded; cf. goana variation
6) c10, d4, e4

Pigeon

1) 137-1150.1; Drysdale River (WA)
2) pigeon opened baby's eyes, tongue loosened by wren, speech thought by lizard
3) now man can talk
4) bird effecting human speech
5) first language

1) 138-1876.1; Karadjeri (WA)
2) top knot pigeon was lazy, she spent time tying hair into knots instead of gathering food
3) men frightened her, she remained a bird, now is a star
4) bird affecting punishment for laziness
5) laziness punished
6) a1, a5, a6, a9, b3

1) 139-1890.1; Noongahburrah (NSW)
2) pigeon mother wandered into far country forgetting her child on the ground

3) child became man and killed mother when they met, mother now remain a bird
4) bird affecting punishment for child neglect
5) child revenge
6) a1, a3, a8, b3, e2

1) 140-2014.1; Narran (NSW)
2) young pigeon never returned with meat for mother and sisters because he spends time playing
3) family beat him and they will accompany him hunting
4) bird affecting punishment for laziness
5) son unsuccessful hunter; cf. curlew variation
6) a1, a3, a7, b3, f10

for 1270.3, 1296.7, see bandicoot; 1270.5, see hawk; 1860.1, 1986.2 see eaglehawk; 2094.3, see native cat

Red-backed Eagle

1) 141-1326.1; Murinbata (NT)
2) red-backed eagle and white-breasted eagle owners of water lived by seashore and refused fire by inland wedge-tailed eagle. Blue-tounged lizard sent to get water but shore birds sent urine, then shore birds stole fire from wedge-tail eagle but shared water
3) fight ensued, all eagles fought each other, now live in separate habitats
4) bird progenitor of fire, water, effector of species behavior
5) fire and water
6) d4, d10, e2, f1, f2, f3, f6, f9

Sandpiper

1) 142-1380.4; Kamilaroi (NSW)
2) sandpiper discovered lizard's secret spring under rock during a drought
3) sandpiper killed lizard, now men can have water
4) bird progenitor of water
5) sole possessor of water
6) d10, e5, f6, f8, f9, f4

Sea Eagle

1) 143-3076.1; Wheelman (QLD)
2) young sea eagle copulated with wedge-tailed eagle, both were orphans blown by storm but from same moiety, thus incestuous marriage
3) their young is a giant chick with strange call, eating tabooed food, people killed the young eagles, chick now molest humans
4) bird affecting punishment for incest
5) incestuous origins disastrous; version from Maung

with human agents with child bearing leprosy
6) a1, a7, a8, b1, b7, c7

Seagull

1) 144-1334.1; Dieri (SA)
2) Muramura, seagull ancestor being, lived by seashore and ate raw fish, a man with burning log thought seagull to cook fish by sticking nose in fire
3) now seagulls have red mark on their beaks
4) bird obtaining fire
5) fire for cooking
6) b1, d2, d4, e4, f2, f3, f5, f4, f7

1) 145-2020.1; unidentified
2) white seagull from south and black seagull from north were once men who hunted together but quarreled over their language difference to kindle fire
3) fight ensued and both now remain seagulls
4) bird progenitor of fire
5) language and fire
6) a3, d4, f2, f5

Sparrowhawk

1) 146-74.1; Princes Charlote Bay (QLD)
2) two sparrowhawk ancestor brothers hunted together, one got stuck up a tree but no one would help except moon, maternal uncle, sparrowhawks avenged people
3) sparrowhawk set fire to their camp 3 times and moon placed up in the sky
4) bird effecting punishment for uncooperation and natural phenomena (moon)
5) moon placed in sky; bird=ancestor beings
6) a7, b1, b5, c3, c4, c10, d2, d10, e2

1) 147-1276.2; Wotjobaluk (VIC)
2) sparrowhawk tickled kookaboora so unshared fire hidden in his beak would come out
3) as beak opened, fire spread throughout land, now kookaboora laughs at the memory
4) bird progenitor of fire
5) theft of fire through laughter; cf. crow, crane, adder variations
6) a2, d10, f3, f4, f6, f7, f8

for 1172.8, see porpoise; 1270.3, 1296.7, see bandicoot; 1270.6, see pigeon; 1276.5, 1704.2, see cockatoo; 1296.5, see chikenhawk

Tit

1) 148-1172.14; Queensland

2) red tit caught kangoroo and wished to share with brown tit who refused, brown tit caught emu but refused to share, fight ensued, red tit hit by kangoroo leg, brown tit hit by emu leg
3) now red tit has red head and breast, brown tit has bettered head shape
4) bird effecting punishment for refusal to share food, etiology of species characteristic
5) etiology of characteristic through fight
6) a3, a6, a7, b4, e2, e5, f10

Trush

1) 149-1352.1; Jaitmathang (VIC)
2) wallaby trush ate smelly food alone, people complained about it, angered he danced up a storm
3) people are flooded and drowned, now when river floods trush can be seen dancing
4) bird effecting natural catastrophe
5) flood as retaliation
6) c1, c4, c10, d10,

1) 150-2000.1; Wotjobaluk (VIC)
2) shrike trush whistled for his dogs, but people had killed and ate them, angered he killed people by burning and felling trees on them
3) now people are stones, tree hollows are now lakes and trush still whistles for his dogs
4) bird effecting punishment for dog killing
5) retaliation for dog's death
6) a5, a8, c4, d10, e2, e4

Turkey

1) 151-1796.10; Pitjantjara (SA)
2) scrub turkey stole firestick from people by singing and making them laughing helpless, he walked into the lake with stick on his head to reach his sick brother
3) two hawks lifted turkey by the stick, threw him ashore, flew away setting the grass alight
4) bird progenitor of fire
5) fire saved from water
6) b5, d3, d10, f1, f3, f4, f5, f6, f7, f8,

1) 152-1616.1; Murray River (SA)
2) old turkey lured men with hospitality to kill and eat them in hot ashes, people move away, two turkey warriors offered help
3) they feigned sleep and killed cannibal turkey, now men are stars
4) cannibalism punished
5) cannibal turkey; other version from Wotjobaluk (1616.2) with Brambram brothers and from Kamilaroi (1616.3) with two stranger birds

6) c4, d10, e1, e2

1) 153-2938.4; Forrest River
2) wild turkey reproached two birds, nephews, who carried a killed kangoroo improperly
3) boys gave it to turkey to cook but all became stone
4) bird affecting punishment for improper behavior
5) wise foolish
6) a2, a3, a6, a10, b7,

for 1174.1-5, 2038.1, see native companion; 1330.1, see emu; 1380.2, see bat

Wagtail

1) 154-1356.1; unidentified
2) before there was sea, people lived in fertile land, willy wagtail was angered by this. Refused offer of cooked fish, he thrust spear into a waterhole creating flood drowning people
3) carpet snake came from the hole, his movement created rivers and creeks, flood rushed to edge of world thus making the sea
4) bird progenitor of natural phenomena (flood, sea)
5) flood from spear
6) c10, c8, c4, c6, d1, d3, d4, e1, e4, f1, f2, f3, f4, f8

1) 155-1636.2; Wotjobaluk (VIC)
2) willy wagtail as a giant cannibal, Brambram brothers sent turtle to find wagtail,came to earth and fought wagtail, the younger threw wagtail into a spear trap, elder made wagtail to shrink
3) now wagtail is small bird with his back still at a broken angle
4) cannibalism punished
5) cannibal man trapped
6) a2, a7, b1, c4, c10, d2, d1, d8, d9, e1, e2,

for 1270.2, see owl; 1410.1, see native cat; 1986.1, see eagle

Wattlebird

1) 156-1910.4; unidentified
2) wattlebird stole eaglehawk's wife, crow, hawk's uncle, mocked him, wattlebird was speared, hawk made great flood
3) hawk's wife beaten while she cried and called on curlew
4) bird affecting punishment for wife stealing
5) wife stealer punished; birds=moiety members
6) a1, a2, a3, a7, a8, a10, b7, e2

for 1692.2, see emu; 1694.1, see mopoke

Wedge-tailed Eagle

1) 157-1640.3; Murray River (SA)
2) wedge-tailed eagle kidnapped child to his nest, curlew mother mourned; native doctor told people to cut down tree and canoe the pieces down a river
3) eagle was sent away, now no tree grow there
4) bird affecting punishment for child abduction and change of environment
5) eagle predator; cf. eagle, hawk, eaglehawk variations
6) a2, a3, a4, a7, c4, c10, d10, e1,

for 1326.1, see red-backed eagle; 1380.8, see crow; 3076.1, see sea eagle

Wren

1) 158-1240.3; Cape Grafton
2) wren went to sky and brought back fire from the sun and hid it under his tail, he tought men to try various woods to make firestick, but men only have sore hands
3) men saw fire under wren's tail and laughed, wren told men the proper wood, now wren has a red back
4) bird progenitor of fire
5) first fire; cf. bat variation
6) c4, c10, d2, d10, f2, f3, f4, f5, f7

Other species listed in Waterman's index mentioned only in passim within the myths without them having any role as dramatis personae:

Brown Tree-creeper; Collared Sparrowhawk; Kestral; King Quail; Lotus bird; Osprey; Owlet Nightjar; Policeman bird; Rainbird; Robin; Seahawk; Soldier bird
Black Swan; Water Hen; White-breasted Eagle

Class II: Mammals

Bandicoot

1) 159-370.1; Aranda (NT)
2) two bandicoot ancestors approached sun man because his light fell on sacred waterhole, sun hurled spear of fire on bandicoots
3) now blood gushes from their noses and the place is totemic spot
4) mammal ancestors affecting sacred site
5) sun creator
6) b1, b7, c3, c5, d2, d8, e4

1) 160-1270.3; Esperence Bay (WA)
2) bandicoot hid fire in a nut, pigeon and sparrowhawk sent to spy and snatch the fire setting the bush alight
3) now all trees contain fire
4) mammal progenitor of fire
5) theft of fire
6) d10, d7, f3, f5, f6, f8

1) 161-1296.7; unidentified
2) bandicoot refused to share fire which he hid under his tail, sparrowhawk and pigeon pushed bandicoot to sea and caught the fire
3) fire was put into all trees for man
4) mammal progenitor of fire
5) theft of fire
6) d10, d7, f3, f5, f6, f8

1) 162-1540.1; Mara (NT)
2) bandicoot copulated with women too frequently during ceremony, causing much discharge of blood, shaming women who went to hide as bandicoot
3) now women menstruate
4) mammal establishing fertility rite, effecting natural phenomena (mensturation)
5) first menstruation
6) a1, a6, a7, b1, b2, b4, b7, c8

for 1946.2, see kangaroo

Bat

1) 163-460.1; Kulin
2) bat, brother of creator Bunjil, gave first woman he found in mud to men
3) bat directed their sex roles
4) mammal progenitor of first human, establisher of gender roles
5) first human

6) a1, a4, a5, a6, a7, b1, , b3, c8, f4

1) 164-1240.2; Lake Condah
2) bat was left by people who went to sky by a string thrown by an ancestor being
3) thus bat was sole occupant of earth and ancestor of man
4) mammal progenitor of first human
5) first human
6) c10, d2, d8, f4

1) 165-1260.1,2; Pennefather River
2) wallby's fire went out, bat tried various kinds of wood to make fire until he discovered a right one
3) firestick finally discovered
4) mammal progenitor of fire
5) first fire
6) a1, a5, b2, d10, d7, f3, f5, f4

1) 166-1286.1; New South Wales, Wathiwathi (VIC)
2) bat and other people sent hawk to get fire owned by cod fish which he shared with water rat for camp services, whirlwind scattered the fire, bat hid some brand in tree cleft
3) people ridicule bat, flood rid all fire people had, now bar produced fire from tree
4) mammal progenitor of fire
5) first fire
6) a7, b2, d1, d3, d7, f1, f3, f5, f6, f7

1) 167-1692.5; Wotjobaluk (VIC)
2) bat killed emu who boasted about her large eyes, jay bird cooked emu but received no share, fight ensued
3) jay cried and rubbed yes with burned knuckles thus getting his characteristics
4) mammal effecting punishment for boasting, etiology of species characteristics
5) heroes and emu
6) a1, a6, a7, b2, d10, d7

1) 168-1788.1; Kamilaroi (NSW)
2) bat stole crow's wife, crow and parrot chased bat, fight failed to ensue
3) crow only asked for wife's apron and waistband to brush flies and to cure headache
4) mammal initiating wife stealing
5) crow uses apron
6) a1, a7, a8, b7,

1) 169-1844.1; Wandanian
2) bat's wives, brown snake and black snake, trapped him in wombat hole because they were tired of hunting with bat. Bat followed fly to exit trap
3) wives were speared, now all are stars
4) mammal effecting punishment for wife insubordination
5) wife trap husband

6) a1, a5, a7, a9, b3, c4, d10, d7, e2

1) 170-1844.3; New South Wales
2) bat stole all food wives had gathered, wives trapped bat in hole with his dog. Dog died, bat avenged, and returned one chopped wife back to her hawk father, fight ensued
3) one wife became duck, bat joined dog spirit in (burrial) log
4) mammal effecting punishment for wife insubordination and disturbance of death
5) wife trap husband
6) a1, a5, a7, a8, b3, c4, d10, d7, e2

1) 171-1910.1b part only; Wiraidjuri, Wongaibon
2) bat took dogs, killed wives, and asked father-in-law for new wife
3) hawk tricked bat in a game and was burned in fire
4) mammal affecting punishment for wife murder and lechery
5) wife stealer punished
6) a1, a6, a7, a8, c4, d10,

1) 172-3018.1; Kurnai (VIC)
2) bat saved swan and hawk girls from magpie and jays, birds asked about kinship relations and discovered he was a husband
3) birds flew away, but latter came back
4) mammal effecting marriage
5) kinship relation to determine husband
6) a1, a6, a7, a8, b7, d7,

1) 173-3052.1; Wotjobaluk (VIC)
2) bat was desired by owl mother-in-law (tabooed relation) as husband, bat tried to trick owl with an image of him but failed, owl follows husband to gather and cook yams
3) bat dropped burning yam into owl's mouth until it choked to death
4) mammal effecting punishment to incestuous woman
5) incestuous woman punished
6) a1, a3, a4, a7, a8, b7, e2

1) 174-3040.3; Kokominni (QLD)
2) bat, tired of bandicoot wife, copulated incestuously with lizard, iguana, eaglehawk's sister, and mother-in-law
3) bat's eyes were pierced by a projecting bark
4) mammal affecting punishment for lechery
5) incestuous man punished
6) a1, a3, a4, a7, a8, b7,

for 110.1, see eaglehawk;

Cat

1) 175-1642.1: Karadjeri (WA)
2) native cat dug up corpse of human body and ate them in his cave, mourning people accused him, cat ran up a tree
3) cat told to remain in tree and eat carrion
4) cannibalism punished
5) corpse eater
6) a7, a8, c4, c5, e1

1) 176-1642.2; Karadjeri
2) native cat ate three corpses of bodies but not their heads
3) native cat burst, place now increase center for cat
4) cannibalism punished
5) corpse eater
6) a7, a8, c4, c5, e1

Dingo

1) 177-800.1; Karajeri
2) Bagadjimbiri rose as dingoes, named and created all objects they saw
3) their spirits are now stars
4) mammal ancestor progenitor of the world
5) traveling heroes

1) 178-1530.3; Mara (NT)
2) dingo and white hawk took women as wife and gave their sisters to brothers of their wives
3) eaglehawk approved the arrangement
4) mammal establishing marriage rules
5) marriage rules decreed
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a10

1) 179-1600.1; Narran (NSW)
2) dingo and woman killed, cooked and shared a hunter who was lured by woman
3) people finally killed woman, dingoes are now snakes/small dogs, man's bones are stones
4) cannibalism punished
5) cannibal woman and dog
6) a1, a7, a8, c4, d9, e2

1) 180-1932.1; Northern Australia
2) young dingo stole six wives of old dingo, old dingo tried to trick him but failed
3) old dingo left the country
4) mammal effecting successful wife abduction
5) successful adultery
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8,

1) 181-3000.1; Walbiri (NT)
2) dingo heard singing of love magic, made false excuses to wife to join in, he copulated with spinifex

people but fled for fear of exhaustion
3) on their travels dingo gave birth to dogs and returned underground
4) mammal as lecherous being
5) dingoes and spinifex people
6) a1, a6, a7, a8, c8, c10, e3

Dogs

1) 182-1000.6 part only; Gumaidj (NT)
2) dogs went to sea, annoyed the sacred snake who made thunder and lightning
3) snake turned dogs into rocks
4) mammal affecting punishment for disturbing sacred snake
5) men-animal
6) b1, b2, b8, c4, c10, d1, e4

1) 183-1030.1; Dieri (SA)
2) 5 dogs chase emu from waterholes, emu traveled underground
3) there emu made red ocher deposits
4) mammal affecting presence of mineral deposits
5) animals become mineral deposits; cf. opposum version
6) a1, a6, c10, d10, e3,

1) 184-1030.2; Yantruwanta (SA)
2) man, wife and dog chased two emus, emus went up the hills
3) there emu became red ochre deposit and the hill is the dog
4) mammal effecting presence of mineral deposit
5) animal become mineral deposits
6) a1, a6, c10, d10,

1) 185-1030.3; Arbana (SA)
2) two dogs chased emu to a cave, dogs gave birth in cave
3) blood at birth became red ochre deposits, dogs are now rocks
4) mammal effecting presence of mineral deposits
5) animal become mineral deposits
6) a1, a6, c10, d10, e3

1) 186-1270.10; Nguluwonga (NT)
2) chickenhawk, hawk, and dog camped together, dog can't make firesticks so he tried to steal women's fire but failed, chickenhawk stole brand but dropped it
3) natural features mark the spot, dog can't talk because he ate food raw, chikenhawk can talk
4) mammal affecting progeny of fire through theft
5) theft of fire
6) a1, a6, b2, d7, d10, f2, f3, f4, f5, f6, f7, f8

1) 187-3280.1; Victoria

2) men cooked fish, ignored dog, dog complained to them
3) dog changed them into a large rock
4) mammal effecting punishment for refusal to share food
5) talking dog as transformer; similar motifs from Kurnai, Worora, Wirraidjuri, Jinjiparndi, Noongahburah, Ngraluma, Kulin and Wotjobaluk
6) a6, b2, b5, b6, e2, f2, f3, f4, f8

1) 188-3290.1; Murngin (NT)
2) once dog could speak, men cannot, so dog rubbed his armpit sweat on their necks
3) now men can talk
4) mammal progenitor of language
5) talking dog gives human speech
6) b1, b2, c10, f4, f5, f7

1) 189-3290.2; Karadjeri (WA)
2) a talking dog hunted kangoroos for men who were then still mute, one day dog said he was tired of hunting for them, told them to remove and break his viscera, liver and heart
3) men did as told, now they can laugh and talk
4) mammal progenitor of language
5) talking dog gives human speech
6) a5, a6, b1, b2, c10, f4, f5, f7

1) 190-3296.2; Goa (QLD)
2) two dogs killed a red kangoroo in a hunt
3) now waterhole marks the pot, kangoroo is the rock, his wounds are the gullies, and pool outline, the water is his blood
4) mammal effecting etiology of natural phenomena (waterhole)
5) dog kills kangoroo
6) a1, a5, b1, c4, e4

1) 191-3296.3; Djinang (NT)
2) dogs hunted 2 kangoroos to the sea, dog dug a sacred well on beach, walked into the sea
3) now rock marks the spot, kangoroo is the rock and secret totem, clouds are dog's spit, dog is now sacred rock
4) mammal effecting etiology of natural phenomena (clouds, sacred rocks)
5) dog kills kangoroo
6) a1, a5, b1, c4, d4, e4,
for 1844.3, see bat; 2000.2, see trush version 1

Dolphins

1) 192-1172.8; South East Australia
2) sparrowhawk and dolphin fought each other, sparrowhawk speared dolphin
3) dolphin now has blowhole, Punjil creator flooded the

land making channels and islands
4) mammal affecting etiology of species characteristic through fight
5) etiology of species characteristics from fight
6) a3, a6, b2, c10, d3, e2, e4

Echidna

1) 193-1380.1; Kurnai (VIC)
2) echidna was sole possessor of water during a drought which he hid under rock, fire-tailed finch and frog spied echidna, frog found the water and jumped in
3) people beat echidna, threw him to prickly bush, now he has spines on body
4) mammal progenitor of water, affecting punishment for refusal to share water
5) sole possessor of water
6) a3, a6, a7, a8, c1, c4, d8, d10, e5, f4, f6, f8, f9

1) 194-1604.4; Kurnai
2) old echidna lured children while their parents hunted to cook and eat them in a great ant hill home, people failed to get in, goana tunneled through
3) people speared cannibal; now echidna has spines and indentations on sides of his head
4) mammal cannibal punished; etiology of species characteristic
5) cannibal abduct children
6) a3, a4, a5, a6, a7, a8, c4, e1, e2, e3

1) 195-1952.2; Kurnai
2) lazy echidna claimed game killed by others as his own
3) people speared him, now he has spines on boy
4) mammal affecting punishment for laziness
5) greedy porcupine; cf. porcupine
6) a7, a9, b6, b8, c4

Flying Fox

1) 196-1000.6: Gumaij (NT)
2) two girls of eaglehawk's opposite moiety became flying foxes after they were abducted and copulated with eaglehawks during a ceremonial dance
3) other dancers became animals the imitated and established their sacred sites
4) mammal affecting metamorphosis after committing adultery
5) human animals
6) a1, a6, a7, a8, b1, b8, c5, c8

1) 197-1176.2; Worora (WA)
2) a patriclan of flying foxes, opposum, snakes, rats tried to move a mountain

3) now mountain in present position, animals got their characteristics; flying fox has upside-down habits
4) mammal effecting natural phenomena (mountain)
5) etiology of characteristics

for 329.1, see dog

Horse

1) 198-1614.1; Jindjiparndi (WA)
Hairman (half man, half horse) came from the east killed, cooked and eat people, 6 clever men threw magic crystal to kill it but failed, clever men threw crystals to sea which made great flood
3) Hairman tried to burn his attackers but was himself burned and drowned by flood
4) cannibalism punished
5) traveling cannibal; hairman=white men
6) a7, a8, b1, b2, c4, c10, d9, e1, e2,

Kangaroo

1) 199-1170.8; Winindiljaugwa (NT)
2) kangaroo and dugong exchanged skin, a woman was rejected by dogong swore him to live in water
3) now kangaroo has hair, dugong live in water
4) mammal effecting etiology of characteristic through exchange
5) etiology of characteristic from exchange
6) a1, d1, d4,

1) 200-1172.18; Nguluwongga (NT)
2) woman had lazy children, stole a bush woman's son, fight ensued
3) abductor got a wound on head became a dolphin, mother became kangaroo with pouch to protect child, her broken arms became kangoroo's short legs
4) mammal affecting punishment for child abduction; etiology of species characteristic through fight
5) etiology of characteristic from fight
6) a1, a3, a7, a8, b2, b8, d1, d4, e2

1) 201-1172.21; Tarumbal (QLD)
2) kangaroo and koala once both had tails, one day kangaroo cut off koala's tail
3) now koala is tailless, kangaroo has tail
4) mammal effecting etiology of species characteristic through fight
5) etiology of characteristics from fight
6) a2, a3, a6, a7, a8

1) 202-1178.1; Wheelman (QLD)
2) kangaroo stole bush-kangaroo's cloak and hopped away, bush-kangoroo came down from tree after feeding

and tried to chase his uncle
3) now bush-kangaroo has bent leg and thin fur, kangaroo has thick fur and hopped with its tail
4) mammal effecting etiology of species characteristic through theft
5) etiology of animal characteristics from theft; in similar version, kangaroo is replaced by emu (getting fine furry feathers)
6) a2, a3, a6, a7, a10, d10, f6, f8

1) 203-1190.2; Encounter Bay (SA)
2) Waijungngari creator ancestor caught a kangaroo, cut it to pieces and threw it overland, Pungngane creator did same with ponde fish
3) now there many kangaroos on land, and fishes in sea
4) mammal victim of ancestors, progenitors of species
5) animal fragments multiplied; similar version from Narrinjeri
6) b1, c10, c6, c7, c4, d1, d2, d4

1) 204-1530.4; Binbinga (NT)
2) kangaroo taken by snake as proper wife, they traveled
3) snake described proper marriage rules to people
4) mammal affecting marriage rules
5) marriage rules decreed; cf. white hawk
6) a1, a2, a5, f5, f4, f7

1) 205-1545.1; Maung (NT)
2) Ubar ceremony belonged to kangaroo women, kangaroo men stole the ceremony
3) now men perform the ceremony
4) mammal establishing rite
5) men steal women's power
6) a1, a5, a6, a7, b1, b2, b3, b5, f4, f5, f6

1) 206-1946.2; Karadjeri (WA)
2) rat kangaroo and bandicoot collected root and cook them separately, kangaroo shared his food, bandicoot deceptively returned the same food each day
3) bandicoot made a mistake and was chased off the land
4) mammal effecting punishment for deception
5) deceptive food exchange; cf. heron, owl
6) a2, a3, a6, a7, a8, b6, c9, e5

1) 207-1980.1; Kulin (VIC)
2) kangaroo and wombats were friends, one wet day kangaroo asked wombat for shelter, but was refused, fight ensued
3) wombat lost his tail axed by kangaroo, kangaroo has long tail from wombat's spear
4) mammal effecting punishment for refusal to share shelter, etiology of species characteristic through fight
5) shelter refused; similar version from Victoria
6) a2, a3, a6, a7, a8, b5, c1

Koala

1) 208-1380.5: Kurnai (VIC)
2) only koala had water during drought hidden in tree cleft, lyre bird spying on koala fired the tree when he was drinking water, koala escaped leaving his tail behind, lyre was burned
3) water is released for people, koala is now tailless, lyre bird has red feathers
4) mammal progenitor of water, affecting punishment for refusal to share water and etiology of species characteristic
5) sole possessor of water
6) a7, a8, c4, d10, b6, e6, f6, f8, f9, f4

1) 209-1390.1,2,3: Kulin, Yarra, Victoria
2) during drought only people had water which they refuse to share with koala boy, so koala stole water and put it up a tree, people failed to chase him, until Pundjel's sons threw koala down, breaking his bones
3) people beat koala, tree was cut releasing water, now people cannot break or skin koala lest he steals water again
4) mammal effecting theft of water for refusal to share water and etiology of food taboo
5) sole possessor of water; cf. 208 inverted version
6) a3, a6, a7, a8, c4, d10, b6, e2, f6, f8, f9, f4

1) 210-1392-1: Kumbanggiri (NSW)
2) a tribe was cut off by a wide stream from its hunting ground
3) koala made rope from its entrails, now koala's entrails are strong
4) mammal effecting water transport
5) koala effects transport over water
6) a7, a8, b2, c4, d1

1) 211-1392.2; Thangatti (NSW)
2) koala sole possessor of canoe during a river flood, eaglehawk told birds to feed koala
3) birds feed koala so he would not cry and koala carried them over river
4) mammal effecting water transport, bearer of culture (canoe)
5) koala effects transport over water
6) a7, a8, b2, c4, d1, d10

Mole

1) 212-1602.1; Pitjantjara (SA)
2) old mole shared root with young man, man left latter she killed, cooked and ate him, other people also became victim

3) two Wadi Gudjara ancestral heroes dreamed and latter killed her
4) cannibalism punished
5) cannibal mole woman
6) a1, a3, a4, a7, a8, b1, b2, b8, c4, e1, e2, e4

Mouse

1) 213-1640.1; Wailwan (NSW)
2) Baiama creator being told man to place lighted straw in red mouse's mouth and send it up a tree to burn Mullion eagle evil spirit who preyed on men
3) Mullion was sent away never to return
4) mammal effecting punishment for cannibalism
5) eagle predator
6) a2, a6, a7, a8, b1, b2, c4, c10, d2, d10, e1, e2, e4

1) 214-1640.6; Aranda (NT)
2) mouse men came from underground to kill eagle brothers who preyed on people
3) mouse men climbed up the tree and killed eagles
4) mammal effecting punishment for cannibalism
5) eagle predator
6) a2, a6, a7, a8, b2, c4, d10, e1, e2, e3

1) 214-3180.2; Northern Australia
2) bush mouse was a medicine man who approached two bothersome giants
3) mouse bit one giant's ear and they fought accusing each other, mouse returned to sleep
4) mammal effecting punishment to annoying spirits
5) spirits defeated
6) a2, a7, b2, c10, d6, e1, e2, e3

Native Cat

1) 215-208.1,2; Murngin (NT)
2) native cat made net to catch fish, net became ladder to sky
3) cat, sons, daughters (opposum's wives) went up and became stars
4) mammal metamorphosing into celestial phenomena
5) milky way as net; similar variation from Murngin with crow throwing the net
6)

1) 216-208.3; Yirrkala (NT)
2) native and cat celebrated over fish catch, fish called for help but helpers ate fish instead, fight ensued
3) crow and cat defeated, flew to to sky with fish bones in burial log, now all are stars
4) mammal metamorphosing into celestial phenomena

5) milky way as net
6)

1) 217-1894.2; Wongkonguru (SA)
2) native cat was ridiculed for tying up his hair, he burned people to death
3) fire caught his brothers who were traveling underground, now all are stars
4) mammal effecting punishment for being shammed
5) ridiculed man burns people; cf. pelican version
6) a7, a8, c4, c7, e2, e3

1) 218-1904.1-4; Esperence Bay (WA), Wheelman (QLD)
2) native cat returning from hunt caught his emu wife embracing opossum
3) native cat burns emu, opossum fell from tree, emu is now star, cat lives in woods
4) mammal effecting punishment for adultery
5) emu wife; similar motifs from Port Hedland
6) a1, a5, a6, a7, a8, b3, b8, c4, d10

1) 219-1910.1a part only; Narran, Wirraidjuri, Wongaibon (NSW)
2) native cat stole into camp and copulated with two willy wagtail women, wives of his bat uncle, bat lured cat into a tree pretending in search for honey
3) cat followed, bat closed tree hole, chopped cat, now cat has its markings
4) mammal affecting punishment for adultery
5) wife stealer punished
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8, a10, b3, b8, c4, d10

1) 220-2028.1; Karadjeri (WA)
2) native cat cut opossum's hair while opossum spun thread, cat's sleep was disturbed, fight ensued
3) now both are stars
4) mammal metamorphosing as celestial phenomena
5) spinning disagreement

1) 221-2094.2,3; Aranda (NT)
2) old native cat swung firebrands and bullroares to lure pigeons
3) cat raised a ceremonial pole and sat in a pool of blood, his penis called and women's heels (resting against vaginas) answered
4) mammal as lecherous being
5) lecherous man;
6) a1, a3, a4, a6, a7, a8, b1, b8, c10, d10

1) 222-3012.1; Warranga (NT)
2) native cat killed cannibal man, opossum lent his 2 wives as reward, cat sang a double penis and copulated with both wives at once, angry opossum fought cat getting their characteristics
3) native cat traveled off and went with Mungamunga women

4) mammal as lecherous being
5) double penis
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8, b1, b8

Opossum

1) 223-72.1; Aranda (NT)
2) moon was opossum man who came out of the earth, he was carried on a shield by another opossum, seed man wishes to steal moon and shield
3) opossum told moon to escape to sky
4) mammal affecting celestial phenomena (moon)
5) moon in shield
6) d2, e2, e4, c10

1) 224-1172.3; Boulia District (QLD)
2) opossum fought with gallah parrot, parrot was cut open on its breast and neck, opossum hit on his nose
3) now parrot has red feathers and opossum black mark on snout
4) mammal effecting etiology of characteristics through fight
5) etiology of characteristic from fight
6) d10, d7, e2

1) 225-1172.15; Boulia District
2) opossum fought with native cat over ownership of collected seed, opossum tricked cat to collect useless seeds, cat ate all opossum's ground seed, fight ensued
3) opossum's ham strings were cut, now he has large heels, cat's fur is spotted with seed
4) mammal effecting punishment for food stealing, etiology of species characteristics through fight
5) etiology of characteristics from fight
6) a3, a6, a7, a8, b6, b8, c5, e2, e5, f6, f8, f10

1) 226-1846.1; Milingimbi (NT)
2) opossum quarreled with crow wives, they refused him food and burn opossum, but he escaped to sky with a ladder made of fish bones
3) opossum came down to kill wives, brother of opossum revived them, took them to sky, now they are part of milky way
4) mammal effecting punishment for refusal to share food
5) disagreement with wives
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8, b1, b6, b8, c4, c10, d2, d10, e2, e5, f8, f10

1) 227-1848.2; Murngin (NT)
2) Opossum's two wives burned him because they would not sleep with him
3) now opossum has shriveled nose and ears, crying, and living in hollow trees 4) mammal affecting punishment from wives for refusal to share bed

5) disagreement with wives
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8, b5, c4

1) 228-1904.5; Wheelman (QLD)
2) opossum persuaded eagle's emu wife to run about with him, emu refused, opossum break all her eggs
3) eagle beat opossum and the couple reconciled, now emu lay eggs away from trees
4) mammal affecting punishment for wife stealing
5) wife stealer punished
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8, b5, b8, c8, d10, e2

for 1782.1, see eaglehawk; 1904.1,3, 3012.1, see native cat

Porcupine (see also echidna)

1) 229-1176.3; Worora (WA)
2) porcupine and rat had a race, but they fought each other instead, porcupine was pulled down from a tree into a prickly bush, while porcupine pulled the rat's tail
3) now porcupine has spines, rat has rasp tail
4) mammal effecting etiology of species characteristic through fought
5) etiology of characteristics from fight
6) a7, b8,

1) 230-1638.1; New South Wales
2) old woman tried to kill sleeping girl in camp, but prepared girl stabbed the hag's eyes with pointed bones, people then speared her
3) old hag became porcupine with spines and sunken eyes
4) mammal as metamorphosed hag affecting punishment for jealousy, etiology of species characteristic through fight
5) old hag
6) a3, a7, a8, b8, c4, d9, e2

1) 231-1764.2; Murngin (NT)
2) trickster Bamapama copulated with two women, people speared him
3) when speared he sang and danced, now he is porcupine with spines
4) mammal as metamorphosed being affecting punishment for adultery, etiology of species characteristic from punishment
5) foolish trickster
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8, a1, b8, c4, e2

1) 232-1952.1; Wongaibon (NSW)
2) porcupine ate all the meager food he was supposed to guard
3) other animals returning from hunt speared him, now he has spines

4) mammal affecting punishment for greed
5) greedy porcupine punished; similar version from Kurnai
6) a7, a8, b6, b8, c4, e5, f10

1) 233-1952.3; Wongaibon
2) porcupine and crow fought over killed emu after knowing that he was tricked to get leaves further and further by talking feces
3) porcupine was speared, getting his spines
4) mammal affecting punishment for deception
5) greedy porcupine punished
6) b6, b8, c4, d10, e5, f10

1) 234-1954.4; Wongaibon
2) old porcupine tickled children to death to get their cooked eel, children were revived and tracked down porcupine
3) porcupine hid under rock, grey trush split the rock and porcupine was speared, now has spines
4) mammal affecting punishment for greed
5) greedy porcupine punished
6) a3, a7, a8, b6, b8, c4, e5, f10

1) 235-3024.1; Kokorarmul (QLD)
2) porcupine mother neglected her baby by lying and making excuses
3) her brother found out and speared mother, now porcupine has spines
4) mammal affecting punishment for child neglect
5) porcupine speared
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8, a10, b4, b8, c4, e2,

1) 236-3024.2; Karrong (NT)
2) porcupine whistled lecherously at a girl, her tribesmen speared him
3) native doctor changed him into animal
4) mammal affecting punishment for lechery
5) porcupine speared
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8, b8

Rat

1) 237-1970.4; Aranda (NT)
2) small rat wanted to copulate with uninitiated women, rat was punished, his penis broken, rat and women died
3) stone now marks spot filled with evil magic
4) mammal affecting punishment for adultery
5) magic stone
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8, b4, b5, b8, c4, e2

1) 238-2020.2; Kakadu (NT)
2) a wetta ground rat and kakadu tree rat argued over the use of wetta language 3) fight ensued, Numenji great snake was hit by their rock and he turned them permanently to rats
4) mammal affecting punishment disturbing spirit snake

5) language quarrel

Wallaby

1) 239-204.1; Aranda (NT)
2) wallaby chief frightened by fire - smoke from evil being, he rose to sky
3) his hair became milky way and his body a black spot in sky
4) mammal progenitor of celestial phenomena
5) milky way as hair

1) 240-206.2; Ngatatjara (WA)
2) wallaby men circumcised two boys, gave them secret ceremonial object
3) their promised girls took them to sky, now are stars
4) mammal progenitor of celestial phenomena
5) milky way as

1) 241-206.4; Ngatatjara
2) wallaby people were keeper of darkness with their ceremonial poles
3) lizards say day is breaking and hung ceremonial object on it and lifted it as milky way
4) mammal progenitor of celestial phenomena
5) milky was as ceremonial object
6) b1, b5, c2, c3, c4, c5, c6, d2, d8

1) 242-1372.1; Tiwi (NT)
2) wallaby refused to hunt head lice for cockroach, angered cockroach urinated in the freshwater ocean
3) ocean is now salty, wallaby now remain in the bush
4) mammal affecting natural phenomena (salty sea)
5) salt sea from urine
6) a2, a6, a7, b5, c4, d1

1) 243-1618.1; Cape Condamie (QLD)
2) wallaby beat his tail on ground to lure victims which he kills, roast and eat, people sent willy wagtail to kill wallaby
3) waagtail killed and cooked wallaby, now wallaby has white chest where it was split by wagtail
4) cannibalism punished
5) cannibal wallaby
6) a7, a8, b8, c4, d10, e1, e2

1) 244-1916.1; Queensland
2) eaglehawk's wives, water snake and parrot, cooked wallaby, wallaby revived left fire and copulated with women who subsequently bore two children
3) eaglehawk burn boys in a hole, saddened wives remain as bird and snake
4) mammal effecting adultery
5) dispute over sons
6) a1, a3, a4, a6, a7, a8, b8, c4, d10

1) 245-1940.4; Nguluwonga (NT)
2) wallaby drove away Waruk evil spirit who stole lily bulbs
3) spirits chase wallaby, but wallaby escaped by hiding in a log
4) mammal effecting punishment for refusal to share food
5) punishment for food not shared
6) a7, a8, b1, b6, b8, c4, c10

Wombat

for 1904.4, see native cat; 1980.2, see kangoroo

Other species mentioned in Waterman's index but does not play any role as dramatis personae; spinny anteater, eurro, dugong, whale

Class III: Reptiles

Carpet Snake

1) 249-1474.2; Thangatti (NSW)
2) carpet snake attacked by eaglehawk and night owl near a river
3) snake's head rolled into river, body into hills, eaglehawk told it to become shark with eyes shining in water like stars
4) reptile
5) rainbow snake as escrement
6) b1, b10, d1, d4, d9, d10

for 1356.1, see willy wagtail

Crocodile

1) 250-2094.10; Mungkan (QLD)
2) a crocodile helped two girls who was hunting with parrots by transporting them over the river, crocodile told girls not to poke him, girls fled, crocodile latter raped them
3) girls trapped him in his hole, their father speared him, cut off his head and penis, poked his anus, crocodile sank into his sacred place
4) reptile affecting punishment for lechery
5) lecherous man
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8, b8, c1, d3, d4, d9, e2

1) 251-2094.11; Nguluwonga (NT)
2) crocodile stole elder sister who latter gave birth to crocodile's eggs, from these, frogs were born, some live on land some on water like parents
3) mother escaped from crocodile
4) reptile effecting incestuous lechery
5) lecherous man
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8, b8, c1, c8, d1, d4,

1) 252-3040.4; Mungkan (QLD)
2) crocodile copulated with porcupine's wives and 18 other women of the whole range of tabooed relations
3) porcupine speared crocodile, he told women to burn crocodile and carry him to sea, crocodile went to his totemic spot
4) reptile effecting incestuous lechery with tabooed relations
5) incestuous man punished
6) a1, a3, a4, a6, a7, a8, b8, c1, c4, c8, d1, d4 d9. e2

for 1270.2 see owl; 1940.2, see duck; 1946.3, see heron

Death Adder

1) 253-1276.1; Kabikabi, Wakawaka (QLD)
2) death adder sole possessor of fire which he would not share, birds failed to get his fire
3) small hawk's antics caused adder to laugh and fire escaped
4) reptile progenitor of fire
5) sole possessor of fire
6) d10, d7, f3, f5, f6

Gecko

1) 254-1446.1; Groote Eylandt (NT)
2) giant swamp gecko has colored body hair and whiskers, squirts water into sky making clouds
3) clouds dumped rain, gecko thunders his pleasure
4) animal progenitor of natural phenomena (rain and thunder)
5) rain from spit
6) c1, c10, d8,

Iguana (or Goana)

1) 255- 1190.4; Kokowara (QLD)
2) ancestor hero caught iguana, cut it to pieces and threw it all over the land 3) now there are many iguana from those pieces
4) reptile progenitor of species
5) animal fragments multiply
6) b1, c10, d2, e4

1) 256-1172.16; Kokorarmul (QLD)
2) iguana and frogs were friends until frog tried to kill iguana by drowning him in a poisoned waterhole
3) iguana escaped by digging a hole in the waterhole's bottom, now iguana burrows in the mud
4) reptile escaping murder, effecting etiology of species characteristics
5) etiology of characteristics from fight
6) a3, a6, a7, a8, c1, c4, c5, d1, d9, e2

1) 257-1370.2; Karadjeri (WA)
2) iguana heard water coming up the bush, he threw up a stick into water and told them to retreat
3) water receded and iguana decreed that the bush is for man and water not to rise so high again
4) reptile effecting natural phenomena (tide rise)
5) sea retreat commanded; cf. pheasant version
6) b1, c1, c6, d1, d4, e4

1) 258-1380.4: Mara (NT)
2) iguana sole possessor of water which he hid under

stone, lark and native companion discovered his well

3) birds splashed in water and in their flight made waterholes for man
4) reptile progenitor of water
5) sole possessor of water
6) c1, c4, c6, d7, d10, f4, f5, f6, f8, f9

1) 259-2034.1; Karadjeri (WA)
2) goana took sons to distant tribe for initiation, in travel he sent his penis underground to copulate with mother-in-law (tabooed)
3) people at camp circumcised boys without him, angered he killed all, he and sons went to a pool and became rocks
4) reptile effecting punishment for initiating boys without consent
5) retaliation for unauthorized circumcision
6) a3, a6, a7, a8, a10, b1, b3, b4, b8, c8, c10

Lizards

1) 260-555.1; Sydney, Cape Howe
2) there was only one sex when a chief cut genitals with knives
3) he became lizard dilagoon
4) reptile progenitor of sexes
5) lizard created sexes
6) c10, d2, f4

1) 261-1000.3; Kaitish (NT)
2) when jew lizard died another man came from his tjuringa and performed increase ceremony
3) this rite now made many more jew lizards which had not existed before
4) reptile progenitor of species; establisher of rite
5) ancestors species give rise to totem animals
6) a3, a10, b1, b4, c4, c8, c10, d6, f5,

1) 262-1172.17; Kokorarmul (QLD)
2) lizard and his brother were playing wrestling, one got angry always being thrown
3) young lizard shook dung from spider's nest on elder, now they chase each other to give punishment
4) reptile effecting species characteristics through fight
5) etiology of characteristic from fight

1) 263-1758.1; Murngin (NT)
2) Ure ancestor looked for his honey, frilled lizard rushed out and swallowed all honey wax and bees, splinter caught his throat
3) Ure can't help lizard, now lizard has spines on his throat
4) reptile affecting punishment for greed, etiology of species characteristic
5) Ure ancestor

6) b1, c10, d2, e5, c6
1) 264-1958.2; New South Wales
2) black tongued lizard learned from birds where their father had hid the meat he stole
3) birds were tricked into playing, lizard killed bird family
4) reptile effecting punishment for food stealing
5) revenge on food stealer
6) a3, a6, a7, a8, b6, b8, c4, d10, e2, e5, f6, f8

1) 265-1980.3; Nguluwonga (NT)
2) lizard sought shelter during storm from black snake; snake told lizard to drill a door hole through a shell which covered the entrance
3) lizard's head got stuck on the shell, he cut snake's legs when he tried to climb up a tree with the shell, now lizard throws his collar to remind men how he cut off snake's legs
4) reptile effecting punishment for refusal to share shelter, etiology of species characteristics
5) shelter refused, cf. wombat variation
6) a7, a8, b5, c4, e2

1) 266-1992.2; Pitjantjara (SA)
2) parentil lizard visited black lizard, he remained in camp to steal grinding stone, he swallowed the stone and made rain to rid of his tracks
3) latter he ate poisoned berries, vomited stones which became landmarks
4) reptile affecting punishment for stealing, etiology of natural phenomena (landscape)
5) theft of grinding stone
6) a7, a8, b6, b8, e2, e5, f6, f8

1) 267-2094.8; Pitjantjara
2) priapic lizard ancestor pursued Kunkarunkara women, he turned into a stiff grass and copulated with them
3) missing one vagina, he stabbed a woman, now he disguised himself as attractive bush, but is always avoided
4) reptile affecting punishment for lechery, etiology of plant species
5) lecherous man
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8, b1, b8, c10, e2

1) 268-2094.9; Karadjeri (WA)
2) lizard raped wife of another, then copulated with many others
3) finally husbands killed lizard, now they are all stones
4) reptile affecting punishment for lechery
5) lecherous man; cf. crocodile variation
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8, b8, c4, e2

1) 269-3040.1; Tiwi (NT)
2) frilly lizard copulated with his own sister,

sister's husband, white-breasted eagle, sent lizard up a tree to get honey
3) eagle cut the tree and beat lizard
4) reptile affecting punishment for lechery
5) incestuous lecher punished
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8, b8, c4, d10, e2

1) 270-3500; Mangarai (NT)
2) frilled lizard ancestor and sons wandered and created deep bends in rivers with their boomerangs
3) flood drowned father and younger son, the elder made ceremony by putting testes and penis on the ground, now they are all rocks
4) reptiles effecting natural phenomena (river bends)
5) magic boomerang
6) a3, a6, a10, b1, c4, c10, c6, d1, e4

for 206.4 see wallaby; 1150.1, see pigeon; 1170.7, see emu; 1172.4, see parrot; 1172.9, see gallah; 1258.3 see crocodiles; 1326.1, see red-bacaked eagle; 1910.3, see native cat; 3040.3, see bat

Snakes and Rainbow Snake

1) 271-300.5; Karadjeri (WA)
2) rainbow snake was carried by sun woman who went to sky with her sister from east to west, on the way they lost rainbow
3) now their tracks are rivers seen in the milky way
4) reptile as natural phenomena (rainbow)
5) sun woman
6) a1, b1, c1, c10, d2, d8,

1) 272-800.2; Karadjeri
2) gagamara and Gombaren ancestors created the rainbow snake
3) rainbow snake created the earth, sea, fish, etc.
4) reptile as creator being
5) traveling ancestors
6) b1, c10, c6, c7, d2, d8,

1) 273-1170.3; Northwest Australia
2) whip snake had a large and and could runs fast, mangrove snake had small poisonous fang but could not run, so exchanged characteristics
3) now whip snake has small poisonous fangs, can bite and must escape men, mangrove snake is not poisonous and is not killed by men
4) reptile effecting etiology of species characteristics through exchange
5) etiology of characteristics from exchange; similar motif from Balyando River
6) d1, d4,

1) 274-1350.2; Murngin (NT)
2) men took eggs of Buroolo snake, snake went to sky and made thunderclouds
3) lightning (like snake's tongue) killed and destroyed men's bark houses
4) reptile progenitor of natural phenomena (thunderstorms), effecting punishment for disturbing it's spirit
5) flood from rainbow serpent egg
6) b1, b2, b8, c1, c4, c10, d10, e2, e4, f6

1) 275-1470.1-6: following is various description of rainbow snake
2 and 3) rainbow is a colored snake who hiss to stop rain made by its enemy (Peennefather River); female rainbow snake live in sea rocks and rises when annoyed to become a rainbow (Oenpelli); rainbow snake rises from his waterhole to sky as rainbow in wet season and can bring death to children (Oenpelli); when great snake spits, his spittle become rainbow and stops rain, melted rainbow goes back to the snake (Kakadu)
4) reptile progenitor of natural phenomena (rain, storms, rainbow)
5) rainbow as serpent
6) b1, b2, b8, c1, c4, c10, e1, e4

1) 276-1870.1; Oenpelli (NT)
2) rainbow snake was called by a husband whose wife refused to copulate to swallow her, snake took wife underground later spit her out pregnant and died
3) daughter avenged mother by burning father's family at a cave, husband now a stone
4) reptile effecting pregnancy, affecting punishment for wife killing
5) wife swallowed by snake
6) a1, a6, a7, b1, b2, b3, b5, b8, c10, c4, e2, e4

1) 277-2010.2; Oenpelli
2 and 3) rainbow snake, annoyed by children crying for food, flooded the land and drowned the children; version from Bunyabunya rainbow snake turned boys into rocks for disobeying order not to go to the beach alone
4) reptile effecting punishment for disobedience
5) disobedient children and rainbow snake
6) a3, a4, a6, a7, b1, b2, b8, c4, c10, e1, e4

1) 278-3352.1: Wirradjuri (NSW)
2) a snake being which inhabits deep waterholes is the descendant of the black streak in milky way
3) shamans who followed snake to its den will receive new magic songs
4) reptile progenitor of magic power
5) snake as shaman's helper
6) b1, b2, b4, c10, d2, e4

1) 279-3352.3; Loritja (Kukatja, NT)

2) giant water snake was being fed a novice rainman by a rain chief, snake spews out novice after being poked with a stick
3) novice now is cloud and his hair is rain, tadpoles run about the clouds creating thunder, rainbow is the rain chief
4) reptile progenitor of magic power; effecting natural phenomena (rain, thunder, rainbow)
5) snake as shaman's helper
6) a3, a6, b1, b2, b4, c4, c10, d2, d8, e4

1) 280-3400.1; unidentified
2) a speared man went to great snake's totemic pool, the snake carried the man to its den and tended the wound
3) man is wrapped by snake for 3 days and he returned home well
4) reptile effecting cure
5) snake as curer
6) b1, b2, c4, c10, e3, e4

1) 281-3450.1: Murinbata (NT)
2) rainbow snake Kunmangur sent 2 parrot daughters to find husbands, bat incestuously took them as wives, parrots sang up sandflies to torment bat who then fled to mountains
3) bat planned revenge, killed snake, wives, and daughters, wounded snake traveled the land leaving landmarks (testicle, nets, pipes, stained rocks as its blood) and lays for 3 days in sea, nankeen kastrel son took firestick and set grass alight
4) reptile affecting punishment for incestuous son-in-law
5) bat spears snake
6) a1, a3, a4, a6, a7, a8, b1, b8, c4, c10, d1, d2, e2, e4

1) 282-3450.3; Mari, Wagaman, North Australia
2) rainbow snake stole whistle duck wife from bat
3) bat speared snake which rolled into a waterhole, now snake rises when storm clouds come
4) snake affecting punishment for wife stealing, effecting natural phenomena (rainbow)
5) bat spears snake
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, a8, b1, b8, c4, c10, d1, e2, e4

1) 283-700.1: Murngin, Yulungr, Northeast Arnhem Land (NT)
2) female snake (Jullungul) disturbed by afterbirth (menstural) blood which polluted the river, snake rose with a storm and swallowed Waiwak sisters and a female child
3) women tried to stop snake's approach by dancing and singing, women were regurgitated and reswallowed by snake
4) reptile effecting punishment for menstrual pollution

5) traveling female ancestors
6) a3, b1, b2, b8, c4, c10, d1, e2, e4

1) 284-1864.1: Maung, Oenpelli (NT)
2) a husband turned into a snake and hid in a hollow log to catch his young wife who would not copulate with him, preferring to stay with her mother
3) when girl peered into the log, snake bit her, her mother decreed that she will avenge daughter
4) reptile affecting punishment for adultery
5) snake man in log
6) a1, a3, a4, a6, a7, a8, b5, b8, c4, c10, e2, e4

1) 285-1864.2; Kakadu (NT)
2) a snake desired a woman but was refused, as did her mother
3) snake hid in hole, when women poked into it, he bit them both, now there are 2 kinds of snakes, poisonous snake will always bite men
4) snake affecting punishment for adultery
5) snake man in a log
6) a1, a3, a4, a6, a7, a8, b5, c4, c10, e2, e4

1) 286-2010.4; Jindjiparndi (WA)
2) a snake traveled underground, swallowed 2 initiate who ate tabooed bird
3) men poked into snake's anus to rescue boys, but the snake created flood and killed them all
4) reptile effecting punishment for tabooed behavior
5) disobedience punished
6) a2, a3, a4, a6, b1, b4, b8, c4, c10, d1, e2, e3, e4

1) 287-2010.5; Melbourne; Southeast Australia
2) great snake with 3 pointed tongue which ejects poison was sent by Pundjil creator to bring death and disease to men
3) Brambram and Bunnie were the ones who could stop snake in his tabooed country
4) snake progenitor of death
5) disobedience punished
6) b1, b2, b8, c4, c10, e1, e2, e4

for 1350.1, see ducks; 1015.3, see frog; 1446.2, see dollar bird; 1530.4, see kangoroo; 1600.1, see dingo; 1980.3, see lizard

Other species mentioned in Waterman's index but does not play a role as dramatis personae: rattle snake, water snake

Turtle

1) 289-1270.1; Springsure, Queensland
2) only turtle had fire, sparrowhawk stole it and set the bush alight

3) now fire is present in wood and men may kindle it by rubbing sticks
4) reptile progenitor of fire
5) sole possessor of fire
6) c1, c4, c6, d3, d7, f1, f3, f4, f5, f6, f8, f7

1) 290-1380.7; Kokowara (QLD)
2) black turtle lived on land and habitually stole water from people, turtle hid water in its armpits, when people lured turtle into a ceremony, emu kicked him
3) water fell from armpits, people now can drink, and turtle live in salt water
4) reptile effecting theft of water
5) sole possessor of water
6) c1, c4, c6, d1, f4, f6, f8, f9, f7

1) 291-1874.1; East Arnhem Land (NT)
2) wife of turtle refused to copulate with him, turtle killed wife by inserting a knife in her vagina and slitting her up to her throat
3) turtle became rock
4) reptile effecting punishment for refusal of sex
4) wife killed
6) a1, a6, a7, a8, b5, b8, c4

1) 292-1910.5; Narran (NSW), Mungkan (QLD)
2) turtle stole lizard woman and her 3 children, he was pursued and used his shield to tun their spears
3) turtle escaped to sea and remained there
4) reptile effecting punishment for wife stealing
5) wife stealer punished
6) a1, a6, a7, a8, b8, c4, e2

1) 293-3168.1; Nguluwonga (NT)
2) a singer was kept by Batigon brothers on an island to entertain them, singer broke his beating sticks and asked for a log to make new sticks
3) when the brothers slept, the singer escaped to sea in a log but was changed into a turtle
4) reptile as metamorphosed human affecting punishment from spirit beings
5) escape in log
6) b1, b8, c4, c10, d1

for 1170.1, see snake; 1172.13, see fishhawk; 1636.2, see wagtail variations

Frog

1) 294-1068.1: Karadjeri (WA)
2) mother snake died each night and son buried her, but snake would shed skin and follow her son to camp
3) frog came near her grave and sounded kalabord, now snake die permanently, as does men

4) frog effecting permanent death
5) origin of death from frog
6) a1, a3, a6, a7, c4, c6

for 1380.1, see echidna; 1394.1, see pelican; 1394.4, see brolga; 2094.11 see crocodile

Grubs

1) 295-1045.1; Aranda (NT)
2) an old man slept under a grub bush, grubs bore into his body and came out from his arm pits as human sons
3) sons ate grubs but father refused, ancestor being stole a bundle of their good grubs and the men sank into the ground to become tjuringa
4) grub as metamorphosed humans
5) totemic ancestors become tjuringa
6) a2, a3, a4, a6, a10, b1, b8, c2, c4, c10, e3, e4

Coded Oppositional Registers:

a1 man : woman
a2 big/large : little/small
a3 age : youth
a4 pure : impure
a5 hunter : gatherer
a6 ordinate : subordinate
a7 social : asocial
a8 moral : amoral
a9 diligence : laziness
a10 father/uncle : son/nephew

b1 sacred : profane
b2 superior : inferior
b3 authority : laxity
b4 initiated : uninitiated
b5 request : denial
b6 greed : temperance
b7 prohibition : permission
b8 prohibition : punishment

c1 dry : wet
c2 seen : unseen
c3 light : darkness
c4 life/survivability : death/starvation
c5 vernal : nocturnal
c6 temporality : permanence
c7 peculiarity : generality
c8 fertilizing : fertilized
c9 good : bad
c10 supernatural/non-human : natural/human

d1 aquatic : terrestrial
d2 celestial : terrestrial
d3 aerial : aquatic
d4 inland : coastal
d5 monochrome : polychrome
d6 major/plural : minor/singular
d7 flight : flightless
d8 earth : sky
d9 prey : victim
d10 aerial : terrestrial

e1 benevolent : evil
e2 avenger/abductor : avenged/punisher
e3 netherworld : upperworld
e4 spiritual : physical
e5 share : deglutition
e6 reward : punishment

f1 fire : water
f2 cooked : raw
f3 fire : fireless
f4 animality : humanity
f5 progenitor : innovator
f6 owner : stealer
f7 nature : culture
f8 depraver : provider
f9 water : waterless
f10 food : foodless

Areas of Origin Codes:
NT = Northern Territory; QLD = Queensland; NSW = New South Wales;
VIC = Victoria; SA = South Australia; WA = Western Australia'

APPENDIX 2
SPECIES CHARACTERIZATION IN SAMPLED NARRATIVES

No.	Common Name	Food	Natural Characteristics	Character in Narrative
	BIRDS			
5	Billabongbird	F	slow, shore wader	lazy, neglectful wife
6	Bellbird	F		authoritative father
7				women abductor
8				cannibal
9				helper, clever man
	Bowerbird	F		helper, clever man
11	Brolga	Fi	large, spearlike beak,	wife chasing moon
13			swamp wader, fisher	bird with magic egg
14				water thief speared
15				food provider
16	Bustard	P	powerful flyer, fast	trickster tricked
			runner, lays 2 egg	only has two youngs
17				deceitful, trickster
19	Chickenhawk	P	bird of prey, fast	wise husband
20			flyer	provider of fire
21				provider of fire
22				provider of fire
			in no. 186	fire thief
23	Cockatoo	F	noisy, energetic, forager,	possessor of fire
24			live in colonies, color	possessor of fire
25			marking on head (fire)	possessor of fire
26				possessor of fire
27				distressed wife
28			black cockatoo	netherworld dweller
29			black cockatoo	netherworld dweller
30				jealous wife
31				jealous wife
32				lecherous man
33				clever man rid spirit
34				lecherous man
35	Crane	Fi	swamp wader, large,	deceitful, fish thief
36			spearlike beak, fisher	fish thief
37				wife stealer
38				deceitful, a-social
39	Crow	S	scavenger, fly in flocks,	progenitor first human
40			opposant of eagles	lecherous, first human
41				lecherous, first human
42				scavenger
43				possessor of fire
44				possessor of fire
45				fire thief, a-social
46				scavenger
47				clever man
48				traveling ancestor,
to				trickster, lecherous
50				eagle wife stealer,

				eagle son killer
51				eagle son killer
52				own mother killer
53				scavenger
54				scavenger, poor hunter
55				moiety establisher with eagle
56				food thief, emu killer
57				obedient wife
58	Curlew	F	nocturnal, small, wailing	originator of death
59			noise	originator of death
60				initiator of funeral rite
61				helper, clever man
62				helper, clever man
63				poor hunter
64	Dollarbird			friend of spirit snake
65	Duck	F	aquatic, noisy, live in	initiator of separate
			flock, good flyer	habitat
66				humiliator punished
67				deceitful wife
68	Eagle	P	large bird of prey,	cannibal
69			good hunter, predator	hunter
70				authoritative father
72	Eaglehawk	P	large bird of prey,	greedy father
73			good hunter, predator	provider of food
74				traveling ancestor
75				creator ancestor
76				selfish tjuringa owner
77				possessor of fire
78				possessor of water
79				cannibal killer
82				deceitful husband
83				hunter, bird killer
84				cannibal
85				helper, native doctor
			in no. 196	sexually excessive
86	Emu	F	large bird, ground	creator being
87			dweller, fast runner,	emu become fast runner
88			heavy, ludicrous,	poor hunter
89			male incubate eggs	authoritative father
90				vengeful mother
91				egg thief
92				deceitful, trickster
93				deceitful, trickster
94				fooled mother inv.92,93
95				progenitor of fire
96				giant cannibal
97	Finch	F	small bird, fast flyer	great cannibal being
98				girl as decoy
99				vengeful wife
			in no. 43	provider of fire
			in no. 193	water thief
100	Fishhawk	Fi	bird of prey, fish	coastal fishers
			catcher, coastal habitat	
			in no. 78	water thief
102	Hawk	P	bird of prey, fast flyer	discoverer of fire
103				ancestor initiators,

				bearer of stone blades
104				ancestors initiators,
				bearer of stone blades
105				provider of fire
106				provider of fire
107				deceitful, poor hunter
			in no. 77, 253	fire thief
108	Heron	Fi	swap wader, fish catcher	deceitful, trickster
			fish pirate from other birds	
109	Jabiru	Fi	large, swamp wader, fish	mother accidentally
			catcher, spear like beak	speared
110				cannibal
111	Kingfisher	Fi	small, fast, polychrome	possessor of fire
112	Kookaboora	F	howls and laughs	declarator of death
			in no. 147	possessor of fire
115	Lyrebird	F	mimicker, ground nester	disguised female
116				spirit become lyrebird
117	Magpie	S	black-white color, dawn	progenitor of daylight
118			call	food thief
119				cannibal burned
120	Mopoke	P	predator, poor hunter	provider of water
121				trickster
122				creator being
123	Native Companion		(see bustard)	possessor of water
124				possessor of water
125				foolish man
126				incestuous
			in 258	provider of fire
127	Owl	P	bird of prey, fast flyer,	possessor of fire
128			nocturnal	wife stealer
129				helper, enemy of birds
130	Parrot	F	small, noisy, energetic	helper, good forager
132			forager	provider of fire
133				provider of fire
134	Pelican	Fi	large, swamp wader, good	bearer of canoe
135			food transporter	bearer of canoe
136	Pheasant Coucul	I	ground dweller	declarator of sea retreat
137	Pigeon	F	noisy, energetic forager	provider of speech
138				lazy wife
139				neglectful mother
140				poor hunter
			in no. 160, 161	provider of fire
143	Sea eagle	P	bird of prey, lone flyer	incestuous orphan
144	Seagull	S	noisy scavenger,	ancestor being
145			red beak (burns)	provider of fire
146	Sparrowhawk	P	bird of prey	ancestor being
147				provider of fire
			in nos. 160, 161, 44,	provider of fire
148	Tit	F	small, energetic forager	good provider of food
149	Trush	S	small scavenger	ancestor cannibal
150				vengeful hunter
151	Turkey	F	large, slow flight	trickster, fire thief
152				cannibal
153				authoritative father
154	Wagtail	I	small, aggressive and	creator of flood
155			cheeky	giant cannibal

			in no. 127	fire thief
			in no. 243	cannibal killer
156	Wattlebird			wife stealer
157	Wedge-tailed Eagle		bird of prey, good hunter	child abductor
158	Wren			provider of fire
	MAMMALS			
159	Bandicoot	F	burrower, common,	ancestor being
160			nocturnal	possessor of fire
161				possessor of fire
162				sexually excessive
163	Bat	F	large penis, loyal,	progenitor of women
164			protective, nocturnal,	progenitor of man
165				discoverer of fire
166				discoverer of fire
167				jealous wife
168				wife stealer
169				authoritative husband
170				poor hunter, food thief
171				dishonest, lecherous
172				dishonest, lecherous
173				incestuous wife punisher
174				sexually excessive
			in no. 281	incestuous lecher
175	Cat	P	aggressive	cannibal
176				cannibal
177	Dingo	P	skilled hunter, howling	creator ancestor
178			noise	wise husband
179				cannibal
180				wife stealer
181				sexually excessive
183 to 185	Dogs	S	poor hunter, barking noise	provider of ocher
186				poor thief, poor hunter fire maker
187				transformer of humans
188				provider of language
189				provider of language
190				provider of water
191				provider of water
193	Echidna	I	spiny coat, slow moving, small	possessor of water speared
194				cannibal, abductor
195				lazy, poor hunter
196	Flying Fox	F	large penis	lecherous abductor
198	Horse		half man, half human	cannibal
200	kangaroo	F	large, social, protective,	protective mother
202			furry, dominant male	fur thief
204				provider of marriage rule
205				women ceremony thief
206				food provider
207				vengeful friend
208	Koala	F	slow moving, leaf eater,	possessor of water
209			does not drink, strong	water thief

210			entrails	helper in flood
211				helper in flood
212	Mole		underground burrower	cannibal, deceitful
213	Mouse	S	small, underground burrower,	eagle cannibal killer
214			usually eagle's prey	eagle cannibal killer
215	Native cat	F	good hunter, aggressive hiss,	fisher
216			prolific reproducer	fisher
218				vengeful husband
219				lecherous, incestuous
221				sexually excessive
222				sexually excessive
223	Opossum	F	tree dweller, nocturnal,	as the moon
225			slow moving	food provider, trickster
226				husband become moon
227				husband punished to tree
228				wife stealer
229	Porcupine (see also echidna)			trickster speared
230				jealous hag speared
231				lecherous trickster
232				greedy, poor hunter
233				greedy, poor hunter
234				greedy, poor hunter
235				neglectful mother
236				lecher speared
237	Rat	S	noisy, agressive	lecherous
238				argumentative
239	Wallaby	F	small, easily frightened,	frightened chief
240			nocturnal	provider of circumcision
241				helper of darkness
242				selfish
243				cannibal
244				lecherous
245				spirit chaser

REPTILES

250	Crocodile	P	large, powerful hunter	lecherous
251			prolific reproducer	incestuous lecher
252				incestuous lecher
253	Death adder			possessor of fire
254	Gecko	P	squeaky sound	provider of thunder
255	Iguana	P	large, fast runner,	progenitor of species
256			common	escaping murder
257				clever man
258				possessor water
259				sexually excessive
260	Lizard	P	fast runner, common,	progenitor of species
261			bird hunter, aggressive	progenitor of species
262				avenging brother
263				greedy
264				vengeful son kill birds
265				vengeful friend
266				grind-stone thief
267				sexually excessive
268				sexually excessive

269				incestuous, lecher
270				creator being
271	Snake/ Rainbow	P	long slithery creature,	celestial being
272			aquatic and terrestrial	creator being
274			domains, poisonous,	vengeful spirit being
275			common during rain and	progenitor of rain
276			floods	progenitor of rain
277				punisher, prog. of flood
278				shaman helper
279				shaman helper
280				shaman helper
282				wife stealer
283				punisher, prog. of flood
284				sexually excessive
285				sexually excessive
286				progenitor of flood
287				giant snake
289	Turtle	P	slow moving, aquatic	possessor of fire
290			domain	water thief
291				vengeful husband
292				wife stealer
294	Frog	P	burrower, croaking noise	declarator of death
295	Grubs		root dwelling larva	emerging first humans
			emerging as moths	

Note:

No. = number of corresponding listed narrative (Appendix 1)
P = Predator
S = Scavenger
F = Forager (seed, fruit, insects)
Fi = Fish catchers
Description of natural characteristic based on Marcombe (1985)

APPENDIX 3
NARRATIVE CONSTITUENTS: CONSTANTS and EXPLANATIONS

CONSTANTS:				EXPLANATIONS :		
	Themes			Transformations		
No.	Social Theme	Ord.	Con.	Characteristic	Place	Transform
Class I: Birds						
1	C2		C	men become bird	x	T3
2	A1	O		egg become the sun	x	T5
3	A2	O		totem sites created	v	T1
4	A1		C	men become animal species	x	T2, T3
5	C8		C	wife become bird	x	T3
6	C9		C	food taboo established	x	none
7	A10	O		iturka established	x	none
8	C1		C	cannibal lures victim	x	T6
9	C10		C	wife stealing punished	x	T6
10	A1		C	wives become brolgas	v	T5
11	A1		C	egg become the sun	v	T5
13	C3		C	men become frogs, brolgas fly	x	T2, T3
14	C11		C	stone become emu's egg	x	T7
15	B3		C	species habitat established	v	T4
16	B3	O		species character established	x	none
17	C11		C	deceptive food exchange punished	x	none
18	A1		C	animals become celestial object	v	T5
19	A7	O		birds establishing marriage rule	x	none
20	A3	O		bird bestowing fire to man	x	none
21	A3		C	progeny of fire through theft	x	T3, T8
22	A3		C	fire saved from water	x	none
23	A3		C	progeny of fire through theft	x	none
24	A3		C	progeny of fire through theft	x	T4
25	A3		C	progeny of fire through theft	x	none
26	A3		C	men become birds and whales	x	T2, T3
27	A6	O		man become duck, wife cockatoo	x	T3
28	B1	O		bird occupant netherworld	x	none
29	B1	O		bird occupant netherworld	x	none
30	C12		C	retaliation for wife's death	x	none
31	C12		C	retaliation for wife's death	x	none
32	C6		C	lecherer punished	x	T3
33	C13	O		birds freeing men from spirits	x	T2
34	A10	O		lecherous man at large	x	none
35	B3		C	modification of birds through C3	v	T4
36	C2		C	flood by crow through C3	v	T4
37	C10		C	modification into bird through C10	x	T3
38	C2		C	modification of crane through C10	x	T3
39	A1		C	abductor crow become star	v	T5
40	A5	O		first human and marriage rule	x	none
41	A5	O		first human from tree	x	none
42	B3		C	modification of birds	x	T3
43	A3		C	why bush burn	x	T3
44	A3		C	stolen fire given to man	x	T3
45	A3		C	stolen fire given to man	x	T3

46	C2		C	why crows fight eagles	x	T3
47	C1		C	trees for making bullroarer	v	T4
48	B2		C	ancestor crow's travels	x	none
49	B2		C	ancestor crow's travels	v	T3
50	B2		C	ancestor crow's travels	x	T3
51	C12		C	crow kills eagle's son	v	T4
52	B2		C	crow spears own mother	v	T5
52	C7		C	why crow scavange, eagle prey	x	T3
53	C2		C	why crow scavange, hawk screech	x	T3
54	A6		C	why birds live seperately	x	T3
55	B2		C	crow and eagle establish moieties	v	T4
56	B3		C	why emu's egg can be taken easily	x	none
57	C9		C	modification of crow	x	T3
58	A11	O		curlew decrees permanent death	v	T4
59	A11	O		origin of death	v	T6
60	A9	O		death ceremony initiated	x	none
61	A1	O		blood to stop flood	x	T3
62	A3		C	curlew's scream sight of death	x	T3
63	C14		C	modification of curlew	x	T3
64	A1	O		rainbow and cloud from spit	x	none
65	B3	O		why birds live seperately	x	T3
66	C9		C	modification of birds	x	T3
67	C2		C	modification of bird through C2	x	T3
68	C1		C	eagles become stars	v	T5
69	B3		C	eagle in tree mopoke in holows	v	T3
70	C9		C	victim takes revenge	x	none
71	C9		C	eagle saved by people	x	none
72	C2		C	river from greedy eagle	v	T5
73	A11		C	eagle saved from greedy moon	x	T7
74	A9	O		circumcision rite established	v	T3, T5
75	A1	O		crows become stars	v	T5
76	C15		C	eagle become totemic spot	v	T4
77	A3		C	stolen fire given to men	x	none
78	A4		C	progeny of water	v	T4
79	C1		C	modification into mockingbird	x	T3
80	B2	O		why eaglehawk is powerful	x	none
81	A7		C	eagle establishing marriage rule	x	none
82	C8		C	deceitful eagle punished	x	T3
83	C2		C	eaglehawk kills birds	x	T3
84	C1		C	magic stones must be covered	x	T8
85	A7	O		eagle marries moon's doughter	x	none
86	A1	O		emu creator of earth	v	T4
87	B3	O		why emu runs fast	x	none
88	B3		C	why emu can't fly	x	none
89	B3		C	why emu and jabiru are seperate	x	none
90	B3		C	why native companion have 2 eggs	x	T3, T4
91	B3		C	modification of birds	x	T3
92	B3		C	modification of birds	x	T3
93	B3		C	modification of birds	x	T3
94	A1		C	egg become the sun	v	T5
95	A3	O		progeny of fire	x	T3
96	A1		C	progeny of emus	x	T3, T5
97	A1		C	why bamboo and rain grows	v	T4
98	A3		C	progeny of fire and mod. of emu	x	T3
99	C16		C	husband cheater punished	x	none
100	B3		C	why hawk has hooked beak	x	T3
101	B3		C	why lizard is spiny	x	T2

102	A3		C	progeny of fire	v	T5
103	A6	O		progeny of blade, circumcision	x	none
104	A6	O		progeny of blade, circumcision	x	none
105	A3	O		progeny of fire	x	none
106	C4		C	progeny of fire through theft	x	none
107	C8		C	why crows call after hawks	x	T3
108	B3		C	heron and crocodile live appart	v	T4
109	C12		C	son kills mother punished	x	T3
110	C1		C	punished cannibal become stone	v	T4
111	A3	O		progeny of fire and fire myths	x	none
112	A11	O		origin of death	x	none
113	C1		C	why kookaboora laugh	x	T3
114	B3		C	why whale live in sea	x	T2
115	A7		C	lyre establishing marriage	x	none
116	C10		C	why lyrebird scratches, crying	x	T3
117	A1	O		why sun can move	v	T4
118	B3		C	modification of birds	x	T3
119	C1		C	why magpie is black and white	x	T3
120	C3		C	progeny of water through fight	x	T3
121	C2		C	why mopoke has white spot	x	T3
122	A1	O		mountain from mopoke's vomit	v	T4
123	A1		C	progeny of water	v	T4
124	A1		C	progeny of water	v	T4
125	A9	O		progeny of dance	x	none
126	C6		C	birds become stones	v	T8
127	A3		C	progeny of fire through fight	x	none
128	C10		C	eaglehawk's beak and claws	x	T3
129	B3		C	why birds hate night owl	x	T3
130	B3	O		modification of crab and bird	x	T3, T2
131	B3		C	modification of lizard	x	T2
132	A3		C	progeny of fire	x	T3
133	A3		C	progeny of fire	x	T3
134	A6	O		progeny of culture	v	T8
135	A6		C	progeny of culture	x	T3
136	A1	O		why sea retreated	x	T3
137	A8	O		why men can talk	x	none
138	C8	O		modification of pigeon, star	v	T3, T5
139	C17		C	modification of pigeon	x	T3
140	C8		C	lazy pigeon punished	x	none
141	A3		C	why eagles live seperately	x	T3
142	A4		C	progeny of water	x	none
143	C7		C	incestous origins disastrous	x	none
144	A3	O		progeny of fire	x	T3
145	A3		C	progeny of fire through fight	x	T3
146	C16		C	why moon in sky	v	T5
147	A3		C	why kookaboora laughs	x	T3
148	C2		C	modification of tits	x	T3
149	A1		C	why trush dance when flood	x	T3
150	C12		C	dog killer punished	v	T8
151	A3		C	progeny of fire through theft	x	none
152	C1		C	cannibal turkey punished	v	T5
153	C18		C	boys become stones	x	T8
154	A1		C	progeny of water bodies fm snake	v	T4
155	C1		C	modification of wagtail	x	T3
156	C10		C	why crow cries	x	none
157	C19		C	why no tree grows in place	v	T4

158	A3		O	progeny of fire	x	none
Class II: Mammals						
159	A2		C	modification of bandicoot	v	T4
160	A3		C	progeny of fire through theft	x	none
161	A3		C	progeny of fire through fight	x	none
162	A1		C	why women menstruate	x	T2
163	A5	O		bat directed sex roles	x	none
164	A5	O		progeny of first human	x	none
165	A3	O		firestick discovered	x	none
166	A3		C	progeny of fire	x	none
167	B3		C	modification of jays	x	T3
168	C10		C	crow uses apron	x	none
169	C20		C	wives become stars	v	T5
170	C20		C	wife become duck	x	T3
171	C12		C	lecery punished	x	none
172	A7	O		bat marries birds	x	none
173	C7		C	incestious owl wife punished	x	none
174	C6	O		why bat is blind	x	T2
175	C1		C	why cat eat carrion	x	T2
176	C1		C	cat increasse center	v	T4
177	A1	O		dingoes become stars	v	T5
178	A7	O		eaglehawk establish marriage	x	none
179	C1		C	dingoes become snakes	x	T2
180	C19		C	why no dingoes	x	none
181	C6	O		progeny of dogs	x	T2
182	C18		C	dogs become rocks	x	T8
183	A1	O		progeny of ocher deposit	v	T8
184	A1	O		progeny of ocher deposit	v	T8
185	A1	O		progeny of ocher deposit	v	T8
186	A3		C	why dog can't talk	x	T4
187	C2		C	dog change men to rocks	v	T8
188	A8	O		why man can talk	x	none
189	A8	O		progeny of language	x	none
190	B3	O		kangaroo become waterhole	v	T4
191	A1	O		sacred totem site	v	T4
192	B3		C	progeny of water bodies	v	T4
193	A4		C	why echidna has spines	x	T2
194	C1		C	why echidna has spines	x	T2
195	C8		C	why echidna has spines	x	T2
196	C6		C	dance and sacred site established	v	T4, T2
197	A1	O		mountain and animals establihsed	v	T4, T2
198	C1		C	hairman burned and drowned	x	none
199	B3	O		modification of kangaroo, dugong	x	T2
200	C19		C	modification of kangaroo, dolphin	x	T2
201	B3		C	modification of koala, kangaroo	x	T2
202	B3		C	modification of kangaroos	x	T2
203	A1	O		progeny of kangaroos, fishes	x	T2
204	A7	O		marriage rule established	x	none
205	A9		C	ceremonies initiated	x	none
206	C2		C	deceit punished	x	none
207	C5		C	modification of wombat, kangaroo	x	T2
208	A4		C	progeny of water	x	none
209	C3		C	why koala can't be killed	x	none
210	A6	O		why koala's entrail is strong	x	T2

211	A6	O		why koala cry	x	T2
212	C1		C	cannibal mole punished	x	none
213	C1		C	cannibal eagle punished by mice	x	none
214	C1		C	cannibal eagle punished by mice	x	none
215	A1	O		cats become stars	v	T5
216	A1		C	cats become stars	v	T5
217	C9		C	cats become stars	v	T5
218	C6		C	emu become star, cat live in bush	v	T5, T2
219	C6		C	modification of cats	x	T2
220	A1		C	cats and opossum become stars	v	T5
221	C6	O		lecherous cat	x	none
222	C6		C	modification of cat	x	T2
223	A1	O		why moon in sky	v	T5
224	B3		C	modification of parrot, opossum	x	T2
225	C2		C	modification of opossum, cat	x	T2
226	C2		C	crow and opossum become stars	v	T5
227	C20		C	why opossum live in tree, crying	x	T2
228	C10		C	why emu lays eggs away from tree	x	T2
229	B3		C	why porcupine has spines	x	T2
230	C12		C	old hag become porcupine	x	T2
231	C6		C	lecher become porcupine	x	T2
232	C11		C	why porcupine has spines	x	T2
233	C2		C	why porcupine has spines	x	T2
234	C11		C	why porcupine has spines	x	T2
235	C17		C	why porcupine has spines	x	T2
236	C6		C	lecherous man become porcupine	x	T2
237	C6		C	site with evil magic	x	T2
238	C18		C	men become rats	x	T2
239	A1	O		wallaby become stars	v	T5
240	A1	O		wallaby become stars	v	T5
241	A1	O		lizard breaking darkness	v	T5
242	A1		C	why sea is salty, wallaby in bush	v	T4
243	C1		C	modification of wallaby	x	T2
244	C6		C	wives become birds, snakes	x	T3
245	C2		C	why wallaby hides	x	T2

Class III: Reptiles

249	A1		C	snake become hills	v	T4
250	C6		C	lecherous crocodile punished	v	T2
251	C6	O		birth of frogs from crocodile	v	T2
252	C6		C	crocodile become totemic spot	v	T2
253	A3	O		progeny of fire	x	none
254	A1	O		rain and thunder from gecko	x	T8
255	A1	O		progeny of iguana	x	T2
256	B3		C	why iguana burrows	x	T2
257	A1	O		why water does not come to land	v	T4
258	A4		C	progeny of water	x	none
259	C9		C	unauthorized circumcisor punished	v	T4
260	A5	O		progeny of lizard	x	T2
261	A1	O		progeny of lizard	x	T2
262	B3		C	modification of lizard	x	T2
263	C11		C	why lizard has spine	x	T2
264	C2		C	lizard kills bird	x	none
265	C5		C	why lizard throws its collars	x	T2
266	C18		C	landmarks from lizard vomit	v	T4

267	C6		C	lecherous lizard become bush	x	T8
268	C6		C	lecherous lizard become stone	v	T4
269	C6		C	lecherous liard punished	x	none
270	A1	O		progeny of river bends	v	T4
271	A1	O		snakes become stars	v	T5
272	A1	O		snake creator of earth	v	T8
273	B3	O		progeny of snakes	x	T2
274	A1		C	lightning from snake	x	none
275	A1	O		rain and rainbow from snake	x	none
276	A1		C	daughter burn own father	v	T4
277	C20		C	disobidient children punished	x	none
278	A12	O		shaman recieve power from snake	x	none
279	A12	O		novice shaman become cloud	x	T8
280	A2	O		snake doctoring speared man	x	none
281	C6		C	bat kills incestous snake	v	T4
282	C10		C	snake becomes storm cloud	x	none
283	C18		C	snake regurgitated women	x	none
284	C6		C	husband ebcome snake	x	none
285	C6		C	why snake bite men	x	T2
286	C18		C	snake creating flood	x	none
287	A11	O		ancestors kills giant snake	x	none
289	A3		C	progeny of fire through theft	x	none
290	C3		C	progeny of water	x	T2
291	C20		C	turtle become rock	v	T8
292	C10		C	why turtle remain in sea	v	T2
293	C20		C	man become turtle	x	T2
294	A11		C	permanence of death decreed	x	T6
295	A5	O		first human from grubs	x	T2, T8

Coded Social Theme:

A1 Progeny of natural phenomena/earth
A2 progeny of sacred sites
A3 Progeny of fire
A4 Progeny of water
A5 Progeny of human
A6 Progeny of culture (canoe, firestick, blade, etc.)
A7 Establishment of marriage rules
A8 Establishment of language
A9 Establishment of dance/ rite
A10 Effector of social order
A11 Effector of permenent death
A12 Progeny of magic powers

B1 Occupant of netherworld
B2 Traveling Ancestor Creator
B3 Etiology of Species characteristics

C1 Punishment for cannibalism
C2 Punishment for refusal to share food (deceit, trickery, greed)
C3 Punsihment for refusal to share water
C4 Punishment for refusal to share fire
C5 Punsihment for refusal to share shelter
C6 Punishment for adultery/ lechery

C7 Punishment for incest

C8 Punishment for laziness/ deceit
C9 Punishment for harmful deed/ rudeness/ humiliation
C10 Punishment for wife stealing
C11 Punsihment for greed
C12 Punishment for murder
C13 Punishment for evil spirits
C14 Punishment for unsuccessful hunt
C15 Punishment for refusal to share sacred object
C16 Punishment for uncooperation
C17 Punishment for child neglect
C18 Punishment for improper behaviour
C19 Punishment for child/ wife abduction
C20 Punishment for insubordination/ disobidience

none No transformation
T2 Transformation to mammal/ reptile
T3 Transformation to bird
T4 Transformation to place
T5 Transformation to celestial body
T6 Transformation to permanent death
T7 Revival from death
T8 Transformation to objects

No. number of narrative corresponding with list Appendix 1
x no explanation of place
v explanation of place provided
Ord. social theme with events of ordination or creation
Con. social theme with events of social conflict

APPENDIX 4
CATEGORIES OF SOCIAL THEMES AND CORRESPONDING NARRATIVES

Note: all the numbers with asterix refer to narratives with ordination, those without refer to narratives with conflict.

Social Theme	Corresponding Narrative Numbers
A1	2*, 4, 10, 11, 18, 39, 61*, 64*, 75*, 86* 94, 96, 97, 117*, 122*, 123, 124, 136*, 149 154, 162, 177*, 183*, 184*, 185*, 191*, 197* 203*, 215*, 216, 220, 223*, 239*, 2440*, 241* 242, 249, 254*, 255*, 257*, 261*, 270*, 271* 272*, 274, 275*, 276
A2	3*, 159, 280*
A3	20*, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 43, 44, 45, 62 95*, 98, 102, 105*, 111*, 127, 132, 133, 141 144*, 145, 147, 151, 158, 160, 161, 165, 166 186, 253*, 289
A4	142, 193, 208, 258
A5	40*, 41*, 163*, 164*, 260*, 195*
A6	27*, 103*, 104*, 134*, 135, 210*, 211
A7	19*, 81, 85, 115, 172*, 178*, 204*
A8	37*, 188*, 189*
A9	60*, 74*, 125*, 205
A10	7*, 34*
A11	58*, 59*, 73, 112, 287*, 294
A12	278*, 279*, 280
B1	28*, 29*
B2	48, 49, 52, 55, 80*
B3	15, 16*, 35, 42, 56, 65*, 69, 87*, 88, 89 90, 91, 92, 93, 100, 101, 108, 114, 118 129, 130*, 131, 167, 190*, 192, 199*, 202 224, 229, 256, 262, 273
C1	47, 68, 79, 84, 110, 113, 119, 152, 155, 175 176, 179, 194, 198, 212, 213, 214, 243
C2	1, 36, 38, 46, 67, 72, 83, 121, 148, 187, 206 225, 226, 233, 245, 264
C3	120, 209, 290
C4	106
C5	207, 265
C6	32, 126, 174*, 181*, 196, 218, 219, 221*, 222

APPENDIX 5: NOTES ADDENDA

1. For further discussion on "inside and outside" verions of Aboriginal myths, see Berndt and Berndt 1965; Smith 1970; Waterman 1978:10ff). Although this part, the notion of Aboriginal esoteric knowledge, is not part of the whole analysis of this thesis, it is included here to show Aboriginal narratives in a wider general context of their mythological and belief system.

2. "Totemism", for lack of a better word, is defined by R.M. Keesing (1975:519, in Cultural Anthropology: A contemporary perspective New York: Holt, Rinehat & Winston) as the "symbolic association between a social group (e.g. a lineage or clan) and a kind of bird, plant, or natural phenomenon. In "classic forms" a member of the social group has some special religious relationship (e.g. food taboo) toward members of the natural species." For all intent and purposes of this thesis, Leach's (1976) and Londale's (1981) explanations are adequate in showing the relationship of Aboriginal "totemic" beliefs to the natural and physical world.

3. These statements (p.49-51) are general statements. Here, general views are taken as necessasry, although undesireable, given the wide range of myths taken as the sample for this study from various different Aboriginal groups living in various different environments. The example on desert life is used to illustrate the importance of coherent and stable social relations between individuals in a group. Desert living is unpredictable (see Gould 1969).

I do not hold an 'anti-affluence' view of traditional Aboriginal life. It remains to be realy seen whether Aborigines in even a relatively rich ecozones such as Southeast Australia or Arnhem Land are trully leading affluent lifestyles (cf. Altman 1987). Aboriginals have been able to survive well in all Australian environments, and their population was quite stable before the invasion of European whites to Australia. That stability is maintained, among other things, through coherent and continous traditions as ideally embedded in their myths.

4. Aboriginal people distinguish consanguineous kin relations and classificatory kin relations. Consanguineous kin live in close to the household which may be nuclear or extended. Consanguineous kin also include those people whose ancestry may be immediately traced as having common origins with their own. Classificatory kins include those whose ancestry is not readily recognized to have common origins with their own. In these kin relations, all people are ideally related to all other people and for each of these relationship there are norms which dictates the terms whicj identifies the relationship ('uncle', 'aunty', 'cousin', 'brother', etc.) and the expected behaviour conneted with the term (Palmer 1981:63ff).

In the kinship relations above, a male individual must marry a woman who belongs to one specified category and who stands in relation to him as matri or patri cousins. Expected behaviour range from avoidance to jocular friendship. A man must avoid his wife's mother totaly and respect his uncles, but may also be intimate with his grand father and his brothers of the same age. A person's category and his kin relationships is a means whereby he may be included into social life and ritual sphere of the Aborigines.

Kinship relationships is believed by Aborigines to be ordained in the Dreamtime by Spirit Beings. The expected behaviour between many categories of people is also believed to be initiated and sanctioned by Spirit Beings in the creative time of the Dreaming (cf. Morton 1985).