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RIGHTS IN NURTURING:
The social relations of child-bearing and rearing
amongst the Kugu-Nganychara,
western Cape York Peninsula, Australia.

by

Diane E. von Sturmer

A thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts of
the Australian National University. 1980
All information presented in this thesis is derived from my own research unless otherwise stipulated and listed at the end of the work.

Diane E. von Sturmer
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ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the social relations of human reproduction amongst the Kugu-Nganychara Aboriginal people of western Cape York Peninsula, north Queensland, Australia. Recognizing the comparative dearth of detailed ethnographic information on the subject of human reproduction amongst Australian Aborigines, a major concern of the thesis is the presentation of a comprehensive description of the parameters of begetting, bearing and rearing children amongst the Kugu-Nganychara. The focus of the description is on the ordering of the social relations established during child-bearing and rearing.

It is argued that the social ordering of human reproduction is centred on the idiom of nurturing: that is, on the giving and receiving of care, nourishment, protection and support. Contrary to western society where the responsibility for child-care and rearing usually falls on the mother and father alone, in Kugu-Nganychara society, participation in nurturing children is distributed among a much wider group of kinsmen. Three main modes of nurturing are examined: "finding babies"; "looking after" or rearing children; and "growing up" and "adoption" of children. The thesis establishes the nature of these three modes of nurturing; who participates and why; and what the consequences of such involvement are. It is shown that consistent involvement in nurturing interaction progressively establishes an extensive system of reciprocal responsibilities and rights that are crucial to an individual's social identity. In contrast to the emphasis
in structural-functionalist analyses of western Cape York societies made by some researchers, which focus on the automatic transmission of rights through descent and as a consequence of well-defined regulating norms, it is shown here that an adult's rights in people and property are directly affected by relationships established from the moment of conception and expressed in the idiom of nurture. These relationships and the involvement in nurture are open to negotiation and management which introduce considerable flexibility into the social transmission of rights. It is concluded that amongst the Kugu-Nganychara there is a high degree of congruence between the process of human reproduction and that of social reproduction.
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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates the social relations of human reproduction amongst an Australian Aboriginal population. The primary aim of the fieldwork was to collect information to answer the question, 'Exactly what is involved in the begetting, bearing and rearing of children in a specific Aboriginal society?' The anthropological data available on this question is limited and invariably lacking in systematic detail, so that much related research is based on ethnographically unsupported assertions. Research for this thesis was carried out with an Aboriginal population whom I refer to as the Kugu-Nganychara (see J. von Sturmer who first used the term in 1973, 1978; and also Sutton 1978: 119,145-46,174). The specific geographical area of study is that region on the western coast of Cape York Peninsula, bounded in the north by the Kendall River and in the south by the Holroyd River\(^1\) (see Map 2).

Attention is focused on documenting in detail the social ordering given to reproduction and the early years of childhood among the Kugu-Nganychara. A secondary concern is to examine the consequences of that ordering for Kugu-Nganychara social life generally, and to examine the relationship between human reproduction and social reproduction.

Fieldwork Involvement. Six months was spent in the field from June 1978, on the west coast of Cape York Peninsula: approximately one month being spent at Aurukun and five months on two outstations established in the
MAP 1: THE WIK REGION

The Wik region

- Aboriginal settlement
- Aboriginal outstation
- Town
- Cattle station
4.

Kuga-Nganychara region. The majority of the latter field work period was spent living at the south Kendall River outstation called Empadha. From there I participated in the initial movement of people to establish another outstation at Pu'an north of the Holroyd River (see Maps 1 and 2). The ethnographic information presented in the thesis refers specifically to the Kuga-Nganychara, and in the case of recorded observations, to the populations residing at these two outstations.

My reasons for working with the Kuga-Nganychara were varied. My personal association with specific individuals living at Aurukun and particularly from the Kugu-Nganychara region predates my field work by some five years. I was introduced to people from the region via my husband, John von Sturmer, who had carried out anthropological field work at Aurukun and Edward River dating from 1969, and my kin-status was derived (as his wife) from that already established by him. On meeting a number of people from Aurukun in Brisbane, in 1974, requests were made to me, particularly by women, to go to Aurukun and work with them in the same way that my husband had worked with the men. My presence at Aurukun at some stage was indicated as being a social responsibility that I was bound to assume. My most immediate social connection was with Kugu-Nganychara people, many of whom were the same people living at Empadha and Pu'an in 1978. My two year old son accompanied me in 1978 to Cape York and to the outstations. He was already related, via a Kugu-Nganychara naming relationship known as ngalampa ("same name", "namesake") with the "boss" of Pu'an outstation.
The relationship was established when my son acquired at birth this man's name (his "small name" - nhampa woynyo) as his own first name.

Secondly, the Kugu-Ngaychara have not been the focus of any systematic research, except for the more recent work of J. von Sturmer (1973, 1978); and yet they afford interesting comparison with the relatively rich ethnographic data available for the more northerly Wik groups, and in particular with the data on reproduction published by Donald Thomson and Ursula McConnel as a result of their own field work from the late 1920's onwards with the Wik. The Kugu-Ngaychara also represent a relatively socially integrated population which historically appears to have had a high degree of social, ceremonial and economic interaction, and still displays this cohesiveness - both as a self-perceived unity and as an actuality. Finally, their connection with bush living is part of an ongoing reality rather than an historical memory.

I arrived at Aurukun at the beginning of June 1978 in the dry-season, and in mid June travelled south by the small freight boat "Finessse" along the coast to the Kendall River. The 130 kilometre trip took approximately 14 hours and when the boat arrived at the north Kendall River outstation (Kuchund-eypanh), a few kilometres downstream from Empadha, it was with the first food "stores" to be delivered in close to two months. Empadha is located on the river bank about four kilometres from the mouth of the Kendall and on my arrival had 28 people residing there permanently. During the time I spent at the outstation, my son and I lived in the
household, or "family camp", of my putative "daughter" and her husband (who was my son's "namesake"), with their children and grandchildren. My general living arrangements were organized by my "son-in-law" and all of my daily domestic activities such as cooking, collecting firewood and water, and sleeping and eating, were incorporated into their routine. I was "properly looked after" and my tent was put up for me by my "son-in-law" with the comment that it was "... just for work, you can't stop by yourself". My "daughter" and "son-in-law's" camp at Empadha for the first two weeks of my time there, consisted of a large, open-sided shed, but after a death occurred at the outstation, my "family", like every other resident, re-located their "camp" onto the central sand-ridge which ran through the outstation (see plate 4). I became directly involved in that family's daily domestic routine, in their organization or economic activities and in the general social and economic life of the outstation.

My social and kinship entrée into the other "family camps" at the outstation was via my position as a member of my putative "son-in-law's" "family", which everyone else regarded as being the "proper" arrangement. He and his family took great pains to educate me in the skills of bush living and my training in language was initially begun in his own language, Kugu-Mu'inh. I was in fact, placed in a somewhat favoured social position because this man was an important "fieldboss" and was one of the few men in the Kugu-Nganychara region - perhaps one of two - who had pre-eminent ceremonial status and authority. I should say at
this point that my period of fieldwork was immensely affected by this man's death, some three weeks after my arrival. I subsequently became deeply involved in mourning ceremonies and the resultant social disruption, depression and general lethargy which seemed to affect the camp en masse. During this period, the population of the outstation rose from 28 to over 60, as people arrived for the mourning ceremonies. My son's name was accordingly subject to restrictions on its use. He was henceforth called thaapicha (namesake of the deceased), and a number of people viewed him as being intimately connected with the "spirit" of the deceased man which was said to be still in the camp area. Some people altered their kinship address forms with him, calling him by the kin term that they would have previously used for the deceased man himself. During the period of mourning ceremonies that followed, individuals became preoccupied with issues relating to death, sorcery and the spiritual world. There were numerous arguments, ranging from straightforward verbal debates to highly emotional, sometimes physical conflicts. Quite simply, a man who was so important and was considered to be still "just a young man", could not die "for nothing", and a period of prolonged inquisition was carried out. As part of this response, certain individuals spent a great deal of time outlining the way things should be run at the outstation, pointing out the social commitment required of every person in the present state of tension, and publicly indicating those individuals who were not assuming such responsibilities.

In mid September, when it was thought that people had "settled down" sufficiently after the two deaths, the move
to establish another outstation was commenced. Some 40 residents of Empadha (which included a number of people who had arrived from Edward River and Aurukun for mourning ceremonies and then stayed on) travelled overland for two days by tractor and trailer to the south. They were heading for Pu'an, a traditional and major wet-season camping area in a coastal estate north of the Holroyd River. I travelled with this group and remained at Pu'an outstation until November when I returned overland to Aurukun. During the time spent at the Holroyd River outstation, my son and I spent approximately three weeks in the sole company of three adult Aboriginal women, whilst the remaining residents travelled to Edward River and Aurukun for wet-season supplies. This period afforded especially close participation in the social lives and interaction of particular adult women who found themselves alone without the presence of any men, and almost totally dependent on their own subsistence activities.

Fieldwork was carried out by participant observation and I began learning a local dialect - initially Kugu-Mu'inh and then Kugu-Uwanh. Though by the end of my fieldwork period I could "hear", or understand, much of the daily 'relaxed' conversations carried out by residents, I was by no means fluent in Kugu-Uwanh, and the major languages of elicitation were English and Aboriginal English (see 'Fieldwork methodology and constraints' section, this chapter). I had particular female friends who as adult married and widowed women with children and grandchildren provided a great deal of detailed information on intimate subjects. As a wife and mother myself, and with a young
son who provoked their interest and interaction, I was regarded as being in a suitable position to talk to about such matters as intercourse, conception, pregnancy, childbirth and "sweetheart business", and to indulge in the sexual, joking interaction and "sweetheart stories" which often characterized the intimate conversation of the women's "camp". But I was also considered to be still "just a girl", inexperienced in bush living and needing to be "looked after" and taught the ways of Aboriginal women. Taking the position of student, this education was progressively given to me. No doubt, it took into account the hierarchy of access to knowledge and authority having to do with "women's business" (which depended on such factors as age, political influence, marriage and number of children, having an important husband, on personality, dancing and singing ability, verbal flair and even physical appearance and prowess), and the fact that I was "just a girl" and only beginning to learn. Therein must lie an inevitable limit in my education and in the information presented here.

The Scope of Research: Human Reproduction and Nurture. The term reproduction is often used in anthropological research without regard to specificity or clarity as to its meaning, with the consequence that different notions and levels of analysis become conflated. Edholm, Harris and Young (1978: 101–131), in a systematic review of the term, distinguish three uses of reproduction. These are: social reproduction; reproduction of the labour force; and human or biological reproduction. With respect to social reproduction, Edholm et al. (1978:105) noted that, "Insofar as the concept is to
be useful, it must refer to reproduction of the conditions of social production in their totality", and that in this regard, "The specification of what structures have to be reproduced in order that social reproduction as a whole can take place is the fundamental issue". They (Pp.106-107) argue that the reproduction of the labour force is "clearly of a different theoretical order to that of social reproduction", but "is itself an underdeveloped concept". As they define it, reproduction of the labour force includes "...maintenance of the labour force here and now" and the "allocation of agents to positions within the labour process over time" (p.106). Human or biological reproduction, they argue (Pp.111-116), should remain analytically distinct from these. Human reproduction includes the begetting and bearing of children, childbirth and lactation, focussing on the social relations of begetting, bearing and rearing children and the distribution of rights in women's reproductive capacity and the children born. In this study the focus is on the third sense of reproduction: the human or biological aspect. When the term reproduction is used throughout the text, it is used only in this particular sense.

The central argument is that the social ordering and relations of Kugu-Nganychara reproduction are focussed on the idiom of nurturing; i.e., on the giving and receiving of care, nourishment and protection which is initiated in the creation, bearing and rearing of children. Nurturing is not equated here with socialization training, nor with psycho-analytic hypotheses linking child care and rearing practices to adult personality. The main focus is on the ordering of the social relations. The perspective initially
taken on nurturing is a processual one, in which social relations are progressively established and distributed both before and during, as well as after childbirth.

The thesis distinguishes three main modes of nurturing, each of which will be examined in detail:

(i) "Finding babies";

(ii) "Looking after" or rearing children; and

(iii) "Growing up" and "adopting" children.

These three modes include the following features:

(i) "Finding babies" is a mode which ensures, by various personal and interpersonal behaviours, that babies "come up" or are created. It is concerned with the activating, initiating, nourishing and sustaining of a 'new' individual. This includes aspects such as "spirit babies", the influence of the spiritual world on the world of the living, 'conception', male and female sexuality, sexual intercourse, and fertility control;

(ii) "Looking after" or rearing children has to do with the immediate provision of care, protection and nourishment of the dependent child's physical, social and spiritual welfare. It focusses initially on the centrality given to the actual mother and father (as genitrix and genitor and then as mater and pater) as being focal or primary nurturers of their children. The nature and operation of their responsibilities and rights are examined, and attention paid to the way other people are deliberately involved as nurturers of those same children;

(iii) "Growing up" of children specifically involves the social distribution of nurturing responsibilities amongst kin other than a child's own parents. The thesis discusses
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who is able to assume various responsibilities for children and under what kinds of circumstances. Included as a form of "growing up", is the "adoption" or "giving" of children, where individuals other than actual parents assume the major responsibilities of caring for children.

These three modes of nurturing do not necessarily represent sequential stages in the reproductive process. For example, "finding babies" can be said to involve "looking after", and "growing up" and "adoption" can also be said to be kinds of "looking after". Nevertheless, each mode is characterized by particular kinds of behaviour and interactions, and by individuals assuming various responsibilities. Thus it will be argued that reproductive nurturing by specific individuals takes place, for example, with the activation of "spirit babies", with 'conception' and the "building up" of the baby in utero, by ensuring that the pregnancy proceeds to full-term, and results in 'successful' delivery of the child, as well as the more commonly associated aspects of protection and care of the neo-nate and child during its dependent years. The child may not be the sole recipient of nurturing; for example, the pregnant woman can also be said to be nurtured in the sense of her being "looked after" by certain individuals (e.g., by her husband during the pregnancy, by female midwives during childbirth, and through food gifts from a future son-in-law). So that by "looking after" the mother, Kugu-Nganychara people can be seen as also nourishing and sustaining, and "growing up" the child. The thesis establishes what is involved in these three modes of reproductive nurturing, who participates and why, and what the consequences of such involvement are.
By and large women have been regarded as the central figures in human reproduction and the tendency in academic research on Australian Aboriginal populations has been to co-opt for analytical purposes, the so-called 'local' Aboriginal perspective of human reproduction, and specifically childbirth, as being "women's business". There is no doubt that such a classification has an Aboriginal validity and in turn affects the capacity of the researcher to obtain information on pregnancy, birth and related topics, from Aboriginal men and women. Nevertheless, the approach taken here is that rights in women's reproductive capacities and in the rearing and caring of children are socially distributed, and that the role of men and women (and children) should be analysed concomitantly, even given the fact that involvement and knowledge, in certain areas, may be differentially distributed according to sex, age, marital status etc.

It is argued that the Kugu-Nganychara give a certain centrality (at both an actual and conceptual level) within the process of reproductive nurturing, to genitor and genitrix and to "own" father and mother; but that they can and do make clear distinctions between them if the two sets of identities do not concur. Contrary to our own society where reproductive nurturing is focussed on the biological mother and father (and usually in that order of importance), one finds that amongst the Kugu-Nganychara, a number of people variously attempt to participate in all dimensions of the reproductive process and are acknowledged for specific reasons as having the "right" to do so. Generally,
the system of reciprocal responsibilities and rights is initiated via the child, both before and during childbirth. Thereafter they are continued and actively extended, or discontinued as the case may be.

The Kugu-Nganychara constantly assert the primacy of their own involvement in the creating and caring of children, and just as frequently use the 'fact' of that involvement to make requests and claims on one another - for food, water, shelter, residence, protection and support. Such claims are extended to land, ceremonies, economic resources, knowledge, experience, and authority in many situations. To explicate this emphasis two questions are posed:

(i) How are individual rights and responsibilities in creating and caring for children established, maintained and used?

(ii) Why are personal rights in children deemed to be important?

In response to these questions, it is argued that out of the involvement of people in reproductive nurture there arises an extensive system of reciprocal responsibilities and obligations which have immediate and long-term consequence. It is further argued that personal involvement in reproductive nurture is the basis on which individuals are able to make claims of various kinds. More particularly, the probability of the success of a claim made by an individual on another, is largely dependent on that individual's history of involvement in nurturing the person. The answer then, to why personal rights in children are deemed to be important, is briefly, that these rights have
in turn fundamental social, economic, political, and territorial implications, a number of which are explicitly recognized and manipulated by the Kugu-Nganychara.

The major consequence for Kugu-Nganychara social life of the nurturing initiated during the various phases of reproduction is summed up in this notion of claiming. The investigation of these issues requires a double-edged perspective. For not only are there nurturers, who by caring for other people, establish certain rights in and lay the basis for future claims over them (and others); there are also the nurtured (the people who are "found", "looked after", and "grown up" and "adopted"), who by virtue of having received the 'benefits' of having been cared for, also have reciprocal responsibilities and obligations, and can make claims on those nurturers. Claims involve both immediate and future personal security. For example, children are expected to "work for" their parents and others who have nurtured them, and to continue to do so, "looking after" those people at some stage in the future when the positions of care-giving and receiving may be reversed. The individual who is nurtured may expect to be able to receive food, shelter and protection immediately as well as over time, and to receive as well specific knowledge, 'education' and experience. He or she can be regarded - in the process of receiving and acknowledging the receipt of these 'benefits' - as building up specific "rights" and ensuring success in their own potential claims of various kinds in the future: such as claims over other people for social support, over access to and tenureship of particular tracts of land, claims to residence and shelter, to hunting and exploitation.
The importance of nurturing in creating rights can be highlighted in several ways. Most dramatically it can be shown by examining those occasions when nurture is poor or absent; when an individual is willing but unable to nurture, when nurturing responsibilities are withheld or terminated, or have simply never been assumed or only inconsistently so. Another means is to examine inter-personal conflicts which call into question nurturing responsibilities and personal rights. Such conflicts focus attention on (i) the Kugu-Nganychara belief in the social necessity of having both focal or primary nurturers and other nurturers who are prepared and expected to participate; and (ii) the kinds of interaction and relationships established between those two groups of nurturers. The most immediate consequences of nurturing not taking place (apart from death) are to place a child in a socially and economically tenuous position, both immediately or in the future.

A number of cases are presented:

(i) The 'marginal' child, who is left without focal nurturers and who, with no consistent assumption of those responsibilities by others, is placed immediately in a socially and economically tenuous position. His or her future ability to make claims on others may also be jeopardized and marginal status continued into adulthood unless the nurturing situation is resolved.

(ii) The "growing up" of a child by individuals other than its actual or social mother and father. "Growing up" may be performed by different individuals according
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to various circumstances. The child may be subject to temporary or more permanent 'take-overs'. Such situations may occur even when the child's parents are still living and closeby. Participation in this form of nurture is a well-recognized and used 'fact'.

(iii) The "adoption" or "giving" of a child by its actual mother and father to another adult individual in a more formalized transfer of responsibilities and hence rights. It also occurs in Kugu-Nganychara society, that a child may be said to choose to be cared for by individuals other than its "own" parents, and is also said to be "adopted". Because there are still focal nurturers, a child later in life will be able to make effective claims. The significant feature is that the rights and responsibilities have in a sense been deliberately re-located elsewhere; that is, there are political, social and territorial implications. At a general level, "growing up" and "adoption" may be said to maintain and occasionally increase the range of claims an individual can make; whereas marginality decreases them. The anthropological issue of adoption and fosterage is a complex one. The present thesis does not aim to resolve major questions in this debate (the reader is instead referred to Brady 1976; Carroll 1970; Goodenough 1970; Keesing 1970; Goody 1966; Stack 1975; and articles in Williams 1975). Rather it intends to present ethnographic data on a particular phenomena which is referred to both as "adoption" and as "giving" of children, in order to clarify issues pertinent to the social relations of reproduction in Kugu-Nganychara society.
Kuga-Nganychara society is one in which there are relatively few formal organizational principles apart from the pervasive ideology of patrilineal descent and a preference for cross-cousin marriage (see Chapter Three). Because of this, nurturing and the reciprocal claims it entails, becomes a major organizational feature. This leads to the conclusion that although there are analytical reasons for separating human and social reproduction, there is in fact, in Kugu-Nganychara society, a strong and direct convergence between them arising out of the emphasis placed on the idiom of nurturing.

While the orientation of the argument could rightly be called a reconstruction of the parameters and significance of the traditional Kugu-Nganychara system of human reproduction, it is deliberately tempered with the reality of observations obtained during field work at the two Kugu-Nganychara outstations, providing a temporal and more flexible framework. Whilst the Kugu-Nganychara no longer exist as they did in the late 1950's when still living "in the bush", or as they did in the early 1900's when they had had only peripheral and sporadic contact with Europeans, they by no means represent what Lévi-Strauss (1962:211) calls "what is left of a collapsing Australian tribe". On the contrary, Kugu-Nganychara social life today is vigorous and dynamic, with individuals maintaining an active daily interest in what they consider to be "the proper Aboriginal way", which is of course, particular to themselves and to no-one else. The Kugu-Nganychara still talk of "finding babies" and comment that they "love to see all the babies
coming up". Babies are "found" and so "come up" and are subsequently "grown up" and "looked after". When Kugu Nganychara people discuss in the text of this thesis, "bush births", "finding babies" and babies "coming up" within a traditional setting, it is with knowledge gained from personal experience of those conditions and dimensions. Many of the traditional parameters of human reproduction to be discussed have in fact continued as significant features, at both a conceptual and actual level, of the contemporary system of human reproduction. However, it would be unrealistic to deny that very real changes have occurred in the ordering and consequence of Kugu-Nganychara reproduction as a result of at least two decades of close settlement life at Aurukun and Edward River, and as a result of the increasing intervention of western medical values, technology and practices. Care will be taken to indicate when and in which areas these changes have occurred.

A basic approach which will be taken to the presentation and analysis of data is that one needs to question human reproductive arrangements in a manner which says that nothing is taken for granted as being 'natural', or as a biological and therefore eternal and irreversible 'fact'. Such an approach aims to avoid the pitfalls involved in succumbing to a pseudo-scientific orientation which equates biological with established 'fact'; which usually judges hunter-gatherer societies as lacking in knowledge of such 'scientific facts' (see Landy 1977; R.F. Spencer 1949-50); and which associates reproduction and specifically childbirth in those societies as being somehow closer to and more determined by 'Nature' itself (see Chapter Two). To
proceed in such a way would be an injustice to the Kugu-Nganychara reality and only serve to repeat the failings of previous research on the subject.

Like all societies, the Kugu-Nganychara are interested in generation and fecundity - of all species as well as of themselves. In fact they appear to be - as they appear to have historically been - preoccupied with both the means and the consequences of "finding babies". "Finding babies" is literally, to borrow Ashley-Montagu's (1937, Revised edition, 1974) very apt phrase, a "Coming into Being" (my emphasis). It is a progressive happening, not a sudden and traumatic event and not necessarily an event limited to a nine month duration. On the other hand, neither is it regarded as automatic or 'natural' - there are things that individuals should and should not do. This affords a different perspective to that established by Hamilton (1970:20) for the Anbara of north-central Arnhem Land, for whom .... "The continuation and abundance of animals and vegetables is accepted as a matter of course, as is the continuation of man". While many behaviours and practices are ascribed by the Kugu-Nganychara to "custom from old time" and "there from start", and while the organization and possibility of human generative capacities are said to have been laid down by specific 'founding ancestors' and therefore given a certain immutable character, not even the continuation of people is taken wholly for granted.

A Kugu-Nganychara woman will certainly expect that at some stage in her life she will beget and bear children, and
a man will likewise expect to participate as a genitor (and
pater, though not necessarily concurrently) in that process. But there are simply occasions when things happen - "might
be something, I don't know": there are women who have no
children; children who die before and during childbirth
(sometimes as the result of a deliberate decision made by
an adult); mothers who are known to have died in childbirth;
men who as genitors may be unwilling or unable to assume the
social role of pater; there are women as genitrix who may
not want to "look after" their children; and parent couples
who may die when the child is still dependent. On a larger
scale, local populations must deal with the consequences of
differential fertility. In such circumstances Kugu-
Nganychara individuals attempt to assert a personal control
over their own life career and also to determine others' as
well.

One point which should be noted at this stage is that
individuals in Kugu-Nganychara society appear to be
constantly negotiating their own position and presentation
of self with respect to others. Sharp's (1968:7) description
of the Yir-Yiront where "...each individual is the centre of
his own universe of interaction"; and Sutton's (1978:161)
remark that Cape Keerweer (see Map 1) "social ideology" is
characterized by an "emphasis on personal style" and "intense
egoism", both apply equally well to the Kugu-Nganychara, who,
according to J. von Sturmer (1978:401), "see their network
of actual kin and the kinship system itself as a resource
which can be manipulated and exploited like other resources".

Amongst the Kugu-Nganychara this negotiation of self meets
certain 'limits' or 'constraints' established as a result of
differing kinds of loyalties and relationships. "Family" in its developmental cycle, constitutes one such level of immediate loyalty and affiliation, as does the strong ideology of patrilineal descent. Those kin most readily accessible are one's "own" or "really family". Individuals can trace kin ties through both parents, through what is known as "mother's side" and "father's side", in order to justify any kind of action or claim whether it be to land, ceremonies, food, people or whatever. On the other hand, a similar assertion of claims is made by others in respect to ego. It will be seen that the infant even in utero has an identity which is being defined by individuals who are already asserting their respective rights in and assuming responsibilities with respect to it.

The above argument and issues will be dealt with in the following organization of chapters:

The remainder of Chapter One locates the Aboriginal population under discussion and describes the fieldwork methodology including the constraints under which the field work was conducted.

Chapter Two reviews the Australian ethnographic literature devoted to the study of human reproduction amongst Australian Aboriginal populations, discussing the various approaches and perspectives which have been taken by both anthropologists and others. The major Australianist debates which have arisen out of this area of research are reviewed and assessed. It also surveys the anthropological literature pertinent to reproduction in the Wik-speaking Aboriginal population of western Cape York Peninsula, and locates the
Kugu-Nganychara within them.

Chapter Three provides a description of what are considered to be the characteristic regulating features of Kugu-Nganychara life in the past. Two contemporary Aboriginal outstation situations at Empadha and Pu'an (see Map 2) are then described in detail.

Chapters Four and Five give details of the various aspects involved in "finding" and "building up" babies, including the Kugu-Nganychara perspective on marriage and married life, male and female sexuality, sexual intercourse, 'conception' and fertility control, pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of children, female life within the birth camp, lactation, post-natal care of the mother and child, and the presentation of the child (and the mother) to specific nurturers.

Chapter Six describes what the mother and father as focal nurturers do and are expected to do in rearing and caring for a child, and the kinds of reciprocal rights and responsibilities arising out of this. The central Kugu-Nganychara concept of "family" and its developmental cycle are examined with respect to the operation of nurture. The chapter also includes a study of the removal of focal nurturing from within the "family" and the creation of the position of the marginal child.

Chapter Seven discusses the involvement and interaction of other individuals within the nurturing process of "growing up" children: these include co-wives, grandparents, siblings of the child, and other matri- and patrilateral kin. It examines the nature of responsibilities assumed, and the kinds of rights and abilities to make claims, which are established
as a result. The "adoption" and "giving" of children, and the conflicts that arise between nurturers are examined in this chapter.

Chapter Eight briefly describes the changes occurring in the contemporary system of Kugu-Nganychara reproduction and presents the major conclusions. These are: that the particular ordering given to human reproduction by the Kugu-Nganychara is largely determined by the necessity to establish and allocate rights in and responsibilities of people with respect to children; that claiming is, as a result of the nurturing interaction initiated in human reproduction, a major organizational principle of Kugu-Nganychara life; and that there exists a strong convergence between social reproduction and those social relations fundamental to reproductive nurturing.

The Kugu-Nganychara. The Kugu-Nganychara belong to the Wik-speaking peoples of western Cape York Peninsula. McConnel (1930:37) refers to the so-called Wik "tribes" and uses linguistic criteria (the people in the region speak a number of dialects or languages which are prefixed with the term wika, meaning "language" or "speech"), to group together a number of disparate groups which have varying composition. The region in which the Wik people traditionally resided has as its northern boundary the Archer River system and as its southern Edward River, there being a distance of approximately 180 kms. between the two rivers (see Map 1). From the coastline the Wik region extends about 100 kms. inland and is divided, on the basis of a number of social, linguistic, geographical and ceremonial criteria (see McConnel 1930;
25.
Sharp 1934, 1937; Sutton 1978; and J. von Sturmer 1978) into "beachside country" and "beachside people", and "inside" or "topside" people and "country". The total area of this Wik region is approximately 15,000 square kilometres.

A number of anthropologists have worked with the Wik peoples commencing with the pioneering work of anthropologists Ursula McConnel and Donald Thomson over 50 years ago. Since then, the Wik-Mungkana, one of the so-called Wik "tribes", have become a celebrated and prominent Aboriginal group in anthropological literature. No attempt is made here to deal either with the Wik peoples as a whole, or to review the plethora of anthropological literature on the Wik-Mungkana. Rather, the concern is to present detailed ethnographic data from an Aboriginal population, generally held to be part of the Wik and whom I refer to as the Kugu-Nganychara. Until the recent research of J. von Sturmer (1978), the Kugu-Nganychara have not been subject to any systematic anthropological field research. A detailed ethnographic account of Kugu-Nganychara economy, territoriality and totemism is to be found in J. von Sturmer (1978). Thomson and McConnel (see bibliography) attempted to include them in their broad sweep of research. Apart from these works, the Kugu-Nganychara have only been dealt with as peripheral subjects in the published research of the following people: Hale (1976); Heppell (1979); Smith and Johnson (1979); Long (1970); Moyle (1966, 1968-69); Oates and Oates (1970); Scheffler (in Thomson 1972); Simmons et al. (1956); Sutton (1978); and Taylor (1977). Mention is also made of the Kugu-Nganychara in the unpublished works of Hall (1972); Johnson (1974); McCarthy (1965) and Taylor (n.d.). The present thesis
provides detailed ethnographic data on human reproduction amongst the Kugu-Nganychara which has not been dealt with in a comprehensive way by previous researchers. This will afford comparative information with the northern Archer River Wik (and especially the Wik-Mungkana), who were in fact the main subjects of both McConnel's and Thomson's published research.

The Kugu-Nganychara area within the Wik region is bounded in the north by the Kendall River and in the south by the Moonkan Creek (see Map 2). The prefix kugu is equivalent to wik(a) in meaning language/speech/talk. In the coastal area between the Kendall River and Moonkan Creek (and further southwards as well), kugu and not wik(a) is the standard prefix for linguistic descriptive labels used by people themselves. Nganychara is the first person plural (exclusive) possessive pronoun and is given the local translation of "all of us together". Use of the term Kugu-Nganychara as a cover term for the people traditionally residing in the region between the Kendall River and the Moonkan Creek, should not, however, be taken as an assignation of overall linguistic unity, nor should it be equated in any sense with the meaning of one unified 'tribal' grouping, or even one ceremonial grouping. The cover term Kugu-Nganychara is used here as a convenient shorthand term and it has in fact, numerous frames of reference. No one, either from within or from outside of the region would use the term to refer to the residential population of the area as a whole. Those kinds of reference labels arise much more directly from specific associations made with particular populations within the area; for example, people residing at the Kendall River may be called
the "Kendall River mob", and likewise there is the "Holroyd River mob" and "Christmas Creek mob"; or labelling associations will be made with ceremonial affiliation, for example "the wanam mob" and the "pucha mob" (see Chapter Two).

The label of Kugu-Nganychara has been taken up in anthropological usage (see J. von Sturmer 1978; and also Scheffler 1972; von Sturmer 1973; Sutton 1978; and Taylor 1977) but has also been invoked on occasions by Aboriginal people from the region themselves, and for quite specific reasons. When used in an Aboriginal context it has been by people from the area to emphasize both a self-perceived social distinctiveness and a sense of social and political isolationism. The term is used by other people, for example at Aurukun, to refer to specific groups within the area, and is often used in a pejorative sense to insinuate that people from the area are still living like the "wild bush blacks" did before the missionaries arrived, and that they are exponents of practices long since given up by their northern neighbours.

Nowadays, the total Wik population numbers approximately 1,000 and of these between 240 and 250 would come from the region between the Kendall River and Moonkan Creek and be included in the population that I refer to as the Kugu-Nganychara (similar estimations are given by J. von Sturmer 1978:178). Along the coast of the Kugu-Nganychara region the following dialects are spoken: Kugu-Muminh, Kugu-Mu'inh, Kugu-Uwanh, Kugu-Mangka, and Kugu-Ugbanh; whilst inland the linguistic picture is much simpler, Wik-Iiyanh being the predominant dialect (see J. von Sturmer 1978: Map 3, for the distribution of these dialects, and Sutton 1978:166-185
for a discussion of the present language situation amongst the Wik. Whilst these dialects have been used by the people from the area as labels of group and personal identification, for example, at the level of, "we all speak Uwanh", it should be noted that they do not immediately correspond with actual residential or ceremonial groups. These groups are invariably composed of individuals speaking a number of dialects. The multi-lingual character of the speech communities and the often rapid and complex switching by individuals between various dialects in conversation is similar to the situation described in detail by Sutton (1978) for the Cape Keerweer people north of the Kendall River (see Map 1), though the dialects are different. Linguistic labels are themselves subject to both group and individual reassessment for social and political reasons (see J. von Sturmer 1973, 1978; Sutton 1978) and should not be taken as handy guides to identifying residential populations.

The site for the mission at Aurukun was selected in 1902 by two missionaries Nicholas Hey from Mapoon and Edwin Brown from Weipa who had come by boat south down the coast. It was commenced in 1904 by the Reverend Arthur Richter, a young Moravian missionary working on behalf of the Australian Presbyterian Church. (In the early decades of the 1900's the Presbyterian Church looked to the Moravian Church in Germany for its missionaries). Richter left Aurukun in 1913 on furlough to Germany and remained there after the outbreak of the First World War. In 1925 the Reverend William McKenzie was made Superintendent of the mission and sent to establish a permanent Presbyterian settlement at the site that is nowadays called Aurukun. From that period the Wik peoples
in general, but particularly the Aboriginal people settled around the Archer River, were encouraged to leave what the missionaries of the day called the "bush camps", and settle together at the mission. In 1925 "The permanent population of the village [at the Aurukun mission] was about 75, while by far the greater number of the people lived their old tribal life out in the bush" (W. McKenzie 1953:1). Nowadays, the Wik population congregates mainly at Aurukun, but also at Edward River where the Queensland State Government's Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs operates an Aboriginal settlement. Other people from the Wik area who were not drawn to either settlement, but did not remain 'in the bush', were drawn to various cattle stations in the Peninsula such as Ebagool, Merapah, Rokeby and Strathgörden (see Map 1), where both men and women gained experience as drovers, station hands and cooks. Some descendants of these people now reside at Coen and Laura, and also at Weipa.

The Kugu-Nganychara people living south of the Kendall River were subject to a slightly different pattern of contact and interaction with Europeans to that of other Wik peoples living closer to the mission settlement. McConnel (1953:2) writing of her field work carried out in 1927 in the Wik region during which she accompanied the local missionary to the Kendall and Holroyd Rivers area, remarked that:

I chose this field for research because nowhere else in Queensland was I likely to find a native culture less disturbed. In 1927 I accompanied the Aurukun (Archer River) Mission's first journey overland into these parts, which had at that time been only partly surveyed. Apart from a few sandal wood-getters, and a visit by the
Mission lugger [the previous year, but which did not reach the Holroyd River], little other white contact had been made. ... Here the natives pursued their customary life oblivious of an outside world. John Burke’s steamer, on its monthly voyage down the Gulf to Normanton, was regarded as a corpse in the course of cremation.

In the following year, the resident missionary travelled again to the Kendall and Holroyd Rivers, this time by lugger. As noted by McConnel above, intermittent contact had also been made with local Aboriginal residents by pearling boats and by the occasional sandalwood-getter. According to Kugu-Nganychara people who remember such contact, sandalwood-getters would pay people in stores of food and tobacco and tomahawks, for collecting supplies of the wood for them.

The latter kinds of contact were sporadic and impermanent. The European missionaries from Aurukun, on the other hand, made persistent though largely unsuccessful efforts to bring Kugu-Nganychara people into the mission settlement. In particular, efforts were made to take children into the dormitory system which the European missionaries had established at Aurukun Mission. A Kugu-Nganychara man in his mid 50's provided a succinct description from his own memories of this period in the 1930's:

...Old Archie [a well-known "native missionary" working for the European missionaries at Aurukun] come from mission to back Holroyd, keep teasing people, stopping people fighting...people still spear one another. Old McKenzie come with boat, took children. He paid for children with sugar, flour, tobacco. People worry and cry for children,
I keep running away. McKenzie saw me small time [as a child], keep coming up with boat, with horse till easy time picking up children, keep pushing people to mission.

During the 1930's attempts were made by the European missionaries to establish a "bush mission" in the Kendall-Holroyd area, which was maintained by a husband and wife team referred to as "native missionaries" (the woman referred to as "Old Archie" in the statement above was the wife in this team), and which probably indicates an acknowledgement of the obvious reluctance of the Aboriginal people from the region to move into the mission. The Reverend McKenzie in a "diary account" (1953 pp.1-18) of another boat trip to the Kendall and Holroyd Rivers in October and November of 1953, noted the names of 37 people living at "koochindapin" (Kuchund-eypanh, see Map 1) on the north bank of the Kendall River. He repeatedly comments on the reluctance of the "Holroyd people" to come into the camp to meet him. He travelled south to the Holroyd River, returning to his "old camping place of 1929", but met no people though he mentions finding "wire" at "Toop-pitcha lagoon" (Thupi-ijijy, see Map 2) which was, in his opinion, left behind by cattlemen hoping to build penning yards for their cattle. He returned to the Kendall River again and "Talked with Archie and Tarchee about all Holroyd people" and sent three men out "to see if Holroyd people coming as smoke seen". No-one eventuated. He gave his missionary representative, Archie, some "medicines, tobacco, bag flour" and left to return to Aurukun the following day. He had stayed in the northern tip of the Kugu-Nganychara area for approximately seven days.
32.

A Presbyterian Church Assembly report of 1957 indicates that little progress had been made with the "nomadic" Kugu-Nganychara, and that the people from the region were still giving no indication of wanting to settle in at the mission:

Your Committee recognizes that plans to gather in the nomadic people of the Kendall River must be speeded up and brought to a successful conclusion in the light of Weipa mining developments .... their own country must be possessed in the near future by their own men as cattle stockmen trained by the mission and to this end a small cattle outstation is envisaged at the Kendall....

In the years following 1957 concerted efforts were made by the European missionaries to bring the remaining people from the Kugu-Nganychara region into the mission at Aurukun (see also Long 1970:144-145). The result of this relatively late and progressive movement of people out of the "bush" into Aurukun, is that most adults over twenty and living either at Edward River or at Aurukun, were born "in the bush" and spent their younger years - their "small time" - with their mother, father and siblings, in various seasonal camps in the Kugu-Nganychara region. In 1971 there were only small groups of Wik peoples living for any long period of time in the "bush camps". Wik people living at Edward River and Aurukun attempted to spend "bush holidays", especially the dry-season, away from the main settlements and preferably on their traditional homelands which they now call "countries".

Since 1971, and prodded no doubt by the early
Presbyterian missionaries' attempts to set up bush missions and cattle outstations throughout the Wik region, there has been a movement of people out of Aurukun and more circumspectly out of Edward River, back to their traditional homelands. These more recent "bush camps" are called "outstations" by local Aboriginal peoples and the term "decentralization" has also entered the local jargon as a cover term for the movement into the bush. In 1978 there were large, permanent outstation settlements at Peret (Watha-Nhiina), Ti-Tree (Wanka-Neynga), a smaller outstation at Dish Yard (Wet.n) and large, relatively stable populations on the north bank of the Kendall River (Kuchund-eypanh), and on the south bank of the Kendall River (Empadha) (see Map 1). During that same year another outstation was established at Pu'an north of the Holroyd River. The two outstations established in the Kugu-Nganychara region - Empadha and Pu'an - were the outcome of a prolonged and continuous effort by people to return to the bush, though Aboriginal groups from Aurukun and Edward River Mission have had temporary "bush camps" in the region for a number of years. Empadha was set up in the early 1970's and in 1978 had approximately 30 to 40 permanent residents. Pu'an had approximately 40 residents during the initial months of its existence when I was also in residence (see D. von Sturmer 1979:60-66,69 for detailed census information for both outstations). The population at these two outstations actively maintains a number of the dialects previously mentioned: principally being Kugu-Uwanh, Kugu-Mu'inh, Kugu-Muminh, Kugu-Mangka, Wik-Mungkana and Wik-Iiyanh. Many of these dialects are grammatically similar (see Sutton 1976,
1978; Sutton and Rigsby in press; Hale 1976; J. von Sturmer 1978; and Oates and Oates 1970 for more detailed information on the linguistic status and distribution of these dialects), but some differ significantly in lexical items so as to be mutually incomprehensible. Most adults speak two, three or more languages and can "hear" (understand) others from the region. Most children and teenagers living at the two outstations speak Wik-Mungkana, the "community language" which is being taught at the Aurukun school as part of a bi-lingual programme. So far, no formal work has been published on Kugu-Nganychara dialects, though work is being carried out (see Johnson 1974; Smith and Johnson 1979; and Sayers 1969?).

Certain parts of the Kugu-Nganychara region have been subject then to relatively constant human domestication, exploitation and residence, so that adults now living at outstations in the region are in occupation of a remembered physical and spiritual environment. People easily recall their youth spent in the bush, birth sites belonging to particular individuals are known and able to be located, as are the exact locations where people have died. The specific owners of "shade" trees, water wells, and "roads" or walking tracks are remembered, many of them still being alive, and their children are pointed out as being in a position to "follow on" from their parents and grandparents in this ownership.

Fieldwork methodology and constraints. In terms of data collection contact was made with every individual at Empadha and Pu'an for information pertaining to language,
ceremonial, territorial and totemic (kam waya) affiliation (this information appears in summarized form in Appendices B and C). Personal histories were also taken, which recorded marriage and "promise" arrangements of both men and women, location of birthplace; kudin or "navel name" relationship, and general genealogical information. Individual histories were gradually built up concerning female reproductive careers and experience as midwives. A great deal of my time was spent with women, both singly and in groups, discussing topics related to human reproduction, marital relationships, and male and female sexuality. As well, specific adult men were willing to discuss their own marital careers and provided a male perspective on specific issues involved in human reproduction. Younger women, preoccupied with their own future marital careers and sexual relationships with men, provided information on 'love magic' and 'sweetheart business', as did some men. Informal 'interviews' were held which were aimed at provoking and raising specific issues, though generally discussions about reproduction, sexuality, marriage, male and female relationships and responsibility for children, arose spontaneously and quite frequently, in line with a straightforward and explicit interest by both sexes in each other, in "finding babies" and in children in general.

Particular attention was given to systematically observing and recording the organization of daily domestic activities at the outstations, and specific data were collected for three "families" with whom I lived at separate periods during field work. These data included the kinds
and frequency of interactions between particular categories of individuals: between mothers and their children, fathers and their children, between grandparents and grandchildren, between children and their parents' siblings, and between siblings. Recorded observations were also made on the organization of economic activities within "families", the relative assumption of tasks by various individuals noted above, and the physical use of space within each "family camp" over time. These records were supplemented by a daily census of movements in and out of both outstation camps, numbers sleeping over night and sleeping arrangements within each "family camp". Mapping was carried out at Empadha outstation using a 360 degrees compass rose system, as developed by Chase and J. von Sturmer (1974:1-16) (see Map 3 of the Empadha camp), and by freehand approximating distance and scale for Pu'an (see Map 4 of Pu'an). The maps indicate the location of physical structures, "shade" areas and trees, "family" day and night camping areas, the main social areas such as the "gambling school", the women's 'factory' area for the production of string bags and nets and the men's 'factory' area for the production of spears, woomeras etc., the location of water wells and gardens, the main butchering area and "kap mari place", i.e., the site for "earth oven" cooking, the location of the "widow's camp" and the "single men's camp", and washing and shower areas, etc. These maps were frequently updated to give an indication of changes that occurred in "family" sleeping, cooking arrangements and social areas, and to indicate the flexibility in use of space over a period of time.
Records were kept of the major economic activities and travel by various individuals at the outstations, and of the kinds of economic activities initiated and carried out by specific "families". Photographs were taken of the physical layout of the outstations and of individual and group activities. A small amount of 8mm. film was also taken to test its possible future use in recording various kinds of personal interactions in small groups, and economic activities. Detailed records were kept of the incidence and kinds of conflicts occurring within the outstation camps: including the ostensible initial causes of these conflicts; the people who became involved and in what capacities; the public opinions and private comments offered by people during and after the conflict about the causes and consequences; the means of immediate resolution; and the apparent long-term consequences. Within the "family" groups, specific attention was paid to recording the kinds of conflicts arising between specific kin categories and the means of resolution.

The major languages of elicitation were English and Aboriginal English. Though by the end of my field work I could "hear" much of the 'relaxed' conversations carried out in Kugu-Uwanh and Wik-Mungkana in the context of daily social activities, I was by no means fluent in the language and was not able to follow the rapid and complex switching between dialects/languages carried out between individuals in conversations on topics outside the realm of "camp talk". In fact, there existed among some residents, a level of mutual unintelligibility between certain dialect/languages, most apparent between young adults and children speaking Wik-Mungkana, and multilingual adults who frequently operated in
a number of dialects in their everyday speech. By and large, when conflicts and public speeches and 'harangues' occurred, they were carried out in Aboriginal English (see Chapters Six and Seven; also Sutton 1978:186-190), although children would more frequently "swear" their parents, siblings and other adults in language (usually Wik-Mungkana), using a series of particular, repeated words (see also McKnight 1975: 81-84; Thomson 1935).

It should be emphasized at this point that during my six month period of field work no opportunity was afforded to observe an actual childbirth in the bush, though they still occur. At Aurukun I was able to follow the progress (for only a relatively short period of time) of certain pregnant women who subsequently had their children at Aurukun. In the latter cases I was still unable to be present at the births, as the two which occurred during my stay at the settlement happened without initial assistance from the European nursing staff and without any prior notice (as often appears to be the case). In any event, it would have been unlikely that I would have been able to be present, given the relatively short period of time that I had been at Aurukun at that stage, and also given the fact that both women were said to have delivered their babies "secret way", so that they did not have to make the journey, which was currently required of all pregnant women, from Aurukun to the Base Hospital in Cairns on the lower east coast of the Peninsula. It is for this reason that some women are said to want to "stay out bush" and have their children at the outstations in preference to travelling away to Cairns for a number of months. I was
able to observe at the outstations, the kinds of situations and arrangements that resulted when Aboriginal women who were pregnant were required to leave their husbands and children for this reason. A description of the major features of recent European-Aboriginal interaction with respect to the ordering and management of reproduction which currently exists at Aurukun and the outstations in the Kugu-Nganychara region, will be given in the course of the thesis, and specific changes arising out of this interaction will also be assessed in the conclusion.

Orthography, Abbreviations and the use of Aboriginal texts. As indicated, there are a number of dialects in current usage amongst the Kugu-Nganychara and there are probably three or more distinct languages within the Wik area itself (see Hale 1976; Sutton 1978). Given the present state of linguistic work among the Kugu-Nganychara, a practical orthography has been used throughout the thesis, in line with that employed by J. von Sturmer (1978) and Sutton (1978). A description of the orthography used is presented in Appendix E. The reader is referred to Sutton (1978:234-242) and to Hale (in Sutton 1976, 1964), for detailed linguistic analysis, and the sound systems of particular Wik dialects (as part of the so-called Paman languages).

In general, all Aboriginal language terms presented within the text of the thesis, will be given in Kugu-Uwanh (abbreviated as Uw). If other indigenous terms are used, they will be indicated by the abbreviations also listed, in Appendix E, and similar to those previously used by both
J. von Sturmer (1978:32) and Sutton (1978:166). The English glosses of Kugu-Uwanh terms are given immediately following within parentheses. When English translations and glosses of indigenous terms are given by Kugu-Nganychara people, they will be acknowledged by quotation marks (again in parentheses following the language term used). In the thesis, a number of Aboriginal texts, the majority unelicited, have been included either as indented block quotations or as short statements in quotation marks. As already noted, the majority of these texts were given in Aboriginal English and recorded either freehand or recorded on cassette tape. The decision has been made for the Aboriginal sources of statements presented in this thesis to be acknowledged, but in a manner which ensures confidentiality. For this reason I have acknowledged longer statements by abbreviating individuals' actual names (as in use during the period of fieldwork) and these appear after statements as italicized initials within square brackets, e.g., [PA]. A list of these is lodged at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies' library. When Aboriginal statements are not acknowledged by such an initialled source, they are presented, still within quotation marks, as examples of frequently voiced opinions, and phrases in common expression. I decided to include often substantial statements and verbal interactions between Aboriginal people living at the outstations, in order to record specific Aboriginal perspectives and 'theories' concerning human reproduction, and in order to highlight the kinds of interactions and expectations which characterize reproductive nurturing.
All kinship terms will be given in Kugu-Uwanh. When Aboriginal English equivalents are used in the text, it is as they are applied and used by Kugu-Nganychara people themselves, and do not necessarily correspond to the standard usages of European Australian kin terminology. A preliminary list of Kugu-Uwanh kinship terms and their denotata, together with the Aboriginal English kinship terms used today, is included as Appendix A. This checklist is by no means comprehensive or complete and represents only the basic range of terms as they have arisen within the thesis. It should be noted that in fact kin terms do differ between dialects within the Kugu-Nganychara region (though not in every case, and the range of denotata is invariably the same in all the dialects south of the Kendall River). The kinship abbreviations used within the text will be those standardly used (with the exception of Z = Sister), and male and female ego will be indicated as m. and w. respectively. Kinship notation, where it occurs, will generally appear in round brackets in order to distinguish it from the personal name abbreviations mentioned previously, which are italicized and within square brackets.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER ONE

1. Throughout this thesis the English names given for rivers are those used by Aboriginal residents of the Kugu-Nganychara region. It should be noted that these English names and their use on maps in this thesis, are not always equivalent to the English names recorded for the same rivers on other maps (e.g., see Map SD54-11 Edition 1, Series R502). Set out below is a list of river names:

   (i) as they appear in English on maps;
   (ii) as used by Kugu-Nganychara people and as used on maps in this thesis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map names (SD54-11)</th>
<th>Aboriginal English (this thesis)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kendall River</td>
<td>Kendall River - main arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holroyd River</td>
<td>Kendall River - south arm, small Kendall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King River</td>
<td>King River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hersey Creek, also</td>
<td>Hersey Creek, also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake Creek</td>
<td>Snake Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Creek</td>
<td>Holroyd River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balauragh Creek</td>
<td>Christmas Creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moonkan Creek</td>
<td>Mungkan Creek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These rivers also each have a number of Aboriginal language names. The geographical orientation for describing direction and travel is taken from the perspective of Aurukun and thus southwards to the Kugu-Nganychara region, rather than from Edward River (see Map 1) and therefore northwards to the region. Although the latter Aboriginal settlement is closer to the area under discussion, I was not able to visit it.

2. Throughout the thesis, double quotation marks will be used to indicate Aboriginal English glosses of indigenous terms which have been given by Kugu-Nganychara people themselves. Generally these glosses, with quotation marks, appear in parentheses following the language term itself. Longer Aboriginal English texts are included without such quotation marks, as indented block quotes.

3. In the Wik region, certain men are singled out and occupy a level of eminence and prestige beyond that of their peers, and become the pivots of social actions beyond that of the family or the lineage. They are referred to as "bosses". Generally, each outstation population will have such a "boss". In the context of ceremonial life in particular, these men are known as the "field bosses" (see also J. von Sturmer 1978:419-453). The position of these "bosses" within outstation situations will be briefly discussed in Chapter Three.
4. See Appendix A which provides a preliminary list of Kugu-Uwanh kinship terms, together with primary denotata and Aboriginal English glosses. The list is far from exhaustive and is meant only as a guide to terms used in the thesis.

5. Daily census information on both outstations, for the entire period of fieldwork, is contained in D. von Sturmer 1979.

6. I do not intend to examine in detail the various approaches taken by researchers to the aspects of reproduction which are distinguished by Edholm et al. (1978). Instead, the reader is referred to the following publications as indicating various perspectives: Brown 1970; Friedman 1976; Goody 1976; Hindess and Hirst 1977; O'Laughlin 1977; Taylor 1975; and White 1976.

7. The term Wik will be used in this thesis not to denote any socially cohesive or population grouping in an Aboriginal context or usage, but is used in a strictly anthropological sense as first proposed by McConnel; though I by no means agree with the label of "tribes" being associated with the term, nor that so labelling the region adequately reflects the social territorial, linguistic and economic variations that are also apparent.

8. The term Kugu-Nganychara has been used previously by J. von Sturmer (1973, 1978) and Sutton (1978) for the Aboriginal populations living to the south of the Kendall River (see also Scheffler in Thomson 1972:37-52). J. von Sturmer (1978:168-179) discusses the disadvantages of using such a label, which are largely those discussed in the preceding note on the use of the term Wik.
Chapter Two

HUMAN REPRODUCTION IN ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIA

This chapter begins with a review of the research on Aboriginal reproduction, with a view to establishing both the range of information available and the theoretical and methodological concerns of previous work. Attention is then turned to an assessment of the research on the Wik-speaking peoples. The ethnography is reviewed to determine the kinds of topics covered and to highlight those areas where detailed evidence is lacking. The review also aims to extract what information there is on the nurturing of children involved in the social relations of reproduction and its relationship to the transmission of rights and future social positions.

The literature available on reproduction in Australian Aboriginal societies presents a diverse array of sources which vary considerably in both quality and detail. By and large the comments made by D. Raphael (1972:254) concerning the inadequacies apparent in world-wide research on human reproduction, can be applied to the overall state of anthropological knowledge on Australian Aboriginal reproduction:

....hardly more than 25 cultures of the hundreds catalogued in the Human Relations Area Files as of 1966 have anywhere near adequate or useful information on pregnancy, birth or postpartum behaviours. We have less than two dozen first hand reports of childbirth, to say nothing about breastfeeding, supplementary feeding, etc. Missionaries and male anthropologists concerned with other data, have collected information that is too brief and too elemental to be useful. They appear to have asked informants (most males) when, how long, and why this or that practice happened, and to have recorded whatever answers were given regardless of whether they even made sense.
With respect to the kinds of social relations and nurturing established within the realm of human reproduction, or the significance of these, there is even less data available.

T.S. Weisner and R.G. Gallimore (1977:169) in a more recent review of research on child rearing and caretaking, note the paucity of data on the topic and also point out a particular bias apparent in much of the literature:

The Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research, published in 1969 and 1,182 pages long, includes virtually no reference to caretaking of children by anyone other than parents. What cross-cultural evidence we can find indicates that nonparental caretaking is either the norm or a significant form of caretaking in most societies.

...Whatever the causes, there has been a nearly exclusive focus on maternal (and to a limited extent paternal) caretaking, to the exclusion of nonparental caretakers - eg., adult kin of the parents (such as grandparents or aunts), nonkin adults, and a variety of children, particularly siblings.

This criticism applies equally to research on the caring and rearing of children in Aboriginal societies where the focus has largely been on the involvement of the mother and father. The participation of individuals other than parents in child rearing has been discussed mainly in terms of their assumption of, or approximation to, parental roles.

By and large, the concerns of anthropologists have not centred on the ordering or social relations of human reproduction among Australian Aborigines, although some specific issues such as knowledge of physiological paternity have been subject to continuing research and debate. As both Cowlishaw (1978:263, 1979) and R.M. Berndt (1951:17, 1976:3-15) indicate, the subject of sex and procreation, female and male biological development, and genital
operations, have provided alluring subjects for untrained and lay observers. Undoubtedly, European moral and emotional reaction to dealing with human reproductive matters have conditioned the quality of much early anthropological research into the subject.

It was certainly the case that the topics of Aboriginal sex and procreation were regarded as "unsavoury" by early researchers. Note, for instance, both the public and official reaction to W. Roth's (1897:169-184) then relatively outspoken and frank account of Aboriginal male and female initiation and sexual life, which he published in a chapter entitled Ethno-Pornography, with the warning that it was "not suitable for perusal by the general lay reader". Herbert Basedow's (1927:123-156) account of Subincision and Kindred Rites of the Australian Aboriginal includes references by a number of early writers to genital operations and sexual intercourse in Latin. In fact, for a long time it was a standard academic etiquette to record all descriptions of sexual life in Latin, in order to avoid 'offence'. R.M. Berndt (1976:3) discusses the persistence of this academic gentility in the Introduction to Love Songs of Arnhem Land, noting that as late as the 1950's he was called to account by an academic reviewer (Adam 1952:82) of his volume Kunapipi (1951), "... for not using Latin to describe 'certain details' which, quite apart from their unsavoury character, are hardly necessary for the understanding of the Kunapipi cult". Berndt (1976:xii) also comments that though the original version of Love Songs was in fact assembled in the 1950's, he had decided to withdraw
it from publication for a number of reasons, including the fact that he was "... not sure that its frankness and its erotic content would be appreciated by non-Aboriginal readers".

Aboriginal Reproduction: An Ethnographic Review

More recently, and prodded no doubt by the supposed liberalization of European attitudes towards sexual matters; by the increasing number of female anthropologists focusing attention on various aspects of Aboriginal women's lives; and by specific male anthropologists paying more attention to the subject of human reproduction, less constrained and less ethnocentric investigations of aspects of reproduction have been made. Particular research has raised and re-examined a number of central issues: C.H. Berndt (1950, 1965), R.M. Berndt (1951, 1952, 1965, 1970, 1971, 1976) and R.M. and C.H. Berndt (1951, 1970) have dealt with aspects of Aboriginal male and female sexuality, love songs, procreation, and socialization; A. Hamilton's (1970) unpublished study of nurture and child-rearing amongst the Anbara of Arnhem Land includes information on "Begetting and Bearing" and early childhood; and most recently G. Cowlishaw's (1979) unpublished study of Aboriginal women's socialization, sexuality and reproductive careers has presented detailed information on these subjects; whilst R. Mobbs (1979) has investigated Fertility Controls in different Aboriginal populations. The most detailed first-hand accounts of childbirth are to be found in Basedow (1925:63), de Vidas (1947:394-395), Goodale (1971:147),
Hamilton (1970:22-32), and Kaberry (1939:240-245). Nevertheless, the legacy of earlier research remains, often creating more distortion and confusion of issues than clarification and presentation of sound ethnography.

Much research on Aboriginal society in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was influenced by evolutionary ideas. The fashionable anthropological view established by social evolutionists was that Australia represented a museum, in which "It has been possible to study ... human beings that still remain on the cultural level of the Stone Age" (Spencer and Gillen 1927, Vol.1:vii). Another early ethnographer, Mathew (1910:83), summed up a fundamental bias:

... to me the Aborigines seem to harmonize admirably with their surroundings. They were fitted to their country like the kangaroo and the emu, the platypus and the barramundi. Man [(European man] generally stands outside and above Nature, but they were decidedly part of it.

The Australian Aborigines were seen as not only living in harmony with 'nature', but also as being examples of 'natural man'. The Aborigine as 'natural' man and woman, was therefore regarded as being subject to 'nature's' oppressive, mysterious and brutalizing forces; to 'natural instinct'; to the automatic demands of procreative seasonality; and to 'animalish' and 'unspeakable' sexual behaviours. Aboriginal woman emerged from both anthropological and popular accounts as a mixture of lascivious whore, degraded slave, the natural mother and the innocent bride (see also Bell 1978, Fee 1973, Rohrlich-Leavitt et al. 1975).

When attention turned to the biological aspects of sex and procreation, similar biases were operating. Many of the scientific 'facts' proposed on these issues have
had continuing influence both on subsequent anthropological research and on popular opinion and attitudes (see Mulvaney 1960, Reynolds 1974, and Chase 1970). For example, an early and lasting theory was that proposed by Count Strzelecki (1846:346-347), a traveller and explorer who stated the 'fact' that after sexual union between an Aboriginal woman and a European man, "... the native female is found to lose the power of conception on the renewal of intercourse with the male of her own race, retaining that of procreating only with the white men". More direct in brutalizing the Aborigine and in promoting the view of Aboriginal reproduction as determined by the forces of 'nature', was the 'fact' proclaimed by another early writer (Oldfield 1865:230), that "... like the beasts of the field the savage Aborigine has but one time for copulation in the year, a season marked out by nature and the comparative ease with which it is to be procured as well as by the general warmth of that season". The same idea, by then quite fashionable, was put forward in 1900 in the Science of Man - and supported by Australian evidence - where Denniker (in Carroll 1900:65) is quoted as stating that:

The fact that among certain savage tribes copulation seems to take place at certain times of the year, for example, among the Australians at the time of the yam harvest, corroborates the belief that the physiological custom of procreating at certain times does not entirely disappear; it remains as a survival of the animal stage.

Like the animal species, the Australian Aboriginal woman gave birth 'naturally' automatically and with ease: "The native women suffer much less pain during the period of labour than Europeans", wrote Governor George Grey of South
Australia in 1841 (p.25); "Delivery is usually easy and quick" commented Roheim (1933:252); there is "no ceremony of any kind at birth" and "A few hours after the child is born the mother walks about apparently as strong as ever" (Stretton 1892-93:230-231); "The event is almost invariably spontaneous" noted Basedow (1925:63); "The women have little difficulty in childbirth" (Palmer 1884:276); whilst the entry in the Australian Encyclopaedia (1927, Vol.1:30) noted that "The Aboriginal child, like all children of uncivilized races, comes into the world very easily. The mother may be at her duties a few minutes after its birth, which is hardly an incident in the routine of the camp". These opinions were entirely in agreement with the suggestion that the powers of physical recuperation were much higher in Aborigines than Europeans and was a function of the observed fact that lesser evolved animals also possessed greater regenerative properties (Harley 1888:110). Little cognizance was given to the possibility of the particular social environment and belief systems affecting both Aboriginal physical and behavioural responses during childbirth. Attitudes fundamental to European society were invariably the baseline by which Aboriginal society and the latter's management of reproduction were compared.

The medical literature contains references to Aboriginal pregnancy and childbirth, but mostly they are vague and cursory. Much of the early writing on Aborigines by medical men was concerned with physical anthropology and particularly with racial characteristics (see Cowlishaw 1979; Harrison 1979; Moodie 1973). Basedow (1932), Cleland
(1928, 1962) and de Vidas (1947) were medical practitioners who broached the subject of Aboriginal reproduction in more detail. Since their writing however, the situation with respect to published medical research and analysis on this topic has not advanced far. Today the majority of Aboriginal women give birth to their babies in hospital delivery rooms under the supervision of European doctors and nurses. Moodie (1973:232) notes that:

From routine records kept in relation to these events, there is a wealth of data covering not only the problems of pregnancy and childbirth but also the general health of Aboriginal women in the child-bearing group. With one exception, there has been no attempt to collate and publish any of this material.

The exception that Moodie mentions is Morrison's (1968) analysis of 100 consecutive deliveries of Aboriginal mothers from urban surroundings in Perth, Western Australia. Morrison (p.98) concludes that the "detribalized aborigine constitutes a high risk patient in relation to reproduction". Moodie (1973:232) argues that in fact "The publication of sundry unusual cases has merely indicated again that Aborigines are subject to the same sort of unusual obstetric complications as any fertile woman ...". Unfortunately, the 'unusual' and 'exotic' aspects rather than the more standard reproductive situations have received more attention in the medical literature.

By and large, when first-hand descriptions or second-hand accounts have been given of various aspects of reproduction, the focus has been on specific practises and obstetrical events rather than on the social and economic environment pertinent to the individuals involved in those
events. Of those early ethnographies which deal with reproduction, there is a standard range of information presented. The question of spirit conception and knowledge of physiological paternity is a dominating issue in most. Invariably, mention is also made of the following range of topics: (i) that there are food restrictions on the mother-to-be, and occasional reference is made to restrictions on her behaviour; (ii) that pregnant women are 'secluded' from the remaining group of people for the actual birth; (iii) that they invariably have female attendants for the birth; and (iv) that the father and other men are not allowed near the birth site. The birth itself is usually glossed over with little discussion of the delivery itself. Instead, information is presented on (v) how the afterbirth and umbilical cord are treated; (vi) how the baby is handled immediately after the birth; and then (vii) a brief mention is made of twinning and infanticide. Very little detailed information is ever given on the kind of social environment surrounding a pregnant woman, or on the interaction between the infant and other adults following birth. There are, of course, exceptions to these kinds of minimal reporting, which will become apparent in the following review. With respect to the subject of child-care and rearing following birth, there is again a lack of detailed, comprehensive information. The exception is Hamilton's unpublished study (1970) on traditional Anbara child-rearing practices, in which the author herself notes that "The topic has received little attention from previous field-workers, anthropological or otherwise [and] there is no published study available about Aboriginal methods of child-rearing and education (1970:8)."
53.

Conception. Perhaps the main issue taken up in research into Aboriginal reproduction is the argument that Australian Aborigines lack any awareness of physiological paternity. The debate has hinged on whether or not sexual intercourse was recognized as a causal factor in bringing about pregnancy. Spencer and Gillen (1904:330; 1938) held that Aborigines had no such awareness and were subsequently quoted as the authoritative sources in a number of anthropological publications (see inter alia, Ashley-Montagu 1937, revised in 1974; Spencer 1949-50; Ford 1972). Ashley-Montagu (1937, 1941, 1942) upheld the view by reviewing a large amount of empirical data; though as Berndt (1976:9) rightly remarks, "... some of it was unreliable and some had been bent to fit his theme". Leach (1969:85) has reviewed the debate and concluded that they were not so ignorant. Certainly, there is corroborating evidence to support his conclusions, available in Basedow (1927:150), C.H. Berndt (1945:77-83; 1964:121-123), R.M. Berndt (1951; 1974:4; 1976:9), R.M. and C.H. Berndt (1943:243-251; 1944:227,233-40), Goodale (1971:136-143); Kaberry (1935-36:399), Meggitt (1962:272), McConnel (1957:135-143), Roheim (1933, 1954), Thomson (1936) and Warner (1937).

Indeed, all the evidence suggests that Aborigines possess reasonably good knowledge of the physiological implications of intercourse and good notions of physiological paternity.

A number of writers (Berndt 1976:9; Meggitt 1962:272; Roheim 1954:233-234; Tonkinson 1970, 1977; and Warner 1937:24) indicate that the answers one receives from different Aboriginal people about conception depend on who is asked
and in what circumstances. This suggests that knowledge of various dimensions of human reproduction is in fact differentially distributed amongst people according to such factors as age, sex, marital status etc. Berndt (1976:9) and Basedow (1927:150) both argue that there is a necessary duality to Aboriginal explanations of human creation involving both the spiritual and the material, and that the complimentary nature of these should be recognized. The tendency to view Aboriginal human reproduction as compartmentalized stages or elements appears to be more the imposed framework of outside researchers. In spite of Berndt's and Basedow's comments, there has been little subsequent attention given to explicating the manner in which the spiritual and the material elements interact in conception and thereafter, or to explicating the circumstances in which they are designated as being relevant. It is evident that apart from examining the issue of 'spirit conception', anthropologists have paid insufficient attention to the particularities of an Aboriginal view of what constitutes the conception of a 'new' life.

Pregnancy. As noted, the actual period of pregnancy is given little detailed consideration in the published literature. Some ethnographic attention has been given to the recognition of pregnancy (see also reviews given by Ackerman 1977; Cowlishaw 1979, and Mobbs 1979). De Vidas (1947:395) notes that for Aranda women, personal realization "that the foetus is alive" does not occur "until movements of quickening appear". 'Quickening' is a lay term for initial foetal movements occurring in post first trimester of
pregnancy. Kaberry (1935:416) reports that amongst women in the East Kimberleys, nausea is said to indicate pregnancy. Mountford and Harvey (1941:158) mention similar beliefs in 'sickness' and foetal movement as signs of pregnancy. Roheim (1933:234) reports that "It is generally known that the cessation of menstruation indicates pregnancy", placing the recognition of pregnancy well before the third or fourth month quickening. He (p.234) also mentions that "vomiting was the next sign". Strehlow (1947:87-91) includes "pain", quickening and morning sickness as indicators recognized by different sections of the Aranda female population, and also notes (p.89) that after such personal recognition, the woman would tell her husband.

Whilst the available evidence indicates that varying events were used by Aboriginal women as means of identifying pregnancy, the data is generally cursory. This is perhaps inevitably so, as recognition of such indications generally seems to be a highly subjective and personalized reaction, varying between individual women (see Wenderlein 1975; Mobbs 1979). It is also suggested here that the issue itself might represent a rather ethnocentric perspective on the part of researchers, for determining the actual commencement and duration of a pregnancy might not, in fact, be a significant issue at all with Aboriginal women (in comparison, for example, with the preoccupation with these things amongst European women).

**Restrictions during pregnancy.** A number of writers have commented on the existence of various restrictions on the consumption of food by the pregnant woman: Stretton (1892:231) comments that the pregnant woman eats "very
little meat" and mostly "roots, berries, fruits". Roheim (1933:251), Spencer and Gillen (1899, Dover edition 1968: 470-471) and Hamilton (1970:28), also note a restriction on the woman eating meat. Roth (1910, Bulletin 17:76-77) reports restrictions on the mother's eating "stingaree, wild-fowl eggs ... certain sharks, certain snakes, emu flesh, ... and turtles", commenting that to break these "tabus" would cause deformities in the child. He also states that with the first pregnancy completed a woman is released from various food restrictions which have been in operation since she was a child, and that a similar point for men is marked by initiation. Evidence from some researchers (see Pearn and Sweet 1977:149; Roheim 1933; Spencer and Gillen 1899:470; Meggitt 1962:275 and Kaberry 1934-35:415) suggests that food restrictions more often applied to the mature or large animals of particular species, leaving small or immature animals available for consumption. Most writers (see Hamilton 1970:28; Goodale 1971:144; Kaberry 1939:241; Roheim 1933:251) indicate that these restrictions are aimed at protecting the child in utero and ensuring that there are no complications during the birth, and therefore, are also aimed at the mother's safety.

Husbands are not subject to such restrictions according to Meggitt (1962:275) and Hamilton (1970:28), though Spencer and Gillen (1899:470) note that restrictions are placed on the husbands of pregnant women not to "kill any large game" and that persistence in doing so would mean "sickness" and "sufferings" for the mother. Warner (1964:57) reports food restrictions on the husband amongst the "Murngin" and notes
that they are not lifted until after the child is born. By
and large though, there is little detail on the way in which
such restrictions operate and only cursory attention is
given to the effects of ignoring them. Similarly, little
data is available on food which is proscribed for the mother
as opposed to being prescribed.

A general reading of Kaberry, Hamilton, Goodale and
Roheim indicates that a pregnant woman maintains her daily
activities for as long as possible: "She goes about her
work, prepares food for her husband ... and has her usual
social contacts (Kaberry 1939:241); "Women go about their
normal activities until very shortly before birth" (Hamilton
behavioural restriction placed on a pregnant woman among
the Tiwi, whereby she is not allowed to go near water
"because she might offend the maritji (rainbow spirits)";
and mentions the belief that "Placing food on a fire (cooking)
or spitting into the flames will cause a child to twist in
the womb and give pain". By and large, when such pregnancy
beliefs are cited, they are often singled out without
reference to a social or cultural context. Hamilton (1970:28)
usefully notes that from the second pregnancy onwards attempts
can be made to determine the sex of the unborn child by the
effect noted on the health of the foetus's nearest sibling:
"If the foetus is of the same sex ... the [nearest sibling]
will thrive, and grow especially plump and healthy. If the
foetus is of the opposite sex the sibling will fade away,
growing thin and becoming susceptible to illness and dying". She also notes though, that the Anbara women were generally
not interested in these questions.
Childbirth. With regard to childbirth itself, there is general agreement that the pregnant woman went into "seclusion" and was invariably attended by female 'midwives' or "attendants" during this period (see Bonney 1884:125; de Vidas 1947:395; Goodale 1971:146; Kaberry 1939:242; Mountford 1941:157-159; Palmer 1884:280; Roheim 1933:252; Roth 1910, Bulletin 17:74-75; Stretton 1892:230; Tindale 1972:258). Men were not allowed near the woman and her attendants at this time (see Berndt 1964:125; Goodale 1971:146; Kaberry 1939:245; and Mountford 1941:157-159). Spencer and Gillen (1899:466-467) however, mention the involvement of the husband, who in cases where his wife's labour is prolonged, will walk past the birth camp in an attempt to induce "the unborn child to follow him". Roth (1908, Bulletin 10:75) notes that in north-central Queensland, a husband could be present at his wife's childbirth if he wished, as could a "very old man"; though this is the only example noted which referred to men being present at a birth. By all other accounts the birth is described as being managed exclusively by women. Apart from the mother herself, the identity and involvement of these women is usually not detailed.

One of the most succinct accounts of a birth, which includes many of the elements standardly commented upon by other writers, is given by Kaberry (1939:242):

As the moment of birth approached the pregnant woman left the camp with her mother and an old female relative, one of whom would act as midwife. During labour, songs were sung to facilitate delivery and prevent haemorrhage, the umbilical cord was cut and the placenta was buried secretly. The baby was
then dusted with charcoal and string was tied around its wrists to strengthen them. It and the mother were rubbed with conkaberry bushes which had been smoked over a fire and which were applied to ease the pain, prevent bad after-effects and ensure a flow of milk. Mother and child were secluded from the men for about five days during which time she was fed and cared for by her mother and other female relatives. When the cord dropped off it was wrapped in rag or string and worn around the neck. At the conclusion of this period the mother took the child to its father.

By and large the actual delivery is given only cursory treatment by the majority of writers. Roth's (1910, Bulletin 17: 75) is the most detailed, early review of delivery positions, for Aboriginal women of the "North-West District" of northern Queensland. He reports that squatting on heels; kneeling with knees on the ground and hands on the ground in front; sitting with knees on the ground and legs apart and with hands and arms supported by another individual in front, were the most recurrent positions in these areas. De Vidas (1947: 395) reports that the Aranda woman "squats on her heels, holding her knees apart" and "is supported on the lap of another woman kneeling on the ground behind her".

Perhaps the most detailed description of actual obstetric management of birth is given in a short article by de Vidas (1947:394-395), a medical practitioner who attended a number of deliveries of Aranda women during the mid-1940's. Both he and Roth (1910, Bulletin 17:75) remark that the genital passages of the parturient woman are never touched by the midwives and that there is "no interference" (de Vidas:395) with the mechanism of birth. De Vidas (p.395) concluded from his personal experiences that "The Aborigines' knowledge of obstetrics is limited to normal labour" and that both maternal and foetal mortality rates in "abnormal
labour would appear to be high".

However, as Kaberry has previously indicated, there do appear to be active attempts made by female midwives to direct the course and outcome of the birth. Some writers (Basedow 1925:63; de Vidas 1947:395; Goodale 1971:147; and Roheim 1933:252) mention the use made of massage - usually pressing and rubbing downwards on the parturient woman's stomach - by midwives during the labour. Goodale (p.146) notes the use of "hot leaves" for "cramps and pains" (see also Roheim 1933:258). Roheim mentions the use of women's "songs" to ease "pain" during delivery, as did Kaberry in the description quoted previously. It would appear that restrictions on personal behaviour are necessary by the pregnant woman (and perhaps her husband) to safeguard the development of the foetus; and that other individuals are also actively concerned and involved in protecting the welfare of both the mother and the child during the delivery. Kaberry (1939:244) makes the pertinent conclusion that such concern and involvement provide evidence to "believe the general impression that childbirth among the Aborigines invariably occurs without complications and without much pain".

Minimal attention is given to events immediately following the delivery of the child. The umbilical cord is cut with "mussel-shell" or "razor blade", "yam stick" or "blunt stone", and the afterbirth either "buried immediately" or "burnt". It would appear that attention and treatment of various kinds is then given to the cord itself: it may be hung around the baby's neck; tied with "string" or "bark" as a "pendant" for the baby; or kept to be
presented to another person; i.e., it is not simply discarded. Kaberry (1934-35:418) remarks on the particular connection which is made between the child itself and the umbilical cord: "The bones, placenta and cord are all regarded as part of the personality therefore anything that injures them has similar effects on the well-being of the individual". A small number of other writers (Grey 1841: 250; Roheim 1933:252; Roth 1910, Bulletin 17:75, 1903: Bulletin 5; and Stretton 1892:230) also comment on this connection. Immediate to a successful delivery, the infant is variously said to be covered with ashes, charcoal or wrapped in bark or animal skins. Most accounts of birth end with such comments.

On the basis of the little evidence available (see Kaberry 1934-35:417, 1939:241; Hamilton 1970:31; Roheim 1933:251-252; and Warner 1964:67) there appear to be restrictions upon sexual intercourse between the husband and the pregnant woman during the pregnancy and immediately afterwards (though Kaberry 1939:241 comments that "... the women were not always scrupulous in this matter"). Warner (p.67), however, notes that if the husband and wife were to break this restriction "... the child might be born dead or die early in infancy, the mother's milk being soured by her husband's semen". He (p.67) also comments that if the child were to die the "parents are blamed". No other evidence of such specifically assigned parental responsibility for the death of a baby has been noted. Radcliffe-Brown (1938:16) reported that should the woman die in childbirth the live neo-note is buried with the mother suggesting that
the child is held partly responsible for its mother's death. Little quantitative or detailed information is available on the incidence of traditional maternal or foetal morbidity, on the incidence of premature or still-births, miscarriages, or the occurrence and management of complications during delivery. Whatever the causes of such morbidity in birth, it would appear that certain categories of kin, particularly the mother and father-to-be, are seen to have an influential and intimate connection with the developing foetus and that this relationship can be used in explanations of those complications and fatalities which might occur.

The Birth Camp. The number of days that a woman remains at the birthsite varies in the literature from none at all (as she is said to be up and working again within a few hours), to a week, or an unnamed period of time during which the woman becomes healthy again. By and large the life of the mother in this birthcarnp remains a mystery in most ethnographic accounts. Kaberry (1939:242) does state that the woman "was fed and cared for by her mother and other female relations". Generally though, one is not sure how the mother and baby survive economically, nor what kind of social interaction occurs there. Given the necessity of the woman's husband and other men having to avoid the area, it would appear that Kaberry's report of the woman being supported by various "female relatives", is accurate if cursory. Kaberry (p.242) also writes that medicines were used immediately after the delivery of the baby, to ensure successful lactation. Wet-nursing by other women of a baby whose mother has died in childbirth is recorded by Bonney (1884:125) and Basedow (1925:
Aboriginal mothers are generally recorded as suckling children for relatively 'long' periods of time—averaging from two to four and five years.

**Fertility Control.** Issues such as fertility control are again randomly dealt with. Both Cowlishaw (1979:16-32) and Mobbs (1979:51-58) have systematically reviewed the available literature for their own research purposes. No doubt this has been partly to do with the difficulty in obtaining comprehensive information encountered by field-workers themselves (see Cowlishaw 1978, 1979; Hamilton 1970; Mobbs 1979; and Sharp 1940). The Aboriginal approach to contraception—broadly taken to be the prevention of conception—has generally been investigated from a European perspective. However, given the apparent complexity of Aboriginal beliefs concerning conception, it would appear that contraception might be most usefully approached from a number of dimensions. The need to approach Aboriginal fertility control from a wider perspective has recently been argued for and implemented in research by Cowlishaw (1979) and Mobbs (1979). Their reviews of the available evidence makes it clear that both Aboriginal men and women had knowledge of and practiced deliberate contraceptive methods of various kinds.

Sharp (1940), in a rare population study of an Aboriginal community in western Cape York Peninsula, estimates that, "The percentage of sterile women is relatively constant for the several cultural groupings, being slightly more than twenty per cent of all women who have ever been married at least one year" (p.498), and estimates that "the ratio of fertile to sterile women would be 4 to 1" (p.500). When mentioned, sterility is reported to be given consideration...
by both men and women and requiring certain behaviour if it is to be avoided: e.g., women should not go near large stretches of water (see Goodale 1971:143; Spencer and Gillen 1899:52); and they should not make contact with anything "supernatural" (Kaberry 1934-35:417; Spencer and Gillen 1899:52). Sterility has also been explained in terms of sorcery on the part of others (Spencer and Gillen 1899:337-338) and thus is given a social cause as well as a personal one. Goodale (1971:149) remarks that among the Tiwi, "barren women" were "social nonentities". Whilst sterility is noted as having a potentially detrimental effect on immediate social relationships, the detailed information on why this should be so, is not available.

The issue of infanticide and induced abortion has received more attention than has the question of sterility, though again the information tends to be cursory and often confusing. More recently Cowlishaw (1978) and Peterson (1975) have taken up the significance of the practice. Cowlishaw (1978:262-269) provides a detailed summary of the ethnographic literature on infanticide and the conclusions drawn by various researchers. The range of hypotheses include: infanticide as a population control measure; as a means of spacing children so that a mother is only responsible for those children that she can adequately breastfeed and care for; to cull deformities amongst the new-born; and as a rejection of motherhood itself said to be as a result of the parturient woman suffering unduly in labour; or to extend her independent years without children. It is generally said to be carried out by women and often without the husband's knowledge.
Child-rearing and care-taking. Research by Kaberry (1939) and Hamilton (1970) attempted to place pregnancy and childbirth within a wider framework of female life cycles and within a social environment. Hamilton in particular aimed at describing the significance of methods of child-rearing within a traditionally oriented Aboriginal community. Though Malinowski (1913, 1963 edition) had written on the Family among the Australian Aborigines there was little substantive data on actual methods of rearing children. As both Hamilton (1970:8) and Cowlishaw (1978:270) indicate, Malinowski was more at pains to demonstrate the indulgent and affectionate bonds which develop between mothers and fathers and their children. By and large, little attention has been given to describing the nature of the social environment established by reproduction, or to investigating what connection if any exists between the kinds of social, economic, political and territorial organization which occur in social life, and those relationships and kinds of interactions which are initiated within the realm of reproduction. This is in spite of Berndt's (1976:15) provocative conclusion that:

The (ideally) polygynous society of north-eastern Arnhem Land, while it emphasized the economic aspect of marriage and the prestige value of contracting unions which linked various families together in an intricate network of relationships that spread across a number of dialectal units, was quite firm in the emphasis it placed on procreation. The production of children was a dominant theme, expressed in song and in ritual.

The implications of this statement - with its focus on the significance of reproducing children and the importance of that theme within the wider society - have never been adequately examined.
Reproduction has been treated as a discrete and isolable event with little inquiry into its connection with the rest of life. Once again, Kaberry, in a number of publications devoted to other issues, has briefly commented on aspects of these interconnections. This is perhaps, because more so than many previous researchers, she attended to the details of daily social life both in her fieldwork and her publications. She notes, for example (1935-36:396), the individual "right" to economic exploitation and access to land which were established via conception. She also indicates that "distinctions are made between the spiritual genitor (finder of the child) and pater (social father)", which affected the subsequent position of the child with respect to its "rights" to "claim" (p.416). The data that Kaberry presents suggests that the determination of the future position of the child occurred at a number of stages during reproduction: for example, "if the genitor chooses to hand over the spirit child to a tribal brother, or if his wife runs away with another man while pregnant, then it is the pater who bestows on the child his own totems, and the right to live and hunt in his own horde country" (p.416). The implication arising from this is that the ideal model of patrilineal rights as being established at conception and birth, and being automatically transmitted and predictable, does not always accord with the social reality. According to Kaberry, "... the child is the object of communal interest", but "early manifests a preference for its mother and father, and after them for its mother's sister, mother's brother and mother's mother" (p.419); that is, for specific, known and knowable individuals, who supposedly constitute part of that
"communal interest" in its development and welfare.

A number of writers approach the subject of childcare and rearing from the point of view of socialization and the transmission of sex-specific personality and role training (see for example, R.M. and C.H. Berndt 1972:115-140; Sharp 1934:426; Stanner 1963:344; Tindale 1972:249,259-60; and White 1969:8). Other researchers (Kaberry 1939; Hamilton 1970; Cowlishaw 1978, 1979; and Myers 1976) have noted the reciprocal aspect of the relationship which is involved in the interaction between children and their parents. Cowlishaw (1978:272) writes that children are expected to "work for" their parents, whilst "women must continue to nurture their sons real and classificatory so that they themselves may be looked after" (p.272), and that the women "believe they can count on these young men to look after them in some unspecified way". The suggestion is that the responsibilities entail an economic aspect which is binding both immediately and as future 'insurance', though Cowlishaw does not make clear the means by which these responsibilities are initiated and maintained. Myers (1976, 1979 in press) in turn, takes the idiom of "looking after" (caring for) and the system of reciprocal rights and responsibilities which are established within it, as being the central concept behind the exercise of power and authority among the Pintubi. Apart from examples such as the above, little attention has been given to systematically specifying the relationship between the caring and rearing of children, indicated by various writers as occurring during reproduction and early childhood, with the wider aspects of economic, social and political organization.
Goodale (1971:149-50) and Kaberry (1934-35:419) are two of the few researchers who have dealt with the issue of the social distribution of nurturing responsibilities for children. Kaberry (1934-35:419) comments that "The tie between mother's sister and child becomes particularly close where the former is childless". Goodale (1971:149) notes more specifically a case amongst the Tiwi, of a "brother giving his childless "one-granny" sister his daughter for adoption as a daughter-in-law". That is, there are social means available to individuals, of obtaining caring and rearing responsibilities for others' children. The means of obtaining children in this manner, depends on access to close relatives: "Although adoption may be worked out between close siblings of opposite sex ... more commonly a sister will give her sister a child to adopt". These arrangements were not isolated cases according to Goodale (p.150), but she does indicate that "it was often hard to discover such adoptions, for the close proximity of both natal and adoptive families allowed the child to divide ... time between the two quite equally". She also noted a specific case in which she "was quite sure the child herself chose her adoptive parents ... and expected that the adoption came after, and sanctioned, the attraction and affection that grew up between the young child and the childless couple" (p.150). Sutton (1978:98) reports a similar arrangement amongst the Aboriginal population of an outstation on Western Cape York Peninsula, where "Children - especially where there are two or more children in a family - may elect to sleep with a household other than that of their parents", and that
"Some such arrangements are so permanent that they amount to 
de facto adoption".

Apart from these brief extracts, the kinds of social, economic, and political rights and responsibilities established by child-bearing and rearing have received only minimal and random attention in the published literature. The automatically transmitted relationships and rights (usually patrilineal) established via conception have often been taken as the crucial issue, and have generally received more attention than the progressive initiation of responsibilities and rights during different phases of reproduction. Even less attention has been given to the manner in which these responsibilities have been operationalized or taken over subsequent to birth itself. The focus of most writers' research on various aspects of Aboriginal reproduction, has largely been on the mother, father and child. The literature, sparse though it is, indicates that not only childbirth, but also conception, pregnancy and the post-natal period, all appear to be regarded as significant events often requiring specific behaviour on the part of the husband and wife. It also indicates that other individuals are involved at various phases, who must also assume caring or protective responsibilities. Generally, this wider social environment remains undefined. By and large, the connection between responsibilities assumed and events occurring during reproduction, and the organization of social, economic and political life thereafter, is left unclear. Reproduction appears to be unconnected with the rest of social life.
Human Reproduction amongst the Wik

Apart from the collective publications of R.M. and C.H. Berndt, Goodale, Kaberry, Hamilton and Cowlishaw, the most extensive discussions of Aboriginal reproduction occur in the published works of Ursula McConnel and Donald Thomson for the so-called Wik-speaking people of western Cape York Peninsula, north Queensland. Both researchers present particularly detailed data on the events culminating in childbirth, and on specific events subsequent to birth. McConnel and Thomson commenced research among the Wik in 1927 and 1928 respectively, and Sharp made marginal contact with the people as well, in the early 1930's. Both McConnel (1930:97-104,181-205) and Thomson (1936:374) take the Wik-Mungkana as their reference point for research on the Wik in general. They use the term Wik-Mungkana to refer to both the inland groups in the Wik division and also to refer specifically to a number of local groupings (which they call "clans") around the middle Archer River. According to Thomson (1931, 1934) and McConnel (1939:59-60; 1957:xiii,xv) they both travelled extensively in the Wik region and to the area to the south of the Kendall River. However, there is little indication of this in their publications, which focus by and large on the northern Archer River Wik-speaking peoples. They used the Presbyterian mission of Aurukun as their main field-base.

In particular, McConnel's (1957) Myths of the
Mungkan and Thomson's (1936) Fatherhood in the Wik Monkan Tribe, together offer a valuable collection of data on both the biological and social parameters of human reproduction among the Wik. Their data afford therefore, detailed comparative information with the Kugu-Nganychara themselves. The "myths" or "stories" presented in McConnel's Myths recount a variety of colourful incidents concerning the travels of "totemic ancestors". Within the "stories" are a number of descriptions of conflicts, of pregnancy and childbirth, and discussions of sexual and family life. A general reading of the published works of both Thomson and McConnel indicates that the aspects of life related in the Myths (1957) are also often reliable accounts of actual social and sexual behaviour in Wik life in general.

Bi-sexual Reproduction and Conception. Both Thomson (1936:374-393) and McConnel (1935:317; 1934-35: 317-327; 1957) argue that the Wik-Mungkana had their own theory of bi-sexual reproduction making a clear connection between sexual intercourse and resultant pregnancy, and by extension, making distinctions between social and biological aspects of fatherhood and motherhood. Thomson (1936:377) notes the Wik belief "that repeated sexual acts are necessary to build up the baby from seminal fluid", and that the involvement of a man as biological father in this manner is regarded as a necessity, in order to initially nourish the foetal form.

He (p.377) indicates clearly, the kinds of Wik
associations made between sexual intercourse and the knowledge of reproductive physiology:

The Wik Monkan believe that there is a bag (mompa), the name applied to the foetal membranes and also to the placenta, in which the seminal fluid is stored, and within which it assumes gradually the form of an egg (tita). At first this bag (po'o mompa), which my informant described as ark pukkak (place for baby), is situated in the hypogastrium.

He (p.377, footnote 8) translates po'o mompa as uterus:

"... while mompa includes foetal membranes, po'o is the generic name for the female pudenda; po'o mompa is therefore literally "the bag of the genitalia", the uterus". Sexual intercourse is an integral aspect of fulfilling reproductive capacity.

While McConnel unfortunately pays comparatively little attention in her publications to what are considered to be the mechanisms of 'conception', she does note (1934:328) that "It is said that a baby "gets bone" from its mother, and that the mother's brother is "one bone" with the child, because its mother and he also came from one mother". The suggestion is that there is a clear biological input from the mother for conception, and that both the man and woman actively effect the development of a foetal form - though it is not made clear how the child "gets bone" from its mother. McConnel's information also suggests a wider biological continuity between the unborn child and its mother's line. The indications then, are of a dual input from the man and woman who are thereby acknowledged as biological mother and father of the child. There is no information in either
73.

writer's works to suggest a belief that there might be more than one biological father of a child. J. von Sturmer (1978: 355-358) indicates that Kugu-Nganycbara men had a reasonably good idea of both the sexual and physiological mechanics of conception and childbirth in general, and that ...

Men believe that women have contraceptive techniques available to them [and] although classing the matter "women's business", male informants refer to an egg located in the womb which is built up of male sperm and female blood.

The suggestion is that the menstrual cycle is believed to stop because the blood is now being used to sustain the egg inside the woman's womb.

The bi-sexual input is clearly acknowledged and emphasized in the "ritual of first-birth" and an associated "myth" recorded by McConnel (1957:133-135; 1935:66-93). The "myth" (1957:133-135) associated with the ritual recounts how the first man and woman create "the first man-child" out of clay. The "clay baby", made by both the man and the woman, is then pushed into the woman's vagina by her husband, along with "the blood-red gum of the bloodwood tree" and the "milky juice from the milkwood tree for the breasts". Then "The husband works away at the vagina that he may put life into the baby. [and] By and by the woman becomes pregnant". At birth, the "red-gum (blood) comes out and the baby is born" ... [and] "Breast milk comes up to the nipples".

The "ritual" of "first-birth", which McConnel indicates (1953:21-23; 1935:66-93) is performed at U:tyanam (an initiation ceremony), is one in which older men performed as women to portray the "first-birth" ever. I repeat part of McConnel's (1953:22-23) first-hand observation of this
particular ritual, as it highlights not only the clear connection made between intercourse and reproduction, but also because the description and her comments emphasize the significance (previously mentioned, by Berndt 1976:15), which is attached to the theme of reproduction by the Wik-Mungkana:

(c) A line of figures lie prone on the ground with arms outstretched and hands interlocking, on the abdomen of one of which (wantya pi:'an) [a term for a young married woman, who is in this ritual, portrayed by a man] lies the female moipaka [these are two bullroarers, male and female]. She represents a married woman, as yet without child. The moipaka (man and wife), having found each other, have entered a state of married life. The female moipaka is swung by a man for "married woman" invoking the virility from this auwa [which is an "increase site" in McConnel's usage].

(d) A line of figures similarly lying, on the abdomen of one of which is ka:ta, the wax figurine of a new-born male baby. This represents the first birth. The figures on one side of the woman with a child are the first men who have inhabited the earth and who were growing old with no one to replace them; those on the other side of "the woman with a child" are those who, coming after this event, are born of woman in the ordinary way. A man at the end of the line swings moipaka ...["The swinging of the moipaka awakens those forces, which this ritual perpetuates, and which make the child grow inside the mother". 1957:133]. The idea symbolically represented here is "the continuity of life through birth and its first coming". The interlocking of hands denotes continuity, and the swinging of the moipaka preservation of that continuity.

(e) The female moipaka pulwaiya (totem) sits with her children on her knee (the first child ever created) with her husband beside her, the three together representing the institution of family life. Sitting thus in their camp, the moipaka pulwaiya father, mother and child go down into their auwa, whence more babies now come. From these "Bull-roarer" auwa are believed to emanate those mystic forces intimately concerned with the maintainence of sex relationships, which the "bull-roarers" symbolize and the sanctions which govern their social stratification.

McConnel's report indicates not only the connection made between sexual relationships and reproduction, but the
acknowledgement of a certain social continuity established as a result - with a seeming emphasis on marriage and the development of "family life". It also clearly indicates the belief that the biological and sexual mechanisms recognized as part of human reproduction, can be actively and positively manipulated and maintained by people themselves via this ritual.

The existence and operation of a spiritual dimension in conception is reported by J. von Sturmer (1978:360-364) for the Kugu-Nganychara. He describes the belief in the existence and activity of a "baby spirit" which is considered to be a necessary part of conception. The "baby spirit" is called *pukpe ngangka nhepe* (pukpe - baby; ngangka - lower chest, diaphragm, the spiritual aspect; nhepe - breath). *Pukpe ngangka nhepe* are spirit entities not necessarily associated with any one particular *awu* (equivalent to McConnel's *auwa*)². Also, "the spirits need not come from special *pukpe-awu* or "baby story places" (J. von Sturmer 1978:361). According to information given to von Sturmer (p.363), they are believed to "... reside at the *awu*" rather than being "of the *awu*" in the sense that other natural and cultural phenomena are regarded as coming from and being of specific *awu*. Von Sturmer (p.363) states that it is believed that they can transform themselves "... into the fish or animal or plant which the *awu* represents".

Von Sturmer (pp.361-363) reports that *pukpe ngangka nhepe* can be actively directed towards particular women in a number of ways: it can be "sent" by "a deceased agnate of the future father"; or from "the mother's patrilineage";
and they may be activated by both the living as well as the deceased. The behaviour of the father himself often appears to be described as a catalyst or medium. If he is walking past a "story place", he is said to frighten (p.362) the animal or fish associated with that awu. He may then kill that animal or fish whilst hunting, and "the spirit ... will enter the body of the father and (then) enter the mother". In which case the father appears to mediate the process of the woman conceiving the spiritual aspect or entity. There is no indication given by von Sturmer that the woman herself can deliberately initiate a series of such events. Von Sturmer (p.360) states that this "spiritual component of children" in the form of "spirit-babies", is said to usually come from the eventual child's own father's country, but could also come from its "mother's side". The question is decided on the basis of the child's appearance as to who it resembles or physically "follows". Von Sturmer (pp.360-361) quotes a Kugu-Nganychara man on the manner by which this operates:

If the little one looks like mother or uncle (MB) then we say that the baby "follows" mother, uncle, grandfather from that country (i.e., MF) ... When we look at other people we say, "No different (from their father)". Then we know they must come from their father's story ... This decision appears to be made when the child is still quite young, by adults making their own interpretations.

Fertility Control. Neither McConnel or Thomson give consideration in their publications to the issue of contraception. Sharp (1940:500), writing of Aboriginal populations to the south of the Wik region, states directly that "no evidence of any contraceptive practices was discovered in
This community". McConnel (1934:317) did note that a woman might "not want a child", in which case "the older women know ways of producing abortion". She lists as abortifacent methods "... pushing downwards on the abdomen, tying a string tight round the abdomen or by eating and drinking herbs of certain kinds". Conversely, McConnel (1934:317) notes that women do take protective measures to ensure a full-term pregnancy: "If she wants her baby she will take precautions, tying ti-tree bark round her body when diving for water-lilies, etc.". She gives no indication of why this method was used, nor how it was expected to work. One can suggest though, that the Wik spiritual associations with stretches of water (see McConnel 1957; Sutton 1978:67-68) mean that they are particularly dangerous and should be avoided.

Both Thomson (1936:375) and McConnel (1930:183; 1957:142-149) refer to the existence of a "baby totem centre" in the Wik region at which "ceremonies for the increase of babies are carried out" (Thomson 1930:183). McConnel (1957:8) reports that at this site "trees" are "hit for sweethearts and for girl babies", and that at the "boy-baby auwa" (p.133) which is part of the same site, "men walking about on this ground will chase out baby boys and women everywhere will become pregnant" (p.135). These "increase sites" appear to be aimed not only at maintaining female fertility and fecundity in general, but also to be sex-specific in terms of which sex children would be born as a result of carrying out the "required ritual" (p.xv). The ritual can apparently be performed by both men and women.

According to McConnel (1957) there are a number of auwa
located throughout the Wik-Mungkana region which have to do specifically with the social and biological conditions of reproduction; e.g., with sexual life and "sweethearts", semen, menstrual blood and milk. Each of the auwa is associated with certain actions ("ritual") which can be carried out and thus controlled by people themselves. McConnel (1957:130) reports that there is active management by people of such conditions at an auwa at "Wu:kana, the place of quicksands", from which, when "it is stirred up, comes fluid for men and women everywhere" (McConnel 1957: 130). This "auwa" is said to have been left by two brothers. In the related "myth", the elder brother decides to "make a woman" out of his younger brother. He "cuts off the genitals ...[and]... finds a place for an opening and cuts it". The man and his wife then "lie there mating, secreting fluids". It is these sexual "fluids" which are now associated with the auwa at which the man and woman "sink down", and which are the focus of "increase ritual". There is nothing in the writings of either Thomson or McConnel which directly links these sites with the more widely documented "spirit children". McConnel (1957:14) simply refers to "boy-babies" and "girl-babies" coming from specific auwa which may be activated for the benefit of all women, or women "who want them". Whilst she acknowledges that "ritual" can be performed at these auwa to activate the beneficial effects associated with them, she does not say whether this is done by anyone in particular, nor how often.
More detail on these latter issues is available from J. von Sturmer (1978:360-364) who notes the existence of two "pukpe awu - baby story places" in the Kugu-Nganychara region (see Map 2). Couples desiring a baby may ask the "owner" to activate the awu on their behalf; that is, it can have specific as well as general effects. More pertinent to the issue of contraception and fertility and sterility control, von Sturmer (p.364) remarks that the tree is said to have both a "good" and a "bad" side which may either result in "weak and sickly children" if people are "sulky" and chop the bad side; or "healthy babies" if the good side is chopped. It would appear that both "sides" may be selectively and deliberately activated to achieve specific reproductive conditions.

Pregnancy. Thomson (1936) discusses pregnancy at some length, noting in particular (p.377) that there is a "recognition of the cessation of the menses as an early indication of pregnancy"; that there is a belief in "the closing of the genital passage which is, of course, a biological fact in the formation of the plug of mucus in the internal os"; and that "The natives also associate with pregnancy the appearance of the stria gravidarum ['stretching' lines on the abdomen] on the hypogastrium (yerp)". Thomson (1936:317) quotes a female "informant" from the Wik-Mungkana on the signs of pregnancy which are recognized:

When the woman becomes aware of the cessation of the menses she talks only to her husband and to her mother. People notice now that the breast (pap) enlarges and changes, but they do not yet speak openly of her condition. The nipples (pap mer, literally "breast eye") become black (ŋotândåm). Then the hypogastrium swells. The woman is not yet known as impänäg. The navel (kört'n) is now thrust outward and everybody knows definitely that
the woman is pregnant. Her entire body enlarges (kempitti), her abdomen grows bigger (tip kān emān, stomach starts growing).

McConnel (1934:317) simply notes that with the onset of pregnancy, the woman "feels sick, or some older woman notes the signs of pregnancy; i.e., swelling of the breasts, etc.", and that as "The baby grows inside the mother's body ... [it] becomes heavy. The mother's breasts swell. It is nearly time for baby to be born" (1957:134). Whilst the initial focus is on a personal recognition of pregnancy triggered by the cessation of the menses, recognition also appears to be a progressive assessment. The woman's statement recorded by Thomson indicates that there is an avoidance by others of speaking publicly of a woman's pregnant state, though there is speculation as to whether she is or not.

Thomson (1936:378) states that pregnancy is given social recognition in the form of the woman being referred to and addressed as impānāŋ. This term "takes precedence over the kin terms in general use". McConnel (1934:317) says that when women are pregnant they are referred to as taptinti [derivation unknown]. Sutton (1978:276) records the Wik-Ngathàna term iimpanā-nga (belly-locative), meaning "pregnant", and also notes that the sign gesture used to refer someone's mother is "by touching the belly" (p.11.). The social recognition and significance of pregnancy which is indicated by marking the woman with specific pregnancy-derived terminology, is extended to the father as well - in line no doubt with the recognition of bi-sexual reproduction. Thus Thomson (1936:378) notes that "Her husband is now known as impānāŋ wunpun (impānāŋ, the pregnant one; wunpun, placer; begetter)", and that this term is also used instead of the usual kinship terms.
The pregnancy-derived terminology is also extended to other relations; e.g., the father's male siblings and the mother's female siblings. The father's younger brother may be called ḡmpānān emātt'n. Thomson (1936:384) states that this terminology marks a distinction made during a pregnancy between the unborn child's father and the latter's elder and young brother. Thus, "A child has only one pip Ṣunjūn [pip - father; Ṣunjūn - placer, begetter], although it may have many pip ... All of the father's younger brothers are pip māny, little fathers: but one, usually the one immediately succeeding the father, is called literally the growing father (pip emātt'n)". Thomson (p.384) states that this man (FB-) is "socially ... already father"; that via junior levirate he has first claim to the widow of his elder brother; and that as he is "the potential husband of the widow and adopter of the children, he is known as their "growing father"". The elder brothers of the father are not pip, but "pinya or puk pīnjin", and in "a different category from the father and his younger brothers" (p.384). This terminological distinction established during the pregnancy is clearly associated with certain caring and rearing responsibilities which the father's younger brother in particular should assume with his elder brother's child. Thomson indicates that these terminologically marked social distinctions have implications for the child in the future, though these are not fully investigated.

McConnel (1934:326,330) similarly notes the distinction made between a child's father's male siblings and also the terminological distinctions which are subsequently made by the child itself between its father's elder and younger brothers. She states that a similar distinction, based on
age relative to the linking parent, is also made between a child's mother's sisters. Thomson (1936:384-385) reports that the distinctions in these female relationships are also emphasized before the child's birth. Thus during pregnancy, the younger sisters of the pregnant woman, are called "the adopting mother", as the father's younger brother is called the "growing father" (Thomson, p.385). Mother's younger sisters are closely associated with the immediate and future welfare of the as yet unborn child, as are the father's younger brothers.

Both FB- and MZ- are said to be regarded as potential "adopters" of, and givers of care to, their older siblings' children in the event of the siblings' death. These rules of genealogical structural equivalence whereby parents' siblings are reduced to the parental kintype, but more specifically where junior siblings of the parents are distinguished from elder siblings of the parents, have also been noted for the Wik by Scheffler (1972:39-41), and by McKnight (1971, 1973). McKnight (1973:200) describes the social responsibilities and kinds of interactions which can be expected by children with respect to their parents' siblings who are thus distinguished. He notes for example, that with respect to the mother and her younger brother, the latter is said to be "like a mother" (see also Sutton 1978:202), and describes a number of social responsibilities associated with such an equivalence: he "is said to love his sister's children as much as she does. If she were to die, he should symbolically nurse the children by holding them on his lap". That is, he is expected to assume particular caring responsibilities for the child, which are most aptly symbolized by the suckling image said by McKnight
It is clear from both Thomson and McConnel's information that the potentiality of these future responsibilities towards the child, are actively established and given social recognition during pregnancy. Unfortunately, they do not provide more detailed information on the actual mechanics or implications of this process. Thomson (1936: 385) also argues that: "One of the important aspects of this elaborate terminology is the stress it lays on the distinction between the physiological and sociological aspects of paternity, and the provision for the adoption of children". Thomson, in his 1936 publication, was examining the aspects of fatherhood among the Wik-Mungkana but it is clear from his evidence that there are also distinctions made between the physiological and sociological aspects of motherhood.

J. von Sturmer (1978:357) reported for the Kugu-Nganychara that "people state that they can determine the sex of the unborn child by the "condition" of the father: if the child is a boy, the father will retain his "condition"; if it is a girl, the father will waste away or "lose his condition". The notion is similar to that mentioned by Hamilton (1970) for the Anbara, where the same kind of effect was noted, though on the nearest sibling of the unborn child. In both cases though, the effect on the "condition" of the male person worsened when the child in utero was female. What is being marked, perhaps more than the determination of the sex of the unborn child, is that the child is seen to be able to have an effect on others - in this case, its father - not
only parents on the child.

Food Restrictions. Both McConnel and Thomson report that both pregnant women and their husbands are required to observe food restrictions (see also Taylor 1977:424). McConnel (1957:135) records that women, both immediately before and subsequent to childbirth, eat yams and vegetable foods, and that "the man eats only small catfish [and] lets the big fish go by". "Big fish is eaten by neither of them ... lest the baby grow sick and die" (p.138). Apart from this information, presented as Aboriginal statements within the body of "myths", McConnel (1957) does not remark on whether the mother or the father is advised to eat certain foods as opposed to a range of others, or whether any other restrictions apply to the mother or the father's behaviour during the pregnancy. Thomson (1936:378-379) on the other hand, mentions a number of specific restrictions on food consumption, applied to both the woman and her husband, though there is little clarity as to the purpose of many of these.

Foods noted by Thomson (1936:378-379) as being restricted for a pregnant woman most often include the larger, mature animals of species, as well as eggs, flying fox and crocodile meat or eggs. He writes (p.378) that there are "No restrictions ... placed on the eating of vegetable foods". Thomson (p.378) confirms the suggestions noted previously in this chapter - concerning the restrictions on food being applied often only to the large and mature animals of species rather than to the whole species. Thomson (1936:379) comments that these restrictions do not end at
childbirth but "remain in force until the baby walks about" when some are terminated and others "are removed gradually as the child grows". Restrictions on the eating of emu are the last to be removed. Thomson gives little indication as to why the distinction between large and small animals is made in the context of food restrictions, nor the distinction in restrictions made between meat and vegetables. Neither do the restrictions seem to apply in any roughly parallel way between the husband and wife (see also J. von Sturmer 1978:109,121-122).

The opinion of both McConnel and Thomson is that food tabus are observed by the father during pregnancy and birth to protect the welfare of the unborn child, and that he must continue to observe these restrictions until "after the child walks, and until it is able to speak well". McConnel (1934:317) states that food restrictions on "eating any fish or meat" are also placed on the child's MB-immediately after the birth, "lest the baby die". There is no mention of restrictions on food consumption applying to any other individuals. A general reading of McConnel (1957) would indicate that pregnancy was not regarded as an extraordinary or abnormal state, and that pregnant women continued with their daily social and economic routine until very shortly before birth. This agrees with the information presented by Goodale (1971), Kaberry (1939) and Hamilton (1970) mentioned previously.

Childbirth. According to Taylor (1977:426), "Childbirth was the concern of women only and no special midwifery techniques or medicines seemed to have been applied other
than the recitation of a ritual formula to aid in the release of the placenta". In a similar vein, McConnel (1934: 323) notes that "Customs pertaining to women's affairs, such as pregnancy, childbirth, abortion, child-rearing etc., are strictly under the control of the women and are never interfered with by the men".

McConnel (1934:117) comments that "If possible, a woman will return to her mother's people to be cared for by them during childbirth". Her subsequent account of who is involved in the birth and in what capacities, is not entirely clear, nor consistent with this statement. She does not indicate when this return takes place, who she considers "mother's people" to be, nor where they are likely to be found; though given her notion of Wik local organization, she undoubtedly means the pregnant woman's own patrilineal "clan" estate, at which she would presumably find her mother, father and siblings residing. J. von Sturmer (1978:358) presents similar information for the Kugu-Nganychara: "... most births occur within the mother's own estate", but states that he is "uncertain" as to whether "this reflects customary residential arrangements or a preference on the part of women to seek the support of their mothers and other close female kin during childbirth".

Relatively similar accounts of Wik-Mungkana childbirth are provided by Thomson (1936:379-381) and McConnel (1934: 317-318; 1957:particularly 131 passim). It would appear that if McConnel has not actually observed a birth, she has been present at a birth-camp, for in an article on Arts and Industries of the Archer, Kendall and Holroyd Rivers (1953:
46) she includes two photographs of a mother and new-born baby "in seclusion" with female attendants. These two photographs are reproduced in Plate 1 of this thesis. She (1934:317-318) also presents an account of childbirth, indicating the categories of people involved - apart from the mother herself - and in what capacities. Her description includes those aspects also broadly commented upon by Thomson (1936):

When her time of delivery arrives her mother (kattha) or some older experienced woman, such as her husband's mother (puiya), will be with her, and they will keep apart as much as possible from the main camp. ...men being strictly tabooed from any participation in the actual birth. The expectant mother's mother will, however, be somewhere in the vicinity, walking about the bush, and the husband in communication. As the baby is born, the mother's mother calls to her son, the baby's KALA, and informs him of the birth of his sister's child. Whereupon he will abstain from eating any fish or meat, lest the baby die. The father also, informed of the event, observes a similar food taboo. Women relations in attendance will bring yams and small fish for the mother to eat. Immediately after birth, the afterbirth (mampa) is severed from the navel cord (kodan), and the end tied with gut from the wallaby's tail. The end of the cord next to the navel is also tied with gut. The afterbirth is then buried and a fire burned over the spot. It must not be burned lest the child die. No man, not even the father, will approach the place where the mampa is buried. ...It is said that the "mampa" is "all the same twin" with the baby. The navel cord is allowed to come away of its own accord. During this time the child is known as puka kodana or "child of the navel string".

The expectant mother is said to be attended by various female relatives, by her own mother (or a "woman of her own clan", 1957:136), and the child's MB- is nearby. But she may also be attended by her husband's mother, a supposedly avoidance relationship who would presumably be living on her own husband's estate (the estate of the pregnant woman's husband). Though in another publication
Plate 1: Wik women in the birthcamp. Photographs reproduced from McConnel 1953, plate IV, b and d:
b. "Mother with new-born babe, still in seclusion, attended by other women; note dilly bag of roots on stick, feather fan, and shell dish with water" (p.41); 
d. "Mother and old woman attendant in a secluded spot with new-born baby in a bark cradle" (p.41).
(1957:136), McConnel writes that a woman's "mother-in-law ... may be her father's sister" (given the preference for a man marrying his mother's brother's daughter), whom one might therefore also find living on the pregnant woman's estate, both regarding it as their own "clan" estate.

Both McConnel and Thomson state that the area where the birth takes place is "taboo", or restricted to all men, including the father (see McConnel 1957:136; Thomson 1936:379), and Thomson (p.379) refers to it as "ark nänwi" (ark - place, ground; whilst nänwi - according to Thomson p.381, means "taboo"). However, as McConnel indicates in the description above, the mother's brother may in fact be "in the vicinity" and the husband is "in communication", though the physical mechanics of this are not made clear.

Thomson (1946:160) reports (as does McConnel 1957:136; 1934:317) that the role of midwife is a culturally recognized one, and gives the range of female kin from which the woman is drawn:

The midwife who officiates, is generally one of the following relatives: natjawaiyo (father's mother), kem'waiyo (mother's mother), mukk'waiyo (mother's elder sister), kat (mother) or pinya (in this case the husband's mother) ...

McConnel (1957:136;1934:317) notes the following kin relationships as midwife possibilities: the pregnant woman's mother (kattha), husband's mother (putya), or "a woman of her own clan". From a general reading of both McConnel and Thomson, the indications are that pregnant women prefer the social support of female uterine kin; namely, the woman's M, MZ, MM. This view is supported by J. von Sturmer (1978:307) who comments that for the Kugu-Nganychara, "Most often ... people were born in their mother's country", and
that "It appears that women preferred to spend the final period of confinement in their own country, receiving the support of their own family".

With respect to the question of obstetrics management of childbirth, little detailed data is available. Thomson provides an "informant's" description of a childbirth (1936: 379) in which the woman mentions one midwife as having the responsibilities of "minding for [the parturient woman's] side" and rubbing the woman's stomach; and also tells of "leaves" being placed presumably on the mother's stomach ("navel"); but he supplies no further explanation or information. In the series of "myths" presented by McConnel (1957) some of which describe childbirth, the pregnant woman is invariably alone, except for her husband who remains at a distance when his wife is in labour:

... "I'll sit here by myself":
She sits there. She kneels, sitting on her heels: 
Ei', Ei'! It's taking a long time to be born.
Now it comes." She holds the baby's head and body with her hands in front of her and directs it to the ground as it comes.
"Now it's nearly born"
"Uŋá:!', Uŋá:!'"
"Uŋá:!'" the baby cries".

On the issues of obstetrical complications in childbirth, stillbirths, infanticides, multiple births, or maternal and neo-natal morbidity, neither McConnel nor Thomson provide any information. Neither is any more recent information available from other sources (though Sharp (1940) presents comparable information for the populations immediately to the south of the Wik region). Von Sturmer (1978:357-358) remarks with respect to the question of infanticide, that "As a first child, people
tend to prefer a boy" and that in cases of twins "one of the children is exposed or killed". He does not say who makes this decision, nor who carries it out, but argues that "(Taking the Wik region as a whole, in the case of a pair of mixed-sex twins, it appears to be the girl who is retained. [and that] Moreover, birth order does not seem to be a factor)". The argument that there exists a preference for a boy as the first child, does receive indirect support from a general reading of McConnel (1957), where in the story of the "first-child", it is a boy-child who is "made". Also, in all subsequent "myths" (1957) describing the birth of a first child, when the mother is questioned by her husband as to the sex of his child, it is always a boy who is born. Sharp (1940:492), discussing the "Taior and Ngentin tribes ... about the mouth of the Edward River, [and] the Yir Yiront and Yir Mel to the south", indicates that infanticide was carried out: "Both the bush and mission natives have no hesitation in acknowledging that infanticide is commonly practised, although they are unconscious of any trend toward preserving boys in preference to girls". He also comments that "cases of multiple births [were] rare" and "considered bestial"; but that it was only for these particular circumstances that "informants" would "admit to actual participation in infanticide" (p.493, footnote 15). For the most part, "In cases of individual births, close kin would claim supernatural causes responsible for an infant's death, though other informants, doubtless with little basis for their information in many cases, would state that the mother
or mother's mother had smothered the child shortly after birth".

**Birth: Calling the nämp kort'n**. During a Wik woman's childbirth, a crucial duty performed by one of the attending midwives, is the calling out of a series of names (nämp) of people and an associated handling of the umbilical cord (kort'n). A particular intersection of events - not necessarily physiological - results in the delivery of the afterbirth, and the establishment (or "divination" as Thomson 1936:380 calls it) of the name called at that particular moment as the child'd nämp kort'n or "navel name". Thomson (1936:380; 1946:160) and McConnel (1957:137,139-141) both give relatively detailed accounts of this event. Their information differs though on specific points, which often appear to be the result of sub-regional variations within the Wik region, and which neither writers give adequate consideration to. The information dealing with the calling of the "navel name" relationship, presented by both writers, has been systematically reviewed by J. von Sturmer (1978:101-108). The present brief review will deal with the kind of relationship which is established via "calling" a name.

According to Thomson (1946:160), the "navel name" called at childbirth is only one of three names a child is given in its life and is not the most important. He also argues that this event establishes "a special relationship" between the child and the adult whose name was called, as well as assigning a name. McConnel (1957:139-140) says that the name called "usually comes from the father's clan"
and includes as relatives whose names can be called: F, FF, FB+, FB- (actual). She also states that with respect the deliberate choice of names, that "if the deceased father's father's name, for example, needs repeating after a lapse of time, it may be given to the child", indicating that the "namesake" relationship as she calls it may be established with the deceased as well as with the living. Thomson includes as relatives whose names may be called, both males and females from the father's "clan" and males only from the mother's. By and large, those female relatives excluded as possibilities by both writers - i.e., the child's MM, MMM, MZ+/-, MMZ+/- and FM - are in fact the women who they list as being most directly involved in the management of the actual child-birth itself, and possibly the calling of the "navel name".

There is some confusion in the accounts of both writers as to the actual status of the name that is called - whether it is the name or the relationship (or both), that is significant. McConnel (1934:318; 1957:140-141) comments that after the child's birth it is known as puka kodana or "child of the navel string" (puka - baby, young child; kodana - navel, umbilical cord. Elsewhere, 1957:140-141, she uses the term pûkakůdana). She states that "when the navel cord comes away, and the child is presented to its kaal (MB-)", the name ceases to be used. She also mentions that "should the baby have no known father, it remains a pûkakůdana or "child of the navel cord", and is cared for by its mother's people until adopted by the man the woman marries (1957:141). McConnel does not appear to directly associate the
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term pūkakɔːdana with the practice of the midwife manipulating the umbilical cord. She certainly does associate the latter event with the establishment or identification of a relative as the child's "namesake". The child is formally "presented" to this person (1957: 140; 1934:318). The "namesake" himself is said to have specific responsibilities: "Should the father and mother of the baby both die, its namesake would then take the baby and feed it" (1957:140). There is some confusion in McConnel's treatment of the "namesake" relationship and the subsequent presentation. She indicates (1934:318) that a special relationship already exists between the pūkakɔːdana and its MB+/-: the baby "gets bone" from its mother, and its mother and mother's brother are "one bone" with the child because they themselves are from "one mother".

In fact the responsibilities associated with the MB+/- are very similar to those connected with the "namesake" relationship established at birth: e.g., "If the father of the child dies, the mother and baby are cared for by its mother's older and younger brothers" (1957:141). Then, "It is attached to its mother's family, and receives a name from a NAITIA, MUKA, or KALA [i.e. MF/MFB; MB+; MB-]. In the same account (1934:318), McConnel directly connects the MB- in particular with the identity of the "namesake" and with the "presentation ceremony", though previously she has not included any of the mother's relatives as "namesake" possibilities. She does argue (p.318) that on the basis of the presentation of the new-born child to its MB-, the child "is identified first and foremost with its
mother's family".

Both McConnel (1953:18) and Thomson (1946:160) note that the dried umbilical cord is given special treatment by encasing it in bee's wax and given various decoration. McConnel (1953:18) says that "it is considered essential to preserve" the dried cord, without giving a clear indication why. She also notes the intimate relationship between the baby and the afterbirth, in which the afterbirth is said to be "all the same twin" (1934:318) with the baby. Thomson (1946:165) similarly points out that "The fate of the child is to some extent linked with that of the kort'n [umbilical cord] and that if it were burned the child would become sick". It would appear that at birth an intimate and permanent connection is made between the child, the umbilical cord and the afterbirth. McConnel (1953:18) says it is presented to the child's father, though in another account (1934:318) states that the dried cord is given to the "namesake" of the child. The latter accords more with Thomson's (1936:380) version in which the cord is presented to the relative whose name the child has taken. Given the intimate association posited by Thomson between the welfare of the child and protection of the cord, it would appear that the person to whom the cord is given, has a particular responsibility for protecting the child as well.

Names. Both McConnel and Thomson agree that the names transmitted to children - other than the "navel name" given at childbirth - are derived from "clan totems"
(Thomson 1946:159) and are sex-specific; i.e. there is a specific set of patrilineally transmitted names for women and another for men. Thomson (1946:160) distinguishes two categories of personal names which can be assigned to a child: nämp pi'in (nämp - name; pi'in - big), and nämp manya (manya - small). According to Thomson they are transmitted after the calling of the nämp kort'n. Thomson (1946:159) argues that these are not really personal names, but should be viewed as "group names and signify membership of, and solidarity with, a totemic group ...".

McConnel (1934:318) argues that in the standard situation where the mother and father are both living and involved with the child, the names transmitted represent the child's acceptance as a member of the father's "clan". It subsequently "comes under the protection of the pulwaiya (totems), and acquires the hunting rights and privileges of its father's clan". Supposedly on that basis, a child might therefore acquire similar rights, protection and privileges by being given a "name" from one of its mother's male relatives - for example, when it has no "socially recognized father". As previously noted, McConnel briefly indicates that this situation may occur. She also notes (1934:325) that if a child has no socially recognized father, but its mother's "sweetheart ... adopts the child as his own", or if she remarries, then "the kodan [umbilical cord] is given to the man who becomes its adopted father". McConnel's information - brief though it is - does indicate that alternative social arrangements can be made for a child in terms of other adults assuming various
responsibilities for it. It also suggests that the social recognition of fatherhood is linked to the acquisition by the child of certain names, social protection, economic privileges and rights normally transmitted via the genitor as pater, but also potentially and actually transmitted through a pater who is not the child's genitor, as well as through certain male relatives from the child's mother's "side".

Both McConnel and Thomson acknowledge - though unfortunately do not elucidate - that there is a flexibility in the names that may be assigned; in the order in which they may be given; when they are assigned; and from whom the names are derived. There also appears to be room for personal manipulation of these. J. von Sturmer (1978:120) suggests for example, that the assignation of particular "big" and "small" names, in the same manner as the assignation of the "navel name", "may ... establish or confirm a special relationship between a child and a particular agnate". McConnel (1934:320) also comments that names "may be given by POLA [FF/FFB] to a granddaughter where no male member is living, particularly where a clan is likely otherwise to become extinct and the names die out". There would appear to be more involved here than the unwelcome disappearance of names; for, as she indicates (p.320), "The preservation of totemic names ensures the upkeep of clan responsibilities regarding the continuance of supplies derived from the clan pulwaïyo". The assignation of names to a child from its mother's relatives or an adopting pater, would then have subsequent impact on that
child's privileges and responsibilities. As McConnel's (p.320) information suggests, this relocation can be a deliberate move to ensure the continuity of "clan" "solidarity" which might otherwise "become extinct" (see also Sharp 1934-35:24; J. von Sturmer 1978:337-341; Sutton 1978:74,209-211).

The significance of the birthsite. Neither McConnel nor Thomson deal with the importance or otherwise of the birth itself, though J. von Sturmer (1978:309) argues that "The birthplace is obviously regarded as having major significance". He (1978:309) reports the Kugu-Nganychara belief that "trees are said to spring from afterbirth which is buried there in the ground ... [which] are specifically identified with the person from whose afterbirth they have sprung". Thomson (1936:390-391) reports similar associations, where "Every living member of the Ornya'wa clan is represented by a tree that springs up in the totem centre. This tree starts to grow as soon as a woman becomes pregnant, and continues to grow throughout the life of an individual". He further indicates the intimate relationship perceived to exist between the individual and the tree, when he cites a case given to him of a man whose tree had been cut and which died, and who had subsequently sickened and died himself.

Sutton (1978:62), writing of the Cape Keerweer population in the Wik region, reports that "Conception and birth sites do not appear to be very significant in relation to land tenure claims, and most of the birth places I have recorded are not in the estates under primary claim
by those born there". Von Sturmer (1978:307) suggests though that whilst "there is little sense in which the individual is said to own or control the site", there is the belief which can be operationalized, "that being born at a particular location may, in circumstances where ownership of a particular estate is in dispute, serve to support a claim [over that estate]". He concludes that, for the Kugu-Nganychara, "Given the fact that almost all births occur in either mother's or father's estate, an individual is either strengthened in possible claims to mother's country" - which he contends are "secondary only to claims to father's country" - "or reinforced in his [or her] primary claims to his own estate transmitted from his father".

Life in "seclusion". Little detailed information is available on the kind of life which operates for the women at the birthsite during the period immediately following the birth. The "myths" presented by McConnel (1957) indicate that the mother ate only vegetable foods during this period and not fish or meat, until her initial haemorrhaging stopped. Thomson (1936:381) writes that "during her seclusion the mother is attended only by her female relatives, especially by her own mother ... mother's mother, and her sisters", and that "The older women remain almost constantly with her, while her mother and sisters go hunting. This supports similar information given by Kaberry (1939:242). As the woman "grows stronger", she may walk about accompanied by these relations, but she must not be seen by men" (Thomson 1936:381). The indications are that the women at the birthsite form an
autonomous economic unit and that the mother (and child) is
cared for by her own female uterine kin. Thomson (1936:381)
indicates that the mother remains within this group of women,
at the place of birth, "from two weeks to a month",
suggesting that the woman's health is taken into account when
determining this.

Presentation to the father. Both Thomson and McConnel
agree that this period of "seclusion" ends with the
"presentation" of the child to the father. Thomson (1936:
381) notes that the child has thus far been regarded as
"tabu" to the father and to other men, and the formal
presentation ceremony terminates this state. He describes
in detail such a ceremony which took place "on the Archer
River in May, 1933". McConnel's description (1957:136-139)
appears to have taken place on the Watson River (see J. von
Sturmer 1978:113-115, for a review of these accounts). The
ceremony is supposedly the first time that the child's
father has seen either the child or the mother. In the
opinion of both writers the ceremony marks the general
incorporation of the child into its father's "patriclan".

In both accounts, the child is presented to the father
by its own mother. The child's mother, holding the infant
and attended by another woman, approaches the father, kneels
in front of him and places the child on his lap. The father
receives the infant and takes his axilla "sweat" or "smell",
rubbing this onto the infant's body. In McConnel's
description (1957:135,138) the woman takes her husband an
"offering" of yams as part of the presentation (see also
Thomson 1936:382). In the accounts presented by McConnel
(1957) the participants include the mother and child and the father. Thomson (1936), on the basis of actual observation, includes a number of relatives of the child as also being present. These relatives are from the child's father's "side" or "clan" and include the father's older and younger male and female siblings. According to Thomson (1936:382) it is the child's mother's mother who "more often" attends the woman and child as they approach this group of paternal relatives.

McConnel makes a direct connection not only between the ceremony terminating the period of "seclusion" for the mother and child, but also as indicating the acceptance of the child by the father: "This is my very own son, made by me. I will take care of it always" (p.139). She also argues that the rubbing of "sweat from his armpits on the child" is "a sign that he accepts parental responsibility for it as the child of the woman he has fed and cared for". In fact, according to her informants' statements, the man accepts the child not only because, by feeding and caring for the mother he has cared for it as well, but also because he acknowledges his own biological responsibility and role in its conception and "building up": referring to the child "... made by me". McConnel (1934:318) also states that with the presentation the husband assumes responsibilities for the mother of the child, as his wife, once again: "he will continue to support her as the child feeds at her breast. He feels that in so doing, before and after the birth of the child, he is contributing to the growth of the child ...". It is notable that Thomson's (1936) discussion of aspects of
"fatherhood" among the "Wik Mongkan" ends with the presentation of the newly-born child to its father. Indeed, in the work of both writers the relationship and responsibilities existing between mother, father and child subsequent to its birth, tends to be peripheral to the attention given to the issues of kinship, marriage, totemism and social organization.

The "family" amongst the Wik. Both McConnel (1934:314-16,325; 1957:44,62) and Thomson (1939:219; 1952:81; 1972:19) note the position of the Wik "family" as the primary social unit. Thomson (1952:81) explicitly states that "... the family is the most important unit of social life". But in fact, neither writers paid close attention to its developmental composition and operation, or to its relation to their analyses of Wik territorial and social organization. More recently, J. von Sturmer (1978:413) argues in a similar vein to Thomson, that "The notion of "family" is invoked in almost every social context, and in every discussion" and considers it to be "... the key unit, at both an actual and a conceptual level, of Kugu-Nganychara social life".

McConnel (1934:314) indicates the significance of the links established via reproduction, when she states that amongst the Wik-Munkan and "allied tribes" ... Kinship rests primarily upon the psycho-biological relationships of sex, parentage and brotherhood (i.e., descent from common parents). These three relationships, disciplined by responsibilities, economic and defensive, and moulded by sentiment, together make the family situation ...

As already mentioned, McConnel and Thomson describe these responsibilities and sentiment as being initiated and assumed
by various individuals before the child's birth. McConnel (1934:315-316) also notes the pragmatic quality that this "family situation" gives to the formal kinship system: "The interplay of family interests, at once co-operative and yet self-protective, forms the basis of kinship structure". In relation to this view of the family, McConnel (1934:349) emphasizes the focus of the kinship system on actual people:

A man and presumably this would be the case for a woman also is attached to an inner circle of intimate relatives, to his father and mother, to brothers and sisters, to his wife and children, to his wife's parents and family to his sister's husband and family, to his own parent's parents and their families, to his sons-in-law and daughters-in-law and their parents and families, and to his grandchildren and their in-laws.

According to both writers (McConnel 1934:323; Thomson 1939:219), the family is also the self-supporting economic unit, and when conditions favour mobility, the larger groupings tend to segregate: "Gradually the groups break up into the families and disperse along the rivers".

Thomson tends to take a somewhat static view of the Wik family and is largely concerned to explore the kinds of kinship relationships present within the nuclear family at that stage in its developmental cycle. McConnel (1934:325), on the other hand, notes that the simple nuclear family is invariably a more socially complex reality, in which a husband and wife may have a number of "subsidiary families attached" to their campsite. Such a situation has implications for the kind of social and economic interactions occurring within such a group and for the care and rearing of children. As McConnel (1934:329-330) indicates, "Children of the same camp fire may have both parents in common, one
parent in common, or no parents in common. But as their respective parents are husband and wife, they are brothers and sisters addressing each other as such ...". In spite of the acknowledgement by both McConnel and Thomson of the importance of the "primary relationship" (McConnel 1934:341) established within the family, of its often complex composition, and of its central social and economic position, both writers tend to relegate the Wik family to being simply amorphous sub-units of patrilineal descent "clans".

The preoccupation in early fieldwork was with obtaining information about 'exotic' practices and beliefs which were presented as seemingly disconnected from any wider social or economic context. The social evolutionist inspired view of Australian Aborigines as 'natural' man and woman, strongly influenced the kind of anthropological questions asked about reproduction and the kind of information collected and published. While information on aspects of conception, pregnancy, childbirth and rearing is available, there are few ethnographic accounts which deal systematically or comprehensively with these areas as a connected whole.

The social relations of reproduction have been obscured by the structural functionalist occupation with kinship organization, marriage systems, social and territorial organization, and religious life. Although a number of early researchers have made passing reference to relationships established during reproduction and have emphasised that the caring and rearing of children is often a socially
distributed responsibility, these issues and their implications have not been more systematically investigated. The cursory and random nature of much of the information and the general lack of research on the subject are related to a number of factors, including: the symbiotic relationship established between overseas theorists and early field-workers who collected standardized information along formal guidelines often set out in questionnaires; the predominance of male anthropologists who were often unable or unwilling to obtain detailed information on intimate aspects of Aboriginal women's lives; and the anthropological focus on investigation of institutions and the social structure underlying them. It is now almost a cliché to say that Aborigines are not merely automatons unconsciously following the dictates of custom, and that there is a dynamism and flexibility to their social life. Yet this latter perspective has not been evident in the research on Aboriginal reproduction and the social relations it established.

These inadequacies are apparent in the work of McConnel and Thomson for the Wik, though as noted previously these two researchers have in fact presented some of the more detailed research on various aspects of Aboriginal reproduction. McConnel and Thomson were heavily influenced by the pervasive structuralist position advocated by Radcliffe-Brown. One occasionally finds references in their work to the presence of the flexibility and the alternatives which are possible in Wik social life. Nevertheless, both writers chose to emphasise in their publications, a set of formal and orthodox regulating procedures and constraints operating
in Wik society, with little attempt to elucidate or include in their analyses the effect of personal preference and manipulation of social relationships. One could say that McConnel and Thomson favoured a more formal ethnographic approach - though Thomson more so than McConnel also showed an inclination for working through indigenous categories and models - in which data was generally collected to fit pre-existing notions of social organisation and structure.

With respect to child rearing, McConnel and Thomson do in fact provide information on a number of related issues. Both writers note, for instance, that important kin relationships between individuals and a child are initiated and confirmed before its birth. They also present evidence which indicates that individuals involved in these relationships are expected to assume specific responsibilities for caring, nourishing and sustaining the child in utero, as well as after birth. They give some acknowledgement to the importance that the wide range of social relations established during these events have for the future, and they also briefly mention that within them lie the possibility for alternate arrangements for the more flexible transmission of different kinds of rights and privileges. But in spite of such recognition they ignore the full implications of their evidence and do not take it into account in their subsequent analyses of social, economic and territorial organization. The consequence is that the events of reproduction appear unrelated to other areas of life.

This thesis does not seek to fill in the gaps in their
information for there can also be little doubt that changes have occurred in Wik society since the 1920's, and that the order of data obtained now is of a different kind. But a detailed consideration of human reproduction does give a fresh emphasis and significance to their work. It will become apparent in the following chapters that in fact certain social relations, practices and beliefs to do with reproduction have continued to be relevant, others have been transformed and some ceased to be significant.
1. More recently the increasing body of literature on the Wik and specifically the Wik-Mungkana, has been listed and reviewed by McKnight 1971; Needham 1962, 1963, 1965; and Scheffler (in Thomson) 1972, 1978. J. von Sturmer (1978) has carried out a detailed review of both Thomson's and McConnel's information and analyses of Wik-Mungkana economy, territorially and totemism. Included in that review (Pp.95-122) is an extensive discussion and assessment of their information on birth.

2. In Myths of the Munankan (1957), McConnel (p.xv-xvi,xx) explains the association she feels exists between auwa and what she calls pulwaiya which she translates as "totemic ancestor": "Each story [presented in the book] describes the inauguration of a religious cult by some one pulwaiya (totemic ancestor), who "in the beginning ... created, invented, and sanctioned some one aspect of the present order, and who, in response to the ritualistic approach he himself ordained, continues to uphold, to recreate, to renew, to reinforce, and re-sanction that particular aspect of reality." These pulwaiya, "... as they came to the end of their days as human beings, dedicated to their "children" all that they had created and ordained, choosing for their last abode (auwa) some place appropriate to their natural requirements -- impregnating it with their peculiar life-force, powers of reproduction and continuity of supply (p.xx). It is "At these auwa [that] men awaken the pulwaiya, calling upon them to "chase out" the good things of life" (p.xxii).

However as McConnel (1934:323) notes in another publication, women as well as men have such controlling, or activating responsibilities: "Women observe a certain ritual in regard to such totems as are particularly their own concern, e.g., the dilly-bag and baby totems, and the female species of animal totems. The
Kugu-Nganychara equivalent of pulwaiya is kam waya which can be translated as totem, and the Kugu-Nganychara equivalent of auwa is awu.

3. The means by which "string" acts as an abortifacient are not made clear by McConnel. However, in another publication (1953:15) she notes that "plain strings" have "healing, power-giving and protective charms" and are used medicinally, being "tied round the affected part for headaches, pains in leg and stomach and sickness". She also writes that women "habitually" wear "abdominal strings" and apparently always do so when near water such as swamps and lagoons. McConnel's (1957) account of Wik Mungkana "myths" indicates that such stretches of water appear to be intimately associated with the "Rainbow Serpent" or Taipan (see also Goodale's (1971:143), remarks noted previously, about similar Tiwi beliefs concerning water). It is the "Rainbow Serpent" who is, according to McConnel's "myths", "the arbiter of life and death". He gave "blood" the source of all life and death, and established the "physiological processes of man and woman" - "the blood flow", "the heart", "menstruation" and "lactation" (p.11). The abortifacient quality of string may be then in its power to ensure either the continuity of or return to a 'normal' state of physical well-being: protecting a woman from outside spiritual interference, or ridding the woman of an unwanted foetus.

4. This dual quality of "increase sites" with respect to the conditions of human reproduction, is strikingly similar to the situation noted by Spencer and Gillen (1899:335-338) for the Aranda. They record the existence of a stone where "the spirit-children are supposed to be ..." (p.337). The stone could be activated (by performing the appropriate "ceremony") by both men and women, to make women in general, or a specific woman,
pregnant. However, it can also be deliberately used to induce adverse effects such as miscarriage, difficult childbirths and maternal and neo-natal mortality.

5. A more detailed review of McConnel's and Thomson's information on food restrictions during pregnancy, childbirth and thereafter, is contained in J. von Sturmer (1978:97-98,109,121-122). McKnight (1973:194-209) presents a detailed analysis of the sexual symbolism of food among the Wik-Mungkana which is pertinent to such restrictions.

6. Thomson (1936:380; 146:160) uses the term nāmpā kort'n (nāmpa - name; kort'n - navel, umbilical cord) to refer to "navel name". The cognate forms for it are: Wik-Mungkana - nhampa kuutana; Kugu-Uwanh - nhampa kudin; Kugu-Mu'inh - nhampa kurin; Wik-Ngathâna - kooetana. McConnel does not mention any term similar to Thomson's nāmpa kort'n, nor "navel name" in connection with it. She does refer (1957:139) to "The choice of names for a child at birth" and to a relationship thus established between the child and its "namesake" (Pp.140-141). Certainly the calling of names that she describes in stories (Pp.137,140), are equivalent to the calling of nāmpk kort'n described by Thomson.
Chapter Three

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE KUGU-NGANYCHARA

This chapter presents an introductory description of the general features of Kugu-Nganychara society. Initially it reviews the major influential and characteristic aspects of Kugu-Nganychara life when the majority of the population were living "in the bush" a little over two decades ago. The description is given a temporal span as well, by occasional reference to comparative, contemporary features of life. A number of the aspects of social, spiritual, economic and territorial organization described will be considered in greater detail in the following chapters, as they relate specifically to the social relations of Kugu-Nganychara reproduction. In the second section of the chapter, a similar introductory description is given of the characteristic features of life at two outstation settlements established in the Kugu-Nganychara region in the late 1970's, and at which fieldwork was carried out in 1978.

The Kugu-Nganychara: Setting the Scene

The Kugu-Nganychara area is bounded in the north by the Kendall River and in the south by Moonkan Creek, being a distance of 77 kms. between the two (see Map 2). The Kendall River is the largest river between the Archer River and the Mitchell-Coleman River complex (to the north and south respectively) and has a 2 km. wide estuary. Between the Kendall and Moonkan Creek, the coastline is broken by
a number of other rivers and smaller streams, most of which are negotiable at low tide, and include Thuugu River, Christmas Creek, the Holroyd River and Balaurgah Creek. The smaller of the streams invariably stop flowing by late June and July during the dry-season, except for the "main arm" Kendall which continues to flow the year round. The Holroyd River also continues to flow through the initial coastal dune system but ends abruptly, in a myriad of channels which quickly become dry salt pans. The smaller streams continue to flow for shorter distances, about six or seven kilometres inland, and consist of short tidal stretches of water which also end in numerous channels and often vast salt pans.

At the coast line, an initial foredune (see plate 2) is backed by a series of low, sandy parallel ridges running inland for five to six kilometres. They are covered with xerophilous "scrub", sometimes being quite dense along the river banks and displaying complex plant communities. Generally though, the vegetation is sparse and scattered on these dunes. Behind this first series of ridges lies a broad, almost treeless plain about six to seven kilometres wide, and consisting of patchy salt-marsh vegetation and clay flats. Increasingly, as one travels to the south along this plain one comes across a number of open grasslands interspersed with vast saltpans with saline-alkaline cracking clay soils (see Galloway, Gunn and Story, 1970). The plain is bordered further inland, on its eastern boundary, by another set of parallel ridges which mark the limit of saltwater tidal penetration, and in which are to be found a
number of often large freshwater marshes and lagoons. Further inland still, the country consists of a maze of ill-defined watercourses - often dry for most of the year - and low, sandy and heavily-timbered ridges. This kind of environment continues inland until one cuts off an arbitrary boundary about 60-80 kms. inland (see J. von Sturmer 1978: 185).

The first storms of the wet-season arrive during late November and last from December to about April. During this period 1250-1500 mm. of rain falls with approximately half of that falling in January. The yearly average rainfall at Aurukun is 2000 mm. or more (information from the Bureau of Meteorology, Brisbane). The heavy monsoonal rains feed into the main river courses and are carried to the coastal plain (which are little elevated above sea level) where they spill over into the numerous distributing channels flooding large sheets of water over the flat plains. These then back up behind the coastal ridge to form swamps of varying degrees of permanency. At this time, high tides also break across the vast salt and clay pans, so that mobility and movement is severely hampered. As the dry season approaches, the coastal swamps begin to dry out, the countryside becomes parched and often dusty, and water is to be found along the coastal ridges in long-established and known water-wells. These are dug in the sand, shell or clay beds at the bottom of swales which intersperse the parallel sand ridges running inland. There appears to have been a well-developed system of wells along the coastal ridges which were used during the wet and the dry seasons, some favoured more in one season than another and some
becoming favoured camping sites (see J. von Sturmer 1978: 255-256).

Shelter and mobility become major determining features of residence and economic exploitation in the wet-season (see Thomson 1939), and there appears to have been a realistic fear of tropical cyclones and lightening which compounded the preference for sedentary life during the wet season (see J. von Sturmer 1978: 198, 203-204). Kugu-Nganychara individuals state that peculiarities and changes distinguish each wet or dry-season from the next, and they distinguish a number of more detailed seasonal developments and changes than I have indicated (see von Sturmer 1978: 198-201; Sutton 1978: 47-50; Thomson 1939). The fairly reliable succession of wet and dry-seasons imposed its own constraints on the pattern of economic exploitation (see McConnel 1953: 6-8; 1957: 1-19; von Sturmer 1978: 205-244; Sutton 1978: 47-50; Thomson 1939). During the wet season the coastal Kugu-Nganychara population camped in specific wet-season camps, often coming from different estates or "countries", to reside at one of the larger camping sites. These were located invariably at the major rivers. During the dry season, family groups would disperse back to their own estates, exploiting diminishing food resources. During this period family groups would use a number of campsites within their own estate, which they would return to each year; but would also range inland to the "countries" of other individuals with whom they had close links and where they had hunting and camping access.

By and large there is a greater range of plant communities on and near to the coastline than there is
inland (see Isbell and Pedley 1971; Stanton 1976:43-46; von Sturmer 1978:186-190; Sutton 1978:47-49; Thomson 1935, 1939), with thick belts of mangroves along the sheltered river estuaries and tidal margins of the arms and creeks. There would also appear to be a correspondingly greater diversity of plant and animal foods available along the coastal division than further inland. The riverine complexes and the dominance of the coastal environments affected the kinds of economic exploitation and probably social interaction which was possible (J. von Sturmer 1978: 268-274).

The rivers with their wealth of marine resources became the focus for social and economic interaction and exploitation during the wet seasons. People would gather together into larger groups for the joint exploitation of fish at the beginning and end of the wet season, for the geese egg season at the end of the wet, which were major events in the yearly exploitation of food resources. In many cases these "hunts" were associated directly with the performance of particular ceremonies (see von Sturmer 1978: 205-241; Sutton 1978:48 for detailed data on the kinds of seasonal food resources which were exploited during the year by the Kugu-Nganychara, and von Sturmer 1978:235-241 for the association between ceremonial life and food exploitation). Fish (nga'a) - mullet, groper, cod, barramundi, various kinds of catfish, white fish, grunter, shark, blue salmon, stingrays, sawfish, shovel-nosed rays, etc.,(see J.R. and D.E. von Sturmer 1978) - and shellfish and crustacia - oysters, various biovalves and gastropods, and crabs - constituted a highly preferred diet (above
meat, minha). This was largely added to by a variety of seasonal vegetable foods (mayi) such as yams, corms of swamp rushes, waterlilies, arrowroot, hearts of young palm, and numerous "bush fruits", and less occasionally added to by minha (protein, meat foods) as they were available - including turtle, geese and the eggs of both, emu, brolga, ducks, kangaroo and wallabies. During the wet season game was scattered and there would have been a heavier reliance on vegetable foods and fishing. Towards the beginning and the end of the wet, dams and nets were used in fish drives involving large numbers of people (McConnel 1957:1-9; J. von Sturmer 1978:205,219; Thomson 1939:209-214).

Generally there appears to have been considerable overlap, as indeed there currently is on outstations, between men and women in the exploitation of food resources, and the sexual division of labour was not always clearly or rigorously marked. Nevertheless, prestige was and is associated with men being known as famous hunters and women being known as famous and reliable gatherers of food. On the other hand, as McKnight (1973, 1975) and von Sturmer (1978:216-218,242) indicate, there were more rigid or defined lines of sex and age distinctions effecting the distribution and consumption of certain food, rather than the exploitation of them. Both men and women controlled the production and use of their own technological items. Nowadays hunting is performed by men, often singly or less commonly in two's and three's, and a number of men and women will co-operate in the burning of countryside for wallaby drives, with men hunting the larger animals and
women and children collecting the numerous smaller life caught in the flames. Women often operate in small groups for economic pursuits, consisting for example of co-wives, a number of sisters or sisters-in-law and their respective children.

The environment was relatively resource rich and could support, so Sharp (1940:486-487) estimates, one person per 2.5 square miles. Sutton (1978:90) arrived at an estimated population density of 520 people living within an area of about 2,000 square kilometres between the Love River and the Kendall River (see Map 1). In figures comparable with Sharp's, that means one person to every 2.3 square miles. The principal hazards of the environment, apart from man himself, were cyclones, crocodiles and snakes, which as J. von Sturmer for the Kugu-Nganychara (1978:259,391-392), Sutton for the Cape Keerweer region (1978:45) and Sharp for the Taior and Yir-Yiront (1940:490-491) all indicate, appear to have had significant effects in the decimation of particular local populations. Population flux was also associated with the more formalized battles following cremations (see Sutton 1978:68-69) and raiding and counter-raiding over a period of time by specific local populations. These would have been a contributory factor to the relatively low male to female population index in the adult population, noted by Sharp (1940:489-495). This trend towards a predominant feminity in the older section of the population is also apparent nowadays for the adult population at Kugu-Nganychara outstations.

The basic economic unit, both in terms of exploitation, distribution and consumption, appears to have been the
nuclear family (see McConnel 1934:325-326, 1957; Thomson 1939; Sharp 1934:36; von Sturmer 1978:220-222; Sutton 1978:95-98; Taylor 1977:422), with the standard situation being the husband and wife as conjugal unit, operating together for combined hunting, food collecting and fishing activities. As McConnel (1934:325-330), Sharp (1934-35:36-39), J. von Sturmer (1978:220-221) and Sutton (1978:90) indicate, the simple nuclear family often becomes expanded in its range and organization of economic activities as it is added to by other close relatives. Nowadays, pigs are also hunted with the use of dogs owned by each individual, and "killer" or beef cattle is shot with guns. Appendix D presents a daily regime for an extended family group at Empadha outstation on the Kendall River, and gives an indication of the kinds of daily economic and domestic activities organized and carried out by such a unit.

While the range of environmental and food resources available are much reduced inland compared to the coast, the former is less subject to the dictates and pressures of dramatic seasonal changes (see J. von Sturmer 1978:235-237,268-269; Sutton 1978:47-48). In fact, there are various social and ceremonial distinctions made by local Kugu-Nganychara people themselves between the coastal and inland populations which are no doubt, partly based on these environmental and economic divisions. For information on the content and significance of the inland and coastal distinction, see McConnel (1930:99-100); Sharp (1934:20); J. von Sturmer (1978:235-237,268-269); Sutton (1978:47-48, 115,120-121); and Thomson (1939:218-219).
There is also a notable difference in the size and number of estates between the coastal and inland areas of the Kugu-Nganychara region. According to the research of J. von Sturmer (1978:424; and Map 4, p.423), there are 23 identifiable estates "between the mouth of the Kendall River and the mouth of Breakfast Creek" and of those, 16 fall within a coastal area of 40 kms. Inland, the picture is different, there being "uniformly extensive" (p.425) estates stretching "... 35-40 kms. along an east-west axis". There appears though, to have been a strong interdependence in economic and social terms between the coast and inland estates, with people from both areas travelling to estates in either division with whom they have ties, in order to exploit necessary food and water resources lacking in their own.

By and large the Kugu-Nganychara landscape is thoroughly domesticated, the result of a number of generations of constant human habitation and firing associated with hunting activities and notions about the "care" of country. Campsites were cleared and returned to each year, particular resources sites were, and continue to be, known not only to local populations using a specific tract of countryside, but also to specific men and women who will use and exploit them as their "own" and who will return to the same sites year after year. "Roads" or walking tracks, have been made linking sites of different status within estates and also connecting estates both north and south along the coastal division as well as linking the inland and coastal estates. Each river has a series of wet and dry season campsites.
Each river also has a number of "crossings" and "landings" which may be used by particular families and individuals, and which generally facilitate easy and safe passage across. Previously bark canoes, and then dugouts (see McConnel 1953: 9-10; Thomson 1952:2) were used on the river crossings and for travel up and down the rivers, though rarely if ever on the sea. When necessary, people also swam in groups across the rivers, with children swimming in the centre as protection against crocodiles. In the past men were believed to be able to "make" crocodiles (see Sharp 1934:35; Sutton 1978:147) as "mates" or friends for themselves which were subsequently used to do their bidding; for example, killing other people and protecting estates from outside "strangers".

Tracts of land are said to have been shaped and created in their present physical form by the original activities of a small number of men and women who first travelled through the Kugu-Nganychara area. These 'founding' heroes and heroines left behind the territorial divisions into estates and specific populations in each; they left the region's dialects at specific areas; they left behind ceremonies, singing styles and dance forms; certain of the awu or "story places", and some "stories" for them; as well as physical and material culture items. These sites, "stories" and ceremonies which they "left behind" are by no means to be equated with the extensive, single "dreaming" tracks which are more commonly found in central and western-central Australia. The major ceremonies carried out in the Kugu-Nganychara region are munka, pucha, wanam, and kunal.m, which all focus on the coastal area, and on
specific sites within certain estates, and generally occur at the end of the wet season (see J. von Sturmer 1978:378-388, for a review of the status and organization of these and other Kugu-Nganychara ceremonies). The participants in wanam ceremonial life come by and large from the Thuugu River south to Christmas Creek, whilst pucha is associated primarily with the Kendall River region. Populations from inland estates travelled to the coast to participate in these ceremonies.

Tenure and access to land are reflected in a number of Kugu-Nganychara terms (see J. von Sturmer 1978:245-319, for a detailed investigation of Kugu-Nganychara territoriality and local organization). An individual's primary territorial affiliation invariably lays with his or her agu kunyji, which is glossed as "own" or "full country". This term is applied to a tract of land, or set of sites which a man or woman has transmitted to them patrilineally. It is this tract of land, usually with known and often quite specific boundaries, which I will refer to as an estate, in the sense given to it by Stanner (1965). Each estate has specific areas designated for particular uses; e.g., a set of camping sites for different purposes, particular resource sites, wells, "roads", a series of restricted areas such as cremation sites, ceremonial grounds and sites of particular significance, as well as awu sites, and unrestricted areas.

There is also land which is referred to as "company land" (see McConnel 1934:334; J. von Sturmer 1978:428-444; Sutton 1978:52,55-56), called agu ngalagun by the Kugu-
Ngunychara. "Company" land refers to a tract of land in which rights are shared by two or more individuals or groups of individuals, in addition to their agu kunyji. Rights to both of these categories of land are transmitted to a man and woman by their father. Each individual also has a series of secondary rights of access to land, which are usually regarded as potentially convertible into rights of tenure, and which are transmitted through a number of lineal kin; e.g., M and MF, FM, and MM and MMF. Von Sturmer (1978:284) comments on the alternatives possible with respect to the question of transmission of land tenure, and conversion of access to land into rights of exclusive control: "Each right of access is potentially convertible into a right of tenure. For example, if a woman is the last surviving member of a particular land-holding corporation, her husband may occupy the land with her, on her behalf, and stake out a strong claim for their children ... The children, if and when they gain tenure, will hold the land through their mother" (see also Sutton 1978:56). Such a procedure is, no doubt, similar to, or perhaps the same process as, the possibility noted briefly by McConnel (1934: 320-322) where male "clan" names may be passed over to a female when she is the only remaining individual in her father's "clan" which is in danger of "extinction".

While all Kugu-Ngunychara men and women have rights in land, both of tenure and access, and of transmission, these rights are not necessarily fixed permanently. In comparison with the more northerly Wik described by both Thomson and McConnel, von Sturmer (1978:245) notes that
for the Kugu-Nganychara, "... There is no strong evidence, at least among the coastal groups, that the "clan" is involved in the actual ownership or custodianship of land". There certainly is a strong patrilineal descent ideology operating among the Kugu-Nganychara, which is evident in the transmission of land, names, totems, ceremony and language. However, the actual composition of residential groups and the transmission and ownership of land reflect a more complex and dynamic intermeshing of affiliations and loyalties which were, and continue to be, affected by many loyalties other than that of patrilineal descent (see J. von Sturmer 1978:245-246; Sutton 1978:156). Indeed, as already noted in the previous chapter, McConnel herself suggests that there are in fact a number of social situations that may arise which can affect the composition of residential groups and the transmission of such things as names, totems, economic rights, and ownership of land. For the Kugu-Nganychara, von Sturmer (1978:246) argues that the particular pressures which any descent-based corporation is likely to be subjected to - including "the proprietary and political aspirations of individual entrepreneurs; the conflict between contrasting sets of loyalties - familial versus descent group loyalties, sibling rivalry; and instabilities based on demographic and environmental factors" - would disadvantage the continued existence of such clan corporations. Sutton (1978:156) notes a similar situation operating amongst the population residing to the north of the Kugu-Nganychara area, and "calls into question the absoluteness with which patri-
Lineality is regarded as a principle in social life. Usually one senior male member of the land-based group is regarded as the "boss" or the "field-boss" for the estate and for the individuals claiming it as their primary or "own country". Strong sentimental attachment exists with individuals for their "own country" (see McConnel 1934:323) and members of the estate invariably eulogize its plentiful resources and hospitable environment. Those individuals regard themselves as "holding onto" or "looking after" it (see J. von Sturmer 1978:289; Sutton 1978:50-51). According to J. von Sturmer (p.289), such "caring" for one's own estate consists of "tending the countryside, keeping the wells clear, filling them in after use ... carrying out the annual burning of grass, and cleaning the awu ... It also involves proper moral behaviour: food should not be wasted; sexual irregularities should not be indulged ...".

The Kugu-Nganychara believe that each estate has a number of spirit entities, such as the spirits of deceased members and ancestors of the estate and various spiritual forces, associated with awu. These spirits are said to lead a similar existence to the living and are also regarded as "looking after" both the land and the living. They can be called upon for help and support and are the collective spiritual force called upon when "new" people are introduced to potentially dangerous sites for the first time. The present generation regard themselves as "looking after", or caring for, the land and its resources for the generations of young children who are described as "coming up, and for the generations of the past who have assumed (and continue
125.

to assume) similar responsibilities.

McConnel (1937:350-353), in her survey of "mourning ritual" in Cape York Peninsula, referred specifically to the "tribes of the Kendall-Holroyd" and observed mummified bodies and cremation, and women's mourning dances on the Kendall River. Her accounts indicate that the mummification and cremation of bodies described as occurring in the Kugu-Nganychara region at that time, were similar in most respects to that occurring at the Archer River (see also McConnel 1937) and at Cape Keerweer (see Sutton 1978:147-149). The Kugu-Nganychara no longer practice mummification and cremation of bodies though there are a number of adults who remember and participated in such events. Various other aspects of mourning behaviour and ritual have been maintained (see D. von Sturmer 1980 for a description of mourning ceremonies at a Kugu-Nganychara outstation; and J. von Sturmer 1978:388-398 for a review of more traditional events. The Kugu-Nganychara posit a series of complex and interconnected relationships between life and death and between the various elements which comprise the body and spirit. Basically, one has the body (pama moo') and the spirit (ngangka thanthe) with the latter comprising a number of different spiritual aspects which are marked at different stages after death and then with the beginning of life. There is not necessarily any clear or precise distinction made by the Kugu-Nganychara between the spiritual and material aspects. Both are seen as necessary for 'life' to occur and continue.

Ideally, each individual has, as his or her primary language, that dialect spoken by his or her father and
father's father. However, the situation with regards the transmission, acquisition and use of languages/dialects in the Kugu-Nganychara area is far more complex than evidenced by such a statement. This also appears to have been the case in the past. Multilingualism is the norm, and is characterized by shifting personal affiliation. More detailed information and analysis of the past and present-day language situation in the Wik region in general, is to be found in Sutton (1978) (see also Hale 1958-60, 1966, 1976; J. von Sturmer 1978:168-179; Sutton 1976, 1978; and Sutton and Rigsby in press).

Each individual also acquires a series of kam waya (totems) patrilineally. Some kam waya are considered to be more important than others, and constitute a complex system of totemic organization affecting numerous aspects of social, economic and political life. At a general level, it appears that each estate population has its own set of kam waya held collectively, though different estates may share some kam waya. Each estate group also has a hierarchical set of names - both "big" and "small" names - which are sex-specific and usually distinguish it from other groups. Some names are regarded as more significant than others and may be transmitted to structurally senior individuals and in turn to their eldest son (see McConnel 1934:320-322; Thomson 1946: 157-167; J. von Sturmer 1978:332-341).

Individuals and families within Kugu-Nganychara estates are linked together with other individuals and families over often long distances. Marriage contracts often develop these contacts. McConnel (1934:334-335) notes the existence
of what she refers to as marriages of "exchange" and "alliance", which "spread ... ties beyond the limits of closely related or adjacent clans to those more distantly related" (p.338). Aspects of marriage arrangements as they affect the social relations of reproduction will be taken up in more detail in the following chapter. In terms of a male-oriented marriage rule a Kugu-Nganychara man may marry his MB-D but not his MB+D - unless she is also his MMBDD; i.e., unless his mother-in-law is his mother's cross-cousin - and he may marry his FZ-D - provided she is not also his MB-D - but he should not marry his FZ+D (see McConnel 1940:437-438; Scheffler in Thomson 1972:51; J. von Sturmer 1978:402-409). People today will say that one's proper spouse is from the category of one's "cousins". The Kugu-Nganychara region as a whole can be characterized as generally being endogamous. At a more immediate level, estate populations are not necessarily exogamous, though there is a pressure towards dialectal exogamy within them (see Sutton 1978:106-112). There is no injunction against marrying someone with the same kam waya, the main restriction being placed on marriage with kaha-kunyji or "full blood" relations, which is nowadays described as being "too close" and a "wrong-head" marriage.

Marriages, both in the past and presently, seemed to have been contracted between coastal and inland, and between coastal estates with seemingly little pattern as to "wife-givers" or "receivers" (cf. McKnight 1973:205), though genealogies indicate alliances between specific families which have been continued over a long period. They also
indicate a general preference for marrying back into one's mother's "side", supporting McConnel's opinion (see 1934: 323,325,331-32,339) that, "The tendency to marry back into the mother's clan is backed by strong sentimental preference, and such marriages are likely to be more successful than those contracted between less intimately related and more distantly located clans" (p.332). In this fashion, she notes a number of close family ties may be actively maintained after marriage.

Polygynous unions were culturally acceptable, and as McConnel (1934:327) and J. von Sturmer (1978:408) point out, were an economic advantage and allowed women to co-operate in the caretaking of children and in economic activities. Sororal polygyny was the preference (see McConnel 1934:327; Shar; 1940:497), which "... works well, since sisters are usually very good mates, and incidentally provide their husband with only one lot of parents-in-law" (McConnel 1934:327). Men and women are "promised" in marriage contracts. McConnel (p.342) states that a woman may promise her as yet unborn daughter or before she herself is even married, as also happens in cases where it is apparent that an elderly man (McConnel noted the case of man promised an unborn child, who was himself in his sixties), will never take the promised female child in question. McConnel (p.342) does indicate, that once such future "promises" are made the avoidance relationship thus established is strictly observed, and that "obligatory food dues" are also paid by the "son-in-law" who in turn is under an obligation "not to receive food from his parents-in-law by promise". By and large though, the genealogies from the Kugu-Nganychara area (see also confirmatory evidence
from Sharp 1940:497; J. von Sturmer 1978:308) indicate that there was not a high rate of polygyny and that the norm for the region was undoubtedly monogamy. Sharp (1940:497) notes a figure of 20 percent polygynous marriages for the married male Yir Yiront population of 59, and points out (p.498) that the incidence is actually much less than it possibly could be in the population, and offers as reasons "... the failure of young girls to marry immediately on reaching puberty, [and] more particularly through the failure of widows to remarry". Von Sturmer (p.409) adds for the Kuku-Nganychara, that "The competition for wives (and for husbands) was keen. Older men generally did not, in this area, have the means, either ritual or personal, to hoard wives, or to prevent the young men from marrying".

Two Kuku-Nganychara outstations: Empadha and Pu'an

At the time of my arrival at the Kendall River in May 1978, there were two permanent outstation settlements established (see Map 2). One was located on the northern bank at a traditional camping site called Kuchund-eypanh and was referred to by local residents as the "north camp". The second outstation, where I was to carry out my initial period of fieldwork, was located 1½ kms. upstream on the southern bank of the river at a site known as Empadha. It was also located nearby to a very large traditional wet season camping site called Kuli-aynchan. Its population at the time of my arrival was 31. (Appendix B contains a checklist of core residents at Empadha indicating their adult/child status, sex, primary language affiliation, kam waya and ceremonial
Map 3. **Empadha** (approximate scale only)

**Legend**

1a-7b  Family night-time sleeping campsites
1b-7b  Family day-time "shade" areas
4a-4b  Women's 'factory' and campsite
8a     Single men's night-time sleeping campsite
9      Widow's camp
10     Food "bunk" (table for storage)
11     European "shed" (wooden) under construction
12     Food store, corrugated sheet-iron
13     Round bough-leaf shelter
14     Pur-aynchi
15     "Dongga", portable shelter designed by architect P. Martin
16     Shower, cabbage-leaf shelter
17     Garden area fenced with wire

▲ Unoccupied shelter (used during the wet season)

"Shed", wooden with corrugated sheet-iron roof

Shelter with roof, all corrugated sheet-iron

Night-time sleeping campsite, corrugated sheet-iron windbreak

Night-time sleeping campsite, mosquito net only

Day-time "shade" area

Timber boundary

Swamp, "dry swamp"

Clothes washing area

Walking track

Bough-leaf shelter

Fire site

*Kap mari* (earth oven), cooking area

Water well

Water well, not in use
Map 4. **Pu'an** (approximate scale only)

**Legend**

1a  Single men's night-time sleeping campsite
2a-7a  Family night-time sleeping campsite
1b-7b  Family day-time "shade" areas
3b-5b  Women's 'factory' and campsite
8  Food store, corrugated sheet-iron
9  Toilet, cabbage-leaf
10  Shower, cabbage-leaf

Shelter with roof, corrugated sheet-iron

Day-time "shade" area

Personal washing area

Unoccupied night-time sleeping area

Fire site

*Kap mari* (earth oven) cooking area

Walking tracks

Tree branches used to improve "shade" areas

Water well

Clothes washing area
affiliation. The appendix also charts their immediate genealogical connections. Each individual's residence within a family "camp" is indicated by a number which in turn corresponds to numbered family campsites (e.g., 1a) and family "shades" (e.g., 1b) which are marked on Map 3 of the physical lay-out of Empadha outstation. Similar information for Pu'an outstation is contained in Appendix C and Map 4). In September 1978 I participated in the movement of approximately 40 people from Empadha to Pu'an (see Map 2). Pu'an is the name of a major well located at the southern end of a coastal estate which is itself to the north of the Holroyd River. At Pu'an, about 30 kms. to the south of the Kendall River, a "new" outstation was established. After the initial influx of people to this outstation, the population settled to a core group varying between 20-26 residents (and occasionally much less than this).

Empadha and Pu'an outstations lie within the coastal - as opposed to the "inside" or inland - divisions within the Kugu-Nganychara region. As the information presented in Appendices B and C indicates, the composition of the residential groups at Empadha and Pu'an do not accord in any neat way with the notion of the patrilineal descent-based corporation known as the "clan" documented by Thomson and McConnel. The appendixed information also indicates that one cannot expect neat overlaps of linguistic, cultural, totemic or land ownership patterns within these groups (see also J. von Sturmer 1973:21). Nevertheless, the core population at Empadha is generally known as the "Kendall mob" and that at Pu'an as the "Christmas Creek mob". They both represent groupings which have a history of social continuity and
interaction with those areas. Ten of the 31 residents at Empadha have direct, or primary links (agu kunyji) with the estate in which the outstation camp has been located. The majority of other residents are linked through affinal ties.

The establishment of Empadha has been marked by a gradual movement of people (over a period of two years) away from Aurukun settlement via a number of 'staging posts' where money, equipment and social support were accumulated. The initial core of people consisted of a husband and wife and their children, the husband's aged mother, his adult sister and her husband, his adult younger brothers, as well as an older brother whom he called a "half-brother" (coming as they did "from one father", but "from two mothers"). Later the husband's wife's adult daughters (from the wife's previous marriage), and their husbands and children also settled at the camp. Within the Empadha outstation population there was an autonomous and interrelated group of eleven residents who initially formed the core of people who established Pu'an outstation. This small group was following the established pattern of staging their own movement from one outstation to another, and regarded themselves as temporarily residing at Empadha; so that within the Empadha population, there were two distinguishable and recognized sub-units, each with its own "boss" or leader.

Empadha is located on a sandy ridge which is one of a series of ridges running parallel and at an angle from the mangrove covered banks of the Kendall River (see Map 3). The central area within the outstation has been cleared of much of its vegetation (mainly xerophilous "scrub") leaving
behind valued "shade" trees, fruit-bearing trees, trees used for material resources and those used for "bush medicine" (see Plate 3). On the coast-side of the outstation the ridge meets, at a lower elevation, a now "dry swamp" which during the wet season becomes filled with fresh water. To the west again, the "dry swamp" is backed by another series of sandy ridges right up to the coastline some 4 kms. away. At the boundary line between the cleared ridge and the "dry swamp", a number of water wells (ngaka pantam) have been dug. Each well is owned by a family group, or more specifically, is used by a particular family group but is invariably said to be "owned" by the husband and wife. Initially there were four wells in use at Empadha. In a matter of only two weeks after my arrival, two wells became "closed" as a result of the deaths of two men said to "own" the wells, and could not be used. Pu'an (see Map 4) was located immediately on the coastline (see Plate 4) and was a major traditional wet season campsite. There were two wells at the site. The more significant of the two (the wells were said to have been "left" by two ancestral brothers), called Pu'an, gave its name to the estate as a whole. On our arrival at Pu'an one of the wells was dug out of compacted shell-grit, to a depth of about ten feet before fresh water was struck. This well was said to be owned by one family in particular, who traced primary patrilineal association with the estate. All other residents used that well through "company" rights of access, but did not claim to "own" it.

To the east, Empadha outstation is bordered by a line
of relatively thick timbered "scrub" which verges, in areas closer to the river bank, into complex rain forest plant communities, with mangroves along the river banks. Inland the series of sandy ridges continues. Movement in and out of the outstation is directed by the allocation of physical space into use-specific areas (see Map 3). There are a number of "roads" - walking tracks and wider tractor "roads" - leading out of camp in various directions - most immediately to the wells and shower area, to the garden, and to the main men's and women's toilet areas. The "roads" also lead along the river bank to fishing and "dinner" camps where individuals and families would walk for daily outings (see Plates 5 and 6); as well as to specific resource sites, to the "cemetery" which was used in the past as well as presently; to the old camping site (Kuli-aynchan); and to the "beach". A widely cleared track leads to the river where a steep landing has been cut into the bank to facilitate the unloading of cargo which is delivered irregularly by a freight boat from Aurukun.

Within the outstation camp itself, a number of buildings have been constructed: some of a traditional kind made out of cabbage-leaf palm and known as pur-ayanchi (see Plate 7); various kinds of bough-leaf shelters used for storage and as "shades" during the daytime; as well as European-style "sheds" of varying sizes (see Plate 8). The latter were usually built as a timber frame with a corrugated iron roof and occasionally the sides would also be enclosed with sheets of iron. These were used mostly during the wet season for shelter, and during the dry for storage of
clothes and personal possessions. One was used for
operating an outstation "store" selling the food supplies
ordered from Aurukun. Certain areas (see Maps 3 and 4)
within both outstations are used recurrently by specific
people during the day and night for sleeping and cooking food
(see Plate 9); for social activities such as the "gambling
school"; and for the men and women's 'factory' areas (see
Plate 10) where spears, woomeras, dilly-bags and fishing
nets were made. These latter areas are generally more
flexible and mobile. Certain space though is regarded as
"private" in that an individual or group of individuals
(often a family group) will use it every day and night.
These areas then become associated with those people and
are not interfered with by others; so that there are smaller
"camps" within the larger outstation settlement itself.
People do not haphazardly walk in or out of the main camp-
site, but follow the walking tracks. Nor do they walk
haphazardly into another person's family campsite. Everyone
uses the standard etiquette of making themselves known
before approaching most "private" areas and people do not
indiscriminately use another individual's fireplace or
sleeping camp.

Indeed, there is a highly developed sense of what
constitutes "private" as opposed to "company", or public,
areas. There are also "private" possessions which belong
to individuals and there are "company" possessions which
are bought out of government funding and are for the use
of all individuals residing at each outstation. Thus, each
of the two sub-units within Empadha outstation had its own
"company" tractor and trailer, whilst the group in permanent residence had a "company" boat with a "private" motor attached to it. In the outstations, where each individual and each family's campsite is in relatively full public view and thus open to inspection and comment, the organizational notion of "private" or "inside" space, and "outside" or public space, is observed by all individuals. The distinctions can of course be spontaneously created, depending upon where people and animals happen to walk or sit down at any particular time. Occupancy and use of space over time gives added weight to establishing one's own "private" area which will then be recognized and left alone by others. This designation of space operates within each family's campsite as well as within the wider organization of physical space in the outstation. The use of space within the outstation is subject to both personal and group manoeuvring, as well as to unexpected events such as the arrival of visitors, conflicts and the departure of residents, a desire for companionship, seasonal and daily climactic changes, births and deaths, or the simple desire for change.

Both outstations are surrounded by relatively open country, which bears the very apparent, domesticating efforts of generations of inhabitants. By and large people prefer "open" countryside. For this reason residents at Empadha have cleared a large strip around the immediate area of the family camps. This allows an uninterrupted view of approaching visitors, and more particularly of "strangers". Fear of sorcery also appears to have been a
strong element in creating this preference, and many Kugu-Nganychara individuals are of the opinion that the coastal estates have been the source for all of the sorcery in the region, and often outside the region as well.

At Empadha, there were in May 1978 seven family "camps" (extended families in all but one case), which represented recurrent domestic arrangements: domestic in the sense that the individuals within them maintained mutual daily sleeping, cooking and eating arrangements, and organized co-operative economic activities for the support of their own unit. There also existed a "single men's camp" in which there resided a number of different young men at various times. There was also a widow's camp on two separate occasions. However, the family "camps" could be flexible arrangements both socially and physically, and their composition changed according to such factors as the absence or presence of parents, conflict, personal desire for companionship, visitors, the presence or absence of food, etc. The core for each such camp was invariably the conjugal unit of the husband and wife which was the stabilizing element creating permanency and organization of daily economic and domestic activities.

Each family group would operate out of two camps: a day-time "shade" and a night-time sleeping camp (see Plates 9 and 10). Each night-time camp is marked usually by lengths of corrugated "sheet-iron" which are used as windbreaks (see Plate 9). These are secured length-ways along the ground by wooden stakes driven into the sandy ground on either side of the iron. In this way the "sheet-iron" can be shifted
during the night as the wind changes, or as the needs for having a "clean camp" dictate. Men who are widowed may sleep alone under their own mosquito net, perhaps close by to where their adult sister and her family are camping. Widowed adult women never camp alone but reside with parents or adult siblings. A family's sleeping camp might consist of a number of mosquito nets held in place by wooden stakes driven into the ground, or strung onto overhead branches, each individual having his or her own, and a husband and wife sharing one with their small children. Every sleeping camp has its own night fire. Often a series of them are tended by different individuals during the night. These sleeping arrangements, observed during the dry season, would be different during the wet season. In the past during the wet-season, a family would have slept together inside the closed confines of a low shelter called a pur-ayanchi (see Plate 7) which was designed for protection against mosquitoes. Nowadays, people shelter under European-style "sheds" built at the outstation.

Within each family unit European food such as flour, sugar, rice and tea is generally regarded as being "company" food, but each adult also has his or her own "private" "store" of such things as tea, sugar, tobacco, matches and perhaps some tinned food and washing powder if the freight boat has arrived from Aurukun. Each resident has his or her own sleeping "swag" consisting of blankets and sheets and perhaps a pillow in which to keep clothing. Children invariably have their own blankets as well. Most women within a camp have their own "digging stick" which nowadays is more commonly a length of steel re-inforcing rod and
which is used for digging yams, roots, and digging up crabs along the beach. Each woman also has a varying number of string-bags. Every adult man has a selection of spears, woomera, a firestick and perhaps axes and knives. Each conjugal unit has its own basic cooking equipment such as plastic dishes for making damper, billies for tea, a saucepan, knives and perhaps some cutlery, and an axe or machete. Personal possessions include such items as pipes and tobacco, string bags and bush string, beeswax, hair combs, magazines and different "bush medicines". Every day a family group would shift from the sleeping camp to their day-time "shade" area, where the cooking of food would be carried out, where members would rest and talk and where people from other camps would come to visit. Within a family "shade" a specific area may be continually used by the husband and wife together, or by the husband alone as his wife and daughter work together or rest in another section. Young children spend most of the day with their age-grade peers and are particularly mobile, though they return often to their parents' camp. Often men and women who have remained at the outstation will at some stage during the day, congregate into same-sex groups in separate areas to work, talk and rest.

Each day required the allocation and performance of specific duties. By and large, this was carried out within the framework of the domestic organization within family campsites. Water had to be drawn from wells for drinking, for cooking food, washing clothes, for watering the garden, washing fish once filleted, and for personal showers, etc.
Water was usually collected in flour drums in the early morning and late afternoon, but was often collected throughout the day as specific needs arose. This task was invariably performed by women and younger girls. Each individual would collect water for their own shower, though a wife might get water from the well for her husband's shower and then stand nearby. Firewood had to be collected daily for cooking throughout the day and for the fires in the sleeping camps. Unless the tractor had brought in a large load of wood which the whole outstation would then use, each family unit would be responsible for its own collection. Most often it was the women who would either go out and collect wood in the nearby scrub when they wanted to do some cooking, or who would collect a large load in the morning to be used throughout the day and then another load for the night. Women invariably went out in a group to collect larger loads of wood.

Cooking within the family camps was carried out by the husband and the wife and elder daughters, but rarely, if ever, by sons, who if bringing food into the camp would give it to their mother for cooking, perhaps after they had butchered it themselves. Most women within each camp invariably made (and were expected to make) a damper for each main meal three times a day, and more often than not were responsible for the bulk of the daily cooking for their family. In the case of extended families camping together or close by, each isolable unit within it would usually carry out their own separate cooking activities even if all in the same physical camp. Thus, a man's adult sister living in his camp would cook food for her family, though
she may also be given portions of a catch of fish, wallaby or bird which has been killed by him. An ageing mother may often be given yams by her daughters-in-law, daughters, grand-daughters or sons if she is living in their camp, and then would cook them herself when she wanted. It was a general rule of cooking that each individual would be responsible for cooking the food that he or she had caught (apart, that is, for maturing sons). Food might very well be cooked on the same family cooking fire, but 'ownership' of food was observed strictly so that the avoidance relationships built into certain kin interaction and the rules of distribution of food associated with them could be maintained. Children who caught fish or had collected yams or root vegetables with their parents would often take charge of cleaning and preparing the food, cooking and then eating it themselves. Young adult men in the single men's camp, while generally dependent on the distribution of food to them from their own families, would occasionally cook and eat fish they had caught themselves. Larger food items they caught would more often go straight into the young men's own family camps and then be distributed to "close" relatives in other camps if there was a surplus. As often as not, the surplus would be kept by the family and used for another meal. Men more commonly butchered minha (meat) such as wallaby, emu, big birds, "killer", pig and turtle, which were cooked in an earth-oven. This was also prepared by men, though women would assume responsibilities for such tasks if it was apparent - as sometimes did happen - that no-one else was interested in cooking the food. If a family had left the main outstation camp during the day and had
caught a large catch of fish or some minha, then the husband and wife would co-operate in organizing these cooking activities. (See Appendix D which describes a daily domestic routine for one particular family at Empadha and includes a range of economic activities that are frequently carried out within it).

Irregularly, some of the men from camp would co-operate for hunting wallabies or travelling upstream to the more heavily-timbered country to shoot beef cattle. No expectations, however, could be placed on food returns from either of these activities, and more often men would carry out hunting within the economic activities organized within their own family. Residents at the outstations attempted to maintain a regular supply of European food, particularly flour, tea and sugar which were regarded as basic supplies, though the isolation and distance meant that delivery from Aurukun was never more often than once a month. A variety of fish — mainly catfish (which was usually preferred above most other fish including barramundi), barramundi, blue salmon, stingray, shark and turtle, mullet and groper — were caught. Catfish was usually caught every day in abundant quantities by men, women and young adults and children. Some people used small outboard boats to travel along the river to fishing sites, and others simply walked to the landing or a short distance along the river bank, and used hand reels (see Plate 5). Fish provided a large contribution to the daily diet and was preferred to meat as a daily food source. Vegetable foods were sought whenever available. When a particular season of vegetables began, women in particular would put more time and effort each day into
collecting them. People particularly looked forward to the ripening of the yams from September onwards. The most common situation then with respect to economic activities at the outstation was for each family to act as the basic unit for exploitation and consumption of food resources, and after satisfying the demands within itself, would then distribute food selectively to other residents. The person (children included) who caught, killed, or collected the food generally had the right to determine its distribution, though, as in a number of other instances, a husband and wife, or mother and daughter, would often simply discuss and suggest who they would give what food to.

The organizing force within the family camps came from the conjugal unit of the husband and wife. Prestige and status were attached to those units which were regarded as being efficient and well-organized in their domestic routine and which were known to maintain a regular food income. Almost every day one would find husband and wife 'teams' setting off, invariably with children, dogs, and perhaps other relatives attached, to go fishing along the river bank, or by boat to a landing; going to the mangroves upstream to collect mudshells and to fish or downstream to the flying fox nest ("camp") that was located in a section of mangroves (and which would be shot from the trees by the man and his sons whilst the women and children would fish); or to go further upstream to the lagoons "inside" for freshwater fish and waterlilies. Occasionally a family group, with various other residents attached, would head, via tractor, to the beach and spend the day there fishing
and relaxing (see Appendix D), looking for turtle eggs as they travelled along the coast, and perhaps travelling from there inside to the timbered country looking for "sugarbag" (honey from the "native bee") (see Plate 11).

Throughout the estate there are a number of known campsites to which people would go when travelling or wishing to exploit a specific food resource. Invariably these camps were located near to a well or marsh, and people would return to these time and time again. On these daily excursions couples and families might stay away only for the morning, returning to the outstation camp with their food. Often, the family group would leave in the mid-morning and not return until late afternoon, when the sun was setting and travel was more comfortable. Individuals would never leave so late that they would be required to travel "on foot" in the darkness. When travelling by tractor, later departures from "holiday camps" or from the beach would bring people back to the outstation late into the night. Large quantities of food, such as beef, or fish caught with a fishing net in the river, would be distributed throughout the entire camp.

The major difference in the range of economic activities between Empadha and Pu'an was determined by the latter's position right on the coastline (see Plates 2 and 4) and by the increased availability at Pu'an of vegetable food made possible by the approaching wet season. The physical layout of Pu'an was also much more flexible as it was only a recently established outstation and there were no permanent buildings erected apart from a "shower"
and "food store" (see Map 4). Plate 4 depicts the typical, basic sleeping arrangements made by people during the early weeks of Pu'an outstation's existence. At Pu'an there was an increasing input into the diet from fishing. The fishing activities of about three to four adult women with two or three young daughters would be sufficient to provide food for every resident for one main meal, to which would be added the inevitable damper and tea. In October and November an increasing amount of yams and bush fruits of various kinds were assiduously collected as well, and both men and women would keep their own store of yams—distributed by women—which they would cook and eat themselves over a period of days. The younger men would occasionally bring in wallaby, stingray or pig, but by and large the Pu'an camp was supported by the fishing and gathering activities of the women residents. There was then, at both outstations, a well-established pattern of frequent interaction with the surrounding environment, based on a thorough understanding of the nature and availability of resources under different seasonal conditions.

Both the permanent residents of Empadha and the people who organized and subsequently established another outstation at Pu'an, recognized respectively, one senior male as a "boss" for the "running" of their camps. It appears to be a general situation that one senior male member of the estate or of a "company" (and most often the eldest son of the previous senior male), is singled out as the principal "boss" of the estate. Seniority in this respect is structural in that the man will be referred to as B+ by all the males of his own generation from the estate
population (and hence F+/FB+ by those of the descending generation). Nowadays, some adult women, often aged, widowed, experienced in bush living and with a verbal flair, also exert a considerable sway over the running of a camp. Such a woman may espouse to be (and be variously acknowledged as being) the "boss" of that group, especially if she has also been married to a man who was regarded as such when alive. This is rare though and it is difficult to assess whether this situation was also possible in the past. Undoubtedly women had their own female "boss" with respect to singing and dancing, wungka (a series of women's dances usually performed at mourning ceremonies, but for which "big" styles also existed which were claimed to be "women's business"), to the management of reproduction, and age-grading rituals, etc. Most commonly though, all individuals living at both outstations recognized one man in particular as "boss". Seniority of this kind is dependent not only on structural assets, but is also connected with personal ability, physical prowess, verbal flair, hunting ability, ceremonial knowledge and dancing and singing ability, personality and even physique. Amongst such men recognized as "bosses" there is also a hierarchy of seniority and associated authority, so that one finds presently in the Kugu-Nganychara region, a small number of these "bosses", but two men in particular who are regarded as "biggest boss" and who are much respected and feared (see also J. von Sturmer 1978:286-287,290-291).

The "boss" of each outstation is expected to mediate on behalf of the group with the "outside", whether it be with other groups, or with Europeans, and he is regarded...
as the direct mediator between the living and the dead. In
the latter case, the "boss" is held to be generally
responsible for the maintenance and performance of ritual
at awu and especially at important awu sites (though, as
already noted, individual men and women may also take
responsibility at specific awu), for major ceremony, for the
introduction of "new" people to the estate or to specific
sites within it, and for such things as the singing of the
spirit of a deceased person to a site within the estate.
The "boss" is said to "run the camp" and to "look after"
its residents, responsibilities which in turn are said to
give him the "right to speak" and claim the support of those
people; that is, to give his opinion about others' behaviour,
to direct other people's activities, and organize work.
Within the camp he may allocate particular "shades" and
sleeping camps to visitors and other members of the estate
if there is dispute as to the use of space. He is expected
to resolve disputes, though there is also the notion that
each family should control and settle its own internal
disputes, and that each adult is ultimately responsible for
his or her own behaviour. These "bosses" operate at more
than the level of being heads of their own family, or as
pivotal figures in a lineage. Recognition of their authority
and influence is accorded by a varied number of people from
different lineages and different estates. Their influence
extends into a much wider politico-economic and ceremonial
context.

The movement of people from Empadha to Pu'an had been
a long protracted affair. It was referred to as a "company"
move and was under the acknowledged direction and authority
of one man of about 48 years who was called their "boss". This man's primary affiliations with land (agu kunyji) was Wahalang (Christmas Creek, see Map 2) along the coast and running inland and to the north. He also laid claims, through his wife, to an inside area of timbered country near Thupi-ijiy which is a large lagoon on the Holroyd river; and also has strong ceremonial claims to Thahakungadha at the mouth of the Holroyd. He is "field boss" for the wanam ceremony which has its major ceremonial site and grounds at Thahakungadha. His acknowledged "right" to establish an outstation at Pu'an, is asserted through his mother who claimed it as her "own" estate via her F and FF. The core supporters of this move, were those of his "Z+", an ageing, widowed woman with adult married sons and daughters, who nevertheless had no senior male to direct the organization of separate activities, and who herself had primary rights in the estate in which Pu'an was located. The "boss" explained that he and the woman were "from two grannies", meaning that his mother's mother and the old woman's mother's mother, were actual sisters; with their own relationship in terms of younger and elder siblingship being determined by the relative age of their respective "grannies". It was thus a "company" move, based on long-term ties established through marriage and social interaction between the two groups, on a mutual identification with the Holroyd and Christmas Creek river systems, and on ceremonial affiliation and economic interaction; though they did not share a language in common, nor kam waya or names. (see Appendix C). The "boss" for this move, intended "running" Pu'an as a wet-season campsite, in much the same way as it
was used traditionally, and establish another camp in his "own country" at Christmas Creek.

The living situation at both Empadha and Pu'an is made difficult by the tyrannies of isolation and distance making travel to either Aurukun or Edward River, the two nearest settlements, a time-consuming and tiring business. In 1978, Empadha had neither an airstrip (as some of the more northerly outstations in the Wik region have), nor a radio. It did have access to a radio at the "north camp" on the Kendall River, from which a daily contact was maintained with Aurukun for the purposes of relaying messages, maintaining a daily medical check with the European nursing staff, and passing on information about social or technical emergencies. Pu'an, as a newly established outstation and the remotest from Aurukun, was even more isolated.

The majority of adult men and women at both outstations have spent a good deal of their lives living on their own estates in the Kugu-Nganychara region and feel competent in dealing with and introducing the younger people to the economic, physical and social necessities of bush living. Younger adults and children, though "growing up" mainly in the settlements to the north and south, have had the experience of bush holidays and camping either in their own estates, or in other people's. They add distinctive features to the atmosphere of the outstation camps. One hears the Beatles, Rolling Stones, Charly Pride, and other cassette music playing day and night, and young men and women sending "sweetheart" messages back to people at the settlements and other outstations. At the same time the
adult men and women will often sit around campfires spinning "stories" which are well-known and which younger people as well as adults never tire of listening to. The younger adult men are active participants, though often highly mobile ones, in bush life: much of the building and transportation of people and stores and equipment is carried out by them. Young adult women provide an invaluable source of labour: collecting yams and other vegetables, fishing, gathering firewood, collecting water and washing clothes, cooking, and looking after younger children both for their own families and for others.

Life on the outstation settlements is regarded as being "more healthy" than at the large settlements, an opinion which is reinforced by the similar view held by local European nursing staff. Women also indicate that they have greater access to "bush medicines" which improves their ability to "look after" themselves. It is also regarded as being more peaceful at the outstations, with less "fighting" and "drinking". Adults regard themselves as being better able to control and supervise their children and to regulate the sexual activities of the young adults. In general the authority of adults is reinforced by their superior knowledge and experience of how to survive in the "bush" environment, and by their knowledge of their own estates and associated sites and ceremony. The movement to these outstations also appears to have been accompanied by a parallel resurgence of interest by adults in passing on their "own language" to their children. Most children have become fluent in Wik-Mungkana, the community language being taught at the school at Aurukun, rather than acquiring
their father's language as is the traditional practise. 

Empadha was serviced fortnightly by an outstation education programme operating out of Aurukun, whereby two teachers would travel to the various outstation settlements bringing "school work", supervising specific lessons and going through work already completed, then leaving more to be done. In the periods between these visits a young woman residing at the camp, acted as a supervisor at a daily "school" session for the children. Adults regarded European education as being a necessary skill which their children should acquire. The major financial basis of the outstations was in the form of a Federal Government outstation "grant" which was under the immediate control of each "boss", and which was used for the benefit of the entire camp, usually being expended on tractor repair, maintenance and diesel, building equipment, food stores and radio equipment, etc. Some aged adults received social security payments such as widowed and invalid pensions which were distributed into immediate family networks. No young adult men or women were at that stage receiving Unemployment Benefits because of the delays, that resulted from distance, in receiving and returning forms.

Kugu-Nganychara men and women still "find" babies as they have in the past and still assert specific kinds of ordering of reproduction. Since settlement at Aurukun and Edward River, and then the decentralization of groups away from these to smaller outstations scattered throughout the Wik region, a number of European medical influences have had to be increasingly dealt with. For a number of years, the Presbyterian Mission at Aurukun operated what is now locally referred to as the "old maternity", a small
building run by a single European nursing sister who was resident at Aurukun for over 25 years. She is described as having been well acquainted with a variety of local beliefs and practices pertinent to conception, pregnancy and childbirth, as having established a working relationship with Aboriginal midwives who continued to attend the delivery of children, to call the nhampa kudin at birth, and to perform those medicinal practices described in Chapter Two; thus ensuring that specific social and physical relationships continued to be established during these events.

From 1974 onwards pregnant Aboriginal women from Aurukun mission were required to travel to Cairns Base Hospital on the eastern coast of Cape York Peninsula, for the delivery of their babies. This was largely the result of pressure placed on European nursing staff at Aurukun by medical practitioners in Cairns, who argued that Aurukun (like Edward River also) lacked "a resident doctor and neonatal resuscitation facilities" (Harrison 1978:29). The statement of direction from the Cairns Hospital was that all "Antenatal patients are to go to Cairns when they are 35-36 weeks pregnant ...". The result of this directive is that pregnant women from Aurukun are required to leave their own families and relatives and travel to Cairns. For many it is their first trip away from Aurukun, and a number end up spending months away from their families. For the majority this is an unwelcome and often frightening experience. The reaction of a number of Aboriginal women is simply to avoid reporting their pregnancy to nursing staff, to keep it "secret-way" until it can no longer be
hidden, or to stay out at one of the outstations and have the delivery with their own female relations attending: "Cairns too far away for mothers to go, bush medicine more easy" [YN]. A nursing sister from Edward River settlement notes a similar reaction and writes (Harrison 1978:39) that, "... women regard the reporting of a pregnancy as the first step to a period of exile". The increasing intervention of European medical beliefs, practices, technology and bureaucracy has effected the social relations and management of Aboriginal reproduction in a number of ways. In a European hospital with male doctors, pregnant Aboriginal women are removed from any supportive female environment for an event that is perceived by them to be "women's business". They have no female relatives to attend as midwives and no-one to call out kudin or "navel names" for the child. Kugu-Nganychara individuals - men and women alike - note the direct consequences:

... born Cairns, nothing kudin. Us older boys we born out bush. We born with own granny (MM) there, we got kudin. In Cairns nurses, doctors cut [umbilical cord] with scissors, no kudin [TX].

Most of the adults born at the Aurukun "old maternity" and all of those born "in the bush" have kudin relationships. An increasing number of children born at Cairns Hospital do not. Adult Aboriginal women also made a connection between the increasing intervention of European medical practices and values and the number of younger women returning from Cairns and bottle-feeding their babies. The women also relate this trend to infant
sickness and mortality at Aurukun, and use their influence when on outstations to persuade their own daughters to breast-feed their babies. A number of other changes are occurring in the social relations of reproduction as a result of settlement life. These will be briefly considered in Chapter Eight. In the following two chapters the nature of Aboriginal management of reproduction and the social relations thus established will be considered in detail.
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FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER THREE

1. The reader is referred to a recent film (1979) provisionally titled House Opening, directed by Judith MacDougall of the Film Unit from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. The film depicts a series of contemporary events to do with mourning ceremonies and the subsequent 'opening' of a deceased man's house at Aurukun. It also appears to be the only film available showing Aboriginal women dancing wuungka, a series of women's mourning dances.

2. J. von Sturmer (1978:320-353) has presented a detailed description of the status and nature of Kugu-Nganychara kam waya. He argues that they differ in a number of respects to the associations noted by McConnel. According to J. von Sturmer, for the Kugu-Nganychara "... the notion of kam waya is highly elaborated and affects many aspects of social life, as well as the ways in which people see themselves and the world around them". The significant difference he notes is that awu (McConnel's auwa) are not necessarily associated in any direct way with kam waya; that is, there are awu which are associated with the habitual residence of a particular species of animal, natural occurrence, and aspects of social life, etc., for which there is no "story" or "myth". J. von Sturmer (p.320) uses the word kam waya to refer "... to a relationship between people and various phenomena, not a relationship between a particular phenomena and a particular place. He notes (p.265) that amongst the Kugu-Nganychara the term awu has in fact dual senses: "... it applies to a particular site, associated mostly, but not exclusively, with a natural species; and ... it can apply to any regular activity or habitual association"; that is, to an area or site where certain animals are always found, or to certain ceremonial
centres. He also notes that some awu, rather than having been left by 'founding heroes', are said to have been there "from start" and that others do not have "increase ritual" associated with them.
Plate 2. Typical coastal foredune area, near Pu' an outstation.
Plate 3. The main camping area at newly-established Pu'an outstation.

Plate 4. Central sand-ridge and main camping area at Empadha outstation.
Plate 5. A family fishing trip at a Kendall River "landing" area, including a woman, her daughter and her older sister's son.

Plate 6. The husband cleans and cooks fish (catfish and barramundi) and crabs caught by his wife at the same "landing" area.
Plate 7. Open-sided, shelter used as a "shade" area and to store saddles and riding equipment. In the background is a traditional low, cabbage-leaf shelter called a pur-ayanchi, at Empadha.

Plate 8. European-style "sheds" in various stages of construction at Empadha.
Plate 9. A family campsite: Corrugated "sheet-iron" acts as a windbreak for the night-time sleeping area and the adjacent tree provides the day-time "shade", Empadha.

Plate 10. Women's 'factory' area for making string bags and nets and used for women's social activities, Empadha.
Plate 11. A mid-day "dinner camp" during a trip looking for "sugar-bag" (honey from the native bee) in timbered country inland from Pu'an.
"Finding babies" is an Aboriginal English phrase frequently used by the Kugu-Nganychara to refer to the process of initiating a new life. It also includes in its meaning, reference to the process of nourishing and sustaining the development of such a life. This aspect is called "building up". "Finding babies" encompasses a variety of social, biological and spiritual dimensions. Conception for the Kugu-Nganychara is an extended and gradual process of Coming into being (Ashley-Montague 1937) during which a range of people other than the genitor and genitrix become involved with the developing child. For example, people other than the parents may be involved in the "finding" of the animating life-force, for ensuring that the new life is nourished and sustained in utero and for its successful delivery. To situate conception and pregnancy in the full context that "finding" implies, this chapter includes an investigation of those biological and social developments in men and women which are regarded as necessary for achieving reproductive capacity. This covers maturation, sexuality, "love magic" as well as Kugu-Nganychara views on conception, pregnancy and fertility controls.

Menstruation. Menstruation signals the biological development necessary to initiate an arranged, or "promised",
marital union. The physical development of female reproductive capacities is not left to chance. Before menarche - and often from early childhood - women will wear string belts around their abdomens, especially when going near lagoons or any large stretch of water. This is said to prevent the bodily interference of particular spiritual forces residing there, which would make a woman "sick", cause her to miscarry if pregnant, or become sterile.

A mother will rub "underarm smell" on her young daughter's developing breasts as a means of ensuring that she has an abundant supply of breastmilk when she becomes a "new mother". With the onset of first menstruation a young girl left her parent's domestic camp with her mother and/or mother's mother and other female uterine kin (MZ, MMZ, Z+ were given as examples) and stopped in a "new camp" for the duration of the menstrual period. In the past women used long strips of ti-tree bark forming a pad, tied with string around their stomachs during menstruation, or wore nothing. This procedure was followed for subsequent menstrual periods as the young girl was considered to be in a state of ngaynycha (i.e., restricted, "poison", tabu). I have no information on whether food and behavioural restrictions were observed by the young woman during these times.

Nowadays a menstruating woman may absent herself from her parents' camp during most of the day-time but will return there to sleep at night. During menstruation, women are said to become mayi ngaynycha (mayi - food), which refers to a state of restrictions on the woman's
handling or cooking food for others. Kugu-Nganychara women indicate that now and in the past, they could stay in their husband's camp during menstruation. A husband and wife are said to "talk straight" to each other; i.e., they can confide in each other about such personal matters. The wife is not thought to be immediately dangerous to her husband during menstruation and could continue cooking food for him and their children. She could not however, handle or cook food to go to other men - particularly her brothers and male "cousins" - as this would "make them silly in the head". The emphasis is put on male contact with female blood, and a wife should take care to avoid stepping over her husband's spears when menstruating as the blood would rob her husband of his hunting skills (see also McKnight 1975:78-81). Blood is directly associated by the Kugu-Nganychara with the nourishing and sustaining aspect of life and therefore death (see also McConnel 1957 for the same view amongst the Wik-Mungkana). Women generally express a fear of being left alone in the bush without any protection from their own family. The cause of such fear was stated to be their vulnerability to "strange men" who "caught you" and "took blood"; i.e., of sorcery, in which case the person would surely die. During menstruation, a young woman looked to her own family and especially her female relatives, for both support and protection.

Although it appears that in the past an adult man might take his young "promise" wife for "holidays" or occasionally take her to "look after" her, it was not until after a girl's first menstruation that she was considered to be ready for finalizing the "promise" arrangement and sexual
consummation. Before this, the man would have assumed the social and economic responsibilities and obligations involved in the position of son-in-law to his future wife's parents; e.g., by observing avoidance behaviour with them and distributing food to them. So that a man, by assuming the duties of son-in-law, is in fact providing for his future "promised" wife and "looking after" (caring for) her. At some stage after first menstruation, a young woman was expected to begin residing on a more permanent basis with her promised husband. The general impression given by adult Kugu-Nganychara women who have themselves been "promised" and "married" in such a manner, is that even after first menstruation, a young woman may spend a long period during which she will divide her time between her husband's "camp" and her "parents' camp".

Marriage and Reproduction. To initiate the union the man was said to travel to his "promised" wife's parents' estate and temporarily reside there with his affines. According to the Kugu-Nganychara, a young girl is said to be shy and "frightened from" her new husband, and wanting to stay with her own parents: "Not growing up husband from small, growing up mother ... mother really boss". Having been cared for, and having spent one's younger years with one's "own parents" is said to foster a strong sentimental attachment between children and their parents. If a young woman is persistently reluctant to join her husband, or has a "boyfriend" whom she prefers, then family pressure is exerted: "parents talk strong for girl to marry husband from promise, can't break law from father, big brother,
they strong, bye 'n bye girl they kill 'm, big fight from girl, spear arm leg" [MN].

Marriage was marked by little ceremony. It was said that the young woman would go over to her "new husband's camp" but not sleep with him: "put fire in between man and woman first time" [RK]. One woman in her late forties recalled this event in her own life when she went to her "husband from promise" and became a "new wife". She estimated that she would have been about sixteen or seventeen years:

I was frightened ... my first time with man, nothing man before. I was just young girl ... Well he promise for me. O.K. with husband but I want to stop own camp. Bye 'n bye he get angry own husband get cold. O.K. he come, cooking, water, we sit together one fire one blanket, we pull together [YN].

The phrase "one fire one blanket" is frequently used by individuals to indicate the social recognition of a marriage having taken place, and as a euphemism for the establishment of sexual relations between the man and woman. "Pull together" is a phrase indicating the assumption of marital responsibilities. In this case, the husband and wife now co-operate in the organization and performance of their own domestic and economic activities. There is an emphasis on marriage as a socially situated and recognized arrangement, which for the Kugu-Nganhythara should involve the involvement, consent and support of relatives on both "sides".

When arranging marriages a number of criteria are considered. There are strong injunctions against marrying "too close"; i.e., with marrying close consanguines, or conversely marrying "too far"; i.e., from a physically
distant estate. With regard to the former, women have quite definite theories about the possible effect on resultant children from marrying close genealogical relatives:

EM: real [actual] cousins that's wrong way, wrong-head marriage, you get really weak child if you marry really cousins.

DvS: Weak how?

EM: Weak blood. You got to marry little bit out so those babies come up big and fat.

On the other hand, marriage to "outsiders" from "too far" is also regarded as being "wrong-head". Essentially, it places the spouse beyond the immediate social claims of the husband or wife's relatives. In particular, the parents of both the man and the woman concerned, feel that it denies them the "proper" access to the social and economic duties of the son or daughter-in-law. It is also seen to jeopardize the wife's parents' and grandparents' access to future offspring from the union - so that marital arrangements have future social considerations and expectations concerning reproduction involved:

That L marry too far away, if she marry Pu'an side boy [i.e., L's MM's estate] alright, if she marry grandmother side (MM) then husband stop here with children. She should marry mother side people, instead she run after man from long way and leave her own mother behind [TN].

So Kugu-Nganychara marital arrangements are initiated between families and keep in mind the desire of both "sides" - "families" - to maintain a continued social and economic connection with their own son or daughter, and to extend a similar access to the spouse concerned. The statement
above also indicates that affines are also ensuring their future right of access to the potential offspring of the union.

The conditions of reproduction and particularly the means of initiating and managing those conditions were (and still are) regarded by Kugu-Nganychara adults as being legitimately centred in marriage - within the conjugal unit established via a promise contract and supported by the relatives of the husband and wife. Adult women, born and raised in "the bush", have definite ideas on the appropriate place and nature of sexual relationships within marriage. They will constantly invoke the past, in an idealized form perhaps, to make critical comment on younger men and women whom they regard as "running wild", without any sexual restraint:

Those girls too young now, they spoiling themselves [a euphemism for sexual over-indulgence]. Bush time they have to wait, till more old. Aboriginal women should have their babies while they are young and healthy ... Island women, grey hair they got long breasts, old women and still having baby. They look to young men for giving them babies. Aboriginal women they can't have babies when we get old, young girl they work, have baby, but not to keep having baby [TN].

Women should have children when they are considered to be biologically and socially mature enough to adequately care for them. Young teenage girls having children at Aurukun are considered to be "too young": they "don't know" how to "look after" or take care of their children.

The expression and control of human sexuality. Sexual relationships and the social control of sexuality is a prime concern and preoccupation of Kugu-Nganychara people. There is no doubt that male/female relationships were extremely
volatile and competitive, as they are today. Whilst people readily state what are considered to be the "proper" procedures for arranging marital unions and for conducting one's married life, they are equally willing to give colourful accounts of infamous dalliances, of old women seducing young men, of old men jealously guarding their young wives from younger men, and can recall numerous disputes which have occurred over what is known as "sweetheart business". The preoccupation is indicative of a high level of actual sexual intrigue. A large number of "stories" told about the past deal with the pervasive theme of marreche, or "going for marreche"; i.e., of men and women initiating illicit sexual relationships, as part of what is known as "sweetheart business". Marreche is where men run away with their "sweethearts" and where women leave their husbands for a lover. Such "stories" usually include the resultant flight of the lovers, the pursuit of the offended husband and relatives and the punishment of the two. Despite women being enjoined to stay with their promised husband it is obvious from the number of actual, remembered incidents of marreche, that many felt able to pursue their own personal preferences. They also indicate the emphasis on individual initiative and independence in sexual matters, which is beyond the control of families. By and large, marreche stories focus on the initiatives taken by women.

Nowadays people will say "those men and women bin fell in love" as an initial explanation of marreche, and though "true love" and "falling in love" are notions which now receive constant affirmation by European preoccupations
with love and romance, evidenced in magazines, music, films etc., it would appear that they have also had a place in traditional Aboriginal life as well. "Going for marreche" not only emphasizes the potential conflict between "love" matches and "promise" contracts, especially for young men and women, it also signals an active avoidance of social proscriptions on the expression of sexuality and the assertion of personal priorities. Older women comment somewhat pragmatically that, "those young girls always have to leave their husbands and run away for 'nother man" [MN]. The price to be paid in the past for the pursuit of individual preference appeared to be directly proportional to the possible social conflict the desertion caused, and to the possible political uses of the fact. Both the man and the woman involved may be punished:

We call those women marreche who run away from her own husband for 'nother man. They went off-when they come back that woman, man get speared arms, legs, thighs so not to finish them off. If they went off 'nother place her family might they spear man and woman. Uncles (wMB), brothers, father, husband all go and do spearing [PA].

If a woman continued with what was regarded as sexually unrestrained behaviour, a number of options were available. Responsibility for initiating such options appeared to be taken by the woman's close male kin:

One aunty (FZ) from my father she run away, run away. Those brothers and father and husband travel to new man's camp and catch them by night. She run off into bush but my father saw her and speared her. One spear, fighting spear, dead. Well she no good, run away all the time, keep running away. Well finish off, no good [PA].

A woman might be killed by her "own family" for reason of her continuous promiscuity, which makes her "no good"; i.e., worth "nothing". What also had to be taken into account in
such actions was the willingness of the relatives of the male lover to retaliate, especially "if someone killed then that other side coming back to kill again" [PA]. With the possibility of such continued "pay-back" killings, the woman's family and her husband may agree to let the woman go: "no good man fight for woman. Husband not wanting trouble from woman all the time, 'You can have her', he says to other man" [PA]. Although it is difficult to determine the actual rate at which such raids and killings occurred over the issue of marreche, they loom large in people's memories. It appears that such raids often extended into larger scale battles between local Kugu-Nganychara populations which invariably involved wider, long-term territorial and political disagreements.

Women readily acknowledge male competition for women; and the tensions and conflict developing from "jealous business":

Before old men marry young girl. Those old men don't like to see young men around, they can't see [don't like to see] young men sit behind their wives for visit, they get cranky and belt them, spear them [YN].

Nowadays young men righteously state that, "those married men jealous of us single boys running free in big mob" [SK]. Marriage is associated by both men and women as being a period when they are expected to "settle down" and assume particular social and economic responsibilities. Being "single" or "widowed" is described as "running free", with no such responsibilities. Nevertheless, as previously noted, marriage did not necessarily mean a decrease in a man or woman's extra-marital sexual activities. Middle-aged and older women give no indication of losing their sexual
interest in men and continue to be preoccupied with their attractiveness to men, with their own sexual intrigues or in promoting the affairs of younger women.

By and large babies are desirable and admired products: "Well Aboriginal people love to look at all those little babies coming up, we always got to have those babies around us" [TN]. At the same time women will indicate that they do not necessarily wish to continue having babies and acknowledge a conflict of interests between the responsibilities of motherhood and personal priorities. The events leading up to the "finding" and "coming up" of a baby, if not located within the "proper", or socially condoned context of marriage and "family", are fraught with personal anxiety, potential social conflict and much intrigue. Young men and women are warned by older relatives not to "spoil themselves" by sexual over-indulgence. Young men are admonished: "Don't you waste yourself [sexually] you might lose your [physical] condition, come weak" [RF]. Sexual over-indulgence is seen as having repercussions for a man in his later life; e.g., one young man was of the opinion that, "young men got to save up strength not fight, run wild, when older, married, having kids, get weaker" [SK]. Young girls are told that they may become infertile if they insist on "running wild" (i.e., being sexually promiscuous). A woman's history of sexual promiscuity is also cited as being the cause for a number of remembered miscarriages and for maternal mortality in childbirth. The reason given is that being a "rubbish" or "larrikan" woman inevitably leaves one open to sorcery:
175.

T's sister bin die in bush time. She young girl, die from man, purri purri [sorcery]. If woman got boyfriend, too many boyfriend, no good. One man, jealous man from others might follow her when by self and catch her. Well when that baby start for born mother first die, baby last ... 'nother woman run wild, same way, that baby born dead [YN].

Being "caught" is a reference to having been ensorcelled and women believe that rejected or jealous lovers may attempt to cause harm to a woman during the childbirth by resorting to sorcery.

The collective concern for controlling sexuality is evident in one particular segment of a ritual carried out for the newly-born baby (see Chapter Five) which aims to encourage non-promiscuous behaviour. In the ritual the genitals of the infant are "warmed" by an older woman (usually said to be one of the midwives present at the birth) who passes her hand over a smoking fire then touches the baby's genitals and calls out asking that the genitals not grow too large. The appeal is said to be made to the "old people" (spirits of deceased relations) and the "ancestors" (the founding members of the group). In this respect, the expression and control of human sexuality is perceived in much the same way as the management of the social and economic environment. In other words, there are rituals performed at certain awu to activate or control the supply of resources associated with it; e.g., there are "sweetheart" awu, baby awu and according to McConnel (1957) there are awu for semen and menstrual blood. The economic and physical environment can "run wild" if evidence of human care and attention (e.g., via ritual, ceremonial life, annual burning of the countryside and human habitation) is not given.
Similarly, people will "run wild" without the proper social and physical concern and management being shown (e.g., via the smoking ritual mentioned above). The spiritual world as well as the world of the living is seen to be able to influence the expression and management of human sexuality.

"Love magic" and "making love". Sexual relationships are marked by active initiative and control by both men and women. Whilst social and physical consequences are constantly invoked to inhibit unrestrained sexuality, individuals behave with the view that they are always able to express their attractiveness to the opposite sex. "Love magic", as it is called, is seen by both males and females as one means of accomplishing personal desires. A 26 year old man proudly related the sexual success he and other young men enjoyed because of their use of "love magic":

You know we can get any girls we want. On Mornington Island they go down the beach, those boys and get clay, rub it on their faces and then shave with it, call out the name of those girls. That clay for singing girlfriends. Well we got lots of ways of getting girls, get songs from Edward River, old men know those songs ... well straightaway we get those girls as many as we want, one two three all one time. One can come in, push that other one out, then they get jealous for each other [SK].

This young man was of the opinion that women likewise had "songs" for "singing men", an opinion confirmed by adult women:

Old women they know songs, those young girls don't know, those old ladies tell them. Old women sometimes they singing young boys [YN].

Young men and women at the outstation camps were preoccupied with "sweethearts". With the radio turned on at night one
would hear, in the "single men's camp", "request songs" being called out for "girlfriends" at Aurukun and Edward River. A recently widowed woman would sit at dusk at her campfire at the outstation, singing quietly to herself: "I sing that old time women's song to get boyfriend. Not really boyfriend now just boyfriend ghost. But olden times those old women sing wuungka for young girls for boyfriends: 'sun going down, boyfriend you come up now'" [YN].

Both men and women are said to have words "for making love". "Making love" in its Aboriginal sense here has to do with being able to determine or create the desired state of sexual attraction in others, as well as referring to sexual intercourse. "Love magic" is one means of ensuring the desired response in another person, with or without regard for that person's own wishes. It is perceived as a means of establishing personal control. Other means have to do with more direct negotiation and expression of interest in others. In general, little physical affection is shown in public between men and women, though such restraint is not as evident between men and between women who may have close physical interaction with age-grade friends of the same sex. Husbands and wives and socially acceptable "sweethearts" may spend a great deal of time in each other's company during the day. Sexual activities between married couples may occur at night in the privacy of their sleeping camp, but more often in the surrounding bush when they will leave the main camp ostensibly to go fishing or hunting. When a woman has a young child who usually spends most of its time with her, these private excursions may be more difficult to arrange. Sexual relationships between single men and women, or between men and women...
who have other spouses, are carried out much more clandestinely. The declaration of feelings and sexual interest and the arrangement of a meeting are usually carried out via a go-between nowadays called a "messenger" (often a younger sibling or same-sex age-grade "mate" or friend). The acceptance by the man or woman of a gift (such as food and nowadays tobacco or money) carried by the "messenger" is an indication of both intention and agreement. However, movement of people in and out of camp is noted by all residents, and people also state that they can recognize an individual's footprint so that such illicit meetings frequently come to public attention causing arguments and physical fights between spouses and families. As one woman noted, such clandestine affairs may often be casual and impermanent:

Those men come to take you for a walk. He wants to make love with you, might camp with him one night that's all, you make love with him, nice looking man you kiss [IW].

On the other hand, the social life of a residential camp is rife with what people call "eye-love" and "looking hard" and "making sweet": those non-verbal flirtations which are the prelude to arranging a meeting, or simply a matter of unconsummated entertainment. "Promise" contracts, usually regarded in anthropological research in terms of economic exchange or political alliances, are not without the glamour of "love" and intrigue.

"Finding babies": the biological aspect. Kugu-Nganychara ideas concerning the means of human reproduction, or "finding babies", are quite complex. If one tries to establish a hierarchical structure of causes or a necessary line of sequence of events in Kugu-Nganychara perceptions
about reproduction, one will be faced with what appears to be contradictory information. Kugu-Nganychara ideology and explanations stress the interdependent nature of agents. For instance, people's statements about conception indicate that it is not regarded simply as a specific set of biological events culminating in pregnancy and birth. Rather, it is thought to involve a number of factors operating within a wider, cyclical continuum of biological and spiritual existence. I will use the term conception then to denote not simply a specific biological point in reproductive time, but as including this perception of a progressive culmination over a period of time of a number of interdependent factors and involving a range of people.

Information given by people now living at the Kendall and Holroyd River outstations on their traditional estates tends to support Thomson's (1936:374-393) assertion that both men and women were, and are, aware of the facts of bisexual reproduction. Ostensibly the matter is regarded as "women's business" and men will often frame their initial explanations in terms of an esoteric framework concentrating on those determining factors operating in the outside (extra-biological) social and spiritual environment. But men also have similar ideas to women on what is considered biologically 'necessary' for human reproduction to occur. One adult man of approximately 55 years - born and raised in the bush and whose current wife had borne their two eldest children in the bush - was of the opinion that an "egg" was located in the woman's "bag" (mompa). The term "bag" is used by many Kugu-Nganychara people to refer to, amongst other things, the...
woman's womb (but not to "belly" or stomach). This "egg" is actively initiated and built up over a period of time by the man's semen, and a number of sexual acts are necessary to "build up" or develop the baby from the seminal fluid.

The connection between sexual intercourse and conception is clearly made:

DvS: How does a woman find a baby?
EM: She got to lay down with that man! ['lay down' being a euphemism for sexual intercourse].

Another older woman expressed a similar opinion and emphasized again that preferably, reproduction should occur within the married state:

... single girl, good girl can't find baby. Larrikin [sexually promiscuous] girl, run wild like dog, alright she run anyway baby come up [TN].

If a girl was "single" and "good" she would not be having sexual relationships with men, which were the prerogative of the married state. If she was sexually promiscuous then the result was the same: "baby come up". Most women, both young and old, felt that a single occurrence of intercourse would not result in conception and many said that they felt "safe" sleeping with a man once ... "cause no baby come up, just for fun" [DG]. If a woman decided that she wanted to have a child, with a particular man or her husband, as its father, she would initiate a number of sexual acts with him in order to "find" and "build up" a baby.

The cessation of menstruation is well-recognized as an indication that a woman is pregnant:

She feels that everything is going from her, everything that she had as a young girl, you know, that blood [a reference to menstrual blood] is going, she's unhappy and it's gone. Baby grows slowly from blood [TN].
The woman's menstrual blood is perceived in much the same way as a man's semen: it contributes to the initiating and development of a new life. Both blood and semen are seen as having nourishing food-like qualities; e.g., nowadays, semen is also referred to as "men's milk" and goes to feed ("build-up") the child in utero. A child is also said to get "bone", or substance, from its mother's blood whilst in utero.

There are connections made between a mother's blood and the physical well-being of the child in utero. For example, if a woman is characterized as being unhealthy and having "weak" or "watery blood", then the child's development in utero will suffer accordingly. In turn, the "building up" of the child by the mother's blood, may adversely affect the health of the mother during pregnancy:

When I find first baby I was looking poor, not much blood, watery blood. When they look woman poor, then she start to find baby. They got to feed, mother-in-law, sister-in-law more caring, more caring for new mother, feed yams feed lot for baby, so keep baby coming good ... don't take away from that baby [RN].

The biological development of menstruation is then seen as a necessity for achieving reproductive potential. Both the husband and wife, as genitor and genitrix, are described as nurturing the growth of the child in a direct physical way. As the statement above indicates, other individuals, in this case the pregnant woman's mother-in-law and sister-in-law, are also described as being involved in this process: they care for the mother-to-be and the child by giving food to nourish them both.

"Finding babies": the spiritual aspect. Interwoven with the recognized biological aspects of conception are
factors which stress social and what I will call spiritual levels of explanation. Whilst these may be distinguished for analytical purposes it should be noted that this would not adequately reflect Kugu-Nganychara theories of reproduction. An individual will on one occasion provide a biologically based explanation of conception and the progress of pregnancy, and on another occasion emphasize the spiritual aspect without any sense of conflict or opposition, and without feeling any necessity for a chronological sequence.

People recognize both a physical body (pama - man; moo' - corporeal form) as well as a "spirit" (ngangka - lower chest, diaphragm; thanhtha - fat, spiritual aspect). Body and spirit are considered to be interdependent and both necessary for the functioning of any individual. At death a complex set of events is involved in separating these two elements - the material body and the spirit (see also McConnel 1937; J. von Sturmer 1978; Sutton 1978). The events culminating in birth are regarded as part of a Coming into being (Ashley-Montague 1937) which aims at incorporating the spiritual and corporeal elements. Again the mother and father-to-be, as well as other individuals, are required to assume specific responsibilities in this process.

The spiritual dimension involved in the "finding" of a child is called pukpe ngangka nhepe (pukpe - foetus, baby; ngangka - spiritual aspect; nhepe - breath). This is often glossed by Kugu-Nganychara people as "baby spirit". People sometimes argue that "baby spirits" have been there "from
start" and form part of the spiritual world after life said to be inhabited by the spirits of deceased relatives, the "spirits of our ancestors" (the remembered heads of patrilineal descent lines) and the original founding heroes. Other people state that the deceased ancestors create and maintain the supply of these "baby-spirits". In this manner close links are established between past, present and future spirit resources and people, with fine lines demarcating the spirits of the recently dead relations from the ancestors and founding heroes. Nevertheless, the Kugu-Nganychara do not believe in reincarnation. Though the spiritual and material worlds are more aptly described as points along a cyclical bio-spiritual continuum, people would not say that the "baby spirit" sent to a mother was the same as that of a previously deceased child or another relation. When a small child dies for instance, it is believed that its spirit, like that of adults, would similarly return to a named site within its own father's estate:

When small kid like CY [about 2½ years old] dies, if he died, right away his spirit like grown man full grown. Those spirits live like you, me, got spear, fire, cooking, live in big mob together [PY].

They become part of a spiritual world which then maintains, as a particular aspect of it, the resource of "baby spirits".

It is said that the pukpe ngangka nhepē "comes up" or is "sent" from "home country"; that is, from the unborn child's own biological father's estate, called agu kunyji. When a person dies his or her spirit is "sung", via a series of specific ritual, to his or her "home country", where it
is said to "go down". The general explanation of "baby spirits" is that they come from a "story place" or awu. As noted in the previous chapter, awu is a broad category indicating named locations which may or may not have explanatory "stories" associated with them. "Baby spirits" need not necessarily be from any particular awu (see J. von Sturmer 1978:361). The explanation given by informants is that the "baby spirit" resides at an awu. They need not necessarily have any causal connection or relationship with the animal (minha), fish (nga'a), plant (yuku) or food item (mayi) habitually associated with the awu. That is, they do not originate from the awu or the "story" which may explain the latter's existence. Rather, "baby spirits" are said to roam around their own estate as do other spirits of recently deceased relatives and ancestors.

There are a number of ways that "baby spirits" can be activated from awu. Broadly, they can either be deliberately "sent" or deliberately "found". Control over these processes can be variously established: either jointly or independently by the husband or wife, and by the spiritual world itself. To my knowledge the "baby spirit" cannot independently choose a mother. It must be activated to do so, and this occurs in various ways (see also J. von Sturmer 1978:361-363 for a description of a number of these):

(1) A "baby spirit" may be deliberately directed towards a particular woman by the spirit of a deceased relative of the woman's husband. Von Sturmer (p.361) notes that the spirit is said to "issue instructions" when it encounters a "baby spirit" which will then "travel about
until it finds the right woman; 

(2) A "baby-spirit" may be sent in a similar fashion but from a deceased relative of the woman's own patrilineage, and therefore from the woman's own estate. 

(3) The father-to-be may also initiate, both knowingly and accidentally, certain events. He may walk past an awu and "frighten" a "baby-spirit" there. Afterwards the father-to-be may spear a fish or animal that he has frightened. The "baby-spirit" is thought to be able to transform itself into the animal which is primarily associated with the awu. The "spirit" will then enter the body of the father when he eats the animal or vegetable from the awu, and then will be transmitted to the mother: 

Woman get baby from awu, each story from children comes from father. They say when that father up the river or beach, eats a fish, it got that baby. I got mark from leg that's where father speared fish, through river. When man spears fish they reckon that one's the baby, the woman starts feel that she's pregnant [YN]. 

The father acts as a medium for the entry of the spirit into the woman. 

(4) Similarly, a mother by her own actions can also initiate certain events, though not precisely the same as those associated with the actions and involvement of the father. It is said that if a woman was wanting to become pregnant, she could "go out in the bush with sister-in-law to find a baby" [PK]. To do this, the hopeful woman
and her sister-in-law would frequent an awu in the hope of activating and directly "finding" a "baby spirit":

You know water fairy they talk, those old people talking I can hear them, they bin send this little baby. They playing in swamp, they give baby to mother if she go to water, you go to story place and they give you baby [MN].

Given that FZ (the woman's sister-in-law) is structurally regarded as being "like father", she could be said to represent the father and his patri-kin in general, in assisting the mother in this way.

Generally, people will make assessments as to where, or "which side", the "baby spirit" came from. The majority are said to have come from the child's "father's side": "Baby from awu, from story from own story from father, same way now baby come from story " [YN]. It is also regarded as possible for the "baby spirit" to have come or been sent from the child's "mother's side". Most often, the decision is made after birth and is based on the physical appearance and personality of the child. In other words the spiritual aspect is believed to have a definite 'genetic' effect which can be translated or interpreted by other individuals: a "spirit" coming from mother's "side" may effect the child so that it will physically resemble, or "follow on" its mother, mother's brother or sister or mother's father or mother; a "spirit" coming from father's "side"
will effect the child so that it "follows on" from its patrilineal relatives. Mostly, in such assessments reference is made to patrphysiognomy, whereby boys are said to "follow their father's" and girls are said to "have to follow their aunties" (PZ) in their physical appearance.

In accordance with this posited physical relationship, a woman explained the thin and unhealthy appearance of her two sons in the following terms:

Well those boys have to follow their father. My son N, that doctor [the Flying Doctor who visits Aurukun] want to send him to have tests 'cause he so thin. Well I tell him, he's thin, but those boys have to follow their father; he [N's father] same way when small really thin boy, he's really thin man too. Well same way N [RN].

A father and a mother are not only regarded as being able to nurture the child in utero, they are also believed, by so doing, to impart physical and personal qualities of their own, to the child. Physiognomic features and personality traits are also seen to be transmitted over a number of generations and not simply from one's immediate genitor and genetrix. In this way a social and physical continuity and connection can be inferred well back into the past between a child and another relative.

(5) Specific "baby story places" (pukpe awu) do in fact exist: "storyplace for baby we call them ... just like little fairy" [PK]. "Baby spirits" do more than reside at these pukpe awu as they may
do at other awu. In the case of pukpe awu they are directly associated with the awu and have 'increase' ritual as well. There are two such pukpe awu in the coastal estates between the Kendall River and Christmas Creek (see Map 2). If a husband and wife want to have a child but have been unable to, they can approach the "boss" of either estate to activate the awu on their behalf. J. von Sturmer (1978:364) gives a description of such a ritual performed at a pukpe awu in the Kugu-Nganychara region: "... the baby "story-place" consists of a large tree ... which stands alongside a large mound. To "frighten" the awu, the tree is chopped with a tomahawk". The rituals performed at these particular awu are regarded as being beneficial for the fecundity of all women as well as the woman who requested the ritual to be performed.

**Fertility Control.** Abortion is said to have been practised in the past if a woman did not want a child. I have no information on how often the following methods were resorted to, nor how efficacious they were: pushing down hard on the abdomen and/or tying a hair string tightly around the abdomen are believed to induce abortions (see also McConnel 1934:317). Generally though, it appears that infanticide was considered to be a possible post-natal abortion technique, since infanticide is spoken of by some Kugu-Nganychara women in terms of disposing of an unwanted child (see also Chapter Five). Contraceptives are regarded as being "women's business". J. von Sturmer (1978:355)
notes that Kugu-Nganychara men believe that women have knowledge of the existence of specific opar ("bush medicine") which they use for contraceptive purposes. However, I was not able to obtain any identification of plants supposedly used as contraceptives, nor any outright indication by women that they in fact used them.

Ceremonies such as "warming" the infant's genitals, which is performed after birth as a means of instilling sexual restraint, could be said to be a contraceptive measure, especially given the belief that a woman was required to have sexual intercourse a number of times with one man in order to build up the "egg" inside. Another contraceptive measure operating at a general social level has to do with the double-edged nature of pukpe awu. Awu in general may have both positive and negative consequences. With respect to the pukpe awu, "baby spirits" may be increased, but they may also be decreased or de-activated. J. von Sturmer (1978:364) notes that a person (either male or female) may call for "no more babies" or "weak and sick babies" who will die. It is seen as being a malicious action taken on the part of an "outsider" or "stranger", or someone is "cranky" ("sulky": angry, annoyed, jealous, etc.) with a specific group of people, and directs these ill-effects towards them. One might conjecture from this whether a decline in the number of births or an increase in miscarriages and neo-natal mortality, would then be attributed to someone activating the 'negative' side of this awu. It would also be interesting to speculate further as to whether women actively sought for this particular consequence (i.e.,
"no more babies") for its personal, 'positive' contra-
ceptive value.

The recognition of "finding". As previously noted, the cessation of menses is taken as a clear indication of pregnancy. Other factors were also acknowledged:

If pregnant I can say [the woman feeling her stomach] pain sick here. She feels this [back] and this [lower back], feels pain in back. Right inside here [groin] pain there too [YN];

When she lazy and sleepy she knows she pregnant. And that one [pointing to her stomach] come up and up, paba [breasts] fill up for baby [MP].

A mother (to-be) is also said to "dream" her child. A Kugu-Nganychara woman relates a relatively typical experience with her first child (a male) by her second husband:

well I bin dreamed for P, blue, blue lagoon. I bin walk past, with red flowers. I woke up, then I knew, I felt myself then and knew I was pregnant [PK].

Social recognition of pregnancy occurs over a period of time as people take note of such physiological and social developments. Women in general are said to prefer to keep the knowledge of their pregnancy "secret way", to be shared immediately between the husband and wife, and between the pregnant woman and her mother and close female relatives.

When the pregnancy is socially recognized the woman is referred to and addressed as iimpanang (glossed as "pregnant one" or "woman with baby still inside"; see also Thomson 1936:378). Invariably the term will replace the kin term by which different people would refer to the woman. People say, "iimpanang eh. She's pregnant", or a person may simply point to his or her stomach as an indication of the woman's condition, or indicate the specific person being referred to as "that belly one". The woman's husband, in
accordance with his perceived reproductive role, is called *iimpanang wunpun* (WM - *iimpanang* - the pregnant one; *wunpun* - placer, begetter). Children may later distinguish their "own father" as genitor with the phrase "the one who put me". These locutions, like those used when avoiding the names of a deceased person, have the result of actually drawing attention to the state of the woman, and are a reminder to others of the need for some circumspection and consideration in their behaviour with her. People may talk about her in the "sorry voice" style - used by adults for young babies, individuals who are upset or hurt, for grieving widows, and for helpless animals - as a display of interest and concern. The terminology which focuses attention on the reproductive status of the woman can be extended to other relations. For instance, people may now be referred to by the kin term that they will assume actively with the child after birth. The father's younger brother who will be "small father" to the child may be referred to during the pregnancy as, and called *pip emat'n iimpanang* ("the growing father of the pregnant one") (see also Thomson 1936:378). The child in utero is referred to as *pukpe nhepe* (*pukpe* - foetus, baby; *nhepe* - breath; glossed as "baby starting for born"). A clue to how people picture the foetal form, at least during part of the process of being "built up", is to be found in the expression for bèche de mèr which are called *yuku pukpe nhepe*. Walking along the beach at Pu'an with a widowed woman, we came across a number of bèche de mèr washed up onto the sand. The woman gave me its Wik-Uwanh name - *yuku pukpe nhepe*. In response to my question of, "that same name for baby inside eh?", I
received the somewhat terse reply: "Well that same name alright, might be 'cause look the same, I don't know. (Then quite adamantly) That not like baby, that rubbish thing". Pre-natal abortion, premature miscarriage and the butchering of animals would almost certainly provide some knowledge of the human and animal foetal form. It may be inferred from the use of the same term for the foetus and bêche de mèr that there is a clear idea of foetal physiology. But as the woman herself indicated, a foetus is something more than a biological phenomenon. Before birth it is being progressively assigned a social and spiritual identity; so that certainly pukpe nhepe is not yuku.

Pregnancy: "Building up" babies. During pregnancy the mother and father-to-be must observe specific restrictions on their behaviour, aimed primarily at protecting and sustaining (or "building up") the development of the child in utero. According to Kugu-Nganychara women, a woman's first duty upon realizing that she is pregnant is to tell her husband:

When wife get pregnant first thing you got to let husband know, got to tell own mother, father and grannie (MM) to look after her [YN]; ... got to tell father [to-be] first and then he look after mother, to get her firewood and water [PK].

The pregnant woman advises her husband, as well as her own parents and grandparents. These people, and especially the woman's husband as genitor, are then expected to "look after", or care for, the woman. The husband is described as assuming domestic activities which are generally performed by the woman herself. Apart from telling her husband and close relatives (particularly close female
relatives such as her own mother, mother's mother and sisters), it is generally well-known that women do not want to tell others of their pregnant state, but rather "keep that baby secret way". Discussion on the manner by which "finding" occurred, takes place after the woman realizes that she is pregnant. Then she may recall her own efforts to conceive by visiting one of the women's awu, or recall a dream, or the father may remember certain incidents mentioned previously by which he activated a "baby-spirit" at an awu he travelled past. All of these events may be taken into account.

Statements by women indicate that by and large a pregnant woman maintained her habitual round of social and economic activities almost until the birth was imminent (confirming a general reading of McConnel 1957:137). It was suggested though that if there was a co-wife within the conjugal unit then the other woman might on occasions assume the more burdensome activities such as accompanying the husband on hunting and fishing trips or gathering expeditions, whilst the pregnant woman would remain and do the "camp work" and "look after" any other children that might be there (see also McConnel 1934:326, and Chapter Six). "Baby come they have to take care of that woman", was the opinion of adult women. In general the pregnant woman was said to require "caring" attention not so much because pregnancy was regarded as being a dangerous state, but as a sign of consideration for the welfare of both the woman and the child in utero. The identity of the people who are expected to assume this caring role depended largely on the place of residence of the conjugal unit and on the composition of the camp in which
they were residing. The father-to-be's responsibilities were framed more in terms of an extension of those he assumed normally within the conjugal unit; for example, now he went "hunting for that baby" [YN]. If the mother and father (to-be) were residing in the latter's estate, then the "mother-in-law, sister-in-law more caring, more caring" [YN] for the pregnant woman. By and large though, women and men indicated that a pregnant woman preferred to reside at her "own mother's camp" wherever that might be, and receive the social support of her female uterine kin. In general, close female relatives were expected to assume nurturing or protective responsibilities for the pregnant woman. The preference expressed by women was not so much in terms of where, but with whom: women preferred to be with their own mother and female uterine kin for the actual childbirth and if possible, for all of the pregnancy as well. For this purpose then, the pregnant woman and the father-to-be may be forced to travel away from their own camp. Given the relatively small size of estates in the coastal region (J. von Sturmer 1978: gives figures of 24 estates along a coastal frontage of 70 kilometres) this may not have been a great distance.

Of those Kugu-Nganychara born in the bush, some were in fact born in their father's estate, indicating that their mother resided at her in-law's camp for childbirth. The majority, however, were born in their "mother's country" (i.e., the child's mother's father's estate). As further explanation of this pattern, people also mention that after the marriage a husband tended to reside in his wife's country: "new husband, wife camp own mother's (wM) place so
own mother, father, grandmother (wMM) can look after" [YN].

As part of this explanation, people cited the desire on the part of a newly-married woman to stay in her mother's camp in order to have the social support of her own natal family whilst she "gets used to that husband" [YN]. Another complimentary reason cited was the desire of parents, and particularly of mothers, to "hold onto" (keep with them) their daughters for reasons of affection and companionship; and also to benefit from the economic input of their new son-in-law who is expected and obliged to distribute food to his parents-in-law. From another perspective, J. von Sturmer (1978:409) and Sutton (1978:83) comment that newly-married men in the Wik region often prefer to live with their wife's family on the latter's estate, while they establish their own family and authority independent to that of their fathers.

There is a recognized social pressure coming from the pregnant woman's relatives, or "side", to have the immediate events of pregnancy and childbirth under their management. There is also an associated belief that subsequent to birth and the woman's return to her husband's estate, she should be free to return to her parents, and especially that her children should be able to see their maternal kin: "No one can block me [keep me out] from mother's side", people will say. That pressure to ensure conformity to these demands is successful, is evident in the fact that a number of people are as knowledgeable about and familiar with their mother's "country" as they are about their father's "country" (even though the latter is regarded as being their primary affiliation, their "own country").
Given the desire on the part of women to reside at their mother's camp for childbirth, and the expectation that a newly married couple will stay at the wife's parent's camp after the marriage, it would seem apparent that this reflects a widespread and customary residential arrangement. It certainly reflects a strong preference on the part of women to seek the support of their mothers and close female kin during pregnancy and childbirth, and other role transitional stages such as marriage and probably also widowhood. It also establishes specific women (invariably close uterine kin), as the pivotal figures in establishing and maintaining a socially supportive environment for a pregnant woman. No matter where she resides, the pregnant woman remains living in the same domestic campsite as her husband, maintaining their usual domestic and economic activities. If at the woman's parents' estate, they will probably attach themselves physically near to the latter's campsite.

During the pregnancy when babies are said to be actively "built-up", both the mother and father are required to observe a number of restrictions on their behaviour. Other close relatives become involved in aspects of these, but generally the force of these restrictions falls on the pregnant woman and her husband. Restrictions on the consumption of certain foods are placed on both the mother and father (to-be), for both are regarded as having the potential for directly affecting - either in a beneficial or deleterious way - the child in utero. Food restrictions for the mother and father begin from the moment that pregnancy is personally acknowledged. They have both proscriptive and prescriptive aspects. Generally,
proscriptions on eating certain types of foods are more complex and specific in their effects than are prescriptions. That is, there is more emphasis on what one should not eat and on the consequences of the parents not observing certain food restrictions, than on what they should eat and the benefits obtained therein.

Restricted foods include items from minha, yuku and nga'a categories. The following list given by one woman is representative of the main foods which are usually regarded as either restricted or unrestricted:

- Mothers can't eat big birds like emu, brolga, jabiru, no snake, flying fox. White ibis, black ibis O.K. [unrestricted]. Can't eat possum, no big fish - no big catfish, barramundi. Nothing kangaroo, [and nowadays] no killer [cattle] or pig ... Father can't eat kangaroo, big birds, but fish O.K. This is while his wife is having baby [YN].

The restrictions observed by the mother and father do not seem to apply in any roughly parallel or systematic manner, though they do overlap; e.g., brolga, emu and kangaroo are restricted for both. Whilst the woman above specifically indicated that black and white ibis are "O.K.", i.e., they are not restricted food items, other people have included them. When questioned, the general purpose of the restrictions is initially framed in terms of the well-being of the child in utero: both in terms of ensuring and protecting its development, and its subsequent health as an adult. It was also mentioned by women that eating specific categories of foods would cause difficulties for the actual birth; that is, the restrictions on certain foods should be observed for the well-being of both mother and child. The father's adherence to food restrictions was framed in terms
of its being a protective device for the safety of mother and child. Just as his behaviour initially effected the "finding" of the baby, so is his behaviour seen to effect the progress and outcome of pregnancy. The father's observation of food restrictions does not seem to focus on his own welfare or benefit.

Restricted food items for both mother and father are generally of a class or category of things which have a wider application to people in personal states other than pregnancy or potential fatherhood. The foods belong to a category of bigness or power. For example, those foods restricted for a mother and father-to-be are largely classified as "big foods". Many of the same "big foods", such as emu, big birds, kangaroo, large barramundi etc., are totally restricted for consumption by children, for initiates and for recently widowed women. For pregnant women, the restrictions apply to large and mature animals of a species rather than to the species as a whole, so that the immature animals are in fact often available to them for consumption. Women say, for example, that a pregnant woman may eat small fish and small or immature animals, whereas mature animals of such species as emu, brolga, catfish, barramundi, jabiru, etc., are "big foods" and cannot be eaten. The Aboriginal concept of "bigness" appears to be a key one in the area between Aurukun and Edward River (see J. von Sturmer 1978:333; Sutton 1978:196-197). One has "big" and "small" names, language words, ceremonies, sites within estates, dances and song styles, and "big" men or "bosses". Essentially, bigness is a
social concept and has to do with the presence of power and authority, a division laid down by the original 'founding heroes'. Whilst the power inherent in "big" things can be handled and manipulated by certain categories of people, especially by "big" men, they are seen to be inherently dangerous to young children, initiates, and some women; e.g., widows and pregnant and menstruating women, who are within specific social and/or biological states during which they are susceptible or vulnerable. "Big" foods then are part of a broad ideological distinction made between "big" as being primary, powerful and dangerous, as opposed to "small" as neutral and vulnerable. The child in utero is seen as being especially vulnerable to the power inherent in such food and should be protected from it. I would suggest that in the case of women who are in 'extraordinary' personal states (e.g., widows, pregnant and menstruating women), it is the combination of the "bigness" or potential danger of the food itself, combined with the actual state of the woman (states which are invariably associated with blood and therefore power), which catalyzes the potential danger and vulnerability for both the pregnant woman and the child in utero.

One woman who had adhered to such food restrictions for her "bush births" also listed various minha (animals) which she classed as thayan (strong) and which she argued would make childbirth difficult if consumed during pregnancy. These included:
minha monte (jabiru): because it had powerful tendons in its legs (yagi thayan). She included emu, brolga and scrub turkey for the same reason and added that they also had a "strong beak" and that the father should break this if he caught one of the animals while out hunting;

minha pooli and minha punba (carpet snake and "file snake"): because in catching carpet snakes one usually has to reach into tree holes to pull them out and they coil round one's arm making it difficult to remove them. A similar explanation was given for file snakes when they are picked up out of the water. Another woman [IW] called file snakes "larrikin" snakes ... "they making love with you, they wrap around you";

minha yome (possum): was also regarded as thayan and causing difficult births because the possum is said to have a powerful foot for holding on - yome tha'u thayan (tha'u - foot).

All of these foods for the qualities of strength, intractibility and toughness cited above, are thought to cause difficult childbirths, e.g., obstructed labours, prolonged labour and complicated presentations, and increased "pain" for the parturient woman.

Any bush food which has abnormal physical features, colouring, markings or an absence of "fat" will not be eaten. This represents a general rule for assessing the quality of food to be eaten by anyone, not simply by pregnant women. There seem to have been no restrictions at all on eating vegetable foods (mayi). Indeed, yams and other vegetable foods were regarded as a necessary part of a
pregnant woman's diet - necessary for both the health of the mother and the baby. These prescribed foods included: yam *(mayi morgum)*, a number of water-lily species *(mayi payan, mayi kode)*, arrowroot *(mayi mugga)*, corms from "bulgru" in the dry swamps *(mayi punthen)* and a number of unidentified "bush fruits". Grandparents from either "side" were not regarded as being under any food restrictions during the period of a woman's pregnancy, though some people mentioned that they were affected by some restrictions on food immediately after the birth (see Chapter Five).

A symbiotic physical relationship is seen to exist between the pregnant woman and child **in utero** with regards to food consumption: "[Baby in utero] grows because baby eats, every time mother eats they reckon child eats too. Same food as mother" [*YN*]. Another woman explained the implications of this close relationship:

> Sometimes we have to tell mothers, you eat and chew your food properly otherwise sick when having baby. Chew fish, mothers eat bone, we have to push mother's throat get bone up from baby, get stuck in baby's throat, mothers have to be very careful eating fish [*MP*].

In terms of maternal and foetal anatomical relationship, it is considered that what the mother eats is consumed directly by the child **in utero**. Unfortunately, I have not obtained the detailed information necessary to make further descriptions of Kugu-Nganychara ideas concerning reproductive anatomy, and in particular, anatomy during pregnancy. Nevertheless, the child **in utero** is regarded as being particularly vulnerable to "big" foods and to its intimate physical relationship with its mother. For this reason, the woman must take care of what and how she eats. Similarly,
the father is in an intimate relationship with the child during the pregnancy and must alter his behaviour in consideration of the child's welfare.

Varied and complex rules apply to a pregnant woman's behaviour near lagoons and large stretches of water and wells. Such areas of water have to be treated with a great deal of care. For example, a pregnant woman should not get water from a well as it is believed that small invisible snakes (yuku thepanda) will enter the womb and induce miscarriage: "Baby get sick from well water, baby inside sick and die [YN]. Nowadays women will refer to similar effects from "hookworms", which they also associate with water. Instead, the husband or sister-in-law, or the pregnant woman's own mother and sisters (depending on place of residence) are expected to collect and carry water for her. The same restrictions apply to pregnant women going near or in swamps. Such areas are often awu sites and are believed to be the residence of spirits in general, which are thought to be able to interfere with a woman's internal anatomy, causing damage to the child and possibly a future miscarriage. "Mermaid storyplaces" located at swamps (which may be similar to marreche awu - "sweetheart story places") are believed to be dangerous to pregnant women, and women in general, as they may be dragged down beneath the surface by spirits to be "mates" for them, that is to be their wives.

It would seem that those places (awu) at which a woman (or man) may have found the child become a source of potential danger once pregnancy has been recognized, by the very reason of the site being associated with the spirit world. Women will variously refer to "snakes", to "that
Rainbow serpent" and to "fairy spirits" as frequenting swamps or water holes. The most commonly cited consequence of a pregnant woman approaching water without protection is sickness for both mother and baby and possibly miscarriage:

Every woman who goes to swamp, got to be very careful, without smell8, you'll lose the baby miscarriage. When you go to swamp, or in water, or fishing, they [women] put leaf on, koma [yuku kominan - "file leaf tree"; Ficus opposita], leaves all 'round waist [pointing to lower groin] tie with string, put leaf inside skirt from stomach hanging down. If not she get sick, dead baby born. You get pain then baby come, dead. Once my grandmother growled me, 'I'm not going unless you put leave 'cause you got to have that leaf.' When she gets up from that swamp she can throw leaf away [PK].

Fathers were under no restrictions regarding water. I have been told by one old woman that a pregnant woman ... "can't sit by fire. She can't stay there all night otherwise there'll be different child she'll get it" [TN], the implication being that perhaps another "baby spirit", intended for another, may "catch" the woman. The emphasis in all of these restrictions is on the continued parental responsibility for sustaining the desired growth and development of the child in utero, and ensuring a successful and quick delivery with no harm to mother and child.

Duration of pregnancy. An elderly woman who has been a midwife for a number of "bush births" and has also assisted the European nursing sister at Aurukun in deliveries during the 1950's and 60's, was of the opinion that it took "nine months for baby to grow up inside mother in the bag [mompa] inside belly" [MP], an opinion almost certainly influenced by contact with European medical education. In general, while women recognize the cessation of menses as the beginning of pregnancy, there is no necessity felt to
arrive at any exact estimate of the duration of the pregnancy and time of expected delivery. When consideration is given to the question of delivery date attention is given not so much to days and months, as to observations made regarding the woman's physical appearance. One woman indicated that pregnant women in the bush recognized 'lightening' of the foetus as an indication for the imminency of childbirth. Observations are made on seasonal changes as broad measurements of time. A woman from the Kendall River outstation had been sent to Cairns Hospital for the major duration of her pregnancy. Her mother was worried: "she left when that swamp full with water [during the wet season], now its dry, for long time [a period of about eight months had passed]; she been there long time, that baby should be starting for born" [PK].

**Determining the sex of the unborn child.** A few days after this conversation another woman informed me that the pregnant woman in Cairns had had a baby boy. I asked her whether she had heard this on the daily radio medical check with Aurukun. "Nothing radio", was the reply, "someone bin find 'm round here, bin dream. PK [the pregnant woman's mother] bin dream for baby boy" [YN]. Later, the woman herself confirmed the statement and said that the previous night she had seen her daughter in a "dream" with a "new baby boy". Another certain means of determining the sex of the unborn child reported by J. von Sturmer (1978:357), is by the physical "condition" of the father (to-be). If the child in utero is a boy, the father will retain his physical "condition", if it is a girl, the father will waste
away or "lose his condition". A female child in utero is thus seen to have an adverse physical effect on its father. Some young men are of the opinion that having children generally will make a man "lose his condition": "young men got to save up strength, when having kids, get weaker" [SK]. The child in utero is thus seen to be able to also affect its parents. The physical communication is thus established as a three-way process between the mother, father and the child in utero.

How pregnancy is regarded. If a woman observes the restrictions placed on her behaviour during pregnancy, and likewise the father, then she can expect to deliver with relative ease, a healthy child. It was recognized that a pregnant woman was perhaps more vulnerable to certain spiritual interference than at other times, and that she deserved care and consideration from her husband and from her own mother, grandmother (MM) and sisters, as well as her mother-in-law and sister-in-law. Most women indicate that they were able and willing to maintain their usual social and economic activities when pregnant. Physical consequences which were said to sometimes accompany pregnancy, such as tiredness, headaches, aching backs and "pains" were usually dealt with by a woman on an individual basis or within the supportive environment of her close female relations. If a pregnant woman felt nauseous, had a "pain in back" or felt "silly in head", she would resort to those usual opar, or "bush medicine" preparations which she and her sisters, mother and grandmother used throughout their lives. Yuku woyedho (Ficus Cunninghamii) was a frequently used plant
medicine by women for complaints associated with pregnancy and generally to promote good health: "we get the roots, boil in water and drink for when bad pain, or really sick" [YN]. People also bathed in water in which the rootstock had been boiled, to relieve aches and "pains".

In "finding babies" there is a tendency to interweave a number of biological, social and spiritual dimensions, and individuals in the process. With pregnancy realized and acknowledged, a woman and man (as genitrix and genitor) become subject to specific proscriptions and prescriptions aimed at protecting and ensuring the development of the child, and also aimed at the welfare of the mother. But even before then, the husband and wife, as potential parents, must regulate their sexual and social behaviour in the interests of realizing their reproductive capacity. Other individuals become involved in that regulation. Some alter their own behaviour toward the parents while others are more concerned with activating and sustaining the development of the child.

Reproduction of children is regarded as being most legitimately centred within an arranged marriage ideally representing a stable social and domestic arrangement. Such a marriage however, is located within wider interactions and alliances between "families" and has social and economic constraints placed on it. While the expression of male and female sexuality is held to be an individual prerogative it is also subject to a social order which ensures that certain biological developments deemed necessary for reproduction, take place. Sexual promiscuity may, for example, lead to
infertility and for a woman it may lead to future difficulties in childbirth, miscarriage and even death.

"Finding" involves the "building up" of a number of different aspects of the child's identity - social, spiritual as well as physical. The sexual stability of a male and female relationship initially allows for a baby to be physically developed over a period of time. The mother and father contribute to this development by their blood and semen which together activate and nourish the child's development in utero. Certain factors affecting their behaviour and interaction become more precisely defined as the pregnancy progresses. They must observe restrictions on approaching certain locations within the environment without having suitable protection. These alterations in behaviour aim at protecting the development of the child in utero from powerful and potentially dangerous forces. At this level, the emphasis is on a three-way communication between the mother, father and child.

The decision to "find" and "build up" a baby is not simply left in the hands of the conjugal unit. Close kin or "family", together with the spirits of known deceased relatives and ancestors, also affect both the conditions and progress of "finding". For example, fertility, like many other aspects of social and biological and economic life, can be managed and ordered: by performing the required ritual at specific pukpe awu people can "send out" babies - either healthy or sick ones - to women in general; or particular men and women can request that the "boss" of the awu perform the ritual especially for them. The spiritual
world is not simply a passive recipient of such demands for "spirit babies" to be sent, but can play an active role. The spiritual world is seen to create and maintain the resources of that world of which "spirit babies" are only one aspect. Particular patrilineal spirits from either the woman's or the man's "side" can deliberately "send out" a "spirit baby" to that woman. They are also held to be responsible for the continued caring of the spirit aspect of the child in utero. By this involvement, specific connections between the child and individuals from past generations may be established, and connections made between the child and the awu from which its "spirit" was thought to have been frightened at or sent from.

Other individuals may direct their attention and consideration towards the mother. She is "looked after", or cared for, during pregnancy by her husband, her mother, maternal grandmother and her female siblings and female affines. They must give her the right food to eat and share some of her more burdensome activities, as her own health may be threatened by the "building up" of the child. As she gives nourishment to the child, so others must assume a similar responsibility for her. The woman is also cared for before the actual pregnancy by other categories of women, in particular her own mother, sisters and maternal grandmother, who guard and foster the development of her reproductive potential. She may also be supplied with food by a prospective son-in-law who may be "promised" her as yet unborn daughter, but who is already obliged to present gifts to her (in the same way that her own husband did so and continues to fulfil such duties to her parents).
The "finding" and "building up" of babies creates a particular impression on the child in utero. It is said to "follow on" from a certain "side" and from certain individuals both living and deceased. This "following" may take the form of having physical and personality traits resembling those of other people, or simply an association with a particular "side" more so than another. The evidence and involvement of other individuals which establish such connections are actively begun during the "finding" and "building up" process. In a very deliberate way the child in utero is having constructed for it by others, a social, physical and spiritual identity. "Finding" and "building up" are thus one aspect of a continuing and active incorporation of a new individual into the social life and relationships of a particular population. Two distinct social elements are interwoven into this process – that of the child's father and his "side", and that of the child's mother and her "side". This division extends beyond the living into the past generations of those "sides" in spiritual form.

There is in Kugu-Nganychara society a definite emphasis on the ideology of patrifiliation. Men and women are said to acquire, by virtue of being their father's sons and daughters, important aspects of their social, physical, personality and spiritual identity. An active incorporation of the child in utero within its father's patriline begins before birth. The child in utero is already associated with a set of patrilineally transmitted kam waya (totems), is said to have primary affiliations and tenure of its father's estate and is associated with patrilineal ceremonial life and a range of names. The transmission of these rights
is directly associated with the involvement of the man in his role as genitor. These rights are generally confirmed by the strong co-incidence between "spirit babies" being mostly sent from the child's father's estate. However, at the same time that social, spiritual and biological connections are being established between the child and its father and its father's "side", other connections are also being established and confirmed with the mother and mother's "side". A newly-married and pregnant woman will return to her own parents' campsite to reside and will rely on the social support, knowledge and experience of her own mother, grandmother and sisters. All of these various social relations and connections are most immediately established during this period via the assumption of nurturing responsibilities outlined.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER FOUR

1. I would agree with McConnel's argument (1934:316-317) that this strategy had the effect of asserting the man's prior claims over the girl who is being "promised" to him.

2. It is notable in McConnel's *Myths of the Wik Mungkan* (1957), that a large number of the "myths" relate just such a theme and also evidence a preoccupation with the expression of sexuality, and with sexual relationships in general.

3. Sharp (1940:491) states that "Pitch battles, raids, ambushes and duels were of frequent occurrence" during his two year fieldwork with the Yir Yiront - though he notes that there was a low fatality rate. Sutton (1978: xiii-xiv) makes a similar point about the Cape Keerweer population in the Wik region, but writes that deaths were more frequent. These statements support local Kugu-Nganychara opinion about there being a constant threat or possibility of violence when living "in the bush" in the past, and that the incidents of marreche exacerbated already existing tensions between local populations.

4. Largeness of genitals is associated with sexual voraciousness and promiscuity. Allusions to the size of genitals is a common form of "swearing" (derisive taunts, teasing, abuse), especially between children.

5. McConnel (1953:33) describes a "lover's necklet" of string which is "sent by a woman to her lover by his half-sister, who arranges a meeting".
6. **Yuku** is a Kugu-Nganychara generic term which commonly precedes more specific terms and may be said to be a classifier (see Sutton 1978:273-274). It is the most inclusive classifier and can be used for trees, snakes and unspecified objects in the environment which may have no immediate use value and are often labelled as "rubbish", as well as introduced and local technological items. J. von Sturmer (1978:361) also notes the use of the term for bêche de mer and in a footnote writes, "It is tempting to suggest that a resemblance is seen between the latter and the child in foetal form". My information certainly supports that suggestion, though as will be noted, people make a clear-cut distinction between what is 'human' and what is 'other'.

7. **Thayan** is of a different quality of being to bigness, though some of the foods listed are also considered to be "big" foods. **Thayan** as a Kugu-Nganychara classification of qualities has probably more to do with physical strength, toughness and unyielding hardness. These are qualities associated not so much with the power and danger of 'bigness', as with affecting the actual obstetrical events of birth: with making the foetus intractable and unwilling to be delivered, and with making the delivery prolonged, painful and injurious to the parturient woman.

8. "Smell" means axilla sweat which is rubbed over people when visiting "new" country, **awu** or other places classed as dangerous. Its protective value lies literally in the "smell" which when given by someone who is known to the spirits in residence, or who is a "big man" or "boss", will cover the "strange" or foreign "smell" of an outsider, or of someone designated as being vulnerable to interference by the spirits.
Chapter Five

"STARTING FOR BORN" AND "FINISHED BORN"

This chapter describes in detail the events involved in the process referred to by the Kugu-Nganychara as "starting for born" and those which culminate in the child being "finished born". Childbirth represents another transition in which social relationships between the child and other individuals are both established and confirmed. During these events, a range of people again become involved in assuming particular responsibilities for the child and for the mother. The child in particular is more clearly located within a range of social relationships which will have continuing importance. The chapter continues the investigation of the means by which different categories of people establish their interests in the child and assume specific responsibilities, and considers the implications for the child and for others, of the social relations established and confirmed during this period.

Childbirth and the conjugal unit. From all accounts a pregnant woman remained living with her husband as a conjugal unit until the birth. In childbirth women must deal with an intrinsically powerful and dangerous situation and in doing so, are classified as being nganycha ("poison", restricted, tabu). Nganycha is often glossed as "poison" by the Kugu-Nganychara indicating the presence of intrinsic danger and power, which requires certain protective measures to be taken. Human blood in specific circumstances, initiation and other "big" ceremonies, specific sites within
an estate, and certain kin-based relationships (e.g., close in-law relationships) are all regarded as being nganycha. By virtue of their intimate involvement in a particular state of coming-into-being (which is also associated with blood) such women in fact exclude and restrict the involvement of certain other individuals. During the proceedings of childbirth, men and specifically the father-to-be, are actively excluded from participation:

... we go away to special camp, go away from father he can't see mother. Own mother and grannie (MM) and sister go with her, they are the ones who should look after her, get her food and water. Husband should not talk to her or see her [YW].

When viewed from the perspective of the central figures involved - the mother, child and midwives - it is at this point that the conditions of reproduction come fully under the management of particular categories of women. They are not simply anonymous women though.

"Starting for born": the role of midwives. A Kugu-Nganychara woman will not wish to deliver her child alone, but will call upon other, older women to assist her as midwives (called "bush nurses" by the Kugu-Nganychara). In 1927-28, McConnel (1953:41) recorded the presence of such attendants (see Plate 1 this thesis). The social identity of the midwife depended on the place of residence of the pregnant woman and the composition of the local residential group. By far the most frequently stated and realized preference of women was to have their own mother, mother's mother or "big" (elder) sister as "nurses"; i.e., the same female uterine kin who provided social support and protection to the woman during her pregnancy. Whilst both actual and
classificatory kin may be included within these categories, more often than not, actual genealogical kin were the midwives. The cases reported bear out such preferences:

... When the father went out for hunting fish or wallaby, if that mother thats when starting for born, old lady [the pregnant woman's mother] got to stay for nurse [PK].

... my sister, mother bin nurse for me, I was born right here under that tree. Then I bin see to my sister too. Yes helping each other [MP].

... really grannie (MM) just like nursing sister. My own mother, grannie bin nurse for me [EM].

... well my mother, auntie [FZ] stay with me. My youngest cousin-sister (MZA) bin stay to look after that boy 'cause she bin a nurse for him [YN].

Contrary to McConnel's information for the Archer River groups, Kugu-Ngaychara women have not included mother-in-law as a possible kin relation who might act as a midwife. The possible exception is the inclusion in the statement by YN of "auntie" (FZ) as a midwife. FZ is included in the Kugu-Ngaychara mother-in-law category, but marriage with actual FZS is regarded as being "too close". It is therefore unlikely that actual FZ would be the actual HM. Likewise, sister-in-law has not been included in any lists given by Kugu-Ngaychara women. Unless the child is born in its own father's estate (which is relatively rare amongst the Kugu-Ngaychara) it would be highly unlikely that HM, "mother-in-law", would be present to act as midwife for the pregnant woman.

Kugu-Ngaychara women said they were prepared to travel to their own mother's residence and preferred to live there for the latter part of the pregnancy. Depending then on the pregnant woman's ability to travel to her mother's
camp - wherever that may be - in order to have her own close female kin (as listed above) as midwives, the birth may in fact occur in the estate of the child's MM(F), MF, MFZ(H), MMM, MMZ(H), or in its own father's estate. Given residential patterns and the preference for newly married couples to reside in the wife's parents' camp noted in the previous chapter, and the structural preference for women to have their sister (actual and classificatory) marry their husband's brother (see Chapter Seven), some of these categories of midwives may in fact all be located in the same residential camp (see also J. von Sturmer 1978:100-101). For example, the child's MM and MMZ may have married men from the same country, as may have its M and MZ. A child's MZ could then be residing in its father's estate and could provide a uterine kin as midwife even if the wife remained at her husband's families' camp. Choice of midwives then, apart from initial preference, would also depend on the composition of local groups and residential patterns. Given that pregnant women prefer to travel to their mother's camp for the pregnancy and birth and have their mother and female uterine kin as midwives, then Thomson's (1939b:211) implied claim that Wik people are invariably born within their own "clan estate" is jeopardized (see also J. von Sturmer 1978:99). The midwife is a culturally recognized role. Some women are especially renowned for their obstetrical knowledge and experience and their knowledge of opar (medicine) for childbirth. Midwives are always married or widowed women who have had children of their own. Women who are unmarried and without children are not called upon to be midwives. As women grow older and seek to assert more authority, not
having had children becomes a severe handicap.

"Starting for born". The signs said to be indicative of childbirth beginning ("starting for born") and the procedures to be followed, were outlined by a woman, who had three of her four children (with one neo-natal death included in those births) "in the bush":

I get that feeling for being born, feel pain coming coming on, then got to tell mother, grannie (MM) its time, this baby being born, we have to go away to special camp [TK].

Women obviously recognized both the breaking of the amniotic sack and subsequent release of fluid ("water"), as well as the increasing intensity of uterine contractions, as the immediate beginnings of birth, or "starting for born":

DoS: How do you know that baby starting for born?
YN: Well that water running first, then I got that feeling [pointing to belly] for being born, that come, keep coming.

The release of "water" is a commonly stated indication of imminent birth. "Pain" is a frequently used term, introduced no doubt, by contact over a number of decades with European medical personnel at Aurukun. My impression is that the term "pain", for this particular event is often used as a synonym for uterine contractions. Certainly, a European nursing sister at Aurukun who had delivered children at the local hospital indicated to me that she used the word herself to Aboriginal mothers in the sense of it meaning 'contraction' and that she felt it was understood by the women as meaning that. It is not necessarily used by Kugu-Nganychara women to indicate an emotional or physiological reaction of suffering or distress in the European sense of
feeling pain' or being 'painful'. While the latter may in fact have been an aspect of Kugu-Nganychara women's experience of childbirth; e.g., there were "bush medicines" available for alleviating severe discomfort during and after labour, it is significant that not one woman described her own experience of giving birth in terms of its 'painful', 'distress' or 'suffering' aspect. It should also be noted that Kugu-Nganychara women tended to de-personalize all discussions of negative or difficult childbirth experience, by referring only to other women's difficulties. This in itself may indicate a particular personal and cultural attitude to birth: that of emphasizing one's positive and active management of it and of one's "own body"; or simply of not emphasizing any distressful circumstances or complications which would indicate a loss of such personal control.

The Birthplace. With the acknowledged onset of birth the pregnant woman and her midwives go to a pre-selected site, "a special camp". The birthplace has those features most commonly desired in any camping place (agu nhakun): it should be close to water, clean in the sense of being cleared of leaves and undergrowth, with satisfactory shade trees (agu wiba) and with privacy. I have been taken to visit several birth sites between the Kendall River and the Holroyd River with either the people who were born there or with siblings of those people and always with the mother who gave birth also being present. In all cases the birth camps have all been located at no very great distance from where the main group of people, which would have included
the father, were said to be residing. The birth camps certainly have been within calling distance, though the women present mentioned that the activities within the birth camp should not be visible to any man and indicated that the women at the camp while requiring privacy also needed protection. At the main wet season camping site at Pu'an, a number of "families", sometimes from different estates, were said to congregate together for the wet season, the physical layout of the congregated population being that of a number of autonomous small "family" units spread out, around the major well, at a number of shades (wiba) which were used by those "families". So, even if a woman's husband's camp was not within sight, others would have been within calling distance. Women make it quite clear that they are not prepared, in general, to travel any great distance away from such a central residential group to camp by themselves when involved in any state concerning blood; e.g., menstruation and birth, for fear of sorcery.

I have not received any specific information from women to indicate that special kinds of shelters were built for childbirth. Within an outstation camp, shade trees are often improved upon for greater protection from the sun and for privacy, by adding Eucalyptus saplings around the edges of the bushes or trees constituting the shade. During the wet season and in the event of a wet season birth, it would seem reasonable to assume that the women would take the same precautions as others: that of having erected a pur-ayanchi, a low shelter constructed from cabbage-leaf fronds (see Plate 7). These shelters were often quite large in area, having a small entrance that could be totally closed off for
Childbirth. Accounts given by mothers of childbirths occurring in the bush, invariably emphasize the ease and quickness of delivery and the air of practical efficiency of the midwives. Women, in their capacities as midwives, are generally more prepared to discuss obstetric problems that might occur or have occurred during childbirth, whilst mothers were often reluctant to admit of any personal difficulties. A woman was not expected to display great emotional or physical reaction. For delivery the ground was cleared and a slight hollow dug out of the dirt or sand.

The posture assumed by the parturient woman and the assistance given, are described by one well-known midwife:

"We ourself nurse for ourself, no doctors only bush nurse. We have to make the mother sit, we [midwife] put knees together and under their bottom and they have to grunt and put baby on bark [TN]."

The parturient woman is supported from behind by a midwife who raises the woman away from the ground by placing her knees under the woman's buttocks. The woman herself is seen to be actively involved in "putting" or delivering the child.

*EM* had her "own mother" as a "nurse". She recounts her memories of the bush birth of her eldest daughter which occurred in her mother's camp (that is, at her parents' camp on her father's estate on the coast at the Holroyd River):

"Old lady (M) got behind kneeling down, just sitting, my knees up and sitting little bit on my mothers knees. She push hard on that baby to start it coming down, to start it off ..."
I just sit down on my knees for that baby, pain come, come, come. Go in 5 o'clock in the afternoon and she born 10 o'clock same day that night, quick she was. Mummy pushed down hard to turn that womb so baby ready for coming out. 'Mother time my sister (Z+) was nurse for me. They (M/Z+) good for nurse, more better more quicker that way.

Whilst this woman's measurement of the duration of labour seems quite precise, she in fact was emphasizing the quickness of the delivery rather than giving a statement of actual time. She was also the only woman I have heard use the English word womb. Most women use "bag", mompa, or "basket" as equivalent terms. Pregnant women invariably talk in terms of midwives being their "nurse": "TN was nurse for me" [TA]; whilst women as midwives tend to talk of their role in terms of the child: "I was nurse for young SA" [son of TA]. Also, children as they grow older are told who was "nurse" for them and it appears that this relationship is maintained, so that the midwife continues to be spoken of as a "nurse" for the child as it grows and is expected to help care for its physical well-being: "TN nurse for MA (B+) and for me. In bush TN make me better, if I get sick then she can help" [SA].

Both midwives and mothers were aware of the possible necessity for external manipulation of the foetus to correct for normal delivery position, as the statement above indicates. This external manipulation, or "pushing" and "turning" was done by the midwife, who sitting behind the mother, pushes down with her hands on the mother's abdomen. Another procedure given for correcting the position of the presenting part was that of rocking the mother from side to side, where the emphasis appeared to be on having the mother engage in
relatively active movement in the hope of changing the baby's position in utero: "One of my baby bin face wrong way and one of the bush nurse had to put that baby right with her hand" [YN]. Midwives indicated being able to deal with a strangulated cord:

I was nurse for S, he come out O.K. but get that cord round his neck when born, we nearly lose him. We got to be careful. I had to get his head, loose that cord 'round his neck then put him down on blanket. Same way E, she got cord round neck [TN].

The same woman, an experienced midwife, explains other solutions based on opar (medicine), which were used for a prolonged and painful labour, if "pushing down" on the abdomen failed:

if baby not come straight away, we get brogla/ibis feather, burning on both sides (of the mother), rub ashes on mother all over, baby born straight away, quick [TN].

I am not certain of the precise manner in which this was thought to operate. Women state that "smoke" has beneficial effects - "warming" the person is said to protect them from the possible interference of spirits and is used as a remedy for general bodily aches. Brolga and ibis are regarded by some women as "big" foods and therefore have a certain power associated with them. Also, they are regarded as agile, alert birds, taking off quickly when alarmed, so that by these qualities they may be thought to hasten delivery in the way that other animals are thought to impede it.

Midwives also used yuku woyedho (a Casuarina species) "for drink for feeling bad pain" during childbirth. If any major complications beyond these arose, then it appears that few effective measures were left to the midwives.
Women do not readily discuss the details of the death of women in childbirth. Episodes of maternal mortality occurring in the bush are known by virtually every adult woman, albeit that the same well-known examples are invariably given by a number of women. In general, women who have had children, say that "young girls" experience increased difficulties; including longer labours, increased 'suffering' and higher infant mortality with their first labour as compared with subsequent labours. The danger is said to be twofold: to the mother herself and to the child:

Wife from that big uncle (MB+), only one girl, that mother bin loose 'm, too young ... old people no trouble, they know. Those young girls, first time, they don't know, old people got to tell them and help them; two nurses one old lady (M), grannie (MM), and one young one, aunty (FZ), sister both help young girl for nursing [TN];

... Well T's sister, baby born alright, too good, start alright living, but mother bin die. That's her first time for baby. T's sister first die, baby last, nobody else for feeding, all dry milk, little baby die [YN].

Younger women are said not to "know"; that is, they are regarded as needing the advice of experienced older women more knowledgeable in reproductive matters than they are.

Premature ("premacha") births were certainly recognized events - most often babies are characterized by their smallness in size and being sickly - indicating that women had their own ideas of what constituted the expected development of a baby in utero. Some women spoke of having premature births themselves. Most often these have been in the "village", the earliest settlement section of the old Aurukun mission, where women still had midwives to attend them at birth, but where they also had the backup services
of a European nursing sister. It appears that this woman was prepared to allow Aboriginal women to deliver their babies with midwives attending and then aid if necessary. A number of premature babies may have survived because of her care and medical equipment that would otherwise have died in the bush. Such premature births in the bush were given little chance of survival. A number of explanations are given for premature deliveries. It is considered that a baby will "come too early" if a woman "strains herself":

All my babies 'cept JN [her first] were premacha cause I worked hard and got sick, work hard they come very quickly, born early [RN].

It was said of another young girl who had delivered prematurely and whose baby had died:

She had baby, she works hard, baby on shoulder, 'nother baby on side, maybe get a strain, carrying water [TK].

The reasons for premature births, stillbirths and miscarriages were summed up by one woman as:

Wrong time, wrong month or what underage - baby die; or mother too young, too bad, that 'nother man catch her. Old women alright, only young die. If second baby mother alright they live [TN].

Once again it is indicated that difficulties encountered by a woman in childbirth and neo-natal mortality are connected to the woman's previous sexual behaviour whereby promiscuity leaves her vulnerable to the retributive sorcery of a jealous lover or husband. Such connections are usually alluded to with maternal mortality in childbirth for women in the past, but certainly not directly to known female relatives or personally. After the baby has been delivered one of the midwives would clean the baby's mouth and eyes, placing it on ti-tree bark or in a wooden dish.
Calling the nhampa kudin. Amongst the Kugu-Nganychara, a particularly important role of the midwife is the establishing of a specific relationship between the baby and a male relative during the birth process. The relationship, variously called nhampa kudin or simply kudin (nhampa - name; kudin - navel, umbilical cord, afterbirth; glossed as "navel name"), is established after the baby has been delivered but before the afterbirth is delivered. Establishing the identity of the person who is to stand as kudin and therefore the relationship, is by the same means previously noted for the Wik-Mungkana by McConnel and Thomson: by the manipulation of the umbilical cord (also called kudin) and the calling out of the nhampa kudin. Initially the nhampa kudin is merely one of a series of names (nhampa) of various male relatives which are called out by the midwife.

Initially there are two processes involved in the allocation or determination of the nhampa kudin. Firstly there is the calling out of a series of names of various kin of the child as the midwife manipulates the umbilical cord. The second is the delivery of the placenta. The senior (older and most experienced) midwife is responsible for manipulating the cord and calling the names. The moment at which these two points intersect is the means of arriving at the right, or "proper" name, which becomes the nhampa kudin. This particular moment of intersection is itself mediated by a number of connected factors which are noted by the midwife and include: not only the delivery of the afterbirth but also the psychic state of the afterbirth itself which is said to "hear" the 'right' name, the response of the child
and the physical appearance of the umbilical cord. Also central are the actions and interpretations of the midwife herself. The mother appears to be marginal in determining the outcome of this particular series of events.

The topic of **kudin** is now difficult to systematically pursue as the practice has been severely curtailed following the Queensland State Government policy of obliging pregnant Aboriginal women to travel to Cairns Base Hospital, from approximately 1974 onwards, to deliver their children. **Kugu-Nganychara** women say that they cannot call **kudin** in front of strange European medical staff, particularly European men. Previous to 1974, Aboriginal women either delivered their children in the "village" or the "old maternity ward" at Aurukun, or "in the bush". In all of these cases **kudin** were called.

After the baby has been safely delivered the midwife takes the cord in her hands, some women say she "pulls it" or "shakes" it, and at the same time calls out the names of various male relations. One midwife said that "big names" (**nhampa yoko**) of men were called out loud (see also Sutton 1978:210, for the Cape Keerweer region). This is in contrast to Thomson's (1936:350; 1946:160) account of a similar event for the Archer River **Wik-Mungkana** people which specifically includes women as possible **namp kort'n**. On the other hand, McConnel (1957:140) lists no females as possibilities, and males only from "father's side". From my information on the **Kugu-Nganychara**, the **kudin** names called are those of male relatives only and from the child's mother's "side". This is the case for both male and female children. No woman could be **kudin** for a child. At one level
the delivery of the placenta (afterbirth) coinciding with
the calling of a particular name, establishes the person
whose name was called as kudin for the child, and he will
be referred to as the child's nhampa kudin or simply as
kudin. People will say, "Oh, MGW kudin for young LK",
whilst the child (or adult) will say "my kudin belong to him",
or "he's my kudin". The last two statements, while referring
to a specific person, have slightly different connotations:
the latter refers to a kind of relationship, the former
statement refers more specifically to the habit of entrusting
the kudin (as the person) with the child's umbilical cord
(kudin) in dried form.

As noted previously though, there are a number of
mediating influences in determining who the "proper"-nhampa
kudin is. The midwife is said to be able to accurately
divine who is the kudin by the physical appearance and
response of the cord. Both the cord and placenta (still
retained in utero) are also said to effect the point of
intersection by "hearing" or recognizing the right name and
reacting accordingly. The positive reaction of the placenta
to the calling of the right name is evidenced by delivery
of the placenta. In turn the midwife is said to be able to
interpret or understand these reactions. A Kugu-Nganychara
woman of approximately 60 years, who is an experienced bush
midwife, gives an account of the factors involved:

really grannie (MM) just like nursing sister
she call kudin uncle, cord still in bag [mompa -
womb] inside mother and they call the names, when
calling out for kudin we call big name. The kudin
[as placenta and attached cord] still inside, pull
that kudin [cord] and call name everyman, if you
call the wrong name, won't come out, not till the
right man's name called then [cord] goes like elastic,
well that one [placenta] got to come out ... well that baby knows right uncle, baby knows uncle, you pull and pull and call any persons name. When that wrong name called the baby knows, it hears and it goes 'oh no, oh no'; and it goes like this [saying this she held her stomach and squirmed around] and say, 'no this wrong man'. When that right name that kudin [placenta] comes out easier [TN].

The midwife is said to be able to divine the person who is kudin by the physical appearance of the umbilical cord: "cord was long, long thin one so I know kudin must be MGW. He tall and thin, thin cord, thin man, long cord, long [tall] man, just the same MGW" [PK]. The midwife may have her own opinions, and it is open to question to what extent she deliberately manages to call the name of a person she herself desires to have established in the relationship.

What is significant in the opinion of the women and in terms of the children and adults who talk about their kudin is not the acquisition of a name, but rather the establishment of a specific kind of relationship, invariably with a specific category of male relative. This is in contradiction to both Thomson and McConnel who both view the procedure more as the assigning of an actual name to the child, but is supported by the more recent research of J. von Sturmer (1978:331-332) for the Kugu-Nganychara, and Sutton (1978:210) for the Cape Keerweer population. Kugu-Nganychara people will say of their kudin: "ngala kudana" - "we two (one) navel", and address each other as ngaludin. In those cases where a young boy is also given the same "small name" (nhampa woynyo) as his kudin this specific naming relationship is called ngalampa ("namesake"/same name). I would not think that kudin would be acceptably translated as ngalampa by Kugu-Nganychara people. Kudin is not seen as the
transmission of an actual name/s. Indeed, generally there is some vagueness by people about the actual names called—whether they are big or small names, whether all the range of names within the accepted kin categories are called, or if there is some cut-off point in terms of close/distant, actual/classificatory kin whose names are called. When talking of their own kudin, people are rarely certain which of the individuals' names were called out for them. Certainly women do not think that they actually have as one of their names, that of their male kudin. They acquire sex-specific names patrilineally from their father's female relatives. On the other hand, there is no doubt as to the identity of the actual person who is one's kudin. With two (so far) exceptions in 28 cases the person assigned as kudin was either ngathale (MB-) or ngathukwe (MB+): the "uncle" kin-category (which supports a similar argument by J. von Sturmer (1978:332)). People in fact will often refer to kudin more directly as "kudin uncle", as noted in the previous statement. One of the two exceptions was where a man stood in the relation of maternal grandfather (pama thepa ngathoche). The other was where a father was kudin to his own daughter, a situation which others regarded as being improper. In a very high proportion of cases (nearly half) the person involved was the actual MB. By and large then, it appears that for the Kuku-Ngayachara, kudin should not be female maternal or paternal relatives, should not be one's own siblings, not one's own mother and preferably not one's father. It appears, more than anything else, to be the establishment of a particular kind of relationship between the child and a close male relative from its "mother's side".
The relationship between the child and his or her kudin is regarded as being a supportive, familiar one which will often involve some relaxed joking between the individuals involved. Once a man became established as kudin he was traditionally expected to give presents, especially food gifts, to the child when it was young. Nowadays these take the form of babies' nappies, towels, blankets, talcum powder: "kudin gives you toys, if I get sick then he can take me to Hospital, he got to help family, nursie [midwife] look after me. If he ask me for money then I give him money. Cigarettes from store and drink for him, do things for him" [SA]. The relationship endures for the lifetime of the two parties involved.

Once the identity of the kudin has been established, he is responsible for "looking after" the dried umbilical cord of the child:

[The midwife] tie kudin [cord] up with string [usually with wallaby sinews] when that cord gets dried up, everything good, breaks off by itself give that dry one over to him to kudin, straightaway when cord dry take that cord and give it to him. He'll have it, put sugar bag wax put in cord, cover it with wax into little square and flashing it [decorating it] with that red bead ["gidgi beads"]/bush bead, so baby won't get sick [RN].

I have received varying reports about the final destination of the cord. One explanation given is that the person who becomes kudin buries it, in its beeswax and bead casing, at the birth site, usually at a tree where the placenta has also been buried. As indicated previously, a close physical link is postulated between the child, cord and placenta during the birth. This relationship is said to continue afterwards. The responsibilities of the kudin regarding
the dried umbilical cord, are framed in terms of actively maintaining the positive aspects of that relationship:

he got to find clean place near tree, got to bury it [cord]. He has to do that when little girl or boy, then play, grow, grow, so does the tree, that child come out like plant; got kudin [cord] inside tree, if that cord, tree get bad then no grow [that is, the child will not grow]. Big tree, big man or woman. Bury clean place in shadow, shade, own kudin boss for that tree, got to look out for tree [TN].

It is the kudin's responsibility to bury the cord under a tree at the birthplace. The survival of the cord is linked to the continued health and physical development of the child throughout its life, which is also directly related to the growth and survival of the tree growing at the birthplace. The kudin in turn is "boss for" the tree - he is responsible for safeguarding it as well as the cord buried there.

Another opinion given was that the cord in its beeswax and bead casing is kept in the possession of the nhampa kudin:

He has to keep it forever till he die. If he a bit sick he hands it to his brothers or parents to keep. If he dead, that man, the other brother, father keep it [RN].

If, for example, the kudin is the child's actual mother's brother, then his parents to whom he may pass on care of the cord to, are the child's maternal grandparents. There is perhaps also the implication that if the kudin becomes sick and still holds the cord, he might adversely affect the child's health via the cord. By assuming these related responsibilities, the kudin is regarded as having a direct safeguarding effect on the physical well-being and development of the child. If the kudin is unable to continue in this role then it is transferred to other relatives from the
child's mother's "side".

Some Kugu-Nganychara informants indicated that after birth there were also food restrictions placed on the kudin. It appears that these were similar in kind and function to those observed by the parents during the prenatal period:

Emu, big bird, goanna, kangaroo can't be eaten. Can't eat emu because strong leg, if he [kudin] eats it baby gets sore. Goanna, emu, big bird all got strong legs, baby have weak legs. [RK].

The food restrictions on the kudin last "until baby grow big like HK" (a boy of approximately 10 years), though people indicated that the degree to which such restrictions were observed and the period of time involved, were often personal matters and varied. Amongst the Kugu-Nganychara at least, the kudin is quite clearly a relationship directed towards the child's "mother's side", and particularly to its mother's male siblings (MB+/-).

Opar: caring for the mother and child. After birth, the midwife proceeds with the calling of the nhampa kudin and the delivery of the afterbirth (mompa - "bag where that baby bursts out"), sometimes pushing down to assist. As noted previously, the calling of the correct nhampa kudin is supposed to facilitate the quick and easy delivery of the placenta. However, in the case of difficulties such as a retained placenta, the following was given as a remedy:

We have to get leaf, koma, and put it on mothers navel and tramp her with foot, hard on stomach to get that bag out. That way belongs to us cultures makes it easier [MP].

Yuku koma ("file-leaf tree" - Ficus opposita) is also the same leaf said to be used by pregnant women to protect themselves from interference of spirit forces when near
lagoons and wells.

Upon delivery of the placenta, the cord is cut about a finger's length from the baby's navel. In the bush days, on the coastal estates, this was done with a sharp "shell knife" (yuku ya'wu - identification unknown): "really big one for cutting cord" [YN]. The end of the cord was tied with sinews from wallaby tail and the afterbirth and blood were buried immediately by the midwives in a hole in the ground at the birthplace. Attention was next turned to the welfare of both the baby and mother: "First, baby given boggy, that swim in wooden dish (yuku nu'an) and clean all over, then mother. Mother can't stop by blood all the time, got to have swim" [MN]. "We call that baby puk arga paja (puk - newly-born baby; arga - small; paja - white, fair-skinned)" [YN].

A number of medicinal treatments are available for the benefit of both mother and baby after the delivery. The baby is painted in black paint from the "spear handle tree" (Hibiscus tileaceus - which has long straight branches used as spear shafts). A length of the branch of the tree is burnt and "ashes and water rubbed over baby, to stop from sick and grow strong" [YN]. Different remedies are used by midwives for the mother in order to stop post-natal contractions if they persist, to relieve "pain", and to stop strong haemorrhaging. A favoured medicinal item used for these purposes was yuku parkun (an "ant's nest": a wooden and sometimes crumbling 'honeycomb' nest found on trees). For its use after childbirth, a deep and narrow hole (about two feet down) is dug in the ground at the birth camp, a fire is lit at the bottom and the parkun placed on top:
Smoke comes up. That for warming woman. Sit over it and warm up and settle blood, legs crossed, sitting very close to fire and warm up all over body, breasts and private parts [YN].

Yuku parkun could also be broken up into smaller pieces put into water and used by the "new mother" to bathe in. On the occasions that I have seen yuku parkun being used, as a general medicine to relieve headaches and body "pains", both procedures were combined together. The woman would bathe herself in water in which the softer parts of the nest had been crumbled, and then she would sit very close to the hole in the ground where part of the nest was burning, often extending different parts of her body over the smokey opening, for short periods of time. Older women at the outstation camp would often keep a piece of yuku parkun for these purposes amongst their "private" possessions.

Another medicinal remedy was to use ant bed (pi'i). This is an important resource used for earth oven cooking. Along the coast compacted shell grit is used as a substitute for ant bed. The ant bed, or stone, is heated on top of a large, quick-burning fire. The heated rocks are then covered with ti-tree bark and then sand. The "new mother" would sit with her "private part over [the heated ant bed] to stop womb paining and blood" [YN]. Both "smoke" and "heat" are regarded as having positive health value.

Multiple births and infanticide. Multiple births are known to have occurred in the bush days. In reply to my question, 'What about two, three, four or more babies in the bush?', an adult woman of 46 years who had delivered three of her four children in the social and physical
environment just described, was quick to point out that this happened more to "outsiders" than to people living in her country, though she was able to cite a rather recent and well-known local example. Multiple births are a difficult topic to discuss with women as they are associated with a sense of "shame", for the woman is said to be little more than a dog having too many children at the one time. Sharp (1940:493 fn.15) also notes for the southern Yir-Yiront that "there was a tendency to hide the fact that multiple births had occurred since they are considered bestial". Children born in such multiple births had little chance of surviving in the bush:

well I don't know, some mothers really big muscle [strong] woman, or woman in Africa sometimes, five, six or ten babies all together. Well sometimes women here have more babies. GL [male of approximately 50 years] he had five babies together in the bush. They all die. Back in bush days some mothers have twins [MN].

Women were adamant, when talking of other women's experiences, that if twins survived childbirth one would be disposed of. The decision concerning 'which' baby, was said to be the responsibility of the senior midwife present. Given patterns of residence during pregnancy and childbirth, and the preference by women to have their own mother and/or grandmother as midwife, then the responsibility for that decision would be taken by either of those two kin. Most women indicated that it was the mother's own mother or "grannie" (MM), who would take responsibility for making and carrying out the decision. There are only two sets of twins at Aurukun at the moment, an adult and a teenage set. They were both born at the mission settlement where the European nursing staff and the missionaries attempted to
intervene by taking the other child into their own care.

A number of factors appeared to be taken into account in determining the 'survival decision' for twins after birth. Very badly deformed babies would be killed by smothering them with sand\(^3\). Nevertheless, mention has been made to me of specific people born in the bush who had been born with deformities of the feet or hands and who were allowed to survive\(^4\). The reason most often signalled out for infanticide in the case of twins or multiple birth, is that of sheer survival pressures, which is connected to the supposed inability of the mother herself to "look after" more than one baby at a time:

well that grandmother, she cruel, can't look for two babies, she got to get rid of one so won't run mother's milk dry [YN].

Quite simply, the opinion of Kugu-Nganychara women was that a mother in the bush would not be able to adequately breast-feed and nutritionally care for two or more children. The mother's grandmother (MM), the structurally senior female present at the birth camp - or the mother's own mother, if the former was absent - would decide to kill one child (see also Sharp 1940:493 fn.15: "the mother or mother's mother had smothered the child shortly after birth").

I have no information on whether the order of birth or apparent relative health of the child would affect the survival decision, though given the emphasis put on a woman’s inability to feed two children, one would imagine that such a positive survival feature as comparative good-health would be taken into account. Women did not state that either male or female babies were systematically killed. Again, it seems that a number of mitigating factors are
considered. There is, for example, a widespread and frequently verbalized preference for a husband and wife having their first child, to have a boy (see also J. von Sturmer 1978:357). Male children, especially the first, are said to be 'for' their fathers. If, at a first birth, a woman was to have cross-sex twins, or a single girl, it may well be the female who is disposed of. On the other hand, for subsequent births it might be the male who is disposed of, as mothers are also regarded as wanting to have many daughters around them ... "for working girls and for mate (friend)" [MN]. Though J. von Sturmer (1978:358) argues that, "taking the Wik region as a whole, in the case of a pair of mixed-sex twins, it appears to be the girl who is retained", I would argue that male versus female infanticide may be more of a circumstantial decision based on differing social and biological factors. The latter perspective is supported by Sharp's comment (1940:492) that the Yir Yiront "are unconscious of any trend toward preserving boys in preference to girls".

Generally, one should also be wary of putting sole reliance on different explanations given for neo-natal mortality. Often women will explain a neo-natal death in terms of external factors. It may, for example, be put down to the mother's promiscuous behaviour and subsequently having been ensorcelled. The infant may in fact have been disposed of deliberately, but individuals are reluctant to discuss specific personal cases in terms of infanticide and will apply other causes to the death. This would certainly be the case if infanticide was practised as a neo-natal abortion technique; that is, if it were a deliberate decision on the
part of the woman herself in order to postpone assuming maternal responsibilities. The latter was indicated as a possible reason for infanticide occurring, but it was, as usual, a comment made with respect to other un-named women.

In the absence of midwives. What are the consequences of a pregnant woman being unable to reach any close female relations, or any females for that matter, to act as midwives? Given such residential patterns as the scattering of small family units over a relatively wide range for the dry season and the possible solitary isolation during the wet season - though the Kugu-Nganychara norm for the latter season was for a number of smaller groups to congregate at a major camping site - it is possible that a pregnant woman may in fact have been forced to deliver the child alone. One woman recalls such a situation. She was pregnant and camping alone with her husband whilst he "cut timber" (I think that this may have been for sandalwooders, who came to the area between the Kendall River and Christmas Creek during the late 1920's and who hired local Aborigines to work for them), and found herself in just such a situation. It was not her first pregnancy:

P [the child] born, no one else there, no tablets, no doctors, those birds and animals look after me. P born himself with no trouble, no pain, baby just come, no-one else nurse for him. I had to call out kudin name myself for P, no-one else there. Baby out, pulling cord, cord was long, thin one ... I knew kudin must be MGW (MB+). ... I cleaned out his eyes, mouth and nose and he was O.K. [PK].

As is often the case, the birth is described in positive terms of ease and painlessness, and of active management of the delivery by the woman. During this birth the woman's husband, the genitor of the child, was "close by". He in no
way assisted with the delivery though and kept out of sight for the birth itself. As in this case, if a woman and her husband were camping alone and the birth took place, then the husband was required to do the "woman's work" \(PK\) which meant essentially that he would have cooked, collected firewood and water for his wife\(^7\). Note that in all of these situations even after the birth, the husband and wife alone in the bush, must retain a semblance of separateness.

**Physical placement of "relations" during childbirth.**

As noted, the father of the child must keep away from the birth camp: "father got to walk away from that baby, can't come near" \(YN\). If without any other children to care for, he may return to the "single men's camp" (see also Thomson 1936:39 ... "at the onset of labour pains ... the husband moves to the single men's camp"). However, if there are already other children it is said that the father would remain in the "family camp" and "look after" them himself; though one would imagine that if in the mother's parents' estate, his affinal relatives would assist and be regarded as being bound to assist in caring for the children. This was in fact the case at Empadha outstation when a man was left to care for the children when his wife went to the Cairns hospital. He established a physically autonomous "family camp" with his children, but always located it close to his parents-in-laws' own campsite. Whilst he took primary responsibility for cooking food for them and collecting the daily supply of water and firewood, the children's maternal grandparents also "helped look after" the children, often providing them with food and watching
out for their welfare (see Chapter Seven).

During childbirth there appeared to have been a deliberate placement of individual relatives with respect to their distance from the birthcamp. As noted, the father is excluded from the events of birth, and the campsite itself, as well as the mother and infant are ngyanycha for him. It appears that others were not so affected by such restrictions. For example, according to a number of women, the mother's brother (MB) - and this would presumably have been the case if the mother was camping in her parents' camp where she might find her brothers camping also - was allowed to locate himself physically closer to his sister's birth camp than in fact her own husband was: "mother's brother can camp closer in than own husband, father can't see, father's sister same way like father can't see wife or child" [YN]. It was certainly never said that MB should actually see his sister or the events of birth, as all men are restricted from access to the birthcamp; only that he was able to physically locate himself closer to her camp. In the physical arrangement of relatives the FZ is said to be "same way like father" and could not see the parturient woman or child at the birthcamp. However, close female maternal relatives were allowed to "visit" the birthcamp. After the birth, "any other woman O.K. Mothers, sisters, mother-in-law can come and see woman, but not man because of that blood, they got to walk away" [MN]. Another woman was also of the opinion that "no children allowed in" to the birthcamp [TN].

In a sense, MB+/-, by being specially located "closer in" and by virtue of his structural kinship role of being
"like mother" (especially MB_), may be seen to have been accorded a kind of surrogate maternal, neutral role. MB+/- is also the Kugu-Nganychara kin category from which kudin most often comes. Given that some women are of the opinion that kudin is given the cord as soon as it dries and must bury it immediately (according to one explanation) at the birth site, then MB may in fact have seen his sister and her baby at the birth camp before the father - though this would have been some three or four weeks after the actual birth, depending on the time taken for the umbilical cord to dry and break away. In any case the placement of MB+/- physically closer to the birth camp, in direct opposition to the father and father's sister, is in accordance with the management of the events of childbirth by the mother's "side" in general.

Women's life in the birth camp. After the birth the mother and baby remain at the camp under the care of her attending midwives who remained in residence. During this time the father is expected to continue to provide food by his hunting activities for his wife and child and the midwives, who presumably would most often be his affines; i.e., he was expected to maintain the economic activities perceived to be part of his paternal and conjugal responsibilities. The father was not regarded as having to restrict his movements subsequent to the birth. Similarly, female relatives of the "new mother", especially the mother's younger sisters, daughters and granddaughters, were expected to gather vegetable foods for the women which would have provided their staple diet in the birth camp. In other
words, the women residing at the birth camp were temporarily suspended from any necessary involvement in economic pursuits and were supported by others, in particular the close female relatives and the husband.

Opinions as to the length of time that the mother remained in this camp were similar: "mother one month stop away". Generally four to six weeks seemed to be the standard time mentioned, though women mentioned that since settlement at Aurukun, they would have only stayed away from their husband's camp for about two weeks. One factor which determined the duration of the retreat was the state of the mother's health. It was not the return of menses which was mentioned (as McConnel 1957:138 argues), but rather the cessation of post-natal haemorrhaging which was cited as being the determining factor: "Mother can come out when blood finish up" [YN]. Until then both the mother, the child and the birthcamp were regarded as being ngyanycha to the father and other males (though presumably less so to MB+/−) precisely because of the power of "woman's blood". The period immediately after childbirth spent in the birthcamp was regarded as a time when the mother was expected to spend her time recuperating and caring for the newborn baby. If she was a mother for the first time, "a new mother", then she was expected to learn how to "look after" her baby, from the advice and experience of the midwives, her own mother and maternal kin - who in turn cared for her and the child:

After baby, woman alright, woman have to stay one place, look it [i.e., look after the baby]. Mother's parents look after mother and baby [MF presumably by his hunting activities, as the camp would be ngyanycha to him]. When she new woman,
her mother teaches her [how to] hold baby properly in arms holding back up so it won't bend, and mother teach for feeding [i.e., for breastfeeding] [PK].

The female attendants are regarded as having the responsibility of developing the young woman's nurturing capacities, teaching her how to care for the baby's needs, how to breastfeed it etc., and are characterized as "looking after" both the mother and baby in this manner.

Lactation - "own milk for baby". In the bush days a new-born baby's only means of survival was of breastfeeding from its mother. Naturally then, women were and are, keen to establish and maintain lactation and to have a "full" flow of breast milk. There seem to be no restrictions on giving the baby the colostrum initially present in a mother's breast milk and it was said that the mother began breastfeeding her baby as soon as possible. Judging by the contemporary actions of mothers on outstation camps, a baby is breastfed as often as it indicates the need, with no limits on the time spent with the child, but with the operational rule being many, comparatively short, feeding sessions for young infants. The benefits for the child of breastfeeding are emphasized:

bush days we used to feed children our own milk, more better that way, children more fat and healthy. Own milk should be for baby, paba [breast] more better, bottle wayang [bad, "rubbish"] [YN].

Almost every adult woman knows of opar ("bush medicine") for establishing or increasing a mother's breast milk supply. The most frequently mentioned was yuku thaynych.1 ("milky tree", sp. ?) which has a white sticky sap under the hard surface of the bark: "If mother got no milk they rub milky tree here [indicating nipples], oh rich milk then" [PK].
The condition of paba noycha, or "dried up milk" was said to be treated in the same way.

The association made by women between breastfeeding and the baby's survival was direct:

If rich milk alright, if dry milk baby die. Baby dies if no-one feed it [YN].

If a woman was unable to breastfeed her baby, she could try to find another woman who was lactating, to act as a wet-nurse. Wet-nursing appears to have been an acceptable alternative, not only for cases where babies survived their mothers but also (and perhaps more frequently) when a mother's milk ran dry. Both situations depended of course on the availability of another mother with a child who was either being weaned or was ready to be weaned from its mother, or who had a "full" milk supply. One Kugu-Nganychara woman recalls assuming such a responsibility for her HB+SS when he was a baby:

I give him milk from my own daughter. She was paba kubi ["crazy" for breastmilk] but big girl so I give milk to LK. Small sister [LK's own mother] dry milk.

The latter was said somewhat self-righteously, for women in general are quite proud of their ability to breastfeed their children and are boastful of having a plentiful supply of milk.

Partial alternatives to breastmilk were available in the past, though it is difficult to say if these would have been offered as supplements or alternatives to breastmilk, or whether an infant would have been able to survive on only the substitute. Mayi oweh was stated to be an alternative and/or supplement to breastmilk. Mayi oweh is the watery
liquid which is obtained from **mayi po'ala** ("yellow fruit" - nonda plum; *Parinari nonda*) when the latter is crushed, added to water and then strained. The liquid which resulted is regarded as being a 'nutritious' food and is also given to elderly people when ill. **Mayi oweh** was said to have a two-fold purpose. It was given to the baby as a substitute/addition to its mother's breastmilk. It was also drunk by the mother herself for the condition of "dry milk" as it was seen to have beneficial effects on the milk supply.

I have no data on traditional medicines used for the reverse effects; i.e., to decrease or stop lactation, or whether it was even considered an issue. One adult woman noted that if a mother wanted to wean her child she should stop lactation and commented that nowadays "she should drink coffee, it dries up that milk". She indicated that in the past there were "bush medicines" available for the same purpose, but was unable or unwilling to name or identify any plants. Once lactation was established a woman might remain breast-feeding a child for four or five years or longer. Nowadays, there appears to be an increasing trend towards bottle-feeding infants. The tendency is encouraged by the necessity of women having to travel to Cairns for childbirth. Their subsequent dislocation from any socially supportive environment is seen by one European nursing sister at Edward River settlement (see Map 1) as "a major cause of babies being bottle-fed" (Harrison 1978:29).

Interestingly, at outstation settlements, younger women are encouraged by their mothers and other female relatives to breastfeed their babies: "I give strong word to my daughter, own milk for baby, not bottle" [YN]. A definite
connection was made by older Kugu-Nganychara women between breastfeeding and fertility control: "mother feeding then only one baby" [TN]. The link was direct: "stop feeding that baby then 'nother one can come up" [IW]. Fertility control and spacing of children were intimately linked then to breastfeeding, and some women indicated that mothers continued breastfeeding their children for relatively long periods of time with the idea of achieving such control: "young boys at school still feeding from their mothers, alright no more babies come up" [IW]. Unfortunately, I have no detailed information on the specific mechanics by which women see this as operating.

"Warming" the infant in the birth camp. One ritual carried out very shortly after birth within the birth camp is the "warming" of the baby by one of the midwives - grandmother generally being the person designated. An account of this ritual was given by a woman who had performed it herself for her own grandchildren after their birth:

When baby born the grandmother early bends every parts of babies bodies, warms them up while they're young so they can walk straight, makes them grow up quickly. Before daybreak we have to throw baby right up to sky and I have to call out so that old people will look after the child. Old people look after babies, we leaving baby under their care. We tie baby hand from wallaby strong [sinews]. Grandmother put it on, so they don't steal. All young kids had this done ... I did it to them. Burn them, I warm them, put hands over fire and then put hand on forehead of baby, tells he's not going to be cheeky; On his hands, he won't be asking people for anything; Burn mouth, not to swear, gossiping around; Ears, you got to listen proper, not listen anything; Stomach, not got to be greedy; Legs, not to be having bandy legs, to walk straight; Back, so not going to walk humpty back; Burn chest to be strong; Burn private parts, not to running wild.
The "warming" ritual (part of which has been discussed in
the previous chapter) is clearly oriented towards instilling
certain preferred social and sexual restraints into the
child's future behaviour and with promoting its physical
well-being and development. Also of significance is the
declaration of the child's continued position with respect
to the spiritual world. "Old people" is a reference to the
spirits of deceased relatives who are seen to maintain a
direct protective interest in the child. So that spirits
are said to "look after", or care for and protect a child,
as are its living relatives.

Restrictions after childbirth. Immediately after
birth the mother is not allowed to eat any meat at all -
including the small or immature variants previously allowed.
Only vegetable foods were eaten. These included yam (mayi
morgum), arrowroot (mayi winggu), water-lilies (mayi kode,
mayi punthi), mayi punthen (the corms of the bulgru), and
various "bush fruits". The father does not seem to have
been included in this refinement of restrictions, though he
was supposed to continue adherence to the general food
restrictions which applied to him before the birth. It
seemed that the total "no meat" restrictions on the woman
were lifted when she returned to her husband's camp. But
even then she would be required to observe the kinds of
restrictions previously applying to her during her pregnancy;
i.e., she could eat only immature or small variants of fish,
birds, animals etc.

Parents of the newly-born child continued to observe
restrictions on their consumption of certain foods, for the
same kinds of reasons as they had done so during the pregnancy; namely, that they were considered to be in a position of harming the child by their consumption of food which was considered powerful and therefore dangerous to it:

Parents of young kids can't eat big wallaby, big birds or big fish or their children get sick. When P's size [approx. 9/10 years old] then O.K. they can eat [PY];

Parents of children can't eat big birds or big wallaby otherwise their children have bad dreams, same for grandparents can't eat those foods [RK].

As the statement above indicates, the child's grandparents (both maternal and paternal have been included) were also expected to observe restrictions on the consumption of "big" foods, again for the welfare of the child. Some people stated that MB+/- was also bound to observe these post-natal food restrictions, which may for the Kugu-Nganychara at least, be the same as saying that the kudin was effected by restrictions on certain foods after the birth of the child. Also, as mentioned previously, the MB+/- was accorded a more maternal position in the placement of relatives at the time of birth, and is said to be "like mother" and might therefore be expected to assume similar behavioural restrictions with respect to the child. By and large, people make no clear-cut stages at which foods become progressively unrestricted for the parents of the child or for other relatives. It appears to be an individual decision, becoming more the evidence of occasional concern, especially when the child becomes ill.

Restrictions still apply after childbirth on a mother's behaviour around water, and for similar reasons given for the restriction during pregnancy:
When the baby is very young, mother should not get water from well, baby get sick from snake, baby die. When baby C's age [a child of approximately 3 years old] then alright she can get water [YN].

An approach to water such as lagoons and wells, by a woman breastfeeding her child was thought to have a harmful effect on both lactation and on the child:

When mother feeding baby, if she goes near swamp, lagoon then she can't feed baby again straightaway. Get yuku ngamba or yuku pay.cha (sp. ?) and burn it. Mother put smoke all over her, rubbing body, after that she can feed baby again. If she doesn't do that then baby sick and die [YN].

Both plant medicines mentioned in the previous description were said to be only available "inside" in the timber land further inland from the coastal estates. YN said that coastal women might use yuku parkun for this purpose but inferred that it was not in fact the same 'kind' of medicine. Young children, in particular, are said to be susceptible to the influence of spirits of deceased relations and spirits associated with awu and swamps. In this case the baby may be directly affected via its mother's breastmilk if she comes into contact with the water.

The "new mother" who is still ngyanycha would abstain from any sexual contact with her husband or other men. This state would certainly have existed shortly before the birth when the mother was said to become ngyanycha to her husband; and for the month or so afterwards when she remained at the birth camp. I have no information on whether sexual abstinence continued after a woman returned to her husband's camp.
Significance of the birth-place, **agu koyenyjan**. A person's birth-place (**agu koyenyjan**) is regarded as having major significance among Kugu-Nganychara people. People will say "**agu koyenyjan ngathu**" (my birth-place), or, "my blood is at the Kendall River", and individual's maintain an obviously strong sentimental and emotional attachment to the actual site of their birth. Throughout the Kugu-Nganychara region trees are said to grow up at the birthplace from the blood of childbirth. People will also mention that the birth place is where the afterbirth is buried and where the **kudin** (cord) may have been buried by the **nhampa kudin**. Whilst some individuals say that a tree will grow "from start" because of the blood, others (and this includes some midwives) say that a small tree is deliberately chosen to bury the afterbirth and blood under, so that it will grow "with" the child. Either way, the significant point is that the tree becomes associated not only with the birth itself, but from then onwards, with the physical development and well-being of the child throughout its life. Generally there is no one species of tree associated with birth trees, though the range would probably be limited to those usually considered to be good shade trees in any camping situation.

Upon returning to her mother's country for the first time in a number of years, **YN** spent some time, with the help of her mother and older sister, locating the birth-places of her adult siblings, as well as her own. At each particular site a tree was pointed out as being 'the tree' and **YN** and her elder sister worked at "cleaning" the sites up:
My brothers and me all born here, mother's country, my uncle (her MMZ-DS) birthplace is somewhere this side of Thuug River, same way as MN (Z+). That one [tree] not there anymore because saltwater killed the tree. A tree grows up in place where person born, and where kudin buried. If that tree die from fire, water, then the person that born there get really sick, not die, but get bad sick. That tree like remembrance for family, for grandchildren to remember that person.

People are expected to care for these trees. As mentioned earlier, this is said to be one of the major responsibilities given to the person in the kudin relationship. But also, a mother will "look after" the tree for her children, and siblings for each other.

The trees become shade trees which are then identified with the person born there. People will say "that's my shade tree (wibu ngathu) from my birth place", and in fact the trees do become like "rememberances" of those individuals for others. People not only easily recall the location of their own and their siblings' birthplaces, but as they walk through a country they will casually point out the trees where other people were born (see J. von Sturmer 1978:309). The language name of sites, or tracts of countryside can become subsumed by the location of particular people's birthplace within them; e.g., people may say instead of the actual name: "that birth place for X", or "that place where so and so born". There is little sense however - despite the obviously close attachment people have for their own birthplace - in which individuals could be said to own or control the particular site. On the other hand, the location of one's birthplace in a particular estate is used by Kugu-Nganychara individuals as part of their claims to access to the estate and association with the people.
residing there. Given that almost all Kugu-Nganychara births occur in either the child's father's or mother's estate, the child is either strengthened in his or her affiliation with mother's "side" and therefore in claims to social support from maternal relatives; or is reinforced in his or her primary affiliation and claims to father's estate and "side". Given then that the majority of births occurred in the child's mother's estate, the child's attachment and affiliation with mother's relatives is accordingly emphasized by location of the birthplace in that estate.

Presentation to father. The formal presentation of the child to its father is no longer carried out by Kugu-Nganychara people. Information and recollections given by people are presumably of actual presentations that occurred in the bush. According to women from the area the presentation of the child to its father occurred after the mother's "blood has dried up" and when she was well again - anything from two to six weeks. Ostensibly this is the first time that the father has seen either the child or the mother who have both been nganycha to him.

By and large the seating arrangements at these presentations appear to be deliberately structured, with the father as the focus... A Kugu-Nganychara woman of approximately 60 years gives a description of such a presentation ceremony:

... father and aunties (FZ+-) sit in circle. Before they show that baby they put paint on baby, white paint from beach, put feather in front hair of baby. One old lady, grandmother or old auntie (FZ+) of mother have to come behind and fan it mother and baby with brolga feathers, go round and
round. Father sitting there cross-legged and sisters (FZ+/-) and brothers (FB+/-); mother, grannie (MM) go round and round front of them, everyone get the baby, put baby in their lap and put their smell on it. First to aunties sitting one side, if lot of sisters all sit around and take baby, this one, this one, this one, then those brothers and last father. Father put smell on baby and mother sit in front (of F). This part of baby knee [pointing to the kneecap] father have to bit it, not hard, to make baby strong not weak, to have to walk about [TW].

The father puts his "smell" on the baby, the "smell" of someone who is known to the spirits of the child's patrilineal estate, and who accept the child as one of their own. The taking of the child by each of the patrilineal relatives mentioned indicates acceptance of the child and its incorporation into their patriline and "father's side". Again, the father's intimate physical relationship with the child is displayed in the last section of the presentation where he performs specific ritual to ensure its physical development.

I have no indications that a presentation of a similar kind was performed for the benefit of the kudin, though both Thomson (1946:164-5) and McConnel (1957:140-141) give descriptions of a presentation to nhampa kudin supposedly for the Archer River area. However, as noted before, the kudin, as predominantly MB+/- amongst the Kugu-Nganychara, may have been 'introduced' to his sister and her child before the presentation to father, when he was given the dried cord and required to bury it at the birthplace. Also, one would think that being classified as "like mother" and being part of "mother's side" - the side which has managed the immediate events of childbirth - that MB/kudin ("kudin uncle") would not need to be
presented to the child.

Older Kugu-Nganychara women stated that the decision as to when the presentation to father was to occur was formally made, and required, by the mother's maternal relatives: specifically those senior women who have acted as midwives and would have remained at the birthcamp. One woman actively framed the decision in terms of the "mother's side" giving the woman and the baby back to her husband:

grannie (MM) from baby agree and big sister from grannie (MM2+) agree, baby and mother give for own husband to look after, all her family agree from mother [TN].

In this statement the participation in this decision is extended to the woman's "family", and not simply the maternal relatives who acted as midwives. In this sense the decision to "give" the woman (now as mother), is a similar process to bestowal, but with the addition of an actual (as opposed to potential) child. In the decision to "give" the mother and child then, the mother's "side" formally assents to the woman's husband resuming his marital relationships with his wife and to his assuming the social role of fatherhood. It represents the end of exclusive management by the mother's "side" of the events of childbirth and of the mother and child. It also represents the formal re-assumption by the father and his "side" of care-giving and protection to the child. The father's acceptance of the child and the mother is marked by this ceremonial presentation, and is a public recognition and acknowledgement of social fatherhood which extends out of his role as genitor.
During the period known as "starting for born" and "finished born", a number of different social, biological and spiritual aspects of Kugu-Nganychara reproduction are more clearly established and interwoven. This occurs in an active manner seen as having a direct affect on the child's future identity. Childbirth itself is not simply "women's business", but is the "business" of particular categories of women. It is actively ordered and managed by the child's mother's "side" and specific relationships are established and confirmed during that period (e.g., MB+/-, kudin, midwife as "nurse") which emphasize relaxed, socially supportive relationships with particular individuals from that set of kin. The presentation to the father and father's "side" restores a 'balance' in the social relations of reproduction and assures patrilineal relatives access to the child, and therefore, the continued transmission of particular patrilineal rights to the child.

With the presentation ceremony, the conjugal unit is not only restored but is reconstituted. The arrival of the first child, whether boy or girl, is clearly recognized by Kugu-Nganychara people as changing the structural and social nature of the conjugal unit: people will say, "with baby really married". That is, reproduction and the assumption of particular caretaking and protective responsibilities associated with it, are regarded as having a legitimizing and confirmatory effect on a marital union: "now they really family". Details of the responsibilities and rights associated with this development into "really family" will be discussed in the following chapter. Amongst the Kugu-Nganychara the ability to reproduce is considered to be
extremely important. Not only does it confirm the position of husband and wife as father and mother, it also confirms others in particular relationships with respect to the child; e.g., grandparents, siblings of the child and matrilateral and patrilateral kin such as MB, MZ, FB and FZ. It also includes the active involvement of the spiritual as well as the social environment.

Fertility, as the proven ability to reproduce, has direct bearing on a man and woman's future social life. A husband and wife who have been unable to have children are regarded with pity and will invariably remain socially and politically marginal as a result. One's sphere of social influence, the range of kin from whom one can claim various kinds of support, becomes immediately extended through having children; or more precisely, having children confirms the potentiality of many social relations. During the events of pregnancy and childbirth the mother and father are subject to varied and complex constraints on their behaviour and interaction in line with their responsibilities as primary caregivers. At the same time, it is apparent that deliberate extensions of responsibilities for caring for the child, and of caring for the mother as well, are made to other kin. This extension of the social relations of caregiving which was noted during the "finding" and "building up" of babies, continues during the events of childbirth. Indeed, the latter events clarify the involvement of particular individuals having specific areas of responsibilities towards the child, and confirm the kinds of responsibilities and rights which accrue to the caregiving interaction.
1. My use of the Kugu-Uwanh term nhampa kudin (or kudin) is equivalent to Thomson's namp kort'n discussed in Chapter Two; to J. von Sturmer's Kugu-Mu'inh term nhampa kurin (1978:331-52, 358-59); to Sutton's Wik-Ngathâna term nhampa kooetana (1978:210,261), and to the Wik-Mungkana term nhampa kuutana.

2. The new-born baby may also be called pukpe nhepe (pukpe - baby; nhepe - "spirit", breath); or puk mepeny (puk - baby; mepeny - small, young).

3. Amongst the Kugu-Nganychara, death is determined by the cessation of breathing (ngangka nhepe: ngangka - lower chest; nhepe - breath). It is taken as a sign that the spirit (ngangka thanhtha) has recently departed from the body. The spirit which has recently departed from a corpse is said to be white-skinned, as are new-born babies (see also J. von Sturmer 1978: 388-397). Interestingly then, the foetus is called pukpe nhepe, indicating the beginnings or activation of life (as breath) with the incorporation of the spiritual aspect in a bodily form.

4. Frequent mention is made of a woman on the Kendall River who was supposedly born with deformed legs and could not walk as a child. She dragged herself along the sandy ground when the group moved, and in turn, others would always know where she was as she left quite distinctive tracks. It was said that she also married and had children (see also Sharp 1940:496, fn.16 ... "physical defects ... are not necessarily a bar to marriage").
5. One could conjecture that with this preference, people are aiming for certain consciously preferred structural elements within the nuclear family and the social system: namely, that of having an eldest, senior brother of siblings who is regarded as having specific social and economic responsibilities for them and for his parents. He is also in a structurally advantageous position vis-à-vis rights of patrilineal land tenure and the transmission of authority from father to eldest son. With such preferential aspects operating in patrilineal transmission, junior siblings may be in a less-favoured position to acquire such things (see J. von Sturmer 1978:416-417,452 on this latter point).

6. McConnel (1953:2), writing of her journey made in 1927 to the Kendall and Holroyd Rivers, notes that "Apart from a few sandal wood-getters, and a visit by the Mission lugger, little other white contact had been made ...".

7. McConnel's (1957:89-92) translation of the "moipaka" (bullroarer) "myth" gives a similar responsibility to the moipaka-as-husband when he and his pregnant wife are alone in the bush for the delivery of the child ... "The husband went to look for yams. He dug for water with his hands. He cooked the yams in the ashes, then took them out and laid them down not far from his wife for her to pick up for herself" (p.91).

8. As another aspect of the general connection made between trees and the "spirit" or memory of individuals, people are also able to point out specific trees where actual relatives have died. The site becomes in some
cases, synonymous with the person who has died there. The idea that a person's blood is inextricably linked with his/her spirit component and that control of these linked components can determine the individual's health, is a pervasive theme not only in birth but also in death, and again, trees seem to focus the responsibility incurred in the relationship:

Sometimes when a man killed dead another man he might come back later on and see a tree there, well that tree from the blood of that dead man going down into the ground and making that tree, that tree called yuku ngangka thanhtha, special, it got the spirit of that dead man. That man that finished off that man, well he's the boss now for that tree. He has to look after it, no-one can cut wood from it, otherwise the spirit from that dead man will kill that other man. That place special then, no one can fight there any more. If that tree cut or die, that man who's boss for it, get sick and die, so he have to look after it [PA].

Note that there is still an emphasis on the responsibility of "looking after" the tree for the person whose blood is associated with it. In this particular case, the responsibility also has repercussions for the man still alive, who can be punished by the spirit of the deceased man if he neglects it.
Chapter Six

MOTHERS, FATHERS AND "OWN FAMILY"

This chapter examines the social significance of the family among the Kugu-Nganychara. The analysis will proceed via a brief review of marriage to show how control over marital unions influences rights in potential children. The pattern of personal interactions, decision-making and authority within the "family" will be examined, focussing on the questions, "Who makes decisions, about what? Who has authority over whom in what circumstances? Who is in a position to exert sanctions...? [and] Who can act independently?" (C. Berndt 1974:65). The nature of control over and access to children and the significance of caring, is highlighted by an examination of marginal children. Death, remarriage and conflict lead to the disintegration of some Kugu-Nganychara families, effecting the kinds of nurturing that children of these marriages receive. The situation of marginal children underlines the crucial importance of focal nurturers in the transmission of rights.

Family. While not denying the obvious patrilineal bias of the society, the Kugu-Nganychara also emphasize day to day bilateral links. Concepts such as "family" and "relations" are directly associated with the cognatic character of the system of kin classification. A crucial distinction is made however, between "own family"/"close relations", and "outside families"/"far away" relations. There is also a crucial division of "relations" into what has been called mother's "side" and father's "side". At its most specific and
exclusive level, an individual will refer to his or her "own family" as including his or her actual mother, father and siblings. "Own family" is basically the nuclear, natal family, but it includes one's family of procreation as well. "One mother, one father, we really full brother and sister", is the quintessential statement defining the notion of "own family" or "my really family". This unit represents the primary or prior meaning\(^1\) of "family" to which the Kugu-Ngaychara apply the classification of ngangka kamum (ngangka - lower chest, diaphragm; kamum - blood; "full blood"). Among the Kugu-Ngaychara it is this level of "own family" which represents the primary focus of individual allegiance and attachment. The bonds established within it invariably transcend and determine all others.

One of the more immediate and inclusive levels to which the concept of family and associated allegiance is extended, is that of kampan (see also McKnight 1971:148; Thomson 1936: 382; J. von Sturmer 1978:413-319). One's kampan are one's "close" kin (both actual and classificatory) who are characterized as being "like really family for me". An individual will often refer to "my own" or "close relations" and kampan interchangeably. In doing so he or she will be referring to immediate, specific kin and not to the entirety of "relations" whose kin-relationship to him or her is more or less known or knowable. One should act towards one's kampan with the same concern, interest, deference, respect, ease, avoidance, or whatever, as one does with one's own mother, father, and siblings. It is this extension from the focused centre of "own family" to kampan which represents
the first major 'limit', though not the total bounding, of individual allegiance. It is characterised by a high frequency of social, economic, residential and ceremonial interaction.

One's kampan is cognatically reckoned and whilst its genealogical composition may differ from person to person depending on such factors as age, sex, political and ceremonial status, married or single state, there tends to be a significant overlap from person to person in the composition so that one can say that specific people are kampan for each other. Whilst inclusion in kampan is based on genealogical connection, it is also influenced by long standing social, territorial, political and marital relationships between individuals. When a person refers to kampan and "all the families", he or she is placing an emphasis on a style of inter-personal relationships with known individuals.

One young man, when providing a free-flow list of his kampan, described it as being "like big family, like friends, lots of friends" [SK]. Starting with his "own family", this man included as his kampan, close kin from both his mother's and father's "side". Whilst kampan has an initial emphasis on patri-kin, it also has an optative aspect indicating the strength and importance of uterine ties. Kampan does not represent members of one single estate population, nor of one patrilineal descent group such as a 'clan', but represents a group with close genealogical connections, a history of marital alliances and social interaction, sharing of some kam waya (totems), having the same ceremonial
affiliation and the physical proximity of "countries" or estates. Kampan places a definite emphasis on cognatic solidarity and is the kind of group which one finds (and would expect to have found in the past) forming the focus of a residential group over time, interacting at a particular campsite, co-operating in economic pursuits and the distribution of food, organizing and carrying out ceremonies, establishing an outstation together, and involved in arrangements for and settling disputes over marriage contracts. It is within the natal family and the inclusion of close kin and other families posited by Kampan - and in turn the interaction between such groups - that one finds the most immediate and direct social ordering and management of reproduction.

Marriage and the family. Marriage amongst the Wik-Mungkana generally has been the subject of detailed analysis. Here I shall focus on the local Kugu-Nganychara perspective and individual manipulation of marriage arrangements. Amongst the Kugu-Nganychara marriage arrangements are firmly in the hands of families. Indeed, McConnel (1934), when dealing with the Wik-Mungkana, more often than not deals with the marital claims of families with respect to one another, than of clans in respect of one another (see also Scheffler 1972:52 who makes a similar comment).

There is a deliberate optative aspect to the marriage rules allowing marriage with a spouse from mother's or father's "side", though genealogies indicate that there was a strong tendency to marry back into one's mother's "side" (supporting similar conclusions made by McConnel 1934:325,331
for the Wik-Mungkana, and Sharp 1937:231 for the Yir Yiront). There are a number of factors other than proscriptive marriage rules involved in establishing a marital claim and for ensuring subsequent approval of that union as a "straight-head" or legitimate marriage. Essential to the smooth flow of negotiations are the involvement of "both families" from "both sides"; that is, involving interested individuals from the families of both prospective spouses. More particularly, there is a range of individuals from the ascending generations of both sides who become involved. One of the major criticisms of many marriages which are called "wrong-head", is that the involvement and opinions of these individuals have been ignored.

A woman's father and mother, elder brothers and sisters, mother's brother and father's sister are all variously accorded active interests in the arrangements for her marital union which are carried out over a period of time. Especially, it is the woman's mother and grandmother (MM) who are said by both men and women, to assert a continuing and decisive social pressure on whether the arrangements result in a union or not. A woman's brother may become involved if negotiations are failing and more particularly if his younger sister is verbally and publicly reluctant to enter into an arranged union. However, there is little sense in which one could say that a brother arranges the marriage of his sister. On the contrary, there is a well-established and noted Kugun Nganychara predeliction for elder, married women to try to arrange for the marriage of their younger sister's (actual and close classificatory), to their own husband's brother/s;
commonly referred to as "brother sister marry brother sister". Such marital arrangements establish specific kinds of female co-residence which subsequently allow for co-operation in child-care and rearing (see Chapter Seven).

As briefly noted in Chapter Four, one of the most crucial factors bought to bear on marital unions is the distinction between "close" as opposed to "too far away". The distinction describes certain preferred social, ceremonial, language attributes as well as genealogical connection. Nowadays, the general dictates for a marriage are that they should not be too "close". They should not be with ngangka kamum; i.e., close genealogical kin should be avoided: "close cousins, really cousins should not marry". Marriage with close classificatory kin; e.g., M, MB, MZ, F, FB, FZ, B or Z is designated as being "wronghead".

The second restriction placed upon marriage is that it not be with a spouse from "too far". Older people will enjoin young adults to "look for homeside" for their spouses, not "long way off". Marriages outside of the Kugu–Nganychara region are generally thought to be "too far". The emphasis here has to do with notions of social sameness associated with "homeside" as opposed to the social difference of "outside" or spouses from "far away", as much as it does with sheer distance between the estates of the two individuals concerned. For example, a marriage contracted between a man and a woman from opposite sides of the Kendall River was criticised for being "too far away", whilst a marriage within the region between individuals from estates a matter of some 16 kilometres away was approved and
considered "proper" and "straighthead". One of the main criticisms of the former marriage was based on the issue of a perceived lack of continued involvement and access by the families of the two spouses. Particularly, affines of the "outside" male spouse argued that he always wanted to "take" the woman with him and reside permanently with his own parents, and that the woman would be "lost" to her own family. More specifically, the woman's relatives voiced the fear that they would not have reasonable access to caring for and rearing the potential future offspring of the union. When the question of "outside" marriages arises, this issue of maintaining access to children is frequently mentioned as the cause of family conflict. Conversely, it is argued that marriage from "homeside" reduces potential conflict at the local level and again the presence of children is said to be an influential factor in this. Children appear to focus the genealogical connection and social responsibilities between various affinal kin and are thus said to have a restraining effect on conflict. Sutton (1978:129-130) also comments on this point for the Cape Keerweer population and quotes a Wik-Ngathâna man who succinctly presents the perceived use of children in this respect:

If you got no kids, you can fight your brother-in-law. But when those kids come, you gotta stop. You might say: You ought to look those kids, before you want to fight me!

In other words, a man's brother-in-law is also the brother of his own wife and MB to his children with whom he has a particularly close relationship: "... among adults who are parents and who are closely intermarried, there are strong ties between the adults on any one side of a conflict and
certain children on the other" (p.130). In this way, children place constraints on social conflict between closely related kin and emphasize stability in familial and affinal interactions.

Parents as primary nurturers. Whilst the Kugu-Nganychara have a set of standards concerning the responsibilities and behaviour expected of parents towards their children and vice versa, they do not represent fixed, absolute rules for living. The pattern of social relations and responsibilities established within the family has a developmental character. In general though, within family relationships senior and ascending generations are superordinate to junior and descending generations. The giving and receiving of care and protection, the organization of activities and decision-making within families, is represented in the Kugu-Nganychara phrase, "oldest look for youngest". According to this, certain people are said to be the "boss" for others, they are in a position of authority over others and are also expected to "look after" or care for those others. Thus a mother and father are "boss for" and "look after" their children.

Parents are held to be ultimately responsible for caring for and rearing their own children. No matter how close the kin relationship, the temporary caretaker of another's child will eventually complain and rebuke the child's parents for shirking their own duties. This is especially so if the caretaking relationship is not considered to be one of "growing up" or "adoption" (see Chapter Seven), and if the parent is considered to be able to assume his or
her "proper" responsibility for the child, but is simply unwilling to do so. In such cases public criticism will be brought to bear on the individual. A woman of approximately 45 years had been "looking after" her daughter's children for about one week. Her daughter was in Cairns (having been sent out for the delivery of her fifth baby), and the daughter's husband had been assuming the major responsibility for their children up until he left them in the care of his wife's parents while he travelled to another outstation. During his absence the four children slept in their grandparents' campsite and their "grannie" (MM) took responsibility for providing and cooking food for them, washing their clothes and taking them on daily fishing and food gathering trips. The grandmother had two teenage sons of her own as well and towards the end of the first week she began to publicly announce her displeasure:

well there's no-one to cook for those small children to wash their clothes, get water for them, their father stop other side, he should take this young girl and look after her, she cry from her father [PK].

The expected standard of interaction and behaviour between parents and children is a frequent topic of private and public discussion, and individuals feel able to make comments such as above, in the form of public haranguing sessions, on other people's performance as caretakers of children.

Children are, by and large, mukam - free of many of the restrictions on their individual behaviour and autonomy which adults are subjected to. Children are characterized as "not knowing", a state which excuses their ignorance, but also makes them vulnerable to outside spiritual and environmental forces and therefore in need of the care and
protection of their parents and other adults. A son and daughter's relation to their parents is conceived by adults as a kind of apprenticeship in which parents are expected to pass on their knowledge and skills: "young children should be learning from parents. Small time, my mother, father, grannie (MM) and big uncle (MB+) they teach me how to get firewood, water" [PK]; "My mother learn me from getting humpies, how to tighten sticks\(^3\), how to make string bag when small time" [TN]. Similarly, a father will teach his son the use of men's equipment, how to make spears and throw them and then how to "hunt for family".

"Young Cecil" is about three years old. He sits beside his father at their "shade", crying bitterly. A few moments earlier his mother had left to walk over to her own parent's campsite, telling the small boy to "stop behind". His father picks the small child up and lays him on his lap ... "well look you don't want to cry, you got relations here, you got uncle, aunty, sisters and brothers". The child continues crying. "Well if that not enough, ngaya ngaya (ngaya - first person singular pronoun, subject). Repetition of ngaya as in the case above is a phrase heard frequently in individual conversation. Essentially it has the connotation of emphasising personal autonomy and style: "me myself". In the scene above the father is in effect reassuring his son by saying, 'Well you've always got me'. This reassurance of paternal support and nurture could equally have been said by a mother to her son or daughter, and reveals the core of the Kugu-Nganychara perception of "family" and the belief that the relationships established within it have a social primacy for each individual.
Within each family it will be the mother and father who are expected to initiate decisions, provide care, shelter and protection, organize those domestic and economic activities which satisfy their own subsistence requirements, and who will initially transmit particular kinds of knowledge and experience to the child. For the Kugu-Nganychara, a mother and father act as primary or focal nurturers of their children.

Fathers as nurturers. A father's relationship with his young children is generally characterized by personal intimacy, extreme patience and a willingness to accommodate almost any kind of behaviour. This has been misleadingly characterized as being "indulgent" and uncontrolled child-rearing by early ethnographers (e.g., see Malinowski 1963: 238-257). Generally, there is no question of a father being physically distant or reserved with his infant son or daughter, but as they mature they learn that the father is to be treated with a certain amount of healthy respect (see also McKnight 1971:167 who makes a similar comment for the Wik-Mungkana). Children do not make sexual jokes with their father, though he may "tease" his small son, for example by referring to his genitals. This kind of sexual reference, either in jest or anger, does not occur between a father and his daughter. This contrasts with young siblings who will often "swear" each other when fighting, no matter what the sex.

A Kugu-Nganychara father is proud of his family, especially if it is a large one and he has many sons: "Yes I got big family, lots of boys, lucky". In fact people as
parents do make distinctions between the ordering of their children. Men will say that they prefer to have a son first as he will "follow on" from his father; that is, the senior, male sibling is in a structurally advantageous position with respect to acquiring certain patrilineal rights - such as tenureship of land, seniority in ceremony, decision-making, rights of residence in the estate. Junior male and female siblings are in turn placed within a structural disadvantage with respect to those same rights, and a father may spend more time 'educating' his eldest son in certain areas of patrilineally-based knowledge which that son will "take-over" from him.

A physically close relationship may continue between a father and his sons for some time. At Empadha outstation a young man of about 18 years would often sit at his parents' "shade", leaning with his back up against his father's side, as they both sat eating or watching activities in the camp. A father's relationship with his maturing son generally tends to be marked more by aggressive competition and conflict as the young man seeks to establish his own realm of influence (see also J. von Sturmer 1978:409). Not all fathers are on close personal terms with their children. Some men, and this seems to be so especially with younger males, maintain a constant movement from one outstation to another and often do not spend a great deal of time with their "own" children. The latter will invariably remain in the care of their mother, or go into the care of their grandparents, in which case a father may comment, "those kids don't like me, they not used to me"; or, "AK not used to me, he growing up with LA's
parents [his wife's parents], other side [of the river]".

As a man's daughter matures he will become more reserved both in his behaviour and in his communication with her, so that it becomes a more overtly avoidance relationship. Incest between a father and daughter (as between a mother and son and brother and sister) is not considered impossible, but highly improbable. Generally, a father and maturing daughter will avoid all reference to sex, pregnancy and menstruation in each other's company.

In comparison to this development into an avoidance relationship between a father and his daughter as a young woman, is the relationship between the father and his daughter as a child. During childhood, a father may be seen frequently carrying his daughter on his shoulders as he goes about his activities in camp or when travelling, and young daughters may be described as being particularly attached to their fathers and preferring to stay in their father's company during the day.

A father may act as a comforter to his young children and establish himself as a source of security and protection for them. A father's armpit sweat, "smell" - as well as a mother's - is said to have safeguarding and healing qualities for his children. When approaching "poison country" such as cremation sites, awu, ceremonial sites or burial areas, or when in "new country" where the child has not been previously, a father would put his "smell" on his children to protect them from possible malevolent interference from spirits and sources of power which would make the child sick. "Smell" from one's father is regarded as having curative powers for his children; e.g., a man will put his "smell" on a daughter
who complains of being sick. It is also seen to have generative powers; e.g., a mother will put her "smell" on her daughter's breasts as they develop to make sure there is "proper" growth.

Both a son and daughter formally acquire at birth a series of names, kam waya (totems), a language and a stretch of territory which are transmitted to the child patrilineally, and to which the child can claim primary rights of possession. It has been noted that the establishment of a child's patrilineal identity and the possibility of such a transmission of rights and knowledge have already commenced during the process of "finding" and "building up" babies and the events surrounding birth. Passing on patrilineally-situated knowledge to the child is largely, though not solely, the responsibility of the father and individuals from father's "side". This transmission occurs throughout the child's life in various ways. In a family campsite, a young child of about four years, sits on his father's lap and the man begins reciting to the boy his own (and his son's) kam waya. He mentions one: kam waya monthe (pelican), which he has his son repeat after him. Then he says another one and has the boy repeat it again. He lists about five which he has the child repeat and starts over again, slowly and patiently. The scene is a familiar one, with the father also teaching the young child the names of animals, pointing out trees and listing their names and properties off, listing off place names in his own (and therefore the child's) estate, singing public songs from his ceremonies to put the child to sleep, telling "stories"
which have to do with people, places and events within
his patrilineal group and estate. More intimate knowledge
of these things, and an estimation of its value with respect
to other kinds of knowledge, will be progressively acquired
by the child through subsequent actual participation and
exposure to different social, economic and ceremonial
events. During childhood, the teaching of children by
their father is an important means of acquiring certain kinds
of knowledge.

Amongst the Kugu-Nganychara however, women as mothers
also appear to play a part in their child's education in
patrilineal knowledge. I have witnessed mothers deliberately
talking to their children in their husband's language for
the specified purpose of encouraging them to learn and use
their father's language (see Sutton 1978:161 for similar
comments). So that rather than being regarded as strangers
or outsiders to their husband's patriline, they may be seen
as partial recruiters or incorporators of their children
into that patriline. Acquisition of patrilineal knowledge
and rights is directly linked then, with the rearing of
children by their own parents. If a child's father dies,
the body of patrilineal knowledge and rights still remains
within the reach of his children, as they are regarded as
being primary and immutable. But the child's future ability
to actually use that knowledge and exercise those rights may
be severely impaired, especially if father's "side" have
subsequently not had access to the child and not been able
to participate in its rearing and education.

The alternatives possible in the acquisition and use
of a language by a child highlight the effects of
differential parental involvement. Amongst the Kugu-
Nganychara, the patrilineally acquired language is felt
to be the primary language, although children can generally
also understand and may partly speak their mother's language
as a matter of having daily exposure to it. However, if a
child's father has died in its infancy, it may grow up
speaking its mother's language: "MN speaks Kugu-Mu'inh,
her mother's father's language. Her father died small
time, grew up behind with mother, speaks mother's language,
really language from father Kugu-Me'inh" [PK]. Sutton
(1978:161) cites similar cases for a northern Wik population
as part of an argument for the flexibility of language
affiliation and use. He notes (p.161) that switching to
one's mother's language has to do with the politics of social
access to children and the strength of uterine ties7. This
also appears to be the case for the Kugu-Nganychara, where
affiliation and use of language - though ideally connected
with patrilineal rights - is closely associated with exposure
during childhood, and particularly with primary caretaking of
children by their father and/or mother, and later with the
perceived value of being affiliated with one as opposed to
the other language.

Acquisition of other kinds of knowledge and subsequent
assertion of rights to it, are similarly effected by the
kinds of primary caretaking a child receives. Complications
may, for example, arise within the process of acquiring
patrilineally situated knowledge, if the identity of a
child's genitor and pater are at odds. Who will then transmit
knowledge and rights and who will the child "follow"? For example, an adult may have difficulty asserting claims to the patrilineal rights of his or her genitor if in fact he or she has not also been "grown up" or reared, by that person as pater. One of the strongest areas of 'evidence' that adults use for asserting claims (for example: to land, to residence at a camp, to access to a ceremonial site, to hunting and gathering privileges, to social support from others), is that of having been "grown up" by a particular person as parent, and having had one's "small time" (childhood) at that person's estate or specific campsite. So that being "grown up" by man who is one's pater but not one's genitor invariably means acquiring the knowledge, language, rights etc., associated with the pater. However, there may be complications, especially if one desires to lay claims to certain rights of one's genitor. Sutton (p.160) notes an instance of acknowledged different identities of genitor and pater which illustrates the complication which may arise:

One young man, for example, is the offspring of a union between his mother and her classificatory mother's brother. He is classed in the kinship terminology as the son of his genitor, not that of his pater. But his surname is that of his pater, and he has not been accepted as a full member of his genitor's clan, in spite of attempts to join them.

In such cases there is never complete consensus as to the kinship status of the child concerned. Having been reared, or "grown up", by his pater, while most likely placing him in a position to receive patrilineal rights via that man, has disadvantaged him with respect to claiming any from that of his genitor's. For the uncomplicated transmission
of patrilineal rights, it is preferable to have one's genitor and pater as single identities.

From the perspective of the father, it is important to be able to transmit these rights to one's "own" biological and social children as it establishes a continuity and confirmation of ownership. Sutton (p.77), when writing of a situation where a "clan" may become "extinct", presents an informant's opinion which highlights precisely this point: "P once said that if his wife's brothers had not had offspring, he would have taken over their estate". Having children establishes a man-as-father's legitimate right to transmit things and thus ensures a continued ownership or management of them within his own family and lineage. A father is seen then to have particular responsibilities for caring for, protecting and providing food for, and educating his children. Attached to the giving of this care, are immediate and future benefits for the child.

Mothers as nurturers. In most daily situations, and over a period of time, it can be said that women are more frequently involved in nurturing children than men are. A mother is expected to be supportive and accommodating towards her children. She is expected to "talk gentle" to her children. Women use what is referred to as "sorry voice" - a soft, sympathetic style of talking invariably characterized by an initial, cajoling ooyi wooyi remark - to any child to whom they stand in a mother relationship to. One will also often find both men and women and older children talking to any young infant or baby in such a voice.
The close physical relationship between a mother and her children is strengthened by the frequency of breastfeeding both day and night, and the maintenance of this pattern for a number of years. The sign gesture for a mother is both breast and belly and focuses on her reproductive qualities. If a woman is dancing with a group of men which includes her own son she will indicate the relationship by holding her breast as she dances (see also McConnel 1934:359 for the Wik-Mungkana; and Sutton 1978:254 for the Cape Keerweer region). Weaning of children appears to be a slow process and does not seem to cause great emotional upheaval, partly because a child continues to have almost indefinite access to his or her mother's breast if upset and inconsolable. If a mother desires to break a breastfeeding habit it is said that she will leave the child with a female relative: with "small aunty" (FZ−), "big aunty" (FZ+), with MZ+/- or with "grannie" (MM).

Though a mother may have a relaxed joking and "teasing" relationship with her children, and whilst they may in fact "swear" their mother; e.g., by chastising her for not cooking food for them and being "lazy", nevertheless as a male child matures a certain avoidance will be established between himself and his mother. A mother and daughter invariably remain close physically and socially, whereas the son will distance himself physically from his mother and become more indirect in his communication with her. This transition is generally gradual in its development, although a son's removal for initiation or "bora" is a turning point. Initiation ceremonies are characterized in such a way by women, who say that with "bora" their sons were "like in
prison", that they might send food for them, but that it would be "stolen" by the old men, so that their caregiving role was removed
d. Even in the "single men's camp" nowadays, mothers of young men will continue to send food across to them and thus continue to "look after" or care for them. Younger boys may often alternate between residing in the "single men's camp" and their parent's campsite, acquiring their independence gradually.

When a woman's husband dies she will expect her sons to assume particular responsibilities towards her, by hunting for her, organizing her campsite, and generally protecting her. A woman without any male such as a husband or son to "look after" (care for) her in this way, may express a feeling of vulnerability: "Mona (Z+) alright, she got son, I got nothing only small kid, all alone, no-one to look after me now \[YN\]. In reality adult women are more than capable of caring for themselves in such situations (see D. von Sturmer 1980). Whilst a father's relationship with his adult daughter is characterized by increasing indirectness in interpersonal interaction, and by a certain amount of rivalry between the man and his son; a mother is frequently described as wanting to "hold onto", or keep with her, her maturing offspring. Women are especially characterised as wanting to "hold" their daughters ... "well those mothers always have to keep those children behind": the implication being that to go "forward" is to marry, establish one's own family and divide one's loyalties between natal family and family of procreation. Women will "talk strong" to keep their maturing sons and daughters with them: "No I'm not going to let go of him yet", or "I can't let her go she my
last daughter". This attachment is based as much on the desire for companionship (especially with a daughter) as it is on the perceived economic advantages of having adult offspring to "look after" you.

The attachment between a mother and her adult offspring appears to be reciprocated. Certainly, the notion of such an attachment will be manipulated or used for an individual's own interests. Thus an adult daughter who has cared for an ageing and now dependent mother will complain to her about her son's lack of concern: "You got nothing son? They should be here to look after you, not stop Aurukun all the time. Which way your son?, my brothers make me sick" [MN]. Or a daughter may use her close relationship with her mother as a means of avoiding an unwanted marriage arrangement ... "Not growing up husband from small, growing up mother, mother really boss. Don't like husband, don't follow, stay mother" [YN]. A woman may support her son and daughter in their sexual encounters and resulting social conflicts if they arise ... "girls fighting over boys, well the mother of that boy might go over and say things ("swearing") to that girl's mother, then all in for fight" [MK]. It is argued then that countering the necessity to marry and establish a family independent from one's parents, is a contrary tie affirming attachment and orientation to one's natal family. As adult women "hold onto" their children, the latter also "look back" to their mothers (and fathers) for support.

The conceived responsibilities of a mother toward her children may in turn, be used by her to manipulate her own marital career, and to establish personal independence. MN for example, is about 49 years old and has been widowed for
a long time. From all accounts she has never been willing to remarry\textsuperscript{9} ... "I never marry again. I shame from my husband to marry 'nother man". One of the major causes of such "shame", cited by a number of women, is the neglect of her children which supposedly occurs when a woman remarries and perhaps has more children by another man:

\begin{quote}
She never bin marry 'gain 'cause she still keeping promise from dead body [avoidance reference to the woman's deceased husband] promise not to marry 'nother man, got to stop and look after own kids [PK].
\end{quote}

In fact the woman's "kids" are now adult men and women, though some are still "single". Nevertheless, it is considered to be a legitimate reaction on the part of the woman to want to focus her maternal attention on continuing to care for them rather than to remarry. Indeed she is said to be under a "promise" from her deceased husband to do so, for his connection and interest in his children are still seen to be effective or influential after his death.

The relationship between a mother and her maturing daughter may have a sexually competitive aspect, which can be the cause of bitter arguments:

\begin{quote}
... don't you make me cranky. I give you good hiding, all the time you talk boyfriend, boyfriend. He not my boyfriend, he your boyfriend, you take. You silly talk, I hate it [YN].
\end{quote}

During a period of one month there were seven heated arguments between this woman and her teenage daughter which involved such issues, as well as others. The conflicts were characterized by "swearing", the "calling of names" and/or physical fighting and the deliberate destruction of personal property. When a woman and her daughter engage in a physical fight it will be another woman who intervenes as
the restraining 'block' and preferably a woman who is "boss for" both women, such as MZ+ or MM. If the fight continues and threatens to seriously injure one or both women, the woman's husband may become involved. He may attempt to restrain her or take away a fighting stick if she is wielding one. He will not physically engage his daughter or attempt to restrain her under any circumstances.

Whilst women invariably characterize their relationship with their own mother as one of friendship and support, the style of interaction changes as both mature and especially when the daughter remarries and has a family of her own. A daughter who marries and bears children will have the support of her mother's experience and knowledge. She will also be attempting to establish her own realm of influence via her family of procreation, so that a daughter's marriage may mark a change in relative authority between the two women. The issues of sexual competition, conflict over decision-making and the relative assumption of work-loads, may now shift to the question of social access to, and grandparental rights in, the daughter's children.

As noted in the previous chapters, the child in utero and at birth has already had established a number of socially significant relationships with actual individuals on his mother's "side". As he or she grows up, there is continued social pressure to have the child "looked after" by its mother's "side". These demands for social access to the child are extensions of the relationships established during pregnancy and childbirth. It is interesting that a number of these relationships on mother's "side" are defined in terms of their relaxed, supportive and nurturing attributes, and
that they also bear a strong similarity to the same attributes associated with an actual mother. A mother's "side" then, will expect to have social access to her children, and it is regarded as being unfortunate for both the children and their maternal relatives if this does not occur. Individuals in turn also expect to be able to have access to their mother's "side", and people will say, "no-one can block [keep out] me from mother's side".

As mentioned previously, certain patrilineal rights to land, use of language, ceremony, resources, etc., are regarded as immutable. But habitation and occupancy, having been cared for and reared by a number of varied individuals outside of one's patriline establishes a certain flexibility, or optative quality in the transmission and acquisition of rights, and accordingly in one's own position with respect to establishing claims over them. This flexibility is directly associated with involvement in nurturing activities. For example, having spent one's "small time" - even if only temporarily - being reared and cared for by one's mother's "side" may be used to verify an individual's claims to rights of residence in their mother's estate and perhaps assert a primary claim to that land if tenureship to it is in some doubt. Kugu-Nganychara men and women will assert claims to both people and things (e.g., to land, shelter, economic privileges) via their mother and often as easily as via their father.

The optative quality introduced as a result of the strength of uterine ties and the use made of matrilineal kin connections extended into the social past by
focusing on involvement in primary caretaking, can be illustrated by the issue of access to and tenureship of land. For example, PA claims a primary affiliation and tenureship to an estate at Christmas Creek. He was in 1978 also attempting to establish an outstation on his actual mother's mother's father's estate at Pu'an: "I'll be going right back to the centre, back to my mother's country from that youngest one that second mother". Reference to "first" and "second mother" is literally a claim to descent from women who are actual sisters, with "first" and "second" referring to their relative ages and authority. Thus, "my mother from that second mother" is a reference to the descent of one's actual mother from a woman (who is one's MM, but being classified here as the initial 'mother/reproducer') two generations removed, and who is the "second mother"; i.e., the youngest and junior of two sisters. In PA's case, a contemporary connection of siblingship is being made between himself and other individuals who trace their descent from the "first mother", or the eldest and senior female sibling two generations removed. PA and these other individuals class themselves as "brothers" and "sisters" reckoning their own relative age position and authority in the relationship via their descent from either the "first" or "second" mother; i.e., irregardless of their own age. It is noteworthy that the Kugu-Nganychara do not reckon descent in this case, so much as ascent. That is, they trace and legitimize relationships from ego upwards, from individuals classified as children of various mothers and fathers in different generations in the past, so that the focus is always on the present generation (see also
Sutton 1978:57 who strongly argues for such a perspective). In the above case then, PA is establishing a right of residence within his MMF's estate and is enlisting the aid of the family of his "eldest sister" who is his MMZ+DD. It is referred to as a "company" move and quite a legitimate one for him. Even so, he still claims as his primary estate, that transmitted to him via his father.

The family as a domestic and economic unit. The family amongst the Kugu-Nganychara is the basic unit of economic exploitation, consumption and distribution. Each such unit maintains its own cooking fire around which daily domestic activities are centred, and has its own sleeping and resting areas within which the preparation, cooking and eating of food takes place. No matter how large the group of related individuals congregating together, each such family forms an autonomous unit which is most easily marked by a separate cooking fireplace and by regular habitation and use of specific campsites (see Maps 3 and 4 for the distribution of these "family camps" at Empadha and Pu'an).

The pattern of movement and interaction between such groups in the past was more seasonally determined than it is now on the Kugu-Nganychara outstation camps. In the past, during the "dry time" (kay.man - approximately late July to October), larger congeries of people would disperse into primary family units, including three to four generations. These small domestic units would exploit a number of diminishing resources over a range which would cover a number of estates, one of which would include that unit's own estate or "country". During the "wet time" (oynych.n -
approximately December to mid-April), these family units would reassemble at a wet season campsite which would be used each successive wet season. Some of these larger wet-season campsites, located at areas where certain resources were abundant, would be used by families from a number of different estates. *Agu Kuli-aynychana* near Empadha on the Kendall River, and *Pu'an* itself, were both large wet season campsites. A *Kugu-Nganychara* man of about 45 years, who had lived as a youth in the bush and spent time at both of the campsites, explained the seasonal pattern as follows:

In bush days we not stop here (at Empadha outstation) altogether. People say to us, 'what you do in wet time?' Well this here [Agu Kuli-aynychan] is where they use to come. During dry time now they all out all 'round the country in small mob, family altogether, mother, father and children camping out, hunting, fishing. When that first storm come and that big wet, well everyone comes back to this place. Camp out in open day-time all in straight line, camp in bush inside pur-ayanchi for night. All one families in one camp, 'nother camp for 'nother family. Bush humpies (pur-ayanchi) same families use each time [PA].

At these wet season camps families maintained autonomous camping sites and domestic arrangements, but co-operated for the exploitation of particular wet season resources which required larger numbers.

At Empadha outstation on the Kendall River, there were in July 1978, six such family campsites with members who had been resident there for approximately two and a half years. (Appendix C provides the genealogical connections between these residents and indicates family groupings). Except for the "single men's camp", and the "widow's camp", the focus for each of these families was the husband and wife as conjugal unit. Husbands and wives in fact spend a
lot of time together, resting under their family "shade" during the day, working on their respective spears and string bags, or simply being in the same physical proximity even though they may not talk or interact. Often every day the husband and wife and their children leave camp and go to a favourite fishing spot, the man carrying his spears, woomera and nowadays bullets and gun and perhaps taking a small child on his shoulders. The wife carries her dilly bag and digging stick. They may take provisions for a mid­day meal, mainly some tea-leaf and sugar and perhaps some damper. The daughter carries the food and some water. While the woman and her daughters and younger children fish from the riverbank, her husband walks off by himself to hunt, taking their dogs with him, or else walking along the riverbank looking for stingray. His sons may join him or similarly go off on their own to hunt. Invariably the family has a meal away from the main outstation camp, and returns later in the afternoon. If any food remains it is kept for their night meal and perhaps shared with close relatives such as grandparents and adult siblings of the parents, or affines. (A more detailed description of the kinds of daily economic activities carried out by the family, and of the organization of domestic arrangements such as cooking, sleeping, washing etc., together with a description of the relative participation of family members in these, is given in the form of a 'standard' daily routine for one family group living at Empadha, in Appendix D).

It has been noted that parents are expected to care and provide for their dependent children. However, there are also certain economic expectations built into this
nurturing interaction which involve a reciprocal assumption of responsibilities and which also extend into the future. For example, parents will "look after" their children and also expect children to "work for" them when required to do so. Most immediately this involves children performing domestic tasks. "Looking after" and "working for" appear to be regarded (and certainly operate) as interdependent, reciprocal arrangements. At a wider social level the connection between the two can be seen to operate in a number of other kin relationships; e.g., a husband "looks after" his wife and she is expected to "work for" his mother; a man's mother-in-law has "looked after" her daughter who is given as his future wife so he must "work for" his affines; a kudin is said to "look after" a child's physical development and well-being and the child in turn should "work for" him when asked. The giving and receiving of care establishes in this way a system of reciprocal responsibilities and obligations which have long-term value.

Parents as focal nurturers of their children will not withdraw their care and protection if children are unwilling to work as they should. Nevertheless, most individuals are very aware of their responsibilities to "work for" others because of having received nurture at some stage from them. Similarly, individuals are very aware that others should be prepared to "work for" them for the same reason. It is then another issue as to how long individuals will assume such responsibilities before trying to pass them onto someone else, who is also expected to be involved; e.g., a woman who says she is "working for" her husband's aged mother may try to transfer that responsibility on to her HB- 's "new wife".
This woman is also expected to assume such a responsibility and is in a structurally subordinate position to her husband's elder brother's wife, who is "boss" for her. With such expectations arising out of nurturing interaction, there is almost an inevitable dissatisfaction with relative fulfillment of obligations:

I look after my older sisters and brothers and parents, then when I marry I must look after that old lady (HM). Those young people not working, too lazy, don't worry for getting meat or hunting they just sleep, they don't look after their parents like they should [PK];

No good those young girls think for men all the time, they want to think for work and cooking for their mothers [TW].

Children are expected to "work for" their parents and may be accused of "shutting their ears" to their parents' requests and of deliberately absenting themselves from the family campsite. Girls may be regarded as "good working girls" for their mothers in particular, and often assume responsibility for a number of domestic duties such as cooking, preparing food, collecting firewood and water, and caretaking their younger siblings. If they absent themselves from the family camp too often, or "shut" their ears and simply refuse to work, they quickly become labelled "lazy" or wentho (silly, crazy) and arguments will invariably develop between a mother and her daughter over this issue. Generally, it appears that young girls are expected to assume more responsibility for this kind of domestic work than their brothers are, though a mother will certainly see her adult son in terms of his supplying her with food through his hunting activities.

Husbands and wives are not always in accord as to who
has authority over children and what is appropriate behaviour toward them. A husband will rebuke his wife if he thinks that she is becoming lax in her caring of them: "You should teach those children better, they can't finish off that food in one day, just waste it" [PY]. There are well-established ideas of what maternal and wifely responsibilities consist of, and performance is judged accordingly:

You lazy bastard, sit down sleep all day, you not cooking, getting water, you should get up and work for your own family. You fucking woman, you have to do that work, that's woman's work, make up bed, get firewood, cook [PY].

The response to such an accusation made by a husband to his wife, is usually immediately forthcoming, and invariably involves a similar critical judgement of the husband's behaviour with respect to his family responsibilities:

Well you not fucking boss for me, I'm not your sister or daughter to always have to run after you, you fucking wait ... I'm meat hungry, but you just stop in camp all day, you should think for your own family, not just think for cutting (gambling) cards all day [EM].

If individuals feel they have shouldered their share of domestic duties for more than long enough, they will simply stop working. Women will "bail up" on their husbands if they feel that the latter are not fulfilling their marital and paternal responsibilities. "Bailing up" is regarded as a woman's 'right' and usually consists of removing herself from the family camp either physically or by becoming completely inactive and lying down all day. Women will occasionally "bail up" en masse to break the occasional long spells of inactivity and lethargy by men, in order to force them to go out hunting. Generally threats of action by
parents, particularly fathers, are usually sufficient to make recalcitrant children work.

As noted, expectations which arise out of involvement in parental nurturing have to do with the future as well. Sons and daughters are perceived by both parents as a source of security for their future; for, as offspring mature and establish families of their own, the care-giving and receiving role between parents and children is said to be reversed. One of the basic premises upon which the assumption of parental nurturing is founded is that parents should have continuing access to their children, especially when the latter become adults with children of their own. Adult offspring should not be "lost" to their parents in this way, but are expected to "look after" their ageing or widowed parents. At least a partial fulfilment of this responsibility by adult sons and daughters is evident in the large number of family camps at outstations in which one finds aged parents in residence and being "looked after" by their adult sons or daughters.

Being "lost" to one's parents is a reference to the absence of expected care, protection and support of parents by their now adult offspring:

... when I went out to work on station [cattle station] I always come back to visit my parents to see how they getting on and send them money. I got two brothers in Northern Territory, well they lost to their family, don't look after their parents [RK].

Being "lost" in this way, means then the non-assumption of a responsibility to reciprocate primary care given at an earlier date. It also means that other relatives must negotiate who will instead provide the care and protection. A mother will aim to keep one of her maturing daughters
with her in this capacity, which can itself be the cause of some conflict if the girl wishes to establish her own family:

... those good working girls, cooking, helping me, getting water. I got just one working girl with me here, she good girl. That other man, well he taking away [by marrying] girl from my sister. She went and left her mother behind [LL].

For a young woman, marrying and having one's own children is recognized as a means of establishing her own autonomy and independence from parental demands. Prior to marriage, a mother and daughter will spend much time in each other's company and the maturing daughter will be expected to increasingly take over many domestic duties from her mother. Some women, after marriage, will completely stop "working for" their parents. For despite the relaxed and often intimate nature of interaction between a mother and daughter, conflict arises over the question of relative workloads. When the daughter is married the balance of authority within the relationship is seen to change:

Mother ... You get water make tea.
Daughter.. No you not boss.
Mother ... Yes I am, I'm your mother, I'm your boss.
Daughter.. No, I got children myself now, I bin married, you not my boss now you just silly old woman, you got no man to worry for you, you just yourself now, you got no-one.

Marriage represents a re-direction of an individual's economic and social activities. He or she, while still obligated to parents, will be expected to "look after" or care for, their own children. Parents in turn enter into grandparental relationships with their offsprings' children.
Food: parental responsibilities. Children appear to be able to take food from their parents with few restrictions. However, restrictions do exist for children, and again it is the parents who by their own behaviour must protect their children from foods which are thought to be particularly dangerous to them. As already noted, a child's parents will observe certain personal restrictions on their own consumption of "big" foods during the pregnancy and childbirth. These restrictions continue for some years after the child's birth, and include the child's grandparents as well. It is said that otherwise the child would become sick or have "bad dreams". The child must now also avoid directly consuming these foods, and statements and actions by Kugu-Nganychara parents indicate that they often go to great lengths on occasions to keep certain food away from their young children which would cause them harm if they consumed it. In this manner parents are responsible for actively maintaining their children's mukam (unrestricted, free) state, protecting their vulnerability to "big" power, as well as more directly nurturing their physical growth by ensuring that they eat the 'right' foods. As children mature they will become subject to more immediate and specific restrictions on eating food; e.g., at initiation, at menstruation and pregnancy etc. They will also have to wait to have food distributed to them after their parents have taken allocations for themselves. Parents' observations of food restrictions for the sake of their children can be seen to become less forceful as those children in turn take increasing personal responsibility for protecting their own physical development and become less vulnerable to "bigness".
With respect to providing and distributing food, parents are regarded by the Kugu-Nganychara as providers. While they must regulate what they give to their children; e.g., avoid giving them "big" foods, they must also regulate their receiving of food from their children. For example, it is said that fathers "can't eat from their kids"; that a man should not take food which has been caught or gathered by his own children, male or female (see also McKnight 1973:203; Thomson 1936:386; J. von Sturmer 1978:242. The explanation for this restriction rests on the way that parental nurture is perceived as operating over time. As the Kugu-Nganychara say: "Father can't take away from his kids", he is expected to provide for them, not to take away from. It is only later, that an ageing parent may take food from his adult son or daughter and this reversal is clearly associated with a reversal in the nurturing interaction whereby the ageing parent becomes dependent on his own adult children to "look after" him, just as freely and considerately as he has done when they were young\(^{12}\).

The restrictions on taking food from young children as they mature appear to affect the father more so than the mother. A mother is said to be able to freely take food caught by her son, which was seen to be a supplement to the food brought in by her own husband (see also McKnight 1973:204). A mother could also eat food caught or gathered by her daughter for the same reason. There were no restrictions on the distribution of food caught by children, to their grandparents. The consequences for a father, of eating food from his children were outlined by a Kugu-Nganychara man:
"father's can't eat from kids, won't handle spear or woomera, won't have your strength, won't spear any more fish" [PY]: that is, a man's own hunting abilities would be detrimentally affected, as well as his physical strength needed to hunt. This effect appears to be much the same kind of impact as that coming from the child when in utero — i.e., the wasting away of the father's "condition" — though in this case both male and female children are instrumental.

Names and naming. After birth a Kugu-Nganychara child receives two classes of names: "big" names (nhampa yoko) and "small" names (nhampa woynyo). As noted in Chapter Three, Kugu-Nganychara names are transmitted patrilineally and derive as a series of sex-specific names, generally from patrilineal totems. Names signal the focus of an individual's patrilineal affiliation and loyalties, and mark another aspect of the child's incorporation into its father's patriline and with it, the acquisition of associated economic rights and privileges.

More particularly, the assignation and acquisition of particular "big" and "small" names is political and may act to establish or confirm a special relationship between a child and a particular agnate. As mentioned in Chapters Four and Five, some of these connections have been foreshadowed during both pregnancy and childbirth. There are then a range of patrilineal names for both men and women which are automatically inherited, though it is essentially up to a child's parents to make the decision as to which names the child will be actually assigned. The choice and assignation of names do not appear to be signalled by
any specific or elaborate ceremony. It may be that a series of "big" and "small" names is assigned to a child, and that he or she will learn these as he or she grows up. The range of names is hierarchically ordered, so that with "big" names there will be one which is central, or the "biggest one", which every child within a patriline will be assigned and know. Other names are ordered with respect to it, and may indicate more personalized aspects of particular patrilineal segments; so that some names are recognized as having more importance than others and the choice available between these has corresponding significance for the child.

Names are intimate references and closely linked with the personal identity of particular individuals and of groups, as well as being directly associated with particular territories to which those individuals are associated. Clearly then, the assignation of names is seen as having a value for both the family and for the individual who receives it, and may express a number of motives. It may express the desire to maintain the memory of a deceased individual with whom the name is closely associated. People will say: "We don't want to loose that name, we want the family to keep it". Often it happens that if an infant dies in infancy, its "small" name will be kept for the successive same-sex offspring: "I take the name from that other sister bin die, just new baby". People do not argue that the spirit of the dead child reincarnates itself in the following same-sex child; but people with the same name (ngalampa - "namesake", "same name") are often said to be similar in physical appearance and personality and people
also infer that actual capacities and skills of the 'name-holder' may also be acquired by the child. By assigning particular names to individuals therefore, one is also attempting to assert a specific social continuity. This continuity may be of a quite specific kind when it comes to acquiring the same name of a politically or ceremonially important person. For example, J. von Sturmer (1978:337-339) mentions the deliberate assignation by fathers of particularly important names to their children as part of their political strategies regarding their own and their families' future status and influence.

The transmission of names by parents to children has then both immediate and future implications. It may represent not only part of a man's personal political and social plans, but also his plans for the future of his children. Kugu-Nganychara men are clearly as interested in the careers and futures of their offspring, as they are in their own. The acquisition of a particular name or range of names will affect a child's ability to make future claims to things associated with that name; whether it be to land, economic exploitation privileges, residence and shelter, social support, status and authority, or personal qualities associated with other individuals (singly or as a group) with whom one shares the name. McConnel (1934:320), whilst at pains to note the primacy of patri-clan organization, in fact notes a similar flexibility or 'politicisation' of naming when she writes that, "Names may be given by a POLA (FF) to a granddaughter where no male member is living, or may be exchanged between one clan and
another particularly when a clan is likely otherwise to become extinct and the names to die out". The assignation of names by fathers to children is a means of ensuring a specific kind of continuity for their own family. At a wider level it is also a means of ensuring the continued assumption of patrilineal responsibilities for the care and upkeep of the estate. As Sutton (1978:160) also briefly indicates, a child may be given the name of its pater as opposed to its genitor (when these identities are different), with the result that certain social and territorial avenues may similarly be passed on to the child (i.e., its pater's estate, social relationships, hunting rights etc.) at the expense of denying, or restricting future claims to others (i.e. its genitor's).

The use of personal names within the family itself, is circumscribed. Generally, the use of names for the purposes of address is totally forbidden. The "calling" of a person's name, especially by close kin, in effect calls into account the person himself. Whilst a mother or father may use the English names of their small children as address forms, they will not be used for their adult offspring. Children will not call out their father's names under any circumstances, though young children will call their mother's names in an act of swearing to rebuke her for perceived injustices to them or dereliction of her maternal duties: "damper where? You lazy one YN". The calling of a child's father's name in public by another child, is an infallible source of conflict between children. A wife calling the name of her recently deceased husband (the names
of all recently deceased people are totally restricted and within the family, parents and siblings become referred to by special terms indicating their genealogical connection to the family member who is deceased; see Scheffler 1972:39 for more detail) was given a sound beating by her adult son for bringing "shame" on their family. Women as mothers often become intimately associated with their offspring, to the extent that they will be referred to by the names of their sons, e.g., "old mother Abu" and "old mother Duncan".

The use of children in adult social interaction. Children within a residential site offer a relatively unrestricted, neutral medium for communication between parents and between parents and other adults. An adult will often choose to interact or communicate with another adult via the medium of a baby, infant or young child, rather than initiate direct contact with another adult - even if the latter stand in a relatively relaxed, close relation with each other. Parents use their children in this manner in order to make requests, or by addressing the child with the request while the adult for whom it is actually intended is within hearing distance. Children can also be used by parents, grandparents and other adults as a means of distributing food. This invariably makes the food more acceptable; for example, a son-in-law will send food to his mother and father-in-law via his own child, a woman will send food to her brother-in-law by calling to the latter's children to come and collect the food. Adults will also signal their intention of leaving a family camp, or the larger outstation camp, by calling out to and saying goodbye
to children only. Arrivals may also be signalled in this fashion. Teknonymy is also a frequently used means of referring to adults; e.g., 'mother of Cecil', 'father of Simeon'. Adults will use children to intercede with the spirits of their deceased relations for specific purposes - to ensure good hunting and fishing, to hold off unwanted rain, to bring water up in wells, and when approaching awu or "poison" sites. Children are used for their neutral or neutralizing value in adult interaction in which there is otherwise more potential for conflict and misunderstanding.

Being without children. Being without children has not only immediate but also future implications. The process of "finding" and "building up" babies and the events of childbirth, establish and confirm a series of relations which have social, economic and political value not only for the child but for its parents as well. Ownership of property (be it land, ritual knowledge, totems, economic skills, resources sites or whatever) implies not only control or management of its use but also the ability to transfer that ownership to others. Having children to transmit property to confirms one's own position of ownership. If one does not have children, then ownership of land, amongst other things, may be placed in real jeopardy.

A husband and wife without children are looked upon with a smug pity and seem to become marginal in other social, political, and economic ways as a direct result. A wife may be regarded with disfavour by her husband if she does not produce children or if she hasn't produced a son. A husband might leave his wife for this reason and seek to
have children by another woman. One woman of about 45 years, who had been in a co-wife situation for her first "bush marriage", remarked that the husband's first wife had been unable to have children and that she had been brought into the marital unit for this specific purpose. A husband and wife without children will have to work for themselves without recourse to the labour provided by children. Nor will they be able to expect to have adult offspring "look after" them when they become old and unable to support themselves, so that their future economic security is also jeopardized. Men without children, can expect to remain marginal in political life and in decision-making within a residential camp. Though men and women may have access to children via the mechanisms of "growing up" (see Chapter Seven), this is not equated by the Kugu-Nganychara with the position of genitor and genitrix and the social responsibilities of pater and mater which ideally extend from each other. There are means of establishing a continuity of transmission of property and rights and thus one's central position within that process, by the "adopting" or "giving" of children. While distinctions are still maintained between the biological and social aspects of parenthood, "adoption" allows for a more formalized assumption of primary nurturing responsibilities by adults. These issues will be discussed in the following chapter.

**Marginal children.** Whilst all Kugu-Nganychara children are able to operate socially within a known environment, not all children are firmly and safely ensconced within the protective confines of "own family".
The standard unit of mother, father and their children which has largely been under discussion in this chapter, is not always a stable and permanent arrangement. Nor does every child always have other close relatives of the kinds most often associated with extended family situations, such as grandparents and parental siblings, to become involved in caring for it. A parent may desert the conjugal unit, he or she may be continually travelling, or may die. In some of these cases, the surviving spouse may remarry or take on a permanent "boyfriend" or "girlfriend". It is particularly in the breakup of the nuclear family, and in the course of reconstituting it as a result of death or remarriage, that one finds the social conditions creating the position of the marginal child. The child is classified as marginal in that he or she is placed in a disadvantageous position with respect to receiving consistent, primary nurturing from a mother and father in such a reconstituted family. For the Kugu-Nganychara reality is that such reconstituted families, which include children from different spouses but with only one actual mother or father present in the new conjugal unit, does not provide the same kinds of nurturing interaction as does the nuclear family in which one has both one's father and mother present.

As noted previously, the Kugu-Nganychara see a conflict of interests in an adult with children remarrying into a situation where there are other children, or where there will be more children reproduced. One is expected to "look after" one's "own" children first, and one's loyalties are seen as rightly laying with them. Kugu-Nganychara individuals acknowledge, both verbally and behaviourally, that
children by a former marriage of one's present spouse, are not one's "own", biological children. The adult may very well call them son or daughter, and the child may call the new mother or father by the appropriate kin class term. The child will not, however, equate that adult with his own biological parent. As already mentioned, the Kugu-Nganychara make clear distinctions between biological and social aspects of parenthood. These distinctions are emphasized by the acknowledgement that the assumption of social parenthood for a child who is not one's biological offspring, may result in a consistently different kind of nurturing interaction.

Relative age of the child also appears to have an effect on the kind of care it receives; e.g., if social parental responsibility is assumed for an infant, it is much more likely to be consistently taken care of, and much less likely to be marginal in receiving nurture than an older child who has already been partly reared by its own parents. Either way, with remarriage, there is an essentially different kind of nuclear family, with respect to the genealogical connections and to the nurturing interaction which will occur between different individuals within it. This situation may have a continuing effect on the child concerned if his or her marginality in receiving care and protection is not resolved.

In line with the importance attached to familial loyalty and attachment to "own mother and father", the Kugu-Nganychara have a complex terminology to refer to the social relationships which develop out of the biological
and social aspects of parenthood. The structuring and reckoning of contemporary sibling relationships via past consanguineal connections of respective mothers or fathers noted previously, is an extremely important one. People will talk about children (and about themselves) as "coming from two mothers" or "two fathers" (as Z+/Z- and B+/B- respectively) or from "two grannies" (again as Z+/Z-). Distinctions between siblings for example, can be made then on the basis of biological relationship: such as when people refer to children as siblings, coming from "two mothers, one father"; i.e., with one man having two women as wives either serially or as co-wives, both of whom reproduce children with the man. Offspring of such unions where they have one parent but not the other in common, will refer to each other as "like really brother and sister". At one level such individuals are said to be "full" siblings for each other; i.e., ngangka kamum:

Those two brothers, their father marry first wife and George from that first mother. Then she die and he have to marry that mother wife and Albert from that second mother, they sisters. So those boys from one father, so George and Albert from one grandfather and grandmother, they full brothers for each other [MN].

At the same time that people will credit the term "full brothers" to two such individuals, it is also recognized that there exists a difference to siblingship reckoned from one biological mother and father. In fact Kugu-Nganychara people will go to great lengths to clarify the social and biological intricacies of such relationships. They will also base their expectations of different kinds of sibling relationships on the degree to which they approximate that of actual siblings with "one mother, one father". For
example, a woman at Pu'an outstation was calling upon her "own" brothers to help the family in establishing a new outstation: "Where my brothers, they should be here ..."
The woman turned then to her aged mother and questioned her: "Where DP, he your brother, why isn't he here?", then she reconsidered, and commented: "Well he not really brother, you from two different mother, one father", and so saying returned to her harangue concerning the lack of support from her "own brothers".

Behavioural extensions are made between individuals on the basis of relationships arising out of the nuclear family. The term for brother and sister for instance, may be extended to others, especially age-grade peers, when they become "close mates" (friends): "We like really sister now", or "Just like really from one mother and father". The emphasis in these statements is on a style of personal interaction established within the nuclear family which is extended outwards to encompass others within that specific pattern of interaction and reciprocal responsibilities associated with it. Nevertheless, though one might call another person brother or sister, there is a well-recognized distinction made between how one acts towards one's actual siblings and others given the classification of sibling. Similarly, there is a distinction made between how one acts with one's own mother and father and how one might act with other mothers and fathers. Distinctions are also observable in the kinds of interactions between parents and their own children as compared to children by a previous spouse of their present husband or wife.
Diagram 1 presents the genealogical connections in a situation in which one can see the operation of a marginal child. 'c' represents the marginal child within the reconstituted family.

Diagram 1

Individuals labelled 'a-f' in Diagram 1 constitute the residential, reconstituted nuclear family. In this family it is 'c' who is classed as the marginal child. Individuals labelled 'h' and 'a' are genitrix and genitor of 'g' and 'c'; whilst individuals labelled 'b' and 'i' are genitrix and genitor of 'e' and 'f'. Individual 'i' is deceased leaving 'b' widowed. Individuals 'a' and 'h' are separated or "divorced" and the woman 'h' is said by people to be "silly" and "crazy", and is either unable or unwilling to care for 'g' and 'c'. 'a' and 'b' are now said to be married and have since had a child together.
'd', the youngest of all the children. The ages of the children from 'g' to 'f' are 19, 11, 3, 10, and 8 years respectively. 'c' now addresses 'b' by the kin term for mother, though he does not refer to her as his "own" or biological mother who can only be 'h'. Likewise, 'e' and 'f' refer to 'a' as father, but not as biological father who can only be 'i'. 'd' is the only child in the family to have both biological parents as social parents as well. 'c' is marginal within the family in that he is involved in a significantly different kind of personal interaction with respect to the woman 'b', than are 'd', 'e' and 'f', all of whom have 'b' as their own biological mother (though they do not all have the same father). 'b' is expected to behave like a mother to 'c', in the sense of performing those nurturing and caretaking duties that mothers give to their own children, and which 'a' as a father does not expect to have to do. For example, she should cook, wash clothes, collect firewood and water, and generally "look after" 'c' in the same way that she cares for her own children. 'c' is about 11 years old and still regarded as dependent and requiring this kind of protective, caring attention; whereas his sister 'g' is 19 years old and regarded as mature enough to be able to care adequately for herself. She is employed at Edward River and only pays visits to her father and brother occasionally. She does not call 'b' mother. What happens with 'c' is that his 'new' mother treats him quite differently than she treats her own children. The difference lies in her comparative non-provision of nurture.

'c' spends much of his time, like other children at
the outstation, with his age-grade "mates". However, when they leave to rejoin their own families for the mid-day or evening meal, 'c' begins his wandering from family camp to camp. Sometimes he joins another younger boy whose parents are living across the river at another outstation, and who is residing with his maternal grandparents. This latter young boy was in fact actively rejected by his own mother who was unwilling to care for him. He now resides permanently with his mother's parents and thus receives consistent care and protection from them, so that he is in fact not marginal in receiving consistent, primary nurture as is 'c'. Together these boys often collect some flour, tea and sugar from the boy's grandparents, or other adults, and make their own "camp" in the nearby bush. 'c' makes a small damper and they boil water for some tea. The two boys eat alone. That night 'c' sleeps with his actual sister 'g' who has arrived at the outstation camp for mourning ceremonies being held for a man recently deceased. The two siblings make a separate sleeping camp away from the night-sleeping camp of their father 'a' and his wife 'b', who have 'd', 'e' and 'f' sleeping with them under a large mosquito net. In contrast to other boys his age, and in contrast to 'd', 'e' and 'f', 'c' rarely accompanies his father and 'new' mother when they go out on day trips for fishing or hunting. He takes care of his own personal laundry and repair of clothes, which his 'new' mother 'b' attends to for her own children. Whilst she automatically cooks food for them, 'c' often has to cook for himself after everyone else has eaten. More than other children his age, he is to be seen at the
beach in the later afternoons, fishing with the adult women.

The following night, 'c's' father 'a', asks him where he is going to sleep, and tells him to sleep in their family sleeping camp. So 'c' gathers up his blankets and sleeps where his father indicates that he should; beside his father, on the opposite side to where 'b' and her children are sleeping. The following night 'c' slept at the head of my sleeping area. At that time I was residing in his father's camp at the outstation. I called 'c's' father, "son" and was therefore 'c's' paternal grandmother. His father gave him an additional blanket as the nights were cold. 'c' offered to make dampers for me during the day, and had his mid-day meals with me, but within his father's family group. He slept there for two nights and then shifted to the "single men's camp" where he made his sleeping arrangements with a youth of some 19 years. The following night 'c' changed yet again to the sleeping camp of this youth's mother, who was a classificatory elder sister to 'c', and said that she had helped to "grow up" 'c' when his actual father and mother ('h') were in the process of separating and his mother was said to be "silly in the head" and unable to adequately care for him. This woman also fed 'c' during the daytime. He stayed in that camp for over a week, and then shifted to the "single men's camp" and slept beside another youth of about 22 years who was his actual FZ+S. 'c' continued this pattern of nomadic night-time residence and day-time soliciting of food, occasionally staying in different camp-sites for longer periods of time. He was at an age when
no doubt, along with other boys he would be inclined to start spending more time within the "single men's camp". But other youths his age, made this more of a progressive entry, and spent far more time with their own families, and even when in the "single men's camp" would still receive food and other forms of care and attention from their parents. 'c's' pattern of operation was significantly different to that. In effect, he is required to initiate his own caretaking arrangements within a known social environment. It is not the consistent or stable arrangement which other children have provided for them by their own parents, who assume primary nurturing responsibilities for them. His undependable caretaking is maximised by spreading it over a number of other adults. It is apparent that 'c's' father 'a', attempts to incorporate his son into the activities of the 'new' family. However, the relative division of domestic tasks between husband and wife (this division appears to be a matter of degree rather than a clearly marked sexual division of labour), where the wife is more often responsible for such duties as preparing and cooking food, washing clothes, collecting wood and water, means that he is actually less successful at incorporating his son into the domestic life of the family, than a mother would be. 'c' is left to the mercies of 'b's' willingness to include him in the arrangements that she establishes for her own children. To this degree it could be said that with respect to the giving of a certain kind of care and protection, it makes a significant difference as to whether one has one's mother or one's father as the parent who is maintained in a reconstituted family; though the absence of father, as
noted previously, means significant difficulties may arise in the transmission and claiming of patrilineal rights by the child.

Some weeks later, 'c's' father and 'new' mother and siblings left the outstation camp and returned to Edward River settlement. He chose to remain and was left without any immediate nuclear family members to provide the semblance of caring for him. 'c's' marginal position vis-à-vis the domestic activities of his family camp was recognized by other adults and children alike. At mid-day and night-time meals, people would call out and ask him if he had already eaten, if he was still hungry, or if he wanted a cup of tea. Occasionally, one of the adult women would include his clothes in her own batch of washing, and various children would ask him to stay in their own campsite overnight. The form that this kind of marginality takes for children is fully apparent in the everyday routine of domestic activities. The child will be largely responsible for getting his or her own food, or having to make do with leftovers. He may take his meal to a separate camp, and at night may sleep with others. More often than not he will follow a highly mobile pattern of sleeping and eating arrangements, which are often spontaneous, taking advantage of relationships other than parents. Certainly the child has other relations to call upon to provide care and sustenance, but there is not the same security of caregiving to be had, nor the same kind of consistent interaction and mutual assumption of responsibilities which characterize nurturing interactions within the nuclear family.
If an infant is left in such a position of marginality, for example if its mother dies, or is unwilling or unable to assume maternal responsibilities for it, then more than likely, the infant will be "grown up" by other relatives in what will be a more formalized and consistent assumption of care-giving by them. If an infant's father dies, or is unwilling or unable to assume paternal responsibilities for it, then one finds that its mother is more likely to keep the child with her, and perhaps return to her own parents' camp to live with them, or will at some later date establish a relationship with another man. In both cases, the potential marginality for the child, in terms of receiving primary nurture, is generally resolved. If the child is older, he or she will be more likely to be thrown into a nomadic pattern of initiating his or her own receiving of nurture.

The Kugu-Nganychara conjugal unit of husband and wife appears to act as a focus for consistent care-giving and social stability for rearing children. Without them, even given the subsequent assumption of primary nurturing by adult siblings for younger siblings, the family as it has existed often segments and its members disperse to other family camps. Children who are consistently placed within a marginal position with respect to receiving primary and consistent care, protection, shelter and social support as children, find similar difficulties as adults. If a child has received inconsistent care from a father, or had care from a man as pater but who is not as genitor, he or she may be placed within an ambivalent social position with respect to his or her ability as an adult to make the kinds of
social, economic, political, and territorial claims that others can as a result of having been raised by a particular man as both genitor and pater. As has been described in the above study of a marginal child, similar difficulties can arise from inconsistent maternal care.

The unit of mother, father and children provides the basis for what the Kugu-Nganychara call "own family" and establishes primary kinds of interpersonal behaviour and loyalty. Each Kugu-Nganychara child is born into a situation where in a very real way, what is available to his or her parents is available to him or her. It has been argued in this chapter that parents provide a primary or focal nurturing for their dependent children and that out of this care-giving and receiving interaction arises a series of immediate and reciprocal responsibilities, and related expectations about the future. It has also been argued that involvement in receiving such primary care and rearing is vital to the transmission of certain kinds of property, knowledge and experience to the child which are in turn fundamental to establishing its future social, economic, political and ceremonial position.

In Chapters Four and Five it has been described how in "finding" and "building up" babies and in the events surrounding childbirth there is involved a genitor and genitrix who actively assume various responsibilities for activating, sustaining and protecting the development of a new life. This involvement has been described as having a direct effect on creating a physical, spiritual and social identity for the child in utero. It was also shown that in this process a wide range of other kin are also actively
established and confirmed in their care-giving responsibilities for both the child in utero and for the mother. The present chapter examines the continuity and importance of primary care-giving and receiving after birth between parent and child within the nuclear family. In the following chapter it will be established that the range of kin and individuals who were established in particular nurturing relationships with the child in utero also continue to be involved in caring for the dependant child. In the process they assume specific responsibilities and transmit various kinds of knowledge, experience and property. Alternatives exist within this wider social environment for caring for children (and thus for partially or wholly resolving possible marginality). These alternatives may effect the transmission of various rights and the child's subsequent ability to make claims on them and on people. The involvement of this wider social environment in child rearing and the alternative child-care arrangements made possible within it will be examined in the following chapter.
1. Scheffler (1972:38-39) refers to "a primary or structurally prior significatum" associated with "superclass" kin structures of the "normal or everyday system of kin classification". These "primary" or "prior significatum" include Parent/Child, Grandkin and Sibling categories, which according to Scheffler are extended or generalized (p.39) to determine the wider pattern of kin-relationships. A logical implication of such an approach is to examine the patterns of personal interaction, decision-making and authority within such categories to establish whether they also have primary or prior significance.

2. There is a certain regional endogamy operating for the Kugu-Nganychara area, but with little formal regularity of exchange. For example, McKnight's (1971) argument for the presence of wife-givers and wife-receivers is not at all convincing for the Kugu-Nganychara. There is a tendency to form sub-regional marriage clusters defined by ceremonial group affiliation, so that wanam and pucha ceremonial groupings also tend to be endogamous. A number of "mission marriages" were arranged for some Kugu-Nganychara individuals, by local European missionaries during the late 1940's and 1950's. These paid no attention to the local preference for regional endogamy, or for the other preferred restraints on marital unions. It is interesting, that subsequent to the establishment of outstations in the Kugu-Nganychara region, some of these marriages have broken up and individuals have taken new spouses from within the region (see also J. von Sturmer 1978:407; Sutton 1978:106).
3. "... to tighten sticks" is a reference to the construction of wet season shelters called pur-ayanchi (see Plate 7) commonly used in the Kugu-Nganychara region (and also in the Wik region generally). The shelters are built out of cabbage-leaf fronds which are strapped on (with vine) over a series of supporting "sticks". These "sticks" create the framework by being buried into the ground at intervals in a roughly circular pattern and are then pulled inwards at the centre and "tightened" together. Only a low opening is left which can then be easily closed off to keep out mosquitoes and rain during the wet season nights.

4. To "tease" someone means to taunt and deliberately irritate, as well as to goad and provoke, some other person or animal. Both children and adults physically or verbally "tease" others in this way, though "teasing" between adult men and women also refers to the sexual innuendoes and taunts which are part of heterosexual relationships and 'flirting'.

5. "Swearing" is a verbal action levelled by one person to another and most frequently occurs during fighting and arguments. "Swearing" often occurs as formalized styles of speaking with certain words and phrases repeated over and over again. It includes making reference to genitals, the "calling" out in public of another's nickname, or territorial name, or making reference to another person's totem in a perjorative way. Most adults nowadays "swear" in English. Sutton (1978:189-190) offers as an explanation of this, the idea that "the emotional connotations of Aboriginal expressions are more powerful and dangerous than those of English" (p.190). Children, on the other hand, will frequently use language words when "swearing"
F.n. 5 continued.

another child. Again there is the characterization of children as not knowing the implications of their actions; as well as there being less likelihood that the argument will involve an increasing number of other people as it invariably does in adult arguments.

6. J. von Sturmer (1978:416-453) discusses various aspects of the structural seniority and juniority of siblings with regards the transmission of patrilineal rights and posits an interesting possible assumption between the location of an individual's conception site and acquisition of such rights:

... it is tempting to hypothesize that individuals who are placed in a structurally central position in the line of transmission (e.g., an eldest son of the senior male) are more likely to be "conceived" in their father's country; and that individuals who are marginal to the business of maintaining an ongoing transmission, in that they are junior siblings, or belong to a junior lineage, are more likely to be conceived elsewhere (pp.416-417).

It could also be argued that for junior siblings the location of their conception site in another estate (invariably its mother's) would act to emphasize connections with that estate and that group of relatives in a situation where such options would be of advantage.

7. Hiatt (1965:30-31) makes a similar case for the Blyth River area in Arnhem Land and notes the importance of the presence or absence of the father and the remarriage of the child's mother for the child's language affiliation and use.

8. I would agree with McKnight (1975:93) that one of the issues being emphasized (at least by women) in male initiation ceremonies is the denial of maternal care and
F.n. 8 continued.

protection to the initiates. McKnight also notes that women try to send food to their sons but that "... the old men take it for themselves and mock them for their concern". Sharp (1937:105) also comments on the association made between initiations and the giving and receiving of parental nurture. He states that a young initiate is also separated from his father's care as well as his mother. In his opinion,

This avoidance situation apparently expresses the "psychological weaning" process which now reaches its culmination, whereby a youth is divorced from the family of his childhood in readiness for the establishment of a family of his own.

From this perspective then, initiation ceremonies represent a severing of sole attachment to and dependence on natal family and permits individuals to re-direct their responsibilities and activities towards establishing their own family of procreation.

9. Sharp (1940:498) comments that for the Yir-Yiront "... the incidence of polygyny is much less than it possibly could be" and cites as one of the major reasons for this, "... the failure of widows to remarry". The case of this woman appears to be part of a similar pattern among the Kugu-Nganychara.

10. It is interesting that McConnel (1934:330) noted the existence of such future obligations and responsibilities accruing to close-kin relationships, referring to the "expectancy of fulfilment" in respect to them. Unfortunately, she did not elaborate on the process of establishing or realizing such future expectations.
11. The association of certain duties and responsibilities with such female roles is highlighted by the interesting examples of interaction between young adult men and younger boys in the "single men's camp", observed at the outstations in the Kugu-Nganychara region. It often occurred that a small number of available younger boys would act in the capacity of messengers for the single men and perform numerous tasks and errands upon their request; for example, collecting food for them, cooking food the young men may have caught, collecting firewood and water, and washing their clothes. This relationship was invariably characterized by all involved (in a humorous, joking fashion) as a husband:wife relationship, with the single men calling out to a younger boy: "I'm your husband, you wife, I tell you what to do", or "hey wife get me so and so". Often the younger boys were addressed simply as "wife" or "junior".

12. Sharp (1937:105-106) also comments on the giving and receiving of food as reflecting developments in parent/child nurturing interaction. He notes (p.106) that during initiation a son cannot give "food presents" to his father; but that when the youth is "fully initiated", ... the father and son enter a period of balanced, reciprocal gift exchange. As the father grows older however, the son becomes more and more generous, and expects less and less in return. The reversal of food-giving and receiving occurring as both father and son mature is seen by the Kugu-Nganychara to reflect a general reversal of care-giving as well, whereby the adult offspring should "look after" his or her aged parents.
13. More detailed discussions of various aspects of naming amongst the Wik in general, are to be found in McConnel 193:318-325; J. von Sturmer 1978:331-344; Sutton 1978:209-211; and Thomson 1946.
THE SOCIAL RANGE OF NURTTURING: "GROWING UP" AND "ADOPTION"

In the previous chapter it was established that the mother and father as a conjugal unit provide a focus for family life and primary nurturing of their children. However, Kuqu-Ngaychara parents are not the only people concerned with the rearing and caring of their children. Contrary to western European society where parents are frequently isolated as the sole providers of nurturance for children, in Kuqu-Ngaychara society there are a number of other people who assume nurturing responsibilities for the same children. By and large, these individuals are "close" relatives of the child. For these people it is not so much a question of requiring physical access to children, since individuals are in close physical or visual proximity for most of the time, but rather an assertion of the right to be personally involved in decision-making on issues concerning the child's welfare and future.

This chapter examines the ways that nurturing responsibilities for children are distributed among particular "close" relatives and the criteria by which these individuals are entitled to assume and exercise such responsibility and authority. In addition to examining why these individuals seek to become involved in caring for and rearing children, attention will also be focussed on how the involvement of these older relatives allows the child
to acquire property, knowledge, skills and experience from them and to assert, in the future, credible claims to having done so. From the perspective of children, receiving nurture is the basis for establishing personal rights and making claims, which are the foundation of a social, economic and political life.

Chapters Four and Five described how specific kin are deliberately connected with the child-to-be during conception, pregnancy and childbirth. It is these social relationships in particular which continue to be emphasized after the child's birth. The kin involved include actual and close classificatory MB, MZ, FZ, FB, MM, MF, FM and FF, who assume caring responsibilities for the child and who are included in decision-making about its welfare. In the second ascending generation, grandparents (both maternal and paternal) in particular assert often formidable social influence in the rearing and caring of their grandchildren and may become forces of authority sometimes in opposition to the child's parents. Two episodes of conflict serve to highlight the range and nature of expectations that these close kinsmen have about nurturing children. Following a description and analysis of these two episodes, I will proceed with a more detailed examination of how the nurturing relations operate after the birth of the child in both the short and long-term. The importance of these relatives as nurturers is further highlighted among people without children. Lack of children can cause social, economic and political difficulties. For those Kugu-Nganychara people without children there are a number of
means by which they can become more directly involved in rearing children. These arrangements vary from temporary, often spontaneous assumptions of major nurturing responsibilities, to the more formalized and deliberate, long-term transfer of primary responsibilities for children between adults, and involve a range of factors. These include the "growing up", and "giving" or "adoption" of children.

Episode 1: Empadha outstation.

Victor is a man of about 35 years. His wife is staying in an Aboriginal Hostel in Cairns awaiting the birth of their fifth child. She has been there for over four months. He has remained at the outstation in order to "look after" their remaining four children, and has partly incorporated his daily domestic routine within the organization of his wife's parents' household. Victor has been residing with his wife in her parents' estate for over a year and a half. His "father-in-law" is the "boss" for the outstation residents. Victor and his children, two girls and two boys, have their meals in his parents-in-laws' family camp area, though he prepares and cooks food for his own children, washes their clothing, and collects the firewood and water that he and his children will need each day. Usually the two families spend the day together in the same "shade" area. Victor maintains a separate night-sleeping campsite, marked off by his own fire, though his sleeping area is still close to that of his affines, being only about 2 metres away. His children sleep with him under an enormous mosquito net.

Residents of the outstation are preparing their blankets and mosquito nets in the various sleeping camps when the sounds of an argument come from Victor's campsite. He is chastising his children for being "lazy" and has hit his youngest daughter, a child of
about three years. She begins crying loudly.

Victor's "father-in-law" (who is in fact his wife's mother's second husband, and not his wife's actual father) calls out to him:

Don't you growl [verbally reprimand or abuse] those kids too much, you don't want to hit those kids too much, they grow up stubborn if you hit them.

As these words were called out in the now still night air, Victor's wife's younger sister, a woman of about 28 years, walks over to his campsite and then picks up the crying child, taking her to her own mother's camp (the child's maternal grandmother). Victor calls out angrily to the man: puk manyan ngatharrum (puk - child, infant; manyan - small, little; ngatharrum - first person singular, possessive pronoun: "it's my child"). Victor's "father-in-law" stands up in his own campsite, looks across to his "son-in-law" and calls back:

I don't care if they your kids, I married Parley, you shouldn't hit them hard, they grow up stubborn. You hit those kids too much.

Victor responds again by calling out that they are his children. Both men are now standing, each reiterating their respective positions of authority over the child and each other. Victor's "father-in-law" walks over to him and pushes him slightly backwards. Victor storms off down the sandy slope to his day-time shade area yelling out "shotgun!, shotgun!". Two men go after him and hold him back, without needing to use much restraint. Meanwhile, a number of other adults in the outstation camp stand up but do not speak or make any further move.

Victor walks back to his sleeping area and commences tearing down his mosquito net and throwing the blankets aside. He pulls out the wooden stakes that would have been used to hold his net in place during the night, and collects all of his families'
possessions together in a rough heap, with the loud
comment, "I leave today!". Victor's "father-in-law"
has returned to the area of his own camp and is holding
his woomera, and has his spear upright. He calls out:

Well you'd better leave this place if you can't
look after those kids. Anyone tries to damage
my body I damage theirs first, no-one gonna
touch my body. I'm boss for this place. I
know those kids aren't mine, but I married
their grannie (MM), so I got to say if they
get hit too much. I got to say to all parents
not to hit their kids, to look after them properly.

Meanwhile Victor calls to his children and tells them
that they are all leaving the outstation. Another
young man who has been standing close-by in his own
campsite, approaches Victor: "Come on old man, you
settle down, let your head rest now, you get too
stupid, hot in head if you walk 'round, worry too
much" [TK].

Attention now centres on Victor's children and a
public discussion ensues about the responsibilities of
children to "work properly" for their parents. These
criticisms become more directly focused on Victor's
children. In particular, the eldest boy of about
15 years is chastised:

You should help your father, you should listen
when he talks to you, get water for him, firewood,
you should listen when I tell you to work for
your father. He old man you know, he might drop
dead just like that. All these kids they got to
look after their parents, work hard [TK].

A conversation was also being carried on between
Victor's mother-in-law and his wife's younger sister
and some elderly women from the camp. Victor's two
youngest children (aged 3 and 6 years respectively),
his daughters, were now both in his mother-in-law's
camp and they became the next topic under discussion:
... well she's good during the day, but she too stubborn at night; 
... she good girl for her grannie (MM). Those kids too stubborn they should help their father, same way all those kids should work, they too lazy. They just think for sleeping, eating and gambling;
... same way Marie [the eldest of the two daughters] if she bad, then her father got to growl her, he got the right to.

Victor was now sitting down beside his collection of goods. Another young man, from the "single men's camp", who was said to be the "namesake" for Victor's eldest teenage son (and in the position of MMB+S to the boy) added his own comments, aimed again at the boy: "You make that bed again, make it proper, you never do your work". He then supervised the boy's activities as he remade his father's sleeping camp again.

Victor sat by his sleeping fire throughout the night. His eldest son slept with him, and his remaining three children slept with their grandparents. The following morning he left very early and went to the outstation downstream on the opposite bank of the river, leaving all of his children behind with their grandparents. His father-in-law commented: "Well he left those kids behind. Their grannie (MM) frightened he might take those kids away from her". Later that same day the youngest girl, who usually spends most of her time in her father's company, was taken across the river to join him with the comment from her grannie, that "she was crying too much last night, crying from father". The following day the next two eldest children went across the river as well, while the eldest son remained with his maternal grandparents. That same day, Victor and his three children left for another, more northerly outstation, where his close classificatory "sister" was living. He stayed there 11 days and then returned to the outstation across the river from Empadha. His children returned
to Empadha and lived in their grandparents' household, but often travelled across the river during the days to visit their father. The children maintained this pattern, of residing with their grandparents and paying daily visits to their father at the outstation across the river, for four days. At this point, Victor also returned to Empadha. The same day he came across the river he went out hunting with his father-in-law with whom he had initially argued. When they returned with a large catch of flying-fox, Victor helped to prepare and cook them and then simply stayed on in the day-time "shade" area used by his affines and children. He stayed over-night and the following morning resumed his usual activities and cooked and cared for his children again.

The initial conflict and the ensuing events provide an indication of the differing, often antagonistic perceptions held by parents, grandparents and other kin, of relative authority over and responsibility for children. It also provides an insight into the neutralizing of a conflict - called "settling down" by local people - which is initiated by close kin. Grandparents, as indicated in the scene above, see themselves as having the "right to" interfere and publicly criticize or physically restrain a parent if they judge that the parent is harshly treating his or her own children. The father-in-law who publicly rebuked the disgruntled father in the scene above, was the latter's mother-in-law's second husband. He was not the actual grandfather (MF) of the children, as their mother was born from a previous, now deceased, father. However, he also firmly established his "right to" intervene in the first instance, by invoking his marriage to the children's
"grannie": "I married Parley". It was also stated by that woman, that her husband was the "boss" for the whole camp, so he had the "right to" criticize any parents who ill-treated their children. In turn, the father's immediate response was to assert the primacy of his position as actual father of the child in question and therefore have the "right" to discipline them. The man's "sister-in-law", as "small mother" (MZ-) to his children, felt on the one hand, able to initially take the crying child into her own and her mother's protection, but later also chastised all of his children, proclaiming the father's "right to growl" or reprimand them if they did not listen to him and "work for" him as they should.

In the days immediately following the argument, the events were a frequent topic of conversation. Criticisms were made of the children and by automatic extension, of all the children in the outstation camp, but not directly of the two men. That is, until it became clear that Victor was not going to return immediately. Then the children's "grannie" voiced a "worry" that he would stay at the northern outstation, and that the children would not be allowed to return. Still later on, when Victor did return south, but stayed on the other side of the river, and his children stayed with their grandmother, she pointed out that he should return to their household and "look after" his children himself: "he should take this young girl and look after her, she crying for her father". A division of responsibilities was being made: the grandparents felt they should be allowed to assert their opinions and intervene,
but that the parents, in this case the father, should also take ultimate responsibility for their own children. In this particular case, the grandmother had teenage sons of her own and was not prepared to turn what had initially been a child-keeping response to a crisis situation, into a permanent arrangement. Parental duties fell first and foremost onto the father in the absence of his wife. It was also frequently pointed out by adults at the outstation that while parents should "look after" their children "properly", their children were bound to "work for" and "listen to" (obey) their parents.

**Episode 2: Empadha outstation**

At the same outstation camp, and only a matter of a few days after Victor's return, another argument developed within a different extended family: this time over the supposed neglect of duties by a young woman of about 22 years, towards her aged grandmother. The grandmother in question was the young woman's actual father's mother's younger sister, and she claimed to have "grown up" or reared the woman's father after his own mother (the grandmother's actual Z+) had died. The argument initially arose between the young woman and her grandmother's "daughter-in-law" (son's wife) who was about 47 years old and had been married for a number of years. The "daughter-in-law" publicly announced that the young woman was neglecting her duties and should be spending more time "looking after that old lady". The younger woman responded by pointing out that her grandmother had her own unmarried sons, as well as her eldest son (who was the daughter-in-law's husband) living at Empadha, to "work for" her; whereas she came from the "other side" of the river. That is, she had spent most of her youth with her mother and maternal
relatives in a northern estate, than she had with her father's relatives, as he had died in her own childhood.

The two women became involved in a heated public argument until the grandmother's eldest son intervened and called out to the young woman: "Well I know your mother from somewhere else, but your grandmother (FM) here, you should work for her". The grandmother herself gave the woman a soft slap on the back as she returned to her "shade". The young woman began a formalized crying: holding her arm across her eyes, crying out in a high-pitched fashion, "swearing" the "daughter-in-law" by calling out her name and saying that she was "lazy and good for nothing", and then re-iterating her independence from their authority.

At this point in time the "daughter-in-law" who was initially involved in the argument, began rebuking her husband's younger brother and his "new wife" for similarly failing to adequately care for the "old woman". Her criticisms were pragmatic and to the point:

Why can't DG (HB-W) get water for that old lady (HM). She supposed to look after her. She doesn't cook for her, just leaves that old lady to cook and get water. That boy (HB-) should look after his mother, those two just think for cards and sleeping, they lazy, should look after old lady so she don't bother us for being cranky.

A daughter-in-law is generally expected to "work for" her husband's mother: to cook food for her, to collect water and firewood and pass over some of her food produce. There also exists a hierarchy in the relative authority and domestic influence of daughters-in-law. After some years of having assumed the responsibility of caring for an ageing and increasingly dependent mother-in-law, the daughter-in-law
in the episode above, was attempting to transfer these duties to her mother-in-law's own "grand-daughter" and to another, younger daughter-in-law who was in a structurally subordinate position to herself. She also included in her criticisms the fact that her husband's younger brother had been derelict in his own responsibility to "look after" his mother. The three younger people (grand-daughter, daughter-in-law and son) have not simply assumed such expected responsibilities for the ageing woman, as a matter of course, or to others' satisfaction.

Despite pressure to conform to social expectations and standards of behaviour, it is clear that adult offspring may attempt to rotate the responsibility of caring for dependent parents or grandparents or affines, onto others. They will be verbally aggressive in their complaints if they feel they have shouldered the burden of such responsibilities more than others. In the episode above the young woman, while being reminded by others of the duties of mature grandchildren to "look after" and "work for" ageing grandparents, chose to point out that there were also others under a similar obligation who should be assuming such duties.

There is a well-recognized flexibility operating whereby individuals will attempt to manoeuvre a more favourable distribution of nurturing responsibilities and duties by manipulating notions of sentiment, affection and loyalty expected between members of families. Having been progressively cared for and reared by certain individuals
means that as an adult one is expected to reciprocate that care. As both of the episodes above indicate, other individuals will publicly criticize and rebuke those people who ignore or shirk this obligation. At the same time, there is amongst the Kugu-Nganychara a certain pragmatic assessment of ageing, and in turn, of the necessity or otherwise of having to assume sole care for ageing relatives. For example, one adult woman, living at an outstation, was heard to matter-of-factly tell her aged, senile mother that it was time for her to die because she was simply too much of a burden for her remaining family. So that while adult sons and daughters and their spouses will invariably provide food and shelter, and protect ageing dependent parents, grandparents, or other close relatives, it is not always an easy or automatic arrangement. Adult offspring may be curt and bad-tempered if they feel that they, more so than others - who are seen to be under similar obligations to help "look after" those people - have solely assumed that duty for an overly long time.

The two episodes above highlight the range of relations involved in nurturing interaction over time, where individuals assert their personal authority over others and attempt to ensure a favourable distribution of associated rights and responsibilities. These various relationships; e.g., parent/affines; grandparent/grandchild; adult offspring/parent; sibling/sibling; parental sibling/siblings' children, will be examined in greater detail in the following section of this chapter, in order to determine the kinds of nurturing interactions that occurred, the reciprocal rights and duties
involved, and their significance.

Female Co-residence. There are a number of marital and social arrangements amongst the Kugu-Nganychara in which women who are close-kin live in the same household or outstation. These range from polygynous unions to residential situations where actual and close classificatory female kin live in close physical proximity within the same outstation. These various kinds of female co-residence arrangements allow for particular kinds of child-caring and rearing. There was in the past, straightforward sororal polygyny, though I am of the opinion that this was by no means the marital norm for the region (see also J. von Sturmer 1978:408; and Sharp 1940:497-498). The co-wife situation in fact takes on different forms amongst the Kugu-Nganychara which do not neatly accord with the usual anthropological view of such marital situations. In the following discussion, a more inclusive level of meaning is given to the term co-wife, in order to include the variety of marital and social arrangements which operate and which are particularly emphasized by women themselves.

The local female perspective on the co-wife situation for example, provides an interesting insight into women's preferences in marital and social arrangements. They focus on the desire for female companionship and support, especially from female uterine kin. This is in accordance with the belief that women, whether single or married, should always have a female "mate" or companion with them: "you not man to walk 'round by yourself [MN]. The strong social pressure to have such female "company" circumscribes
female personal behaviour and partly determines the composition of residential groups. Most often companionship of this kind is established via the interaction of actual and close classificatory sisters or via the extension of fictive siblingship, so that female friends are referred to and addressed as "sister": "we like really sister now". Boys and young adult men in particular, also have such male "mates" or friends, whom they address as "brother", "bada" or "bandji". However, there are strong social and political pressures (emphasizing personal individuation, political competition and development of personal authority) increasingly placed on young men as they mature. These pressures appear to make such male 'friendship' relationships difficult to sustain (see also Sutton 1978:158-160).

Nowadays, women will often determine their mobility, residence, and social and economic arrangements in order to have such female support and companionship (in the same way that pregnant women return to their mother's residence for childbirth). Invariably, such companions come from matrilineally related females. The relationship between mother and daughter described in the previous chapter can be included in such female support systems (see also Hamilton 1970:20).

The emphasis on women having female companionship extends to marital arrangements. This perspective of marriage and preferred residential arrangements was pointed out to me in the form of a direct criticism of my own ethnocentric view, when my initial comment on the Kugu-Nganychara co-wife situation, of: 'Oh yes, that's when one husband
got two wives', was immediately and firmly corrected by a woman who had herself been a co-wife in a polygynous marriage, with the reply, "No! when two woman got one husband" [YN].

Another female co-residence arrangement arises out of the Kugu-Nganychara predeliction for what is known as "brother sister marry brother sister", whereby two brothers marry two sisters. These marital unions are particularly viewed as arrangements preferred and supported by women themselves, and people talk of older sisters attempting to arrange for the marriage of their younger sister (actual or close classificatory) to their own husband's younger brother. It results in a residential and social situation which in many ways is structurally equivalent to sororal polygyny and which is included here as a form of co-wife relationship. The similarity is further reinforced by the rule of junior levirate which operates, whereby younger brothers are expected to assume responsibility for the wives of their deceased elder brother. Such marriages invariably locate the women within the same residential group, if not in the same household.

As another variation of this, the Kugu-Nganychara point out that married women will also often try to have their younger sister/s come to live with them in their own marital campsite. In such situations, younger sisters may be referred to as "growing up single" with their elder married sister; but they may also be referred to as a wife for the older sister's husband. More often than not though, these younger sisters, as kinds of co-wives, are described by
women themselves not so much in terms of their assuming a wifely relationship with the man as husband, but in terms of their co-operative relationship with their older sister. That is, the focus is again on the benefits derived by the females in co-residence; in this case within the same domestic unit. From the female perspective the relationship between female siblings is seen to have more of a determining effect on the kinds of social and economic ordering of child-care and rearing within the marital camp, than is the relationship of the younger woman to the man as husband.

The relationship of women as co-wives within the same marital campsite and living in separate campsites but within the same residential group, is nowadays described as "pulling together". This is the term more commonly used to refer to the working relationship between a husband and wife, in which there should be a co-operative organization and sharing of domestic and economic duties. Likewise, women in co-residence are expected to co-operate in organizing and carrying out such duties. They are described, for example, as being "all in one ... one for washing and cooking". The organization of labour could be flexibly organized and divided within such an arrangement, according to need and circumstance: "One feel sick 'nother one work".

Women emphasize not only the same-sex division of labour which is possible in such situations, but also the division of responsibility for child-care and rearing made possible. The kinds of co-operation possible between close female kin in respect to caretaking and rearing of children is described by one Kugu-Nganychara woman:
First sister get children, get family, nother sister from wife growing up single, they look after kid behind. Husband not really mine, he belong big sister. First sister that really wife. Second sister for hunting, big sister for digging yams [MN].

When female kin live in co-residence, it is possible for women to co-operate in organizing economic activities.

As the statement above also indicates, the same-sex division of labour and the system of relative authority recognized between women, is directly linked to the question of rights of sexual access to a man and therefore rights to reproduction. It is also linked to the subsequent organization of caretaking of children. It is the "first" (elder, structurally senior and superordinate) woman who should "get children" and "get family". She is seen to have primary or prior rights of sexual access to the man and rights to reproduce children within the conjugal unit. Thus, the younger woman may be described as "growing up single"; i.e., of not having children via that man, but rather being responsible to the elder woman-as-wife and of being caretaker for the latter's children. This child-care responsibility is one which is generally associated with the kin category of MZ-, who is said to be "like mother" and called "small mother" by her elder sister's children.

The relationship between women as "sisters" (actual and classificatory) within such varying marital and residential arrangements, is similar to that which operates between actual sisters within their own natal family. Indeed, the pattern of often close personal companionship, co-operation in economic activities and the organization and sharing of domestic duties according to relative authority based
initially on age, which characterize female sibling solidarity and loyalty within the natal family, would appear to allow for such child-care and rearing possibilities between adult women in co-residence. Sisters and close female kin living in the same residential groups, though perhaps in separate household campsites, invariably have a supportive, co-operative relationship: often organizing economic activities together - going out fishing, collecting yams and other vegetable foods, gathering material resources together - often arranging their daily preparation and cooking of food together, and expecting an automatic sharing of personal possessions as well as mutual social support. Widowed sisters with their remaining dependent children may establish long-term co-residence within a single household campsite, for their mutual benefit and companionship.

_Siblings "for minding"_. Elder siblings of both sex are characterized as having a caretaking ("minding") responsibility with respect to their younger siblings: "Big brother, sister for minding". This is especially so when younger siblings are still dependent. A mother with a number of young children may expect an elder daughter or son to assume a more consistent caretaking role with one of them in particular. The child in turn, may become more emotionally attached to this particular older sibling, turning to him or her when in trouble or difficulties, sleeping with them in the family campsite, and generally preferring and demanding their company to others'. Parents will expect older siblings to take younger brothers or
sisters with them when playing with peers, when visiting other family campsites, and to watch over their play and entertain them, to console them when upset, and generally to protect their welfare. Older children may be chastised by their parents and other adult relatives, for not "minding" or caring for their younger siblings in these ways: "You run 'round like snake, you should think for your sister, look after her" [PK].

The exercise of authority operating between siblings is influenced amongst other things, by relative age. Interpersonal behaviour between siblings in the natal family is also characterized by an extensive system of reciprocal responsibilities arising out of nurturing interaction and connected with such authority. For example, an eldest sister and brother will on the one hand be considered to be "boss for", or have authority over, their younger siblings but are also expected as part of the responsibility of being a "boss", to "look after" those younger siblings. They should thus respond freely to any demands that younger siblings may make, protect their welfare and interests, give them food and generally provide them with social support if required. In return, younger siblings are expected to "work for" older siblings when required. Young unmarried women in particular are expected to assume specific "working for" responsibilities for older male and female siblings within the natal family: "Well sisters have to "look after" their brothers, sisters and parents and cook for them, get water". In this instance, "looking after" has to do with performing particular domestic work. Younger
women within families are frequently expected to assume increasing domestic responsibilities as they mature, such as preparing and cooking food, collecting firewood and water, "minding" younger siblings, and "working for" older siblings and parents.

The sibling set within the Kugu-Nganychara family is marked by its internal solidarity and loyalty. There are strong feelings of attachment to both one's actual siblings and parents, and some brothers and sisters have particularly close, supportive relationships, even though they also observe other kinds of physical and verbal avoidance in their interaction. Adult married or widowed siblings (male and female) may deliberately reside at the same outstation for mutual support. The direct equivalence of authority and personal behaviour within a sibling set with age, is tempered by a number of situational and structural factors and also takes into account individual personality and predisposition; so that age alone is not the only determinant of nurturing interaction.

Co-lateral kin: "like mother", "like father". Parents' siblings have particular nurturing responsibilities to assume for their siblings' children. They are also able to exercise specific rights over the children concerning the manner in which the children are cared for and reared. This relationship has already been established for such relatives at various stages in the reproductive process. "Finding babies", pregnancy, childbirth and the presentation of the child after birth involve siblings from both the mother's and the father's "side" in caring for different aspects of the child's physical, spiritual and social
development. As the child grows these relationships continue to be confirmed through the idiom of nurture. Personal rights are also vested in such relationships. These include rights for the adult concerned, having to do with decision-making and exercise of authority in issues affecting the child, and rights for the child in terms of having to do with the creation of a social identity.

Adult siblings of a mother and father are variously accorded rights and responsibilities in children by virtue of their connection to those children's parents. At the broadest level, both brother and sister are said to be "like mother" for their sister's children, and "like father" for their brother's children. They can be said to initially negotiate - irregardless of their own sex - their interaction with and responsibilities towards the children, via an extension of the social and biological status of the parent themselves. Age of the adult sibling relative to the linking parent also partly determines the kinds of nurturing interaction and rights which are established. For example, when a woman marries and has children, her own sisters assume a particular position of responsibility and authority with those children. Mother's sister is considered in particular ways as an extension of the status of the mother. Mother's elder sister (ngathukwe) is called "big mother", and mother's younger sister (ngathale) is called "small mother" or simply ngathidhe, the same kin term used by children for their mother. Relative age difference; that is, between MZ+ and MZ-, effects the kind of relationship between MZ and ZC. Mother's
elder sister is regarded as more of an authority figure for her sister's children than is mother's younger sister, who is expected to be more indulgent, relaxed and generous with her elder sister's children. In line with an elder sister's perceived position of being "boss" for younger sister, she is also considered to be "boss" for her younger sister's children. She is able to chastise them, participate in decisions concerning their immediate welfare and future marriages, comment on their behaviour, and generally assume a position of moral authority over the children:

MZ+ to Z-S: Don't you boss your mother.
Z-S : Fuck you, you nothing.
MZ+ : You nothing, you not boss for anything, I'm the boss so don't think you can be the boss for my young sister.

An elder sister may also judge and make comments on her younger sister's methods of childrearing and adequacy of care.

Mother's brother is also said to be "like mother" (McKnight 1971:165, provides a detailed description of this relationship). As noted, amongst the Kugu-Nganychara, the MB represents the main kin category from which a child's kudin comes from, and who is subsequently involved in a caring, protective relationship with the child by being responsible for the safety of its umbilical cord. By and large, the relationship is relaxed and supportive. The main point of distinction is again with respect to age relative to the child's mother. Mother's elder brother is regarded as an easy, friendly kin. He is expected to be interested
in his sister's child's welfare, and like MZ+, may discuss the child's future and participate in marriage negotiations for it. Interaction between mother's elder brother and sister's child is direct and each may give and take freely. Mother's younger brother is shown more deference and the relationship is usually more indirect with respect to giving and receiving.

A man's elder sister is characterized as being "like father". As mentioned in Chapter Five, she is excluded for this reason from any direct interaction with her brother's pregnant wife when the latter is in childbirth. She is associated with the child's father and father's "side", and accordingly is part of the father's relatives to whom the child is presented after the birth. Father's sister is called "aunty" by her brother's children and is not as indulgent a figure as the child's mother's siblings. She is associated with the transmission of a child's patrilineal identity: female children in particular, are said to "follow" their "aunties" in their physical appearance and are said to receive their patrilineal names from their "aunty", as male children receive theirs from their father. Given the rules of marriage, a man's sister can be classified as a kind of "mother-in-law" to his children, and is hence somewhat nyanyacha ("poison", restricted) to her brother's children. However, one's actual FZ is described as only "gammon" mother-in-law; i.e., she would be "too close" a relative to be a possible mother-in-law, but will nevertheless tend to be treated more indirectly by her brother's children.
A father's younger brother is said to be "small father" to his elder brother's children, and is "boss for sister-in-law's daughter". According to the junior levirate, a younger brother will assume responsibility for his older brother's wife upon his older brother's death. He also has authority over the children and is expected to care for and protect them. As potential, and often actual, assumers of primary responsibility for these children upon the death of an elder brother, the FB- is included in father's side at the presentation of the child to its patrilineal relatives.

**Grandparents: "looking after" grandchildren.** The pattern of nurturing interaction between grandkin is initiated at the child's birth. A child in utero will most likely have its "grannie" (MM) as a midwife or "nurse" at birth and thereafter. This woman will probably also be responsible for calling out the child's kudin name. Its grandfathers (MF and FF) will both be expected to "feed" the baby before and after birth by their hunting activities. After the child is born, grandparents are expected to personally observe restrictions on eating "big" foods in order to protect the development of the child while it is dependent and vulnerable to spiritual and powerful forces in the environment. At some stage shortly after birth, the child's maternal grandmother performs the "warming" ceremony on the child, which is expected to establish a preferred social personality in the child: to prevent it from stealing or being overly aggressive, talking back to others, or being sexually promiscuous, and encourage it to
be respectful, to work hard for its family and generally be amenable to the control asserted by its elders. The relationship progressively established between grandparents and grandchildren, is described as one of "looking after" or caring for. A number of benefits accrue to the nurturing relationship established between grandkin. Though most immediately the social importance of these appears to directly favour the grandchildren, the relationship also has advantages for grandparents as well. Both grandparents and grandchildren can make various social, economic and territorial claims on the basis of their nurturing interaction.

"Looking after" grandchildren by grandparents involves taking care of their physical, emotional, spiritual and food requirements when parents are both present and absent. Both maternal and paternal grandparents are expected to be relaxed, indulgent and protective with their grandchildren, and "same way, children love their grandparents". Grandparents invariably characterize their relationship with grandchildren in terms of their being supportive and indulgent: "Those grandmothers (FM) always got to spoil their children" ... "those children always look to grannie (MM) to buy them things". The emphasis evident in the statements above - that is, of grandparents' having direct social access to grandchildren - is one frequently voiced by Kugu-Nganychara grandparents. They expect to be able to give freely to grandchildren and there are few personal restrictions on grandchildren receiving from their grandparents. Note also the submerging of generational
distinctions in the first statement, whereby a grandparent refers to grandchildren as "their children". Certainly, Kugu-Nganychara grandparents regard grandchildren as being "their" children, expecting unquestioned access to those children and the right to participate in giving things to them, whether this be food, shelter and protection, the benefits of their experience, their skills and knowledge, or whatever.

Grandparents are perceived as having a responsibility to provide food to their grandchildren when it is required, and of giving it with the same automatic ease as parents. If a child is hungry it is as likely to go to its grandparents as to its own parents, as they are regarded as being more indulgent and flexible with respect to fulfilling the child's own felt needs. When a young child is crying or bad-tempered, the parent or any other adult, may simply take it to where its grandparent is and leave the child there. A mother may do the same when faced with a hungry child for whom she has not cooked or when she simply has no food, telling it to "get food from grannie".

Grandparents in the same household as their grandchildren, often spend considerable periods of time each day playing with and amusing their young grandchildren. PA is a man of about 46 years. He sits by himself in his own "shade" area within his families' campsite, shaving down a length of wood which he will use to make a "spear handle". KY, his daughter's child who is about three years old, walks up to him and picks up the knife that he has temporarily put aside. PA takes the knife from her and flips it into the
sand so that it lands with its point in the ground. He repeats the operation and his granddaughter laughs. Next he picks the knife up and balances it on her head making a prrrrrpt noise, and talks to her in his language Kugu Mu'minh. The young girl moves her head and the knife falls off. PA continues this game for a few minutes, then picks the young child up and lays her in his lap, kissing her on the mouth and face and talking softly to her. She lies there, relaxed and happy for some minutes, then sits up and reaches for the knife again. She stands up, leaving the knife and walks off. Her grandfather turns his attention to his work. The relationship between grandkin represents one of the few amongst the Kugu-Nganychara which is not subject to restrictions on direct personal interaction, which allows for relatively free use of direct verbal communication, and has few restrictions on physical contact.

Grandparents are often observed in the capacity of caretakers of their grandchildren, and appear to be frequently used by their adult offspring in this capacity. In particular, a mother with children will "look to" her own mother if she is residing in the same household or residential camp, to help in organizing the children's daily routine: cooking for them, playing with and "minding" (caretaking) the children, ensuring their physical safety and comforting them when distressed. Women generally indicate that upon marrying they are expected to "settle down", they are not expected to travel as much as when they were "single", or to go away from their children for long periods of time. But women also state, and this tended to be substantiated by observed practice, that if they wanted to leave for
another outstation camp or a larger settlement, or needed
to make longer trips out from the residential campsite for
hunting or gathering activities and did not want to or were
unable to take children with them, their own mother would
"look after" the children:

When mother go hunting, looking for yams,
or 'nother place, children stop behind in
shade with grannie (MM), she look after them,
plenty food with grannie [TN].

Grandparental caretaking of this kind frees a mother with
young children to pursue daily economic activities and in
turn allows grandparents continued economic rights in the
food resources of both her daughter (and son) and respective
son-in-law and daughter-in-law. In one sense then, the
particular economic benefit derived for grandparents
out of assuming a nurturing responsibility for grand-
children is not gained directly from the children but via
the nurturing association. That is, giving care imposes an
obligation which in this case falls most fully on the child's
parents who are obliged to reciprocate to their own parents
or affines (the child's grandparents), for example, by
continuing to provide general support and food for them.

When adults speak of their own "small time" (childhood)
they frequently mention having had their grandparents, and
especially their maternal grandparents, living with them in
their parents' camp. This would agree with the residential
pattern noted for pregnancy and childbirth, and for newly
married couples, to reside with the wife's parents wherever
that may be. It also agrees with the large proportion of
household camps at outstations in which there is to be found
an aged widowed grandparent residing (see also Rose 1960: 426-427; Sharp 1940:490-491,496; Sutton 1978:81-82). Kugu-Nganychara adults will often refer to grandparents as having "grown" them "up"; that is, having cared for their daily requirements as dependent children:

My really grannie from my mother (MM), children look after them ... one grandfather, one grannie for all those children [YN].

There is social pressure on parents to ensure that grandparents have access to children as they mature. A child's mother's "side", and in particular its maternal grandparents, will expect to have the child spend time living in its mother's estate, under their care and protection. Statements by adults, referring to having spent part of their "small time" with their grandparents, are also then a reference to having acquired, or been exposed to, particular kinds of experience and knowledge. The transmission of these is directly related to the caring and rearing process itself. How valuable such experience and knowledge become to an individual, will be progressively ascertained. Invariably though, claims made over those things or people, are often supported by reference to such childhood residence and receipt of grandparental care.

Grandparents are able, and expected to, transmit to their grandchildren, their own areas of personal knowledge and expertise: teaching them language words from their own dialect, singing songs for entertainment or to put the child to sleep at night, teaching them dance steps and sequences from public dances and passing on information from instruction and first-hand experience about grandparental estates.
These areas of knowledge may come from different areas, depending on the grandparent involved and the place of residence. For example, the knowledge, skills or experience may come patrilineally via the child's paternal grandfather (FF-FFF); from its father's mother and her patriline (FM-FMF); from its own mother's father's patriline (MF-MFF); and from its mother's mother and her patriline (MM-MMF), and residence may occur in any of the associated estates of those people. Broadly, such knowledge and experience tend to be regarded as coming from either the child's mother's or father's "side". A child will ideally learn from first-hand experience and exposure via grandparents, about both of its parents' estates, learning from familiarity as children where resources can be found and being told "stories" by their grandparents about infamous relatives and events associated with those estates. This transmission depends of course on the frequency of the child's contact with these relatives and "sides", and immediately on the actual number of them still living. So that certain grandparental associations and areas of knowledge may thus be emphasized and confirmed over others as a result of more prolonged residence and contact as a child.

As Kugu-Nganychara individuals emphasize the importance of biological and social connections between themselves and their parents, so too do they reckon kin association, and rights and responsibilities of all kinds, via grandparents. The grandkin connection and the links established in it, are commonly used by adults (and thus by the child in the future) to confirm and legitimate different social, economic and political claims. It is also used to
confirm rights to residence and/or tenure of land. For example, with respect to a claim to right of residence on a particular tract of land, people may say:

We still living where my grannie left, we come behind. She left people, Joe, Mona, Yipa, more Edward River. We still living on grannie country, really one from this country my grannie [PA].

From one's grandparents, forays further back into the past can be made, by treating one's grandparents as children themselves of specific parents: "My grannie from that first mother". Individuals may also include kin from different patrilineal descent lines as being "full families", by virtue of a connection at one known point in the past from a grandmother, or because they come from "really one grandmother, one grandfather", albeit a number of generations in the past. At noted in the previous chapter, such linking devices are frequently used in the present, as explanations of who is one's kampan or "close relatives". In this way, individuals may trace backwards a number of generations to an historic "grannie" or "grandfather". People refer to themselves as "coming behind" these individuals from the past, and in turn, see their children as "coming behind" themselves. In this manner, a certain kind of social continuity is given a substance and validity.

The transmission of names to children also indicates the social and political significance attached to the grandkin connection. Grandparental names will be passed on generation to generation, and often directly to grandchildren. As described in Chapters Three and Six, names for both men and women are patrilineally acquired as a series of sex-specific names from which particular ones
will be chosen. The child's mother's patrilineally acquired names, are said to be "left behind". Amongst the Kugu-Ngaychara names can be deliberately given to children in order to establish a particular connection or continuity between that child and another individual: "We call him Angus [the name is traced from the child's father's father's deceased elder brother, whom the child would call grandfather], we don't want family to lose that name". Names passed on in this way are seen as "remembrances" for those relatives who have "come behind" the person with whom the name is most intimately associated. This point is discussed by J. von Sturmer (1978:337-341), who notes the deliberate transmission by Kugu-Ngaychara men, of important names to their children for specific political and social ends. Sharp (1940:501) also briefly notes the same feature of intimate personal connections made via names amongst the Yir Yiront and indicates that names may be deliberately given to ensure such social connections:

A child may be given the identical ancestral names, totems, land and other status appurtenances of a dead older sibling so that the remembered personalities of the two become merged and only one cultural personality is retained extant for the two real persons who existed. Cases were numerous in which it was impossible to tell with certainty how many biological individuals possessed or "utilized" what to the natives was only one particular cultural personality.

A name then, is taken to be more than 'just a name', and has recognized social, personal and political qualities associated with it via the previous name-holder. These qualities and capabilities may in turn also be claimed by another individual who has acquired the name. He or she
may also be able to make more credible and acceptable claims to rights of residence and possibly tenureship of estates associated with that of previous individuals. In this regard, Sharp (1937:221-222) directly links the acquisition of certain names, to individual identification with territory:

Ego acquires various names during his life ... which are definitely associated with specific countries, in which case Ego also becomes associated with these same countries. The native ... considers him linked with these countries simply because the appropriate names are his.

Transmitting particular grandparental names then is not simply transmitting a name so that it will not be forgotten; it is a means of ensuring that a number of other associated qualities, statuses, rights and responsibilities are also transmitted and taken over.

Grandparents in turn, regard grandchildren as a means of ensuring a desired continuity of their own interests and influence, and will be proud of having and caring for many grandchildren. One elderly woman lamented the death of her close classificatory daughter with the comment, "now that body dead no pikininni [children] for me". An individual's ability to exercise personal rights in the rearing of children and by doing so to ensure their own social and economic security, is thus extended into the future by the fulfilment of potential reproductive capacity by their own children. These connections and continuities are consciously manipulated by Kugu-Nganychara individuals as means of asserting claims to various things: to land, ritual property, knowledge, authority, rights of residence, rights
of economic exploitation, and to receive social support and protection from others. Having been associated as a child with one's grandparental generation has not only immediate nurturing benefits for a dependent child, but also future value for it as an adult. For the grandparent, giving nurturing and establishing a connection with grandchildren also ensures present and future economic and social support from their own adult sons and daughters, who will continue to provide them with food, shelter, and protection. Grandparents by and large do not benefit economically in a direct way from their grandchildren by caring for them; although as the children mature and begin gathering and hunting their own food, it is considered more appropriate that they share their food with grandparents rather than with their own parents (and especially not with their father) (see also McKnight 1971:167).

Grandparents do receive the immediate benefits of their maturing grandchildren's labour as the latter are expected to "work for" ageing grandparents in daily domestic activities such as collecting wood and water for them, and preparing and cooking food etc. This is perceived as an obligation established by virtue of the grandparents having "looked after", or cared for the grandchildren at different stages.

However, interaction between grandkin is not always amicable, nor is it necessarily relaxed or indulgent. As noted in the episodes described previously, grandchildren may be criticised for not working for their grandparents, they might argue with their grandparents, and "tease" them.
in a provocative and aggressive manner, and may refuse to "listen" to their demands, in which case a child's parent may intervene to establish order: "That old lady my mother, I'm her daughter. She your grannie, you shouldn't go cranky on her, don't tease her, she my own mother. You should work for her". On the other hand, as also noted in Episode 1, parents and grandparents may be in opposition over the issue of how children should be cared for and reared. From the point of view of the parent, the grandparental relationship with grandchildren, can be taken to be interference and a potential cause of conflict within the family. 

Adults state that parents with young children, "might be winyeda from family or kids". Winyeda is translated by people as meaning "frightened". "Family", in this statement, refers to the parents' own mother, father and siblings. Basic to this state of winyeda is the idea that grandparents will feel free to intervene into a parent's relationship and interaction with his or her own child (as in Episode 1). Also basic to the state, is the belief that "kids tell on parents to grandmother and grandfather. They have to, they should, the grandfather get cross, grandmother must the same, will say he's greedy man or swear him" [JN]. So that while a mother and father have a moral and social authority over their children, the children in turn are said to have protective recourse to their grandparents who are expected to take a supportive interest in their grandchildren's welfare.

Grandparents, both as parents and as affines, will rebuke and publicly chastise or "swear" the parents if they feel that they are not adequately caring for their own child,
not providing enough food, leaving it alone for too long a period, or hitting the child "too much". Because children have the right to expose their parents' failings in these matters to their grandparents, parental performance is under a close scrutiny. Parents in turn, indicate that grandparents, whether their own parents or affines, should not interfere and "make trouble". Rights and responsibilities in children within a three generation extended family are thus open to judgement by close relatives, personal negotiation over relative authority and performance of duties, and are reassessed over time.

The authority and nurturing responsibilities of grandparents for grandchildren are not limited to the world of the living, but extend to the deceased as well. When a "new" person or a young child enters a site within an estate which is considered dangerous, it is expected that they will be introduced to the "spirits" of deceased relatives who inhabit the estate, in order that no harm comes to them. When people "call out" to such spirits in different situations, it is invariably to the spirits of close kin, and often to deceased grandparents:

Our families [as spirits], I have to talk our language and tell this our friend they belong to us. Talk to my dead family, my father and grandfather, all of them old people, we got culture down at the end of swamp [MP].

In this instance, the content given to "culture" is specifically that of the world of deceased actual relatives; i.e., of a family in "spirit" form who affords a connection between the social past and present. At any one point in time, one's family includes both living and deceased
relatives all of whom have responsibilities towards caring for children. Thus parents of young children will say of the spirits of their own deceased parents and grandparents: "old people look after babies, we leaving them under their care".

From the foregoing it can be seen that there are a number of close-kin who are involved in child-care and rearing and that a system of reciprocal responsibilities and personal rights arises out of that nurturing interaction. However, there are also means of assuming, to varying degrees of permanency, more direct and primary responsibility for caring for and rearing another's child, and in turn, receiving recognition by a wider community of having done so. These take a number of different forms, ranging from informal and impermanent child-care arrangements sometimes the result of crises situations, to more formalized, long-term caring and rearing arrangements. The variety of situations will be discussed within the framework of the Kugu-Nganychara terms of "growing up" and "adoption". Just as there are a variety of actual situations so are there a range of motivations and individuals involved in these other than parental child-care arrangements. Both "growing up" and "adoption" have to do immediately with the provision of care, protection, support and rearing of children by individuals other than their actual parents. They define a central social experience for a number of Kugu-Nganychara who have been or are involved in such arrangements at some stage in their life. Claims to having participated in such an experience are frequently
heard and made.

The following section describes the range of child-care situations involved in "growing up" and "adoption" and the various individuals and motivations involved, and examines both the short and long-term consequences of such involvement. Out of these two kinds of nurturing arrangements there are established a wide range of personal rights and responsibilities which have immediate and future value both for the child and for other individuals as well. The anthropological literature on both "growing up" and "adoption" in Aboriginal populations is scarce and lacking in detail. The information available (see Goodale 1971: 124,149-150; Kaberry 1939:70-71; Malinowski 1963:247; Myers 1976:346-408,377,1979; Sharp 1934-35:24, 1937:134,247-250; Sutton 1978:58,98; and more recently Bell and Dinton 1980: 96-98) indicates that these are not localized phenomena common only to the Kugu-Nganychara.

"Growing up". This Kugu-Nganychara term refers to a range of nurturing situations but basically involves the assumption by individuals other than parents of major nurturing responsibilities for a dependent child. When speaking of having "grown up" a child, people make reference to having assumed those domestic, social and economic responsibilities which are chiefly regarded as being the concern of its parents, and include: the provision of economic resources; preparing and cooking of food for the child; caring for its health and physical development; including the child in the sleeping, domestic and travelling arrangements of their own household; and generally showing
direct protective concern for its welfare. Such an arrangement has long-term implications for the child and also for the adults involved.

"Growing up" is often an extension of the caretaking and rearing responsibilities, described previously, already expected of various kin with respect to particular children. It includes the sheltering and rearing of a dependent child in a household which may or may not include its own parents and is undertaken for varying periods of time. But "growing up" also means something beyond the usual nurturing involved in certain kin interaction. It is a public claim made by those kin to having assumed for whatever period of time, the major responsibility for caring for and rearing the child. It is also an allusion by those people to having been responsible for the "transformation" (which Myers 1979:7-10 argues is at the basis of "growing up" amongst the Pintubi) of an unknowing, dependent and vulnerable child into a capable, responsible and knowledgeable adult. "Growing up" is often presented in the form of a claim in reference to a past situation where an individual supposedly assumed responsibility for solely caring for another's child. People will say, "I grew her up from little baby", or "My old lady (mother) grew him up from small time (childhood)". Individuals need only have been responsible for a child in this way for a relatively short period of time, or only intermittently over a longer period of time, in order for them to claim to have "grown up" the child. Such claims to having been involved in this process are commonly heard in discussions and arguments. The actual period of time involved in such arrangements appears
not to be the important factor. What appears significant is that personal participation in the nurturing arrangement itself has socially recognized value and establishes a variety of personal rights for those people involved.

Certain close-kin recur as the category of individuals who are more inclined to assume the responsibility of "growing up" another's child and claim recognition for having done so. By and large, they are those kin who have appeared in the capacity of nurturing children in the previous chapters, and include both maternal and paternal grandparents, the child's own siblings and parental siblings and their spouses. As noted previously in this chapter, grandparents will often be described as "looking after" their adult offspring's children, when those offspring are in fact both willing and able to provide adequate care for it. Grandparents will often talk about having "grown up" their grandchildren and are usually making reference to nurturing responsibilities that they have assumed in this manner. For example, a mother's mother will explain that she moved into her daughter's household in order to "help" care for the grandchildren and will subsequently claim to have "helped grow them up". However, grandparents may also often spend considerable periods of time having solely cared for a grandchild in the absence of its parents. Thus a father says of his son, "when Lorna [his wife] went to Cairns Hospital, her parents grew him up. He not used to Lorna and I". In this case, a young boy was cared for by his maternal grandparents when his mother became ill. He has since remained living with his grandparents, and it is said that
the boy now prefers to stay with them rather than his own parents. To this extent, explanations of "growing up" arrangements between such close-kin include the supposed preferences of the child in his choice of primary caretakers. Such a nurturing involvement with grandparents acts to emphasize the association and attachment of the child not only with those individuals but with the particular mother's or father's "sides" from which they come; i.e., mother's or father's "side". It also reinforces the child's own future claims to the support of those individuals and to associated rights to residence, protection and shelter and territorial rights, in the future. Grandparents involved in such "growing up" arrangements may in turn expect to have continued and more direct control over the economic productivity of the child when he or she matures, and for the child to "work for" them in this way. Expectations of maintaining social and economic access to an individual via growing them up can also be extended beyond the individual concerned, to his or her own children in the future. For example, the grandmother in Episode 2 reminded her young granddaughter (Z+SD) that she should "work for" her because she had "grown up" the young woman's father when the latter was a child. The obligations incurred by the father as a result of receiving this care and rearing were seen to be transferred to his daughter. Amongst the Kugu-Ngaychara such claims to have "grown up" another person are used as a means of establishing personal rights and access to or support from other individuals, as well as the particular person immediately concerned in receiving care.
Elder siblings of both sex may also claim to have "grown up" younger siblings. There may be a close attachment evident between the two siblings. This kind of "growing up" is invariably a reference to the "minding" or caretaking role which is often expected of elder siblings, but also indicates a special relationship of care-giving which an elder sibling may be required to assume for a particular younger sibling, by its parents. Thus one young woman of about 18 years, explained why one of her younger brothers, who was about five years old, was her constant and sometimes unwanted companion:

You know I grew young Harold up, I had to take care of him myself when I was only young myself [MK].

Later, in exasperation at the boy's unwillingness to leave her alone and return to their parents' campsite, she complained, "I wish I didn't grow him up, he won't go back to camp", telling the boy, "Your father crying for you out there, go on", in order to tempt him away from her. As mentioned earlier, "growing up" is also said to occur between sisters co-residing within a marital campsite in which there is one husband; e.g., where the elder sister is said to be "growing up" her younger sister, and where the younger sister is expected to "work for" her elder sister in the same way that she would for her parents. The elder sister is described as being "boss for" the younger sister in such an arrangement and has access to the economic labour and productivity of the younger sibling by virtue of the care given in growing her up.

A commonly acknowledged circumstance out of which the "growing up" arrangement arises, has to do with the
inability of the child's own parents to "look after" the child. Such a situation may arise for example, when the mother of the child is ill for a long period of time, or when she has "too many" children to adequately care for. It may arise when the mother and father are simply unwilling to care for the child. In such circumstances young dependent children are given to close kin to be "grown up" for varying periods of time:

... some kids handed over to aunty (FZ) when their mothers get sick;
... when mothers sick or has to leave then they give to mother's sister or brother or aunty to look after.

Brothers and sisters will also "grow up" children who belong to their own adult siblings. A woman who has no children may be given a child to "grow up" by her brother, or a woman may give a child to her sister if she has "too many". Bell and Ditton (1980:96) in a recent report on Aboriginal women in Central Australia, note that similar situations and resultant child-care arrangements are made between close-kin: "... a woman who bears twins may give one child to her close sister to rear"; that, "Young mothers may leave their children in the care of a grandmother"; and that "Today many mothers, who do not wish to rear their own children ... may pass the responsibility onto another close female relative". Such circumstances also form part of the Kugu-Nganychara pattern of "growing up".

In many of the Kugu-Nganychara arrangements the child's actual parents are still within close proximity. In the majority of cases the children continue to know who their actual parents are, and often spend periods living with, or
interacting with them as well (see also Goodale 1971:149; and Bell and Ditton 1980:97). One young woman spoke of her own experience of having been "grown up" by her "aunty" (FZ+) while her mother and father were still living in the same residential group. She explained that she was:

... weaned off when I was two weeks old, my mother sick. I stayed with aunty till I was 11 or maybe 12 years, then when I was about 12 I went back to mum and dad [MK].

"Growing up" then, does not necessarily involve the permanent relinquishing of parental rights and responsibilities by the mother and father, and children invariably remain aware of the relationships and rights that follow on from their own biological parents. When a child is no longer dependent, or when the parent has recovered from an illness or returned from travelling, the child may be re-incorporated into its parents' household. If a "growing up" arrangement is a long-term one (for example, if one or both parents are deceased), then as noted previously, the child may be reinforced in its future rights derived from those care-takers. This association may be established and claimed by the child in the future at the expense of those rights and property connected with its actual parents.

There are then a number of motivating forces behind a "growing up" arrangement other than simply the provision of care for a child. As already noted, it may have to do with a woman having "too many" children, and it may also have to do with a man or woman having no children. Depending upon whom one asks about a particular arrangement, one will often receive different explanations and perspectives. In a number of instances, the explanation
given by women who have assumed major responsibility for another individual's child, has a strong perforative tone having to do with a supposed lack of ability and maternal concern on the part of the actual mother:

... too much for poor mother looking after her own children. I help cooking for lunches for children when they get out of school. Mother hasn't got time to cook, look after own children [MK].

The woman in the statement above is said by herself and by other close kin to have "grown up" a child, who is in fact her father's younger brother's son's son. The child calls the woman "aunty" (FZ+), and she calls the child's actual father, "younger brother". The child's actual mother and father have eleven children in all and this woman, who is widowed, has none. The child's mother is said to have asked the woman (her "sister-in-law") to keep the child with her and "grow it up", and indicated herself that this was because she had "too many" other children to care for. The woman says that she is "helping" the mother and indicates that the mother is supposedly incapable and unable to do the necessary work for her own children. But it is also said by the child's parents that he was given to the woman to "grow up" because she had no children of her own. It is significant that the child involved is named after his aunty's deceased father (that is, the child's own father's father's elder brother), whom the child calls grandfather. This "namesake" relationship is seen to associate the child with that man and his "aunty's side", and is offered as part of the explanation for why the child feels attached to the woman: "he wants to stop with aunty 'cause he's named
after that old man". The child's parents admit to deliberately giving the child his grandfather's "name" because they did not want the family to "lose that name". The child acts then as a focus for a particular kind of social continuity and is thus in a particularly favoured position to claim various rights associated with his aunty's patriline, as she has no other children of her own.

A child may have either or both of its parents dead, in which case, others will care for it and thus claim to have "grown [it] up". However, as indicated in the previous chapter, a child may remain marginal in nurturing arrangements subsequent to the death of a parent if no-one is available to assume primary nurturing responsibilities for it. By and large, the indisposition or absence of the mother seems to have a greater impetus on requiring an alternative childcare arrangement for a dependent child, than does the absence or death of a father. In the latter situation the mother of the child most often simply reincorporates herself into her own family's living arrangements. There is an increasing tendency apparent both at Kugu-Nganychara outstations and at Aurukun, for young, "single" women with infants, but without any male assuming paternal responsibilities for the child, to leave the child in the care of their own parents - the child's maternal grandparents (see also Bell and Ditton 1980:96). Such a child-care arrangement reinforces a child's attachment to and familiarity with its mother's "side" and estate, and in more recent times also serves to incorporate the child into its mother's patriline rather than its genitor's patriline. This latter development will be discussed in the Conclusion.
"Growing up" is often a crises fostering, a rescue operation by close-kin, whereby individuals assume primary nurturing responsibilities for a child when its natal family has been scattered by the death or separation of parents. It also arises with the reproduction of a baby by a young woman who is unable or unwilling to assume a parental role; or when the parents are alive and in a conjugal arrangement but are unable to adequately care for the child. It is also described as a solution for a childless couple. The "growing up" arrangement may be for a relatively short period of time or it may continue for the period of the child's dependent years. There is no specific time period after which such child-care and rearing arrangements become a permanent transfer of social and economic rights in and responsibilities for the child. As noted, the majority of people who share in the responsibilities of "growing up" another's child, are already close relatives of the child (e.g., its MM, MF, FM, FF, MB, MZ, FB, FZ, B+, Z+). In most "growing up" arrangements involving these people, the established kin-terms will be maintained between the child and adult. However, more recently a tendency has been noted at Aurukun, where the children of young "single" women, who have been "grown up" from infancy by their maternal grandparents, begin addressing those grandparents by the kin-terms used for mother and father. This recent development, which has direct consequences for the kinds of rights transmitted to the child and the claims it can make in the future, will be more fully discussed in the Conclusion.
A particular consequence of "growing up" arrangements, apart from the immediate caring and rearing of a child, is to more closely associate the child, via particular relatives other than its parents, with either its mother's or its father's "side". This association has long-term implications for the child's social, economic and political life. Having spent one's "small time" being "grown up" by particular individuals may relocate a child's future rights; e.g., from its patriline to its mother's "side" if "grown up" by maternal grandparents. While knowledge of its own father's patrilineal rights (e.g. to land, economic resources, residence, social support) will be maintained by the child, it may be reinforced in other possible claims (e.g., its mother's patrilineal rights) at the expense of being able to make successful or credible claims to the former. On the other hand, claims of having been responsible for "growing up" a child have value for adults. Having assumed such a responsibility can be used as a means of establishing or reinforcing personal rights over others. For example, the adult may claim the right to be involved in decisions affecting the future of the child (such as marriage arrangements) and to demand repayment by the child at some stage in the future. Immediately, children will be expected to "work for" those adults as they would for their own parents. In the future, claims may be made on the labour and productivity of children who have been "grown up". These expectations of reciprocation in the future, for care given in the past or present, may be transferred to offspring of those individuals given care, such as described in Episode 2. Claims to having "grown up" an individual in
the past may also be used by people to gain social support and protection, or residence etc., from relatives of the individual concerned. The giving of care and the rearing involved in "growing up" are often associated by Kugu-Nganychara individuals with the transmission to the child, of those personal, economic, social and territorial rights and property associated with the adult care-giver. The individual who has been thus cared for, can in turn use the "growing up" association with that adult, to make credible claims on that person and other related individuals, for shelter, residence, social support and continued protection, and to make claims to the property associated with that individual.

Adoption of children. "Growing up" can be distinguished from a more formalized transfer of rights and responsibilities over children. The latter are what are referred to as the "adoption" or "giving" of children. Although "adoption" can also be said to involve the "growing up" of a child, in the sense of the adult providing care and protection for it, Kugu-Nganychara people will not usually refer to most temporary "growing up" arrangements as "adoption". "Adoption" amongst the Kugu-Nganychara more often takes the form of purposive fostering of a child which is arranged while its family is still intact. It is entered into with the intention of securing some benefit or advantage for the child, for the parents of the child and for the new nurturers. The advantages may be long-term as well as immediate, and the motivations may not necessarily have to do with crises situations as is often in evidence in
"growing up" arrangements being established. Amongst the Kugu-Nganychara, "adoption" as purposive fostering, is often described as "giving" the child to another adult. The child is generally "given" to an adult who is himself or herself, a member of a conjugal unit. This "giving" will involve a more formalized and permanent transfer of nurturing responsibilities and associated rights in the child to that other adult. Biological parenthood remains acknowledged and known to the child in question, in the majority of cases, though it is also more likely in cases of "adoption" than it is with "growing up", that the kin terms in use between the child and its new nurturers will be re-aligned, so that the adopted child is addressed as "son" or "daughter" by the adult, who will in turn be addressed and referred to by the kin-term of mother or father. In a "growing up" situation, the kin-terms already in use would usually be maintained.

Whilst "adoption" or "giving" of a child may be a means of alleviating difficulties for a dependent child caused, for example, by the death of a parent, or by parents having "too many" children, it is also used as a means whereby adults who have no children can obtain a more long-term access to becoming primary nurturers of children. Once again, these arrangements are invariably made between close-kin. A mother may "give" one of her younger children to a brother or sister to adopt:

WW, she adopted another little girl. She big girl now, from BK (HZ, classificatory), she had too many kinds, she give one little girl for WW ...

KW no children, he adopting W and D's little boy. KW is brother to D.
In the examples mentioned above, a sister "gives" a child to her brother and his wife to "adopt". The man would also be in the kin relationship of MB to his sister's child, and therefore already in a position of caring for the child's physical and social welfare. In these cases, the child invariably "grows up" calling the man and woman by the kin-terms for parent, but also knowing who their "really father and mother" are, and often maintaining a close social interaction with them.

As another example of "adoption", Kugu-Nganycbara people will talk of a man "adopting" a child by his wife and another man. If a man accepts a child by another man, but also by his own wife, this may be kept "secret way" from the child, though others may say that he has "adopted" the child. Such "adoption" of another's child, by a man as pater, means that the child will be in a favourable position to acquire patrilineal rights and property via this man whom he will call by the kin-term for "father", rather than those of its genitor. Such information of "adoption" does not remain "secret way" for long though, and often adult men and women will attempt to establish claims to social and economic rights in both their actual and social parents' property. It is interesting that McConnel (1934:319,325) also notes that when a woman has a child but does not have a male who is acknowledged as the genitor, then eventually a 'new father' will "adopt" the woman's children and transmit to them patrilineal rights and property. She views "adoption" as the social acknowledgement of fatherhood by an adult other than the genitor, and the means of
incorporating the child into a patriline. As already noted, this follows on from the evidence of clear distinctions made by the Kugu-Nganychara between social and biological parenthood, and emphasizes the long-term implications of how and by whom a child is reared and cared for. Unfortunately, like other researchers of that period, she does not explore the actual detail and implications of such alternatives, nor the possibility of deliberate manipulation of personal identification via such child-care arrangements.

The woman in the previous section, who was described as "growing up" her "brother's" son, is also spoken of as having "adopted" the boy: "Aunty adopted Angus when he was about one year old". In this particular case, there are a number of issues involved, and the woman is likely to maintain a permanent keeping of the child. The child retains a knowledge of and continues to interact with his actual parents. Of particular significance in this case is the fact that the woman who is assuming primary nurturing responsibilities for the child, is herself an only child and has no children. She is widowed and in effect her patriline will end with her death. The "adoption", is seen as a more formalized transfer by the parents, of primary responsibility for the child to this woman. The fact that the child has the woman's own father's name, and that she is spoken of as having "adopted" the child, are seen as having immediate implications for both the woman and the child. For example, it is acknowledged by both the woman and the child's father (her "brother"), that with the
"adoption", the child will be in a position to assume patrilineal rights and property from the woman's patriline. In this way, the "adoption" represents an attempt on the part of the adults concerned, to extend the life of the woman's patriline by establishing the child in a favoured position with regards to assuming patrilineal rights in an estate other than that of its actual father. The comment of, "We don't want family to lose that name" by the adults concerned has to do with notions of social continuity rather than the simple transmission of a name. Given the widespread recognition by Kugu-Nganynchara people that names are often deliberately chosen and transmitted to a child because they are associated with particular individuals and therefore particular social and political rights, it would appear that the attempt to establish a connection between two patrilineal segments one of which was in danger of extinction, was quite deliberately arranged. The "adoption" of the child by its father's "sister" may have been decided upon even before its birth. The woman's own patriline will thus be continued via the incorporation of the child, rather than her own deceased husband's patriline, which would have been the case had she children of her own. It is interesting that Sharp (1934-35:24) reports upon similar alternatives in the identification of children with other adults and other estates, in order "to fill up the depleted membership of an associated clan". Indeed he also comments that changes in a child's membership between patrilineal segments are said by the Yir-Yiront to be deliberately done for this purpose and often before the child's birth:
With the aid of various obvious fictions, the "spirit child" is usually found in the clan country of the child's real father. But a child is sometimes found in the clan country of a classificatory father, i.e., in the country of a clan which is associated with the real father's clan in a patrilineal descent line of the kinship system... A person belongs to his "father's" clan, but it may be the clan of a real father or the different clan of a classificatory father. The real reason for this variation from strict patrilineal descent of clans is not obvious, though in some instance it is explicitly stated that the change was made to fill up the depleted membership of an associated clan.

Unfortunately, Sharp does not pursue the matter in any more detail. It is clear though that the end result is of the same kind as that mentioned in the previous case of "adoption", i.e., the manoeuvring of certain kinds of preferred social and kinship continuities, through the alternative identification of children. It is suggested here that the "adoption" or "giving" of children to adults other than their actual parents attempts to achieve the same ends as actually "finding" and bearing one's own children, that being, the incorporation of a child within certain social, territorial, kinship and descent affiliations. In both cases - "adoption" of another's child and reproduction of one's own - it is the mechanism of giving care, nourishment, protection and support, and rearing the child which establishes and confirms the identification. "Adoption" cannot claim to give the adults involved access to the biological input of genitor or genitrix via nurturing.

"Adoption" or "giving" involves then the subsequent transfer of many aspects of primary nurturing responsibilities and duties for the child from the parents to another individual or couple. The child will then be said to have
been "looked after" by these other individuals, may call them by parental kin-terms, and spend a greater amount of his or her time in their company and reside with them, than with his or her own parents. Transferring such responsibilities and duties, and such interaction and primary relationships, has implications for all people concerned. In such cases of "giving" the consequences may be well-recognised and consciously sought after. For example, the man to whom the child is "given", may himself be the "boss" of an estate, may be of high ceremonial importance, have the social support of a large following of people and generally be of some political importance. In the course of time, the "adopted" child will be in a favourable position to directly participate in assuming the patrilineal rights and property associated with his adopted "father", especially if the latter has no other children. As an adult, the child will be able to make claims to those things and people by virtue of having been "adopted" and "looked after" by this man and his wife, by having spent his childhood with them, on their estate, and in contact with their kin. So that "adoption" is actively associated with a process of incorporating the child into another patrilineal identity, without necessarily losing or defaulting that which he has acquired automatically from his biological father. "Adoption" thus attempts to replicate the rights of inheritance and transmission of rights and property which are connected to biological association with a particular genitor and genitrix, and then to a pater and mater.
From a slightly different perspective, "adoption" may also represent a deliberate strategy at establishing immediate and long-term social and political security for particular families and patrilineal segments. For example, by "giving" a child in "adoption", the father of the child also attaches his own, perhaps fading or diminished authority and lack of social support, to that of another man who is of some importance. The father's own direct access to authority may be diminished if he is himself the junior of male siblings (see J. von Sturmer's 1978:416,451-452 discussion of hierarchical authority within male Kugu-Nganychara sibling sets). Invariably, it is the senior male sibling amongst the Kugu-Nganychara who has authority over his junior siblings, and who is in a structurally more favourable position to acquire status, rights, property and authority from his father, in which case junior and structurally subordinate male siblings are placed in a position of political disadvantage. They are forced, if they wish to establish their own political careers, to negotiate other means of obtaining political authority, social support and influence. By "giving" his child to another man, the father establishes a political and social alliance for his own family of procreation, and attempts to ensure a politically more advantageous future for his own son by arranging for the latter's incorporation within another patriline. In this case, "adoption" is not a response to a crisis situation, but is an acknowledgement of the rights which are transmitted through primary nurturing interaction, and the alternatives available in
transmitting these made possible via child-care and rearing arrangements such as "growing up" and "adoption".

"Adoption" amongst the Kugu-Nganychara is similar to marriage bestowal, entailing a similar system of reciprocal rights and responsibilities as other forms of bestowal, e.g., as with the bestowal or "giving" of children as future spouses, often before their birth. In the same way that children can be bestowed in marriage, so some are bestowed via "adoption." Similarly, "adoption" also places the individuals involved under a range of obligations. For example, the adults who have "adopted" the child, must care for it and rear it (in the same kind of way that future spouses are described as having to care for, or "look after" a "promised" wife while the latter is still a child) and they are expected to transmit via this rearing process, knowledge experience, skills and rights in property of various kinds, in the same manner that its actual parents would have. These adults are also obligated, via the "giving", to the child's parents and may be expected to provide food resources to them (as a son-in-law is similarly obliged to provide food to his affines) and be expected to include them more actively within their own social, economic and political relationships and interactions. The parents of the child have established an alliance or connection with another family (as via marriage bestowals) which may serve particular social, economic, residential and political ends for them. The child has had established for it a more flexible and wider range of options, improving its future position and ability to make successful claims over another series of individuals and associated property.
The relationship between "growing up" and "adoption" is problematic in some situations. When does a "growing up" arrangement become an "adoption"? When does a situation of marginality for a child become resolved by a more consistent "growing up" or "adoption" arrangement which may actually benefit the child? Who is actually "adopting" and "giving" whom in these arrangements, and for what reasons? It has been mentioned for example, that the arrangement can be seen from the perspective of the child itself, who in some situations initiates or maintains the alternative nurturing arrangements itself (see also Goodale 1971:149-150; and Sutton 1978:98). It can also be viewed from the perspective of a man and woman without children gaining access to rearing a child and to the more formalized rights and responsibilities associated with "adoption"; and thus attempting to resolve their own potentially marginal social and economic position. From another viewpoint, it can be seen as parents resolving the position of having "too many" children to adequately care for, and via "adoption" of their child by another adult, of establishing a more favourable political or social position for themselves and their child. In fact, all of these factors are in evidence in "adoption" situations and many also in evidence in "growing up" arrangements as well. In accordance with the Kugu-Nganychara predilection for maintaining simultaneously a multiplicity of possibilities for as long as possible or beneficial, all of these motivating factors and strategies may be operating together, or may be emphasized as explanations, or evidence for claims, as the need arises.
One feature which all of these motivations and explanations do have in common however, is the perspective on children as a resource for continuity between past, present and future.

"Growing up" and "adoption" of children, whilst they may actually weaken the child's future ability to make acceptable claims over its own father's patrilineal rights (though as noted previously a child may be in a structurally junior position with regards to acquiring these rights in any case, providing a prime motivation for the "adoption"), may result in affording the child alternative possibilities which may then be activated as valued choices by the child when an adult. However, as also noted, a number of other individuals involved in these arrangements, derive both immediate and long-term benefits, e.g., gaining access to a wider range of social support, economic input from children and claims over their future labour and productivity, and insurance of political patronage and protection. One of the significant differences between the position of the marginal child described in the previous chapter, and another who is said to have been "grown up" or "adopted", is that the former has been subjected to a decisive inconsistency of primary nurturing. It may for instance, be taken by its actual father and a 'new' mother, but be given significantly different treatment by that woman than other children within the family unit. Or if a child's father dies and its mother is considered incapable of caring for it, it may have no adult siblings, no surviving grandparents, no parental siblings and only distant relatives to assume occasional care for him or her. Of course, a child is rarely left in a
situation without any nurture, but there are well-recognized differences in the kind of care and attention that will be given to such a child. Often marginal children may be said to have been "grown up" by people for certain periods of time, during which those people will claim to have assumed primary nurturing responsibilities for it. However, the marginal child is one, who whilst having such intermittent periods of "growing up", also has to overcome periods of marginality when it receives inconsistent and inadequate care and attention. The end result of such unstable and periodic nurturing is to create potential marginality as an adult and difficulty in making acceptable claims. "Adoption" and long-term "growing up" are on the other hand more formal and permanent means of resolving marginality by ensuring other primary and consistent child-care arrangements and thereby establishing alternative means of transmitting rights and responsibilities.

There are then a number of criteria by which individuals other than parents become involved in assuming nurturing responsibilities for a dependent child. The child is firmly located within a network of close-kin labelled as "sides" which act to link the child with specific relatives from both its mother's and father's "side". This process of association began before the child's birth and afterwards continues to be based on nurturing interaction out of which arises a wide range of reciprocal responsibilities and personal rights. The episodes presented initially in this
chapter, in which conflict arises between close kin over the issue of rights and responsibilities in caring for particular children, highlight the flexibility in the sharing of such obligations and highlight also the future expectations of economic and social reciprocation by those who have received such care. The episodes also indicate that whilst involvement in such nurturing interaction is seen to be a personal right, it is not always welcomed by others and the obligation to reciprocate both in the short and long term, is not always automatically assumed. The frequent use of involvement in such child-care arrangements as "growing up" and "adoption", as evidence to substantiate claims to property and people, is however, an indication of the benefits and value such nurturing experiences are seen to have.
1. I have recorded several known cases of this kind of polygyny, and only two are where the husbands had more than two wives at any one time. One man, now deceased, was considered to be violent and was renowned for having killed a number of people. He is said to have acquired a number of wives as 'gifts' from other men in this manner. Another man, still living, is also considered to be a rather aberrant social case by local people. He married a woman and then proceeded to also take her two adult daughters as wives as well, so that, as people said, "own wife is mother-in-law". By far the most common marital situation was that of serial monogamy, with both widowed men and women remarrying, and where the wife often had her own close, female kin in residence within her own household or in physical proximity.

2. Despite statements which emphasize the conviviality and co-operation between women as co-wives, and between close-female kin such as sisters living in co-residence, and despite the supposed limited sexual access by the younger woman to the older woman's husband, it is also apparent that sexual jealousy and competition between the women did and do cause conflict.

3. The significance of sibling solidarity is borne out in the composition of residential groups and female interaction on outstations, where sisters are regularly found in the same household campsite together, and sisters are also to be found residing with their brothers and sisters-in-law. At Empadha outstation, if one looks at the composition of households within the outstation in terms of sibling sets, there were three sets of adult sisters residing together (one with an aged, dependent mother),
Footnote 3 continued.

three sets of adult brothers and sisters residing together (with another having an aged mother in residence) and one set of adult brothers in residence.

4. Further to this point, it has been pointed out to me by Peter Sutton, that amongst the Cape Keerweer population to the north of the Kugu-Nganychara region where one also finds the phenomena of "growing up" and "adoption" of children, the Wik Ngathana word used for the "giving" of children in marriage bestowals is also the same Wik Ngathana word used to refer to the "adoption" of children by adults as their sons and daughters.
Chapter Eight

CONCLUSION

One of the central concerns of Kugu-Nganychara society is the regulation of the generative capacities of women. The thesis has described the varied conditions of human reproduction and examined the social relations which arise out of the regulation and ordering of those conditions. It has been shown that an extensive system of reciprocal responsibilities and personal rights is established as a result of the participation of specific individuals in nurturing interaction, and that this has immediate and long-term significance for both the child and others. The social relations of child-bearing and rearing have direct implications for the transmission to children of different kinds of rights, property, knowledge and experience, which in turn creates a particular identity for the child. It has been argued that personal involvement in giving and receiving nurture is a critical way in which individuals establish the right to make claims on each other in a wide range of contexts. In particular, the probability of making a successful claim is largely dependent on ties established through nurturing. Consequently, personal rights in nurturing children are deemed to be important and valued because these rights have in turn fundamental social, economic, political and territorial implications for individuals.

This processual approach to the social relations of human reproduction contrasts with the majority of work
carried out by Australian ethnographers on Aboriginal reproduction as reviewed in Chapter Two. In these ethnographies the general focus has been on women as the central figures involved, with little consideration of the social environment surrounding the immediate events of conception, pregnancy, birth and early childhood. Aboriginal reproduction and particularly childbirth, was initially examined by researchers in terms of a social evolutionist perspective which relegated it to the level of nature and the non-human world; making it instinctual, spontaneous, subject to seasonality, exotic and invariably profane. The approach in most early ethnographies has been to examine particular aspects of reproduction - physical paternity, spirit conception, the painlessness and ease of birth, the indulgence of parental child-rearing methods - as unrelated to any wider social or economic context. In contrast, this thesis has viewed the social, spiritual and biological dimensions of child-bearing and rearing as being necessarily connected. Neither the biological nor the spiritual aspect has been singled out as the more important condition, but has been situated within an active social system, drawing attention to the fact that they are subject to human interpretation, intervention and management. This management is directed at establishing various social connections and continuities via the involvement of particular individuals in different aspects of pre- and ante-natal nurturing. Given such an approach, it has been shown that the participation of both men and women in reproductive nurturing needs to be investigated concomitantly.
Chapters Four and Five have described in detail the "finding" and "building up" of babies. A new life is said to "come up" via these processes as a result of the active involvement of particular individuals - in both living and spiritual form - in giving nurture; firstly by activating and then nourishing, sustaining and protecting the development of the child in utero. As elsewhere, the focus of responsibilities falls on the man and woman as genitor and genitrix. It is they who create the baby through sexual intercourse, and then "build up" and protect the new life by observing restrictions on their behaviour and interaction. It has also been described how even before conception, a man and woman must observe physical and social restrictions on their personal behaviour in order to protect their own reproductive capacities. Other people, however, are also involved even in these initial stages. The spirits of deceased relatives are said to actively "send" a "baby spirit" to a particular man and woman, and living individuals in authority perform ritual for the increase of babies at specific pukpe awu (baby 'increase' sites). The relatives of both the man and woman show concern and interest in ensuring the "proper" expression of sexual behaviour and development of reproductive potential, so that ideally, procreation is centred within a socially legitimate framework. In this manner, marriage arrangements are actively ordered by the man and woman's family to ensure access by these "close" relatives to the couple's future offspring. Thus the rights of a range of individuals other than the parents in nurturing children are valued and asserted long
before the actual birth of a child.

In the nurturing modes of "finding" and "building up", and the delivery of babies, different areas of evidence concerning personal rights and responsibilities are being progressively established and confirmed. Two broad divisions of kin, the child's mother's "side" and its father's "side", assert their rights to become involved in different areas of these modes. Within these "sides", grandparents, affines and parental siblings all claim an interest and often specific involvement in directly caring for the child in utero and for its successful delivery, as well as caring for the welfare of the pregnant woman. In the later stages of pregnancy and the events surrounding childbirth, the child's mother's "side", and in particular her close female matrilineal kin, play an increasingly prominent role. These female kin offer their experience and knowledge of reproductive matters, their social and economic support to the pregnant woman, and actively assume direct responsibility for ensuring the successful delivery of the child. This period of management of reproductive conditions by the mother's "side" sees the establishment of a number of significant relationships between the child and that "side"; especially with its "nurse", usually its MM, MZ or MMZ; and with its MB. The responsibilities and rights of relatives on the mother's "side" in caring for the child and the mother are emphasized over and above that of the child's father's "side" during childbirth. The subsequent presentation of the new-born child to its father and father's relatives restores their involvement in caring for the child and continues the process of its incorporation into its
father's patriline.

A certain flexibility in the child's future options is established during this extended period of conception, pregnancy and birth. The decisions of the parents and close kin concerning who the child will "follow" and resemble, where the child was "found", who may have "sent" it or "found" it, and which names the child will take, are all subject to discussion and negotiation.

Chapter Six describes the roles of husband and wife in rearing their children. Each Kugu-Nganychara child is born into a world where in a very real way, what is available to his or her mother and father is available to him or her. The child receives continuing confirmation of this position and of significant aspects of its identity by involvement in this primary nurturing process and from the experiences, knowledge and skills transmitted to it by its parents. A child's (both male and female) primary claim to land, to rights of economic exploitation, to residence, to ceremonial, to totemic and language affiliation is preferably through its father as genitor and pater. However, people are quick to point out that childhood residence in the mother's estate and being cared for and reared by particular relatives from mother's "side", also establish personal rights for the child in that "side" and are used to make claims over people and property from it. Consequently, the kind of nurturing a child receives during its "small time" (childhood), directly determines its subsequent ability to lay claims to varied people and rights.

Chapter Six also emphasized that the Kugu-Nganychara
make clear distinctions between the roles of genitor and pater which have significance for the child's identity and future where they are not identical. When the construction of a child's identity is interfered with or made ambivalent through social and biological ambiguities in paternal identity and nurturing, the kinds of continuities and options available to it are altered. If a child has received inconsistent primary care from its mother and father over a period of time and has received no alternate, consistent care from others, then he or she is immediately disadvantaged in obtaining basic physical and spiritual care, receiving food, social support and protection, and in respect to acquiring particular kinds of knowledge, experience and rights. This may lead to adult social, economic, territorial and political marginality, and severely circumscribe a person's ability to make successful claims over things and people.

Although the parents are perceived as being the primary or focal nurturers of their dependent children, they are not the only individuals involved in caring for and rearing their own children. Chapter Seven describes how a range of close kin assert as a personal right, continued involvement in this nurturing process. It is also within this wider social environment that there lies the means of resolving irregularities and inconsistencies in children receiving nurture, and of handling the unpredictable contingencies of chance which act to create potential marginality for children. The two main means described in Chapter Seven for resolving such difficulties are "growing up" and "adoption"
of children by individuals other than their parents.

Chapter Seven examined a number of criteria by which individuals other than the child's parents continue to be involved in caring for dependent children. Invariably, they include those kin who have already been progressively and actively involved in aspects of reproductive nurturing. Where present, a co-wife may assume particular care-taking and rearing responsibilities for another woman's child. But more common is the arrangement made by women to have close female kin in residential proximity, which affords a co-operative division of child-care and rearing between those women. When such an ordering and sharing of nurturing responsibilities between close female kin occurs, for example between actual and close classificatory "sisters", it is often very difficult for the fieldworker to initially establish exactly who is the biological mother of the child as opposed to who is simply assuming a number of responsibilities for its care and rearing (both Goodale 1971:124,149-150; and Sharp 1940:500, also make mention of this difficulty). The loyalty and solidarity evident within the Kugu-Nganychara sibling set of the natal family have direct implications for the sharing of nurturing responsibilities and rights between adult siblings. The siblings of both of the child's parents are entitled to and expected to assume nurturing roles with their siblings' children. Grandparents also actively maintain rights of access to and authority in the matter of rearing and caring for their grandchildren. Close kin of these kinds may be called upon to assume the major duties of caring and rearing,
or "growing up", another's child and in some instances this transfer of primary nurturing responsibilities may become permanent.

A more formalized arrangement of "adoption" can also be initiated. It can be seen as a kind of social and economic alliance between particular families and may represent an attempt to establish immediate and long-term political security and support for a particular family or patrilineal segment, as well as a means of maintaining the continuation of a patriline. When the transfer of primary responsibilities for a child is socially recognized and accepted - and people frequently claim to have been involved in assuming such responsibilities for another's child - there invariably also occurs a relocation of, or complimentary change in emphasis on its access to social, economic and territorial rights and property. Certain future options for the child are thereby reinforced over others. In this way the child's potential or actual marginality, or structurally junior and diminished position regarding the acquisition of rights and property from its own patriline, can be resolved by nurturing alternatives which provide the child with other avenues for acquiring these. In this way "growing up" and "adoption" establish a flexibility in acquiring rights for both the child and the nurturers which has long-term value and implications for making claims.

In the introductory chapter of this thesis it was suggested that for the purposes of research investigation and description, human reproduction should be kept analytically distinct from social reproduction and from
reproduction of the labour force. The focus in this thesis has been on the social relations of begetting, bearing and rearing children; that is, on the distribution of rights in and management of human reproduction and of the children born. The idiom of nurturing has been shown to be fundamental to the particular social relations established during child-bearing and rearing amongst the Kugu-Nganychara. Given the analysis of the way in which rights are established and reinforced in this manner, and the degree to which nurturing is subject to manipulation, it follows that there is a strong convergence between the social relations arising out of human reproduction and the process of social reproduction itself, and that the convergence is articulated by the central idiom of nurturing.

In early descriptions of Wik-speaking Aboriginal social structure and organization given by Thomson and McConnel, the nature and significance of the social relations of child-bearing and rearing have been obscured. Instead, their structural-functionalist preoccupation has been with the study of formal institutions. The ethnographic descriptions they present emphasize the notion of a relatively static social, territorial and political organization in which social reproduction occurs because of the regulating force of fixed and orthodox constraints. It has been argued here that such an approach has been taken at the expense of examining and including within their analyses, the dynamism and flexibility apparent in Kugu-Nganychara social organization. Only occasionally in their published research does one find evidence of flexibility in
the transmission of rights, knowledge and property, and an indication that the deliberate use of alternative child-care and rearing arrangements may effect the process of this transmission and of affiliation and personal identification.

There are certain central organizing principles in Kugu-Nganychara society; for example, there is the pervasive ideology of patrilineal descent and affiliation as an ideal form of organization and transmission of rights and property, and the notions of preferred marriage arrangements, which can appear as regulating constraints. However, small-scale populations such as the Kugu-Nganychara have to deal with the unpredictable contingencies of differential fertility, conflict, death, warfare and sorcery, seasonal factors and fluctuations, patterns of mobility initiated to exploit diminishing resources, and birth occurring outside of the preferred social frameworks. Not every Kugu-Nganychara child has a genitor or genitrix present to assume the role of pater and mater, nor does every Kugu-Nganychara adult have a child, or a child of a preferred sex. Similar contingencies were in fact noted by Sharp (1934-35, 1937) in the 1930's amongst the Yir-Yiront, and in comparison to McConnel and Thomson, he did emphasize that alternatives or flexibilities were available and used in order to contend with these. It is clear, that given such circumstances, optation is critical and that flexibility in acquiring and transmitting social, economic, territorial and political rights must always have been in operation and manipulated when required. In such a situation the assumption of nurturing responsibilities for children assumes particular
significance by creating such flexibility and optation and by being a determinant of particular kinds of continuity.

Part of the perspective on Aboriginal social reproduction presented by researchers such as McConnel and Thomson, has been a widespread tendency to over-romanticize the notion of the social embeddedness or 'communalism' of the Australian Aboriginal family. The social and economic burdens and difficulties of child-rearing are depicted as freely and easily distributed and automatically assumed within a wider social environment which is seen to be supportive for both the child and its parents. While this thesis has described the active involvement of a range of individuals in caring for and rearing children and suggests that this is in fact a characteristic feature of Aboriginal child-care and rearing, it has also been pointed out that there is frequent social conflict and tension arising specifically out of this social distribution of responsibilities and rights in nurturing children. Not everyone is happy about having to assume such responsibilities at certain times and not everyone is prepared to automatically fulfil the reciprocal duties and obligations expected of them. As well, parents may view other kin, not so much as being helpful or supportive in this manner, but as interfering and asserting opposing authority (to their own) over their children.

The social distribution of rights and responsibilities in nurturing is then more aptly depicted as a processual one, in which the spectrum of individuals involved and the value given to various rights changes throughout each individual's
lifetime and not necessarily to the satisfaction or advantage of others. It is apparent that Aborigines are not passive in such a process, but are actively manipulating and constructing their social reality over time. Kugu-Nganychara individuals and collectivities intervene to bring about a desired ordering of social relations and assert rights in nurturing. Given the feature of personal intervention and management in the social relations of nurturing, it can also be seen that in some instances, particular individuals from the senior ascending generations do not automatically transmit their personally held knowledge, authority and rights of ownership in property, but may make deliberate decisions not to pass these on to others. This decision effectively dispossesses particular individuals of the descending generation, denying or limiting their ability to make claims on the basis of such a transmission having occurred. Either way - in deliberately transmitting or not transmitting these things - I would argue that such decisions are immediately related to the involvement or non-involvement of individuals from the senior generation in the caring and rearing of children. In the context of the need for flexibility, the idiom of nurturing and the resultant ability to make claims supplies a critical means of establishing personal management and intervention and ensures continuities of various kinds.

The nurturing of children in the present allows for particular and presently preferred social connections to be confirmed or emphasized and thus for particular continuities to be constructed and reproduced over time. The significance
of rights in nurturing children for establishing such connections is apparent in Kugu-Nganychara notions of use and ownership of land. Just as relationships within the family are expressed through the idiom of nurturing, so too do notions of attachment to and use and ownership of land focus on that idiom. Kugu-Nganychara people are said to be "boss for" and thereby have the duty to "look after" land in the same way that they are "boss for" and must "look after" specific people. In turn, people will characterize themselves as "working for" their country in the same manner that they "work for" others. Sutton (1978:57) notes a similar relationship amongst an Aboriginal population to the north of the Kugu-Nganychara region, where "owning land" ... is spoken of using the verb /kooepanha/ which means "to look after, wait for, wait upon, guard". Myers (1976, see also 1979:7-10) examines in systematic detail a similar concept amongst the Pintubi known as kanyininpa, which he says is translated as "having", "holding" or "looking after". He relates it firstly to the nature of personal relationships and authority within the family and then relates the concept to the basis of power and authority, and people-land relationships in Pintubi society in general.

In the Kugu-Nganychara relationship of people to land it is invariably the idiom of nurturing which provides the focus for establishing connections to and unity of ownership of land. The initial point for reckoning or claiming access to or ownership of land is on the present, and then on establishing the attachment of children and adults in the
present to particular individuals in the past. Invariably, such attachments and claims will be argued for by making reference to residence as a child in a particular estate having received some form of reproductive nurture from individuals connected with it. The reproduction and nurturing of children ensures a continuity of particular kinds of rights in land and is critical to the continuing transmission of those rights and the assumption by people in the future of responsibility for "looking after" land. In situations of marginality, alternatives in nurturing arrangements make available to individuals more flexible options for claiming access to or ownership of land.

The idiom of nurturing established during child-bearing and rearing is central to a number of Kugu-Nganychara concepts and perceptions; e.g., about the nature and operation of continuity and relatedness; about the operation and value of hierarchy; and to the moral basis of power and the exercise of authority in the natural, social and spiritual order (see also Myers 1976 for similar comments on the Pintubi). Its significance with respect to the relationship between people and land has been noted. The idiom of nurturing is also central to Kugu-Nganychara concepts about the nature and exercise of authority where individuals of particular superordinate and senior categories are "boss for" those subordinate and junior to them. As a "boss" that individual should "look after" others and in return expects both immediate and future reciprocation of some kind - for example, by being "worked for" - from the people given care, protection and support. It is also basic to Kugu-Nganychara ideas of
generation, in which one is presented with the notion of each generation of 'new' individuals "coming up" and "coming behind" the other and then succeeding it, with each ascending generation being responsible for "looking after" the descending one and mediating knowledge, skills, rights and property, and authority to it.

The convergence between the social relations of human reproduction and the process of social reproduction and the significance in that connection of the idiom of nurturing, is well-illustrated by an examination of more recent developments occurring in the social relations of childbearing and rearing and their implications. *Kugu-Nganychara* society in 1978 is by no means the same as that in the early 1900's, nor the same as that of the late 1950's when individuals began progressively moving into European settlements and missions. A number of changes in the social relations of human reproduction have occurred. Some of the more apparent and immediate developments have been briefly noted in the previous chapters, and include: the increasing intervention and control of western medical technology, beliefs and practices; the enforced evacuation of pregnant Aboriginal women, often for some months, to Cairns Hospital on the eastern coast of Cape York Peninsula, for the delivery of their children; the consequent removal of those women from their husbands and family, from the socially supportive environment of female matrilineal kin and from the assistance of experienced Aboriginal midwives; and the removal of the woman's female matrilineal kin from immediate control and management of childbirth.
Another aspect of the increasing intervention of western medical practices and the removal of pregnant women from their own communities, has been a decrease in the number of individuals with a kudin relationship. This has also meant a related interference in such things as the treatment and protection of the child's umbilical cord by the kudin, thereby disrupting the life-long association made between the cord, the child's spiritual and physical development, and the tree which grows from the blood of labour at the birthplace. A child born in a European hospital in Cairns has no birthplace, no tree to indicate its continuing health and well-being and to act as a "remembrance", and no midwife to perform the warming ritual which contributes to its "proper" social, sexual and physical development. The formal presentation of the child to its father and father's "side" has become only nominal for the Kugu-Nganychara, if it can be said to occur at all. Some women rebel against such evacuation to Cairns and removal from supportive female kin. They refuse to present themselves to European nursing staff and doctors, remaining in "bush camps" until it is too late to be removed or else simply appearing with a new-born baby in arms. There has been an increasing tendency on the part of younger women to bottle-feed their babies, which a number of older women directly associate with the influence of European doctors and the period spent in hospital at Cairns. There has also been a corresponding denigration in value of the knowledge and experience of Aboriginal midwives and a decreasing use of opar ("bush medicine") for pregnancy and childbirth.
The overall effect of these developments has been to remove a number of women and their children from the range of close kin who provided support and protection throughout pregnancy and childbirth. It also acts to bar a number of categories of kin from specific kinds of personal involvement in reproductive nurturing, and thereby curtails the establishment of particular rights and responsibilities which previously arose from such involvement. Given such developments it follows that the social relations of childbearing and rearing are altering in their emphasis.

For women, there are a number of different factors currently affecting their own involvement and rights in bearing and rearing children. Women are losing some of their perceived control over their reproductive capacities. From a biological viewpoint, the frequency and duration of breast-feeding, among other things, imposed its own kind of control on and spacing of births, and lactation together with physical activity and low sugar and carbohydrate diet kept body fat low enough to prevent ovulation and hence encourage a child-spacing of three or more years (see Dumont 1975: 713-721; Lee and de Vore 1968:30-48; Perez et al. 1972: 1041-47; and Rossi 1977:20). Nowadays it appears that a factor in increasing fecundity is enriched sugar diet, increased carbohydrate intake, bottle-feeding and the decrease in ovulatory inhibition which results, combined with the lowering age of puberty. In a real sense young Kugu-Nganychara women have lost a kind of control which they perceived as previously existing over their own biological development and reproductive capacities. This previous control was not so much a conscious one, but an epiphenomenon
of other behaviours.

Accompanying this has been a number of social changes occurring in Kugu-Nganychara society as a result of close settlement life at Aurukun. These include an increasing sexual freedom for young men and women; a decline in the "promise" marriage system; and the decreasing effectiveness of social constraints previously operating on marital arrangements. These developments are perceived by older people as indicating their own increasingly peripheral involvement in those areas and a loss of personal authority. The fact noted by many Kugu-Nganychara people that there are "too many babies coming up", is directly related by them to young men and women "running wild" or being sexually promiscuous, and to the perceived loss of authority and involvement on the part of the senior generations in controlling such developments.

This perceived lack of personal involvement in and social control over the ordering of human reproduction extends to other areas of life. For example, people will now similarly describe the countryside as "running wild" and for very much the same reasons. The removal of individuals from their traditional homelands has removed what is regarded as the civilizing and domesticating power of human habitation over a particular physical environment. Associated with the absence of people from their "own country" is also a perceived limited access on the part of the living to the power, support and concern of the spirits of deceased relatives who reside in that "country". That is, there is a break in the social connections between the present and the past. Without human residents to perform the necessary
ceremony and ritual and without the concern and care of the physical environment which is associated with human habitation, people will describe a "country" as "running wild 'cause no-one living here". So that not only people "run wild" displaying abnormal and uncontrolled sexual and reproductive behaviour, but the physical and spiritual environment also "runs wild" and there may be an unrestrained overabundance of things. Thus, it is explained that there are "too many babies coming up" not only because there has been a perceived loss of personal control over certain biological and social dimensions, but also because the involvement and influence of the spiritual world and the force of fertility in nature in general are seen to have become unmanageable by individuals at certain levels.

At the same time as women can be described as having a decreased control over certain aspects of their reproductive capacities, another trend has become increasingly apparent in the contemporary social situation. Basically, women, or certain categories of women, are having an increasing involvement in and management of the care and rearing of dependent children. For instance, a young teenage girl returning from Cairns with her new-born baby will more than likely follow an increasingly familiar pattern of transferring the major responsibilities of caring for and rearing her child to her own mother. Having no male as genitor to assume the position of pater to the child, the young woman and infant remain in residence within her own natal family household. She may maintain social and sexual relationships with a particular man as the child's genitor, but make no
attempt to establish an independent conjugal unit with him in which to rear the child. Previously, the begetting and bearing of a child by a particular man and woman as conjugal unit was taken as a marker of the establishment of an independent family of procreation. More recently, the tendency appears to be for the young woman's natal family to remain the family of residence and orientation after a child is born to the woman. Procreation is increasingly occurring outside of the legitimate framework of a socially approved marital union in which individuals and families have a vested interest in arranging and maintaining. In this manner, the developmental cycle of the nuclear family has begun to alter.

An increasing number of younger women at Aurukun are gaining another kind of economic viability as a result of social security benefits paid directly to them and of employment in a variety of occupations at the settlement. This access to money has aided the self-sufficiency of some women, enabling them to remain "single" and yet still bear and rear children. If a man and woman appear to have entered into a more long-term liaison they may establish a separate household and rear and care for the collective children of the woman, only some of whom will have that man as their genitor.

There are then an increasing number of children who are spending their childhood receiving primary care, protection and nourishment from their maternal grandparents, with or without their actual mother in residence and often without their father in residence. Another development noted in
the social relations of nurturing is for the children concerned in such arrangements, to begin referring to and addressing their mother's parents not by the kin term for maternal grandparents, but by the term for mother and father. This can be seen as a direct form of "adoption", though it has a more immediate effect in relocating the child's incorporation within a particular system of transmission of rights and property and on its subsequent ability to make claims. By receiving primary care and rearing from its maternal grandparents (and perhaps addressing them as mother and father), the child in turn acquires particular kinds of experience and knowledge, rights and property from them. In this way, the child acquires its mother's patrilineal rights and property rather than its own father's patrilineal rights. As part of this relocation of affiliation to its mother's patriline, the child acquires its names, totems, language and ceremonial affiliation and its primary attachment to and ownership of land through that patriline. The child is thus reinforced in affiliation and claims to its mother's "side's" rights and property. It may consequently find great difficulty in making acceptable claims to its genitor's "side" unless its mother subsequently establishes a separate household with that man, who then assumes paternal responsibilities and transmits to the child, the knowledge, rights and property associated with his own patriline. This recent development represents a different kind of patrilineal emphasis and recruitment whereby women become the pivotal figures for the recruitment of children into their own father's patriline rather than their husband's.
speaking daughters are becoming sons. They may also recruit into their natal family household, the man as genitor of the children, who will reside there with the woman. This latter situation is not dissimilar to the residential pattern noted for newly-married men and women who live in the wife's parents' estate and household, and who reside there for childbirth. However, in the more recent development the tendency has been for such a residential and nurturing arrangement to become more permanent, and to include the incorporation of the child into its mother's patriline, rather than simply serving to establish its access to another range of relationships.

Another aspect of these changing rights in nurturing is the position of the woman who has to assume the primary nurturing responsibility for her daughter's child. At a stage when this woman should be assuming the status and duties, and receiving the social and economic benefits of the grandparental position, she is forced to remain in an extended state of motherhood, assuming maternal responsibilities for her own daughter's children. This denies her access to the economic support and care of a son-in-law and delays the social and economic reciprocation from adult offspring which is expected from them after they have established their own families. As noted, the latter development has been delayed in recent times, but other adult men and women must nevertheless continue to give care, nourishment, support and protection to ostensible grandchildren without their own offspring assuming complimentary parental roles and responsibilities. The young woman with an infant is thus
able to delay her own assumption of maternal responsibilities by transferring them to her own mother. Similarly, her father must delay receiving the benefits of grandparental and affinal status by having to assume a paternal responsibility for his daughter's child.

In these circumstances the identity and role of men as genitors and paters becomes increasingly disconnected. Men may tend to become marginal fathers: floating from different relationships with women; remaining marginal with respect to assuming paternal nurturing responsibilities for their own biological children; and remaining outside of the domestic and economic organization and decision-making for the household in which their child is residing. This certainly appears to be an emerging pattern for young men at Aurukun who remain marginal to paternal involvement in the rearing of their own children, unless they attach themselves more permanently with a particular woman and gather in social and political support and economic networks in the traditional manner. There are occurring then, observable changes in the distribution of rights in nurturing children and consequently a change in the balance or emphasis within the social relations of child-bearing and rearing. At the most general level, the dual involvement of the child's mother and father and their associated "sides" in various aspects of reproductive nurturing are not being reinforced in the same way.

By and large, the majority of adult men as fathers and grandfathers, still continue to transmit patrilineal rights and authority to their own children. However, the develop-
ments noted above tend to reinforce attachment and acquisition of rights through one's mother's "side", and occurs at the expense of the child's affiliation with its father and father's relatives and at the expense of the involvement of that "side" in different aspects of reproductive nurturing. It is interesting to note that similar kinds of developments have been observed amongst urban Aboriginal communities. Barwick (1975:154-167), writing about the Aboriginal family in south-eastern Australia, comments that, "Men have nominal status as household heads, but older women (spouse, mother, or sister) are the effective managers and usually ... decide who may join the household. A significant minority of households have only female heads, usually middle-aged women ... but most young 'fatherless families' in fact join the households of senior kinsmen" (Pp.157-158). Most often "It is the mother that raises the family and dominant 'mums' usually manage household affairs both in domestic details and in external relationships" (p.164).

The idea of patrilineal filiation and loyalty continues to operate in Kugu-Nganychara society. But it has always been part of a range of actual social, economic and territorial associations and options which each individual has access to and may claim rights to throughout his or her life. In view of more recently observed trends in the distribution of rights in reproductive nurturing, it is hypothesized that patrilineal links and acquisition of rights from one's father, while continuing to be emphasized at an ideological level, may take on decreasing
operational significance or priority, while other social, economic, political and territorial options will be reinforced and claimed. The emphasis on recruitment of children, via the increasing management of child-rearing by matrilineal kin, into their mother's patriline is appearing as another such option. It has been noted that flexibilities in access and attachment to both mother's and father's "side" have always been constantly affirmed in the ordering and management of child-bearing and rearing in the past. As such, the present developments and changes in emphasis in the distribution of rights in reproductive nurture can be said to represent an extension of already established options. However, it almost certainly will affect the structure of the social relations of reproduction: relocating primary nurturing responsibilities and rights more specifically to one particular network of kin - the child's mother's "side" - as opposed to establishing a duality of options which stressed patrilineal transmission and affiliation and parental rearing of children, as well as access to and involvement by maternal kin in nurturing. So rather than simply being an extension of previously established nurturing options and relationships, the present developments indicate a change in the focus of the distribution of rights in nurture. This has direct implications for the means by which a social, spiritual and territorial identity for the child is established and by which the associated rights and property are transmitted. It also directly affects the kinds of acceptable claims which the child can make as an adult and the ability of particular individuals as opposed to others to claim the economic and
social entailments of having cared for that child in the past. Given this development, it would follow that in the future different kinds of social connections and continuities will become significant and reinforced.

The criteria for asserting rights in the nurturing involved in child-bearing and rearing are altering in their emphasis and in turn changing the pattern of social relations established. Nevertheless, the basis by which rights in and responsibilities for children are acquired and maintained, and by which particular kinds of knowledge, experience, rights and property, and authority are transmitted and subsequently used, remains the same: namely, by involvement in giving and receiving nurture during the begetting, bearing and rearing of children. Rights in nurturing still represent a major means of establishing flexibilities and options and of establishing social connections and continuities in a number of different areas. In this way, reproductive nurturing and the social relations established therein, represent what Myers (1979:50-51) calls a "central social fabric", providing the Kugu-Nganychara with a flexible and dynamic concept for articulating and reproducing a preferred social world. It is also suggested that this represents a generalizable feature of Australian Aboriginal societies.
Appendix A

Glossary of Kugu-Uwanh kin terms and Aboriginal English terms used in the text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kugu-Uwanh</th>
<th>Primary denotata and Aboriginal English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaminh</td>
<td>SC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m.ZDC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>w.BSC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuyu</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuyu kanytyi</td>
<td>WM, mother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuyu thumum</td>
<td>W, wife, missus, old lady</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munhtha</td>
<td>MBC, full cousin, full blood cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muyu</td>
<td>FZC, full cousin, full blood cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhengka, ngathengke</td>
<td>m.C, son, daughter; w.B+-/-C, niece, nephew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngathake</td>
<td>B-, younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngathame</td>
<td>MM, grannie, old lady; MMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngathepe</td>
<td>Z+, eldest sister, big sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngathi</td>
<td>F, father, really father, own father; FB-, small father, father</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ngathidhe  M, mother, really mother, own mother; MZ-, mother, small mother

ngathidhe woynyo MZ-, small mother

ngathinye FZ+/-, aunty

ngathinye kanytyi aunty, poison aunty; MMBD

ngathinye mukam aunty, free, unrestricted aunty; FZ

ngathunye B+, brother, bada, big brother, bandji; FMB, brother, big brother

ngathunge MF, FMB, grandfather, old man

ngathwile Z-, small sister, sissy

nhingope FM, grandmother; MFZ, grandmother

othom w.C, son, daughter; m.Z+/-C, niece, nephew; MZC

pama man

pam muyu husband, my old man

pama ngathale MB-, small uncle

pama ngathukwe MB+, big uncle

pama thepe old man

pama thepe ngathake FF, old man
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pama thumum</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papinh</td>
<td>w.SC, grandson, grand-daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinya</td>
<td>FB+, big daddy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pukpe</td>
<td>infant, baby, foetus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thawa-akin</td>
<td>old lady</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thawa-akin ngathale</td>
<td>MZ-, small mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thawa-akin ngathinye</td>
<td>FZ+/-, aunty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thawa-akin ngathukwe</td>
<td>MZ+, big momma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanytyintha (Wik-Mungkana)</td>
<td>old woman, old lady</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ZH, bandji, brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BW, sissy, sister-in-law</td>
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</table>
### Appendix B

**Core residents at Empadha outstation - numerically listed**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resident*</th>
<th>Household** Residence (see map 3)</th>
<th>Status***</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Ceremony</th>
<th>Principal Kam waya (totem)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5a/b</td>
<td>A/F</td>
<td>Kugu-Me'inh</td>
<td>Pucha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1a/b</td>
<td>A/M</td>
<td>Kugu-Uwanh</td>
<td>Pucha</td>
<td>Barramundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1a/b</td>
<td>A/F</td>
<td>Kugu-Uwanh</td>
<td>Pucha</td>
<td>Dead Body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1a/b</td>
<td>A/M</td>
<td>Kugu-Uwanh</td>
<td>Pucha</td>
<td>Barramundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>C/M</td>
<td>Kugu-Uwanh</td>
<td>Pucha</td>
<td>Barramundi</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Barramundi</td>
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<td>Wik-Ngathan</td>
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<td>Stingray</td>
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<td>Pucha</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>3a/b</td>
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<td>Yam-Stingray</td>
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<td>Brolga/Blood</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>C/M</td>
<td>Wik-Mungkana</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Brolga/Blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident</td>
<td>Household**</td>
<td>Status***</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Ceremony</td>
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<td>Yam? Stingray</td>
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<td>Resident</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
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<td>Wik-Ngathan</td>
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* - Another list of residents of Empadha outstation, in which the names of individuals are supplied which correspond to the numbers given in the above list of residents, has been lodged at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies Library.

** - The numbers given under the heading of household residence refer to the individual's residence over a period of time, within a particular family campsite. These campsites divide into night-time sleeping camps (e.g., la), and day-time "shade" areas (e.g., lb). The household numbers given in the above list correspond to those marked on Map 3 of Empadha outstation. Where an individual has been given more than one series of day and night camp­sites, it is invariably a reference to time spent in the "single men's camp" (8a).

*** - Status refers to: A - Adult  
          C - Child  
          M - Male  
          F - Female
Diagram 2: Genealogical connections of residents* at Empadha.

*Numbers in the above diagram correspond to those given for core residents listed previously.
Diagram 2: Genealogical connections of residents at Empadha.
### Appendix C

**Core residents at Pu'an outstation - numerically listed**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resident*</th>
<th>Household** Residence (see Map 4)</th>
<th>Status***</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Ceremony</th>
<th>Principal Ram waya (totem)</th>
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<td>Wanam</td>
<td>Dead Body/Jabiru</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Resident</td>
<td>Household**</td>
<td>Status***</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Ceremony</td>
<td>Principal Kam waya (totem)</td>
</tr>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>Wanam</td>
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<td>A/F</td>
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<td>Shark</td>
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<td>Shark</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
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<td>A/M</td>
<td>Kugu-Mu'inh</td>
<td>Wanam</td>
<td>Possum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Resident*</td>
<td>Household**</td>
<td>Status***</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Ceremony</td>
<td>Principal Kam waya (totem)</td>
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<td>Residence (see Map 4)</td>
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<td>Freshwater crocodile</td>
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<td>A/F</td>
<td>Wik-Iiyanh</td>
<td>Wanam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* - A list of Pu'an outstation residents, in which names of individuals are supplied which correspond to the numbers given in the list above, has been lodged at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies Library.

** - The numbers given under the heading of household residence refer to the individual's residence over a period of time, within a particular family campsite. These campsites divide into night-time sleeping camps (e.g., 2a) and day-time "shade" areas (e.g., 2b). The household numbers given in the above list correspond to those marked on Map 4 of Pu'an outstation.

*** - Status refers to: A - Adult  
C - Child  
M - Male  
F - Female
Diagram 3: Genealogical connections of residents* at Pu'an.

* Numbers in the above diagram correspond to those given for core residents listed previously.
Diagram 3: Genealogical connections of residents at Pu'an.
Appendix D

Family domestic and economic activities: a daily regime

Empadha: South Kendall River. 6.30 a.m. The sounds of cassette music come from PA's night-time sleeping camp-site as his 22 year old son MkA, plays a favourite pop tune. This family campsite is used by nine people, including myself and my two year old son. It is somewhat more elaborate than others at Empadha outstation, and consists of a large rectangular, open-sided "shed" about 10 metres long and 5 metres wide. It is built of straight lengths of eucalypt, with a single median railing around the sides about 1½ metres from the ground, leaving an empty space on one side for the doorway. The shed is about 2½ metres high and its roof is covered by sheets of corrugated iron. In one corner of the shed is a large wooden "bunk", a kind of flat table, relatively high off the ground to keep the camp dogs away. The "bunk" is used to store personal belongings, clothing, PA's building equipment, suitcases, saddles and shotguns.

PA's family members sleep in relatively permanent positions in the shed every night. Each adult individual has his or her own sleeping equipment, usually consisting of two sheets and a ground blanket. The blanket is laid onto the sandy ground and the sheets are used as a cover, together with a pillowcase (in which are usually stored clothing). PA and his wife TA have their own mosquito net hung from a wooden railing which runs down the length of the ceiling. Young AK, a boy of about 7 years and who is
their eldest daughter's son, also sleeps with them. They keep a fire burning beside them throughout the night. On the other side of it, their daughter of about 24 years, MeA, and her own infant daughter Ky, also share a mosquito net. MkA and his younger brother SA, who is about 12 years, sleep alongside each other, but do not use nets. String bags made of "bush string" and others of unravelled synthetic twine from European fishing nets found washed up on the beach, hang up on the side rails and on the centre pole inside the shed. They are owned by individual members of the family and have personal belongings in them. Spears, woomeras and firesticks, and shotguns stand in the sand "outside" at one end of the shed. Blankets and sheets hang over the railings during the day.

PA has been restacking the fire through the night, sitting up about 3.30 a.m. to have a solitary smoke. At 5.30 his wife TA sits up, smoking her pipe and giving the fire the same attention, as it starts getting colder in the early morning. She then goes back to sleep. About 7.00 TA gets up and uses jabiru feathers (which have been fixed permanently open by heating the jointed end over a fire) to get the fire blazing again as she pushes the logs together and adds some others. By about 7.15 the members of the family are waking up. AK gets out of his grandparents' mosquito net and sits by the fire to warm himself. Young Ky hops up and joins him. MkA lies under his sheet and reads a magazine. MeA gets out from underneath her net and collects some water from the flour drum sitting on the "food bunk" (a length of corrugated sheet iron supported by lengths of wood driven into the ground) outside the shed.
She returns inside and puts a billy can of water onto the fire— to boil for tea. Young Ky walks over to her "grannie" (MM) and climbs onto her lap. MeA begins making a damper for the morning meal, putting handfuls of flour into a plastic dish, adding some baking powder ("soda"), a handful of powdered milk, and then water. Transferring the mixture onto a tea-towel laid on the ground in front of her, she kneads it into a circular shape. She presses the dough flat with the palms of her hands, then pushes aside the hot ashes of the fire with a stick. After placing the damper in the middle, she covers it totally with the ashes.

8.05 a.m. The whole family except for MkA sits down and has a meal of damper, tea, and jam. Everyone simply helps themselves.

8.25 a.m. MkA has remained on his blanket reading. TA, his mother, wraps up a piece of damper in a tea-towel telling AK to take it over to him. The young boy is reluctant. His grandmother calls out to him, "take it", itemizing the list of goods that he should carry over: "tea, sugar, milk, damper and jam". The young boy takes the food over to his mother's younger brother who accepts the food without comment. AK returns to the fire. TA is sitting by the fire smoking her pipe. MeA takes Ky her daughter, back to their mosquito net and hops under the blanket with her, commenting kuchira (WM-cold). She breastfeeds the child for a few minutes and plays with her, laughing and giggling under the blankets.

8.45 a.m. Ky gets back out from under her mother's mosquito net, and wanders outside the shed. SA has left the night-sleeping area and is sitting in another camp with
one of his age-grade "mates", a boy of about 11 years old. For the remaining part of the day that is spent at the outstation campsite, the family activities are centred on their "shade". This consists of a complex of trees and low shrubs with a cleared shady section, and is only a matter of about 3 metres away from the shed. In the "shade", the family members also have their own areas where they rest; an area where cooking is done during the day; and another where work is carried out on spears or string bags, or simply for talking and telling "stories". At one stage, the family shifted to this "shade" area and used it as their night-sleeping camp as well, after a death at the outstation required all families to "shift" from their usual locations. Generally, each day PA and his wife and children and grandchildren leave the outstation camp to walk downstream along the riverbank to an "old landing". These are river crossings used in the past when groups of people negotiated the river. At the landing TA fishes and PA, with his spear, walks along the riverbank and looks for stingray or else walks "inside" into the low scrub to hunt for wallaby. His sons may accompany him or remain and fish. The younger grandchildren stay around the "dinner camp" area at which the family has left their food and water, playing, fishing or sleeping. They may cook and eat some of the fish caught and later in the afternoon return to the outstation camp, cooking the remaining food for their night-time meal.

Today PA decides to take their tractor, with trailer attached, and travel to a beachside campsite about four kilometres to the south of the outstation. Together with his own family, his sister's adult daughter and the
latter's teenage children also accompany them, as well as a collection of dogs. MkA, the second eldest son, drives the tractor over the low sandy ridges which separate the outstation camp from the coast. Arriving at the line of fir trees which marks the foredune the tractor turns southwards and travels along the beach. The campsite at which they stop consists of a small group of "spear handle tree" (Hibiscus tileasus) on the foredune. The tractor stops and all aboard jump out and carry spears, guns, string bags, fishing lines, billys, water and the usual makings of a damper, up to the trees. Broken twigs, burrs, stones and pieces of shell are cleared away from a circular area under one of the trees. MeA walks off to collect firewood. Ky, her young daughter, cries out after her, wanting to go along. MeA calls out to her own mother to take the child while she collects the wood. Her own brothers and Ak, her eldest sister's son, have meanwhile taken their spears and walked back to the beach. MkA is walking along the water's edge looking for stingray. Ak and Sa pick stones up and throw them along the beach. Back at the "dinner camp" MeA has collected a large pile of wood and immediately starts a fire. Ky has fallen asleep on a towel spread on the sand under the "shade".

Pa takes his spear, woomera and shotgun and heads off inland. He walks past the small swamp area behind the foredune and makes his way onto a vast expanse of tall grass which stretches out across the plain for about four kilometres, at which point the timbered country begins. As Pa disappears from view his trail is marked by a line of fires
which he uses to flush out birds. The tall grassland, often marshy but now gradually drying out, is known as being an area of abundant birdlife.

At the "dinner camp" MeA goes down to the swamp and collects water in a billy and puts it onto the fire. She takes the tea-leaf, sugar and milk powder out of her mother's string bag and puts them next to the fire. Her younger brother MkA arrives back with a small stingray which he lays beside the fire as well.

1.40 p.m. PA returns to the campsite with two spoonbill birds, killed with the shotgun. He puts both of the birds straight onto the fire, then gets himself a cup of tea from the billy and sits down under the "shade".

2.00 p.m. PA cleans the singed feathers from the birds and has put the stingray onto the fire in the meanwhile. He cuts the birds open along the breastbone and cleans them out, flattening the birds out and then putting them back onto the fire. The two younger boys AK and SA have returned and pull branches down from the tree from which they commence making small spears. A little later PA takes the cooked stingray out of the fire and puts it onto some of the leaves that the boys have left by the fire for him.

2.35 p.m. The birds have been cooked and put onto another pile of leaves near to the fire. MeA makes more tea and puts a damper into the ashes of the fire. PA cuts a section of the bird meat off and hands it to his sister's daughter's children who take it across to their mother. He cuts a piece of meat for himself and sits down with it and his wife TA also cuts herself a piece. MeA helps herself
to some of the meat and cuts some off for her younger brother as well. She feeds her small daughter from pieces of her own portion. MkA comes in last and takes some meat. Each individual cuts their own damper and takes a cup of tea. PA has taken an old piece of bailer shell found nearby in the sand and takes some of the fat from the birds that he has kept aside. He puts it into the shell and places it on the fire until the fat bubbles into an orange coloured juice. Taking the shell off the fire he then proceeds to cut up pieces of his meat and dip it into the fat before eating it.

3.50 p.m. MeA and her daughter Ky sleep together under the "shade". Her brothers continue to work at making their small spears. Her mother, TA, is pulling off cooked strips of the stingray flesh, placing it onto a pile of leaves beside her. When she has a sizeable amount she pours water over it and then squeezes the mass of flesh until it is relatively dry. She repeats this leaching process a number of times, pressing as much water out as she can each time, until she has all of the flesh squeezed into three large round balls. She leaves them aside on the leaves. YN, the adult daughter of PA's sister, takes her own daughters down to the beach with their fishing handlines. She collects small crabs along the beach to use as bait. YN catches three catfish and one blue salmon, and her daughter catches five catfish. About five o'clock when the group has all gathered together again at the "shade", they collect their equipment and food and return to the trailer. TA carries the balls of dried stingray flesh wrapped up in leaves and tied with grass. When they return to their own family campsites at the outstation, the remaining food is eaten for
the night-time meal, together with another damper and fresh tea. YN cooks their fish for her own family and for her mother, adult widowed sister and the latter's children. Sometimes, when PA and his family head along the river to fish, they are not as successful and the family will simply have damper and tea for their night-time meal.

By and large, each family at the outstation follows a similar routine to that of PA and his family, though a family would not usually undertake such a tractor drive every day. Typically, a husband and wife would organize a combined fishing, hunting or gathering trip to a nearby location, taking their children along with them. Often they would have the midday meal out of the outstation camp at one of these "dinner camps", returning later in the afternoon, when travelling in the heat was easier. Any food that was caught was used to satisfy the family's own immediate needs and then distributed to close kin, or as often, if any remained, it was kept for the morning meal the following day.
Appendix E

Orthography used in the text

Given the present state of linguistic work among the Kugu-Nganychara, the following practical orthography has been used in line with that employed by J. von Sturmer (1978) and Sutton (1978):

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Vowels: Distinctive vowel length is shown by doubling:
- i, ii
- u, uu
- e, ee
- o, oo
- a, aa

Dialect/Language abbreviations used in the text

- WM - Wik-Mungkana
- Nn - Wik-Ngathana
- Ng - Kugu-Nganychara
- Ma - Kugu-Mangka
- Mu - Kugu-Mu'inh
- Mum - Kugu-Muminh
- Ug - Kugu-Ugbanh
- Uw - Kugu-Uwanh
- Iy - Wik Iiyanh
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RIGHTS IN NOTHING
THE SOCIAL RELATIONS OF CHILD-BEARING AND REARING AMONGST THE KUGA-NGANY-DHARA, WESTERN CAPE PENINSULA, AUSTRALIA
DIANE E. VON STURMER
VON STURMER
Diane E.

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