WALBIRI GRAPHIC ART AND SAND DRAWING: A STUDY IN THE
ICONOGRAPHY OF A CENTRAL AUSTRALIAN CULTURE

Thesis submitted for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Australian National University

by
Nancy D. Munn
October 1960
This study is based upon my own field research except where otherwise indicated.

Nancy D. Munn
FOREWORD

This study is based upon field work carried out amongst the Walbiri at Yuendumu Government Station in the Northern Territory from November 1956 to March 1957, and from June 1957 to January 1958; a brief period, August to September, 1956 was also spent amongst other Central Australian aborigines at the Bungalow near Alice Springs. This field work was made possible by a Fulbright grant which I held from 1955-1958, and was carried out under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology of the Australian National University. Grateful acknowledgement is also made to the American Association of University Women for a grant to complete the writing of this thesis.

The present study is a preliminary analysis of a few central problems in Walbiri graphic art. It is conceived as a 'trial analysis,' a tentative exploration of an intricate and richly elaborated iconography.

Central questions which are raised in this work are the interrelated ones of the internal structure of the graphic system, and the manner in which Walbiri graphs function as repositories of narrative 'story' meaning. The problem of developing a technical terminology to cope with these problems has been one of the major difficulties
besetting the analysis. The handful of terms which I have adopted, and which are explained in Chapter II, are not all equally satisfactory. The reader is asked to look upon them as first approximations.

Illustrations of Walbiri graphs accompanying the text are derived from three kinds of data:

1. Sand drawings: various kinds of explanatory graphs drawn by Walbiri in the sand during storytelling and general conversation, or to demonstrate certain graphs associated with ancestors. Illustrations of these drawings are taken from my notebook copies made at the time. The sand stories told by women (see below, pp. 30 ff.) were recorded in the following manner: initially, I concentrated upon learning the repertory of sand signs and their meanings; when I was familiar with the graphs, I concentrated upon recording the narratives, making notes only of those sand graphs which were especially interesting or novel.

Most of the stories were recounted to me in or near the Walbiri camps--particularly the women's camps--while women were sitting around in casual groups and indulging in their ordinary pursuits. There were few days at Yundumu when I did not listen to at least one of these stories, although I sometimes recorded only a detail of a sand drawing, or the basic incidents of a plot. About fifteen women were my best informants for these stories,
but I listened to the storytelling of many others.

2. Paper drawings. I supplied Walbiri with various sized papers, with pencil crayons, and (in the initial stages of my work) with charcoal and chalks. The pencil crayons worked out most satisfactorily: they particularly pleased Walbiri men, who liked working with sharp points and a range of colors.

The majority of the drawings by Walbiri adults are the work of the men. Women on the whole did not respond well to the pencil and paper medium. Although there were about fifteen to twenty men who were my most regular informants, the work of many others is represented. Much of the drawing was done in or near the men's camps or further out in the bush well away from the women. Often there were a few men working at the same time. I usually carried drawing materials with me each day, so that if the opportunity arose to obtain drawings, the materials were always at hand. When I did not have extra paper with me, Walbiri often drew in my notebooks.

3. Graphs painted during ritual, or observed on sacred boards and stones. Illustrations derived from these sources are from my photographs or sketches.

Each chapter in the main part of this work is accompanied by a set of illustrations placed at the end of the chapter. Most of the references to illustrations are contained within the chapter which they accompany, but
some drawings and charts are directly relevant to more than one aspect of the material, and it has been necessary to refer to them in other chapters as well.

While every attempt has been made to reproduce the graphs with reasonable fidelity to the originals, the limitations of the mimeograph medium, as well as those of space, must be taken into consideration. In general, the reproductions give the basic outlines of the originals. Shaded or darkened areas have not been indicated due to difficulties with the medium. Since I am concerned here with the basic, typical forms of graphs, rather than with qualitative features, reproductions in outline are quite adequate for purposes of the argument. Commentaries to each illustration are extensive, and I have not burdened them further with descriptions of the color patterning, since the colors used are not directly relevant to the study.

Certain Walbiri graphs have special associations with ancestors; these I have referred to (for reasons which will become apparent later) as 'Dreaming designs.' The analysis of these designs is based upon a collection of 237 such graphs belonging to both men and women. Comments in the text upon 'the collection' refer to this set of material.

With regard to my use of native terms: I have adopted the convention of capitalizing rather than underlining a
Walbiri term when I have treated it as a loanword in English; otherwise a term is underlined.

Many people have been of help to me in the course of this work. I am especially grateful to my advisor, Dr. W. E. H. Stanner, who in directing my research has continuously provided the appropriate mixture of criticism, encouragement and practical help. Special thanks is due to Dr. M. J. Meggitt for his generosity in making available to me unpublished data from his own research amongst the Walbiri; without his study of Walbiri social structure, I certainly could not have made this examination of Walbiri art.

Before my field work a number of people provided me with helpful preparatory materials. Amongst these were Dr. A. Capell who kindly made available to me his study of the Walbiri language; Mr. C. P. Mountford and Mr. N. B. Tindale who permitted me to examine unpublished aboriginal paper drawings in their collections.

Field work could not have been undertaken without the permission and cooperation of the Department of Territories, and the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration. I am particularly indebted to Mr. Marsh and Mr. McCarthy of the former department.

During my field work, so many people were of assistance to me that it is difficult to mention names. I shall have to limit myself to expressing special apprecia-
tion to the members of the community at Yuendumu, particularly to the Rev. and Mrs. T. Fleming of the Baptist mission, and to Mr. T. Wilson, assistant manager of the settlement during part of my stay. Without their good will and thoughtfulness camping at Yuendumu would have been very difficult. They helped me set up camp, provided dry quarters during one or two heavy rains which flooded me out, and rendered me many general services.

I am most grateful to Dr. R. L. Sharp for making it possible for me to be in residence at Cornell University during the writing of this thesis. I have been particularly fortunate in having his supervision and encouragement throughout this period.

To Dr. C. F. Hockett and Dr. M. Black I am indebted for suggestions contributed during the course of my writing. Dr. Black has been kind enough to help me clarify and change some of my semantic terms. Needless to say, responsibility for the final usages is wholly my own.

My most immediate debt is to the Walbiri themselves. They were my friends and patient teachers, and knowing them has immeasurably enriched my own experience. The illustrations in this study attest the skill and vitality of their imaginative productions.
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CHAPTER I
THE WALBIRI: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH

The social setting

The Walbiri are a people of the western desert region of Central Australia whose country originally extended from Stuart Bluff range on the south, west and north to Hooker's Creek and east to Central Mt. Stuart. This region varies in its richness, but is, in general, one of typical mulga, eucalypt and spinifex desert marked by rocky ranges and outcrops and low-lying hills. In this low rainfall area the main sources of surface water are the rockholes (and smaller seepages); in addition, Walbiri dig soaks in the sand of the dry creek beds.

The traditional Walbiri life was semi-nomadic. In the past the tribe (probably numbering about 1,000-1,200 people) was divided into four major subgroups, each ranging over a defined segment of Walbiri country. Each such country community (the social group occupying the region which Meggitt terms a "community country") included members of all subsections, who broke up into

1. A detailed study of Walbiri social organization has been made by Meggitt (1955a). In the brief ethno- graphic sketch which follows, I am reliant in part upon this study (as the references indicate) and in part upon my own research.
3. Ibid., p. 44.
larger or smaller bands according to the permissiveness of the season.

In the daily search for vegetable food and game these groups moved from waterhole to waterhole. A common pattern of movement appears to have been that of circling in a given, rather narrowly defined region, then occasionally swinging out over wider stretches of the community country, returning finally to the starting point. Thus, today, members of one community country may divide themselves according to the more narrowly defined sections of the country where they based themselves in the past. Groups linked with such regions were not, however, "patrilocal hordes," as they could include adult males united by various kinship ties and representing all subsections. The movements of these local groups overlapped, and they often met together at various important centers such as Mt. Doreen and Vaughan Springs in Ngalia Walbiri community country.

In Walbiri art and symbolism this semi-nomadic patterning of life—the movement from waterhole to waterhole—takes precedence as an organizing focus over other

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1. At its smallest the group which hunted and camped together could be a single family. A number of families moving together at any given time might be related by various kinship ties; i.e., the composition of the group was not patrilineally determined. The same pattern is reflected in Walbiri residence at Yuendumu station. See also Meggitt (1955a) pp. 84-85.
large scale rhythmic cycles such as that of the rainy and dry season. The small scale concomitant of this pattern—the daily departure from the camp for hunting and food gathering, and the nightly return to the camp—is also selected out for emphasis.

At the present time Walbiri are living at government and private stations primarily within or adjacent to their original country. Despite economic changes, and the shift to a semi-stabilized residence, they retain much of their traditional culture and social organization.

Yuendumu government station, where the research for this study was done, is a Walbiri reserve some 183 miles northwest of Alice Springs in a section of Ngalia Walbiri community country. Yuendumu is central to Mt. Doreen cattle station 40 miles to the west, Mt. Allen and Coniston stations to the east. With all these stations Walbiri at Yuendumu maintain close contacts.

In 1957 there were approximately 375 Walbiri who camped more or less regularly at Yuendumu. The majority of these belonged to the Ngalia Walbiri community country. The present study of Walbiri graphic art thus refers primarily to southern Walbiri, who have strong cultural affinities with the peoples to the south and east of them, the Bindubi, Bidjandjara and Aranda.

Except in unusually dry seasons, Walbiri at Yuendumu generally camp within a half mile radius of the
A Walbiri camp at Yuendumu. Bough shades flank the sides of the lean-to; a large billy for water hangs on the pole to the left.
government settlement, moving their camp sites frequently within this limited area. Shelter is of two kinds: the bough hut (commonly supplemented with sheets of tin and odd bits of burlap), or the corrugated iron 'lean-to.' Outside or flanking this shelter is a low semicircular windbreak—of boughs or corrugated iron—in front of which oval hollows mark the sleeping places of occupants.

Each such residence shelters a single or composite family: a man, his wife (or wives) and their young children. The family is ideally and normally polygynous; the typical polygynous family includes two wives. Several family camps will usually be clustered together, and the whole community is a loose aggregation of such nuclear groups. The actual constitution of each group often shifts as men commonly change their camping mates. A man might camp variously with a brother, brother's wife (or sister's husband), father, male cross cousin or other close (male) kin. There are no stringent residence rules, but a man cannot camp matrilocally because of avoidance with wife's mother.

One or more contiguous clusters of family camps includes a women's camp where widows and unmarried girls sleep, and a men's camp for unmarried initiated men (or visitors without their wives) and older boys.

The larger residential divisions of Yuendumu reflect the original Walbiri community countries. The
Ngalia Walbiri community is divided more specifically into Mt. Doreen, Mt. Allen(-Conistan) and Vaughan Springs. Ngalia whose camps are oriented in the direction of these segments of the larger community country.

Daily life at Yuendumu is marked by the traditional sharp division between men's and women's daily activities, and the realignment into family units in the evening. During the day women congregate at the women's camps within their own or a nearby locale. Here they nurse their children, gossip, prepare food, sleep and play an occasional game of cards. The sand stories discussed in more detail below are also told in these surroundings.

The focus of men's activities is the men's camps, or a shady spot in the bush outside the camps where men gather to gossip and play cards, or to prepare a ceremony. The contrast in atmosphere between men's and women's camps is marked. While the latter are usually hot and dusty, beset by numerous children and aboriginal dogs, the former are more or less free of such distractions and ordinarily placed, as well, in a bit of choice shade.

Hunting and food gathering has ceased to be the source of the staple diet; foraging activities are in large part restricted to weekends and holidays, and the Walbiri now depend primarily upon government rations.

When going hunting, men and women leave the camps
in small foraging groups; women may take with them the small children and girls; older boys generally go together or with the men. Women gather the wild fruits and vegetables, yams, honey ants and smaller game. Men track the larger game, such as kangaroos, wallabies and emus.

The traditional implements and weapons, and the various receptacles, have been supplemented (and in a few cases supplanted) by European introductions, but on the whole are still in daily use. The Walbiri water carrier, a high-sided oval wooden dish, and the shallower oval food scoops have been supplanted by the billy. The similarly shaped 'pitchi' (wooden carrier for children) is, however, still in use. A digging stick is employed for food gathering, and a heavier nulla nulla (or the digging stick) for fighting.

Hooked and curved (non-return) boomerangs, spears, spearthrowers and oval shields are used by men. A rifle occasionally supplements the boomerangs and spears in hunting. All of these items (except for digging sticks) are made by men, who control the tools and technical knowledge. None are ordinarily decorated except for ceremonial purposes, but they are grooved and rubbed with red ochre.

The Walbiri kinship system has Aranda type kinship terminology and eight subsections (preferred marriage
with a classificatory m.m.br's.d.d.). The accompanying diagram indicates the patterns of marriage and descent.

\[ \begin{align*}
A_1 & \quad \text{DJABANGARI} \quad \text{DJAMBI DJIMBA} \\
A_2 & \quad \text{DJABALDJARI} \quad \text{DJAGAMARA} \\
C_1 & \quad \text{DJANGALA} \quad \text{DJUNGAREI} \\
C_2 & \quad \text{DJUBURULU} \quad \text{DJABANANGGA}
\end{align*} \]

Capitals = males. \quad \text{==} = \text{marriage}

\rightarrow = (indirect matrilineal) subsection descent.

(The letter designations will be used in the text to indicate the subsections.)

Cult and conception totemism are distinguished, and a child's conception totem may be distinct from his patrilineal cult totem. Patrilineal and matrilineal groupings play a complementary part in the social organization, but the matrilineage functions as a group only sporadically; the patrilineage, on the other hand, is a regularly operative unit, continually expressed in men's ritual and cult organization.

On reaching puberty a boy is initiated into his father's patrilodge. A patrilodge consists of a single patrilineage within which rights over totems, their associated cult objects, designs and ceremonies are inherited. A man's sisters, although excluded from the patrilodge, are regarded as having co-rights over the totems for which their brothers are the ritual guardians.
Women are aware of the character of these lodges, and can usually list some of the members of the patriarchalodge to which their brothers belong. A woman also feels that she has special interests in her husband's patriarchalodge. At the same time, knowledge of the ceremonies and myths and other information controlled by the lodges is thought to belong rightfully to men; possession of this knowledge is an aspect of the masculine role, and women feel that it is not properly included in their own behavior.

For women there appears to be no regular initiation ceremony, although some women claim to have been specially painted at a women's ceremony just before or after marriage. In some instances women had attended ceremonies performed after the birth of their first child. But these customs do not seem to be regularly or universally practised at present, and many women know nothing about them. In general, women's entire ritual life is sporadic by comparison with men's.

Walbiri distinguish a number of different kinds of dramatic ceremonies connected with the (mythical) ancestors and the ancestral period. The basic types are:

1. In addition, Walbiri perform ceremonies connected with Djanba, a malicious spirit. According to Meggitt (1955b, p. 379) these are aimed primarily at instructing the young men in the dangers of the Djanba.
(1) Camp ceremonies (bulaba): ceremonies performed for general entertainment, attended by women and children, but prepared and danced by men. While women know the words of the songs sung at these functions, they often do not know the meanings, or the narrative entailed in the song cycles.

(1a) Dramatizations of various types which have different names according to the ceremony, and of which women may be permitted limited observation. Sometimes they may sit at a distance; in one instance they were permitted on the ceremonial ground during the performance but covered their heads during portions of the ceremony when secret symbols were displayed by the dancers.

Even at Bulaba women sit behind the men, so that they are further from the performers. Some limitation is always placed upon women when they are on or near the men's ceremonial grounds. Their total exclusion from men's ceremonies is simply the extreme form of a graded series of interdictions.

(2) Lodge ceremonies with general fertility and revelatory intent (banba): dramatizations which are wholly closed to women, and which are primarily concerned with the maintenance of fertility. Each ceremony is connected with a particular ancestor, and has the function of ensuring the supply of the totem species. Not all lodge ceremonies are specifically aimed at fertility but
most of them seem to be regarded as having this general effect.

Banba need not be performed at the sacred site, and commonly take place in the bush well outside the camps. There is no single dancing ground, or a dancing ground for each community, but different places may be chosen according to the location of the camps at the time.

The dramatizations fall into two basic patterns: in one, dancers crouch and shuffle in a cleared spot, the 'camp' of the ancestor; in the other, they dance towards the observers from a distance, 'following' the ancestral track.

(3) Initiation ceremonies (**guridji**): boys' circumcision ceremonies in which women play an active and complementary, but heavily restricted role. Guridji also include performances of lodge ceremonies.

(4) "Big Sunday" and associated **muliara** (young initiate) ceremonies connected with the Walbiri Gunabibi and with two ancestral heroes called Mamandabari.¹ The ceremonies are not stressed by Ngalia Walbiri, but distinctive Mamandabari and Muliara designs are available at Yuendumu.

(5) Men's love magic ceremonies (**ilbindji**): painting and singing with the aim of attracting women. Il-

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bindji may be practised by men in groups, by individuals, or by two men who paint each other. Some Ilbindji are simply song fests which take place in the men's camps after dark; the songs which are sung belong to a love magic cycle, but uninitiated boys are allowed to attend.

(6) Women's ceremonies (jauwalju): ceremonies from which men are excluded and which are performed wholly by women. All such performances, irrespective of their intent are called jauwalju, and the same basic stock of women's designs is used in decoration.

Two general types may be distinguished: those performed in conjunction with men's ceremonies, particularly Guridji,¹ and those performed independently—primarily as love magic— but having other aims as well. Women's love magic ceremonies include in this aim that of ensuring pregnancy and individual fertility; like Ilbindji they are performed to attract a lover of the right subsection. Some Jauwalju may also be revelatory: performed to demonstrate designs which a woman has newly dreamt. Others have curative functions.

Jauwalju which are a part of initiation ceremonies consist of body painting and singing, and sometimes a short dance at the completion of the 'painting up.' They

¹ According to Walbiri descriptions, women also perform separate but related Jauwalju in connection with a cycle of ceremonies (called manburba, 'spirit after death') which are specifically aimed at ensuring long life, procreative capacity and good health.
are set slightly apart from the main camps, or in a section of one of the camp areas, but not out in the bush. Children and uninitiated boys may attend some of the ceremonies, but the presence of the latter is disapproved. The main aim of these ceremonies is to aid the health and growth of the initiates.

The second type of Jauwalju are performed out in the bush, and the presence of children is not permitted. A central feature of these is the use of the fighting stick which is set up in a cleared space, and around which women dance after decorating each other. Such ceremonies may also sometimes include ritual fights.¹

Patrilineal cult totemism

Walbiri totems are numerous,² and may be any item in the environment—human as well as non-human, edible or inedible. All emerged from the ground during the ancestral period, 'The Dream Time' (djurgurba, dream, ancestors, ancestral period), and wandered around the country creat-

¹ The comments on this type of Jauwalju are drawn from women's descriptions. The ceremonies are not a regular feature of women's daily life at Yuendumu, and during the period of my stay none was, to my knowledge, performed. Repeated attempts later in my work to get women to dance these ceremonies out in the bush were not successful: women felt it was too hot (it was by this time summer), and occasionally commented that men might accuse them of performing love magic. During the same period men were almost constantly performing ceremonies of one type or another. Women's own ceremonial life during this time was thus limited primarily to rites performed separately but as an integral part of men's ceremonies.

² At Yuendumu I collected from men's drawings a list of more than 65 different totem phenomena and there are certainly more. Meggitt (1955a) counted over 150 totems for the Walbiri as a whole.
ing various topographical features as they moved along lengthy tracks or within a more narrowly defined locale. Rain, honey ant, fire, wild orange, large yam and variously named human beings all constitute classes of totemic beings. I will refer to members of these classes as 'Dreamings' when I am stressing their totemic, 'natural species' aspect, and as 'Dreaming ancestors' (or 'ancestors') when their ancestral (Dream Time) aspect and their function as 'persons' are uppermost.

A single patrilineal lodge generally controls a number of Dreamings which cluster in the same locale, or whose tracks intersect at a single site; but it lays emphasis upon the most important of these Dreamings. In some instances the less important ones appear as satellites of this central Dreaming; in others each is relatively independent in the mythology, although regionally linked.

Thus one Yuendumu rain lodge which has charge of the rain from Conistan to Yuendumu, also has charge of Jauwagi berry, certain snake and lizard Dreamings whose sites or tracks the rain crossed in this section of its journey; these—and the berry in particular—are often treated as satellites of the rain. Rain itself has partially absorbed lightning and rainbow Dreamings so that in large part they appear as components of the rain complex.

Dreamings are classified as belonging to one of the
four Father-Son couples of subsections. A Dreaming may be referred to, for example, as Djangala-Djambidjimba \((C^1_B^1)\), meaning that it belongs to this Father-Son subsection couple. All men of these subsections call it 'Father' and regard themselves as 'bosses' \((gira)\) for the Dreaming. They are, however, classificatory 'bosses,' since actual rights are focused in the patrilodge.

In a broader sense all men of the same patrimoieties (two subsection couples related as M.M.B.-Sr's D.Son) are 'bosses' for a Dreaming, while men of the opposite patrimoieties are 'working boys' \((gurupulu)\). This reciprocal relationship is expressed in lodge ceremonies where the Gurupulu make the ceremonial regalia and decorate the Gira dancers.

Within one segment of a community country may be found the tracks and sites of Dreamings belonging to lodges of different subsection couples and opposite patrimoieties. Such Dreamings may also intersect at the same site. Thus at Jurudjuruwanu, a site north of Yuendumu, lizard and kangaroo tracks belonging to subsections of the opposite patrimoieties are said to cross each other. Both subsection couples are regarded as 'bosses' for the site.

Individual Dreamings of the same species may each be linked with independent sites, sometimes having different subsection (and patrimoieties) affiliation. There are, for example, two big-yam sites in different segments of
Ngalia Walbiri community country which are in the charge of patrilodges of $A^1, D^2$ and $B^2, C^2$ men, respectively.

In instances of this kind, the given individual walked around at one site, or within a single locale and returned to the original camping spot. But the lengthy tracks of different Dreamings of the same species may also intersect each other at one site. These Dreamings generally have the same subsection affiliation within this region of the country.

A lengthy track running through a community country will be controlled by different patrilodges of men along adjacent segments of the route. Ordinarily, these lodges belong to the same subsection couple. When a track passes into another country, however, changes of subsection affiliation are not uncommon.

**Designs and design ownership**

Each Dreaming is associated with one or more graphic designs (*guruwari*) which stand as surrogates for it. In addition to Guruwari, Walbiri distinguish two other more specialized classes of designs: *ilbindji* (love magic designs controlled by men), and *jauwalju* (all designs controlled by women).

(1) **Guruwari.** In its narrow use the term *guruwari* is applied to all Dreaming designs over which initiated men have rights except love magic designs. Most Guruwari are wholly closed to women, but degrees of secrecy--
Preparations for a Banba fertility ceremony. Dancers are decorated with fluff, and wear hair string and mulga headdresses. The simple design of crossed lines outlined on their backs signifies the paths of the Dreaming (see Chart I).
measured by spatial proximity—are allowed. The term may be applied in an extended sense to Dreaming designs generally (i.e., including Ilbindji and Jauwalju).

Guruwari may be placed on a range of different mediums. With one exception (that of sand drawing) the creation of designs is always ritualized; the mediums are part of ceremonial contexts, or are inherently sacra. There is no strictly decorative use of the designs (without their Dreaming references) in secular contexts.

(a) Body painting with red and yellow ochres, a paste from a white stone and charcoal on a grease base.

(a') Body decorations in red (ochred) and white bird or vegetable fluff attached with blood to the body and face. (The more intricate and specific designs do not ordinarily occur in this medium: the simpler forms of standard types of figures are usually employed. All such patterned markings, however simple and generalized, are referred to as guruwari.)

(b) Ground painting in red and white fluff with blood used as an adhesive. (Unlike fluff decorations on the body, the designs which appear in ground painting may be intricate.)

(b') In secular contexts designs may be demonstrated by being drawn in a cleared and smoothed sand space. Sand drawing is not ritualized, but when the designs are secret women may not, of course, be present.
(c) Board painting and incising. Walbiri distinguish a variety of sacred token boards of different sizes and shapes (including bullroarers). Designs may be painted on these with ochres, or incised and then rubbed with red ochre. In addition to the boards, designs are incised on oval sacred stones.

Boards and stones are kept at sacred sites or hidden in the bush. A man who has attained full social status has his own collection of (incised) boards over which he has rights of disposal.

(d) Painting of weapons (in ritual contexts only). Shields are commonly decorated for lodge and initiation ceremonies; the painting of boomerangs is somewhat less common.

(e) Fluff decorations on ceremonial head-dresses and poles. These objects are destroyed after the ceremony so that they do not serve as permanent mediums.

1. These boards are variously named, but in some cases are difficult to distinguish. In addition to the list given by Meggitt (1955a), pp. 322 ff., Walbiri at Yuendumu stressed the Julguruguru, an oval concave board (on which designs may be painted) having special associations with women's functions. An undecorated Julguruguru is used by women to rub the boy at initiation ceremonies to ensure health and growth. Mention of "Julguruguru" women associated with women's Jauwalju amongst the northern Waneiga (Walbiri) is made by Berndt (1950) p. 44. Some women at Yuendumu explained that ancestral Julguruguru women had close ties with the fire-charcoal women who are represented in Jauwalju designs at Yuendumu. Women draw a few other general links between Julguruguru women and Jauwalju designs but have little knowledge of an associated mythology.
(f) Painting of head bands primarily for personal decoration during camp Bulaba.

In addition to these mediums Guruwari appear in caves at the Dreaming sites where they may be retouched, but are not at present added to or changed. The available permanent mediums are thus the boards and stones. From the point of view of the design system as such, the most important mediums are these permanent ones, the shields and the ground, in that these give the most latitude for the development of unified spatial arrangements. As we shall see, sand drawing occupies a special place in the graphic art as a whole.

Walbiri generally distinguish a number of individual, self-contained Guruwari designs for any one Dreaming. Dreamings vary in the number of designs readily available, a variation which is not necessarily relative to the importance of the Dreaming. Thus both rain and the two kangaroos are important at Yuendumu, but for the former quite a number of individual designs can be obtained, while for the latter only three or four basic configurations are available.

Walbiri recognize these differences in the number of designs, and on questioning may proffer ad hoc explanations. Thus two informants suggested that perhaps the difference in the number of distinctive rain and kangaroo designs could be attributed to the greater prolificacy
of the rain Dreaming as it went along 'putting' its marks all around.

While the designs belonging to a single Dreaming may be associated with different sites or site segments, more than one design may also be linked with one site. Walbiri call these designs 'Two Fires' (daradjara); by this they mean that the ancestor slept more than once at the site, creating different designs in each 'sleep.' (There may actually be more than two designs involved.) Daradjara are generally used on different mediums (for example, on shields or on the ground) at the same ceremony. Designs are not, however, necessarily restricted to one medium or another. There are many designs that Walbiri regard as applicable to more than one medium.

In addition to Daradjara, and to designs which are related to different parts of a track, a Dreaming may occasionally have Guruwari which are thought to refer to the track as a whole.

The sense in which designs for each Dreaming (or each species) are distinctive, and the sense in which they conform to types of graphic figures applicable to all or many Dreamings is part of the larger problem of the internal structure of the graphic system. It is considered in the main portion of this study.

Generally speaking, typical designs belonging to different Dreamings of the same patrilodge do not share
definitive graphic features marking them off as a group from those of any other patrilodge. Nor are subsection and moiety divisions reflected by contrasts within the graphic system. There are no alignments of particular kinds of graphic figures which mirror alignments in the social organization.

The distinctive forms taken by designs can best be understood in terms of the individual Dreamings to which they refer. Thus certain fire, yam and honey ant Dreamings are controlled by one patrilodge of A, B men at Yuendumu. They have no special mythological links except for their regional association, and each has its typical set of Guruwari. What these designs share in graphic features they also share with designs of other Dreamings belonging to different patrilodges; their graphic differences mark differences in species or class identity (fire vs. yam vs. honey ant).

The stock of lodge Guruwari for a Dreaming may be augmented by designs associated with Bulaba (camp ceremonies), which need not be in the hands of the lodge to which the Dreaming belongs. Bulaba designs (and the songs) are often traced to the dreams of individual men who can be of the opposite patrimoieties to the Dreaming. These designs belong to the dreamer and his patrilodge.

(2) Ilbindji. Ilbindji are men's designs which have the specific purpose of attracting a lover. It is usually
emphasized that they are painted only to attract persons of the right (marriageable) subsection. Attraction of a lover has the coordinate aim of procreation.

Ilbindji often refer to special Ilbindji Dreaming tracks. Thus Walbiri distinguish an emu Ilbindji track which runs north of Yuendumu from the important emus who travelled to Rogari cave west of Yuendumu. Some types of phenomena are favored as love Dreamings: emus, fire and various kinds of birds seem to fall into this category, but any kind of phenomena may have associated Ilbindji. The designs may also refer to regular Dreaming tracks. There is a honey ant Ilbindji connected with a site called Julumu as well as regular honey ant Guruwari linked with this important place. Ilbindji may be painted on the body, or incised on boards.

Belonging to the same general category as Ilbindji, and not sharply distinguished from them are designs called japaridji and mapuru which are associated with certain Dream Time women. These designs have functions in addition to that of attracting a lover. Thus Jangaridji are aimed in part at 'keeping' one's wife and may be painted for this purpose by a man on his wife. They are distinguished from designs which are given by a man into his wife's charge (i.e., for her to paint herself). Manguru have additional functions related to sexual cleanliness and procreation, and may also be painted on a woman by her husband.
In the present study, the discussion of men's designs refers to the larger and more general category of Guruwari except where otherwise noted. In terms of underlying graphic structure Ilbindji do not diverge from the rest of the system. In addition, while there are some individual designs which are rather characteristic of Ilbindji, there are others which cannot on the surface be distinguished from typical Guruwari.

(c) Jauwalju. Jauwalju are designs over which women exercise rights, but which refer to the same Dreamings as do men's designs. There are no distinctive Jauwalju tracks. Little secrecy is attached to the designs themselves, which may be seen by married men, and by young children of both sexes, and which may be painted on children and girls as well as married women.

The designs are painted on the body with red ochre, charcoal and a white paste made from a friable stone. Decorations are applied to the breasts and across the shoulders; to the upper arms, stomach and thighs. The whole of the back is not painted, but a few designs extend over the shoulders and across the top of the back. No other mediums are in use, and women possess no permanent mediums. Jauwalju may be demonstrated in the sand or on the body; they are also occasionally painted in play.

Rights over Jauwalju are centered in individual women who claim to have dreamt the designs and regard them as their own property. A dreamer in turn extends co-ownership to her own sisters and co-wives, and to her sisters-in-law (husband's sisters and brothers' wives, who are usually classificatory m.m.br.da.da. to the dreamer). These women regard themselves as the bosses for the Jauwalju, while their daughters are subsidiary bosses. At a Jauwalju ceremony sisters-in-law (mandiriulanu) should paint each other, and the same reciprocal relationship obtains between cross-cousins (djugalagu). In practice this rule is not rigorously applied.

Ideally, designs are inherited in the matriline. In fact, they do not appear to be transmitted beyond the first descending generation. The majority of the designs in common use at Yuendumu were said to have been dreamt by living persons, and to be (in Walbiri eyes) 'new' designs. Older women sometimes remarked that they had forgotten designs belonging to their mothers.

Women emphasize that the husband of the dreamer is an important (as it were 'honorary') 'boss' for the Jauwalju. After a dream a woman is expected to reveal her new designs to her husband as well as to her co-wives. Not uncommonly a man dreams a Jauwalju, which he then teaches to his wives. Ideally his senior wife assumes primary control, and she is expected to transmit the Jauwalju to the other bosses.
A child being painted with women's Jauwalju designs. The painting is believed to aid in the growth of the child.
A set of possum designs in use during my stay at Yuendumu had been dreamt by a G^2 man amongst whose patrilodge Dreamings the possum figured. His senior wife was in charge of the designs. Both emphasized that these Jauwalju referred to the same possum Dreaming as that for which the husband was a 'boss.'

In addition, a man will teach to his wives certain designs already available in his patrilodge with which to paint themselves at initiation ceremonies, or for the decoration of young children. These designs are also called jauwalju. Designs are thus channeled from men to women, but do not move in the opposite direction.

Dreamers are ordinarily older women of some prestige in the community. While a woman usually dreams Jauwalju referable to her own patrimoioety Dreamings, this is not always the case; occasionally a woman lays claim to a design for an opposite patrimoioety Dreaming which comes within her community country.

Several designs related to one Dreaming are commonly ascribed to a single dream. They may include more than one design for each part of the body in addition to designs for different body parts. The whole set is linked with the segment of the community country through which the Dreaming track runs or where the site is located. It is this general community reference which women usually emphasize, rather than the more specific, named
places within the country which are a part of the track, or the Dreaming locale.

Thus a set of rain \((c^1, B^1)\) designs had been dreamt by a \(c^1\) woman of the Mt. Doreen Ngalia country whose brothers were members of the Mt. Doreen rain lodge. These Jauwalju were linked with this subdivision of Ngalia country, and were being stressed by a group of \((c^1, d^1)\) Mt. Doreen women.

More than one woman may claim Jauwalju of the same Dreaming. For example, at least four sets of Jauwagi berry \((c^1, B^1\) and \(C^2, B^2)\) designs were available at Yuendumu. Two of these had been dreamt by \(c^2\) women; one had been taught to a \(d^2\) woman by her \(C^2\) husband. These designs all had the same community reference, but each woman held them as her own individual property. The fourth had been brought down to the Walbiri by a Junmadjeri\(^1\) woman, and belonged to a congaberry in this woman's country.

Five species of Dreamings were emphasized in Jauwalju at Yuendumu: rain, Jauwagi berry, Managidji (a black berry), honey ant, possum and charcoal (fire). While designs for a number of other phenomena were available, women did not feel that all species need have Jauwalju representation. Some women were of the opinion that certain Dreamings were a little too dangerous to

1. The people to the northeast of the Walbiri, with whom the latter share a number of Dreaming sites. Walbiri look upon them as 'close up' Walbiri.
have associated Jauwalju; they could be represented only in men's designs. On the other hand, no Dreaming can be without Guruwari, since the latter is, as it were, an essential characteristic.

In fact, the actual number of available Jauwalju would appear to be far below that available for men's designs. This is in keeping not only with the limited number of Dreamings represented, but also with other features: the comparative paucity of mediums (and in particular, the lack of permanent mediums); women's irregular performance of rituals; the fact that Jauwalju are not in the charge of corporate descent groups. These features in turn may be seen as aspects of the over-all patterning of sex roles with their extreme emphasis upon male dominance and female subordination.

All of the designs which have been discussed share two fundamental characteristics: (1) Walbiri link them in a special way with dreams, and (2) describe them as wiri (strong, powerful, important).

The standard explanation given for the origin of designs is their observation in dreams--either the dreams of ancestors, or those of contemporary Walbiri. Lodge Guruwari are always ascribed to the 'sleep' (puna) of the ancestor. Bulaba Guruwari, which are less valued, are still being dreamt by contemporary Walbiri. In the case of Jauwalju, however, contemporary dreaming is favored.
Both men and women distinguish between seeing 'old' (njuruwanu) and 'new' (djalaqwanu) designs in personal dreams. It is not uncommon for a man to claim to have seen 'old' designs in his sleep. Design yielding dreams take stereotypic forms and are revealed by the ancestors or by the conception spirit (gurwalba), who acts as a kind of proxy for the ancestors.

Although designs differ extensively in actual importance, all may be described as wiri in the sense of 'efficacious.' The strength of the designs derives from their intrinsic association with Djugurba, and is actualized in ritual contexts. These contexts may consist simply of singing and painting or they may include dramatizations, and involve large scale ceremonial cycles such as the lengthy initiation ceremony. It is the painting of the designs in these ritual contexts which yields the right effect.

The particular kind of effect attributed to a design varies. In general, each class of designs has different complementary functions integrated around the theme of life maintenance. These are briefly outlined

1. A small creature said to resemble a baby, which sits on the trees at Dreaming sites. Guruwalba are usually described as the agents who inject the ancestor's fertility powers into a woman, and cause pregnancy. Women's conception spirits are called jinawuru, but women claim that this spirit does not differ from the Guruwalba.  
2. Designs which belong to malicious bush spirits such as the Djanba, and other malevolent Dream Time persons (who are not totemic ancestors and for whom no Banba
in the accompanying table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GURUWARI / Bulaba</th>
<th>ILBINDJI</th>
<th>JAUWALJU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General good health,* pleasure and well being</td>
<td>Attraction of a lover (of the right subsection for marriage) and assurance of procreation. (Maintenance of life through marital and sexual relationships. Promotion of fertility within the conjugal family.)</td>
<td>'Keeping' one's wife Sexual cleanliness of wife. Painted on children to aid in growth, and on young girls to aid growth of breasts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Maintenance of life as a whole. (Maintenance of life over time as expressed in the continuity of the patriline and in the continual replenishment of all Dreaming species.)*

*In addition, actual curative functions may be ascribed to the painting of Jauwalju; a man may occasionally paint himself with Guruwari as protection during a fight.*

Sand drawing and 'sand stories'

Despite the absence of decoration on any permanent, secular mediums Walbiri graphic expression is not limited to ritual contexts. Secular art centers in sand drawing.

The areas of bare sand characteristic of Central Australia provide a natural drawing board permanently at fertility ceremonies are performed) may be used for their lethal effects. No special name seems to be applied to these designs as a class, but they are peripheral to the basic 'Dreaming' complex which centers on life maintenance and on the ties between the Walbiri people and their country.
hand. Since any continuous conversation is generally carried on by persons sitting on the ground, marking the sand readily becomes a supplement to verbal expression.

Walbiri often contrast their own mode of life with that of the white Australian's by remarking with pride, "We [Walbiri] live on the ground" (waljanga galiba njina, ground-on we sit). They regard sand drawing as part of this valued mode of life, and as a characteristic aspect of their style of expression and communication. To accompany one's speech with explanatory sand markings is to 'talk' in the Walbiri manner.

The activity of sand drawing has been elaborated in various directions. Standardized graphs may be brought into play--traced in a smoothed bed of sand--and a characteristic drawing technique is employed. An initial scanning of the sorts of purposive behavior within which sand drawing occurs yields the following broadly defined list:

(1) The imitation of track prints (foot or foot and tail marks) in play.

(2) General conversation including explanations of journeys and the location of geographical places, and descriptions of characteristic features of natural phenomena.

(3) Storytelling: narratives about The Dream Time and daily life.
(4) Listing: line notations of a series of items or persons; i.e., 'counts.'

(5) Demonstration of Dreaming designs.

Except for track print imitations, which are commonly made by special hand impressions (see below, Fig. 1), the basic sand drawing technique involves use of the tips of the index and middle fingers crossed to give a light support. This basic position may be elaborated, and at times all the fingers used at once leaving a tracing of parallel lines in the sand. Women employ the richest variety of hand positions, drawing at times with the palm, back or side of the hand; with the fingers spread; or the unused fingers held in various attractive, stylized positions. Children tend to draw with the simple 'index cross,' or with one (index or middle) finger. Ordinarily only one hand is used at a time in sand drawing; for men this is almost invariably the right hand, but women may use either hand depending on which one is free.

Women have elaborated the art of sand drawing in storytelling. A space of about one to two feet in diameter is smoothed in the sand; the stubble is removed and small stones plucked out. The process of narration consists of a rhythmic interplay of verbal and visual elements, combining sand signs, gesture signs and a sing-song verbal patter. The vocal accompaniment may sometimes drop to a minimum; the basic meaning is then carried by
the combination of gestural and graphic signs. The gesture signs are intricate and specific, and can substitute quite adequately for the verbal patter.

Both men and women emphasize that only women tell such stories, although men are familiar with them. They are specifically linked with the female role. The social context in which these stories are told is the casual, informal life of the camp, unhedged about by secrecy or ritual sanctions.

The women's camps are a common location for the storytelling. An average group at one of these camps might consist of anywhere from three to ten women with their small children and numerous camp dogs. Even in the hottest weather the women tend to sit close together; without changing her position, or making any special announcement, a woman may begin to tell a sand story. Usually an audience gathers around her, but at other times women (particularly older women) tell stories to themselves, intoning wordlessly as they gesture and mark the sand. Ordinarily, however, a few individuals in the group will cluster around the narrator, leaving whenever they wish regardless of whether the story is finished or not. The narrator herself may at any time break off the story and go to perform some chore, or even go to sleep in the process of narration.

There were few married women at Yuendumu who did not
have at their command a number of such stories, and who could not recount them with fluidity, expressiveness and a skilled use of the sand graphs and gesture signs. Each woman has a fund of her own stories which she may have learned from any close female kin or from her husband. Occasionally stories are personally dreamed. It is generally held that such tales should be transmitted in the matriline, but there are no specific rights over sand stories, and a woman may have in her repertory narratives derived from a variety of kin.

There is evidence that the sand story, or variants of it, is found amongst the peoples to the south and east of the Walbiri, but it is apparently not practised by northern Walbiri women. The basic types of graphic figures which emerge in the storytelling are, however, common to Walbiri generally, and would seem to have a wide distribution in the desert area, extending at least as far south as the Warburton ranges.

1. Mervyn Meggitt has suggested to me in conversation that Walbiri women at Hooker's Creek did not tell stories in this manner. According to my own observations women of the Aranda and other Central Australian tribes of the Bungalow reservation (Alice Springs) tell stories similar in method and content to Walbiri tales. T. G. Strehlow in a personal communication (1958) remarks with reference to the Aranda: "... there were a number of stories, probably traditional, during whose telling girls drew figures in smoothed sand to illustrate the action of the tale. ..." Basedow (1929) describes sand storytelling (by men) in which marks are drawn with a stick. A storytelling game involving the use of leaves combined with sand drawing is described in Strehlow (1913), pp. 6, 7.

2. See, for example, Mountford (1939). Paper draw-
Yuendumu Jauwalju designs also appear to be of a different type from those of the northern women. Since there is a close association between Jauwalju and sand stories (see below, Chapter V), it is possible that the two elements constitute a central and southern desert trait complex. Any conclusions in this matter, however, must await further investigation.

ings collected by this author from Bidjandjara women in 1940 show the same kinds of graphs with similar general meanings.
CHAPTER II
WALBIRI ICONOGRAPHY:
INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS

As was suggested in the previous chapter, there is available in Walbiri culture a fund of graphic signs which are utilized in both ritual and secular contexts. This sign system—for as I hope to show, it is essentially a coherent system—is the subject of the present study, an exploratory analysis of Walbiri iconography.

Three aspects of the iconography are considered: the graphic signs (or as I have called them for brevity, the graphs) which appear in the system, and the kinds and range of explicit meanings applied to them; the activities in which the graphs are embedded; Walbiri theory of graphic signs as formulated in their conception of the nature and origin of Dreaming designs. My aim is to consider certain critical features of Walbiri iconography in these terms, rather than to formulate a more detailed analysis of one aspect of the system.

With some few exceptions all standardized graphs in the Walbiri repertory exhibit the same, characteristic structure. This structure is of the 'building-block' type. A graph consists of one or more discrete, irreducible elements such as a circle, line or arc. These
elements are combined into standardized arrangements of varying complexity. I shall call such ultimate constituents strokes.¹

The specific meaning of a stroke is the particular item or items of meaning for which it stands in any given context. In one context, for example, a circle may specify the camp of a kangaroo; in another the camp of a rain ancestor; or it may specify in one instance a waterhole; in another, a hill. The present study attempts to outline the basic kinds of strokes in use and some aspects of their meaning ranges in different segments of the graphic system, but a more rigorous analysis of the stroke system is not intended.

I shall call a unitary combination of two or more strokes a figure. This term is used to cover combinations of varying levels of complexity. A figure which consists only of repetitions of the same kind of stroke, I distinguish as a stroke replicate figure (or, for brevity, stroke replicates). Figures which include strokes of different kinds may of course also include a repetition of one of the strokes: for example, a unit combination of a number of U strokes grouped about a circle. In figures of this sort, however, the basic combination consists of the circle and U.

¹ I am indebted to Dr. Hockett for suggesting the adoption of this term from Chinese calligraphy.
Certain kinds of strokes seem to appear only in replicate form; these are primarily dashes and small-circle clusters. For present purposes, however, it is more convenient to refer to them simply as figures, rather than as some special kind of complex stroke.

A typical pattern of stroke selection and arrangement characterized by an element of general meaning I shall call a figure type. A figure may be said to represent or belong to a given figure type. The specific meaning of a particular type of figure may vary from one context to the next, but the general meaning is common to the range of the specific meanings; hence, it characterizes the type.

To take a simple example: the circle-line figures discussed in Chapter III may in one context specify the camp site (0) and path (/) of a rain ancestor; in another, the camp site and path of a kangaroo ancestor; in still a third, that of a contemporary Walbiri, etc. The common denominator of these specific meanings is the general '(camp) site-path' meaning. In one segment of the graphic system there is a regular association between this type of graphic figure and this general meaning.

Figure types may be identified in different segments or subsystems of the larger graphic system—for example, in men's Guruwari designs, or in women's sand stories. Some of these are distributed throughout the system; others are elaborated primarily within one subsystem. In
this study I have attempted to isolate a stock of what appear to be the most pervasive and commonly represented figure types. These types have been broadly defined, and within the general classifications there is extensive internal variation.

An important feature of the Walbiri graphic system is its narrative function. As we shall see, graphs are vehicles of narrative 'story' situations. We may say that the specific meaning of a stroke is embedded in a narrative or situational context. For example: A figure consisting of a \( U \) stroke with a circle in front of it might specify in one instance, 'man sitting (\( U \)) - waterhole (\( O \))'. This specific meaning may be embedded in a narrative situation such as 'a man who has just come from a distant country drinks the water as he sits exhausted by the waterhole.' I shall say that a graph connotes a larger narrative situation (or aspects of it).

Situations referable to The Dream Time period and covered by the term djurgurma constitute one broad class of such contexts. The situations of traditional narrative connotated by Dreaming designs all belong to this Djurgurma universe of discourse.\(^1\)

The specific meanings and connotations of a partic-

\(^1\) All traditional Walbiri narrative refers to The Dream Time. While distinctions between different kinds of Dream Time narrative are drawn in the course of the discussion, terms like 'myth,' 'folktale' and other similar categorizations have been avoided since they do not implement the argument.
ular type of figure vary according to the specific situational context. The characteristic kind of situation to which figures of one type are regularly applied, I shall refer to as the general situation connoted by the type. For example, the circle-line figures previously mentioned have the general meaning 'site-path' and connote, as is suggested in Chapter III, situations involving journeying from place to place, or around a single place; resting at a place and moving on again, etc. The general situation connoted by this figure type may be summed up as 'locale and journey'.

The term signify is used in this study as a cover term to refer to any aspect of the sense or narrative meaning of a graph. The signification of a graph includes its specific, general and connotative meanings (as defined here). Since a graph also constitutes a pictorial rendering of a story situation, it is useful, in discussing the explicit meanings of Walbiri graphs, to employ depict as an additional general cover term. This broad use of the term is intended in a nontechnical sense.

From a theoretical viewpoint, however, a distinction can be drawn between the pictorial-descriptive and narrative aspects of a graphic sign. In this narrower, more technical sense, a graph 'depicts' only those items of meaning which it directly specifies; the pictorial aspect of a graph is the element of iconicity patterning the relation between the graph and these specific meanings. On the one hand, a graph tells a story, connotes a narrative situation. On the other hand, it images, or
provides an expressive graphic equivalent for some particular item or items in the visual world. A meander line in the Walbiri graphic system, for example, can provide the schematic equivalent for a snake since, in the terms of the system, it is an expressive formulation of the sinuous shape of the creature, and of the print it makes in the sand. The stroke may also connote a narrative situation such as 'the snake went slithering along into a camp and bit a man.' During the actual storytelling or narrative process a meander stroke could, in fact, be drawn in the sand as part of the means of narrating the story situation—as a narrative device.

For the most part this analysis is focused upon problems more directly related to the narrative aspect of the graphs than to their descriptive-pictorial aspect. Chapter VII gives more explicit attention to the descriptive aspect.

The terms 'figure' and 'stroke' are used here to refer to elements in the internal structure of the graphic system. It is also necessary, however, to distinguish between graphs in terms of different levels or modes of cultural significance and value. In this study, the term design is reserved for graphs which Walbiri regard

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1. My distinction between the descriptive and narrative aspects is similar to that made by Panofsky (1939), pp. 5 ff., between the "factual," "expressional meaning," and the "conventional [story] meaning" of a work of art.
as having a special kind of importance derived from intrinsic ties with the ancestors. This importance is expressed in the ascription of Dreaming 'strength' to the graphs, and in the varying degrees of secrecy which are attached to them.

The intrinsic relation between a design and an ancestor is epitomized in the concept of the dream origin of the design. In Walbiri theory it is this tie which ultimately explains the capacity of a design to stand as a surrogate for an ancestor. As will become clearer subsequently, Walbiri regard designs as one of the means through which the identity of the ancestor is maintained over time.

In this sense, a design is a kind of 'proper name' for an ancestor. As is suggested in Chapter V, this expression does, in fact, reflect certain aspects of the Walbiri's own view. To designate the relationship then, I shall say that a design names (is a proper name of) an ancestor. The term as used here is intended to cover the complex association between a design and an ancestor which includes both the capacity of the design to stand as surrogate for the ancestor, and the Walbiri presupposition of intrinsic ties which supports this capacity.

Graphs of this type have special or ultimate value. The ordinary notations used in storytelling or in general discourse, on the other hand (such as the standard sand
story graphs), are distinguished from designs in that they are not regarded by Walbiri as possessing these special properties. In the terminology adopted here, they do not 'name' ancestors.

It is useful to have cover terms to distinguish these two modes of cultural significance and value. Since there is no clear way of marking this distinction, I shall use the terms intensive and non-intensive modes. Signs in which special strength and value inhere and which name an ancestor are in the intensive mode; signs which do not possess these cultural properties are in the non-intensive mode. It will not be necessary in the present study to make wide use of these cover terms, since for most purposes the more specific 'design' and 'graphic notation' can be used to imply the distinction. It is useful, however, in defining aspects of the over-all pattern of the system to have a label which sums up the categorical distinction between the two cultural modes.

From the present point of view then, a design is the intensive mode of a graph. A particular type of figure can, as we shall see, occur in either the intensive or non-intensive modes—either in designs or in graphic notations. By a single design I mean any unitary graph identified by a Walbiri informant as amongst the Guruwari, Ilbindji or Jauwalju of an ancestor, or which has been observed in social contexts or on mediums reserved for
such signs (in ceremonial painting, or on sacred boards and stones).

Men and women control different segments of the graphic system and elaborate the graphic art somewhat differently. Certain comparative features of these two major subsystems constitute one of the pivots of the analysis.

Two types of graphs elaborated primarily by men are considered in Chapter III. They are examined with reference to the typical situational contexts to which they are applied; their narrative use in the activity of sand drawing; the modes of their occurrence; their special position in Walbiri ideology concerning the nature of Dreaming designs. Chapter IV centers on the description of typical graphs which occur in women's sand storytelling, and the examination refers to similar aspects. Both chapters are concerned in large part with the identification and description of the basic kinds of strokes and major figure types appearing in the system.

In Chapter V, the narrative use of graphs in storytelling activity and the general narrative function of the graphic system are related to a larger cultural pattern of graphic use and function. The feature of the system upon which the discussion centers is the close linkage of graphic with verbal expression in both the intensive and non-intensive modes of the graphic system,
and in both men's and women's subsystems. This chapter also fills out the consideration of Walbiri sign theory introduced in Chapter III.

Chapter VI returns to the problem of narrative situations through a description of the typical content of different kinds of Dream Time narrative. Certain key differences in men's and women's narratives are related to differences in the complexity of the meanings focused by men's and women's designs.

Chapter VII, which gives more latitude to the descriptive aspect of the system, is planned as a kind of counterbalance to Chapter III: it suggests how the circle-line (site-path) type figures described in Chapter III can be graphically adapted to picture a variety of different phenomena while still retaining their standard 'locale and journey' connotation. While Chapter III highlights a figure type which is widely applied throughout men's designs, Chapter VII raises problems of design differentiation and contrast. This chapter also fills out the consideration of strokes and figure types begun in Chapters III and IV.
Glossary

Connote - See 'situation.'

Design - Any graph which can be referred to as guruwari, ilbindji or jauwalju; i.e., any graph which names an ancestor. The intensive mode of a graph.

Figure - A unitary combination of two or more strokes.

Figure type - A typical pattern of stroke selection and arrangement characterized by an element of general meaning. Figures may be classified as belonging to or representing a given figure type.

General meaning - The element of meaning common to the specific meanings of figures of one type. The meaning of a figure type.

Graph; graphic sign - Cover terms for any kind of graphic unit in the system. All standard Walbiri graphs have signification.

Intensive, non-intensive cultural modes - Modes of cultural significance and value. Signs in the intensive mode have ultimate value and, according to the cultural definition, are intrinsically linked with the ancestors. Signs which do not possess these cultural properties are in the non-intensive mode.

Name (proper name) - A graph is said to name an ancestor when it stands as a surrogate for him--as a means
of maintaining his identity over time. In Walbiri theory, this relationship presupposes intrinsic ties with the ancestor. The term 'name' is used to label this entire association.

**Signify; signification** - Cover terms for any of the meaning relations discussed in the text. In general, the sense or meaning of a graph.

**Situation; situational context** - The narrative 'story' contexts in which the specific meaning of a graph is embedded. A graph is said to connote a narrative situation (or aspects of it). A specific situation is the particular narrative context involved in any given instance. A general situation is the characteristic situation to which figures of one type are regularly applied; hence, the situation connotated by the type.

**Specific meaning** - The particular item or items of meaning to which a stroke applies in any given instance.

**Stroke** - The ultimate constituents of the graphs. The discrete, irreducible elements out of which figures are constructed.

**Stroke replicate figure** - A figure which consists of repetitions of the same kind of stroke.
CHAPTER III
TRACK PRINTS, LOCALE AND JOURNEY FIGURES

Amongst the simplest and most prominent of the graphs drawn by Walbiri in the sand are track prints of animals and birds, and circle or circle-line notations related to places and journeys. The former are impressed in the sand by holding the hand in various special positions (Fig. 1); their production is a casual, play activity in which men, women and children may indulge. The circle and circle-line notation commonly appears in general conversation about journeys and places: the circle signifies a locale and the line a path or motion from place to place (Fig. 5); a group of circles may be used to depict the relative orientation of locales (Fig. 5c).

Although both types of graphs are generally available amongst men and women, it is men who apply them more widely, giving them a featured place in their storytelling repertory and Dreaming designs. The following discussion centers on the use made of track prints and circle-line figures by Walbiri men.

Track prints

Track print imitations (wulia, foot, footprint) constitute a special class of graphic signs, since they are
essentially transfers of natural signs into conventional sign contexts. Each type of print signifies the foot (or foot and tail) marks made by some particular species: for example, kangaroo, marsupial mouse, goanna, eaglehawk. These marks stand for the whole creature, so that in a derived or secondary sense, the latter is signified by the conventional prints.

A man impressing track prints on the sand might accompany this activity with a phrase commentary such as "many ran away"; "he ran away south." Sometimes a brief narrative (a kind of vignette) is improvised. In one instance the depiction of a kangaroo print was elaborated into a hunting scene. After the prints were impressed, a circle was drawn to indicate the kangaroo sleeping under a tree, and another slightly further off to indicate the position of the hunter. "Bandiniga (he throws a spear)"; and a line was swiftly drawn between them.

Prints used in narrative contexts of this kind have a standard signification. Men employ them to 'narrate' the species, number (when over three or four, 'many') and direction of individuals moving through the country. As one man put it, the graphs can be "read." What is 'read' obviously replicates the signalling value of footprints in ordinary hunting contexts.

1. For story uses of circle-line figures see below, Chapter V and Fig. 9.2.
This narrative use of track prints is exemplified in the paper drawings of Fig. 2. In these typical story improvisations the prints are combined with a few additional elements (a waterhole, nest of eggs, snake). Each drawing connotes a situation such as (for example): 'an emu, seeing a snake, became afraid and went away east.'

It is apparent that a graph which signifies (for example) 'kangaroo (footprint)' or 'possum (footprint)' may also, in a Djugurba context, signify the footprints of kangaroo and possum Dreamings (Fig. 3). In the drawings of Fig. 3 the prints are used to narrate Dream Time occurrences: the number and direction of movement of certain ancestors passing through a particular locale.

In addition to this storytelling use within the context of Djugurba narrative, a given set of prints may be defined as a particular Dreaming design (i.e., guruwari) belonging to the ancestor. As designs, track print graphs may occur independently or fixed into larger graphic composites (Fig. 4). When the prints occur independently only extra-graphic factors such as the medium and social context in which they appear, or the informant's assertion that the graph is the ancestor's design cue the difference between instances of this kind and those in which the prints are not explicitly Dreaming designs. That there

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is only a fine line between these two applications of the graphs, is suggested by the fact that the term *guruwari* may also be used to refer to the footprints of the Dreaming (i.e., the actual prints made by him as he went along). Thus when a man identifies conventional prints as 'Guruwari,' he may mean that they depict the footprints of the Dreaming (and therefore, are the Guruwari of the Dreaming), or he may be indicating that the prints are a particular Dreaming design. Actually, in Walbiri sign theory, the one implies the other. As two men explained while discussing the designs of a possum ancestor:

Wulia-njanu jira-ga guruwari-gili-lgi. Wulia
(Feet-his puts Guruwari-having-then. Feet
(Footprints

wabadja... Wulia njambu-dju bangadja. Jurgali-la walked... Feet these went along. Jurgali-at

bugu Djugurba-njanupu. Djapanba... pindi danced Dreaming-himself. Possum... tail

raragandjanu. dragged along.

(He puts his footprints; as a result he has Guruwari. He went along by foot. These footprints went along. At a site called Jurgali the Dreaming ancestor himself danced. The possum dragged his tail along.)

The meaning of *guruwari* in this text is clarified by a consideration of the range of items to which the term may refer.

1. Dreaming designs (i.e., conventional graphs, including track prints).
   a. Footprints of a Dreaming.
2. Fertility powers left by the ancestor in the soil, or inside the ground as he travelled along. (These are sometimes thought to be like the fluff shaken from dancers' decorations, but more often are regarded as non-imageable entities fused with the soil. The progeny of the ancestor are said to go into the waterhole or ground at each site, and this conveys the same matrix of concepts.)

3. Extended uses: a. Topographical features which mark the route of the ancestor as he travelled across the country. b. The ancestor's camps which have been changed into the topography, particularly into waterholes. c. Design marked token boards and stones deposited by the ancestor in the ground, or other artifacts left by him (recording his passage).

From this list it may be seen that Walbiri apply the term guruwari to any specific marks or vestiges of the ancestor left by him as he travelled through the country. The possum 'putting' his footprints (visible marks) is also 'putting' his (invisible) fertility powers in the ground; the term guruwari comprehends both elements. Dreaming designs belong to a category of 'ground marks' which are taken as manifestations of the ancestor's Dream Time presence in the country.

The term 'mark' does, in fact, provide an adequate rendering of the Walbiri concept. The Walbiri term for mark is jiri (name, song, mark). The possum ancestor of the story 'puts' ("jiraga") his Guruwari: that is to say, he 'marks' his passage. Items referred to as guruwari, can also be referred to by the term jiri.

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1. Cf. the more commonly used derivative jirani (to put down [an object]; to mark). This term is also applied to design painting: e.g., guruwari jiranigalu, 'they are painting designs.' 'Put' is the pidgin expression. For further comments on guruwari and jiri, see below, Chapter V.
Guruwari are specifically the marks 'put' by the ancestor in the ground—whether these be topographical features, fertility powers (which give rise to the Walbiri people and the flora and fauna of the country), artifacts or prints. All of these items record his presence.

In this respect, the footprint is a kind of prototypic Dreaming design: a mark (as it were, a 'graph') in the sand, which records the earlier presence of some individual (was 'put' by him); identifies the species to which he belongs; and signifies the direction of his passage. Dreaming designs are like footprints in that they are thought to perform all these functions, and are classified as 'marks' left by the ancestor along his route (i.e., 'in' the ground).

The actual occurrence of conventional prints as Dreaming designs thus reflects an important aspect of Walbiri theory concerning the nature of designs. Obviously, not all Dreamings belong to species of phenomena which have footprints. The track of any Dreaming may, however, be depicted by the more generalized 'path' line. Track print and path line are related graphs: both signify marks (in the ground) connoting the passage of individuals through the country.

In practice, track prints are stressed in designs for kangaroo, marsupial mouse, possum, snake, dog and emu Dreamings. For the first three they are especially
prominent because of the emphasis upon the long tail mark with its sexual implications (ŋindi, tail, penis). In the case of the snake, the graph depicts both the body and the track. When foot and tail prints appear as part of circle-line figures, the tail blends with the path line, and the footprints serve as adjunctive strokes (Fig. 4B).

The prints are not common in women's designs. Aside from one snake design, only an emu print appears in the collection. Possum and wallaby Jauwalju designs are available at Yuendumu, but do not include track prints. In addition, women make no regular use of the prints in storytelling.

Looked at in the context of the wider graphic system, track prints constitute a special class of strokes and figures. Each stroke signifies the foot or tail print of some species. A figure consists of a) footprints plus tail print of one animal (two strokes including one set of stroke replicates); or b) a number of the same footprints (stroke replicates).

Each figure conveys the general meaning 'print(s) of some particular species' and an even more general meaning of 'track print.' The specific meaning and connotations depend upon the particular situational context. I will treat all such figures as belonging to a single figure

1. Each of the underlined terms is defined in Chapter II above.
type with the general meaning 'track print' (amongst the general connotations of which is 'motion,' 'direction,' 'the hunt'). The designation for the type is [v].

Locale and journey figures

A circle-line notation drawn on the ground during conversation may accompany descriptions of individual or group movements between places; the sequence of camps made by an ancestor as he travelled across the country; or the geographical distribution of locales. These subjects are obviously closely related, since all have reference to places with Dreaming import, whose names may also signify some aspect of their Dreaming association. Notations of this kind may in one set of contexts refer to the journey of some ancestor, in another to that of some 'present day' Walbiri (Figs. 5A, 5B).

The basic 'journey' figure is composed of two strokes: circle and (conjoined) line. It occurs in designs as well as in explanatory notations, and regularly signifies a camp site or 'place' with the paths of the individuals in question leading to and from it. Numerous variant arrangements are available in men's designs, and these will be discussed subsequently. I will classify them all as members of a single figure type with the general meaning 'site-path' (designation: [o-o]).

Circle-line figures are in wider use amongst men than women, primarily because of men's more extensive
and precise knowledge of locales. The close association of this geographical information with ancestral routes brings it into the sphere of knowledge linked with male cult.

For the most part a woman's information is confined to the names of a few major sites along tracks of Dreamings within her own segment of the community country (or within the Yuendumu region). Particular interest may be evinced in her own conception site and its Dreaming associations. But it is the network of Dreamings within this community country at large, rather than the particular ancestral routes or the location of individual sites upon which her attention centers. Requests for more precise information—site names, routes, direction of ancestral movements—may be met with the remark that the questioner should address these queries to men.

The possession of site information is an aspect of male role, but except where secret names are involved, it is not closed to women. Thus a man may itemize the sites of an ancestral route in the presence of his wife, but will be careful to exclude any mention of secret token boards or other prohibited details.

That all ancestors travelled along defined routes in the country (or circled in some specified region) is the most general premise behind the Walbiri conception of
The Dream Time. As a result, an ancestor can be 'followed'—kept track of, as it were—through his site associations. Each ancestral journey begins with an emergence from the ground, and is finalized in a return to the ground, whether at the site of emergence or at some place far distant from it.

This concept of locale and journey provides the framework for men's Dream Time songs and narratives, and for their Dreaming designs. Many songs consist simply of site names. A sequence of such songs or a 'line' provides a list of sites associated with the ancestor. Similarly, the typical Dream Time narrative is built upon a framework of site sequences.

Some accounts of a Dreaming track consist almost entirely of lists of such site names connected by phrases indicating the movement of the ancestors between sites. This provides a kind of minimal account of a Dreaming. The same track may, of course, be rich in detailed events which take place along the route, but the site-path framework is brought into relief by this sort of narration. An abstract from one such minimal account will serve to suggest the pattern.²

They slept at Wabadi ('yam'). The two kangaroos rested. They go on to Bigili (Vaughan Springs). Afterwards they

1. biramigaliba, 'we follow'em up.'
2. Not all the sites given by the storyteller are included (deletions are indicated by an ellipsis). The changes of tense are in accord with the storyteller's usage.
go on to Walguru ('stone axe'). On they went. The Two Kangaroos went on... They slept at Ngaljirba. Afterwards they went on to Bangunubundu (where) they scooped out pitchis... They went on to Winidjara (where) howling dogs pursued them. They fled... Afterwards they went to Ganilbaguru. They sat down, sat down, sat down [i.e., for a long time]. They went into the distance to another country.

The graphic equivalent of the site-path framework is the circle-line figure type. In men's Dreaming designs instances of the type take a variety of forms (Chart I). Each of these depicts a slightly different kind of route, but the circle and line regularly carry the same general meaning. In any given instance, a circle specifies the camp of some particular ancestor at a named place, and the lines are his paths.¹

Crossed or rectangular circle-line arrangements (Chart I, 1b') may be used to depict a single Dreaming country. The ancestor is said to have 'walked around' in this locale. Each circle may show different camp sites in this region. Cross type figures without transverse connecting lines may be used to depict the intersection of two different Dreaming tracks, or the division of the dreaming into four individual tracks and the movement of these outward (in the four directions) from a single

¹ For circle-line figures appearing in men's Ilbindji (love magic) designs, the path line is commonly explained as the path made by the lover (referred to as the Ilbindji) being attracted toward the ancestral individual performing the love magic. The circle is the site where the latter is sitting, or from which the lover is being drawn.
site (Fig. 6.1; lb in the chart).¹

If a long track is depicted (site list form, 1a), a number of subordinate places within a locale where the ancestor made his camps may be shown by lines (with attached circles) branching from the central path line or a central circle. Smaller concentric circles adjacent to the core list may carry a similar meaning. A circle with lines extending from it may depict paths leading out from or into a locale (lb). The use of a meander as an alternate for a straight line (1.1) is conditioned by particular characteristics of the Dreaming (see below, Chapter VII).

Circle-line figures may occur in designs on all mediums, but are especially prominent in ground paintings, on boards and stones. Certain arrangements are more characteristic of one medium than another, but there is no hard and fast rule.

In addition to these basic forms, separate occurrences of circle and line strokes are common. A single site may be depicted by a circle, or a number of camp sites by a group of such circles (stroke replicates). Various arrangements of lines without attached circles simply depict 'paths.'

In the Guruwari design, site circles are regularly concentric or spiral. (These two forms are in free varia-

¹. My impression is that when figures of this type depict track intersections, the Dreamings are of the same species.
tion, and I will refer to the stroke as a 'concentric circle.' Concentric circles which occur in these designs regularly signify 'camp site,' although additional items of meaning may also be ascribed to them. In ordinary route notations, however, the plain circle is more common: such notations are in the nature of a shorthand.

Meaning may also be ascribed to the concentricity of the circle. Thus the outer 'enclosing' lines are sometimes said to depict the paths of the ancestor as he 'walked around' (warawabadja) making his camp; the innermost point (or inner circle) is the waterhole, or the hole from which the ancestor emerged. Walbiri also sometimes suggest that a number of parallel path lines in a Guruwari design depicts the movements of a number of individuals (Chart I,A). Parallel path lines may also describe particular features such as the numerous rivulets sent out by the rain Dreaming.

Parallel path lines and concentric circles sometimes appear in the course of conversational (or story-telling) notation to narrate situations of this sort. A case instance (for the circle) is shown in Fig. 6.2. Discussing how the rain ancestor emerged and went along his track, the narrator accompanied this explanation with a spiralling line ('he came out and walked around making his camp'), and continued this 'motion' line along as he demonstrated the journey of the ancestor from place to
place. The figure which emerged shared certain features with typical rain designs (Fig. 6.2C).

In fact, circle-line Dreaming designs may on occasion be used in the same capacity as notations, operating as narrative devices. This situation is exemplified in Fig. 6.1. After demonstrating a honey ant Dreaming design in the sand, informants used it to explain (a) the camps and directions of honey ant ancestors whose tracks crossed at Yuendumu; (b) the geographical distribution of (present day) tribes in relation to these tracks; (c) the journey of a messenger coming from one site to another. A further explanation of the messenger's journey was made by the use of a rough notation in the sand similar in layout to that of the design.

Designs and ordinary circle-line notations may thus both serve as narrative devices. As will become apparent in the subsequent discussion of storytelling, this is a characteristic pattern of graphic usage.

Since all ancestors are linked with specific locales and routes, any ancestor can in theory be named by a design signifying his route (his camps and paths). As one man put it—drawing a circle-line type design—:

"We follow him up this way." Designs of this type, he explained, could be used for any ancestor.

Actually, there are relatively few Guruwari designs
which do not include at the minimum either a site circle or a path line. These strokes (or the full circle-line figure) typically serve as the core of the design figure, while other strokes, when present, surround or are attached to them. Circle-line or circle-replicate figures may occur independently but are more usually accompanied by these adjunctive strokes. This method of composition is characteristic.

Since referents for the term guruwari include the ancestor's camp sites, men sometimes supply this term in explanation of the meaning of a circle in a design. (The circle, that is to say, specifies the camp site of the ancestor: his 'Guruwari,' his 'mark' and 'place.')

It will be readily observed that to name an ancestor by a design which signifies 'sites and paths' is comparable to naming him by a design which signifies 'track print.' In both cases what are taken as signs, vestiges or 'ground marks' of the ancestor are signified by the figures. In effect, Walbiri follow the ancestor through following his marks. Both types of figures signify the Dreaming ancestor in a secondary or derived sense.

\[ \begin{align*}
[\text{o-o}] & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{'locales'} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ground marks} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ancestor} \\
[\text{v}] & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{track prints} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ancestor}
\end{align*} \]

1. Designs which include at least one of these strokes, or the entire site-path figure comprise about 85 per cent of the Guruwari collection.
This does not preclude the introduction of depictions of parts of the ancestor’s body, or of other descriptive details of various kinds into the designs. Topographical features themselves are often defined as metamorphized forms of the ancestor, and are likened in shape to parts of his body. Circle-line figures can be treated as depictions both of individual Dreaming features, and of the site and path. Some of the ways in which this is accomplished will be suggested later.

Summary

1. The track print and site-path figures are elaborated primarily by men, who also control the fields of knowledge which the graphs reflect: that of hunting and tracking on the one hand, and of geographical locales on the other. The relationship between the two fields is perhaps best summed up in the concept of ‘following.’ Both game animals and routes (site series) are ‘followed.’ This concept is extended to ancestors: an ancestor is ‘followed’ by means of his track prints and site associations. Conventional graphs which signify these elements are, in turn, means of following (as it were, keeping track of) the ancestor.

2. Both track prints and circle-line figures appear in ordinary notations used by Walbiri in storytelling or conversation, and in Dreaming designs. Designs may also occasionally be used as narrative devices.
FIG. 1. TRACK PRINTS AND SAND TECHNIQUE*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRINT</th>
<th>TECHNIQUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KANGAROO</td>
<td>Hind feet: drawn with index or 'index cross.' Tail: impressed between hind feet with outer edge of hand. Front paws (when shown): claw prints dabbed in with finger tips.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSSUM and MARSUPIAL MOUSE</td>
<td>Tail: inner surface of index finger makes smooth, deliberate meander in sand. Paws: same as for kangaroo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNAKE</td>
<td>Same as possum tail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOG</td>
<td>Thumb laid sideways in the sand makes the pad print; finger tip or index and middle finger together make the toes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMU</td>
<td>Thumb is held between middle and fourth finger; index is bent behind and resting on middle finger. Hand impressed so that back of index and middle finger and pad of thumb make the print. This yields a toe print (as in central box).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WILD TURKEY</td>
<td>Drawn with index or impressed with side of hand. Claws are dabbed with finger tip. Emu print in right hand box above is made similarly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAGLEHAWK</td>
<td>Large pad: impressed with side of thumb. Toes: impressions of index tips.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUMAN</td>
<td>Fingers are clenched; hand held half closed. Footprint is made by impressing outer edge of hand in sand. Toe prints added with finger dabs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This is not a full list; only a few examples are given. There are also variant forms and techniques for some of the prints.
A. The emu saw the snake, and becoming afraid, ran away eastward. (The upper set of prints depicts the emu running away.)

B. Seeing the snake, the dog turned away westward; the kangaroo also saw the snake and went east.

C. The kangaroo and emu come down to the water to drink.

D. The emu (leaving its nest) goes to a waterhole. (Prints at bottom left apparently indicate the return.)
FIG. 3. TRACK PRINTS AS NARRATIVE DEVICES (DREAM TIME STORIES)

A. Two possum Dreamings at a site called Waraginbiri

B. A kangaroo Dreaming at a site called Wañabi

After pencil crayon drawings.

A. Two possum Dreamings went into the ground at Waraginbiri.

B. A kangaroo Dreaming came to Wañabi, took the large string cross (a sacred ceremonial object) out of his body and left it there. A number of other kangaroos who were travelling behind him (not shown in the drawing) came up and saw it.
A. Emu Guruwari on the cave walls at the site Rogari

After cave paintings.

i. Prints of an emu standing over its eggs. (Cf. Spencer and Gillen, 1899, plate facing p. 615.)

ii. Prints of a large number of emus who came to the site. The circle-line figure signifies that they walked around the site. Each circle is a camp.

B. Marsupial Mouse  C. Wild Dog  D. Kangaroo

Designs after crayon pencil drawings (B,D); after decoration in bird's fluff on box type headdress (C).

B. 0 = camp sites;  S = path/tail.

C. ) ( = kangaroos lying down.
After instances of circle-line notations recorded during conversations. Bracketed Walbiri terms are the names of the sites mentioned by the informant as the circle was drawn. Arrows show direction of travel.

A. A description of the movements of a Walbiri band in the period before the shift to station residence. Each circle specifies the place, a waterhole or hill, near which the camps were made. According to the informant, the band regularly traversed the region between Conistan, Jalurimbi (Mt. Allen) and Julumu (east of Yuendumu). Occasionally, longer trips were taken along to Yuendumu and Mt. Doreen (Megindji and Wilbiri are near this station). The sites mentioned as part of the route have various Dreaming and subsection affiliations (e.g., Julumu, honey ant, A1-D2; Megindji, rain, B\textsuperscript{1}-C\textsuperscript{1}).

B. A stereotypic means of depicting an ancestral route or a series (a 'line') of waterholes (cf. Chart I, la). Circles specify the women's camp sites. Site names commonly signify items associated with the Dreaming track: e.g., jinundiwarguwarguwargu means 'bean tree' (jinundi), associated with the strings of red beans the women wear while dancing.

C. The notation need not involve the use of the path lines. Locales only may be noted (cf. the list of rockholes in Fig. 9. 2B, below).
A. Honey ant design to be incised on token board or stone carried by messenger

After sand drawings.

A. A honey ant design demonstrated in the sand, depicting the intersection of two honey ant Dreamings at Julumu, an important Ngalia Walbiri honey ant site. One honey ant track runs from the south (a site in Bindubi country) northward into Junmadjeri country. Another track runs westward into Walmalla Walbiri community country. The two intersect at Julumu. According to the informants, the design 'talks against a fight' (gulugudjugu pariga, fight-against tells), since it signifies that the communities through which the two tracks run have 'one Guruwari,' i.e., share Dreaming countries. The design might be incised on token boards or stones carried by messengers sent to arbitrate a dispute between these two communities. In this instance, the design named a honey ant ancestor, but another informant later pointed out that it could be applied to "any" ancestor. That the crossed-path type of circle-line figure may have the standard connotation, 'shared Dreaming countries,' is further suggested by this man's explanation of a related design (6.1B).
Here the cross (X) is a conventional depiction of a Guruwari. The informants explained: "The Dreaming says (waŋga, speaks), 'Stop fighting, we are of one country (walja djinda, soil-one)."

After the honey ant design had been demonstrated, the informants used it in the ensuing explanation as they discussed the movements of the honey ant Dreamings, the location of community countries, and the journeys of the messengers between the specified regions.

Ai. A further notation which was drawn as the discussion continued and the outlines of the original design became obscured.

B. Design for board or stone carried by messenger

After pencil drawing.

X = Guruwari. U = two arbitrators sitting talking.
--- = the people of each community sleeping (those at the top of one community, those at the bottom of the other).
o = soil.
A. Figure drawn during an explanation of the route taken by the rain Dreaming, and showing the way in which he meandered along. The storyteller began by drawing the spiral (i), saying as he did so, "out he came" [the rain emerged from the ground] and "walked around."

B. Similar notation by another man depicting the rain Dreaming going into a large rockhole at a major rain site.

C. Typical circle-line figures in Walbiri rain designs. O = camp site and waterhole. S = lightning or other rain features which are regarded as the path of the rain. Strokes specifying further items associated with the rain are usually added.
CHART I. TYPICAL CIRCLE-LINE ARRANGEMENTS IN MEN'S DESIGNS*

Commentary

1a. List of 'line' of camp sites. The ellipsis indicates that the number of circles and lines can be extended according to the number of sites. Long lists are most common on boards, but shorter arrangements occur also in designs for body and ground. Figs. A, B illustrate this form of the figure type.

1a'. Subordinate locales along a main route can be shown by addition of branching lines with attached circles. 1b. Moving out from or going

A. Bandicoot. // = number of bandicoots travelled between the sites.

B. Kangaroo. V = footprints.

*The chart provides an outline of basic kinds of arrangements. In addition to the two designs included in the commentary, circle-line designs are exemplified especially in Figs. 4, 6, 9.3 and in Chart IV.
toward a single site. E.g., emerging from the ground at the site and spreading outward in different directions; intersection of different Dreaming tracks at a single site.

lb'. Walking around a single locale depicted by 'boxed' or 'triangular' figures or other similar arrangements.

1.1. The path line is altered to a meander (\( \rightarrow S \)). Occurs for Dreamings which have 'meandering' paths: rain (rivulets or lightning), snake, fire (smoke), possum and kangaroo mouse (tail lines). In one instance used to show the paths of women dancing. a. Same as la. a'. Emerging from camp site. b. Same as lb, b'. c. Criss-crossing of two meander paths. One recorded instance: for a rain Dreaming. c'. Single crossing of meander paths.

1.2. Separate occurrences of site circles and path lines. a. A number of camps. b. A single circle may be combined with other strokes (not site circles or path lines) to make up a figure. This is indicated by 'X'. A single path line may be similarly combined (f and g). c. Common arrangement of path lines in body (fluff) designs. Signifies paths of one Dreaming. May also appear with a base line (not a path line). (My impression is that diagonally crossed path lines are restricted to body designs.) d. Another typical arrangement of path lines in body designs. The cross-bar (not a path line) is a common feature of the composition. e. Also more characteristic for body designs. In one instance the inner side of the loop was identified as the camp.
During the narration of a sand story, a woman draws a U stroke in the sand.
CHAPTER IV

GRAPHIC SIGNS AND STORYTELLING: STROKES AND FIGURES IN USE IN WOMEN'S SAND STORIES

In addition to track prints and site-path figures, with their more specialized situational contexts, there are other recurrent figures in the Walbiri repertory which may be drawn on the ground during general discourse and storytelling. These figures result from the combination of a small stock of strokes; amongst these strokes the circle and line are prominent. As we shall see, a wide range of meaning items is applicable to circles in these broader contexts.

Both men and women employ graphic signs of a similar type in storytelling, but women formalize this narrative usage in the distinctive genre of the sand story. Since the narrative use of the graphs is maximized in this genre, I will take it as a base for discussing the iconography of Walbiri storytelling.

During the telling of sand stories a continuous, running graphic notation accompanies the other sign complexes of word and gesture. The use of this notation is a standardized feature of the storytelling technique. That the graphs are 'interlocked' with verbal and gestural signs in the communication process is a major factor conditioning the character of the graphic system.
Stories told by women in this manner are called *djugurba* and are said to be accounts of Dream Time people and events, and of the way in which Dream Time people lived. Their content will be discussed more fully later. Here it will suffice to point out that they are essentially stories of daily life and behavior.

The narrative framework into which the particular story plots are 'built' is a stereotype of the daily routine; it consists of camp activities, departure from the camp for food foraging and return for eating and sleeping (Chart III). The standard situations connoted by the graphs in these story contexts are those of daily camp life.

In the present chapter I will be concerned primarily with the strokes and typical figures, the graphic units, which are thrown into focus during sand story narration (Chart II, IIA). It should be understood that I have abstracted these figures as if they were fixed units from the larger narrative process. Since Walbiri use or adapt some of these figures as unitary Dreaming designs, they also have, in a sense, 'abstracted' the graphs from their embedment in storytelling activity.

1. *Djugurba* is the term for any traditional story about The Dream Time, and may sometimes be extended to stories in general. As the name implies, a Djugurba is 'true.'
Strokes

As Chart II suggests, there are eight basic strokes in use (nine if we count the dot series for 'walking' as a distinct stroke). These strokes can convey four narrative points: the position of the actor (moving, sitting, lying down); his or her possessions (i.e., weapons and implements); any items in the immediate vicinity of the actor (e.g., waterhole, fire); 'background' (items in the general vicinity of the actor, e.g., a line of trees, a bough shade). An actor's sex can sometimes be inferred from the implements shown at his side. A set of 'shield-boomerangs-spears' laid beside a stroke indicates that the actor is masculine. Plurality is shown by the repetition of strokes (a number of strokes, a number of path lines).

While the range of meaning items covered by the circle stroke is wide, it is not wholly arbitrary. Circles are not used to depict markedly elongate objects, or individuals and objects in a prone position. The items within the range of meaning of the circle contrast in this respect with those within the range of meaning of the line. While fighting sticks standing erect in the ground are ordinarily depicted by circles (cf. circles

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1. For dot series as track marks (in designs), cf. Spencer and Gillen (1899), p. 149; Roheim (1945), pp. 242, 243. I have no record of this use of dot series in Walbiri designs, but I do have one or two instances of the use of dashes for this purpose.
for trees), the sticks laid on the ground are shown by lines.

Similar points may be made about the other strokes. \( \mathcal{U} \) strokes contrast with motion lines since they depict the actor in a given position,\(^1\) rather than the trail left behind him as he moves along. Stick implements or weapons and individuals lying down contrast with paths (movement); these in turn all share an elongate aspect which sets them off, for example, from a waterhole, fruit or fire. Similarly, oval shields and carriers contrast with sticks, spears and boomerangs, and this iconic distinction is reflected in the stroke contrasts. The stroke system consists of a small number of basic contrasts in which a limited element of iconicity patterns the selection of the meaning ranges.

By comparison with the other strokes, the circle has the widest range of possible meanings. The particular item depicted by the circle in any given instance cannot be determined by the form of the graph.\(^2\) The \( \mathcal{U} \) stroke has a narrower range of meaning, but similarly, particular actors or classes of actors and particular positions can only be determined from the wider context. The

---

1. The two sides of the \( \mathcal{U} \) are usually treated as the 'legs' of the actor.
2. Cf. the occasional use of more descriptive alternates such as a picture of a yam instead of the circle to specify yams.
graphs do not provide a way of specifying different activities (e.g., drinking, eating, cooking), since these may be conveyed through other signalling means. In general, specification is dependent upon the storytelling process: the sequence of scenes and graphs, and the extra-graphic sign systems of gesture and word.

The relatively fragmentary, dependent character of the graphic signs highlights the fact that they are interlocked with other more articulate mediums of communication. In the telling of a story, the graphic 'band' of communication establishes a kind of visual punctuation of the total narrative meaning.

**Actor-item figures (Chart IIA, 1-1.2)**

Chart IIA provides examples of recurrent kinds of figures which appear in the course of sand story narration. The most clearly defined of these is what I have classed as the 'actor-item' type (designation: \[\text{[c \_\_]}\]). The U stroke in these figures always signifies some individual—an 'actor'—in either a sitting or standing position. 'Sitting' is the more usual meaning. The circle or other stroke placed in front or in back of the U may be an object of any kind in the actor's immediate vicinity—one with which he is concerned at the time. The general meaning of the figure type may be described as 'actor in relation to object' or 'actor-item.' Some
of the variant forms of this figure are shown in the chart.

A somewhat more complex form of the actor-item figure includes depictions of the actor's implements, carriers or weapons laid beside him (1.1). A subsidiary third term ('possessions') can thus be added to the general meaning ('actor\textsuperscript{2}possessions-item'). In sand stories, these strokes are usually placed in adjunctive positions. For the present, the whole arrangement may be treated as a complex form of the actor-item figure.

We may note, however, that a set of implements or weapons is itself a unitary stroke arrangement. In men's designs, a number of digging sticks, boomerangs, or spears—depicted by line sets (///)—may occur independently, as a single design, or as adjuncts to actor-item or site-path figures (e.g., Fig. 7.2A). Track print figures, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, have similar privileges of occurrence in men's designs. These privileges are shared by a number of other stroke replicate figures, including for example, small-circle clusters and dashes. The possession markers of the sand stories fit into a larger group of figures which—when occurring in adjunctive positions—all function as qual-

1. Line sets have a wider range of specific meaning amongst which 'digging sticks' and 'weapons' are prominent.
fiers to the core figure.¹

Sample meanings and situations to which actor-item figures are typically applied in sand stories are given below. Still others are suggested by the commentaries accompanying Charts IIA and III.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specific Meaning</th>
<th>Situation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Actor(s)] Item</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two women--Honey ant hole</td>
<td>Two women digging for honey ants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sitting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife, husband--Food</td>
<td>A man and his wife eating in camp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman--Fire (food on fire)</td>
<td>A woman cooking food at midday, while out foraging.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many women--Fighting</td>
<td>Some women dancing a Jauwalju ceremony to attract lovers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dancing stick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man sitting --Waterhole</td>
<td>A man (with spears and shield beside him) drinking at a waterhole while out hunting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shield &lt;spears</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three women--Man lying</td>
<td>A man's wives sitting around him while he is sleeping in camp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(wives) down (husband)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An actor-item figure may thus connote any one of a variety of situations which have to do with general, daily activities within some one spot.

In addition to the actor-item figure, a somewhat less common use is made of the U stroke in an actor-action-

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1. Possession markers may also function as the 'item' in actor-item figures (in men's and women's designs as in sand stories); dashes, footprints and small-circle clusters (as well as a few other similar elements) do not occur in this position. The privileges of occurrence of these elements and the possession markers are thus overlapping but not identical.
goal type of combination (Chart IIA, Commentary). In the
typical sand story these figures usually occur in hunting
scenes and the action is 'throwing (a boomerang or spear)';
the goal is 'meat' (e.g., kangaroo). But the figure can
also be used with other specific meanings: for example,
the \( \_ \) may specify a man, and the line 'erection and inter­
course.' Sexual meanings of this kind are commonly applied
to the figure when it appears in men's love magic de­
signs. (Fig. 7.2C)

Actor-item figures occur widely in women's designs,
and are relatively common in Guruwari designs. They are,
however, more characteristic of the former.¹ A special
application of actor-item (and actor-action) figures is
made in Ilbindji (men's love magic) designs, where the
figures include strokes specifying sexual characteristics
(Fig. 7.2B, C). In these contexts the figures connote
the attraction of a lover.

In the actor-item Jauwalju designs illustrated in
Fig. 7.1 two types of circles may be observed. The some­
what larger, flattened or 'elliptical' circles are used
in these instances to specify rockholes and the hole of
a honey ant. The food item depicted in the possum de­
sign is shown by a circle of the ordinary type. The
ellipse is a characteristic means of depicting a large

¹. See Table 1, p. 181.
rockhole, but it may also sometimes be used for other important items.

Ordinary circles, of a plain or concentric type (the two appear to be in free variation), may specify various items, but are not used to depict rockholes. Since women's designs emphasize various vegetable foods, fruits and other phenomena connected with women's food gathering activities, these items are common meanings for the circle. Independently occurring groups of circles are usually wild vegetables or fruits. The ellipse is not used to specify these items. The alteration of the circle to an ellipse is also occasionally found in sand story usage, where this form is similarly applied to the depiction of the large waterhole or rockhole (Chart IIA, lg).

In Jauwalju, the ellipse is not ordinarily treated as fully concentric, but is commonly outlined with a set of parallel lines. This type of outlining may also be found around an entire figure, or around U strokes (Fig. 7.1). In some cases these outlinings appear to be qualitative elaborations without explicit meanings, but in others, particularly in the case of the circle, women apply meanings to them. These will be suggested in con-

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1. The ellipse also occasionally appears in men's paper drawings, with this meaning (the rockhole at a site). See, e.g., Fig. 11, below. This alteration of the circle is, however, most prominent for Jauwalju, where it can take an exaggerated form.
Some circle-line type figures do occur in women's designs (see examples below, Chart IV), but circles occurring in these figures do not regularly specify the camp site of the Dreaming. Various items of meaning, including, for example, fruits and clouds, may be applied to them; amongst these meanings 'camp' may occur.

The actor-item type Jauwalju illustrated in Fig. 7.1 show wallaby Dreamings sitting around a waterhole; honey ants in their camp (hole); two possums sitting eating food. This range of meanings for the circle—which is a typical one—resembles the wide sand story usage. Although each design has a general reference to a segment of the community country, the circles do not specify a particular Dreaming site. Women do not cite place names when asked for explanations of the meanings of either form of circle.

In men's Guruwari, however, the 'item' which is specified by the circle in actor-item figures is ordinarily the camp site of the ancestor, and a place name may sometimes be given by way of explanation for the meaning.  

1. These circles are usually concentric. Non-concentric circles occur in these designs, particularly as adjuncts to core figures, but also in other positions. They can be used on occasion to carry the site meaning instead of the concentric form, but they do not (at least in adjunctive positions) necessarily signify the camp. My own data are not, however, sufficiently clear as to the exact nature of these contrasts.
Often, additional, more specialized items of meaning (including, for example, 'food' or 'fire') are applied to the same stroke. As men sometimes suggest, such figures depict the ancestors sitting in their camp. The actor-item figure thus appears throughout the graphic system with specific meanings of various types depending upon the situations involved.

**Linear figures (Chart IIA,2)**

A number of standard arrangements of lines depicting actors lying down (sleeping in camp) occur in sand stories. Two of the sand story figures illustrated in the chart (2b, 2c) are specialized arrangements. The first recurs as a Jauwalju design (Fig. 7.1D); the second appears to be restricted to story usage.

Figures showing sleepers in a camp, in which the bough shade is also depicted, are not common in the design repertory. Only two instances which include the camp backdrop appear at all in the collection; both are men's designs. In one of these (Fig. 7.2D) the camp arc is treated as an enclosure and is reminiscent of a rectangular kind of camp marker which occurs as an alternate to the more usual sand story form (Chart II, Commentary).

Ordinarily, design depictions of individuals lying down occur without the camp marker (as do actor-item figures). In the actor-item figures of Guruwari designs
the camp may, as we have seen, be specified by the camp site circle between the sitting figures, rather than by the camp arc backdrop.

A line signifying an actor lying down can be used alone to connote the situation 'sleeping in camp.' In one Guruwari design, a short horizontal line instead of a camp site circle at the base of a meander line specified a fire Dreaming lying down. The informant explained that the fire was sleeping in his camp, and that the meander, the smoke, was his path and his dream. In Ilbindji particularly, the sexual aspect of the sleep in camp is stressed (Fig. 7.2A).

Line strokes signifying actors lying down occur sporadically in all three classes of designs. Lines with this meaning may be worked into actor-item or site-path figures. They occur as adjuncts (as in Fig. 6.1B above in which sleepers are shown flanking an actor-item figure); or as the 'item' in actor-item figures (as, for instance, individuals sitting around a sleeper). The line replicate (actor lying down) figures of the sand story do not themselves represent a well-defined figure type in the wider graphic system, but they appear to fit into a broader class of line replicate figures: namely, the line sets, with a range of possible meaning items, mentioned in connection with implements and weapons.
Enclosures and 'going in' figures (Chart IIA, 3,4)

Enclosures are a set of figures which have specialized or sporadic occurrence in sand storytelling but have fairly extensive ramifications in the larger graphic system. The enclosure consists of a stroke, or stroke combination included in a circle. The figure has the general meaning 'an item (X) enclosed in some other item (signified by the circle). I will refer to the figures as enclosures (designation: [®]).

Enclosures can occur independently or as the 'item' in an actor-item figure. Actor-item figures (or 'actors') can occur inside circles when the sense of the story warrants it. The outer enclosing line may be a curved path line (e.g., dancers' paths as they dance around a fighting stick) or an ordinary circle. The figures may specify items in any kind of situation where this general meaning is relevant.

Enclosures of this kind occur in women's designs (Fig. 7.1 E,F). A set of encircling lines, for example, is used to specify the honey ant channels, while a line inside is the honey ant. Lines enclosing an ellipse specify rain clouds, and the inner circle the rockhole into which the rain falls.

Similarly, in men's designs, various items may act as the enclosure. Persons sitting inside the base of a tree can, for example, be shown by this means. In most
of these cases, the enclosing circle specifies the Dreaming site, often in addition to some particular item (such as the tree cited above).

An obvious meaning for an enclosure is that of an animal's hole, particularly a snake hole. The rainbow snake in his rockhole, for example, may be depicted as a circle inside a larger circle (see below, men's storytelling, Fig. 9.2). A figure used by both men and women, but not a regular feature of the sand story, is the standard picture of a snake emerging from his hole: a line (the emerging snake) meanders from a circle (sometimes a spiral suggesting the snake coiled in his hole). It will be seen that a figure such as the latter can readily blend with a site-path figure should the context warrant it.

As suggested earlier, the tail line of an animal can similarly blend with the path line in the circle-line figures of men's Dreaming designs.

A special application of this kind of enclosure (hole-line moving out of or into the hole) occurs in the final scene of the sand story. At the end of a tale 'all the people' come together and go into the ground. A circle is drawn, and the path lines of the actors converge within it. Often a death in the story precedes this event. A \( \cup \) stroke is then drawn, and the path lines of the actors are directed into the \( \cup \).

The hole may be any item relevant to the story:
a tree, hill, fighting stick, or simply the ground. In one instance, concentric circles depicted a woman's breast, and the actors went into the nipple (central circle).

The action is always imaged as 'going in' (jugamigalu, they go in), and the 'item' is also regarded as a hole in the ground. The standard expression is 'they became nothing then' (lawadjaridjalgu), they died; 'end of the tale' (nuladjugu or nuladjugurba). The figure thus connotes 'story-end,' the death of the actors. The 'going in' is a death situation.

In the sand story context this situation has no further metaphysical significance. Its occurrence reflects the general conception of how Dreaming people 'finish up.' Since traditional tales are all related to The Dream Time, this constitutes a formal ending for a tale. Sand stories do not, however, begin with a 'coming out' scene. Tales commonly start in a camp, but there is no ideal initial scene.

An interesting comparison can be made between this simple graphic figure depicting a 'going in' scene, and the plan of a ceremonial ground for a scene which, in this case, concluded the dramatization of the travels of a Dream Time snake (see Chart IIA, commentary 4). The ceremony was prepared and danced by men, but women and children (who had been kept at a distance until this point) all
converged upon the ceremonial ground for the finale. As the performers danced in the circular depression—simulating the action of descent into the ground—many of the women clustered around the edges, holding out their arms and shaking their hands in a gesture signifying 'go in.' The dancers circled toward a mound at the center of the depression which was topped with bloodwood leaves (regarded by Walbiri as life-giving).

In this wider context of Walbiri thought about The Dream Time, 'going in' is a partial action in the larger situational cycle of 'coming out-going in'; i.e., the cycle of birth and death which is focused in the life span of the ancestor, and marks the beginning and end of his journey. The entire situation is reimaged by the deposition of Guruwari fertility powers inside the ground at the sites along the route. The general renewal of life ensues when these Guruwari are 'pulled out' of the ground and injected into humans and other species. Thus a woman who is pregnant has Guruwari inside her.

One informant described the effects of a Banba fertility ceremony in terms related to 'going in' and 'coming out.' Drawing a small circle specifying a waterhole, and attached lines depicting men coming to the site to perform the ceremony, he explained that the Dreaming went in but men today 'pull'm out' (wilbamani, out-take) and
The meaning of the informant's comments was simply that the fertility ceremony helps to maintain the supply of the particular species.

The 'coming out-going in' situation is thus built into the locale and journey situation. This synthesis is suggested, as we have seen earlier, by the explicit treatment of the concentric circle as an enclosure—a hole into which the ancestor is going or from which he is emerging—with the outer lines depicting the camp and the inner point or circle the hole.

Summary

1. The sand story stroke system consists of a few basic stroke contrasts. Each stroke 'quarries' a range of meaning items. These ranges vary in breadth, but in general, the selection of the 'item' and the addition of further detail depend upon information conveyed in the larger narrative process. This 'notative' character of the graphs points to the fact that they interlock with other sign complexes in the total storytelling activity.

2. Two basic types of figures which put in a marked appearance as sand story graphs also recur widely in Dreaming designs. These may be added to those isolated in the preceding chapter.

This list covers a stock of major figure types represented in the Walbiri graphic system. All of these types are represented in the notations of storytelling and general discourse as well as in designs.

In addition, there are certain types of stroke replicate figures which have privileges of occurrence in men's designs similar to those of footprints. These consist primarily of line sets, arc plurals (not background arcs), small-circle clusters and dashes. With the exception of the line set, these figures do not put in a marked appearance in sand stories or in storytelling generally. Their most noticeable occurrence is in men's designs. Of the three kinds of figures mentioned, only line sets seem to occur with any regularity in women's designs. Small-circle clusters and dashes are not found in the

1. About 79 per cent of the design collection can be classed as representing one (or more than one) of these figure types. (Separate occurrences of site circles and path lines have been classed as site-path figures. Circle-line figures in Jauwalju designs are not characterized by the full site-path meaning, and do not, strictly speaking, represent this type.)
Jauwalju collection.\textsuperscript{1} All strokes may appear, however, as stroke replicate figures (e.g., independent sets of U strokes or circles), so that this kind of arrangement cuts across the major figure types.

\textsuperscript{1} Contrast the prominent use of small-circle clusters in the designs illustrated in Berndt (1950), p. 77.
CHART II. SAND STORY STROKES AND MEANING RANGES

- food receptacle
  - water
  - pitchi (for baby)
- shield, spearthrower

- spear
  - boomerang
  - fighting stick
  - digging

- many sitters
  - many dancers

- (actor) sitting
  - standing
  - dancing

- nest
  - hole
  - waterhole
  - rockhole
  - fruits and yams
  - tree
  - hill
  - food
  - fire
  - painting materials
  - upright fighting stick

- bough shade, hut

- line of trees

- creek bed

- (Hand or fingers drawn along sand)
  - spearing
  - running, dancing

- (Fingertips mark sand in series)
  - walking
  - dancing
Commentary, Chart II

The stroke is enclosed in the box at the left. The plain circle and spiral appear to be in free variation, but plain circles are by far the most common. The concentric form of the circle seems to be reserved for enclosure figures (see Chart IIA,2). The list of meanings to the right of each stroke suggests the range of items to which it is regularly applied. The creek bed may be a zigzag or a set of parallel lines; other variants are similarly indicated. Arrows indicate motion.

Yams. Alternate: $\equiv$. For comments on this type of graph, see below, Chapter VII.

Fire. A common alternate for the circle is a little mound of sand brushed into place by the middle and index fingers. An earth oven may be simulated by digging a hole; a gesture then indicates the placement of the meat in the hole; finally, sand is placed over this, and a small mound results. Fires flanking a sleeping family may also be shown by two lines at right angles with the camp arc (see Chart III, l.1).

Bough shade. An alternate is a rectangular enclosure open at one side (see Chart III, l.1).

Trees. A line of trees may be depicted by an arc arrangement of circles. In one instance recorded, trees flanking a cleared area were shown by sets of parallel lines.

'Motion' lines vs. 'item' lines. Note the contrast between motion lines and 'static' lines. The latter may be elongate weapons and implements, or individuals lying down. Motion lines depend upon aspects of gesture for their full meaning: spearing for example, is a swiftly drawn line, while walking is a trailing line.
CHART IIA. TYPICAL RECURRENT FIGURES IN SAND STORIES

Figure Types*

*Overlapping of figure types is shown by inset lines
Commentary, Chart IIA.

1-1.2 Actor-item figure type (Designation: [c 3].)

The stroke signifying the 'item' may be a circle (widest range of possible meanings), a line (an individual lying down, weapons or implements), or oval (shield or container). Enclosure figures (2) can also function as the 'item,' as may another \_ stroke (actor). A more complex form of the type includes the actor(s), an item, and, in addition, the implements or weapons of the actors ('actor's possessions') at their sides.

In addition to the regular actor-item figures, graphs depicting 'actors in action' also occur. These consist of a \_ stroke plus a motion line (\_\_\_/) and often indicate 'throwing.' The motion line may also be directed toward a \_ (an individual who is the 'goal' of the action). (See, for example, the kangaroo hunting scene, Chart III.)

1a. E.g., man or woman sitting at waterhole; woman sitting digging for yams. b, c. E.g., man and woman sitting at fires; two women digging for yams. d, e. Sitting with backs to the 'item.' f. A number of individuals; e.g., women dancing around a fighting stick. g. Elliptical form of the circle appears occasionally, depicting a large rockhole. h. E.g., women plucking fruit (circles in a group not likely to be waterholes).

1.1a. E.g., woman sitting with watercarrier at her side and waterhole in front of her, digging for water; man with his shield. b. A set of weapons at the side indicates male actor. c. Shield or receptacle in front of the individual. d. Shield or receptacle at back. f.-i. Different positions of stick or spear relative to the actor.

1.2. a-c. Different arrangements of actors around another actor lying down, or (less commonly) around some elongate object laid between them (e.g., a large fighting stick). a. Common way of depicting dancers and singers grouped around an individual (the sleeper) in a dream. b'. 'Slurring' of \_ strokes is common when an aggregate of persons is shown.
2. Linear (actor, lying down). A group of line arrangements characteristically used to depict an actor, or number of actors lying down, sleeping in camp. The figures do not represent a well-defined figure type but seem to be related to various other kinds of line replicate figures which appear in the wider graphic system.

2a. Number of sleepers with bough shade behind them. E.g., women sleeping in a women's camp. b. Standard way of depicting a man sleeping with two women, one on either side. c. Occasionally used to show a number of individuals sleeping in camp. The boxing possibly specifies the sand oval or 'bed' as does the oval enclosure in d and d'. d. Sleeper with a shield as 'pillow,' lying in an oval depression. The enclosing line may also be a blanket. (Non-traditional items such as billies and blankets occasionally appear in sand stories.) d'. Same as d without the shield. A very small figure of this sort laid beside a female actor is a child sleeping in a pitchi, or the woman's digging stick placed on one of the containers. The figure is essentially of an enclosure type.

3. Enclosure type (Designation: [x]). Any stroke may be enclosed by a circle when the sense warrants it. a. E.g., water running around a hill; inner 0 = hill; outer 0 = water. The enclosing circle may also be a motion line (e.g., paths of actors dancing around a pole). b. E.g., birds in a nest. c. Eggs in a nest. c'. Characteristic way of depicting a dead man laid in a tree (tree burial), but may also have other meanings.

4. Hole-path (Designation [3]). A specialized kind of enclosure which occurs in final scenes and depicts actors coming together and going into a hole in the ground. b. E.g., outer 0 = surrounding trees; inner 0 = upright fighting stick; /// = the paths of women dancers converging into the stick, i.e., into the ground. c. U = a dead man in the ground. People all converge into the burial place. d. Dead man in a hole; hole here shown by the circle.

Cf. Plan of a ceremonial ground for a 'going in' scene. (Ceremony concluding the dramatization of the travels of a snake Dreaming.)

\[ X = \text{the ring, a cleared circular space} \]
\[ Y = \text{inset area, a circular depression} \]
\[ Z = \text{mound topped with blood-wood leaves} \]

A = Non-dancers, men, converge onto the ground after sleeping in camps just to the east of the ring.
B = Non-dancers, women converge onto the ground from the west.
C = Dancers come into the circle along the track.
CHART III. SAND STORY SCENE SETTINGS AND NARRATIVE FRAMEWORK

Scene Settings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPES OF SCENES*</th>
<th>SAMPLE GRAPHIC SETTINGS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1. **Camp [C]**
   - Sleeping

2. **Juncture [J]**
   - Hunting
   - Returning-leaving camp
   - Flight-pursuit
   - Moving camp

3. **Foraging [F]**
   - Food gathering: digging, picking fruit.
   - Digging for water, drinking.
   - Hunting

4. **Finale [G]**
   - Going into the ground

*Sample situations are given for each scene type.*
Commentary

1.1. a. Man, woman and child sleeping in front of a bough shade. The woman is always beside the child (small line). \(0 = \text{fires}\). b. A rectangular semi-enclosure type of camp marker. c. The two lines connected to the shade may be fires flanking the sleepers or two dogs stretched out in the camp.

1.2. a. U strokes showing a man and woman sitting in camp often 'face' in different directions. A baby (small U) sits on the woman's lap. b. Loose arrangement of U strokes; persons sitting in camp. c. Two persons (e.g., man and wife) sitting in front of fire (eating). d. Large number of persons sitting in men's or women's camps.

1A. a. Women dancing with a line of trees behind them. b. Women dancing around a fighting stick. c. Same as b; line of trees is shown by circles. d. Camp Bulaba (ceremonial) scene. The men are shown dancing in the foreground; singers (men and women) sit facing them.

2. Juncture (motion between scenes) may be marked by erasure of the previous scene; path lines need not be entered next, but the narrator may go directly into the camp or food gathering scene. Otherwise path lines (a.) are shown—a man's path ahead of a woman's. b., c. Showing how 'juncture' scenes merge into scenes with background markers. b. Individual sitting in camp (1); another person comes in (2) and sits down (3). b. 'Continuative' scene; as when a man and woman are eloping and hurrying on from one place to the next; or a man is following a game animal. (1) Line of trees; (2) waterhole. An individual comes in (3) sits down by the waterhole (4) and hurries away through the line of trees (5).

2. a. A characteristic way of showing women digging (e.g., for honey ants) at a line of trees. b. Z = the creek bed; \(0 = \text{waterhole in the creek}\); \(0 0 = \text{trees}\). c. Standard depiction of a man spearing a kangaroo. \(\text{U} = \text{man}; / = \text{spear being thrown}; --- = \text{kangaroo lying in the shade.}\)
Narrative Framework

[C] → [J] → [G] → [J] → [F] → [C]

SCENE CYCLING

The narrative framework or core structure of a sand story consists of a basic scene cycle: 'camp—leaving camp—food foraging—return to camp—camp—...'. This unit in turn can cycle continuously so that some stories consist of little more than repetitions (with minor variations in content) of the basic cycle. The ideal finale scene is a 'going in' (see Chart IIA). The initial scene is commonly, but not necessarily, a camp scene. Particular plots or plot elements may then be built into this narrative framework, and shift the typic cycle.

Characteristic situations of which the frame might be composed are as follows:

Members of a family are sleeping in their camp [C]. They wake up and eat; one of the wives goes for water. They leave the camp [J] to forage for food. The women (perhaps with other female kin) may then be shown digging for yams, or performing other similar activities [F]. The man may be shown spearing a kangaroo. They return [J] to camp [C] to cook the food; the proper food exchanges are made; the man gives the women meat; the women give their husband vegetable food. The family then goes to sleep. In the morning they wake up and the basic cycle is repeated.

*A ceremonial camp may be shown, but this scene is not part of the regular cycle. 'Continuatives' occur particularly when more special plot elements involve pursuit (hunting, or an elopement).
FIG. 7. ACTOR-ITEM AND OTHER SAND STORY TYPE FIGURES IN DREAMING DESIGNS*

7.1 Jauwalju

A. Wallaby  
B. Honey Ant  
C. Possum

After pencil crayon drawings (A,B); after body painting (C).
A. (Thigh design)  0 = rockhole  U = Wallabies drinking
B. (Stomach design)  0 = honey ant hole ("camp" of the honey ant)  U = honey ants
C. (Thigh design)  U = two possums sitting. According to the associated story, the strokes specify a male and female possum. In the story the dreamer (a man) and his wife are identified with the possum Dreamings. 0 = meat. The two possums sit eating meat. (This is probably also an allusion to sexual intercourse for which 'eating' is a standard metaphor.)  ) = no explanation given.

D. Man and Two Women  
E. Rain  
F. Honey ant

After ochre drawing on paper (D); pencil drawing (E); body painting (F).

*For additional examples of actor-item figures in designs see Figs. 8, 11 and Chart IV. For enclosures in men's designs see Figs. 9, 3 and 10.
D. A man and two women sleeping together. See Chart IIA, 2b. (Design is probably for stomach or thigh.)

E. O = rockhole ((( = clouds See 'enclosure figures,' Chart IIA, 3. The rain pours from the clouds into the rockhole. The figure may be painted on the stomach or painted on one breast and repeated on the other. The ellipse may be slightly bent ( \( \circ \circ \)); this alteration seems to be characteristic for the circle when painted on the breasts, and suggests an adaptation to the shape of the body. Connecting lines may be drawn between the two figures.)

F. ((( = burrows of the ant. ( = ant in the burrows. Smaller design at upper right shows the ants in their hole. (Design is painted on breasts as in E.)

7.2 Actor-item figures in men's love magic designs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>![Diagram A]</th>
<th>![Diagram B]</th>
<th>![Diagram C]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>![Diagram D]</td>
<td>![Diagram E]</td>
<td>![Diagram F]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After design incised on board (A); after pencil drawings (B-D)

A. From top to bottom: /// = boomerangs. __ = spears. _____ = man and woman sleeping together. O = woman's breasts; dashes between are the man's spearthrowers (probably connoting sexual intercourse). Beneath this are lines showing the man and woman sleeping; then a repetition of the spears and boomerangs.

B. Outer U = man. Inner U = woman. O = woman's breasts. \( \circ \) = man's cicatrices. // = man's arms 'pulling up' the woman. According to the informant the design is associated with the rain Dreaming. (My impression is that a love magic design of this kind could actually be associated with different Dreamings.)

C. (Only part of the design drawn by the informant is shown.) U = woman. / = man (i.e., penis). O = 'navel' of the man and woman. ('Navel' is probably a euphemism for the genitals. Cf. Roheim, 1945, p. 102.) A similar figure may be used in storytelling. Cf. (--- ?) an instance of a story notation showing a man having intercourse with a number of women sleeping in a women's camp.

D. = shade or hut. U = women sitting around a man (/). See Chart IIA, 1.2.
CHAPTER V

GRAPHIC SIGNS AND STORYTELLING (continued):

THE NEXUS OF GRAPHIC SIGN, NARRATIVE AND SONG

The ties between Dreaming designs and the graphs used in storytelling are part of a more intricate pattern of relations between songs, stories and graphs in Walbiri culture. In the present chapter this larger pattern will be examined. Since, in certain respects, the sand story complex provides a model of the general pattern, I will continue with the discussion of this genre before turning to men's storytelling and a consideration of the pattern as a whole.

Jauwalju design and Jauwalju sand story

Even more specific ties obtain between Jauwalju designs and sand stories than are suggested by the fact that story-type figures occur in Jauwalju designs. Each design, or set of Jauwalju designs, is associated with a narrative account of events said to have occurred in the personal dream in which the Jauwalju and its accompanying songs were revealed. This narrative is told in the form of a sand story.

Jauwalju sand stories are not distinguished by name from the sand story which lacks any explicit association
with Jauwalju designs: both types are referred to as djugurba. Since Jauwalju dreams are revealed through the conception spirit—who acts as a kind of proxy for the ancestor—events in such dreams are felt to be essentially Dream Time happenings. All three—Dream Time, dream and story account are subsumed under the term djugurba.

Narratives of Jauwalju dreams do not differ markedly from other sand story narratives. The plots are commonly built into the same 'daily activity frame' as the ordinary tale, and these plots themselves are often similar to the typical sand story plots. Unlike the latter, however, each Jauwalju tale has explicit associations with a particular Dreaming species such as rain, congaberry or charcoal.

Greater importance is attached to the Jauwalju story than to the ordinary tale, since it is regarded as a segment of the larger complex of song and design. The entire complex—consisting of designs, songs and prose

1. Quite obviously, many of them are simply traditional narratives (or parts of them); i.e., they draw upon the "cultural storehouse" of Dream Time events. Jauwagi dreams of three different women, for instance, each contained an allusion to sores which came out on the lips of the Djugurba women from eating the berries. The same incident is featured in an account of a Jauwagi berry Dreaming given by two male informants. On the interaction of dream, myth and storytelling, cf. Eggan (1958).

2. Sand stories not linked with Jauwalju can also be dreamt. 'Dreaming' sums the basic Walbiri sanction for personal invention. Djugurmanuna, I dreamt(it); I made it up (in my own head). In the case of Dream Time stories and related items Walbiri may literally dream them up.
Ordinarily only the dreamer knows the full Jauwalju tale, but there is no explicit sanction against others recounting it without her permission. Although stories are told in the camps and no special efforts at secrecy are made, Jauwalju tales are not narrated quite as freely as the ordinary sand tale. An aura of importance and higher value attaches to them.

Since the Jauwalju designs which are revealed through these dreams specify certain items embedded in the dream (Dream Time) situations, women may occasionally use them as narrative devices or may inject them into the (Jauwalju) storytelling process (Figs. 8.1, 8.2). The singing of Jauwalju songs may evoke an accompanying explanatory diagram, or sand story segment, or the Jauwalju itself (Fig. 8.1). Jauwalju storytelling using the sand notation is often interspersed with related songs which occur to the narrator as she proceeds. The demonstration of designs generally evokes the songs as explanations, or as additional comments on the designs.

This interplay between the verbal and graphic expression of meaning content is not restricted to traditional storytelling, but is a persistent feature of women's narrative behavior. Women often describe personal experiences using the typical sand story notation. In other discussions a diagram may suffice, or where relevant,
a Dreaming design. Within this larger conversational context, the sand story technique appears as a special elaboration of the general graphic usage.

While sand storytelling and the wider conversational use of graphs are focussed in the secular contexts of camp life, design painting and the necessary song accompaniment are focussed in ceremonial activities. The songs are intoned as the designs are painted on the body; this procedure is felt to ensure the efficacy of the design. The singing makes the design 'strong,' and must be done during the painting; this conjunction of painting and singing constitutes the ritual making process.

There is no normative sequence of songs followed during this process. A set of designs and songs are thought to belong together because they refer to a single Dreaming (or to closely linked Dreamings), and were revealed in the one dream. They signify related Dream Time items and situations. Any song which is part of this complex can be sung during the painting of the different designs in the set.

The two basic types of activities during which women regularly utilize graphic signs are secular storytelling of Dream Time tales and ceremonial painting of Dreaming designs. On the one hand, storytelling is accom-
panied by standardized **graphic notations** which aid in the process of communication; on the other hand, there is a ritually prescribed accompaniment of **design painting** with **singing** in ceremonial to ensure the strength of the design. In both types of activities the presentation of graphic signs is coordinated with verbal expression.

Women define explicit links between (prose) stories, Jauwalju songs and designs. The three cultural forms are bound together by the common denominator of the Djugurba situations they convey. From this point of view the Jauwalju story might be described as the explicated sense of the designs and songs. The designs themselves reflect the kinds of graphic figures characteristic of the story notations, and can operate as narrative devices. This basic patterning of interrelations is, as we shall see, also that of the system as a whole.

**Men's Storytelling**

Men's use of the graphic sign in storytelling is less formalized than women's, involving a somewhat more diagrammatic technique. Men sometimes accompany parts of the Dream Time narrative with notations of a typical sand story type, but these notations are not continuously interlocked with the storytelling process. A story or narrative explanation may be accompanied by a more formal diagram, and on occasion with the relevant Dreaming
A Guruwari design for a pigeon ancestor demonstrated in the sand. / = path of the pigeon as he journeyed along. ) = the pigeon lying down.
designs or features of the designs. These graphic accompaniments are not regarded as an integral part of the storytelling technique as they are for the sand story. Similar stylistic differences in the handling of the sand medium extend into wider discourse. Women may employ simple diagrams or brief notations in conversation, but they also regularly use the running notation of the sand story. Men, on the other hand, employ only the diagram or brief notation.¹

This diagrammatic method grades over into a demonstration of Dreaming designs (and the explanation of their meanings). Men have clear-cut techniques for delineating these designs in the sand. Women draw the designs roughly in the sand, but demonstrate them more formally by painting them on the body. These qualitative differences in the handling of the sand medium may be characterized as a tendency toward a diagrammatic as against a discursive technique. While the line between the two is not sharp, the masculine idiom does not approach the discursive extreme exemplified by women's storytelling. On the other hand, elaborate diagrams such as the one illustrated in Fig. 9.3 do not appear in women's sand narrations.

¹ Men do not elaborate the use of gesture signs in storytelling. Walbiri feel that gesture signs belong particularly to women, who are more articulate in their use. See also Meggitt (1954).
The basic and story strokes are staple elements employed widely by men as well as women. Characteristic story figures recurring in men's idiom include particularly those of the actor-item and enclosure type (Figs. 9-11). Track prints, as we have already noted, also appear. A storytelling use is made of the circle-line figure, which merges into that made of the graph in more specialized journey and locale discussions (Fig. 9.2).

The illustrations in Figs. 9-11 are drawn from accounts of various kinds of narratives. In addition to the track narratives, men tell traditional stories concerned with natural phenomena and minor Dream Time incidents at one place or another. These stories need not have specific design associations, but often there is a design available which depicts some relevant feature, and which might be suggested to the narrator by the story or might itself suggest the story (Fig. 9.2).

Features of natural history are prominent in the tales, in contrast with women's narratives which center on camp life and social behavior. Standard diagrams depicting aspects of natural phenomena are more common amongst men. Fig. 9.3, for example, refers to a body of lore concerning the source of the rain. It will be seen that the 'coming out-going in' situation discussed in the previous chapter is here 'built into' a naturalistic context; the rain is said to emerge from the
ground (sent out by the rainbow snake), and to return into the ground through the efforts of men who sing to bring on the rain.\textsuperscript{1} The graphic figures used in this explanation are of the enclosure and site-path type. One of these (9.3C) is probably a design, as another man later suggested.

Both in sand narrations and in story drawings on paper, men may employ specific Dreaming designs or identifiable features of such designs to narrate the related Dream Time situations (Figs. 10, 11). This is a characteristic pattern of usage.

**Designs and songs**

The occurrence of Dreaming designs as narrative devices emphasizes the sign function which they share with ordinary notations—that of signification. The items and situations signified by a design belong to the universe of discourse covered by the term *djugurba*.

Walbiri feel that designs and songs belonging to the same Dreaming track segment convey a common narrative meaning. Songs of the track are often given as supplementary explanations for the meanings of designs, or the

\textsuperscript{1} Since the rainbow snake is both a Dream Time and present day creature, this situation is relevant to either period: Walbiri feel that during The Dream Time natural phenomena functioned much as they do today. The Rain ancestor also behaved similarly: he emerged from a rockhole and went up into the sky; as he travelled along his track he rained down leaving his marks in the ground.
drawing of a design may evoke an associated song. Thus one design being painted on the body of a dancer during ceremonial preparations was explained as a depiction of the tail and boomerang (the two items specified by a single stroke) of a possum ancestor. Men then continued their explanation by singing a song which belonged to the ceremony, and which had been sung during the preparations: "Possum travels on, possum tail." They pointed to the design and added that the possum walked on for a long way.

One link between designs and songs is their common function of signification: they provide complementary channels of communication about the one Dreaming. Designs, like songs, are repositories of narrative meaning. These ties are part of a wider network of links between the two kinds of sign complexes in Walbiri ideology.

According to Walbiri belief, songs and designs were generated together in the 'sleep' of the ancestor. Men give the standard explanation that in The Dream Time the ancestor dreamt his songs and designs while sleeping in camp. (It is sometimes said that he 'dreamt his track.') On getting up he 'put' the designs and sang the songs ([jiri]) which are his names. As he travelled along he sang his journey (i.e., he sang the songs for each site, the site names; he sang of his journey, the events along the way).

1. This can include design-marked, sacred token boards and stones, which are part of the same complex.
In Walbiri ideology these activities are very much the same thing: an ancestor singing his songs (his place names, his own names) is 'putting' his 'ground marks.' As previously indicated (see Chapter III), the range of referents for the term *jiri* includes 'mark'\(^1\) as well as 'song' and 'name.' The term may be used to refer to designs as well as to songs, or to refer at once to designs and songs. *Guruwari* and *jiri* are contrasted in narrow usage as 'Dreaming design' and 'Dreaming song' (respectively) but they share the sense 'ground marks of the Dreaming.' Walbiri men explain that *guruwari, jiri* and *walja* (soil)—designs, songs and 'country'—are all 'one thing.'

We can sum this up by suggesting that for the Walbiri, Dreaming songs, designs and topographical features perform essentially the same sign function: they identify the ancestor and provide records of his presence in the country. As his identity marks they stand as surrogates for him. It seems a reasonable translation of the Walbiri concept to describe Walbiri designs and songs as, respectively, the graphic and verbal proper names of the ancestor.

The function which a design performs in this capacity—as a proper name—I will refer to as the naming function.

---

1. Cf. *jiri ji*, path; [thus] 'line' or path of songs naming sites along an ancestral route.
This function, it will be suggested, is brought into play specifically in ritual contexts.

For both men's and women's ceremonies, the accompaniment of design painting by singing is a necessary procedure since it contributes to the efficacy of the painting. During men's ceremonies the singing of songs accompanies the general preparatory decorations, including the painting of designs and the construction of ceremonial paraphernalia. Singing and painting constitute layers of the same activity and are core features of any ceremony. While Walbiri attribute to designs the 'strength' to aid in ensuring different aspects of group welfare (see above Chapter I), it is only through ritualization that this strength—which derives from their intrinsic association with Djugurba—becomes operative.

Dreaming ceremonies vary in size and importance, but all contribute to the continuity of life and general well-being. This continuity in turn affirms the presence and continuity of Djugurba. When the ceremony involved is a Banba fertility ceremony the making of ceremonial artifacts can, in fact, be imaged as a kind of re-embodiment of the Dreaming. One man put this concisely. He suggested that a 'boss' might request the 'working boys' to make the ceremonial paraphernalia and decorations for a kangaroo ceremony by saying:
In ritual contexts the property of the design which is brought to the fore is its intrinsic tie with Djugurba. Since a design is one means of preserving the identity of the Dreaming, it may operate in the process of reaffirming his presence and 'strength' or re-embodying him. In this respect, the sign function of a design which is brought into play through 'ritualized making' is the naming function.

Implicit in Walbiri theory is the assumption that graphs which are proper names of the ancestor specify related Dreaming items and connote Dream Time situations. Non-ritualized, explanatory or storytelling contexts give latitude to this capacity of a design to signify a narrative content—to 'tell' a story. As a narrative device it can overlap with the ordinary notations regularly used in this context.
Summary

There are two basic types of activities during which Walbiri delineate graphs of one kind or another: these consist of non-ritualized narration (storytelling, or more widely, conversation and explanation) on the one hand, ritual painting and singing on the other. During narration, graphs are linked into the general process of communication; during ritual painting, graphs of a special type operate as Dreaming names. In both kinds of activities, graphic and verbal expression are integrated as a single complex into the over-all aims of the social context.

This single graphic-verbal complex is ramified in complementary cultural modes. Designs and songs—specially valued graphs and words, the 'proper names' of the Dreaming—can be taken as representing this complex in the intensive mode; graphic notations and prose stories in the non-intensive mode.

---

1. Intensive and non-intensive modes: see Definitions, Chapter II.
The diagram suggests the interlocking (between the modes) of design, song and story; of design and graphic notation. Since the prose story is the common narrative base of the designs and songs—their explicated sense—these three cultural forms are bound together. Designs and notations in turn, draw upon a common stock of graphs, and the former may also be used (like notations) as narrative devices.

The essential unity of the graphic system, and the close ties of song, graph and story are perhaps most clearly displayed by the sand story and Jauwalju subsystems. Here a high degree of regularization in the use of graphic notation is found in conjunction with a design-linked story told by means of this notation. The recurrent figures of the notation are, in turn, clearly observable in the designs associated with the stories.

Walbiri ideology itself stresses the ties between graphic and verbal sign complexes by pointing to a common origin and function for designs and songs. They are thought to be complementary parts of the ancestral making process: through singing and putting designs—both of which he has conceived in his dream—the ancestor makes himself, his own places.
FIG. 8. JAUWALJU DESIGNS AND STORY NOTATIONS

Case instances illustrating the accompaniment of song explanations with sand graphs (8.1) and the interpolation of designs into Jauwalju storytelling (8.2A).

8.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Graph</th>
<th>Song phrases</th>
<th>Storyteller's comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Jauwalju charcoal</td>
<td>They two paint up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'sisters-in-law'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>paint-stick</td>
<td>Fire [Dreaming] jauwalju.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>They paint up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>travel track-then</td>
<td>They went then. Along the track they go. They put fat [i.e., rub themselves with grease and ochres and paint designs].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. ____ = charcoal. The two women sit painting each other with designs belonging to the fire (charcoal) Dreaming. The strokes in these designs are always painted with charcoal but may be outlined with red ochre. The charcoal is the body of the dreamer, who burnt on the fire.

B. A number of women sit painting themselves, the charcoal between them. A small stick wound with a bit of string is used to paint red ochres on the body. Charcoal is usually applied with the fingers.

C. The lines are the tracks of the women as they travel on after decorating themselves. The storyteller explained that the graph was not simply a notation, but also part of a charcoal Jauwalju design to be painted across the chest.

D. Jauwagi eat Catch Jauwagi (berry)

D. A figure drawn during a general discussion of the Jauwagi Dreaming. The storyteller and other women present pointed out that the graph originally drawn in explanation was a Jauwalju design. O = the berry. U = women plucking and eating the berry.
8.2

A. Design inserted into a sand story account of the charcoal Dreaming after the phrase "...they paint Jauwalju designs." Each of the U strokes was identified as one of the women in the dream—i.e., Walbiri women who were said to have been sleeping in the camp with the dreamer, and therefore (according to Walbiri reasoning) were in her dream. The design shows the women sitting painting to attract a lover. An additional design was then demonstrated: $\triangleright \lessgtr \lessgtr \lessgtr =$ two women sitting.

Charcoal designs painted by women during initiation ceremonies (cf. sand graphs above).

B. $\text{U} =$ the women sitting. (Painted on shoulders and breasts.)

C. $\text{_____}$ = head bands of the women. $\text{U} =$ the charcoal women sitting with the headbands in front of them (as did the women during the painting of the designs). (Design is painted between the shoulders, and on the breasts.)

D. $\text{_____}$ = the Jauwalju design being painted by the women. (This way of depicting Jauwalju seems to be standardized; cf. notation $\text{_____}$) = the design across the woman's chest.) $\text{\|}$ = charcoal with which the women are painting. $\text{U} =$ the women. (Painted between the shoulders, and on the breasts. $\text{U}$ strokes painted on thighs.)
FIG. 9. MEN'S STORYTELLING

9.1

Story notations: an account of the crow Dreaming

After sand notations accompanying the account. Numbers indicate the drawing sequence.

(1) A man sits at a waterhole with two dogs (only one U is shown for the dogs) in front of him. A woman who is 'mother-in-law' to the man comes along and claims the dogs are hers. She tries to call them up to her, since she cannot approach a 'son-in-law.' The man, however, pulls her into his camp. (2) The man and woman sleep together in his camp, after which she leaves, taking the dogs. The brothers of the man learn that he has committed incest with his mother-in-law, and surrounding him (3) carry him off to the fire to be burnt. (4) The man burns on the fire (0 = fire with man burning on it) while the men stand around him. After burning, the man becomes a crow and flies away. (In other versions both the man and woman are punished.)

9.2

A. Rainbow snake  B. Story notations: a rainbow snake design and two men at Vaughan Springs

After sand drawings. Graphs in B are notations accompanying an account of a Dream Time incident. The account was preceded by the demonstration of a snake design which suggested the story. The design provides a description applicable to any rainbow snake.
A. C = progeny of the snake. (For a discussion of this type of figure see below, Chapter ).

B.i. (Numbers indicate drawing sequence.) (1) Rockhole with the rainbow snake inside (small circle). Two men came (2) to one of the rockholes at Vaughan Springs. Sitting down (3) they drank the water, then urinated into the rockhole and went to sleep. ii. (A second version of the first account, told a few minutes later.) Concentric circle = snake lying down inside the rockhole. After the men drank at the rockhole, the snake emerged and going first to one and then to the other man ate each one, and returned into the rockhole. (Not shown in the illustration: lines were drawn from the circle to show the snake emerging to eat the two men.) iii. The son of the first snake emerged from his hole (camp) and went on to the next rockhole at Vaughan Springs. The figure is of a site-path type, used here to specify the snake moving from one place to the next. Cf. the wider application made of a circle-line figure in the instance of the kangaroo hunting scene (Chapter III) where the circles substituted for a U (actor) and a line (kangaroo lying down). iv. The storyteller went on to explain the arrangement of the rockholes at the site Vaughan Springs. Following the more exact depiction of their arrangement, the rockholes were drawn in a line (v). A story incident with a site reference blends in with a locale discussion. The rockhole is the camp site of the rainbow snake at Vaughan Springs.

C. Design after sand drawing (cf. notation iii). Θ = hill. O— — O = the snake emerged from the waterhole at the hill and ate the initiate ( ) sleeping in the camp ( O ). G = the boy's guardian during his seclusion sleeps near him. The fire (o) is shown in the camp. This design is an unusual one—particularly noticeable is the use of the special graph for the hill. In the more typical men's designs a hill, waterhole and fire in the camp would be specified by a single stroke (the camp O). The present figure clearly suggests the story scene. The design belongs to the Junmadjeri people to the northeast of the Walbiri, but refers to a site which is both Walbiri and Junmadjeri.
Story diagrams: Rainbow snake sending out the rain

After sand drawing.
Set of diagrams drawn during the explanation of a series of rain songs. The songs described the running of the rain, its emergence from the ground, and its return to the ground.

A. Inner $O =$ snake in rockhole. $\backslash =$ rain sent out by the snake. Rainbow snakes who live beneath the ground at many different places send out the rain in all directions. The diagram describes their activities at any site.

B. A second diagram was drawn to show the snake sending out rain from a central rockhole into other subordinate rockholes. $\backslash =$ rain. $u =$ (rain returning to earth?) After it is 'sent out' the water returns and goes into the earth (i.e., it rains). Men sing to draw the rain back (to bring on the rain).

C. A final diagram showed the pearl shells associated with the snake, sent out along with the rain. $:: =$ the shells, in the rockhole and emerging with the rain. Medial $O =$ the rainbow snake in his camp, the rockhole. After the pearl shells are sent out, they are taken up and worn by men. The shells are conception spirits, progeny. (The diagram is probably a ground design used in rain ceremonies. A later informant suggested that this was the case, but the storyteller did not explicitly make this point.)
FIG. 10. DESIGNS IN MEN'S STORYTELLING

A. Story notations
The Gunggawara women* dance around the fire

After sand notations (A); after paper drawing (B).

A. An explanation of the dancing of the Gunggawara women around the ceremonial fire. i. o = the fire. Outer O = the dancing 'ring.' / = fighting sticks of the women. This explanation was then amplified by the graph shown in ii. O = fire; & = women dancing.

B. Storyteller's 'redrawing' on paper of his sand narration. (Only part of the drawing is illustrated.) Meanings are the same as in A. Lines connecting the circles are the paths of the women as they dance between the rings. The informant explained that the figure was a Gunggawara design.

*Gunggawara: Dream Time women associated by the Walbiri with the Bindubi people to the south. These are the charcoal women of the Jauwalju dream (Fig. 8).
FIG. 11. DESIGNS IN STORY DRAWINGS

After paper drawings. A is a narrative of Dream Time events at the site. The storyteller drew B—a body design associated with the Dreaming at this site—directly after the story drawing.

A. (Order of drawing was in sequence from register i to iv.)

i. Track prints of two kangaroo ancestors signify that these two 'went straight through' (continued their journey beyond this site).

ii. O = rockhole/camp of the kangaroos at Wandarbi site. Many kangaroo ancestors emerged from this site; the rockhole resulted from their emergence. The kangaroo 'walked around' here, ate kangaroo, slept; then went into the rockhole. U = two of the kangaroos sit eating; after eating they go into the rockhole. The figure is a standard design for the two kangaroos Dreaming (see Chart IV, #1) and also appears as a design for the kangaroo Dreaming at this site.

iii. A picture of the site. According to the storyteller the rockhole is situated in the middle hill. Although the treatment of the hill (with the tree placed on it) is not traditional, the actual schema used is comparable to that occurring in the design of Fig. 9.2c. There are also descriptive graphs for trees available within the graphic repertory.

iv. The track prints of the kangaroo ancestors after they had gone underground.
B. O = the camp site at Wandarbi. Inner o = rockhole. Outer O = paths of the kangaroos as they walked around making their camp. U = kangaroo ancestors sitting eating after the hunt. (The storyteller later added 'dancing' to the explanation.) The kangaroos ate and then danced a ceremony; they also slept at the site and dreamt songs and designs. v/v = the tail and paw prints of many kangaroos as they leapt toward the water. / = tail/spear. The storyteller drew circle and U strokes first. Lines were then drawn toward the circle; these were described as the spears of the kangaroos. The storyteller commented that the kangaroos were going toward the water to eat after hunting, and that the tails of the kangaroos were first spears.* Footprints were added after this with the further comment that the kangaroos were going toward the rockhole in order to 'go in.' After drawing the footprints the storyteller illustrated the leaping of the kangaroos with his hand.

Figure types. The design illustrated in B represents a blend of the four basic figure types.

[ ] Kangaroos sitting with spears at the rockhole/camp

possessions

[ ] Paths of the kangaroos leading into the camp site, Wandarbi, 'going in.'

[ ] The rockhole inside the camp.

[ ] Track prints of the kangaroos.

*Meggitt (n.d.) points out that in the narrative for the two kangaroos, these two ancestors bind a spear with hairstring to give it the appearance of a kangaroo's tail. "Then one breaks off the tail of the other and thrusts the spear into his anus to replace it. . . . There is a constant equation [during initiation ceremonies] of decorated spear = kangaroo's tail = penis of the novice."
CHAPTER VI

STORY CONTENT: LEVELS OF COMPLEXITY IN DREAM TIME NARRATIVES

As we have seen, djugurba is a cover term for narratives of various kinds which Walbiri regard as accounts of a particular period in time, The Dream Time. This period constitutes a particular mode of the real in contrast with that of the ongoing present (jidjaru, today and the recent past; real). As Walbiri often emphasize, these two periods are not mutually exclusive: Djugurba is also Jidjaru. By this they mean that Djugurba is real—continuous with and into the present. But when the 'finished', irreversible aspect of Djugurba is being stressed, the term refers to a locus of events and persons which is 'long ago'.

Some aspects of the narrative content of Dream Time stories have been suggested previously during the discussion of graphs and their meanings. In the present chapter these aspects are drawn together and a more systematic outline of the content provided. My aim here is merely to adumbrate characteristic situations—the typical scope and complexity of the contexts portrayed by men's and women's narratives.

Three kinds of narratives are considered: women's secular narratives (the sand story which has no explicit connection with Jauwalju designs); Jauwalju narratives; men's track and locale narratives. Examples are given in Figs. 12-14.
Differences in Walbiri valuation of these classes of narrative have already been suggested. Women's secular accounts are not secret and are freely narrated to all. Jauwalju stories are somewhat more secret and more highly valued. At the top of the value gradient are men's major track and locale narratives. These are in large part closed to the uninitiated, but may include certain features known to women as well. Men also tell stories such as the one about the crows (Fig. 9.1) which are general knowledge. Attention in this chapter is centered on the more important of men's narratives. Typical of these are the track accounts, generally rendered in the site-path framework; but men may also give accounts of events at some particular site. Amongst the most carefully guarded elements of the narratives are those which involve cult objects: ceremonial poles, string crosses, token boards and stones, and other similar items.

The contrast which is drawn in the following pages between men's and women's narratives is intended only as a relative one: it refers to the degree of elaboration of particular elements and to the typical features of each. Of primary interest here is the relevance of some of these differences to Guruwari and Jauwalju design meanings.

Women's narratives

The classes of actors who people women's secular narratives are generally anonymous persons, referred to by subsection only or simply as 'man' and 'woman'; occasionally
they are called by some descriptive name characterizing
their role in the story, such as 'the immoral one'. These
individuals are simply Dream Time people—the people who
lived in those times—rather than identifiable ancestors.
Stories are not associated with any particular Dreaming
species.

Most of the actors are human beings, but some have extra-
human characteristics. Tree women,¹ for example, emerge
from a mother tree, and are somewhat more powerful than
ordinary women. The Ginggi is an evil sprite in human guise,
a cannibal and something of a trickster. There is no single
Ginggi or tree woman whose actions are elaborated in a num-
ber of different tales; rather, numerous representatives of
the class appear in different tales.² Much less commonly,
actors appear who are syntheses of human and non-human
species. These usually have special powers but interact
with ordinary humans.

The social setting of the narratives is that of the
elementary family and local group. A large part of story
behavior consists of the standardized action patterns of
daily life: food acquisition, mourning rites, ceremonies of
various kinds. Others are of the individual case type, the

¹. Esoteric narratives about tree people told by old
women at Ooldea (South Australia) are described by R. and
C. Berndt (1945), pp. 245-246.
². Ginggi also appear in men's accounts where they
may be described as inhabiting various sites. Women often
drolly imitate their lisping speech which is sometimes said
to be Aranda or Bindubi. Their actions are similar to those
of the "kinkin ma:mu" described by the Berndts (1945),
pp. 150-151.
substance of gossip: love affairs, fights, personal quarrels, immoral behavior (particularly incest) and its punishment. Emphasis is placed upon food gathering and food exchanges, and upon other activities in which women play a central role.

In all these activities the triggering effect of behavior does not ordinarily differ from that expected in ordinary life. Making camp does not trigger the emergence of a waterhole as it might in the track narratives; people making a track in the sand as they walk along are not, through this action, making a creek bed.

Some stories include behavior of an extraordinary kind: transformations and unusual powers such as a return from death or the change of a man into a snake. Walbiri do not believe that such happenings occur today. They are Djugurba in the strict limiting sense. By and large, behavior of an irreversible type—whether it has to do with the creation of natural phenomena or the performance of unusual feats—is the exception rather than the rule.

In accord with this lack of emphasis upon the creation of specific topographical features is the fact that the space of the narratives is not identified with geographical space. There is no single locale referent (or series of referents) for the activities of the people. As some women suggested, the events do not take place anywhere in particular.

Similarly, the stereotypic narrative frame (described in Chart III above) does not reflect locale associations. It consists of routine camp and food foraging activities
which recur from day to day, and which may cycle regularly throughout an account. Particular plot elements are usually built into this general framework; hence the cycle may be repeated for a number of turns, and then special plot features intervene shifting the cycle (Fig. 12A). After these plot elements have run their course a storyteller may return to the basic scene sequences; sometimes she repeats these for a time, and then again embarks upon a series of more specific events. Some stories consist almost wholly of repetitions of the daily routine framework with minor changes in detail. Nevertheless, they may be regarded by the storyteller as traditional accounts of Dream Time activities (Fig. 12B). Occasionally, a storyteller does not fit a plot into the cyclical frame, giving only a brief account of the basic plot elements (Fig. 12C).

Jauwalju narratives may also be built into this framework; as in the secular stories the central actors are commonly human beings. Some Jauwalju accounts are merely descriptions of food foraging activities undertaken by the dreamer and other women in the dream (Fig. 13A). In these narratives, however, such activities link the women with a particular Dreaming species, such as honey ants or some vegetable, which they gather and consume. The story is associated with the particular Dreaming item; songs generally describe and name the food, mentioning its gathering and consumption by Dream Time women. Designs may depict the food item or show the women eating it or painting its designs (Figs. 7, 8; Chart IV, Jauwalju 3,4).
An account of a honey ant Jauwalju tells how Dream Time women dug up large numbers of honey ants and returned to camp to eat them. As one informant pointed out: "The Dreaming ate food then long ago. We people eat today as a result." Associated designs depict the honey ants, their hole and burrows (Figs. 7.1B,F).

The emphasis upon food gathering and consumption which is a feature of the secular narrative thus receives special importance in the Jauwalju narrative. A shift in the significance of the activity is suggested since it defines special ties between the food gatherers and the item consumed.

In other cases, the ties are of a different kind. The central dreamer of the fire Jauwalju, for instance, is an old woman who burns on the fire; her body is the charcoal with which the younger women paint themselves (Fig. 8.1). The individuals in the narrative of Fig. 13C are a synthesis of human being and possum.

Accounts of Jauwalju dreams commonly begin with a list of the persons sleeping in camp with the dreamer at the time of the dream (as in Fig. 13B,C). Since the dream stereotype includes the appearance of conception spirits who stand around the sleeper singing and dancing, a story may sometimes include a scene depicting these spirits around the sleeper. Sometimes the conception spirit is said to pierce the sleeper and give her a Jauwalju
dream. Conception spirits, dreamer and Dream Time people all merge together in the rest of the story. If the dream is attributed to the woman's husband, both he and she are thought to appear in the dream (Fig. 13C). A U stroke in a Jauwalju design is sometimes identified as the dreamer or as other women in the dream (Chart IV,3). When a tale is told by someone other than the dreamer, however, these personal associations generally drop out.

In addition to food gathering activities, a Jauwalju tale usually emphasizes the performance of a Jauwalju ceremony. The incidents in the narrative in Fig. 13B, for instance, consist only of these two activities finalized by the usual 'going in' scene.

The events of Jauwalju narratives may be explicitly located in some region within the dreamer's community country (Fig. 13A), but site names do not play an important part in most accounts. Since the Dreamings have a geographical reference (women can usually give the name of a key site), narratives have a corresponding locale association. In none of these dreams, however, do women follow a Dreaming track, seeing events at sites along the way. As we might expect, this stereotype of dream activity is

1. Although this action of the conception spirit has general associations with impregnation, the dreams are not regarded as conception dreams, and women usually have had a child before they receive them. Cf. Roheim (1933), pp. 241ff; Elkin (1954), p. 153.
restricted to men's dreams.¹

While the patterning of Jauwalju and secular narratives is similar, activities in the former more commonly bring about the emergence of topographical features. The fight of some berry Dreaming women at Mt. Doreen, for example, results in the creation of hills and trees in this region; when their arms are cut off during the fight, these become the hills. Nevertheless, such effects receive comparatively little emphasis in the accounts.

Both Jauwalju and secular narratives continually return to the habitual activities of food gathering and consumption, and to the narrative framework which replicates the pattern of the daily routine. In fact, women sometimes extend the term djugurba to non-traditional accounts of daily happenings, or to improvised tales. These accounts may be cast into the same narrative frame (or sections of it) and conveyed with the sand story technique. Women distinguish, however, between general narratives of this kind and those which they regard as traditional stories, 'proper' Djugurba.²

¹ One Bulaba camp ceremony, for instance, which was danced at Yuendumu during my stay, had been dreamt by a Junmadjeri man. This man's dream was described by others in the form of a track narrative, and the dreamer was said to have followed along the track of the Djugurba. The conception spirits are thought to play only a minor initial role in this type of dream.

² Children do not distinguish so clearly between the narrow and extended use of the term. They may make up tales or give accounts of personal experiences using the narrative frame and sand story technique, and referring more or less indiscriminately to all such accounts as djugurba.
The situational contexts described in all these narratives noticeably grade into each other. With the exceptions noted, the norms, activities and effects of activities, as well as the general social setting of the events, are in large part reversible: part of the modality of the ongoing present, as well as that of The Dream Time.

It may be suggested that the level of cultural order for which these narratives provide a paradigm is that expressed in the regular sequence and recurrence of behavior patterns such as the small scale rhythm of daily tasks, and in the constancies of role behavior. The logico-meaningful ordering of culture in which otherwise discrete items are connected by crosscutting ties of allegorical equation, synthesis of the human and non-human, and metamorphosis is not extensively elaborated in this kind of narrative. This level of order is most fully developed in men's narrative.

Men's narratives

The major actors in men's track and locale narratives are primarily of two types: they are synthetic persons, combining human and non-human characteristics; or they are wholly human. Actors of the first kind are identified by their non-human aspect, and referred to, for instance, as night, kangaroo mouse, fire and lizard. Men regard them, however, as being also human and as giving rise to the Walbiri people, in addition to members of the other species to which they belong. All of these individuals may interact with, or be closely associated with various phenomena.
which seem to be wholly non-human. The rain (man), for example, carries the rainbird on his head; the honey ant is associated with a quail who runs ahead of him.

The most important human actors are parties of women with digging sticks and sacred boards (Fig. 14A; Chart IV,9), and the Walingari men (Chart IV,3), but there are also numerous other human beings who wandered around in The Dream Time. Various women are often linked with some particular food which they gather and eat. It is this situation in men's narratives which appears to constitute the major subject matter of women's narratives. Men's honey ant designs, for instance, commonly show Dream Time women digging for ants along the route of the honey ant. Some men pointed out that women possess a honey ant narrative and designs corresponding to this aspect of the track.

In addition to these types of beings, certain individuals who are thought of as basically human in form, but who have extra-human, generally lethal powers, play a peripheral role in track and locale narratives. The cannibalistic Ginggi belongs to this category, as does the even more malevolent Djanba killer. The latter is much feared by other actors who may meet a Djanba in their travels.¹

The rainbow snake, essentially a synthesis of rainbow, lightning and snake, is featured in men's narrative, but seldom appears in women's tales.² Different snakes are

¹ Meggitt (1955b), p. 381.
² One rainbow snake tale recounted by a woman tells of the pearl shells made by Dream Time women who live underground with the snake. According to the informant, the story had been learned from close male kin.
localized at various sites from which they may emerge to
frighten and eat Dream Time people (Fig. 9.2). Their associ-
ation with rockholes and with the rain (Figs. 9.3,14B) tem-
ers their lethal aspect with fertility associations.

Since individual members or groups of each of these
classes of actors are linked with one or more sites in the
country where the events connected with them occur, the
narrative space coincides with geographical space. The
unique identity of the actors is established through a com-
bination of their class (species) identity and their locale
associations. The kangaroos at Wandarbi site (Fig. 11), for
example, are not the two kangaroos whose lengthy track ends
finally in the Rawlinson ranges (Chart IV,1).  

Actors may carry the usual Walbiri implements and wea-
pons, but such items often function allegorically: they are
equated with sexual characteristics, and in addition with
sacred token boards, or ceremonial objects. The spears of
the Walingari men (Chart IV,3.1 and commentary) are the
leafy poles introduced by the men which are used in dancing
at the initiation ceremony; they are also the penes of the
men. Spear= penis= ceremonial pole is a standard equation
which is also stressed for the two kangaroos Dreaming (see
note Fig. 11) where the kangaroo tail is blended into the
complex.

Digging sticks have similar associations. The sticks
of the women in the narrative of Fig. 14A were equated by
the storyteller with the ceremonial pole which he drew as
part of the series depicting events along the track of these women. Walbiri men also equate the digging stick with the penis.

The oval receptacles and shields are often identified with women's breasts and genitals and with sacred boards or circular ceremonial head dresses. For one story drawing of a possum ceremony held in The Dream Time, for instance, the storyteller pointed out that an oval, decorated board shown in the drawing specified at once the breasts of the possum women, the men's shields and a sacred board. These, he pointed out, all became one thing. In these contexts, shields and the different receptacles are generally classed together as being much the same thing.

Similar allegories occur in other narratives. The Jaribiri snake, for instance, travels along carrying sacred boards which are his ribs (or emerge from his ribs), and his progeny.1 Jaribiri snake designs (Chart IV,7) depict the ribs of the snake which, as men point out, are also these other items. Similarly, the father snake of the narrative Fig. 14A emits the Julguruguru boards, the women, from his body.

The activities of the actors are varied. They may be of an ordinary type: emphasis may be placed on the preparation and consumption of food, or the performance of ceremonies along the track; or extraordinary—actors may change form, humans travel underground. Actors may introduce or

originate cultural items such as shields, the initiation ceremony, fire.

As already noted, much emphasis is also laid upon the habits, responses and characteristic operations of different species. The honey ant makes underground channels and burrows as he journeys from site to site; the kangaroo leaps away from wild dogs. The activity of the rain is couched in natural imagery: the narrative consists almost wholly of a description of a storm which recurs all along the track (Fig. 14B). Women's rain songs recount similar features associated with the rain, but the narratives center on the dancing of Dream Time women who pick the foods--particularly the Jauwagi berry--left by the rain in its wake. This incident, it will be noted, is also included in men's accounts of the rain track.

In addition to the greater heterogeneity and inclusiveness of the activities in men's narratives, there is a radical shift in the triggering value of behavior. Much greater prominence is accorded the etiological aspect than in women's narratives. Dream Time women dancing with digging sticks make holes in the ground which become lines of waterholes; a snake sliding along leaves not just a trail but also a creek bed; the making of a camp is also (or results in) the making of a hill or waterhole. The activities of the actors result in the immediate emergence of progeny who generally remain inside the place. The actor may leave parts of his body in the country:¹ the emu's legs,

¹ The informant for the digging-stick women narrative of Fig. 14A characterized this situation in a paper drawing
for instance, turn into two pointed hills.

The major actors in these narratives are thus specific persons or classes of persons whose identity is well-defined. They are essentially 'culture heroes', the Dreaming ancestors whose activities give rise to the Walbiri people, all other natural species and the topography. The Dream Time actors of women's secular narratives are by contrast numerous ancestral people whose activities do not create the Walbiri people and country, and whose identity is vaguely defined. The major actors of the Jauwalju tale are, however, more definite: they are primarily women, with a general locale association, and special ties with a particular Dreaming species.

Women's narratives present a narrower stage, typically intra-social in scope. For the most part the actors are people and the habits and operations of other species do tend to be viewed from the perspective of this more narrowly defined social order. Men's narratives ultimately draw in the panoply of Walbiri environment: the habits of animals, the social behavior of human beings, the operations of natural phenomena are all presented on a single stage.

The typical framework of the track narrative, which consists of 'emergence-site to site journey-going in' (described in Chapters III and IV) provides a stereotype

by showing two concentric circles shaded over with pencil and re-outlined into hills. The circles, he explained, were the camps of the women; the outlines of the hills, their transformed heads and breasts.
for order absent from women's narratives. Any given account may, of course, actualize only a portion of the frame. In other cases, as has been suggested, the ancestor is associated with only one site. Within the maximal journey frame, however, other action patterns, including those of daily food foraging, eating and sleeping, constitute smaller cycles of behavior.

In accord with the generally wider and more comprehensive stage presented by men's narratives is the emphasis upon allegorical equations and the originating effects of behavior. Ordinary transient traces of an individual or parts of his body become permanent features of the topography. Through various 'metamorphic' and 'metaphoric' linkages otherwise discrete items are drawn together into a single complex item. Track narratives are concerned in part with the creation or demonstration of ontologically complex items of this type.

Narrative complexity and design meanings

These differences in the level of significance and complexity typical of each set of narrative contexts are reflected in the semantic complexity of the designs. The most apparent semantic contrast between Guruwari and Jauwalju is the permeation of the former with the locale and journey situation. The site or site-path meaning can come to underlie any individual Dreaming context by the simple mechanism of compressing into the circle-line figure meaning items relevant to the special context; at the same time, the
site-path meaning, relevant for all Dreamings, is retained.

Some examples of this procedure are provided by the design explanations for circle-line Guruwari in Chart IV. The camp of the rain, for instance, is always a rockhole; the circle in the rain design (11) specifies the rockhole from which the rain emerged at Walabanba, while the line specifies the lightning and other individual rain features which are regarded as the path of the rain. The circle in the snake design (7), however, is a snake hole, the camp of Jaribiri snake (at a particular site), and the line is the snake. For the yam design (4) the circle specifies the yam, the camp of the yam ancestor at a place named by the informant. Since the camp became a hill in which the food is now found, all these items can be covered by the circle stroke. Similarly, the circle in the digging-stick women design (9) specifies at once the breasts of the women and their camp sites.

Men sometimes give 'camp' (of the ancestor) as the explanation of the circle, or mention some topographical feature. In other instances the more special item of meaning may be given, and further comments or questioning generally reveal that the informant identifies the item with the camp site. Men also may volunteer more than one meaning explicitly equating the items with each other. The maximal pattern of multiple meanings for the circle is: \( \bigcirc \) = (ancestral) camp/topographical feature/special Dreaming item. In the case of the rain, the rain's camp
is identical with the topographical feature so that the same item fills both slots. The explanation of the yam design gives a full pattern: camp of the yam ancestor/hill/yam. Since all these items are regarded by Walbiri as aspects of the country (and both the camp and the special item may be thought of as literally embedded in the country), the entire complex actually constitutes the substance of the place. At this place the ancestor emerged or went in; or his progeny went in. The 'hole' is often specifically a waterhole as in 3.2 in the chart.

In the sense that the circle can be used to specify any one of a range of special items depending upon the situational context, it functions like the sand story circle. But underlying the variation is the generic site meaning which permeates the variant contexts creating a unifying metaphor. Hence, digging-stick holes, different vegetable foods, breasts, snake and ant holes, fire (not in the chart) and other similar items can all be 'camps'.

Similar special items of meaning can be applied to the path line although this seems to be less common. The tail is one example which has been previously suggested. Others are: smoke, rain and lightning, tree trunks and spears (usually when identified with the tail line).

1. Walbiri men do regard the circle as female, sometimes referring to it or to circular head dresses (with concentric circle designs in fluff) as 'woman'. Some informants explicitly equated these head dresses with the site circles of a typical site-path figure, commenting that both could be referred to as female.
A similar semantic pattern can be observed in the explanations given for actor-item figures where, as previously indicated (Chapter IV) the item is ordinarily the site. Special items, relevant to the events of the narrative account, or to the particular Dreaming species can also be specified by the circle stroke. The circle of the lizard design (Chart IV,2), for instance, specifies both the food being eaten by the lizards and the hill which emerged at the place where they ate.

An excellent example of the compression of the daily activity situation with that of locale and hunt is illustrated in Fig. 11B. As is suggested in the commentary accompanying this design, the graph may be analyzed as a blend of the four basic figure types: actor-possessions-item; site-path and enclosure; track print. The resultant complex figure connotes the eating of food in the camp after the hunt (and according to the informant's later comment, the dancing of the ceremony), the return from the hunt, and the final 'going in' at the site. The graph actually synthesizes the basic daily routine scene cycle which typifies the ordinary sand story into a single complex situation; to this it adds the locale (circle=site), the track print which identifies the species, and an allegorical equation of spear and kangaroo tail (-penis). The further standard equation of tail and ceremonial pole was not made explicit in this case.

None of the Jauwalju in the collection synthesizes
situations and blends figure types in this way. Most of the actor-item figures of these designs signify (according to the informant’s explanation) only one situation; at the most two may be implied. Women seldom proffer more than one item of meaning as an explanation for a stroke, although double meanings occasionally occur (4 in the chart). On the whole, simple one-term meanings are ascribed to the strokes and figures.

For women's designs there does not appear to be any generic meaning situation which crosscuts different Dreaming contexts as does the locale and journey situation of the Guruwari designs. As suggested in Chapter IV, the circle in the actor-item figures of Jauwalju designs may specify a waterhole, camp, vegetable food or other similar items according to the individual context. A similar range of meaning items is found in the circle-line figures of these designs. What is absent is the governing common meaning of the camp site which can underlie any context.

1. There are some cases where it seems possible that two situations might be connoted by the one graph, but about which my informants were not explicit. Since these associations were not apparent to me at the time, I did not pursue the questioning further. Jauwalju 4, for example, seems to imply the women eating the berry as well as painting the design, and the lines explained as the Jauwalju design might also be the tree with the fruit on it (cf. 3 and 7). Since women closely associate the two situations of eating and painting in their narrative accounts, this conjecture seems to have some support.
Summary

1. Men's and women's narratives may be contrasted in terms of the level of cultural significance reflected in each. Men's major narratives provide paradigms of the logico-meaningful ordering of culture. This ordering is expressed in the synthesis of human and non-human species; in allegoric and metamorphic linkages between items; in the ordering of narratives by reference to the large scale 'epic' framework of the locale and journey. This macrocosmic type of structure and content is not fully developed in women's narratives which tend on the whole to be socio-centric and for which the maximal frame in use replicates the small scale patterning of the daily routine rather than the more inclusive nomadic cycle.

Although the space of the Jauwalju narrative, like that of the track and locale narrative is identified with geographical space, it is only in the latter (particularly in the track narrative) that the named site is an integral part of the content. Similarly, concern with the origin of the topography is a more prominent element of men's than women's narrative.

2. These differences are reflected in the alignment of meaning items in Jauwalju and Guruwari designs. The ascription of multiple meanings to a single stroke is a standardized feature of men's explanations. For women's explanations it is less apparent. The occurrence of multiple meanings can be attributed to two inter-
related aspects of the Guruwari design system. On the one hand, items of a complex type are regularly included amongst those signified by the design figures. Of these, the site—different aspects of which can all be signified by the circle stroke—is certainly the most pervasive. On the other hand, the system is marked by the use of the site-path figure as a device for specifying a range of special items, thus bringing them into the orbit of the locale and journey. As far as can be ascertained from my present body of data, no equivalent synthesis seems to be available for women's designs.
FIG. 12. WOMEN'S SECULAR NARRATIVES

A. An emu story

The plot, which centers on the pursuit of the emu, is built into the 'daily life' framework. The storyteller did not refer to the actors by subsection terms but later suggested the subsections to which they belonged. Although the demise of the emu marks the end of one plot, the storyteller considered events following it as part of the same story. This serial treatment is facilitated by the cyclical framework.

Here are yams. A woman walks up and puts down her food container. She digs for yams. She puts the food in the container and walks to the shade. She returns with another woman [her co-wife] to camp. Here is the hut. The woman sits down. She puts down the container with food. A man [the women's husband] comes in. He sits down. He lies down to sleep. The man sleeps. The two women sleep. The man sleeps by his spears. [After they wake up] the man goes off hunting. The women go off hunting. An emu comes along. The man spears it. Here are many trees with the emu's nest. The man takes the emu eggs. He puts them down. He takes up the emu and the eggs and he carries them off. The man goes to the hut. The two women now sleep. [The next day] the man and women go hunting. The women go for vegetable food. An emu sits on its nest. The man comes and throws a spear at it. The emu flees. The man sings to catch the emu. After pursuing the emu, the man grows tired and lies down to sleep. He [wakes and] follows the same emu. Through a creek bed the emu flees. The man pursues. [This is repeated for a few times to indicate the length of the pursuit.] Here is a big pool of water. The man goes into it forever. The man goes into it forever. [Storyteller explained that this was not any particular place.]

*Narratives A and B are free translations of condensed forms of the accounts. C is my summary of the basic incidents in the story. During sand story narratives women often use nouns deictically, as pointers to the sand graph. To convey this usage I have interpolated the expression, 'Here are...': 'Here are yams'; 'Here is the hut.'
One of the man's wives follows behind him. She comes upon the same place where the man slept. Here is the water to which the emu fled. The woman goes along crying and beating herself in grief for her husband. Some other women come hunting. They ask her why she is crying. [She answers] "I have lost my husband." Now she is single. She goes along to the [women's] camps where there are many people. She sits down weeping. Many other women come weeping. They make 'sorry cuts' on their heads with digging sticks. [Afterwards] she marries another man. They sit in camp. The man sleeps, the woman sleeps. Here is the fire. They wake up. The man hurries off hunting. The woman goes hunting with many of her 'sisters-in-law.' They dig for yams. They dig and dig. They go to a shade. They go back to camp. The man comes. He sits down. He gives meat to the woman. The woman sleeps. The man sleeps. . . . [Incomplete]

B. A meat and yam story

The whole story follows the typical narrative framework without much deviation. Although the basic incidents consist simply of the cutting up of kangaroo meat and the gathering of yams, the storyteller pointed out that this was a 'proper Djugurba' belonging to The Dream Time, and that she had learned it from her mother. Only a fraction of the account is given.

Here is a fire burning in a hut. A Djugarei man, two Nangala women and a child are sleeping. They get up. They eat meat. They go hunting. The women dig for yams. Putting meat and yams in the receptacles, they go to camp. The fire is burning. They cook the yams. Having cooked them, they eat them. They put the meat in the hut. They go for water. They drink the water. They give meat to their mother. [After sleeping in their camp and waking up] they go to their mother. They go hunting. Here are yams. The mother digs for yams. [All are shown digging for yams.] They go off to camp. Djugarei sits in the camp. Here is the child. The fire is burning. They sleep. They wake up. The man hurries off hunting. Here stands a tree. The kangaroo is lying down. He spears it. He cuts it open and takes out its intestines. He takes it to the shade. Here is the tree. He digs a hole. He throws twigs into the hole and lights a fire. He cuts off the tail; he cuts the two legs. The meat is cooking
[in the earth oven]. He takes the meat off the fire and puts it down. He cuts the two thighs—the two good parts. He takes it to camp. He walks along. Here stands the camp. The fire is burning. Nangala is sitting. Djungarei comes walking and puts down the meat. He cuts it up. They eat. . . [this continues in a similar vein with particular emphasis upon the cutting up of the different parts of the kangaroo.]

C. A snake story

The plot was not built into the cycling narrative framework, but was briefly recounted.

A Djabangari man and his wife are sitting eating in their camp when a snake comes and bites the man. The man then turns into a snake and goes off to a waterhole. Although the snake hunts for meat it keeps returning to the woman for its food. The wife goes and sits under a tree and weeps because her husband has turned into a snake. Her close female kin come and weep with her. The snake goes to a hill and as he crawls over the ground his belly is pierced by the rocky country. This turns him back into a man again. He sits on the hill and then 'goes in.' All the people come together and go into the same hole. This ends the story.
FIG. 13. JAUWALJU NARRATIVES*

A. **Managidji berry**

Songs associated with the dream tell of the picking and eating of the black berry. The designs depict the Managidji and other associated foods; two of them are simply groups of circles. The hill of the narrative is a place in the narrator's community country northeast of Yuendumu.

A big hill and cave are here. Managidji and other vegetable foods are all here together. Women come and take the food. I am standing. [Two other women are listed as present.] They [i.e., we] take up all the vegetable foods and carry them to the shade of a tree. Hungry, they sit down and eat. At the shade they sit cooking meat and roasting the vegetables—two Nagamara women, myself and a Nabanangga woman. They sit eating the food which lies in the food scoop. They go off to camp. Here the fire is burning. They all sit down. [A list of the women referred to by subsection terms follows.] After sleeping they get up. Another woman comes along and lies down with her little child beside her. Here is the fire. Then they all get up and eat the vegetable food. They leave walking along, poking the ground for goannas as they go. . . . Here is the hill. They pick vegetable foods. They all prepare the vegetables and eat. Filled up with food they return to camp. [Each one then goes to her husband. After sleeping they wake up and the events of food gathering and eating are repeated.] . . . Thus did I dream.

*Narrative A is a free translation of the account. B and C are my summaries of basic incidents in the dream. These are derived from the sand story accounts and from song explanations. Some of the songs interspersed the storytelling. Narrative C is a synthesis of a number of (not entirely consistent) versions of the story given by the same storyteller. All the narratives are drawn from accounts of the women who have rights over the Jauwalju: the dreamer or senior wife of the dreamer.
B. Jauwagi berry

This account was very brief, including only five sand story scenes: sleeping; dancing; sitting eating; sleeping; going in. Songs describe the growth of the fruit on the tree and the women eating it. One of the designs is illustrated in Chart IV (Jauwalju #3); another design consists of a group of circles depicting the fruit.

The dreamer is sleeping in a women's camp with her close sisters-in-law and her sons, who are small boys at the time of the dream. As she is sleeping the Jauwagi spirits pierce her in the stomach. These spirits—who merge with the dreamer and those in the camp with her—dance a Jauwalju and then sit plucking and eating the fruit from the trees. From the fruit they acquire sores on their mouths. The trees are heavy with the berry and some falls to the ground. The women take it up and eat it. After eating they go off to camp and sleep. Then they all come together and go into a waterhole around which the Jauwagi grows. As they go in they sing. This ends the story.

C. Possum

Songs associated with the dream refer primarily to the daily activities of the possum people: eating, walking around, going hunting, singing for a man. A number of the designs are illustrated in Fig. 7D and Chart IV (Jauwalju #1-1.2).

The narrator and her husband (to whom the dream is ascribed) are sleeping in the shade of a bean tree. (Another version includes the co-wives in the sleeping scene.) As they sleep they sing possum songs. Then they paint each other with possum Jauwalju and go off hunting. The possum woman digs for small yams and the husband spears various game animals, including possum. At noon-day they sit in the shade and eat the meat and vegetable food. After this they sleep. Repetitions of these food foraging and eating scenes recur throughout the narrative. While out hunting the possum man has hurt his foot on a
sharp twig. He lies down to rest. (According to one song explanation, when he rests he makes a waterhole—his mark.) The dreamer, her co-wives and the man's sisters weep because he has hurt himself. Then they sit around him painting and singing Jauwalju to heal his wound. This activity is likened by the narrator to that of the medicine man. The man is healed, and they all go out hunting again. The women then gather together to perform a Jauwalju ceremony. They set up two fighting sticks around which they sit decorating themselves, singing the possum songs and dancing. As they dance they sing of their desire for sexual intercourse. After this they return to camp to sleep. Waking in the morning, the women go off until they reach a large creek and rockhole. After obtaining water, they dig for yams of various kinds. The women and their husband sit eating the food and then the women dance and sing. After this they all dig a hole and go into the ground. (The version of another woman ends with a fight between the co-wives; the husband spears them, and then many people come and go into the ground.)
FIG. 14. TRACK NARRATIVES

A. Digging-stick and sacred board women

Songs associated with the narrative provide the site names and recount events along the track. The designs illustrated by the informant depict the women sitting and eating; other designs consist of a series of concentric circles—their breasts/camps; a line set—their digging sticks. These were all shown as board designs. Designs associated with another group of digging-stick women, whose track is much the same but not identical with that of these women, are illustrated in Chart IV, Guruwari #9, 9.1.

At the site Gandagulangu (women—belonging to) west of Vaughan Springs the women emerge from the ribs of a male snake. They are emitted at the request of the two sons of the snake, who say to the old man, "Give us Julguruguru (breasts/women/sacred boards)." The women who emerge are of all subsections, but the father snake is Djambidjimba. When they appear the two sons of the snake each acquire a tail (penis). The women journey along the track then to Jandjiwara where they dance putting their Dreaming marks. These marks are sacred token boards called gunamani (guna, feces, intestines) and julguruguru which are emitted by the women as their feces. After dancing they sleep at the site and a hill emerges from their camp.

Then they journey along from Jandjiwara singing as they go of the waterholes made by their feet in dancing. These holes are also made by digging sticks which they carry as they dance, and which are equated with the sacred pole used by men in ceremonials. At all the sites along the route many spirit children, the conception spirits, result from the women's activities and go into the waterholes.

*Both narratives are my summaries of the accounts. A is derived from the verbal account, song explanations and story drawings of one man. B is a synthesis of the explanations and drawings of a number of men, but relies particularly upon the drawing series of one informant.
which they create. As they go along singing they also emit their token boards.

Journeying from Jandjiwara, the women are followed by a Djungarei man in the form of a bird. The man sings out to the two Nangala women for food. They arrange a rendezvous and he tells them to go on ahead while he goes to hunt for meat to bring them. This man steals the Julguruguru and Gunamani boards left by the women along the route and puts them and the digging sticks on his head in the form of a headdress such as men today wear in ceremonies. When he goes to the women's camp he carefully puts down this headdress at a distance from the camp so as to keep it from the eyes of the women. Then he spends the night with them. Sneaking away early in the morning, he retrieves his headdress and puts it on again. Then he follows along behind the dancing women.

At Vaughan Springs the women dance and sing leaving their marks as before. They also prepare vegetable food, pounding seed and winnowing it. Smacking their lips, they eat with gusto and then go to sleep. From their camps again hills arise, and this feature recurs from site to site. These hills are also the heads and breasts of the women.

From Vaughan Springs only a group of Nangala women and their daughters continue through. These journey on to Jinundji (bean tree) where they gather the red beans which have dropped from the trees. From them they make necklaces which they wear in dancing. Then they go along to Wangala (crow) site where they dance looking around for the Djungarei man. He comes and sleeps with some of the women as before.

After journeying to a few other sites far to the southeast of Yuendumu, they come to Junguru where they dance an initiation ceremony. Here they grow weary from their long journey and go head first into the waterholes made by their digging sticks. As they go in, the Djungarei man, now wearing his headdress, sits behind two of the women and shows it to them. Then he takes them with him into the ground.

B. Rain

Some of the associated designs are illustrated in Chart IV (Guruwari #11) and discussed in Chapter VII.

Men's knowledge of the track centered in the Yuendumu-Mt. Doreen region; beyond this their information was more limited. For another Walbiri account of the rain see Capell (1952), pp. 121 ff.
The rain emerges from a rockhole at Walabanba, a place far to the northeast of Yuendumu. Beneath the rockhole lies the rainbow snake from whose camp the rain comes out. Lightning also emerges from the rockhole and standing up goes into the sky. From the lightning comes the rainbow, generally regarded as the child of the rain or of the lightning. Underneath the rainbow lie design-marked token boards and stones which were first seen by the rain in his dream. Strings of small clouds are thrown out by the rain and lightning; large black clouds amass and it rains on the left side all day.

The rain then journeys away forever from Walabanba, singing out his songs in the thunder as he goes, and making Dreaming things. (Some men suggested that the rain ancestor who travels north from Bindubi country meets the rain at Walabanba and the two travel on together.) Going westward to Wanilburu and other sites beyond, the rain sings out "I am going west now" as he leaves his marks. "Westward he went, marks he put." When the rain pours down he 'walks around' making his camps, the rockholes where he 'lies down' to this day. When the ancestor sleeps he sees his designs, his track. When the lightning 'stands up' (the rain ancestor stands), he pierces or 'spears' the earth and gives rise to eucalyptus trees and hills; the rainbow also emerges. Design-marked token boards and stones are left by the rain in the ground when he pours down. People or spirit children—often described as having first been trees—also emerge from these activities. When the rain goes into the ground he creates a second Dreaming track which journeys along underground. These basic features recur all along the route.

After leaving Walabanba, the rain travels to Wanilburu and then on through a Jauwagi site where women sit picking and eating the black berries from which they get sores on their lips. Near Nabagulangu (rain-belonging to), a few miles north of Yuendumu, he crosses the track of a small snake who has travelled underground from the south and now comes out at this site. All along the ranges north of Yuendumu the rain roars with thunder, lightning stands up and spears the ground, and hills or trees emerge. The hills are also large rain clouds and the region near Nabagulangu, which includes a number of rain sites, is called Milbiri (cloud).

At nearby Bogar, the rain crosses the track of Jaribiri snake who is travelling northward, carrying his sacred boards upon his head and putting his eggs as he goes. Passing through here the rain goes on to Jandjilbiri (stars) where a rockhole sings out asking him to come and storm there. By this means the rockhole 'pulls up' the rain ancestor, just as men do today when they sing for rain. After the storm, design-marked stones and boards lie in the rockholes where they remain to this day.
(The term *gilgi* may be used to refer to either the rock-holes or these objects.) After the storm the rainbow snake comes out. At Jandjilbiri the rain also picks up the stars and carries them along. Going in the direction of Mt. Doreen the rain passes by a blind woman who is being led along by her father. These two go on to Megindji, a rain site further along the route where they go in and now sit inside the hill. As the rain journeys on the lightning cracks and destroys a tree and many new trees then emerge.

At the important rain site Megindji, near Mt. Doreen, the rain creates rain women who then disperse to many other rain sites where they sit down and go into the ground. Here they live today with the rainbow snake, making pearl shells which are sent out in various directions. (Cf. the diagram, Fig. 9.2.) Here also (or at nearby Mirawari) the rain picks up the rainbird who has been following behind him; putting him on his head, he carries him for the rest of the way. Going to Mirawari the rain meets another rain man who has been created by the smoke from the fires of two (fire Dreaming?) men. Leaving the Mt. Doreen region, the rain heads northwest into the Tanami desert where finally, at Gurbalanu, he grows tired and goes into a large rockhole forever.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dreaming Species</th>
<th>'X'</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>Adjunct</th>
<th>Graph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kangaroo</td>
<td>camp/string cross</td>
<td>sitting here</td>
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<td>2. Lizard</td>
<td>hill/fruit</td>
<td>lizards sitting eating</td>
<td>boomerangs</td>
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<td>3. Walingari men</td>
<td>decorated shields</td>
<td>2 men sitting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3.1 &quot;</td>
<td>waterhole/camp/fire</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>spears</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 &quot;</td>
<td>camp/water 'came out'</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>/= spears - = shield</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Yam</td>
<td>site name camp/food/hill</td>
<td></td>
<td>leaves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Witchetty grub</td>
<td>site names hill</td>
<td>walked</td>
<td>)= slept :: = red ochre 'paints up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Honey ant</td>
<td>site names digging-stick holes</td>
<td></td>
<td>'they follow'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 &quot;</td>
<td>site names camp</td>
<td>'two went then'</td>
<td>&quot;=a vine ((=ant bur-rows</td>
<td></td>
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<td>7. Jaribiri snake</td>
<td>o=hole O=camp</td>
<td>snake track</td>
<td>/= ribs, marks :: :: = [eggs]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>7.1 &quot;</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td></td>
<td>ribs/boards/children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dreaming Species</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Adjunct</td>
<td>Graph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Possum</td>
<td>site names.</td>
<td>tails</td>
<td>[footprints]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'here they dance'</td>
<td>'they came and went'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Digging-stick women</td>
<td>breast/camp</td>
<td>[paths]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1 &quot;</td>
<td>site names.</td>
<td>[paths]</td>
<td>digging sticks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sleeping place, dancing ground</td>
<td></td>
<td>::= &amp; 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Emu</td>
<td>stomach/camp, home</td>
<td>[?]</td>
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<td>11. Rain</td>
<td>site name. rockhole/camp</td>
<td>$S_i$=rainbow $S_{ii}$=lightning</td>
<td>small rain clouds/trees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.1 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>$S_i$=lightning $i=$black cloud $iii$=rain running</td>
<td>::= rain drops</td>
<td></td>
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Jauwalju

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<th>U</th>
<th>Adjunct</th>
<th>Graph</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1. Possum</td>
<td>water, rockholes</td>
<td>possums sitting</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.1 &quot;</td>
<td>$O =$ ochres on a stone</td>
<td>possums sitting $(() =$cave</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 &quot;</td>
<td>male possum lying down</td>
<td>possums sitting</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dreaming Species</td>
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<td>U</td>
<td>Adjunct</td>
<td>Graph</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Possum</td>
<td>possum wo- men sleeping with</td>
<td>female pos- sums sitting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Jauwagi berry</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>Names of women, 'I myself'</td>
<td>teeth biting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. &quot;</td>
<td>0 = food</td>
<td>women painting</td>
<td>o =food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Snake</td>
<td>snake curled sleeping</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>6. Fighting stick</td>
<td>fighting stick</td>
<td>woman sitting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Jauwagi berry</td>
<td>tree/path</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adjunct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Managidji berry</td>
<td>Managidji digging</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1 &quot;</td>
<td>0 =daugh- ters, 0 =mother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Kangaroo mouse</td>
<td>camp</td>
<td>[path?]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Rain</td>
<td>[rock- hole?]</td>
<td>lightning, rain, clouds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Rain</td>
<td>rockhole [ ]=rain clouds?</td>
<td>[rain]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Commentary, Chart IV.

The chart examples have been drawn from the more complex of both men's and women's designs. The informant's explanation of the strokes is given along with an outline of the design. The design explanations of 10 men and 9 women are exemplified but other persons were sometimes part of the discussion. Designs which with their explanations have been illustrated in other parts of this study are not repeated here.

For convenience, explanations are grouped according to the core figure type represented by the design: [o-o], [c o]. (Enclosures are not treated separately.) Circle-line figures do not regularly carry the site-path meaning in women's designs, but the graphic formula may be used with a range of meanings. Arrangements may be adjusted to the shape of the upper part of the body.

/ = two items covered by the same stroke. The items may be regarded by Walbiri as 'the same thing' or as closely associated. 'Names' = informant mentioned a proper name as part of the explanation of the stroke. [ ] = my interpolation. Designs with the same number designation belong to one Dreaming or track segment or are ascribed to one dream (Jauwalju).

Guruwari designs illustrated are for the most part board (including shield) and ground designs. Two (8,1,10) are derived from cave designs. Amongst the Jauwalju, #1,2,3,3.1,6,10-12 are designs for the upper part of the body. Jauwalju #8,10 extend over the upper arms.

Sources for the designs: Guruwari #7,9,1,11,12 after board paintings; #10 after the cave painting; others after sand and paper drawings. Jauwalju #4,5,7 after sand drawings; #9 after paper drawing; remainder after body paintings.

Guruwari 1. Along their route the two kangaroos carried large string crosses. The design refers to the Dreaming at any of the sites. The same design figure can also name the different kangaroo Dreaming at Wandarbi (Fig. 11). When the two kangaroos finally burned on the fire far to the south in the Rawlinson ranges they left their string crosses behind them on the ground. As one man suggested: cross, camp and place became one thing. Each part of the cross signifies part of the body of the Dreaming. 2. The lizards sit eating fruit after which a hill emerges and they go into it. 3. The decoration of shields is a major feature of the initiation cere-
monies originated by the Walingari men. Alteration of
shield oval to line occurs in other instances. The
two men put down their spears and sit in the shade after
hunting meat. The meat cooks on the fire. Spears and
camp are handled by the circle-line (site-path) formula;
the design might be analyzed as a composite of the two
figure types. I have treated the spears as adjuncts but
other analyses of the design composition are possible.
The spears used by the two men are the tall leafy poles
with which men dance at initiation ceremonies. The
Walingari took these from their legs, and today they are
attached to the dancers' legs. In another instance, an
informant explained the situation with a sand notation
showing the poles (-spears) being pulled from
the legs of the men. He equated spear, penis and pole.
Cf. the situation connoted by the kangaroo design of
Fig. 11. The Walingari also have special associations
with the two kangaroos Dreaming. The men emerged
from the waterhole. All three designs refer to the same
site. A yam Dreaming at a site east of Yuendumu.
The camp of the yam Dreaming is the yam; yams are inside
the hill at this place. The witchetty dreamt his des-
igns while sleeping in camp. Waking, he painted himself
and sang. Women sit digging for honey ants at the
central site. With their digging sticks they dig for
the ants 'following' them along to the different sites.
The vine is associated with the honey ants. The
camp is the main hole; the surrounding arcs are side bur-
rows. Two honey ant ancestors travelled along (2 path
lines). The camp site is treated as an enclosure.
The two snake paths indicate that the snake came back to
his camp. The design at Ngama cave; after a paper
drawing by the informant. The ribs of the snake became
sacred boards which he carried on his head as men do to-
day in ceremonies; these became his progeny. The
possums moved back and forth between the two nearby sites.
Men dance at the site. The breasts of the wo-
men are their camp sites. This party of women, like
those of the narrative Fig. 14A, carry sacred boards and
dance along leaving waterholes made by their digging
sticks. Some of the other incidents along the two tracks
differ. Informant's comments on a cave design at
Rogari. He explained that the stomach and the camp were
the same (the mark made by the emu lying down?).
The rain emerges from the rockhole and goes into the
sky. Its sky track is the lightning. Lightning and
rainbow are thought of as alike, but not the same. They
are sometimes treated together as parallel path lines.
In this case the inner line is the rainbow. Each
band of path lines specifies a different feature of the
rain's track. As the Dreaming moves along, rain falling
from small clouds gives rise to the trees. The informant explained that both tree and cloud were specified by the short line.

Jauwalju 1-1.2. These possums are those of the narrative Fig. 13C. The possums sit drinking at rockholes; painting up for a Jauwalju ceremony; singing over the male possum who has hurt himself. The design Fig. 7C belongs to the same set. 2. A different set of possum - Jauwalju. Some of the situations in this story are similar to that of the first set. 3. The dreamer and her sister sit eating the berry. The informant explained the U strokes by saying that she and another woman were eating. Lines inserted into the U strokes are their teeth biting the food. Horizontal lines are probably also the berry tree which is usually shown in this way. The design belongs to the woman whose Jauwagi dream is summarized in Fig. 13B. 4. The women sit painting Jauwagi berry Jauwalju. The lines specify the design (also possibly the tree?). The circle-line formula is combined with the actor-item figure. 5. The informant did not know the specific meaning of the U strokes. The design was taught to her by her husband. The only other snake design in the Jauwalju collection belongs to this set. 6. The woman sits at a Jauwalju ceremony. Fighting stick and penis are equated, but the meaning was not made explicit in this instance. 7. As the Jauwagi journeyed along the berry trees emerged. The design was taught to the informant by her husband. 8. The Managidji women dig for water in the creek bed. From their digging the vegetable food as well as the waterhole result. Growing hungry, the women sit and eat. The circles probably specify the waterholes as well as the food. Lines are the digging sticks (cf. Guruwari #6). The Managidji narrative of Fig. 13 belongs to a different woman. 8.1. The Managidji daughters inside the mother. 9. The kangaroo mouse women danced a Jauwalju ceremony at their camp, a hill south of Yuendumu. They carried a Julguru-guru—the pitchi shaped sacred board an undecorated version of which women use at initiation ceremonies (see note p. 17). 10. Rain clouds emerged from the lightning. The design was described as an old one—not newly dreamt. 11. The design was taught by a man to his wife, and belongs to a Waneiga Walbiri woman, whereas #10 belongs to the Mt. Doreen Ngalia Walbiri.
CHAPTER VII

DREAMING DESIGNS AS PICTORIAL DESCRIPTIONS

Primary consideration has been given in this study to the narrative aspect of Walbiri graphs. In the present chapter attention will be briefly turned to a more direct consideration of the descriptive, pictorial aspect of the system.

The pictorial description presented by a graph may be of a minimal, relatively undifferentiated kind, or it may be more complex and specific. A circle used to depict a hill presents a minimal description by comparison with the hill graph of Fig. 9.2C (reproduced in Fig. 15) which provides a somewhat more differentiated and particular description.

In the context of the Dreaming design the problem of description is that of the means by which designs serve to picture the features of various Dreaming species. These may include both relatively minimal, non-specific descriptions and those of a more complex, graphically distinctive type. Put more generally, the question raised is that of the kinds and degree of graphic contrast between the designs for different Dreamings or Dreaming species.

The descriptive aspect of the design is often ex-
plicitly emphasized by Walbiri who may explain the form of the graph by reference to certain characteristic features of the Dreaming species which it is thought to simulate. Occasionally they may use the design for the Dreaming when attempting to describe the phenomenon.

In this chapter, the consideration given the descriptive aspect of the design system is necessarily very limited—only a sample sketch of some of the intricate problems involved. Attention is centered primarily upon the mechanisms available within the system for creating from the circle-line figure relatively specific pictures which comprehend more precisely the detail and variety of the visual world. Consideration is thus limited to men's Guruwari designs; Jauwalju, which present a somewhat different problem, are not discussed.

Pictographic elements

A number of graphs appear in the Walbiri repertory which are more or less unique, individualized units. Some of these are not generated from the basic stock of strokes; others seem to be, at least in part, highly specialized arrangements of strokes not conforming to

1. The adjustment of general graphic formulae to 'fit' the particular is referred to by Gombrich (1960), p. 71 as "the principle of the adapted stereotype". The Walbiri circle-line formula is more highly generalized than those to which Gombrich is referring, but the problem is comparable to that raised here.
more generalized rules of composition. Each of these provides a simple picture of only one class of phenomena (Fig. 15). Such graphs constitute a heterogenous assortment of pictographic elements of varying complexity, some of which are designs, or parts of designs.¹

The pictograph shares with the footprint the aspect of specificity: both are applicable to only one class of phenomena. Unlike the print, however, the pictograph is a schematic rendering of the visual contours of the phenomena. Hence, it signifies the latter directly rather than indirectly.

As suggested in Fig. 15, parallels between certain aspects of the typical stroke figures and these pictographic elements can sometimes be discerned, and no doubt there are more such parallels available than are clearly apparent from my own data. Pictographs can also function as strokes in otherwise typical figures, as does the hill graph mentioned above. Amongst the most prominent of these graphs is the snake, who appears in the cave design for Jaribiri snake (Chart IV, 7.1) with stroke adjuncts depicting the ribs. In this instance, the graph functions like a stroke; the parallel between the snake

¹. Graphs of this type are commonly distinguished in the Australian literature as 'naturalistic' or as 'zoomorphic and phytomorphic', and their appearance in the southern and central region is documented primarily for the rock and cave art (e.g., McCarthy, 1958, pp. 58ff; Spencer and Gillen, 1899, pp. 614ff). Similar elements also turn up in paper drawings collected in this region (e.g., Tindale, 1937, p. 179; Mountford, 1939, p.7). I have used the term 'pictograph' as a stopgap for a more accurate way of referring to these elements.
graph and the meander used to depict the snake (and other items) is obvious.

From the perspective of the present chapter, the main interest of these graphs is that they constitute a mechanism for the description of the visual world which is available in the Walbiri system but which is peripheral to the central tendency of this art.

Circle-line pictures

A more typical device for rendering visual detail consists in the addition of further graphic elements to core circle-line or actor-item figures, or in certain standard alterations to the circle-line figures. As a result of these generalized operations, a relatively small number of strokes and standardized arrangements can be used to picture the distinctive features of a variety of Dreaming phenomena.

The adjunctive as a descriptive device is most fully elaborated in men's circle-line designs, and it is primarily in this context that I will consider it. The operations which can be applied to a standard circle-line figure to adapt it to the more specific features of individual Dreaming phenomena are suggested in the following examples and analysis.
1. The body of the bird: his stomach (central circle); wings (side circles) and tail quarters (bottom circle); his sharp beak.

2. Five sinuous snakes, with round eyes and flicking tongues, at their rockhole.

3. The fire (circle) and the smoke swirling from it with the rain clouds which result from the smoke.

4. The roots (bottom circle), trunk and branches, and leafy tops (other circles) of the tree.

The circle-line figures in each of these examples do retain their site-path meaning. The roots and leafy tops of the tree Dreaming (a particular kind of eucalypt) are also rockholes in a single region; the arrangement indicates, as the informant pointed out, the relative position of the rockholes at this place. The bird
travelled in a single region: the circles are his camps (the larger central circle is probably the main site).

A particular narrative situation is, in addition, connoted by each figure. The snakes emerging from their rockhole at a site southeast of Yuendumu each travelled in a different direction. Those going west and north became 'quiet' because one eye was gouged out. Two Dream Time men at a place northwest of Yuendumu made the fire by rubbing a spearthrower against a shield (the traditional method of fire-making). As the smoke went up into the air, clouds were formed and it rained. All of these aspects of meaning—the generic locale situation, the particular features of the Dreaming species and the particular narrative context—are conveyed at once by each design.

Individualized pictures may also be yielded by the addition of stroke adjuncts to a circle core. Special elements affixed to the circle in the design for a large yam (Chart IV,4) yield a picture of the tuber with its vine on top of the ground. One design for the digging-stick women pictures the sacred token boards being carried under the arm much as women carry the pitchi today:

The design consists of a circle (the breast) and a special arrangement of item lines (— = arm; // = boards) as the adjunct. A design for a hill Dreaming pictures a conical hill at the site by altering the circle
and inserting into a distended portion of it two additional small camp circles.

This kind of alteration of the circle is unusual, occurring only in this instance in the collection. The resulting figure is a special kind of enclosure.

Kinds of adjunctives

The two basic positions for stroke adjuncts are affixation to the core, and loose arrangement around the core. Small-circle clusters around a circle in one ant design, for instance, depict the ants swarming around their ant hill camp. Dashes along the lightning line in a rain design are small strings of rain clouds put out by the lightning and rain. This position for the clouds is freely varied with affixation to the sides of the line. A similar variation in the position of the arc burrows in honey ant designs occurs.

1. In a few instances small-circle clusters are placed between the lines of the concentric circle. This kind of 'infix' overlaps with the enclosure figure. Another example of what seems to be an infix occurs in the diagram Fig. 9.3 where small-circle clusters are set into the radiating path lines. No parallel examples of this arrangement appear in the collection. Single lines placed between a set of circles (or circles plus other adjuncts) in a kind of serial arrangement (\textbackslash 0 \textbackslash 0 \textbackslash 0 \ldots) should probably be treated as another figure type, rather than as an adjunctive arrangement of lines around the circle core. This kind of figure occurs occasionally in men's board designs. The meaning of the lines varies, but in one or two cases informants explained that they were merely intended to indicate a division and had no meaning.
They may be loosely arranged along the sides of the figure (Chart IV, 6.1) or affixed to the core (see Chart V). The designs picture the side burrows or horizontal passages which surround the central passage, and the nest (camp) of the ants at the bottom of the hole.

Most of the elements which function as adjunctives to core site-path (or actor-item) figures are stroke replicate figures of the kind mentioned in Chapter IV. These consist primarily of small-circle clusters, line sets of various types, dashes, wavy lines, different kinds of arcs (of which one type is a connected arc: [ ], and plain circles. Smaller concentric circles (commonly signifying subordinate camps) occasionally appear amongst the adjuncts to core circle or circle-line figures. Footprints are also, as we have seen, regularly used in this position. The U stroke also occurs in a few cases amongst the adjuncts to site-path figures.

The specific meanings of these adjuncts depend upon context, but the typical stroke replicate figure always signifies multiples of the same item; thus it is used to depict those features of the Dreaming which are plural or numerous as, for example, eggs, grains of sand, ants, raindrops (small-circle clusters); side burrows of the honey ant, ribs, legs (arcs); rain clouds, sparks (dashes); stems and roots (wavy lines); boards, digging-sticks, cicatrices (line sets).

There are, in addition, a number of more anomalous
elements used as adjuncts. The eyes and tongues of the snake illustrated above, for example, could be described as a special arrangement of small-circle clusters and dashes, or as a unique element, obviously related to the snake graph shown in Fig. 15. Small circles alone are sometimes appended to the end of the snake meander to depict the eyes. The elements used to depict the yam vine also seem to be of a more specialized type.

The position and arrangement of the connected arcs in the bird design has parallels in the handling of the mouth of the centipede shown in Fig. 15. Since the arcs combine to depict a single item, the bird's beak, the figure is not of the usual stroke replicate type. The adjunctive line combination of the digging-stick women design is also a more specialized kind of figure.

These more special adjuncts seem to be 'bound' elements which do not occur independently of a core figure. Most of the stroke replicate figures, on the other hand, may occur in varying loose arrangements as independent designs. One or more such figures may appear amongst the designs which name a single Dreaming. Designs for a Bandjiri ant Dreaming, for example, include figures of the following types painted at one ceremony:

1. small-circle cluster (ceremonial post)
2. core circle + adjuncts (ground)
3. line of circles + adjuncts (shield)

More than one kind of stroke may be used as an ad-
junct in a single design. One of these may be affixed to the core as in the snake design (Chart IV,7) or both may surround the core (Chart IV,6.1). Two different strokes may also be affixed to the circle and line as in a design for another group of women in which connected arcs affixed to either side of the path line are the women's arms and legs; line sets affixed at the junctures of the arcs are the sacred boards they carry: 

In addition to the adjunctive elements already mentioned, a single stroke—an arc specifying a cave—sometimes occurs at the ends of list type circle-line figures, half-enclosing the final circle. The arc signifies that the camp was made inside a cave from which the ancestor emerged or into which he finally went. This use of the arc seems to parallel that made of it in the sand story where it is also a background marker.

Dreaming features

Each of the designs naming a single Dreaming presents a selection of one or more of its distinctive features. A limited number of such features can be identified for each Dreaming. These may include natural characteristics of the species, cultural artifacts, and

1. Of the circle-line and actor-item figures in the Guruwari collection which include stroke replicate adjuncts other than footprints, 35 include only one kind of stroke adjunct; 22 include two kinds; 6 include three kinds.
in addition, the features of linked species which may be part of the complex.

Thus a vine linked with the honey ant Dreaming commonly appears amongst the adjuncts to honey ant circle-line designs. Wallaby and dingo Dreamings crossed the track of Jaribiri snake; their footprints may be used as adjuncts to the snake designs. Designs for Jauwagi and Managidji berry generally include some stroke specifying the rain, since they have special ties with this Dreaming.

The designs for one Dreaming can range in complexity from depictions of only one feature of the Dreaming to more complex, synthetic pictures such as those illustrated above.

Each design draws upon a basic stock of features; the designs for a single Dreaming simply present different selections and arrangements of these motifs. The sets of features which epitomize Jaribiri snake, rain and honey ant Dreamings, and the strokes ordinarily used to specify each feature are suggested in Chart V. Examples of some of the stroke combinations and of the various ways in which each combination can be assembled in the designs for these Dreamings accompany the lists of features.

Alternate strokes are not uncommon for the plural features which are treated as adjuncts. Two informants remarked upon the use of such alternates for the ribs of Jaribiri snake. They explained that (plain) circles could be substituted for the arcs along the sides of the
snake meander without changing the meaning. The two different designs which result are thus essentially synonymous graphs. In fact, line adjuncts provide a third, somewhat less typical alternate for the feature.

It will be seen that the contrasts between the designs for the three Dreamings depend in large part upon the selection and arrangement of adjuncts and upon the alteration to the line. There is an immediate gross contrast between the two meander Dreamings and the honey ant, since the latter uses the straight line. Between the two former Dreamings the degree and nature of the contrast varies. The snake and rain designs which use the S- combination, for instance, are close 'homographs' but this overlap can be obviated by the use of the pictographic snake for the Jaribiri design.\(^1\) The crisscross rain design with the dashes placed in the interstices is, however, quite distinctive.

The network of graphic relationships between the meander designs is of some interest, since amongst the most important of the Dreamings which typically use the meander are the closely associated rain (lightning), rainbow snake and fire Dreamings. Walbiri distinguish the

\(^1\) Actually, this is simply a typical snake design—much the same for various kinds of snakes. My impression is that different members of the same species are also generally named by designs which do not differ from each other more markedly than do variant designs for the same Dreaming. Similar features—the features which characterize the species—may be stressed.
designs for rainbow snake and rain, for instance, but they may also recognize the graphic parallel between them.

Thus two informants suggested that designs for these two Dreamings shared the meander line but could be distinguished by the interchange of dashes (rain clouds) for arcs (the pearl shells associated with the snake) attached to the sides of the meander. This point they illustrated by drawing a meander in the sand with dashes along the sides, and then substituting for the dashes the arcs of the snake. The parallel and contrast between the two Dreamings was then amplified by the addition of a second circle-meander figure beside the first to explain that the rain falls down on the surface of the ground, while the rainbow snake lives beneath the ground.

While rain designs occasionally use arc adjuncts as an alternate depiction of clouds, the arcs do not appear in the same position as in the snake designs. The pearl shell arcs of the snake are also reminiscent of the rib arcs for the Jaribiri snake, but the characteristic arrangement of the strokes along the meander differs. Ribs, shells and rain clouds all have explicit fertility associations: they are regarded as the progeny of the Dream-
ing or the source of his progeny. There are thus clear-cut graphic distinctions between these rain and snake designs at the same time that there are suggestive parallels.

**Summary**

1. Walbiri Dreaming designs provide pictorial descriptions of the features of different Dreaming species. These descriptions may range extensively in complexity and specificity. One of the key mechanisms available in the men's design system for obtaining relatively synthetic and specific descriptions is that of adapting the highly generalized, widely applicable circle-line figure to 'fit' the particular features of different Dreaming species. Graphic variation may thus enter into the figures, while at the same time the site, and site-path ordering principle is kept intact.

2. Tentatively, we might classify the stroke replicate figures which typically function as adjuncts (the arcs, small-circle clusters, dashes and line sets) as representing a single figure type with the general meaning 'numbers of items' or 'item plurals.' A more certain identification of the type, however, would have to be based upon a more accurate definition of the different kinds of strokes, their meaning ranges, and the metaphoric associations of the items comprising these ranges.

3. The problem of design differentiation--the con-
contrasts between designs for different Dreamings and Dreaming species—has also been raised in this chapter. I have not attempted to discuss it in any detail, but merely to present a few principles of design differentiation. A more precise mapping of these contrasts would necessitate (amongst other things) an analysis of the distribution of the different stroke adjuncts, and of the variant circle-line arrangements. Such intricate problems exceed the limits of the present study.
**FIG. 15. PICTOGRAPHIC ELEMENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRAPH</th>
<th>COMMENT AND SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| TREE  | Left: Guruwari design  
Right: part of Jauwalju design.  
Others after number of men's drawings. |
| YAMS  | Left: typical sand story graph.  
Right: derived from paper drawings. |
<p>| HILL  | Part of the design of Fig. 9.2C. Similar graphs appear in men's paper drawings; e.g., [image] |
| SNAKE | After paper drawings; sand drawings; designs |
| RAINBOW | Guruwari design. = rainbow; = raincloud; = rain. Rain and rain cloud also appear separately as a special adjunct to the ends of lightning lines in one design. |
| CENTIPEDE | Guruwari designs. = mouth. = tail. = man-first; then became centipede (legs and mouth added). Cf. body design for centipede: [image] |
| SCORPION | Informant's explanation of a design. |
| HUMAN BEING | Sand drawing; explanation of a design for some Dream Time women. = body; = head; () = arms (upper lines) and legs. Cf. the design: [image] |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Stroke combinations</th>
<th>Design examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jaribiri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>S - ::</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 snake hole</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S snake</td>
<td>0 - ::</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:: eggs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>)) oo ribs/ boards</td>
<td>S - oo - vv</td>
<td>Chart IV, 7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vv footprints of</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>linked Dreamings</td>
<td>0 - S - :: - =</td>
<td>Chart IV, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 rockhole</td>
<td>::</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S lightning</td>
<td>S - ::</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSS lightning,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rainbow, SSS</td>
<td>S - ::</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>lightning crisscross</td>
<td>S - ==</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>lightning paths</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:: raindrops</td>
<td>$ - ==</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>)) rain clouds</td>
<td>0 - S - ==</td>
<td>Chart IV, 11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSS - :: - ==</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chart IV, 11.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Sample stroke combinations and designs are illustrated. The chart suggests only some of the more characteristic ranges of variation: the typical features and stroke usages for each Dreaming.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Stroke combinations</th>
<th>Design examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honey ant</td>
<td>(</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 nest (hole)</td>
<td>/ - ::</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>central passage</td>
<td>/ - (E - »)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(underground path)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>digging sticks of women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side burrows</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(linked) vine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dreaming</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U women digging</td>
<td>0 - / - (( ( - ::) - U</td>
<td>Chart IV,6,6.1</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>0 - / - (( ( - »</td>
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<td></td>
<td>0 - /</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Commentary**

**Jaribiri.** Designs are all board (including shield) designs. The snake pictograph is commonly used instead of the meander line. Wallaby and dingo are linked with the snake; only wallaby prints are illustrated.

**Rain.** The first design (::) is a body design; remainder are board designs, and one ground design. The path line is usually lightning, but sometimes just the rain falling. Lightning can also be treated as an independent Dreaming; dashes along the meander are then generally identified as sparks rather than clouds. In one instance a number of parallel lines was interpreted as the rain running in every direction along the ground. In other cases, the parallel lines may each specify a closely associated rain feature. Small-circle clusters are usually rain drops, but in one or two instances were said to specify the clouds. The arc appears to be an alternate for the more usual rain cloud dashes, but it is possible that it is used to specify a different kind of cloud.
Walbiri distinguish various rain clouds. While one or two rain designs which do not use the meander path line occur in the collection, most of the rain designs men illustrated are of the meander type.

**Honey ant.** First design is a body design; the remainder, except for the second (a headdress design?), are board designs. There is some ambiguity in the use of the arcs, but burrow arcs are generally doubled. The vine arcs are never affixed to the core, but always ranged around it when shown.
CHAPTER VIII
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Perhaps one of the most immediately apparent features of Walbiri graphic art is the lack of a strictly decorative genre. All standardized Walbiri graphs have signification: specific items of meaning are regularly ascribed to the graphic forms. This significative aspect of the system is most clearly exhibited during storytelling and general discourse when graphs may be traced in the sand as explanatory accompaniments to verbal communication.

An extended observation of these sand notations reveals that certain standardized types of figures are regularly associated with certain kinds of narrative situations. Thus a simple circle-line figure can be widely used in journey discussions as a notation for camp sites and paths; further specification (the particular site in question; the individual whose journey is being discussed, etc.) is conveyed by extra-graphic means. The graph itself is only a brief, shorthand form accompanying the more articulate mediums of communication.

A consideration of the various graphic notations used in sand drawing yields a stock of basic figure...
types which are also represented in the design system. I have suggested that site-path, actor-item, track print and enclosure (including 'going in') figures are all such basic types. The general situations connoted by these types include the basic 'life situations' of locale and journey (semi-nomadic movement following the waterholes from place to place); the hunt; food gathering and consumption and other similar activities in camp or at one place; emergence from and return into the ground (an allegory of birth and death).

The utilization of these figures in the designs varies, and they may be differently elaborated in each of the three classes of designs. I have not tried to account in detail for these differences, but merely to suggest what appear to be the fundamental types.

Track prints and site-path figures are characteristic of the men's design system, particularly of Guruywari. The 'enclosure' in this context is the site: the hole from which the ancestor emerged or into which he or his progeny return. Only one instance of a track print appears in the Jauwalju collection. Circle-line figures which appear in Jauwalju designs do not, strictly speaking, represent the type, since the 'camp site' meaning is not regularly associated with the circle. Such figures actually constitute a relatively small proportion of the Jauwalju collection.
Actor-item figures occur in all classes of designs, but are typical of the Jauwalju and Ilbindji collections; the site-path figure is the typical one in the Guruwari collection. The accompanying table indicates the proportionate representation of actor-item and site-path figures in the design collection.

Table 1. Actor-item and site-path figures in the design collection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of Design</th>
<th>No. in collection</th>
<th>[O-O]</th>
<th>[O-O]</th>
<th>[O]</th>
<th>[/]</th>
<th>[y] and stroke replicate</th>
<th>Unclassified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guruwari</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilbindji</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jauwalju</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10*</td>
<td>10*</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = not site circle; circle enclosure and circle-line figures lacking full site-path meaning.
** = 'actor lying down' figures

Separate occurrences of site circle and path line (plus other adjunctive elements) have been tabulated under the circle-line type, but distinguished from the full circle-line figures. The column for stroke replicates and track prints includes only those figures which are independent designs, not adjuncts to site-path or actor-item figures; the stroke replicates referred to are the elements discussed in Chapter VII. The Guruwari collection includes designs for 50 Dreaming species; the (full) circle-line figure type is represented in designs for 33. Designs for 18 species are included in the Jauwalju collection; designs for 9 of these represent the actor-item type.

The wide application of the site-path figure in men's Guruwari is of special interest because of the
importance of the locale and journey in Walbiri thought about The Dream Time, and the elaboration of this 'theme' primarily within the ideology of male cult. Since Walbiri assume that all the numerous Dreamings which they distinguish have specific locale associations, the circle-line figure is applicable in theory to any Dreaming ancestor. Thus a figure of this type which is also used to depict the individual features of Dreaming species provides an economical graphic synthesis of these two aspects: the features which distinguish one species from another; the locale and journey situation common to all the Dreamings.

The characteristic Walbiri graph is built out of discrete, constituent elements which I have termed 'strokes.' Aside from footprints--treated here as a special class of strokes--the strokes in use consist primarily of circular, meander and arc-like forms.

Amongst the most important of these is the circle, which in some contexts, especially in Jauwalju, may take an elliptical form. The concentric, spiral and plain circle are the typical variants. Concentric circle and spiral are freely varied in the men's design system (and in this context I have used the term 'concentric' to refer to either form), but in the sand story it would appear that the concentric circle is used only when the 'enclosure' meaning is explicitly involved. Plain circle
and spiral are freely varied in sand story usage, but the former is by far more common; the position of the plain circle in men's designs is uncertain from my present data.

If we examine the range of meanings characteristically ascribed to the circle, we find a fundamental similarity in this range throughout the system. In sand story, Jauwalju and Guruwari, for example, the following meaning items are characteristic: waterhole and hill; holes such as the honey ant and snake hole; vegetable foods such as yams and berries; fire; tree (Guruwari and sand story). The use of the circle to depict female sexual characteristics is common in Guruwari, and emphasized in men's love magic designs. The 'camp' meaning is stressed in Guruwari and men's general narrative usage, but occurs in Ilbindji and in one or two instances in women's Jauwalju.

In sand story contexts, a circle ordinarily specifies only one item of meaning in any given instance. A characteristic of the design system—and most particularly of the men's segment of the system—is the application of more than one item of meaning to a single stroke in a design. The site circle in Guruwari designs is perhaps the most prominent of the graphic elements used in this way, since the site may comprehend a number of different items of meaning: the ancestor's camp, the waterhole at the site, and some other more special item.
A second formal element in use is the straight line. One of its most characteristic meanings is the path, and this usage is common for all segments of the system. Spears, digging or fighting sticks, tail and penis are also standard items of meaning for the line. Implement and weapon lines are common features of sand stories, Guruwari and Ilbindji; they seem to be less apparent in Jauwalju. Equations of tail (or path line), penis and spear are standardized in Guruwari designs. In Ilbindji the path line of a lover being attracted toward the individual performing the love magic may be equated with the penis.

The meander line has a somewhat more specialized application in the system. It appears in track prints as the snake, and as the long tail of the possum or kangaroo mouse. It does not appear amongst the standardized sand story strokes, but may be used when a snake is part of the subject matter. As we have seen, it is prominent in Guruwari designs for rain, snake and other Dreamings with winding, meander-like paths. Its only appearance in the Jauwalju collection is in one rain design.

Various kinds of arcs are used. The arc as a camp marker is stressed in sand stories, and occurs in only one or two designs in the collection. The depiction of the sitting or standing actor by a deep arc (which I have termed a U stroke) is featured throughout the sys-
tern. More special uses of arcs are made in men's designs, and in these contexts the form of the arcs sometimes overlaps with that of the typical actor U. In the sand story, however, there is a sharp formal distinction between the actor U and all other arcs in the standard stroke repertory.

Other less widely used forms are the zigzag (which seems to be restricted to sand story usage), the dash and small-circle cluster. The distinctiveness of the dash as a separate element is not wholly certain from my present data: there is some suggestion that it is simply a variant form of the line set. What I have termed 'small-circle clusters' may occur as dots or small circles; these forms appear to be freely varied. It is possible that the dot series used in sand stories to depict the footprints of the actors as they walk along is a related element, but aside from this, the small-circle cluster puts in its main appearance in men's designs.

A more precise analysis of the stroke system must await further study. From the present general considerations, however, we may conclude that throughout the graphic system there is a fundamental similarity in the meaning ranges of the different elements—a core of stabilized usages.¹

¹Very similar meaning ranges for these elements can also be identified in the graphic art of other Central Australian peoples. See, for example, Davidson (1937), pp. 106 ff.
A useful key to the more complex portions of the system is thus provided by the graphic notations of the sand story. Since part of Walbiri iconography is closed to all but initiated men, the availability of the fundamental principles of the system in women's non-secret storytelling is of special interest.

An examination of Walbiri graphic theory (as it is formulated in the ideology surrounding the Dreaming design) suggests that Walbiri closely relate graphic signs to the other sign complexes of language on the one hand, track prints (natural signs) on the other. Ground marks (track prints and topographical 'landmarks'), conventional graphs (Dreaming designs) and language (Dreaming songs) constitute a closely knit complex in Walbiri thought about The Dream Time. In this sense, Walbiri regard their graphic art as an important, critical part of their own way of life: for them there is a close association between their graphic art, their language and their country.

The importance of these graphic signs to the Walbiri is expressed in the belief that certain classes of graphs have intrinsic ties with the ancestors, and possess Dreaming 'strength.' A major feature of Walbiri iconography is that graphs specially or 'intensively' valued in this way may function both as repositories of narrative meaning about The Dream Time and as 'proper names' of an
ancestor which can operate in the ritual process of maintaining his identity and continuity over time.

In summary: Walbiri iconography involves basically one system of graphic signs used by both men and women, and elaborated in both intensive and non-intensive modes of cultural value. It is an art closely associated with verbal narration and song. Of the mediums in which it appears, the sand must be counted as an exceedingly important one, for this medium is readily available, requires no ochres or other materials which must be specially obtained, and is not surrounded by ritual prohibitions. The activity of sand drawing is integrated into that of general communication and storytelling, and is indulged in by Walbiri during the normal round of daily activity.
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2. Additional References


