NICHOLSON RIVER
(WAANYI/GARAWA)
LAND CLAIM

Northern Land Council 1982
This book was prepared on behalf of Aboriginal people who are making a claim to unalienated Crown Land in the vicinity of the Nicholson River, Northern Territory, Australia.

Northern Land Council, Darwin.
Acknowledgement is due to the large number of Aboriginal people who have become involved in the research for this book, in order to claim their land. The research period for this claim has been long; for five years some claimants have been concerned about the forthcoming hearing. People have contributed their time and money to provide the information required for the claim. Part of this information is contained in this claim book.

John Dymock carried out research for the claim over several years as field officer with the Northern Land Council, and had also been carrying out some private research in the region for many years previously. Where his data is drawn on in this book it is acknowledged. In particular, he prepared earlier drafts of Map II in Appendix A. However, the bulk of his data is contained in a separate submission for this claim entitled: "Historical Material Relevant to the Nicholson River Land Claim Area".

Dr. Ken Maddock, School of Behavioural Sciences, Macquarie University, worked with Dymock on the claim, carrying out approximately three months research with him during 1978. He subsequently deposited material for the claim at the Northern Land Council which contributed substantially to the amount of background data available for the claim book.

N.D. Westbury, John Avery and Dr. Paul Memmott also contributed background material relevant to the claim. Dr. Memmott's contribution is contained in a separate submission.
While based at the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Queensland, I have been carrying out anthropological research in the region since early 1978. The work has included site recording and documenting the traditional system of land tenure to the north and east of the claim area. While I formally worked on this claim book during March-July, 1982, I have drawn considerably on the results of my research since 1978 in preparing the book. Acknowledgement is thus due to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies and the University of Queensland which have funded and supported the research.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the helpful comments on the draft of this book from Dr. Ian Keen, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Queensland.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

Chapter 2: THE LAND CLAIMED

Chapter 3: LINGUISTIC GROUPS AND TERRITORIES

Chapter 4: THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP
   4.1 The Subsection and Semimoiet Systems
   4.2 The Patrilineage (or Patriclan)
   4.3 The Local Descent Group

Chapter 5: COMMON SPIRITUAL AFFILIATION
   5.1 Sites, Estates and Totemic Significance
   5.2 Estates, Totems and the Subsection/Semimoiet Systems
   5.3 Spiritual Affiliation to Other Extra-Human Features of the Landscape

Chapter 6: PRIMARY SPIRITUAL RESPONSIBILITY
   6.1 Relationship to Father's Father's Country
   6.2 Relationship to Mother's Father's Country
   6.3 Relationship to Father's Mother's Country
   6.4 Relationship to Mother's Mother's Country
   6.5 Relationship to Place of Conception and Death
   6.6 Previous Literature and Discussion
   6.7 Summary

Chapter 7: RIGHT TO FORAGE

Chapter 8: ESTATES AND CLAIMANTS
   8.1 Introduction
   8.2 Estate A: "NAJABARRA country"
   8.3 Estate B: GUYANDA
   8.4 Estate C: unnamed
   8.5 Estate D: "LILIRIUJ country"
   8.6 Estate E: BANMAJINA
   8.7 Estate F: unnamed
   8.8 Estate G: "MUMUJA country"
   8.9 Estate Ha: unnamed
   8.10 Estate Hb: unnamed
8.11 Estate I: unnamed
8.12 Estate J: unnamed

Chapter 9: RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE CLAIMANTS
9.1 "Wanggala Time"
9.2 "Wild Time"
9.3 "Station Time"
9.4 "Mission Time"

Chapter 10: STRENGTH OF ATTACHMENT

APPENDIX A: Map I and associated notes - Location of Languages and Linguistic Territories from Literature Sources.
Map II and associated notes - Location of sites and estates in the land claim area.
Map III - Schematic representation of estate boundaries

APPENDIX B: Genealogies Nos. 1 - 11, showing Local Descent Groups Nos. 1 - 11, and associated notes. (see separate submission)

APPENDIX C: 1. Waanyi classification of the seasonal cycle.
2. Sample of Waanyi and Garawa ethnobotanical knowledge.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
This book forms part of the evidence for the Nicholson River Land Claim. The material in it has been obtained from claimants living semi-permanently at two outstations on the claim area, and also at the following locations off it: Doomadgee, Mornington Island, Mt. Isa, Camooweal (all in Queensland) and Borroloola, Robinson River Station, Brunette Downs Station and Elliott (all in the Northern Territory). Further small groups of claimants are in fact resident at a wide range of locations as far away as Aurukun and Palm Island in Queensland and Darwin and Mataranka in the Northern Territory.

The claim book includes a description of the land claimed (Chapter 2), and discussion of the traditional system of land ownership in terms of: linguistic groups and territories (Chapter 3); the local descent group (Chapter 4); common spiritual affiliation to sites and totems within estates (Chapter 5); primary (and other kinds of) spiritual responsibility for sites and totems within estates (Chapter 6); and the right to forage in estates (Chapter 7). Eleven estates and their claimants are dealt with separately in Chapter 8, and included for each estate is a tabular list of sites and their significance and a list of claimants. Relevant aspects of the history of the claimants are discussed in Chapter 9, as is their current strength of attachment in Chapter 10. Relevant maps, genealogies and data on traditional economic life are contained in Appendices A, B and C respectively.

Other submissions which should be read in conjunction with this claim book include: (1) Restricted Submission describing aspects

1. Dymock (1980) has documented difficulty in researching this claim for this reason.
of ceremonial life which should not be widely circulated.

(2) "Historical Material Relevant to the Nicholson River Land
Claim Area" by J. Dymock (as N.L.C. Field Officer).
On 10 October 1979 the Northern Land Council lodged an application on behalf of Aboriginals claiming to have a traditional land claim in the Nicholson River area.

The land claimed is all that land in the Northern Territory of Australia being Northern Territory Portion 2006 containing an area of 10,890 square kilometres more or less and being more particularly shown on compiled plan 4412.

The land claimed may also be described with reference to the following adjoining lands:

- **East:** The state of Queensland
- **South:** N.T. Portion 960 being Pastoral Lease No. 729 (Mt. Drummond); and N.T. Portion 962 being Pastoral Lease No. 723 (Mittiebah)
- **West:** N.T. Portion 963 being Pastoral Lease No. 724 (Benmara)
- **North:** N.T. Portion 668 being Pastoral Lease No. 611 (Calvert Hills); and N.T. Portion 674 being Pastoral Lease No. 618 (Wollogorang)

The whole of the land claimed is unalienated Crown Land.
The predominant feature of the natural environment is the Nicholson River (and its tributaries) which flows from west to east across the middle of the claim area. The river and its tributaries flow during the wet season but during the dry season they contain many large permanent waterholes. The other prominent topographic feature is the China Wall escarpment which runs north of the Nicholson River and largely parallel to it. Large claypans are located in the southwest and northwest of the claim area. Sandy soils and low scattered Mitchell grass and spinifex vegetation are a feature of much of the area, although there are also substantially timbered valleys, lancewood forests and open eucalypt forest areas.

Access is difficult due to the existence of only a few roads. A road from Doomadgee and Turn Off Lagoons proceeds up the Nicholson River, then up through the China Wall and westwards through the claim area to Benmara Station. This road subsequently links up with the road from Creswell Downs to Calvert Gills stations. On the eastern side of the area, claimants have constructed a road from this one to Najabarra outstation, and another track proceeds to Gundaruru (site G1). Jilundarina outstation may be reached by a bad road running westwards from the Westmoreland Station area, and one from the north in the Wollogorang Station area, or by a little used track from the south which crosses the China Wall. Two further roads enter the area from the south: one running northeast-southwest from the vicinity of Mittiebah Station and one running northwards to the vicinity of Wanggulinji (site Hab8) from the Alexandria Station to Gallipoli Station road.
The names of languages are used by Aboriginal people in the Gulf region to refer generally to country and the people associated with it. There are large areas where a particular language is said to "belong", or be predominant. For example, in dealing with bush resources and totemic and other extra-human features of a particular landscape it is appropriate to speak the language which belongs there. While a language is normally associated with any given "country", the limits of linguistic territories are defined generally rather than precisely.

The bulk of the land claim area is known to be "Waanyi country"; this consists of virtually all of the area which is south of the China Wall. The focal geographical feature perceived as uniting this area as "Waanyi country" is the Nicholson River and the watercourses which flow into it. This kind of unity between the Waanyi estates is discussed below in chapter 8. The land claim area north of the China Wall is known to be "Garawa country" or by some as "Garawa-Gunindiri mix". Finally, the far southwest corner of the claim area is said by some to impinge upon "Wambaya country".

A number of literature sources comment on the location of these languages, and Map I and associated comments in Appendix A summarize these locations. Several points can be stated briefly here. Firstly, while the section of the claim area north of the China Wall is now known by most as "Garawa country", some older people point out that Gunindiri, a dialect very similar to both Garawa and Waanyi was traditionally spoken there. Gunindiri apparently became extinct quite early, although as already stated the language of the area is still referred to by some as "Garawa-Gunindiri mix". Secondly, it is locally recognized that Waanyi and Garawa are similar
languages (Osborne in fact reports (1966:3) that they are dialects of the one language) and that Waanyi and Garawa speakers have historically intermarried and share much the same system of land ownership. Indeed, while references are made to the distinctive aspects of what are glossed as "Waanyi" and "Garawa" traditions, there is certainly a widespread knowledge of the close historical and contemporary ties between "Waanyi people" and "Garawa people". Thirdly, while several literature sources (Sharp 1935: 159 and 1939:257; Reay 1962:91; Furby 1972:29) have distinguished between "Eastern Garawa" and "Western Garawa", the distinction is rarely referred to by contemporary claimants and the one term "Garawa" is used mostly throughout this book.

[Image 0x0 to 704x1084]
4: THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP

My purpose here is to treat the social organization issues associated with conceptions of "country". Two kinds of relevant grouping (apart from the linguistic group) are mentioned in the few available literature sources for this region: the subsection couple or semimoiety and the patrilineage. I will first discuss the former, referring to the literature where appropriate.

4.1 The Subsection and Semimoiety Systems

The important concept on which these systems are based is referred to in English as "skin" and in Waanyi and Garawa as nginyi, although there is an alternative term, gudu, which is an impolite equivalent of nginyi and is translated as "smell". Many kinds of entities in the universe may have "skin" association, but particularly people, country and totems (or "dreamings"). The concept is of an inner essential distinguishing feature of many kinds of things. Kirton and Timothy's description of the concept of ngalki (1977:321), the equivalent term in the nearby Yanyula language, is "'essence' - the quality or exudate which identifies or gives distinction to its possessor"; the term refers to the sweat from a person's armpits. These authors distinguish clearly between the meaning of "skin" as ngalki or inner essence, and the meaning of "skin" as outer layer or covering which has a different term. The term ngalki is associated with people, animals, food, flowers and songs: the ngalki of an animal is its scent or odour, of food is its smell or taste, of flowers is its perfume, and a song's ngalki is its tune.
A person's "skin" locates him or her within a system of eight subsection classes and four semimoiety classes. The works of Sharp and Reay provide a background for the contemporary fusion of these two systems by the language-groups in the region. Sharp's map (1935:159) states that "Wanyi" and "Eastern Karawa" (among others) had a system of "eight subsections organized as unnamed patrilineal semi-moieties and moieties", while "Western Karawa" (among others) had "named patrilineal semi-moieties and moieties". Reay (1962:91) similarly includes "Eastern Garawa" in the group within the region having a subsection system and "Western Garawa" in the group having a semimoiety system. Among contemporary claimants and their associates, the semimoiety terms are used mostly by older Garawa people; they are said not to have been used in earlier times by Waanyi people although those whose country is on the western side of the claim area now use them. Throughout the recent past at least, the language-groups of the region have clearly fitted the two systems together, however it is the subsection terms which are used mostly by contemporary claimants.

Subsection terms are referred to with reference to the regulation of marriage, country, and ceremonial life; while semimoiety terms are normally applied to the latter two domains only. The subsection system is conveniently represented diagramatically with reference to the regulation of marriage. Figure 1 gives the subsection names, and shows the rules stating which subsection affiliation individuals who marry should have and to which subsection their children belong. Note that the terms for male members' subsections are written in capitals and those for females in lower case. Equal signs indicate marriage, and arrows indicate the subsection to which a woman's child belongs. For example, a BULANYI (B2) man should marry a Nanqalama (a2) woman and their male children are B Aly AR N YI (C2) and their female children are Nulyarima (c2).
Equal signs indicate marriage.

Arrows indicate the subsection to which a woman's child belongs.

The designation of the subsections with letters follows Radcliffe-Brown (1930), Sharp (1935), Reay (1962).

FIGURE 1
The semimoieties are four named classes equivalent to four sets of subsection couples. Each semimoiety consists of the subsections which couple together to form "an uninterrupted line of patrilineal descent" (Reay 1962:95). For example, BULANYI (B2) and BALLYARINYI (C2) are two such subsections: the children of BULANYI (B2) are BALLYARINYI (C2) and Nulyarima (c2), the children of BALLYARINYI (C2) are BULANYI (B2) and Nulaynma (b2), and so on, in a cycle which incorporates lines of patrilineal descent. Reay's description is usefully quoted:

To put it in a kinship idiom, the four semi-moieties are the four different lines of descent - through the father's father, the father's mother's brother, the mother's father and the mother's mother's brother. A man is in the same semi-moietiy as his father, his father's father, his son and his son's son. The subsection system, on the other hand, distinguishes between alternate generations by allotting father and son to different subsections. A man is in the same subsection as his father's father and his son's son, but his father and his son are in another subsection.

The semimoiety terms are shown in Figure 2 so as to make clear their equivalence to the four subsection couples. Relationships of marriage and descent are thus shown between them, although as already stated the semimoiety terms are not normally used in discussion of the regulation of marriage.

These subsection terms have been reported in the literature for this region. Mathews (1899:251-2) reports them, then reports five out of the eight differently (only male terms are given) (1899:77), then largely returns to his original set (1901:73; 1905:66). Roth (1910:100) records four of them for what he calls the Obarindi (written later as Ngoborindi) tribe just to the east of the claim area, and as Sharp says (1939:455, footnote 42) he probably failed to record the other four because he was used to the four section system to the southeast. Roth did,
Equal signs indicate marriage.

Arrows indicate the subsection to which a woman's child belongs.

**FIGURE 2**
however, know of the eight subsection system of "the Karawa tribe" (1910: 101). Ehrlich's general map (1922) wrongly shows a "four class system" in Queensland and an "eight class system" in the Northern Territory, the state border being the boundary between the two systems. Turnbull's report (1911:80) (though ambiguous) indicates that the subsection system in fact extended eastwards as far as the Min.ginda on the Albert River, and Radcliffe-Brown's map (1930:42) shows this reasonably accurately. Spencer and Gillen report several of the subsection terms (1904:76) and semimoiety terms (1904:119) from west of the claim area. Sharp (1935:165) uses very similar subsection and semimoiety terms, but applies the two pairs of semimoiety names to the subsections of the opposite patrimoiety to what my data indicate. Reay (1962:91-2) describes the systems similarly to my data.

Regulation of marriage is properly discussed in terms of kin categories, and such sources as Warner (1933:68) and Sharp (1935:160) state the kinship system to be of the Aranda type which "fits" with the subsection and semimoiety systems as described. By this system a man marries his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter or someone classified similarly (see e.g. Radcliffe-Brown 1930:52). However, as the literature notes, there are alternate marriages allowable within the system.

1. Reay (1962:91-3) discusses critically Spencer and Gillen's equation of Anula (Yanyula) and Mara semimoiety terms with the subsection terms of the Binbinga.
2. Avery's (1977:35) designation of the semimoiety terms (apparently given in Yanyula) agrees with mine and Reay's; he does not state their equivalence to the subsection terms of the region.
3. Mathews (1901:70-3) states alternative marriages to be with the subsections containing cross-cousin and (more rarely) mother's mother, and that these must not be blood relatives, and elsewhere (1905:66) adds the subsection containing a man's sister (SSZ, etc) as an option. (It is difficult to see how this last option would not have been stated as very "wrong", as it is nowadays). Sharp (1935:160-2) states
Contemporary ideology in the claim area holds that there are degrees of wrong marriages: i.e. to marry certain classes of kin (and correspondingly, into certain subsection classes) is much more wrong then to marry others (e.g. marriage with a distant cross-cousin is only a "little bit wrong"). In any case all kinds of wrong marriages continually occur and genealogies indicate this to have been the case for as long as the old people can remember. The question thus arises of how the subsection and semimoiety systems operate in the face of such wrong marriages, and as will become clearer below, this question has some relevance to the issue of people and their affiliations to subsections and semimoieties, dreamings and estates.

The majority of claimants state that in the case of wrong marriages, children inherit their subsection affiliation from their mother, i.e. as if their mother had married correctly. 1 Genealogies bear such statements out, although the opinions on what should happen vary according to the speaker and the social context in which he or she gives it. It is said that you must "follow the mother" as "... father only find you [see below] - mother carry you, he [i.e. she] got you all the time". On the other hand, particularly men may state e.g.: "... gotta follow father, he the main boss". When people do "follow the mother", the semimoiety

3. (cont'd) alternative marriages as allowable with a distant mother's brother's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter or father's father's sister's daughter and hence concludes that a man may marry "any woman of the moiety opposite his own". (However, my research indicates that in deducing the latter two options Sharp has incorrectly understood the consequences of the kinship rule dealt with below in section 6.2). Reay (1962:101-2) finds no evidence of Sharp's latter two options at Borroloola, but also states that: "Marriage with a subsection 'cross-cousin' passes without comment if the woman is beyond the age of childbearing".

1. Sharp (1935:162) and Reay (1962:104) both state this to be the case, and although one early report from Mathews (1901:70-3) indicates that such children inherit their "skin" through their father, in a later paper (1905:66) he states quite clearly that this matter is rather determined through the mother.
System is disrupted for children are in a different semimoioity to their father: the line of patrilineal descent within the semimoioity is broken (and this is so whether the class is known by the semimoioity term or by the two names of the subsection couple). The implications of wrong marriages for affiliation to land will be discussed further below.

4.2 The Patrilineage (or Patriclan)

Sharp (1939:456) mentions "the small, unnamed, exogamous land-holding unit of a few siblings or parallel cousins and their known agnatic descendants, the patrilineage or joint family". The group owns a "homeland", and is clearly equivalent to the estate-owning group or patriclan according to the orthodox model of the anthropological literature (see Keen (1982) for a general review of this literature). It is a group of people linked by patrilineal descent which is either genealogically demonstrable or putative. The patriclan in this region is unnamed and there is no term for it. It is also discussed in the Borroloola land claim book (Avery 1977:26-7) as the land owning group.

4.3 The Local Descent Group

The treatments of the land owning group by Sharp and Avery are incomplete with respect to the relationships between people and land in this region. In this claim book the relevant group is the "local descent group" and this term is applied to a group of people who are related by a principle of common descent from an apical genealogical

referent, and who are jointly affiliated to estates as defined below. It must be stressed that this is socially recognized descent which may not always be based on biological descent. Some of the claimants are members of the local descent groups of those who "grew them up" or adopted them from a young age—for example, often the husband of their mother rather than their genitor; this is obviously so in the case of those whose fathers were Europeans (or Chinese).

The local descent groups listed in chapter 8 are unnamed, although they are often known by the name of a leading senior individual member, e.g. "Limmerick mob" (local descent group No. 1). They consist of a patrilineage and the children of the women of the patrilineage (and in a few cases the grandchildren of such women). Each group is known to be "one mob".
5: COMMON SPIRITUAL AFFILIATIONS

5.1 Sites, Estates and Totemic Significance

The members of the local descent groups listed in chapter 8 have common spiritual affiliations to 11 estates A - J located (partly or completely) within the land claim area. Map II in Appendix A shows the location of significant named and unnamed places and tracts within the estates. The names vary in the kind and size of environmental feature they designate: some focus on a specific waterhole (e.g. A11), spring (e.g. Hb15), swamp (e.g. E1) or hill (e.g. A24), others on specific sections of watercourses (e.g. G4) or ranges (e.g. F2), and others on imprecisely defined tracts (e.g. D1) or long lengths of watercourse (e.g. GANALANJA, the name for the entire Nicholson River). When I repeatedly pressed one old man for the precise geographical limits of certain place names, he finally stated with some annoyance: "You see that whiteman name 'Burketown', he belong to all round; blackfeller name same way", i.e. as with European names Aboriginal place names may focus on certain definable features but also refer to a wider area around them. The same man stated that: "native name all over, not far apart - whiteman ... only got a homestead name"; i.e. the Aboriginal landscape is much more densely named than the European one.

In post European contact times knowledge of place names has sometimes decreased. For obvious reasons it has been maintained most completely in the areas where people have continued to live. In some cases, the area a name designates has been expanded and become more general - particularly names focusing on places of major totemic or memorable significance. In estate D for example, the important major name for the wide area, LILIRIJI, remains known but possibly other names once designating smaller areas have not been maintained.
Many of the names are said to have no meaning: "they just name that's all". While this is no doubt true in many cases, the fact that people tend not to give the literal meaning of place names in the course of elicited conversation (as has been documented for the western Cape York Peninsula region by von Sturmer 1978:253) is to be noted. The meanings that have been recorded include features of the environment which are physically present at the place (and often plentiful there) for example site All Najabarra, where naja means tea-tree bark. The word(s) for environmental features common to part of an estate can be used to refer to the whole estate, for example mumuja stones (a kind of smooth, round, black rock) are known to be located in the hilly areas of estate G and the entire estate is often termed "MUMUJA country". As well, words that are general classifications of kinds of environments can be used to "name" those areas: e.g. BANDUNJI in estate Ha (bandu = desert country), WULGURRINJI in estate Ha (wulgurru = strong tea-tree flower scent, and the area is known as thick tea-tree scrub), Gawurrgi in estate G (gawurrgi = open sand ridge country), BINANDA in estate C (based on the word binda = a kind of grass) and GUDIDIWALIYA northwards from estate C (gudidi = pandanus fruit, and the area contains substantial forests of Pandanus trees).

Place names can also be translated to mean events which have occurred at the location, for example A18 Wurraliranggijbi (wurali = thick bush; ranggijbi = shot) where Aboriginal people were shot in earlier times. A substantial number of place names are translated to mean the name of the "dreaming" which belongs at the location, e.g. Dirindiri (A7 - Waterbeetle Dreaming: dirindiri = waterbeetle), Wuragaga (C2 - "Sugarbag" [nest] Dreaming: wuragaga = large native bee which hovers around the outside of nests), Ngandangandara (J5 - "Water Gin" Dreaming: ngandara =
old woman), etc. This leads to the issue of totemic association with sites, tracts and the estates which contain them.

Two terms are translated as "dreaming": ijan, most often used with reference to a localized totemic presence at a place e.g. Dirindiri ijan - Waterbeetle Dreaming at Dirindiri (A7); and bungurdu, most often used with reference to the dreaming(s) characters and entities central to myths e.g. Bardagalinya. bungurdu - Red Kangaroo Dreaming which passed through Guyanda (B1) on his travels. While Red Kangaroo bungurdu passed through Guyanda (B1), be left gujurr ijan (red ochre dreaming) there (see myth No. 3 below). The two terms overlap and which one is used appears to depend on context, e.g. people refer to Bujimala ijan (Rainbow Snake dreaming) as a very potent dreaming at specific places (see myth No. 1, estate A) yet when referring more generally to Bujimala as an important mythic character (or "story") they may say: "he bungurdu that one".

Thus there are site-specific dreamings and dreamings which travelled over the landscape. The latter's travels are encoded in the regional mythology which sets their activities in the past creative period known as "dreamtime" in English and wanggala in Waanyi and Garawa. These major mythic figures are central to the ceremonial life of the region; their activities and routes are expressed in ritual in the form of song cycles known as gujiga. The general term for such ceremonies is yarambaja.

5.2 Estates, Totems and the Subsection/Semimoiety Systems

The major dreamings have a subsection couple/semimoiety affiliation, and the country in which they are located (and often which they

1. A third term, warriji (possibly a Wambaya term) is used by a few claimants.
partly created) also has that affiliation. Thus the eleven estates in the land claim area are characterised and indeed defined by their major totemic and corresponding subsection couple/semimoiety affiliations. Ideally, claimants have the same "skin" as their father's father's estate, and also their "skin" stands correctly (i.e. as in Figures 1 and 2) to the estates of their mother's father, father's mother and mother's mother.

However, if an individual's parents married wrongly and he has inherited his "skin" through his mother, then his "skin" will be different from that of his father's father's estate; it will also be "wrong" in relation to his father's mother's estate, but "straight" in relation to his mother's father's and mother's mother's estates. For example, the senior claimant for estate B, Archie Rockland is known to be NGARIDBALANGI "skin" which he inherited by matrificiliation, and his father's country is BURRULANGI/GAMARANGI subsection couple, WUYALIYA semimoiety. He is therefore "wrong" in his "skin" relationship to his father's father's country (estate B) but of course "straight" in his "skin" relationship to his mother's father's country (which is not in the land claim area). Reay (1962:104) actually refers to the marriage of another senior claimant for estates D and Ha, Duncan Hogan, in pointing out that the consequences of a wrong marriage can in fact be corrected by a further wrong marriage: Duncan Hogan's F (BURRULANGI) and M (nulaynma) were putative cross-cousins and Duncan (YAGAMARI) "followed his mother"; but the consequence of himself marrying his putative cross-cousin Maggie (nulyarima) is that his children (BURRULANGI and nurulama) are in the same subsection couple/semimoiety as their FF and his estate.

Discontinuity between an individual's personal subsection couple/semimoiety membership and that of his or her father's or mother's.
estates does not appear to impede the person's spiritual affiliation to or responsibility for the estate concerned. Indeed, if necessary a person who is the product of a wrong marriage simply acquires two "skins" and can focus on the relevant one in the relevant contexts.

5.3 Spiritual Affiliation to Other Extra-Human Features of the Landscape

As well as site- and estate-specific dreamings, there are also extra-human figures which populate various areas in a general way. Gundugundu is said to be distributed particularly throughout the "desert country" (BANDUNJI) in the southwest quarter of the claim. It is described as short in height, and as dangerous and ellusive. It is usually ascribed male gender, and is ever-present and ever-ready to cause people hardship, particularly strangers. For example, if when in this country a person swears or behaves rudely or impolitely in other ways Gundugundu will make him sick. Gundugundu is perceived as somewhat mischievous, and people describe how they have been made lost, had items stolen, had their motor vehicle rendered unworkable, etc. Gundugundu can control resources in the country.

A second figure known as Gardajala occupies hilly or cave country, e.g. throughout the China Wall area. It is often ascribed female gender, and is known to steal babies or make them cry out. Gardajala itself can be heard "singing out", particularly at night. The English word "devil" is used for both these figures (as well as others located in various parts of the Gulf country). Techniques can be employed at times to keep them away, e.g. the burning of spinifex wax is said to do this. It is also best not to "take notice" of them or think about them when in areas they are known to populate.

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1. One of the claimants for estate Ha, Arthur Peterson, appears to have Gundugundu as a personal ("conception") totem.
6: PRIMARY SPIRITUAL RESPONSIBILITY

The terms for "country" are ya; i, also translated as "home" or sometimes "camp" and gala, also translated as "river". There is also the term yiwa, translated as "line of country" and sometimes used to refer to where one estate finishes and another starts. People state their relationship to country and totems through the four lines of descent, i.e. through father's father, mother's father, father's mother and mother's mother (and also in other ways which will be dealt with below).

6.1 Relationship to Father's Father's Country

Ego has a primary spiritual responsibility for the country and totems of his patrilineage. This is the country referred to most commonly as "my home" and also as "my father home" or "my ganggu (FF) home". Some people have referred to the totems there as "me and my dad". Ego's patrilineage is mungguji for this country, i.e. the members have joint (or "company") close ties with it. Ego refers in discourse to (using estate A as example):

ngagi gala (or yaji) mungguji Najabarra

i.e. my country close "company"relationship Najabarra

The term "water" (wabuda) may be used sometimes instead of gala or yaji, and the term jibiya is used to indicate this kind of relationship, e.g.

ngayu jibiya Najabarra

i.e. I belong to Najabarra.

It is common for a child to be given as a personal name the name of a place or totem in his father's estate (see e.g. the children of Gundawarinya and the younger Marandu in local descent group No. 1, genealogy 1, Appendix B). It is considered important that the names do not "get lost". They
are seen as linking individuals to their father's father's totems and country.

In ceremonies, people have primary rights and duties as performers of dances and singers of song cycles based on these totems. They are formally described as occupying the office of mingaringgi (or nimaringgi) in relation to such dances, songs, and totems which belong in their father's father's country. At least the claimants on the western side of the claim area use these terms; the claimants on the eastern side are not familiar with the terms but recognize the office. Indeed, all individuals of the same semimoiety are said to occupy this office (be mingaringgi) for a certain set of major totems and the ritual sequences based on them. However, patrilineage members occupy a primary position of rights over and responsibility for totems within their own estate but not necessarily in the estates of other patrilineages of the same semimoiety.

6.2 Relationship to Mother's Father's Country

Ego also has a primary spiritual responsibility for his mother's father's country and totems. He refers to this country by use of the kin terms for mother, mother's brother and mother's father i.e.: "my ngada country", "my gardidi country", "my mimi country". He uses the further terms buwaraji to refer to the totems there and buwarajba to refer in discourse to the country itself e.g.:

\[ \text{gala/yaji buwarajba ngagi } \]
\[ \text{i.e. country M relationship mine.} \]

By extension those terms are also used to refer to all totems and country associated with Ego's mother's semimoiety. Ego's relationship to his mother's father's country and totems complements his relationship to his father's father's
country and totems. He or she occupies the office of *junggayi* for the former, or "manager" as interpreted in the anthropological literature. Ego is in fact *junggayi* for all totems and country (and ceremonial life based on them) associated with his mother's father's semi-moietiy, although he is certainly primary *junggayi* for his actual mother's father's country and totems.

The important and primary spiritual responsibilities held by *junggayi* for their *buwaraji* are made clear by claimants. Without *junggayi* the relationship of people to their father's father's country is incomplete — indeed unworkable. For example, the senior claimants for their father's country of estate A, Limmerick and Louie, cannot go close to the water at the Najabarra (All) waterhole; only their sons who are *junggayi* can draw water there. The two women have a song which can make the water (and the Bujimala (Rainbow Snake) Dreaming there) more approachable, but it is ineffective without the presence and ritual assistance of Tommy George and Don George, the two senior *junggayi* for estate A. Indeed, people cannot visit some places in their father's father's country without the assistance of *junggayi*.

Claimants have explained the office of *junggayi* in the following terms: "just like a J.P.", "for security", "if I go to bank I gotta take policeman to help me sign": they are thus attempting to illustrate the importance and indeed essential nature of the office. In ceremonial life, *junggayi* have to prepare the setting, assist people in painting and decorating their bodies, and generally ensure that things go as they should. *Junggayi* wear the major totemic design(s) (*barunya* - Garawa; *mangunyi* - Waanyi) of their mother's father's country in certain ritual settings. Indeed, the closeness of a person's spiritual relationship to his mother's father's country (and totems) is indicated by the phrase people often use for it:
"my milk". Arthur Peterson for example says of his mother's country, estate D: "my milk, that Bujimala barrusa [Rainbow Snake design]."

A brief comment is appropriate on some aspects of the kinship system which emphasize the close relationship between Ego and his or her mother's patrilineage. As normal, Ego classifies his mother's sisters as "mother" and their children as "brother" and "sister". He calls his mother's brother's son and his mother's father by the same term, mimi, and the two English terms of reference "cousin" and "grandfather" are acknowledged as interchangeable: the mother's brother's son (MBS) appears to be classified as a "kind of grandfather" (MF). Ego classifies his or her mother's brother's daughter (MBD) as "cousin-mother" (bujara - term of reference; ngada - "mum", term of address), and thus stands to her children as "brother" or "sister". Ego is thus said to "sit down nin.gara" with his MBD and her children. The term nin.gara is often translated as "cousin together". It refers to this classification of the MBD as a "kind of mother", and the consequences which flow from this classification.¹

![Diagram of kinship relationships](image)

1. Scheffler (1978:396,416) deals with a similar "skewing rule" in his review of Aboriginal kinship systems.
The full implications of this rule of kinship cannot be examined here. However, it can be stated that through it all the primary junggayi for an estate ideally classify each other as sibling. That is, all people affiliated to the estate through their mother's father, regardless of their generation level are ideally brother and sister. For example, in local descent group No. 1 (see genealogy No. 1 in Appendix B), containing mingaringgi and junggayi for estate A, the children of Mary Star, Limmerick Peter and Dulcie Waldon all occupy the office of junggayi, and all classify each other as "brother" and "sister". This is because the children of Mary Star call both Limmerick Peter (their MBD) and Dulcie Waldon (their MBSD who is structurally equivalent to their MBD) "cousin-mother".

Mary Star and Dulcie Waldon are nulaynma subsection and Limmerick Peter is nulyarima; these are the two female subsections of the BULANYI/BALYARINYI subsection couple, MAMBALIYA semimoiety, with which estate A is affiliated. Mary Star's children are YAGAMARI and Limmerick Peter's children are BURRULANGI, yet in classifying each other as sibling they suspend "skin" affiliation because of the nin.gara kinship rule. In the case of Dulcie Waldon's children the situation is complicated because they tend to follow their father for "skin"; he was YAGAMARI and they are thus GANGALA. Mary Star's son Tommy O'Keefe refers to the issue by saying that he is supposed to call Dulcie's children brother (through the kinship rule) but calls them son and daughter through "skin". However, it is much more usual for people to suspend "skin" affiliation and follow the nin.gara kinship rule.

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1. Sharp (1935:160-1) has incorrectly extrapolated certain other consequences of the rule in deriving two of his alternate marriage rules (see footnote 3, p.12 above). In fact, the consequences of the rule are to formally disallow marriage with an actual MMBDD.
6.3 Relationship to Father's Mother's (and FMB's) Country

Ego refers to this country by use of the kin terms for father's mother and father's mother's brother, i.e. "my ngawuji country", "my ngabuji country". He uses the further term ngawujiji to refer to the totems there and ngabujimba (or ngawujimba) to refer in discourse to the country itself, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yaji/gala</th>
<th>ngawujimba/ngabujimba</th>
<th>ngagi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i.e.</td>
<td>country</td>
<td>FM/FMB relationship</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By extension these terms are also used to refer to all totems and country affiliated to Ego's father's mother's semimoiety. Ego's father is known as the "main junggayi" for Ego's "ngabuji country" (and totems and in ceremony the ritual based on them), and normally Ego "doesn't have a big say" and is "junggayi half-way". However, in some cases there are no primary junggayi for an estate or none who are sufficiently old enough (or knowledgeable) to take primary spiritual responsibility for the proper management of the more esoteric totemic dimensions of some of the estate's sites. In this case, an appropriately senior and/or knowledgeable individual can "take over" such primary spiritual responsibility for his FM's estate. This has occurred in the case of estate Ha where Ned (Dambadamba) says: "I'm taking over from my father - he was junggayi, now I'm junggayi".

6.4 Relationship to Mother's Mother's (and Mother's Mother's Brother's) Country

Ego refers to this country by use of the kin term for mother's mother, i.e. "my gugudi [grannie] country"; the term for mother's mother's brother, ganggu, is not usually used in this context, possibly because of its normal use for Ego's father's father's country. Ego uses the further
term *guguli* to refer to the totems of his mother's mother's country and *gugumba* to refer in discourse to the country itself, e.g.:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{yaji/gala} & \text{gugumba} & \text{ngagi} \\
\text{i.e.} & \text{country} & \text{MM relationship} & \text{mine.}
\end{array}
\]

By extension these terms are also used for all totems and country affiliated to Ego's mother's mother's semimoiety. Ego is said to have secondary ("half-way") spiritual responsibilities for his mother's mother's totems and country; he is said to give the "full mingaringgi" a "hand for dance", i.e. assist the mingaringgi as secondary supportive performers in ritual contexts.

In certain circumstances, where the only remaining individuals in a local descent group are people for whom an estate is mother's mother's country, it appears that such people can come to exercise a primary spiritual responsibility for that estate, but only together with appropriate others who succeed to this responsibility for the estate (see discussion of estate E in chapter 8).

It should be generally noted that (according to the ideal system) Ego's semimoiety and that of his mother's mother constitute one (unnamed) patrimoiety, while those of his mother's father and father's mother constitute the other. This relationship is formally recognized; Ego and the totems and estates of his semimoiety are said to "sit down marigara" ("ganggu [MMB] together") with the people, totems and country of his mother's mother's semimoiety. Two further terms are used in this way: Ego and the totems and estates of his semimoiety "sit down marrusarra" ("mimi [MF/cross-cousin] together") and "sit down manjigara" ("ngabuji [FMB] together") with the totems and estates of both semimoieties of the opposite patrimoiety. A BULANYI man, for example, will "sit down marrusarra"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line of descent</th>
<th>Kin Term</th>
<th>Term for totemic affiliation</th>
<th>Typical statement of relationship to country|creole phrase</th>
<th>Office Ego occupies in relation to these totems and country</th>
<th>General descriptive term for Ego's relationship to these totems &amp; estates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>wulugu/ wuluginga</td>
<td>manguju</td>
<td>gala/yaji manguju ngagi country/&quot;company&quot; relation/mine (i.e. &quot;my home country&quot; or &quot;my father country&quot;; &quot;my ganggu country&quot;, etc.</td>
<td>mingaringgi/nimaringgi (i.e. primary &quot;owner&quot; of the totems, country, and ceremony based on them.)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(FB')</td>
<td>barnangyi</td>
<td>ngawuli</td>
<td>gala/yaji bawara dua ngagi country/through M /mine (or &quot;my mother country&quot;; &quot;my mimi country&quot;, etc.)</td>
<td>junggayi (i.e. primary &quot;manager&quot; of the totems, country and ceremony based on them.)</td>
<td>&quot;sit down marrwarra&quot; (&quot;mimi[MF/cross-cousin] together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(FB-)</td>
<td>ganggu</td>
<td>bawaraji</td>
<td>gala/yaji bawara dua ngagi totemic aff. /mine (or &quot;my ngabuji country&quot;; &quot;my ngawuli country&quot;, etc.)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>&quot;sit down manjigara&quot; (&quot;ngabuji [FMB] together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FF</td>
<td>ngardanya</td>
<td>bagadidi</td>
<td>gala/yaji ngabujinba ngagi country/through M /mine (or &quot;my ngabuji country&quot;; &quot;my ngawuli country&quot;, etc.)</td>
<td>Ego's F is &quot;main junggayi&quot;; Ego normally has a secondary (&quot;half-way&quot;) managership role, but can &quot;take over&quot; primary role in some circumstances.</td>
<td>&quot;sit down marigara&quot; (&quot;ganggu [FF / MMB] together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ngawuli</td>
<td>ngaduliji</td>
<td>gala/yaji ngaduliji ngagi totemic aff. /mine (or &quot;my ngawuli country&quot;, etc.)</td>
<td>Ego has a secondary (&quot;half-way&quot;)&quot;ownership&quot; role; he is required to &quot;give mingaringgithand for dance&quot;, i.e. assist as a secondary supportive performer.</td>
<td>&quot;sit down marigara&quot; (&quot;ganggu [FF / MMB] together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>ngawuli</td>
<td>ngaduliji</td>
<td>gala/yaji ngaduliji ngagi totemic aff. /mine (or &quot;my ngawuli country&quot;, etc.)</td>
<td>Ego has a secondary (&quot;half-way&quot;)&quot;ownership&quot; role; he is required to &quot;give mingaringgithand for dance&quot;, i.e. assist as a secondary supportive performer.</td>
<td>&quot;sit down marigara&quot; (&quot;ganggu [FF / MMB] together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MF</td>
<td>ngardanya</td>
<td>bagadidi</td>
<td>gala/yaji ngabujinba ngagi country/through M /mine (or &quot;my ngabuji country&quot;; &quot;my ngawuli country&quot;, etc.)</td>
<td>Ego's F is &quot;main junggayi&quot;; Ego normally has a secondary (&quot;half-way&quot;) managership role, but can &quot;take over&quot; primary role in some circumstances.</td>
<td>&quot;sit down manjigara&quot; (&quot;ngabuji [FMB] together)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1**: Relationships to and terminology for key kin, totems and estates.
to WUYALIYA semimoiet, but his son who is of course within the same semi­
moiet as him, will "sit down marrwarra" to WUDALIYA semimoiet. These
latter two terms are thus used primarily to describe the relationship of
individuals to specific estates and their totems, whereas the term murigara
more generally describes the unity of the two semimoieties of each patrimoiet.
often when referring to their complementary roles in ceremonial life.

Table 1 summarizes Ego's relationships to the totems and estates
of his father's father, mother's father, father's mother and mother's
mother.

6.5 Relationship to Place of Conception and Death

An important tie exists between a person and the place he was
spiritually "conceived" by his mother. The place is usually described in
English as the place the individual was "found" (or "made") by his parents.
The totemic feature at the place is referred to by the individual as "my
dreaming", i.e. as a kind of personal totem, and the phrase "my country"
is often used to refer to the place. Physical likenesses can be pointed out
between the person and the totem present at his conception site.

While some people simply inherit the local totem at their birth
place (e.g. those claimants born at Turn Off Lagoon (Gulugulu) on the
Nicholson River east of the claim area say they are "emu dreaming" because
this is the local totem), the place also appears to be where an unusual
sign indicated to the parents (in particular the mother) that the baby had
been spiritually "conceived", and this is often described as occurring
close to the time of the baby's birth. Indeed, people seem to merge the
notion of a sign indicating spiritual "conception" to the mother with the
notion of a sign indicating impending birth to the father. The totem at
the place of spiritual "conception" is often the focus of the sign, e.g.
Tommy George, a senior jinggayi for estate A explains that he was born at
a goanna dreaming place near Elizabeth Creek just to the east of the claim
area; his father saw a fat goanna and thought: "will I spear that goanna?".
He speared it in the chest and that is the mark on Tommy George's chest
that he was born with. His "conception" totem is goanna. In other cases
the sign itself becomes the personal totem of the individual even though
it may not be known to be specifically localized at the place it was en-
countered, e.g. the senior claimant for estate B, Archie Rockland, gives
the following description of his daughter's acquisition of goanna totem:

"I was goin' long river - Leichhardt River, Lorraine Station -
I put line round goanna's neck, tie up la tea-tree, was going to
kill him; he jumped in the water and twisted his neck and mouth
and broke the line - I nearly lost that big girl with whooping
-cough [i.e. during her early life], ... that come against her
that - chok'im that goanna, that was her sign ... when I bin
choke that goanna, that sign belong to her - I sent wife back
in 'plane, Yvonne [was then] born la Doomadgee."

Such signs always represent unusual occurrences, and often there is a sense
of some mystery about them.

People sometimes appear to expand the notion of "dreaming" to
include conception totems, although the terms ijan and bungurdu are not
normally used. Rather the term galalufi is used in reference to the process
of spiritual "conception" and galawirri for the "baby spirit" itself; both
terms (like the term galamunggufi noted above as meaning joint affiliation
and responsibility to country - normally one's father's father's) are
clearly based on the term gala, meaning "river" or "country".

Most claimants were born (and spiritually "conceived") off the
claim area, however several living people do have conception filiation to
places at estates in it. Not all of these people are claimants. Claimants normally assume that when the personal names of their deceased parents and grandparents are also the names of sites, the sites are the conception (or birth) places of their deceased relatives (see e.g. sites A12,13,15, 16 and 17). Conception filiation to a site does not mean personal affiliation to the subsection couple/semimoiety category of the place. People do however say that they are "one water" with others who share their conception site, e.g. Barny King is "one water" with several people at Mindulanyi ("Dynamite Waterhole" near Turn Off Lagoon).1 There are times when such people can classify each other as sibling because of this joint tie. The fact that a person's conception site may be outside the estates of his father and mother does not affect his spiritual affiliation to and responsibility for these estates.

The only further point to make here is that a deceased individual, and to an extent his close relatives (particularly his children who live longer than him), are associated with the place of his death. He or she is often referred to in conversation by use of the name of the place of death followed by a suffix translated as meaning "belonging there": -manyi in the case of males and -mara in the case of females. This is not the only context for use of these suffixes, but it is a major one. (This is apart from the fact that a special term, mudinyi is applied to recently deceased individuals.) It is also the case that a sign of impending death of an individual may appear to one or more relatives similarly to the sign indicating impending birth.

1. Avery (1977:34) described a similar situation for the Borroloola Land Claim.
6.5 Previous Literature and Discussion

As stated above, there is little material available for the region. Mathews (1905:66-7) discusses personal "totemic" names, and says that "there is no well-defined or invariable descent of any given totem from the parents to their offspring", although this contradicts his earlier statement (1901:70-3) that totems "descend" in the male line. He points out the difficulty of tracing the "descent" of totems either patrilineally or matrilineally through particular subsections because of the extent of the number of marriage options. Without discussing his alternate marriage options in any more detail than is stated in footnote 3 above (p.12), we must simply note here that filiation to the dreamings of one's father's and mother's estates does occur in the claim area; this is so despite the contradictions wrong marriages pose for people between their subsection as inherited from one or both parents and the subsection couple / semimoiety affiliation of their estates and the dreamings there.

Mathews (1905:72-3) also gives a description of what I have termed above the individual's "conception" totem. He makes the correct point that the mother may be in a variety of locations when the child is spiritually "conceived", therefore people are related spiritually to personal totems in a variety of settings. Mathews appears to have received data on this kind of personal totemism, but little on the kind of totemism operating in the region between groups of people and estates.

The key feature of the system according to Sharp is subsection couple/semimoiety totemism. He states (1939:456) a primary association between Ego and all the totems of his semimoiety:
The totems of an individual are all the totems of his own semi-moiety and moiety. All other members of his own semi-moiety have exactly the same totems and the relationship of all these persons to these totems is of the same kind.

Similarly to what I have done above (see Table No. 1) he cites (1935:166) four terms (in "Laierdila", as he uses the Mornington Island system as illustrative of the regional one incorporating the claim area) used by Ego in distinguishing each patrilineal descent line within his genealogy and in reference to the totems and country of each semimoiety. He also states in a somewhat contradictory way (1939:457) that "... the patrilineage ... assumes a certain totemic character" due to the particular relationship between "homeland countries" and "a small constellation" of totems within the broader category of semimoiety totems. My data indicate that Ego's primary ties to the estates of his own father and mother indeed result in him normally enjoying rights to and responsibilities for the totems there which supercede those of people genealogically related to other estates of the same semimoieties. While Ego clearly shares with others of his semimoiety the same relationship to the major totems of the four semimoieties, particularly in ceremonial life, this issue can be considered separate (though highly relevant) to his relationship to the estates of his own parents and grandparents.

Sharp states (1939:457) that the offspring of alternative marriages acquire patrilineage land, although their totems may differ from those of their patrilineal kin who are the product of correct marriages. My data is that such differences are downplayed in contexts focussing on a group's relationship to particular estates. Sharp's comments on "conception" totemism are that the "spirit baby" is not supposed to originate

1. Sharp also gives "poretji" as the general term for totem (or dreaming) in "Wanji" and "Eastern Karawa", but this is no doubt equivalent to the term for mother's father's totems and country ("bawaraji") given in Table No. 1 above.
... the circumstances of the "conception" do not normally affect the individual's relation either to land or totems, there being no correlation between the small animal or other natural form which the spirit child assumes, the place it is found, or the person who finds it and the totemic associations of the resulting person.

This differs from my data above stating that conception totems become personal totems. However, I am in agreement with Sharp in that conception totemism is peripheral to relations between groups of individuals and estates.

In three previous land claim books (Borroloola, Limmen Bight, Cox River) the offices of mingarínggi and junggayi have been discussed in much the same way I have done above. However, junggayi were only included as claimants in the Cox River land claim. Also discussed is the fluidity of clan constituency (Avery 1977:28), and succession to estates where a local descent group has become extinct (Layton 1980:20-2). The latter account, and that of Reay (n.d.:10), refer to the transferability of rights over such estates to individuals and groups of the same semimoiety. Succession to two estates (E & F) is described below in chapter 8.

6.7 Summary

Different kinds of spiritual affiliation to and responsibility for sites and estates has been described. People have primary spiritual responsibility for the estate of their father's father, which stands to them as galamungguji (or yajimungguji) and for which they occupy the office described by claimants for the western portions of the claim as mingarínggi (or nimarínggi). People also have primary spiritual responsibility for the estate of their mother's father, which stands to them as buwaraji
(or buwarajba) and for which they occupy the office of junggayi.

People normally have secondary spiritual responsibility for the estate of their father's mother which stands to them as ngabujimba (or ngawujimba or ngafuliji) and for which their father is junggayi and they are "junggayi half-way". However, in certain circumstances people can come to inherit primary junggayi-ship, i.e. primary spiritual responsibility for their father's mother's estate. People normally have secondary spiritual responsibility for the estate of their mother's mother which stands to them as guguliji (or gugwnba), and for which they are "mingaringgi half-way". However, in rare circumstances people can come to inherit a primary spiritual responsibility for their mother's mother's estate.

People potentially have the responsibility described above for estates of the same subsection couple/semimoity affiliations. In cases where there are no living people to whom a particular estate stands as galomungguji through their actual father's father, buwarajba through their actual mother's father or ngabujimba through their actual father's mother, people to whom this estate stands in these ways through correct subsection couple/semimoity affiliation can succeed to primary spiritual responsibility for the estate. However, people do not normally succeed to primary spiritual responsibility for estates which stand to them as guguliji (through mother's mother) through subsection couple/semimoity affiliation.

While the spiritual responsibilities described above are based on common spiritual affiliation, spiritual ties to "conception" place are held on an individual basis.
7: RIGHT TO FORAGE

Rights to forage are held widely over the claim area, similarly to what has been described for recent land claims (e.g. Bernet.al. 1980:33-4; H. and F. Morphy 1981:52; Layton 1980:17). For example, there is a sense in which "all the Waanyi" are said to have this entitlement. Certain places have restricted access due to the fact that they are gudugudu, that is restricted for religious reasons. In such cases, senior junggayi should be consulted by people before foraging there.

Contemporary hunting and gathering occurs continuously at outstations, and at temporary camping areas when people are travelling through the claim area. A wide range of resources are drawn on. Watercourses and springs are a primary focus for obtaining varieties of fish (e.g. mujurdi - black bream, bunanganja - spotted bream, muluruma - pearch and mijalaamri - rock cod), turtle (e.g. munangu - long-necked turtle, gulgu - short-necked turtle), water birds and vegetable foods. Elsewhere, varieties of macropod, emu, goanna, echidna, etc. are obtained. Appendix C lists 42 examples of plant resources drawn from the broad repertoire of such knowledge held by claimants for the claim area. The list includes for each sample: terminological classification, use(s), gathering and preparation procedure(s), medicinal and other properties where relevant, the season the fruit occurs in, and the European scientific classification. Also contained in this Appendix is the Waanyi classification of the seasonal cycle. The further material which can be drawn on is an audio-visual display documenting Waanyi and Garawa knowledge of the resources at Lawn Hill Gorge, some 50 kms. east of the southeast corner of the claim area (Trigger and Robbins 1982).
8.1 Introduction

A total of eleven estates of varying sizes are distinguished and dealt with separately below. However, these areas are not viewed as separated in a rigid way. Indeed, claimants indicate several factors reflecting fundamental bonds between estates:

8.1.1 Common language

Linguistic territories have been referred to generally above. More specifically, estates A, B, F, G, Ha and Hb constitute an area where Waanyi language "belongs", and claimants often refer to their collective language. Claimants from these estates are jointly referred to as "full Waanyi" or "full-blood Waanyi". A joint affiliation with the entire upper Nicholson River is stated: "we [i.e. our adjacent families and countries] all one line"; "we bin galamungguji together - one river!"; "galamungguji ngambala Ganalanja" - "all of us belong to the Nicholson River".1 And in this context, what is meant by the "Nicholson River" incorporates the watercourses which flow into it from the north and south - including such major streams as South Nicholson, Buddycarrawa and Coanjula creeks. There is thus a common affiliation to a large part of the land claim area, which overlaps the majority of estates.

8.1.2 The wide distribution of certain major dreamings

While the estates are distinguished by different major dreamings, some of these are not rigidly estate-bound. In particular, while

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1. The term galamungguji can thus at times be used more generally than with its primary reference to father's father's estate.
Bujima (Rainbow Snake) "belongs" in a primary sense in the MAMBALIYA estates A and D, and Marrarabana in the RHUMBURRIYA estates F, I and J both are found in locations across the land claim area. Furthermore, one myth is properly presented here as it pertains to the entire Nicholson River rather than any one estate:

Myth No. 1: Creation of the Nicholson River

No river was there. Birinya (Water Rat) came from the west to where Barangu is today. He had been dancing at Gundaruru (G1) and Rajaji (G4) with Balaga (Flying Fox). Birinya brought an important song with him. He had travelled eastwards in search of a "big water" and to get away from the many dingoes to the west. At the place where Barangu is now, Birinya dug for water. He stood up a ritually powerful digging stick (rijardi) in the hole and sang a sacred song. Water then "jumped out!" He sat down then and called the name of the place: "I made this water. This place is Barangu". During the time after this, initiation ceremonies were held on the south side of Barangu. Bardagginya (Red Kangaroo) came with stone knives, Lirradu (Black Cockatoo) came with mussel shell knives and Balaga (Flying Fox) came as well. By now the water from Barangu had farmed the Nicholson River, and during his travels along it Birinya thought to himself: "What is a good name for this place?"; and he "found" the name by which the entire Nicholson is now known: GANALANJA. He also "found" a song which refers to the river and is sung to Waanyi babies to make them "grow up strong and quick."

All the dreamings referred to in this myth (and also the rijardi or ritually powerful digging stick) are represented in rock art at such sites as widely distributed across the land claim area as Mandalulgi (A3), Nyanguwa (A21), Gundaruru (G1) and Jalinjabarra (J7). Finally, the

1. All myths presented below are collations of the versions told by senior individuals.
2. Differing terms given for varieties of water rat include wanjugaridi and nyamuri.
3. See restricted exhibit: "Further Details of Ceremonial Life."
4. Different versions have Birinya digging together with Nyamuri (another kind of water rat) or Lirradu (Black Cockatoo).
5. See restricted exhibit.
6. See Dymock (1982) for another version of this myth.
point made above about the potentially dangerous extra-human characters, **Gundugundu** and **Gardajala**, can be reiterated: they are to be encountered across wide areas of the land claim area which overlap individual estates.

8.1.3 Kin ties between estates (and claimants)

Relationships between estates are expressed in the kinship idiom, based on genealogical and "skin" ties. A complex network of such ties link all estates and their claimants.

8.1.4 Personal biographies which overlap estates

There has been much historical movement of Aboriginal people over the claim area, so that places in many estates are significant due to biographic associations. Such places as Najabarra (Al1), Gundaruru (Gl) and Wanggulinji (Hale 8) were used as meeting places for large numbers of people from across the claim area and beyond. Ceremonies and other memorable events such as ritualized fights were held at such places and are now associated with them. Some conception sites, mostly of deceased relatives, are also scattered across the various estates.
8.2 Estate A: "NAJABARRA country"

Major Dreaming: Bujimala - Rainbow Snake
Subsection affiliation: BULANYI-nulaynma/BALYARINYI-nulyarima
Semimoiety affiliation: MAMBALIYA
Claimants: Local Descent Group No. 1.

This estate is located from the vicinity of Gumuluji (A24) in the west to the vicinity of Gorge Creek in the east (outside the land claim area) and from the vicinity of the Nicholson River in the south to the China Wall in the north. Najabarra (A11) is a key site and the phrase "Najabarra country" is used generally to refer to the whole estate. The sites in this estate which are outside the land claim area are A13 to A18. Also within the area described is the comparatively small estate B, containing the site Guyanda (B1). This estate is dealt with below.

The routes of several major mythic characters are located across the estate:

Myth No. 2: Bujimala - Rainbow Snake.

Bujimala was at Gumuluji (A24). He went to Bajaminyi (A22) "cutting into" the China Wall as he went, and left the water there as is evidenced by the way it now changes colour from time to time. He thought to himself that he did not want to solely stay there so he proceeded eastwards to Gurrumburru (A1) and made the China Wall "stand up" as he went; the rock wall held him back so he had to go along the side of it. He crawled along and went to Jiwil (A5), stayed there for a while and then turned back to Balaga (A4). In search of a good place he proceeded to Jaman.gu (A8) now distinctive as the place of Rainbow Whisker (bujimala jaman.gu), and then to Lirragi (A6) and left Lirradu (Black Cockatoo) dreaming there along the line of hills. Bujimala travelled along the Lirragi hills and the place where his head (gudari) was is now called Gudari (A7); the hills now have the shadow of Bujimala on the southwest side. He left Dirindiri (Water Beetle) dreaming at the spring at the southeast end of the line of hills, where the colourful Water Beetle had been on his back. The long line of hills to the east known as
Wurraliranggijbi (A18) "blocked" him so he travelled down Gorge Creek to Duginyi (A15), and across to Najabarra (A11). He is at Najabarra today; the tea-trees on the side of the lagoon are his ribs (milinjini). He is blind; and can be heard "singing out", particularly at night.

Apart from the places mentioned specifically in the myth, characteristics of Bujimala are often perceived at places throughout this estate. For example, "Bujimala colours" are pointed out in sections of the China Wall, and any particularly round waterholes are said to be the "home" of Bujimala. Moreover, Bujimala is also the major dreaming in estate D, and as stated above it is located at other places throughout the land claim area (particularly round waterholes).

Should people behave inappropriately at places which are Bujimala dreaming, he is most likely to "get up quick", that is cause wind, rain, lightning and general stormy conditions to inflict damage on people and their possessions. At times people also attribute the indirect cause of injuries sustained in the area to Bujimala. Hence the senior claimants throughout the claim area ensure that children are kept away from such places. At Najabarra, the senior claimants warn any adult newcomers to the outstation area not to make noise in the vicinity for example by calling out loudly or shooting. Rules associated with drinking and washing in water are followed: e.g. people must not touch water for a few hours after eating, particularly after eating meat foods. The correct procedure is for hands and forearms to be washed with mud first, and then the mud should be rubbed under the armpits - sometimes described as "giving [one's] smell" to the Rainbow Snake. Senior owners know songs which can be

1. Some versions of this myth state that Bujimala also went north (through estate D) and met and then travelled with another Bujimala which had moved westwards from a place called Manggabarda in the sea off Massacre Inlet.
used to either placate Bujimala or make him "get up"; and similarly other procedures may be used, e.g. the "white berry" of the "woollen bush" (wulunggu) can be thrown into water to make Bujimala "get up".

Several of the senior claimants have birth marks and other bodily marks which are stated to be derived from their close personal relationship to Bujimala dreaming: e.g. a growth on the arm said to be the egg (magulu) of Rainbow and individual hairs on the arm and chin said to be the Rainbow wisker (jaman.gu) in the case of Limmerick Peter, and a mark on the forehead said to represent Bujimala in the case of Lizzy Daylight. Personal names of many claimants when translated are associated with Bujimala e.g. a part of his body, the storms he is known to create, or terms used in the Bujimala song cycles.

Myth No. 3: Balaga (Flying Fox) and Wardanguji (Novitiates)

Balaga "tied up" some young male novitiates (Wardanguji) with hair belts (burrumburru) at Burrumburru (A1). Thus began the ritual process resulting in the initiation of the young men. The party then proceeded through Didibula (A2) a peewee (didibula) dreaming place, to Mandululgi (A3) where the young men were painted and decorated with gagalarra (white ochre), gunjurr (red ochre), danyal (charcoal), nyimirr (fat) and ngadarru (cockatoo feathers). The party then went to Balaga (A4) where stone knives (babagana) were made and kept, Jiwil (A5) a spring where they had a drink of water, Lirragi (A6) black cockatoo (lirragi) dreaming place, and Dirrindirri (A7) water beetle (dirrindirri) dreaming place. Here Flying Fox thought and sang about whether to go to one of the jaman.gi (initiation ceremony) grounds up the Nicholson River for example at Gundaruru (G1) or the one down the river at Barangu. Instead, they went directly southwards to the "big place" Najabarra (A11), and danced there. From here the party went to Jaliwarrinya (A20), Nyangguwa (A21), and Bajaminji (A22) where the young novitiates were smelled by Bujimala (Rainbow Snake). They then proceeded through Wajugumaji (A23) to Gumuluji (A24) where Flying Fox made ceremonial hats (gumuluji) for the dancers. They then proceeded to Gundaruru (G1 in estate G) and danced at the jaman.gi (initiation ceremony) ground there. The party finally proceeded down the Nicholson River to Barangu, and the young

1. See Restricted Exhibit.
men were now *gaburr*, that is they had been initiated into adult male status.

The theme here, primarily concerning the initiation of young men, establishes among other things the importance of Najabarra (A11) as a site for ceremonial activity in this estate, and also the importance of Gundaruru (G1) in estate G and Barangu to the east of the land claim area.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Environmental feature</th>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Approx. grid ref. 1:100000</th>
<th>Translation of Name</th>
<th>Totemic Association (&quot;Dreaming&quot;)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>Burrumburru</td>
<td>gorge</td>
<td>Dry Creek Gorge</td>
<td>6462 - 948360</td>
<td>burrumburru = hair belt</td>
<td>(a) Bujimala (Rainbow Snake)</td>
<td>Rainbow Snake is at this water, and therefore people must be particularly careful not to wash their hands there after eating or handling meat from the terrestrial domain (see Myth 2).</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Balaga (Flying Fox)</td>
<td>The place Flying Fox tied up the novitiates with hair belts (see Myth 3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>Didibula</td>
<td>waterhole; and name is also applied to the watercourse</td>
<td>Located on Rocky Creek (called by some &quot;stony creek&quot;)</td>
<td>6462 - 985377</td>
<td>didibula = peewee</td>
<td>(a) Didibula (Peewee)</td>
<td>Its track is visible on the rock there, and the holes in the rock faces are peewee nests. (See Myth 3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>Mandululgi</td>
<td>section of hills, caves, containing rock art, engravings, etc.</td>
<td>Located on Rocky Creek (called by some &quot;stony creek&quot;)</td>
<td>6462 - 985414</td>
<td></td>
<td>Balaga and Wardangunji</td>
<td>Rock art and engravings: the place where Flying Fox painted up the novitiates (see Myth 3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4</td>
<td>Galaga</td>
<td>mesa</td>
<td></td>
<td>6462 - 995436</td>
<td>balaga = flying fox</td>
<td>Balaga and Wardangunji</td>
<td>The place where Flying Fox made stone knives (see Myth 3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A5</td>
<td>Jiwil</td>
<td>spring</td>
<td></td>
<td>6462 - 993454</td>
<td>spring</td>
<td>Balaga and Wardangunji</td>
<td>The place where the party had a drink of water (see Myth 3). Gundawarinya conception site (see genealogy No. 1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A6</td>
<td>Lirragi</td>
<td>range of hills</td>
<td></td>
<td>6462 - 043417 extending southeast to 106378</td>
<td>lirrada = black cockatoo</td>
<td>(a) Lirrada (Black Cockatoo)</td>
<td>Rainbow left the line of hills there; the hills have Bujimala shadow on the south side; the Bujimala head is at the southeast end of the range (see Myth 2).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(b) Bujimala</td>
<td>(c) Balaga and Wardangunji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site No.</td>
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<td>Environmental feature</td>
<td>English Name</td>
<td>Approx. grid ref. 1:100000</td>
<td>Translation of Name</td>
<td>Totemic Association (&quot;Dreaming&quot;)</td>
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<tr>
<td>A7</td>
<td>Dirindiri</td>
<td>spring and creek</td>
<td>dirindiri = water beetle</td>
<td>6462 - 106376</td>
<td>(a) Dirindiri (Water beetle)</td>
<td>Water beetle associated with when Rainbow &quot;gets up&quot;: at that time many water beetles are to be seen swarming in water-holes and creeks. Fish can not be cooked near this site.</td>
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<td>(b) Bujimala</td>
<td>Involved in song to make Rainbow &quot;get up&quot;: See Myth 2 and Restricted Exhibit.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(c) Balaga and Wardangagi</td>
<td>The place where Flying Fox thought and sang about where to go (see Myth 3).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A8</td>
<td>Jaman.gu</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>jaman.gu = &quot;whisker&quot; or beard</td>
<td>6462 - 065431</td>
<td>Bujimala</td>
<td>&quot;whisker&quot; of Bujimala (see Myth 2). Burials (mulmyamula - human bones wrapped in tea-tree bark) located here.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A9</td>
<td>Gudari</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>gudari = (emu) feather, when attached to ceremonial hat.</td>
<td>6462 - 097384</td>
<td>Bujimala</td>
<td>Feather on the ceremonial hat (gumuluji) he is wearing (see Myth 2).</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A10</td>
<td>Lajalaja</td>
<td>section of watercourse</td>
<td>known as &quot;Button Creek&quot;</td>
<td>6462 - 121066</td>
<td>Bujimala</td>
<td>Bujimala travelled through</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A11</td>
<td>Najabarra</td>
<td>lagoon on north side of Nicholson River</td>
<td>naja = tea tree bark</td>
<td>6462 - 148090</td>
<td>(a) Bujimala (blind one) tea-trees at the lagoon are the ribs (milinginji) of Bujimala. Bujimala stays in the lagoon hence this water is gundugula (sacred and southerly side of the lagoon. Also, to potentially dangerous)he found is a fireplace with stones round it, known as lirriji - used to burn the remains of meals eaten by young men following initiation; the stones are necessary in order that all such remains are burned as is required by local Aboriginal law. The outstation living areas are presently just west of the lagoon adjacent to the main Nicholson River which provides adequate water for day-to-day purposes.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(b) Balaga and Wardangagi</td>
<td>See Myth 3.</td>
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<td>Site No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A12</td>
<td>Namura</td>
<td>rock holes</td>
<td>6562 - 837392</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Conception site and name of woman in genealogy No. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A13</td>
<td>Gundawari</td>
<td>rock holes</td>
<td>6562 - 860325</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Conception site and name of man in genealogy No. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A14</td>
<td>Wayargardi</td>
<td>rock hole</td>
<td>6562 - 866315</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Conception site and name of man in genealogy No. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A15</td>
<td>Duginyi</td>
<td>&quot;round-waterholes&quot;</td>
<td>6562 - 857220</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bujimala</td>
<td></td>
<td>See Myth 2. Conception site and name of woman in genealogy No. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A16</td>
<td>Garrgamanda</td>
<td>gorge</td>
<td>6562 - 900145</td>
<td></td>
<td>Carrier Yard</td>
<td></td>
<td>Conception site and name of woman in genealogy No. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A17</td>
<td>Guwaguna</td>
<td>section of watercourse</td>
<td>6562 - 908123</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Conception site and name of woman in genealogy No. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A18</td>
<td>Wurralliranggijibi</td>
<td>name for general area including section of &quot;Gorge Creek&quot; upstream from A15, and range of hills running north-eastwards from here.</td>
<td>6562 - 866290</td>
<td>/wurrali/ranggijibi/</td>
<td>/thick /shot-killed/</td>
<td>As can be inferred from the translation of the name, the place is known to be where &quot;the old people&quot; were caught, shot, etc. For example Gundawarinya was caught here by police from Turn-Off Lagoons Station; he had hid there under the water, with only his nose above water in order to breathe.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A19</td>
<td>Gamblyinya</td>
<td>section of creek</td>
<td>6461 - 030049</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bujimala</td>
<td>Name of individual in genealogy No. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A20</td>
<td>Jaliwarinya</td>
<td>section of creek</td>
<td>6462 - 924106</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Balaga and Wardanguji</td>
<td>See Myth No. 3. Rock art site.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>A21</td>
<td>Nyangguwa</td>
<td>gorge and section of watercourse</td>
<td>&quot;Fish River&quot;</td>
<td>6462 - 896184</td>
<td>(a) Balaga and Wardanguji</td>
<td>See Myth No. 2</td>
<td>Name of person in genealogy No. 1. The site of an old station; rock art site and considered by claimants to be distinctive as a good place to keep horses, and as a good place to live because of the bush resources there e.g. ground sugarbag (wajili) is said to be in abundance there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A22</td>
<td>Bajaminyi</td>
<td>gorge and waterholes</td>
<td>&quot;Fish River Gorge&quot;</td>
<td>6462 - 874328</td>
<td>bajalijawa = to smell</td>
<td>Bujimala</td>
<td>Where Rainbow smelled the young Novitiates; presence of Rainbow is indicated by the water changing colour (green, grey, blue, etc.) from time to time. Conception site for Wanggula - see genealogy No. 8. See Myth No. 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A23</td>
<td>Wajagumaji</td>
<td>rock hole; and name also applies to surrounding area of gorges, waterholes and Tin Hole Creek</td>
<td>&quot;Tin hole&quot;</td>
<td>6462 - 700266</td>
<td>Bujimala</td>
<td>Conception/birth site for Charly Dick - genealogy No. 9. Rock art here including motifs showing a dancing figure with a ceremonial hat (gumuluji) and feathers; and a stone knife used in initiation ritual (bababana). Stone knives have been found here at the art site. See Myth No. 2.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A24</td>
<td>Gumuluji</td>
<td>round mesa</td>
<td>Wedding Cake Hill</td>
<td>6462 - 686220</td>
<td>(gumuluji = ceremonial hat (usually made from tea-tree bark, hair twine etc.).)</td>
<td>Balaga and Wardanguji</td>
<td>Place where Flying Fox made ceremonial hats for the Novitiates (the hill is strikingly shaped like the hats). This is one of the western most points of the estate, and is often referred to as the &quot;boundary&quot; of it. See Myth No. 3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**LIST OF CLAIMANTS**

Local Descent Group No. 1 - see genealogy No. 1

FF country - *galamungguji* (mingaringgi)  
MF country - *buwaraji* (jinggaji)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Limmerick Peter</em></td>
<td>Yurumburinya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|  |  | Michael Gallagher  
|  |  | (Larry Lanley)  
|  |  | Annie Chong  
|  |  | Mary Gallagher  
|  |  | Ada Waldon  
|  |  | Meg Beasley  
|  |  | Hanna Barclay  
|  |  | Carol Dick  
|  |  | Helen Daylight  
|  |  | Walter Peter  
|  |  | Athol Peter  
|  |  | Dulcie Steele |
| *Louie Mick* | Wirduga |  
|  |  | Tommy George  
|  |  | Don George  
|  |  | Mavis Rockland  
|  |  | Eric George |
| *Norris King* |  
| Lenny King |  
| *Edna Adams* | Nyangguwamaji |  
|  |  | Garth Adams  
|  |  | Terence Adams  
|  |  | Keith Adams  
|  |  | Bruce Adams  
|  |  | Alwyn King  
|  |  | Deborah  
|  |  | Leonie |
| *Denny (Dinny?)* |  
| King-Bowenda |  
| *Grace Pamtoonda* | Mirinbirinya |  
|  |  | Amy Pamtoonda  
|  |  | Laurie Pamtoonda  
|  |  | Irene Pamtoonda  
|  |  | Louis Pamtoonda  
|  |  | Russell Pamtoonda  
|  |  | Leanne Pamtoonda  
|  |  | Kim Pamtoonda |
*Eric King
Ann Kurababa

Violet Ficklings

*Barny King
Elaine Waldon
Maxy King
Trevor King
Duncan King
Cedric King
Kelvin King
Miriam Peter
Dianne King
Nigel King
Virginia King
Ashly King
Jeremy King
Samantha King

*Dulcie Waldon
Jurrgawan.gi

*Lizzy Daylight
Yalagunjimara

*Willy Doomadgee
Marandu

*Rene Brookdale
Yulbulmalanya

*Grace Doolan
Yirringamara

*Rita Doomadgee
Namura

*Marjorie Kurabara
Ngardinyimara

*Andrew Doomadgee
Jiwayjiwanggula

*Gordon Doomadgee
Banjirimaji

Wayardumaji
Wagundumaji
Jurrgawan.gi
Yalagunjimara
Marandu
Yulbulmalanya
Yirringamara
Namura
Ngardinyimara
Jiwayjiwanggula
Banjirimaji

Wilfred Waldon
Kenny Waldon
Lawrence Waldon
Barbara Waldon
Jeffrey Waldon
Ailsa Doomadgee
Vida Doomadgee

Arthur Doomadgee
Alfie Doomadgee
May Bismark
Betty O’Lockland
Dora Sanderson
Cameron Daylight
Pearl Daylight
Sadie Joe
Raymond Daylight

Lirrgagujari
Jayinbâlinya
Mayabuganyi

(2 children)
(5 children)
(3 children)
(5 children)
(3 children)
(1 child)
Alison Doomadgee Wirduga
Jennifer Doomadgee
Glen Doomadgee Wanjigama
Madaleine Doomadgee Maluja

Mary Star Namura

Shirly Johnny
Dory Hokey
Tom O'Keefe
Alfie O'Keefe Gunyugunyu

Norman Escott
David Escott

Gladys Goodman
Tommy Doolan Lindirri
Betty Lloyd Jayinbalinya

*Parent of one or more children who are listed on the line below.

1. Names placed in parentheses are recently deceased. Public use of them should be avoided.
8.3 Estate B: GUYANDA

Major Dreaming: Bardagalinya - Red Kangaroo

Subsection affiliation: BURRULANGI-nurulama/GAMARANGI-nimarama

Semimoiet affiliation: WUYALIYA

Claimants: Local Descent Group No. 2

Guyanda (B1) is a site in the western extremity of a larger estate which stretches into Queensland towards Cliffdale Creek. The name Guyanda applies generally to a section of a range of hills extending from Duginyi (A15) westwards to hills on the western side of TiTree Spring. The more specific focus of the name is to the hills on the immediate eastern side of Ti-Tree Spring: these are red in colour and this is due to the blood of Red Kangaroo becoming red ochre here (see Myth No. 4 below).

The senior claimant, Mr. Archie Rockland, has prepared various documents as evidence for his claim; these include three maps and one written document (see separate exhibit). While he received the relevant information about the area from his father he has also come to agreement about details of this site through discussion with the senior claimants of estate A, whose country surrounds Guyanda. His maps are best interpreted by him, but generally speaking they indicate the route taken by the Red Kangaroo Dreaming (Bardagalinya). The following is a collation of several versions of the myth.

Myth No. 4: Bardagalinya - Red Kangaroo

Bardagalinya started from Giwagarra, an important place at a watercourse on the west side of the mouth of Cliffdale Creek. He was alone. He went to a place on Walford Creek known as "Walford Rocky" and left Messmate trees on sand-ridge country, then to "Walford Jump-up" near where the road to Westmoreland station crosses the creek, where he left more Messmate trees. He then proceeded west to Guyanda (B1) and while different people give differing versions, Archie Rockland states that
he went via: Barrunggulinyi (on a watercourse generally called "Plumber Creek" or Gulururu) where he made two big caves on top of a hill, Bulbulara (close to Barrunggulinyi) where he made another cave on the side of a hill, Dannanyi (a spring on Peters Creek), Muguma and Garugara (on "Len Creek" which flows into Peters Creek), and "Binjiri waterhole" (located on Hedleys Creek).

At Guyanda (81) he was attacked by two dogs: one was male and was termed wirrigiliba, and the other was female and termed buwilimijinyi; some state that one dog was black and the other was red. The dogs bit Red Kangaroo and tore his abdomen so that blood (and "guts") came out, and that is the red ochre (gunjurra, also malala) visible along the hills today, particularly the hills immediately to the east of Ti Tree Spring. (Archie Rockland also sometimes states that Red Kangaroo speared himself in the back of the elbow so that his blood made red ochre.)

From Guyanda, Red Kangaroo turned back east and jumped to Barangu [although Archie Rockland ideosyncratically states - e.g. in his written document in the separate exhibit - that he is not sure how far Red Kangaroo travelled westwards before turning back east]. As he travelled he dropped the seeds of the water-lily plant (gadara), and the seeds were washed down watercourses and as a result water-lilies grow all over the country today. At Barangu, he left waridi ("river cabbage tree") seeds, then travelled southeastwards. He jumped along high ridges to Muyunggi, on Elizabeth Creek, then to Ngarawandi on Musselbrook Creek (near Ranimu, i.e. "Horse Gorge"), then to Dalidi (not far from Lawn Hill Station, where there is also "Goanna dreaming"). He then proceeded eastwards, and left a round-shaped "sand mountain" near Lawn Hill Station: he scratched the earth to make it. It has a sharp point. And there he again "changed skin" and became Marraji (Grey Plains Kangaroo); his new "skin" was NGARIDBALANGIBANGARINVI subsection couple/RHUMBURRIYA semimoiety. The hill is called Marraji, and "Cloud Mountain" in English. From Marraji, he jumped to Jirdingijirdingi, on the Gregory River near Riversleigh Station: a place called in English "Rankins Yard". He then saw Aboriginal people there and heard them singing: "Jirdingijirdingi gunyanyambalara". He made up this song which belongs at that country. From here he went to the Mellish Park area to the east, where he left "cabbage tree" growing. He stayed here with a female dreaming (Marrarrabana) although some state that he was drowned here by the two dingoes which had chased him.

Archie Rockland has in fact attached one of his own versions of this myth

1. Only approximate locations of these places have been recorded.
2. Guyanda is WUYALIY semimoiety (BURRULANGI/GAMARANGI subsection couple) and it is assumed by most narrators of the myth that Red Kangaroo changed to this "skin" from WUDALIYA semimoiety (GANGALA/YAGAMARI subsection couple) which he had when at Giwagara, the start of his route.
to the back of one of his maps contained in his separate exhibit. On his maps he also refers to a specific hill within the Guyanda site just to the west of Ti-Tree Spring as "Ground Sugarbag Hill" (82). This place is distinctive due to the plentiful supply of ground sugarbag (wajili - hives and honey of a particular variety of native bees found in rock crevaces), and some state that there is "Ground Sugarbag Dreaming" here.
### SUMMARY LIST OF MAJOR SITES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Environmental Feature</th>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Approx. grid ref.</th>
<th>Translation of Name</th>
<th>Totemic Association</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B1</td>
<td>Guyanda</td>
<td>name for general area</td>
<td>including the vicinity of Ti Tree Spring</td>
<td>6462 - 174258</td>
<td>Bardagalinya - Red Kangaroo (and Warrigi - Dingo)</td>
<td>Red hills show the red ochre (gurjar) resulting from the blood of Bardagalinya. The lagoon close to the hills at Ti Tree Spring has water-lillies growing as result of seeds being dropped by Bardagalinya. Name of apical referent in genealogy No.2. The hills at Ti-Tree Spring are where Bardagalinya stands now (J.Frakleton) (Old dray road runs through Ti Tree Spring Gorge). Located at western entrance to Ti Tree Spring Gorge.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2</td>
<td>hill</td>
<td>&quot;Ground Sugarbag Hill&quot;</td>
<td>6462 - 145276</td>
<td>Wajili - Ground Sugarbag</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**LIST OF CLAIMANTS**

Local Descent Group No. 2 – see genealogy No. 2

FF country - *galomonggui* (mingarinnggi) MF country - *buwaraji* (junggayi)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Archie Rockland</em></td>
<td>Nyamiya</td>
<td>Doris Sam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emmett Rockland</td>
<td>Balan.gali</td>
<td>Peter Archie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yvonne Rockland</td>
<td>Jumbuna</td>
<td>Noela Archie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilly Rockland</td>
<td>Janbubu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noelene Rockland</td>
<td>Gaburragaja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Bush* name

Nyamiya

Doris Sam

Peter Archie

Noela Archie

---

Myth No. 3: Nyamiya - Tree Sugarbag

Sugarbag dressing was at Jangginna (east of Bulburin River), and travelled through Sannapora (on McCarran Creek), Ngaimba (on Cape Creek) to Jirrakumba (Site 2). At Sannapora. The sugarbag near Dressing was visible in the form of a knot in a large rock on the western side of the watercourse as marked on Map 2. In Appendix 4, this site is marked Yamaara (C2). From here Sugarbag travelled due north to Jirrakumba (Site 2). In front of him, the eastern rock with an egg (Angulu) of the Sugarbag was, the sugarbag (Nyamiya) was present in front of him.

Other sites besides C1 and C2 in the area include Jirrakumba (C4) and an unnamed stone arrangement (C8) said to represent the eggs (Angulu) of the Sugarbag on the ground with a large rock on top containing the Sugarbag nest at one and of the arrangement. Individual
8.4 Estate C: unnamed

Major Dreaming: Mungi - Tree Sugarbag

Subsection affiliation: GANGALA-nangalama/YAGAMARI-jaminyanyi

Semimoiety affiliation: WUDALIYA

Claimants: Local Descent Group No. 3

This estate consists of the area surrounding Seigal Creek and its tributaries, as far north as the vicinity of Mindibarina (C4). The southern portion of the estate is in the vicinity of just north of the China Wall. The term "Binanda" is occasionally applied to an area including this estate; (it may stem from a general environmental classification of areas containing a kind of grass known as binda). The major myth is Mungi (Tree Sugarbag). This is the general name referring to the nest (jani) of a variety of native bee (wan.ga) and its honey (ngandal). The English name "Sugarbag" is used similarly in a general way:

Myth No. 5: Mungi - Tree Sugarbag

Sugarbag dreaming was at Jan.gilina (east of McArthur River), and travelled through Ngarrguna (on McCraggan Creek), Jajinguji (on Karns Creek), Burragalinya (on Bluey Creek) to Jilundarina (Site C1, on Seigal Creek). The sugarbag nest Dreaming is visible in the form of holes in a large rock on the western side of the watercourse as marked on Map II in Appendix A; this site is called Wuragaga (C2). From here Sugarbag travelled back north to Jan.garrjina (a round hill west of Wollogorang station homestead); he stopped here because he saw WUYALIYA country in front of him.

Other sites besides C1 and C2 in the area include Jininja (C3), Mindibarina (C4) and an unnamed stone arrangement (C5) said to represent the eggs (magulu) of the Sugarbag strewn on the ground with a large rock again containing the Sugarbag nest at one end of the arrangement. Individual

---

1. One account states the tree here to maintain the population of wan.ga (native bees), when the appropriate ritual is carried out there.
claimants describe personally intense relationships to Sugarbag Dreaming e.g. Ivy Mercer, a senior claimant, has a mark on her ear which she describes as "that's sugarbag here - when I go bush they rush me", and Charly Charles ("Ringo") can not eat much sugarbag or he will get sick. As well, Dymock's notes mention the account of a senior man stating that when Bilin.gumaji and Jambanabarrgu died (see genealogy No. 3), people knew the rock at site C2 would be cracked.

There is also a Warrgi (Dingo) Dreaming at the water at site C1, and claimants relate how it "comes up" at night time when they are there; similarly, there is a Marrarrabana ("Water Gin") Dreaming at the same water.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Environmental feature</th>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Approx. grid ref. 1:100000</th>
<th>Translation of Name</th>
<th>Totemic Association (&quot;Dreaming&quot;)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>Jilundarina</td>
<td>section of watercourse and surrounding area including area between the two branches of the watercourse.</td>
<td>&quot;Seigal Creek&quot;</td>
<td>6462 - 734523</td>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Mungi - Tree Sugarban i.e. general term for native bee, its nest, honey, etc. See Myth No. 4.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>Wuragaga</td>
<td>large rock</td>
<td></td>
<td>6462 - 730515</td>
<td>Wuragaga = large bee which hovers around the entrance to the nests.</td>
<td>Mungi - but in particular Wuragaga, the large bee.</td>
<td>Vicinity of large rock with holes representing the Sugarbag nests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3</td>
<td>Jininjia</td>
<td>tree and waterhole</td>
<td></td>
<td>6462 - 733492</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wan.g.a - Native Bee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4</td>
<td>Mindibarina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6462 - 703620</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mungi</td>
<td>Site of &quot;old Seigal Creek&quot; station.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5</td>
<td>Mindibarina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6462 - 728513</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mungi</td>
<td>Stones represent the eggs (magulu) of the Sugarbag, and a large rock at one end again contains a hole representing the nest.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**LIST OF CLAIMANTS**

Local Descent Group No. 3 - see genealogy No. 3

FF country - *galamungguji* (mingaringgi)  
MF country - *buwaraji* (junggayi)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Freddy Charles</td>
<td><em>Beverick Peter</em></td>
<td>Barry Lorraine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Johnson Charles</em></td>
<td>Louie MIck</td>
<td>Victor Lorraine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janet Charles</td>
<td><em>Dorita King</em></td>
<td>Beatrice Kingsley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derick Charles</td>
<td><em>Babi King</em></td>
<td>Sandra Daylight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Amy Lorraine</em></td>
<td><em>GwE:n Daly</em></td>
<td>Bronwyn Lorraine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>George (&quot;Clayton&quot;) Charles</em></td>
<td><em>Henry Daly</em></td>
<td>Ralph Lorraine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ellie Douglas</em></td>
<td><em>Glenys Daly</em></td>
<td>Cecily Lorraine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betty Douglas</td>
<td><em>Harold Johnny</em></td>
<td>Melba Lorraine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Joan Waldon</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>Elliot Lorraine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Roberta Johnny</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(children)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Beverly Ned</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(children)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Betty Jack</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(children)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Charly Charles</em> (&quot;Ringo&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(children)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Albert Daly</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&quot;Biji&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwen Daly</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ethel Nardoo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Daly</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adelaide Nardoo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Daly</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marjie Nardoo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alwyn Daly</td>
<td></td>
<td>George Nardoo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glenys Daly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(children)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Daly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ivy (Mercer)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*Lidi-Anne Albert

Vina Jerry
Ada Dick
Gladys Peter
Barbara Albert
Neville Albert

Mary Doyle

Limmerick Peter
Louie Mick
Norris King
Edna Adams
Eric King
Gracie Pamtoonda
Denny King Bowenda
Violet Ficklings
Barny King
David Escott

Yurumburinya
Wirduga
Nyangguwanaji
Wayardumaji
Mirinbarinya
Wagundumaji

George ("Digger")
Charles
Ella Douglas
Betty Douglas

Freddy Hayes
Unis

Dooren Arthur

*Harris

Alfred

Olive
8.5 Estate D: "LILIRIJI country"

Major Dreaming: BuJimala - Rainbow Snake
Subsection affiliation: BULANYI-nulaynma/BALYARINYI-nulyarima
Semimoiety affiliation: MAMBALIYA
Claimants: Local Descent Group No. 4

This estate covers the area from the vicinity of Middle River in the east, southwestwards to the vicinity of the foothills of the China Wall, and westwards incorporating the extreme source of streams which form the Calvert River and the area south of these. The term \textit{liliri} has been interpreted variously as "rough rock", "all different sort of rock", "low stones and gravel", etc; the name LILIRIJI covers a general area and appears to stem from a descriptive term for the low plateau country in this vicinity. A further name applied particularly to the area to the southwest of Middle River is "gawurrgi", a term used to describe an environment which is open and sandy. A named site (D2) is located on Middle River, and an unnamed stone tool making site (D3) is said to be located in the vicinity of the source of Collins Creek.

The major mythic association with the estate is \textit{BuJimala} (Rainbow Snake); no specific myth is narrated, rather \textit{BuJimala} Dreaming is said to be generally present throughout the estate. This is also the case for \textit{Yilayi} (Night Owl) and \textit{Balaga} (Flying Fox) Dreamings. At Ngurala (D2) there is a site-specific Black Bream (\textit{Wanbarinya}) Dreaming.\footnote{1}

\footnotetext{1}{A myth recorded in J. Dymock's field notes relates how Novitiates were brought to LILIRIJI by Flying Fox and "shown" to the people there so that they would return westwards for the forthcoming initiation ceremony.}
The lack of males in the oldest generation in genealogy No. 4 is explained by the fact that in the "early days" the LILIRIJI men fought continually with the result that most died, presumably before having socially recognized children. They are said to have fought over ceremonies and women.
## SUMMARY LIST OF MAJOR SITES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Environmental feature</th>
<th>Approx. grid ref. 1:100000</th>
<th>Translation of Name</th>
<th>Totemic Association (&quot;Dreaming&quot;)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D1</td>
<td>Liliriji</td>
<td>Area incorporating Middle River, southwest to China Wall, west to include the source streams of Calvert River.</td>
<td>6362 - 640569 westwards</td>
<td>(liliri = low plateau country?)</td>
<td>(a) Bujimala - (Rainbow Snake)</td>
<td>Male members of the local descent group died out during &quot;the early days&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Yilayi - (Night Owl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Balaga - (Flying Fox)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D2</td>
<td>Ngurala</td>
<td>section of watercourse.</td>
<td>6362 - 641525</td>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Wonbarinya - (Black Bream)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>section of Middle River.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Nyinlu - (Punpunine)?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF CLAIMANTS

Local Descent Group No. 4 - see genealogy No. 4

**FF country - galamangguji (mingaringgi) MF country - busaraji (junggayi)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dulcie</td>
<td>Nawujbina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan Hogan</td>
<td>Jagurrirri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Peterson</td>
<td>Bibiyalangua</td>
<td>Gentleman George</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Gentleman George Burke)</td>
<td>Jardiwan.gu</td>
<td>Joe Robinson</td>
<td>Gandiyari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Local Descent Group No. 4 now consists of only one old woman.

Local Descent Group No. 4 is usually called Jumburana, another site just to the west. It has been suggested by some that the two sites form one estate. However, the majority of people in Jumburana is UNALIITA community association (passively) to be included in Estate 4A. As Jumburana is off the land claim area, the problem is not critical, however, it needs to be located in another is an important myth here involving Gunib (Furled Lizard) and Wirin (Black Cherstl Lizard) who, after coming from the west, headed up and headed for the initiation of Diego Navarre (Damas Ngairi), which had come from Marumanur (Rd. 10). They then proceeded northward to Surpris Creek.
8.6 Estate E: BANMAJINA

Major Dreaming: *JuluJulu* - "night bird"

Subsection affiliation: GANGALA-nangalama/YAGAMARI-jaminyanyi

Semimoiety affiliation: WUDALIYA

Claimants: Local Descent Groups 5 & 6

Banmajina (El) is a large lake in the northwest corner of the land claim. The dreaming there is *JuluJulu*, a variety of small bird which can be heard at night; the name is derived from the call it makes.¹

Local Descent Group No. 5 now consists of only one old woman (see Genealogy No. 5); Banmajina (El) stands to her as *gugulifi*, i.e. mother's mother's country and because the site is neither father's father's or mother's father's country for any individual within the group, it is appropriate for her to now maintain primary spiritual responsibility for the site. However, relevant senior people state that it is also appropriate for Local Descent Group No. 6 to have succeeded to ownership of the site and joined with the old woman in her responsibility. It was appropriate for this group to do this because of its ownership of the site Burragalinya located on Bluey Creek not far to the northwest of El: while the major dreaming here is in fact *Mungi* (Sugarbag) (see Myth No. 4), it is of the same subsection/semimoiety affiliation as El.

¹. This site is close to a site called Jumburana, another lake just to the west. It has been suggested by some that the two sites form the one estate, however the majority opinion is rather that Jumburana is WUYALIYA semimoiety association (possibly to be included in Estate Ha). As Jumburana is off the land claim area, the problem is not critical, however it needs to be stated that there is an important myth here involving *Guymbi* (Frilled Lizard) and *Gargi* (Black Chested Lizard) who, after coming from the west "painted up" and danced for the initiation of Dingo Novitiates (*Warrgi Wardanguji*) which had come from Murulmurul (Hab 10). They then proceeded northwards to Surprise Creek.
There is some suggestion that Banmajina (E1) and Burragalinya were in fact part of the one estate, and that local descent groups 5 and 6 split at one time. However, the two groups are represented separately below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Environmental feature</th>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Approx. grid ref. 1:100000</th>
<th>Translation of Name</th>
<th>Totemic Association (&quot;Dreaming&quot;)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>El</td>
<td>Banmajina</td>
<td>large lake</td>
<td></td>
<td>6362 - 260620</td>
<td>Julujulu - &quot;night bird&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;julujulu&quot; is the sound the bird makes at night.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Burragalinya</td>
<td>section of watercourse</td>
<td>upper section of Bluey Creek</td>
<td>6363 - 157740</td>
<td>Mangi - Sugarbag</td>
<td>Site owned by the succeeding local descent group No. 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF CLAIMANTS

Local Descent Group No. 5 - see genealogy No. 5
Minnie (Nyin.gudu): guguliji - MM country

Local Descent Group No. 6 (succeeding to Estate E) - see genealogy No. 6
FF country - galamangguji (mingaringgi) MF country - buuwaraji (junggayi)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Doris Aplin</td>
<td>Harold Aplin</td>
<td>Laila Cairns</td>
<td>Kenny Aplin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Russell Aplin</td>
<td>Irene Waldon</td>
<td>Dawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Freddy Aplin</td>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>Derrick Aplin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Vera Johny</td>
<td>Patsy O'Keefe</td>
<td>Gloria</td>
<td>Lance Johnny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glenda</td>
<td>Rosemary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Elaine Cairns</td>
<td>(5 children)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Annie King</td>
<td>(3 children)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.7 Estate F: unnamed

Major Dreaming: Marrarrabana - "Water Gin"

Subsection affiliation: NGARIDBALANGI-niwnama/BANGARINYI-nungārima

Semimoiety affiliation: RHUMBURIYA

Claimants: Local Descent Groups Nos. 7, 10 and 11

This estate consists of the area containing two named vicinities: Nguwaji (F1), a section of the Nicholson River, and Barrarraba (F2), a range of hills extending westwards from F1 along the river to its junction with the watercourse flowing down from the area of Gundaruru (G1).

The mythic association in this estate is Marrarrabana ("Water Gin"), which jumped there from Estate J. Local descent groups Nos. 7, 10 and 11 have succeeded to ownership of this small estate as other groups responsible for it are now extinct. Local descent group No. 7 is described here while Nos. 10 and 11 are described under estates I and J respectively, for which their members are also claimants. These are the appropriate groups to have taken over responsibility for Estate F because they are the owning groups in the region for estates of the same dreaming and subsection/semimoiety association.
## SUMMARY LIST OF MAJOR SITES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Environmental feature</th>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Approx. grid ref. 1:100000</th>
<th>Translation of Name</th>
<th>Totemic Association (&quot;Dreaming&quot;)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>Ngwaji</td>
<td>section of watercourse including a waterfall.</td>
<td></td>
<td>6461 - 715065</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marrarrabana</td>
<td>&quot;Water Gin&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>Barrarraba</td>
<td>range of hills</td>
<td></td>
<td>6351 - 621085 extending eastwards to 723073</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marrarrabana</td>
<td>Rock art here.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF CLAIMANTS

Local Descent Group No. 7 - see genealogy No. 7

FF country - *galamungguji (mingaringgi) MF country - *buwaraji (junggayi)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Johnny Frakleton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Elsy Moreland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roy Second</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annie Darby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vera Darby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mavis Darby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Moreland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archie Dick</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tommy Dick</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daisy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charly Dick</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dingwuji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Local Descent Group No. 10 (as for estate I - see below)

Local Descent Group No. 11 (as for estate J - see below)
8.8 Estate G: "MUMUJA country"

Major Dreaming: Galwarwana - Top Knot Pigeon
Subsection affiliation: GANGALA-nangalama/YAGAMARI-jaminyanyi
Semimoiety affiliation: WUDALIYA
Claimants: Local Descent Group No. 8

This estate stretches from the vicinity of Gundaruru (Gl) westwards along the Nicholson River to the western boundary of the land claim area, and northwards to the China Wall for this distance. The term mumuja is the name of a kind of smooth, round, black rock, and the name Mumuja (G8) applies to the range of low hills running from the western end of the China Wall southwest and west towards the Nicholson River. The term "MUMUJA country" is applied to the whole estate.

The major dreaming Galwarwana (Top Knot Pigeon) is present at most named sites throughout the estate, however Rajaji (G4) is the focal site for this dreaming; highly secret and sacred items are stored in this vicinity (see restricted exhibit for further details).

Gundaruru (Gl) while located in this estate, is a mythologically key site for the whole land claim area. The waterhole there is distinctively a Bujimala (Rainbow Snake) domain: the evidence for this includes its round shape, the fact that the water changes colour and is level with the surrounding ground, the fact that Bujimala can be heard there and the motifs representing Bujimala amid the surrounding rock art. Indeed, much of the rock art and engravings here contain motifs representing other dreamings associated with a number of estates in the land claim area including: Galwarwana (Top Knot Pigeon) and its egg, Birinya (Water Rat), rirardi (the sacred digging stick), Dirindiri (Water Beetle) and
Gaburragaja (Crocodile). The motifs also include representations of dancers and ceremonial paraphernalia (e.g. garments worn by males (*gulidji*) and females (*ngadili*), and a distinctive design representing a formal recording of the number of senior individuals responsible for the region. Hand prints are also said to be the "signatures" of important individuals.

There is a ceremonial ground located at this site, and stone tools are to be found in the area. Remains of tea-tree bark used for cooking and cave-walls blackened by camp fires are also pointed out by claimants. The site is said to have been a meeting ground for people from all over the land claim area and beyond.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Environmental feature</th>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Approx. grid ref.</th>
<th>Translation of Name</th>
<th>Isotemic Association</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Gundaruru</td>
<td>spring and rock shelters and mesa.</td>
<td>&quot;Cave Yard&quot;</td>
<td>6362 - 596108</td>
<td></td>
<td>Large number of dreamings associated with rock art there (as described in text); Bujimala and Galwarwana (Top Knot Pigeon) in particular</td>
<td>Important ceremonial site. &quot;Closed-in place&quot; where kangaroos etc. were trapped; cattle stolen and hidden there in early days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Ganduwarra</td>
<td>section of watercourse</td>
<td>section of watercourse on Nicholson River &quot;Lilly Waterhole&quot;</td>
<td>6361 - 560055 to 586051</td>
<td>Galwarwana</td>
<td>(it's eggs in particular)</td>
<td>Claimants plan an outstation here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Lijalaya</td>
<td>section of watercourse</td>
<td>junction of Nicholson River and Buddycarawa Creek</td>
<td>6362 - 294124</td>
<td>Galwarwana</td>
<td>Left lot of tea-trees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Rajaji</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Block Waterhole (&quot;Bloodwood Yard&quot;)</td>
<td>6362 - 286154</td>
<td>Galwarwana</td>
<td>(a) Galwarwana</td>
<td>Important ceremonial site (see Restricted Exhibit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Birinya - Water Rat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Murlangga</td>
<td>lagoon</td>
<td></td>
<td>6362 - 275167</td>
<td>Galwarwana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Danbagi</td>
<td>section of watercourse</td>
<td>Collins Ck. junction</td>
<td>6362 - 274170</td>
<td>Galwarwana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Mijbamijbara</td>
<td>lagoon</td>
<td></td>
<td>6362 - 250205</td>
<td>Galwarwana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Jabuyara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(a &quot;white paint&quot; (mujira) assoc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Munnja</td>
<td>range of hills</td>
<td>6362 - 460210 to a point in the hills</td>
<td>Munnja = small, round, black rock.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF CLAIMANTS

Local Descent Group No. 8 - see genealogy No. 8

FF country - galamungguji (mingarunggi) MF country - buwaraji (junggayi)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Ivy</td>
<td>Gulanjuba</td>
<td>Bill Coolibah</td>
<td>Ngajaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinny Pedro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jock Pedro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Cubby Pedro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Len Cubby</td>
<td>+ children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Alma Corporal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howard Cubby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Tommy Doolan</td>
<td>Lindiri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Harry Doolan</td>
<td>Jibandi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shane Doolan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Conky' Doolan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harriet Doolan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Mary Lorraine</td>
<td>Wanalu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Robert Doolan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Alice Ned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Helen Waldon</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Christine Diamond</td>
<td></td>
<td>children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Lois Doolan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeffry Doolan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Neil Gregory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Lurine Gilbert</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*John Gregory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorothy Gregory</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Rene Ned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Nooreen Gregory</td>
<td></td>
<td>children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gary Gregory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Queenie Bell</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pat Bell</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eilleen Murdumurdungathi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colline Bell</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Bell</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teddy Bell</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(NOTE: Ned (Dambadamba) is the senior junggayi for this estate. In "skin" terms, it stands to him as buwaraji, mother's country, and he was designated this responsibility by the now deceased Ranji (see genealogy No. 8). He is not part of local descent group No. 8 and is not a claimant for this estate. He describes the situation as follows: "I'm offside junggayi - right junggayi is Billy Coolibah, but he too young." That is, while Bill Coolibah and others are primary junggayi, he does not consider them appropriate as yet to take over responsibility for the secret esoteric aspects of the totemic features of this estate.)
8.9 Estate Ha: unnamed

Major Dreaming: Bujarda - variety of python snake
Subsection affiliation: BURRULANGI-nurulama/GAMARANGI-nimarama
Semimoiety affiliation: WUYALIYA
Claimants: Local Descent Group No. 9a

This estate extends from Janaruwa (Hal) (off the land claim area) to Badigarawa (Ha6), and through sites Hab7 to Hab10 (which are also part of estate Hb). Local descent groups 9a and 9b are claimants for the overlapping estates Ha and Hb; the four sites which both groups own are represented by the symbol Hab. In fact, groups 9a and 9b together constitute a local descent group, but they are designated by separate secondary symbols to reflect their overlapping but divergent estates.

Two areas in estate Ha are designated by terms classifying features of the physical environment: the area southeast of Janaruwa (Hal) is known as "wulgarrinji", meaning thick tea-tree scrub which is very hard to go through (wulgarru: tea-tree flower smell; see Myth No. 5); while the area southeastwards from the lower reaches of Buddycarrawa Creek and in the general vicinity of Dijidiji (Hab7) and Wanggulinji (Hab8) is known as "bandunji", meaning heavy sand or "desert country" (bandu: "desert country").

The members of local descent group 9a are closely connected to Janaruwa (Hal); the stones there are said to be the individual members (particularly the descendants of Carara and Darby, e.g. J. Dymock was informed that a stone which had recently fractured and fallen was Clara, a
member of the family who had died a few weeks previously).\footnote{1} All kinds of distinctively shaped, coloured and arranged rocks here are pointed out as having been made by Bujarda (or e.g. as stones and trees showing the mark where Bujarda was "wrapped around" them) and as being gudugudu (sacred), and care is taken not to disturb them. The places on the route of Bujarda are associated with an important ceremony (see restricted exhibit) and initiation ceremonies were also carried out here.\footnote{2}

Murulmurul (Hab10) is a particularly critical area for both groups 9a and 9b, as it is the culmination of the long travels of Bujarda from the west. While some accounts state a particular waterhole as the focal Murulmurul site, the majority view is of the large mountainous area in the vicinity of Cants Waterhole and as far south as Carrara Range as the "home" of Bujarda now.\footnote{3}

Myth No. 5: Bujarda - variety of snake (colourful variety of tree python?): (alt. name - Didibuga)

A "big mob" of Bujarda came from west. They were female snakes and they spoke Jingalu language. As they neared Janaruwa (Hal) they passed through places including Jilarayi (a rock hole they made on Puzzle Creek), Migalawala, Dangalumija, and Burrgula (all swamps). In this vicinity they ceased speaking Jingalu and began speaking Waanyi; (some state that from here the "Jingalu Bujarda" returned westwards leaving the "proper Waanyi Bujarda"). At Janaruwa (Hal) they changed so that they were partly Gundugundu ("short devil") now. They called the names of the descendants of Janggala in Genealogy No. 9, and placed long stones in standing positions; these are there now, some "growing" inside ant-bed - they represent the owners of the site. Bujarda eggs are here as well. From here Bujarda travelled southeast through "WULGURRINJI" country (wulguru: tea-tree flower smell) - thick tea-tree scrub which is very

\footnote{1}{J. Dymock's field notes (1978); and see Merlan (1982) for similar material in another area.}
\footnote{2}{Some notes from Avery state that sacred round boards, once stored here, have been moved upstream for protection.}
\footnote{3}{J. Dymock also obtained data (from a claimant who has since died) on a myth concerning the movements from the west of Jinanggliya (Blue-tongue Woman), who is now in the form of a Tea-Tree at the Murulmurul waterhole; she had hidden her feet in the water there because they were "pointing backwards". By this account, Marrarrabana also visited Jinanggliya here.}
hard to go through - to an unnamed area (Ha7) close to Manggurrinyi (Ha4) consisting of round red hills; here they "stood up and looked" and talked among themselves: "Where we going to go?" - "Oh we'll go over there la Murulmurul (Ha10), la BANDU (bandu: dry desert country)". They went to Djjidiji (Hab7) then, flying over Badaguyara (Ha5) and Badigarawa (Ha6) and leaving the Wanggulinji swamp (Hab8) "one side", carrying on to Murulmurul (Hab10) where they stopped. Bujarda dreaming now exists right across the mountainous "Murulmurul country".

Other versions of the myth narrate details of Bujarda's activities west of the claim area including: an encounter with another kind of snake and with Flying Fox, and the making of ritually important places; it is also stated that on finally reaching Murulmurul (Hab10) Bujarda met Jumbaruna (Yellow Goanna) which had come from "Eva Downs country" and both stopped there; and that Bujarda went to Gundaruru (G1). A further version adds that Bujarda created the subsection system by first dividing people into subsection groupings.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Environmental feature</th>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Approx. grid ref. 1:100000</th>
<th>Translation of Name</th>
<th>Totemic Association (<em>&quot;Dreaming&quot;</em>)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ha1</td>
<td>Janaruwa</td>
<td>section of watercourse</td>
<td>located on Coanjula Creek</td>
<td>6262 - 008450</td>
<td>Bujarda - variety of snake (colourful variety of tree python?) (alt. name - Didibuga).</td>
<td>Where Bujarda called the names of people in Genealogy No. 9. See Myth No. 5.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha2</td>
<td>Dumanja</td>
<td>creek</td>
<td>Doris Creek</td>
<td>6262 - 050355</td>
<td>Bujarda</td>
<td>Where she &quot;stood up and looked&quot; and talked about where to go (see Myth No. 5).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha3</td>
<td></td>
<td>round red hills</td>
<td></td>
<td>6362 - 130215</td>
<td>Bujarda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha4</td>
<td>Manggurinyi</td>
<td>waterhole</td>
<td></td>
<td>6362 - 7</td>
<td>(a) Bujarda</td>
<td>Approx. location said to be near Ha3. Name in Genealogy No. 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Winjilabara - Black Goanna(?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha5</td>
<td>Badaguyara</td>
<td>section of watercourse</td>
<td>&quot;Bloodwood Yard&quot; (above junction of Buddycarawa &amp; Breakfast Creeks)</td>
<td>6361 - 253866</td>
<td>Bujarda</td>
<td>&quot;flew over&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha6</td>
<td>Badigarawa</td>
<td>section of watercourse</td>
<td></td>
<td>6361 - 315791</td>
<td>Bujarda</td>
<td>&quot;flew over&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hab7</td>
<td>Dijdijji</td>
<td>swamp and clay pan</td>
<td>Caulfield Clay Flats</td>
<td>6361 - 520770</td>
<td>Bujarda</td>
<td>See Myth No. 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hab8</td>
<td>Wanggulinji</td>
<td>swamp</td>
<td>Tarpaulin Swamp</td>
<td>6361 - 580730</td>
<td>Bujarda</td>
<td>See Myth No. 5 Ceremonies carried out here.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hab9</td>
<td></td>
<td>plain</td>
<td>&quot;Cleanskin Plain&quot; vicinity of Cleanskin Creek</td>
<td>6361 - 640760</td>
<td>Bujarda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hab10</td>
<td>Murulmurula</td>
<td>waterhole, and applied gen. to surrounding &quot;mountain country&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Bujarda</td>
<td>See Myth No. 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Jinangliya - Blue Tongue woman (?)</td>
<td>Name applied generally to the mountainous country southeast from Hab7 and Hab8. Place of important ceremonal significance (see Restricted Exhibit).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SUMMARY LIST OF MAJOR SITES

Site No. Name

| Site No. | Name          | Environmental feature         | English Name                  | Approx. grid ref. 1:100000 | Translation of Name | Totemic Association (*"Dreaming"*)                                                                             | Comments                                                                 |
LIST OF CLAIMANTS

Local Descent Group No. 9a - see genealogy No. 9

FF country - *galamungguji (mingaringgi) MF country - *bwararaji (junggayi)

English name  "Bush" name  English name  "Bush" name

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minnie Bates</th>
<th>Nyin.gudu</th>
<th>Ivy</th>
<th>Arrgala</th>
<th>Tommy Ellis</th>
<th>Mavis Ellis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Henry Wallace</td>
<td>Mundidungunu</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(+ children)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Duncan Hogan</td>
<td>Jagurrirri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Edna Hogan</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Nijirijbina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Eric Hogan</td>
<td>ren</td>
<td>Mangala</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Jacky Hogan</td>
<td>Wadaraji</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Alec Hogan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Tony Hogan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ellen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Janet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Cloey Holt</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Topsy Pyro</td>
<td>child-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Sandra</td>
<td>ren</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Peter Hogan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Gracy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Peterson</td>
<td>Gunmi/Bibiyalanguna</td>
<td>Joe</td>
<td>Walajumaji</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Liddy</td>
<td>Wayawarinya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Harry Callaghan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Harriet Campbell</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Ned (Dambadamba) is also a claimant for this estate. It is his father's mother's country (see genealogy No. 9) and thus stands to him as *ngabujimba. He states, with the approval of all due to his senior status: "I'm taking over from my father - he was *junggayi now I'm junggayi."
8.10 Estate Hb: unnamed

Major Dreaming: *Bujarda* - variety of python snake.

_Gaburragaja_ - (Crocodile) and _Jurrgubari_ (Plains Goanna)

Subsection affiliation: BURRULANGI-nurulama/GAMARANGI-nimarama

Semimoiety affiliation: WUYALIYA

Claimants: Local Descent Group No. 9b.

This estate similarly contains sites Hab7 to Hab10, and is associated with the important *Bujarda* dreaming. However it also includes the South Nicholson Creek and the streams flowing into it; these watercourses are the domain of _Gaburragaja_¹ (Crocodile) and _Jurrgubari_ (Plains Goanna) Dreaming.

Myth No. 6: _Gaburragaja_ and _Jurrgubari_

_Gaburragaja_ and _Jurrgubari_ had a big fight. Crocodile had a white stone knife (_babagana_) and stabbed with it, while Goanna had a black stone knife and slashed with it. As a result of the fight, Goanna has white marks and Crocodile has black marks across his back (_malayu_). Goanna lost the fight and that is why he now has to live in the hot plains country, while Crocodile can live in the cool places.

It is stated that this fight occurred at Gadbiji (Hbl7) on South Nicholson Creek, however a precise location for this site is not given and the name is applied in general to "that South Nicholson country". The estate is also said to include "the head of the Mussellbrook [creek]". Sites Hb13 - Hb15 are approximate locations. Sites Hb12 and Hb16 are unnamed, but are referred to by the term "gaman.gurru" which is the name for the dangerous substance which is there. It is a white poisonous substance, which looks like ordinary _magira_ or white ochre but in fact is different and quite

---

1. Also at times called *vinjurru* or *galagadirri*: it is a variety of freshwater crocodile distinctive due to a "long nose" and light colour.
dangerous. An important story is set at Hb16:

Early day those old people came there for meeting, and picked all the white clay up and rubbed themselves for fight (i.e. decorated themselves for a fight). They thought it was magira (ordinary white ochre); and instead they all died - everyone that had that gamon.gurru on.

At times when the sun is very hot gamon.gurru "melts down" to form the equally poisonous yellow mawiga; gamon.gurru occurs in country with any of the four semimoiety associations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Environmental feature</th>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Approx. grid ref. 1:100000</th>
<th>Translation of Name</th>
<th>Totemic Association (&quot;Dreaming&quot;)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hb7 to Hb10 as for Estate Ha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6461 - 868534</td>
<td>Wurrgi (Dingo)</td>
<td>Dingo came from &quot;Gallipoli way&quot;; Conception filiation for Ivy George (see Genealogy No. 9).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb11</td>
<td>Wiriwirinyi</td>
<td>waterhole</td>
<td>Spring Waterhole</td>
<td>6461 - 868534</td>
<td>Wurrgi (Dingo)</td>
<td>Dingo came from &quot;Gallipoli way&quot;; Conception filiation for Ivy George (see Genealogy No. 9).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Distinctive due to the &quot;gaman.gurru&quot; there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb12</td>
<td>unnamed but referred to by the term &quot;gaman.gurru&quot;</td>
<td>point of hill</td>
<td>6461 - 905676</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Distinctive due to the &quot;gaman.gurru&quot; there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb13</td>
<td>Milali/Malala</td>
<td>red ochre deposits and waterhole</td>
<td>Big Bend Waterhole (?)</td>
<td>6461 - 905676</td>
<td>malala = red ochre</td>
<td></td>
<td>The place is distinctive due to the substance &quot;gaman.gurru&quot; which is there (see text for associated story)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Only approx. location to somewhere on Bullock Creek. (J. Frakleton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb14</td>
<td>Wurruburrul</td>
<td>spring</td>
<td>on Bullock Creek</td>
<td>6461 - 905676</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Only approx. location to somewhere on Bullock Creek. (J. Frakleton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb15</td>
<td>Biyalinyi</td>
<td>spring</td>
<td>on Bullock Creek</td>
<td>6461 - 905676</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Only approx. location to somewhere on Bullock Creek. (J. Frakleton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb16</td>
<td>unnamed but referred to by the term &quot;gaman.gurru&quot;</td>
<td>white ochre deposit.</td>
<td>in the vicinity of &quot;Fig-tree hole&quot; on Banhinea Ck.</td>
<td>6461 - 905676</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Only approx. location to somewhere on Bullock Creek. (J. Frakleton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hb17</td>
<td>Gadbiji</td>
<td>length of watercourse</td>
<td>&quot;South Nicholson Creek country&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Galurrugaja (Crocodile) and Jurrgubadi (Plains Goanna)</td>
<td>The two fought (see Myth No. 6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**LIST OF CLAIMANTS**

Local Descent Group No. 9b - see genealogy No. 9

FF country - *galamungguji (mingaringgi)*  
MF country - *buwaraji (junggayi)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(<em>Ivy George</em>)</td>
<td>Reggie Burgan</td>
<td>Yumbayamaji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Roy Second*  
*Nancy*  
*Fauna*  
*Mary*  
*Katie*  
*Joy*  
Rosane  
Archie  
Christopher  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maxy King</td>
<td>Trevor King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elaine Waldon</td>
<td>Duncan King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedric King</td>
<td>Kelvin King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyanne King</td>
<td>Miriam Peter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Annie Darby  
Vera Darby  
Mavis Darby  
Joseph Moreland  

*Archie Dick*  
*Tommy Dick*  
*Daisy*  
*Charly Dick*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nancy Wilson</td>
<td>Dugurandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archie Black</td>
<td>Biriwiliba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dora Doolan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ned George</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancy Carlton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sally O'Keefe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bubi Dick</td>
<td>Magurrnganji</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bonny Pedro  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Micky Miller</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice Carlton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marina Dick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junie Clay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.11 Estate I: unnamed

Major Dreaming: Wirrigajigaji - Catfish

Subsection affiliation: NGARIDBALANGI-niwunama/BANGARINYI-nungarima

Semimoiety affiliation: RHUMBURRIYA

Claimants: Local Descent Group No. 10.

This area is the vicinity of two named sites in the southeast corner of the land claim area. Both are located on Mussellbrook Creek, and the dreamings at both places are Wirrigajigaji (Catfish) and Marrarrabana ("Water Gin") - the later is visible on a rock at Wanimurrgu (I2). Local descent group No. 10 has succeeded to primary spiritual responsibility for these two sites due to its responsibility for sites further downstream on both Mussellbrook and Elizabeth Creeks. Wirrigajigaji (Catfish) Dreaming pertains to the length of these watercourses.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Environmental feature</th>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Approx. grid ref. 1:100000</th>
<th>Translation of Name</th>
<th>Totemic Association (&quot;Dreaming&quot;)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Gudawudangiri</td>
<td>section of watercourse</td>
<td>Border Waterhole</td>
<td>6460 - 156394</td>
<td>3 young women</td>
<td>(a) Wirrigajigaji - Catfish</td>
<td>Male and female Marrarrabana now visible on rock there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(gudangiri = young woman)</td>
<td>Marrarrabana - &quot;Water Gin&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Wanimurrgu</td>
<td>section of watercourse</td>
<td></td>
<td>6460 - 137400</td>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Marrarrabana - &quot;Water Gin&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Wirrigajigaji - Catfish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF CLAIMANTS

Local Descent Group No. 10 - see genealogy No. 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Sydney Punjab</td>
<td>Lalyari</td>
<td>Ivan Doomadgee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Bluebell Doomadgee</td>
<td></td>
<td>Michael George</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Horace George</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Charlotte George</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Florence George</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Junie Ryan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Edith Daly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Suzanne Gilbert</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adrian Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ronald Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kingston Brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The account of the 'Kwalul' (Makandey) woman was obtained by
Dynamx. Section (Laluyi) during two visits to site 19 and later
visited (see tables).
8.12 Estate J: unnamed

Major Dreaming: Marrarrabana - "Wild Gin" (or "Water Gin")

Subsection affiliation: NGARIDBALANGI-niwunama/BANGARINYI-nungarima

Semimoiety affiliation: RHUMBURRIYA

Claimants: Local Descent Group No. 11.

This estate extends from "Minggabari Plain" (J1) in a southerly direction to Mijibayu (J11). It also extends west to Creswell Creek, and Fish Hole and Crow Creeks; in particular a site named Minyaraga on Creswell Creek is highly significant. The major dreaming is Marrarrabana which travelled from the west through the estate to estate F. This dreaming is generally present in a variety of areas: e.g. it is associated with a song and dance cycle known as Ngardijji, which relates the movements of two female dreamings who travelled and danced over large areas of the Barkly Tableland country.

Jalinjabarra (J7) is a key Marrarrabana Dreaming site in this estate. There is distinctive rock art there, and the site is known of over wide areas of the Gulf country.¹

¹ The account of the Jinanggliya (Bluetongue Woman) myth obtained by Dymock states that Jinanggliya visited site J7 and left marks (rock art?) there.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Environmental feature</th>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Approx. grid ref.</th>
<th>Translation of Name</th>
<th>Totemic Association (&quot;Dreaming&quot;)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J1 &amp; J2</td>
<td>Mingabari</td>
<td>creek and plain</td>
<td>Little Pandanus Creek</td>
<td>6262 - 118088 (creek) 030160 (plain)</td>
<td>red ochre (gunjarr) dreaming on hills nearby.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J3</td>
<td>Wanangaya</td>
<td>creek</td>
<td>6361 - 146060</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marrarrabana - &quot;Wild Gin&quot;/&quot;Water Gin&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J4</td>
<td>Ngandiyari</td>
<td>hills</td>
<td>running from junction of Little Pandanus and Buddycarawa Creeks north-east towards the Nicholson.</td>
<td>6362 - 220100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J5</td>
<td>Ngandangandara</td>
<td>watercourse</td>
<td>located on Buddycarawa Creek at old Bennara Hut &amp; Yard.</td>
<td>6361 - 195995 (plain) 6361 - 199968 (creek)</td>
<td>ngandara = old woman old woman Marrarrabana</td>
<td>The old Marrarrabana woman rock stands up there. Significant as early station which claimants were associated with.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J6</td>
<td>Balagan gali</td>
<td>junction of watercourse</td>
<td>junction of Bennara and Buddycarawa Creeks</td>
<td>6361 - 199968</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J7</td>
<td>Jalinjabarra</td>
<td>rockhole</td>
<td>Connelly's Camp W'hole</td>
<td>6361 - 198951</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marrarrabana</td>
<td>Significant rock art and stone tools; caves said to be wet season camps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J8</td>
<td>Dammalarija</td>
<td>section of watercourse</td>
<td>on Buddycarawa Creek (Old Stake Yard?)</td>
<td>6361 - 3537307 (creek)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marrarrabana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J9</td>
<td>Galabidbarbara</td>
<td>section of watercourse</td>
<td>on Buddycarawa Creek (Beck's waterhole?) (&quot;Pear Tree Hole&quot;)</td>
<td>6361 - 3396627 (creek)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marrarrabana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J10</td>
<td>Yarawala</td>
<td>dry lake</td>
<td>Flemington Race Course Claypan (&quot;Plum Tree Hole&quot;)</td>
<td>6361 - 170653</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Environmental feature</td>
<td>English Name</td>
<td>Approx. grid ref.</td>
<td>Translation of Name</td>
<td>Totemic Association</td>
<td>Comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
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<td>-----------------------------</td>
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<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J11</td>
<td>Mijibayu</td>
<td>rockhole and mountain range</td>
<td>Mitchiebo Waterhole</td>
<td>1:100000</td>
<td>(a) Baribari</td>
<td>(b) Marrarrabana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Baribari
(b) Marrarrabana

While the name focuses principally on the waterhole, it also designates the surrounding range.
LIST OF CLAIMANTS

Local Descent Group No. 11 - see genealogy No. 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
<th>English name</th>
<th>&quot;Bush&quot; name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Bessie Ngardijamanya</td>
<td>Jeffry Holt</td>
<td>Wayne Holt</td>
<td>Nelson Holt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimmy Holt</td>
<td>Ngaragulanji</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Colin Holt Wanyanganda</td>
<td>Mary Holt</td>
<td>Jamey Holt</td>
<td>Robert Holt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirly Holt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Betty Lloyd Jayinbalina</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lee Thomas</td>
<td>Dingy Need</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monica (Harwan ?)</td>
<td>Helen</td>
<td>Iris</td>
<td>Johnny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Micky Miller</td>
<td>Mick Miller (+ siblings)</td>
<td>Maurice Carlton</td>
<td>Reggie Carlton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Junie Clay</td>
<td></td>
<td>*Marina Dick Len Dick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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* Indicates that the claimant is a descendent of a prominent local leader or a member of a prominent local family.
9: RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE REGION

Recent archaeological research at Lawn Hill Gorge, approximately 50 kms. east from the southeast corner of the claim area, indicates Aboriginal occupation of the area at least 18,000 years ago and possibly 30,000 years ago (Hughes, in press). Dymock (1982) has pointed out that:

Although no archaeological work has been undertaken within the claim area, petroglyphs totally glazed with age on sandstone rocks in the centre of the area indicate Aboriginal activities an immense time ago. Archaeologists entertain the possibility that the silicified patinas which cover such "Panaramitee Style" engravings on sandstone, may be late Pleistocene, i.e. 10,000 - 20,000 BP. (Maynard 1977:393; Chaloupka 1977:245).

Fieldwork in the claim area, particularly the substantial periods Dymock has spent there, has located many art, occupation and burial sites which are also evidence of lengthy Aboriginal occupation.

Dymock's historical work (1982) draws on a wide range of material and provides a detailed account of the history of the region, and this is a separate submission for the land claim. In very brief summary, he describes: early mainland explorations to the east of the claim area from 1845 onwards; phases of pastoral settlement from 1867 until by 1885 most of the claim area was under lease; conflict and violence between Aborigines and whites and the establishment in 1889 of a police station with European and Native Mounted Police at Turn Off Lagoons on the Nicholson River east of the claim area; the early infiltration of cattle and sheep into the region; killings of whites and cattle by Aborigines and reprisals by whites through the 1890's and the first decade of this century; movement of Aborigines to stations both east and west from the claim area and continued residence there; removal of mixed descent children to Darwin, Mornington Island and Mapoon throughout the period up to the 1930's; the
movement of people to Doomadgee Mission in the east during the 1930's and
the continued residence of claimants in areas both to the east and west
of the claim area.

What I wish to do in this chapter is briefly describe the claim-
ants perceptions of the historical stages their society has passed through,
and make some comments on the continuity of Aboriginal tradition through
these stages.

9.1 "Wanggala Time"

This was the creative period ("dreamtime") when the major features
of the physical and social universe were shaped. People existed then, much
as they do now. Aboriginal "law" is believed to have operated strongly
and consistently to regulate the lives of people. This period represents
the beginning of time, but also impinges on what is referred to as "wild
time".

9.2 "Wild Time"

This phrase describes the period from before European incursions
through subsequent phases of interaction with whites, until people were
"quietened down". It is also referred to as wabulinji ("a long time ago"),
"early day" or "young day". As Dymock states (1982:55), this period is
seen to have had no uniform date of termination but rather this varied
according to places and circumstances. Some of the oldest living Aboriginal
people in the Gulf country can tell of their often violent experiences with
police treating them badly in the bush and at stations during "wild time".
The term "wild" refers both to the people and the times. Claimants describe the "old people" as "wild" in that they "belonged to bush" and didn't know about or understand white people, their material goods or their ways. There is known to have been a very early stage of first encounter with whites where their ancestors "cried" for the whites, because they thought they were relatives returning from death. (Reynolds (1981:25-32) has made this point as a general feature of contact history.) However, this quickly gave way to the time "when everybody bin get shot". If they were not shot they came in and were "quietened down".

There is a general body of oral history knowledge throughout the region, originally told to contemporary old people by their parents who often experienced post-frontier violence first hand as young children. Stories describe the bloodthirsty nature of killings of men, women and children by both whites and Native Police. Particular police characters are remembered for their style of interaction with the "old bush people", some as particularly cruel and violent and others as "good people". For example, the apical person in local descent group No. 2, Johnny Rockland (who was a young man around the turn of the century) worked as a tracker for the police at Turn Off Lagoons. He is remembered as a good man who warned Aboriginal people that aggressive whites were coming, and tried to talk them into coming in and "quieten down".

Stories are told of tactics used by the parents and grandparents of claimants. They would avoid their pursuers by moving behind them, and stop them by lighting fires; they would "sing" the firearms and bullets so that they would not work properly, then move in to spear the attackers - Gundawarinya, in local descent group No. 1, is known to have speared people in this way, at least until he was forcibly persuaded to come in
to Turn Off Lagoons (around 1907 according to Dymock's data). In the earlier years, the Queensland Native Police were particularly violent in their attacks on people in the bush. They were known as yabayiri "because they didn't go through bora"; that is they came from areas which did not practice circumcision as part of the male initiation ceremony. However, the yabayiri were not juga, i.e. uninitiated; they had gone through their own style of initiation where they had come from. While the old people say the Native Police came predominantly from the Cooktown area, the term yabayiri appears to have come from tribes to the south and east of the claim area where it was a term for males after the first degree of their initiation (see Roth 1897: 66, 171, 173). At any rate, tactics used against the Native Police in the earlier years included spearings and sorcery.

Specific shootings are remembered, e.g. in local descent group No. 1, Gundawarinya and his brother Marandu are known to have been wounded at Magunmali, a place on Cliffdale Creek, but saved from being killed by Johnny Rockland, a police tracker at the time (see genealogy No. 2). However, many people are unsure of what happened to their grandparents, e.g. Cubby Pedro, a claimant for estate G simply surmises that his father's father "must have been shot". People now surmise how only certain parts of their estates would have provided good shelter during "wild time", e.g. Tommy Doolan, a claimant for estate G says in reference to the "cave country" in the vicinity of the China Wall: "I think our people bin more safe here hey? - not like on that plain country". Claimants see themselves as descended from the survivors of a holocaust. Stone tools, old camp sites, rock art, marked trees, etc. are interpreted as manifestations of the lives of the "old people" and claimants commonly state with great nostalgia about such places, e.g. "must be my ganggu FF /mimi MF bin here". 
In summary, it is clear from the accounts of dislocation and movement during this period, that locally organized land-using groups (or bands) were decimated and their survivors sought shelter at stations, ration depots, etc. However, the social and ceremonial dimensions of Aboriginal tradition continued.

9.3 "Station Time"

People thus moved west to stations on the Barkly Tableland, north to Calvert Hills, Robinson River and Wollogorang stations, and east down the Nicholson River, Elizabeth, Musselbrook, and Lawn Hill creeks, to Turn Off Lagoons police station and stations including Westmoreland, Lawn Hill, Riversleigh and Gregory Downs. From Turn Off Lagoons, young boys were taken to the surrounding stations for work. Claimants did move round the claim area mustering with various whites e.g. Duncan Hogan and Ned Lewis (local descent group No. 9a) worked through the western sections of the claim as young stockmen, Limmerick Peter (local descent group No. 1) travelled through her father’s country with her husband when her son Larry was a baby (around 1927), Tommy George (local descent group No. 1) says he was mustering at Fish River around 1938, and Reggie Burgan (local descent group No. 9b) states he worked as a stockman through the southern portion of the claim as far west as Cleanskin Plain (Hab9) around 1930. Others travelled as children with their parents on bush trips, e.g. Ivy Mercer went with her father to their country (estate C) around 1940.

However, people established close ties with the country off the claim area that they had moved to. Pedro (local descent group No. 8), who had gone to Lawn Hill Station with Jack Riversleigh (local descent
group No. 6) "when they were shooting people down", according to his son Cubby Pedro, was made "King" of Lawn Hill Station, as was Darby (local descent group No. 9b). Most of the claimants were born in such areas. They often took the name of the station or the white boss as their own English name or their nickname. Groups of people became known as "Turn Off Lagoons mob", "Lawn Hill mob", etc. Indeed, "Waanyi people" at Doombadgee are today known as "running water people" through their recent historical association with such running streams as Elizabeth, Musselbrook, and Lawn Hill creeks and the Gregory River.

Members of the local descent groups shown in Appendix B were by no means always together during these times. For example, in local descent group No. 1 while Gundawarinya was "King" of Turn Off Lagoons and his children and grandchildren became associated with there, his brother Marandu had gone from estate A to Damuli, Westmoreland Station, and his children were born there. The latter established close links with their mother's people and country in the coastal region which is the territory of the Ganggalida tribe or linguistic unit. Indeed, Marandu himself died in this region at Galunduduwi, a swamp near the mouth of Eight-mile Creek. There was thus considerable movement of claimants and their parents over a wide area.

People nowadays recognize the large pressure for cultural change operating on their people during "station time". Their material culture and routine domestic and employment activities were strongly integrated within the remote rural cattle station lifestyle. As one man who spent part of his youth at Turn Off Lagoons says of his knowledge of his traditions: "I bin forget now: too much cattle 'n horse bin makim me silly." Cubby Pedro (local descent group No. 8) says in the same context:
"We didn't worry for that - ... work for whiteman all the time." Henry Wallace (local descent group No. 9a) says: ¹ "I don't know much because I left my family when I was young and worked for whiteman."

However, despite these statements, Aboriginal traditions were maintained through this period. In the early times during the first decade of this century large gatherings of people held important ceremonies in the vicinities of the stations, e.g. in the west at Anthonys Lagoon, Creswell Downs, Brunette Downs, etc., and in the east at Turn Off Lagoons, Westmoreland and Lawn Hill stations. There was also movement from the west to the east for ceremonies. Senior claimants describe how their parents would move from Turn Off Lagoons and Lawn Hill station across to sites on Accident Creek (e.g. Julujuluyurdi) to meet with people who had come from as far westwards as Alexandria Station. Ceremonies would be held then some of the people from west would return while others would join the established camps at Turn Off Lagoons, Lawn Hill Station, etc. In more recent times the ceremonies were still being held. Many of the middle-aged male claimants were initiated at the stations: e.g. Tommy George, Don George (local descent group No. 1) and Johnson Charles (local descent group No. 3) near Turn Off Lagoons in 1948, and Henry Wallace (local descent group No. 9a) at Anthony's Lagoon around the same time.

While living and employment conditions and general race-relations were by no means always good on the big stations, close friendly relationships also developed between individual whites and Aborigines. Individual claimants now think of their bosses with mixed feelings: while they are nostalgic about their often loyal boss, claimants also feel they were exploited. Tommy Doolan (local descent group No. 8) says: "me old boss used to just lay down in the shade - I used to make the money." Cubby

¹. Recorded in J. Dymock's field notes.
Pedro says: "We were not free people to do as we liked ... We were allowed to have holiday during wet season but if we didn't work during dry, they sent for police to hound you." Claimants and their parents developed close relationships with lone whites who established huts at such places as "Seigal Creek", "Fish River" and "Springvale", all on the claim area. The activities of these whites with cattle were not always legal. Liaisons between white (and Chinese) men and Aboriginal women were reasonably common, despite the laws in both Queensland and the Northern Territory against such unions. In one well-remembered case, the mother of two claimants (local descent group Nos. 7 and 9b) was pursued throughout the region with her white defacto husband by police, as an order had been issued for her to be sent to Palm Island for living with a white man. The mixed descent offspring of such unions were removed to Darwin, Mapoon, Palm Island and Mornington Island during the first few decades of this century. Reggie Burgan (local descent group No. 9b), for example, tells of how his mother would hide him out of sight at Riversleigh Station whenever police rode up, for fear he would be taken from her and sent to Palm Island because he was of mixed descent. The genealogies contain a fair number of people who were sent to Palm Island for this reason or for punishment following their having broken some law.

From most accounts, the period spent by the middle-aged and elderly claimants (and their parents) at stations and Turn Off Lagoons left people fairly free to pursue traditional Aboriginal social and ritual life. This is not to say that substantial cultural change did not occur. However, bodies of knowledge pertaining to traditional ties to country were maintained. People went into the claim area when it was possible,

1. J. Dymock's field notes.
2. J. Dymock's field notes.
e.g. particularly stockmen who could muster there in the course of their work. However, during the first decade of this century it had become clear that Aboriginal people could not move around their country without facing great dangers. A stage had been reached where they had been "quietened down". To an extent, people were dependent on certain white material goods, particularly tobacco and tea, but the critical dependence was the need for security. There was simply no security for Aborigines not camped at a white station, settlement or town. Aborigines had learned to manage their dependency on one or more white bosses, whether they were the operators of large or small scale pastoral or mining enterprises, policemen or whatever. Such managed dependency was perceived as a critical feature of having become "quietened down".

9.4 "Mission Time"

The affiliation of claimants with cattle stations has continued up until current times. A comparatively small number of claimants have resided west of the claim area at stations on the Barkly Tableland, but also at towns such as Borroloola and Elliott in particular. The majority of claimants have resided east of the claim area at Doomadgee Mission, and it is thus necessary to examine their recent history in some detail.

The conviction of Plymouth Brethren missionaries who arrived at Burketown in 1930 was to preach the Christian message to Aborigines. However, they are remembered by Aborigines today more for their considerably useful and compassionate work in partially fulfilling the medical needs of people who were suffering obvious and immediate effects of dwelling on the fringe of white society. They quickly established a mission, first at Bayley Point in 1931, then moved it in 1936 to its present site
approximately 30 kms. east of Turn Off Lagoons on the Nicholson River.

They were ostracized by many local whites. From the very early stages of their presence, the local state government Protector of Aborigines at Burketown was skeptical about the mission being established:

For about 6 or 8 months each year almost all the active male Aboriginals [in the Turn Off Lagoons Protectorate] are employed at Station work, and their families reside on the Stations with them, therefore during those periods it would only be the old Aboriginals and their children that could be collected, and I would estimate their number at about 50. To my way of thinking the taking of active males to the Settlement would be a mistake, for many of them are first class stockmen, and they would be a far greater asset to the country employed at Station work, then roaming about the Settlement.

He goes on to provide important information about the maintenance of ties to their traditional country by the Aboriginal people of the region:

I am very doubtful if any of the natives, apart from a few that always live on the Reserve [situated in the coastal area north from Turn Off Lagoons], could be induced to settle there permanently. The old natives have what they term their own country, and would rather die there in poverty (if necessary) than leave it for any Promised Land. The young and active males when their term of employment is over are in the habit of drawing on their accounts for provisions, with the old people, and go on the walkabout, and apparently enjoy their freedom, until such times the stock season opens again, then they gather round the different Stations and are ready and willing to go to work again.

Nevertheless, five years after this was written, in 1936, Turn Off Lagoons police station was closed down and during the following years many Aborigines from there and other stations were moved to Doomadgee.

3. ibid.
4. During the 1920's and 1930's some children were also transferred to Mornington Island, e.g. Nancy Wilson (local descent group No. 9b) in 1920, Annie Chong in 1927, Larry Lanley in 1932, Norris King in 1936 (all local descent group No. 1). Many mainlanders with ties to the claim area remained on Mornington Island, and some even went further to Aurukun. (Pers. Comm. Rev. D. Belcher, Manager at Mornington Island for many years.)
However, the demand for Aboriginal labour on the stations was large throughout the 1940's, 50's and 60's. Correspondence during the 1940's from the Protectors at Gregory Downs and Burketown indicates continually that this demand constantly outweighed the supply. One source finds that in 1949 "every boy from the Mission between the age of sixteen and sixty was out at station employment with the exception of five". And similarly, Long has stated for Doomadgee in 1965 (1970:153) that:

"Employment under agreement on cattle and sheep stations provided most of the income of most families." The majority of claimants (both men and women) worked on stations during this period, e.g. in 1949 at least 9 claimants worked at Lawn Hill, and 9 at other stations, however only one of these stations was on the claim area (Johnny Rocklands at Fish River). Approximately half of these people were based at Doomadgee in the wet season and had their Agreements and bank accounts organized by the Superintendent (also called the Protector) there. The other half were based at Burketown. However, despite arguments by successive Burketown Protectors against the working men shifting their bank accounts and residence in the wet season to Doomadgee, by the 1950's most claimants were

1. For example, Protector Gregory Downs to Dept. Native Affairs (D.N.A.) 26/5/43, 15/6/44, 10/1/47, 8/6/49; Protector Burketown to D.N.A. 26/1/49, 1/3/50.
2. W.T. Davis, D.N.A. to Deputy Director D.N.A. 19/9/49.
3. ibid.
4. Under the Regulations of the Queensland Aboriginals Preservation and Protection Act of 1939, an official Agreement had to be signed by the employer stating length of employment, rate of pay, etc.
5. Also under this Act, the wages of Aboriginal workers were placed in accounts administered at the discretion of the local Protector, other than small amounts of "pocket money" given to the worker and a percentage of his wage which went to the general Trust Fund administered on behalf of the state's Aborigines by the D.N.A.
6. For example, J.B. Chambers, Protector of Aboriginals, Burketown to Director D.N.A. 28/10/48; H.D. Champrey, Protector of Aboriginals Burketown to Director D.N.A., 1/2/50 and 1/3/50.
based at Doomadgee. The Burketown Protector's allegation that Aboriginal workers were better off being employed through his office (e.g. were better regarded, earned more wages, etc.) were largely disproved, and Aborigines constantly went to Doomadgee to join their relatives.

However, the further allegation levelled at the mission administration was that it was over-authoritarian (e.g. discouraging the single girls from marrying). A government report supported the Superintendent's refutation of this, but this was the kind of allegation which was to recur over the years. In 1950, a government report on the mission stations throughout north Queensland described the Doomadgee Aborigines as "the cleanest, the best fed and the best housed" but also as "the most severely restrained". It focussed particularly on the dormitories which many claimants lived in from the age of about 5 or 6 until they went to station employment in the case of males and until they married in the case of females:

Doomadgee is the worst example of the ills of the dormitory system. It is here indistinguishable from slavery. There are only a few men on the station, all males over 14 or 15 being away at work, and the whole of the work of the mission, including the construction of buildings, cultivation and irrigation of the gardens (about 60 acres), as well as the domestic work of the mission, is done by the dormitory girls, who include many of mixed blood and who range up to 24 years of age. Girls are forbidden to leave the mission compound unaccompanied during the day and are locked up overnight. No amusements, other than hymn singing, are permitted. [my emphasis]

In reply to the criticism the Superintendent wrote:

1. Davis, op.cit.; indeed the missionaries appear to usually have striven to obtain the best working conditions possible for Doomadgee Aborigines at stations.
2. ibid.
4. M. Read to D.N.A., 14/6/50.
It takes time to overcome the influence of past years filled more completely with evil contacts than with good dinners. Our aim has been to lift the natives up morally and socially by all possible means, and to slacken off necessary restrictive control as it is found the folk can rightly use and not abuse freedom.

Restrictions on people's freedom have thus been justified as necessary in "uplifting" Aboriginal people to a Christian Brethren lifestyle. In 1949 all 100 children over 5 years at Doomadgee (including many claimants) were in the dormitories.¹

Without Christianity, the missionaries have perceived no positive future for Aboriginal people: "Truly [sic], apart from the Gospel they are a spiritually hopeless and helpless people, few having even a false hope to cling to (Read 1946:2)." Furthermore, Aboriginal culture itself has been viewed as evil, in opposition to Christianity and as something Aborigines were to be emancipated from:²

Long had they been captive to the power of darkness, bound by superstitious fears, enslaved to vice, to uncleanness, to dishonour. Contact with white civilisation, apart from Christian influences did nothing to emancipate them, but rather worsened their moral condition. [my emphasis]

Included in the evils perceived as still persisting at Doomadgee (in 1953) were:

... fathers giving their young daughters for money or other considerations, the pull of tribal custom evidenced when old men urge and force young fellows to submit to initiation rites so as to be recognized as having attained to manhood, the pitiful wailing for the dead, and the cutting of themselves with knives, and the offering of food to appease the spirits of the departed.³

The missionaries were committed to oppose such things, and the same source refers⁴ to "a smouldering resentment on the part of some of the

1. Davis, D.N.A. to Deputy Director D.N.A., 19/9/49.
3. ibid.
4. ibid, p.5.
old-time native men and women - [which] may develop to test severely the new Christians", i.e. those who were being "brought to the Lord, or being saved, desired to go on, by open confession in baptism".

Thus, while the necessity of the material advantages of life at the mission have been obvious to Aborigines, the missionaries have always been known to be opposed to many "blackfeller ways". They were not happy for children to speak their language, for marriage and other affairs to be organized according to kin obligations, or for "blackfeller medicine" to be used in healing. They have been against all forms of sorcery. Their antagonism has been most evident on the issue of ceremonial life, particularly ceremonies involving the initiations of young men. Initiation ceremonies (or any others for that matter) have never been allowed in or near the mission, and this is still the case today.

The last time people (including some claimants) attempted to hold an initiation ceremony at a jaman.gi ground a few miles west of the settlement (around 1953) is well-remembered by the Aborigines and missionaries alike. The Aborigines say the Superintendent threatened to call the Burketown police sergeant to stop them, then did so, but he replied that it was not his province to stop Aboriginal ceremonies. The account given by the then Superintendent indicates the missionary strategy of insisting that such ceremonies could not be carried out on the Doomadgee reserve, while knowing that for historical reasons and material necessity people would not leave:

I wondered when I discovered that quite a lot of young men were missing and elders ... and I found that they were at a gathering up the river ... having some old time things ... I confronted them: Mick Diamond was spokesman, he'd

1. This man died very recently. His father's country is just north of the claim area and marked on Map II below: Nguyjburri on the Little Calvert River.
just come to the Mission. He confronted me and said: "We're going to do what we like, that's why I've come here, that's the Aboriginal way and we're going to do it." I said: "There's plenty of room in Australia, and I won't bar you from doing exactly what you want - but not here." He said: "Well I'll be leaving"; but he stayed ... [D. Trigger: "Why?"]

... He knew it was better on the mission - better conditions altogether, they were sure if things went wrong they got their food...

No further initiation (or other large-scale) ceremonies have been held at Doomadgee since then, although certain rituals associated with the deaths of individuals have been practiced. A comparatively small number of Garawa people have sent their young men to Borroloola to be initiated, and some claimants who are normally resident at Mornington Island have been initiated there and at Borroloola in recent years. As discussed below, claimants have an initiation ceremony planned to take place on the claim area at Najabarra (Ali) in the near future.

To adequately deal with the fusion of Aboriginal religious beliefs and Christianity by claimants is beyond the scope of this claim book. It is sufficient to again let the missionary perspective speak for itself:

The joys and disappointments of the spiritual side of the work have been many and varied over the years. As in every phase of their life, stability is lacking. From time to time there have been those who would appear subjects of becoming towers of strength in the Assembly, then, also, the evil one comes in and they are set aside. However, there always seem to be the ones and twos to encourage and to these we commit the things that we have heard that they may teach others also. (2 Tim. 2:2). Approximately 150 have been baptized over the years, but few have maintained a consistent testimony. There are an average of 30-40 who gather to His Name each week to remember Him in the breaking of the bread and drinking of the cup.  

2. See separate submission from Dr. P. Memmott.
Twelve years later (in 1982), the overall number of people who had been baptised had increased to approximately 260, however the number attending church meetings had remained at 30 to 40. It must suffice to state here that pressure to embrace a fundamentalist Christian message has been a critical feature of the historical relationship claimants at Doomadgee have had with white staff. Some have reacted with intellectual interest, perhaps perceiving parallels between Aboriginal and Biblical myth, but certainly not therefore attempting to discard Aboriginal beliefs or necessarily perceiving any need to do so. Others have no doubt attempted to use affiliation with the church for political and/or material benefit.

The other major historical feature of claimants' lives at Doomadgee has been institutionalized dependency on material goods and services administered by the missionaries. As well, particularly as children and young adults, claimants have had to operate within strict authoritarian controls. These were designed to limit their movements into and association with (indeed to "protect" them from) the mainstream white society. References to such controls have been made over the years. Still, in 1965, was Long (1970:152) able to refer to:

... a girls' dormitory with thirty-five inmates and a boys' dormitory with twenty-three. Both served as means of imposing a relatively rigorous mission discipline on the children in substitution for upbringing by their parents. Formerly the girls remained in the dormitory until they were married and the main purpose of the girls' dormitory was to postpone the girls' marriage and sexual experience. Recently the older girls have left to return to their parents before marriages have been arranged.

The dormitories appear to have been closed down in the late 1960's.

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In 1972, a Commonwealth Senator\(^1\) accused the Doomadgee administration (and by extension the Queensland Minister for Aboriginal and Island Affairs and the Director of his Department) of "inhuman conduct". He alleged that in 1972 a girl (who is a claimant) was punished for wearing a mini-skirt, and also referred to an incident in 1960 when 12 girls "all around the age of 14 years" ran away from the dormitory because they "could no longer suffer the discipline". The group included claimants and is well-remembered by Aboriginal people at Doomadgee today; the women who were involved say they were going to Corinda (Turn Off Lagoons). The girls were caught:

They were subjected to physical beating by their parents under the supervision of the superintendent and were told that if they struggled during the beating they would have their hair shaved off. Some of the girls struggled and one of them, Hannah Barclay [a claimant], was among those who had the whole of her hair shaved off. ... That was a disastrous and traumatic experience for a little girl of 14 years. Admittedly this happened several years ago, but the punishment has been repeated since then on more than one occasion. A number of girls were punished for talking to a white man employed on the mission.

A letter to the editor from Hannah Barclay (then living in Mt. Isa) subsequently appeared in the Brisbane Courier-Mail newspaper (March 16, 1972) confirming the Senator's allegations and adding various other allegations:

Apartheid is the policy of the missionaries. Any contact with outsiders is strictly supervised by the management. All dancing ... is forbidden ... If I was asked to choose a word to sum up the feelings of my life the word would be fear. I was frightened for 20 years at Doomadgee ... If I was married to an aboriginal I don't think I would write this letter because we would be too frightened of what white authority could do to us... If I was asked to say what was wrong with aboriginals I would say they have been too frightened for too long.

Claimants today also refer often to other restrictions about which resent-

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ment seems to have finally caused controversy around 1970, e.g. the requirement that people wishing to marry had to inform the white Manager, and most importantly the ban against Aboriginal people having motor vehicles (e.g. the same Senator also refers to a person not being allowed to bring a car onto the reserve, and people tell of a petition complaining about the mission's policy against motor vehicles (among other things) which they sent to the Director of the Queensland Department of Aboriginal and Islanders Affairs in 1971).

It is difficult to describe in brief the extent to which Aborigines have been treated as dependants during "Mission time". Each person was referred to in all correspondence by a label consisting of the first letter in his or her name and a number. Administrators would oversee all movements of people and correspond to each other about such movements, e.g. the Superintendent at Doomadgee complained in 1950 that certain Aborigines had arrived from Burketown without a "covering letter" hence he had no authority to operate an account for them. The Burketown Protector had earlier telegramed Doomadgee to say that if "underhand persuasive tactics" in transferring Aborigines to Doomadgee did not cease, they would "not be allowed" to visit the Mission. Under the Act of 1939 people had to apply to the local Protector for permission to marry; he then completed a form containing questions about the "breed" of the applicants' parents (i.e. "full-blood" or otherwise), the "character" of the applicants, whether they were "free from disease" (in particular venereal disease and tuberculosis), and whether he recommended the granting of permission to marry. The Director appears to have had the final decision. In the words

2. Protector Burketown to Superintendent Doomadgee Mission, 31/1/50.
of the missionaries: "It may be truly said that the Mission personnel becomes complete caretakers of the people from babyhood to old age." ¹

During the period since the early 1970's, Doomadgee people have developed a broader view of their contact history and a greater understanding of the pressures which have been operating against maintenance of their traditions. Senior claimants talk at length of the changes which have occurred since their youthful days in the bush and at white-run stations and ration depots. They focus on the dormitories as a major factor in the younger generation's knowing less than they should of their traditions: "This young generation, they bin long dormitory - that's why they got lost." At the same time, most speak of the benefits their children and grandchildren have derived from their time at school.

It is clear from the data presented in chapters 7 and 8 above, that a large body of knowledge by which claimants are affiliated to their traditional countries has been maintained. At least throughout "mission time" this has occurred while people have been institutionalized and dependent on whites away from the claim area. It has been under such circumstances that their affiliation to their countries has been maintained.

¹. Doomadgee, A Report ... op.cit. p.6.
Two outstations have been established in the claim area, at Najabarra (All) in estate A and Jilundarina (C1) in estate C. These have been founded during the last four or five years, since the traditional owners have been informed that they could do this legally and also that they could claim the country under the *Land Rights Act*. Two further outstations are definitely planned, at Ganduwarra (G2) in estate G and Wanggulinji (Hab8) in estates Ha and Hb, and others have been mooted should the claim be successful.

People have been living at Najabarra fairly continuously during much of 1982. Claimants constructed approximately 9 miles of road into the site using hand tools, and an airstrip was being constructed there in early 1982. Claimants have used private vehicles for travelling between the outstation and Doomadgee for supplies, medical treatment, etc., however these vehicles continually break down. People have been awaiting possible funding for a Toyota vehicle and other equipment from the Aboriginal Benefit Trust Account (A.B.T.A.) since May 1982.

Claimants have been visiting and living at Jilundarina outstation for periods of time since 1976. People were there from October to December 1977, August to December 1978 and August to November 1980. On at least three occasions people including Freddy Charles, Charly Charles (both local descent group No. 3), Joe Robinson (local descent group No. 4) and Ronnie Waldon (husband of claimant in local descent group No. 3), have had to walk for distances over 100 kilometres at the beginning of the wet season, as vehicles had not been available to come and get them. Charly Dick, the husband of a claimant for this estate and himself a claimant
for other estates, has driven his vehicle out a number of times to assist them. The road is very bad and the Jilundarina people have been fortunate in recent times by being successful in their application for funds for a vehicle to A.B.T.A.

Humpys, fireplaces and gardens have been built at both Najabarra and Jilundarina outstations. A problem for all claimants is that they require money to get out to the claim area (maintenance of vehicles, petrol, etc.), and this means keeping jobs at the mission or surrounding cattle stations. Thus, for many people, weekends and other holidays have been the only times available to visit the area.

However, there is no doubt that claimants for all estates have serious aspirations about "looking after" the country, which is seen to include foraging, burning, performance of ceremonies there, running cattle and horses, building fences, huts, yards, etc. They perceive a gap between their current activities and those of their "old people" during the "early days" and are anxious to close it, hence Alec Hogan (local descent group No. 9a) says: "this country getting civilized again".

Certain current activities of whites in the area are viewed with great concern. For example, complaints are made that miners had written their names at rock art sites at Mandalulgi (A3) and when a sign was erected notifying the area as an Aboriginal site of significance, it was defaced with racist slogans. Another sign was stolen from the Gumuluji (A24) area. Claimants complain that "sacred water" has been used at Najabarra (All) by whites from a nearby station, and by miners at Didibula (A2) where they have hoses pumping water out for camp use. There is also an airstrip which has been constructed by whites near
Wanggulinji (Hab8), and claimants surmise that this has been used to fly in a "portable yard" to muster, and then remove by road, cattle in the area.

Now that claimants know that they can legally move through and conduct activities in the area, it is seen as a place where ceremonies can be held without interference from missionaries, station people, etc. Thus an initiation ceremony is planned soon at Najabarra (A11). The senior junggayi, Tommy George, in successfully applying to the Aboriginal Arts Board for some financial assistance for provisions and travel of people from Borroloola and Doomadgee to the site, made clear his commitment to the ceremony, Aboriginal law, and his country. The following is a transcription of a tape he made with Charly Dick, another claimant:

T.G. ... well we bin hav'im plenty young boy there la Doomadgee ... we wanna put 'em longa smoke y'know ... la Doomadgee ... and people there wouldn't [al] 'low - Councillor wouldn't 'low run that place there ... Turn Off Lagoon before, we bin hav'im [initiation ceremony] place, they [Doomadgee administration] wouldn't 'low that place [in recent times ], and while we here la Najabarra I want to put 'im all the boy la this place la Najabarra ... Too much this 'un our country now.

C.D. ... bin [initiation] ground here before my boy?

T.G. ... yeh, bin ground over here now ... big ground ... that's the jaman.gi [initiation] ground bin here now blanta young man.

C.D. People bin come from long way here longa this place boy?

T.G. Yuway [Yes ]: from everywhere bin come up: from Jilundarina, from Rajaji up here, ... from Calvert all about, Wollogorang, Borroloola - all bin come up here la this place ...
T.G. ... we wanna keep our song goin' all the time y'know? Business blan this place here, blanta young man. I gotta go there get the singer from Borroloola ... all the people they come up when they hear that young man, they all happy you know ... 'cause they doing that every year la their place la Borroloola ... they never chuck that up ... and we couldn't do it la Doomadgee, 'cause lot of older people got the same law what themfella la Borroloola do. But we not allowed to do it in Queensland, we out here la Territory y'see, we here la Najabarra now ... 'cause I bin told this the old ground here, old people bin know, and that's why I want to start him up here again ... and if I go round and ask them people, they all come up straight away - they glad for this place here Najabarra.

C.D. Too much they know that name Najabarra.

T.G. They know that name Najabarra, blanta my grandfather ... and me proper boss, junggayi blan this water.

This will be the first initiation ceremony held by the majority of claimants since the early 1950's, and they have only perceived it as a possibility since being informed they cannot (legally at least) be "kicked off", as has always been threatened at the Doomadgee reserve.

Similarly, Brady Bates, a senior ritual leader at Elliott who is familiar with the western section of the claim area, has told Duncan Hogan (local descent group No. 9a) that when he gets the country he will show him important ritual sequences which can appropriately be performed in estates Ha and J. There is a sense in which the ceremonies will be re-established there due to the land coming under Aboriginal control.

Another claimant, Tommy Doolan (local descent group No. 8), intends shifting important sacred items to his estate (G) from a place he has had them stored for many years near Riversleigh Station. He considers his
father's country to be the appropriate place for them, and with the prospects of gaining title to the land, also considers they would be safer there. Ned Lewis (local descent group No. 9a) has similarly carefully hidden even such secular items as stone axes at Jalinjabarra (J 7) to protect them. 1 People look to the area as future security for their traditions.

However, old people like Tommy Doolan still find it difficult to grasp the fact that Aborigines are able to control land. He asks such questions as: "Suppose a man want to make a road here, they can stop him?"; "They really let a man live here?" Indeed, many claimants are apprehensive as the claim draws nearer, for they fear the white owners of the surrounding stations will try to stop their claim.

Chapter 9 has described how Aborigines in this region have historically not been able to take initiatives. Throughout their lives, the place of residence (whether station, police station, town or mission) has invariably been associated with economic ventures made by one or more white people, and it has been these whites who have regulated the flow of white-feller food and materials and, more generally, regulated the Aboriginal population's contact with the wider white society. Such an arrangement has come to represent a kind of physical and social security from what has socially remained a "frontier" dominated by whites, and potentially fatally dangerous for Aborigines.

There is a strong sense in which for people now taking initiatives, moving to a situation not on the fringes of a white-dominated venture means leaving a relatively long-established kind of security for a situation

1. J. Dymock's field notes.
which is somewhat unknown. It is not unknown in the sense of familiarity (or in the case of the younger people, capacity to quickly develop familiarity) with the bush situation. It is unknown in that it bears little resemblance to the kind of situation by which people have historically (and still do) coped with their relationship to white resources and white people. The process that has always been in operation has been based on managed residential dependency on a local whitefeller domain (controlled by the "boss"), which in turn has managed the "give and take" relationship with the wider white society. Considerable pride is taken, especially by older people, in their acknowledged capacity to maintain such successful dependency on particular whites in particular white-controlled residences; it is in this context that older people may still remark about an individual whom they regard as not successfully maintaining dependency on whites: "Poor fellow, he got no boss". Such a person lacks the kind of security that managed dependency usually ensures.

A move away from such dependency is a move towards an unknown degree of security, in terms of management of the relationship to white society. Certainly, people also see it potentially as a long-term move away from the kind of powerlessness that has been engendered by a history of decisions about their lives being made by whites who have lacked understanding of Aboriginal lifestyle and belief-systems. But given their historical experience, the long-term remains a somewhat hazy gamble, while the short-term is quite real, and must be dealt with. Thus, any Aboriginal procrastination about taking initiatives in the claim area should not be simply interpreted as lack of interest or commitment, weakness of attachment, or even as indicative of contentment with the existing situation. Rather it should be interpreted within the claimants understanding of their people's experience in the southern Gulf region over the last 100 or so years.
Map I: Location of Languages and Linguistic Territories from Literature Sources.

Associated Notes for Map I:

The location of Wanyi territory is described in Tindale's text (1974:237) as:

... at Fish River; on the Nicholson River west of Corinda; on Spring and Lawn Hill creeks; east to the Barkly (Barclay) River; at Lawn Hill and Bannockburn; west to old Benmara; and southwest to Mount Morgan.

Note that what is referred to in the text here (and elsewhere) as the eastern boundary, the Barkly River, is not marked on Tindale's map. On other earlier published maps it is marked as part of the lower reaches of the Gregory River, Beames Brook, Albert River system of watercourses, and it would appear that Tindale is referring to what is usually marked as the Gregory River, as the eastern boundary. Yet the Gregory is far east of the boundary of Wanyi territory as marked on his map; in fact, the Gregory River is designated on the map as the eastern boundary of Ngoborindi territory - the territory adjacent to Wanyi territory to the east. The reference to the Barkly thus perhaps represents an unintended error. There is also discrepancy between the northeastern section of the boundary as marked on the map, and the described location of Bannockburn which is further east (very close to the present site of Doomadgee Mission).

Osborne (1966:1), on the basis of his linguistic work on Wanyi (8 weeks fieldwork in 1965-66), reconstructs traditional Wanyi territory "on the western parts of Lawn Hill Creek and Nicholson River, from about the boundary between the Northern Territory and Queensland, westwards towards Alexandria station".
In geographically locating Wanyi among other languages, Capell (1963) echoes Tindale, and is himself quoted by Flint (1964), and Oates (1973) echoes Osborne. Additional references to Wanyi language include Sharp (1939:256) who puts the location on the N.T. side of the border approximately opposite the position of Lawn Hill Station. Davidson (1938) and Ehrlich (1922) also show the location as just across the border in the same position, while Power (in Basedow, 1907:3) refers to "the Wanye tribe" as extending eastwards "to the head of the Nicholson River".

Spencer and Gillen (1904:91) locate Wanyi further west, near the headwaters of the Robinson River. Mathews (1900:497) refers to "Wonyee" as one of the four tribes in the broad region from the Calvert River to the Nicholson River and southerly to Inchalachee territory - the sources of the Gregory and Georgina Rivers. Finally, Parry-Okedon's map (1897) shows Waangyee territory stretching southwards on the N.T. side of the border, from the headwaters of the Nicholson River.

Tindale (1974:228) locates "Karawa" (see Map 1):

On the rocky inland dissected plateau country from Foelsche River and Robinson River Homestead south to headwaters of Robinson River and to Siegalls Creek Homestead; east to Wollorgorang and to Westmoreland outstation only; northward only to edge of coastal plain about 40 miles (65 km.) inland from the sea; Calvert Hills.

He is clearly using the station homesteads where Garawa-speakers have been living in relatively recent times as foci for defining this territory. Similarly, Reay (1962:91) distinguishes between the Eastern Garawa, known as "the Wollogorang people", and the Western Garawa, known as "the Robinson River people".

Various linguistic works locate the language among others. Furby and Furby (1977:22) describe the area as "bordered by the McArthur
River in the west, and extending about 400 miles to the east - about 50 miles within the Queensland border", and extending inland from the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria for about 100 miles. However, they appear to be referring in a very general and somewhat inaccurate way, to the modern distribution of speakers of the language. Furby (1972:29) also states that her study is of "the western dialect of Garawa which was originally spoken in the area surrounding the Robinson River cattle station", implying the existence of another dialect to the east. Oates (1973:28), referring to Osborne's unpublished work, states very briefly a location of "north from Nicholson River, west to Macarthur River, west [sic] to 50 miles within the Queensland border".

Stead (n.d.:2) suggests that:

Garawa country begins roughly 20 miles from Borroloola (east) and runs almost to the Queensland border stretching out to include Robinson River Station and part of Calvet [sic] Hills Station, while it stretches not quite to the coast.

The Garawa people are not classed as a 'salt-water' people by their Aboriginal neighbours and their traditional country has only one or two accesses to the sea.

Sharp (1935:159) locates Eastern Karawa in the vicinity of the headwaters of the Calvert River and Western Karawa just to the east of the Macarthur River. In his later paper (1939:257) he locates Eastern Karawa much further towards the coast, and "Kunindiri" in the vicinity of the headwaters of the Calvert River.

Tindale (1974:228) also mentions Kunindiri, and locates it immediately southwest of Karawa, "along the headwaters of Calvert, Robinson, and Nicholson Rivers ...".

Other references include Davidson's map (1938) which puts Karawa on the Foelsche and Wearyan Rivers, and Goonanderry between the Robinson and Calvert Rivers, and Ehrlich's map (1922) which shows Karawa much
further to the southwest than other authors. Power (in Basedow, 1907:3) mentions Korrawa (with Karawa given as an alternative name) as "a very large tribe, living about the watersheds of the Robinson and Calvert Rivers", and Goonanderry as "distributed along the Robinson and Calvert Rivers, south of the Karawa". Roth (1910:101) discusses the location of:

The Karawa Tribe, at the head of Settlement Creek in the Gulf Country, to be often met with at, probably their chief camp, Wollogorang Station about four miles within the N.T. border...

Spencer and Gillen (1904:91) show Karawa close to the coast on the east side of the Robinson River. Mathews (1900:498) mentions the location of Karrawar as in the region from the Calvert River to the Nicholson River and south to Inchalachee territory. Finally, Stretton (1893:249) mentions Leearrawa (100 members of the tribe) on the Robinson River.
Map I: Linguistic Territories from Literature Sources.

Tindale 1974 as marked: restated for Wanyi by

A1 Eastern Karawa  ) Sharp 1935
A2 Western Karawa  ) Sharp 1939
A3 Eastern Karawa  Sharp 1939
A4 Wanyi Sharp 1935; 1939

B1 cross-hatched area Wanyi: Osborne 1966;
restated by Oates 1973

C1 Waangyee: Parry-Okedon 1897

See accompanying notes for further sources.
Map II: Sites and Estates in the Nicholson River Land Claim Area.

Associated notes for Map II:

Eleven estates are shown with separate letters A - J (including Ha and Hb). Each site is designated with one of the four semimoiety symbols, the letter of the estate it is located in and a number within a sequence specific to each estate. Where a name is written along a watercourse or range, it indicates that a tract of the feature is named. Where estates are named, the name is written in large capitals without quotation marks across the estate. Where a descriptive term based on an environmental feature is used for an area, it is written in large capitals within quotation marks across that area. Where English names appear in quotation marks, they are local Aboriginal-English names.
See pocket at rear for MAP II
MAP III: SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF ESTATE BOUNDARIES
1. Waanyi classification of the seasonal cycle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Description in English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gundil</td>
<td>April - November</td>
<td>&quot;dry season time - no rain&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gindilgurinya</td>
<td>November/December</td>
<td>&quot;first storm&quot;, &quot;thunder&quot; (=gayi), (i.e. the &quot;build up&quot; period)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walanggu</td>
<td>December/January</td>
<td>&quot;first rain&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wirringil</td>
<td>December-March</td>
<td>&quot;middle of the wet time&quot;, &quot;rain no more stop now - can't walk around&quot;, &quot;wet (mannga) all day&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vin.ngi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngafirr</td>
<td>February, March, April</td>
<td>&quot;cold weather time&quot;, &quot;still wet but starting to get dry&quot;, wurrarra wala gulana (= wind coming from south; wind has &quot;turned around&quot;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Sample of Waanyi and Garawa ethnobotanical knowledge.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name(s) in Aboriginal language(s)</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Name (or description) in local Aboriginal-English</th>
<th>Use(s)</th>
<th>Gathering/Preparation</th>
<th>Medicinal Properties</th>
<th>Other Properties</th>
<th>Season fruit occurs</th>
<th>Scientific name (species)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>gandanga, daminyi, ngadjuga, nanggaba</td>
<td>Waanyi, Garawa</td>
<td>&quot;wild dates&quot;</td>
<td>not used as food</td>
<td>- extraction from shell</td>
<td>- used as food</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>all seasons?</td>
<td>Cygnus sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>garranga</td>
<td>Waanyi, Garawa</td>
<td>&quot;dog's balls&quot;</td>
<td>- food - medicine</td>
<td>- fruit sucked and seed spat out</td>
<td>- leaf soaked and bathed in</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>gundil - &quot;dry time&quot;</td>
<td>Grevia reticulifolia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bajirri</td>
<td>Waanyi, Garawa</td>
<td>&quot;like grapes&quot;</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>win ngu - &quot;wet time&quot;</td>
<td>Ficus platypoda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>guyalpuyal, guyakura</td>
<td>Waanyi, Garawa</td>
<td>&quot;kerosine grass&quot;</td>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>- chew the grass and spit it out after swallowing the substance from it. - soak or boil the grass in water: the yellow solution can be drunk or bathed in</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Cytabogon sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>maniguija, gajabi</td>
<td>Waanyi, Garawa</td>
<td>ganggabari, a pronunciation of &quot;conker berry&quot;</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>- spread out tea tree bark under tree and shake tree to gather fruit - tree bears thorns which are believed to cure warts; thorns are heated and used to pick the warts several times.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>win ngu - &quot;wet season&quot;</td>
<td>Cayratia lutolia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>gajanyuga</td>
<td>Waanyi, Garawa</td>
<td>&quot;wild potato&quot;</td>
<td>root used as food</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>all seasons?</td>
<td>Cynoglossa tutolia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>gardiriri</td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>&quot;spear tree&quot;</td>
<td>saplings used as spear shafts (magura) for large fauna &amp; fur firesticks</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>all seasons?</td>
<td>Sesbania carmabella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Note</td>
<td>Lat.</td>
<td>Common Name</td>
<td>Uses</td>
<td>Optimal Harvest Time</td>
<td>Species</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>balara</td>
<td>fruit eaten raw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Pandanus sp.</td>
<td>Securinga melantheroides</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>wurdij</td>
<td>- internal food - internal fibres cut away</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>all seasons? (Black seed falls from the top in wet season)</td>
<td>Livistona sp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Garawa</td>
<td>dalala</td>
<td>- outside leaves - jiba: strong</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>ngalanyi</td>
<td>fruit eaten raw fruit used as fish-bait</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>gindilgurrinya (first storm)</td>
<td>Ficous racemosa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>gadara</td>
<td>seed is eaten the closed bud raw or ground of the young and cooked into flower is opened by peeling back the leaves</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Nymphaea violacea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>nyanyuji</td>
<td>bulb is eaten raw or cooked</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Nymphaeoides sp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>bujirda</td>
<td>edible</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Garawa</td>
<td>buyara</td>
<td>white fruit not edible</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>gindilgurrinya (first storm)</td>
<td>Nauclea orientalis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>warara</td>
<td>bark used for containers, and numerous cooking utensils, shelter etc.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Melaleuca sp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Garawa</td>
<td>bulubulu</td>
<td>leaves used for making various items - fruit not edible (different in this respect from other Pandanus)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>&quot;rough leaf&quot;</td>
<td>Pandanus sp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>wepara</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Culture(s)</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Uses</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>burrgul</td>
<td>Waanyi &amp;</td>
<td>wood used to make woomera (jarrbila)</td>
<td>7 kinds: (a) ngaliga - round shaft; (b) wujula - shaft is flat; the point may be either part of the string or a separate plug inserted; also used for digging spear.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>guyarhi</td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>(“tree”?)</td>
<td>leaf, flower, bark (jinggal) used medicinally.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>dawilda</td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>“cattle bush”</td>
<td>leaf, flower, bark (jinggal) used medicinally.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ngalawanyi</td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>“black plum”</td>
<td>fruit eaten</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>dalunja</td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>“sandpaper fig”</td>
<td>fruit eaten</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>darima</td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>“yellow plum”</td>
<td>fruit edible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>bun-gurri</td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>“yellow plum”</td>
<td>fruit edible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>budarlu</td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>“sandlewood”</td>
<td>black fruit edible (has a big seed) when burnt the wood smoke deters mosquitoes - medicinal.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>digujari</td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>“plum tree”</td>
<td>yellow fruit eaten</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Solution made by soaking or boiling and bathed in - good for sores, etc. - gindilgurrinya (first stone) - Ficus glabrata

- Small seed, approx. size of person’s thumb - Terminalia aridicola

- Bigger than No. 22 - Parwonda falcata

- Bark used as medicine, (good for sores) - throw a burning piece of the wood into freshwater in the wet season and the rain will stop by morning - Santalum lanceolatum

- Associated with totemic power; wayigwara is the “dreaming” name agg. with it. - Bahamania obovata
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Preparation/Latin Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>darrangi</td>
<td>root of young plant is eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'white 'cotton-like' substance in the fruit used for decor-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ation during dances etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>garangi</td>
<td>wood used for making cooliman (juyiya), helmet (jarama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(garpurrjima)</td>
<td>shield for fighting etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>dardegi</td>
<td>root eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'bark is plait-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ed to make nets, tie up a spear, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>bolunja</td>
<td>'weeds'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>gudir</td>
<td>bark plaited or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rolled into string: jagurara = to roll.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bijibijil = to plait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>wamulu</td>
<td>'plum'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>banngurr</td>
<td>'red fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>edible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'timber for making canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>yapurgila</td>
<td>fruit eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>waulsm</td>
<td>eaten raw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>bijiri</td>
<td>'bush tobacco'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>leaves dried, smoked, and chewed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(pituri)</td>
<td>drawn from languages to the south</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cochlospernum sp.
Gyrocarpus americanus
Brachychiton australis
Lobelia quadrangularis
Acacia hemageyi
Diospyros ferrata
Capparia sp.
Pterocaulon coronates
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Origin Language(s)</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Uses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>bijiri</td>
<td>&quot;pituri&quot; (-&quot;bush tobacco&quot;)</td>
<td>leaves dried, smoked, and chewed</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>nyilanguji</td>
<td>&quot;green plum&quot;</td>
<td>fruit eaten</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>mulbal</td>
<td>Waanyi</td>
<td>fruit eaten</td>
<td>like No. 22 - darima, but smaller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>ngirdanyi</td>
<td>Waanyi, Garawa</td>
<td>&quot;bloodwood&quot;</td>
<td>-red gum (guyal) used as a cementing substance when making stone axe (gulu); gum is &quot;poisonous&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>daboru</td>
<td>Waanyi, Garawa</td>
<td>&quot;spinifex grass&quot;</td>
<td>-grass used as base for transporting bush honey; water is added to make a sweet solution. -grass must be rubbed first to shake out dirt, seed, etc. -the container is &quot;like a little jujly (cooliman)&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>warrana / rayarr waraja</td>
<td>Garawa, Waanyi</td>
<td>&quot;spinifex grass&quot;</td>
<td>-wax deposited by ants is heated, separated from grass, dirt, etc., and worked into a ball with the hands. -then used as cement in making artefacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>wajara</td>
<td>Waanyi, Garawa</td>
<td>&quot;bushlinea tree&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;honey&quot; from flower edible (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>guyarbirri diligi</td>
<td>Waanyi, Garawa</td>
<td>&quot;beefwood tree&quot;</td>
<td>-bark soaked or boiled in water; soltn. used to treat skin lesions (scratches, itchies, small cuts, etc.); bark comes off well when hit with hard implement -it is the inside part of the bark which is used; bark is broken into small pieces (not found in gorge area)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>bambulbala</td>
<td>Waanyi, Garawa</td>
<td>&quot;beefwood tree&quot;</td>
<td>cut for didgerida</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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