

THE
13594

F4





THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND

Accepted for the award of

Doctor of Philosophy

on *26 November 1971*

FEELINGS IN THE HEART

**Aboriginal Experience of Land, Emotion, and Kinship in
Cape York Peninsula**

DIANE HAFNER

Tropical Health Program

Australian Centre for International Tropical Health and Nutrition

University of Queensland

**A thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of a degree of
Doctor Of Philosophy of the University of Queensland**

September 1999

DECLARATION

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the work presented in this thesis is original and my own work, except as acknowledged otherwise in the text. This material has not been submitted, in whole or in part, at this or any other University.

A. Ahmed

ABSTRACT

In this thesis I address the recent experience of social and political change among a group of Aboriginal people, the Lamalama, on Cape York Peninsula, Australia. The thesis compares the present situation with what is known of the pre-colonial society and its structural forms, and evaluates the role of affect in contemporary social organisation.

Colonisation of the wider region, and its aftermath of pastoral expansion and administrative control, have impacted on northern Aboriginal groups, and the Lamalama did not escape its effects. The appropriation of the landscape through this expansion into indigenous spaces is seen as the central motif in later historical and social change. Today, the Lamalama live in both bush and town, and their identity is tied to both locations. Land and kinship are the central themes of Lamalama life, and certain places are of particular importance to the core group of Lamalama people I discuss. These are, chiefly, Port Stewart and its surrounds, where they have established an outstation community.

Past practice remains an important reference point for the Lamalama as the source of cultural knowledge. The thesis seeks to explain how the Lamalama use affect to negotiate the distance between the inner feelings of the individual, and external manifestations of emotion, to construct meanings between social actors. Social dramas, which illustrate these processes, and thus impact on group identity, are detailed and analysed. The integration of social structure and practice that

characterised the past differs to contemporary social process. Present practice is typified by greater flexibility in the negotiation of identity, and emotion is demonstrated to be the means by which personal objectives, social structures, and jural rules are accommodated.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Among the many people to whom I must express my gratitude for their help and support, the Lamalama are first. All the Lamalama mob that I interacted with and got to know need to be thanked for their friendship, and more, for the warmth of the support they extended to me as a bumbling but well-intentioned whitefella. I spent the better part of two years regularly in their company and their lives, and the friendships I formed with them remain important in my life. In particular, Sunlight, Florrie, and Seppi Bassani, Joan Liddy, Vera Claudie, Alison and Elaine Liddy, Karen Liddy, Maureen Liddy, Mabel Liddy, Lindsay Bassani, Peter Liddy and Lester Spratt, and Ella Lawrence all deserve special thanks, although it is difficult to distinguish between people who were all as welcoming as the Lamalama. The friendships I developed with the Lamalama mob are characteristic of their understanding of themselves and their cultural style, and made research with them a pleasure, and a source of continuous interest. More generally, the experience of working with the *pama* of Cape York Peninsula informs my research, and must be acknowledged.

I am sure that most doctoral candidates feel the strain of the process, but this thesis has travelled a rough road to reach its present form. A certain grim determination on the part of all involved has ensured that it was completed. Supervisors have participated, then departed for a variety of reasons, including retirement and departure from the University. All however, have contributed to my thinking about the issues discussed within the thesis, and I am grateful to them all. I thank my former supervisors, Bruce Rigsby and Nancy Williams for originally introducing me to the Lamalama, and for their on-going interest and

support of the research. Discussions with Bruce Rigsby during the land claims mentioned in the text were influential in forming the original premises of the thesis.

Judith Fitzpatrick and Lenore Manderson deserve special recognition for their faith and confidence in me. Without their interest and support it would not have been possible for me to complete the thesis. Judith has given generously of her time and friendship, and her academic guidance has been invaluable. Her experience, knowledge, and analysis have added to the dimensions of the work. The opportunity to learn from the experience of doing fieldwork with her also informs my approach to anthropological practice. Apart from her continuous support and interest, Lenore contributed her incisive analytical skills, and access to her library. Jon Willis has given me the confidence to believe in my own ideas, and his interest in them has ensured that the final stages of writing were more than a pleasure. His exceptional generosity and uniquely personal focus have inspired me when I would have found it difficult to proceed with other than bloody-minded determination to be done.

Many other colleagues have been supportive of the lengthy process involved in the completion of this doctoral thesis. In particular, I want to thank the staff of the Cape York Land Council between 1992 and 1994. The Executive Director at the time, Noel Pearson, deserves my particular thanks for many personal kindnesses, but also for his interest in my research. He generously gave time to reading and commenting on a draft version of this thesis, and made a number of helpful suggestions. Marcia Langton, then Senior Policy Officer, also deserves particular mention. Her support, generosity, and intellectual breadth have been of invaluable assistance, as is her abiding friendship. Her personal example of grit, acuity, and kindness is a continuing inspiration, as is the memory of late-night discussion and writing at her kitchen table in Cairns. David Epworth and Sean Brennan were unstinting friends, and like Michael Neal and David Byrne,

always available for discussion, and I value their friendship. Colleen Burfitt and Lizzie Lui assisted me in many ways, and may not be aware of my gratitude.

Long-standing friendships with Ros Sultan and Isabel Tarrago have influenced my approach to the thesis. Ros' strength, intelligence, and compassion have informed me about the human dimensions of Aboriginal politics. I can only be grateful that Isabel decided that I was a friend, and worth some attention, when she took me under her wing in first year University. I have benefited from friendship with these two exemplary women in more ways than I can express to them. Both are women who have experienced historical dislocations such as I describe, and have not been overwhelmed.

Other colleagues who have contributed to the research through their friendship and interest include Lesley Jolly, who I thank for her ready support and encouragement, but also for generously reading draft material, and Peter Sutton, for discussion, and copies of his papers, and for his continuing interest and support. Kathy Chambers of the Aboriginal Research Data Archive at the University of Queensland brought precision to the final lines of figures in the thesis. Other colleagues I wish to thank include: Peter Cooke; Karen Thurecht; John Cordell; Paul Memmott; David Martin and Julie Finlayson; Athol Chase; Ray Wood, Rachael Stacy, James Fitzgerald, Bryce Barker and Lara Lamb, Peter Whalley, Cathy Keys, Bruno David, and the members of the Anthropology Section Writing Group. Judy Bieg deserves special thanks for her continuous support and interest over the years; without her generous assistance, many anthropology students would fall by the wayside.

Lastly I want to thank my family for so generously suffering through the years of my research. Their love and commitment has been, as always, unflinching. In my moments of doubt, they were confident and sure. In particular, Vicki Hafner

has uncomplainingly borne the burden of my years of research. I also thank my parents for their abiding faith in my ability. Thanks to my sisters Jan Hinson and Vicki Hafner, who loyally and bravely committed themselves to reading draft material. My friends Susan Jensen, who kindly read a draft, Tess Kenway, Christine Flynn, Mel Cooper, Anne Gordon, and James Roden remain eternally supportive, and have my eternal gratitude. The Crossan girls have known me too long, but they too deserve thanks for their love and support. Finally, to Kristofer, whose life was remarkable, and whose death has left us all poorer, I owe recognition of the desire to bring the thesis to completion.

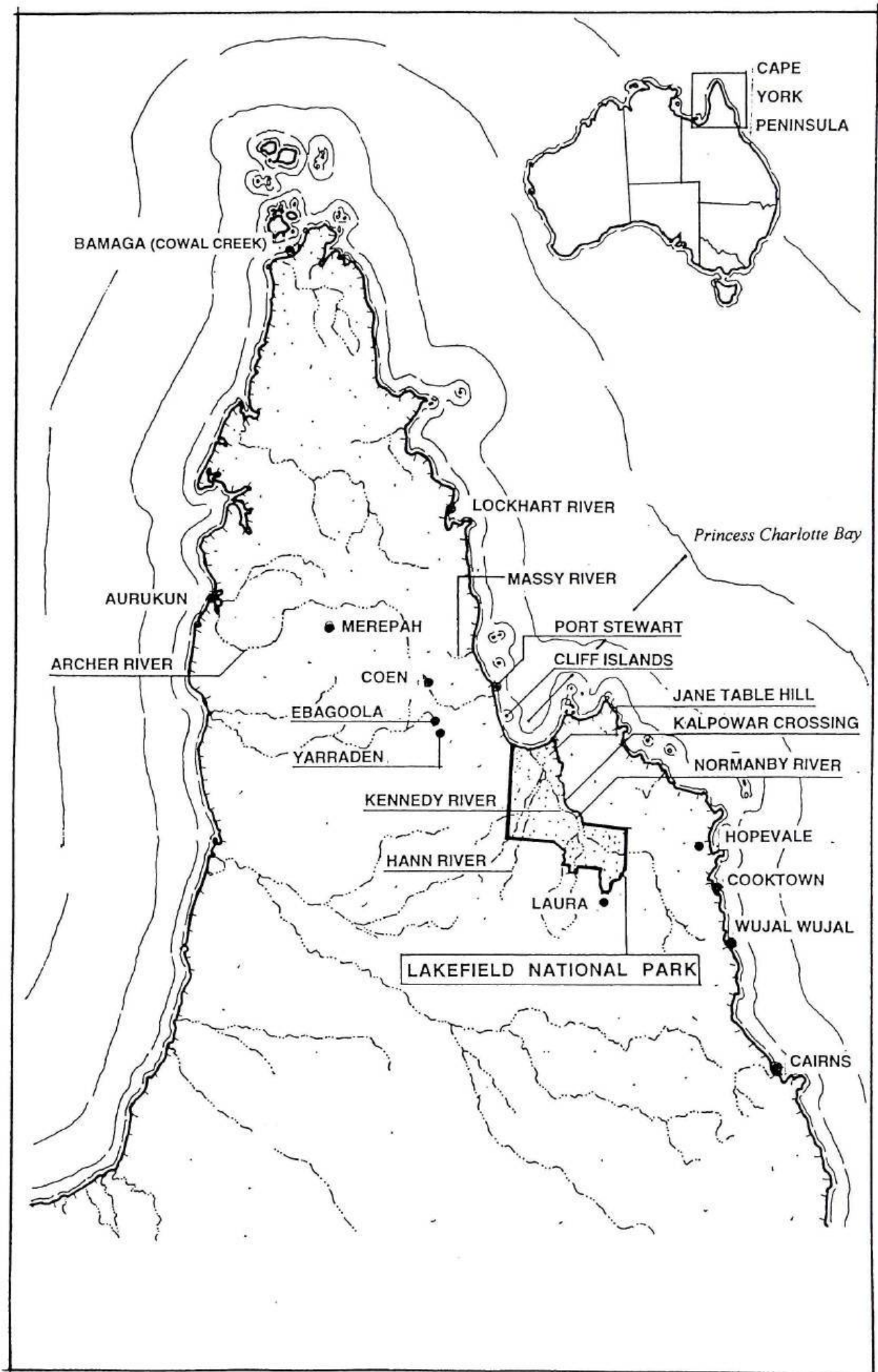


Figure 1: Map of Cape York Peninsula, showing significant locations mentioned in the text
viii

Map of Land Claimed

ROAD.....
PH BOUNDARY....

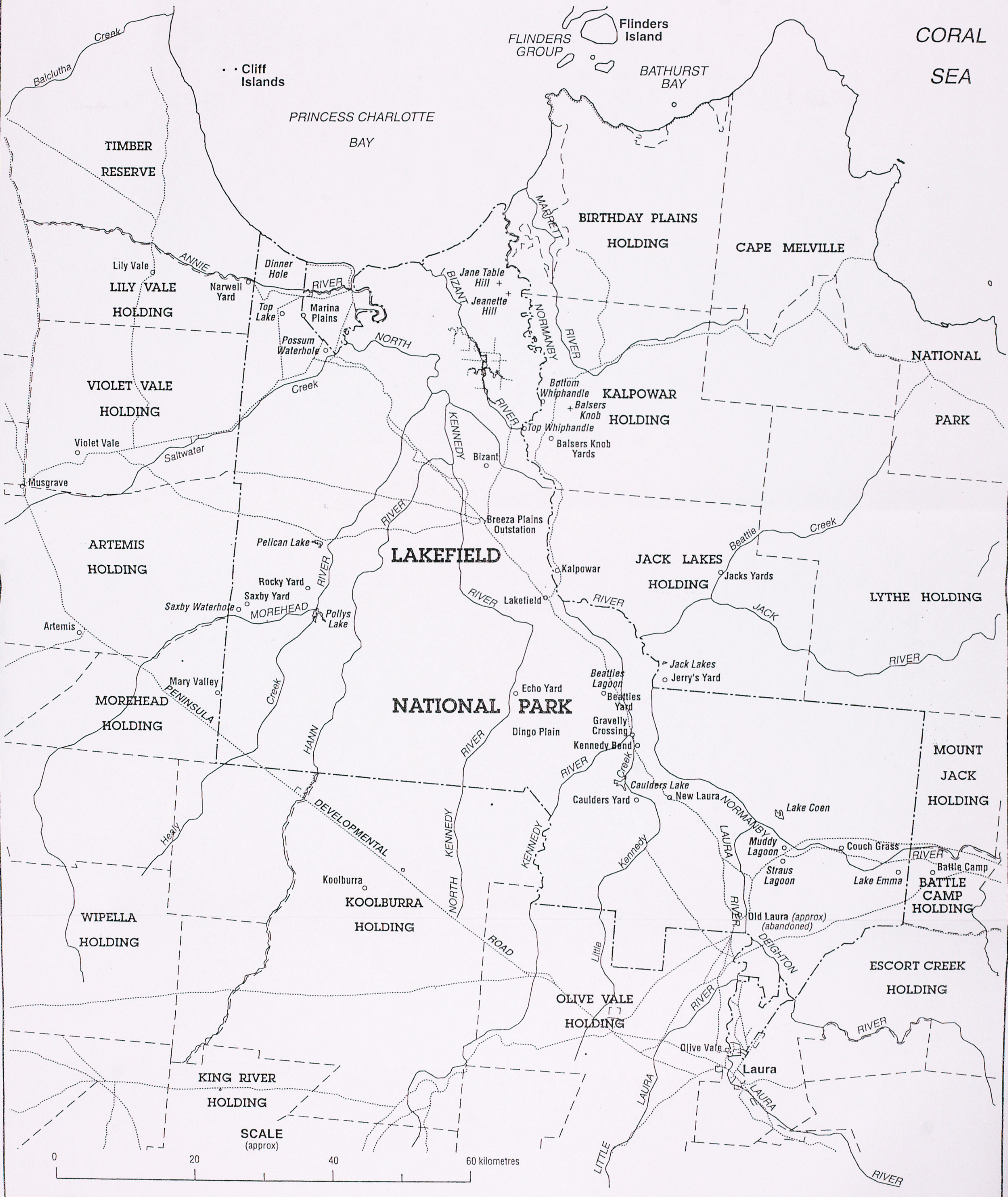


Figure 2: Lakefield National Park (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996b: Appx E)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------------|
| DECLARATION | I |
| ABSTRACT | II |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | IV |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS | X |
| PREFACE | XIV |
| INTRODUCTION TO THE LAMALAMA | XIV |
| INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS | XX |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| LOCATING THE STUDY..... | 2 |
| THE FOUNDATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH..... | 4 |
| RESEARCHING THE ELUSIVE ‘EMOTION’ | 7 |
| DATA..... | 9 |
| ETHICAL ISSUES | 10 |
| FREEDOM FROM COERCION | 10 |
| PROTECTION FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL OR PHYSICAL HARM | 11 |
| THE RISK-BENEFIT RATIO: BENEFICENCE | 13 |
| RESPECT FOR PERSONS AND INFORMED CONSENT..... | 14 |
| STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS | 17 |
| LAMALAMA ATTACHMENTS THROUGH TIME | 19 |
| THE EARLY HISTORY..... | 21 |
| PASTORALISM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONAL TOWNS AND STATIONS | 23 |
| THE DISPLACEMENT OF ABORIGINAL INTERESTS WITHIN THE REGION | 25 |
| THE 1961 REMOVAL | 30 |
| THE LAMALAMA IN COEN AND ESTABLISHING THE OUTSTATION..... | 33 |
| THE 1992 TRANSFER..... | 36 |
| LAND CLAIMS BETWEEN 1992 AND 1994..... | 37 |
| THE DISCOURSE OF EMOTION | 41 |
| THE FIGHT BETWEEN TAMARA AND COLLIN..... | 41 |
| INTRODUCTION | 45 |
| THEORETICAL DEFINITIONS OF EMOTION..... | 47 |
| PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON ABORIGINAL EMOTION CONCEPTS..... | 49 |
| EMOTION AS DISCOURSE..... | 57 |
| EMOTIONS AND ‘SOCIAL DRAMA’ | 60 |
| SOCIAL MEMORY AND THE NOTION OF DISCOURSE..... | 61 |
| CULTURAL MODELS..... | 63 |
| LAMALAMA EMOTION AS PERFORMANCE | 63 |
| RELATIVE CONCEPTS OF EMOTION AMONG THE LAMALAMA | 73 |
| BEHAVIOURAL DIMENSIONS OF LAMALAMA EMOTION..... | 75 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| APPLICATIONS OF THE CULTURAL MODEL | 83 |
| LAMALAMA WAY..... | 85 |
| HOW TO HAVE A FIGHT AMONG THE LAMALAMA..... | 88 |
| ANALYSIS OF THE FIGHT AS A SOCIAL DRAMA..... | 93 |
| TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE SPATIAL DOMAIN..... | 102 |
| RESEARCH INTO CLASSICAL LAND TENURE PATTERNS | 104 |
| DONALD F. THOMSON | 108 |
| MORE RECENT RESEARCH..... | 112 |
| THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD: NOTIONS OF PLACE..... | 121 |
| A CLEARED LANDSCAPE..... | 126 |
| RESOURCES AND THEIR USE IN THE PRESENT | 130 |
| THE LAMALAMA IN COEN..... | 134 |
| SOCIAL INTERACTION ACROSS MORTAL BOUNDARIES | 139 |
| THE LAMALAMA AT PORT STEWART | 146 |
| THE KINSHIP DOMAIN | 149 |
| INTRODUCTION | 149 |
| THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDINGS OF KINSHIP | 150 |
| SCHEFFLER'S ANALYSIS OF KINSHIP SYSTEMS: THE INFLUENCE OF RADCLIFFE-BROWN | 152 |
| 'SOCIAL CATEGORIES' VERSUS 'GENEALOGICAL KINSHIP' | 155 |
| THE CLASSICAL SYSTEM OF SOCIAL ORGANISATION..... | 160 |
| THOMSON ON THE UMPILA SYSTEM OF KIN CLASSIFICATION | 162 |
| THOMSON'S YINTJINGGA DATA..... | 169 |
| THOMSON ON SOME ASPECTS OF BEHAVIOUR | 170 |
| THE PAST AND THE PRESENT | 171 |
| LOANS FOR KIN REFERENCE AND ADDRESS AT LOCKHART RIVER (CHASE 1980)..... | 173 |
| TERMS FOR KIN REFERENCE AND ADDRESS USED BY THE LAMALAMA..... | 175 |
| UNDERLYING VALUES IN THE KINSHIP SYSTEM..... | 178 |
| SIBLINGSHIP..... | 193 |
| PARENTING AND CHILDHOOD | 198 |
| COMMENT..... | 206 |
| CONCLUSION..... | 209 |
| INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS IN THE SOCIAL DOMAIN..... | 211 |
| THE 'YINTJINGGA' AT PORT STEWART..... | 211 |
| CURRENT SOCIAL PATTERNS..... | 213 |
| TRIBES AND MOBS..... | 216 |
| COGNATIC DESCENT GROUPS AND SURNAMED FAMILIES | 218 |
| HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILIES..... | 219 |
| HOUSEHOLDS IN COEN..... | 221 |
| HOUSEHOLD ORGANISATION AT PORT STEWART..... | 230 |
| NURTURANCE, AUTONOMY AND RELATEDNESS..... | 234 |
| FRIENDSHIP AND KINSHIP..... | 238 |
| TRIBE + FAMILY + HOUSEHOLD = IDENTITY? | 245 |
| THE ACCIDENT..... | 246 |
| THE ACCIDENT: THE REPRODUCTION OF IDENTITY | 252 |
| LAND, IDENTITY, AND LEGISLATION..... | 261 |
| KINSHIP AND EMOTIONS AT THE HANDOVER EVENT | 261 |
| PROCEDURAL DIMENSIONS OF THE LAND CLAIM PROCESS | 265 |
| EMOTIONAL DIMENSIONS OF THE CLAIMS PROCESS..... | 270 |
| CONNECTIONS TO COUNTRY AMONG THE LAMALAMA CLAIMANTS..... | 280 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| LAMALAMA LAND-BASED PRACTICE AT PORT STEWART..... | 290 |
| THE HANDOVER: LAND-BASED IDENTITY AND DISPUTATION | 301 |
| MARKERS OF GROUP IDENTITY..... | 308 |
| CONCLUSION: COUNTRY, KIN, EMOTION..... | 314 |
| APPENDIX ONE..... | 325 |
| APPENDIX TWO..... | 328 |
| APPENDIX THREE..... | 335 |
| REFERENCES | 341 |

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

| | |
|--|-------------|
| FIGURE 1: MAP OF CAPE YORK PENINSULA, SHOWING SIGNIFICANT LOCATIONS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT | VIII |
| FIGURE 2: LAKEFIELD NATIONAL PARK | IX |
| FIGURE 3: EMOTIONAL DIMENSIONS EXPERIENCED BY THE LAMALAMA | 87 |
| FIGURE 4: HALE AND TINDALE’S MAP OF TRIBES OF THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE BAY REGION | 107 |
| FIGURE 5: THOMSON’S MAP OF “TRIBAL DISTRIBUTIONS” IN CAPE YORK PENINSULA..... | 110 |
| FIGURE 6: RELATIVE LOCATIONS OF PRINCESS CHARLOTTE BAY LANGUAGES | 113 |
| FIGURE 7: MAP OF COEN TOWNSHIP..... | 135 |
| FIGURE 8: MAP OF COEN, SHOWING DETAIL OF TOWN CENTRE..... | 137 |
| FIGURE 9: THOMSON’S LIST OF UMPILA KIN TERMS | 165 |
| FIGURE 10: UMPILA KIN TERMS IN RECIPROCAL ARRANGEMENT | 166 |
| FIGURE 11: DESCENDANTS OF GEORGE BALCLUTHA | 190 |
| FIGURE 12: MAP OF COEN TOWNSHIP INDICATING LOCATION OF LAMALAMA HOUSES IN 1992-1993 | 222 |
| FIGURE 13: LAMALAMA HOUSEHOLDS IN COEN IN 1992..... | 229 |
| FIGURE 14: PORT STEWART OUTSTATION IN 1992, SHOWING RELATIVE LOCATIONS OF CAMPS | 231 |
| TABLE 1:HIATT’S GIDJINGALI EMOTIONAL CONCEPTS | 51 |

TABLE 2: CATEGORIES USED BY PEILE TO ANALYSE KUKATJA EMOTIONS 52

TABLE 3: COMPARATIVE EMOTION CONCEPTS AND TERMS USED BY THE LAMALAMA 56

TABLE 4: COMPARISON OF RESEARCHERS' SOCIAL GROUP CATEGORIES AT PRINCESS CHARLOTTE BAY..... 118

TABLE 5: THE DIMENSIONS OF 'RESPECT' IN RELATION TO THE CLAIMS PROCESS.....271



Above: View of Port Stewart outstation.

PREFACE

Introduction to the Lamalama

I first went to Port Stewart in November 1989, with Dr Nancy Williams and Prof. Bruce Rigsby (who had long conducted research with the Lamalama). I was an Honours student, and this three week trip was my introduction to 'the field'. A day passed in between getting into the nearest town, Coen, and our arrival at the Lamalama outstation at Pt Stewart, 90 kilometres by road to the east. My first memory of the outstation is of a village of blue roofs – the tarps strung over timber frames that the Lamalama use to shelter their tents – visible through the sheeting rain and the green of the bush.

When the shower eased, Nancy and I walked down to the dry riverbed where several families were camped. I was struck by the juxtaposition of hospitality and reserve among the people to whom I was introduced. We shook hands in the customary Aboriginal manner of 'holding' hands rather than gripping them. Each smiled, murmured a greeting, and moved away. No boisterous greetings, just quiet warmth. Nancy and I sat under a tarp and chatted with Bobby and Daisy Stewart, and Lena Peter. Daisy made us a cup of tea as the rain drizzled, and eventually we went back onto the top of the riverbank to set up camp.

Daisy came up to ask us if we would like dinner, and we took up her offer just as dusk fell. She had laid a clean tablecloth on the sand of the riverbed, and asked us to sit. She gave us fried salmon caught at the mouth of the river. We ate it with bread she had baked, a tin of apricot jam, and a large enamel mug of sweet tea. No vegetables, I observed, as a health-conscious Australian and novice anthropologist, but utterly delicious! We were left alone to eat in the peace of the bush, as the breadth of the sky turned from pink to starry black. In the background I could hear quiet conversation from the families camped nearby. When Daisy came to take away our plates, she asked Nancy and I if we were tired,

which we took as a polite suggestion that it was time for bed. With only gas lamps to provide light, people retired early.

This introduction to the Lamalama framed my continuing interest in them. It was an introduction to the combination of formality and friendliness that constitutes the concept of 'respect' which they and other Aboriginal people hold as an important social value. My initial Lamalama experience was in marked contrast to the greeting from a Coen local the day before, who essentially told us that we deserved to miss out on dinner for arriving at dusk at the beginning of the rainy season! Without realising it at the time, what I was experiencing was an initiation into fundamental Lamalama social values, governed by rules for behaviour which accommodate the external pressures of history and circumstance.

The Lamalama are the Aboriginal traditional owners of the land that skirts Princess Charlotte Bay, on the central eastern coast of Cape York Peninsula, in far northern Queensland (Figure 1). The present study developed out of my earlier Honours research into Lamalama identity, (Hafner 1990), and in keeping with the central concern of the present study, out of my own affective response to the Lamalama 'mob'. My first impressions of them were of a small group of charming, stereotypical exemplars of a kin-based society, who shared particularly amicable relationships with each other, despite the intrusion of alcohol abuse and its impacts of violence and disruption. Of course, with longer association the gilding on this lily has become somewhat tarnished, although I retain my view of the Lamalama as a small, tightly-knit kin group. What has become critically clear with longer association is that emotions like 'respect', that is, feelings that have entered into social practice in a variety of ways, have become the glue of post-classical Lamalama social organisation

This understanding has grown from PhD research with the Lamalama in 1992 and 1993. During this fieldwork, my time was split between Coen and Port Stewart. During the first two months, January and February 1992, nobody was living at Port Stewart, as they had all returned to Coen at the onset of the monsoon season the previous year. During the 'wet season', Port Stewart is

effectively cut off by land. The Stewart River fords the gravel road between Coen and Port Stewart, as do several creek crossings. With seasonal rain, these crossings usually flood. The lack of any communications system at the time, and the consequent fear of emergency situations, meant there was no alternative but to return to Coen in anticipation of the monsoon, 1991 being no exception. In March 1992 one family returned to the camp, and 'opened it up' by clearing the new growth of long grass and re-making paths. Others followed suit until a core population was living there again. The outstation population was at its largest on weekends, when Lamalama people would arrive from Coen, where they had jobs or children in school. I was often detailed as a driver to assist in getting people there for the weekend. In the first few months, these brief trips gave people the opportunity to go fishing and perhaps look for feral pig on the way home.

In Coen, I spent four months living in 'the Hilton', a small weatherboard building of two rooms with attached cold-water shower, at the back of the local hospital run by the Uniting Church's Frontier Services division. Grateful as I was to have a roof over my head at all - there is virtually no housing available in Coen - this proved to be totally unsuitable as a permanent location from which to conduct fieldwork. The hospital was a small facility run by its two permanent staff, white nursing sisters employed from Cairns. They occasionally held barbeques and otherwise entertained townspeople, but during my stay there, these occasions never included the black residents. The hospital was really 'no-go' territory for *pama*¹ other than for the provision of medical services. A few *pama* visited me there infrequently, but I think it is fair to say that we were all uncomfortable on those occasions.

The sisters, it seems, were also uncomfortable. They felt they were duty-bound to erect a social barrier between themselves and the town's Aboriginal people. To me they expressed the view that developing too close a relationship with individuals would mean that they would be compromised in carrying out their duties, as it would require that they become partisan to internal conflicts of the town's Aboriginal community. This might have been true, but it was also my

¹ "Aboriginal person or people" in several local indigenous languages, and a term commonly used by the Lamalama.

observation that their clinical training and personal values made it difficult for them to come to terms with Aboriginal social life. The philosophical values that attach to the Western paradigm in relation to matters such as nutrition, childcare, and hygiene, to say nothing of the more culturally specific matters of emotional display, funerary rites, and sexual behaviour, meant that the more familiar life of the 'white' side of town was a preferable milieu to the nurses. Professionally, they regarded the Aboriginal population as the 'other', and themselves as engaged in a program of re-education aimed at decreasing the dependence of the Coen *pama* on the services they provided. On reflection, I think the nurses felt uncomfortably caught in the middle of the cultural and racial polarity of town life in Coen. There is a regular turn around in hospital staff, who have varying relationships with *pama*. It was not uncommon to hear fond recollections from *pama* about certain nurses who had worked there.

The constraints of my accommodation very quickly reinforced for me that in a mixed township such as Coen, it is important to be quite clear about personal allegiances. For professional and personal reasons, mine were with the *pama*. At the time I lived there, Aboriginal people knew themselves to be excluded from entry into the hall of the Coen Race Club during the major yearly social occasion, the annual Coen Races dance. Use of the pool table and public bar in the local hotel was subject to implicit racial prohibitions (in which there is also an element of class distinction, such that local *pama* were not often at ease sitting inside at the public bar, but Aboriginal bureaucrats from out of town seemingly were). This is not to say that all the white people in town were unreasonable, or racist, or that I did not have pleasant interactions with them. For most of the time, my interaction with the white population of Coen was simply in terms of the provision of services - shopping, the Post Office, servicing of my University of Queensland four-wheel drive vehicle. But to have maintained regular social activity with the non-Aboriginal residents would have signalled my intention of remaining 'white' to the Aboriginal residents of the town. I could not have hoped to establish the trusting relationships that developed, and which allowed many of the Lamalama to think of me as a kinswoman, unless I made it clear that my purpose in being in Coen was to participate in their social universe.

I was particularly concerned to develop an understanding of the processes by which the Lamalama perceive and perpetuate their view of themselves as 'Lamalama'. Throughout a long period of uncertainty, they have managed to maintain their own identity, and their orientation towards each other and their land. The issue of identity construction has become more salient with time, the result of a change in Queensland's political climate which had direct bearing on the Lamalama - the introduction of land legislation which enabled Aborigines in the State to acquire title to land.

To have continued living in "The Hilton" would have sent a clear message that it was my intention to 'observe' the Lamalama rather than 'be' Lamalama. Fortunately the Lutheran Church agreed to rent its vacant Manse in Coen (known locally as 'the churchhouse'), which they generously let to me from April to December 1992. This was a much more suitable location, at once neutral - through the almost exclusive association of the Lutheran Church with Coen's Aboriginal population - and partisan, because of the political situation within the Aboriginal community.

Living at the Manse had several advantages. Primary among these were the redefinition of my identity afforded by the move, and the fact that the Lamalama were the most prominent members of Moomba. The few invitations to 'white' barbeques in town that I had received soon disappeared, and were replaced relatively swiftly by the expectation that my 'home' was an extension of Lamalama territory. Young Lamalama 'kin' stayed overnight, especially after returning from the outstation, people occasionally came to eat, and sometimes they made it a refuge from domestic conflict. The Manse had the advantage of being on the edge of town, so that while I could look out the front door and see what was happening, I was too far away for frivolous involvement. This was particularly important when people were engaged in extended drinking activity.

Even the sight of my vehicle around town ensured that I would be taken away from more productive tasks (to my mind) for several hours while I attended

to my obligations as a kinswoman, driving people wherever they wanted to go. In the beginning I was fairly obliging about this, reasoning that it was a fair part of the exchange of services between researcher and “research participants” (Bolton 1995).² I had a number of important conversations with people while driving, but as Sutton (1978:xv) notes, there is “no survival value in being endlessly ‘nice’ ”. It was when I realised that it was as important to establish my independence as it was to demonstrate my allegiance, that I began to understand the important interaction between what Myers (1986) refers to as “autonomy” and “relatedness” among the Pintupi, and its significance for my relationship with the Lamalama.

Anthropologists are familiar with the idea that for numerous Aboriginal groups, sociality is constituted of the interaction among known individuals. Thus simply to be human is to be a ‘relation’. There is nothing unusual about the incorporation of anthropologists into an indigenous kinship system, and I do not think that being allocated such a social role necessarily paves the way to deeper insights by the ethnographer. As Myers (1986:15) writes, to mention incorporation into this kind of fictive kinship is “to indulge neither in self-promotion nor self-revelation”, nor can it be taken as an unrestricted invitation to the hearts and minds of the people being studied.

A kinship system is at least partly bound by the expectations and demands of its members. The thesis indicates that actions, and the perception of the *intention* in actions, have as great a social force as do prescriptive cultural rules or the pursuit of associated social etiquette. Thus, while excuses might be made for the outsider learning the social ropes, the researcher’s behaviour is nonetheless scrutinised and evaluated in accordance with local codes. Among the Lamalama, the measure is the state of the ‘heart’, that is, the nature of one’s intentions, as a first condition of membership.

² I prefer this term to the more usual “informants”, as it more accurately reflects the intersubjectivity of my relationship with the Lamalama. A relationship of dominant researcher and passive study subjects seems implicit in the continuous use of “informants” as a descriptor.

Introduction to the thesis

The field research for this study was conducted from late December 1991 to Christmas 1992, with a second period of research from late May to December 1993. Both of these periods of research were supported by grants from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS).³ Research was conducted at Coen and Port Stewart, Cape York Peninsula, and included short visits to other Aboriginal townships on the Peninsula.

During my first short stay with the Lamalama in 1989, I had not been particularly struck by overt emotional displays. Over the two years of my PhD fieldwork, I became increasingly engrossed by the ways in which their affective life informed the daily life cycle, and particularly the ways in which affective states and processes were tied up with the construction and maintenance of identity. The thesis is concerned with emotional expressions, part of the affective realm, which I see as constituted by the inner feeling life of the individual, and the external playing out of emotion which forms part of social practice. My perception of emotion is informed by the discourse-oriented approach proposed by Abu-Lughod and Lutz (1990), Burbank (1994) and others. This approach sees emotion as an element of social practice rather than as an isolate of individual experience. I extend this notion to demonstrate that it is through the playing out of emotion that people construct the multiple levels of social identity.

Human societies hold certain key symbols as having primary cultural importance. For the Lamalama, these are significantly concerned with the values attached to land, the country of their Old People. Through the cultural extension of associated behavioural rules, it is also the values attached to being a 'proper' Lamalama person. I demonstrate that the Lamalama use emotion discursively to mediate the competing elements of their identity construction. Land and kinship are at the centre of these competing elements of Lamalama life. It is in the interplay between degrees of relationship to land, formerly based in rules of descent, and qualities of relationship between people in different kin

³ AIATSIS grants 91/4168 and L93/4518.

classifications, that the discursive force of emotion can most clearly be seen. The interplay between respect, amity, nurturance, and yearning (as later discussed) allow the Lamalama to position themselves and each other as 'countrymen'.

Although my research fieldwork was incorporated with formal transfer of title to Public Purposes Reserve (PPR) land in 1992, and land claim work during 1993, I do not intend to concentrate on those claims in this thesis. I obtained permission from the claimants and their agents, the Cape York Land Council, to use data from the claim in the writing of this thesis, but the claims process was drawn out, complex, and compounded by the involvement of the Lamalama in the adjoining Cliff Islands claim as well. To enter too much into description and analysis of these events would mean writing an altogether different thesis.

Even so, it is impossible to remove the claims from the table of events I discuss here, particularly because of the processes of identity construction inherent in claiming land, and I do ultimately draw together the principal themes of the thesis with the claims and their impacts. In doing so, I draw on certain of the documents resulting from the claims, principally those in the public domain, being the Reports to the Minister of Natural Resources by the presiding Queensland Land Tribunal (QLT), and the transcripts of evidence. I also at times refer to the claim documents produced by Rigsby and Hafner (1994a-f) in support of the claims. This is minimal, however, since restrictions were placed on the documents by the Tribunal in accordance with their legal status, and the claimants wished these documents to remain as private as possible. The documents include both sensitive information about families and individuals, and sacred material, and it would be remiss of me to make liberal use of them for purposes other than their original intention - the proof of Aboriginal claims to land.

This thesis is concerned with the events leading up to the claims, and to some extent with social change among the Lamalama at Coen and Port Stewart as a result of the claims. However, mostly it is concerned with description and analysis of group identity in relation to key cultural elements - kinship and land ownership - during transformational political events. It is equally concerned with

evaluating affect as discursive, and perhaps causative in the development of identity within a kin group. Here the group concerned was undergoing considerable stress, however positive, to their understanding of themselves as a single kin group focussed on certain tracts of land. This relatively recent formulation is temporally nested in a more complex structural relationship between people and land, and I examine this relationship and its meaning to the Lamalama. The question of the contemporary importance of particular knowledge associated with the more complex relationship of the past is also examined. Here I am referring to the sacred mythological knowledge associated with land ownership, as well as the detailed knowledge of how land is owned. The affects and structures that cause individuals to draw together as kin, and posit a single purpose in relation to land, are basic to this study.

Some sections of this thesis were written during National Reconciliation Week in June 1998, convened with the intention of recognising the true history of black-white relations in Australia, and providing a national forum for dealing with it. This event also marked the first national Sorry Day, in recognition of the pain suffered by the members of the "stolen generations" - Aboriginal children forcibly removed from their families. Green (1998) has discussed the conceptual problems involved in theorising and writing about oppression and social suffering, including a tendency towards a retreat into silence by the anthropological profession. I cannot presume to represent Aboriginal suffering, but in choosing to write about the affective life of Aboriginal landowners such as the Lamalama, I aim to bring into the foreground their lived experience. It includes suffering and political struggle over generations, yet they consider themselves lucky to have won the rights they have. Even so, they remain marginalised in relation to many of the advantages of Australian citizenship, as do the rest of the nation's indigenous population. The course they now choose is to pursue the control of their traditional lands, and their future, through the development of a community economic base. To do this successfully, they need their land. To this end, the *Aboriginal Land Act* passed by the State of Queensland in 1991, and the federal Native Title Act offer them the best legislative possibilities, but as I ultimately suggest in the thesis, a poor fit remains between the legislative and the *pama*

understandings of indigenous ownership of land. Despite their experience, described below, the Lamalama see their future in positive terms, although the treatment they received from earlier State administrations remains a constant and painful collective memory.

My aim is not to present the Lamalama as victims of history, but to refer to their historical experience as a means of illuminating the world they presently inhabit. I hope that in doing so I have not fallen prey to false representation of their lives. Early anthropological representations of Aboriginal society were undoubtedly partial, and have been criticised as such, but they do present a picture of an internal model of social relations, regionally differentiated, which pervaded continental Australia soon after the first moments of contact, and presumably before. Aboriginal culture, and Aboriginal lives, have suffered the impacts of the colonial process. In the present, Aboriginal identity continues to be the site for political contest. But as the thesis demonstrates, the structures and processes of Aboriginal social life have adapted to the changed social and political circumstances. The context of contemporary Aboriginal life remains the struggle for an equal share (Pearson 1998)⁴ in the 'fair go' society of Australia. In these circumstances, the importance to its members of the values generated by Aboriginal social process - best encapsulated in the concept of 'respect' - offer continuing proof of the strength of Aboriginal identity.

⁴ Comments in reply to questions on a paper delivered by Noel Pearson to the Social Work and Social Policy Alumni and Associates, University of Queensland, 28 July 1998, at Customs House, Brisbane.

Introduction

In the post-native title legislative era in which I write, analysis of Aboriginal emotions might be regarded as frivolous or unfashionable. Yet examination of the levels of meaning associated with Aboriginal concepts of land ownership forms part of a reasoned understanding of what is engaged by such processes. Examining Aboriginal people's *feelings* about their land, and about their own positioning as landowners, is one part of this. Theoretical debates on the nature of hunter-gatherer ways of organising in relation to land have long been prevalent in anthropology. Early studies looked at social and land relationships in Australia and elsewhere (Radcliffe-Brown 1930; Steward 1951; 1963), but tended to concentrate on the structural and ecological determinants of such systems. Scholars in Australia eventually moved more towards consideration of social processes via debates which distinguished the land from the political and social forms relative to it (Hiatt 1962; Stanner 1965; Peterson 1976; Peterson and Long 1986). In Cape York Peninsula, the boundaries of social regions were more elaborated and localised than those that applied in regions such as the Western Desert (Sutton and Rigsby 1979:714),

Myers (1986:27) describes the Pintupi of the Western Desert as part of "a vast and interlocking network of persons who were themselves localized around a number of loosely defined areas", where "the unreliability of rainfall necessitated continual interdependence among people in a wide area". In the arid Western Desert, social isolation was "ecologically impossible". By comparison, the traditional estates of the Lamalama are located in the "rich environment" (Chase and Sutton 1987) of Cape York Peninsula, where both terrestrial and marine resources could be readily utilised, and the extent of interdependence has been much more limited than it was for desert people such as the Pintupi. Sutton (1995a) has pointed out the dichotomous tendency towards collectivism among desert peoples, and atomism among coastal-dwellers. For northern coastal-

dwellers such as the Lamalama, the linkages of kinship remain highly significant as a feature of contemporary social organisation. This persistence of kinship is typical among groups in the post-colonial present, and is often manifested structurally in cognatic descent groups (Sutton 1998).

At the time I began this study, there was considerable discussion within the discipline relating to Pacific notions of identity (Keesing 1982; White and Kirkpatrick 1985), but this was not reflected in the anthropological literature on Aboriginal society to the same degree. Myers' study of Pintupi identity and sociality was the particular exception. *Pintupi Country, Pintupi Self* (Myers 1986) remains the major published work in the area of emotions, concepts of self, and Aboriginal land ownership. It was this work that originally prompted my interest in identity processes. Myers' analysis emphasises the mediating role of affect in the negotiation between individual autonomy and sociality in the Pintupi social system. Personal independence and relatedness are "two trajectories for autonomy" (Myers 1986:179) for the Lamalama, as they are for the Pintupi. Location and history mean that these elements are negotiated differently by the Lamalama than by the Pintupi, if only by matters of degree. Although the Lamalama maintain an ideology in which individualism is subject to the goals of the collectivity, the way this is played out in daily life privileges the maintenance of private autonomy⁵ over the endurance of the group through time, producing a persistent emotional tension.

Locating the study

Apart from the much earlier work of researchers such as Roth (1898), Hale and Tindale (1933;1934), and Donald F. Thomson (1929;1934;1935), my research has been contemporaneous with that of two other scholars, Bruce Rigsby and Lesley Jolly. A number of other anthropologists have conducted research in Cape York Peninsula in the period since the early 1970s. These include Anderson (1984), Chase (1980), Haviland [Devereaux] and Haviland (1980), Martin (1993), Sutton (1978), D. von Sturmer [Smith] (1980) and J. von Sturmer (1978). Martin,

⁵ Jolly (1997) challenges the idea of power in the social domain being associated with a division into public and private spheres, interpreting the Lamalama domestic sphere as one of power.

von Sturmer [Smith], Sutton, and von Sturmer have principally worked with Wik people centred around Aurukun and Pormpuraaw on the west coast of the Peninsula. Sutton has also worked at Hopevale, as have Devereux and Haviland. Anderson has a long research association with Yalanji people centred at Wujal Wujal to the south of Port Stewart, as does Chase with the northern neighbours of the Lamalama, the Umpila and Kaanju peoples who primarily reside in Lockhart, Coen and the region between these two centres. Chase's doctoral research has some bearing on this study; apart from being an ethnography of neighbouring people, it is concerned with some similar issues of identity construction and social transformation in the post-colonial era. His research was conducted some twenty years earlier (Chase 1980:7-8), and the resulting thesis uses theoretical constructs of continuity and change to explain the linkages between the society of the past and the social and territorial constructions up to the time of Chase's research.

As indicated above, Jolly conducted doctoral research in Coen and Port Stewart about six months before me. Her thesis was completed in 1997. Originally it was her intention to consider gender issues among the Lamalama, and her work retains a strongly feminist theoretical perspective in its consideration of the nature of personal power among regional Aboriginal women.

Rigsby has worked in the region since 1972, originally conducting research into the languages of Princess Charlotte Bay. His research interests have become more generally anthropological over time, and he was the senior anthropologist on the Lakefield National Park and Cliff Islands National Park land claims. Much of Rigsby's work has concentrated on the relationships between people, language, and land, and he has worked closely with key elders, extensively recording information about the "classical" (Sutton 1989; 1993; 1998) land tenure and social systems of the region.

Recognising that political circumstances had overtaken the time in which she was conducting research in the Coen region, Jolly (1997:10) "eschewed the ethnographic present" as an apt method of describing events there, and emphasised the importance of historically locating practice in this field area.

Myers (1986) employed the simple device of writing in past or present tense to distinguish the split between the pre-colonial and post-colonial modes of Pintupi life. The Lamalama live in a different social, historical, and geographic environment to the Pintupi, and I am primarily concerned with their lives in the post-colonial present. However, their present cannot be understood without reference to events in the past, and I provide historical context through description of past Lamalama experience.

Sutton uses a 'classical' and 'post-classical' distinction in relation to Aboriginal social forms, describing both kinds of tradition as "different phases of a single broad cultural history". Pre-colonial indigenous cultures in Australia "enjoyed a very long and comparatively stable period", which he describes as 'classical' (Sutton 1998:60). He notes this view as clearly supported by archaeological evidence. In the period after colonisation, a variety of social and cultural responses have arisen, which range from dramatic loss of classical traditions to partial maintenance, or transformation of their forms denoting rapid social and cultural change, which Sutton describes as a 'post-classical' response. The Lamalama responses to colonisation fit within Sutton's perception of the post-classical, as people whose social and cultural practices have been transformed by colonisation, while maintaining some continuity with classical traditions.

The foundations of this research

In my previous study of the formation of identity among the Port Stewart Lamalama (Hafner 1990), I examined the kinship and land ownership systems of the Lamalama, but a longer, more detailed study was necessary to arrive at a fuller understanding of Lamalama identity and its attachments. It was my view that the domains of kin and country were the foci of Lamalama identity, and because of their central importance, these would inevitably engage the emotions of the members of the Lamalama mob. I also examined the theoretical literature on hunter-gatherers and Aboriginal land tenure relationships in Australia, as well as theories of identity formation, concluding that the Port Stewart Lamalama were "a distinct ethnic group or emergent secondary 'tribe'" (Hafner 1990:110), bound by

kinship and bonds of sentiment to their land. It was obvious that land and kin were of central importance to the Lamalama, but the Honours format does not allow as full an examination as does doctoral research. I remained convinced that 'sentiment' (as I then referred to affective states) - how the Lamalama *felt* about their land and themselves as landowners, and how they experienced these feelings - were centrally important concepts to pursue in coming to grips with their contemporary understanding of themselves as a social group. Against this backdrop, I approached the issues of identity formation, and the part played by emotions.

The previous research conducted by Jolly and Rigsby also influenced my decision about the focus of my research. Jolly had completed fieldwork six months before, and Rigsby's research was on-going. While other Cape York Peninsula communities such as Hopevale and Aurukun had research relationships with more than one anthropologist, the Lamalama centred around Port Stewart were a much smaller group, varying between 50 and 70 people. As much as possible I wanted to avoid 'research fatigue' - placing people in the position of having to repeat information already given to others. There seemed little contribution to be gained from over-researching the situation. It seemed important to avoid placing too much attention on those people who I knew to have been key informants for Rigsby and Jolly, and I sought to develop a different approach by concentrating on forming relationships with the younger members of the community. This suited my interest in affective issues, because although these people were not generally adept in terms of sacred knowledge, or political skills, everyone had emotional experience. I thought that by taking a broad focus, I might develop a greater understanding of the Lamalama than I would had I been concerned to conduct research with a few key participants.

As many anthropologists have discovered, what is intended and what it is possible to accomplish in field research do not always coincide. I established enduring friendships with a number of the younger people, and I think that my perspective was enriched by striving to maintain links with as many sections of the mob as possible. No matter what my intentions, the people who wanted to

know me sought me out of their own accord. Ultimately I became closely associated with one large family (the terms 'mob' and 'family' are explained in Chapter Seven), and with other individuals in a variety of aggregations. The man that I refer to as Tom Crisp was the person from whom I learnt most about all aspects of Lamalama life, although he was not the most knowledgeable in all areas. A man of generosity and integrity, he lives according to his own understanding of 'Lamalama way', and like many other people of his senior generation, he was concerned that I come to understand what that meant.

The social and political strands that ran through the community also conditioned people's involvement with me to some extent, whether or not these were events in which I had any direct part. I rarely felt that events in which I was not directly involved affected the way any of the Lamalama interacted with me, although it often influenced the way that I dealt with other, non-Lamalama *pama*. There are several other tribal groups in Coen, and relationships between the various groups are rarely totally harmonious. I was known to the Coen *pama* as 'Lamalama', and the ethical question of the nature of my position as an objective observer was a dilemma I often dealt with. It was a constant, and at times overt issue, which also coloured my relationships within the exclusive domain of Lamalama group politics.

Although it is common for ethnographers to develop rapport as a first task, it is also the case that in working with Aboriginal people, the alien researcher needs to deal early with the fact that Aboriginal people have little reason historically to trust non-Aboriginal people. Establishing rapport with the Lamalama meant actively demonstrating my engagement with them by disengaging from the white population of Coen. Because I was not a total stranger, I already enjoyed a degree of trust with a number of the town's Aboriginal people. Nonetheless, this was not automatic, and I was always aware that my actions were being scrutinised. Among themselves, the Lamalama adjust their attitudes according to their actions towards each other, and the same standard was applied to me - intentions are always tested. Eventually I was expected to behave in the 'Lamalama way', and as Briggs (1970) learnt in relation to Inuit expressions of

anger, the times when I behaved inappropriately provided some of my most productive insights.

Researching the elusive ‘emotion’

Although I witnessed many intense expressions of emotion by Lamalama individuals, trying to elicit definite information about those states, which most people consider internal and private (Lutz 1988), proved to be fairly difficult. People talked about emotional displays by others, and about their own feelings, in minimal terms. If I asked people how they felt about particular things, even on neutral topics such as whether they liked living in Coen, I was usually met with an uncomfortable silence or a monosyllabic answer. It took several months before I found out that most people believed that I was there to record language, because that was what Rigsby and Jolly had done before me. Most of the community were perplexed by the questions I asked, and others simply thought I was a busybody (V. Claudie, pers. comm.). As a sympathetic white person, my role in researching and writing the report for the transfer of the PPR land in 1992 was not questioned, but no-one seemed to realise that it was a specialist anthropological task. It was simply regarded as part of my role as ‘friend’, and I was commonly introduced by Lamalama to others, *pama* and non-*pama* as, “This is Di. She’s writing down our language”. When I realised the truth of my situation, I was perplexed in turn. Given the perception of my role as supposed linguist, why was it that people did not question that I rarely asked about language, or wrote it down?

This question is partly answered by the fact that very few of the Lamalama are still active indigenous language users. Most people speak Aboriginal English as a first language. I think it was often assumed that I was simply recording language from someone else. The Lamalama continued to treat me warmly, to share confidences, to assist me, and to rely on my help in return. The misperception of my purpose seemed to mean very little. Few people knew or cared about the nature of ‘research’, although given this, the situation caused me to think about the nature of emotional attachment among the Lamalama. I already

viewed emotion as bound to the structures of kinship and the customary rules of *pama* 'Law', but I now started to consider the communicative functions of the spoken word. Sometimes the words actually spoken were the least significant part of the message, and the underlying emotion with which they were spoken was the 'real' message. Chapter Three is most pertinent to the discussion of emotion, although it is raised throughout the thesis. Anticipating this discussion, however, I conclude that emotion is a discourse, bound to the structural principles of kinship and customary rules, or Aboriginal Law. In this context, certain emotions are regarded as more or less appropriate, and more or less the 'Lamalama way'.

I obviously found Lamalama approaches to the conceptualisation of the self as an emotional being different to those of myself and the wider culture. Whilst I expected cultural specificity in expressions of emotion, I found grappling with the apparent reticence to speak about emotion frustrated my attempts to understand the nature of Lamalama conceptualisations. It was some time before I realised that I was approaching the topic in the wrong way. As I explain in Chapter Three, the Lamalama conceptualise affective experience as the feeling 'me', not as the externally performing 'I' which interacts with the world outside the person. By asking people to stand outside their personal experience and examine it, I was asking them to make a conceptual leap to a position with little cultural reality. I say 'little', because some people were able to think in the terms set by my questions. My approach was embedded in the notion of the individuated self that is part of the Western philosophical tradition often traced to Descartes and Renaissance thought (Burke 1997:17-20), although by even asking about the relationship between individuals and their emotions, I was probing the very existence of an 'individuated self' in the local context.

My method came to depend on observation, as well as some structured elicitations of information about emotions. I developed a set of questions, which was eventually answered by a cross-section of Lamalama people, varying in age, gender, and experience. I originally only intended to use this schedule of questions as a heuristic device to assist my progress in the field, and in the event, individual

respondents' answers did not lend themselves to simple categorisation. However, some of the answers provided to me are used in Chapter Three, where I analyse Lamalama emotion concepts.

Data

The thesis draws on published and unpublished works of other researchers to augment and analyse data from my field research. My own data consists of notes from the two periods of field work from January 1992 to December 1993, notes from claim fieldwork, and claim meetings and conversations held from September 1992 to December 1994. I refer to claim documents, the transcripts of evidence, and the QLT reports on the two claims, as well as the report for the transfer of the PPR (Rigsby and Hafner 1992). As well as my use of unpublished and land claim data, I refer to Thomson's published kinship materials, edited by Scheffler, with Scheffler's accompanying analysis (Thomson 1972). Thomson's research forms the basis of my analysis of kinship, and Sutton's (1998) recent theorising on cognatic descent groups provides the framework for my approach to the analysis of Lamalama social organisation.

Data was collected primarily by participant observation, with the acknowledgment that the researcher's self is part of the subject. As the "data-processing instrument" (Bolton 1995:148), my own interpretation of events informed my perception and understanding of the Lamalama. It is more than likely that my view of events differs from that of the Lamalama, and would differ from that of other researchers if they had been present. This is merely stating that a single objective truth does not exist, and that this thesis presents a version of events that reflects the particular interaction between the Lamalama and myself. The nature of the study, and the need for it to be conducted in an atmosphere of trust, indicated that a methodology which concentrated on participation would most effectively maintain the integrity of the research. I refrained from simultaneous recording - writing down everything as it was said to me - as much as possible, usually preferring to write field notes late at night or early in the morning when I could be reasonably sure of being alone. I did, however, carry a pocket-

sized notebook most of the time to jot down mnemonics and brief notes, to be expanded upon later.

Ethical issues

Bolton (1995:152) and Marshall (1991) both allude to four basic principles in assessing the ethical issues associated with social science research. I now discuss these.

Freedom from coercion

My interactions with the Lamalama were mutual and voluntary. Because my research was concerned with understanding emotions and their articulation, I could see no way to gain intellectual insights into the topic without admitting that I was also part of the 'emotional subject' (cf. Myers' 'cultural subject'). To expect people to allow me to observe and record their emotional interactions without also engaging with that world as fully as possible, by sharing in their affective lives, struck me as a singularly barren methodological approach.

I never demanded of people that they engage in artificial emotional behaviour in order to study it, although I did at times request explanations for particular displays of emotion or affect-laden situations. I did not behave in such a way as to provoke particular emotions, with the aim of furthering my research. Within a short period of being there, I did engage freely in the emotional life of the Lamalama, and to a lesser extent the rest of the Aboriginal community of Coen. To have maintained an 'objective researcher' stance would not, in my view, have resulted in genuine insights into the complexities of the subject. Having been accepted as 'kin' a couple of years before, it would have been strange indeed to the Lamalama if I had chosen to reserve my emotional self from engagement, when it was by my own choice that I returned to live with them for more than a year. They knew I had my own reasons for being there, whatever their perceptions of my purpose. They also had their own purposes for me - mostly helping to 'win

the land back' - and my engagement with them was a matter of interdependence and mutual interest.

My emotional engagement with the Lamalama was a two-way street, in which they felt as free to express positive or negative emotions as I eventually did with them. Mindful of the cultural prescription of respect for elders, I was initially wary of inadvertently offending by assuming familiarity where it might not have existed. This concern was short-lived, however, overcome by one of the basic rules of Aboriginal social engagement - ask and you will probably receive. I quickly learned, for example, that if I did not want to incur censure from sober Lamalama 'relatives', or indeed suffer the sometimes unpleasant physical presence of drunks, it was up to *me* to refuse to offer them a lift home from the pub. In turn, I think they learned that while I would generally be obliging, like their actual relatives, there were boundaries to my generosity.

Because the etiquette with which I grew up requires that we 'be polite' by waiting until we are asked, it was some time before I felt comfortable with the Lamalama practice of reciprocity. The system of etiquette in the wider Australian society does not aim to set up obligation between individuals. By comparison, proof of relationship among the Lamalama resides in the ability to ask for, and to receive. I was once castigated by a young woman when I had bought fish at a Coen shop. Angrily she told me "You got tongue in your head! Why you can't ask your own family for *minya*⁶ instead of you waste money first?"

Protection from psychological or physical harm

There was no inherent physical risk to any of the Lamalama in my research into emotions, identity, and links to land, nor am I aware of any of them suffering any physical disability because of it.

I believe that my emotional engagement with them was encompassing, and the lingering result of that is a number of lasting friendships. Some young

⁶ A regional term for edible flesh foods.

Lamalama have stayed with me in Brisbane when they have had reason to visit this city. One older woman did press me to stay in Coen and look for a job when the end of my first year was imminent, but gave up quickly when I pointed out that I had kin in Brisbane waiting for me to return. I think the greater pain of separation was initially my experience - I cried as I drove down the long road to Brisbane. I think that both the Lamalama and I believed that I would return - as I did in 1993. Departure at that time had a completely different cast. The land claims were in progress, it was certain that we would all see each other again. Any questions about my commitment to the Lamalama were in abeyance, obviated by their acceptance that I was neither just 'researcher' nor 'kin'.

I was always uncomfortable during fieldwork with the thought that the nature of anthropological inquiry inevitably meant separation. This was more a moral anxiety than an affectual one. It seemed particularly cold to me that I could enter and live in a community, and develop deep and affective relationships as a professional exercise, only to abandon them when the time was up. While I could rationalise this to myself and the Lamalama to some extent, it made much less sense to them than to me. In their view, it was rather strange for a single woman to leave her home and family to stay with them for extended periods. To explain that I was 'doing research' that would result in yet more being written about them did not explain much about my presence.

I remained uncomfortable about sharing their lives to the degree that I did, knowing that I would never 'be' Lamalama, unlike some of their affinal relationships with other white women. I also realised that this concern was connected to the whole project of ethnographic fieldwork, rather than necessarily being a product of my particular research. While it is certainly possible to have difficult relations with a host community, it is more common in Australia that anthropologists establish long-term relationships of good esteem with their hosts in Aboriginal communities. This has certainly been the case in Cape York Peninsula (Sutton 1978; Anderson 1984; Chase 1980; Rigsby 1992; Martin 1993). By the end of the claim period, I felt that the common attitude toward me was one

of acceptance that I was an individual with dual lives, which intersected at times with the Lamalama community.

The risk-benefit ratio: beneficence

All of my time with the Lamalama has informed the writing of this thesis. A direct relationship between benefit and doctoral research into Aboriginal lives in Australia is something often questioned by those who undertake it. What becomes of the information that results from such research is a common concern. Commonly theses go unpublished, and most PhD candidates feel that what they write will have few readers. Most people who do read it will be anthropologists and other scholars, so that while there might be a pay-off for anthropological knowledge, candidates are sometimes concerned that knowledge that might broaden understanding of Aboriginal culture, and work to combat prejudice and racism, is restricted to the closed shop of the discipline.

In this case, my presence in the community as a researcher had direct benefits to the Lamalama. I was able to provide anthropological services for two claims and a transfer of land under the provisions of the *Aboriginal Land Act 1991* (ALA). This included extensive consultations and elicitation of data, mapping of sacred and culturally sensitive sites, practical organisation of the claims process, conducting claims meetings, and the writing of reports and claim documents on their behalf to their representative organisation and the relevant Minister. I also gave opinion evidence on their behalf before the QLT in support of their claims, as did Professors Rigsby and Langton.

My presence in the community was helpful on a daily basis, too, largely because I had a four-wheel drive vehicle. As part of the reciprocity involved in conducting fieldwork, that vehicle was regarded as 'Lamalama'. It was assumed that I would always make it, and myself as driver, available as necessary. This situation was generally not abused. No-one ever tried to drive it in my place, and it was common practice to request a lift, rather than to merely assume that it would be forthcoming. I made countless trips to and from the shops, but also

journeys of significant distances between communities when the occasion demanded it - for example, taking people to Hopevale for the wedding of a young Lamalama man resident there.

Respect for persons and informed consent

The terms of my grants from AIATSIS required that, if possible, I gain consent from the host community before commencing. I received written consent from Moomba Aboriginal Corporation to conduct research with Aboriginal people in Coen. My application was firstly considered at a meeting of Moomba directors in February 1991, at which verbal permission was given. This was recorded in the minutes of that meeting. When I applied for the initial grant, I requested and received written permission from Moomba, signed by the senior Lamalama spokesperson.

Because the Lamalama are a small community, reference to any individual by name confers a potential breach of confidence; even reference by first names may sometimes be too revealing. I have sought to preserve the privacy and confidentiality of Lamalama participants in this research by the use of pseudonyms, where I judge the use of actual names would be harmful or embarrassing. Even so, I have been concerned that this method of discussing individuals is perhaps still too transparent, and for that reason, I do not identify the times when I use pseudonyms. Jolly (1997), who had a different research focus to my own, also used a combination of pseudonyms and actual names as a means of protecting the confidentiality of the people with whom she conducted research. This method ensures individual privacy and confidentiality, while maintaining verity with contemporary Lamalama lives. I originally intended to use only pseudonyms, but it removes all agency from the Lamalama to presume to disguise the reality of their lives, at a time which became an important junction in their history.

In the survey of emotion attitudes that I conducted, the responses to which inform the text throughout, I gave guarantees of absolute confidentiality to

all the participants. The schedule of interview questions, and some framing comments, are provided in Appendix One. Interviews were conducted with women at the end of 1992, and men at the end of 1993, and I informed all participants of their intended use. In relation to his AIDS-related research on homosexual men in Belgium, Bolton (1995:156) has written:

In the final analysis, the protection of participants in research depends much more on the integrity, intentions, and intelligence of investigators and on their primary allegiance to the well-being of the population being studied than on formal, bureaucratic instruments.

My allegiance has always been to the Lamalama, as indicated in my decision early in fieldwork to locate myself as much as possible within the local Aboriginal social universe. Decisions such as that can be regarded as resulting in the development of a 'research personality' which is artificial to the degree that it does not fully reflect the researcher's personality, or the personality away from the field. In response I argue that undertaking ethnographic field research is in itself an artificial situation, in which it is rare that the researcher can give free rein to all aspects of identity that are expressed at 'home'.

Recognition of the fact that fieldwork can be a strange experience does not preclude maintaining a set of ethics. Mine included adherence to the code of the Australian Anthropological Association, although I am not a member. As discussed in evidence before the QLT by both Prof Rigsby and myself, anthropologists practicing in relation to Aboriginal people are aware of an informal sanction against unethical behaviour that operates within the profession in Australia. To be known as dealing unethically with Aboriginal people would result in opprobrium and censure by other anthropologists - a more thoroughly formal example of that is the response (Sutton 1995b) to Davis and Prescott's (1992) attempt to revise theoretical understandings of Aboriginal land tenure relationships.

In this context, it is worth considering what it is that constitutes informed consent. I followed all the correct procedure, but I remain as convinced that the

Lamalama had no firm idea of my project as I am that they remained happy to have me there. I am also convinced that because of a mutual sharing of trust between the community and myself, what I did was not important to them beyond that point. They taught me about the secret nature of sacred information, as well as the secret nature of personal information. Having ensured that I understood the importance of that secrecy, and presumably because I did not betray their trust in me in other ways, the Lamalama simply did not concern themselves with what I would do with the information they had given me. I worried for some considerable time that I had not managed to make my purpose truly understood. In truth, I think they found my purpose quite uninteresting, not surprisingly in a community with little formal experience of higher education - only one young Lamalama woman has a tertiary qualification. Literacy rates are also low, but it was the lack of opportunity to gain experience and fluency in the processes of the white world, that ensured the Lamalama would have little innate desire to participate in my project. People simply did not care, or care to know, what doing PhD research meant.

In such circumstances I felt it incumbent on me to be doubly cautious to maintain the confidentiality of the participants in my research, both in the field and after. I always ensured that my notes were accessible only to me. This was made easier by the loan of a laptop computer from the Dept. of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Queensland. Few people in Coen at the time had any experience with computers, and I made daily notes on mine. Like Bolton (1995), I found the undergraduate advice to keep journal and 'data' entries separate was a rather artificial way to record my experience. It was also unsuited to the recording of information about emotions, an ephemeral topic best captured, often, in the recording of hard data accompanied by my own thoughts about the information. That is, as an emotional subject, my own experience and interpretation formed part of my data, as I believe it also does for most ethnographers. In this way understanding can be refined through reinterpretation of insights and experience.

From the beginning, I maintained a policy of keeping my own counsel as much as possible, not easy in an economy of knowledge (Michaels 1985). This is one of the trickiest aspects of maintaining confidentiality. Knowing who you can talk to about the actions of others can only be learned from the experience of living within the community. To my present knowledge, I did not harm anyone by betraying their confidence, and I was very careful about maintaining the social boundaries as they were expressed to me. A related concern is that by becoming closely associated with one or a set of individuals, or a particular faction, the researcher is liable to be regarded as their factotum, and confidence extended or not, accordingly. I feel sure I was perceived as associated with one family in particular, but I made strenuous efforts to maintain links across all levels of the community, all the time maintaining the confidentiality of each level, and this was ultimately rewarded with warmly affective relationships, and continuing trust and confidentiality.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is structured in four sections. Section One introduces the people being studied, the Lamalama, and locates them socially and historically. It consists of a preface and three chapters, dealing separately with these elements, and with the emotional life. Chapter One has introduced the people and the study, while Chapter Two provides a description of the impacts of history on the Lamalama in the post-colonial era. Chapter Three deals with the emotional life of the Lamalama, and demonstrates that it is basic to social practices. Section Two is organised as a single chapter, and deals with notions of place across time. Section Three consists of the chapters concerned with social organisation as it is expressed through the forms of significance to the Lamalama, that is, kinship, and the expression of their identity as a group. Section Four is concerned with contemporary processes of identity construction, framed as a discussion of the Lamalama involvement in the statutory process of land claims. This section also makes the concluding arguments of the thesis. It underlines the fact that land is central to Lamalama identity and social reproduction, and in historical context, the land claims process does much to renew formulations of identity as individuals interact with each other and the state in ways not previously experienced.

The thesis demonstrates that Lamalama identity is bound to the domains of kin and country, and that there is a discernible emotional dimension to the attachments that the Lamalama share. This dimension of meaning is shown to be as important as the various systems of rules from which they are at least partly generated, and from which they derive considerable moral force. Kinship and land ownership, and their associated systems of knowledge and rules, form the frame around which the social interactions of Lamalama life are played out.

Among the Lamalama, emotion constitutes a form of discourse, drawing together meanings that have been negotiated by them individually and as a group of social actors. The discourse of emotion varies in intensity and significance in accordance with its application. The Lamalama have remained in relative proximity to their land, but for much of this century have been alienated from it by colonialist invasion and appropriation. The land that is their homeland has become a place of special significance, in which a variety of emotions are made to reside, and around which a variety of personal styles of being are played out. A more liberal legislative regime has recently offered the Lamalama the opportunity to re-establish themselves as owners and as managers in both the formal and what is intended to be the Aboriginal sense, but inevitably does not come to grips with what it means to be an owner of land in the *pama* sense. The thesis examines these themes throughout, beginning, in the next chapter, with an examination of regional history as it applies to the Lamalama.

Lamalama Attachments Through Time

Princess Charlotte Bay is a large shallow bay, centrally located on the eastern coast of Cape York Peninsula. The Great Dividing Range runs parallel to the eastern coast of the Peninsula, rising above a relatively narrow coastal plain to a height of 800 metres above sea level. The area of highest elevation is located north of Coen towards Iron Range (Environment Science and Services (NQ) 1995:5). The Great Dividing Range acts as a natural barrier between Coen and Port Stewart, the two regional locations of greatest significance to the group of Lamalama people with whom I worked. The township of Coen sits in a depression in the Range, approximately 60 kilometres inland from the coast. The Lamalama outstation at Port Stewart is located close to the coast on the northern bank of the Stewart River, which descends rapidly from the Range in a broad sweep of sandy riverbed (Fig.1). A gravel road links Coen to the coast, a journey of approximately 90 kilometres.

The Cape York Peninsula Land Use Survey Stage 1 Overview Report (Environment Science and Services (NQ) 1995:Fig.10) indicates the Port Stewart region as having a warm winter and very warm summer with hot to very hot maximum temperatures, a very dry winter, and moist to wet summer, with moderate to high variation in monthly precipitation. The Coen region is indicated as differing from this in being rather cooler, and a little wetter, across the seasons. Mean maximum summer temperatures vary from 32° to 37° Celsius across the Peninsula, and winter temperatures from 24° C to 32° C (Environment Science and Services (NQ) 1995:5). The Coen-Port Stewart region falls into a zone with mean maximum summer temperatures of 34° C (Environment Science and Services (NQ) 1995 Fig. 4).

The climate is monsoonal, bringing heavy falls of summer rain, usually beginning in November or December, and these sometimes continue through the following months until April or May. This period is universally referred to as “the wet season”. Days are hot and humid, but cooled by rainfall, with warm

nights. For a short period immediately before the wet season begins, it is extremely hot and humid. Late November days at Port Stewart are sometimes oppressively hot, humid, and lacking in breezes. The intervening months of the "dry season" are usually completely without rainfall, with warm to hot days and warm nights, which local people nonetheless experience as cool weather. The lush summer landscape becomes increasingly dry, brown, and dusty as the dry season proceeds. Rain depends on the development of cyclones in the wider Pacific region, and may fail completely in some years. The wet season in the Coen-Port Stewart region is characterised by scattered falls at the beginning of the season, followed by periods of heavy inundation which may last for several days at a time.

The Cape York Peninsula Land Use Strategy (CYPLUS) project has identified the Coen-Port Stewart region and its hinterland as broadly characterised by two separate vegetation groups. These are Eucalypt-dominated woodlands, open-woodlands, and open forests, and *Melaleuca* dominated low open-woodlands, and tall shrublands. The project also reports numerous species of mangroves along the Peninsula coastline, as well as fourteen species of seagrass, with the major beds found in shallow waters off the east coast (Environment Science and Services (NQ) 1995:12).

The Stewart River is the topographic feature which dominates the generally low, flat countryside surrounding the Lamalama coastal outstation. It has a broad estuary lined by mangrove and dunes, the latter particularly subject to tidal fluctuation. Closest to the outstation, an intertidal zone stretches perhaps two kilometres in from the coast, consisting mostly of saltpan, dunes, and grasses. Riparian forest lines the Stewart, as with most rivers on the Peninsula (Environment Science and Services (NQ) 1995:7). Away from this gallery, the countryside is generally dominated by a low growth of open eucalypt woodland.

To the south-east of the Bay, the intertidal zone increases, and the coastal range recedes to the west. The land here is extremely flat, and much more open, having been extensively cleared during pastoral operations. This section of the Bay is dedicated to Lakefield National Park, which stretches away to the south, and is flanked by Bathurst Head, Bathurst Bay and Cape Melville to the east and

north-east. A number of rivers and streams enter the Bay here, the Normanby being the largest, with the Kennedy and Hann Rivers also significant waterways of the region (Fig.2).

This section of Cape York Peninsula, from the Massy River in the north, and around the Bay to the Normanby River in the east, is the land the Lamalama know to be their homeland. It includes the land inside Lakefield National Park as far south as Kalpowar Crossing on the Normanby River (Fig.1). All of this land is important to them, but their differential history in relation to parts of it means they have developed specific relationships with some locations over others. Port Stewart is primary among these locations, but none of the land is forgotten, nor regarded as simply undifferentiated space. Particular locations are sites of historical significance because of the lived experience of individuals, sometimes captured now only in memory. The land also abounds with sites that are the location of creation or other mythological events, known as Story-places (elsewhere referred to as Dreaming sites). Jane Table Hill in the north-east of the Bay is one such place, where these elements articulate an area of lived cultural experience and importance.

The early history

Loos (1982:7) notes that there was a history of two hundred and fifty years of intermittent and aggressive contact between Europeans (mostly Dutch), and Aborigines before the first British colony was established in north Queensland in 1861. The journeys of James Cook aboard the *Endeavour*, and Phillip Parker King in the early 1800s were among the first British sea-based expeditions into north Queensland. Land-based exploration into the far north preceded initial settlement, an expression of the colonial desire to open up new country for development, in particular to pastoralism.

From the 1830s, a number of expeditions started out from the south. Among the earliest were Ludwig Leichhardt's journey in 1844-45, the A.C. and F.T. Gregory expedition in 1855-56, Edmund Kennedy's in 1848, and the Jardine Brothers' expedition to Somerset at the tip of the Peninsula in 1864-5. Kennedy's was the only one to enter Princess Charlotte Bay. In early October 1848 (Carron 1996:60; Beale 1970), he entered the hinterland of the south-eastern

part of the Bay, and traversed country within sight of Jane Table Hill (Carron 1996:60). The party was visited by Aboriginal people when they first entered the region. Kennedy intended to meet up with H.M.S. *Bramble* to replenish supplies at Princess Charlotte Bay (Hale and Tindale 1933:66). The expedition was a couple of months late in arriving, and failed to find a way through to the coast. Weakened, and with dwindling supplies, Kennedy formed an advance party with four of his men, with the intention of proceeding to Port Albany near the tip of Cape York Peninsula, to meet up with the supply ship *Ariel*. He was speared by a party of Aborigines at Escape River, a little south of his destination. Only three members of the entire expedition party survived. Of interest to this study is the fact that Kennedy's party travelled through and camped within the traditional estates of the Lamalama when they were in the Princess Charlotte Bay region (Rigsby and Hafner 1994a:25-28).

The Jardines' expedition met with prolonged hostility from Aborigines on their journey up the west coast of the Peninsula to Cape York. A squatter's rush to claim land for pastoralism coincided with the separation of the state of Queensland from New South Wales in 1859, but few were inclined to go to the far north to establish a foothold in what was perceived to be dangerous, inhospitable country (Loos 1982: 31-32). Gold was discovered in 1872 on the Palmer River, in the south central region of the Peninsula, and provoked a different response. The surveyor William S. Hann set out to survey the Peninsula as far as Princess Charlotte Bay, to evaluate land for pastoralism. Gold was first found by a member of Hann's party, and proved to be the first major inducement to settle the Peninsula. The Stewart River environs, within the traditional lands of the Lamalama, were the northern extent of Hann's expedition, and he named this river after a member of his party (Jack 1922:498, 644). Early records of these first incursions, such as Carron's account of Kennedy's journey, are replete with descriptions of the country, vegetation, and fauna they encounter, in keeping with the colonial project of evaluating the potential of the country for settlement (Morphy 1993:210).

Pastoralism and the development of regional towns and stations

The discovery of gold on the Palmer River brought thousands of European and Chinese miners into the region. Expeditions to find other fields set off from there, some led by James Venture Mulligan, who had been the first to register good finds of alluvial gold on the Palmer. Cooktown, the base for prospectors bound for the Palmer goldfield, was established as part of an expedition led by G.E. Dalrymple. In bare anticipation of the gold rush that followed Mulligan's find, Dalrymple's party arrived at the Endeavour River on 24 October 1873. Within four months, Dalrymple was able to report that Cooktown and the Palmer River diggings had a population of 3000 people (Jack 1922:419). Cooktown was declared a municipality in 1876, and sustained growth throughout the 1880s, when its natural harbour made it the leading port of north Queensland (Fitzgerald 1982:166-67). *Pama* relationships to the land were irrevocably changed by the advent of this municipality, not just in the immediate vicinity of Cooktown, but throughout the wider region. With Cooktown as a base, prospectors were able to continue moving further afield.

In 1876, Robert Sefton's party set up on Lankelly Creek (the present location of the town of Coen), ultimately taking 60 ounces of alluvial gold back into Cooktown. The following year they brought in 140 ounces. This set off a rush from Cooktown and the Palmer to the new Coen goldfield in February 1878, although the government geologist Robert Logan Jack found the diggings abandoned in September 1879. By 1898, miners and prospectors were again moving to nearby reef fields, such as the Klondike and Mount Croll gold reefs, and to alluvial finds on the telegraph line a mile north of the Stewart River (Jack 1922:466-467, 500-501; Loos 1982:63-64). The township of Ebagoola (Fig.1), on the Hamilton goldfield, was established after the discovery of both alluvial and reef gold in 1898 produced another rush. Ebagoola sustained a population of several hundred for some years, but has long been abandoned (Jack 1922:707, 737).

Although the itinerant population of miners and prospectors on the Peninsula dropped to perhaps a few thousand by 1880, the influx had served to boost the pastoral industry. The increased population provided a ready local

market, so that cattle did not have to be driven long distances to markets further south, with inevitable loss of condition and resulting lower prices. Expeditions such as Hann's suggested that Cape York Peninsula was not suitable country for pastoralism, but settlers nonetheless moved into the region and set up runs (Loos 1982:65-66). Brothers Glen and Charles Massy took up Lalla Rookh holding on the Stewart River in 1882, and Rokeby holding north-west of the township of Coen in 1884, because of "the markets promised by the Coen goldfield" (Jack 1922:675-676). Aboriginal presence on the land nonetheless remained constant, and felt by the settlers. Charles Massy was speared by an Aboriginal man while out looking for cattle in the bush in 1885, and died three days later (Jack 1922:644).

Port Stewart was established in the 1880s, on the coast at the mouth of the Stewart River. In order to bring freight to Coen more economically than bringing it overland from Cooktown, the Massy brothers opened a road from the mouth of the Stewart River to Coen (Jolly and Jolly n.d.:3). The Moojeeba Township Reserve, approximately 5 kilometres west of Port Stewart, was surveyed by Embley in 1895-6, but never became operational. Port Stewart served as the regional port for Coen and Ebagoola, as well as the wider region (Hafner 1990:28). In 1904 for instance, miners packed wolfram from the Bowden Mineral field near the Pascoe River in the north of the Peninsula after attempting to find a closer port (Jack 1922:732). By the close of the nineteenth century, there were three hotels, two wharves, a shop and a cordial factory at Port Stewart⁷ (Hafner 1990:28; Jolly and Jolly n.d.:3).

The first owner of Silver Plains station in the Port Stewart region is thought to have been Charlie Silver, who had worked on the telegraph line from 1883-6. Silver applied for an Occupation Licence on Moojeeba Reserve in 1900, and again in 1904. The first Silver Plains homestead was located at Moojeeba, but was later moved to the present homestead location about 20 kilometres to the north (Jolly and Jolly n.d.:3-4). At first Silver Plains was able to serve refreshments to travellers from Port Stewart, and provide meat to the goldfields, but mining in the area was shortlived and the number of travellers from Port Stewart declined. Silver Plains was eventually purchased by Herb Thompson in

⁷ Some of this information was provided by Bruce Rigsby from a then unpublished manuscript.

1926, and his daughter Eileen and her husband Dr Lee Wassel eventually relocated the homestead (Jolly and Jolly n.d.:3-4).

The construction of the telegraph line through the Peninsula added further impetus to the developing Peninsula cattle industry. Telegraph stations were opened at Musgrave and a little further north at Coen in 1886. Through the colonising process of clearing previous human associations from the land, Cape York Peninsula would by this time have been considerably transformed, although still a “frontier” landscape in Morphy’s terms.

The displacement of Aboriginal interests within the region

As in the southern areas of the state (Reid 1982), pastoralists and other early settlers and explorers met with Aboriginal resistance in their push to open up and claim land (Loos 1982; Fitzgerald 1982; Bolton 1970). The prevailing social view in the late nineteenth century moved beyond the idea that Aborigines were a dying race, to one of intervention and protectionism. Aborigines had not died out as expected. Circumstances differed throughout the north reaches, and in the south-eastern part of Cape York Peninsula, where dense rainforest conditions offered areas of refuge, Aboriginal resistance was particularly effective. Settlers here found themselves forced to stop work to protect property, crops, and lives from starving and raiding Aborigines, whose resource base had been altered and reduced by the alien presence (Loos 1982:93-96).

No systematic attempt to develop long-ranging policy in relation to Queensland's Aborigines had been developed by the late nineteenth century, and humane concern was always conditioned by the economic requirements of development (Anderson 1984:168; Loos 1982:115). Anderson (1989:77) notes that there was a lack of policies for dealing with what was perceived as “the Aboriginal problem”, involving the depredations of introduced disease, alcohol and opiate use, the exploitation and abuse of Aboriginal labourers in the lugger trades operating in the north, and a fear of ‘miscegenation’ between the races. Archibald Meston, commissioned by Home Secretary Horace Tozer to make an assessment of Aboriginal conditions in Queensland in the late 1870s, viewed segregation as the

only method that would save Aborigines from extinction, and free the white race from the “contamination” of mixed-race births and disease.

Meston’s survey discovered an environment of gross abuse and neglect, in which starvation, the kidnapping of women and children, and their deployment as virtual slave labour were common. Meston’s views were opposed by Police Commissioner Parry-Okeden, who viewed increased force as the answer to the abuses on the frontier (Kidd 1997:42-45). Anderson writes that after the 1870s, with continued Aboriginal resistance, government policy became increasingly concerned to centralise control of Aboriginal matters:

From the beginnings of this intervention, the government based its plans to solve Aboriginal problems on comprehensive and firm government control. Administration of aid to them for their many physical ills and needs could be done more easily in central settlements where they could be guided towards a more ‘useful’ life. Centralisation was partly precipitated by the need for economies of scale in the supply of services. But the underlying rationale for the apparently humanitarian aspect was a pragmatic one tied to the needs of development (Anderson 1989: 77).

Settlers and the state experimented with a policy of ‘letting in’ Aborigines to settlement in rainforest areas, and providing them with rations. The wider success of the scheme led Home Secretary Tozer to take advice on setting up reserves to act as ration distribution centres. Many settlers undertook to distribute rations from their properties, with government financial assistance, out of the perception that a pool of cheap labour could be developed (Loos 1982:103-114). Anderson suggests that the establishment of rations distribution centres had complex origins. He writes that the late nineteenth century period of ‘reform’ and protection was brought about in part by “growing interstate and international concern about Queensland’s treatment of Aborigines” (Anderson 1984:168-169). The government response was to set up a number of reserves and to introduce legislation, such as that passed in the early 1880s, designed to protect Aborigines from the depredations of beche-de-mer operators.

Queensland’s *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act*, originally declared in 1897, remained in force until 1939. Successive

legislation that replaced the original Act remained in place until 1972, when the *Aborigines Act 1971* and the *Torres Strait Islanders Act 1971* became effective (Nettheim 1979:31-32). While individuals such as the first Protector appointed under the Act, the physician Walter E. Roth, undoubtedly regarded the *Protection Act* as having a humane purpose, it gave almost unlimited control over Aboriginal people to the government and its instruments. It enabled the removal of people to reserves, and of children of mixed ancestry from their Aboriginal families, and gave all control over financial and structural matters to the State. Aboriginal people under the control of the Act required permission of the regional Protector (usually a local police officer) to find employment, to travel out of their place of residence or employment, and to marry. If employed, their wages were controlled by the Protector, and their labour was usually reimbursed in rations. Anderson (1989) sees such centralisation of control as the “key feature” of state intervention practices throughout Australia, and as “maintained in essence” into the 1970s (1989:76).

In the absence of firm government policy, Anderson suggests, the deployment of the Native Mounted Police to support the actions of pioneers was one of the “few explicitly interventionist government actions” taken by the State. In his 1896 report, Meston made a number of recommendations for the better treatment of Aborigines, including the abolition of the Native Mounted Police (1896:723-738). This para-military force consisting of white officers and armed black troopers, usually recruited from districts other than those in which they served, was introduced first into southern Queensland by Frederick Walker in 1848 (Reynolds 1978:38; Malezer 1979:12; Fitzgerald 1982:141; Loos 1982:20), and was active in Cape York Peninsula in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The aggressive activities of the Force led to charges of excessive brutality and drunkenness. These were investigated by a Queensland Legislative Assembly Select Committee in 1861, but the Force was exonerated (Fitzgerald 1982:141; Malezer 1979:13). The primary duties of the Force were to curtail Aboriginal ‘depredations’ on the pastoral frontier, by instituting punitive retribution and bringing in suspected Aboriginal criminals (Loos 1982:25). These actions usually involved killing Aborigines, and were euphemistically referred to as ‘dispersing’:

The force’s ostensible aim was to “pacify” the frontier by “dispersing” Aborigines; in fact for much of its existence it was an

officially sanctioned revenge and protection squad, responsible for some of the most bloody massacres in Australian history, all the more sinister for Europeans' success in turning "civilized" blacks so violently against their own people (Fitzgerald 1982:141)

Within this overall picture of rapid and violent settlement of the north, the Port Stewart region was settled relatively late. Hale and Tindale (1933:66) were able to observe, after visiting Cape York Peninsula in the late 1920s:

European occupation was stimulated by the discovery of extensive goldfields in the Coen district, but since the exhaustion of the richest alluvial claims the country has been largely abandoned. The natives were early affected by European contacts, but have in part reverted to their former state. This is especially true of the inhabitants of the less inviting coastal areas.

The Princess Charlotte Bay people were not as subject to the atrocities of the Native Mounted Police as their neighbours to the south-east (Hughes 1978:103). One such example, the massacre at Battle Camp to the south of Princess Charlotte Bay in 1873, was the subject of mixed reporting of events and of numbers killed. It triggered a period of fighting and killing that continued for six years (Hughes 1978:107). Lamalama people today still recall stories told to them by grandparents, about being pursued and hiding from the police, including black trackers. Native Mounted Police were stationed in the general Princess Charlotte Bay region, such as the unit at Laura to the south of Coen, in the 1870s (Corfield 1935:93).

Rigsby has recorded the recollections of some early white residents of Port Stewart, which demonstrate that the settling of the Port was not entirely peaceful. One of the people he recorded was a white woman born in Cooktown in 1886, who lived at the Port as a girl in the late 1890s. She remembered Aborigines throwing spears at their house, and their pigs being speared. Rigsby characterises this early period in Port Stewart's history as a time of conflict and distrust, in which "the Aborigines were 'kept out' from their accustomed residence and utilization of the Port Stewart area" (Rigsby and Hafner 1994b:52).

Another early white resident who was born at Port Stewart in 1907 recalled a more peaceful time in the period up to World War I, when there was “little white presence and activity at Port Stewart” (Rigsby and Hafner 1994b:52). Rigsby notes (Rigsby and Hafner 1994b:51-52) that Port Stewart’s fortunes “were closely tied to the success and decline of mining at Coen and later at Ebagoolah”, and that at the turn of the century, “it was a small scattered settlement with a few permanent white residents”. Jolly and Jolly (n.d: 5) write that the Lamalama have “provided most of the labour on Silver Plains station since it began”, and note Police reports of 1897 that mention Lamalama and “Iabitha” (Ayapathu) people at Port Stewart. With no missions in the immediate region, and State rejection of Roth’s (1898:iv) earlier suggestion that a Central Reserve be established between the Morehead River and Saltwater Creek, to the south of Princess Charlotte Bay, the indigenous inhabitants of the wider region were not forced into collective settlement in the same way as neighbouring groups. By the time of Hale and Tindale’s arrival at Princess Charlotte Bay in 1927, they were living in groups of extremely small numbers of individuals (Hale and Tindale 1933:70).

Rigsby (Rigsby and Hafner 1994b:53) indicates that there is little by way of primary records of the experience of Aboriginal people of the region in the period up until 1950. Contemporary Aboriginal oral tradition, the evidence woven into historical accounts (eg. the journals of explorers such as Kennedy, and archival material such as the correspondence of early settlers), and archaeological evidence (Beaton 1985) indicate that Aboriginal people long occupied and used the land and waters of Princess Charlotte Bay, and that they were displaced and dispossessed by settlement of the region. It was inevitable that they would be drawn into the new regime. As Jolly and Jolly write:

Here, as elsewhere, the Whites appropriated Aboriginal labour without the workers having much choice in the matter. However, the Lamalama who worked on [Silver Plains] station were at least still on their own country and often enjoyed extended periods of bush living with their older or unemployed relatives, during the wet season and at other slack periods. Work with the cattle became prestigious and although they remember harsh and exploitative working conditions, the Lamalama also have fond memories of the old homestead (n.d.:5).

In oral evidence to the Land Tribunal convened to hear the Lakefield National Park land claim, numbers of older people spoke of the harsh treatment they received as labourers in the pastoral industry on stations in the region. It was also apparent that many retain a sense of pride in relation to the skills they exercised as stock workers.

The 1961 removal

The 1961 removal of Lamalama people living at Port Stewart, and their enforced sojourn at Cowal Creek (now named Bamaga) and ultimately in the Umagico community at the tip of the Peninsula, is rarely talked about by survivors. It was most often discussed with me by those left behind, the Lamalama people living and working in Coen, or on surrounding stations such as Silver Plains. The event was not without precedent. Rigsby has written:

With respect to the removal of people from their homelands and placement on missions and reserves, I will pass over the policy of forcibly taking mixed-descent children from their Aboriginal mothers that dates from the last century. Rather, it may be noted that in the 1930's, the State Government removed a number of local groups from their homes in the Princess Charlotte Bay and northward along the east coast and settled them at the old Lockhart River Mission site near Bare Hill. Among them were the people of the Flinders Island/Bathurst Heads/Barrow Point region whom Norman Tindale visited in 1928 (Hale and Tindale 1933-4). Two old people and some younger descendants survive.

During the 1930's, some of the Port Stewart Aboriginal community (at the mouth of the Stewart River) were removed to old Lockhart, but they walked off and returned home (Rigsby 1981:4).

Lockhart River was originally an Anglican Mission, to the north of Port Stewart (Fig.1). Under amendments to the protection legislation, it became a collection point for Aboriginal people throughout the region, including the Princess Charlotte Bay hinterland as far south as the Flinders Islands. In 1967, the Queensland government took formal control of the Lockhart Mission, and unsuccessfully attempted to move the residents north to Bamaga, where a

community of people removed from Mapoon already lived (Chase 1980:114;125). The 1961 removal from Port Stewart illustrates the paternalism which the Queensland Government applied in the administration of Aborigines. Jolly and Jolly write:

From the mid 1950s, the lessees of Silver Plains lobbied the Queensland Government to remove the Lamalama, who, they claimed, were spearing cattle and involved in prostitution. These claims played into the hands of the director of native affairs (*sic*), Pat Killoran, who 'wanted to concentrate Aboriginal people in ever larger communities for administrative convenience'. In June 1961 a boat duly appeared in the Stewart River and policemen informed the Lamalama that they were to be taken to Bamaga (750K to the north) for health checks. Everyone in the camp was taken but the dogs were left behind, later shot by the police. All possessions and houses left behind were burned. As some of the Lamalama people were directly employed on the surrounding stations at the time of the removal, this meant that families were split up. Those taken away were not allowed to return for about 15 years. A number of the older folk died in Bamaga and great social disruption and distress resulted (n.d.:5).

Rigsby (1981:4) indicates that there was a more specific reason for the removal than cattle spearing and prostitution:

... in the late 1950's, most of the Port Stewart people were forcibly removed to Bamaga after the local station owners complained of interference with their cattle. The Port Stewart people say that the precipitating cause was the birth of a male child to a mixed-descent Aboriginal woman. It is alleged that the father of the baby was a son of the station owners, who refused to allow their son to marry the mother of his child.

In 1992, when I was discussing this matter with the Lamalama, there was no public acknowledgment of it. It arose specifically because Jamie Walker, a journalist from a national newspaper, wished to write about the 1961 removal, as part of an article on the first transfer of land under the terms of the ALA to the Lamalama. The possibility of this assertion being made public caused grave concern to the family of the Aboriginal mother and her son. When contacted for comment prior to publication, Rigsby (in Brisbane) was concerned that having the matter published in a national newspaper would have painful consequences for the

Lamalama. Some of the younger members of the family had never heard of it, indeed had never heard the matter discussed at all. The family was concerned for the 'shame' that the mother and they would feel in being so publicly exposed. No-one knew her thoughts on the matter, as she had never discussed it with anyone. It was because this was a matter of such delicacy that I raised it with the Lamalama, who then instituted their own process for dealing with it. One of the initial points of discussion was whether or not to raise the matter with the woman, for fear of what her reaction would be - they were worried about possible effects on her health.

Her now-adult son wished the story to be made public, and in the end his wishes prevailed. The family, including the son, were concerned that there might be some adverse reaction from the local white community, but the pastoral family concerned had left the region. The particular newspaper was not widely read in Coen, so ultimately there was little backlash. It seems most likely that there is significant truth in this version of the removal and its causes - until the appearance of the story, this man and his mother had never discussed who his biological father might be. He said that he wanted the story to be told, to get the truth of the matter exposed.

One Lamalama woman has written about the anger she felt in having earlier investigated the puzzling splitting up of her family:

I always wondered why half of the Liddy family was in Coen, and the other half was at Bamaga until I decided to find out for myself. It made me very angry when I found out the reason, even though it happened 26 years ago.

I really wanted to interview my grandmother, but she said it was best to leave the past untouched and think about surviving in the present and future the whites have carved out for us (Liddy 1985:9).

As Liddy indicates, not all of the Lamalama were taken. Those who were removed were members of the few families remaining at Port Stewart (Hafner 1990:103), while other Lamalama people lived and worked in Coen or on stations

of the surrounding region. Physical removal from their land and families did not achieve total separation from them:

Some time after their removal to Bamaga, a party of Port Stewart people walked off, but they were intercepted at the Wenlock [River] and made to return to the north. Their descendants now live in several places on the Peninsula, and they visit their old Port Stewart home for a holiday whenever they can (Rigsby 1981:4).

Jolly and Jolly (n.d.:5) further comment:

In the mid 1970s the Lamalama people tentatively started moving back to Coen and visiting their Port Stewart homeland again. As they have acquired vehicles which have made gaining access to their land easier, they have begun to spend longer periods there and so an outstation, about half way between Port Stewart and old Silver Plains homestead has grown gradually more permanent over the last few years.

A senior elder, Sunlight Bassani, has also told me that his father, Bob, went to Bamaga and made a personal appeal to the supervisor to have his people returned. Sunlight is not certain of the date, but it probably occurred 8 -10 years after their removal. Bob was told that they were free to go whenever they wished, but it was many years before any of the families returned. Most of the old people died in Bamaga before they were able to return.

The Lamalama in Coen and establishing the outstation

Lamalama people have continued to work on stations in the region, notably Silver Plains and Yarraden. In more recent times, Lamalama people have found employment in Coen. One senior man was a long-term employee at one of the two general stores, but Lamalama people have recently worked for the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs in clerical positions, and for the Uniting Church's Frontier Services Hospital in Coen. One Lamalama woman is employed by the Queensland Department of Education as a teacher, and a couple of women have been employed in teacher's aide positions. The Coen Regional Aboriginal Corporation (CRAC) was incorporated in February 1993, and Lamalama have worked within the organisation as clerical staff, as well

as participating in the Community Development Employment Program (CDEP) scheme which CRAC administers (Coen Regional Aboriginal Corporation 1995:10).

Coen remains the administrative centre for the central Peninsula region. Like the Lamalama, other groups of Aboriginal people in Coen have established and maintain outstations on their traditional estates, and CRAC oversees the administration for most of these homeland centres, including CDEP programs. CDEP is an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) scheme, which provides funding for wages and administrative costs associated with a program of community work projects. Funding is usually provided to Aboriginal community organisations, which administer the funds and oversee local work programs. Individual wage payments are equivalent to mainstream unemployment welfare or “dole” payments. CDEP-funded projects are run on the outstations as well as within Coen. This is a vastly different situation to the one that the Lamalama people returning to Coen found, or had existed previously:

For most of the early part of this century, those Aboriginal people who came in from the bush in the central Peninsula were almost fully-employed in the pastoral and trochus/beche de mer industries and in Church Missions. However, they worked at a fraction of the existing awards and had little control over their terms of employment. Massive Aboriginal unemployment and welfare dependence only began to develop as award wage systems came into place during the 1950s and 1960s. This was exacerbated by economic declines in both the trochus and pastoral industries during the 1960s and 1970s respectively.

Immediately prior to the establishment of CDEP in Coen, very few Aboriginal people were employed in full or part time jobs. There were no economic enterprises that brought any non-government income into the community (CRAC 1995:12).

Lamalama people who remained in Coen have always tried to retain a link with their coastal estate. In recent years they have been able to acquire 4-wheel drive vehicles, but previously, one man made trips to Port Stewart in a second-hand Holden sedan that he purchased in Coen. With this vehicle he was able to transport family members from time to time. It is always preferable to the Lamalama that they camp on their land whenever possible, and the outstation,

now called Theethindyi in reference to the *pama* name for its location, was gradually established. On my first visit in November 1989, it was a tent and tarpaulin village spreading perhaps 200 metres along the sandy bed of the Stewart River and its northern bank. Two neat sets of stairs were carved into the riverbank at either end of the camp, allowing easy access between levels.

On my return in 1992, the location was still the same, but the site was being utilised in a slightly different way. Semi-permanent kitchen structures are normally built by the more permanent residents, generally those people not bound by the need to return to Coen for jobs, or children attending school. In 1992, some of these structures were in the same place, but some had been shifted or removed. As grass was cleared and the outstation opened for the year once more, other changes took place. By the time I returned in late May 1993, severe flooding in the previous 'wet' had again changed the place. Because this is always a problem at Theethindyi, the Lamalama have long had a desire to establish another place of residence a few kilometres further west, at Moojeeba. This has now been done, and a raised bush timber dwelling and some sheds constructed.⁸ Moojeeba is on slightly higher ground, and further removed from the watercourse. Flooding has never been known to occur here, and, with reasonable proximity to the river from which water can be pumped, it provides an excellent residential location.

The outstation presently consists of these two locations, joined physically by a road and bush tracks, and economically and socially by the ties of kinship and shared resources. The separate locations afford the Lamalama a greater degree of space than the earlier single location, but it is space still divided communally rather than individually. The two locations house subsets of the Lamalama totality, which consists for organisational purposes of a number of 'family' and household groups.⁹ The latter are permeable groupings, and in relation to the outstation, have changed their dimensions in reflection of the physical changes that have occurred there since 1992.

⁸ Since the implementation of a management plan, with the assistance of CYLC and Balkanu Cape York Development Corporation, the Port Stewart community now has two focal areas of residence. These are the original camp, known as "Theethindyi", or the "old camp", and the second residential area at Moojeeba. The other most used designations for the outstation, "Port Stewart", and "home" are of course still in use.

⁹ My use of these terms is explained in Chapter Seven.

The locating of a second residential site would not have been possible at the beginning of 1992. At that time, the Lamalama regarded themselves as obliged to Richard Rand, then the lessee of Silver Plains station. After the Lamalama had quietly gone about camping at Port Stewart for some time, Rand had agreed to allow them to occupy some land, with the caveat that they did not disturb his cattle grazing nearby. For the Lamalama, this agreement allowed them access to their homelands and the resources there, but it did not remove the hope that they would some day achieve ownership of at least a small part of their estate.

The 1992 transfer

The Lamalama became the first Aboriginal people in the state to acquire formal title to a portion of their traditional estates. This was PPR 11, the Public Purposes Reserve on the northern bank of the Stewart River, an area of 2011 hectares. Acquisition of this land by the Lamalama followed three months of discussion about the issue, culminating in a decision about the constitution of the body of trustees. In this the Lamalama were inclusive and pragmatic.

As a group of people they saw themselves as ‘one mob’, and reasoning that all contemporary Lamalama could establish a genealogical connection to Port Stewart in some way, it was imperative that all be included. Nonetheless it was true that some of the Lamalama were too geographically distant to regularly participate in the management of the land. The final report to the Minister (Rigsby and Hafner 1992) indicates that there are two groups of trustees, the ‘inside people’, a smaller group of people largely resident in Coen or Port Stewart, and an ‘outside’ group listing all known Lamalama people and their descendants. Despite the considerable angst and care that went into this decision, it was not satisfactory to all, as it was only members of the ‘inside’ group who were listed as trustees on the title deed. This caused some tensions during the handover ceremony at Port Stewart (detailed as a narrative event in Chapter Seven).

Land claims between 1992 and 1994

It was with considerable speed that the Lamalama moved from acquiring title of the PPR to participation in the claim over Lakefield National Park. This National Park is bounded by the Normanby River in the east, and follows the boundaries of a number of pastoral properties, including Battle Camp in the south-east, Koolburra in the south, and Artemis, Lilyvale and Violetvale in the west. It is the second largest National Park in Queensland, extending approximately 100 kilometres north of Laura to Princess Charlotte Bay, and covering around 537,000 hectares of land (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996a:3). The northern section of the Park, where it abuts Princess Charlotte Bay, constitutes the traditional estates of several clans whose members identify these days as part of the Lamalama bloc (Fig.2).

In August 1992, the Lamalama were approached by the chairman of Ang-Gnarra Aboriginal Corporation in Laura, Mr Fred Coleman, about their interest in participating in a claim over the Park. They were at the time passing through Laura to attend a wedding in Hopevale, and made no commitments. A more formal Aboriginal approach was made in September of that year when Mr Coleman visited traditional owners in their various communities, bearing a message stick from Ang-Gnarra elders. The Park had originally been gazetted as claimable land on 29 May 1992 (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996a:6), and the Ang-Gnarra elders were asking, via the medium of the message stick, that traditional owners attend a meeting in December, on the Park, to discuss making a claim under the *Aboriginal Land Act 1991*. Early rains made parts of the Park unsuitable to road traffic, and the meeting was ultimately held at the Ang-Gnarra Dance Grounds outside Laura.

At this meeting, participants decided to proceed jointly with a claim under the Act. This was the first of many meetings over the next two years. As well as the Lamalama, participants included Kuku Thaypan people from Laura and Hopevale, plus Bagaarmugu, Muunydyiwarra, Balngarrwarra, Gunduurwarra, and Magarmagarrwarra from neighbouring communities. Claimants came from Hopevale, Wujal Wujal, Bamaga, Cooktown, Cairns and Yarrabah, the Atherton Tableland, Mt Isa and Brisbane, in testimony to the history of removals

authorised by the earlier *Protection of Aboriginals* legislation (Hafner 1995a:3). During the hearing of evidence before the Tribunal, I estimated the number of claimants to be between 2500 and 3000 people, a figure the Tribunal deemed to be “a conservative estimate” (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996a:243).

Meetings were convened to discuss procedure of the claim, and to conduct the necessary ethnographic research, carried out by Rigsby and myself. Two large meetings were held on the Park in 1993, attended by the Lamalama and others, with the principal aim of mapping relevant sites and collecting associated information. An equally important but more informal aspect of the meetings was the re-uniting of the traditional owners of the land covered by the Park. People met relatives they had only ever heard stories about, and in many cases discovered new kin relationships between themselves. These were sometimes highly charged gatherings, involving several hundred people.

The hearing of evidence before the Queensland Land Tribunal began on 1 June 1994, at the Gungarde Community Hall in Cooktown, and proceeded until 10 June. Subsequent hearings were held at Bizant Ranger Station and other locations within Lakefield National Park, from 1-15 August 1994, and in Brisbane from 21-25 November 1994. In a report dated 18 April 1996, the Land Tribunal recommended to the Minister for Natural Resources, the Hon. H. Hobbs MLA, that the land be granted in fee simple to a trustee group of Aboriginal people representative of the claimant group (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996a:239).

A separate claim over the Cliff Islands National Park, in Princess Charlotte Bay to the south of Port Stewart, was made concurrently by the Lamalama as sole traditional owners, and the hearings were run jointly. Cliff Islands National Park was gazetted as claimable land in 1992. Meetings for this claim largely followed the same schedule as the Lakefield claim. Hearings thus occurred at the same times, and at substantially the same places as the Lakefield claim, with the exception of a journey to the mouth of Running Creek to the north of Lakefield National Park in August 1994, specifically to hear Cliff Islands evidence (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996b:3-4).

The three islands that form the Cliff Islands National Park constitute one of the most significant sacred sites for the Lamalama. In a separate report dated 18 April 1996, the Land Tribunal recommended to the Minister that the land be granted to a representative group of Lamalama people as trustees for the land. While it is possible that the Lamalama could gain title to other lands within their traditional estate, perhaps including land now held under the Silver Plains leasehold title, for the present the Lamalama people in the Coen/Port Stewart region are proceeding to consolidate their community at Port Stewart. Lamalama interests in Lakefield National Park are of greater concern to their relatives who live at Hopevale, Cooktown, and Wujal Wujal.

It is largely these people who are the descendants of the former owners of estates within the Park, although the most inclusive reading of known genealogical ties reflects the prevailing Lamalama attitude of inclusiveness in relation to rights in the totality of traditional holdings. Despite the positive finding by the Land Tribunal, the Lamalama and other traditional owners of Lakefield National Park have not established a presence on the Park to date.

Certain ownership, on the other hand, exists in relation to the PPR land at Port Stewart. I noted in the Preface that Port Stewart is the ‘heart’ of the Lamalama land estate, implying a central place in the emotions and psychology of the Lamalama. There are certain events that have conspired to make this so. The initial history of alienation from the land saw the forebears of the present Lamalama population forced north towards the Stewart River in their attempts to safely remain on their land and in control of their own lives. Senior people have told me that Port Stewart was a ‘safe place’ in the past, where their forebears hid *pama* from the Native Police. By the time of the removal, the Lamalama population was fragmented, some working on pastoral properties in the region, some in Coen, with a small group still living in the bush at Port Stewart. Their removal was brutal and unexplained, and in Tuan’s (1977) terms, an ‘uprooting’ which they were powerless to combat, from which many of the older people did not return.

This event remains painful, as evidenced from Liddy’s experience mentioned above. In my observation this event was not commonly discussed, and

it is apparent that there are different attitudes among the present generations about the place of the land within their lives. The 1961 removal was a final attempt to empty the landscape of its indigenous associations. Although not successful, it did effect a profound change in Lamalama social organisation. Social practice was diverted by the loss of a significant section of the community during their years of exile. Lamalama people no longer resided at Port Stewart, although those who remained nearby visited when they could. With the removal of so many people – around two dozen out of a group of perhaps twice that number - changes to social structure were inevitable. These changes were accompanied by changes to social practice. With the loss of so many people, rules for behaviour, including the rules which govern sexual behaviour, were affected by the loss of significant kin categories. The event remains marked by a noticeable silence on the part of the Lamalama, an indication of its emotional impact. It is against this background that emotional behaviour during the period of my fieldwork needs to be understood.

The Discourse of Emotion

The fight between Tamara and Collin

Tamara arrived back in Coen in January 1992, shortly after having given birth to her second child, a girl named Merilee. This child was deemed to look just like her father, Collin Sweet Jr, much to the relief of some of Tamara's older female relatives. Tamara had taken up with Collin as she ended an affair with an Olkolo man, Kenny Woods. Her aunts feared that the child might be Kenny's, triggering inevitable conflict between the Lamalama and the "bottom-end mob" (an Olkolo/Wik alliance). Collin had let it be known around town that he wouldn't be claiming the child unless he was sure it was his. In the event, Merilee's looks were recognised as clear evidence of Collin's paternity.

Tamara and the baby moved from her aunt Nettie's (her MZ+) house to Collin's parents' home at the "bottom end" on the other side of town. Their relationship quickly became conflictual, as it had been during Tamara's pregnancy. They were known to have fierce fights, and Tamara was sometimes heavily bruised. They were both drinkers. They attempted to live together as parents for a couple of months, but it was soon apparent they were fighting again. This sometimes involved public exchanges of insults, as well as Tamara periodically returning to spend the night at her aunt's place 'over nother side', and 'growling' to her kin about Collin's behaviour. After a couple of months of living at Collin's place, they decided to go and stay at Port Stewart, where it was 'quiet'.

One day towards the end of May, I was collecting grocery orders for people down at Port Stewart, when Tamara asked me if she could get a lift back down there with me. She and Collin had come up a couple of days before to take Merilee to the doctor. I told her that I would probably have room in the car, and asked her if Collin would be coming as well. She replied shortly, "Up to him". As I was

walking out of the shop with her aunt Nettie a little later, Tamara burst out of the hotel, calling on Nettie to verify that she had slept the night at her house. Collin followed her, yelling at Tamara that he knew that she had slept with Solomon Quest, a young Ayapathu man, at his place. Nettie looked away, saying quietly, "Ooh, I don't want to join in with yufla when you fightin". Tamara then called on another woman, Megan, who also lived at Nettie's, to confirm that she had indeed slept the night at Nettie's, in the same bed as two younger girls. Megan confirmed Tamara's story, but Collin continued to swear at her and accuse her of infidelity.

Later that afternoon, I collected the people who wanted a lift back to the outstation with me - Auntie Nettie, Brenda, Xavier, one of Tamara's brothers, Nicole and Stephanie. We collected Tamara at the police station, where she had gone to seek the assistance of the constable - during the day, Collin had 'stolen' Merilee, and taken her to his parents' house. When we got there, Neville, the white constable, was on the verandah talking to Collin. I parked outside the yard, but at a discreet distance from the house. Tamara burst out of the car, and immediately started screaming at Collin. There was a good deal of shouting, with Tamara, Collin, and his mother Minnie all screaming at each other. Tamara's voice was breathless and quavering with anger. Both Tamara and Collin had been drinking earlier in the day, but both appeared sober by this time. After a few minutes, Auntie Nettie suggested that I go in and try to bring Tamara out. I walked into the yard and stood on the verandah behind Tamara.

Collin continued to shout at Tamara, refusing to allow her inside the house to collect the baby and her belongings. He stood in the doorway, shouting and calling her a "mongrel bitch". The constable stood there too, not attempting to interfere, apart from telling Tamara, who was reciprocating Collin's insults, to shut up. Collin advanced on her, shouting that he was going to choke her. Tamara stood her ground, equally hostile, shouting at him that he better not lay a hand on her, and that he had to allow her inside the house to get her things. I took Tamara aside, and Neville intervened then, trying to reason with Collin, suggesting that he allow Tamara to collect her belongings. From inside the house, Minnie started to shout that Tamara was a bad mother, that she often left Merilee by

herself with no-one to care for her. Collin took up this refrain. Tamara pushed me aside, responding with tremendous force that Collin had stolen her baby while she was in the toilet at the pub, and had run away with her.

Collin yelled back that he had to, that Tamara took her up to “the house on the hill” (a house known for drinking parties) where there was “too loud music, no place for baby”. Tamara responded that she did not, and Collin yelled, “Are you callin me liar? I’ll kill you!” She spat at him, “Yeah, try!”. Collin rushed at her again, and I took her aside once more. Neville the policeman reasoned with him again, and told Minnie, who had continued her own invective throughout, to shut up. Then he turned to Tamara, telling her to “just shut up, and go and get your things!”

Again Collin blocked the doorway, saying that he wouldn’t allow Tamara inside. I suggested that I go and collect Tamara’s belongings, and Collin stood aside then to allow Tamara to enter. She went in, continuing to yell at Collin as she went. She called out to me to come and help her find the things that Collin and his mother had “stolen” from her. Collin stood aside to allow me to enter. I went into the room she shared with Collin, helping her to stuff clothing into a bag she had brought with her. Merilee was sleeping on a bed inside the house. As she passed Collin to take her bag out to the car, Tamara told him, “You better give that baby one last kiss, because you’ll never look her face again!”

At that Collin started to swear violently, calling Tamara a slut in as many ways as he could muster. Neville then told Tamara to get in the car, but she replied that she still had to get her baby. Collin said with utter venom that he would kill her if she went inside again. Tamara walked back inside the yard, asking me to get Merilee, which I did, Collin again calmly standing aside to allow me to enter. I collected Merilee and took her out to the car. Tamara went out to the car then, where her relatives sat quietly in the back, pointedly not looking at these events. Tamara stood at the back of the car, escalating the content of the insults she was shouting. She yelled at Collin, “You fuck your mother!”, and the constable then had to restrain him from trying to attack her. Auntie Nettie was

calling to me, telling me that we should go. I asked Tamara if there was anything left inside. She said there was a quilt. I went back into the house, and collected all of Merilee's things from the pram, including the quilt. Minnie followed me, saying, "She's the one done wrong, you know Diane!" I asked her if there was anything else that I should collect.

Collin came in and very calmly gave me the baby bag in which Tamara carried nappies and other essentials, and packed it with a few other things. I was about to take the bag and leave, when Collin said in a tone devoid of anger, "No, this too, Diane", and put some other baby items in the bag. Outside, Tamara was continuing to yell that he fucked his mother. When I took the bag out, she told me that she was paying off the pram, and asked me to get it as well. This was also said in a completely normal tone of voice, devoid of any particular emotion. I went back again, with Tamara following me, yelling that it was no wonder that Collin Sr slept over 'nother side' of town, because his son was fucking his mother. The constable was at the gate however, and told Tamara to get in the car. I explained that we still had to collect the pram. Neville replied that he was going to lock one of them up soon if it didn't stop, looking meaningfully in our direction. Nettie and I both told Tamara to get in the car, and I quickly drove off, with Tamara hanging out the window, yelling out that Collin fucked his mother, and that she would feel "shame" if that was her family, that she knew it was true, that was why old Collin never went home at nights. She kept this up until we were well out of town, also saying that Collin was "claiming" Margie Urwin's daughter, but that anyone could see that Margie's daughter had a white father, she was 'brightskin', but that Collin could claim that stupid bitch's daughter if he wanted to, she couldn't even keep herself clean. Tamara said that at least she knew how to wash clothes, at least her mother had brought her up well, brought her up on stations, she knew how to do things right. Then she went on to insult Minnie further, saying that she never washed, and that her lingo(from a southern tribe) sounded like she was farting when she spoke, not like real language at all.

This was too much for Nettie, who yelled at her to lie down and sleep. Nettie continued to 'growl' her, saying that she shouldn't come up to town, that she

only comes for drink, not for the baby, and Tamara finally lay down to sleep for a while.

Later in camp at Port Stewart, when we related this story to Auntie Kath, Brenda told her that I had parked in the wrong place. I apologised, thinking that I had parked too close to the house, causing them to feel 'shame' by association with Tamara's behaviour. But Brenda burst out laughing, saying, "Don't be silly, Diane! You shoulda be parked closer! We couldn't see! We gotta turn our head right round staring at them to see!"

Introduction

I begin this chapter with an 'emotion event', or 'social drama' in Victor Turner's (1982) terms, because it provides a backdrop to the discussion of emotion that follows. I firstly discuss theoretical approaches that have been taken in the study of emotions, and I show that the implications of Mead's (1934) theory of the person result in a notion of the social actor that articulates with Turner's ideas about the performative aspects of daily life. I define what I mean when I talk about emotions, and focus on the Foucaultian notion of emotion 'discourse' as explicated by Abu-Lughod and Lutz (1990). I explore Turner's notion of the 'social drama' (1957; 1982) as a means of explaining how emotion can be used in the production of social relations. I then consider previous anthropological interpretations of Aboriginal emotions, before turning to analysis of Lamalama emotional expressions and the social drama that opened the chapter. In this analysis I demonstrate how emotion functions among people such as the Lamalama, where rules of behaviour no longer have the socially binding force they are understood to have had in the past.

I use the terms 'feelings' versus 'emotion' as a means of distinguishing between internal states and external expressions. 'Feeling' refers to the inner individual state, and 'emotion' denotes the negotiation of social meaning between individuals which surrounds such inner states of feeling.

Both of these terms are separate domains of the category described analytically as 'affect'. Drawing on Rosaldo (1984) and Mitchell (1997), I regard 'feelings' as "the integrated mind/body experience" (Mitchell 1997:80), a term describing the associated physical sensation, as well as the cognised embodiment of this feeling. 'Emotion' refers to the way in which social actors locate or negotiate their experience in relation to the wider world.

My notion here is akin to G.H. Mead's conceptualisation of the self as constituted of components he designated as the "I" and the "me", operating in dialectical relationship to each other, and to society:

... we are doing something, but to look back and see what we are doing involves getting memory images. So the "I" really appears experientially as a part of a "me". But on the basis of this experience we distinguish that individual who is doing something from the "me" who puts the problem up to him. The response enters into his experience only when it takes place. ... The resulting action is always a little different from anything which he could anticipate. ... That movement into the future is the step, so to speak, of the ego, of the "I" (Mead 1934:177).

Mead further stated:

The "I", then, in this relation of the "I" and the "me", is something that is, so to speak, responding to a social situation which is within the experience of the individual. It is the answer which the individual makes to the attitude which others take toward him when he assumes an attitude toward them. Now, the attitudes he is taking toward them are present in his own experience, but his response to them will contain a novel element. The "I" gives the sense of freedom, of initiative. The situation is there for us to act in a self-conscious fashion. We are aware of ourselves, and of what the situation is, but exactly how we will act never gets into experience until after the action takes place (Mead 1934: 177-178).

In Mead's view, society is a continuous process, rather than a fixed state, peopled by self-aware and reflective individuals. Self-awareness occurs through

objectification of the self in the social environment. To attain selfhood, the individual must divorce the self from its private subjectivity, and understand the perceptions of others toward it (Mead 1934:223-226). Mind, or self, in Mead's analysis, "presupposes, and is a product of, the social process" (Mead 1934:224).

Mead's notion of the self articulates with the notion of the emotional being that I describe. Mead's concept, reminiscent of Mauss' (1938 (1985)) explanation of the social category of the individual, is more useful than Mauss' concept for its focus on the person as an individual rather than as a social category. I have chosen to use Mead's conceptualisation because it has greater analytical clarity in comparison to the circularity of Mauss' argument. Mead's 'me' corresponds to the internally feeling aspects of the self, whereas the 'I' is the part of the self that carries out actions in the social plane. The 'me' feels, the 'I' is the external actor, negotiating experience in relation to the wider world via emotional performances.

Theoretical definitions of emotion

The philosopher Robert Solomon's (1977) influential work, *The Passions*, inspired renewed anthropological interest in emotions because it indicated that emotions were social phenomena, and something more than simply personal interpretations of events. Anthropological discussions of emotion of recent years generally begin with the disclaimer that there is good reason to regard the affective domain as eminently suitable for sociocultural analysis. That emotions would be considered otherwise results from the notion that they are best understood as biological or psychological states:

Tied to tropes of interiority and granted ultimate facticity by being located in the natural body, emotions stubbornly retain their place, even in all but the most recent anthropological discussions, as the aspect of human experience least subject to control, least constructed or learned (hence most universal), least public, and therefore least amenable to sociocultural analysis (Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990:1).

Many recent anthropological studies of emotion can be subsumed under the rubric of practice-oriented approaches (Levy 1973; Lutz 1983; Myers 1986; White and Kirkpatrick 1985; Abu-Lughod 1986), although some are particularly concerned with cross-cultural understandings (Ekman 1980), and multidisciplinary approaches (Schweder and LeVine 1984). Anthropologists have also joined with psychologists to develop methodological approaches to research into emotion (Plutchik and Kellerman 1980).

Lutz and White (1986:406) have identified a number of “classic theoretical or epistemological tensions in ... the emotion literature”, to wit, “materialism and idealism, positivism and interpretivism, universalism and relativism, individual and culture, and romanticism and rationalism”. They note that many of these are “false or unproductive dichotomies” which nonetheless continue to inform emotion research.

Most recently, anthropologists taking a phenomenological approach (Jackson 1981; Csordas 1990) have sought to develop a paradigm of embodiment that collapses the analytical dualities that have tended to characterise studies of the person, such as mind and body, and subject and object (Csordas 1990:7). In this view, the body is regarded not simply as an object in relation to culture, but as “the existential ground of culture” (Csordas 1990:5), which is “an integral part of the perceiving subject” (Csordas 1990:36). This approach to the study of human experience considers the body to be an experiencing being concerned with “being-in-the-world” (Csordas 1994), rather than simply “an element among others in an objective universe” (Piaget, cited in Csordas 1990:36). This school of thought has also sought to demonstrate that the body is not merely a discrete physical element of the self on which culture is inscribed, but “simultaneously an agent in its own world construction” through the integrating experience of emotion (Lyon and Barbalet 1994:48). It is emotion that is seen as integrating the body and its experiences, and the social world:

Thus, the embodied agent cannot be treated simply in terms of how his or her experience of the world forms the basis of knowledge. This is not sufficient to explain action. Feeling must

be integrated in an account of both the experience of the world and the understanding of action within it. An understanding of emotion and its foundation in sociality is part of and makes sense of bodily experience, and in turn locates within the body the basis for its agency in the world. Thus emotion is essential to any conception of social life, as a link between embodiment on the one hand and the practical activity of social life, that is, the praxis of the body, on the other (Lyon and Barbalet 1994:62).

Previous research on Aboriginal emotion concepts

Previous work on the nature of emotions among Aborigines predates much of this recent theoretical research (McConnel 1930; Malinowski 1963; Róheim 1932; Strehlow 1947; Elkin 1964; Hiatt 1965, 1978; Berndt and Berndt 1970; Peterson 1972). Róheim (1974:19) took a psychoanalytic approach to the “unconscious determinants of the kinship system” of Western Desert peoples, which included discussion of emotion. Róheim (1974) was able to provide some illumination of the emotional content implicit in classificatory kinship systems. For instance, he discussed the situation of an elderly man, classified as the father of another, behaving as an actual father does towards his ‘son’ (1974:20), but his application of the Oedipal notion of psychological motivation tended to obscure his understanding of social organisation. This is particularly true in relation to his interpretation of the relative weighting of gender in social relationships.

Malinowski’s discussion is typical of the ‘cataloguing’ style of these earlier studies, although even at this early stage he recognises the importance of social context to the emotional life:

It has always been a serious defect in ethnological reasoning that such ideas and feelings as those connected with our meaning of “jealousy” have usually not been analysed, nor the question asked whether they have any meaning and place in a given society, or whether we must assume other corresponding elements to give a new content to the word. Our sexual jealousy – the idea as well as the feelings involved therein – is moulded by innumerable social factors; it is connected with the notion of honour; it is the result of ideals of pure love, individual sexual rights, sacredness of

monogamy, etc. One of the strongest motives is the care for the certainty of physiological fatherhood: paternal affection is strongly enhanced by the idea of blood connection between a man and his offspring. All these factors are obviously either absent or deeply modified in the Australian aboriginal society. It is, therefore, quite wrong to use the word jealousy and ask if it is present among them, without trying to give to it its proper content (Malinowski 1963: 124-125).

Malinowski discussed the emotional aspects of family relationships, including parental affection. As well as his examination of sexual jealousy¹⁰, he examines more general emotional states such as those pertaining to mourning.

In a discussion on totemism, Peterson makes a distinction between Levi-Strauss, who “concentrates on the intellectual aspects of totemism as a mode of thought” and Fortes who “emphasises the affective aspects of an actor-centred morality” (Peterson (1972:12). Peterson recognises the importance of Fortes’ notion of ‘sentiment’ in the ritual ordering brought about through totemic beliefs, which associate people with particular localities:

Today, when ceremonies are frequently performed many hundreds of miles from the area with which they are associated, men often cry as the main totemic objects are displayed. When asked why, they say they are thinking of their country and of known patrilineal ascendants now deceased. The distinction between the two becomes less and less clear with the dimming of collective memory. Sacred boards and emblems which were originally made for a specific man become a symbol of him after his death until such time as he no longer remains known and the board is directly associated with the mythological ancestors who made the landscape and gave life to the people. In this, perhaps, lies part of the strength of attachment to the estate. Although, as Durkheim believed, there are strong sentiments associated with totemic designs and emblems they are, contrary to his opinion, directly related to what they represent. What they represent, however, is not the clan god but locality. The foremost sentimental attachment is to place. Given this, and that the totemic clan is the land-owning unit, the question arises as to how

¹⁰ I disagree with Malinowski’s assumptions about sexual jealousy, as later discussion will make clear.

it influences the pattern of residence and how it relates to local organisation generally (Peterson 1972:25).

It was not until Hiatt's (1978) paper on the classification of emotions that any kind of typology of Aboriginal emotional states was developed. Hiatt's paper was primarily concerned with generating further research into the emotions. He provides three sets of English terms previously described (Darwin 1872; McDougall 1923; Plutchik 1962, quoted in Hiatt), as well as his own brief set of terms used to express Gidjingali emotion concepts, and an examination of the relationship between the concepts of fear and shame. Hiatt refers to "dramatic emotions" and "tranquil emotions", categories developed within psychology. The dramatic emotions are anger, fear, sorrow, jealousy, and shame, and the tranquil emotions are affection and contentment.

| | |
|---------------|--|
| -baitjirami- | To be angry (cf. -baitji-, to fight; <i>baitjira-</i> , quick-tempered) |
| -gurakadj- | To be afraid, ashamed; <i>an(djin)-gagurakadja</i> , he (she) has a timid temperament |
| -woradji- | To be sorry, sad, nostalgic, anxious; <i>an (djin)-gaworadja</i> , he (she) is prone to depression |
| -ga-mei-we- | To be jealous (<i>ga-</i> , from; <i>mei</i> , jealousy; <i>-we-</i> , to speak, thus <i>ga-mei a-we-ya</i> means literally from jealousy he speaks (even though he may in fact be silently brooding) |
| -bamadaradji- | To sulk (a state of suspended aggression inviting appeasement while at the same time threatening explosion) |
| -gala-mola-ni | To feel good, happy (- <i>gala</i> , flesh, body; <i>-mola</i> , good, <i>-ni</i> , to be). The verb <i>-wolwoltji-</i> , to be in high spirits, may carry a pejorative overtone viz. 'showing off'. |

Table 1: Hiatt's Gidjingali emotional concepts (1978:186)

Hiatt predicts that all Aboriginal languages possess words for the dramatic emotions, but that words for the tranquil emotions do not have the same degree of verbal representation. Hiatt's Gidjingali emotional concepts are provided in Fig. 3 above.

A more comprehensive typology of Aboriginal emotional concepts can be found in Peile's (1997) analysis of emotional classifications. Peile disagrees with Hiatt's assessment that the 'tranquil emotions' do not have the same representation as the 'dramatic' emotions, although he agrees that they may not be expressed as frequently in spoken words (Peile 1997:120). Peile also draws on psychological paradigms to describe Aboriginal emotion concepts. Using Plutchik's elaboration of Schlosberg's 'attention-rejection' and pleasantness-unpleasantness' dimensions (Lazerson, quoted in Peile), he finds the following categorisation a suitable framework to describe the way Kukatja people of the Western Desert express emotion:

| Peile's Emotion Categories | Emotional Dimensions (Schlosberg) | Associated emotional qualities (Plutchik) |
|-----------------------------------|--|---|
| Attention, anxiety, shame, grief | Attention | Anxiety, shame, grief, surprise, |
| Rejection | Rejection | Contempt, hatred, reprobation, disgust, disapproval |
| Happiness, love | Pleasantness | Happiness, love |
| Unpleasantness, loneliness | Unpleasantness | Anger, hostility, determination, grief, depression, sulkiness, apathy, mental suffering |

Table 2: Categories used by Peile to analyse Kukatja emotions (Peile 1997: 120).

Peile is able to relate many of these categories to concepts expressed in Kukatja language terms. There are inherent difficulties in trying to apply this framework to Lamalama experience. In the first place, few people are now able to reproduce their language fluently, and English has become the first language of

most of the Lamalama. Speech communities for each of the languages spoken by the Lamalama are small, in some cases involving less than a handful of people. As a general rule, younger adults do not speak indigenous languages, and it is, most often, sets of siblings among the older generations who converse with each other in their own language. Most conversation is carried out in English, interspersed at times with passages of the speaker's indigenous language. The commonly used terms for the expression of emotion rely on an English lexicon of terms.

Secondly, the model also has an overtly behaviourist focus. What, for example, is the difference between 'depression' and 'mental suffering'? Why is 'determination' one of the emotional dimensions associated with unpleasantness? These seem to be values which would have greatest significance in a clinical setting.

More recently, Robinson (1990) has written about the emotions associated with suicide among the Tiwi, where the talion principle is fundamental in responses to aggression. Robinson explains this principle as existing in situations "where aggression leads to an attack on a member or part of the group, then individual, or sometimes collective retaliation in kind is the principle of redress, even in many cases where the wrong or injury is unintended" (Robinson 1990:164)¹¹. Robinson's analysis is concerned with understanding the role of aggression and its psychological patterning in the maintenance of social relations among the Tiwi, particularly when associated with death and mourning:

It sometimes seems that aggression against the group followed by a symbolic retaliation, however severe, creates the external conditions for an inner psychological balance, and is the only way that the individual can regain a place in the group. These processes of maintaining social relations through the patterning of social responses to aggression seem to require a high degree of elaborated social cooperation in the individual's achievement of psychological stability. Guilt is always worked out in the public arena and very often by provocation of conflict, an unconscious attempt to induce punishment and at the same time to transfer

¹¹ One aspect of the talion principle is referred to as 'payback' by Aboriginal people, and I briefly discuss its occurrence among the Lamalama later in the chapter.

responsibility for the guilt to others. The collective response to death can be seen as an externalisation of guilt by the community of bereaved which has the effect of restraining the potentially destructive effects of individual grief (Robinson 1990:164)

Strang (1997) includes consideration of Aboriginal emotions about land and its resources in her study of competing cultural constructions of the natural environment on the west coast of Cape York Peninsula. Strang considers the constructions of pastoralists versus those of Aborigines, pointing out the difficulties that pastoralists have in locating affective values in the land in a way which mirrors Aboriginal attachments – although the pastoralists of which she writes interpret their own attachments as of similar, even superior kind to those of Aborigines. Strang does not define what she means by ‘affective values’, but it is clear from her discussion that she is referring to a projection of emotional and spiritual qualities which is opposed by a purely economic or managerial attitude towards the environment.

Other recent works to consider the role of emotion in Aboriginal communities include those of Burbank (1988;1994) and Martin (1993). Burbank has written about anger and other emotions among Aboriginal people in Arnhem Land. By focussing on the experience of women and adolescents, she demonstrates that gender and emotion are significant matrices through which social life is culturally constructed (Burbank 1988:96-104;1994:109-10).

Burbank shows that for the Mangrove community, and especially for women, anger and aggression are “multidetermined, motivated by a variety of perceptions, emotions and needs” (Burbank 1994:6). She uses narrative excerpts from her field notes to demonstrate that there are cultural specificities relating to the perceptions surrounding aggression. Both men and women at Mangrove express anger, and behave aggressively, but such behaviour cannot be understood as a simple equation of male power versus female powerlessness in a sexist ideology of domination (Burbank 1994:3). While aggression may indeed be an attempt to dominate, especially by men over women, at Mangrove it is also understood that aggression is a behavioural dimension of anger (Burbank

1994:149). Aggression is also understood as associated with other emotions such as jealousy, and as a matter of temperament or personal character (Burbank 1994:57;64).

Martin (1993) describes the significance of anger, assertiveness and aggression among Wik people at Aurukun on the west coast of Cape York Peninsula. Martin considers the role that other emotions play in social practice, including jealousy, nurturance, and grief, but he concentrates on conflict. He structures his analysis around the retelling of a fight which starts between boyfriend and girlfriend, quickly spreading to include many others, some of only tenuous connection to the protagonists. Like the events that I detail, Martin describes a social drama, from which he successively extracts elements to illustrate Wik social forms and processes.

Martin casts his discussion as a consideration of autonomy and relatedness, a social continuum informed by emotion that was originally identified by Myers in relation to Pintupi social forms. Martin demonstrates that conflict is one dimension of the social production of relations among the people of Aurukun. Wik understand conflict, violence, and alcohol consumption as culturally specific practices “from before”, that is, as practices “organised almost entirely within the Wik domain” of meanings and having strong continuity with their classical past (Martin 1993:143). The forceful expression of anger is understood by Wik as a central dynamic in both individual and collective practice (Martin 1993:145).

Martin does not provide a specific categorisation of Wik emotion concepts, but does work progressively through emotional concepts, some of which are paired together as related concepts. As well as jealousy, nurturance and grief, Martin examines anger, affection, desire, and rejection. He also examines the social and behavioural dimensions of these emotional states, dealing with the social impacts of sexuality and violence, teasing, sharing, gender relations, hierarchy and nurturance, reciprocity and retaliation, and drunken comportment.

As already discussed, Myers' treatment of Pintupi emotional concepts, social practice and land relationships must be regarded as seminal research into Aboriginal emotional life. It remains the fullest treatment of the topic to be published to date, and has influenced the direction taken by later researchers including Peile, Burbank and Martin, as well as this study. I use Myers' *Pintupi Country, Pintupi Self* (1986) as a foil for the consideration of similarities and differences between Pintupi and Lamalama concepts and practice throughout the thesis, as well as referring to some of Myers' other papers where they are germane to the discussion.

Finally, I use Peile's categories for describing Kukatja emotions to develop a comparative set of emotion concepts used by the Lamalama, with a corresponding set of English terms through which these concepts are expressed (Table 3). I then propose certain of these terms as 'key' concepts which I later apply in a broader discussion of Lamalama emotion concepts.

| PEILE'S TERMS | LAMALAMA EMOTION CONCEPTS | LAMALAMA EMOTION TERMS |
|----------------------------------|--|--|
| Attention, anxiety, shame, grief | Shame, grief, fear | Shame, sorry, worry |
| Rejection | Rejection | No shame, no respect |
| Happiness, love | Respect, amity, compassion, nurturance, yearning | Respect, countryman, mate, relation, look after, sorry |
| Unpleasantness loneliness | Anger, jealousy, loneliness | Wild, silly, cranky, sulk, cheeky, jealous, |

Table 3: Comparative emotion concepts and terms used by the Lamalama

Of the concepts listed above, I propose respect, amity¹², compassion, nurturance, yearning, and anger, shame, jealousy, fear and grief as the key emotional dimensions in Lamalama life. As Table 3 demonstrates, Lamalama emotional concepts do not reveal perfect concordance with Peile's terms for the Kukatja, nor with the categorisations proposed by Schlosberg or Plutchik.

Emotion as discourse

Lutz (1982) has drawn our attention to the Western cultural perception that it is difficult to make intellectual sense of the apparently sense-less phenomenon of emotion. She points out that our tradition sees emotion as irrational, sometimes sacred, private and potentially immature or primitive, thus an impediment to the world of action. Much academic research has been concerned with the physical presence of emotions, measuring pulse rate, galvanic skin response and facial musculature. Psychological states have been correlated with these measurements of emotions, but there has been a marked proclivity to regard the physical measurements as "unequivocally indexing the presence or absence of an emotion". The connotations of privacy and individual experience present in Western cultural perceptions of emotion, including the notion that they are sometimes a 'symptom', have also ensured that psychological paradigms and clinical methods have been viewed as the appropriate approaches to the study of emotion (Lutz 1988:40-41).

Lutz regards social science analysis as hampered by a privileging of the notion of emotions as private, interior psychological states. In the instances where analysts have distinguished between public and private emotional states, she notes they have tended to restrict their analysis to consideration of 'public sentiment' rather than 'private emotion'. Lutz (1988) suggests that we need to recognise our cultural bias of emotion as a private state – she calls this our "ethnopsychological framework" – in order to more fully comprehend and analyse it as an aspect of cultural experience like any other (1988:41-42).

¹² Here I use 'amity' in a different sense to that employed by Fortes (1969). I use 'amity' in Fortes's sense in later discussion of social organisation (Chapter Seven).

Like Abu-Lughod (1990:24-25), I question the notion that inner feelings are necessarily to be regarded as the 'truer' expression of emotion. Rather I view the ineffable world of private feeling as separate to the externalised public expression of emotion. In this view, public, observable expressions of emotion can be understood as social constructs, which attain meaning from their location within the "public realm of discourse" (Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990:7).

The notion of discourse has recently gained theoretical force. Its use implies an approach to the study of language as it is spoken and used, rather than the view that language is a static code separated from social practice. It is used to imply a concern with "pragmatics versus semantics" (Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990:7). In the past, analyses of varied forms of verbal production other than ordinary speech, such as poetry and song, have applied a 'discourse' approach, and more recently, the post-modernist concern with 'discourse' has focussed on the dialogic and spoken qualities of speech (Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990:8; Tedlock 1983). It is also applied to explicate meaning in nonverbal expression, such as crying or music (Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990:8). In relation to the study of emotion, this notion has been conceptualised as the 'discourse of emotion' by Lutz, Abu-Lughod and others (Lutz 1988; Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990), and my use of the term follows the sense proposed by them. Viewing emotion as a discourse presupposes that it functions as a form of communication, like the spoken word. Thinking of emotion as a discourse explains the way the social practice of emotion produces reality, and our experience of it (Burbank 1994:5).

I regard both inner feeling and external emotion as responses to events in the social domain, that engender and extend meaning and action between people. In this I broadly follow Foucault's premise that discourses are practices "that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault 1972:49). Affect operates discursively in that it produces experience between people and groups, but not necessarily in a simple sequence of 'private inner feeling produces corresponding emotional expression'. To be suffused with a particular feeling is no guarantee that the individual will choose to act out the particular inner state.

Conversely, to be acting out an emotional expression does not necessarily indicate a person suffused by a corresponding feeling.

My notion of emotion as a discourse particularly follows Abu-Lughod (1990:27) in moving away from an emphasis on discourse as it is understood sociolinguistically. It moves away from the idea of meaning embedded in acts of speech, to an emphasis on the way in which emotion is deployed among the speakers (or actors). It follows Abu-Lughod also in recognising that emotions operate discursively in redeploying power among social actors.

Abu-Lughod (1990:42) makes the cogent point that while emotion discourses may have a cultural context, they are “hardly inert”. She relates the story of the production of a set of love poems of particular emotional force by a young Bedouin man. Its subject is a young woman now in an arranged marriage after her father has refused the young man permission to marry her. Abu-Lughod is introduced to the poetry by her long-time Bedouin host, as she departs on what seems certain to be an indefinite absence. He tells her that when the young woman hears the poetry, she gasps and falls over, dead. Years later, in speaking about the poetry with her host’s wife, Abu-Lughod learns the young woman almost certainly did not die, but is alive and living with her husband.

This leaves Abu-Lughod to question her host’s intentions in insisting that she listen to the recorded poems. Did he wish to move her so much that she would put off her departure? She concludes that emotional discourses may indeed have specific cultural context, as interpretivist anthropologists such as Lutz perceive. However, “the more important thing about [emotional discourses] is that they participate in social projects - whether the larger ones of generational contests over power in an eroding tribal system or the local and particular ones of a conversation between a Bedouin man and a youngish female anthropologist ...” (Abu-Lughod 1990:29-30;42). What she suggests here is that emotion is part of the sub-text of social life, and that as social practice, it has a dynamic not restricted merely to the actors immediately involved.

Emotions and 'social drama'

This perception also informs Turner's notion of "social dramas", events which involve "the infraction of a rule of morality, law, custom, or etiquette in some public arena". Turner writes that

This breach may be deliberately, even calculatedly, contrived by a person or party disposed to demonstrate or challenge entrenched authority – for example, the Boston Tea Party – or it may emerge from a scene of heated feeling (Turner 1982:70)

Turner developed the notion of the 'social drama' as a means of structuring his perception of social life as infused with emotional events. Social dramas are events which create a breach in the normal working of society. They can range from a breach of manners to acts of violence; they may be spontaneous or premeditated acts. They can result from "unhappy chance" as much as from "real feeling" (Turner 1982:10). Turner proposes four stages or 'acts' to a social drama, in which initial breach is followed by crisis, redress, then reconciliation.

In the crisis stage, attempts to maintain the status quo may be made, usually by those with a vested interest – the lawmakers relevant to the particular society, perhaps elders, judges, or priests. Crisis is followed by attempts at redress – ritualised propitiation, patching up the quarrel, seeking justice at court, all are means of redressing the breach. The social drama concludes, Turner writes (1982:10), with a 'last act' involving reconciliation and reintegration, or social cleavage. In his experience in central Africa, this 'act' was exemplified by the splitting up of villages. The human world, Turner writes (1982:11,70-71), is "characteristically 'pregnant' with social dramas" and the transition between the stages is swift.

Turner talks about the protagonists, but says little about the role of the audience. Theorists such as Sansom (1980) have recognised the importance of those looking on in Aboriginal social dramas. In the event narrated at the beginning of the chapter, a particular emotion, anger, is used to redefine relationships and

establish the grounds of future action. This “communicative performance” (Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990:11) contains the elements which Turner says are characteristic of a social drama. It is an infraction of morality and custom which emerges from a scene of heated feeling, challenging the traditional authority of community values. It involves the presence of a formal lawmaker through whom the parties seek redress. However, reintegration is not achieved, and it concludes with the contending parties in disagreement (Turner 1982:10;70). In passing, it provides entertainment for the wider audience (Sansom 1980). It is through their response that a form of social reintegration is achieved. For the protagonists, it provides a public forum in which statements about individual perceptions and intentions are expressed. In this sense, the inner feelings of the protagonists operate discursively to create a public expression of emotion.

I use the idea of the ‘social drama’ throughout the thesis as a device to examine and explain the performative dimensions involved in the expression of emotions. By regarding emotion as a discourse, I am able to isolate events of emotional significance from the flow of social practice. This allows me to demonstrate how emotion is used in the attempt to accommodate underlying structure – the rules that govern behaviour – to modes of being in the present.

Social memory and the notion of discourse

Hallowell (1955) elaborated on Mead’s notions of the self as indicating that “individuals choose their actions according to their conception of context” (Whittaker 1992:193). As Mitchell suggests, personal interpretations may be idiosyncratic, and this is reflected in the degree to which differing Lamalama people stress a connection to Port Stewart and other parts of their traditional estates.

Mitchell (1997:80) employs the concept of “social memory” in much the same way as I refer to the discourse of emotion: as an “engagement with the world around us, in which experience is perceived, interpreted, and accommodated in a continual process”. Social memory is not a body of knowledge so much as

a set of cultural competencies or dispositions that enable people to live in a social setting; as part of the 'durably installed generative principle[s]' (Bourdieu 1977:8), of the non-determinate features of sociality, that Bourdieu refers to as *habitus*. In other words, social memory is the particular cultural style with which we engage and act within the world (Mitchell 1997:80).

Mitchell's concept of social memory is not so crude or simple as the popular notion of 'race memory', in which it is believed that ancient or accumulated knowledge exists as a psychological resource that informs actions in the present. Rather, as a set of durable dispositions, social memory frames collective interpretations of the past, thus actively creating common experience. Mitchell stresses that the idea of social memory should not be regarded as deterministic, because interpretations based on the specificity of individual cognition and experience will interact with the interpretations provided by social memory. In Mitchell's (1997:80) analysis, interpretation "lies at the cusp of the dialectic between individual experience and social memory".

Mitchell argues that the interpretation of personal experience is mediated by feelings, and that social memory is engaged in their interpretation. He sees feelings as always experienced and framed by social conditions, noting that we experience feelings and interpret them "as encultured beings, not as isolated individuals" (Mitchell 1997:80). Mitchell's interpretation of the role of social memory resonates with Lamalama associations with their country. Their removal, as well as their continuing experience, frames their association with their land.

Whatever the degree of connection, as Mitchell suggests, it is mediated by personal feelings. Emotion forms part of the continuous equation or formulation of identity. In my view, identification as Lamalama is effectively viewed as a process of becoming (rather than a unified construction, however multidimensional), in which members participate through a series of judgements based on personal affective states. Identity is in part temporal. Viewed as a discourse, emotion intersects with and informs the collective processes of social memory and the felt experience of the individual. My understanding of the role

that emotion plays for the Lamalama is that it is communicative, a parallel language to the communication achieved through the spoken word. Emotion informs much of what occurs as spoken communication. People *feel*, and express this through language and actions. Feelings are also expressed through the absences of language and action that occur in communication.

Cultural models

Quinn and Holland's (1987) formulation of the concept of the "cultural model" provides a more cognitive version of the process that Mitchell delineates. In their view, cultural models are:

presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared (although not necessarily to the exclusion of other, alternative models) by the members of a society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of that world and their behavior in it (Quinn and Holland 1987:4).

The notion of the cultural model differs from previous conceptualisations of 'folk models' in stressing the priority of cognition in organising human behaviour, and is largely inferred from linguistic behaviour (Quinn and Holland 1987:4-5). Although I prefer the broader, more processual approach taken by Mitchell in explaining operations in the affective domain, the idea of the cultural model provides a useful explanation of the cognitive constructions that individuals at times employ in emotional and linguistic communication.

Lamalama emotion as performance

Peile's statement that "Aborigines infrequently display extremes of emotion in interaction" (1997:119) is not one with which I can now agree, although I would have at the beginning of the time I spent with the Lamalama. Instead, I agree with the implicit notion suggested by the context of Peile's comment - that Aboriginal people are likely to react in an emotionally muted fashion in the presence of whites. This was certainly the case in Coen, where crossing over into the public domain inhabited by whites seemed to carry with it the need for *pama*

to be guarded about their behaviour. The historical and political reasons for this should by now be obvious. Within the *pama* domain, however, displays of extreme emotion were not infrequent. Certain emotions are characteristic of Lamalama emotional practice, and I have already proposed respect, amity, compassion, nurturance, yearning, and anger, shame, jealousy, fear and grief as the key emotional dimensions conceptualised by the Lamalama.

Although there are English terms which the Lamalama use to express the way they conceptualise and understand these emotional states, I accept the argument of Lutz (1988), Wierzbicka (1992) and others that there is no simple correlation between English (or any other language) terms and culturally specific meanings. While the context of some events or expressions makes their emotional content clear, it also true, as both Peile (1997:120) and Wierzbicka suggest, that there are many subtleties of meaning embedded in language, and that many of these will be lost in the attempt to translate them into another code (Wierzbicka 1992:119).

The Lamalama commonly use English terms to express emotional concepts, but the meanings they attach to these terms cannot be assumed to be the same as those which apply in wider Australian English usage. One of the emotions most often examined cross-culturally is the state of 'shame' (eg. Rosaldo 1980; Harkins 1990; Schieffelin 1991), and there are significant differences between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal uses of this term, as there are for other terms used to express emotion. In Table 3 above, I provided a list of key emotion terms and contexts used by the Lamalama. I will now elaborate on the meanings which attach to these. Although my ordering of these terms does have some correspondence with Plutchik's 'pleasantness-unpleasantness' dimensions of emotion, it has no bearing on their significance to the Lamalama.

Lamalama most clearly express **amity** through use of the term 'countryman', although they will also talk about and denote others as their 'mates', or 'relations'. A more extended discussion of the 'countryman' category can be found below. Biological and social relatedness are important elements of

Lamalama life, and acts which demonstrate that others similarly hold this quality in high esteem are valued by them. In this sense, the concept of amity is close to Fortes' (1969) use of the concept, but I understand it to apply more broadly than Fortes implies. The qualities which we understand as loyalty, generosity, and trust are some of the valances of the Lamalama concept of amity. It encompasses a dimension of friendship, including among those people who are close biological kin, as well as pleasure in each other's company. Siblings may also be socially and structurally close without sharing a great deal of amity. Equally, the dimensions of trust which the concept implies may have a different, and greater, valance in such a situation. The brothers I refer to as Tom and Max Crisp, and Nick and Leo Magee are examples of this.

Tom is a non-drinker, but Max drinks whenever he can. He often lives at Tom's house, and as will later be seen, he has a knack for doing the wrong thing. Despite the fact that Tom is often irritated and angry with him, Max remains utterly loyal to him. Tom and his fight to win land rights are often forcefully derided by Max's drinking companions, and Max, a small, middle-aged man, is prepared to fight those who insult his brother. Tom remains loyal to Max in return, as he does to all his siblings, but finds it difficult to extend a reciprocal degree of trust to him. He has found to his cost that Max's drunken behaviour can have negative consequences. Max was one of the first men with whom I established a friendship, and he has extended the same quality of loyalty to me as he does to Tom, despite lengthy absences on my part. When others in Coen were questioning my motives for asking questions in the early stages of my research, Max offered to fight them on my behalf.

Nick and Leo Magee are both drinkers, and at Port Stewart, the unmarried Nick lives in close proximity to Leo and his wife. Both of these brothers rely on each other in material ways, and they usually drink together when they are in Coen at the same time. While they spend a good deal of time in each other's company, long-standing tensions between them surface on these occasions, when they are likely to accuse each other of petty transgressions. For the rest of the time they live equably, without great apparent need for each other's company.

My observation of pleasure as a dimension of amity was more apparent among women. Close interaction and co-operation between the sets of female siblings of the two main adult generations are a marked feature of Lamalama life. Sisters commonly exhibited pleasure in each other's company, preferring to spend most of their day with each other than with anyone else. This familiarity extended to their classificatory kin as well. Some of the moments that I think of as the most relaxed, those most free of tension, are those when a group of elderly female relatives would gather in Sunlight and Florrie Bassani's yard to 'yarn'. The emotional dynamic changed when their husbands or others arrived.

Lamalama express this state as "really nice", as "all relations", as well as being "countrymen". Fortes's description of amity is of a principle that applies to relations between kin. In Chapter Seven, I provide a discussion of amity, kinship, and friendship that elaborates on the concept of amity as I have described it here.

Compassion is expressed by the Lamalama when they talk about being 'sorry' for someone, or use the expression "laka", as in "Old fella can't walk proper way no more. I feel sorry for that old man, *laka*, (poor old thing), poor fella". As Peile (1997:124) notes for the Kukatja this emotion includes empathy and recognition of shared identity. Like the Kukatja, the Lamalama extend this emotion to all, white or black, who may be in distress. After a dawn drive to Port Stewart once, Tom Crisp arrived clearly in a distracted state of mind. He told us that he had hit a kookaburra on the way down. More correctly, the bird had flown into his windshield, and the impact had killed it. Tom had not been able to do anything to prevent the bird from dying, but he had stopped to see if it had survived. It hadn't; Tom said that it "made him sorry" to see the bird all bloodied and broken. The Lamalama also express compassion for the land. They talk about being 'sorry' for the land at the beginning of the dry season, when Port Stewart is choked with long grass and the detritus of wet season floods. People describe their concern for each other in terms of "worry"; they will say that they are "worryin' about" someone who is sick, for example.

Nurturance is expressed as 'looking after' a person or thing. It is most commonly expressed in actions rather than words. The Lamalama see their struggle to gain legal title over their land as one dimension of 'looking after their country'. For the older Lamalama, the ceremony held in 1992 for the handing over to them of the title deed to the PPR 11 land at Port Stewart by the Queensland Government was perhaps less important than the earlier news that the Minister would indeed approve the transfer of the land. Although that approval was never really unlikely, it was a long five months before they were finally informed by Ross Rolfe, a senior bureaucrat at the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs that the transfer would go ahead. Most of that time had involved a continuous dialogue with each other (and with me in drafting the report to the Minister) about Lamalama interests in the land to be transferred. Their history with the land was never far from the forefront of discussion during that period, and, I conjecture, created a heightened sense of vulnerability among the survivors of the removal.

I was present when Florrie Bassani, a member of one of the removed families, and a woman who because of her genealogical and political position could rightly be considered the senior land owner for Port Stewart, received the news. She didn't immediately say anything, but she exhaled a long breath. Then she smiled and said, "Good. That's good," and nodded. During the consultation phase, and only shortly before receiving the news, she had angrily withdrawn from the process for a time because of the contentiousness associated with the decision about appropriate trustees. This action on her part was tantamount to denying any rights or interest in the land, an unthinkable course under normal circumstances. Her seemingly contrary responses are an indication of the emotion engaged by the process. At the time I interpreted her reaction to hearing the news as composed of several emotional responses, including anxiety, relief, fear, yearning, happiness, and a sense of righteousness. The nature of her response indicates the complexity of the emotional dimensions of nurturance articulated as "looking after" the country.

Daily life is patterned around caring relationships: those between children and the women who are their biological or classificatory mothers; between siblings; and to a lesser degree, between sexual partners. Lamalama life is characterised by a prevalence of adoptive relationships which fit within the nurturance pattern of behaviour. One elderly couple were at one point raising five children not their own. This couple did not share any children, although the woman had three adult children of her own. One of the children was the child of her eldest son; two were the children of his former wife. Another elderly couple were also raising the children of a younger relative.

Respect is implied in both nurturance and compassion, and it is primarily directed towards other people and to country, although it applies to anything with life force. In this sense it applies to animals, so that there is respect in killing dugong and turtle in the proper way. One old man described this to me in the following way. “That *minya*, turtle, that’s our relation. He living too, and sorry I gotta kill you, my brother, but he know we hungry. So no matter I kill him, he won’t worry for that, long as I finish him (kill) proper way. That’s our Law”. He was referring to the method by which the killing cut is applied, an art sometimes ignored by younger hunters, consisting of slitting the jugular vein so that the animal dies quickly with as little distress as possible. In Lamalama moral law, to kill an animal this way is a mark of respect for its life.

In Plutchik’s scheme, I place **yearning** at the cusp of the pleasantness-unpleasantness dimensions, because more than the other emotions which I characterise as key emotional states, it carries elements of both. If I was describing flavours rather than emotions, it would resemble something bittersweet. Yearning is compounded of the emotional dimensions we recognise as love, desire, sorrow, grief, and I believe, nostalgia, longing, and loneliness as well. In relation to the Lamalama, it most significantly applies to land, but in a few extreme cases I observed it to apply to sexual relationships as well. The state of yearning is also expressed as “worrying for”. When Georgie Magee was close to death in hospital in Cairns, his family decided to go there to be near him, because they felt it was “no good we worryin’ about him from here”. This was a particularly difficult time

for his family, especially his daughters, who I would characterise as yearning for him to regain his health, during this period and his protracted convalescence in a nursing home in Cairns.

People talked about their participation in the land claims process as evidence that they were “worrying about” their land; but this tells little about the underlying emotion in which their efforts were based, especially for the people who were removed. Knowing about the removal provides context to the tone of voice which older people used when talking about their land. Their emotion refers to the Old People, the spirits of their ancestors who reside in the land, as much as it does to the land itself. They see themselves as having a responsibility to the Old People to care for the land, one that is impossible to uphold in contemporary circumstances. Yearning differs from grief and loneliness, similar emotional dimensions, in that it carries complex overtones of emotions associated with pleasurable states. In this it is nostalgic, as people are often reminded of better times in the past - even a ‘golden’ mythological past – when they are experiencing this state.

Anger is manifested in violent behaviour, and is expressed in a large number of terms, including “wild”, “cranky”, “silly”, “sulk”, and “cheeky”. Describing someone as “jealous” can at times indicate behaviour associated with anger. The behaviour associated with this emotional category ranges from irritability to excesses of violence which include beatings and the destruction of property. Peile indicates that the large number of terms used by the Kukatja to express anger and offence cover a range of emotional dimensions from being displeased to being in a rage (1997:127), and the same can be said about the Lamalama. Much anger is expressed verbally, and offended parties will indulge in long tirades of inventive insult as a public demonstration of their displeasure.

It is in relation to anger that Hiatt’s (1978) statement about the greater representation of the “dramatic” emotions seems most apt. This may be because, in a tightly-knit, kin-based society, it has the greatest potential for social disruption, so that people are able to recognise and categorise its many levels of

intensity. To describe someone as 'wild' implies, as the Lamalama use the term, someone who is already in a rage, whereas someone who is 'cranky' is likely to be irritable and unpleasant, perhaps abusive. However, there is no strict continuum of intensity between these states and the terms used to describe them. To say that someone is 'silly' implies someone who is losing their reason through anger, which can be a matter of greater or lesser degree. Similarly, when someone is 'cheeky', it may be the case that they are not exhibiting violent rage, but are nonetheless in a state of considerable agitation. Again, if someone 'takes sulk', they may or may not exhibit violent behaviour, although it is possible that the person is in a state of muted rage.

The Lamalama express **fear** when confronted with the actual or potential use of 'medicine' or sorcery. The threat of action by Story beings or other numinous entities in retaliation for human abuses of *pama* Law is also cause for fear. People talk frequently about the need to behave appropriately around Story places, and make efforts to ensure that they do not affect their 'luck' by transgressing the rules for behaviour in some way. Nonetheless, daily conversation is punctuated by references to events which are able to be interpreted retrospectively as ones in which human transgression brought about action in the physical plane by a supernatural being. These narratives become active forms of social control because they induce a constant state of fear of the consequences of inappropriate action within the community. Even where human activity has been controlled, the possibility of vengeful action by Story beings has a frightening potential. Fear of the power of Marpa Hamanhu, the Wind Story being associated with Cliff Islands, ensured that few of the Lamalama had ever visited the Islands before land claims mapping visits there in 1993.

Other people who are not Lamalama are the cause of fear as well, sometimes expressed in concerns about the use of sorcery, or 'medicine'. Use of 'medicine', or at least stories about its use, are widespread in Cape York Peninsula, and the Lamalama fear about loss of confidentiality and privacy are often linked to a concern about 'medicine' and its potency. The threat of being the victim of a practitioner of 'medicine' reinforces the Lamalama fear about the

consequences of being too open with others. The Lamalama critically evaluate action in the social domain, constantly making judgements and evaluations about others on the basis of these observations. Most of this activity is carried out in an atmosphere of secrecy, and trust between individuals, even kin, is hard-won.

Few animals apart from enraged feral pigs cause fear to the Lamalama, except for snakes. They experience an almost pathological fear of them. The region is home to particularly deadly snakes, among them the taipan. Snakes are the only creatures I observed the Lamalama demonstrate a sense of justice and satisfaction in killing. On one occasion at Port Stewart, a snake slithered through Kath Magee's kitchen area, where I was sitting talking to Tonya Crisp. Another member of the camp walking nearby saw it, and yelled out in warning "Snake! Snake!" As soon as he spoke, Tonya leapt out of her chair, and onto the table two to three feet away, and probably three feet high, in a single bound. She immediately started issuing commands to those of us still on the ground to spear the snake. Out of the ensuing pandemonium, her cousin Harry Ryan rushed up and speared it several times as someone else clubbed it over the head. Harry then lit a fire on the riverbank at the edge of camp, and threw the snake in, standing there for some time to ensure that the snake was dead. People will also avoid walking through areas of uncut grass in Coen even if it means considerably lengthening their journey so as to avoid the possibility of encountering snakes.

Grief is related to yearning, but is confined more to personal, internal states. I understand grief among the Lamalama as focussed on people rather than things, such as land, although not exclusively so.¹³ The public ritualising of grief at funerals removes it from its place within the individual, but this public expression of emotion is not exactly the same as the personal experience of grief. Grief is socialised in mourning rituals, where the body of the deceased is viewed by the community. People come forward one by one to stand over the coffin and 'sing' for the person who has died. It is usually the immediate family who go first, followed by all those who wish to make their relationship with the deceased a known part of the public record. In my limited observation of personal grief

¹³ See, for example, the instance discussed on page 276.

among the Lamalama, it is an internally felt state, externally observable as encompassing a painful sadness, depression, and listlessness.

The Lamalama recognise **jealousy** as a state which applies equally to persons and to things. To be 'jealous' is to be in a state of thwarted desire for something or someone. The Lamalama will equally describe someone as 'jealous for motocar' as they will as being 'jealous for girlfriend'. Jealousy is recognised as an unpleasant state because it produces unpredictable behaviour which can have negative, disruptive consequences.

Much has been written about the Aboriginal concept of "**shame**" (Hiatt 1978; Peile 1997; Harkins 1990). Peile sees it as a complex state with a wide range of meanings varying from "the sense of shame, the sense of guilt to shame, respect, embarrassment, coyness or shyness" (Peile 1997:122). He describes it as a mechanism of social control for many peoples around the world, including the Kukatja. Like them, the term 'shame' as used by the Lamalama covers a wide range of meanings, and indicates a moment of social dissonance. It is associated with inappropriate behaviour, such as a son-in-law speaking to his mother-in-law. In a recent instance, a young Lamalama woman described feeling 'shame' when her newly-arrived partner, who grew up in New South Wales, looked her mother in the eye and addressed her directly. He was unaware that he was infringing the moral code, causing his partner to feel something like embarrassment and discomfort combined with lowered self-worth.

Conversely, when a young Lamalama man classified as 'younger brother' to me was publicly surly to me once, he took a long time to address the issue. When he did, he confessed to thinking about his behaviour and "feelin' small" as a consequence. I asked him if he was feeling 'shame' about his behaviour, but he replied that he wasn't. I interpret his emotional state here as closer to a feeling of compassion for me – he had publicly embarrassed me, causing him to feel compassion on my behalf. This led me to wonder whether he interpreted me as feeling 'shame' as a response to his behaviour. As it is often interpreted as closely

associated with embarrassment, some lowered sense of self-worth, or shyness (Peile 1997:122) I assume that this interpretation has some validity.

Relative concepts of emotion among the Lamalama

Certain emotional states such as compassion and generosity are valued in everyday life, but others that are perceived as having dominantly negative values are culturally regarded as having positive value as well. There are times when self-interest is deemed appropriate, or at least acceptable. I once heard a woman, Rita, who had been living with an Ayapathu man, Ossie, for a couple of years, roundly abuse him as he left with his sister and others on an unexpected trip to the Lockhart River Aboriginal community. Rita walked up and down their street as he prepared to go, yelling out a stream of unflattering comments to anyone who would listen, including that Ossie was just going up to Lockhart “to get his dick wet”. Her audience included her brothers and sister, and sundry other neighbours and relatives including a MM, MZ, and other uncles and aunts. Her brothers, indeed all her relatives, would normally feel considerable ‘shame’ on hearing her so openly discuss her sexual life, but in this instance sympathy was with her.

No-one tried to stop her, but there was little response to her comments - her brothers absented themselves. Most people felt that Ossie was doing the wrong thing, but neither he nor Rita was criticised - apart from his sister, he had no close relatives present. In a mixed community such as Coen, where *pama* of differing affiliation live side by side, there is a concern to maintain a standard of behaviour deemed appropriate in public. Sexual discussion between certain classes of relatives, such as brothers and sisters, is prohibited by *pama* Law, a fact that Rita flouted in pursuing the purely personal goal of vilifying Ossie. By speaking so openly about private sexual matters, Rita ran the risk of bringing public ‘shame’ on her mob. Yet there was a feeling that Rita’s diatribe was amusingly expressed, and justified. In later conversations about the incident, comments included the observation that Ossie had “no business, no relation” in Lockhart, and Rita “had a right” to shame him in public.

Such behaviour would otherwise be constructed as being 'jealous', but the concept of 'jealous' as an emotional state is not restricted to sexual relationships. Demonstrating a lack of desire to share constitutes 'jealous' behaviour. In talking about his brother-in-law Keith, and his refusal to lend his dinghy and outboard motor to anyone else unless he accompanied it, Sunlight Bassani told me "Keith really jealous for that boat, but he olataim [always] look after his things. Not like my poor old motacar, everybody hungry for wheel". The concepts of 'jealous for' and 'hungry for' refer to similar domains of feeling. Both refer to a strong desire for personal gratification, although they do not designate the same state. In Keith's case, he is known as being 'proper Lamalama' with regard to the Law as it applies to the land and its use. Although he is a drinker, he is the most consistent resident of the outstation, and usually is the first to return there after the wet season break each year. He makes his own spears and woomeras, and in accordance with the Law, he does not allow anyone else to touch them. This attitude extends to the tools of western technology that he employs such as his boat. The dinghy and outboard motor are used in hunting turtle, and for ferrying people around the estuary on fishing days. Keith always captains the boat on turtle hunting expeditions, and designates who will use it on normal fishing trips. As explained to me, lending tools to others decreases luck, or the ability to hunt or fish successfully. To be successful requires focus and concentration. If Keith was to allow others to use his boat, part of his consciousness would be occupied with thinking about it rather than concentrating on the task at hand, resulting in a poor catch.

In this case, being 'jealous' about the use of his boat was seen as a positive attribute. The idea of being 'hungry' for something can be a related concept. When someone is engaged in strenuous physical work, it is often commented humorously that the person is 'hungry for that job'. For example, Tom, who made most of the journeys to and from the outstation transporting people, food, and equipment, is an elderly diabetic who struggled to control his condition. I once offered to take his place at a particularly busy time, but he refused, saying that he was okay. I mentioned this to his wife Gertie, who replied "He can't listen! Let him go, he hungry for wheel". The term is often applied ironically, and

refers to a personal desire to pursue a particular course of action, or a characteristic mode of behaviour. It can also be used to indicate selfishness. One Lamalama man, resident of a distant community but an occasional visitor, is known for his proclivity to ‘share’ other people’s cigarettes and fishing gear without ever reciprocating. This tendency is marked, but so much offset by his seniority and extensive cultural knowledge that it is rarely more than a source of irritation. Even so, others will grumble that “he hungry for smoke, but he can’t share, olman olataim gotta ask relation”. Irritation is also expressed in the comment that he is ‘jealous for smoke’, meaning that he does not behave in an appropriately communal manner by sharing his own supply.

Applied to sexuality, being jealous can indicate desire for someone else, and is often the term used to indicate a rationale for conflict. Fights between women were frequently explained to me as, “Oh Hazel just jealous for that man belong to Mary, that’s why them two knuckle up. Hazel want him for mesel” (i.e. for herself).

Behavioural dimensions of Lamalama emotion

The Lamalama presentation of self varies with the degree of social distance which exists between individuals in a social setting. It takes extreme provocation for them to express anger or hostility towards whites in the normal run of events. Similarly, they are usually very polite to unknown *pama* from elsewhere, or those with whom they are not very familiar. In this way, emotion acts discursively to express social distance, and some of the ways in which the portrayal of social distance occurs is readily visible in the kinds of bodily gestures employed. Among themselves and the other *pama* of Coen, differing degrees of social distance are expressed through the social categorisation of kin relationships. The Lamalama engage in an emotion discourse which they operate, as members of kin categories, with explicit knowledge of the kinds of behaviour they should be able to expect from each other – although the rules may be broken, especially in moments of high emotional drama.

Because I am primarily interested in the way emotion works as a social process I have so far provided little explanation of the biological manifestations associated with particular emotions, as others such as Ekman (1974;1980) have done. Understanding emotion as a social process nonetheless requires knowing something about the way the body is used to express emotion. As Lyon and Barbalet (1994) propose, it illustrates the way that emotion operates to link the body with its praxis, allowing the 'me' to express the self through the actions of the 'I' in the social domain.

I again draw on the emotional dimensions already dealt with to provide a physical dimension to my description of the performative aspects of Lamalama emotional expression.

Amity is embodied through facial expression and bodily posture. The Lamalama express the ease of relationship with others they class as countrymen through the openness with which they approach each other. In a relationship of amity, the parties will spend considerable time in each other's company, laughing and joking, and conversing openly. Such relationships sometimes involve a degree of public physical contact, but it is slight, and more a matter of personality than a general condition. Tom Crisp is someone who will gently grab the arm of people he regards as friends during conversation, and young women classified as sisters will often touch each other in a friendly fashion. Two sisters close in age would sometimes grab each other in a brief hug in exuberant moments, but they were just as given to surly behaviour towards each other when not in a good mood.

Compassion is most often expressed verbally, as when people talk about being 'sorry' for someone, and is usually embodied in facial expression and tone of voice. Lamalama speak a little more slowly when expressing compassionate phrases, and facial expression is altered to accommodate voicing. Compassion is also expressed through the facial expression of sorrow, a lengthening of the features. Compassion can be expressed about place as well. Tom Crisp often spoke in a wistful way about being 'sorry' for Port Stewart during the rainy season, when there was no-one living there to take care of the place, expressed

bodily through tone of voice, an unfocused, faraway look in his eyes, and a drumming of the fingers.

The dimension of **nurturance** is particularly important in relation to people and land, and there is a more complex embodiment of people with their land that occurs among the Lamalama, not easily described through recourse to bodily gestures. I describe this process of embodiment below (Page136-138). Among kin, one of the primary behavioural demonstrations of nurturance is the grooming activity that occurs between adult women and children up to around five years old. Women, usually mothers or those classified as such, or otherwise designated to a carer's role, sometimes spent hours searching through the heads of the children in their charge, looking for lice. Both women and children often seem to enjoy this. Children will loll on the laps of their mothers, engaging them in conversation while their heads are being are groomed. This activity may end in a quick hug, a kiss or a playful slap on the child's arm, and it is usually an occasion for mild joking.

Administering discipline is also regarded as a nurturing activity, so that adults will 'growl' (chastise) children who are misbehaving or irritating them, and they will also slap them. I did not observe any instances of beating, although the slaps administered by adults, whilst short and sharp, were obviously sometimes painful, at least emotionally – the resulting tears seemed to be a response to the shock of being physically punished at all as much as a response to physical pain (cf. Hamilton 1981a on Anbarra disciplinary practices).

Respect is expressed behaviourally in a number of ways, from the use of appropriate kin terms to avoidance behaviour. In terms of its expression as a bodily response, respect is usually conveyed through a serious or polite demeanour, and a lack of physical contact. Commonly a young person, especially a woman, will show respect through downcast eyes, and an embarrassed grin. Men express respect towards each other through tone of voice, by making physical contact via shaking hands, and by a polite demeanour. When speaking to women, young men will avoid looking them directly in the eye, and as a general

rule, lack of direct eye contact is a mark of respect. Conversely, direct eye contact, raised voice and tones of anger or disgust express a lack of respect. Among close kin, respect is expressed primarily through the use of kin terms, but also in the maintenance of the appropriate degree of social distance. For example, siblings will joke freely with each other, and engage in argumentative behaviour, but are more cautious about the sense of social distance they convey to other kin. A young man will usually avoid directly facing his father's sister when engaged in conversation with her. This behaviour is tempered by personal relationships – Freddy Liddy looks openly at his aunts Florrie Bassani (FZ+) and Joan Liddy (FZ-) when speaking to them.

Yearning is expressed through tone of voice, crying and tears, and in its more ritualised form, through 'crying for' land, or contact with long-absent relatives. 'Crying for country' involves a form of wailing or singing in which performers describe their sense of loss, admonish themselves for their own culpability, thus expressing a sense of guilt, and speak about their heart-felt pain at separation. This can be accompanied by rocking of the body in cadence with the performer's wailing, by screwing up the eyes, or a rising sobbing tone. Yearning about people is expressed differently, and is understood as a more private emotion. Although people ritualise their feeling about each other on meeting after a long absence, this expresses a different emotion than yearning, although the ritual forms of these emotions are very similar in expression. When I have been able to observe people expressing their personal yearning about others, it has varied with the personality of the performer, and the relationship between those involved. It has involved tears and a quiet expression of personal feeling, as well as more dramatic declarations, involving rapid speech, screwing up the face into an expression of pain, and jerky movements of the body.

The emotional dimensions of **anger** have many expressions, ranging from raised voice, contorted facial expression, breathlessness, and tensed body, or glowering facial expression, guttural speech, and a threatening posture, to a quavering voice, tears, or a quick progression from raised voice and facial contortions to violent gestures, copious swearing and violent fighting. Anger is

expressed through fighting by both men and women. It is also expressed through protracted swearing and insulting taunts, which sometimes culminate in physical violence. When angry with each other, women are more likely to engage in 'swearing' each other – verbal insulting which can continue over considerable time and separate locations, accompanied by the physical signs of anger, such as raised voices, tensed body and contorted facial expression. They are more likely to 'swear' each other than they are to move quickly to fighting, although they also engage in physical displays of anger. I once saw a young woman so angered by her mother's drunken behaviour that she was moved to slap her publicly. Such an expression of anger was shocking at the time, and would normally bring swift retribution from her mother's kin, but on this occasion her mother's behaviour was seen as a transgression of Lamalama Law applying to the land, and widely interpreted as an unavoidable action, if not actually sanctioned.

Men commonly express anger towards women in violent physical behaviour and beatings. I was once called out in the middle of the night to assist in breaking up a fight between an elderly couple. He had beaten her with the butt of his rifle, bruising and cutting her legs. Such fighting is more common among younger couples as a general rule. Men express anger towards each other through 'swearing' behaviour, and through physical fighting, much of which is associated with alcohol consumption.

Jealousy is expressed in a similar fashion to anger, and the ways in which it can be observed as a bodily response include extremes of 'swearing' behaviour, where the protagonist is often yelling, face contorted and stiff. People in the throes of 'jealous' behaviour are sometimes engaged in hysterical fits of 'swearing', although it is more often a series of calculated taunts and insults. When sexually betrayed, women will sometimes fight their rival in a very public manner, and maintain a hostile attitude towards that woman for some considerable time. They may maintain a degree of hostility and distance towards their lover for a shorter period as well. Men usually express sexual jealousy in the same ways they express anger, and sexual jealousy is probably one of the most common causes of fighting and anger among men. There are fewer bodily manifestations of

jealousy than there are of anger, and its expression is more subtle. Jealousy is often manifested as a surly, withdrawn state followed by the kind of explosive behaviour associated with the expression of anger.

The physical manifestations of **fear** most obvious in Lamalama encounters with snakes occur when people verbalise their emotion in shouts of warning, or screeches of fear that sometimes verge on a loss of control. Even to talk about snakes provokes a profound physical change in the Lamalama, who will shudder and use an extremely high vocal register to express their sense of disgust. The fear associated with retaliatory action from the use of 'medicine' has a different quality. At these times, people often speak quietly and briefly in muted tones, casting glances around as if afraid of being overheard. The fear associated with retaliatory action by Story beings is usually expressed in conversations, but a lower tone of voice imbued with the individual's sense of awe about the power of these beings is employed. The more ordinary dimensions of fear associated with fights, for example, is usually not expressed, except as an attempt at bravado and a denial of fear.

Shame is expressed in downcast eyes, lack of eye contact, the inability to speak, and other signs of physical discomfiture. When the Lamalama feel shame, they may be experiencing a mild or a profound emotion, and their responses vary accordingly. When people are feeling shame, they will sometimes smile sheepishly, or laugh or chuckle slightly. Their behaviour can vary from an embarrassed turning away from the events at hand, to absenting themselves completely from others for a considerable period.

Grief is embodied in the ritual wailing of mortuary rites, where people express their sense of grief and loss by reference to their own failures towards the deceased. It is also expressed in the ritualised 'crying' that occurs when people greet long-absent relatives. In these cases, the recipient usually stands in stony silence while being hugged and cried over. These exchanges are usually brief, and can be understood as public performances which indicate the depth of filial affection and connection which exists between the protagonists, such that their

grief at having been parted is now at an end. In this case it is compounded by the emotional dimensions associated with amity and nurturance. Because of the multiple layering of responsibilities which exist between people, grief cannot be understood just as a simply-felt personal emotion. Its ritualisation in public performance allows of expression of the state of the relationships between the people concerned, and acts to deflect any implications of guilt. Most *pama* in Coen, including the Lamalama, are careful to attend funerals in the town as a public demonstration of their grief about the deceased. Thus grief can include dimensions of fear – by attending, people are demonstrating that there is no reason to associate themselves with any of the factors which could have caused the deceased to die. ‘Medicine’ is naturally closely associated with notions about causes of death.

Alcohol is closely associated with the bodily manifestation of emotions, especially the less integrative emotions of anger and jealousy. MacAndrew and Edgerton have identified “drunken comportment” as the changes to behaviour which accompany the consumption of alcohol. Such changes are usually, but not universally, disinhibiting, and thus fragmenting. MacAndrew and Edgerton suggest that drunken comportment should not be understood merely as a physiological response to alcohol resulting in impairment of the brain’s higher functions:

More specifically, we have contended that the way people comport themselves when they are drunk is determined not by alcohol’s toxic assault upon the seat of moral judgement, conscience, or the like, but by what their society makes of and imparts to them concerning the state of drunkenness (MacAndrew and Edgerton 1970:165).

The response to drunkenness in Lamalama society is ambivalent, composed of prevailing ideologies about it as evidence of collective well-being, personal empowerment and social integration (among drinkers) and as disruptive, fragmenting, and weakening among non-drinkers. Among those who view drinking positively, fighting is seen as a natural expression of their empowerment through the consumption of alcohol. Alcohol sometimes appears to be consumed to the

point of being life-threatening, if not from the amounts drunk then from the severity of the beatings which follow. MacAndrew and Edgerton's point that it is not alcohol so much as prevailing social attitudes to its consumption that determines drunken comportment means that it is necessary to consider why it is that drinking results in displays of disinhibition expressed as anger and violence. The Lamalama concern with personal autonomy plays a part in the equation between drinking and its effects on behaviour. Because prowess in fighting is valued as a sign of personal strength and autonomy, the ability to drink copiously and fight violently is viewed as part of a single paradigm of traditional *pama* values, much as Martin (1993) found as true among the Wik. On a fishing trip, a group of young men, which included a Wik friend from Coen, sat behind me on the beach, joking about their prowess as drinkers. A very large esky full of ice to store the catch caught their attention, and the following conversation took place:

- Lamalama man 1: I can drink more than yufla.
 Lamalama man 2: Hey brother, you can't beat me for drink!
 Lamalama man 1: You can't beat me!
 Lamalama man 2: If that esky be full, I drink the lot!
 Wik man: If that esky be full of beer, I drink it, true God!
 Lamalama man 2: I drink beer, scotch, wine
 Lamalama man 1: True, if that esky be full of beer, I drink the lot! And I fight any bastard!
 Lamalama man 2: (Laughs) That cost you, mate! Too much dollar, that esky full of beer ...
 Lamalama man 1: Good job! Poor old Murri be dead, drink one esky like that ...

Part of drunken comportment for the Lamalama involves portraying the self as more drunk than is actually the case. Thus inappropriate behaviour can be excused, but in the case of the young Lamalama men who regularly fought, inappropriate drunken comportment was often used to excuse personal failure – in fighting, in gambling, and in love. When they lost a fight, they would blame it on being 'drunken one'. In the same way, to have a drunken person transgress normal

social etiquette could later be explained away as the harmless behaviour of someone who was 'too drunk', even if their behaviour was appalling. Yet if the drunken person were somehow out of favour, they would be met with considerable irritation, or sometimes, with an implacable lack of forgiveness.

The desire to avoid the consequences of one's actions can also be blamed on drunkenness. I once witnessed an event involving a young Lamalama man who half-heartedly insulted someone else in a hotel in Cooktown, where he was a stranger. The other man took umbrage, and insisted on going outside to fight. The Lamalama man shaped up to him, then began swaying and muttering in a convincing demonstration of his drunkenness, whereupon the other man swore at him and walked away. Relatives of the Lamalama man commented on the fact that he was obviously drunker than they had thought, that he hadn't been in the pub very long, and that just minutes before he had been "really sober one".

Applications of the cultural model

Inasmuch as the Lamalama speak about the location of emotions, they refer to the 'heart' as the bodily location of their affective life. The Lamalama conceptualise affect as 'feelings'. Peile (1997:118) points out that the Kukatja have no word for the abstract collective noun 'emotion'. In the sense that I use the term, the same is true for the Lamalama. However, 'feelings' is the term they use to describe the inner affective state of the individual. For instance, on one drive back up to Coen from the outstation, my only companions were two sleeping children and a young woman experiencing difficulties with her partner. She told me that he had said in front of a number of other people that he was sick of her trying to stop him from drinking and having some fun, a situation, she said, "that really hurt my feelings". In this sense, the Lamalama hold an abstract category about emotion, which pertains to individual experience. Like the Kukatja, they do not appear to hold an overarching conceptual category of emotion encompassing both private feeling and external emotional performance which I would label "affect".

The Lamalama commonly talk about 'feelings' as residing in the 'heart', and the effect of cruel, insensitive, or inconsiderate behaviour is usually measured in terms of the 'hurt' to feelings. A Lamalama women commented to me, "She got feelings in her heart too", when telling me about the humiliation experienced by a *pama* woman when publicly castigated by a white man in Coen. Thus the indigenous Lamalama conceptualisation about the domain of 'feeling' reflects the analytical one I have proposed, an integration of experiences within the body.

When the Lamalama talk about feelings, it is usually to socialise the experience. They commonly speak about themselves and others as 'having feelings in the heart', and when they do, they are expressing a notion of the shared condition of humanity. The Lamalama perspective places importance on the concept that as human beings we share a common estate in emotion; that is, we are all beings of feeling. The idea of 'feelings in the heart' also expresses the corresponding notion that as beings of feeling, we are entitled to be treated with respect and compassion. It thus expresses the moral force of the Lamalama perception of 'proper Lamalama way' as incorporating the quality of respect.

Lamalama rarely talk directly about positive emotions such as happiness or love, but the concept of amity informs much discourse. The seeming concentration on expressing the more negative emotions associated with feelings such as anger, jealousy, and self-interest represent a juxtaposition of elements of the cultural model. When the Lamalama talk about being irritable, it is expressed as being 'cranky'. To be angry is to be 'wild', to feel compassion is to feel 'sorry'. A sense of lowered self-worth or social inhibition is expressed as 'shame'. The favoured representation of the self as positive, balanced, calm and friendly is challenged by the negative value attached to the sorts of affect that indicate the bearer as self-interested in some way. To be 'proper Lamalama' is perceived as acting in the common interest. One should always remember kin. In the *realpolitik*, people strive to balance personal needs and desires against the requirement of the cognitive ideal, a tension which produces a heightened sense of individuality.

Feelings, in the sense of an integrated mind/body experience which I have suggested above (pp.50-51), are understood as personal, and separated from their expression as social events, as in the fight between Tamara and Collin narrated at the beginning of the chapter. Elements of the Lamalama cultural model of a principled life include generosity, hospitality, respect for elders, respect for life forms, and personal effacement. In reality, the Lamalama often exhibit these qualities, but to the observer, the impression of the Lamalama as a group of independent individuals, bound to each other by affect and kin relationships that they perceive as indissoluble, and often troublesome, is intriguing.

Lamalama way

What, then, is the 'Lamalama way?' Understanding what sort of behaviour is regarded as inappropriate by the Lamalama is most available through the comments they make about other people, both individual kin and people who are not Lamalama. In describing events in which someone was not generous, such as refusing to assist the driver of a vehicle with a flat tyre, the Lamalama will comment, "That's not our way. We gotta help him out". Yet the converse is true as well. A Lamalama person should seek help from other Lamalama relatives (who are "mongrels" if they don't respond positively), before approaching anyone else. Actions which betray other kin, or otherwise reveal a lack of respect, are inappropriate and are criticised as such. The use of the correct kin terms is the most usual way of demonstrating respect for others, and at the same time, demonstrating the continuing bonds of relatedness between individuals. The Lamalama concept of 'respect' is imbued with the positive values of amity and kinship, specifying as it does the differences in status between individuals, and the expectation of certain rights and duties in relation to each category of relative. These categories are now more opaque than Thomson's (1972) descriptions of the Umpila kinship system, but nonetheless exist as powerful social sanctions. On being asked by the QLT in evidence for the Cliff Islands claim why it was she referred to an old man consistently as "Boy Norman", a young woman of 24 years of age replied that it was "respect" to do so:

Claimant: That's my dad's grandfather, so - and he call me - like, Mum. Well, I call him nephew, but in our way, we call it Boy. So I can't just call him Norman Tableland. I got to call him Boy.

Anthropologist: Why's that?

Claimant: Well, that's from way back. That's respect our old people. If I call him Norman Tableland, my mum - my dad and mum will get wild for me.

Anthropologist: So you gotta show him respect.

Claimant: Yeah.

Conveying 'respect' in this sense, by continuing to use kin terms, reinforces the Lamalama sense of themselves as a close-knit group of kin who can rely on their expectations of each other. A great-niece should honour her great-uncle, and small children should obey the command of their father's brother. The reciprocal relationship between parents and children involves the children assisting their parents if required, and parents providing a caring environment for their children. The affective dimensions of that care are of greatest concern to the Lamalama.

In Figure 3 below, emotional range is represented as moving from ephemeral to enduring states, while social behaviour is seen as moving from fragmenting to integrating practices. In this model, emotion at the ephemeral node of the matrix is associated with individualistic behaviour, and fragmenting emotional dimensions such as anger and jealousy. As behavioural and emotional dimensions move away from the ephemeral, fragmenting node, they become more integrating elements of social practice. The emotional dimensions become increasingly concerned with integrating individual experience into the communal world, and are expressed through emotional dimensions I have described, such as compassion, nurturance and respect. At the same time, increasing social distance from the individual is associated with increased social value by the community. Thus individuals within social categories are likely to express tensions more easily towards other members, whilst maintaining an ideology of 'good' behaviour, expressed through politeness and respect, towards people with whom they are

less familiar, or to people of more distant social categories than those in the same or close generational categories to their own. For the Lamalama, the spiritual¹⁴ domain is therefore located within the enduring, integrating levels of emotional life and social practice, and is not separate from it.

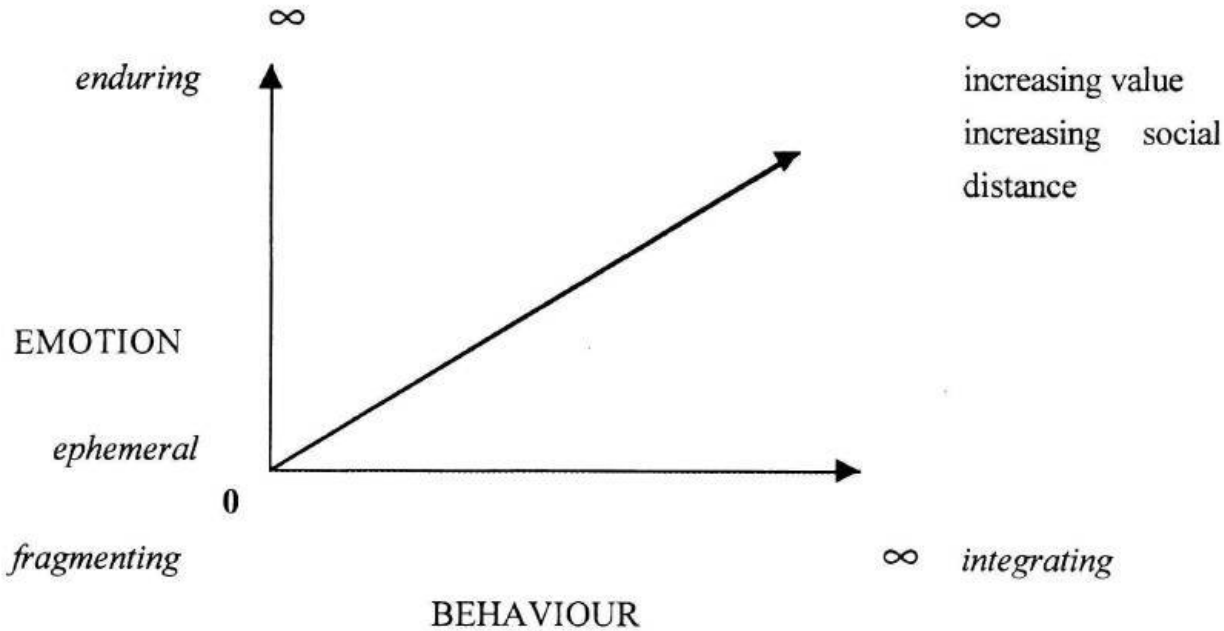


Figure 3: Emotional dimensions experienced by the Lamalama.

¹⁴ I approach the idea of the 'spiritual' as a metaphysical or cognitive domain fundamental to Aboriginal experience. Yet in doing so I do not necessarily imply that spirituality is a rarefied state, in the sense of association with only profound emotions, because *pama* understand spirituality as the interconnection between all forms of life. While they posit the Story beings as puissant, their significance resides in the conceptualisation of them as integrated systemically with the rest of the world - that which is spiritual is not alienated, in *pama* understanding, from the rest of experience (Rappaport 1979). My understanding of the nature of Aboriginal spiritual concepts is opposed to the separation of them from everyday experience, and the privileging of the 'spiritual' as a category in opposition to the 'secular' that is implicit in statutory understanding. While the Lamalama hold a *concept* of a spiritual domain, and experience feelings that they recognise as distinctly spiritual, they do not detach them from the totality of their emotional constructions, as is implied by the legislative separation of 'spiritual attachments' from other forms of right and responsibility which constitute *pama* connections to their country. Nor does the *pama* perception imply an overly sanctified notion of worship or holiness. Rather it refers to a pragmatic system of practice governed by belief, which differs from the usual Christian notions of religious faith and practice. What is referred to as the 'spiritual' domain is understood by Aboriginal people such as the Lamalama as the totality of their connection to country and to each other, and they do not seek to isolate this connection from the rest of their experience. Instead they see these connections as the guiding principles for life, usually expressed as adherence to the customary moral and jural code of the 'Law'.

How to have a fight among the Lamalama

I return now to analysis of the social drama that began the chapter. I indicate that the protagonists established a social breach in order to rework their relationship to each other, and to their community. The drama thus has different valances for the actors than it does for the audience. The protagonists use emotion discursively, in an attempt to change the locus of power in their relationship through fracture, and to reconstitute themselves in relation to the community. Like Abu-Lughod in relation to the Bedouin love poetry, this drama is set within an emotional discourse which allows for a different response from the audience. They are separated from the emotional content of the action, but bring their own emotional responses to bear on it through their subsequent reactions. Not being part of the action, they are able to effect closure around the event, through their acceptance of the drama as an entirely comprehensible part of social practice.

How is emotion used by the Lamalama? How do people use emotions to reconstitute social relations once they have been fragmented? Viewed in total, Turner's notion of the social drama applies to the whole history of Tamara and Collin's relationship, in which the fight as narrated above is aptly perceived as the 'crisis' stage. Yet the fight can be also analysed in microcosm as a social drama in itself, although there is some elision between the four stages described by Turner. Before considering the fight between Tamara and Collin as an example of a social drama, it is necessary to provide some context to the event. I discuss perceptions of the relationship between the protagonists held by Tamara's Lamalama kin. I describe the regional nature of "payback" or talion fighting, and its influence on the drama considered here. Lastly, I look at the place of events such as this fight in the relationship between life in Coen and commitment to the outstation at Port Stewart. I then turn to analysis of the fight in terms of the stages proposed by Turner - breach, crisis, redress, and reconciliation.

Tamara's relationship with Collin had long been a matter of concern to her older relatives. Whenever I heard the Lamalama discuss Tamara and Collin's relationship, it was in negative terms. It was usually felt that they should split

up, for everyone's sake. It distressed her older relatives to see Tamara bruised from beatings, and the threat of their troubled relationship causing conflict between the Lamalama and Collin's "mob" was a continuous concern to them as well. Although often loath to interfere in "that husband/wife business" (Jolly, pers.comm. 1997)¹⁵, eventually Tamara's brothers would be compelled to 'take her part'. By 'taking her part' they would have to fight Collin and any of his allies in the formalised fighting known as 'payback'.

In the case presented above, some of Tamara's brothers had previously 'taken her part' against Collin, but they had reached a point where they declined to become involved. Along with other kin, they regarded her as 'stronghead' about Collin - determined to pursue the relationship at any cost. Part of the cost for her brothers was the disruption of the friendship they separately shared with Collin. Most of the Lamalama believed that there were infidelities on both sides. Importantly, Tamara had not ended the relationship on her return from hospital as she had vowed to do. Their relationship was generally characterised as compulsive and destructive, with both parties unwilling to end it. Her relatives predicted that Tamara would end up dead, and Collin in gaol for killing her, but they nonetheless felt incapable of diverting her from her determined course. Their relationship was viewed as aberrant, and beyond comment; Tamara was thus freed to pursue her chosen course outside the constraints of acceptable patterns of relationship.

Her problems were therefore very much a personal matter. To most people, Tamara's determination to proceed with the relationship despite lengthy abuse meant that she had chosen to divorce herself from the normal standards of social action that pertained among her kin. While policing the behaviour of the spouses of kin is generally idealised as inappropriate behaviour, I observed many instances in which relatives intervened, verbally and physically, in the treatment of one spouse towards another. In this case, the situation had become egocentric rather than sociocentric - a matter confined to the protagonists, rather than either

¹⁵ Although this was not a term that I recall hearing, Lesley Jolly has told me that it was the preferred term used by a senior male informant to talk about the personal dimensions of the relationship between sexual partners.

of them being interpreted as representatives of the Lamalama or the Olkolo. Collin and Tamara alone were regarded as responsible for their actions in relation to each other, and Tamara knew that her brothers now regarded it as a waste of time to intervene on her behalf through 'payback' fighting.

'Payback' fights were a regular accompaniment to drinking, but not solely associated with the use of alcohol. 'Payback' is not restricted to physical fighting, and both men and women may involve themselves in payback activities. Among the men in Coen, it usually meant fighting, but women would also fight each other in 'payback' events. The use of supernatural aids to increase personal strength, referred to as 'medicine', is also associated with 'payback'. If the victims of a 'payback' fight are particularly fiercely beaten, their kin are likely to ascribe this to the use of 'medicine', although such accusations are made in a highly secretive manner. Certain aggressive fighters - not all men - were characterised as using 'medicine' to improve their performance. It was thought they would not be capable of inflicting the injuries they did without using 'medicine', prepared with the assistance of a supernatural power. No-one admits to the use of 'medicine' under normal circumstances,¹⁶ so it is extremely difficult to get a clear description of what is involved in its preparation and use. The people who discuss it generally purport not to be users of 'medicine' themselves, and to know nothing of its preparation, although they do fear the consequences of its use. 'Payback' can involve the use of other 'medicine' that causes people to sicken, or perhaps die as well.

The activities associated with 'payback' can be maintained over a substantial period of time, perhaps years, and are not generally associated with a single conflict. Myers notes that payback situations "leave a history of disputes" which inform the present. Past events "usually shrouded in silence" emerge in Pintupi daily life when conflict arises (Myers 1986:170). 'Payback' alliances may be formalised into long-standing feuds involving extended genealogical ties, and are sometimes played out at considerable distance to the original conflict. In one case, Lamalama men and their affines, in a community a day's drive from Coen, fought a

¹⁶ During individual interviews I conducted in Coen, one man confided in me about his personal use of love "medicine", on the strict understanding that I did not tell anyone else in town what he had said.

former Coen man and his affines in 'payback'. He had made insulting remarks to his brother about Port Stewart, in the presence of Lamalama men, while on a visit to Coen the year before. Fighting between the two groups continued for more than a year. "Payback" fighting is not usually a simple matter of personal revenge, although seeking justice for personal offense or injury exists as a constant right of the individual within the Aboriginal society of Cape York Peninsula. Such fights define social boundaries in the short term, and in the long term, they represent the policing of boundaries along more classically structured lines. When conflict between two individuals escalates into a larger fight involving kin of both parties seeking redress from each other, it can at times mean that "friends" - that is, people not closely genealogically connected, but amicably associated with either party - are drawn into the situation. At such times, alliances can follow traditional patterns of association, with for example, Lamalama and Ayapathu men fighting Wik, although all of these normally sustain friendships between each other.

As well as providing the opportunity to reflect on the immediate emotional content, the fight between Tamara and Collin indicates something about attitudes to the Port Stewart homeland, which figures somewhat passively in the background of this drama. There is no single schematic in the attitudes to Port Stewart that the Lamalama hold, despite an idealisation of its place in their lives in most instances. Some, such as Tamara, maintained a purely pragmatic interest in the place, at this time. For certain others, the connection was more holistic, encompassing an emotional and spiritual connection as well. But even Tamara was concerned to behave in ways dictated by the prevailing ethic of appropriateness while at Port Stewart. I argue here that although land is basic to identity among many (arguably all) Aboriginal people, the personal relations of kinship have enduring, perhaps primary emotional force in daily life. Competing interests within the group are at times expressed as competing rights in land, but these are more truly competing personal or political interests, often expressed through the idiom of emotion. Such events are discursive, sets of actions that evoke responses from others, and to which a variety of meanings are attached.

After this fight, Tamara stayed at Port Stewart for a few months, living in the camp of her grandmother and aunt (MM and MZ-). This was the longest period I knew her to spend there, and several times she told me, with a degree of resignation, that she was better off down there than up in Coen. Her attitude to Port Stewart at this time was of a kind with many of the younger Lamalama adults. Young men in particular seemed to regard it as a 'weekender', a place where they could spend a few days relaxing, fishing, and hunting. Unlike their parents, many of whom professed to a desire to live at Port Stewart, most of the younger people told me that they preferred to live in Coen. Both young men and women told me that there wasn't enough to do at Port Stewart at this time, and they preferred to be in Coen where they could play football, go to the pub, and hire videos to watch at home. Coen was a considerably more social environment for young adults, where they could mix with local whites, tourists, and friends and relatives in the other mobs in town. Although not discussed directly with me, living in Coen also provided the opportunity for sexual relationships, whereas at Port Stewart all the people were kin.

People sometimes went to Port Stewart to live together once a relationship was established, as Tamara had originally done. Tamara's later sojourn however, was something akin to exile - she had been directed to stay at Port Stewart by her elders, an edict that was partly self-imposed as well. She understood that her behaviour in relation to Collin had stretched the tolerance of her kin to the limit. By staying at Port Stewart she was also making it clear to Collin that their relationship was finished. It was my view at this time that she, like most of the other young people, felt a passive attachment to Port Stewart. As Lamalama, they recognised it as their home ground, and would identify themselves as 'sandbeach' people in, for example, refusing to eat file snake because it was *minya* associated with inland peoples such as the Wik and the Olkolo. But they constructed their interest, and in turn were constructed, as 'not adults' in relation to the land. They did not regularly participate in the responsibilities associated with the outstation, and were not entrusted with responsibility for outstation equipment, or more tellingly, with sacred information.

The relationship between persons, land, and identity is effectively understood as mediated by the discourse of emotions. Emotions and emotion expressions are meaningful to the Lamalama when they are marked as events in the social domain. Here I am referring to individual judgements about personal states of being, as well as events as marked, such as the fight between Tamara and Collin. An individual's perception of the actions or intentions of someone else will cause them to behave in a certain way in response to a given situation between themselves and the other. Emotional meanings are thus socially constructed, and as such, form part of the discourse between individuals, in which emotions are understood as the outcome of a series of emergent, connected interactions. In this sense, Tamara's decision to locate her life at Port Stewart after the fight with Collin represents the acting out of identity. Unable to live effectively with Collin in Coen, she retreated to the place where she could achieve some degree of stability. In this sense Port Stewart has dual valences to Tamara in being both the symbolic and actual location of refuge for herself and her child.

Analysis of the fight as a social drama

I have provided further grounding to my analysis by applying Turner's model of the social drama to the fight between Tamara and Collin. The way in which the drama unfolded followed a pattern for the resolution of conflict already described in other Aboriginal communities. MacDonald (1988) has written about the similar patterns among the Wiradjuri of New South Wales. The elements of this pattern are that it be a public event, in which accusations are first made and heard, followed by punitive action, if any, being taken. In the most ideal resolution of conflict, people other than the principals, but usually kin, will intervene to mediate the conflict before punitive action becomes necessary. Physical force is a last resort, although sometimes actively desired by the people involved. Thus the principals are able to assert their positions aggressively, with reasonable certainty that the consequences will not be too dire - if mediation fails, they can expect to call on their kin for assistance if fighting ensues.

Turner (1982) suggests four stages to the social drama – initial breach, crisis, redress, and reconciliation, noting that the transition between the stages is swift. Elision between some of the stages is more the case with regard to this fight. The moment of initial breach in this drama is dependant on past actions by the protagonists – a history of friction and violence, and more immediately, Collin's involvement with another woman.

By the time of the initial breach, when Collin 'stole' Merilee, his involvement with the other woman mentioned, a Wik woman, was seen by others as indicating that his interest in Tamara and her baby was declining. Children constitute an important investment in the future existence of an Aboriginal social group. In my view, Collin's actions were motivated by two concerns: the desire to thwart Tamara, and his claim on the child for the role she could play in furthering the existence of his own social group. In this first stage, his concern for the child's well-being was a lesser consideration. It was Tamara who primarily gave or arranged Merilee's care, but she was 18 years old at the time of the birth, and clearly not ready to settle down to rearing another child - she already had a three-year old son, being raised by her mother. Certainly Collin could not claim any superiority as a care-giver, but Tamara was also regarded as uninterested in providing the degree of care that a baby of a few months required. By absenting herself to use the toilet when they were at the hotel, she provided him with a good excuse to take advantage of her 'neglect', at the same time indicating his intention to activate his rights as Merilee's father, and lay claim to her future group identity.

At this point the drama quickly moved to crisis mode. The protagonists indulged in verbal abuse, each apparently accusing the other of infidelity, although this was action effectively happening 'off-stage' in my understanding of events. This culminated in the moment when Tamara burst out of the hotel, seeking redress through her aunt's confirmation of her actions the night before. From this point and up until the emotional height of the drama, Tamara's concern seemed to revolve around restitution. It was she who moved the drama along by notifying the constable about Collin's actions after he had taken Merilee to his mother's house. I am not sure if Tamara first appealed to her brothers for assistance, but

the nature of Collin's crime was such that she could legitimately seek the aid of the police, without fear of being told by anyone that it was simply a matter between the two of them. She could also be reasonably sure of the safety of the child. She already knew that Collin had taken Merilee to his parents' house, where a doting grandmother would be taking care of her.

Tamara's concern was both to get her child back, and to thwart Collin's attempt to assert a claim on the future of the child, which she hoped to achieve with the assistance of the local constable. Here she was thwarted by his actions. He did not immediately take her side, telling her instead to go home and be sensible. Some hours passed before Tamara went to Collin's house, precipitating the action I described at the beginning of the chapter. As a social drama, the situation touched on both the personal and the social domains of emotional experience. It was not simply the venting of private dissatisfactions within a relationship. By 'stealing' Merilee, Collin had precipitated a decision about his relationship with Tamara (and with Merilee), which neither of them seemed capable of achieving by more peaceful means.

By his action, he was taking a stand in relation to a child who he was then interested in claiming as his own (in the following years, his interest in her waxed and waned with his interest in Tamara). It is impossible to imagine that he acted in the belief that there would be no consequences. It may be that his actions were simply an attempt to dominate Tamara, to force her to act in accordance with his wishes, but it seems more likely to me that both he and Tamara were sick of the situation, and used their competing interests in Merilee to force a dramatic resolution of their situation. Both employed a highly dramatic style for conveying their feelings - an intense venting of anger against the other, accompanied by the abrupt change to a reasonable conversational tone when addressing the constable or me.

Seeking redress through appeal to the constable did not seem to achieve resolution of the drama to the satisfaction of either party. Tamara got her baby back, but her continuing insults indicate her lingering interest in Collin. By

insulting him as publicly and as reprehensibly as she could, she seemed not only to be “broadcasting” (Sansom 1980), but also seeking to make an emotional impact on him. Such swearing has a traditional basis. Thomson (1935) indicates that swearing of the type that Tamara used was considered the most reprehensible among the Kuku Ya’o and the Umpila. For his part, Collin lost control of Merrilee, but his position was passively upheld by the constable, Neville. It is Tamara that Neville implicitly threatens with goal. Collin’s willingness to let the child go with her mother indicates that he expected her to be taken. Despite his mother’s long-standing interest in the child, Collin had never exhibited great interest in her.

Ultimately there was no satisfactory resolution to this drama for the protagonists, although a degree of closure occurred through the response of Tamara’s Lamalama kin looking on. As soon as Tamara arrived at Collin’s, both of them began to ‘swear’ the other, firstly establishing their respective right to be angry by reconstruction of the sequence of events since Merilee’s birth. Both exaggerated their claims, and made them in an extremely insulting manner, while adhering to the underlying facts of their joint history. The content of the way in which they ‘swore’ each other was to deride the other as a useless parent and human being. Most importantly, this was done in public – not only in front of Tamara’s Lamalama relatives in my car, but anyone else within earshot. This included three other houses of people in the same street, as well as the people in several houses across the road. By vilifying each other in front of witnesses, both were legitimating their position in relation to the other.

Both had appealed to the ultimate local authority, the police - Tamara before I picked her up, and Collin when the constable, Neville, arrived at his house. Even in these most public circumstances, Collin could have pressed his claim to Merilee if that had been his real interest, but he never attempted to do so. At most, he resisted Tamara’s initial attempt to retrieve her child, defending his actions by pointing out that he had acted to protect her from harm. In fact, he acquiesced immediately when, as Tamara’s proxy, I attempted to retrieve Merilee. Collin was not really likely to try to kill Tamara, certainly not when the police

constable was standing in front of him, nor did she really believe that his relationship with his mother was incestuous.

Rather, the public staging of this event ensured that it would be managed and resolved in a fairly harmless fashion. Both could give vent to an extreme expression of emotion, but without the fear of lingering consequences - Tamara's kin would not have to pursue the kidnapping of Merilee, an event which would otherwise have been regarded as one of extreme hostility. Collin's response to finding his daughter alone in the hotel can be regarded as an overreaction, or a provocation. Tamara was not there alone, but in the company of other kin, as was Collin, so that his rationalisation of his action on the basis of neglect was not sustainable.

By involving the constable, both ensured that the level of friction would be managed for them by a neutral authority. Moreover, by waiting until I was ready to collect her before confronting Collin, Tamara was ensuring greater support for herself, as well as a greater audience. There was little question that she would gain possession of her baby, and her belongings. The problem for Tamara was that Collin had retreated to territory that was truly his own by going to his mother's house. Despite living there with him for a few months, she did not regard it as her home, nor did she believe she had any rights there. To have asked her kin to help her retrieve Merilee would have been asking them to invade an Olkolo house. Such an action would definitely have been regarded as hostile, and none of her brothers had recently indicated that they were prepared to intervene in her affairs. Indeed, I had been told that in a recent fight one brother sat on his verandah drinking a cup of tea, while Collin beat Tamara's head on the ground in front of him. In the instance under discussion here, her brother Xavier sat in my car without once attempting to intervene. Sutton (pers.comm.1999) suggests that these reactions by Tamara's brothers might have been "to avoid any public implications of an incestuous interest" in her, or a means of dealing with real (presumably negative or upsetting) feelings for her.

Undoubtedly, both Collin and Tamara were expressing strongly held grievances against each other in this situation, yet their total beings were not given over to their emotions as I felt mine would have been if I were saying the things they were. Both of them were able to dissociate themselves from their anger in the heat of the moment. Both swore at each other bitterly, and demonstrated other features of extreme anger - flushed faces, quavering voices, tensed bodies, the attempts to inflict physical pain, but both were able to switch immediately to a "rational" mode of expression when not immediately engaged in the fight. Levy (1973) describes such emotional display as the "surface level of emotion", discussing the difficulty observers have had in understanding the nature of some indigenous stylistic modes. The way in which Collin and Tamara 'staged' this conflict could be taken as indicating a less than genuine expression of their emotional states, but I do not think that is an adequate interpretation.

It is more appropriate to recognise that they participate in a regional indigenous domain of emotional expression. In order to resolve a situation that both had come to find unworkable - themselves as conjoint parents and lovers - they escalated their private discontent into a dramatic conflict, wherein their inability to co-exist could be, so to speak, formally recognised. Their fight was as much an announcement in the social domain as it was a private expression of anger. While Collin's mother participated to some extent in their conflict, as both the constable and I did, the rest of their audience remained passive witnesses to the event. None of them attempted to intervene, apart from the mild prompting from Nettie that we leave. I speculated in my notes at the time that Collin might have been reacting to Tamara's supposed infidelity as a perceived slight to his masculinity, or that he attached considerable importance to being a father. While I think the latter is closer to the truth, it remains the case that he did not at any time press his rights.

I was most struck by the way in which both were able to express enormous hostility on the one hand, yet able to comport themselves in an apparently unemotional manner as soon as they switched focus from each other. The situation encompassed the expression of several emotions - anger, jealousy,

compassion, and 'shame' - that are characteristics recognised or valued by the Lamalama. It also demonstrates emotions as events that are constructed in social interaction. Tamara and Collin constructed their mutual dissatisfaction and hostility as anger and betrayal, to themselves and anyone else listening. To Tamara's kin present, all of whom had many months of familiarity with this tempestuous relationship, the nature of her emotions was less important than the public nature of the event. Because it was a public event, it became history, to be told and retold (probably by both parties, certainly by Tamara) as an entertaining story.

Tamara and Collin were the main characters in this drama, but the constable and I were also involved in the playing out of this very public expression of hostility between lovers. In the few moments between hurling insults and aggression at Tamara for her wrongs, and turning to fill the baby bag and complete her departure, Collin changed from a violent and unpleasant individual to a completely calm, rational being. It was as if the raging scene which enveloped the house was not happening. Both he and Tamara were oblivious of the constable and me during the playing out of the earlier elements of the drama, when the emotional intensity was greatest. Standing between them, I was seemingly invisible - Collin almost struck me as he reached out to punch Tamara. This in itself is not unusual, but by comparison with the switch to a dispassionate presentation of self that both made as the situation devolved suggested that however intense the emotion, it had its greatest reality in social expression. Simply feeling angry and dissatisfied with each other did nothing to resolve a futile situation. By choosing to act as they did, however, Collin and Tamara finally brought their relationship back into the social domain. They clearly and publicly stated that they were unable to continue it, and indeed did not have anything to do with each other for the rest of the time I was in Coen. In recent years they have been intermittently involved with each other again.

As a meta-discourse, the fight provided temporary resolution, because the protagonists were released for a time from the distressing circumstances and violence of their relationship. This interval was a matter of relief to Tamara's

older relatives, whose concerns about her safety, as well as their concerns about social stability, were abated for a time. Although Tamara and Collin have since resumed their relationship from time to time, it has never again involved the level of emotional intensity which provoked this drama.

To summarise, I define the affective domain as consisting of inner personal states of 'feeling', and outer public expressions of 'emotion'. I see the person as consisting of an internally feeling 'me' and an externally acting "I". It is the 'I' that acts in social dramas, such as the one described above. This perspective articulates with the interpretivist tradition in anthropological thought, which locates emotion in social practice rather than isolating it within the individual. From this perspective, emotion can be understood as a discourse through which the Lamalama, who are closely bound to each other through ties of genealogy and feeling, communicate with each other the affective state of their relationships with each other and the rest of the world.

In this section of the thesis I compare past and present practices in terms of local organisation. As the history already detailed indicates, the world in which the Lamalama find themselves today differs to that in which their forebears lived. Changes brought about by the colonial project have impacted on Lamalama relationships to the land, and I consider these by looking first at organisational structures as we know them to have existed in the past. I then introduce some of evidence of the land-based organisation manifest in the contemporary practice of the Lamalama.

By mapping the effects of history, changes that have occurred in the spatial domain are revealed as transformative, maintaining continuity with the past through enduring cultural practice.



Above: Lamalama people leaving the outstation vehicle, for a day's fishing on the coast south of the outstation.

Transformations In The Spatial Domain

Sutton (1989, 1998) has recently described indigenous traditions as “classical” and “post-classical” traditions, both of which are present in contemporary Aboriginal social practice. Classical traditions are associated with the pre-colonial past, and post-classical practices can be understood as those which have arisen in the period since colonisation. Sutton sees both kinds of tradition as “different phases of a single broad cultural history” (1998:60). Classical traditions persist in both remote and settled regions of Australia, and it may be necessary to distinguish specific classical or post-classical rules and practices from classical or post-classical whole social systems or underlying principles, to understand how this can occur:

Thus a specific rule of reckoning descent may be post-classical in form, but the fact that descent is the cornerstone of landed group identity in a particular case may be a classical principle that has come down more or less intact from pre-colonial times (Sutton 1998:60).

This understanding of Aboriginal social practices as living traditions informs my analysis of Lamalama social organisation. In the first section of this chapter, I discuss the work of earlier researchers in the region. They described a time in which colonial contact was relatively recent. The earlier world they write about was one in which classical forms were maintained, and lent stability to social practice in the wake of the disruptions of colonialism - as they continue to do in the post-colonial present. I also discuss the work of more recent scholars whose research provides additional detail and complexity to our understanding of classical social practices.

In the second section of the chapter I discuss contemporary Lamalama practice as land owners, in which continuity with the past is maintained through the vitality of some classical traditions. I describe the ways in which the

Lamalama connection to the land is expressed via the negotiation of emotion in relation to this underlying structure of classical traditions. Descent remains the “cornerstone of landed group identity” among the Lamalama, although the means of reckoning descent are post-classical in form. Thus the Lamalama fit with Sutton’s model of an Aboriginal group which figures land ownership by post-classical means. Contemporary Lamalama social practice is revealed as one in which the binding rules of the past have been transformed, so that to be Lamalama now is more a matter of choice, or achieved status, than it would have been in the pre-colonial world.

Much anthropological discussion about Aboriginal land tenure has been concerned with classical hunter-gatherer relationships as a defining feature of the connection to land. Although the Lamalama still employ hunting and gathering strategies, their rights and interests in land are now focussed somewhat differently. Previous discussions (eg. Peterson 1976; Hiatt 1962; Stanner 1965; Peterson and Long 1986) about the ‘territorial organisation’ of hunter-gatherers have added much to our understanding of Aboriginal interests in land. The advent of land rights legislation in the early 1970s, particularly in the Northern Territory, brought about a more detailed understanding of Aboriginal land tenure. Australia is now coming to terms with prior Aboriginal ownership through native title legislation, and the scholarly debate has also moved away from the more equivocal descriptions of ‘territoriality’ that prevailed in the past (Sutton 1995b:40), toward definite statements about Aboriginal ownership of land.

The debate that arose between Hiatt (1962;1966) and Stanner (1965) in the 1960s, out of discussion within the discipline about the economic features of Aboriginal land use, was particularly germane.¹⁷ It clarified the distinction between the right to use land for economic and other purposes, and the right to reside on it. This debate detailed patterns of residence within the landscape, with Hiatt (1962) comparing earlier understandings with findings from more recent anthropological fieldwork. It resulted in Stanner’s perception that concepts of

¹⁷ This debate is situated in relation to debate within the wider anthropological community about the nature of local organisation in hunter-gatherer societies. Steward and Service both proposed evolutionary models of band societies, based in notions of the fit between economic use and cultural practice. See Steward (1951; 1963) and Service (1962), also Lee and Devore (1968) for the parameters of the discussion.

land ownership were attached to the ritual rather than the economic sphere within Australia (Stanner 1965; Peterson and Long 1986), and the coining of a set of terms to describe his understanding of Aboriginal land relationships. These terms have been accepted as the convention within the discipline.

I apply these terms, 'band', 'range', and 'estate', as they were proposed by Stanner, in the following discussion. They help to clarify decision-making processes among regional social groups, and to explain the social relationships from which the present Lamalama group arose.

Research into classical land tenure patterns

The earliest studies of the Princess Charlotte Bay region include Curr (1886), Parry-Okeden (1897) and Roth (1898). The most significant aspect of Curr's (1886(11):389-391) Australia-wide study of Aboriginal culture to this study is that it included 22 words from Princess Charlotte Bay. Curr does not identify which of the Bay languages they represented, but Rigsby considers it likely to be an initial-dropping coastal Ayapathu variety (Jolly 1997:63). In the latter years of the nineteenth century, Police Commissioner Parry-Okeden and Northern Protector Roth both reported on social organisation in the Bay area. Parry-Okeden mapped and listed social groups (Parry-Okeden 1897, cited in Jolly), including the "Kokakulamaka" and the "Kokadalamalma" along the southern reaches of the Bay hinterland. Jolly (1997:64) notes that these two approximations "could be cognate with today's Lamalama; the latter two names in particular probably being corruptions of the name Lamalama."

The Northern Protector of Aboriginals, Walter E. Roth, spent a week during November 1898 at the Musgrave Native Police Camp south of Coen, and reported on his visit to the Commissioner of Police (Roth 1898). Roth described a number of groups of the region, placing the main "Kokolamalama" camp in the Bizant River mouth-Jeannette's Tableland area:

The Kokolamalama have their main camp in the vicinity of the mouth of the Bizant River, and Jeanette's Tableland: primarily, they are thus coastal blacks, though of late years they have

commenced to wander along the tracks of, but not to quite such lengths as, their southern, (Kokowara) neighbours” (Roth 1898:8).

In reality, these locations are quite a distance from each other. Roth’s mention of the Kokolamalama wandering in the tracks of their Kokowara neighbours seems to indicate a focus towards the south, at least at this time. Roth (1898:8) also noted that “the Kokolkoolo” (probably today’s Olkolo) at the time of his visit used to “walk-about” along the higher portions of Saltwater River, across to the upper reaches of the Hann and the Morehead Rivers, and “in a northerly direction they wander up to Port Stewart etc.” It is difficult to know what weight to give these early statements; the Olkolo of today, for example, do not make any claim on Port Stewart or its resources, although they and the Lamalama regard themselves as friends and neighbours.

Herbert Hale and Norman Tindale were sent to the Princess Charlotte Bay and neighbouring Flinders Islands region by the South Australian Museum in early 1927. They spent January and February there, and visited Silver Plains pastoral station and the Stewart River (Hale and Tindale 1933:65). Hale and Tindale wrote of meeting six tribes in the area and having “principal contacts” with the Mutamui, Walmbaria¹⁸ Kokolamalama, and Barunguan tribes. The Walmbaria occupied Flinders Island and Bathurst Head; and the Mutamui the area around the Mack River (Hale and Tindale 1933:67). Both regions are to the south-east of Port Stewart. Hale and Tindale (1933:68-70) describe the Mutamui and the Walmbaria as coastal dwellers, using the resources of the sea. The Barunguan tribe extended “along the coast from Running Creek in the south nearly to Cape Direction”, and consisted of “at least five local groups or clans”¹⁹

Closely neighbouring the Mutamui and the Walmbaria were the Kokolamalama, the inhabitants of the Normanby and North Kennedy Rivers. Hale and Tindale describe them as “largely an inland people” restricted by a swampy and mangrove-lined coastline. Those of the Kokolamalama who lived

¹⁸ Sutton (1993:29) has recently pointed out that they were in error in describing the Flinders Island people as Walmbaria; *Aba Walmbarriya* was in fact a term in the Flinders Island language, referring to the neighbouring people of Princess Charlotte Bay.

¹⁹ Hale and Tindale (1933:67-68) point out that imputing tribes to land in this fashion provides only a general understanding because of the “indefinite” nature of boundaries between the groups.

near Jane Table Hill were seemingly in close contact with their Walmbaria neighbours to the north. This amity is reflected in the affective bonds that still exist between the descendants of these groups. Hale and Tindale also describe another neighbouring group, the Yetteneru. They lived:

west of the Kokolamalama, along the Saltwater Creek and Annie River. They are called the “salt pan blackfellows” by natives speaking English, and use a dialectic variation of Kokolamlama. They are nearly extinct, only one old man and five women remaining alive in 1927. There were two clans, one on the seashore and one inland, but little could be learned about them. (Hale and Tindale 1933:70)

It is largely from Hale and Tindale’s “Kokolamalama”, “Barunguan” and “Yetteneru”, that the Lamalama people of today are descended. Rigsby (Rigsby and Hafner 1994c:85-86) has found that the term “Yetteneru” is not recognised today, but notes that “the vocabulary that Hale and Tindale published is clearly from the Umbuygamu language”, a clan language still used by Lamalama people (discussed below). Rigsby (Rigsby and Hafner 1994c:86) has also tried to relate the term “Barunguan” to a language or group name recognised by knowledgeable Lamalama people, with “no success”.

Hale and Tindale (1933:70) describe the Barunguan tribe as consisting of local groups or clans which they name as the Ompeila and the “Night Island” groups, and the Yuinbata, Entjinga, and Apownna or Konanunuma groups. Hale and Tindale thus suggested a social division of the Bay into northern and southern regions, centring on the Port Stewart area. In the north, the Ompeila hailed from Rocky River up to the Nesbit River, while the Night Island people further north of them were known to intermarry with other Barunguan clans, and spoke a language closely related to Ompeila (see Figure 4).

Hale and Tindale deemed the Apownna of the Massy River region to be a greatly reduced population, which had joined up with the surviving Entjinga group, both of whom maintained separate camps. The Entjinga lived along the banks of the Stewart River, “the mouth of which is also known as Entjinga”. They state that the Entjinga formerly hunted for game up to thirty miles inland,

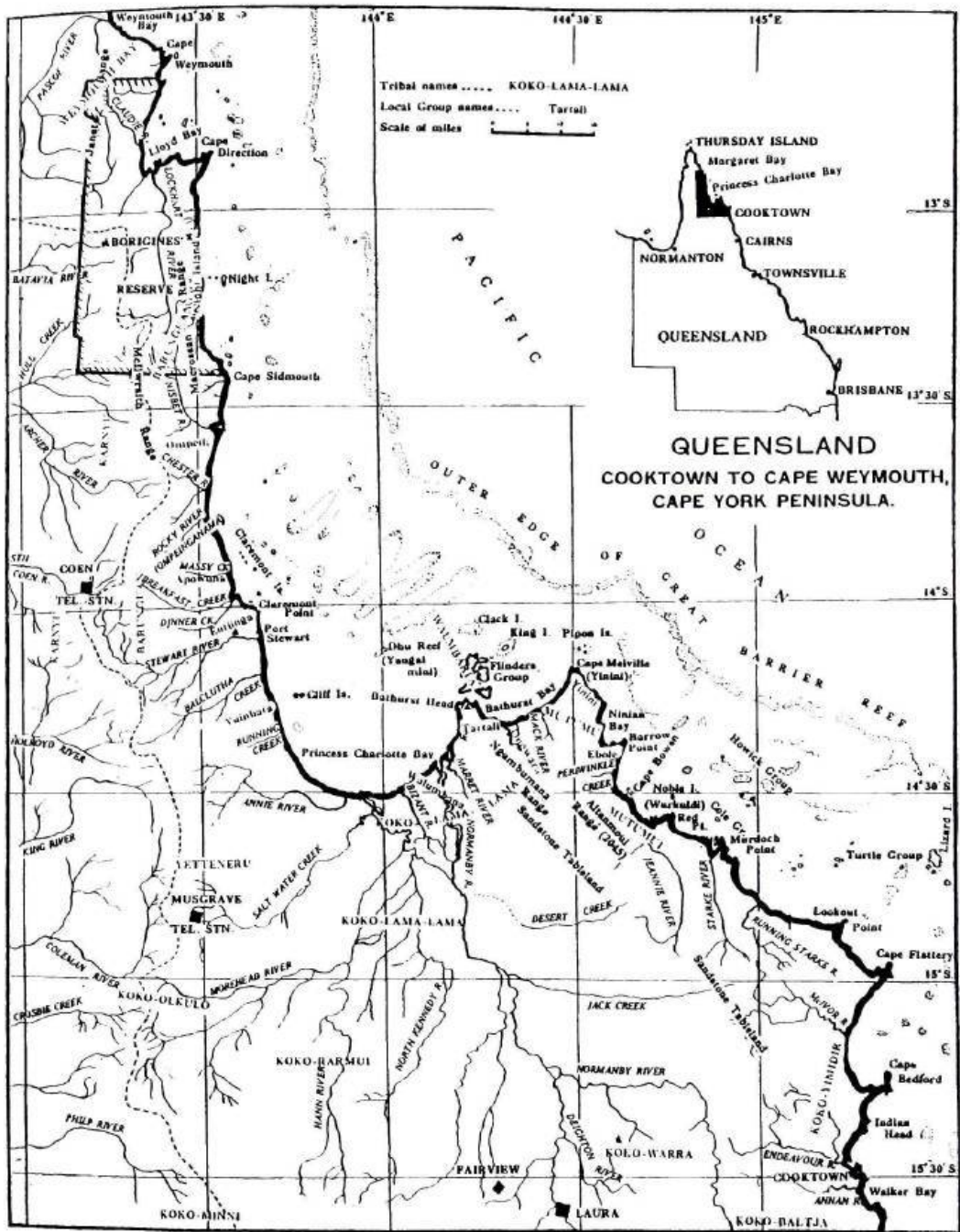


Figure 4: Hale and Tindale's map of tribes of the Princess Charlotte Bay region (Hale and Tindale 1993:65).

but that the stocking of the nearby range with cattle had forced them to confine themselves “to the relatively infertile sand beaches, coastal swamps, and mangrove-lined foreshores”. The Yuinbata occupied country south of the Stewart River, “on the southern bank of the mouth of which they make their northernmost camp”, with their main camps on Balclutha Creek south of the Stewart.

By the time of Hale and Tindale’s visit, regional Aboriginal groups had few living children (Walmbaria, Kokolamalama, and Barunguan), and reduced populations compared to what was known of earlier generations, as seems to have been the case with the Yetteneru on the Stewart (Hale and Tindale 1933:77; 79). Apart from noting the “sterility” of some of the local countryside, Hale and Tindale do not discuss probable causes for these reductions in population, other than to note that Mutamui country had been “adversely affected by the advance of cattle stations in the south” (Hale and Tindale 1933:78). They also note that what they refer to as the Walmbaria “tribal boundary” (Hale and Tindale 1933:77), that is, classical social arrangements in relation to land, was maintained throughout the living memory of the group, despite reduced populations, and it is reasonable to believe that the same would apply to neighbouring groups.

Hale and Tindale obviously met with inland people – they describe the “Koko-warra” and “Karnyu” as inland tribes (Hale and Tindale 1933:69, 71) – but their concern was the people of the coast. Their description depends on an implicit understanding of a regional social division into coastal versus inland dwellers. Hale and Tindale’s analysis is based on categories of tribes and clans or local groups, but these categories are not defined. However, “tribes” are presented as the land-holding group, and their “local group” category generally refers to residential groups consisting of extremely small numbers of people localised around river mouths and other features of the landscape.

Donald F. Thomson

Thomson first visited Princess Charlotte Bay shortly after Hale and Tindale, from May to July 1928, passing through again on his return journey from November to December of the same year (Thomson 1934:229). Following

Aboriginal usage, he (Thomson 1934:237) described the people of the Bay region as “the Kawadji, the people of the east, or Mälknänidji, sandbeachmen”, and the “Kanidji”, being the people of the inland. Thomson saw the Kanidji, who inhabited the central highlands, as “nomadic hunters like the typical Australians of the inland”. The Kawadji by comparison were less nomadic, and “expert canoe builders, fishermen and seafarers”. The Kawadji were comprised of “the Koko Ompindamo, the Yintjingga, the Ompela, the Koko Ya’o and the Wutati” (Figure 5). Thomson also notes in this description that these sandbeach people spoke of the “Koko Ai’ebadu” as Kanidji.

Thomson’s view was that coastal “tribes” (as he referred to maximal group aggregations), were restricted to a narrow coastal strip under the mountainous spur of the Great Dividing Range that runs most of the length of the Peninsula. He saw the range as a natural barrier that acted to restrict contact between the coastal and inland peoples. Yet Thomson (1934:240) also notes the Ai’ebadu were in contact with the coastal Yintjingga, trading magic charms for dugong hunting, millstones, spears, and red ochre, and receiving in return bailer shells, ground stingray spines for tipping fighting spears, and mother-of-pearl pendants.

Exchange relationships such as this are usually more than simply matters of economics, and Thomson imputes a psychological motive to this trade - mutual fear - noting that even in 1928 the Yintjingga frequently spoke of raids by the Ai’ebadu. Yet as Rigsby’s linguistic research has demonstrated (Rigsby 1992:357 fn5; and see Chapter Six below), the Yintyingga kin terms that Thomson (1972:28) recorded are actually Ayapathu terms. Thus it seems that the group of people residing in the Port Stewart region at the time of Thomson’s visit had taken on a more local identity associated with Yintyingga, the name “conventionally used to label the wider surrounding lower Stewart area, which Aboriginal people more often now call Port Stewart” (Rigsby 1992:354).

When Hale and Tindale visited the year before, in 1927, there were two groups living on opposite sides of the river to each other, but when Thomson arrived he observed the two had amalgamated into a single small group of 15-20 people camped at the Stewart River estuary (Thomson 1929:5, 1934:241; Hale

and Tindale 1933: 36-64; Rigsby 1992:359). Unfortunately Hale and Tindale do not inform us of the names the two camps used to refer to each other.

Thomson also notes that clans or hordes on Cape York Peninsula could act independently, so that hordes of the same tribe might fight each other:

In this region, as in other parts of Australia, the tribe is merely a linguistic unit and is not a war making group. The localised patrilineal totemic clans (Thomson, :449-505) were self-governing units, and the fighting that took place intermittently, generally having its origin in blood feuds, or in expeditions to capture women, was carried out by clans, or more accurately by hordes (Thomson, 1935:462, note 4) acting independently (Thomson 1972:1).

Here Thomson appears to be trying to fit the ethnographic fact to Radcliffe-Browne's terms for Aboriginal social organisation. His data fits uncomfortably with the model, which does not adequately explain regional political process. The later research of Sutton, Rigsby and Chase in the Princess Charlotte Bay region has yielded a more elaborate picture of the way its people organised their links to land. Rigsby's later research has indicated a more complex situation, in which it is likely that Thomson's Koko Ai'edabu (in Rigsby's spelling 'Ayapathu') owned country around the coast as well as along the range. Rigsby writes that although the Ayapathu language had previously been understood as restricted to the inland around Ebagoolah and extending north towards Coen:

some knowledgeable older Aboriginal people have told me that it was also the language of several clans whose estates were situated along the coast from Running Creek to the Stewart River (1992:357).

My own research has supported this view. On an aerial site survey in 1994,²⁰ I accompanied some senior men, one Lamalama and two Ayapathu, all of whom agreed that Ayapathu territory extended onto the plain below the range for a distance of approximately ten kilometres.

²⁰ This survey was conducted by the Cape York Land Council in November of that year.

More recent research

A new wave of research was carried out from the 1970s, in which “a common theme has been the processes by which interests in land are acquired and transmitted” (Peterson and Long 1986:20). In particular, J. von Sturmer, Chase, Anderson, Trigger and the anthropologists and linguists Haviland, Sutton, and Rigsby²¹ all carried out research on Cape York Peninsula from this time. Like Sutton, Chase, and Anderson, Rigsby carried out research on the east coast of Cape York Peninsula. Rigsby and Sutton (eg. Sutton and Rigsby 1979; 1982; Rigsby and Sutton 1982) have written a number of papers that examine the relationships between people, language, and land, and much of Rigsby’s research has concentrated on the Princess Charlotte Bay region. In a 1992 paper about the languages of the area and what is known of their organisation during the pre-colonial period, Rigsby (1992:353-360) describes the languages spoken, and their distribution across pericoastal Princess Charlotte Bay.

The accompanying map (Figure 6) was originally included in my previous Honours research (Hafner 1990), and is based on Rigsby’s own map and information (Rigsby 1992:355). It should be noted that the map is included here for the corresponding clarification it offers through comparison to Thomson’s map, and it indicates *relative* locations only. It should not be taken as an attempt to synchronise the existence of languages or associated social groups at any particular location in time or place.

Rigsby (1992:354) has written that the Aboriginal view of the Princess Charlotte Bay region is of a landscape consisting of hundreds of named ‘countries’, being named tracts or sites, which:

includ[e] streams, swamps, lagoons, certain saltpans and sand ridges, islands and reefs. Country names often label focal sites as well as their surrounding areas.

²¹ Female anthropologists also worked on Cape York Peninsula during this period, as indeed they had earlier. Ursula McConnell worked around Coen, especially with Wik-speaking people, as well as with the Kuku Yalanji further to the south. During the 1970s Diane Smith worked in the Aurukun region, and Leslie (Haviland) Devereux and Fiona Terwiel-Powell worked at Hopevale.

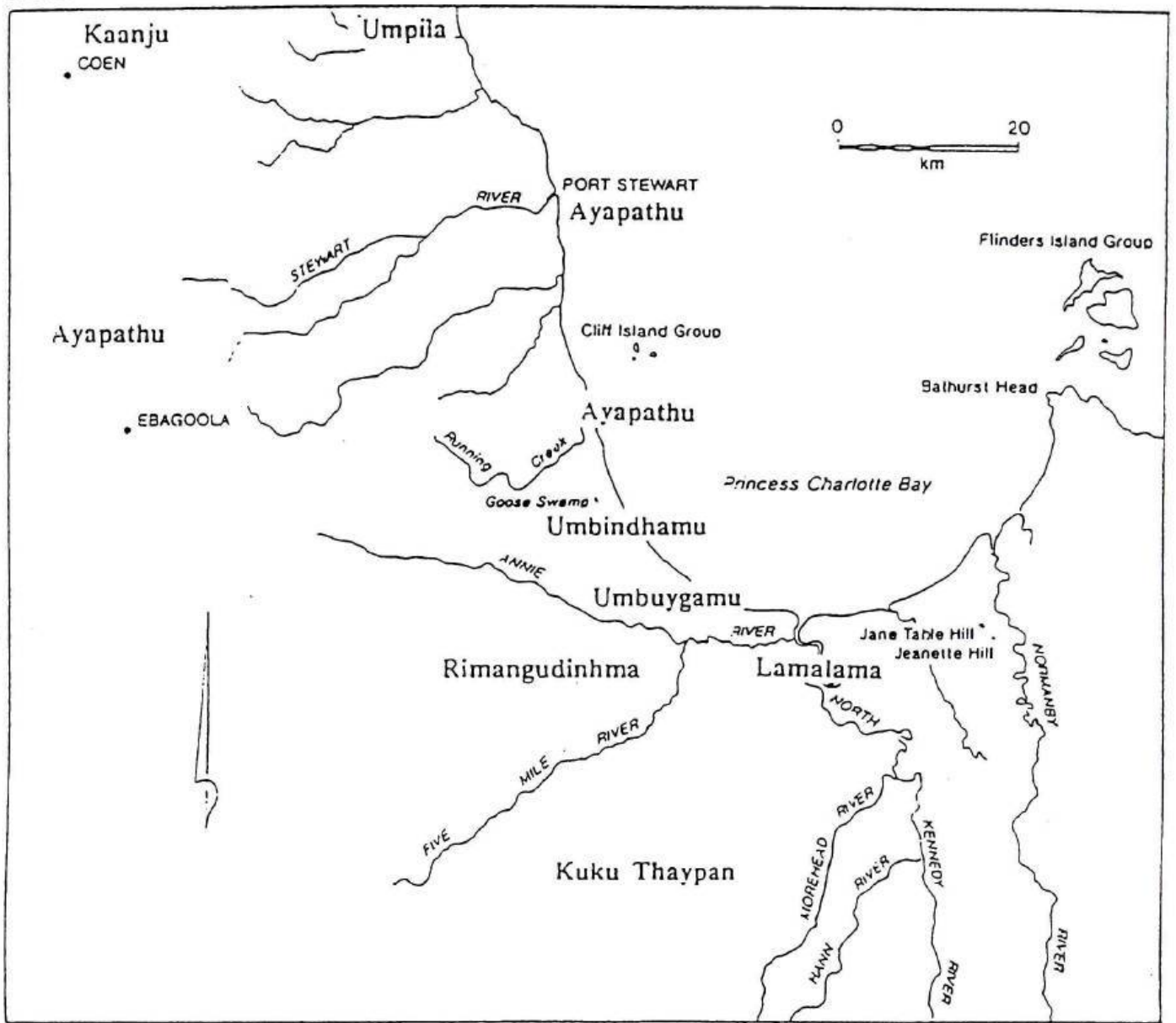


Figure 6: Relative locations of Princess Charlotte Bay languages (Hafner 1990).

Yintyingga (Thomson's "Yintjingga"), the name for a former freshwater swamp on the south side of the Stewart River estuary is an important example:

The name means 'boxwood tree' in the Ayapathu and Umpila languages and the site is indeed a boxwood tree 'story place' or totemic centre. However, the name Yintyingga is conventionally used to label the wider surrounding lower Stewart area ... (Rigsby 1992:354).

Rigsby writes that the land-owning groups associated with the region were patrilineal, that is, clans "whose members include people related through males", each of which owned a number of countries:

The clans too are named in the several indigenous languages of the region, and their names are generic-specific compounds whose first member means 'people'. Often the name can be glossed as 'the people of such-and such-country', but sometimes a clan is named for one of its principle 'stories' or totems. For example, the Mbarimanggudhinhma clan is named for Nggudinh country, and the Mbatorrarrbinh clan is named after one of its members' principal totems, *torr* 'dog' (These two clan names are in the Lamalama language) (Rigsby 1992:354).

Rigsby (1992:355) notes that "the whole set of a clan's exclusive and shared rights in countries comprises its estate", and that such 'countries' may or may not be contiguously distributed over the landscape. In the case of 'company land', countries are jointly owned by more than one clan, such as the region known as Ngawal on the lower Annie River, where three separate clans have rights.

In the Aboriginal view, each clan owns its own 'language', but from a linguistic perspective, Rigsby notes:

the distinctive features of a clan language variety may be just a small number of words peculiar to it, and it may be mutually intelligible (with minimal or no language learning required) with other clan varieties. Aboriginal people sometimes (but not always) group together mutually intelligible varieties as linguists do and call them 'languages' too On this basis, one can

recognise six different indigenous languages owned by clans in the region. These are Lamalama, Umbuygamu, Rimanggudinhma, Umbindhamu, Ayapathu and Umpila.

Lamalama, the first of these, “is a group of mutually intelligible varieties owned by perhaps a dozen clans whose countries extend from the Normanby River mouth around the margin of the lower bay to where the mangroves open up into sand beach west of the North Kennedy River mouth” (Rigsby 1992:356). The estate of the Mbarrukarraw-speaking clan is focussed on Jane Table Hill, in the south-east (Rigsby 1992:355). Some of the older Lamalama people remember growing up here as children, and spoke of it in evidence during the Lakefield and Cliff Islands National Parks claims hearings (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996a:s.635).

Rigsby’s (1992) second Princess Charlotte Bay language is Umbuygamu:

a group of mutually intelligible varieties owned by three clans whose focal area is around Repmana or Dinner Hole, a lagoon that transects the sand ridges about 10 km west of the North Kennedy mouth. One of these clans, the Morrobolam, owns several non-contiguous countries inland and on the coast, including the Cliff Islands just off-shore The Umbuygamu-speaking clans’ southern land adjoins the western estates of Lamalama-speaking clans (1992b:356).²²

Rigsby refers to the third language as “Rimanggudinhma”, following the usage of two of its last speakers. This name is “a bilingual phrase built with a

²² The application to claim the Cliff Islands National Park was made by the Yintjingga Aboriginal Land Trust (the trustees group formed in 1992 to accept title to the former PPR 11 at Port Stewart transferred to the Lamalama under the terms of the *Aboriginal Land Act* 1991), “with and on behalf of the Morrobolam clan and their descendants’ ” (QLT 1996:1). Through processes discussed in this thesis, the Lamalama claim to Cliff Islands was conducted according to *pama* Law. The result was a claim made on a tribal basis, although clan identification was not lost, as the QLT (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996b:s255) notes:

Despite the distinctions just noted, each of those clans is now considered to be part of the wider Lamalama tribal grouping, so that, in effect, the claim is being made on a tribal as much as a clan basis. Some people gave evidence as Lamalama people rather than as members of extant clans.

Lamalama compound form meaning ‘from Nggudinh country’”, although this language is generally unnamed by Aboriginal people. It is spoken by two clans:

whose estates adjoin the southern Umbuygamu and western Lamalama lands. The Bighurrnggudinh clan (Mbarimanggudinhma in Lamalama) has countries to the north along the Annie River, starting at Ngawal where it has a shared ‘company’ interest. Their southern neighbours along the Five Mile River, the Badhornga ... clan, spoke a variety of the same language (Rigsby 1992:356).

Umbindhamu, the fourth language, Rigsby writes:

is owned by a single clan whose estate is focused on Goose Swamp, inland and south of Running Creek, but it also has inland and coastal countries to the north. The main Umbindhamu-speaking clan land adjoins the Umbuygamu-speaking clan estates to the south (1992:357).

Rigsby also notes that although this language is referred to as Umbindhamu, its owners refer to it as “Umpitamu”.

As noted above, Rigsby’s fifth language, Ayapathu, had previously been thought to be restricted to the inland, and then as extending north along the range towards Coen. Rigsby (1992) writes that knowledgeable older people have told him that Ayapathu was “also the language of several clans whose estates were situated along the coast from Running Creek to the Stewart River”. As these clans have died out, rights in their estates have been passed on to descendants who now identify as Port Stewart Lamalama people:

Only a few older people remember the prior Ayapathu clan and language presence in this coastal area (running westwards up to the range). While they most often use Ayapathu as the tribal or ethnic label for a small group of people, the descendants of the inland Ayapathu who now live in Coen, they also apply it to the set of mutually intelligible language varieties found both inland and on the coast (Rigsby 1992:357).

The last language Rigsby (1992) describes, Umpila, is the name the Port Stewart Lamalama people use for:

one of several named mutually intelligible language varieties that mainly are found north (up to the Olive River mouth) and west (up to and along the range) of the study region. Kuuku Ya'u, Kaanju and Kuuku Yani (also called Kuuku Yin(i)) are other such varieties, and speakers can label even finer distinctions ... (1992:357-358).

The research of Rigsby and the linguists LaMont West Jr and David Thompson has revealed that Kuuku Yani was the language of one or more clans who owned countries on the coast both north and south of the Stewart River. Thompson (Rigsby 1992:358) was told that Kuuku Yani was found “north of Breakfast Creek extending through the Massey up to Cape Sidmouth (where Umpila proper begins)”, and “south of the Stewart (near Letterbox Creek)”. Rigsby (1992:358) was also told by a senior Lamalama man that another clan owned countries at Three Mile Lagoon and along Rocky Creek south of the Stewart, referring to their language as Umpila rather than Kuuku Yani. Table 4 provides a comparison of the social group categories described by Hale and Tindale, Thomson, and Rigsby discussed in this section of the thesis.

Finally, Jolly (1997:63-67) considers available published evidence on linguistic relationships in the Princess Charlotte Bay region, ultimately drawing on Laycock's (1969) work. Her discussion and its sources shed light on contemporary identity in the Princess Charlotte Bay region. She argues that correlation between sound changes in some of the languages, and certain social features, suggest a slightly different pattern of contact for speakers of the Umpithamu language than the rest of the languages that make up the contemporary Lamalama group.

Jolly writes (1997:64) that it is not clear how the groups mentioned by Parry-Okeden and Roth are related to each other. Parry-Okeden, for example, seemed to be talking about social groups: “one language may be common to many [named groups], and one dialect will often cover a large area of country” (Parry-

Okeden, cited by Jolly 1997). Roth's labels designate languages, each including a number of more or less mutually intelligible dialects (Jolly 1997:64).

| | Hale & Tindale (1933) | Thomson (1934; 1972) | Rigsby (1992) |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|
| Ecological divisions | | Kawadji, Mälkänadji (Kanadji) | |
| Tribes | Mutamui, Walmbaria, Kokolamalama, Barunguan, Yetteneru, Koko-warra, Karnyu | Koko Ompindamo, Yintingga, Ompila, Koko Ya'ö, Wutati (Kawadji) Koko Ai'ebadu (Kanadji) | |
| Local groups or clans | Barunguan tribe: Ompeila, Night Island people, Yuinbata, Entjingga, Apownna, Konanunuma | | |
| Clans/hordes | | Not named | |
| Clan languages | | | Lamalama, Umbuygamu Rimanggudinhma Umbindhamu/ Umpitamu, Ayapathu Umpila (Kuuku Ya'u, Kuku yani), Kaanju |
| Clans | | | Mbarimanggudinhma/ Bighurrng-gudinh Mbatorrarrbinh Morrobolam |

Table 4: Comparison of researchers' social group categories at Princess Charlotte Bay.

It is worth noting here that Roth (1898:4-6) also wrote that “Blacks call themselves after the localities in which they were born”. Roth’s view was that where a group occupied a comparatively small area,²³ and spoke a language associated with it, then “the language spoken is named after the country occupied.” One of three examples Roth (1898:6) provides of this phenomenon was Koko-lamalama: “Koko-lamalama = language spoken on eastern half of Princess Charlotte Bay.”

Roth then goes on to note that “the collection of individuals speaking a specialised language, a distinct dialect, are often named after it, in the same manner as the inhabitants of, say, Wales speak ‘Welsh’.” (Roth 1898:6-7). Here Roth seems to be indicating both languages and social groups as associated with particular tracts of country. He does however note that while groups shared land, culture, and language, dialects were more or less mutually intelligible. Jolly (1997:64) concludes that Roth considered the language groups, but not the dialect groups, to have been socially independent of each other. In Roth’s scheme, the language group seems to equate to something more like a land-based identity group.

Jolly notes that the later visitors Hale and Tindale seemed to think that boundaries between named groups were fairly constant, and, as I noted above, they imply that the peoples of the Bay hinterland fall into two groups along an approximately north-south axis. Jolly (1997:65) notes that Hale and Tindale’s vocabulary lists “certainly suggest a discontinuity between these groups.” She also remarks on Thomson’s tendency to treat all the coastal peoples of eastern Cape York Peninsula as similar (Thomson was very taken with the “sandbeach” culture of coastal peoples), and notes a suggestion in his writings of cultural discontinuity between the northern and southern Bay groups (Jolly 1997:66). Northern groups used a double outrigger canoe, while southern groups used a single outrigger, for example (Thomson 1952:2, cited by Jolly).

²³ Here Roth seems to conflate residential occupation and economic use of land; he refers to “occupation” of land and “peregrinations” within it.

Jolly notes that the distinctions between inland and coastal groups, and northern and southern groups recur in later linguistic work. Turning to Laycock (1969), she (1997: 66) notes that he divided what he designated as the Lamalamic group of languages into three sub-groups. There were the northern Umbuykamu and Umbinhamu, the central Warungung and Parimankutinma, and in the southern region, Tableland Lamalama, and languages of what are now known to be the inland territories of the Kuku Thaypan and Aghu Tharrnggala groups. Jolly (1997:66) writes:

In calling all of these languages “Lamalamic”, Laycock was recording not only a linguistic relationship, but also his informants’ sense of the members of these groups as a single social group.

Jolly concludes this discussion by noting that while Lamalama is still recognised as the name given to the language of the Jane Table Hill area, it is also the term of contemporary identification for the pericoastal Princess Charlotte Bay people from the Stewart River to the Tableland (Jane Table Hill). As such, it is used by its members in self-identification, as well as by other *pama* in reference to a social group. Jolly lists as “the [present] Lamalama mob” a group which includes people who speak dialects of Lamalama, Rimanggudinhma, Umbuygamu, and Umpithamu. This list differs from Rigsby’s, detailed above, in that it does not include Ayapathu.

Importantly, Jolly notes that the status of Umpithamu within the Lamalamic group is less certain owing to the fact that it does not share some of the more unusual phonological features of the other Lamalamic languages. These changes, Jolly (1997:67) asserts, were produced by regular sound changes “which appear to have been more extensive in Lamalama, Umbuygamu, and Rimanggudinhma than in Umpithamu.” She proposes a social explanation. Despite some similarities suggesting a degree of contact, the differences between the languages of the southern peoples, and their northern, Umpithamu-speaking neighbours implies that the more northerly location sheltered them from the social changes moving through the area at or just before the time that records appear (Jolly 1997:67).

For the moment, I note here that Jolly's review of the evidence fills out the picture of fluctuating group formation, and its likely effect on contemporary group identity, that has occurred within roughly the last hundred years.²⁴ Jolly presents a picture of population loss, and rapid social change, in the early moments of colonial contact. Changes in regional land tenure patterns ensued. Earlier researchers such as Hale and Tindale and Thomson noted social change brought on by colonialism, but Jolly also points out the changes occurring within *pama* systems – the adoption of double outrigger canoes, but the rejection of more elaborate ritual systems, for example.

Thus changes to the way in which the people of Princess Charlotte Bay related to the land can be seen as occurring from at least our earliest observations of them. The classical rules which governed human interaction were already undergoing change at the first moments in which they were recorded. Land tenure among the Princess Charlotte Bay *pama* is no longer primarily concerned with an understanding of ownership as a dense pattern of named countries associated with particular languages, as earlier researchers recorded it to be. Sutton (1998) suggests that historical changes in reckoning the rules of descent and inheritance in many parts of Australia have resulted in transformations to systems of land ownership in the post-colonial period. This interpretation applies to the Princess Charlotte Bay systems.

The contemporary world: notions of place

Hirsch and O'Hanlon (1995) have recently commented on the dearth of anthropological investigation into the significance of landscape, despite its central importance to the discipline as the location of the people it studies, and their subjective experience with it. Thus the landscape becomes a 'place' in terms of anthropological investigation. The geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1977:12) some twenty years ago turned his attention to place and space as domains of significance to

²⁴ Jolly's interpretation of linguistic and other evidence of culture change and its effect on group formation and identification is expanded upon in Appendix Two.

human societies, noting the relationship between sensory experience and abstract space:

Space is experienced directly as having room in which to move. Moreover, by shifting from one place to another, a person acquires a sense of direction. Forward, backward, and sideways are experientially differentiated, that is, known unconsciously in the act of motion. Space assumes a rough coordinate frame centred on the mobile and purposive self.

He saw place as differing to space through the meanings applied to it:

[S]pace can be variously experienced as the relative location of objects or places, as the distances and expanses that separate or link places, and - more abstractly - as the area defined by a network of places (Tuan 1977:12).

Tuan conceptualised place as “a special kind of object”, “a concretion of value”, and a mental construct in which we dwell (Tuan 1977:12). Space is transformed into place as it “acquires definition and meaning” (Tuan 1977:136). Later in his hypothesis, he makes a connection between human emotion and the concept of homeland, tracing a brief history of this kind of attachment as it has been manifested from classical times through to the present. Despite his rather weak explanation of Aboriginal attachments to place, he nonetheless argues that hunters and gatherers are likely to be “intensely attached to place” (Tuan 1977:157). Tuan employs a metaphor of ‘rootedness’ to speak about the specific experience of attachment to homeland, which in the case of hunters and gatherers takes the form of kinship with the land: “The whole countryside is [the hunter-gatherer’s] family tree” (Tuan 1977:158).

More recent writing on the subject posits homeland as a “moral destination” (Malkki 1997) in some cases. Writing comparatively about two categories of Hutu refugees in Tanzania who fled the genocidal massacres in Burundi in 1972, Malkki (1997) observed separate responses among those settled in a “rigorously organized, isolated” refugee camp, from those who moved into “the more fluid setting” of Kigoma Township on Lake Tanganyika. Those who

moved into the town moved away from their refugee status. They derived identity from the social context of the township, becoming “broad persons” rather than assuming an essential ethnic identity as Hutu, Burundian or Tanzanian. Those displaced and confined in the refugee camp were citizens of neither Burundi nor Tanzania, coming instead to recategorise themselves as a “moral community” of “‘natives’ in exile”. Malkki notes:

The homeland here is not so much a territorial or topographic entity as a moral destination. And the collective, idealized return to the homeland is not a mere matter of travelling. The real return can only come at the culmination of the trials and tribulations in exile (Malkki 1997:67).

By comparison, for many of the town refugees, returning to the homeland meant a return to what was now merely the “spatially demarcated place” of Burundi, and its association with the past, away from the lives they had constructed for themselves in the present in Kigoma. By comparison, the homeland was more than simply a geographic location for the camp refugees, and it existed outside the bounds of political events. The opposition that Malkki poses in relation to homeland, as a moral destination rather than merely a destination in space has application to Lamalama attitudes to homeland, although their circumstances are different.

The context for the modern Lamalama attachment to their land, in the sense of the land as a moral destination, is its appropriation through colonialism. Historical events have brought irrevocable change to the physical and social landscape of the region, with the result that the Lamalama were displaced from their homeland by pastoral and other interests. Their response differs to the separate Hutu responses. Although their homeland remains the moral centre of their existence, they have not essentialised it to the same degree as the camp refugees, nor has it become merely the location of past associations as with the Kigoma Township refugees.

In exile, the Lamalama have remained in proximity to their land, although their access to it has been externally controlled. Their situation has long been one

in which their actions and intentions have been confounded by the actions and intentions of the state and its associates. This has produced a diverse emotional response among the group, all of which is demonstrably encompassed by the concept of attachment. In its most dramatic expression, Lamalama attachment to the homeland at the beginning of my fieldwork was of a profound sense of yearning.

Two other recent works also inform my understanding of historical events and their effect on the people of the Princess Charlotte Bay region. These are Noyes' (1992) study of the discourse of colonial space, focussed on German South West Africa (Namibia), and Morphy's (1993) paper on the appropriation of the landscape by colonial forces, centring on Roper Bar in the Northern Territory. Noyes' study is concerned with the notion of space and the way in which it is reproduced in the colonial situation. He approaches his subject through examination of colonial literature and its role in the structuring of experience. His concern with textual representation, and, in terms of colonial practice, "the spaces which are opened up in looking and writing" (Noyes 1992:21) is somewhat removed from my aims here, but I nonetheless share some perspectives on the nature of colonial intent with Noyes.

First among these is a persistent myth of colonisation – the idea that the "[c]olonial landscape is not found by the colonizer as a neutral and empty space, no matter how often he assures us that this is so" (Noyes 1992:7). Rather, the *production* of empty space is one of the most important strategies of the colonial endeavour. Second, through reference to other works, notably Carter's *The Road to Botany Bay* (1989), I interpret Noyes (1992:12-15) as introducing his reader to the idea that colonialism is concerned with the systematic organisation of space, through the production of "'places' which can be integrated into a colonial social structure and administration" (Noyes 1992:12). This domination of space is achieved through the everyday actions of human beings. The establishment of territoriality, meaning the political act of taking territory in Noyes' interpretation, occurs in a social context, usually determined by conflict (Noyes 1992:15).

Morphy's paper in part takes up this latter theme, demonstrating the way in which the domination of the Ngalakan Aboriginal landscape - constructed and understood through cosmology - by the landscape and intentions of pastoralism, occurred through "both a physical and a conceptual transformation of the land" (Morphy 1993:206). Morphy writes:

The processes which created the physical landscape of colonialism and the cultural landscape of the cattle stations developed together almost without reference to the Aboriginal landscape. Landscape was located as part of the colonial process. Its position changed as that process moved on, as the 'wild' landscape became the 'frontier' and then the 'outback' and finally 'settled' Australia. The speed of the process and the duration of each particular state varied regionally, most of Australia became 'outback' quite early on but some places remain to the present on the frontier (Morphy 1993:208-209).

Morphy's purpose is not to elaborate on the Ngalakan conceptualisation of the landscape, noting instead that "it fits in with the general pattern described for other Aboriginal groups" (Morphy 1993:232). He informs us that this involves a concept of the land as the creation of Dream Time ancestral beings who journeyed across it creating features of the landscape, and leaving behind them songs, sacred objects, and practices commemorating their creative acts. They also left spiritual forces in the ground which are released through ceremonial action, and which are "integral to the process of spirit conception", part of the way in which "continuity is established between ancestral beings, social groups and land". Thus "features of the landscape are signs both of people and of the embodiment of spiritual forces" (Morphy 1993:232). Morphy's understanding can be generalised to other parts of northern Australia, including Cape York Peninsula, although it is fair to say that the Ngalakan totemic elaboration between features of the landscape and its people that Morphy (1993:232-234) describes differs in some of its forms from what is known of the regional classical cosmology in Cape York Peninsula.

The Peninsula region is still perceived as part of the frontier in other parts of Australia. Every dry season, hundreds of tourists arrive in four-wheel drive vehicles, seeking to personally discover and experience an iconic element of

Australian existence – life on the frontier - in reflection of the earlier explorations of the colonial process, when a particular cultural view of the landscape, and practice within it, was transformed by the colonial domination of its spaces. The transformation of the regional landscape occurred rapidly, and violently for the most part. The perception of colonial endeavour that both Noyes and Morphy apply, that of a system that aims to clear the landscape in order to enact its own intention, thus changing pre-existing human understanding and action, is of a kind with *pama* experience of the settlement of Cape York Peninsula.

It is apparent in the history already described that the colonial project in Cape York Peninsula involved the removal of its people, and the transformation of its landscape through the intrusion of a colonial administration which would impose its own system of place. The early administrative desire to open up the northern reaches clearly involved the need to clear the land of its past associations in order that it might become part of the known colonial territory. This project has not been entirely successful, as evidenced by the continuity of Lamalama associations with their land, and each other.

A cleared landscape

Conditions of formal and informal confidentiality restrict the picture of contemporary land ownership I am able to present here. In the first place, formal conditions of confidentiality apply to information contained in the Lakefield and Cliff Islands land claims reports, and some of the knowledge about country which I recorded with the Lamalama was specifically recorded for the purposes of those claims. This includes detail of clan names and named sites and tracts of country which add to the pattern of land tenure revealed by Rigsby's published material (above). Lamalama traditions about the dissemination of knowledge also apply. In some cases I was specifically told by them not to divulge information, and in others their concern with confidentiality was indicated by the way in which it was imparted to me. This condition included passing on information to other Lamalama, as well as more generally. In particular, young people were regarded as unsuitable to hold sacred information such as mythologies associated with Story places.

The transmission of important cultural knowledge is often a casualty of the processes of colonisation, in which population reduction, and an accompanying loss of the full complement of social roles is usual. While there are knowledgeable senior Lamalama people, during my study period they were hesitant about revealing the extent of their knowledge, or passing it on. Most commonly I was told that young people, and young men in particular, ‘got no brains’, that is, were not responsible enough to be entrusted with sacred knowledge. In my view this included the perception that they were simply not interested, revealed by their general preference for the consociality of the drinking and fighting life in Coen rather than life at the outstation camp. The continuing struggle to gain secure title to any land within their traditional estates, combined with a history of dispossession and alcohol abuse at all levels of the group, meant besieged elders preferred the more stringent option of protecting their knowledge with silence. I interpret this extreme concern with maintaining the secrecy of sacred knowledge as a post-classical transformation of previous traditions.

It is not appropriate in *pama* Law for young people, now the numerical majority, to hold such knowledge, but this rule is applied differently than it was in the past. Thomson (1934;1972) described a gerontocratic society in which status and privilege were the prerogative of senior men, and to some extent Rigsby (Sutton and Rigsby 1982) has also. My experience was different. The Lamalama that I knew and lived with were a group in which the rights of the individual were of greater importance than the rights of men, at least in the abstracted political sphere; where the status of women as important land owners was merely a fact of life; and in which group identification as ‘one mob’ was vigorously maintained by the discursive force of emotional performance.

The history of alien incursion into the Princess Charlotte Bay region detailed in Chapter Two resulted in the reduced population at Port Stewart that Hale and Tindale, and Thomson, found at the time of their respective visits. In evidence,²⁵ a senior owner of the Cliff Islands group and adjacent lands around

²⁵ Claimant evidence given before the Queensland Land Tribunal in the Lakefield and Cliff Islands claims, 1994.

Running Creek to the south of Port Stewart talked about the men of his grandfather's and father's generation undertaking the Bora (male initiation) ceremony, and his grandfather as "boss" for the Bora. The location of the Bora at that time was at Dinner Hole to the south of Port Stewart, but after interference by a local pastoralist, his grandfather moved up to Port Stewart, re-establishing a Bora ground there. However, the ensuing internal conflict caused the grandfather to "close it for good now" at Port Stewart.

The move caused his grandfather considerable distress, so that he was unable to feel comfortable on return visits to Dinner Hole, strengthening his resolve to finally close down the Bora (Aboriginal Land Tribunal 1994: 1911-1915). Although this occurred when young Lamalama men were already working on stations, these and other stories that older people tell, of ritual spearings, dugong hunts, and long treks across the mountains to Coen to visit relatives there, give a glimpse of Lamalama life in the period when clans and bands were still actively part of the *pama* order of life. Then, pertinent knowledge, adherence to jural rules associated with kinship, ceremony, and exploitation of natural resources were among the things which expressed *pama* identity and attachment to particular places. In the present, senior people are circumspect about their knowledge, and this situation had impact on my research.

Arranging trips with the intention of documenting knowledge about Lamalama country was fraught with difficulty and delay. It was always necessary to ensure that all the appropriate senior people had been informed about proposed trips, if not actually invited to attend for some reason. Such reasons would include whether or not someone was regarded as a senior person for the area to be visited. These decisions were based in knowledge of the classical system of land tenure, so that if we were to visit a place in Morrobalama country, it was necessary to obtain the permission of the senior Morrobalama man (and also hope that he would agree to come along). At the same time, it was necessary to inform and obtain the permission of most of the other senior people, who would have been members of separate clan groups in the classical system. In the present, all land of the previous clans is understood as "Lamalama" land, that is, as land held by the whole group, even though older people know the finer distinctions of

ownership associated with the clans of the past. Because we would be visiting land to which the Lamalama now feel a general responsibility, decisions as important as recording information about it were subject to ratification at a wider level than might have occurred in the past. I view this as a post-classical expression of tradition, even though it might have been the case in the past that decisions about land similarly involved members of neighbouring clans. In the present, classical principles relating to permission to access land, and information about it, underlie the post-classical negotiations of personal rights and status associated with visits to country.

Even after following the appropriate paths to obtaining permission to visit a place, inevitably people it was necessary to include would change their minds about coming. If the right people finally did agree, there were usually further delays before they were available to attend. This process could continue over days, even weeks, with the likely outcome being that everyone involved was so frustrated that they gave up. I often felt at the time that it was a strategy engaged in by older people to protect their knowledge, or public awareness about the extent of their knowledge, from each other, and from young people. It certainly had the effect of discouraging idle interest, especially among young adults. I also think that it reveals something about the complexity of Lamalama feelings, and emotional attachments. Senior people talked openly about their loss of ritual and associated knowledge with sadness, but attached a degree of self-blame to the situation, which I would characterise as a sense of 'shame'. At the same time, they demonstrated a strong sense of 'respect' about the land, and to their ancestors who had lived on their land and performed ceremonies, and thus maintained their responsibilities towards it. In the Lamalama view, their ancestors were consequently integrated with the land in a way they could not be as a result of their experience of colonialism. By using delaying tactics or simply refusing to reveal information, senior people were acting on their innermost feelings in a negative way. By not allowing themselves to be placed in a public situation of authority, they did not have to confront their own sense of shame and loss, or the judgements of others.

Conversely, the same people would generally talk freely about sites if we happened on them in more routine ways, such as trips involved in resource exploitation. Generally, it was acceptable to the senior Lamalama people that I know about the country, but they were less keen to have their knowledge about it become a matter of record. Indeed, they felt it necessary that I know about the inherent dangers associated with some powerful sites or Story places within their estates, but my attempts to record sites were discouraged. I was often told that it had already been recorded by Rigsby, or that there was “no need” to do so. I consequently do not provide great factual detail about classical relationships to land, although they still remain vital in Lamalama practice, because their ways of managing my knowledge indicated their desire to keep it secret.

Resources and their use in the present

I learned from hosting an evening *mayi*²⁶ in Coen that it is wasteful not to use resources, in *pama* perceptions. I thought that I had prepared far too much food, and there would be a considerable amount left over. After everyone had eaten, there was indeed food left. When I jokingly said to people, “What, you mob not hungry? Plenty food left here!”, several people told me that they already had their plate to take home. In the end, there was no food left behind; apart from a few potatoes, it all went home with my guests. Thus I learnt a lesson about reciprocity and exchange that commonly opposes our own view of politeness - that it would be unmannerly not to take what was there, but also that resources are there to be used.

On country, as in Coen, one of the most consistent markers of identity is the preoccupation with customary economic pursuits. Fishing, hunting, and gathering are recreational pursuits as well as means to fill the larder, although the latter is of the most practical importance. A considerable range of terrestrial and marine biota is to be found on the Peninsula (Environment Science and Services (NQ) 1995:12-14). The CYPLUS Stage One report notes over 3,000 species of plants, 509 terrestrial vertebrate species, and numerous freshwater and marine

²⁶ *Mayi* is the common regional term for edible foods, and it also used refers to the ritualisation of food-sharing. Children’s birthday parties as well as funerals involve hosting *mayis*.

species. Most terrestrial species are associated with the woodland habitat, which occupies over 80% of the Peninsula. Marine and estuarine waters were found to be particularly rich in fish and crustacean fauna, and include species subject to commercial interest and exploitation, including barramundi, threadfin salmon, mackerel, grunter, shark, coral trout, red throat emperor, mud crabs, and prawns. Most of these are species prized by the Lamalama as well.

Yet *pama* pursue this aspect of their land-based identity in competition with a variety of exotic pests. Ecological threats to the environment of the Peninsula take both plant and animal form. Rubber vine and pond apple have recently been regarded as the most serious weed pests (Environment Science and Services (NQ) 1995:43), but there are numbers of pest animals as well. These include feral pigs, cats, horses, dogs and dingos. Pigs, horses, and cats are regarded as potential vectors of exotic disease. Although their total distribution is poorly known, feral pigs are estimated at a population of 1-2 million, with highest densities below Weipa and in Lakefield National Park (Environment Science and Services (NQ) 1995:44-45).

Marine species are more highly prized by the Lamalama as sources of food than terrestrial animals. Although they hunt feral pig, wallaby, and smaller game such as goanna, their most favoured *minya*, or edible flesh food, comes from the sea. From extreme youth, the Lamalama fish with hand-held lines and spears - I have seen a child of less than two years old casting a fishing line. The Lamalama fish for a variety of species, but barramundi is their favourite catch. Commonly they also catch local salmon, mangrove jack, bream, mullet, and catfish. Men and women hunt with spears, but I have not seen women use woomeras, as men do. The Lamalama spear mud crabs, and fish species that inhabit the water's edge. Where rocky outcrops afford the opportunity, the Lamalama also gather oysters, but do not generally eat them raw. Oysters are boiled, and eaten together with the water, or "soup" in which they were cooked. Freshwater mussels are gathered, and generally eaten in the same way as oysters.

The Lamalama trawl the shallows at the water's edge to obtain fresh bait - under *pama* Law, freshwater *minya* must be caught with freshwater bait, saltwater

with saltwater bait. They are concerned about wastage of species, especially marine resources, and the rules of *pama* Law are the principles by which they apply indigenous conservation regimes. At a meeting with Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs representatives in Coen on 22 February 1992, held to discuss aspects of the PPR land transfer, the issue of illegal commercial netting of the Stewart River estuary was raised. The government representatives were told that the usual practice associated with netting, in which a variety of unwanted species were trapped and left hanging from the nets to rot, was a source of distress to the Lamalama, particularly children. Those at the meeting viewed it as unnecessary wastage, and a practice that was in breach of Lamalama Law.

The practices prescribed by Law were established by the Story beings, in Lamalama belief, and they mete out punishment to those who fail to observe the rules, usually through some form of sickness. In my first few weeks in Coen, Tom and Gertie Crisp told me about having used saltwater bait when fishing at the (freshwater) Archer River in earlier years. At first they caught a lot of fish, which Tom began to clean on a rock beside the river. As he was doing so, the Rainbow (Serpent, or Story), came up out of the river beside him. They were riveted in awe, crouching with bowed heads, looking only at the ground, for at least an hour. Eventually the Rainbow went back into the water and off down the river. Later at home, they worked out that the visitation had been caused by their use of saltwater bream as bait. Gertie said that as a result, about three weeks later, she lost all the skin off her hands, legs, face, and feet, indicating that "All this [skin] I got now, this new".

Large saltwater crocodiles abound in these waters, but are not hunted by the Lamalama. Older people have told me that their grandparents' generation used to eat crocodile meat, but the present generations have no desire to do so. Both dugong and marine turtles are found in Princess Charlotte Bay. Thomson (1934) wrote about the prowess of the parents and grandparents of the present Lamalama people as dugong hunters. Today they rarely hunt dugong, although in recent years they have begun to hunt turtle again. As in Thomson's time, marine hunting is a dangerous occupation, despite a change in technology. Today the Lamalama

use a dinghy with outboard motor in place of an outrigger canoe, but the method of hunting remains very much the same.²⁷

Feral pig is favoured over wallaby among terrestrial animals, the latter being more often hunted as food for dogs, although both pig and wallaby are eaten by the Lamalama. Both are hunted with dogs, and shot with firearms. People also favour goanna, and some people eat possum and flying fox, although the Lamalama regard these as being more truly the *minya* of inland-dwelling people, than 'sandbeach' or coastal people such as themselves. Various fruits are gathered, such as 'ladyapple', and a number of different berries. Several varieties of yam are dug up and eaten, but these naturally-occurring forms of carbohydrate have generally been replaced by store-bought forms such as white bread and rice.

Plant species are also put to other than edible uses. In particular, the corypha palm, known as 'cabbage tree', is used in the making of string for dilly-bags. The bark of a local ficus species is also used for this purpose. Spears and woomeeras are made out of local woods, although bamboo shafts are also used. People walk for considerable distances to find a good spot to fish, but motor vehicles have increased their possibilities beyond a merely subsistence existence. The Lamalama use four-wheel drive vehicles to hunt, to travel between Coen and Port Stewart, and when occasions such as weddings and funerals demand, to travel much greater distances between communities. Dinghies with outboard motors are used for hunting marine animals such as turtles, and for ferrying parties of people around the Stewart estuary on fishing trips.

Anderson (1979) has previously described Kuku Yalanji reliance on store-bought and bush foods as a multiple enterprise economy, and the Lamalama similarly combine economic strategies. Rice and store-bought bread, beef, and tinned meats are consumed as often as hunted or gathered foods. Thomson (1934:250) mentions the oil from dugong and turtle being eaten with a porridge-like food, *mayi i'irra*, prepared from the mangrove fruit *Bruguiera Rheedii* (Thomson noted the name as being the Yintjingga or Stewart River term; *i'irra* = mangrove fruit). Although this and the yam, *karol*, were prepared as porridge a

²⁷ I expand on contemporary resource extraction, including turtle hunting, in Chapter Seven.

couple of times during my stay, it was a rare occurrence. The Lamalama commonly bring store-bought supplies down to Port Stewart from the shops in Coen, and make supply runs in between. One of the most necessary resources then, is money, and as well, the ability to obtain credit. Money is gained through social security payments such as child endowment, supporting parents' benefit, and pensions, and after 1993, through CDEP payments. Some people were in regular employment in 1992-93, as teaching assistants, health workers, and stock workers. Since the development of the Coen Regional Aboriginal Corporation, more people have been employed in generally non-skilled areas, and in clerical positions. The ability to attract and provide credit is negotiated through kinship and affective relations.

The Lamalama in Coen

Thus the Lamalama in 1992 employed a variety of economic strategies including but not restricted to hunting and gathering. Their life revolved as much around the social networks of the mixed community in Coen as it did the Lamalama community at Port Stewart. In relation to their traditional estates, it incorporated a degree of mobility that has as much to do with social needs as economic ones.

In Coen the Lamalama lived principally in two locations, at Taylor Street in the centre of town, and at Lumma Lumma Street, on the outskirts of town (Figure 7). Although traditionally Kaanju land, the town centre is effectively a neutral zone separating the northern and southern sections, with Aboriginal people of differing language affiliations traditionally located in each section. Thus in 1992, Wik-speaking people lived in the Department of Community Services housing in the south end of town, as well as the adjacent housing of the Reserve. Some Ayapathu people lived in the southern end as well.

Chase's paper on the Coen races in 1972 provides a sketch map of Aboriginal housing on the town's Aboriginal Reserve, indicating that there were five houses in which Lamalama people lived at that time (Chase 1972). None of the Lamalama lived on the Reserve in 1992-93, but members of four of the



Figure 7: Township of Coen (State of Queensland 1999: Dept of Natural Resources, Basic Land Information Network)

households listed by Chase, mostly Wik-speaking people, lived there for at least part of 1992-93. One Ayapathu and two Wik people mentioned by Chase (1972) as living on the Reserve died during the time I was in Coen, or shortly after. In the centre of town, a Kaanju/Ayapathu family lived on the northern side of Faghy's Gully, with the most socially and politically prominent Lamalama family residing more centrally in Taylor Street. Their homes were divided by the gully, and other housing. The majority of the Port Stewart people lived 'over nother side' at Lumma Lumma Street (Figure 8), although two households lived on the same road but closer to the centre of town, on what is officially the Cape Development Road. Here their neighbours were Ayapathu, and at Lumma Lumma Street, the Lamalama people lived among others of Kaanju and Wik language affiliation.

Most lived on social security payments, usually unemployment benefits (which became CDEP payments in 1994, after the formation of the Coen Regional Development Corporation) and the pension. Five people were in regular employment in Coen, one couple was in permanent seasonal employment on a nearby station, an elderly woman worked with her husband on another, and a handful of others were casually employed from time to time, most of these being young males employed as stockmen.

Town life included trips out to surrounding country whenever possible, principally to hunt and fish. Port Stewart people would also visit other areas apart from Port Stewart; during the wet season it was not uncommon for a few of the younger people, occasionally accompanied by other kin including children and older relatives, to go north to the Archer River region (approximately one and a half hours' drive from Coen, and in Kaanju country), and camp and fish for the weekend. Groups of people with access to a vehicle commonly made short hunting trips out of Coen, spending a few hours in the evening or perhaps half a day looking for feral pig. When the coast was inaccessible for long periods, the Lamalama sometimes visited Kendall Creek to the south of Coen in the Ayapathu estates for freshwater fishing. Their catch was commonly black bream, which they found less appetising than marine fish such as barramundi.

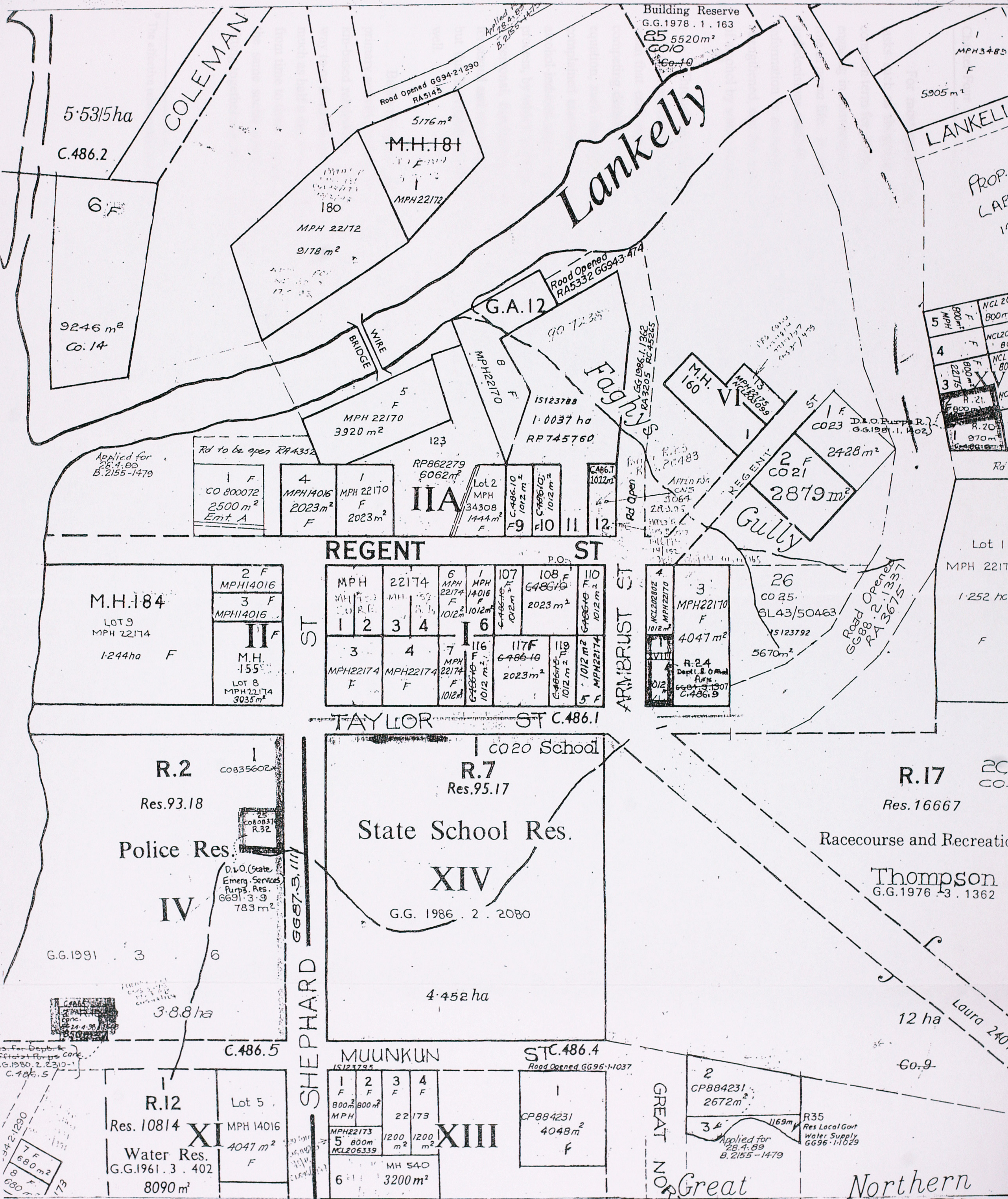


Figure 8: Map of Coen, showing detail of town centre (State of Queensland 1999: Dept of Natural Resources, Basic Land Information Network)

For most people however, life in Coen was divided between domestic tasks such as shopping, cooking, and child-rearing, and ‘yarning’. This is the common term for sitting around with others, enjoying each other’s company, and engaging in conversation. It is the primary social activity, and occupies a central role in *pama* life. In such social circles important political choices are considered and decisions ratified, matters of health are discussed, children are disciplined, information is exchanged, friendship and kinship is reinforced²⁸, group alliance strengthened, and due social process otherwise occurs, including the consumption of alcohol by some, occasionally with accompanying censure by others present.

Through yarning, people maintain their interactions with others, by which their roles as effective individuals and group members can be sustained. By this I mean that each person must balance their own desires against the constant and competing demands of others, particularly close kin. When alcohol entered the equation, such demands were frequently multiplied considerably. Non-drinkers complained constantly about the trouble caused by their drinking relatives, and alcohol-induced anger and fighting was constant enough to form a *de facto* social process, by which all kinds of conflicts were decided. Men fought on the grounds of personal, family-based and tribal disagreement, and with women, predictably for sexual and emotional reasons. Women fought primarily for the latter reasons, but this inevitably involved dissonance at other levels of social organisation as well.

Balanced against this was the non-drinking life, in which yarning was the primary activity, and in which individuals sought the harmonious reinforcement of kin-based relatedness. Groups of people stopped at each other’s houses on the way to or from the shops, often on a daily or near-daily basis, and would spend as much as half a day in conversation with the occupants and others who dropped in from time to time. During trips to either of Coen’s two shops, people engaged in the same social activity. Conversation could often be desultory, and simply sitting together sometimes formed the primary activity.

²⁸ The affective relationship between friendship and kinship is discussed in Chapter Seven.

Lest this should sound too idyllic, it is necessary to state that apart from the discursive interaction of conversation, much else is happening while people are sitting together ‘yarning’. Acute observation of all that is happening, often not discussed till another time and situation, is taking place, so that *pama* are aware of most of what is happening in town, including the activities of the local whites. Other strains of social activity are occurring as well. By sitting in particular conformations, social alliances are being played out. The present political relationship between groups is evident by who is visiting whom as much as by who is fighting or ‘swearing’ each other. When people sit together and yarn at Port Stewart, they do so in the security of being on their own land. Within camp, people observe and comment on the activities of their kin, as they generally do when in Coen, but such conversations have differing affective status. Yarning has a recreational value in both locations, but the affective nature of sitting around in conversation at Port Stewart is that of an activity shared among ‘family’, in this case a social unit whose closure correlates with entitlement to land. This closure, however, does not preclude the expression of a variety of emotions and attitudes about each other.²⁹

Rather than viewing yarning as a passive activity, or simply as a one-dimensional social interaction, it must be viewed as an activity with multiple intentions, in which information gathering and exchange are primary goals.

Social interaction across mortal boundaries

For the Lamalama, the spiritual element of their identity is not usually questioned, because they know themselves to have inherited rights in land from certain ancestors. The classical pattern for the inheritance of rights was presumably patrilineal (Thomson 1972:27), but in the contemporary post-classical system, rights are increasingly seen as acquired by affiliation with both mother’s and father’s lineages. Sutton (1998) describes this pattern as cognatic group descent by surnamed families. This transformation of the pattern of inheritance does not alter the belief that rights apply to particular land, and are

²⁹ Jolly (1997:133), for example, discusses the way in which tensions internal to a family can be expressed conversationally.

rights of kinship and descent. What is inherited is the essence of ancestors, and it is this that guarantees succession. At first I took this to be shared biological substance, in the sense of blood or genetic transmission between generations. In Cape York Peninsula, it is usually underarm sweat, or “smell”, that symbolises shared essence, and it is sometimes still applied to young Lamalama people on their first visit to a sacred location, as a form of ritual protection. The practice of senior land owners ‘giving smell’ ensures the recognition of those to whom it is applied by spirit beings such as the Old People, and the Story-beings.

Just as the giving of ‘smell’ is one way of transmitting the essence of traditional owners, all forms of bodily fluid, including waste products such as excrement, are valued as essential to the being of the person. Dropping sweat on the ground continues the cycle of rights in the ground, rights that do not end with a person’s death. Two examples can illuminate this. The first concerns a proposal to upgrade facilities at Port Stewart by the installation of a composting toilet. The environmental credentials of this technology were not lost on the Lamalama, who use pit latrines, but they were unable to make use of the end product, fertiliser, precisely because of the composting of their bodily products entailed. Were the fertiliser to be used on their vegetable garden, the result would be that they would ultimately be eating food that contained their own essence, hence eating themselves. The second example concerns a Lamalama woman who worked in the Coen market garden before her unexpected death. After she died, the Lamalama were no longer able to enter into, or eat the produce of the garden. To do so meant firstly that they would be trampling on “her”, in the sense of walking on ground into which she had dropped sweat, and that as the garden produce grew from soil which contained her essence in the form of that sweat, again they would be eating the essence of a relative by eating the vegetables that contained it. It is in this sense that the Lamalama relationship to their land is one of embodiment.

Land is associated with particular people because of the fact that their lives are inscribed in the soil. People live on and, by virtue of the exchange of bodily fluids through their passage over it, *within* the land that they know themselves to

have inherited from their ancestors³⁰. They carry the same substance across generations through their occupation and use of the land. This provides a primary condition by which people have a right to claim ownership, just as in the separate political domain, such claims are asserted, evaluated, and decided on the basis of descent from certain ancestors - those with whom they share ownership, in the understanding of the Lamalama. Being given 'smell' constitutes ritual recognition of the right to particular status in relation to land, and the past. The Lamalama maintain a constant dialogue with their own history, through discussion of past Lamalama ways of being, recollection of the actions of deceased relatives, and through interaction with them as the Old People. The Old People are those relatives who in their mortal lives were known to the Lamalama as parents, grandparents, and so on. They are their actual relatives, disembodied by death, who continue to 'live' in the landscape, and interact with them as their living kin do. The Old People are the guardians of Aboriginal Law, as are the Story, and they serve to maintain the moral order as prescribed in Law.

Thus it is in this sphere of cultural belief that the Lamalama praxis incorporates a sense of the link between people and land as one of embodiment. The living, those who still inhabit their bodies, are the link between the moral destination of the land, and the dynamic responsibility of ownership, which does not cease with death. The Old People are the guardians of the landscape, a sort of moral police, who watch over and evaluate the actions of their embodied, or living, kin. It is the responsibility of these embodied owners to ensure that they act as appropriate caretakers for their land, which most particularly includes the ability to control access to it.

People sometimes relate stories of having seen the Old People, most usually very soon after the death of their mortal bodies. At such times the Old People are less benevolent, because their visitation is often a form of censure. Several people told me about having their bedding jerked off them by an Old

³⁰ In the market garden example, Coen is recognised both as the site of particular traditional estates, and as the location of communal interests, black and white. That is, the indigenous title is understood to underlie, rather than be cancelled by, the historical impositions that have occurred there, in *pama* perceptions. Within this view, the Lamalama woman is understood as having made a specific investment in the soil on which the garden is located, thus her spirit, or life force, is seen as having a temporal relationship with it.

Person as they slept, angry at them for not having attended their funeral. People also report seeing manifestations of deceased relatives in the form of small people covered in hair. These latter beings are not specifically referred to as Old People, and versions of them are known to neighbouring people. Most commonly, the Lamalama talk about experiencing the presence of the Old People, and of sometimes engaging in conversation with them. Children in particular are regarded as having close affective relationships with the Old People. For example, Karen Liddy, Sunlight Bassani's younger sister's daughter, used to tell me that her son Kane, then a toddler, used to talk to his deceased great-grandfather Bob (his MMF). On more than one occasion she told me that she had heard Kane talking, although no-one else was in the room with him. They were at the time living with Sunlight, in the house where Bob had died. When she asked him who he was talking to, he replied "*Puula*" (grandfather). Karen said that Kane often talked and played with Bob. On one occasion when I visited the house very early, Kane came out, followed by Karen who sat down with me. Turning to Kane, she asked "And what you bin doin today, son?" "Talking to *Puula*", he replied. When I asked if that was Sunlight, he said it wasn't. Karen told me that he must mean Bob, going on to say that she had heard him "early part, talking to that old fella. He talkin and laughin there with him".

It is through the condition referred to as *puuya* that the Old People have the most startling effect on their living relatives. *Puuya* is an Umpila word meaning 'heart', in the sense of 'life essence', in distinction to the terms *wanul/wuula'a*, the Umpila words for the physical organ of the heart (Thompson 1988:51). The term *puuya* is recognised and applied by the Lamalama to refer to a condition associated with the breaching of the moral code of *pama* Law. The sense in which the Lamalama use *puuya* implies a physical location of sensation within the torso, and when asked the meaning of the term they translate it as 'heart', but their descriptions of the sensations associated with *puuya* include reference to the location of the organs of the whole alimentary tract. Chase translates the term to mean "breath, heartbeat, lifeforce", with particular emphasis on the notion of the animating force of life (1980:185). The Lamalama use of the term similarly distinguishes it from the meaning we imply when we talk about the 'soul'. The term Thompson (1988:67) provides for soul is *mitpi*, "spirit of a dead

person". At Lockhart, Chase found that when a person dies, *puuya* ceases, and the *mitpi* was forced from the body, although remaining in close proximity to it (1980:185). When I asked the Lamalama whether *mitpi* or soul was the same thing as *puuya*, they were adamant that *puuya* meant something different.³¹

Its use refers to a sensation felt in the body by the person who has acted inappropriately, involving an intensely painful swelling of the stomach and chest. This state is punitively created by the Old People, in response to actions taken by one individual against another, or for actions which transgress the Law in some other way. The first time I heard about this condition, it was experienced by an old man engaged in conveying ancestral bones, returned from an overseas museum, to be buried in their home country. This meant an overnight journey, and he and his two companions were required to camp at a waterhole, which was also a Story place or sacred location. The other two men, both Lamalama, told the third man, who was not, that he must perform the 'warming' ritual before fishing there. This involves making a small fire to create ironbark smoke, over which fishing equipment is held while requesting of the numinous presences in that landscape that the individual be allowed to catch fish there. The Lamalama men proceeded to do so, and all three caught fish and ate them for dinner.

Shortly after, the third man started to complain of stomach pain, which became so intense that he was barely able to breathe. The Lamalama men recognised this as *puuya* sickness, and began attempts to relieve his pain. One of the Lamalama men believed that the bones they were returning included those of his mother, and he addressed her while rubbing his friend's stomach with his shirt, asking her to leave him alone, saying that he was sorry for not having done the right thing in the first place, thus disturbing her and the other Old People. Within a short period of time, the afflicted man was sitting up again and feeling better. He told his friends that his heart had been "trembling", and that he was filled with fear by the Old People. It transpired that he had not 'warmed' his fishing line, believing that as he often passed this spot, he was already well-known to the Story. The Lamalama men explained to me that whatever familiarity the Story had

³¹ Rigsby suggested that I investigate comparative Lamalama understandings of these terms, but *mitpi* was not a term readily recognised by the Lamalama.

with him did not count, and that their companion had obviously not been thinking clearly. In their explanation, the responsibility of carrying the mortal remains of ancestors had temporarily unhinged him, otherwise he would have been more alert to the risks involved in not adhering to the 'Law' way of doing things. In this case, the agitation of the Old People whose bones they carried, anxious to be at rest in their home country, made it doubly important to behave in strict accordance with the Law.

The other sense in which people recognise someone to be suffering *puuya* sickness is when an individual is perceived to have been transgressed against by another. The symptoms are the same, and there is a single effective treatment. The aggrieved individual must rub the stomach of the aggressor/*puuya* victim with a piece of their clothing, asking the Old Person to cease punishment by releasing their grip on the victim³². Without this treatment, the person suffering *puuya* might die. By all accounts the symptoms are unbearably painful, and experienced as quite different from other forms of stomach pain. It is believed that the Old People create the *puuya* condition by reaching into the body and touching the victim's 'heart', causing them to experience a physical sensation of vibration, and a psychological state of intense fear, both accompanied by painful swelling of the abdomen and chest. Thus the Old People are regarded as having the power to cross the boundaries of the material world, and to effect action on that plane. To this degree, the Lamalama experience themselves as having a physical boundary in flesh that is open to being permeated by outside, if familiar, sources.

In keeping with this notion of the 'heart' as the location of the life essence that can be threatened by the intervention of a power greater than the individual, the Lamalama also regard the 'heart' as the natural home of the emotions. They speak of feelings as being located in the heart, and express shock or horror in terms of a 'heart attack'. The potency that is the life force of the individual is seen as arising in the same place as the seat of the emotions - to be alive is to feel. When the Lamalama speak about 'feelings in the heart', I take them to be metaphorically referring to the most internal location of their identity. There is a distinction to be

³² I have also been told that the therapeutic token, ie. the piece of clothing, should be something belonging to the Old Person involved.

made here between mainstream English uses of 'heart' as a metaphor for emotions, and the Lamalama uses of the term. The Lamalama do not, for example, use other English phrases that commonly suggest the actual heart organ as the seat of the emotions. Phrases such as 'having your heart in the right place', describing someone as a 'heartthrob' or 'heart-breaker'³³, or talking about being 'in good heart', are not part of their vocabulary. Some of the range of meanings implied by these references to a metaphorical connection between the 'heart', and the location of the emotions within the recesses of the body, are nonetheless part of the Lamalama concept of the bodily nature and location of affect. Thompson (1988:51) provides extended senses of the word *puuya* which indicate that it indexes a range of affective states, including *puuya wulmiina*, to 'feel happy', and *puuya machina*, to be 'patient'. Although these terms are not in daily use among the Lamalama, the senses in which they apply the Umpila term *puuya* and the English term 'heart' to refer to vitalising experience indicates that they conceptualise the life force and the emotions as intimately related.

The condition of *puuya* sickness is the more startling manifestation of the presence of the Old People. The Lamalama commonly experience their presence on a daily basis, and regard themselves as part of a kinship community with these non-corporeal social actors. Mortuary rituals that are still conducted most significantly involve the 'warming' of the dwelling of the deceased, and the vacating of it by other residents. Dwellings of the deceased in Coen are usually left empty for a full seasonal cycle of twelve months, after which ironbark is burned and carried through the house, while relatives ask the deceased person to depart, so that they can go back to occupying the house without fear of being disturbed by their continuing presence. Unless a house is ritually 'warmed' in this way, a variety of strange occurrences might occur, including unexplainable noises and furniture and other objects flying through the air.

Traditionally, mortuary rituals released the spirit of the deceased, freeing it from the flesh so that it might occupy its own land. Contemporary practice is to bury the dead in a Christian ceremony at the local cemetery, but this practice

³³ Young women, for example, talk about men they find sexually attractive as 'nice *minya*', but the sense of intention implied in the phrase 'having your heart in the right place' is one which would resonate with the Lamalama, although not itself a phrase they would commonly use.

remains ritualised through the viewing of the body, the keening of relatives, the act of burial, and the provision of a *mayi*, or feast, that follows burial. At such times, the Lamalama speak about the body, and the individual that had inhabited it in life, as separate entities. I once heard a young Lamalama man at a funeral say to his brother, "That body don't look like old Grandad, eh? You can see he's gone from there". References to a deceased person are usually couched in terms of 'the body'. Once the deceased has been encouraged by his living relatives to move on, usually through the warming ceremony - essentially to move on to the next phase of existence among the Old People, so that their relatives can get back to the business of living - it is generally believed that the deceased take up residence on their traditional estates, and become guardians of the land, and of the Lamalama. Children who misbehave are threatened with action by the Old People, and everybody is aware of their constant presence in the landscape. Most forms of common bad luck are attributed to their vigilance - lack of a bite while out fishing is regarded as controlled by the Old People, perhaps in punishment for an argument between siblings before they left. Failure to warm the fishing line will similarly provoke the Old People to ensure a poor catch.

The Lamalama at Port Stewart

In the period up until 1992, the establishment of the outstation offered the Lamalama greater residential and recreational flexibility, and the opportunity to live as *pama* in the location most appropriate to them. To merely mention the sense of relief, even joy, that can overtake the Lamalama as they approach the outstation after a long week in town describes little of their emotional state, but it is one that is palpable. It is compounded of many factors - being away from whites, drunks, or other *pama*, of a sense of the rightness about being in the place where they belong, of being with relatives, of testing hunting and fishing skills, of simply being at 'home'.

The contemporary situation is one in which transformations in the organisation and land tenure patterns of the past are evident in present practice. Young people do not think of themselves as members of the Morrobalama clan for example, or as Umpithamu speakers, in what would have been the normal

expectation in the period when their grandparents were the same age. Yet their parents retain these categories as active elements of their own identification as Lamalama in most instances. Younger adults know themselves to be the descendants of particular individuals, and have definite knowledge about the location of their home country, or traditional land. They do not localise their identity as being the owners of particular tracts of land within the greater Lamalama estate, with the exception of Port Stewart. This is the area that younger Lamalama adults regard as their land, in common with the rest of their kin.

Most choose to pursue economic possibilities away from the land, as casual stock workers, in clerical positions, and in the health and education sectors. Few older people are employed, most receiving pensions or social security benefits. Most of the older people have spent at least a part of their lives as labourers in the pastoral industry, women included. Many of them have grown up with an indigenous language as their first language, some of them in bush locations. But as one older woman explained to me, their own parents demanded of them, out of the fear that they would be sent away, that they act like whitefellas, by speaking English, wearing clothes, and going to work.

This move away from the older classical forms should not be taken to indicate a complete change in identification. Despite living at least part of the time in town, for most of the Lamalama, modes of being remain deeply embedded in their sense of place, which is focussed on the landscape, especially at Port Stewart. The dual locations of bush and town are the locations, or stages, for the social enacting of emotions. Thus it is within the context of both bush and town as places to which identity is attached that I now turn to consideration of the Lamalama world of personal relationships.

The following section of the thesis discusses social organisation, in the past and in the present. It demonstrates the importance of kinship to the Lamalama, both as the structure for social roles which generate jural rules, and as the location of much of their affective life. It suggests that the principles that govern kinship and descent remain crucially important, but that in the changed circumstances of the post-colonial world, emotion has become the force by which competing rights and interests are negotiated. Thus other relationships, such as those between siblings, have acquired greater significance than in the past, and accommodations with the wider world have resulted in a variety of changes to social structure.



Above: 'Sisters' Joan Liddy and Daisy Stewart returning to the outstation from a day's fishing, near *Ndarapa*, Port Stewart.

The Kinship Domain

Introduction

In this chapter I discuss kinship, mapping the changes in Lamalama social organisation over the period for which there is information available about relevant kinship practices. I begin with an initial discussion of approaches to the study of kinship, then turn to what is known about classical practices in the pre-colonial period, before moving on to consideration of the nature of kinship in the present. I discuss the theoretical debate about kinship as a matter of social categories versus genealogical connection that arose within anthropology, and demonstrate the strengths of the 'genealogical connection' position through the use of Thomson's material for the Princess Charlotte Bay region. I discuss two significant social domains associated with kinship, parenting and childhood, and siblingship. I describe the latter as the location of an emerging jural status. However, my focus in this chapter is primarily on the underlying structures, and theoretical approaches to analysis of kinship, in order to establish the grounds for further considering the negotiation between kinship and emotion among the Lamalama.

In Chapter Six, I consider current structuring of social relationships within the group. Here I discuss the contemporary organisation of Lamalama society into tribe, cognatic descent groups, and households. The social world described by Thomson no longer exists, but the structures of the past form the basis for the contemporary expression of individual and group identity. I describe the emotional bonds between people as significant elements in the construction of current personal identities, including the affect between individuals that I describe as 'friendship'.

I then turn to analysis of the social drama I refer to as 'The Accident', using its themes to demonstrate that group cohesion and identity are established and maintained through the emotional bonds between the Lamalama. The

Accident demonstrates the active role emotion plays in the negotiation of relationships, in contrast to the view that emotions are isolated within the private realms of the individual. It describes an event that touches on Lamalama notions of kinship, group identity, and the ethics of being a Lamalama person. I return to analysis of this event after considering key social domains of kinship, group organisation, and the affective relationships that occur within them.

Theoretical understandings of kinship

Since Morgan's *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (1871), anthropologists have engaged in comparative studies of social organisation in order to understand whether it is possible to posit universal principles about kinship. Morgan and his followers (eg. Malinowski 1930, Radcliffe-Brown 1930) posited the mother-child dyad as a cultural universal, and although considerable debate arose about the male contribution to parturition (eg. Montagu 1974; Spencer and Gillen 1927), most anthropologists now accept that a notion of motherhood and fatherhood are common to all societies, although perhaps subject to diverse interpretation cross-culturally. Views about the nature of conception may also differ between societies. For instance, the notion that conception occurs because of spirit intervention is likely to be accompanied by acceptance of the role of sexual intercourse in human reproduction in a number of Aboriginal societies (Merlan 1986:476-477).

Although anthropologists might agree that kinship involves at least the two basic parental relationships (Scheffler 1991:363), there is still debate about what we actually reference when we talk about 'kinship' (eg. Collier and Yanagisako 1987; Peletz 1995). A fundamental question in this debate is whether or not it is analytically precise to regard kinship as social or cultural phenomena, that is, whether or not people of other cultures hold a concept of 'kinship' that reflects our own epistemological assumptions. Schneider (1968; 1972; 1984) has been a major proponent of the view that 'kinship' is best understood as a set of "symbols and meanings" (Schneider 1972:39), that does not universally take shared bio-genetic substance as a necessary and sufficient condition for inclusion in its categories.

Schneider's position has been consistently refuted by Scheffler, who has given extensive consideration to kinship systems in Australia, including editing Donald F. Thomson's kinship data from his research in Cape York Peninsula (Thomson 1972). Scheffler (eg. 1972a; 1978) usually aims to separate the semantic from the sociological features of a kinship system, through analysis of its terminology. My understanding of kinship follows Scheffler's view that it is biological rather than social connection that is first indexed by Aboriginal systems for reckoning kinship (Hafner 1990).

Schneider's attempt to posit a cultural focus for analysis is attractive, but it rests on the notion of cutting 'kinship' loose from the bonds of biological connection. According to Schneider (1972:41), the "primitive or irreducible elements" of 'kinship', as with other systems of meaning such as religion or nationality, are first, "shared bio-genetic substance and, second, a code for conduct which [he characterises] as diffuse, enduring solidarity". Combining these two key symbols yields three major categories of kin:

when both elements occur together the category of blood relative is formed; when the code for conduct element occurs alone and without the shared bio-genetic substance element the category of relatives-in-law or relatives by marriage is formed; and, finally, when the shared bio-genetic substance is present alone the category of relatives in nature is formed. Hence at the pure kinship level the so-called 'kinship terms' do not play a classificatory role (Schneider 1972: 41).

Schneider thus presents a scheme for clarifying kinship systems that does not prioritise analysis of kin terms. Yet it is difficult to regard Schneider as having successfully posed a cultural framework for analysis. The notion of "shared bio-genetic substance", fundamental to his categories of kinship, we might also refer to as 'genealogical connection'.

Schneider's system has had the consequence of prompting other analysts to re-examine their understandings (eg. Scheffler 1972c:310), and has more recently been taken up as the basis of a feminist re-interpretation of the meaning of kinship (Collier and Yanagisako 1987). However, this has not necessarily provided better tools for interpretation, although Marcus and Fischer (1986:47-

48) argue that Schneider's (1968) analysis of American kinship prompted a new understanding among ethnographers of the way in which the categories used to describe kinship are bound to the cultures in which they occur. Conversely, structural-functional analysis has clarified underlying patterns or normative rules, primarily by developing typologies of kin terms and attempting to reconcile these with specific social behaviour. Yet coming to grips with the insider's understanding of a particular kinship system requires consideration of more than the articulation of a set of kin terms and associated behavioural roles, often idealised into the ethnographic present for the purposes of analysis. From this point of view, the importance of Schneider's interpretation lies in his challenge to orthodox methodology and theory.

Scheffler's analysis of kinship systems: the influence of Radcliffe-Brown

In opposition to Schneider's view, Scheffler (1978) has long adhered to the view that "the categories by which the aboriginal [*sic*] peoples of Australia order their social lives are predominantly kin categories" (1978:ix). His most comprehensive work on the topic, *Australian Kin Classification*, is a comparative analysis of kinship systems from across the country. As Scheffler himself notes, this work is a continuation of the project begun by Radcliffe-Brown, who sought to demonstrate that Australian kinship systems were all varieties of a single type. Scheffler sees Radcliffe-Brown as attempting "to isolate a set of elementary structures of which, in varying combinations, all kinship systems are constructed, and to order the empirical diversity among these systems by showing how one may be derived from any other by certain rules of transformation or permutation" (Scheffler 1978: ix-x).

Radcliffe-Brown failed in this task, Scheffler (1978:x) says, because he "fell into the methodological trap of confounding structural semantic and sociological accounts of systems of kin classification". While Scheffler acknowledges his analytical debt to Radcliffe-Brown, his own understanding is more sophisticated. Radcliffe-Brown's analysis was focussed on the classification of kin through the use of specific kin terms, and the determining role of such

classifications in relation to social behaviour, on the basis of close or distant relationship:

We may say, then, that in general there is a certain pattern of behaviour for each kind of relative, to which an individual is expected to conform in his dealings with any relative of that kind, subject to important modifications according as the relationship is near or distant. For some relationships this pattern is definite and well organized, for others it is vague and comparatively less important (Radcliffe-Brown 1930:46).

Equally important were the rules governing marriage in a social system where all individuals were known as related to each other, ensuring that “an individual marry only persons who stand to him or her in some specific relationship” (Radcliffe-Brown 1930:46).

Radcliffe-Brown developed a typology of Australian systems of kin classification that referred primarily to marriage rules and associated patterns, or in his terms, ‘lines’ of descent. He recognised four main types of kin classification, with variations, of which the Kariera and Aranda systems represented his two “norms” (Radcliffe -Brown 1930:53).³⁴

Radcliffe-Brown (1930:46-49) described the important or determining features of the Kariera-type system as:

1. bilateral cross-cousin marriage with exchange of sisters
2. division of each generation into two classes of males and two classes of females
3. further distinction made between younger and older relatives
4. classification of MMB with FF, and FMB with MF
5. use of reciprocal terms between grandkin.

³⁴ The Umpila system still used by the Lamalama, and described by Thomson, closely reflects Radcliffe-Brown’s ‘Kariera’-type system, although it is worth noting that sororate marriage – marrying a sister’s husband on her death – has also been a feature of the Lamalama practice of the system. In at least one case, levirate marriage also occurred.

Radcliffe-Brown's writing about kinship is imbued with the notion that systems of kin classification determine behaviour between social categories (Kuper 1977:196; Scheffler 1978:40-41). He (Radcliffe-Brown 1952:9) posited as a "general rule" the notion that kin terminologies divided the social universe into categories or classes by which ideal behaviour was determined, so that the members of a particular category could all expect to be treated similarly by the kin who recognised their role:

An important element in the relations of kin is what will here be called the jural element, meaning by that relationships that can be defined in terms of rights and duties. Where there is a duty there is a rule that a person should behave in a certain way. A duty may be positive, prescribing actions to be performed, or negative, imposing the avoidance of certain acts. Reference to duties or rights are simply different ways of referring to a social relation and the rules of behaviour connected therewith (Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 11).

Radcliffe-Brown's field experience convinced him of the correlation between kin terminologies and social practice. He saw the relationship between the terms and the rest of the kinship system as that of an "ordered whole". Kinship analysis depended on analysis of the system of terms, which it could not "if there were no real relations of interdependence between the terminology and the rest of the system" (Radcliffe-Brown 1952:61-62). Despite his recognition of the need for methodological thoroughness, Scheffler (1978:84) asserts, Radcliffe-Brown proceeded to treat this hypothesis "as a principle tenet of analysis and used it not only to analyze systems of kin classification but also to analyze 'kinship systems' as wholes". Radcliffe-Brown's concern to reveal the important correlation between kin classification systems and the wider social systems within which they were embedded caused him to short-circuit the analytical process, and, according to Scheffler:

his concern to relate the intersystem variation directly to similarities and differences in social structure, and in particular to rules of interkin marriage, led him to stress terminological differences at the expense of similarities and not to analyze fully the indications that many of the differences are indeed fairly superficial.

To deal more adequately with the less superficial and not so readily apparent structural variation, it appears necessary to consider more fully than Radcliffe-Brown did the possibility that rules of interkin marriage are not the typologically most critical structural variables in Australian systems of kin classification (Scheffler 1978: 86)

Rather, Scheffler suggests, semantic analysis of Australian systems can demonstrate “a fairly small stock of structural elements that may be variously combined to yield a fairly wide empirical variety of systems” in which interkin marriage rules “have a relatively subordinate typological status” (Scheffler 1978: 87). This perception is borne out by Thomson’s data for the Princess Charlotte Bay region. Before proceeding to examination of his material, I consider Scheffler’s argument in greater detail, highlighting the analytical debt that both Thomson and Scheffler owe to Radcliffe-Brown.

‘Social categories’ versus ‘genealogical kinship’

Scheffler drew on componential analysis to clarify the meanings embedded in the kin systems he has examined. Goodenough (1968:187) regards this semiotics-based method as aiming at “constructing verifiable models of how specific bodies of cultural (or ideational) content are coherently organized” in language, by sorting the denotative, significatory, and connotative elements that linguistic expressions designate. In this way, typologies of signification may be developed, usually hierarchically described in terms of classes, subclasses and superclasses. In the 1960s and early 1970s, it was thought that the quantity of available anthropological data on kinship meant that it was eminently suited to this form of analysis.

Scheffler (1978:1) does not disagree with the basis of Radcliffe-Brown’s interpretation of Australian kin systems - that “Australian social categories are, virtually exhaustively, kinship categories - meaning by ‘kinship’ egocentric relations of genealogical connection”. Instead he takes issue with the alternative orthodoxies. These are, firstly, that kinship terms are ‘social category’ terms, expressing relationships between groups, and individuals as members of social

groups such as moieties, clans or subsections. Secondly, the proposition that Australian systems are ordered by both kinship and group relations, in which the two elements are “so well integrated that persons acting in kinship capacities are also fulfilling their rights and duties as members of related social groups”, is also rejected by Scheffler:

The central thesis of this study is that the first interpretation is correct; the other two are fundamentally mistaken. The groups they take as structurally fundamental, or as structurally independent of systems of kin classification, are instead structurally dependent on kin classes and superclasses. This, it seems to me, was Radcliffe-Brown’s interpretation, although he has been understood in other ways ... (Scheffler 1978:2).

Scheffler’s concern with the egocentric versus the sociocentric nature of Australian kin terms is at least partly remedial, arising from his interest in elucidating what is logically and semantically prior in systems of kin terminology (eg. Scheffler 1972a; 1972c; Scheffler and Lounsbury 1971). Much of the earliest research into social organisation in Australia was conducted in regions where section and subsection systems were prominent, and theory was shaped by the understandings so produced. These earlier understandings posited kinship or ‘relationship’ terms as signifying relations among individuals as members of various social groupings:

The interpretation advocated by Fison and Howitt (1880) and Spencer and Gillen (1899, 1927), and by a number of more recent anthropologists, is that Australian “terms of relationship” signify relations between persons as members of moieties, sections or subsections; each term has a single significatum (sense) and in no case does it correspond to the genealogical significatum of English words such as father, mother, brother, etc (Scheffler 1978:14).

Scheffler (1978:14-15) cites Fison (Fison and Howitt 1880), and Spencer and Gillen (1899; 1927) to the effect that terms of relationship are singularly sociocentric, with no concept of an independent ego (Fison’s view), or as defining a system of social groups determined by rules for marriage between groups of men and groups of women (Spencer and Gillen’s view). As Scheffler points out, this view confounds the connection between actual genealogical relationships, and the

extended classes of relatives that are signified by some terms. Where Spencer and Gillen saw Aranda (i.e. Arrernte) terms as indicating all the individuals of a particular class which might nonetheless include specific genealogical connections, other anthropologists were able to discern a terminological distinction between individuals within a social class.

Scheffler (1978:16-17) cites Strehlow (1913) and Schulze (1891) in particular as pointing out that individual relationships are marked semantically in at least some Arrernte terms. Where the term *noa* was used to designate all the possible female members of the class 'wife', one's own 'wife' was denoted by the term *noatja*, constituted of the original term and the suffix *-atja*. Schulze noted that such affixes were normally implicit and not necessary to explain among people who already know who is related and who is not. Nonetheless, Scheffler writes, all these researchers saw such terms as designating "categories defined by relations of descent and intermarriage among subsections" which were:

the structurally primary designata of the terms, but in addition the terms have restricted, narrowed, or specialized senses and, when so used, they designate the closest kinsman or kinsmen in each of the broad categories (Scheffler 1978:17).

When used in this sense, they are marked by a particular suffix (*atja*). The residual category of more distant kin in each grouping may be marked by a different modifying term (for example, *noa* = spouse; *noa lirra* = those other individuals in the class 'spouse').

Scheffler (1978:18-19; Scheffler and Lounsbury 1971:8) notes that such polysemy has more universal application. The French word *femme*, for example, denotes the category 'woman', but its use in the narrowed sense 'wife' is lexically marked by the personal possessive pronoun (*ma femme*) or the possessive construction (*femme de x*). Thus it is possible that a system of kin classification might be constituted of such special, restricted designations. Radcliffe-Brown (1930) was among the anthropologists who saw Australian 'terms of relationship' or kinship terms as primarily designating the egocentric, genealogical connections, with each term designating categories of kin that may be:

extended along section or subsection lines (where such social divisions are present), or in other ways. In other words, ... the kind of polysemy we have here is the kind that results from widening, that is, from the relaxing or weakening of the conditions for designation by a term and, therefore, for inclusion in a category (Scheffler 1978:20-21).

In the Australian context, Scheffler argues, kin terms need to be seen as having a primary significatum which is extended to certain other relatives within the designated class of relatives.³⁵ Scheffler (1978:21-22; 26) notes that systems of kin terms and 'class' or section systems do not demonstrate automatic congruence in all cases, and that moieties, sections and subsections are not present in all Australian societies. Where there are no section divisions, the application of terms "beyond primary denotata" are not likely to be determined in a manner common with societies in which they do occur.

Scheffler (1978:31) concedes some value in the 'social categories' rather than 'kin classes' argument:

One grain of truth in the "social" or "jural categories" argument is that membership in kin classes is typically a matter of some social significance. Distinctive kinds of rights and duties or privileges and obligations may be ascribed between kin of reciprocal categories, and the terms that designate those categories may also connote those statuses.

While this indicates that kinship terms encompass both genealogical and nongenealogical or social relationships, and may connote relationships between individuals as members of kin classes, it remains the case in Scheffler's view

³⁵ With regard to the Umpila system still used by the Lamalama, Thomson (1972:3) noted that the modifying words *-toipi* or *-ngatama* when added to a term denoted a relationship of the closest type. A *papa toipi* or *papa ngatama*, for example, denoted ego's own mother or genetrix. Here the primary significatum of the term *papa* is the concept of genetrix, and the term is also extended to designate certain others within a class of relatives who are 'like mothers', including MZ- and FB-W. Scheffler's (1978:21) concept of the 'special, narrowed sense', in which "the use of a term in its structurally primary or central sense" is indicated by the use of a postfix modifier, is apparent in the term *papa toipi* (ego's own mother). Thomson does not apprise us of any other modifying terms which might reflect a "derivative, structurally dependent, or 'classificatory' sense" such as Scheffler is able to extrapolate from the Aranda data, where the postfix *lirra* in the term *kata lirra* indicates 'man of my father's subsection other than own father'. This is perhaps not surprising given the absence of sections or subsections in the Umpila region.

(1978: 31) that “the kin-class significata are structurally prior to the social-relationship connotations” - social-relationship connotations are always structurally dependent. (This relationship is clearly evident in Thomson’s discussion of Princess Charlotte Bay kinship classification systems and the social relationships connoted by their terms – see below).

The other elements of Scheffler’s argument about the structure of kin classification systems to note here are that “social classification may vary independently of terminological classification”, so that kin classification structures may not reflect social structure very exactly, and that kin terms may be used to signify relationships of metaphorical kinship. In this case, Scheffler (1978:32-33) is referring to the use of kin terms between people who do not suppose themselves to be related by birth or marriage, but who use them to “treat one another as though they were kin of certain kinds” [*emphasis in original*]. While such designations are socially defined, it is the kin classes to which they refer that are structurally prior:

It is, for example, not very instructive to say, as some anthropologists have, that an expression like Aranda noa does not designate a kin class but signifies only that the designated party is one’s spouse or is a person whom one might “lawfully” marry. It may be that designation as noa does imply that the designated party is one’s spouse or is eligible to be one’s spouse, but this cannot be regarded as an adequate definition of the designated category or, for that matter, as a definitional statement. Such a specification of meaning describes the jural implications of membership in a class and (obviously) not its defining features. It would be nonsense to say that the condition of being regarded as potentially one’s spouse is the distinctive feature of the class, because this statement fails to specify the conditions for being regarded as potentially one’s spouse (Scheffler 1978:33-34) [*emphasis in original*].

In seeking to repudiate the notion that Australian Aboriginal ‘terms of relationship’ describe only the connections between people as members of particular social categories, thus making them something other than systems of kin classification, Scheffler (1978) has demonstrated that they incorporate a number of functions. These include the designation of kin relations, connotations of social

status, and the signification of metaphorical, kin-like social relationships. Scheffler brings this understanding to his editing and analysis of Thomson's (1972) material on kinship and related behaviour in Cape York Peninsula.

The classical system of social organisation

Thomson (1934; 1972) was one of the earliest to record the way Princess Charlotte Bay systems operated. Thomson's kinship material is most accessible in the volume edited by Scheffler (Thomson 1972), who provides additional interpretation of his data. Scheffler's theoretical position remains consistent with previous concerns, distinguishing sociological from structural and semantic elements of kin terminologies as the logical prior step to understanding what is encoded in them.

Thomson's data on past Cape York Peninsula systems allows for comparisons in the way kinship has been expressed over time. Thomson sought to demonstrate that social behaviour and the system of kin terminology by which it was designated were closely correlated, yet it can be argued that all kin systems perform that function to some degree. The systems of kin terminology and associated behaviour that he described are not the obvious structure for determining all action in the contemporary situation, yet the Umpila system of terms and rules still used by the Lamalama remains the apparent jural norm or reference point.

Scheffler's 'biological-connection' view of kinship accords well with Thomson's data on the people who were the forebears of the contemporary Lamalama. As well as listing the terms of the Umpila system of kin classification, the system most commonly used by the Lamalama today, Thomson (1972) provided a wealth of information about associated social roles. While Thomson's data unquestionably demonstrates a biological basis to kin relations, and the importance of associated jural rules, it also indicates the need to look beyond the enclosed system of kin classification and rules to arrive at a fuller understanding of what kinship means to the Lamalama.³⁶

³⁶ In my view the contemporary Lamalama concept of social relationship incorporates both the 'genealogical connections from ego' (Scheffler 1972b; Scheffler and Lounsbury 1971), and the 'social

Thomson began fieldwork in Cape York Peninsula shortly after completing a diploma in anthropology at Sydney University under Radcliffe-Brown, who held the first chair there. Thomson was already trained in natural sciences, and his interest in this disciplinary area continued to inform his research interests for many years (Thomson 1983:2). Radcliffe-Brown was an early influence on Thomson's anthropological research. His Cape York Peninsula genealogical data, for instance, strives to demonstrate the "close correlation between the terminology of the kinship system and behaviour" associated with it (Thomson 1972:27), reflecting Radcliffe-Brown's aims (Radcliffe-Brown 1930; Scheffler 1978).

The 'Yintjingga' camp in which Thomson stayed on the Stewart probably contained at least Umpila, Ayapathu, and Morrobalama forebears of the present Lamalama people, with the set of terms that Thomson describes as 'Yintjingga' being terms from an Ayapathu language group closely associated with the Port Stewart region³⁷. Certainly forebears of the present older generations of Lamalama people included Ayapathu language speakers, and Rigsby (pers.comm.; Rigsby and Hafner 1994e:102) has said that the "preeminent interests" of the present generations of one prominent family descended to them through Monkey Port Stewart, who was the younger brother of their grandfather's (FF) first wife. Monkey Port Stewart (whose indigenous name was Aakurr Yinytyingga) transferred his interests at Port Stewart to his older sister's son, Harry (Nongorli) Liddy, on his death. Monkey Port Stewart's clan was an Ayapathu-language speaking clan (Rigsby and Hafner 1994f:24)³⁸.

group membership' perspectives, although the latter perhaps not in precisely the same way as suggested by particular theorists such as Schneider and Needham (1971).

³⁷ Rigsby has confirmed that Thomson's Yintyingga kin terms were indeed Ayapathu terms. In the Cliff Islands National Park Land Claim book (Rigsby and Hafner 1994d:66) we wrote:

Rigsby (1992:357) confirmed that the Yintyingga kin terms that Donald Thomson (1972:28) recorded were really Ayapathu kin terms when he compared them with the inland Ayapathu terms that West recorded from Jinny Long and the ones that Rosie Ahlers gave to him in 1992. Rosie Ahlers died in 1992, and she was probably the last person who could speak the language fluently.

³⁸ Much of the information on the pre-classical system and its people in Rigsby and Hafner (1994) is drawn from Rigsby's research on Cape York Peninsula since the 1970s. This information is also found in Sutton, Rigsby and Chase (1993:15).

Thomson described the Umpila as “occupying a narrow strip extending from Breakfast Creek, at the north of Princess Charlotte Bay, to Cape Sidmouth”³⁹, and the Yintjingga as occupying “a territory centred about the estuary of the Stewart River which runs into the south-western corner of Princess Charlotte Bay” (Thomson 1972:3; 1934:238). These locations are shown on Thomson’s (1972) map of “tribal distributions” in Cape York Peninsula (Figure 5). The Lamalama of today include descendants of these people, and in general terms the Umpila and the Lamalama regard each other as owning neighbouring countries, with the Umpila to the north of the Lamalama along the coast from roughly the Massy River to Lockhart⁴⁰. Thomson (1972) also charted Yintjingga kin terminology, and like the Umpila and other Peninsula systems, the Yintjingga system demonstrates a cross-parallel distinction in its terms. In editing Thomson’s material on Cape York Peninsula, Scheffler (Thomson 1972:vii;46) reported a high degree of intermarriage between the people in Thomson’s Umpila and Yintjingga genealogies.

Thomson on the Umpila system of kin classification

Although Thomson found limited evidence of named moiety divisions in Cape York Peninsula, which he recorded as *kaapay* and *kuyan* in the Princess Charlotte Bay region, more recent researchers⁴¹ have found little evidence of their existence among the Lamalama.⁴² Thomson (1972) also found no evidence of section or subsection systems in Cape York Peninsula during the late 1920s, such

³⁹ In his report on his expedition to Cape York Peninsula to the Australian National Research Council, however, Thomson (1929:30) stated that Umpila country “extends approximately from the Pascoe River in the north to the stream known as Massy Creek in the South” [sic].

⁴⁰ Rigsby (pers. comm.) regards the northern boundary of Lamalama land to be the southern side of the Massy, as it incorporates land formerly held by the Ayapathu relatives of the father of a senior Lamalama family in the present community. Chase (pers. comm.) states that a senior member of that family described the coastal area between the Massy and Breakfast Creek to him as Ayapathu land, indicating himself as an Ayapathu man. This man acquired his interest in this land from his father, whose Ayapathu father’s brother passed it on to him as he had no children himself.

⁴¹ Bruce Rigsby (pers. comm.) has been told by Lamalama people that they recognise the names of the old moiety divisions, but that these are not used any longer. Lesley Jolly (pers. comm.) also found no evidence of active named moiety divisions.

⁴² While a dyadic consciousness is evident in Lamalama perceptions of the social world (eg. Lamalama people versus everyone else), I only once heard a Lamalama man refer to a moiety-like division, in relation to himself and a man of another language-owning group. This was in 1994, in a discussion about land in which men of two separate language and land-owning groups professed to share certain interests. I was told that both men were “Emu”, and shared some reciprocal interests in each other’s land as ‘brothers’. One of the men, who was married, described himself as “different one” to his wife, that is, she was not ‘Emu’.

as Myers and others describe among the desert-dwelling Pintupi and other peoples. Myers suggests that the arrival of subsection or eight-section systems is comparatively recent in the Western Desert, and that it is a system in which the Pintupi are still not comfortable, at least in the view of some neighbouring groups. Although there is more recent evidence to the contrary about section systems for people neighbouring the Lamalama,⁴³ section or subsection systems were never taken up by them. Thomson did find moiety divisions, and an underlying dyadic consciousness of the social world remains with the Lamalama today.

Thomson's data provides the analytical basis for comparison of the Lamalama system of the past with that of the present. In an earlier analysis of the Umpila and other Princess Charlotte Bay systems of kin terminology (Hafner 1990:70-74), I noted its important features as a distinction between cross and parallel cousins, so that ego's siblings and parallel cousins are classified together as 'siblings', and the designation of terms on the basis of the relative age of linking kin. In that analysis, I compared unpublished materials on Princess Charlotte Bay kin terminologies collected by Rigsby, from the 1970s until 1990, with Thomson's (1972) material on the Umpila, collected in the late 1920s. Most of what Thomson describes accords with the features that we usually associate with Dravidian systems, which emphasise a dyad expressed through the distinction of parallel from cross relatives. In reference to Thomson's data on Cape York Peninsula systems, Scheffler (Thomson 1972:49) notes:

The collateral extension (sic) of their terms is governed at least in part by the Dravidian-like mode of extending the parallel-cross opposition beyond the range of parents' siblings and ego's cousins. They differ from Dravidian-type systems in other parts of the world in dividing grandparents into parallel and cross categories, in certain aspects of super- and subclass structure, and in specifying a limited structural equivalence between FF and [man's] SC and siblings.

⁴³ Drawing on Rigsby's knowledge of the region, in 1990 I wrote "Further to the south, among groups such as the Kuku Thaypan, Aghu Tharrnggala and Kuku Mini speakers, there were named sections and perhaps also moieties" (Hafner 1990:102).

Among the Umpila, Thomson (1972:3-4) observed localised, exogamous clans,⁴⁴ with marriage regulated “entirely by kinship” rather than by personal or clan totemic associations. Marriage was permitted between distant, or classificatory cross cousins only, although Thomson (1972:6; also 1929:7) later allows that marriage between “close” (actual) relatives did occur and was accommodated. Although Thomson (1972:4) noted some differences between the Umpila and “many other Australian systems of kin classification”, structural analysis reveals that it is fairly typically a Dravidian (see Keesing 1975), or in Radcliffe-Brown’s typology, Kariera-type system (Figure 9).

In the first ascending generation (Figure 10), the siblings of ego’s parents were distinguished from each other by relative age:

Younger same-sex siblings of ego’s parents are identified with the parents themselves (FB- = F, *pipi*; MZ- = M, *papa*); younger opposite-sex siblings of parents (FZ-, MB-) are given separate designations (*pima* and *kala*, respectively) and are distinguished from parents’ elder siblings who are (quite unlike the more conventional Australian practice) classified together regardless of sex in two categories (FB+ and FZ+ are *piinya*, and MZ+ and MB+ are *mukka*).

These six categories in the first ascending generation were reciprocated by four terminological categories in the first descending generation. Father and father’s younger brother (*piipi*) and father’s younger sister (*piima*) had the common reciprocal *pi’athu* (man’s child, B+C), while mother, mother’s younger sister (*papa*) and mother’s younger brother (*kaala*) had the common reciprocal *maampa* (woman’s child, Z+C). The remaining two categories, *ipinyadu* and *mukathu*, are those which reciprocated *piinya* (FB+, FZ+), and *muka* (MB+, MZ+).⁴⁵

Thomson (1972:4) further noted that:

the sibling terms are extended not on the basis of the relative ages

⁴⁴ I discuss the issue of clans among the Lamalama later in the text.

⁴⁵ Because my use of Umpila kin terms is extensive throughout this chapter, and for the sake of greater clarity, I have used a single orthography. This is the orthography used by Chase (1980) rather than Thomson (1972), although I naturally use Thomson’s orthography where I quote from his work.

OMPELA KIN CLASSIFICATION

| Term | Denotata |
|---------------------|---|
| 1. pola | FF, FF _B , MM _B , WM _F , HM _F |
| 2. poladu | ♂ _{SC} , ♂ _{BSC} , ♂ _{ZDC} , ♂ _{MB+SSW} , ♂ _{DDH} , ♂ _{DSW} |
| 3. mimi | MM, MM _Z , FF _Z , WF _M , HF _M |
| 4. kamidjo | ♀ _{DC} , ♀ _{ZDC} , ♀ _{BSC} , ♀ _{SDH} , ♀ _{SSW} |
| 5. pa'i | FM, FM _Z , MF _Z , WMM, HMM |
| 6. pa'idjo | ♀ _{SC} , ♀ _{ZSC} , ♀ _{BDC} , ♀ _{DDH} , ♀ _{DSW} |
| 7. ŋatji, ŋatjimo | MF, MF _B , FM _B , WFF, HFF |
| 8. ŋatjidjo | ♂ _{DC} , ♂ _{BDC} , ♂ _{ZSC} , ♂ _{SDH} , ♂ _{SSW} |
| 9. pipi | F, FB ₋ , MZ _{-H} , ♂ _{SSS} , ♂ _{DDS} , ♀ _{SDS} , ♀ _{DSS} |
| 10. pima | FZ ₋ , MB _{-W} , ♂ _{SSD} , ♂ _{DDD} , ♀ _{SDD} , ♀ _{DSD} |
| 11. piado | ♂ _C , B _{+C} , WZ _{+C} , HZ _{+C} , FFF, MM _F , MF _M , FMM |
| 12. pinya | FB ₊ , FZ ₊ , <u>MZ</u> _{+H} , MB _{+W} , (♂ _{MFZ+S})* |
| 13. pinyadu | B _{-C} , WZ _{-C} , HZ _{-C} , (♂ _{MB-DS}) |
| 14. papa | M, MZ ₋ , FB _{-W} , ♂ _{SDD} , ♂ _{DSD} , ♀ _{DDD} , ♀ _{SSD} |
| 15. kala | MB ₋ , FZH ₋ , (♂ _{FFZS}), (♂ _{MMZS}), ♂ _{SDS} , ♂ _{DSS} , ♀ _{SSS} , ♀ _{DDS} |
| 16. mampa | ♀ _C , Z _{+C} , WB _{+C} , HB _{+C} , (♂ _{MBSS}), (♂ _{MZDS}), FFM, MM _M , FM _F , MF _F |
| 17. mukka | MZ ₊ , MB ₊ , FB _{+W} , FZ _{+H} , (FF _{Z-C}), (♀ _{FMB+S}) |
| 18. mukkadu | Z _{-C} , HB _{-C} , WB _{-C} , (MB _{+SC}), (♂ _{FZ-SD}) |
| 19. yapu | B ₊ , FB _{+S} , MZ _{+S} , (♂ _{MFZSS}) |
| 20. ya'a | Z ₊ , FB _{+D} , MZ _{+D} |
| 21. ya'adu | B ₋ , Z ₋ , FB _{-C} , MZ _{-C} , (♂ _{FMBDS}) |
| 22. ŋami | MB _{+C} , FZ _{+C} , (♂ _{FMBSS}) |
| 23. tata | MB _{-C} , FZ _{-C} , (♂ _{FFZSS}) |
| 24. moryu | "MB ₊ " _S , "FZ ₊ " _S |
| 25. piloba, moryadu | "MB ₋ " _S , "FZ ₋ " _S |
| 26. wullomo | "FZ" _D , "MB" _D |
| 27. kulnta, yuntji | W, WZ |

[* kintypes in parentheses have been added to the original table. Their inclusion is based on Professor Thomson's Ompela genealogies and is intended to show how the terms are extended beyond the fairly narrow range illustrated in the original table.]

Figure 9: Thomson's list of Umpila kin terms (Thomson 1972:5)

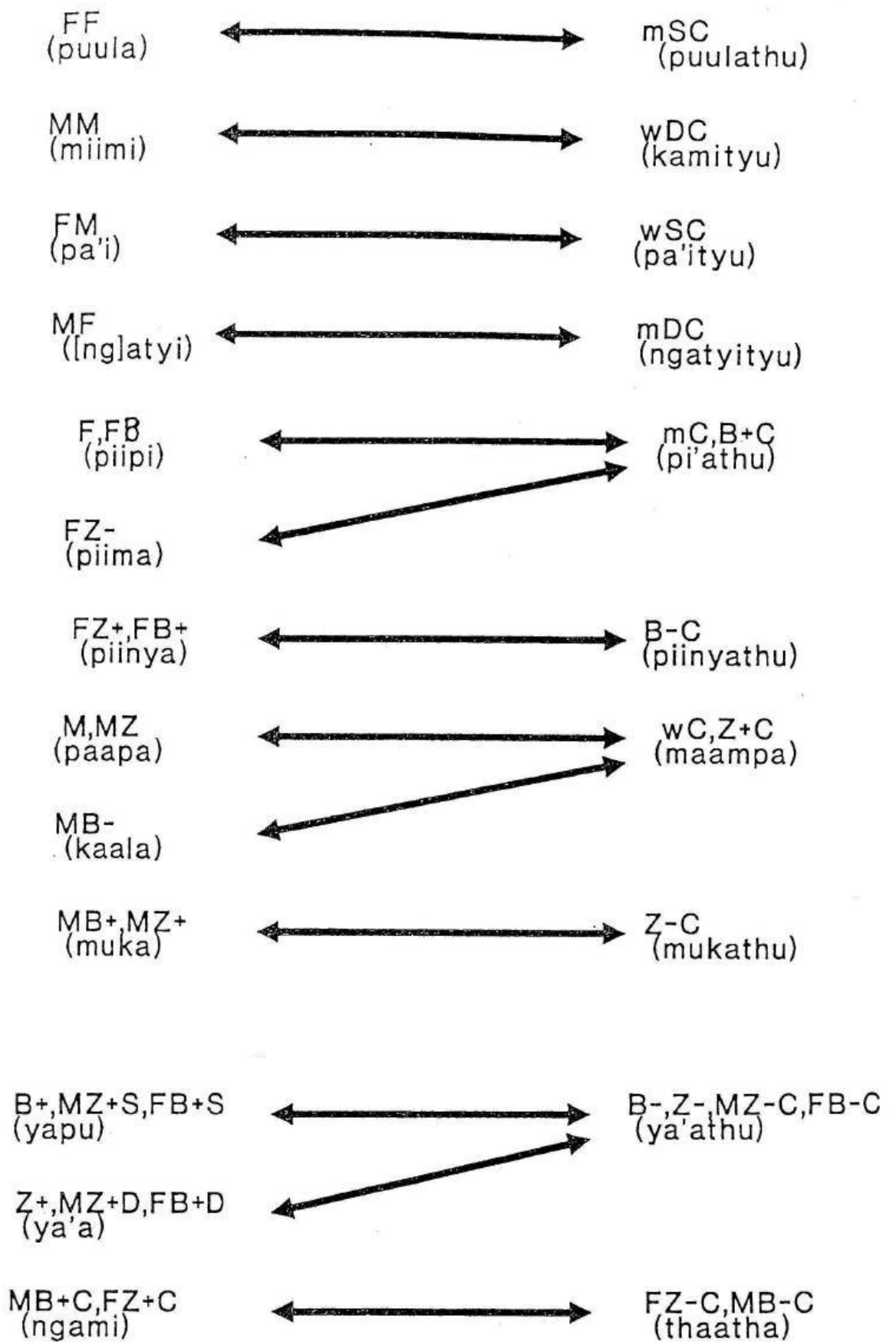


Figure 10: Umpila kin terms in reciprocal arrangement (adapted from Hafner 1990).

of ego and alter but according to the relative ages of the linking kin in the first ascending generation. Thus a parallel cousin is classified as an elder sibling if he or she is the child of FB+ or MZ+, and as a younger sibling if he or she is the child of a FB- or MZ-. ... Similarly, classification of the spouses of parents' siblings depends again on the relative age of the linking kin. FB+W, for example, is terminologically identified with MZ+, and FB-W with MZ- (or M).

Relative age of linking kin was relevant to the classification of cross cousins as well:

Likewise, actual and close classificatory cross cousins are classed as *ngami* if they are the children of MB+ or FZ+, and as *tata* if the children of MB- or FZ; and the offspring of outside mother's brother and father's sister are classified as *moryu*, senior male "cross cousin", *piloba*, junior male "cross cousin", and *wullomo*, female "cross cousin", depending on the relative ages of the linking kin in the first ascending generation (Thomson 1972:4).

Relatives in the second ascending generation from ego were classified by four sets of terms. Relative age of linking kin was not marked terminologically, and the cross-parallel distinction was maintained, with terms extended to siblings and affines of the same sex as linking kin. In other words, a same-sex merging principle applied. The same-sex siblings of ego's grandparents were classified together with ego's linking grandparent and designated by two sets of terms. That is, FF and FFB were classified together and designated by the term *puula*; MM and MMZ are designated by the term *miimi*. The same-sex siblings of ego's cross linking grandparents were classified together and designated by the terms *pa'i* (FM, FMZ) and *ngatyi* or *ngatyimu* (MF, MFB).

There were also four sets of reciprocating terms in the second descending generation. The terms for linking kin's child were extended to their siblings' children according to the same cross-parallel distinction. A man's son's child and his brother's son's child were designated by the term *puulathu*; a woman's daughter's child and her sister's daughter's child are also terminologically equated (*kamityu*). A woman's son's child and her sister's son's child are classed together

(*pa'ityu*), as are a man's daughter's child and his brother's daughter's child (*ngatyityu*).

Thomson (1972:6) also noted that "the opposite-sex siblings of grandparents may be terminologically identified with the linking grandparents". Thus FFZ could be designated as FF (*puula*), MMB as MM (*miimi*), FMB as FM (*pa'i*), and MFZ as MF (*ngatyimu*). This flattening of the cross-parallel distinction in relation to grandparents was also evident in the Yintjingga system, discussed below.

In ego's own generation, siblings were distinguished by relative age of linking kin, as well as by sex. The same-sex merging principle applied in the upper designations. Thus the term *yapu* designated B+ and FB+S; Z+ and FB+D were designated by the term *ya'a*, and both are reciprocated by the term *ya'athu*, designating the categories B-, Z-, FB-C, MZ-C. The cross-parallel distinction is also maintained, as already mentioned, by the terms *ngami* (MB+C, FZ+C) and *thaatha* (MB-C, FZ-C).

In his analysis of Australian systems of kin classification, Scheffler (1978:150-151) has commented:

The systems of kin classification of the Ompela (Umpila) and Mongkan of Cape York differ from most other Kariëra-like systems in making more extensive use of the criterion of relative age in definitions of basic classes and subclasses (Thomson 1935, 1955, 1972; McConnell (sic) 1934, 1940, 1950; McKnight 1971). For example in the Ompela system the FATHER class includes two specially designated subclasses, 'father's elder sibling' and 'father's younger sister'. Within the reciprocal MAN'S CHILD class there is only one specially designated subclass 'younger brother's child', whose designation is derived from 'father's elder sibling' by addition of a diminutive suffix. The MOTHER class is similarly subdivided. Within the COUSIN class there are covert close and distant subclasses: The [*sic*] close COUSINS are divided into younger and elder, according to the relative ages of the linking parents; the distant COUSINS are divided into females and males, males again by relative age. For second-degree and more distant collaterals, classification as elder or younger depends on the relative ages of the apical linking siblings, not on the

relative ages of ego and alter. In general, distant COUSINS are marriageable, close COUSINS are not.⁴⁶

Thomson's Yintjingga data

Thomson's (1972:28) Yintjingga data indicated some differences to the Umpila system in each generational level, although this system still fits within the normal typological variations described by Radcliffe-Brown and Scheffler. In the second ascending generation, the most salient feature in comparison to the Umpila data was the priority of the cross-parallel distinction, dividing all the possible classes of relatives into two categories, with terms extended from each of the male grandparents as linking kin. The same-sex merging rule was absent. Thus the term *kami* (FF) was extended to FFB, FFZ, MM, MMZ, and MMB, while the term for FM (*ngati*) was extended to FMZ, FMB, MF, MFB, and MFZ. There were two reciprocating categories in the second ascending generation, designated by *kamindinu* (man's SC, BSC, woman's DC, ZDC) and *ngatindinu* (man's SC, ZSC, woman's DC, BDC).

In the first ascending generation, the most noticeable difference to the Umpila system was the absence of a separate term to denote FZ-. Instead, father and father's younger brother were classified together by the term *pipi*, and father's sister, regardless of relative age, is classified with father's older brother (*pineyi*). The designations on mother's side remained essentially similar to those of the Umpila system (*papa* = M, MZ-; *kali* = MB-; *moki* = MB+, MZ+). In the reciprocating first descending generation terms, all of the kin on father's side (*pipi* = F, FB-; *pineyi* = FZ, FB+) are reciprocated by *ngaiyunpa* (man's child, BC), although there is a further distinction according to the relative age of linking kin on mother's side. Thus the term *towi* (woman's child, Z+C) reciprocates *papa* (M, MZ-) and *kali* (MB-), and *mokindinu* or *mokido* (Z-C) reciprocates *moki* (MB+, MZ+).

There were four terms for kin in ego's own generation. The categories *wunei* and *yapi* correlated with the terms *yapu* and *ya'a* in the Umpila system, but

⁴⁶ Scheffler's use of capitals in this passage indicates that the kinship category so marked, following Radcliffe-Brown's usage, refers to a superclass of all the kin types represented by the term.

there is a further division of the younger sibling category in the Yintjingga system, where a distinction according to the relative sex of alter was made. The Umpila category expressed by the term *ya'athu* (B-, Z-, FB-C, MZ-C) is differentiated as the categories B-, MZ-S, FB-S (*karki*) and Z-, MZ-D, FB-D (*weli*). Another interesting feature of Thomson's Yintjingga data was the absence of terms for the cross cousin categories MB+C and FZ+C (*ngami* in the Umpila system) and MB-C and FZ-C (*thaatha* in Thomson's Umpila data). However, the term for husband and ZH (*moryi*) was extended to the categories woman's FFZSS and FFZSD, equating them with husband and sister's husband respectively. Similarly, the term for wife and BW (*yuntji*) was extended to a man's FMBSD and a woman's FFZSD, equating them with wife and husband's sister. Whether this indicated any kind of preferential marriage rule in relation to close kin is not clear.

Thomson on some aspects of behaviour

Thomson was most detailed in recording Umpila information about the behaviour that accompanied different kin classifications among Cape York Peninsula systems. Regionally, he noted the existence of joking relationships between some kin categories, a change to a new set of kin terms after betrothal, and a structural alteration in relation to both categories of cross cousins in order to account for marriage prohibitions.

Thomson (1972: 27) states in relation to the Umpila that "the sons and daughters of own and close mother's brothers and father's sisters" were designated as *ngami* (MB+C, FZ+C) or *thaatha* (MB-, FZ-), and that marriage to these categories of kin was prohibited as "incestuous and is punishable by death". As noted above, Thomson did note some exceptions to this rule, and in writing this, he was apparently stating the ideal rule. An individual was expected to behave towards such relatives as one would to a mother or a mother's brother, and although born into ego's own generation, they were allocated to the first ascending, or parental generation in relation to ego and ego's first cousins alone. For all other relationships, they retained their usual place in the structure. Yet this convention led to a potentially conflicting situation with regard to the status of cross-cousin's spouse, who should then logically be categorised as being of the parental generation as well.

Thomson (1972:14;27) states that this was overcome by the introduction of a restricted form of joking relationship, at least between the two male participants - Thomson's data provides little direct information on behaviour from the female point of view - so as to minimise the discomfort of "embarrassment and possible resentment" associated with a departure from the normal pattern, resulting perhaps in a prohibited or 'wrong-way' marriage.

Both Thomson's data and the present situation demonstrate the centrality of the cross-parallel distinction. In common with the patterns of Aboriginal kinship elsewhere (eg. Myers 1986), there are binding relationships between siblings, demonstrated structurally through same-sex sibling merging rules of collateral extension. In relation to the Pintupi, Myers demonstrates the way in which the male sibling relationship can be important in retaining authority throughout its members' lives until the attainment of 'elder' or seniority status. The contemporary Lamalama society demonstrates sibling cohesion among men and women of at least two of the three adult generations. Within Lamalama concepts of relationship, varying expressions of affect pertain between such siblings, but a tacit solidarity is a hallmark of their operation. This can be forcefully indicated in decision-making about matters to do with the land, where action ideally depends on consensus among the corporate group, but is at times delayed by serious disputation between siblings.

The past and the present

Comparison of the present system of kin reckoning used by the Lamalama with these past systems shows some distinctions. The Umpila terms are still the common set used, although in the context of English as the *lingua franca* of the region. The most obvious differences are the conflation of categories in some generations, and the replacement of Umpila terms with English terms. In ego's generation, the full set of terms for siblings and cousins remains, with the exception of the parallel cousin term *thaatha*, which is no longer used. The Umpila terms are used interchangeably with the English terms 'brother', 'sister', and 'cousin', and with the extension 'cousin-brother' or '-sister'.

In the first ascending generation, the six terms for parents and parents' siblings have been reduced to four, designating parents (*piipi* = F, *papa* = M) and parents' siblings (*muka* = MB, MZ and *piinya* = FB, FZ). Thus the relative age of linking kin and same-sex sibling merging rules have been modified. The previous four categories of terms for parents' siblings have been reduced to *mukka* and *piinya*, and these same terms are returned by the first descending generation, dropping the common *-athu* suffix which designated the reciprocal category in the classical system (that is, the term *mukathu* has become *muka*). Although people recognise the Umpila terms for each parent, they are rarely used, with both younger and older generations tending to use common variations of the English terms 'mum' and 'dad' instead. The terms 'mum' and 'dad' are used for parents' younger same-sex siblings as well. The separate FZ- (*piima*) and MB- (*kaala*) terms are still recognised, though rarely used.

The English terms 'aunt' and 'uncle' are applied to parents' younger opposite-sex siblings. The English term 'aunt' is used for father's older opposite-sex sibling (FZ+), but the use of terms is more ambiguous in relation to the corresponding mother's sibling (MB+). The Umpila term *muka* is generally used for this category of relative, but young Lamalama people have also told me that this relative is called *piinya*. The lack of the full complement of kin may account for this anomaly. Parents' older same sex siblings retain the Umpila terms, *piinya* (FB+) and *muka* (MZ+). Although the system for categorising parents' siblings remains similar to that observed by Thomson, the present use of terms makes an equivalence between father's siblings regardless of age, and possibly between FB+ and MB+.

In the second ascending generation, the terms *puula* and *miimi* are still recognised, and *puula* is often used, although the English terms 'granddad' and 'nanna' are most commonly used. As with the Umpila terms, these English terms are reciprocal categories.

Chase (1980:394-395) reproduced Thomson's (1972) list of Umpila kin terms, with corrected orthography and one additional affinal term, *kal'i*, noting that Thomson recorded this term but erroneously thought of it as an alternative form of *kaala* (MB-). Chase (1980:395) found an alternative set of kin terms had

developed as part of a Creole language form among the Umpila at Lockhart River, borrowing mostly from English, and to a lesser degree from other indigenous languages. The Creole terms grouped several traditional categories together under one term, with the result that there were fewer categories by which to distinguish kin. The use of terms was decided on the basis of social context. Chase found Creole terms rather than traditional ones used for reference rather than address, except where people wished to emphasize the customary obligations contingent on a kin role. In personal address, the English ‘my’ or ‘your’ was often added to stress the obligations inherent in the relationship, as illustrated by the following quote from Chase:

My *maampa* got smoke, eh? Poor old *kaala* got nothing. All them *thaatha* belong you finish it up. You give your *kaala* one tin of tobacco. I fix you up on payday (1980:396).

Chase noted that the traditional terminology for affines was being replaced by Creole terms. Few young people were sure of the traditional terms for WM, HM, M-in-L, F-in-L, S-in-L and D-in-L. Young adults also tended to use Creole terms for B-in-L and Z-in-L as a response to criticism by older people that they used these terms incorrectly. Terms for the affines of grandchildren had also been dropped, replaced by the form “husband (wife) belong X”. Chase (1980:396) regarded this disuse as partly the outcome of fewer numbers of such affines in comparison to other categories of kin, and suggested the general use of Creole terms for reference meant that traditional affinal terms would “most likely disappear from the repertoire” in the next generation. He then provided a list of loan terms, which I reproduce below:

Loans for kin reference and address at Lockhart River (Chase 1980)

| <u>Dialect term</u> | | <u>Reference</u> | <u>Address</u> |
|---------------------|-------|------------------|----------------|
| <i>puula</i> | (FF)} | granny | granny |
| <i>miimi</i> | (MM)} | grandfather | grandfather |
| <i>pa'i</i> | (FM)} | grandmother | grandmother, |
| <i>ngatyimu</i> | (MF)} | | old man |
| | | | old woman |

| | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|---|--|
| <i>puulathu</i> | (SC)} | granny, | |
| <i>kamityi</i> | (DC)} | granny-boy, granny-girl | granny-boy granny-girl |
| <i>pa'ityu</i> | (SC)} | grandson | grandson |
| <i>ngatyityu</i> | (DC)} | granddaughter | granddaughter |
| <i>piipi</i> | (F) | old man pop (actual father) daddy, father | daddy |
| <i>piipi</i> | (FB-) | small father, small daddy | daddy |
| <i>piima</i> | (FZ-) | auntie | auntie |
| <i>pi'athu</i> | (C, B+C) | boy, girl, son, daughter | (my) boy, (my) girl |
| <i>pi'athu</i> | (B+C) | nephew, boy, girl | nephew, (my) boy, (my) girl |
| <i>piinya</i> | (FB+, FZ+) | old man, old lady | old man, old woman |
| <i>piinyathu</i> | (B-C) | boy, girl | (my) boy, (my) girl |
| <i>paapa</i> | (M) | mother, mama, old lady | mama |
| <i>paapa</i> | (MZ-) | small mama, small mother | mama |
| <i>kaala</i> | (MB-) | uncle | uncle |
| <i>maampa</i> | (C, Z+C) | son, daughter, boy, girl | son, daughter, (my) boy, (my) girl |
| <i>maampa</i> | (Z+C) | nephew, boy, girl | nephew, (my) boy, (my) girl |
| <i>muka</i> | (MZ+, MB+) | old lady, old man | old woman, old man |
| <i>mukathu</i> | (Z-C) | boy, girl | (my) boy, (my) girl |
| <i>yapu</i> | (B+) | big brother | brother |
| <i>ya'a</i> | (Z+) | big sister | sis, sister |
| <i>ya'athu</i> | (B-, Z-) | small brother, small sister | brother, bala, sister, sissy |
| <i>ngami</i> | (FZ+C, MB+C) | cousin | cussy |
| <i>ngami</i> | (MB+D) | cousin mother, mama | mama |
| <i>thaatha</i> | (FZ-C, MB-C) | cousin, small cousin | cussy |
| <i>yapu, ya'athu</i> | (FB+S, FB-S, MZ+S, MZ-S) | cousin brother | brother, bala |

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|--|--|---|
| <i>ya'a, ya'athu</i> | (FB+D,FB-D, cousin sister MZ+D, MZ-D) | | sister, sissy, sis |
| <i>wulumu,</i> <i>kulnta</i> | (W) | missus, wife | old woman (with age) |
| <i>pilupa, muuyu</i> | (H) | old man, husband | old man (with age) |
| <i>pilupa</i> <i>wulumu</i> | (B in L) (Z in L) | <i>thaawi, banytyi</i> brother-in-law, sister-in-law | <i>thaawi, banytyi</i> sister-in-law |
| <i>yaami</i> | (WM) | mother-in-law that mama bla wife | - |
| <i>uuku</i> | (HM) | mother-in-law that mama bla ol' man | - |
| <i>aampayi</i> | (WF, HF) | father-in-law that daddy bla wife (ol' man) | - |
| <i>ngatyamungu</i> | (mDH, mSW) | man bla girl woman bla boy | - |
| <i>uutanganu</i> (wSW, wDH) | | woman bla boy man bla girl | - |

When contemporary Lamalama use of the Umpila system of kin terms is compared to Chase's list of terms, it becomes apparent that rather as he predicted for the Umpila at nearby Lockhart River, traditional terms have fallen out of general usage. By comparison, the use of most traditional terms have been replaced by terms borrowed from English among the Lamalama and other *pama* at Coen. The following list of terms follows Chase's format and orthography to list the Umpila terms now used by the Lamalama. Asterisks against dialect terms indicate those terms still in regular use. Two asterisks indicate regular use; one asterisk indicates less frequent use. Bracketing indicates current linguistic form; among the reciprocals still used, use of most modifying suffixes has dropped out of use.

Terms for kin reference and address used by the Lamalama

| <u>Dialect term</u> | | <u>Reference</u> | <u>Address</u> |
|---------------------|-------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>puula**</i> | (FF)} | granddad | granddad, ol' fella <i>puula</i> |
| <i>miimi*</i> | (MM)} | granddad | granddad |

| | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>pa'i**</i> | (FM)} | nanna, ol' lady | nanna, |
| <i>ngatyimu</i> | (MF)} | | ol' man |
| <i>puula(thu)</i> | (SC)} | boy, girl, grandson, | boy, girl granddaughter |
| <i>kami(tyu)*</i> | (DC)} | boy, girl | (my) boy, (my) girl |
| <i>p'ai(tyu)</i> | (SC)} | grandson | (my) grandson, boy |
| <i>ngatyityu</i> | (DC)} | granddaughter | (my) girl, granddaughter |
| <i>piipi*</i> | (F) | dad, father, ol' man | dad, ol' man, daddy |
| <i>piipi*</i> | (FB-) | small father, uncle | uncle, dad, daddy |
| <i>piima</i> | (FZ-) | auntie | auntie |
| <i>pi'athu</i> | (C, B+C) | boy, girl, son, daughter | (my) boy, (my) girl |
| <i>pi'athu</i> | (C, B+C) | boy, girl | (my) boy, (my) girl, son, daughter |
| <i>piinya**</i> | (FB+, FZ+) | uncle, auntie, | uncle, aunt, dad <i>piinya</i> , daddy |
| <i>piinya(thu)</i> | (B-C) | boy, girl | (my) boy, (my) girl |
| <i>paapa</i> | (M) | mum, mother | mum |
| <i>paapa</i> | (MZ-) | aunt, mum | aunt, mum |
| <i>kaala</i> | (MB-) | uncle | uncle, <i>muka</i> |
| <i>maampa</i> | (C, Z+C) | son, daughter, son, boy, girl | daughter, (my) boy, (my) girl |
| <i>maampa</i> | (Z+C) | boy, girl | (my) boy, (my) girl |
| <i>muka**</i> | (MZ+, MB+) | aunt, uncle | aunt, uncle, mum, <i>muka</i> |
| <i>muka(thu)**</i> | (Z-C) | boy, girl | (my) boy, (my) girl |
| <i>yapu**</i> | (B+) | big brother | brother |
| <i>ya'a**</i> | (Z+) | big sister | sis, sister, tidda |
| <i>ya'athu*</i> | (B-, Z-) | small brother, small sister | brother, budda sister, sis, tidda |
| <i>ngami*</i> | (FZ+C, MB+C) | cousin-brother, cousin-sister | cus, brother, sister |
| <i>ngami</i> | (MB+D) | cousin-brother, | brother, sister cousin-sister |
| <i>thaatha</i> | (FZ-C, MB-C) | cousin-brother, cousin-sister | brother, sister |
| <i>yapu, ya'athu</i> | (FB+S, FB-S, | cousin brother | brother, budda |

| | | | |
|----------------------------|---|---|----------------------------|
| <i>ya'a, ya'athu</i> | MZ+S, MZ-S) (FB+D,FB-D, cousin sister MZ+D, MZ-D) | | sister, sis, tidda |
| <i>wulumu,* kulnta</i> | (W) | missus, wife | - |
| <i>pilupa, muuyu*</i> | (H) | old man, husband | old man |
| <i>pilupa</i> | (B in L) | <i>banytyi</i> | <i>banytyi</i> |
| <i>wulumu</i> | (Z in L) | brother-in-law, sister-in-law | sister-in-law |
| <i>yaami</i> | (WM) | "Mum X" | "Mum", "Mum X" |
| <i>uuku</i> | (HM) | - | - |
| <i>aampayi</i> | (WF, HF) | father-in-law | "Dad", "Dad X", ol' man |
| <i>ngatyamungu</i> | (mDH, mSW) | son-in-law, man bla X daughter-in-law, woman bla X | - - - |
| <i>uutanganu</i> | (wSW, wDH) | daughter-in-law, woman bla X son-in-law, man bla X | - - - |

Thus it is apparent that of the forty-odd dialect terms available to the Lamalama in the Umpila system of kin terms, only fifteen, or roughly a quarter, are in regular use. The list also indicates that there is considerable borrowing of English terms. The most commonly used dialect terms, *puula*, *pa'i*, *piinya*, *muka*, *muka(thu)*, *yapu*, and *ya'a*, refer to the kin categories that still have adequate numbers of people available to fill the social roles to which they refer.

As Chase found at Lockhart River, changes to the use of kin terms, particularly affinal terms, are more obvious among the younger Lamalama generations. Young adults regularly use traditional terms for address and reference, but few of the terms for affines have great currency. Although the terms *wulumu* and *muuyu* are used, English terms are most commonly used for affines. Older people use kin terms for reference and address as a matter of course, but they use a more restricted range of terms than Chase recorded at Lockhart, or Thomson found much earlier at Port Stewart. Adults address and refer to sons- and daughters-in-law by name as frequently as they use the relevant English terms for each of these categories. The reduction in the use of terms at

Coen is thus more considerable than Chase observed at Lockhart, but this is not so remarkable, when the fact that Chase was working with a community of Umpila speakers some twenty years ago is taken into account. Although some of the Lamalama recognise and can reproduce Umpila, mostly they do not speak it as a first language.

Underlying values in the kinship system

Nonetheless, use of kin terms remains important in the post-classical sphere. It indicates relatedness, and the expression of the concept of 'respect'. The four terms designating grandparents and their siblings are still recognised, and used intermittently along with the English terms 'nanna' and 'granddad', and the members of the second descending generations regularly address FF (*puula*) and FM (*pa'i*) by the Umpila terms.

An obvious factor in the conflation of terms among such a small kin group as the Lamalama is the lack of enough people to fill all the available kin categories, but it should be noted that the distinction between cross kin is maintained in each generational level. It is difficult to get a clear picture of whether or not people retain the same kinds of jural expectations for each of the categories of kin now conflated into equivalent status with each other. On the surface, it is possible to observe people using predominantly English kin terms as a mark of 'respect', but it is less easy to observe particular accompanying behaviour that might mark any categorical differences. For instance, there is no longer any especially observable difference in the way a *muka* or a *piinya* should be treated by a ZDC or a FBC. Both are addressed by the appropriate term, and generally respected as senior kin.

Like most Aboriginal people, the Lamalama live in a world of intense 'relatedness' that spreads across temporal, geographic and cultural boundaries, and express relationship and respect through the regular use of kin terms. In their practice, 'kinship' involves more than shared substance or its metaphorical extension to others within the social universe. While it is true that kinship systems regulate social behaviour as well as marriage relationships (eg. Thomson 1972:3), it seems more accurate to say that kinship now works to support psychological realities as much as any others. That is to say, while the Lamalama

still hold individually that there are specific rules for behaviour attached to particular kin roles, there is some idiosyncrasy in the way in which the rules are understood to apply. Yet it is commonly understood that the use of kin terms expresses “respect”.⁴⁷

Use of kin terms can be accompanied by the expression of a variety of affective states, which challenge our own concepts of the characteristics implicitly associated with notions of ‘respect’. It is as common to observe people addressing each other (with the correct kin designation) in tones of anger, disgust or derision as it is with pleasure, sincerity or humility. In this context, ‘respect’ primarily signifies the social recognition of degrees of social or biological distance, which helps to maintain the fabric of social relationships, and social order, in a world of intense interconnection. If individuals do not maintain the jural force of the formal structure - the ‘fences’ that the use of kin terms embody - then the order of the known universe is threatened, and becomes one of unbounded potentialities.

I observed considerable discomfort among Lamalama on those occasions when the rules were not applied. When a young Lamalama woman stayed with me at my home in Brisbane, I introduced her to other members of my (biological) family, including my niece (then 15) and nephew (then 10), neither of whom have ever addressed me as “aunt”. My friend was extremely polite to them, but later exploded in anger and shock that “they don’t show you no respect! They just call you by your name!” On another occasion, at a regional political meeting, numbers of Lamalama people observed that the adult children of a woman from a neighbouring group addressed her by her given name, without appending the appropriate kin term designating ‘mother’. Again, they registered disgust and disapproval that she would encourage them in such inappropriate behaviour.

I have already noted the instance of one young Lamalama woman being asked to explain the use of an (English) kin term in evidence during the Lakefield and Cliff Islands land claims hearing. She said that she had to use kin-terms in

⁴⁷ When questioned during the hearings for their claim over Lakefield National Park, one young Lamalama woman of about 23 years old said that her “mum and dad would kill” her if she did not use the appropriate term of address to an older relative.

address to show 'respect', and the term is in common usage throughout the region in much the same way. Use of kin terms is a public acknowledgment of relationship, and of the expectation that the users recognise a set of rules for behaviour that is appropriate between them. Invoking 'respect', as the Lamalama constantly do, expresses either social opprobrium or sanction.

It is difficult to say whether fewer rules are used now, or simply that some of the stricter behavioural requirements Thomson noted are no longer important. For example, rules of avoidance have been relaxed, although they are still practiced. There is a generalised concern that the quality of 'respect' be expressed, and in the most general usage, this is done through the use of kin terms. This seems to meet the jural requirement - it is not unusual to observe the participants in swearing or fighting exchanges using kin terms with each other. In one such situation, in which a young man was called on to defend his cousin-sister in a dispute with the father of her children, he began to fight by calling out "I don't want to fight you, bunytyi! (that is, brother-in law). I never come here to fight!"⁴⁸

As there is now a restricted set of terms, there is a reduced set of jural rules associated with kin categories. As Thomson (1972:10) observed, knowing what kinship term to apply to someone meant knowing how to behave towards them, and what behaviour to expect in return. This remains true, but there is now an obvious relaxation in the rules for behaviour by comparison with Thomson's observations. Thomson noted that greater genealogical distance generally modified or relaxed the behavioural expectation, and again, this rule is subject to greater subtlety in current practice, such that people tend to act with greater deference, though more warmth, towards own senior kin than they apply to their more distant or classificatory kin. Thomson (1972:10-14) sets out the reciprocal relationships found in the Umpila system, and describes the rules for behaviour associated with each of the categories. His material provides the basis for a comparative assessment of the behaviour associated with jural rules that prevails in the present. Unfortunately the additional, detailed data on social roles and behaviour that Thomson provided for the Umpila system were not included in his consideration of Yintjingga terms. In the following analysis of the behaviour

⁴⁸ Field note 19 July 1992.

associated with Umpila kin categories, I again apply the more recent orthography used by Chase (1980) in transcribing Umpila kin terms.

In Thomson's observation of grandparental kin categories, a young man's *puula* (FF) acted as his principal instructor, even more than his own father, instructing him in bushcraft and fishing. A *puula* decided what his *puulathu* (mSS) would hunt, and whether he would become a canoeman, dugong hunter or harpooner. A *puula* would also instruct his *puulathu* about women, and back him up in the case of a fight. A *puulathu* could talk freely to his *puula*, and borrow his spears and other possessions without asking him. A man could joke with an outside or distant *puula*, and the outside *puula/puulathu* was the freest of joking relationships:

Relatives related in this way may swear at one another in public and make jests of a sexual nature which are not permitted in most other joking relationships. They may even grasp one another's genitalia, but only in public (Thomson 1972:11).

None of the adult Lamalama today have a living relative in the *puula* category. The lack of people to fill this social role makes it difficult to compare current practice with Thomson's observations, although some adults are in an actual or classificatory *puula* relationship with their children's children. At the time of my fieldwork, the few children with a living *puula* were still infants, and the *puula/puulathu* relationship was relatively unestablished. In the case of the more distant classificatory *puula/puulathu* relationships, Thomson's observations of comparative freedom remains the hallmark of the relationship. Although a degree of obedience is expected from young children, a *puula* is usually indulgent towards children in the reciprocal category. The relationship is usually affectionate and tolerant, and children will approach a *puula* to ask for favours or money to spend at the shop before they approach a *pa'i* (FM).

I only once observed the kind of sexual joking that Thomson describes as typical of the outside *puula/puulathu* relationship between men. However, this situation occurred between a young woman, the mother of three young children, and an elderly man she classed as a *puula*. As Thomson describes, it was a public situation, where the young woman launched into a lengthy and outrageously

funny diatribe about his sexual life, which included reference to his frequent partners, his lasciviousness, his overworked penis, and his wife's jealousy. Everyone present was extremely amused and enjoyed her performance immensely, none more than her *puula*. He laughed along with everybody else, and responded with affectionate comments and smiles. They made no physical contact, and it is safe to assume that the wearing of clothes and the attendant modesty it has brought would prohibit the kind of contact that Thomson describes as possible among males in this relationship. Thomson is largely silent about the behaviour expected from women, and gives us no indication of whether this kind of event was characteristic of the behaviour he observed between a male *puula* and his female *puulathu*.

Thomson (1972:11) briefly describes the *pa'i/pa'ityu* (FM/wSC) relationship as one of comparative freedom, but involving considerably less freedom permitted than that allowed with an outside *puula*. In the several cases of actual *pa'i/pa'ityu* relationships I observed between children and adults, the relationship is one of tolerance but some deference. Children are expected to obey their *pa'i*, and the relationship is more distant than that with a *puula*, although it is not lacking in warmth. Similarly, the relationship with a classificatory *pa'i* is warm but deferential. Thomson (1972:11) describes both the *ngatyimu/ngatyityu* (MF/mDC) and the *miimi/kamityu* (MM/wDC) relationships as ones of great freedom. A man could use the spear or canoe of his *ngatyimu*, and if his own father died, this relative would share the responsibility of looking after him along with his FF and FB+. As the sister or classificatory sister of one's *puula*, the same attitude of freedom and friendliness pertained as with other relatives of the grandparental class, although, Thomson states, no licence was permitted, even with a classificatory *miimi* (MM).

There are several *ngatyimu/ngatyityu* relationships among the Lamalama at present, and I observed these as relationships of relative freedom. Grandparents in this category are usually referred to as 'grandad', and sometimes as *puula* or 'ol' fella'. In the case of the infant Kane Liddy, his MF Freddy Liddy had assumed a close relationship with him before being invalided in a fight. Freddy had begun to teach Kane to speak Umpithamu, and was reported to take great interest in the child's development. I observed little of this relationship, because Freddy was

hospitalised shortly after I arrived, other than that he was warmly affectionate and attentive to Kane.

There are several adults in the *kamityu* relationship, mostly those who are the descendants of Maggie tableland. Most of them refer to her as ‘nanna’ rather than as ‘*miimi*’, although the term is still sometimes used. The relationships between Maggie and her *kamityu* are generally warm and tolerant, and she has taken an interest in their development. Maggie has passed on her knowledge about the rules for behaviour on the land to her male grandkin, a fact which only became public when two of her *kamityu* gave evidence in the Lakefield claim hearings. On a visit to the Moon Story place at Rocky Creek south of Port Stewart, it was Maggie who put ‘smell’ on those of her grandchildren who were visiting it for the first time in 1992.

In Thomson’s (1972:11) observation, relationships with all four grandparents were ones of “kindness, tolerance and indulgence”, with the relationship to a man’s own *puula* (FF) being the one of greatest austerity. The current situation is slightly different, with the relationship to one’s own *pa’i* (FM) the one of greatest distance and deference.

The relationships *papa/maampa* (M, MZ-/wC, wZ+C); *muka/mukathu* (MZ+, MB+, wZ-C, mZ-C); *kaala/maampa* (MB-mZ+C); and *piipi/pii’athu* (F, FB-/mC, mB+c); *piinya/pii’athu* (FB+, FZ+/mB-C, wB-C); and *piima/pii’athu* (FZ-/wB+C) now form the significant relationships among the parental generation. Thomson (1972:11) describes the *paapa/maampa* relationship as one of special care. A *maampa* had a special duty to care for his mother; if his father died, it was a *maampa*’s duty to look after his mother. Thomson says there were no special taboos to observe, and although joking was allowed, no crude or rough behaviour was allowed with a *paapa*. A mother did not discipline her children, instead “spoils them, treating them always with kindness and indulgence” (Thomson 1972:11). In my observation, mothers treat their children with kindness and generally with considerable tolerance, but they also act as disciplinarians. Children refer to their actual and classificatory mothers as ‘mum’, not as ‘*maampa*’. Classificatory mothers are generally more indulgent of children than actual mothers, often buying them expensive presents, and showering them

with affection, particularly when they are young children. In my observation, the relationship is one of life-long closeness. Over the last decade, Tonya Crisp has moved back and forth from her parents' house to her MZ- house. As an adult in a long-term spousal relationship, she presently lives with her MZ-, who she addresses and refers to as 'mum'.

Thomson (1972:11) described the *muka/mukathu* relationship as similar to that with a mother. A male *muka* was regarded as 'just like a mother but bigger than a mother'. The greatest freedom occurred in relation to a classificatory *muka*, but no licence or obscenity was permitted. A person could give food to his or her younger sister's children, and had a responsibility to care for a MB+ if he lost his wife. Thomson also describes it as an affectionate relationship, and this remains true among the Lamalama today. People regularly refer to their MB+ and MZ+ as 'muka', and there is generally little distance or intolerance in the relationship. Thomson described the MZ+ category as also perceived as 'like a mother', and a MZ+ as likely to adopt her younger sister's children if she dies. In the present, this relationship remains particularly strong among young women, who regularly share parenting responsibilities among their sisters as well as cousin-sisters. People joke freely with their *mukas*, and the relationship is usually easy and happy. In the case of the younger adults, it is rare for a *mukathu* to 'give cheek' to a *muka*, although among men, it was not unusual among more distant members of this category that they fought with each other when I was in Coen.

Thomson (1972:12) paid particular attention to the *kaala/maampa* (MB-/mZ+C) relationship. He describes a *kaala* as being like a mother, to the extent that people often addressed their *kaala* as *paapa* (M), although he makes it clear that there was considerably more reserve and respect present in the *kaala/maampa* relationship than between a *paapa* and a *maampa*:

A man does not joke or make fun with his *kala* as he does with with his *papa* or *mukka*, and *kala* and *mampa* may not talk freely with one another. One informant said 'What *kala* says, you have got to believe', i.e., you must accept and obey what he says (Thomson 1972:12).

A *kaala* takes a different attitude towards a *maampa* than the kind of concern that is present in the reciprocal *puula/puulathu* relationship as well. The attitude of a *kaala* is solicitous and maternal, whereas a *puula* was inclined towards pride in the exploits and achievements of his *puulathu*. In fights over women, a *puula* would stand and fight alongside his *puulathu*, but the appropriate conduct for a *kaala* was to spear his *maampa* in the leg in order to stop the fight and avert further trouble (Thomson 1972:12). The austerity of the relationship was reflected in the fact that a person did not address their *kaala* directly, speaking instead through a third person, and used a taboo vocabulary called *ngornki* (Thomson 1972:12). However, a man could make gifts of food to his *maampa*. A strict hierarchy applied to the distribution of dugong meat, a food restricted to men and surrounded by taboos⁴⁹. Thomson notes that if a man harpooned a dugong, his *puula* or *ngatyimu* took charge of distribution. If neither of these men were present, his *muka* took charge, followed by his *kaala* if his *muka* was not present, demonstrating the seniority of these kin in relation to ego.

The relationship of MB-/mZ+C still retains some of the features described by Thomson, although the austerity he describes is considerably relaxed. The Lamalama do not refer or address a MB- as *kaala*. It is common practice now to refer to all of one's mother's siblings as '*muka*', or even more commonly as 'mum' if they are female, 'uncle' if male. No distinction is made between actual and classificatory relatives in this category in either reference or address. Men in the MB- category now generally have comradely relationships with their Z+C, particularly their Z+S, and it is common for them to drink together. A greater emotional distance is usually present between a MB- and a Z+D, and although a sense of respect is characteristic of the relationship with any of a Z+C, there is greater reserve towards Z+Ds. Joking of a non-sexual kind is permitted with all of a Z+C, and the relationship is generally a relaxed one. However, Lynette Magee once told me she heard Max Crisp chastise Lionel Magee, (his actual Z+C) for swearing at him while drunk, by saying angrily, "You better watch yourself [Lionel]! I'm not your *muka*! I'm your small uncle!"

⁴⁹ Older women have told me that their mothers, who would have been present at Port Stewart during Thomson's time, ate dugong meat despite the restrictions, and that as girls, they covertly ate it as well. However, they were aware that if they had been caught, they would have been punished. One woman also said that her mother accompanied her father on dugong hunts on occasion – when she was free from caring for infants – although Thomson (1934) describes this as an exclusively male preserve.

In Thomson's observation (1972:12-13), the relationship between a father and his siblings and the father's son was one of reserve and restraint, and concerned with instruction about appropriate rules of conduct. He says that a *piima* (FZ-) takes some part in the education of her elder brother's children, and that a female *piinya* (FZ+) is the principal teacher of a girl, while a *piipi* (F), *piinya* (FB+, FZ+), and a *puula* (FF) are a boy's principal teachers. A man could not speak freely with his *pipi*, but there were no special taboos on the relationship. A man could give food to his son, but not receive it in return until the son's moustache had grown in, and the son's FF, MF, and FB+ had given their permission. A father's older brothers (*piinya*) carried the same authority as a F, and a person treated his FB+ with respect, feeding him when he grew old. Thomson provides little information about the role of a *piipi* (FB-), but says that a *piima* (FZ-), as a junior relative, did not have the same authority as a female *piinya* (FZ+). The female *piinya* helped to teach her B-C, and Thomson says that one could talk to her without the restrictions that apply to many other relatives. A FZ+ might sometimes slap a child, "which its own mother would only do under extreme provocation" (Thomson 1972:13). The relationships between a father's siblings and their BC are now ones of tolerance and emotional ease. I generally observed these relationships to be similar to those with one's mother's siblings, and although it includes a sense of respect on the part of a *piinyathu*, this is expressed mostly by a degree of emotional distance that is not as noticeable with one's mother's siblings.

The relationship with a father and his siblings remains one of respect. Both male and female *piinyas* have the responsibility to oversee the behaviour of their B-C, but I observed this as now concerned with less pragmatic matters than Thomson suggests. Although a *piinya* will still instruct a B-C in bushcraft, their role is now likely to be more heavily weighted towards moral responsibility. It is a *piinya* who is most likely to criticise a *piinyathu*'s behaviour, directly or indirectly, and it is accepted as appropriate that they do so. A rift between a *piinya* and a *piinyathu* can have lengthy repercussions if it concerns a serious matter, such as sexual behaviour. On the occasions I observed young people intent on inappropriate liaisons, they generally avoided their *piinyas* rather than place themselves in open confrontation with them. In cases where they were

living in their *piinya*'s house, it included moving out to live somewhere else. Although I used the term *piima* to address one woman classified in this relationship to me, it was not used by any of the young adults, and an older child once corrected me, telling me I should say "*piinya*". She was corrected in her turn, and although young adults recognise the term, they generally refer to all of their father's siblings as either 'aunt' or 'uncle', although I also heard young adults refer to a *piinya* as 'dad X'. It is also usual practice to address and refer to one's father as 'dad' or 'daddy'. A father usually addresses his children as 'girl' or 'boy', as do all his siblings, or simply uses their first name, eg, 'Narelle'. A *piipi* (F, FB-) will sometimes address a child by the English term, eg, 'daughter', 'my daughter', or even 'my big daughter' in the case of a FB-.

With regard to the kin relationships in ego's generation, Thomson found (1972:13-14) a *yapu* (B+) to be 'like a father', and a *ngami* (MB+C, FZ+C) or *thaatha* (MB-C, FZ-C) to be 'like a mother'. Brothers supported each other in fights, and could exchange gifts of food, but no freedom or licence was permitted between them. A man treated his B+ with respect. In childhood, an older sister often taught her younger siblings how to behave, much as a FZ+ did, but a pattern of avoidance developed as they grew up. A woman would avoid physical contact with her brother, and a man could not sit down at the same hearth as a sister, older or younger. A man could not approach his sister but was allowed to talk to her, whereas he was allowed to approach her husband, but was not permitted to talk to him. A man could give certain foods to his Z+, including fish, green turtle, and wallaby, but others, such as snake, were restricted by taboo. He could not give his Z- any food except *i'irra*, a porridge-like food made from a mangrove species (Sp. *Bruguiera rheedii*). The taboo between brother and sister was very severe, and after the commencement of initiation, at about seven or eight years old, a boy was not allowed to touch his sister, even to pass her food. Instead, he was required to pass it to her on the end of a fish spear, lay it down for her to pick up, or send it to her via a small child.

The sibling relationship has become a strong bond among the Lamalama, with actual and extended classes of siblings spending much time in each other's company. People refer to parallel relatives in this category as 'cousin-brothers' and 'cousin-sisters', but do not usually distinguish linguistically between actual

siblings and cross-cousins. That is, although the Umpila term *ngami* (MB+C, FZ+C) at least is recognised, it is not used;⁵⁰ instead, these relatives are referred to by the English terms ‘brother’ and ‘sister’. In address, they are usually referred to by name. Among the younger adults, an actual or classificatory *yapu* (B+) is still treated with respect, but this is muted by the familiarity that generally prevails among siblings. Initiation is no longer practiced, and brothers and sisters freely associate with each other. There is no longer any prohibition on approaching or talking to each other, and they frequently drink together, and accompany each other unescorted in motor vehicles. Siblings are expected to ‘take part’ for each other. This can involve brothers fighting alongside each other, or ‘blocking’ a brother when he is causing trouble.

Sisters also fight alongside each other, and are expected not to interfere in each other’s sexual lives by stealing men. When this does occur, the wronged sister is regarded as perfectly within her rights to exact physical and emotional revenge from her sister, and although the errant male is highly criticised, I observed little in the way of punishment for his behaviour. On the other hand, sisters will fight each other, and seek to enlist the support of other members of the family in either brief or lengthy campaigns of vitriol, anger, and personal isolation. Close emotional relationships among siblings are usually based in gender, with men and women forming closest relationships with siblings of the same sex. Brothers and sisters depend on each other for emotional and material support, and brothers are expected to defend their sisters when possible, although they tend to remain distant from their sisters’ general affairs. Women are more likely to confide in and call on the assistance of their cousin-brothers rather than their actual brothers.

Older siblings try to advise and guide their younger brothers and sisters, and will be quite pointed about interfering in their lives when they are perceived as in the wrong. Tonya Crisp approached the relevant government department to seek temporary control of her FZ-D’s children when that woman was engaged in a lengthy drinking and gambling binge. Rosie Johnson, a Z+ to Tamara Trueman through their deceased father, visited Tamara at her male *muka*’s house to inform her publicly that she would apply to permanently adopt her baby daughter Merilee unless Tamara and her partner, Collin Sweet, began to take proper care of

⁵⁰ I never heard anyone use the term *thaatha* (MB-C, FZ-C),

the child. Among the parental generation to these people, it was common for individuals to refuse assistance to siblings whose drunken behaviour had pushed them to the limits of their endurance, or to insist that they leave town for a period if they were somehow making trouble. This sometimes meant making sure they went down to Port Stewart, although on a couple of occasions it meant ensuring that they went to live at another community for a period.

Although there is little obvious avoidance behaviour among siblings, it is not common for brothers and sisters to touch each other, although they commonly live in the same house. I once saw brothers carry a classificatory sister inside into a house because she had been drinking and was unconscious in a chair outside. They managed to get her to the front steps before she urinated, still unconscious, and someone else had to grab her bottom and lift her higher onto the verandah. The actual sister of one of the men explained this situation to me at the time as a matter of 'respect'. She said that the good thing about the situation was that her brothers had 'respect' and wouldn't laugh at her or taunt her later for urinating, because they knew it was forbidden to mention 'that business' to a sister. Generally, siblings are close comrades, and share egalitarian relationships. This is true between the sexes despite a tendency towards gender-based amity among siblings. Close relationships engender friction as well as more positive emotions, and the freedom of sibling relationships is demonstrated by the fact that among siblings of all generations, fights and feuds occurred. I once saw Florrie Bassani and Joan Liddy throw cold water on their brothers Morris and Keith when they were fighting, then loudly and irritatedly criticise them for causing them to do so. In an unaccustomed fit of anger, Brenda Magee knocked her brother Lionel to the ground in response to his galling behaviour, earning her the nickname "Bouncer", and the lasting amusement of her family.

Thomson (1972:13) says that the terms *paapa* and *kaala* were sometimes used for *ngami* and *thaatha*. As actual cross cousins, one's *ngami* and *thaatha* were not marriageable, but Scheffler (Thomson 1972) notes that a number of instances of marriages between actual cross cousins were found in Thomson's data for nearby Umpila, Koko Ya'u, and Kaanju groups. As Figure 11 demonstrates, a number of cases of actual cross-cousin marriage exist among the present Lamalama group, although I do not know of any such unions among the present youngest

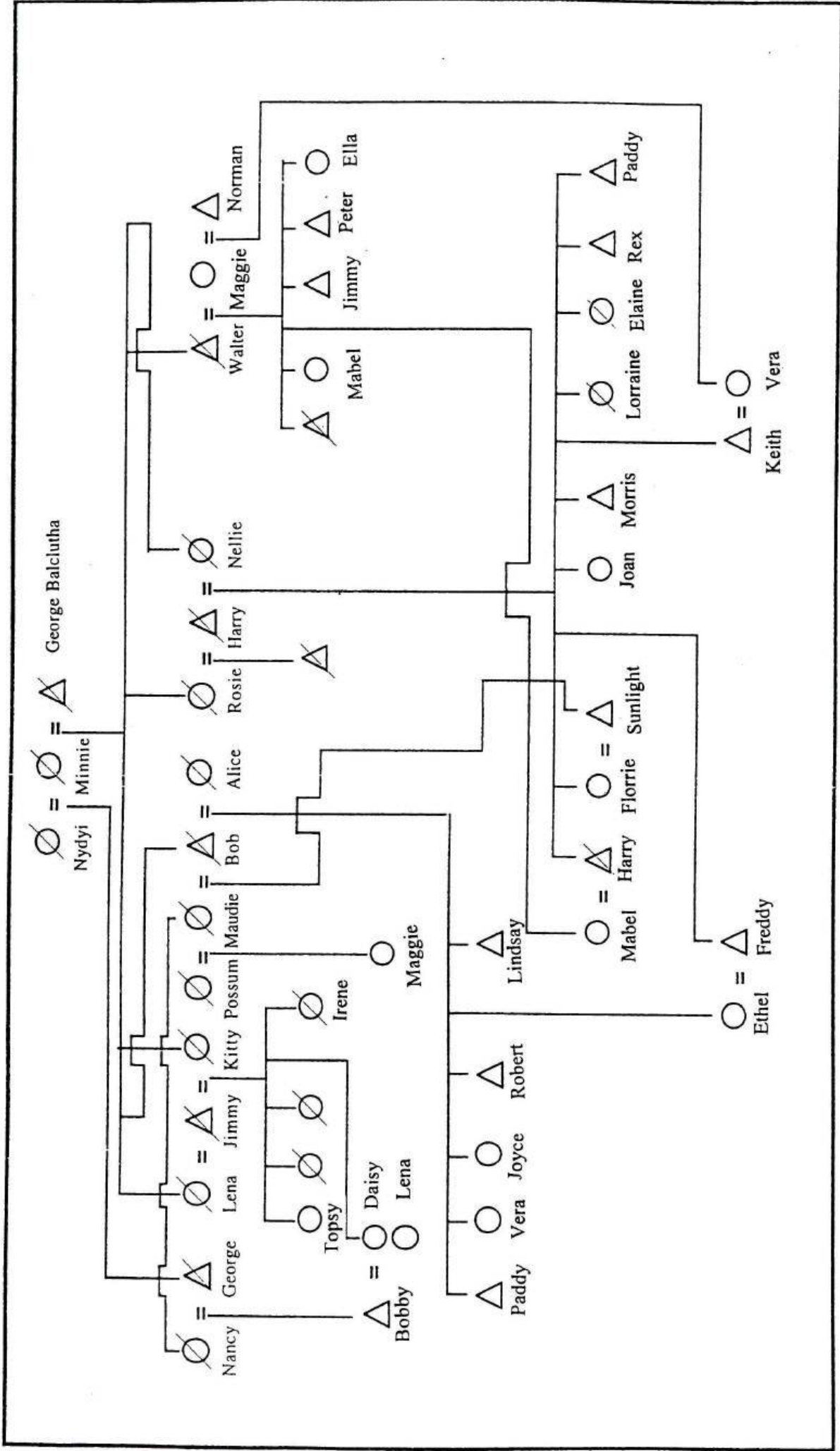


Figure 11: Descendants of George Balclutha (adapted from Jolly 1997).

adult generation. Scheffler (Thomson 1972:13) notes that such marriages were preferable to having the people concerned “marry to distant places” – presumably married into unions that caused people to move away. One older Lamalama woman told me that it had not been her wish to marry her cousin at all, but her parents and other old people insisted, saying that they were worried that she would be removed by whites unless she consented to marry her cousin. The relationship between cross-cousins is a little more distant, but in most ways it reflects the other sibling relationships described.

Thomson also described the complexities of behaviour associated with affinal relationships, as in the relationship between an *aampayi* (WF, HF) and a *ngatyamungu* (mDH, mSW). A man could speak to his DH in ordinary language, who was expected to listen deferentially, but could not directly reply to his *aampayi*. He was permitted to reply indirectly through a third person, using the special taboo vocabulary. A man was expected to conduct himself with humility and caution around his *aampayi*. Following the betrothal ceremony, a man was obliged to make regular food presentations to his WF, but could not eat food from him in return. A woman could also refer to her HF as her *aamapyi*. Thomson (1972:12) says that the relationship was then subject to a more modified form of the rigid taboo which characterised the father/son-in-law relationship. A woman’s HF spoke to her only in the taboo vocabulary, but she could accept round yam and fish from him. He could not give her sugar bag or long yam, nor any food his dog had found. The relationship between a woman and her HM was more liberal. The term *oko* was sometimes used for HM, but more usually the term *piima* was retained. There were no taboos between a woman and her mother-in-law, and they were free to hunt together and exchange gifts of food. A HM had a strong obligation to look after and feed her SW.

The strong taboos on personal contact and giving of food are no longer so significant, although some of the Lamalama retain these prohibitions. These prohibitions seem to have remained strongest between in-laws in the reciprocal *yaami* (WM/wDH) category. One old man who lives in Cooktown has not spoken to his mother-in-law since he married her daughter. They do not exchange food, except through a third party, and never make physical contact with each other, even though the man’s wife is now deceased. In a recent case, Tonya Crisp

had to explain to her partner, who grew up in rural New South Wales, that her mother's behaviour towards him was not hostile. Gertie, Tonya's mother, observes the prohibition on speech and food exchange with her daughter's husband. The terms for affines are no longer used, and English terms are most commonly used for reference and address. Male and female affines of this category are referred to as 'ol' man' and 'ol' lady', or as 'ol' man X', 'ol' lady Y' or more informally, as in 'ol' Bill', but this usually signifies a long-standing relationship that predates the marriage, and consequent change in kin status. Male affines of this category (or indeed any more senior men) are addressed as 'ol' man', but it is more common to address corresponding female affines as 'mum X'. Thomson (1972:13) noted a strong avoidance rule in the WM/DH relationship. A woman's son-in-law could not speak to her and had always to avoid her, although they could converse through a third party, using the taboo vocabulary and "a voice made deliberately artificial". There is no evidence of a taboo language or special tones of voice being used now by the Lamalama. It was more common for sons than daughters to exogamously bring in partners during the time I was doing fieldwork, and the parents in law of the senior people were mostly deceased, making it difficult to gauge the degree to which in-law avoidance was still practiced. However, Maggie Tableland's one living son-in-law lived at her house in Coen, and Maggie camped with him and her daughter down at Port Stewart. I never saw them make bodily contact, and they did not speak directly to each other. This more relaxed situation might reflect the fact Keith grew up knowing Maggie as his *piima* – she is his actual FZ- before he married her daughter.

Thomson (1972:14) describes the *pilupa/muuya* (WB/ZH) relationship as bound by varying restraints. A pattern of severe taboo prevailed between a man and his *pilupa*, whom he could only address in the taboo vocabulary. He could not approach him, and had to talk slowly and quietly in his presence. If necessary, a man could speak directly to his *muuyu*, who could listen but not reply, and who was compelled to comply with his *pilupa*'s commands. Among the several current relationships in this category, there is no evidence of avoidance behaviour, although among the older generation, respect for a *pilupa* remains a constant though muted feature. In general, behaviour between siblings-in-law is relaxed, and especially among older people, marked by a noticeable amity. Joking is common, and people address each other directly. There is no hesitation about

approaching each other, although male and female affines avoid touching each other. People do not commonly use the term *pilupa*, although they do occasionally use the term *muuyu* and *wuluma* to refer to a potential spouse.

Siblingship

Some consideration of sibling relationships, and their emerging jural importance among the Lamalama is in order.⁵¹ The importance of the lineal links between kin was revealed by Thomson's (1972) study of kinship in the Port Stewart region, and the importance of the principle of patrification is apparent in Rigsby's later work (1981). In Thomson's work, relations between individuals in the patriline were characterised by the authority of a father and a father's father. Relations between a man and his father were emotionally reserved, while a man could talk freely and expect great support from his father's father. Both F and FF taught a man the skills he needed in life, and while Thomson does not tell us much about the role of women, a similar attitude to a father's sister prevailed as towards her siblings (see above). In other papers, Thomson describes a society in which male pursuits such as dugong hunting carried great kudos, and in which men played the dominant role and obtained the greatest rewards. In his paper on dugong hunting (Thomson 1934), for instance, he describes the hunt, and the "gorges" that followed successful dugong and turtle hunting expeditions, in which men alone took part.

From Thomson's material on the behaviour expected between siblings in the Umpila kinship system, we know that avoidance between brothers and sisters was practiced from the time a boy entered initiation, at about seven or eight years old. The behaviour expected towards the cross-cousin categories *ngami* and *thaatha* was that towards a mother or a mother's younger brother, and ideologically, marriage with an actual cross-cousin was considered *kunta kunta*, incestuous (Thomson 1972:4), despite some limited evidence of such marriages occurring. Previous research has suggested that for some cultures, a cross-parallel distinction in kin terms reflects cultural concerns about sexual identity associated with a practice of long post-partum taboo, rather than a specific connection

⁵¹ By 'sibling' I mean those people with one or both parents in common, and sibling sets, through the rule of sibling equivalence, I see also as the class of people who regard each other as 'brothers' and 'sisters' (Radcliffe-Brown 1952; Sutton 1998).

between the use of such terms and cross-sex avoidance between siblings (Nerlove and Romney 1967:185). Thomson (1972) does not provide any information about post-partum sexual practice in the past, and in my observation it is now quite brief, certainly not the six months or more that Nerlove and Romney (1967) found in Pacific cultures. Whatever the cross-parallel kin term distinction connoted in the past, younger Lamalama adults are now strongly conscious of avoiding any suggestion of incestuous relationships with their siblings.⁵²

Consequently, despite some modification in behavioural expectations associated with kin designations, sexual avoidance between cross-siblings remains a feature of Lamalama social practice. Although a positive social value of structural symmetry and social harmony may have been associated with past sororate marriages, as Hamilton suggests for Arnhem Land societies (1981a), polygamous marriage of any kind is no longer regarded favourably by the Lamalama. People in both older and younger generations engage in monogamous unions, and many can be characterised as serial monogamists. Although a number of marriages between cross-cousins happened in the past, young adults do not generally form endogamous unions with their own kindred.

As I have already described (see above) the cross-sex distinction remains important among sibling sets, with males and females forming preferential groups with each other. The privileging of men is no longer such a dominant feature of Lamalama life, although the behaviour of men is probably indulged more than that of women. Thus, when groups of brothers fight men outside their own tribe, their behaviour is seen as an appropriate expression of shared identity. There is an ideological expectation that primary sociality occurs between siblings of the same gender, although mixed groups are the final product of most social interactions. It

⁵² Their attitude may reflect sensitivity developed through their wider contact with mainstream Australian culture. However, I believe that cultural ideology also plays a part. On the many trips I made around Cape York Peninsula during fieldwork, older people were frequently concerned that I “make a mate” with someone (i.e. take someone) for the trip. They usually suggested a ‘sister’, but more frequently, unemployed ‘brothers’ were available. When I explained that I preferred to take a ‘brother’ in case of vehicle problems, they deflected my objections by saying that boys didn’t know any more than girls, reflecting a prevailing cultural concern about cross-sex sibling avoidance. As I began one such trip with a ‘brother’, a Wik woman in the category of mother to him joked with me that I should be careful, because of his reputation as a ‘ladies man’. He immediately and seriously replied, “No more! That’s my sister!” before turning away from her and refusing to talk further.

is more usual, for instance, to see sets of brothers walking down to the pub together, than it is to see sisters, or mixed groups of sisters and brothers. Once there, brothers and sisters joined existing mixed-sex social groups to play pool, or sit at the tables outside on the verandah. As Martin (1993:46-49) found with Wik at Aurukun, Hamilton's concept of 'homosociality' (1981b), a notion based on a gendered distinction between public and private domains, cannot really be applied to the Lamalama. In the senior adult generation, women as well as men are respected for their esoteric knowledge; both men and women make spears, and prepare food. In the junior generation, both men and women drive cars, and fix flat tyres. As Martin indicates, the 'public' and the 'private' domains in which the notion of 'homosociality' resides cannot be understood as strictly homologous with a social division based on gender.

I have already demonstrated that the relative age of linking kin distinction that prevails in kin terminology still has social reality, with the terms *yapu* (B+, FB+S, MZ+S) and *ya'a* (Z+, FB+D, MZ+D) commonly used. Relative age of kin has some jural force, and older siblings are regarded as having seniority over younger ones, another continuity with past practices. The jural force of sibling relationships is most clear, however, in more than just the consociality of siblings. It is also the case that siblings now play an important role in relation to political decisions. Although I do not think that sibling relationships have totally eclipsed patrification as the significant principle by which inheritance is reckoned, in the cognatic system of the present the cultural importance of the father-son linkage is substantially weakened. The lack of people in upper generation kinship positions is an obvious pressure, and a likely factor in the increased strengthening of lateral links. Historically, extended sets of siblings were structurally important, with a number of the older people descended from wider sibling sets, and adhering to the 'sibling' status such descent entails; Paddy Bassani, of Cooktown, and Bobby Stewart regard each other as 'brothers' in both the social and the jural senses. For members of the upper generation such as these, the link to *puula* (FF) remains significant, as is demonstrated in Tom Crisp's comments in the quote above, while the younger generations reckon their rights cognatically, with much more reference to their lived experience.

Within the core group of people that I have been discussing throughout the thesis, the regular residents of Coen and Port Stewart, there are four significant sets of siblings, and a number of smaller sets with less social influence. The former are located within the Liddy, Bassani, and Peter families, with a set in each of the two adult generations. In the Liddy family, the sibling set in the older generation consists of the children of Harry (Nongorri) Liddy and his second wife Nellie, and in the younger generation it is their 'children' in the extended sense, although it is the children of Freddy and Ethel Liddy who form the core sibling group in this generation. In the Bassani family, it is the children of Bob Bassani and his two wives Maudie Frank and Alice Webb; and in the Peter family, the children of Walter Peter and Maggie Tableland. In the lower generations, is again the children of these people, totaling seven separate sibling sets in this generation, but only one of the sets in the Bassani family, and two in the Peter family live in the immediate region.

In an inversion of what might be expected from Thomson's (1972) information about the role of men in the classical system, it is now the sisters Florrie and Joan in the Liddy family who hold the greatest public political power, despite the fact that they have several brothers. This is partly the result of the removal from the political arena of their oldest brother Freddy, by virtue of his physical and intellectual disability, but it is only part of the explanation for their eminence. The Liddys are the family with the most prominent rights to the land around Port Stewart under the classical system, although other descendants of the man George Balclutha, such as their Bassani and Peter cousins of the Morrobalama clan have rights there as well, and prominent rights immediately south of there. Thus the seniority of Florrie and Joan is recognised, as is the fact that they hold important cultural knowledge. No decisions about Lamalama matters are made without consultation with them. Only two of their brothers, Keith and Morris, who are both quiet and shy men, are also resident in the immediate region. They live much of the time at Port Stewart, where they follow traditional resource management practices as much as possible. Both are also drinkers (Florrie and Joan are not), and not interested in public life. Nonetheless, Florrie and Joan do not make decisions without consulting their siblings in turn.

Much the same process occurs within the Peter family, where the two sisters Mabel and Ella take a much more prominent role in public life than their two brothers. In the Bassani family, the situation is slightly more complex. Sunlight Bassani is the only child of Bob Bassani and his first wife Maudie, but he is regarded as the head of the family by his half-siblings, the most prominent of whom is his brother Paddy, who lives at Hopevale. Despite the geographical distance between them, Sunlight regularly consults with his brother about matters of political importance, and with his other siblings. Members of this family have a less intense physical connection with each other than the Liddys, or even the Peters, who respectively live in close proximity to each other at both Coen and Port Stewart. Political roles were not really possible to define among the sibling sets in the younger generation, because with a few notable exceptions, they were not allowed a role in public life. Nor did they have access to or control of valued resources, such as esoteric cultural knowledge, land, or material goods, with the exception of the ability to drive vehicles in some cases.

Yet it is within the extended sibling sets that span these and other Lamalama families that much social action is generated. This should not be taken to indicate that friction does not exist between siblings, but that they form primary social referents for each other. Siblings regularly interacted with each other, seeking each other out on a daily basis. They also interact as partial sibling sets with other such sets, sitting together in groups and talking, exchanging information, and apprising each other of events, and these discussion groups influence public political positions and opinions. Commonly these groups consist of a core of women sitting together and talking, and a group of men nearby. These men usually include the husbands of the women present, but they often include their siblings. Because of the former marriage pattern, often they are both. Conversation groups among the Lamalama in Coen often involved at least two of a set of siblings. At Port Stewart, it is common for people to go off fishing in a group, and to then break up into smaller groups. There is a more complex breakdown of kin in this situation, but a couple of sibling and extended sibling sets regularly fished together, or in close proximity. This is particularly true of the younger generation, with the younger men often accompanying each other. In camp, siblings interact much as they do in Coen.

The consociality of siblings is strongest among the younger generation, who have formed close social networks with each other. The female siblings of the Liddy and Peter family have formed one such network, and the male siblings of the Peter family have formed another. In the extended sense, both groups include members of other prominent families, such as the Bassani and Jealous families. An emotional as well as a structural connection is a feature of all the sibling sets I have discussed, with what I regard as 'friendship' (see below) a significant component. Sibling relationships are not always harmonious, being as subject to conflict as any others. Indeed, several of the siblings in the sets I have described share relationships of irritation and frustration, but negative emotional content does not nullify the relationship, or its jural significance. Overall, I regard the affective dimensions of siblingship as most prominent in the younger generation, perhaps not surprising in view of their greater temporal distance from the classical kinship system. However, their junior status does not allow of much expression of their sibling connection, apart from their joint sociality.

Parenting and childhood

Children in Lamalama society represent the future potential of the mob. It is a source of pride to men and women alike to produce children, and a relationship is regarded as serious when children are born to a union. In some cases, a moribund relationship that earlier produced children is re-established, or the partners maintain a long-term, if largely platonic, concern for each other. The primary nurturative responsibility of a parent is to locate the child within its social world. This is achieved in various ways, but in the first instance by establishing a warmly socialised relationship between the child and surrounding kin. Pregnancies are avidly followed, and newborn babies are lavished with attention from all categories of relatives. In most instances, birth mothers and their other female relatives, in particular siblings, are the primary care-givers. A mother is expected to establish a relationship of solidarity with her baby, and is strongly criticised if she allows other factors, such as the behaviour of a wayward husband, to stand in the way.

It is generally the case that the closest affective bond during childhood is the one a child develops with its mother, and that this bond remains strong

throughout the life of the person. The 'mother' of a child is not always the birth mother. In some instances, a woman is regarded as incapable of providing the care a child requires, and other relatives will step in and "grow up" the child, usually the mother's siblings or her own mother. Hamilton (1981a) noted among the Anbarra in north-central Arnhem Land that infancy is characterised by care and attention from a range of women, usually those in the actual mother's matriline. The exclusivity of the mother-child bond is encouraged. A child's actual mother holds and carries it more than anyone else, sleeps beside it, and is the only person to feed it (1981a:31). A mother's real sisters also care for her baby more than any other mothers, apart from breast-feeding, and refrain from hurting and teasing it.⁵³ The relationship with a mother's sisters is seen as important:

Arnhem land ideology stresses throughout the unity of the sibling group, and although the child's tie to its real mother is very strong there seems to be a feeling that this should be extended to include her sisters as well (Hamilton 1981a:34).

A similar expectation exists among the Lamalama, although the conclusions to be drawn from it differ to those provided by Hamilton. She suggests that there is merit in Mead's (1962) view that there is a connection between the diffuse attachments created by multiple mothering, and the practice of polygamy, in that the ideal marriage in the polygamous system of Arnhem Land is regarded as that between a man and a group of full sisters:

Although the primary attachment of the child is to the real mother, a strong secondary attachment is formed to her sisters and is not extended beyond this to other 'mothers'. Men like to marry a group of sisters, and when this happens the child's 'mothers' are all in one structural position, all married to its father and, except for the biological accident of conception in one uterus rather than another, they are indeed equivalent (Hamilton 1981a:34).

⁵³ Hamilton discusses the "odd form of hostile teasing" she observed in women other than a child's actual mother. She provides the example of a woman with a naked baby telling another that her child, Mary, is crying because she has no dress and is cold. The other woman places her hand on Mary's stomach, saying with feeling, "Mary, you've got no dress, you'll die, good job!", Hamilton says that these kinds of stimuli and the code of behaviour applicable to the mother-child relationship are in tension with each other, and this and similar situations are resolved by feeding the child (1981a:33-34).

Although the Lamalama do not practice polygamous marriage now, there are echoes of a similar harmony in the childhood memories of the older people whose fathers were married to two sisters.⁵⁴ Women take a strong interest in the rearing of a sister's child, and in my observation it was common for one sister in particular to form a strong attachment with a child. The fact that there is a severe reduction in the number of people able to fill available kin roles may account for the fact that classificatory as well as actual sisters form such attachments now. However, Martin (1993:28) found a similar pattern among the Wik at Aurukun where close kin in the matriline played a major role in infant care. Both Martin and Hamilton found that attachment extends to the grandmother (MM) as well. This was so with the Lamalama, although (actual and classificatory) grandmothers (MM,FM,MFZ) are not as kindly and tolerant as Hamilton suggests. She observed Anbarra grandmothers as always gentle in voice and touch, and in some ways more trustworthy than a real mother: "infants without a grandmother are at a real disadvantage" (1981a:34). Lamalama grandmothers are more inclined to take a disciplinary role with children beyond small infancy, achieved mostly through raised voice commands and occasional light slaps. Among the Anbarra, the nurturing of children by the matriline in part results from marriage patterns – men marry late, so that the children of their younger wives are unlikely to see their paternal grandmothers alive (Hamilton 1981a:35).

The situation is different for the Lamalama, where marriage patterns are monogamous, and both men and women are eager to marry young and have children, although it is women who provide the most consistent care for infants. Anbarra fathers are the only men who have much contact with a small infant, and are warm though somewhat distant in daily interactions. Fathers represent authority figures, ensuring that a child's mother attends to its needs. Among the Lamalama, fathers have a similar emotional connection with their infant children, being warm, but somewhat distant, and leaving primary care in the hands of the mother. They occupy a less authoritative position than Anbarra fathers, and are more inclined to participate jointly with their spouses in attitudes to child-rearing.

⁵⁴ Polygamous marriage is no longer practiced, and in the cases where men attempt to force the situation by entering into sexual relationships with two sisters, the resulting social reality is usually anything but harmonious (see below).

Unlike Anbarra fathers, who Hamilton (1981a) says are uncomfortable in the occasional situations that they are left in charge of an infant, Lamalama fathers' acceptance of this situation is individually variable. They too are rarely left in sole care of an infant, but I observed some young fathers changing nappies, and making bottles of milk formula for infants. Other young fathers, although demonstrating pride in their infant children, showed no inclination to participate in their daily care. Unlike the Anbarra, among whom the father is the only man who has much contact with an infant (Hamilton 1981a:35), other categories of male relatives interact affectionately with infants and are an emotionally warm presence in their life.

Any emphasis on health and nutrition as appropriate mothering or caring for a child really only applies in babyhood. Women breast-feed in the first weeks of a child's life, but most move to bottle-feeding quickly, and like the Anbarra, Lamalama mothers use feeding as a universal means of dealing with an infant's distress (1981a:31-32;128). Hamilton describes the "ecstasies of affection" that Anbarra mothers sometimes shower on infants before feeding them, cuddling and kissing them on the mouth and the body (1981a:31). This behaviour is more commonly indulged in by other female relatives and older children among the Lamalama, particularly a mother's siblings, or the women who take the prominent 'mothering' role. I cannot say whether the relatively early replacement of breast-feeding by bottle-feeding causes a less exclusive mother-child relationship than Hamilton observed among the Anbarra, but Lamalama birth mothers are unconcerned about sharing the demands of parenting from the time a child is a few months old.

In general, concerns about infant nutrition among the Lamalama reflect the view that the act of feeding is as important as the content of the food. On this matter, Hamilton commented in relation to the Anbarra:

The failure of these and many other Aboriginal people to see that their children are adequately nourished is not a failure of parental responsibility of care but a function of the cognitive system, which connects good parenthood with complete indulgence of the child's whims, food with satisfaction of desire in the interests of

pleasure, and illness with sorcery and natural conditions (Hamilton 1981a:54).

These same conditions apply to the Lamalama, where infants are completely indulged, fed as soon as they cry, and regarded as vulnerable until the time they begin to crawl. Young mothers now seem to regard bottle formula as more nutritious and convenient than breast-feeding, and babies are cosseted, being given warm baths at least once a day, and are frequently checked to see if their nappies need changing. Infant and adult faeces are referred to as *kuna*, and there is no differentiation in attitude among either men or women with regard to infant faeces (cf. Hamilton 1981a:50). At one period, gambling was a major activity among Coen *pama*, and large schools of gamblers would meet, sometimes for periods of up to a couple of days at a time. One Lamalama mother was particularly successful in these schools, and at first her siblings were happy enough to care for her two young children while she gambled, although as workers and non-drinkers, they disapproved of the activity. Over time, her constant gambling began to be regarded as an obsession, and she was heavily criticised. The measure of her obsession was the degree to which she was neglecting her children. Other relatives complained that she forgot where she left them, and that they were hungry, and dirty - by preference, the Lamalama shower at least twice a day, and to leave a child overnight in the same nappy or clothing is regarded as disgraceful.

The earliest mobility among Anbarra children is discouraged, since they are rarely left alone to crawl, but nor are they censured for attempting tasks that are too difficult for their physical skills (Hamilton 1981a:47;57). Nor are they yet exposed to the rigours of the teasing that becomes an everyday part of social interactions throughout the individual's life. With increasing autonomy, such as developing the ability to crawl and eventually to talk, between about 18 months and three years old, Lamalama children are expected to begin to fend for themselves. It is perhaps more accurate to express this as a deliberate widening of the social field of the child. As children start to crawl, mothering is increasingly shared with other relatives. At this age, older children increasingly interact with infants, and develop affective relationships with them. In the absence of other adults, a mother will sometimes designate an older child as a sole minder for a toddler. Like the Wik (Martin 1993), older Lamalama children of both sexes

carried younger children around and played with them, and although it is mostly girls who provide care, by changing nappies and giving food, I did not observe them to do more, such as washing clothes, as Martin observed at Aurukun (1993:28-29).

Mobility and learning about the wider world were linked experiences for Lamalama children. Martin observes that children at about 18 months old typically spent much time with other children rather than their mother or other adults, and in comparison with the more parentally restricted and passive Anbarra children of the same age, Wik children were exploratory and independent from an early age (1993:29). Lamalama children accompany their mother wherever she goes, or if another of her siblings has assumed primary parenting responsibility, they will accompany her. As soon as a child seems to be sufficiently aware of its surroundings, at about 9 months old, mothers and other relatives begin to point out features of the landscape, and its resources.

Children are informed about the location of their geographic identity (“This place Port Stewart, this your home”), and the rights it entails (“Look bubba, plenty fish here this place! You got line? We get plenty *minya* here!”). Hamilton observed similar lessons being taught, and saw this kind of stimulus as integral to the development of relationships with country (1981a:57-59). Lamalama children were encouraged to feel considerable attachment about their dual locations of residence, with an emphasis of learning about the natural environment. On trips between Coen and Port Stewart, I was often told to ask for a particular child to be brought back on the next trip - to “give him a break” from the other location. As they move out of early childhood, Martin (1993) notes, Wik children spend most of their time in peer groups with other children, playing in activities organised by themselves, and are less dependent on adults. In most households feeding occurred on demand, rather than at regular meal times. By the time a child was 4 or 5 years old, the interaction between Wik adults and children was no longer characterised by the physical closeness and affection of early childhood. The relationship becomes instead one of testing and demanding on the part of the child, and a degree of indulgence at times tempered by exasperation among adults (1993:29).

Lamalama children are encouraged to play actively with others from about two years old. The expectation that children will feed themselves if hungry, occurs from about four years old, and although adults will still acquiesce to children's demands to be fed, Lamalama adults would also deflect a child's demands for food, as Martin suggests. The older a child was, the more this was likely to be the case, but an increasingly insistent demand would generally provoke action, albeit it grudging, from an adult. Parenting of older children is mediated by the demands of schooling, and most of the *pama* in Coen were concerned to see that their children attended with regularity. This was even the case with the elderly couple Bobby and Daisy Stewart, who were raising the children of a young relation (a FBDD's children), and often walked them to school. Lamalama parents of both sexes commonly take children to hospital, and pick them up from school, and take them out into the bush on short or more extended trips.

Martin (1993) also comments on the way Wik children were encouraged to externalise anger in retaliation against perceived wrongs. The most frequent response from a carer to a crying child was to ask "Who did it?", and to then encourage the child to hit another person present or for they themselves to pretend to hit someone else. The Lamalama did this, and they also encouraged children to fight each other as a means of settling any disputes between themselves. If adults are nearby when children fight, they yell encouragement: "Go on bubba! Hit him!", just as the Wik do. This applied to children of both sexes, but more so to boys.

Martin's observation that this kind of externalisation of anger socialised Wik children to be willing and capable to defend their interests is unavoidable, and one that generally occurred to me when I observed these situations among Lamalama children. It might also be noted that such situations socialise children to resort to fighting rather than negotiation as the appropriate means of resolving conflict, encouraging self-reliance and thus autonomy. As Martin notes for the Wik, the ultimate objects of socially inculcated suspicion and hostility are located outside the family and kin network, and that is where blame attaches in the case of illness or death (1993:23). The same is true for the Lamalama, where the children who are fighting are usually kin, and the element of autonomy, of being among kin,

but likely to be able to depend only on oneself in the final analysis, is a consistent feature of adult life, and one in tension with the jural force of other kin relationships. However, the more intense displays of competition and acrimony in Wik peer groups were not a feature of Lamalama play groups, nor were they as harmonious or as free of aggression as the Anbarra groups (Hamilton 1981a:78; Martin 1993:22)

Teasing is an aspect of Aboriginal life commented on by both Martin and Hamilton, and it was important in the life of Lamalama children as well. Martin describes teasing as a levelling mechanism, and although often good hearted, as applied to people with “unfortunate personal attributes” such as a speech impediment, a running nose, or torn clothes. Among the Wik, teasing occurred within the family and domestic unit, and other social groups such as school classes, or the groups that formed around gambling schools. Lamalama children tease and taunt each other in the same kinds of groupings, and in the same ways. Having a running nose, always being late for school, not reacting quickly enough to an overture to fight, being too small, all were reasons for teasing each other. Martin sees teasing as ‘testing’ behaviour:

... little, even the most nominally basic of relationships, could be taken for granted in Wik life, but needed to be constantly reaffirmed and recreated. ... Schisms, too, like relatedness, were subject to the constant flow of social process. ... By taunting a person about their kin, particularly their father in this essentially patrilineal society, or about their country, or about their physical characteristics, one both called into question their essential identity and forced a re-evaluation of one’s mutual relationship (1993:25).

Teasing thus took place within peer and close kin groups, as well as with outsiders. Good-hearted teasing is a feature of the life of Lamalama children, with older children sometimes casually engaging in teasing younger children, but the age distribution in Lamalama peer groups is more restricted than Martin describes among the Wik. Older Lamalama children tend to gravitate towards adults, and play is seen as the preserve of children under about 10 years old, and it was a mother’s siblings who took charge of small children, rather than teenage girls as Martin describes (1993:19). Teasing was thus more likely to be an exchange

between adults and children. The most common taunt between children was to say to a child it had no mother and no father, or that it was stupid, or to insult their physical appearance. Such taunts contained an element of aggression, but most children's play involved straightforward displays of competitiveness, such as racing each other, or games of imagination in which the product seemed to be that one child established dominance over the rest of the group. By comparison, adults teased children by aggressive demonstrations of affection, pinching a child's cheek until it protested and wriggled away, or by engaging in mild verbal exchanges in which they humorously threatened to deprive the child of something: "Where you got that *minya*? That's my *minya*! Well give it back now boy, or I flog you!" Other adults present might join in these exchanges by laughing or adding comments. An even more mild and affectionate form of teasing takes place between adults and children, in which a mother's sister might tease a child that she will take it away with her, but this kind of teasing occurs within the safety of established kin relationships, and is used to reinforce connection and shared identity, rather than as a means of re-evaluating these relationships.

Comment

Scheffler credited Radcliffe-Brown with the "brilliant" discovery that the characteristic social categories of Aboriginal culture - moieties, sections and subsections - are derived from systems of kin classification. Scheffler argues that it is semantic analysis that reveals the way in which terminological rules are defined and extended to classify people as kin, demonstrating that "Australian social structure is equivalent to kinship" (Scheffler 1978:524). In the case of the Lamalama, I do not argue that social structure is based in something other than recognition of genealogical connection. Kinship clearly remains the basis of social relations between people. One example of this is the case of a mixed-blood woman adopted by the father's brother of a group of siblings of a senior land-owning family. She was raised in another community, and did not meet her Lamalama 'family' until she was in advanced adulthood, within the last few years. Nonetheless, she was welcomed as a 'sister' by them. Neither the fact that she was adopted, that they had never met, nor that she apparently had some non-Aboriginal parentage precluded her from being regarded as kin.

Yet such instances are not strictly the type of social process that Scheffler is addressing. His comments are directed toward the elaborated structures of section and subsection systems, which articulate kinship and ritual responsibilities. But as he (Scheffler 1978:529) notes, kinship is the “pervasive organizing principle” in the secular domain as well, making it elementary in Aboriginal social life. Kinship remains pervasive in contemporary Lamalama life, but whether they relate as kin or as members of social categories requires some further comment.

The types of analysis that Scheffler opposes are those which have confounded social with semantic elements of kinship, thereby obscuring what is genealogical in kinship systems. The value of Scheffler’s analysis is that it clearly differentiates what is structural and semantic from what is sociological. He demonstrates the way in which the ‘social categories’ argument confuses kin terms with the social roles of kinship. Among the Lamalama, as in other places (Keesing 1975:128), social roles and the terms by which they are denoted are not exact reflections of each other, and it is genealogical distance and closeness - or at least what people understand and feel about it - that is the significant defining feature. In other words, what people understand and feel can also be expressed as their sense of relatedness and autonomy, or as embodying the set of concepts that they hold as cultural models. Such symbols and meanings are the product rather than the source of genealogical connection, in Scheffler’s argument.

Yet apart from the fact that this perspective allows us to dissociate the denotative value of kin terms from the set of social roles with which they articulate, what is its value? What does it tell us about the ways that people organise for collective action? It is obvious that the biological connections of kinship, such as those of a (presumably positive) mother-child bond, should provide a model for the expression of relationship. But an analytical concentration on separating the social and biological dimensions of kin connection takes us close to misrepresenting the nature of kinship among people such as the Lamalama, if the point becomes too laboured. Defining the range of meanings that kin terms encode, however, provides the analytical freedom to consider what else kinship means. Leaving aside its economic value - through corresponding land ownership - and its structural importance, it is apparent that it encapsulates a core

philosophical and moral value among the Lamalama. Myers (1986) expresses this value as the relatedness-autonomy duality among the Pintupi, and the Lamalama value relationship to each other and personal independence in a similar manner. It is within the polarity expressed by this core value that much action is generated in the social domain. When previous researchers sought to explain the interaction between the use of kin terms and the various structures by which Aboriginal societies were organised, it is perhaps this core value which they sought to elucidate.

Certainly among the Lamalama, where the genealogical basis of kinship is understood and unquestioned - there is no suggestion of a belief that births occur without sexual intercourse - individuals arrange themselves into social categories for various purposes, as well as acting as members of formalised social or domestic groups. In the present day, these are formalised as surnamed families and mobs or tribes rather than moieties and clans. As I have previously (Hafner 1995a; Rigsby and Hafner 1994b;1994d) written, contemporary social structure incorporates households as well, but the connective tissue of sibling relationships is an important structural element for generating social action.

It is no longer the case that matters of decision-making or descent-based inheritance privilege a senior generational level, as in the gerontocratic society that Thomson (1934) observed and described. Links between the senior and junior adult generational levels are now significant links in these domains of political and social action. For example, it is the relationships between actual and classificatory siblings in the two of the most prominent Lamalama surnamed families, the Peters and the Liddys, which generates most of the social action within the group. The people of Florrie Bassani's and Joan Liddy's generational level have close affective relationships with each other, as do those in Florrie's daughter Seppi's level. Thus I suggest that it is the horizontal links between siblings, rather than the vertical links of descent between the generations in which much social action is now generated. When the Liddy family was debating what to do about the return from hospital of the now-disabled Freddy Liddy, who would require special care, the possibilities were discussed at the separate sibling levels within his family - by his own sisters and brothers, and by his children. The ultimate decision was an agreement negotiated between his youngest sister and his youngest daughter. The

contemporary fit between social role designations and actual behaviour is comparatively unregulated by the rules of kinship, in relation to the previous behavioural norms that Thomson described.

Conclusion

Ultimately, the 'social categories' debate is of secondary importance to understanding the principles which determine the continuation of the kinship domain among the Lamalama. Its greater significance is that some of the relevant information about the antecedents of Lamalama kinship are cast within the analytical interpretation of some of its chief critics, Scheffler in particular. Thomson's understanding is also influenced by Radcliffe-Brown's view of the primacy of genealogical connection, as to a lesser degree, is the entire analytical domain of Aboriginal kinship studies. Yet this long-running debate (Keesing 1975) has also served to sharpen analytical tools.

While there is no disputing that when a Lamalama person addresses or refers to another as 'dad' or 'aunt', they are normally invoking an actual genealogical connection, they also know themselves to be members of certain social groupings which exist independently of the system of kin terms. The post-classical world is no longer the world of total kinship connection that Radcliffe-Brown described, but exists as a world nested within the society of the wider community. Other kinds of relationship prevail here. These range from the memory of the conditions of forced labour and abduction of the past, to symbiotic or more genuinely affective friendships across cultural lines that exist somewhat uneasily in the present. The quality of friendship is also the marker of relationships between Aboriginal people that would otherwise be described as metaphorical or fictive kinship, and I discuss friendship further below.

The Lamalama today organise themselves in terms of tribe, 'family' or descent group, and household/hearth, whereas in the past, we understand them as having organised in terms of clans and bands. Siblingship is also a distinctive feature of the contemporary structure. In a secondary way, residence (apart from concepts of land ownership) remains an important marker of social organisation.

This set of factors continues to express relationship between ‘us’ and ‘them’ for the Lamalama, whether ‘they’ are relative, friend, or otherwise, and to assist in maintaining the single Lamalama identity. I discuss the interaction of these factors in the following chapter.

Individuals And Groups In The Social Domain

In the past, the people of the Princess Charlotte Bay region were organised into land and language-owning clans, and localised residential groups. This is not the pattern that pertains among the Lamalama today, although there are continuities of social organisation between the past and the present, and I discuss these below. I begin by discussing what is known about the way the forebears of the present Lamalama lived at Port Stewart, then describe the contemporary social organisation and its continuities with the past. I then provide a detailed discussion of living patterns of the Lamalama in the dual locations of Coen and Port Stewart, concluding with an analysis of the social drama already mentioned, which demonstrates the way in which emotion is used to emphasise identity, group solidarity, and difference.

The 'Yintjingga' at Port Stewart

Rigsby (1980:91-92) informs us that there were hundreds of named countries in the Princess Charlotte Bay area, and that country names often labelled a specific site as well as its surrounding area. Each of these countries was owned by a patriclan, and in some cases, countries were owned by more than one patriclan, and known as 'company land'. Each patriclan owned a number of countries, which were sometimes but not always contiguous with each other. Members were recruited to the clan on the basis of descent from their father's father, or *puula*, but did not necessarily share common patrilineal descent. Rather, they were "corporations of kinsmen assigned by a principle of patrification" and, Rigsby notes (1980:91-92), families of the Morrobalama clan which owned land around the Bay to the south of Port Stewart did not all share a common actual or putative male ancestor. Nonetheless, they all belonged to the Morrobalama clan.

Rigsby describes the residential groups as household or hearth groups. These consisted of a married couple, their children, and other kin such as a widowed mother or unmarried siblings, all sharing a cooking fire. These were the smallest residential groups. Such groups came together for a variety of purposes. Household groups ranged over the land and camped together, for economic, social,

and other reasons. Young men in the early years of marriage usually lived near their wife's parents, and hunted and fished for them. The performance of ceremonies, and certain other tasks that required the labour of several households, such as burning off a tract of country, would have brought groups together. Rigsby (1980:92) says that these larger multi-household groups may be variously termed "local bands, ceremonial congregations and the like, as appropriate".

Although people were still living in the bush when Thomson visited in 1928, changes to local social organisation and living arrangements resulting from colonisation were already in effect. The separate Yuinbata and Entjingga groups that Hale and Tindale (1933:70) had observed were amalgamated into a single group at Yintyingga⁵⁵. Thomson describes this group as generally remaining in close proximity to the Stewart River estuary, although groups of a few men, or one or two families, would sometimes go inland for a few days. The location of the camp was relatively constant apart from seasonal movements, with only small moves of a few hundred yards up or down river occurring. In his five-month visit, Thomson observed six such moves made. With the approach of the monsoon season, the camp re-located to the sandy beach south of the mouth of the Stewart (Thomson 1934:241). Over the period until their removal in 1961, members of this group continued to live in the bush at a place named *Warokuthal*, and other relatives worked on local pastoral stations, or lived in Coen.

Warokuthal is located close to the Stewart River mouth, and members of the Jealous, Kulla Kulla, and Liddy families were living there until the time of the removal in 1961. The families had dwellings on a sand ridge above the riverbed, and tended fruit trees there. Although the residential space of the families was spread out along the ridge, they lived in close proximity to each other. This pattern was repeated elsewhere; several families lived in a similar way at *Manulkunuma*, a more inland location also known as Joe's Lagoon, some kilometres further to the west. Jolly (1997:117-118) notes that in both these cases, the large camp consisted of a number of family groups who hunted and fished together, but who maintained separate hearths. This pattern is consistent with Rigsby's description of the local social organisation, and Jolly sees it as a pattern that persists among the Lamalama today.

⁵⁵ Although Thomson (1934:238;241) applied this term as both a group and a place name, it is actually the name of a specific location near the mouth of the Stewart River, as well as being used to refer to the wider Port Stewart region.

The local group living at Port Stewart until 1961 was, as would be expected, a residential group made up of members of a number of different patriclans:

The head of the Jealous family was Jimmy Jealous, a Mbarrumbathama man from the southern Bay area. His wife Kitty was a member of the Morrobolam clan. Jimmy Kulla Kulla was also a Morrobolam man; his wife Minnie was a Mbarrutoma woman, from the lower Bay region. Harry Liddy had two wives, both Morrobolam women. He was an Umbindhamu-speaking man from the Mbarruyarru clan, and was living at Port Stewart because his mother was a member of the original Ayapathu clan that owned Port Stewart (Hafner 1990:104).

Current social patterns

The Lamalama today are a descent group in the sense suggested by Scheffler (1966:546), in that they know themselves to share common ancestry and to be obligated to each other because of that fact, and they are also one which reckons descent cognatically, in the sense Keesing (1975:92; 148) suggests. That is, all descendants of an apical ancestor, reckoned by descent through either their father or their mother, are regarded as members of the group. In their case, there is a small set of apical ancestors from whom they reckon descent. There are thus several family 'lines' which result in separate descent groups or surnamed families, and each of these is associated with the clans of the past. Descendants of the men and women mentioned as living at Port Stewart in 1961 were members of the Lamalama group living in Coen and Port Stewart in 1992-93. The history of cross-cousin marriage has contributed to group unity, and Jolly (1997:120) notes that in 65% of the marriages undertaken by the (senior) descendants of George Balclutha, both partners could trace their descent from him either matrilineally or patrilineally.

In fact, in several cases, the Lamalama trace descent from wider sibling sets. The Salt family is a case in point. The Salts are descended from George Balclutha's sister, Nellie Frank Salt, and Frank Salt, whose *pama* name was Rawangawal. In the case of the three senior men Bobby Stewart, Sunlight Bassani, and Paddy Bassani, Bobby Stewart and Sunlight Bassani are the sons of two brothers, both sons of George Balclutha. Their mothers and Paddy Bassani's

mother were sisters, making the three men 'cousin-brothers'. Older Lamalama people who grew up in the Coen/Port Stewart region commonly describe themselves as "all coming from that one man", referring to George Balclutha, while Lamalama people who have mostly lived their lives in more distant locations tend to stress the filiative links between their ancestors.

Although some older people are knowledgeable about the clan system of the past, and are able to list clans, their past and present members, and the locations of their estates, and a number still regularly use their clan languages, the clan system is essentially moribund. Jolly (1997:121) writes that clan names were never mentioned to her, nor did she pursue any enquires about their existence - a generation of restricted access to country had reduced the significance of clan membership. Language competency is variable, with young adults generally having only a passive knowledge of the language of their clan. It is a common enough situation for an older person to speak in language, and be replied to in English.⁵⁶ This situation differs to the past, when children growing up in a camp where several clan languages were spoken would have become multilingual.

Jolly found that people tended to label themselves by reference to languages. Language, she writes (1997:120) "with its connotations of belonging to specific countries, turns out to be a significant marker of group membership and group rights". I nonetheless found the practice of active identification by reference to clan languages to be restricted to older people. Young people could recognise specific clan languages when they were mentioned, but did not use them as a matter of course, nor in my experience, did they actively recognise or use the names of clans or clan languages. Even among older people, I found clan membership of reduced significance, apart from the more structured environment of land claim enquiries, which provided a purpose for revealing detailed knowledge about past forms of social organisation.

Rather, the Lamalama now regard themselves as a single tribal group. In terms of organisation, language affiliation is not deterministic, but remains socially important to the extent that it marks individuals as members of families known to have been members of certain clans in the past. In a more indirect sense than would previously have been the case, language indicates something about an

⁵⁶ In one case, a woman regularly addresses her husband and daughter in language, and they, who can understand her but cannot reproduce a clan language themselves, reply to her in English.

individual's country affiliations, but this is muted by the changed conditions under which the Lamalama now interact with the land. Nonetheless, there is a continuing correlation between past and present forms of social organisation. Rather than organising as clans and households, the Lamalama now organise through a three-tier structure of tribe, surnamed descent groups, and households. Sutton (1998) has called this kind of organisation "post-classical social organisation", and posits an equivalence between clans and bands in the classical system with the 'families' and households of post-classical systems:

The surnamed descent group stands to the household somewhat as the clan did to the band in classical systems. The former in each of these pairs is a social category, the latter a physical aggregation, so their memberships are rarely, if ever, the same, but they are conjoined in complex ways. In discourse Aboriginal people often appear to merge them, but in the case of surnamed descent groups this is because family surnames can be polysemous ... (1998:57).

The Lamalama tribe as it is presently constituted consists of a number of descent groups who recruit their members on the basis of birth.⁵⁷ The descent groups are identified as 'families', and as Figure 11 demonstrates, it is possible for members of the tribe to trace descent through a series of either unilineal or cognatic links, a situation that is now not uncommon in Australia. Over time, the shift from a patrilineal to a cognatic principle "is hard to resist under contemporary social conditions" (Sutton 1998:45-46). In classical systems, filiation to a parent, generally privileging patrilineal connection, was the mechanism for bestowing rights in land, and contemporary systems demonstrate considerable continuity with such classical systems where parental or grandparental filiation remains the primary means for recruitment to the group (Sutton 1998:63-64), as is the case with the Lamalama.

Family surnames can be used to refer to differing entities depending on context. Sutton says that such surnames may refer to cognatic descent groups, with members distributed over several households; to a minimal procreative family, not all of whom live together or have the same surname; to a household with key defining residents, as well as people who are not members of the family by descent e.g. affines; and a wider group or mob named after a focal descent

⁵⁷ It is worth noting here that in the few cases of adoption I was aware of, the same principle applied – the adopted person was regarded as a member of the group for jural purposes.

group but containing members of other descent groups with whom they share some kind of common history e.g., co-residence. Although the Lamalama use the term 'family', or more commonly 'mob', to refer to all these aggregations, I am primarily concerned with the first sense suggested by Sutton (1998:57). Thus I understand the Lamalama as a land-based identity group which recruits members largely on the basis of birth into one of the cognatic descent groups of which it is composed. In terms the Lamalama would use, I understand them as a tribe, in Rigsby's (1995) 'new tribe' sense, made up of several families who trace descent to recognised ancestors through either parent or grandparent, the members of the families living in a number of households located separately to each other. I expand on my understanding of each of these categories in the following sections.

Tribes and mobs

The emergence of unified mobs, or 'new tribes' (Rigsby 1995:25; Sutton 1998), usually identified by reference to a language indigenous to its membership are a feature of regional social organisation, as they are elsewhere in Australia. The new tribes are vehicles for the expression of identity, often drawing on classical principles used in post-classical ways. Theorists (Rigsby 1995; Sutton 1998; Rigsby and Chase 1998) have begun to refer to these kinds of aggregations as "new tribes" or "language-named tribes" in order to distinguish their formation from the model of the 'dialectal tribe' that earlier theorists had described. Language and methods of group recruitment are generally important in their structure. In the case of the Lamalama, who identify themselves as a tribe, the name 'Lamalama' refers to a set of mutually intelligible language varieties owned by clans such as the Mbarrukarraw,⁵⁸ and associated with the lower eastern region of Princess Charlotte Bay, around Jane Table Hill (Rigsby 1992). These new 'tribes' retain elements of the classical patterns of organisation. The present Lamalama tribe draws its membership from a set of cognatic descent groups, which they refer to as 'families', whose members and forebears were members of the clans that owned land in the pericoastal region of Princess Charlotte Bay in the classical system.

⁵⁸ In 1992, the Mbaarukarraw clan was represented by one man, who lived at Port Stewart. His daughter and granddaughter also lived there, but they identified as 'Lamalama'. Although there are other descendants of members of this clan, I do not know what identity they profess, as none of them were around during my fieldwork.

Rights in the Lamalama estate are reckoned by a principle of descent, and the spatial boundaries of the Lamalama tribal estate reflect those of the classical estate pattern, both matters of considerable importance in working out their social and political relationships in the contemporary post-classical world.

Jolly (1997:184) describes 'mobs' in Coen as local groups, who may identify as collectivities in relation to common territorial affiliation, language, or kinship relations, but notes that the term can be used in more than one sense (Jolly 1997:235). In relation to Darwin fringe-dwellers, Sansom saw the term 'mob' as inherently ambiguous, analysing it as referring to the dual dimensions of all social action, that is, as a unit both of and for social action. In the case of the Wallaby Cross mob of Darwin fringe-dwellers that he writes about, it was used to describe the localised set of members, as well as their periodic assembly for specific purposes, as 'companies for business' (Sansom 1980:35-36).

The term 'mob' is used by the Lamalama to describe any kind of collectivity. At the conceptual level, membership of a mob is not necessarily restricted by kinship, age, or any condition other than the plural status and joint location of its individual members. The term is often employed to refer to a collectivity that is defined by a specific factor, such as a focal member or a location. It can be used in a purely anecdotal sense, to refer to a group of people sitting outside the post office - "them mob over there waitin' for mail"; but in the sense that is of greatest interest here, it refers to a less ephemeral collectivity - "the Port Stewart mob"; "them Wenlock Kaanju mob"; "my mob belong to sandbeach, we not insaid (*inside*) people".

In daily life, the multiple components of identity are maintained and expressed according to individual preference or design. Kinship is one of the primary elements of identity by which Coen *pama* negotiate their daily activities, and its principles and affective dimensions guide the nature of interaction between individuals across the spectrum of social structures. Here I am referring both to the nature of interactions by individuals as members of the constituent social units within tribal groups, as well as to the interactions between individuals as members of separate tribal groupings. To be Lamalama, or Kaanju or Ayapathu, is to recognise the primacy of links with particular kin, but not to deny the connections of amity and kinship, perhaps distant, with others. As well as living together in

household groups, drinking together at the pub, or going fishing or hunting with close consanguineal and affinal kin within their own tribal bloc or 'mob', Lamalama people regularly interact with other *pama* and non-Aboriginal people in Coen and the surrounding region.

Cognatic descent groups and surnamed families

Sutton (1998:63) states that “[m]embership of cognatic descent groups provides the core of a person’s kin-group identity, and also forms the main legitimate pathway to identification with traditional lands and the higher-order groups associated with them; that is, the individuals’ membership of a ‘tribe’ is normally required to be mediated by their membership of a recognised ‘family’ of that tribal identity”.

Sutton (1998) says that these kinds of units are social identity and land-holding groups, which may be misinterpreted simply as political factions, when they are in fact much more like “dynasties, parties and constituencies combined”, in part because they are not voluntary groups (1998:63). Such groups generally bestow land interests through parental or grandparental filiation, reflecting the practice of classical systems. Patrilineal connection was usually privileged in bestowing such rights, although rights in a mother’s country were also enjoyed. In post-classical systems, membership in the group is usually a result of birth or adoption, although increased freedom of choice about primary land-based identification on the basis of consanguineal relationship is a feature of such systems – individuals may chose to follow ‘mother’s side’ or father’s side’ in terms of their primary land-based identity. Marriage to a member of the group may confer some kinds of temporary rights, but not ones which are automatically conferred to a child who results from a union with a member of a separate cognatic group (Sutton 1998:63-65).

The single Lamalama tribe is constituted of a number of smaller descent groups, which they refer to as ‘families’ or as ‘mobs’, and most of their members reside in the Coen/Port Stewart region. Members of the groups regard themselves as holding rights in land on the basis of descent from ‘the four grandparents’ – FF, FM, MM, and MF, thus they reckon descent cognatically. The surnamed families significant to this study are the Liddy, Bassani, and Peter families, with the members of other important families, in particular the Jealous family, nested

as members of other surnamed families within the greater Lamalama landed group. They are largely the descendants of George Balclutha (Figure 11), although there are a number of other 'mobs' who can assert Lamalama membership and identity, as was demonstrated during the Lakefield National Park claim (Rigsby and Hafner 1994e). The Kulla Kulla, Lakefield, Salt and Tableland families are all closely associated and share membership with the core group of Liddys, Bassanis and Peters, through kinship and shared affective and experiential ties. There are also members of other families at Hopevale and Yarrabah, and a large family in south-east Queensland who are related to the Liddys, who assert a Lamalama identity. For various reasons, mostly the removal of their ancestors from their land at an earlier period, members of these families have not had the same close association with their kin of the Port Stewart region⁵⁹. Rigsby and Chase (1998) see their unified tribal identity as based on ownership of particular land, and common genealogical ties, cultural heritage, and history:

The Lamalama emerged as a distinct group over the past century through the amalgamation of people from upwards of forty patrilines, perhaps five indigenous languages, an unknown number of local groups and their transformation into a language-named tribe made up of over a dozen cognatic descent groups (1998:194).

Households and families

Rigsby and Chase (1998) describe regional local groups or bands in the classical system as including men and women of different clans, led by a focal male, who lived and moved over lands of their own clan estates. Households or 'families' (Thomson 1932) were the smallest aggregations based on shared residence and commensality, and consisted of a married couple and dependants who maintained a separate hearth and joined with other households to form bands. Rigsby and Chase describe households today, after Jolly (1997), as larger, and aggregating to form permanent communities in residential locations such as Coen, Port Stewart, and Lockhart. Typically, members of households live in permanent houses or semi-permanent tent and tarpaulin structures, but Rigsby and Chase do not inform us further about their nature (1998:199).

⁵⁹ Appendix 2 (the Genealogies) of the Lakefield National Park Land Claim Book (Rigsby and Hafner 1994e) provides details of the life histories of the ancestors of several of the families mentioned here, including their respective removals from their home regions.

Members of the surnamed families are spread across a number of separate households, and both families and households may be referred to as 'families' or 'mobs' by the Lamalama. Currently, households are located in Coen and Port Stewart, and they are constituted of largely though not exactly the same members in the separate locations.⁶⁰ By comparison with the enduring nature of the tribe and its constituent cognatic descent groups, households are more ephemeral forms of organisation. In an earlier paper (Hafner 1995a), I described households as recruiting their members at least partly on the basis of choice, and their members as often people who share close genealogical relationship:

While the members of a household may well be similarly related to each other, and indeed may all be close blood relations such as parents and children, a household may incorporate a variety of other people as members as well. For the Lamalama this sometimes includes people who are not close relations, but a household is most aptly thought of as a group of people who share residence and living expenses. It is rarely a single social unit of parents and their children alone. Usually it incorporates a disparate set of other relations as well, such as the brothers, sisters or parents of the household head or their spouse, and may include the siblings and family of either of them. Decisions about business matters relating to the household are restricted to its members (Hafner 1995a:16-17).

In comparison to the kinds of groups described by Thomson (1932), women are now as likely as men to be the focal figure of a household, and they occupy positions of some authority in post-classical social organisation. Senior women are not only the heads of households; they also negotiate and oversee the processes of succession (Langton 1997:86). Langton discusses this process in relation to the Lakefield claimants and other people, referring to it as the application of "grandmother's Law" in the situation of rapid population loss.⁶¹

There were six relatively permanent households among the Lamalama in Coen in 1992-93, and a core of three households at Port Stewart, although the movements of members between the houses and tent dwellings that housed them

⁶⁰ Rigsby and Hafner (1994b;1994d) previously described the social aggregations of the Lamalama as organised into tribe, family, and household. We suggested then that the contemporary pattern of families and households reflected the classical pattern of clans and residential groups, with 'family' relating to 'clan' as 'household' relates to 'residential group'. In this scheme, the families represent the lineages associated with differing clans, and the households represent the residential groups.

⁶¹ Her analysis is reminiscent of Sutton's descriptions of post-classical societies, and I take up her argument again in Appendix Two.

fluctuated considerably. Movements of individuals between households index affective as well as genealogical and other social relationships. More subtly, they index the classical clan structure in that members of households tend to prefer to 'camp' (i.e. live) with members of their own cognatic descent groups, although there are considerable social, jural, and affective pressures that bear on such decisions. Thus relative movement between households also indexes kin relationships within descent groups. It is only in unusual situations that the Lamalama live with people who are not members of their own tribe, although this obviously excludes people who, as affines, choose to live with their spouses of another tribal identification. Tamara Trueman, for example, lived for a time with Brian Sweet in his parent's home.

Households in Coen

Present households in Coen and Port Stewart bear resemblance to the residential or hearth groups that Rigsby and Chase (1998; Rigsby 1980) described as previously existing at Port Stewart, although there are some differences as well. They mostly consist of a conjugal couple or a single individual as head of house, with their children and a more extended range of kin in residence. I firstly consider residential patterns relating to households in Coen, demonstrating that while households can be viewed as corresponding to classical social structures, it is through emotion that relationships between individuals as members of households are negotiated. Although there were six permanent focal households, a significant proportion of the people who made up the Lamalama tribe in Coen constituted a floating population who moved between these households. Apart from the restrictions that the more permanent structures of houses impose on movement, affect was the most significant pressure on the social life of households in Coen. Other factors included the existing size of households and their relative ability to absorb more residents, and attitudes to alcohol consumption. This residential pattern differs a little to that at Port Stewart, where the number of focal residential aggregations reduced to four. However, as an evolving community, residential satellites developed out of some of these focal households.

In 1992, the heads of Lamalama households in Coen were Sunlight and Florrie Bassani; Joan Liddy; Maggie Tableland; Mabel Liddy and Victor Lawrence; Mabel's daughter Maureen and husband Dessie McIvor; and Vera Claudie (Figure 12). Sunlight and Florrie lived in a small house in the centre of

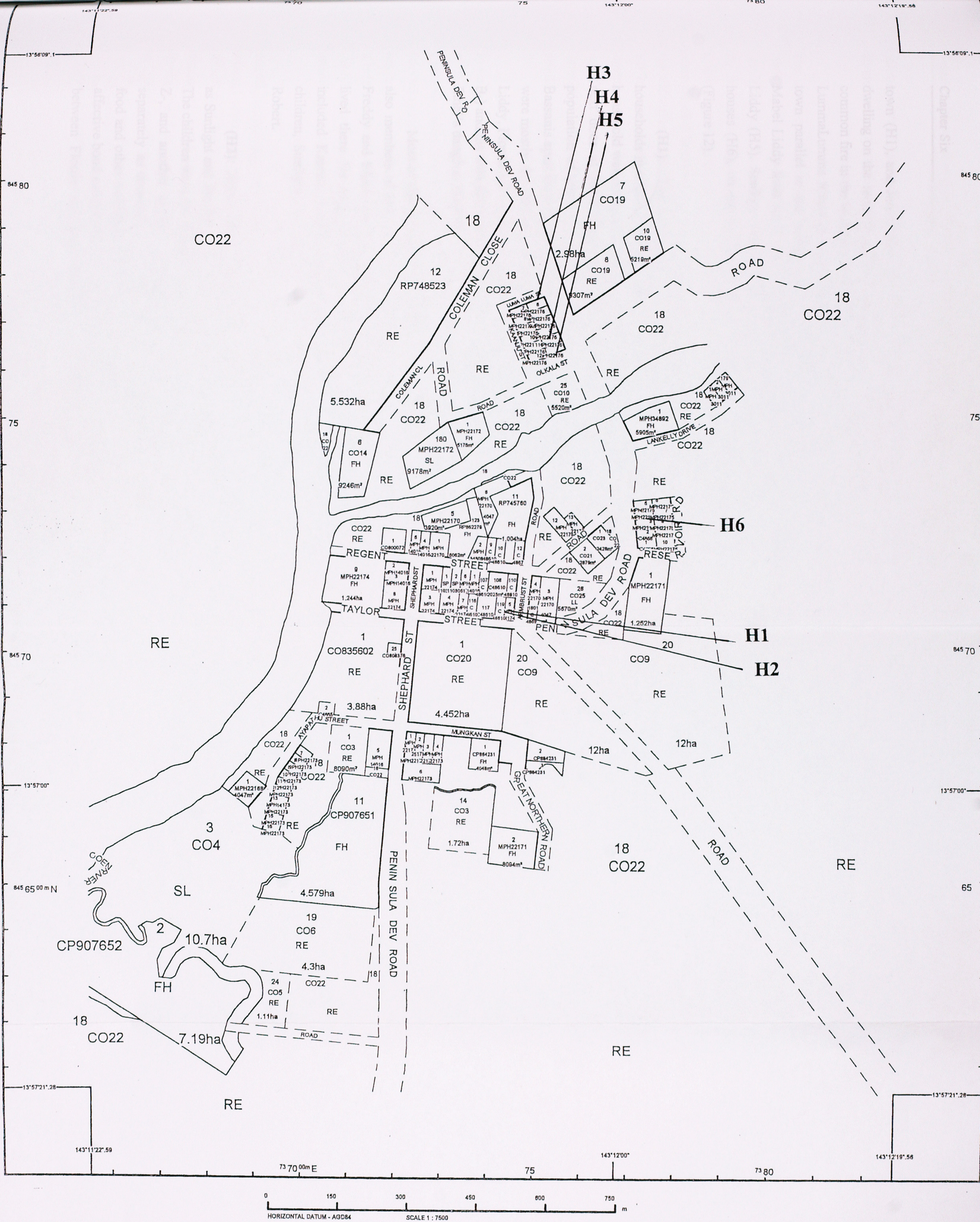


Figure 12: Map of Coen township indicating location of Lamalama households in Coen in 1992-93 (State of Queensland 1999: Dept of Natural Resources, Basic Land Information Network).

town (H1), and Joan Liddy, Florrie Bassani's sister, lived in a small separate dwelling on the same property (H2). Both had separate kitchens, but shared a common fire in the back yard. Maggie Tableland maintained a house at the end of LummaLumma Street (H3), in the residential strip on the northern road out of town parallel to the Peninsula Development Road. Maggie's oldest daughter Mabel Liddy lived on the same street (H4), next door to her daughter Maureen Liddy (H5). Sunlight Bassani's sister Vera Claudie lived to the south of these houses (H6), on the hill overlooking the township on the eastern side of Coen (Figure 12).

(H1): The household of Sunlight and Florrie Bassani was one of the households in which a married couple acted as joint heads of the household. Their household was composed of their daughter, Seppi, who either lived with them, or next door at Joan Liddy's throughout most of 1992-93, and a fluctuating population of others. In 1992-93, the least number of people living with the Bassanis apart from Seppi was four, while the greatest was twelve. These people were mostly the children of Florrie's siblings. The regular residents were Morris Liddy, Florrie's B-, Alison and Elaine Liddy, daughters of Freddy Liddy (Florrie's B-) and his wife Ethel (Sunlight's Z-), and Chantel Liddy, the child of Freddy and Ethel's daughter Rhonda.

Most of the rest of the people who regularly lived with the Bassanis were also members of the Liddy family, including Karen Liddy, another daughter of Freddy and Ethel, her spouse Stephen Doctor, and their infant children. They lived there for lengthy but intermittent periods throughout 1992-93. Others included Karen's brother and sister Kevin and Rhonda, others of Rhonda's children, Sunlight's brother Lindsay, and more occasionally, his other brother Robert.

(H2): Joan Liddy lived with four children in a house on the same allotment as Sunlight and Florrie, and Morris Liddy moved into her house early in 1992. The children were the daughter of her B- Rex, the son and daughter of her deceased Z-, and another daughter of Rhonda Liddy. The two households functioned separately as domestic units; Joan did not jointly purchase or very often share food and other household items with Sunlight and Florrie. Nonetheless, a strong affective bond existed between the two households through the sibling relationship between Florrie and Joan, which created a social and spatial focus for the

Lamalama, many of whom visited daily. Other households in Coen show a similar pattern of residence, with members preferring if possible to live with members of their own patriclan.

(H3): Ella (nee Peter) Spratt, her siblings Jimmy Peter, Peter Peter, and Vera Tableland and their respective spouses all lived in the house of their mother, Maggie Tableland, at the end of Lumma Lumma Street. Some of Ella's children, on extended visits from other communities, or on layoff from stock work on surrounding cattle stations also lived here while in Coen. Although Maggie was a member of a separate patriclan to those of her children (who had two separate fathers), it was mostly her descendants who lived in her house in Coen. The set of (full) siblings Ella Spratt, Jimmy Peter and Peter Peter lived here most of the time, although Jimmy also lived with Mabel, and sometimes with his cousin-brother Bobby Stewart, again demonstrating the strength of the sibling bond. Others who lived at Maggie's included her estranged third husband Norman Tableland, their adult daughter Vera and Vera's husband Keith Liddy (Florrie Bassani's B-).

(H4): Mabel (nee Peter) Liddy's house was a refuge for large numbers of people. Mabel is married to Victor Lawrence, a Wik man, and they lived in Lumma Lumma Street, a few houses away from Maggie Tableland's. Victor's aged mother lived with them as well, so that he could provide the care she required. Population numbers of this household fluctuated between eight and twenty-one. Again, the most regular members of the household were Mabel's sons Freddy Jr and Peter, the children of her Z- Ella, and their respective children. Occasionally young Wik men, friends to Mabel and Ella's sons, also lived there. Freddy's erstwhile partner, an Ayapathu woman, lived here too.

(H5): Mabel Liddy's daughter Maureen Liddy and her spouse Dessie McIvor, and their three children lived beside Mabel's house in Lumma Lumma Street. Maureen's biological father, aged and in poor health, lived with them. Maureen and Dessie's household stands in contrast to the other Lamalama households in Coen. It is the only one that resembles a household or hearth group as proposed by Thomson (1932) and Rigsby (1980; Rigsby and Chase 1998), in simply consisting of a married couple and their dependants.

(H6): Vera (nee Bassani) Claudie, Sunlight Bassani's Z-, lived in a house on the Peninsula Development Road, mid-way between the Bassanis' house and those of their relatives in Lumma Lumma Street. Two of her children, Michelle and Robert, lived with her; Robert was wheelchair-bound. Vera's two younger brothers, Robert and Lindsay Bassani, usually lived with her, but they also lived with Sunlight and with Mabel at times. Bobby and Daisy Stewart also lived with Vera for a time, and briefly with Maggie Tableland, before moving into the house of Lukin Harold, an Ayapathu man.⁶² Vera was widowed, and during 1992, she formed a relationship with Robert Nelson, a southern Kaanju man, and they lived together in this house. Ethel, Vera's Z-, lived here when she returned to Coen after her husband Freddy was hospitalised.

In relation to houses H1 (Bassanis') and H3 (Mabel's), the regular populations consisted largely of members of the same 'family' or mob, here the Liddy family and the Peter family, as the putative head of the household. A slightly diluted version of this pattern existed in relation to houses H2, H4 and H5. That is, the core members of all these households were people who would have been members of the same patrilines in classical reckoning, although probably members of separate local groups. House H6 is more anomalous in the Coen context, in that Maureen and Dessie's household did not include a floating population of relatives. In all the other households, the strength of the sibling bond among the Lamalama is demonstrated, through the presence of both senior or junior adult siblings sets, or both. As noted, women play more prominent roles in households, and in the cases where a man and wife are the joint heads, women tend to be the focal figures within the household. This was particularly true with regard to Mabel's household. Although she and Victor were formally married, her house was regarded as a 'Lamalama' house, not a Wik house. Although casual visitors and even some of the people on more extended stays there could be people of separate tribal identification, the regular population was Lamalama.

Previous residential groups such as those described by Rigsby were clearly groups who acted as a joint economic unit, but the economic focus of households in the present has changed. Although they engage in some joint economic activity,

⁶² Lukin and Bobby were the men I mentioned earlier as being members of the same moiety, and they professed an affinity for each other, although this was not expressed in terms of a moiety association. Rather, they talked about 'helping' each other, Lukin by offering Bobby and Daisy refuge, and they in terms of contributing to his rent payments.

members act independently, purchasing their own food and other household items on occasion. Commensality is not a determining feature in contemporary households, although household members do still purchase and share food as well. Parents and their children tend to live together, but that is not always the situation. There is some fluidity in the residential patterns of children, reflecting their greater possibilities for individual action as compared to the wider Australian society. Sunlight and Florrie Bassani raised thirteen children apart from their own daughter, and these were all the children of close kin, who lived with them for lengthy periods of their childhood.

I have thus far described the regular patterns of residence in relation to the six households, and stated that a separate strata of 'floaters' formed part of the normal residential pattern. The reasons that people chose to move between households were often straightforward, and related to spatial arrangements. When Mabel's house was very full, for example, and several people were sleeping on the verandah, Karen Liddy and Stephen Doctor moved temporarily to Sunlight and Florrie's. Such movements were commonplace. But as indicated, there was a jural force to such movements. Individuals did not go to live with people of other tribal groups simply because they had space; they moved between the households of close kin, usually people of the same patrilineage as themselves. Lindsay Bassani and Robert Bassani, who are brothers to Sunlight Bassani, lived with either him or their sister Vera Claudie. This situation is a little obscured by the prevalence of cross-cousin marriages in the senior generation, meaning that relatives of both lineages have a duty to care for their kin. Living with an aunt who was one's father's sister, for instance, could also mean living with her spouse who might also be a mother's brother. Likewise, Rhonda Liddy and her younger brother Kevin, lived with their FZ+, Florrie, but Florrie's husband is their MB+. Jural relationships between kin, of the kind described by Thomson (1972) still apply (see Chapter Five), but I suggest that other factors influence the rules for movement between households.

The state of affective relationships is most significant in determining where people will live. Karen Liddy and Stephen Doctor, for example, maintained the house previously rented by Karen's parents for some months after her father Freddy was hospitalised in Cairns. When they decided to let the house go, after several attempts at having relatives live with them and help out with the rent, they chose to move into Mabel's already full house. There were comparatively fewer

people living at the Bassanis at the time, but Mabel was less likely to try to impose restrictions on their freedom to do as they pleased. Although Karen did not drink at the time, Stephen did, and both of them wished to have the freedom to join in the frequent parties that occurred in town. Karen already had a troubled relationship with Florrie, and knew that she would not have the same freedom under her roof as she would at Mabel's.

Karen was one of the people that Sunlight and Florrie had raised, and she had defied Florrie by running away to Lockhart River, where she met Stephen. This older situation had not been resolved, and residual tension permeated the relationship between the two women. Moreover, none of the regular Bassani household approved of Stephen's behaviour, and Karen was wary about placing her somewhat tenuous relationship with him into a potentially hostile environment. Later, they moved into the Bassani's, when conditions at Mabel's house became too overcrowded. In doing so, they gave the women of Karen's patriline greater control over the succession of their children. Although Karen's younger sisters Alison and Elaine lived at the Bassanis, their presence did not strengthen her position in the household. Neither Karen nor Stephen were employed; Alison and Elaine, who were both employed, lived at the Bassanis because they preferred the more structured environment of the household. Also, Alison and Seppi, Sunlight and Florrie's daughter, who shared living space at the back of the house, had a close affective tie, while Elaine and her aunt Florrie shared a close emotional bond. However, the presence of Karen's children in the Bassani household, particularly her son Kane, who was born on Lamalama land on the road to Port Stewart, did much to equalise relations with her aunts Florrie and Joan. Their presence there allowed the two older women to partake in the children's education and socialisation process, including ensuring that they grew up with an ingrained 'Lamalama' identity.

By comparison with the Bassani's, Mabel's house was one of considerable freedom. Mabel did not impose particular moral restrictions, and although people drank there, it was not a 'party' house in the sense that the house run by Vera Claudie became. Most of the residents of Mabel's house were young men, some of whom were living with their girlfriends, including her two sons, Freddy Jr and Peter. Freddy's relationship with the now deceased mother of his son and daughter was casual, in the sense that they occasionally rekindled their sexual relationship, but lived in Mabel's house more as separate individuals than as a

conjugal couple. His younger brother Peter began a relationship with a young woman from Lockhart, who although close to him in age, was in an unsuitable kin category to him. He moved her into his mother's house anyway. After a brief period there, Mabel threw them and their possessions out of the house.

She explained the situation to me as one in which she was not able to tolerate their inappropriate liaison any longer, having repeatedly told them that they must break it off. A week after being thrown out, the young couple were again living at Mabel's, and continued to live there for the several years' duration of their relationship. In this case, Mabel could be seen to have 'done the right thing' jurally, but the social and spatial reality in Coen is that 'wrong-way' marriages are not uncommon, and there is so little housing available that they had few other choices about where to live. Moreover, Mabel relied on Peter to help her maintain order. This was brought home to me once on returning late at night from a trip to Port Stewart. Peter, who was often drunk and jocular, turned into a disciplinarian, shouting angrily at the children in the back of my vehicle to pick up their things and get out: "Get out! Auntie Di want to go to her blanket too!" Chastened, they rushed to obey, their haste indicating how seriously they took his commands. The young men who lived at Mabel's seemed to feel free to come and go as they wanted, and although they contributed to the household by bringing in food on occasion, such as by going pig-hunting, Mabel often complained about their laziness in other areas. This situation did not seem to provoke either she or Victor to any kind of disciplinary action, and most of the people who lived with her were regular residents. The large floating population was the result of visits by people from other communities, and by the movements between the other focal households.

By comparison to the Bassanis', Joan's, and Maureen and Dessie's houses, households H3, H4, and H5 were places where the consumption of alcohol was unrestricted. However, the Bassanis allowed people to drink in the back yard, but did not encourage it, or enjoy the company of drunks. I often heard, "Get away! Go on! We yarning here!" in the Bassanis' yard. Drunks were regarded as a social liability, as indeed their behaviour was often extremely disruptive. However, a group of people sitting quietly by themselves and drinking were tolerated. Drunks could often provide amusement for their sober relatives, and for each other, but fights seemed to be the inevitable result of prolonged drinking. Because the members of households H1, H2 and H6 made it plain that they did not wish to

have drunks living with them, 'floaters' intent on drinking restricted their residential movements to those households that tolerated or participated in drinking themselves. Naturally there were exceptions to this. The man that I refer to as Max Crisp lived most of the time in one of the 'sober' households, but he generally drank elsewhere. As a person who became loquacious rather than violent when drinking, his presence was tolerated with amusement and occasional irritation. Similarly, Morris Liddy, a drinker, did not usually disturb the running of his sister Joan's household with inappropriate drunken behaviour.

| Focal person/s | Additional household members |
|----------------------------|--|
| Sunlight & Florrie Bassani | Seppi Bassani; Alison & Elaine Liddy; Kevin Liddy*; Rhonda Liddy's daughter Chantelle; Karen Liddy, Stephen Doctor, and their two children*, Lindsay Bassani*; Morris Liddy*; Florrieanne Liddy; Rex Liddy* |
| Joan Liddy | Rhona Liddy's daughter Tegan; Joan's deceased sister's son and daughter; Morris Liddy*; her brother Rex Liddy's daughter Maxine |
| Mabel Liddy | Her husband Victor Lawrence and his mother; her sons Freddy Liddy and Peter Liddy and their partners; Peter Peter's son Gordon; Jack and Wayne Spratt; their sister Sherelle and her daughter Natasha; Paddy Jealous; five other children including Freddy's son Fredrick; Kevin Liddy*; Karen Liddy, Stephen Doctor and children* |
| Maggie Tableland | Vera and Keith Liddy; Ella Spratt and her husband Willie Lawrence; her sons James, Stephen and Robert and Daughter Sherelle; Maggie Gibb; Bobby and Daisy Stewart*, Jimmy and Lena Peter; Peter Peter and Hazel Banjo; Norman Tableland; Cindy Thompson; Pam Hart and her son Walter |
| Mabel Liddy/ Des McIvor | Their three children; Maureen's father |
| Vera Bassani | Her brothers Robert Bassani* & Lindsay Bassani*; her sister Ethel Liddy; her partner Robert Nelson; her son Robert Claudie; her daughter Michelle Claudie and daughter Shenean; Rhonda Liddy's son Patrick; Bobby and Daisy Stewart* |

* = periodic occupation or movement between households

Figure 13: Lamalama households in Coen in 1992

In Coen, the focal locations of *pama* sociality are located geographically, and referred to by certain names commonly used by all the town's Aboriginal people. The centre of town is the location 'where mango tree' (a favoured drinking spot), 'pub', 'shops', or 'Bassanis' place'. The residential location on the northern side, where most of the Aboriginal housing was located is referred to as 'nother side', while the houses on the southern side of town are at the 'bottom end', opposite the 'Reserve'. The houses along the Peninsula Development Road on the east side of town are 'up where the hill'. There is no strict adherence to the principle of living in closest geographical proximity to one's traditional country. Residence for focal individuals depends increasingly on allocation to the housing available. By 1994, two separate households, headed by Gordon Peter and Joan Liddy, were established at the 'bottom end' in what is usually a Wik-Olkolo area, because more houses were built and allocated to the town's *pama*, thus increasing the number of Lamalama households in town.. By comparison with the situation in Coen, the separate location of Port Stewart resulted in the reduction in the number of households in early 1992, with an increase in the number of dwellings as satellites to the households in the 1992-93 period, after the ceremony celebrating the transfer of land there in June 1992. Figure 14 maps the relative locations of households at Port Stewart in 1992.

Household organisation at Port Stewart

The Coen households described cannot be mapped exactly onto the social or spatial landscape of the outstation. There the most settled camps in 1992 belonged to Keith and Vera Liddy, and Joan Liddy. These camps incorporated a living area of tents for the members, a kitchen area including a cooking fire, and space for social interaction. The compounds were housed under A-frame bush timber and heavy plastic tarpaulin structures. Such camps sat at a distance of approximately 10 metres from each other on the northern bank of the Stewart River at the location known at the time as Yintyingga, and now referred to as Theethindyi. A similar compound belonging to Bobby and Daisy Stewart was located a short distance to the west of Joan Liddy's camp (Figure 14). These camps were ringed to the north by those of other relatives. Mabel Liddy's camp was to the northwest of Joan's, and the camps of the single men such as Morris Liddy, Kevin Liddy, and Robert Bassani were located to the north-east of Joan's (Fig.14).

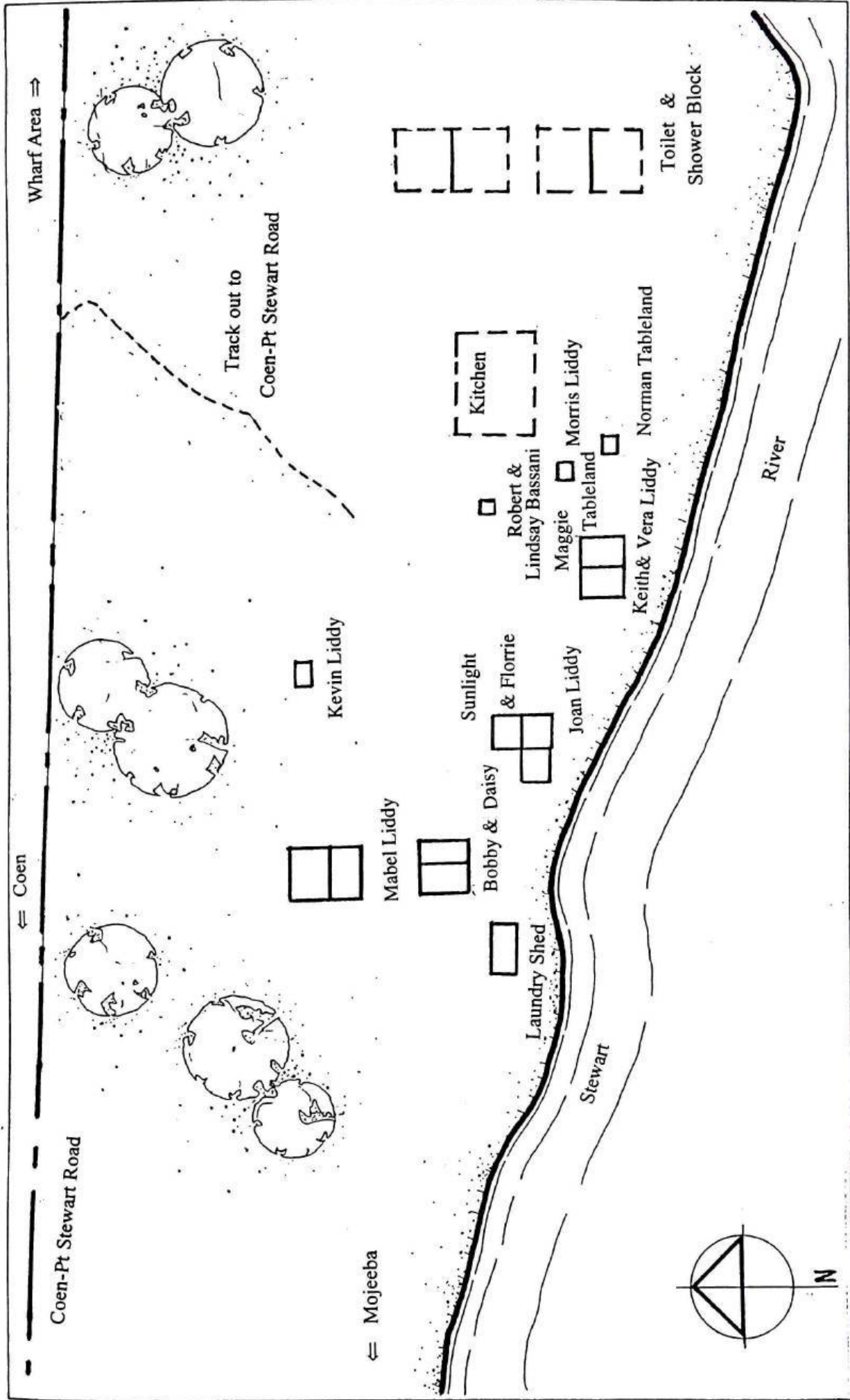


Figure 14: Port Stewart outstation in 1992, showing relative locations of camps. Figures in dotted outline indicate the locations of buildings constructed for the handover ceremony.

After the land transfer ceremony, Sunlight and Florrie Bassani moved their tent to the north of Joan's, about twenty metres away. The young single women of their household put up a large tent beside them, but all still used Joan's kitchen for food preparation and social interchange. When Sunlight and Florrie put up this camp, they established a kitchen area as well, but never really used it. This camp site was eventually taken over by Karen Liddy and Stephen Doctor. Kevin Liddy then began to use it as well, as did Lindsay Bassani to a lesser degree.

Maggie Tableland, Norman Tableland, and intermittently, Robert Bassani used Keith and Vera Liddy's kitchen (Fig. 14). When Bobby and Daisy Stewart were at Port Stewart, the now deceased Maggie Gibb camped with them, otherwise with Keith and Vera. Maggie Tableland's son Jimmy Peter and his wife Lena, Daisy Stewart's twin sister, camped with Bobby and Daisy after their return from Umagico, and used their kitchen. Peter Peter, Jimmy's younger brother and his partner Heather Banjo did the same when they came down to Port Stewart. Bobby, Jimmy and Peter are categorically siblings, or 'cousin-brothers' to each other. During the transfer ceremony in June 1992, Keith and his wife Vera, and Bobby and Daisy moved their camps down to the riverbed, further away from the influx of visitors. Jimmy and Lena Peter camped there with them as well.

Thus it can be seen that there is no exact correlation between the composition of households in Coen and Port Stewart. While the composition of Sunlight and Florrie's Coen household remained much the same, it was Joan Liddy who became head of the household down at Port Stewart. She was the primary decision-maker for her camp, which included Sunlight and Florrie, although as in Coen, individuals all contributed to running costs. Mabel Liddy remained the head of her household while at Port Stewart as well, but its composition changed to the degree that most of her nephews camped either with their mother Ella, or in separate tents in the single men's area of the camp.

The underlying order of kinship relations is not altered by or implicated in such changes in spatial locations. Sutton (1998:115) has pointed out that the model of contemporary social organisation developed by Rigsby and myself in relation to the Lakefield National Park (and jointly, the Cliff Islands National Park) claimants is "ambiguous" in its description of the family. In the Lakefield

National Park and Cliff Islands National Park claim documents we described families as “corporate groups”, and as such, “far more enduring social structures than households”:

Households are not structural in this sense and thus do not endure through time in the same way because they lack the recruitment principles of families, such as filiation. Rather, they are constituted by people choosing to live together in multivariate and changing compositions based on practical incidences and involving personal decisions ... (Rigsby and Hafner 1994b: 108-109).

It is at this quotidian level of the patterns of daily interaction that the amity of kinship (Fortes 1969) is established and maintained. Sutton (1998) argues that cognatic descent groups are more than simply groupings of people joined by a commonality of descent; this must also be accompanied by some commonality of purpose that imposes a corporate nature on the group, if they are to be more than merely a set of cognates.

Sutton (1998:63) suggests that the mutual identity associated with a shared interest in land and ‘bloodline’ provide the necessary elements of corporateness, but to this I add the more abstract element of shared emotion and experience. That is to say, the mutuality of emotional attachments between the members (and these are not necessarily all positive, or enduringly positive attachments) contributes to the corporate nature of a social group - mutual identity includes a history of a shared emotional life. In one of the many conversations I had with Tom Crisp about the genealogical connections among the Lamalama mob, he explained the corporate nature of the group in terms of kinship and shared affect. He had already explained to me that “in the Aboriginal way, you looking at *puula* (FF). We start from there”, and talked about Nettie Magee and her brothers Kevin and Robert Ryan as ‘one blood’ kin to his siblings and himself. In response to my asking him if people had ‘more feeling’ for that kind of close ‘family’ than they did for some of the more distant kinds of relatives he had been talking about, Tom replied:

Oh yeah, that's right, you are. They all know they got a good friend there, like all of us [Ryans] now, we good friends, we don't fight to each other, well we did fight with [Nettie] before, but that's finish now, her and [Warren Moore, her partner] come and visit us every time. We close friends, from one *puula*. We all

grow up that way. You look all the [Magees] now, [Gertie's] family, they good friends till today, they bin grow up that way, only that old *piinya* down there in [Cairns] keep himself separate. Not separate, just outside. When he got old he know he do that. He like that from young, always go nother way. Yeah *muka*, if they one blood from *puula*, they know. They cousins. They'll have a good friend to each other.⁶³

Here Tom illustrates my argument - the points of common interest are shared descent, and shared affect. As relatives, they are 'good friends to each other', a state that both includes and overcomes negative experience and personal choice. The collectivities of primary and continuing significance to the Lamalama are what I call, after Sutton, cognatic descent groups. They understand these as the 'family', in the senses of an affective social unit whose members share resources and experiences on a regular basis, and a landed group or mob, representing both the totality of the social group as verified by its members, and the group identity so generated. A unified identity is formed from mutual, shared interests in various kinds of property as Sutton suggests, but it is the ability to share the significance of such property with the members of the 'family' that ensures the social continuity of the group. The Lamalama use the term 'family' to talk about the surnamed descent groups, but in certain contexts, they also conceptualise the totality of the tribe as the 'Lamalama family'. Being able to rely on kin to be 'a good friend to each other' is the affect that permeates and envelops the structures of social identity. Thus, a shared identity is developed among the members of a group through an understanding of what is mutual in their joint experience.

Nurturance, autonomy and relatedness

The emotions that I consider in this analysis can also be examined through Myers' (1986) motif of relatedness and autonomy. Myers indicates that the concept of nurturance resolves the dichotomous patterns of autonomy and relatedness among the Pintupi, but I suggest that for the Lamalama at the time of my research there was no similar resolution of the tension created by related social patterns. In their case, the concept of nurturance or 'looking after' the country and each other was important, but not transcendent as Myers demonstrates it to be for the Pintupi. For the Lamalama, the concept of a compassionate but

⁶³ Conversation with Tom Crisp in the kitchen of the Lutheran manse, 5 November 1992.

independent individual is the transcendent cultural model of a 'proper' Lamalama person. The social drama considered at the end of the section demonstrates that relatedness among the Lamalama exists in shared kinship and interests in land, and is expressed through concepts such as being 'family' and of 'one blood', despite the potential fragility of these concepts when tested by emergency conditions.

Lamalama expressions of autonomy and relatedness differ to those of their near neighbours, the Wik, as exemplified in part of Martin's (1993) analysis of Wik forms of social reproduction. Martin notes that the correlation of authority and 'looking after' is generally regarded as a pervasive theme in Aboriginal Australia; several theorists, as well as Myers (1986) have found that an idiom of nurturing was central to social reproduction. In Myers' (1986) description of the Pintupi, the concept of *kanyininpa* or 'looking after' engages an ideological representation of male authority as nurturance, in which older men transmit valuable ritual knowledge to younger ones. In the Wik area, Diane von Sturmer [Smith] found in her study of *Kuku Nganycharra* Wik that a concept of nurturing, which she defined as "the giving and receiving of care, nourishment, protection and support" (1980:396, quoted in Martin) was central to their concepts of hierarchy, and the moral basis for the exercise of power. Senior and super-ordinate individuals were 'boss' for those junior and subordinate to them, in reciprocal relationships of obligation and caring. Sutton (1978) also found a concept of care and protection applied among Wik people at Cape Keerweer, where they used a special 'respect register' in speaking to children, and 'bosses' acted to protect younger people from the dangers associated with power and its objects and processes. Bosses maintained their position of power by:

acting ... with solicitude and care in relation to the young, protecting them from "big meats" by reserving them to themselves, protecting them from ritual danger by the giving of armpit smell and by preventing them from visiting dangerous places, giving them licence (freedom from many taboos and restraints) while young, and then giving them knowledge as they (became) adults (Sutton 1978:197, quoted in Martin 1993).

The Cape Keerweer concept of 'owning' land, expressed in the term *kooepanha* also engaged a concept of care and solicitude. By contrast, Martin views Wik expressions of nurturance at Aurukun as engaging gender relationships. He notes that in Myers and von Sturmer [Smith]'s accounts, it was the nurturers

who were super-ordinate, mediating and giving access to valued goods, both symbolic and material. At Aurukun, the relationship between nurturers and nurtured was inverted: “here it was the female nurturers who were subordinate, and the nurtured and (at certain levels, the dependent) who were the dominant” (Martin 1993:79). The power exercised by men at Aurukun was perceived by women as legitimate demands on their services. But Martin sees this male power, after Bourdieu (1977), as symbolic power, and drawing on a cultural misrepresentation of the relations between the genders, cast as nurturance, which disguised the appropriation of the labour and symbolic services of women by the super-ordinate class of males.

The Lamalama also have a concept of nurturance, expressed in English as ‘looking after’. It more closely resembles the Wik concept and practice suggested by von Sturmer [Smith] than Martin. Like the *Kuku Nganycharra* practice, the Lamalama expectation is that ‘looking after’ is a reciprocal relationship of care between senior and junior individuals. It is demonstrated by the positive parent-child relationship. Adults care for children throughout their childhood, and children are expected to reciprocate in adulthood through maintenance of personal relationships with their former carers; juniors are supposed to ‘respect’ their seniors, and abide by their wishes. Reciprocity between the generations has greater force and significance than that between the genders in Lamalama ideology.

Martin observed that although Wik men and women had the scope to make demands of each other, men were more likely to get their demands of women satisfied than the reverse. By contrast, while Lamalama men and women both make demands of each other, a relative equality prevails, and was mediated, in 1992-93, by individual behaviour. For instance, the relationships between some conjugal couples were ones of a super-ordinate and subordinate split; wives prepared food for men to eat, even if it was food purchased by them with their own money. Conversely, some women simply refused to engage in domestic activities of that kind. Gertie Crisp, for example, preferred fishing and other productive tasks such as making spears to cooking. Often enough, her husband got his own meals, or their daughter or another relative cooked.

The Lamalama ideology of caring shares some common features with the Wik concept described by Sutton, but differs in the degree that social reproduction over generations occurs through the transfer of valued ritual knowledge, that both

he and Myers (1986) describe. Although in the past it may well have incorporated the transfer of such knowledge between the generations, senior Lamalama people are now extremely guarded about their custodianship of ritual knowledge. In fact, such knowledge is now held by a very few senior people. In the absence of major ritual practice, there is little in the way of an active corresponding ethos of the connection between ritual symbols and objects, people, and places in the landscape, such as seems to be indexed in the Pintupi notion of nurturance. Indeed, the Lamalama concept of nurturance of country, by comparison to the concepts of *kooepanha* and being a 'boss for country' described by Sutton, is now expressed as the guarding of knowledge rather than its orderly transfer between the generations. Lamalama notions of land ownership do incorporate 'looking after' as a reciprocal relationship, and Sunlight Bassani often couched this notion in terms of 'you look after the country, it will look after you'. This sentiment was shared by others, including young people, and expressed by them in certain ritualised ways, such as the 'warming' of spears before going fishing.

The ethos of caring or 'looking after' people is now expressed in terms of the individual's actions, and the degree to which they demonstrate interest, concern and 'respect' for others. Myers sees the Pintupi as placing primary social value on relationship to others. Thus, "being a relative is more important than defining what sort of kin one is", in a situation where kinship expresses "identity with others as part of the self", resulting in a cultural emphasis on emotions as the basis for social action, a consequence of the practicalities of Pintupi band life (1986:107). By comparison, the Lamalama place emphasis on the ideology of relatedness, but in practice social relationship remains in constant tension with an emphasis on personal autonomy in the post-classical system of the present. The Lamalama postulate a shared identity, and actions are as often evaluated in terms of the impact on the individual as the shared identity of the group. In this situation, where autonomy is valued as much as relatedness, emotion is used to differentiate between individuals, and the pursuit of personal goals is now regarded as having moral parity with shared identity.

The same holds true in relation to the land, where shared connection is demonstrated by the individual's desire to spend time in their country, and to manage and partake of its resources. I do not deal further with this aspect of Lamalama sociality at present, but take up Lamalama identity in relation to land in

the final section of the thesis. Instead, I now elaborate on the behavioural domain of kinship and friendship, in which I observed Lamalama notions of autonomy, relatedness, and caring as clearly articulated.

Friendship and kinship

Friendship is marked by a quality that would otherwise be described as metaphorical or fictive kinship, by which I mean that *pama* make ‘friends’ into relation-like persons. This observation is coloured by the close genealogical relationships between the Lamalama, so that ‘friends’ commonly *are* actual and close kin. Some friendships between actual and extended siblings were among the closest such relationships I observed.

The quality that marks friendship among the Lamalama as different to kinship is affective, and differs to the principle of amity described by Fortes (1969:110). In the discussion of kinship and friendship that follows, I first consider Fortes’s concept, then provide examples of its operation among the Lamalama. I demonstrate that Fortes’s notion has conceptual meaning for them, and that it may also be used as a negative sanction against behaviour that is regarded as intolerable. I then describe friendship which draws on the metaphor of kinship but expresses separate affective states to that of kinship.

The rule of amity, which Fortes also describes as “prescriptive altruism”, refers to the binding kind of morality to be found in kinship polities, the latter divided, from an individual perspective, into kinship and non-kinship domains. The amity principle governs the range of rights, privileges, and duties of the individual members, as well as the code for conduct:

Amity means consensus in accepting the value of mutual support in maintaining “a good code for conduct” for the realization of each person’s “legitimate interests”, as Hiatt puts it – in the last resort, even by acts of violence regarded as legitimate. Non-amity implies non-relationship (Fortes 1969:110).

Amity is thus “a general principle of kinship morality that is rooted in the familial domain and is assumed everywhere to be axiomatically binding” (Fortes 1969:232). The assumed consensus of amity is subject to cultural variation, as in relation to marriage rules. Fortes points out that the Ashanti regard patrikinship

and close affinal relationship as falling within the “familial domain” and therefore subject to the rule of amity, although ‘real kinship’ which binds unequivocally is associated with the matrilineal *yafunu* segment (1969:233). Amity is not, however, restricted to lineal relationship, but rooted in the bilateral kinship of the basic parent-child relationship (1969:109;234):

Kin by complementary filiation are also embraced within the orbit of kinship amity. Indeed, it is by emphasising the filiative component of descent relationships, and thus affiliating them to descent relationships, that the actor projects onto them the ethic of the familial domain (1969:234).

The condition of amity is affected by rules for marriage and warfare, and Fortes poses a dyadic consciousness as a kind of cultural universal in kinship-based societies. Partners in marriage and warfare are usually thought of as non-kin, and connection to them as in direct contrast to the relations of amity that prevail among kin (1969:234). Matrimonial and affinal relations “are intentionally created by jural transactions of a contractual nature”, predisposing the parties towards split loyalties and potential hostility. This situation can only be overcome by “a moral and jural consensus” between the parties, or the political and social relationships that depend on such unions could not be maintained. Former enemies thus become “legitimate opponents within a common politico-jural framework, and in relation to the wider world, can become allies to whom the amity of kinship is applied” (1969:234-235). The rule of amity is the central moral tenet of kinship, positing an irresistible claim on the support and consideration of kin over non-kin, and is the basis of reciprocal exchange relationships among African societies such as the Tallensi. Hiatt (1965:108) referred to this principle as “the ethic of generosity” in relation to Gidjingali social practice, such as the conflict associated with sexual jealousy and the distribution of wives, where potential conflict is averted by recognition of the interests and obligations shared by kinsmen.

The ideological model of themselves that the Lamalama maintain is of ‘countrymen’, a group of people whose interests are closely bound to each other, through descent and a shared focus on particular land. The Pintupi notion of shared relationship, flexibility and compassion embodied in their use of the term ‘countryman’ (Myers 1986:22) are implied in the Lamalama concept, but the Lamalama notion is more concerned with a notion of shared rights and

responsibilities. Differences in cultural style between the Pintupi and the Lamalama are seemingly matters of degree rather than of kind. Amity is the active principle that governs the connection between people for both groups, but I understand the Lamalama to use the concept a little differently from the Pintupi. My understanding is informed by a discussion of the term with a young but widely respected Lamalama woman on a trip to Cairns in 1995. We were in the company of another anthropologist attempting to tease out the meaning of the term as it applied in the area of his research. In response to a direct question, she replied that 'countrymen' were "all the people you know". At Port Stewart, this woman was in the habit of saying "I'll see all you countrymen tomorrow" as she went to bed for the night. The people to whom she spoke were usually her biologically close family of parents, cousins, aunt (and me, who she regards as 'cousin').

I had assumed that she was signifying her closest social connection through the metaphor of mutual rights in land when she used this expression, but her reply indicated that this was just one in a range of possible meanings. Casting the widest net, Lamalama use of the term refers to 'relatedness', that is, an altruistic expression of trust and shared interest, because you are only 'related' to those people whom you 'know'. Amity is the governing principle in this conceptual construction, although not as strictly applied as Fortes' modelling of the concept implies. He indicates that in the plural society of modern urbanised Africa, modification also occurs, and the amity principle transcends the strict boundedness of pre-colonial social systems. Towns are polyglot societies, populated by people of diverse origins, who form voluntary associations often on a tribal or regional basis, providing mutual support and aid for their members. Such associations were not held together by self-interest, Fortes notes, but by "a generalized sentiment of amity which [the members] themselves are apt to identify with feelings kinsfolk should have for one another" (1969:248). In the Lamalama view, kin are the people who you know, and relatedness is a state that is achieved through individual intentions and actions as much as it is a social and biological imperative.

The underlying assumption of automatic rights associated with being kin or 'countryman' rests on observation of the amity principle, and failure to observe the rule places an individual outside the realm of kinship. This happened to Max, the younger brother of Tom, a senior spokesman for the Lamalama. The Coen

Picnic Races occur every August, and are the biggest event on the Coen social calendar (Chase 1972). People arrive in Coen from all over the Peninsula, white and black alike. In 1993, this event coincided with a site mapping trip for the Cliff Islands National Park claim. Rigsby and I took people down to Port Stewart the day after the races, but many were still up in Coen. Max had been drinking heavily during the race weekend, and he and others were befriended by some whitefella strangers from Cairns. Max asked Tom if he could use the Lamalama outstation truck to take them down to Port Stewart to show them the place. Tom replied that he never allowed drunken people to drive the truck, and Max should know better than to ask. He also said that Max was not allowed to take the strangers there, as it was possible that they would try to take alcohol with them.

Later that night as Rigsby and I conducted a meeting with the people in camp on matters pertaining to the claim, Max arrived with the strangers in their own vehicle. He hesitated on the edge of the campfire circle, then approached with a cheery bravado. The strangers followed him, speaking loudly, and quickly disrupted the meeting. Auntie Nettie, sitting next to me, hissed "Get rid of them, muka!" (i.e. "niece"). She told me later that one of them was carrying a bottle of spirits. After a short altercation, the strangers left, and the meeting resumed. Perhaps half an hour later, someone asked where Max was. After looking in his tent, it was assumed that he felt 'shame' and was sleeping down at the wharf area outside camp. When he did not appear in the morning it was eventually decided that he must have left with the strangers. This was proven true when he did not turn up in Coen, and was discovered destitute and living on the street in Cairns a few months later.

In the wake of this event his kin, including Tom, another brother, and two sisters, barely talked about his disappearance. When they did, it was to say that he had better not come back. They demonstrated no sympathy for his plight. Tom told me that he had broken the Law; not just the sanction against bringing alcohol into the outstation, or acting against the instruction of the senior caretaker, but he had broken up a meeting to do with winning back title to the site of greatest power in Lamalama cosmology. By bringing the strangers down he had proven himself to be irresponsible, but interrupting the meeting placed his actions unforgivably outside the jural realm represented in the rules of descent and inheritance. In this case, Tom and his siblings and cousins held the Law to be so significant that their shock and sense of betrayal could only be appeased by

converting it to an immediate denial of his kinship with them. By failing to observe the responsibilities contingent on the rule of amity, he placed himself in the position to be publicly divested of a 'countryman's' rights of Lamalama kinship.

It was not until two months later that people started to talk about him again, and then it was with a sense of concern about his well-being. They took his immediate departure and total silence to indicate an admission of guilt on Max's part. After a suitable period of repentance apparent in self-imposed exile, they were prepared to allow him to resume his status as a Lamalama person. Tom's sister-in-law Kath was the first person I heard speak publicly about her concern for his safety. I subsequently learnt that after about six weeks of silence, Tom had made discreet enquiries and learned of Max's whereabouts. Although generally a person who I thought of as flexible and compassionate, Tom could not on this occasion publicly forgive Max, although he also began to speak about him in a normal way after he had been absent for several months. Max lived on the streets in Cairns for several months, during which period some of his relatives visited Cairns from time to time. He was told to come back home by one of his sisters, and by Tom's daughter Tonya, on at least two occasions that I know about. He declined to do so for some time, and Tonya told me that he was "feelin' too much shame". His eventual return was unmarked either by criticism or welcome in my observation, and he resumed his life as 'countryman', a known person, as before.

The affect associated with friendship differs to the amity of kinship, although I interpret the nature of friendship as a type of metaphorical kinship among the Lamalama. Kinship structures are inherently hierarchical, expressed in terms of relationships between seniors and juniors. Equilibrium in the system is expressed in terms of reciprocal expectations between kin categories. Relations of friendship differ to kin relations in that they purport to create a sense of equal standing between the people within the relationship, even though they may be kinspeople, and of unequal kin status to each other. Friendship transcends the relations of kinship in such cases, to create a flexible zone in which the reciprocity associated with the rule of amity is not a necessary precondition to the existence of the relationship. Friendships are essentially relations of affect, not consanguinity, and they exist beyond the confines of kinship structures. Nonetheless, reciprocal exchange may be engaged in the relationship. Unlike

kinship, friendships may be terminated but, as demonstrated, the bonds of kinship are permanent even under testing conditions. The immutability of even distant kinship contrasts with the voluntary and optional nature of friendship (Fortes 1969:63; Malinowski 1929).

Nicotera (1993:127) found friendships cross-culturally demonstrated a general structure, although there were differences between cultures on specific attributes. Helping behaviour, trust, and respect were among the most important dimensions of friendship, and the closer the relationship, the more intensely these attributes would be present (Korn and Nicotera 1993:15-16). With regard to the Lamalama, I distinguish between friendship and 'friendliness', the latter being a quality that pervades many of their kin relationships. It is particularly evident between people in the MB+/Z-C relationship, and is signified by ease in each other's company, swearing, joking and other humour, and a permissible expression of opprobrium by both partners, although this is more prescribed for the junior partner. By comparison, friendship tends to occur between people who in fact share equal kinship status, therefore is most common between people in actual and extended sibling categories within the group. Such relationships occur within both the adult generations, and are generally but not exclusively same-sex relationships.

Within the junior adults' generation, such friendships occur among the women of the Liddy and Bassani families, who as siblings with much common experience are affectively close. The quality that distinguishes the relationships of some of them from others is expressed as a desire for and an expectation of each other's company and assistance, the affective product of which is mutual pleasure and enjoyment. Such friendships occur within the ranks of their male siblings, who similarly spend considerable time, in varying combinations, in each other's company. There are also particular mixed-sex friendships within this generational level, demonstrating the same qualities of mutual support and interest. Two notable friendships exist between members of the senior generational level, both same-sex couples, and are characterised by the quality of enjoyment and pleasure in mutual interactions, and the willingness over time to provide support and assistance as needed. One of these friendships concerns two men, now both the senior focal persons for their separate tribal groups, Lamalama and Wik, who are affines related as 'brothers'-in-law. They interact almost daily, tease each other, 'yarn' together, and will stop other activities in order to do so. Both have also

provided significant support to each other in terms of establishing their respective outstations, such as providing much needed physical labour and that other commodity in short supply, vehicles.

Friendships also occur between the Lamalama and whites. Although there is considerable contact and 'friendliness' of the kind already described, a few examples of the levelling affect that produces the egalitarian relations of friendship have also occurred. I report on these largely on the basis of having been told about them by Lamalama people rather than out of much direct observation. Mostly the white friends were people who have died or left the district, although a couple of such friendships exist with whites who were long-term residents of the region in 1992-1993. Friendships between the Lamalama and whites are to my knowledge exclusively relationships between men, and generally the whites have been their employers. Over time, and with considerable common experience which developed trust and respect between them, these men seem to have developed the kind of ease, trust and respect that allows of the quality of mutual pleasure associated with friendship. I observed one such relationship during the period of my fieldwork, and it was characterised by mutual assistance, respect, and although somewhat reserved, a mutual pleasure in each other's company; these were men who did not regularly seek each other out, but enjoyed 'yarning' when they did.

The other kinds of 'friendships' the Lamalama enjoy with whites are those with anthropologists and other such researchers. In these cases, fictive kinship is extended by them, and we on the receiving end endeavour to conform to the allocated kinship role. My own experience has been that some relationships of trust, respect, and enjoyment that I characterise as friendship developed out of this situation, while the rest of my 'kin' were generally people with whom I maintained 'friendly' relations. I understand the difference between these 'kin' relationships and friendships with other non-*pama* as based in differing understanding of the formal responsibilities of kinship, which anthropologists accept when they enter into such relationships. My observation of Lamalama friendships with other whites, and here I distinguish the amity I am describing from the symbiotic relationships of reciprocal exchange that commonly occur between white and black residents in towns such as Coen, is that they were not based in the amity ideologically implied by consanguinity, but in the egalitarianism of affinity.

By comparison to kinship, the affective dimension of friendship allows greater freedom than the more constricting bonds of kinship normally allow. In the same way, friendship creates a degree of freedom in the relations of dominance that is the usual characteristic of the regional situation between *pama* and non-*pama*. To some extent, friendship mimics the amity of kinship, showing resemblance to the amity Fortes describes in the post-colonial urban African situation. What distinguishes these post-classical kinds of relational ties is the affective quality of mutual pleasure and enjoyment from the more mechanistic, kinship-like expectations of reciprocity. Friendship acts to ventilate the restrictions that usually apply in kin relationships. An important qualification on friendships with whites relates to the intensity of the emotional quality of the friendship. Friendships between *pama* tend to be characterised by greater mutual pleasure than those between *pama* and non-*pama*, in my admittedly limited observation. Mutual trust and respect appear to be the dominant qualities associated with the latter.

Tribe + Family + Household = Identity?

In the drama I refer to as 'The Accident', Ryan Magee, the youngest son of Nettie Magee, and one of the young men most prone to being regarded as irresponsible and untrustworthy by senior elders, was at the centre of a motor vehicle accident which clearly involved culpability, due to a lack of experience, on his part. Although nominally the son of Gertie Magee's older brother Ivan, Ryan is in reality the biological son of an Olkolo man not resident in Coen. This fact was not generally discussed by his relatives, although Ryan had no hesitation in telling me, in a manner that indicated that it was not, at least, secret information. Usually dismissed by them as immature and troublesome, in this instance Ryan was loyally defended in the face of all opposition by the Crisps, until his mother indicated that she regarded him as at least partly to blame. Lynette Magee and Tim English, although figuring less prominently in the event, shared culpability with Ryan, but were similarly defended to the limits of plausibility by the Crisps.

In my experience with the Crisps before this accident, Ryan's status was not particularly high. His professed interest in furthering his standing within the mob by the assumption of land-based cultural knowledge was scoffed at by Gertie and others. Before Ryan told me that his birth (or conception) father was not Ivan Magee, I found it difficult to understand the Crisps' continuous dismissal of

him, in the face of their ready acceptance of his older brother, Young George, who in all ways was far less close to the cultural ideal of a 'proper' Lamalama man. Young George was an alcoholic, known to drink methylated spirits if there was nothing else available, a wanderer who rarely made it home to the Coen region, and who never stayed at Port Stewart when he did. His senior relatives regarded him as hopelessly reprobate, but maintained tolerant and affectionate relationships with him in a way that they did not with Ryan. The concern about the continuation of lineages that women in particular propagate was, I felt, at the heart of the matter. Although Ryan could legitimately assert a Lamalama identity, based on the Morrobalama membership of his mother Nettie,⁶⁴ he could never assert the connection to Port Stewart that Young George, despite his lack of interest in the place, could assume as a birthright. Although a considerably more active user of the outstation, Ryan's kinship with the land-owning clan members whose surname he bore was generally not a matter of priority to its more prominent and authoritative members until events demanded that they acknowledge group membership. This they did unhesitatingly.

Having said this, it is necessary to emphasise that Ryan was never unwelcome or reviled by the Crisps, in my experience. In the subsequent events of the land claims hearings, his willingness to demonstrate the seriousness of his own intention to participate as fully an adult member as possible by twice giving evidence in support of the Lamalama claims, was acknowledged by his elders as appropriate and worthy. However, the accident preceded the hearings by several months. The inner feelings of the participants are largely masked, but the event remains a social drama in which emotion is used to negotiate the experience by people of differing kin and social relationships to each other, particularly in mediating issues of exchange.

The Accident

At the end of a November weekend down at Port Stewart, I drove back up to Coen late on Sunday afternoon. Two of the children, Nicole and Graham, who had to go to school the next day, came with me. We set off about 30 minutes after the Wenlock vehicle, driven by Ryan Magee. Tim had driven it into camp, but he and Lynette were staying down there. Nicole and Graham were talking, laughing,

⁶⁴ As his birth father was an Olkolo man, Ryan's only rights in Lamalama property came through his mother.

joking and teasing each other all the way along the road. Graham kept saying that Daddy Ryan would be up on top of the Range by now, and both he and Nicole commented on the fact that Grandad David wouldn't let him drive the car and he would probably be in trouble, that Grandad David only trusts Matt to drive the Wenlock vehicle. Just as we got to the turnoff to the 'old road', we passed an upturned four-wheel drive on the embankment at the side of the road. Nicole and Graham both called out that it was the Wenlock vehicle, then Nicole said that it couldn't be. I wasn't sure, but reversed back and checked, and sure enough it was. We got out and ran over to look, but there was no-one inside. I felt the engine - it was cold; I also looked for blood, but there was none. Nicole said that Ricky's tapedeck was inside and we went back to get it, noticing now that there were other personal belongings strewn around, including caps and pillows. Both Nicole and Graham were alarmed and shaken. We jumped back in the car and I checked the time, 6.15 pm.

I asked the children which way they thought the others would have gone. They said the old road, and indeed there were clear tracks leading off that way. We followed, and found them perhaps 2-3 kilometres down the road. They all stood up as we approached, and silently got into the car. I asked if they were okay, to which they replied they were. Ryan asked that I take him to the Police Station when we got into Coen so that he could report it. I asked what happened, and Ryan said that the corrugations 'caught' him and took him, and there were no brakes in the car. They had careened about 50 yards along the road, gone up over a 2-foot bank on the side of the road, hit a small tree and rolled, stopping short of a much larger tree. There were six people in the car, but no-one was seriously hurt. The road was very rough and washed away in places, and I drove slowly back into Coen. There was no conversation, more noticeable by contrast with the chatter of the children before we saw the upturned vehicle. Those in the back of the car were sombre, and probably still in shock.

In town, we stopped first at the Police Station, but there were no lights on there or in the Sergeant's residence. We looked for him around town, then went up to the Hospital. The sister came out to tell us that she hadn't seen the sergeant all day. She checked that everyone was okay. We had a final look around town, including stopping in at the hotel to see if we could find the sergeant, to no avail. I took all the people involved in the accident over 'nother side', where they all lived.

Everyone got out and went into Auntie Nettie's house, while Nicole and I went next door to Narelle's, Ryan's sister, to pass on a message to her from Brenda. On hearing about the accident, she was immediately alarmed, then relieved, finally dismissive. Nettie came in at that point, saying that she had told Ryan that it was his problem, although looking distracted and worried. Nettie said it was Lynette and Tim's fault, because they had earlier had three chances to jump on [the vehicle] with me this week, but didn't go. Instead they had to go with Ryan when "they know he got no proper licence". Nancy Tuntable, the owner of the vehicle came in then, very distressed. She said that she didn't know that they were going to Port Stewart, that Tim had come and said that they were going down the 20-mile Stewart [river crossing] to go pig shooting, and that's why she said they could take the car. She said the only ones she trusted to drive were Matt and Tim, "they know that motorcar, Ryan nothing. This the first time in his life he bin drive that car". We sat and listened, Nancy saying that Ryan shouldn't have driven it, her mob were supposed to go out mapping tomorrow, now what were they going to do? She said then that she would have to up and speak to the local Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs officer, Karl, and left.

Nettie and Narelle talked about Ryan's lack of a driver's licence, saying that now he would never get one in his life. They agreed Lynette and Tim should know better, that all they do is go and gamble and leave their daughter for other people to look after. Narelle said it made her sick, and she'd had enough. Her partner Edward was also obviously upset when I first told them, then fairly quickly calmed down and walked out of the room, indicating his lack of involvement in the situation. I said that I had better go up and find Nancy and tell Karl what had happened, so Linda and I left. After reassuring Nancy and Karl that no-one was seriously hurt, Nicole and I went down to the Crisp's house so Nicole could get clean clothes.

As I was waiting for her, I saw the sergeant arrive back in town, and went to ask him if he wanted to see Ryan now. He was quite sympathetic, and asked me about the accident, finally saying that he would see Ryan tomorrow. I drove over to Nettie's to tell Ryan I had spoken to the sergeant, then Nicole and I went home to my place.

The next morning the Lamalama vehicle arrived early from Port Stewart. Nancy Tuntable had asked me the night before to drive her out to the accident site,

and I went to find her. Karl had taken Nancy and David down to the Police station, where David was sitting in the back of Karl's car. I arranged with them that I would take Nancy out there if needed. Karl said that as no-one was hurt, and there was no insurance on the vehicle, the Police would have little interest in the accident, and it would be up to Nancy to arrange to bring the car into town.

Later at the Crisp's, I sat with Tom, Gertie, Kath, Tonya, Brenda and Francine, and told them what I knew about the accident. When it was evident that there were conflicting stories about how it was that Ryan had come to drive down to Port Stewart, they defended their own, even to the extent of including Tim, who is usually regarded as a peripheral and troublesome affine. They pointed out that it usually only brings trouble when there are a lot of drivers for a vehicle, because there is then nobody to ensure proper maintenance. They pointed out that there are very few people who are allowed to drive the Lamalama vehicle, otherwise they would have had the same trouble. Finally, they refuted the idea that Nancy would not have known that the vehicle was coming all the way down to Port Stewart, rather than just to the 20-mile Stewart crossing.

The Magees continued to relate their experience, talking of seeing the truck as they drove up. Tonya and Tom said it was the Wenlock car, and Tom rushed out and looked to see if anyone was still in there. Speaking in Umpithamu, Gertie worried that the passengers would be dead, and Kath said much the same. Tom said his blood went cold, and Tonya, already sick, said it made her "worse again". They also looked for blood, and couldn't believe that no-one was dead. They thought that they might find the passengers along the road, but then remembered that I had left Port Stewart half an hour after Ryan. They realised then that I must have picked them up. Even so, they were divided in their opinion about which road to take into Coen, in case Ryan and the others were still walking. They also decided to take the old road. Halfway back to Coen, with no sight of them, they decided that I must have picked them up.

This was related largely straight through, but with some repetitions, especially of individual reactions, for example Kath, who was bemused by her own disbelief that it was the Wenlock vehicle.

While we were talking, we saw the boys, Ryan, Xavier Trueman, Ricky Kendall, Norris Lee and Elton Lee, come up from the river bed at the end of Regent

Street and head towards the Police Station, then go back the same way a little later. In the meantime, Nancy and Karl arranged to have the Wenlock vehicle brought up to Coen. Nancy came over to the Crisps and told them she didn't know that they had wanted the car to go further than Station Creek. She said that Tim asked for it to go pig shooting, and she gave it because she tries to help people, but they shouldn't have done that, they should have told her, she didn't know that Tim wasn't coming back up. She said she wouldn't have given them the car if she knew, that the only people she trusts with the car are Matt Trueman and Tim, "they know that car, Ryan only drive it now, he never bin drive before in his life". She was still upset about it, and her voice was agitated.

This statement was met by complete silence, and lack of visible response by the Crisp household - everyone's features were composed but unreadable, not unsympathetic, but not conveying shame or other emotion, just that passive mask that conveys an appropriate lack of response to a social emergency. Nancy left and the conversation resumed. Those present went back to relating their experience of finding the upturned vehicle, and there were no more comments about who might be to blame for the accident.

The Magees' response to Nancy was not unfeeling. The relationship between the Crisps and the rest of the Lamalama and Nancy's mob was amicable, but Nancy's sudden appearance and appeal for sympathy through a straightforward stating of her case could not be responded to until the location of blame for the accident was made public and clear. By this time, several hours after they had first arrived at the scene of the accident, the Crisps were over the associated shock, but still engaged in the post-traumatic activity of retelling their experience. After Nancy left, they went back to a fairly relaxed relating of their finding of the truck by the side of the road. At this point there was a clear indication that they did not accept that any blame attached to the actions of Ryan, Lynette, or Tim.

Shortly after, Karl came over and said that he was going to take David and Nancy out to the car, and that he would try to tow it in, as it would be too expensive to bring it in any other way. Nancy, who was with Karl, said that the sergeant had said that he would look at the damage when it came into town. The sergeant had indicated to her that he wasn't going to charge Ryan with an offence for the accidental damage, because it was a car that everyone owned and drove, but that

he would charge him for driving without a proper licence. Tom asked me if he could get a lift back down with me, and decided that the boys should come along to help as well. We saw Karl leave, then went to collect the boys after Tom, a diabetic, finished the breakfast that Gertie insisted he eat first. I wondered out loud if the boys might feel too much shame to come, but Francine said, "No matter they feel shame, it's a good idea they go help turn the car over now, they won't feel guilty later".

Tom, Francine and I got in the car to go and collect the boys. Ryan came out of the house when we arrived, and Tom told him what was happening. He agreed to come, and called out to the others, including Ricky, who also called out to Norris, a Wik man. Tom said, "Don't worry about him, so long as we got the three Lamalama boys". I suggested that Matt might come too, to help, but Tom and Francine said he wasn't there [at the accident], just this three. Xavier and Norris came and got in the car too.

By the time we arrived at the scene of the accident, the car had been turned upright. As we pulled alongside, Tom called out to Karl and Nancy, "We come too late! We come to help turn it over, but you done it already...". We all got out, went over and looked at the wreck, and discussed the trajectory of the car as it had spun out of control. I took some photos, as requested, to record the event. While I did this, the others collected whatever of the debris lying around was of use. We were there about thirty minutes, while Karl and Tom discussed the accident. Both said how lucky the boys had been. Tom addressed this very directly, telling Ryan and the others dispassionately and in detail that they should be dead, that it was because they were lucky enough to hit the bank, then the small tree first, so that they were slowed down, that they didn't end up wrapped around the bigger tree, which would have made it unlikely that they could get out.

Once back in Coen and in the Crisps' yard, the conversation was still about the wreck, and what would happen to Ryan. We agreed that he would probably not get a licence now, and that at the least, he would be fined. Tonya said that he was in a lot of trouble, and the likely consequences were thoroughly discussed, including the culpability of Tim if he had indeed lied to Nancy about their intention to drive to Port Stewart.

Nettie and Warren came in, and told the story again. They said that Lynette and Tim should know better, that Tim did tell Nancy that they were only going to Station Creek for pig, but "last minute" she and Narelle looked out and Lynette and Tim had chucked all their gear on the back of the car, not even packed it properly, just chucked it on. Nettie said Tim shouldn't have done that, he know Ryan got no proper licence to drive back. They said if Matt went, alright, he can drive, but just Ryan there. There was more discussion of this, Nettie quiet but definite about Lynette and Tim's responsibility for the situation, and all agreed that Lynette and Tim were hardheads, you can't tell them.

The conversation continued in this vein, with discussion of personal reactions to the first sighting of the wrecked vehicle. The Crisps now seemed quite reconciled to the fact that Lynette and Tim shared the blame, but all agreed that the responsibility was not theirs alone. The fact that the Wenlock vehicle was poorly maintained was seen as a significant factor in the situation as well, albeit marginally. This was expressed by comments that indicated that Nancy should only have allowed trusted drivers familiar with the car to use it. Ultimately it was agreed that Tim too was not really a good driver, because he liked to speed, effectively deflecting the blame for the accident away from Ryan, in the perception of the Crisps.

The accident: the reproduction of identity

By the time the Crisps arrived in Coen, a night had passed, and Ryan and his immediate family of mother and sister had absorbed the emotional impact of the accident. When the Crisps arrived, they had no knowledge about the condition of the passengers, but were relatively certain that no-one was dead. Having established as quickly as possible that no persons were injured, they immediately turned their attention to the social meaning of the event. In this case, the truck can be understood as embodying the kind of social value that Myers (1991) has described as attaching to objects among the Pintupi. Myers sees objects such as vehicles, spears and other tools, even land, as engaged in the process of exchange by which shared identity is negotiated.

Among the Pintupi, 'private' vehicles are those purchased with money belonging to individuals or a group of individuals, and 'community' vehicles are usually those purchased by government or other grant, and not with joint,

voluntary contributions by the members of the community. Relationships to such vehicles differ according to the kind of 'ownership' by which they are held. In both cases, control of a vehicle allows individuals to behave in ways that are valued positively, by acquiescing to requests for access to the vehicle for a variety of purposes. Vehicles enter into the social equation by extending the individual's freedom of movement, as well as by emphasising existing social relationships. Being able to embark on a hunting expedition at will is demonstrable proof of autonomy, such autonomy itself the grounds for demonstrating relationship with others. Myers notes that to have a car is to be placed under almost constant pressure to provide help to relatives (1991:61-62).

The situation in Coen at the time differed to the Pintupi situation in that none of the *pama* owned private vehicles, bar one privately owned by the Crisps. This vehicle was in extremely poor repair at the time, and was restricted to Port Stewart for outstation use alone. All other vehicles available to Coen *pama* were 'community' vehicles, having been bought with government grants. Much the same kinds of conditions surrounding 'community' vehicles existed in Coen (where they were classed as 'outstation' vehicles), as Myers describes for both 'private' and 'community' vehicles among the Pintupi. Nominally, vehicles were in the control of the senior elder or spokesperson of each of the groups, although this differed with their personality, as well as with conditions between groups. Myers found where "the moral rubric of shared identity guides the relationships of those who live in the same camp, requests are difficult to refuse and open rejection is impossible" (1991:61). Although they were not living in the camps like the Pintupi, Coen *pama* were placed in a similar situation. Outstation vehicles were granted with the intention that they be used by a single land-based identity group, often placing the responsible individuals in a position of having to refuse requests for their use. On these occasions, they would similarly be accused of being 'hard', as Myers suggests about Pintupi accusations relating to 'private' vehicles. They would also be accused of 'not looking after the people', as he suggests in relation to refusals concerning 'community' vehicles, and of monopolising their use for their own purposes.

As Myers suggests (1991:62), ('private') cars are the basis of a kind of shared identity, and sharing access to a car reflects an ongoing social exchange. In Coen, this also applied to making 'outstation' vehicles available for wider use, a situation dealt with differently between groups. In the case of the Lamalama

vehicles (they had two 'outstation' vehicles at the time, and my University of Queensland vehicle Toyota was regarded by them as a Lamalama vehicle by proxy), the Crisp family restricted control almost exclusively to themselves, allowing a small set of other Lamalama drivers deemed responsible enough, to use them on occasion. They argued that the vehicles were granted for outstation business, and many drivers meant little care. Making them freely available would mean that no-one would take responsibility for their running and maintenance, and the group would quickly be in the position of having no means of transporting people and goods to Port Stewart and beyond.

The Wenlock vehicle was nominally controlled by Nancy Tuntable, whose use more closely reflected the Pintupi approach to 'ownership' of objects such as vehicles. At the time, Nancy did not drive, nor have a licence, making her more reliant on others, including the young Lamalama man Matt Trueman, who was one of the most regular drivers of the vehicle. Tim English also drove it for her on occasion, and there were a number of other drivers as well. Nancy rarely refused requests for use of the vehicle, and it was in constant use around Coen, as well as being used to go out to the Wenlock outstation. Nancy's mob rarely had the money for repairs, and the vehicle was generally regarded by whites in Coen as unsafe. Nancy explained her approach by saying that "you can't be greedy, gotta help people", and it was not uncommon for the Wenlock vehicle to be used for a wider set of purposes than the Lamalama vehicles. Other 'outstation' vehicles in town were also used in both the ways described here. Nancy's group was considerably smaller and more poorly resourced than the Lamalama, making them more dependant on the goodwill of other *pama* in Coen, all of whom maintain classificatory kinship relationships with each other, although the status of particular links between people varies with local politics. Nancy's mob was a splinter Kaanju group, who maintained an uneasy alliance with the other, more well-resourced Kaanju people in Coen, and a friendly and cooperative relationship with the Lamalama. Thus her approach to the use of the Wenlock vehicle instantiates her group's identity in the local situation. By making the vehicle readily available, Nancy was entering into exchange relationships with other groups which would ensure that she was able to call on her stock of goodwill with them in her times of need.

The Lamalama, having the luxury of several drivers, and a couple of vehicles, did not need to extend their identity through the use of vehicles in the

same way. They did so more commonly by maintaining political alliances with other groups in town, such as Nancy's mob, and by providing other material help where they could. They did this, for example, through gifts of fish and other small material items, by offering refuge at Port Stewart to individuals at times, and by giving approval for Matt Trueman to act as a driver for Nancy, all of which index the nature of the exchange relationships they maintained with Nancy's and the other mobs.

Thus the Crisps's response to Ryan, Lynette's and Tim's culpability in the accident was quite different to what it would have been if the truck had been a Lamalama vehicle. In cases where an individual behaved irresponsibly towards the joint property of the Lamalama truck, it was common for them to express anger, but this event provoked a different response, based on identity and standing within the local *pama* community. Although the Crisps finally accepted that Ryan, Lynette and Tim were to blame for the accident, they did not make any immediate public statements about their guilt, not even to his mother Nettie. Rather the Crisps demonstrated acceptance of their guilt by trying to help with the aftermath through the salvaging of the vehicle. To the end they maintained their solidarity with the trio by deflecting the cause of the accident onto the vehicle rather than the actions of Lamalama individuals. Tim's more marginal status, and approval in the perceptions of the Crisps was reflected in the fact that his culpability in general - being seen as someone who likes to speed rather than as a good driver like Matt Trueman (who also speeds, but this was never discussed) - was a final, secondary way of shifting the blame away from Ryan.

Ryan recognised the seriousness of the situation, and the possibility that he would now never be able to hold a driver's licence. His behaviour was more circumspect over the next few months, but he continued to be a drinker and a fighter. His eventual decision to give evidence during the land claims hearings may have been influenced by his culpability in this instance, and a desire to redeem himself with his elders, but I have no direct evidence to support such a conclusion. Ryan occasionally discussed this matter with me, and my assessment of his response was that he accepted full responsibility for the accident. Ryan, Lynette and Tim are members of the same age cohort, although Lynette and Tim are a little older than Ryan. At the time of the accident, they were all members of Nettie's household. Ryan did not level blame at Lynette and Tim to me, nor did I ever hear

from others that he blamed them. For their part, Lynette and Tim offered to help Ryan pay whatever fine accrued.

A variety of concerns were expressed throughout the Crisps' reaction to the accident and the emotional discourse surrounding it. Primary among these was the threat to their unity. While Ryan was not at the time the most valued member of the group, he was nonetheless kin, and thus automatically a recipient of the status and support associated with Lamalama kinship. Although not obviously sympathetic toward Nancy in this instance, nor were they hostile, as evidenced by the fact that they did not publicly rebuke her for the poor maintenance of the vehicle, nor seek to ensure that this fact would become the 'public' explanation of the accident. It is unlikely that they would have acted in that way, because to have done so would have been to foolishly leave themselves open to later criticism if it became apparent that the young Lamalama were to blame. They were equally unlikely to have wanted to provoke a fight with Nancy and her mob – one of Tom's sisters was living with Nancy's younger brother.

The emotional response of the Crisps was grounded in their kinship with Ryan, Lynette, and the affine Tim, but their very relationship called into question the nature of their relationship to Nancy and her mob. As their later actions, including Francine's comments demonstrate, the Crisps privately accepted that the trio were at fault. By ensuring that the Lamalama boys involved in the accident went out to help with its aftermath, they were publicly assuming some responsibility, without admitting any guilt. Moreover, by asking me to drive them, they were not placing themselves in the position of having to deal with Nancy's loss, by comparison with their own position of remaining in control of more than one vehicle. Thus they were not forced to act on their feelings of guilt by, for example, going against their own principles relating to the use of vehicles and offering her mob the loan of one of theirs. Their later comments about culpability residing in Nancy's profligate approach to ownership reinforce this impression.

Nancy's mob and the Lamalama have maintained a long-standing amity, expressed in the exchange of goods and services. There is some actual genealogical and more distant kinship among the members of the two groups, but as groups they are focussed on separate estates in land, and consequently, maintain separate identities as groups. As groups, they are 'friends', that is, they generally support

each other's position in regional and local political contexts, and share a trusting relationship; they do not talk pejoratively about each other in public, nor work to undermine each other's position locally or regionally. In this sense, the exchange relationships of importance between the groups are based in the currency of amity rather than particular goods, and although the accident focussed attention on the loss of a valuable object, for the Lamalama, what was at question was the potential loss of amity with Nancy's mob. For Nancy, it involved both the loss of one of the most significant pieces of her mob's material capital, as well as posing a threat to a valuable exchange relationship with the Lamalama. Nancy had more to lose than simply a vehicle. Her continuing need for assistance meant that it remained important to maintain good relations with the Lamalama, thus she was not in the position to expect their support when she came to the Crisps' house and blamed Ryan for the accident.

For the Crisps, the situation invoked group identity and kinship. Ultimately, the relations of kinship are demonstrated hierarchically in relation to closeness and distance of kin. Ryan demonstrated his own sense of responsibility by seeking to inform the police as quickly as possible, and by immediately agreeing to accompany us to turn over the vehicle the next day. Ryan's mother and sister, his closest kin involved in the situation, were initially concerned, but quickly moved to leaving Ryan to assume responsibility for his actions. They are not unsupportive, however, as demonstrated by Nettie informing the Crisps that indeed Lynette and Tim had culpability as well as Ryan. The Crisps are close relations to Ryan, but as indicated above, he is not deemed to be as close as his older brother, who could assert a closer 'blood' tie to the Magees and their land interests at Port Stewart. The response of the Crisp household was more complex, initially a closing of the ranks around all three as members of the Lamalama tribe. It was only after Nettie told them the 'truth', essentially backing up Nancy's version of events, that they were able to retreat a little from that position. However, they continued to exclude themselves from identification with Nancy's way of doing business, and hence from an exchange relationship of equivalence with her, by blaming the poor repair of the vehicle, and by critical comments about her approach to ownership.

Myers (1991) points out that Pintupi approaches to land as an object do not substantially differ to their relationships with other objects, with an important exception. He (Myers 1991:72-73) says that Pintupi men particularly strive to

pass on an identity formulated through ties to named places. This identity is not personal property in the way a 'private' vehicle or a spear can be, in the sense of having been created or accumulated by an individual, but is an identity already objectified in the land through the actions of previous 'holders' of the land:

Recipients acquire rights to a named place that has pre-existing relationships with other named places on its Dreaming track; through rightful possession of this knowledge inheritors gain the possibility of taking part in equal exchange with other men and the capacity to nurture the coming generations of men with the gift of their knowledge (Myers 1991:73).

Instead, this kind of knowledge, and the rights to place associated with it constitute inalienable wealth (Weiner 1985; Myers 1991), in that the individual can 'give' their country to others without really losing it. Land is ultimately subject to exchange relationships in that others are able to become 'co-owners' and share that identity, as long as principal custodianship continues to be recognised. What is given away in terms of shared ownership is not lost, because the act of sharing does not preclude an owner from 'giving' land away again. Those who take on ownership of land in this way also come to possess the identity which the land symbolically bears. When an owner dies, the associations with the land that he has had in life remain in the landscape, and those persons to whom one has contributed through teaching and nurturing are obligated to carry on responsibility for the country, and identity is thus reproduced in persons over generations.

Lamalama relationships to land are no longer mediated by the kinds of ceremonial activity that is implicit in Myers' description of the social reproduction of Pintupi land-based identity over generations. But land on which the Lamalama are focussed as landowners also bears a symbolic identity that is already objectified in the land. It is objectified in terms of Story beings and Story places, but broadly speaking, such knowledge is now less relevant than the knowledge of the individual's kinship connection to the tribe, through which access to the more esoteric knowledge about the landscape can be acquired. The social reproduction of Lamalama persons depends on membership in one of the cognatic descent groups which make up the tribe, and from this extends the rights of ownership in the Lamalama estate. By being born into one of the tribal 'blood' lines, the individual acquires an inalienable right of land ownership, but this is the basic right of birth. In the changed conditions the Lamalama have faced since the

beginning of this century, the reduction of the available land in their estates has forced them to engage in exchange relationships with regard to each other and their land. In this context, identity as separate clan groups is more easily merged into 'co-ownership' status as a single tribal group. The land held by the separate clans thus becomes 'shared' land, in which a single tribal identity is objectively found. Thus the Lamalama are able to now say that they are 'one mob for land', despite the fact that a few people retain knowledge about the classical system of ownership that forms the basis for the present mode of identification.

This section of the thesis examines Lamalama identity, as it is focussed through relationships to land. Chapter Eight begins with a detailed analysis of the legislative context in which the land claims alluded to throughout the thesis occurred. I then provide a description of the Lamalama experience of the claims process from 1992-94. The social drama at the beginning of Chapter Seven describes events occurring in the final stages of the transfer of land at Port Stewart in 1992. In counterpoint to the terms of the legislation, it illustrates the intense emotions that are invoked by dealings with land. A brief analysis of the drama demonstrates the emotional discourse between the participants is engaged in the negotiation and accommodation of separate rights and interests. I then discuss contemporary Lamalama land-based practices, before a final discussion of the nature of identity. Chapter Nine, the conclusion, draws together the main themes discussed throughout the thesis.



Above: Dancing 'shake-a-leg' at Port Stewart on the eve of the handover ceremony, 1992.

Land, Identity, And Legislation

It is the central contention of this thesis that Lamalama identity is focussed on kin and country, and negotiated through emotion performances. This chapter looks at specific instances of that negotiation in the context of land claims and land transfers, the two legislated kinds of opportunity available to the Lamalama in 1992 for acquiring formal title to land. The terms of land claim legislation impose a particular definition of Aboriginal identity, one not in total concordance with *pama* views about their status as land owners. The claim process provides a salient example of the differences between *pama* social practice and the legislative understanding of Aboriginal connection to country. Participation in the claims involved the claimants in a process aimed at establishing their identity within the terms of the legislation. But also, and more importantly, it provided them with a unique and formal opportunity to negotiate a new identity, through their own processes and rules, which could replace the traditional identity displaced by colonisation. Land claims are judged as successful by the claimants if they result in a decision favourable to them, but they are also vehicles by which the emotional negotiations between people engaged in the process result in the reintegration of Aboriginal identity. In the present, when identities are achieved rather than ascribed, emotions are the means by which people appropriately negotiate their rights and interests in land. In the cases discussed here, 'respect' becomes the key metaphor for the emotional dimension used in these negotiations.

Kinship and emotions at the handover event

Preparations for the handing over of the deed to the former Public Purposes Reserve at Port Stewart in June 1992 were under way for more than a month before the big event. Guests started arriving a little before the day of the ceremony, and continued to arrive up until the day itself. As many people arrived a night or two beforehand, the outstation quickly changed from its usual quiet. Lamalama people came from Bamaga, Lockhart, Hopevale, Cooktown, and

Cairns. Other Aboriginal people came from these and other Cape York Peninsula communities, and all were directed to appropriate camping places, the Lamalama mostly camping along and around the river. As the Lamalama 'family' came together, a corroboree began on the last night before the 'outside' guests arrived, a palpable expression of delight in the reunion and its causative event. The Minister, journalists, and other non-Aboriginal guests were situated in a separate but convenient camping spot when they arrived, close to the amenities and the Lamalama camps. The several anthropologists who were or had worked with the Lamalama (Rigsby, Jolly, Williams, Hafner) camped in with them rather than with the other migalu [non-Aborigines].

The guests were fed three meals a day from the kitchen manned by the Lamalama, (who took enormous pride in their responsibilities as hosts). After breakfast on the morning of the official ceremony, Tom Crisp went around to the various Lamalama families to make a last-minute check with them that the plan for conducting the ceremony met with their approval. The Minister's advisers had already discussed this with him. He told them, and the Lamalama, that he thought that it would be appropriate if he and his wife Gertie, her brothers Nick and Leo, and his cousin-brother Charlie, went up to stand with the Minister and accept the title deed.

He suggested that he ask the Minister to pass him a handful of earth, as had been done at the title ceremony at nearby Merepah. This was to symbolise the return of the land to the rightful owners, recognised in a more formal manner in the handing over of the title deed. He also suggested that all the Lamalama people wear the handover T-shirt, and stand at the front, to show their pride about the return of their land to them. Everyone agreed, and his oldest sister commented that it was he who had led them to this day, so it was up to him to decide how to do it.

When Tom approached the Quest family (who share relationship with the Lamalama through upper generational Ayapathu links) to ask them if it was acceptable to them that he and Gertie receive the deed from the Minister, Olga jumped in before he had a chance to finish speaking. She castigated him, telling

him that it wasn't his place to make that decision. "You're not from this place! You born in Coen! You got no right to speak!" She said that it should be the old people who went up, like Auntie Netta (Horton), her mother's younger sister. They were the ones who had suffered, they were the ones who knew about the place, and Auntie Netta was the last of "those old people who belong here" who were still around.

Tom was taken aback, and didn't say much, apart from agreeing with her that the old people should be up there with the Minister. He tried to explain to her that he had not intended to exclude them, and that he also wanted them up there, but he was worried they would feel shame about standing up in front of so many strangers. Olga was too angry to listen, turning away instead. Tom quickly arranged for the other elders to stand with him, although a couple were indeed too uncomfortable to publicly participate.

The ceremony went ahead with dignity. The many visitors stood around in a semi-circle in front of the kitchen building, the area set aside for the ceremony. The Minister spoke, as did a number of others. Afterwards, there was a big lunch, and by late in the afternoon, many of the visitors had left. Most of those who remained were 'family' - Lamalama people from Coen and Port Stewart, and other communities. From being a bustling tent village, the outstation quickly returned to something like its normal pace.

A number of people, now exhausted, sat around Auntie Kath's kitchen after the evening meal. Tonya, Tom's daughter, told me that he was very upset; he had learned that Ryan, Tonya's cousin-brother, and some others were down at the wharf area, drinking. Tom came back into the camp, and announced that he had "hupped" them for it, saying that they knew that they were not supposed to bring grog down here. He said that Ryan "swore" him, had said it was their right, and anyway they hadn't brought it into camp. Tom said he was "wild"; they all knew that there wasn't supposed to be grog down at the beach. He was angry because there were still visitors around. But, he said, his biggest worry had been that the drinkers would think that it would be okay to drink here when they got the land, and that was just what was happening now.

Shortly after that, the offending drinkers arrived back in camp. One of them, Ida, to whom Tom is father's younger brother (FB-) came over to Auntie Kath's. She surprised everybody by screaming at Tom and Gertie for several minutes, her rage building and spilling over into incomprehensible screeches. Tom and Kath remonstrated with her at first. Gertie, occupied with checking her fishing equipment for the next day, quickly turned away, her face set with displeasure. As Ida's tirade wound down, and she moved off towards her own camping spot, Gertie said grimly into the night, "Just wait, my girl. Your turn coming!"

Ida had been supported by the miscreant Ryan, who defended her in putting her case. But this support was not welcomed, and everyone present turned on him and told him to shut up. He subsided and moved off.

Ida's case was that she could drink grog there if she liked, but it quickly became apparent that her real complaint was that her name was not included in the list of trustees on the title deed, and that Gertie and Tom had deliberately cut her out. "I own this place, my name gotta be there too!" She invoked her rights through her heritage, mentioning that Charlie, her biological father, was the senior man for the region. Tom upbraided her, telling her that if she really cared about Charlie, really saw him as a father, she would come down from Bamaga to visit him, but she never did.

There was little more discussion of this event in Auntie Kath's kitchen, and shortly after this most went off to their beds. Nothing was said about it over breakfast the next morning. Ida left with the bulk of the Bamaga mob, driving out of camp without any farewells, indeed any acknowledgment, of Tom and Gertie, although she did wave to some of the other families as she left. Ryan and the other drinkers made themselves scarce, some of them going back up to town. Ryan was back the next day, however, openly pursuing Noelene Roberts from Lockhart, with whom he had begun a sexual relationship a little earlier, despite the fact that theirs was a 'wrong-way' union.

Procedural dimensions of the land claim process

There can be little doubt that differing perceptions about Aboriginal relationships to land are expressed through the forum of a land claim. Through legislation, the State aims to address Aboriginal interests, but can only do this by defining the terms by which it will consider the matter. The nature of Aboriginal relationships to land is difficult to capture through legislation. Queensland's 1991 *Aboriginal Land Act* states:

A claim by a group of Aboriginal people for an area of claimable land on the ground of traditional affiliation is established if the Land Tribunal is satisfied that the members of the group have a common connection with the land based on spiritual and other associations with, rights in relation to, and responsibilities for, the land under Aboriginal tradition. "Aboriginal tradition" is the body of traditions, observances, customs and beliefs of Aboriginal people generally or of a particular group of Aboriginal people, and includes any such traditions, observances, customs and beliefs relating to particular persons, areas, objects or relationships.

For the Lamalama, and many other Aboriginal people who proceed to claim land, the grounds on which they do is as owners of land under the classical tenure system. It is this that the above paragraph seeks to accommodate, by distinguishing between traditional affiliation and other types of association to land that Aboriginal people might make. Similar distinctions are to be found in the relevant legislation of other states, notably that of the Northern Territory. The Queensland legislation also allows for historical association, and economic or cultural viability. To establish a claim on the grounds of historical association, a group of Aboriginal people is required to satisfy the Land Tribunal that:

the group has an association with the land based on them or their ancestors having, for a substantial period, lived on or used:

- (a) the land; or

- (b) land in the district or region in which the land is located.

The Act further states that the claim “may be established whether or not all or a majority of the members of the group have themselves lived on or used such land” (ALA 1991:s4.10 (1-2)).

To claim land on the grounds of economic or cultural viability, the Land Tribunal must be satisfied “that granting the claim would assist in restoring, maintaining or enhancing the capacity for self-development, and the self-reliance and cultural integrity, of the group”.

In the first two cases, the legislation obliges the Land Tribunal to consult with and consider the views of those Aboriginal people viewed, under Aboriginal tradition, as the elders of the group. In the last, the Tribunal is obliged to consider the use of the land proposed by the claimants, and this provision for economic need is obviously the weakest of the grounds by which Aboriginal people would seek to claim land (ALA 1991; State of Queensland 1992).

The Lakefield and Cliff Islands National Park lands were claimed under both traditional and historical grounds, and the Lamalama were party to both claims. Although all the claimants were participating because they regarded themselves as traditional owners of the land covered by the Parks, many also had historical associations with the land in its previous guise as a number of different pastoral leases. Numbers of the older men had been employed as stock workers, living there with their families when the Park was pastoral stations such as Lakefield, Bizant, and Old Laura. Younger men had also accompanied their families when they had worked on neighbouring stations such as Lilyvale, and were familiar with country inside the Park. A decision to claim on grounds of both traditional affiliation and historical association was taken, so that all the interests of the claimant body would be covered. Ultimately the Tribunal found

that the claimants had established both aspects of their claim, and recommended that the claimed land be granted in fee simple to the claimant group, which it described by reference firstly to the tribal and clan groupings described in the evidence, and second, to the members and descendants of the families so described (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996a: s.828).

In order to arrive at this result, the claimants were required to prove, through the mechanisms of the Act, that their status as ‘traditional owners’ was captured by the terms of the Act, which refers only to traditional “affiliation”, not to ‘traditional ownership’. There is some disjunction between legal, anthropological and common understandings of what constitutes ‘ownership’, and how this can be proved. By contrast with the Queensland legislation, the earlier *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976* (ALRA) defined Aboriginal land ownership as residing in:

a local descent group of Aboriginals who-

(a) have common spiritual affiliations to a site on the land, being affiliations that place the group under a primary spiritual responsibility for that site and the land; and

(b) are entitled by Aboriginal tradition to forage as of right over that land.

Keen (1984:25) writes that this definition is clearly derived from earlier anthropological orthodoxies that applied a strictly patrilineal principle in distinguishing land-users from land-owners. Continuing anthropological research (Hiatt 1984:15 see also Myers 1976; von Sturmer 1978; Sutton 1978; Chase 1980) has ultimately found this model to be an inadequate expression of

Aboriginal land relationships throughout much of the Territory (Hiatt 1984:13-14).

The Queensland legislation, although bearing considerable similarity to the Northern Territory Act, delineates a broad model of 'connection' rather than 'ownership'. This obviates the need to satisfy the legal understandings of ownership which have tended to indicate exclusive possession as the commonly accepted condition that defines proprietary rights. In South Australia's *Pitjantjatjara Land Right Act 1981* and *Maralinga Tjarutja Land Rights Act 1984*, a traditional owner is defined as an Aboriginal person with "social, economic and spiritual affiliations with, and responsibilities for, the land or any parts of them" that accord with Aboriginal tradition (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996a:fn. 450).

In the Lakefield case, the Tribunal needed to be "satisfied that the claim is established by reference to the criteria in section 53 of the Act". This could include:

those who may be described as traditional Aboriginal owners of the land. But the group is not necessarily so confined (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996a:s.722).

The Tribunal saw the distinction between "traditional affiliation" and 'traditional ownership' as significant in the Lakefield claim, because of the complex nature of the claimant group. The Lakefield claimants were not called upon to demonstrate exclusive possession, as might be expected in a native title claim, where the formal notion of ownership is embedded in the concept of title to land, but they were asked to demonstrate that they were affiliated with territory whose boundaries could be defined. In this they were required to demonstrate a responsibility akin to ownership - they had to demonstrate that there were rules for regulating access to the land (Aboriginal Land Tribunal 1994:T986-987;T1974-1975). Although the Act did not set such a test, the Tribunal found the evidence

suggested that if it were required that “traditional ownership” be proved, “three or more sub-groups would succeed with respect to separate, contiguous (but partially overlapping) areas of land” (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996a:s.723).

The key concepts that the Queensland legislation required be demonstrated were that the claimants constituted a group with “common connection” based on “spiritual and other associations”, with rights in the land and responsibilities towards it. The Lakefield claim was one of the first claims to be heard under the ALA, so there was little precedent through other claims procedures to govern the definition of concepts such as ‘group’. There are nonetheless numerous references to “group” in the Act. According to the Land Tribunal:

The Act defines “group” to include a “community”, and defines “group of Aboriginal people” to include “the descendants of the group”. “Descendant” includes “a descendant under Aboriginal tradition” (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996a:s 188).

The Tribunal went on to consider the ordinary meaning of concepts of ‘group’, concluding that the Act “does not specify any basis on which members of a group must be linked, but it clearly includes a number of people who are related to each other by kinship”. By contrast the N.T. Act requires that “traditional owners of Aboriginal land be members of a ‘local descent group’ ” (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996a:s190, fn42).

The group that constituted the Lakefield claimant group was not an easy one to define. It consisted of a number of cognatic descent groups with differing orders of social organisation. The largest groupings were the Lamalama and Kuku Thaypan tribes, each comprising a number of surnamed families, as well as some smaller family-based groups associated with discrete estates, though interests in them sometimes overlapped. These groups were identified by reference to

language-owning clans of the classical system. The Tribunal decided that the claimant body satisfied the 'group' condition because they were able to demonstrate close actual and classificatory relationships within the group, and descent from people "whose traditional country was within the claim area". The Tribunal recognised them as a group on the basis of their joint action, and common interest, in having made claim to the Park, rather than as "a continuation of a tribe from the past", although it also recognised that the way in which they came together as a group accorded with Aboriginal tradition (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996a:s.712). Accordance with Aboriginal tradition is required at several points throughout the Act.

Proving their historical association was of secondary importance to many of the older claimants, although they had lived and worked on the previous pastoral stations from which the Park was developed, and retained a variety of memories of their time there. Rather, it was being recognised as the owners of the Park according to Aboriginal tradition which provided the impetus for seeking the formal adjudication of their claim at law.

Emotional dimensions of the claims process

Emotional responses to the claims process depended on factors such as individual age of claimants, but for most, it involved negotiating the hierarchy of respect. Situations such as land claims would not have arisen in the pre-colonial world, but they nevertheless engage the values associated with the classical system. In this environment, 'respect' enacts the authority that would have existed in the structures of the classical past. The demonstration of 'respect' that was evident in emotional performances throughout the claims process, from events during the mapping camps to the giving of evidence before the Tribunal, embodied *pama* values rather than those of the state.

Table 5 shows the twelve dimensions of respect that were evident during the claims process. Not all of these dimensions had the same weight for the claimants, but they were of particular importance to the Lamalama. Genealogy, expressed through lineal connection to significant ancestors, seniority, group affiliation, and knowledge were important markers by which individuals gained 'respect'. People such as Bobby Stewart, Florrie Bassani, and Norman Tableland were senior claimants who were able to demonstrate these dimensions, both in their personal behaviour throughout the process, and the evidence of ownership they were able to provide.

| | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| Genealogy | Age | Personal experience |
| Seniority | Personal intention | Residence |
| Group affiliation | Integrating behaviour | Engagement with claim process |
| Knowledge | Personal charisma | Alcohol use |

Table 5: The dimensions of 'respect' in relation to the claims process

Age, personal intention, the degree of 'integrating behaviour' demonstrated, such as 'looking after' the land and people, and personal charisma were also positively valued. Paddy Bassani's personal charisma, and his willingness to 'look after' the claimant body by becoming the Chairman of the claimants' incorporated body, thus their *de facto* leader, gained him considerable respect that compensated for his lesser demonstration of cultural knowledge by comparison to people such as Florrie and Bobby. Albert Lakefield's age and obvious demonstrations of 'integrating behaviour', plus a degree of personal charisma also guaranteed him 'respect' from other claimants. Both of these men had formerly worked on the pastoral stations that became Lakefield National Park, and had extensive knowledge of the environs of the Park. This knowledge was valued, but not in the same way as the holding of esoteric cultural knowledge that could be used as proof of ownership during the proceedings.

For all of the claimants, who have either personally, or through the processes of social memory, experienced removal and historical disruption, personal experience was an important dimension of 'respect'. Claimants sat in on the giving of evidence by other sections of the claimant body, and heard each others' stories of the trauma associated with removal to missions, and the loss of contact with kin. These were some of the most emotionally charged moments of the proceedings. Among the Lamalama, the trauma associated with the removal from Port Stewart exists as a fact of everyday life, and the stoicism about their experience among those removed, in association with the knowledge that they were the last of their people to live freely on their land, guarantees 'respect' among their mob.

During the claims hearings, it was the leadership of those people in particular that was 'respected' by their younger kin. Residence was a less obvious dimension of emotional performance, but still important. Probably the largest segment of the claimant body did not live near their traditional land, but in places such as Cairns, even Brisbane, as well as north Queensland communities such as Yarrabah and Hopevale (both former missions). For many, attending the hearings was their first opportunity to visit their country. Most of those people attached considerable respect to their relatives from the remoter communities such as Coen and Laura, who had remained near their land. In many cases they were regarded as people obviously more culturally intact, or closer to the experience of the classical past.

As a marker of 'respect', engagement with the claims process was probably more significant among the junior generations of claimant, although the unquestionable engagement of people such as Albert Lakefield with the process commanded 'respect'. The willing participation by junior adults in the more

mundane aspects of the claims, such helping to construct camp sites, or clean up as they left, ensured greater ‘respect’ from senior generations. More importantly, giving evidence which demonstrated a degree of cultural knowledge, including their observation of the rules for behaviour on country, earned them the ‘respect’ of their elders.

The remaining dimension, alcohol use, was a limiting factor on ‘respect’. Although the claims were largely free of the intrusion of alcohol, because it was not allowed in the mapping camps and other organisational meetings, it was nonetheless the occasion of disgust and disappointment when someone did break the rules. Most people regarded it as the height of *disrespect*, generally characterising it as ‘non-classical’ behaviour, through comments such as, “Ol’ *puula* never bin take drink where the Story place. We tryin’ to win the land for them Old People. Why they can’t think of their old granddad?” Although hearings before the Tribunal were more informal than most court proceedings, the gravity of the situation to the claimants largely ensured that alcohol did not disrupt those proceedings.

It is not my intention to suggest a simple calculus by which to reckon degrees of ‘respect’. Not all of the dimensions mentioned carried the same weight, and as demonstrated, bearing some of the dimensions mitigated against the lack of others among individuals. Those individuals who attained the greatest ‘respect’ throughout the process were those interpreted as adhering to the classical principles of ‘*pama way*’, understood now as the qualities of nurturance, respect, and compassion. For the claimants, the way in which the claims processes were conducted were almost as important as the process itself. There was little value to them in ‘winning the land’ if they did not achieve it in a way that accorded with their cultural principles. Thus ‘respect’ becomes the marker by which classical principles are translated into current practice.

The formal process of claiming constituted a number of separate stages for the Aboriginal participants. Initial meetings, mainly orchestrated by regional Aboriginal organisations, and driven by legal, anthropological, and other consultants' understanding of the requirements of the Act, were held to establish the right to participate and to develop the strategy for claiming. There were periods of camping on the land and mapping the Aboriginal landscape, further strategy and planning meetings, and participation in the hearings before the Tribunal. A description of the process of the claims should also include the final period - waiting for a decision.

The Lamalama were the sole claimants for the Cliff Islands National Park, but in the case of Lakefield, they joined with a number of other groups who, under the classical system of tenure, also owned land within the Park boundaries. Many of these people already knew each other personally or anecdotally. In some instances, people met their relatives for the first time as a result of participation in the claim. For a smaller percentage, claiming the land bore all the affective dimensions of homecoming - a physical return to land and people which verged on an epiphanic experience for some. The Land Tribunal which heard the case was moved to note the strength of feeling for the land among the claimant group, describing the "enthusiasm (even euphoria) which attended the conduct of the hearing" (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996a:s.760). For a few, it enabled a physical and emotional closure they had believed unlikely they would live to experience.

A variety of visions and other numinous experiences were reported by the claimants during the hearing of the Aboriginal evidence at Bizant Ranger Station on Lakefield National Park in August 1994. These included visions of rainbows and cloud formations, and falls of rain, which led people through the Park to the

location of their relatives. Such experiences were more limited for the Lamalama than for some of the other claimants, although they did occur. Several people were visited by a being interpreted as the presence of an Old Man who in life had been a regional traditional owner. During that day, his son Norman Tableland and other Lamalama people had given evidence before the Tribunal at the location of the camp-site where the family had lived some sixty years before. Norman, now an old man himself, first spoke in his language, Lamalama, to the Old People, that is, the spirits of his relatives, advising them of the presence of the Lamalama claimants and asking them not to harm anyone. The later visitation in the camp was taken as a positive sign of his father's interest. A year before, during the period of the mapping camp for Cliff Islands National Park, the site of the potent Story-Being Marpa Hamanhu, several of the Lamalama reported dream visitations and other portents of Marpa's presence.⁶⁵

Apart from these more awesome events, the Lamalama largely appeared to take the claims process in their stride. They demonstrated a commitment to the process throughout, with representatives turning up for every camp or meeting, and often taking a leading role in organising and managing events. This commitment to the process was based in belief in and adherence to the principles of Law. Ideologically, there was no choice but that they defend their customary status as owners when the opportunity arose, despite any associated costs. There was a considerable burden of stress involved. Sunlight Bassani and his family bore much of this. Paddy Bassani from Cooktown, Sunlight's cousin-brother, ultimately became the claim 'leader' by virtue of being elected Chairman of the incorporated body of the claimants, Rirmerr Aboriginal Corporation, as well as by his own political skills, and a desire to accept the role. He too bore the stress of his involvement; both Sunlight and Paddy, already elderly and in poor health, suffered medical crises during the claims period.

⁶⁵ On returning to Port Stewart after the major mapping trip to Cliff Islands, people reported dreams of Marpa, and of meteorological phenomena, including cyclonic winds and the sky turning red.

Over 2500 pages of transcript and nearly 100 exhibits were entered, most of which “comprised information and submissions by or about the claimants” (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996a:s.848(e)). Claimants provided detailed evidence about Story-places and associated mythology, their genealogical connections to each other and their forebears, their personal histories, their rights and responsibilities in relation to the claimable land, and explained the principles of Aboriginal Law and tradition. At separate periods they travelled to Cooktown (June 1994) and Bizant (August 1994) to camp out and participate in the hearings of the Tribunal. They ranged in age from babies to a few people over 90 years old. These gatherings were characterised by the application of a cognatic descent principle in organising living arrangements.

The camps associated with the hearings (and the previous mapping camps) were organised and supplied in the main by the Cape York Land Council, with much of the physical effort of erecting kitchen areas and other facilities borne by the claimants. They also selected their own camping sites and set up their own camps. Usually these were tent and tarpaulin arrangements organised according to two spatial principles. Firstly, they organised according to tribal designations - the Kuku Thaypan and the Balngarrwarra, for example, did not camp together. The Lamalama tended to camp together, with their relatives from Cooktown and Hopevale generally attaching themselves to the outskirts of the larger Coen-Port Stewart group. At Bizant, the people from Yarrabah, most of whom were Kuku Thaypan people, camped together, adjacent to people they knew from Cooktown.

One of my tasks during the hearings was the constant process of updating and correcting genealogies for presentation to the Tribunal, which entailed continual visits to the various campsites. As a general observation, the second principle by which people organised the camps was by reference to surnamed

family groups. In the case of the Lamalama, the Coen-Port Stewart mob were always the largest group, comprised of members of the Bassani, Liddy, Stewart, Peter and Tableland families. Paddy Bassani from Cooktown and Albert Lakefield from Hopevale and their families generally joined the Coen mob, but maintained separate hearths, and consequently, a degree of autonomy. Although food was usually supplied, the Coen people habitually brought and cooked much of their own food. When they did eat from the communal kitchen, they tended to take their meals back to their own camp rather than sit in the common dining area with the rest of the claimants. The cognatic descent principles by which the Coen mob lived back in town were largely adhered to in the claim camps - the Bassanis, Peters and Stewarts tended to be the nexus of camp organisation.

The camps afforded the claimants the opportunity to remake their existing social and political order to some degree, and had the processing of the claims been fairly quickly followed by the inauguration of *pama* management of the Park, this might have been the result. On the contrary, the social impetus built up during the claim period dissipated in the long period of waiting for the successful legal outcome to take real effect.⁶⁶ Claimants now see each other on specific occasions, such as at a wedding or the Coen Races, but the community brought together through statutory process, whose currency was the connections of genealogy, land, and the affect associated with their return has been replaced by more contemporary concerns. For the Coen-Port Stewart mob, this has been the developing of the outstation region at Port Stewart into an “emerging community” (Port Stewart Lamalama and the Centre for Appropriate Technology Inc. 1997).

In general, involvement was both continuous and psychologically stressful. The Lamalama veered from indifference to insouciance and grim determination to proceed. Having only months before gained a portion of their land at Port

⁶⁶ Sequelae to the land claims process is dealt with in Appendix Three.

Stewart, they hardly drew breath before they were involved in the much larger physical processes of the Lakefield claim. In discussion about their experience, Lamalama people expressed mixed emotional responses to their involvement. At first, they were hesitant and deferential. As they became more active in the process, and the physical and material demands of travel to meetings and camps escalated - involving sometimes lengthy stays away from home - they expressed an often exhausted determination to see the process through to the end. These processes were accompanied by the continuous need to act appropriately, according to their understanding of the dictates of Law. Just as important was the need for political acuity in their behaviour towards other claimants.

The body of claimants generally shared this anxiety; being 'greedy' or 'jumping over' other people (claiming what was not theirs to claim) is inappropriate behaviour under Law, and leads to lack of support from the wider group. Nonetheless, tensions arose, with the result that one section of the claimant body withdrew from the process for a period. This was an extremely difficult time for all, and the Lamalama in particular. First, the people who withdrew were related to their close Kuku Thaypan neighbours to the south, with whom they shared kin relationships. Second, they were being targeted by the disaffected party as trying to 'take over' the claim. This was interpreted as 'jealousing' by most of the rest of the claimants, who regarded them as guilty of the accusations they were making against the Lamalama. Moreover, Paddy Bassani was a popular leader who enjoyed the support of the wider claimant group. This was one of the periods of grim, occasionally angry, determination among the Lamalama.

Much of the process happened through an established Aboriginal pattern for social action, which depends on personal autonomy and the rights granted by kinship to maintain recognised social order (Stanner 1968; Langton 1988;

MacDonald 1988). After an initial agreement has been ratified by the wider group, a few lead individuals will take on the role of organisation and representation. This happened in the Lamalama participation in all the land matters which I observed. In particular, the Bassani family took the lead role, with other Lamalama people participating largely according to personal inclination. The young adults were generally tardy, becoming more involved as it was apparent that there were things they could contribute, but rarely choosing to initiate action. Among the Port Stewart core group, the more senior adults tended to allow Sunlight to do the major work of representing their interests, so long as they were consulted and kept informed of any developments.

Throughout the period, I observed a slowly increasing confidence in the young men. As a class, they were marginalised by their lack of knowledge and experience in sacred matters, and a prevailing view that as drinkers their concerns were frivolous. The hearing of the claims gave some of them the opportunity to demonstrate to their seniors that they did wish to be counted, and that they could contribute to the overall effort. Several of the young people gave evidence before the Tribunal, and some of the Lamalama elders remarked afterwards that they were surprised by the degree of knowledge they could offer - proof that they had absorbed previous teachings - and by their obvious interest in being included in the group commitment. This developing identity carried over to post-claim involvement in the Port Stewart outstation. Most of the young people who participated in the claim became increasingly involved in the outstation and associated work projects for a period of some months. Gradually their interest dropped away.

Although warned that it could take years for a decision to be made by the Tribunal, many claimants felt that they had made the maximum effort by participating in the claim, in particular the giving of evidence. At times this

revealed cultural information rarely spoken before, and caused people to relive painful experiences from their past. The emotions associated with giving evidence were yet another stressful experience for the claimants; one Lakefield claimant with heart problems had to be evacuated the night after she gave evidence. There was an unspoken belief, rather than a hope, that a decision would be quickly handed down.

For claimants such as the younger Lamalama, the waiting period made the effort of the claim process rather meaningless. In the history of land claims, a decision in sixteen months is fast, but it was still not fast enough to take advantage of the social momentum that the bringing of the claim had produced. After all that time, what happened? There was no visible return. However, the transfer process in 1992, and more marginally the claims process itself, did produce some renewed interest in the outstation at Port Stewart, especially among the young adults. Although the claim brought over the Cliff Islands National Park was successful, the result had little immediate impact on their lives. As the sacred location of the powerful Story-Being Marpa Hamanhu, the Cliffs Islands are rarely visited by the Lamalama.

Connections to country among the Lamalama claimants

Clearly the Lamalama fit Sutton's (1998) model of a post-classical social group, demonstrating continuity with the classical world through some aspects of systematic contemporary practice. As Jolly found, clan structure was not a matter of currency during her research with the Lamalama (1997), and my experience concurs with this. Instead, the Lamalama norm is currently to emphasise the kin-based unity and identity associated with the macrolevel tribal group over precise, individual knowledge of estate holdings. It is commonplace for people to refer to themselves as part of the 'Lamalama mob' rather than to refer to membership in one of the clans of the classical system. Although knowledge of

the way the classical system of estates mapped people onto the country remains within living memory, such knowledge is not now the most cogent demonstration of individual identity or membership in regional language-named groups such as the Lamalama tribe.

The relationships between people, and their relative seniority and authority, mediate their connection to the land. For the senior generations, classical practice is more determining than it is for the junior generations. The only times that Lamalama people spoke to me about clans and clan holdings was in the collecting of data for the claim. This statement should not be interpreted as simply indicating a loss of tradition or culture on the part of the Lamalama, because there are a number of other facts that it is likely to indicate. First, in the post-colonial world, land is no longer freely available for Aboriginal use and enjoyment. Discussion of the fine-grained patterns of customary ownership that prevailed in the classical period is simply not pertinent to the daily business of life. Yet people sometimes talk about land ownership in terms of group interests, as for example in comments such as “Saltwater Creek, that’s a boundary belong to them Thaypan mob”, or “Ol’ fella Norman, he really belong to Tableland, but he come in with us for Port Stewart”.

Secondly, knowledge is not a free commodity in Aboriginal discourse. Among the members of a single land-owning group there are likely to be differences in the degree of cultural knowledge held (Michaels 1985), and such knowledge is usually the prerogative of seniority. Nor is it appropriate to seek to represent someone else’s interests. Unless already recognised as a leader, public statements that might be interpreted as indicating that the speaker is recommending himself as the representative of others are usually hedged about with qualifying remarks. At a recent meeting in Coen, to discuss potential cultural heritage studies on a large development project, both Lamalama and Kaanju elders

suggested at separate times during the meeting that traditional owners should be used as guides to the local terrain. In both cases, they were careful to state that it must be Kaanju people who accompanied the developers on Kaanju land, Ayapathu on Ayapathu land, and so on, and to note that it was “just a suggestion”. Both of these caveats were important to state. They indicated that the speaker recognised the boundaries that apply, the presence of other land owners, and that they were not demanding that a particular course of action be instigated, before it could be discussed and agreed by all the town’s *pama* as a suitable course of action. Members of the junior generation would most likely act in a similar way, but their behaviour is more likely to be based in acceptance of established practice rather than in their own precise knowledge of the system of estates and boundaries and accompanying customary rules.

It is usually only people who are politically active who discuss land tenure, traditional or otherwise. Lamalama conversation ranged broadly over a variety of topics, but I did not commonly hear them include detailed discussion of their clan estates. Contemporary connections to country are more readily perceived in terms of what the Lamalama do than what they say, but in general terms, the junior generation reckon their succession to land in a more informal, post-classical way than their parents and grandparents. Most of the senior generation regardless of personal seniority are aware that they inherit rights in land from their father or father’s father. They also know that they have rights in land from other kin connections; some people express this as land ‘from four grandparents’. Among the senior generation the cultural model of descent remains the idealised one of the priority of patrilineal succession, although they also recognise their rights in land from other genealogical connections. It is the senior generations who talk about being descended from apical ancestors such as George Balclutha. When specifically asked, they say they claim land through their father, or their grandfather (FF), indicating that the primary location of their identity

indexes the descent principles of the classical system. Although a few are specific about the location of the country that is their patrilineal inheritance, all of the core group regard Port Stewart as their ‘home’ country, in the sense of the one place where they are free to live as *pama*.

When I asked the junior generation about how they claim land, the common reply was “from your parents”, without distinction between lineages, or the differing rights they might invoke. The primary location of their identity did not refer to the classical clan system, but to the aggregated reality of the post-classical present. When the junior generation described themselves as ‘Lamalama mob’, they thought in terms of a single-step filiation to their parents. They described inheriting rights as the result of descent from particular parents, rather than through lineal connections to other forebears. The focus of their land-based identity was Port Stewart, the location of their most intimate personal experience with the land. A few had broader personal experience, particularly through the experience of stock work on regional cattle stations. One such was Peter Liddy, who had worked with older relatives near Ngawal, a place in the Mbarimanggudinhma estate of his Salt family relatives. Peter regarded Ngawal as Salt country, and part of the greater Lamalama estate to which he had some customary connection because of his kinship with the Salts, but did not feel personal identification and attachment to the place.

Young adults tend to apply a more experiential model of the nurturance principle (Myers 1986:170) that engages kin linkages and life experience, to describe their connections to country. In independent interviews with two brothers, that is, children of the same mother and same father, separated in age by about ten years, the younger described himself as Lamalama “right through!” while the older said that he was “half and half” Lamalama. Their answers reflect their lived experience. The older had been partly raised by both parents, before his

father's comparatively early death; his father was not Lamalama, but from a region further to the south. The younger brother did not remember his father, and when I asked him why he felt the way he did, he replied that it was the Lamalama who raised him and took care of him. His father did not have any close kin in Coen, although people who were related to him as 'countrymen' (in this case, meaning people with shared interests in land as clan members) lived there. This young man knew and interacted with them, but did not regard these people as his close kin, or their land as his. He was one of the young adults that I have previously described as passively attached to Port Stewart, and he rarely visited the outstation. Nonetheless, his identification was with his mother's kin, and their land, not just because of his genealogical connection with them but because of their nurturative role towards him.

Although clearly participating in the social identification of his siblings and other kin, he seemed less engaged than them with many of the defining features of Aboriginality to which they subscribed. If there is a single defining feature to Lamalama life, it is the love of fishing, including marine hunting. Many of the young men often participate in terrestrial hunting as well. In Coen, all of the young Lamalama men were drinkers and fighters. While this young man was both, he showed no particular desire to participate in more culturally defined activities. He was also known as a driver, and a significant element of his personal identity revolved around his reputation as a driver, clearly not a traditionally culturally defined activity either. He would visit and stay at other outstations in the region occasionally, but he was really more interested in a town life. I once asked him if he wanted to move away from Coen, perhaps to Cairns, but he replied that it was "too noisy" there, going on to say that Coen was "suitable to me". I extrapolate that it was suitable because it fulfilled the conditions that he required from a 'home' - the familiarity of long experience, and the nurturative presence of relatives.

For young men such as him, the outstation at this time did not provide all the elements of a satisfying life, although this was not true for all of his generation. Like many of them, he had been sent away from Coen to attend secondary school, which he completed. Unlike a number of the people of his mother's generation, he had not grown up in the bush, but in a more urban environment. In contrast to many of his extended class of siblings, he was only marginally interested in returning to a bush life himself, although he never denied Port Stewart as the focus of Lamalama identity. He now lives in a larger regional centre to the south of Coen, with his partner and their small child. This young man is a descendant of the clan which owned the Morrobalama language and associated sites such as Cliff Islands, and a member of the Peter family. The Peters and the Liddys are the largest Lamalama families to regularly use the outstation, and the interests these families assume from the classical land tenure system converge at Port Stewart.

Both families trace descent from George Balclutha, who was grandfather to most of the present senior generation (Fig.10). This distinction between two branches of George Balclutha's descendants is an artificial one made for analytical purposes, and somewhat distorts the reality of close affective ties between people as members of two separate surnamed families. The Liddys and sections of the Peter family are the senior Lamalama families for several reasons. These include rights acquired through descent, an historically close association with Port Stewart, and their role in establishing and maintaining the outstation. Young adults of the Liddy family place a quite different emphasis on the land and its role in their lives than others such as the young man just discussed. All bar one of the children of Freddy and Ethel Liddy are regular users of the outstation, and both Karen and Kevin Liddy lived there for extended periods of several months during 1992-93.

The concept of nurturance as it is applied by senior Lamalama is demonstrated by the following case. Lynette Magee is one of the junior generation brought up by Tom and Gertie Crisp, and is keen to take on greater responsibility at Port Stewart than she is allowed. When she was a teenager she lived with Tom and Gertie, but eventually had a serious dispute with Gertie, still remembered by both of them several years later. Lynette often spoke to me about her disappointment in not being given greater responsibility, but Gertie continued to withhold information. Gertie says Lynette is someone who ‘can’t listen’, a reference to having often counselled Lynette to finish with her partner Tim English, whom Gertie interpreted as useless and ‘no good’, despite him being the father of Lynette’s children. Gertie regarded her as ungrateful and disobedient. Lynette regarded herself as an adult, and independent. This old conflict was not resolved between them, and Lynette’s continued loyalty towards Tim instead of ‘the family’ was constructed as evidence of her immaturity and irresponsibility by Gertie. Gertie and Lynette often expressed exasperation with each other, but neither seemed to want to bring about a split in their kin relationship. Lynette respected Gertie’s senior status, and Gertie generally did not actively intervene in Lynette’s life. Neither woman was prepared to give ground on this issue, Lynette out of a desire for autonomy, but Gertie because of her perceived duty as a senior caretaker for the land.

In this case, the hierarchical arrangements through which the nurturative principle is expressed were concerned with the responsibilities that senior caretakers assume towards the land, rather than the desires of a junior owner. Gertie saw her first responsibility as towards the land rather than her niece. Her concern was that Lynette had not yet demonstrated a suitable level of maturity to be trusted with important cultural knowledge, despite the fact that she was regarded as an adult in other ways. She was 24 years old at the time, and a

mother. Yet she behaved like a young single girl towards Tim English, in Gertie's view.

Gertie did not trust that Lynette's allegiance was to the Lamalama. Although a distant genealogical connection existed between Gertie and Tim - he is related to her father's uncle - Gertie did not *affectively* regard Tim as kin. He was from elsewhere, and at best an affine in her view, in the sense of an affine as the stranger that you fight or marry (Fortes 1969). She regarded him as a stranger to Lamalama land, despite the fact that he had lived in Coen for several years, and was the father of much-valued Lamalama children. Gertie saw Lynette's dependant relationship with Tim as threatening her ability to behave responsibly. Gertie's approach can be contrasted with the Pintupi approach described by Myers (1991) for whom knowledge about land enters the nurturative relations between generations as an object of exchange. Gertie's approach with Lynette, as it was with virtually all the junior generation, was one of avoidance rather than exchange. Indeed, it was not until well into the hearings process for the land claims that I witnessed senior Lamalama people deliberately sharing their knowledge with members of the junior generation. The hearings also revealed that some degree of such teaching had previously occurred. People such as Gertie and Tom were pleasantly surprised by the depth of knowledge that junior members were able to demonstrate at the hearings, the result of instruction from senior people other than themselves.

Both the avoidance approach of Gertie, and the more traditional approach of others such as Maggie Tableland, who had passed on knowledge about specific places to her grandchildren, can be seen as part of the paradigm by which shared identity is negotiated. The Pintupi concept of 'holding (owning) the country' indicates a relationship with the land in which ownership consists primarily in control over ritual stories and objects associated with the mythological ancestors

of the Dreaming (*tjukurrpa*) at particular sites. 'Country' is understood as embodying complex relationships between individuals, the Dreaming ancestors, and places in the land. The Pintupi concept of ownership allows people to ritually negotiate shared identification with 'country' with other people in prescribed categories of relationship with themselves or the 'country':

The Pintupi image of social continuity is effectively one in which 'country' as an object is passed down – given (*yungu*) – from generation to generation. The Pintupi regard this 'giving' as a contribution to the substance and identity of the recipient, a kind of transmission of one generation's (or person's) identity to the next (Myers 1991:66).

In the absence of a ritual context for transferring esoteric knowledge associated with land ownership that constitutes Pintupi practice, the Lamalama can be seen to be making their own accommodations with the responsibilities of ownership. Although Maggie Tableland is of a senior generation to Gertie Crisp, she is not someone in a position of greater political seniority. Myers describes the connection between claims on land and rights in land as part of a political process among the Pintupi (1991:66), and it is for the Lamalama as well (Sutton and Rigsby 1982). Gertie Crisp's political seniority results from the conjunction of her rights through descent, her cultural knowledge, and her political abilities and interests. Others of her generation have similar rights and knowledge, but lack her commitment to the responsibilities of ownership. Although not always welcomed, Gertie's interpretation of the responsibilities of ownership are accepted as one of its dimensions.

For the Lamalama, the contemporary context of title formally recognised by acts of legislation may not have affected patterns of mobility, but it has impacted on the social production of owners. Although it is unlikely that the elaborate process of negotiation of land-based identity which Myers describes among the Pintupi would have been a feature of regional classical practice (Sutton

and Rigsby 1982)⁶⁷, initiation and other ceremony certainly occurred. With the ritual context removed, and assured title, the social production of land owners takes an even more secular cast. Although certain Story-Places are still significant, and Story-Beings understood as beings of power, knowledge about their activities is not given first priority in the education of junior owners, nor is there any ceremonial context in which the symbolic relationships between people and land can be negotiated.

Rather than knowledge of the activities of the Story-Beings, it is the Old People, the spiritual category of the relatives of the past, who are regarded as the substantial connection with the land. Formal title to land has enabled the Lamalama to re-inhabit tracts of their country. By the end of 1993, I found the Lamalama voiced their concern over the loss of the complex of knowledge associated with ritual to a lesser degree than they had in 1989. In this context, Gertie Crisp's protection of her knowledge is more easily understood as a response to, rather than a dereliction of the duties of an owner. I should also note that she was among the senior people to encourage junior adults to listen to the giving of evidence on such matters in the claims hearings. In doing so, Gertie used the more formal context of the hearings to stress the authority of herself and other senior people. Her actions constitute an adroit management of the exchange engaged in giving information yet retaining control over it, demonstrating the 'inalienable' nature of such knowledge, which can be given away without being lost (Weiner 1992:101-2; Myers 1991:73).

Finally, it will now be apparent that male gender is not a precondition to exercising authority in relation to land, as Thomson's (1934; 1972) data indicates

⁶⁷ Sutton and Rigsby (1982:158) note, in broad terms, a distinction between the Western Desert and coastal peoples. Western Desert people emphasise personal links across vast tracts of country; coastal people focus on exclusivistic membership in estate-owning unilineal descent groups. Western Desert people take a "flexible, individualistic, and religion-cast approach to invoking attachment to land" by comparison to their "more sedentary, clannish, and secular counterparts on the coasts and in the uplands".

for the past. Both Bobby Stewart and Florrie Bassani are regarded as extremely knowledgeable and senior people, as are Joan Liddy, Florrie's sister, and to a lesser degree Florrie's husband, Sunlight. His authority resides more in the political domain, because of his unflagging commitment to the cause of winning back the land rather than his depth of esoteric knowledge. The relationship between Sunlight and his cousin-brother Bobby has been clouded by the question of their relative authority and seniority. Nominally, Bobby is senior on the basis of primogeniture within their sibling set, esoteric knowledge, and his status as a fighter and thus a leader in the period immediately before the change in political events allowed the Lamalama to claim land. But Sunlight's political leadership is reinforced by Florrie's customary status as the senior member of the Liddy family of Port Stewart land-owners, and Bobby is not as adept as Sunlight in dealing with the administrative structures of the mainstream culture. In the current context, the joint leadership of the Bassanis is more effective than the traditional model of a powerful man (Sutton and Rigsby 1982:165) that Bobby represents.

Lamalama land-based practice at Port Stewart

Life at Port Stewart provides the Lamalama with the opportunity to apply the Law in their customary practices of resource extraction. Fishing and other resource-gathering techniques, and the enacting of practices by which they embody their status as the people who belong there, are the practices and associations by which their identities are produced (Povinelli 1993:13). The Lamalama embody their relationship with their country through the giving of 'smell' (although this is occasional), the 'warming' of resource-gathering implements, and appeals to the Story and the Old People when moving about the land outside the outstation.

Although members of the wider Lamalama tribe can claim places around Princess Charlotte Bay, and as far into Lakefield National Park as the Moon Story

Place at Kalpowar Crossing on the Normanby River, the focus for the core group remains the area of land around the outstation at Port Stewart. In the classical system, the numerous clans that existed own small tracts of land, not necessarily contiguously around the Bay. Some countries were held jointly with other clans, and the members lived in proximity to neighbouring peoples of similar 'sandbeach' culture, and to whom they were also connected in webs of kinship and other social relationship (Hale and Tindale 1933; Thomson 1972; Rigsby and Chase 1998). Nowadays, parents of present senior Lamalama people, those people themselves and their children all have experience of the bush life through being at Port Stewart. Even people who have lived elsewhere for most of their adult lives, such as Paddy Bassani at Cooktown, and Albert Lakefield at Hopevale have spent time here, or had kin who did. For both of these men, whose rights by patrilineal descent are focussed around Jane Table Hill and Marina Plains, Port Stewart is nonetheless the primary location of Lamalama identity, if not their own personal identity. For the members of the tribe as a whole, Port Stewart remains the 'heart' of Lamalama country, and it is here that they have the broadest opportunity to express their sense of themselves as *pama*.

In recent years, men have started to hunt turtle again, although they do not often go out after dugong. Thomson (1934) describes traditional dugong and turtle hunting. He says that the Yintjingga and other more northerly groups used double outriggers, while the Umpithamu and other more southerly tribes used a single outrigger. It was manned by a crew of three or four men, who were identified in correspondence to parts of the canoe. A wooden harpoon consisting of a shaft and short barbed head attached to a long rope was used to spear and catch the animal (1934:243). The construction of the harpoon and method of hunting is much the same today, although it is done from a dinghy with outboard motor rather than a canoe. In 1992, there were two turtle hunts, but by the end of 1993, they were occurring more regularly, with five hunts in six months. Thomson

described dugong hunting as a practice imbued with sorcery (1934:250), but I was not able to observe any dugong hunts during the period I was there, apart from one carried out by visiting Umpila men. I am therefore unable to say whether the Lamalama regard dugong hunting as a particularly magical activity, but the reticence with which they approach the hunting of dugong, or discussion of the topic, suggests that they do. Thomson says that great status attached to skilled dugong hunters, who used supernatural means to assist them. A charm, consisting of a lump of beeswax (*mänkä*) was warmed over a fire, and pressed into the stomach just above the navel by the hunter, in a secret ritual performed some time before going out hunting. The animal would then be sluggish and easy to capture. The ritual did not replace a hunter's skill, but assisted by making the dugong easy to approach (1934:251).

Thomson also informs us about the hierarchical distribution of turtle meat. In brief, the turtle is divided into four portions, so that each of the crew had a share of both flesh and fat. To ensure equitable distribution, an additional sharing out might take place. Then, the owner or master of the canoe was entitled to the posterior flippers with meat and the eggs; the harpooner to the plastron, or lower abdominal part of the shell which carried the most meat; the second crewman to the anterior flippers, with a quantity of meat; and the steersman to the head (1934:249-250).

Turtle distribution does not follow exactly the same pattern of distribution today. The master of the boat will usually supervise the cutting up of the animal, designating particular men to the task. These may be men who participated in the hunt, or not. Both the master and the harpooner direct the distribution of the meat. I have seen the hunters cut up the meat, and distribute it as directed by the master. I have also seen the master participate in the cutting up process, after designating a set of senior men to assist him, all in the class of 'brother' to him.

When more senior men are present, junior men, even if the harpooner, do not participate in the cutting up, but may have some say in the distribution. Women do not participate in the hunt, or the cutting up, but may assist in the task of distribution, although I have not observed them to have any part in the decision about how it will be distributed.

The master and the harpooner both take large chunks of meat from the stomach, although no part of the shell is distributed now – the meat is cut away from all parts of the shell. The harpooner may claim the flippers; the eggs, still highly prized, are given to children if present, although they may be distributed evenly to those who request them. The aim of the distribution is still to ensure an equitable sharing, but throughout the camp, rather than just to the hunters. The meatier parts, however, go to the harpooner. The blood is also prized, and like the eggs, is shared equally among those who request it, and is eaten after having been boiled.

Hunting turtle is not regarded as particularly dangerous any more, but it is arduous, and good hunters are renowned for their ability. The favoured resource extraction activity among the Lamalama is fishing from a variety of places around the coast, although they utilise a few inland lagoons as well. People set out from camp in large groups, to take advantage of a lift by vehicle to the mouth of the river, or more distant places such as *Yalawongga*, on the coast to the south of the Stewart River. Once at their destination, they disperse in pre-arranged groups or set off alone. Both men and women fish with line and spear. They fish for a variety of species, but barramundi and salmon are the favourites, because they are large, or readily available when in season. Large catches will also be distributed among kin, at the whim of the person who caught them. Most of the Lamalama have freezers, and there are a couple at Port Stewart, enabling greater flexibility about distribution. Some of the Liddy and Bassani families commonly froze some,

and gave fish away to elderly and frail Ayapathu and Wik people in Coen. People who lived at the outstation also sent part of their catch back up to Coen to people unable to get down to Port Stewart themselves.

Land animals hunted by the Lamalama were first and foremost feral pig, and they occasionally hunted wallaby, and goanna, although they did not hunt or eat crocodile. I have already indicated the Lamalama aversion to snakes, but their attitude to crocodiles would be better characterised as respect tinged with fear. It does not have the same hysterical dimensions as their fear of snakes, but they generally give them a wide berth. The kind of respect they have for crocodiles is indicated in the jokes they make about not being the last in a line of people to cross a river (most likely to be taken), and the reflexive joking that accompanies the rare occasions when people do place themselves in danger from crocodiles. This happens rarely, but if caught on the wrong side of the estuary as the tide turns, for example, people will wade across stretches of river they know to be inhabited by crocodiles. Florrie Bassani and Joan Liddy, who have a predilection for night-fishing along a stretch of the river close to a crocodile nest, say both they and crocodiles belong to the place: "I know it, it know me. I watch 'im, he watch me. I leave 'im alone, he can't worry me".

A corpus of ritual practice surrounds Lamalama resource extraction processes. Most parts of the landscape are named (Rigsby 1980;1993), and a variety of sanctions apply to behaviour. On the saltpan that stretches north (*Kunapari*) and south (*Yepena*) of the outstation, urinating and defecating is not allowed, nor is it allowed at certain Story-Places. Resource extraction is not allowed at some Story-Places, but if it is allowed, it should usually be carried out with respect. How that is interpreted depends on the Story-Place. On the three islands that make up the Cliff Islands, where the powerful Wind Story Marpa Hamanhu is found, specific sets of rules apply. The strictest rules apply on the

largest island, named Ronganhu in the Morrobalama clan language. Throwing anything, but especially sand or stones is forbidden, as is speaking out loud. Older people have told me that any kind of resource extraction was forbidden in their grandparents' day, but others say that the taking of ground resources, such as turtle eggs was allowed, but killing creatures of the air was not. Staying overnight is not allowed on Ronganhu, but permissible on the smallest island, Errewerrpinha. Marpa is characterised as a forbidding Being, and any kind of frivolous behaviour, including smiling, joking, or swearing is also forbidden. The two smaller islands, Olilu and Errewerrpinha are not Story-Places, and although a relaxed code applies, individual behaviour is still expected to demonstrate respect. The penalty for breaking the rules is meted out by Marpa, who will create a cyclone, with the certain potential to drown people returning to the mainland.

I made two trips to the Cliff Islands with Lamalama people during 1992-93, on both occasions going to Ronganhu. On the second trip, we camped overnight on Errewerrpinha. On this longer trip, we spent most of the following day on Ronganhu, where people did dig for turtle eggs, although they did not engage in any other resource extraction, such as fishing. When they dug for eggs on the shore, they did so cautiously, being careful not to throw around too much sand. Although people spoke to each other, and occasionally laughed, it was minimal and muted communication. When one man called out to ask his sister-in-law if she required help with carrying a bag, she turned and frowned at him, saying "Be quiet! Marpa watching!"

The prohibition that controls transgression against customary rules is referred to as *kintya*, and transgressions at Story-Places such as Cliff Islands are particularly *kintya*. This rule applies to other such Places on the mainland as well, but none of the sites within easy reach of the outstation camp carry *kintya* as strong as that at Ronganhu. The Eaglehawk Story Place, *Wulutupa*, is a few

kilometres from the camp. The prohibitions against urination and defecation apply here, but normal conversation is allowed. Wulutupa is the site of a large ring of cabbage-tree palms, or *akandyi* in Umpithamu language, the leaves of which are used in making fibre for dilly-bags. Although men are allowed to go there, only women are allowed to cut the fronds from the trees. Mirth is certainly allowed here. As Alison Liddy and I stood watching Joan Liddy and Florrie Bassani chopping leaves once, Seppi, Florrie's daughter, yelled, "Look out! Piggi-piggi!" Alison ducked behind a palm, and my slowness to react was the cause of general laughter among the women, one of them later telling me, "I bin think you be dinner for that piggi-piggi, girl!" - feral pigs are notoriously aggressive.

Tyulytyi, the Moon Story-Place on Rocky Creek about a kilometre south of the outstation, is a place where older people say they have seen the Moon Being, or seen his footprints in the dirt. On the visits I made there with people, they were careful to show respect, by damping down the fire they made to brew tea, and taking away their rubbish after them, but none of the other more strict prohibitions apart from those against defecating and urinating seemed to be in place. It was here that Maggie Tableland 'put smell' on her grandchildren, telling the Story as she did so that they were not strangers, and to look after them. People were quite animated here, speaking and laughing in normal tones of voice. Some other named places are important, and sites of power, but are not Story-Places. Among these are *Kokoro*, the site of a former fighting ground, close to the outstation; *Kampilmuta*, on the Stewart River, is located at a spot where dugong used to be cut up when the present senior generations were young. Both *Kokoro* and *Kampilmuta* are places where there are sacred associations, and the Lamalama do not go there much, but they are not Story-Places. *Ndarapa*, approximately a kilometre south of the Stewart River, is simply a named place, but it has human associations as well. Forebears of the present mob have camped nearby, and a burial site is located in the sand dune not far away.

When *kintya* is broken by some act of transgression, the probable result is that people will get sick, or suffer some more drastic effect, perhaps even dying. Usually it is the traditional owners who will be affected rather than the person who acted in error, although it may be both. It is for that reason that the Lamalama say they like to accompany any people who visit their land. Although they are prepared to explain the kinds of behaviour that are allowed at specific places, they prefer to be present with strangers. Gaining title to the Cliff Islands National Park was a significant concern to the Lamalama, because they knew that commercial fishermen and other boats tied up there at times, and they worried that they would behave in ways that broke *kintya*. They worried that it would bring illness to those sailors, but more so to themselves. When they were granted title, they hoped to enter into a co-operative arrangement with the Department of Environment and Heritage (DEH) that would allow them to visit the Islands more frequently to ensure that Marpa was happy. The Lamalama ‘warm’ spears and lines before fishing, a ritual practice that ensures they have the blessing and assistance of their Old People before they begin. The Lamalama say that if they don’t do this, they will “have no luck”, that is, they will not catch anything.

Having ‘no luck’ results from other causes as well. People who are involved in arguments or fights before they go out fishing will not catch anything as well. This is because they will be feeling ‘shame’ about their behaviour, and ‘sorry’ for the people they were in dispute with. Their minds will be occupied elsewhere, so to speak, and not focussed on the fish as they should be. Carrying money while fishing is also likely to bring bad luck. Having money on your person while trying to fish means that the person will be preoccupied with it, thinking about how to ensure it doesn’t get lost, rather than concentrating on the task at hand. In this case, the mind is said to be concentrated selfishly, thinking only of the personal property of the individual. If a person tries to fish in this

state of mind, they will only be thinking of the fish they can get for themselves, rather than the potential to get a good catch to share with their kin. To mix freshwater bait with saltwater is *kintya* as well. If freshwater bait is used to catch marine fish, someone, possibly a member's of the fisher's family will get sick.

Other named places, such as Joe's Lagoon (*Manulkunima*), and *Pahlpina*, a location on the beach south of the Stewart River, are the sites of fairly regular fishing expeditions, or favourite places to come alone to fish. Such places may also be referred to by their English names, such as Bassani's Swamp, a place infrequently visited for freshwater fishing and the extraction of longneck (freshwater) turtle. People also talk about going 'down the wharf', or 'down the mouth' when they intend to fish around the Stewart River estuary. Both north and south sides of the river are used, and depending on the tide, crossings are made in a dinghy. In 1992, people used to base themselves at the 'dinner camp' on the south side of the estuary, but the floods at the end of the year radically changed the configuration of the sandbanks in the mouth of the river, and the 'dinner camp' disappeared. Before that, children and a minder would be left here, along with a billy and the makings for tea. People returned in the middle of the day to eat something, have a cup of tea, a rest and a yarn. People fished intermittently from here throughout the day, sometimes returning to the dinner camp to fish if they were not having any luck elsewhere. People also gather mussels, whelks, oysters, and other small shellfish in mangrove areas, and on sandy flats and exposed reefs close to shore (Rigsby and Williams 1990:12).

The concept of 'cleaning' the country is important to the Lamalama. The areas around individual camps at the outstation are neatly raked daily, and the grass and scrub is cut back regularly. Outside the outstation, tracts of country are burnt when grass is long and dry to keep it 'clean'. On most resource expeditions to fish or otherwise utilise resources, the Lamalama note the state of the country,

and of the resources. If they see pig tracks near a lagoon, they make a note to come back later, or to notify another hunter. They pick fruits including a couple of varieties of bush cherries in season, or note, “not long now, that *mayi aapirri*⁶⁸ (ladyapple) be ready”. Several varieties of yam are collected, including *waambil* (“hairy yam”), and *warrngo*, also known as *karol* in other regional languages. Although I have a couple of times eaten the porridge made from the edible fruit of the mangrove tree known as *athithal* (Hafner 1995a:11), referred to as *mayi i'irra* by Thomson (1934), it is not commonly made any longer. Processing the porridge is a lengthy process, and it is more convenient to buy or make bread or damper.

Resources are used for purposes other than food. The Lamalama collect ironwood gum and use it themselves in making spears, and also exchange it in gifts with more distant kin in other communities, receiving goods such as bamboo to be used for spear handles in return. On the saltpan near the outstation, they dig for *oympirri*, the healing mud underneath the mud that grows there. *Oympirri* is used for ‘warming’ and healing soft tissue damage. Other medicines gathered include beach hibiscus leaves used as a poultice for wounds resulting from the toxic barb of the sting-ray, a favoured food. Infusions of sandalwood bark are used to treat skin conditions, and black ant bed or sandalwood bark are burned to keep mosquitos away. Infusions of certain leaves and grasses are also used to cure diarrhoea, and cooked dugong meat is also believed to have strengthening and curative properties (Hafner 1995a:11). Dilly-bags and spears that are made are also occasionally gifted in exchange.

The Lamalama recognise that their practice no longer observes the rules of *kintya* as strictly as was the case in the past. Bobby Stewart, whose grandfather took him out to Cliff Islands when he was a young child of about eleven years old, told me that he was not allowed onto Ronganhu, because no small children were

⁶⁸ This and the following terms for resources are Umpithamu language terms.

allowed there then. He was only allowed to stay on Errewerrpinha, while the adult men went across to Ronganhu. Today, small children go to Ronganhu, but are cautioned to behave themselves. One nursing mother sent her small son along with her sister, because she believed that it would mean something to him in later life. Nursing mothers are not allowed to go to certain other places, mostly Story Places, but also locations on the saltpan as well.

By being on and using their country, the Lamalama engage in the activities by which their social and cultural identities are produced. Their conceptualisation of their relationship with the landscape is one of mutual interaction. Being careful to obey the rules around Story-Places is sensible, when Story Beings have the power to intervene in your life. When I once became disoriented after walking through a very familiar section of bush in proximity to a Story place, Peter Liddy said to me, “Must be that Story bin make you silly!” Routine activities carried out on the land such as walking or driving to a fishing spot, or searching for sugarbag or scrub turkey eggs are all ways the individual locates themselves in social and cultural space. By doing the things that Lamalama people do, they participate in their culture, and because the landscape is imbued with a history of associations, routine activities are carried out within the context of the lives of Lamalama kin. In walking near the mouth of the Stewart River, for example, people will point out the flame tree that ‘belongs’ to Bobby Stewart as his birth tree, where he was born and the placenta buried. Driving up to Coen from Port Stewart, there was always someone who would comment that we were passing through the creek bed where Kane Liddy had been born, and indeed it became known as “Kaney’s Creek”. These kinds of associations are commonplace for the Lamalama, and serve to locate people within a specific web of kin and their history. The Lamalama are socialised as land owners by their participation in the social world that is focussed on the land. By reminding each other of their history, warning children about the consequences of their behaviour and telling them about

the history of their kin's interactions with the land, the Lamalama are engaged in the social reproduction of future generations of land owners.

The handover: land-based identity and disputation

The primary protagonists in the drama described at the beginning of this section are Tom Crisp, Olga Quest, and Ida, Tom's *pi'athu* (B+D). I take the entire event here as a single social drama, although I have mentioned two separate instances of breach (Turner 1957), where it was necessary to take action to ensure the smooth progress of the event, to restore amity between kin (Fortes 1969) and move towards reconciliation.

In the first instance, Olga Quest challenged Tom's authority and intentions, seeking redress for the perceived slight to her ancestors, who, being deceased, were unable to act for themselves. Tom was taken aback at this accusation. One of his abiding and often-expressed concerns was that the Lamalama, and he himself, not be seen to 'jump over' others by asserting a claim to anything that they could not morally or ethically sustain. Moreover, relations between the Quests and the Crisps were normally friendly, and neither Olga nor her immediate family had previously tried to intervene in the running of events at Port Stewart. Olga and her siblings identified as *Ayapathu*, but they could as well claim a Lamalama identity through descent from their MM and MMB. In approaching Olga, he was extending her the same courtesy that he had to all his other 'relations' present, and to be accused by her as someone who presumed on his position, to exclude the legitimate rights of others, was distressing. He puzzled over the motivation for her attack, but acted quickly to achieve reconciliation, by agreeing with her and arranging to have the few members of the generation senior to him come up and receive the title deed as well.

His original concern about their possible discomfort had been genuine. Although there were many 'relations' present, there were large numbers of strangers, including considerable numbers of *migalu* – photographers, journalists, the Minister's entourage, and assorted anthropologists and linguists. Normally, contact with whites was restricted to interaction with the local *migalu* in Coen, and Tom understood that standing up in front of a large crowd of people was likely to be a discomfoting experience for the older people. He was further bemused because he was caught in the bind of having originally suggested that all the older people go up to accept the deed, but the consensus among the Lamalama was that his role in bringing this day about should be recognised. Personal modesty, and his own acceptance of *pama* tradition made him uncomfortable with standing out from the mob, and Olga's remarks hit a vulnerable spot. There are a number of possible motivations for her comments, among them the stated lack of recognition or prominence given to her family's connections to Port Stewart. They may also have resulted from provocation by members of her family, some of whom were likely to feel disgruntled at not being included as title-holders; or perhaps from more personal and mundane reasons.

Shocking as Olga's outburst was, it did not mar the events of the day, which proceeded smoothly from the point of view of the public. By the end of the day, most of the *migalu* and many of the *pama* from distant locations had left. The drinkers had removed themselves, leaving the rest of the mob in camp, exhausted. A state of undefined tension prevailed from the time that Tom spoke to the drinkers down at the wharf, to Ida and Ryan's return. When Ida also reacted to the perceived slight to herself through lack of recognition of her rights, the dynamic was different to that surrounding Olga's earlier outburst. Ida was close kin, subject to the amity that should prevail among such relations. The greater audience of 'outsiders' had left, but many close kin rarely in contact with the Port Stewart mob were still present, and Tom, Gertie, Kath Magee, and others

present were angered by Ida's inappropriate behaviour. Gertie and Tom sought redress from her by going over to talk to her. They at first tried to reason with her, saying that she was a good girl, who should just calm down. Ida responded by continuing her tirade, so that Tom and Gertie quickly became frustrated, Tom pointing out that her behaviour was not what was expected of kin, when she tried to support her claim by invoking her relationship with her birth father.

There was no immediate reconciliation to this drama. Ida departed, telling me up in Coen just before she left the next day that she didn't think she'd ever be returning to Port Stewart again. Of course she has, but it took several years before she and her uncle and aunt were on speaking terms with each other again. The drama thus resulted in social cleavage that diminished the positive emotion that had prevailed throughout the day. Ida's attempt to demand recognition of her rights failed. Neither Tom nor Gertie denied Ida's rights, but they were angered by her lack of respect. Respect for elders, and in this case it was extended to the Old People, who Tom later indicated would have been present on this special occasion, is a necessary condition in the exchange that results in acceptance of one's rights as an adult. When Ida told me that she thought she wouldn't be back, she was indicating her own 'shame' at her behaviour, and recognition that whatever her birth rights, the ability to enjoy them was subject to the rule of amity that applies between kin. Both Olga and Ida used emotion in their forceful attempts to achieve recognition of rights they regard as being denied. Gertie and Tom finally also responded emotionally to Ida, but their actions were grounded in the ethic they maintained throughout the entire transfer process. They attempted to accommodate the interests of all, and as pragmatically as possible. In the end, representative names appeared on the title deed, rather than the names of all the people with rights at Port Stewart. Certainly Ida had been consulted about the transfer, as had Olga and members of her family. Tom and Gertie's resort to their

own anger at the end of the day represented a final denial of any wrong-doing on their own part.

The attachments of the Lamalama group to the totality of their estate are mediated through the feelings and actions of its members. In matters of dispute within the group, the Lamalama may emphasise individual rights to differing locales within what is now the total Lamalama estate. If focal individuals seek to assert their own interests, they rarely choose to demonstrate their status by making public statements that indicate the depth of their cultural knowledge. Rather, it is demonstrated by an act that challenges political leadership in some material way, such as unauthorised use of a community vehicle, taking alcohol to the outstation, or fighting. Although the holding of traditional knowledge remains a qualification for leadership, it is not the sole prerequisite. Allegiance to country through allegiance to one's countrymen is a prerequisite of local group identity. Other people are the reference group for personal identity, but land is the focus of group identity.

Each of the members of the Port Stewart local group naturally have personal feelings of varying intensity towards Yintjingga and Theetyindyi, the central locations of the outstation at Port Stewart, which they bring to bear on decisions about their interaction with it and the activities that occur there. From babyhood, children are told who their relatives are, what kind of relatives they are, and what land is theirs. Identity is affirmed through statements such as "My son! Yufla Port Stewart man! Yufla be boss for this place one day!" Feelings about the land are concerned with more than the personal appreciation of its aesthetic or economic values, or a sense of sentimental attachment. There is an important distinction to be made between feeling for country and expressions of sentiment about it.

Pama sometimes express depths of emotion in description of the values of their own country. Such expressions are an appropriate means of demonstrating attachment and the responsibilities of ownership. Just as people who have been separated for a time will 'cry' for each other - the public ritual of wailing over the lost relative - to 'cry' for country is regarded as strong proof of the commitment of the individual land owner to care for the country. For the Lamalama, responsibility for the country is integrated with their continuing relationships with the Old People. In crying for the country, they are including recognition of their attachment to the relatives who were previous traditional owners in life, and to whom they retain responsibility.

Such a situation occurred during the Lakefield claim, when a senior claimant cried for the country of his youth. The elderly man giving evidence started to cry as he talked about his memories of one location (a Story-place close to Jane Table Hill, where some Lamalama families lived). He described himself as remembering the past, at a time when he was able to walk around without clothes, "like - like - he like my home" (Aboriginal Land Tribunal 1994:1812). The anthropologist leading evidence then asked:

You can see your Old Fella's face. Mugay, them Old People now, you reckon them Old People, they here now?

The witness replied:

Yeah. People custom they got - my father just watching me sitting down now.

After naming some of the other Old People present, the witness drew together several of the threads from which the Lamalama post-classical tribal identity is formed: a unity based in common kinship and shared estates, personal experience with the Old People who were then living land owners and users, the taking and sharing of bush resources, and a life-long attachment to country:

You know why they call people Lamalama people? All one group people from NMga (sic)[probably *mba*, man] - right through from Port Stewart right back here. All relation, all Lamalama people them, right to Bathurst Head. Because I seen them, I was knocking with them Old People. We just live on a fish, dugong, turtle, crab, everything, pig, kangaroo, wallaby. That's how we bin living when I was kid. I rear up the hardest way, this country. I hope I come back my home again.

The social drama at the handover describes some of the more obvious tensions associated with an event as highly emotionally wrought as the recovery of land from which they had earlier been removed, through formal transfer of title. They are tensions forged in the context of close kinship. Although a positive and happy event overall, the handover ceremony carried different degrees of significance for people. As indicated, this was ultimately expressed as a challenge to the authority of Tom Crisp, the man who had assumed the role of public leadership, and whose personal efforts did most to bring the celebration about. Tom is careful about his personal style as a public figure, and usually tries to accommodate the wishes of the mob, which he checks through regular consultation, but he is unbending in his attitude towards alcohol at the outstation. On this occasion, he was particularly upset that a private argument had public exposure. Here alcohol was a trigger, but it is recognition of the right to land which is the underlying motivation for the expressions of emotion that occurred. These were emotions cast in an idiom of neglect and antagonism between generations.

Fortes has posed the Freudian explanation of the Oedipal struggle to explain some of the "ambivalent antagonisms" (Fortes 1978:20) of rivalry that are played out between generations, particularly in ancestor-worshipping societies, and particularly in relation to property. As will be seen, Fortes' argument does

not readily apply to this situation, but it provides a comparison for consideration of the affect associated with the practices of succession. Fortes is referring to a degree of antagonism that he sees as a natural product of the filiative relationship that develops between parent and child, and which is sometimes institutionalised and resolved through avoidance rituals. As with the Tallensi about whom Fortes wrote, avoidance rules and rituals have their place in Aboriginal society, and are maintained into the present among groups such as the Lamalama. Among the Tallensi, Fortes notes, such conflict is focussed on the parent and firstborn child of the same sex, usually father and firstborn son. This pair may not eat from the same plate or share belongings, yet they remain “inextricably interdependent in all domains of social life” (Fortes 1978:19). The conflict described above is not of the same order as the institutionalised kind to which Fortes refers, but it demonstrates that there is at times an uneasy alliance between the generations.

It would be more accurate to describe people such as the Lamalama as ancestor-reverers rather than ancestor worshippers, and a reversion to Oedipal psychology is no more convincing an explanation of *pama* motivations in explaining the disputation associated with the processes of succession than it was for Róheim (1974) in relation to the affects of kinship. Nonetheless the Lamalama elevation of forebears to the status of Old People is, as Fortes suggests about ancestor worship, a kinship-embedded practice (1978:21), and intergenerational conflict such as that described above does sometimes occur. The staging of Ida’s protest and rebellion depended on the specific moment, when a sizeable audience, mostly her kin, could witness her claims. Similarly, Olga’s presentation of herself as subsuming personal interests to those of older kin, which included invoking the Old People, depended on the context of the moment to carry the appropriate moral force.

As Fortes suggests, the Oedipal myth speaks about a patrifilial struggle, one between father and son. It relegates women to the sidelines of the psychological and social arena, affording them no effective participation other than that of mediating point in the struggle between men. Fortes' argument is that intergenerational conflict is derived from the struggle for power and authority between parents and offspring over the duration of the life cycle, culminating in the elevation of parents into worshipped ancestors on their death. This latter mechanism assuages the guilt the offspring feel for ousting the parents, because it ritually perpetuates the jural authority they held in life (1978:20-21). It lacks explanatory power in the Lamalama case, because parents, as senior land owners, leave their own bodies, just as they leave behind their offspring at death, but otherwise retain their role of jural authority. The intergenerational rivalry over succession to land among the Lamalama is more pragmatically concerned with, firstly, the struggle to gain or retain respect than the playing out of deeper psychological states, and secondly, with Fortes' other concept, maintaining equilibrium through amity between kin.

Markers of group identity

An underlying reason for the continuing Lamalama presence in Coen is that it remains the most compelling social and political centre for the *pama* of the region, where Kaanju, Lamalama, Wik Iyanh, Olkolo, and more recently emergent Ayapathu mobs can interact. Located centrally on the main highway through the Peninsula, it is the conduit for business - anyone travelling overland in the Peninsula usually passes through Coen. The pub, and to a lesser degree the shops, are the prominent sources of information. Much of the most dramatic action in town happens at the pub, or is generated there, and discussed in houses around Coen later. Commonly, on returning to Port Stewart after a period in Coen, first activities will be to have a cup of tea and inform the outstation residents of the events up in town that they have missed.

The markers to identity differ for the Lamalama according to location. While older people like Bobby Stewart and Sunlight Bassani speak wistfully about the past at times, in the context of certain types of culture loss, they do not actively seek to bring back the past, nor feel a self-conscious need to assert their Aboriginality. Dudgeon and Oxenham (1990) have pointed out that the written word remains the medium within which much of the dissemination of information about Aborigines occurs, but is not a common or preferred form of communication for the Lamalama. Whether or not they participate fully in the land rights struggle, all the adult Lamalama, to my knowledge, are impelled to identify themselves with the land at Port Stewart, and thus partially or more fully draw a significant sense of themselves from 'being Lamalama'. For the Lamalama the problematics of identity do not primarily exist in opposition to the institutionalisation of Aboriginality by the wider society. Their concern is not concentrated on the way in which their Aboriginality has been appropriated, but to protect its matrix, land, from being further appropriated or reduced.

One of the ways in which their Lamalama identity is asserted occurs in daily interaction with other mobs in Coen. Myrna Tonkinson (1990) has called this "local identity", recognising that "it is culture that is paramount in establishing identity" (Tonkinson 1990:193):

Aborigines among whom I worked at Jigalong describe their group membership at several levels. They are members of language groups whose distinctiveness they emphasise, although these are technically dialects of one language. The dialect label also indicates specific areas of land in the Western Desert, "countries" from which they originate and which they traditionally owned: for older people especially, identification with their country, from which they have long been separated, is laden with intense emotion. In their dealings with other Aboriginal groups in the wider region where they have ties of kinship and religion, they are the "Jigalong mob", both to themselves and those others.

Much of the above is true of the Lamalama, and can be almost wholly transposed to describe their understanding of their group membership. In common with their neighbours, the Lamalama emphasise the distinctiveness of their languages, both in relation to the various languages owned by them, as well as the languages of the wider region. Technically, some of the languages spoken by the Lamalama can be understood as mutually-intelligible dialects (Rigsby 1992), and they emphasise their differences by describing them in Aboriginal English terms as 'more deep', 'little bit rough' or 'really easy one'. Like the Western Desert situation that Tonkinson describes, languages are associated with specific countries in Cape York Peninsula. The Lamalama, like the Jigalong mob, have historically been separated from their land, and their older people have an intensely emotional identification with their land. These emotional bonds are the imperative behind the dogged and exhausting effort involved in pursuing the statutory possibilities on offer since 1991. Religion is severely attenuated, but kinship, and a shared appreciation of each other's oppression, are significant common ties among Cape York Peninsula *pama*. Like the Jigalong mob, the Lamalama are also known by others according to their self-referencing terms the 'Lamalama mob', or the 'Port Stewart mob'.

Tonkinson goes on to state that at another level, the Jigalong mob are *mardu*, a word that has multiple meanings:

At a cultural level it refers to Western Desert people, a dispersed regional group that shares a body of cultural practices labeled by the Aborigines as "the law" in English "The law" is what distinguishes them from whites, from Aborigines with whom they do not share this code, from "others"; it is what makes them unique ... While they recognize affinities with other Aboriginal groups, Jigalong people emphasize their cultural differences from those groups. Similarly, groups throughout the continent draw cultural (as well as kinship and territorial) boundaries between themselves and others ... (Tonkinson 1990: 193-4).

Certainly the Lamalama draw cultural boundaries between themselves and others, and although the differences can appear slight to the outsider at times, they are also based in Aboriginal Law. This is expressed as 'following the Law' or in the negative, as having 'no respect' or 'no shame'. While the derivation and application of both the latter expressions are seemingly more secular, their moral imperative is the Law - punishment for wrongdoing is meted out by the Old People or the Story, separately, arbiters of the Law. People also act to punish wrong-doing. Brief or lengthy periods of ostracism, such as the period of self-imposed exile entered into by Max, and sustained by his kin, is one such example. Max's decision to depart avoided what would certainly have been an emotionally difficult confrontation with his older brother. He, for his part, was unable to forgive his brother, or be seen publicly to weaken on that point, but it didn't prevent him from worrying about Max. Anger, particularly verbal outbursts, which may or may not lead to fighting is also used. In the case of women, they may call on the assistance of male kin to aid in their defence. The young woman who asked her 'brother' to fight her erring partner was asking him to act in her place and punish him for being unfaithful to her. By doing as his 'sister' asked, he was stepping into a role of jural responsibility, aligning himself with his kin. In Tamara Trueman's case, her actions were perceived as indefensible, because she was herself in transgression of customary behaviour, and her brothers' failure to assist her was appropriate, leaving no room for misinterpretation about their relationships to her. In another case, when children smashed crocodile eggs during the Wet season at the end of 1992, everyone was punished, supernaturally, by the resulting flood that swept away much of the outstation. The children were additionally punished, by being made aware that it was their actions that caused the flood, a reminder that continued over several months.

While I have not often heard Lamalama people talk about white people in these terms, they recognise that we have philosophical and moral differences, and

that they are themselves distinguished by their adherence to the Law, and are unique in this. Thus the Lamalama term *pama* may be taken as equivalent to the Jigalong term *mardu*, especially when the other senses which Tonkinson (1990:194) provides are considered:

At its most general level it means people among whom the speakers include themselves. Thus the term can mean human being or person, though it is seldom used in this way. In some situations, it means black people in a generic sense, in contrast to white people. ... Similarly *mardu* [sic] may be applied to other Aboriginal people in Australia when only physical appearance is significant, but not when culture and behaviour are considered.

These same senses are employed by the Lamalama when they talk about *pama*, but to different degree. The term is commonly used to refer to a person: “Who’s that stranger *pama* I bin see walkin around town?”; to indicate groups of Aboriginal people including or excluding the speaker; and in contrast to white people, who are referred to as “*migalu*”, “*parra*”, or “whitefellas”.

The further sense of *mardu* that Tonkinson provides refers to people of mixed ancestry:

Jigalong people of mixed descent are called *mardamarda* in a descriptive but not exclusive sense; they are also *mardu*, unlike people of mixed descent who are strangers to Jigalong people and are *mardamarda* in contrast to *mardu* ... (Tonkinson 1990:194).

It is common practice in Cape York Peninsula to describe people of mixed ancestry as ‘half-caste’, or as ‘yellafellas’, but these are similarly not exclusive terms. The Lamalama use these terms, but not usually in reference to close relatives. The few Lamalama people of mixed ancestry are not overtly categorised according to blood percentage, but are regarded as kin, and simply referred to as *pama* in the same senses as the rest of their kin. In common with other Cape York Peninsula Aboriginal people, the Lamalama do refer to people at greater social distance by those terms. In common with the Jigalong people, the

Lamalama are concerned with “relationships and identifiable behavioral features” (Tonkinson 1990:194), and the intensely unified sense of the Lamalama identity is indicated by their lack of distinction between themselves on the basis of ancestry. To distinguish themselves from other kin because of the accident of birth is considered insensitive and hurtful.

Lamalama group identity, or local identity, is defined, among other factors, by the thread of living knowledge that connects the present owners with their ancestors, the owners of the past. It is generated through, though not restricted by, the knowledge of a set of individuals that they share a particular contiguity with each other inadequately expressed in legislation as a ‘spiritual affiliation’. This contiguity is based in shared kinship and other understandings which define the responsibilities and rights the group share as Lamalama. It is related to the landscape but exists at a remove to it as well, and equally, exists in the secular and political domains.

Conclusion: Country, Kin, Emotion

In this thesis I have sought to illuminate the interplay between emotions and features of social structure among the Lamalama people of Cape York Peninsula. I have presented emotions as a form of discourse grounded in the meanings constructed in personal interactions, used to negotiate the rights contingent on a recognised Lamalama identity. I have juxtaposed this notion of identity as a product of the contemporary post-classical system against classical social practice of the pre-colonial past, when the strict organisation of social and cultural life at Port Stewart would have meant that there was little possibility of a notion of negotiable identity.

Today, the dimensions of post-classical Lamalama identity are three-fold. To be recognised as having a Lamalama identity, the individual must have rights in Lamalama land that are respected by other Lamalama people, be part of the distinctive Lamalama system of affiliation, and behave in a way that is recognised as appropriately 'the Lamalama way'. Emotions and the behaviour surrounding them are key to the public recognition of claims to a Lamalama identity in all three of these domains. In the post-classical world, when these domains are all subject to negotiation in the formulation of identity, the concept of 'respect' emerges as the moral dimension with greatest emotional force.

As Povinelli (1993:134) demonstrates in relation to Belyuen Aboriginal people at Cox Peninsula in the Northern Territory, the Lamalama position themselves in relation to the landscape by "consult[ing] with one another for economic and cultural information about the surrounding countryside", but the route to formal acquisition has differed for the Lamalama. Unlike the Belyuen mob, the Lamalama are not a "group interrupted in the processes of land succession" in the same way as them. Both groups have been subjected to colonial disruptions, and placed in the position of having to engage in formal claims to get their land back. But the Lamalama knowledge and assertion of their status in

relation to Port Stewart, and other parts of their traditional estate in land, have not been subject to the same kind of contestation in the world outside Aboriginal practice - the complexities of the Kenbi case in which the Belyuen people are engaged are an established part of the history of Northern Territory land claims (Povinelli 1993:53-62; Peterson 1995:viii).

In the first section of the thesis, where I located the Lamalama historically and socially, I also located emotion within the social practice of the Lamalama. I described emotion as a discourse, in the sense of a dynamic code by which meanings are communicated by a variety of actions other than speech alone, and power is deployed in negotiations between social actors. Throughout the thesis, I gave examples of social dramas, in which actors are seen to give expression to their inner feelings through the performance of emotions. In the first of these, the protagonists Tamara and Collin used emotion to negotiate the demise of their troubled relationship, within the accepted Aboriginal social convention that demands such actions be 'witnessed' (Sansom 1980) to attain appropriate moral force. The resolution of the fight between Tamara and Collin brought about a connection to a formerly passive element in Tamara's construction of her identity through her decision to move to Port Stewart for a time. There she was able to live effectively without Collin, and attain a measure of stability for herself and her infant daughter.

Tamara exemplifies the complexities of contemporary Lamalama identity. Her rights at Port Stewart were assured through at least the first two of the dimensions I listed above as the foundations of Lamalama identity. She is a descendant of George Balclutha through her mother, and her rights in part of the Lamalama estate, but particularly the Morrobalama country south of Port Stewart, are validated cognatically by her kinship. Like her actual and extended siblings in the junior adult generation, she is a member of one of the surnamed 'families' that constitute the Lamalama tribe, and identifies herself as a member of the Trueman family, and the Lamalama mob. Thus by kinship and descent she is connected to the country of the Lamalama. By going to the outstation, she was acting on the third dimension of post-classical Lamalama identity, by choosing to behave in a manner considered appropriate.

Tamara is closely related to the Liddys, who, in the persons of Florrie, Joan, and their brothers are the people who lend authority to the Lamalama presence at Port Stewart. They are able to do this by a conjunction of culturally recognised factors - the rights they bear by descent, the resources they can muster, including their own large sibling set, and therefore the ability to attract others through affinal relationships which ensure the continuity of their mob, and their recognised adherence to valued cultural knowledge and practice. In this they are implicitly acknowledged as the senior landowners, although this is contested in moments of disagreement, such as the situation at the handover ceremony I ultimately describe. I also include Sunlight Bassani and his daughter Seppi in this scenario, because they are both bound by personal inclination and ties of kinship to the same project as the Liddys - reinstating the Lamalama within their country. Sunlight and Seppi gave the greater part of their energies during 1992-93 to pursuing this political struggle, and in general, the mob defer to their advice and leadership.

This situation apparently differs to that of the pre-colonial past, when the more binding social structures of the classical system prevailed. Then, rights in the landscape of the Princess Charlotte Bay region were understood through the complex structure of land-owning clans which governed individual relationships to land. The colonial project, intent on clearing these dense associations with the land through its appropriation and its own administrative purposes, produced a different spatial reality in which *pama* now operate. The clan structure of the past no longer dominates Lamalama associations with the land, and this and the way it is expressed in the more pragmatic elements of social practice, such as resource extraction, is the subject of the second section of the thesis.

Clans were the land-owning groups in the classical system. Membership in the clans was conditional on descent, and in continuity with classical practice, descent remains the significant principle defining membership in the Lamalama tribe today. The relative rights of land-using as opposed to land-owning groups, important in the Kenbi claim (Povinelli 1993), are not generally matters of active concern to the Lamalama as they organise as a group engaged in the dynamics of

re-asserting their presence within the land they now own. Nor was it important in their pursuit of their claims before the Queensland Land Tribunal. In that forum, they were required to demonstrate their 'groupness'. For the Lamalama, proof of their status as a group depended on descent from a group of ancestors with rights in land and waters around Princess Charlotte Bay. They understand themselves as a kin group on the basis of their genealogical connections to past members of land-owning clans, but few of them apart from some of the members of the senior generations now actively refer to those clans in the construction of their identity. The significance of kinship to the Lamalama, but also its theoretical conceptualisation is considered in the third section of the thesis, as are processes of group formation, and the transformation from their classical to post-classical forms in the present.

In order to be clear about the nature of kinship, and its importance to the Lamalama as a conceptual category which generates social action, I felt that it was important to explicate the genealogical realm in some detail. Following Thomson (1972) and Scheffler (1978) I used structural analysis, and the debate about it, as a backdrop to consider the lived experience implicated by such structural connections. Kinship is the idiom of social connection and of shared identification, but it expresses more than a notion of structural connectedness. It is also the site and the medium for the discourse of emotion, which operates like other discourses to inform and mediate actions in the social world. As such its meanings are socially constructed, as is clearly demonstrated in the social dramas detailed in the text. In all of these social dramas, the structures of kinship are articulated with and through the emotion discourse.

Pama now live in a kinship world that is nested within the interconnections of the wider community. Relationships other than those of the kind that would have been the standard in the classical period now prevail. This is to say, the Lamalama, like other Aboriginal people across the country, are now constituted as a language-named tribe consisting of descent groups that trace their members cognatically to remembered ancestors from whom they have inherited their interests in land. For them, it is now tribe and 'family' rather more than clans that are the enduring social and political entities. These are social forms

which differ to those of the classical world, where, we assume, residential bands lived on and used the land owned by clans. Contemporary households and surnamed families reflect the structural position of the classical forms of residential groups and land-owning groups, but other structural changes wrought by colonisation are evident in the development of the tribe or mob. As a set of surnamed families linked cognatically, the Lamalama fit with Sutton's model of the post-classical world. Kinship remains the means of ordering relationships in the social domain, and expresses the important cultural principle of respect. It does this through the use of kin terms and their associated rules for behaviour, although these are somewhat less strictly applied now than in the past, according to individual members.

The Lamalama demonstrate a variety of responses to the homeland, all of which depend upon the attachment associated with rights as a member of what is now the land-owning group. The distinctions between rights of residence, use, and ownership as structural principles are flattened in the post-classical period, but emerge as continuing elements of ideology and behaviour in the world of social process. The attachment that the Lamalama demonstrate to their homeland is now a product of their interactive relationship with it. This view of the importance of the landscape to the Lamalama goes some way to explaining its importance as a moral destination, and one worth fighting for in land claims. It is within the landscape that they find the most personal reflection of themselves, which is to say that it is through their interaction with the land and the practices it generates that they come to locate themselves affectively, ideologically, and politically both as individuals and as the collective owners and caretakers of the land.

The production of Lamalama identity, mediated by emotion and focussed on kin and country, is considered in section four of the thesis, where the separate events of land claims and transfers are seen to have provided the grounds for the development of the emergent identity of the Lamalama tribe as formal holders of title to land. It is the emphasis on shared genealogical connection, and joint purpose, informed by mutual emotional commitment and shared experience, that effects closure on the coherent identity that is constituted by post-classical descent groups. Land claims engage affect in complex ways, and are among the

primary post-classical political means by which groups such as the Lamalama may move to secure a future for themselves.

Emotion is significant in the range of factors influencing the development of identity. This applies to the personal identity of the autonomous individual, as well as the way in which identity is shared and transformed through relationship with others as the members of a social group. The structures of kinship remain vital elements of social life on Cape York Peninsula, as do the principles which determine ownership of land. However, the rules of descent have gone through discernible change, as indeed have the patterns of reckoning kinship. These changes appear to have been effected by the transformative actions of colonisation. To what degree, then, do we view contemporary identities as the product of colonisation pressures, of the pre-existing indigenous social and cultural forms, or the interplay of both? That Aboriginal social forms are highly adaptive is beyond doubt; the evidence for this is found in the post-classical social forms that Sutton (1998) describes. Thus, while the classical traditions of the pre-colonial past may no longer exist in the same form in parts of the country, they nonetheless inform the practices and traditions of the present. The foundation of the present, Sutton says, is the “very long and comparatively stable period” of the pre-colonial past (Sutton 1998:60).

I subscribe to the view put by Linnekin and Poyer (1990:11) that “colonial expansion imposed new administrative definitions on native peoples and in turn provoked shifts in self-perception.” Taking this further, it is apparent in Cape York Peninsula, and Australia generally, that more than self-perception was changed - the acts of colonists and the colonial administration actively worked to capture (in their eyes) the unknown spaces of the north, and convert them into the known places of the colonial regime. In doing so, they changed forever the relationship between people and place that existed there, but they were unsuccessful, as have been successive administrations into the present post-native title era, in eradicating Aboriginal concepts of place. That is, the relationship between Aboriginal people as owners, managers, and custodians of country, remains a feature of the post-classical world, and is expressed through the idioms of kinship and the principles of descent.

As Beckett notes (1988:2), the continuing entity of Aboriginal identity is based in descent, but “cannot be understood simply as the direct, natural consequence of biological reproduction.” Aboriginal identity in the present is a personal matter, but it is also a political one. Here I refer more to politics at the microlevel rather than engagement with the state (Sutton and Rigsby 1982). In these politics of everyday interaction, personal feelings are enacted through emotional performances. For the Lamalama, politics at this level is enacted through the discourse of emotion. Respect, amity, nurturance, compassion, and yearning, and anger, shame, jealousy, fear, and grief are the key emotions used in these negotiations. In a small, remote town with a majority *pama* population and an essentially white administration such as Coen, identity is necessarily contingent; *pama* are subject to an arbitrarily imposed identity that stands apart from the one which they choose and construct as members of the various groups of significance to themselves. Nor is the *pama* concept of their identity completely captured by the terms of the land claim legislation aimed at redressing the successive removals of Aboriginal people from land.

Lamalama identity remains principally tied to country (a term I use to imply proprietary interest in both land and sea), with particular emphasis on the land, and the community, at Port Stewart. I have suggested that this land is primary among the places of importance to the core group of the Lamalama in the Coen region, although none of the lands of their traditional estate are forgotten. If anything, identity in the post-classical world has become more emphatically tied to country (in the absence of many of the features of classical structure). It is the Port Stewart region which constitutes the focus of the ‘moral destination’ that land represents. Both Coen and Port Stewart are ‘home’ locations to the Lamalama, places with which they have a history of association, and positive affective ties. The Lamalama notion of shared kinship with the land is expressed through the induction of Lamalama children into ‘proper Lamalama way’, which occurs so continuously within all the living generations that it could be called a cultural style - but one which is practised elsewhere as well. Certainly I saw the same modes of behaviour elsewhere in Cape York Peninsula. It is also expressed through the relationship with the Old People, as previous owners, in the struggle

to get control of the land through the formal claims processes. But the attachment that people feel toward Coen is a different association, not one concerned with the “ultimate sacred postulates” (Rappaport 1979) of the spiritual domain. As the place where the proprietary rights, interests, and duties of ownership are embodied, through the investing of substance shared across generations, and transformed into the timeless domain of belief and practice, country is the fundamental source of *pama* identity.

The removal of the Port Stewart families in 1961 engaged depths of feeling that include the usual senses implied by talking about home, plus the trauma of “uprooting”, in Tuan’s terms, and the sense of the land as a moral location which Malkki (1997) describes. The Lamalama use emotion as a means of communicating considerable amounts of information that may not be made clear merely by the spoken word. It informs daily interactions, and supplements the importance of organisational principles such as the rules of kinship and associated behaviour. Crucially, it also informs the central relationship between people and land, such that I regard the identification of *pama* with their country as primarily an affective one, although it is obviously a structural relationship as well. In my view, emotion is the felt state by which intentions can be expressed, thus made social and cultural. In this context, all emotions have significance. The trauma of removal, even to the point of death at Bamaga for some of the elderly, gives great moral imperative to the attachment that the present mob feels towards Port Stewart. It is thus the ‘heart’ of Lamalama land-based attachments, the place where the nurturative relationships between people and place are expressed, and where intentions and actions are most tellingly examined.

There are multiple dimensions to the Lamalama experience of emotion, of which the more temporal kinds are felt and shared with others in the ordinary contexts of living. They form part of the emotional continuum that is also expressed in the spiritual dimensions of Lamalama connections to country. The spiritual dimension includes appreciation of the awesome qualities of power that exist within the landscape, manifested in the numinous Story Beings who remain within it to this day, in particular Marpa Hamanhu; the more affectionate and personal relationships retained with the Old People, the disembodied social actors

who also exist within the spaces of human activity, and who, generally speaking, are relatively recently deceased ancestors; and the land itself, which is both site and metaphor for Lamalama affective states, both expressed in the concept of 'home'.

As 'home', the land is at once the place which provokes certain affective states, and the place where they can be found. Here the individual can relax in a known and knowing landscape, where appropriate cultural practice - using the right bait, speaking in lowered tones, applying 'smell', and apprising the Old People of one's presence - expresses the rights of ownership across generations, and across time. The land, like kin, is 'family', as Sunlight Bassani once described the relationship to me - you take care of each other. This conceptualisation of the landscape indicates its social meaning, as the location of both sensate experience and abstract meaning (Tuan 1977:12), in which deep attachments of a moral and philosophical kind dwell. Sunlight's concept joined the two most significant locations of the Lamalama affective domain, the two sites which express the 'heart' of their social world, both in the sense of its central focus, and the intentionality implied by the Lamalama concept of 'heart'. To be an owner of country implies a caretaker relationship; this can be expressed in a number of ways. Firstly, it means the obvious matters of raking around campsites and burning off long grass, but importantly it also means simply being there on country. Being absent from the land is evidence of neglect, so that the enforced removal of people from the land at the hands of colonial and post-colonial administrations resulted not only in physical hardship, but it is the source of great emotional pain as well. Being removed from the land inevitably involves grieving. This is reflected in Malkki's (1997) experience with Hutu camp refugees. Removal from the land, and the inability to reclaim it, resulted in a moral crisis. Lamalama experience was similar, in the degree of their pain at removal, and the enjoining of a political struggle to regain it.

It is the formal 'fighting for the land' of land claims that most poignantly expresses Aboriginal emotional attachments to the land, as exemplified by the Lakefield and Cliff Islands National Park claims. Thus we are finally able to frame

the question posed earlier - to what degree has the colonial experience conditioned the development of Aboriginal identity in Cape York Peninsula?

When I was first in Coen and Port Stewart, I was aware that the older people in particular felt a sense of failure, or at least helplessness, in not being able to carry out their responsibility to nurture the land. Their participation in the land claims has not resulted in significant physical or social changes, but the transfer of the PPR land at Port Stewart has allowed them to take back previously alienated country, thus to reincorporate it into the structures of home and family. In this sense their identity is contingent, and situational (Linnekin and Poyer 1990:13), and a response to the pressures of colonisation. The assumption of a single united identity associated with the totality of country previously overtly patterned into clan estates, accompanied by the post-classical forms of cognatic descent reckoning, social organisation into tribe and 'family', and changes in kinship rules, might be seen as indicating the dominance of the colonial rupture as the source of contemporary identity. But as Sutton (1998) suggests, these are transformations within existing traditions, rather than the development of completely new social forms. In this they are now the traditions of the post-classical world, whose forms are to be found throughout Australia.

Finally, I note that Sutton (1998:62) links such post-classical features to a population boom among people of mixed ancestry, the result of social closure between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in both rural and urban environments in the post-war period. The features that he describes apply equally as much to groups such as the Lamalama mob, among whom relatively few people are of mixed ancestry. They do, however, share the likelihood of a geographically disparate membership, again the effect of dispossession. In this sense the wider Lamalama group, which includes families in other northern communities as well as southern Queensland, more truly represents the key feature of the families of polity that Sutton (1998:61) describes - surnames that confer identification with traditional lands, and the rights and duties of tribal affiliation. The core group of people with whom I worked in the Coen/Port Stewart region retain a significant coherence with classical features, as for example, their attendance to marriage rules and avoidance behaviour, and the ideological

adherence to a patrifilial descent pattern among senior generations. In reality, and as described above, they reckon descent cognatically.

The way in which people fight with lovers, defend members of the group in times of crisis, or deal with breaches of the moral and jural code of Aboriginal Law are part of the same complex of expression and experience as are the emotions which we understand as the more profound experience associated with the spiritual domain. It is not my intention to suggest that the emotion that people such as the Lamalama relate to the land is not profound, rather that within the personal mysteries of felt experience, an ideology of the profound nature of all of life prevails. Identity is expressed in spiritual and secular negotiations between people, and emotion is the vehicle for their expression. In the spaces created by the transformation from classical to post-classical system, emotion has become the means for adjudicating personal and collective rights, interests, and obligations.

Appendix One

The schedule of questions administered to a total of 6 women and 6 men is provided below, in the general order asked. Interviews usually began with the first question listed, but as each session progressed, the order of questions was sometimes changed, or questions were omitted altogether, in response to the answers provided by participants. The interviews were conducted as single sessions with individual participants, and tape-recorded. Interviews with women were conducted from November to December 1992, and with men from November to December 1993. Each session was nondirective, and questions were open-ended. Neuman (1997:373) describes interviews in field situations as usually being serial events, involving descriptive, structural, and contrast questions. Although these were single-session interviews, those kinds of questions were asked. Initial questions were descriptive, but apart from that, no particular ordering of questioning was applied. Probes, in the form of pauses and additional questions, were used when answers were incomplete, vague, or ambiguous. Additional questions, not recorded below, were asked when participants diverged from the responses requested into areas of special interest to them, as for example when one man talked about matters of spiritual belief in response to questions about the land, and when a woman talked about her understanding of Lamalama attitudes to the dead when talking about concepts of kinship.

Both men and women were asked to participate in 1992, but as indicated in the Preface, men at first declined to take part. The women interviewed participated without the promise of financial reward. Most participants were paid, apart from a couple of women who refused to accept any payment.

Results of the questionnaire inform the text throughout, but have not been subjected to any kind of quantitative analysis, for several reasons. Firstly, the schedule of questions was not designed for that purpose. It was designed and administered in the attempt to have the participants talk about topics of mutual interest, which would inform the epistemological assumptions of the thesis.

Answers did not provide very comparable data sets; for example, none of the women interviewed volunteered or provided any information about *puuya* events, although three of the men did. Women also talked more about matters of personal history than men. Secondly, a considerable period of time passed between asking questions of women and of men. Some social and political change had occurred in between conducting the sessions with women and men, notably their participation in the Lakefield National Park claim, which may have influenced attitudes to the questions asked in the interviews with men. Thirdly, there was not strict comparability in terms of age or other indicators across the two groups of participants. Of the six women interviewed, two were under thirty years old, and only one woman was in employment. Of the six men, four were under thirty years of age, and none were employed. Thus even other, more qualitative methods, such as a gender analysis, would not provide strictly comparable results either. Finally, participants were promised complete confidentiality as a condition of participation. This was particularly important to male participants - as interviewer, I had to assure them that some categories of information they provided could not be traced back to the individual who provided the information.

Thus the responses to the interviews have been used to inform the interpretations contained in the thesis, which accords with their primary purposes, which were to engage with research participants on matters of mutual interest, and to provide a working data set which I could use to cross-check facts and interpretations while still in the field.

The interview questions

1. What do you mean when you call someone stronghead/hardhead? Are these the same thing?
2. How do you feel when you're angry? (Hot, cold, weak, strong, trembling, shaking, like shouting, crying, screaming)
3. If you're angry, where do you feel it - in the head/ heart/stomach/other parts of body?
4. How do you feel when you feel happy? Where do you feel it?
5. How did you feel about getting the land?
6. How did you feel on handover day?

7. How do you feel about it all now?
8. Do you like to go there? Do you like to live there?
9. Do you like to just visit, eg. for the weekend? Why?
10. What do you like/dislike about having the land?
11. What do you like/dislike about going there?
12. Would you rather that the place was different in some way before you went to live there?
13. What relations can you swear/gamin swear?
14. How do you think/feel family should behave towards each other?
15. Do you think that just for close up, one blood family, or for all family?
16. Do you like living in Coen? Would you rather live on the land? Why/why not?
17. How do you know if someone is angry?
18. How do you know if someone is feeling:
shame/happy/lonely/wild/mad/crazy?
19. What do you mean when you say someone is "simple"?
20. What do you mean when you say someone is "myall"?

Appendix Two

The colonising process as it was experienced in Cape York Peninsula undoubtedly brought social change with it, and like their neighbours, the Princess Charlotte Bay peoples were brought into the orbit of the new political and cultural regime. Jolly (1997) addressed this issue, considering what available linguistic and cultural information can tell us about systemic changes in the societies of the region. I am interested in these and other discussions for what they reveal about development of single group identity among the Princess Charlotte Bay peoples. Before reviewing Jolly's argument, I first note that the evidence which Jolly reviews describes a society that is already, in Sutton's terms, a post-classical one. Jolly (1997:273) begins by briefly comparing wordlists for the four principal Princess Charlotte Bay languages,⁶⁹ collected twenty years apart by Rigsby and herself. There appears to be little difference, although some grammatical changes do seem to have occurred, particularly in Umpithamu.

She notes these as a reduction in the pronoun paradigm with the loss of locative and ablative pronouns, and an increased reliance on word order to mark grammatical relationships, suggesting an increased exposure of its speakers to English. Jolly states that there are obviously great lexical differences between the four languages, such that a linguist would categorise them as mutually unintelligible, thus requiring conscious language learning. Lamalama, Umbuygamu, and Rimanggudinhma have unusual phonological features, including, variously, voiced and voiceless fricative series, voiced and voiceless rhotics, prestopped nasals and prenasalised stops, while Umpithamu has none of these unusual features (Jolly 1997:274).

Hale (1964;1966, cited in Jolly) demonstrated how the languages of this group, and other phonologically unusual Cape York Peninsula languages could be

⁶⁹ Lamalama, Umbuygamu, Rimanggudinhma, and Umpithamu.

derived from a “completely conservative Australian ancestor”, that he designated as Proto-Paman. This postulated ancestor is “conceived as having consonant-initial word structure and primary stress on the first syllable, as is usual for Australian languages”. A shift of stress to the second syllable is suggested as the trigger for some Peninsula languages, including the Lamalamic group, to lose their initial consonant or syllable.

This “initial-dropping” process removed phonemic distinctions in initial segments but not their residual phonotactic effects, such as fricativisation, in following ones, with the result that new phonemic distinctions were set up (Hale 1966:168). Thus languages such as those of the Lamalamic group developed their unusual phoneme inventories. (Jolly 1997:274)

Alpher (1976:87) distinguishes between initial dropping and initial softening languages such as Umpithamu. Rigsby (n.d.:7, cited in Jolly) concludes, on the basis of lexical sharing, that Lamalama and Umbuygamu form a genetic subgrouping, while Rimanggudinhma probably shares a genetic lineage with its southern Thaypanic neighbours. Rigsby sees Umpithamu as sharing greater lexical similarity with Ayapathu and Umpila than it does with its southerly neighbours. This divergent genetic heritage Rigsby attributes to a common morphosyntax brought about by:

actors participating in a more or less well-bounded social network of interaction patterns ... whereas their lexical and phonological differences signify or index lower-level ‘ethnic’ differences among the constituent social segments (Rigsby n.d.:13, cited in Jolly 1997).

Jolly summarises Rigsby as concluding that the grammatical unity of the languages of the social group known as the Lamalama results from regular social interaction among the speakers, whereas the diversity is the result of differing histories among the social sub-groups. In this scenario, Umpithamu stands out for its similarity to northern groups, while Rimanggudinhma resembles more southerly groups, and demonstrates greater similarity to other Lamalamic languages than Umpithamu (Jolly 1997:275). Alpher suggested a correlation between sociocultural factors and these unusual linguistic traits. He noted a correlation of

the four-section marriage class system with the incidence of initial-dropping in the southern Peninsula. Exceptions to this, however, included the Lamalamic group, which had initial dropping, but no section system; Umpithamu had neither initial-dropping nor a section system. Alpher (1976:89) stated that the four-section system and other practices such as subincision were spreading at the time of first European contact, and carried a complex of ceremonialism and totemism with them, and were seen as prestigious by peoples who did not possess them. Alpher thus sees their introduction as comparatively recent, and as Jolly (1997: 276) notes, probably spread along trade routes into Cape York Peninsula from the south. Initial-dropping common to southern languages followed (Jolly 1997:276), although subincision was never practiced on Cape York Peninsula.

Jolly (1997:277) suggests this cultural flux does not explain the presence of the linguistic innovation, but does explain the lack of the social one. If the linguistic change came from the south, she writes, and preceded the social innovation, it would reinforce Rigsby's suggestion of linguistic patterns within the Lamalamic group reflecting different patterns of social interaction. Jolly finds further evidence for this in Alpher's suggestion of initial softening and maternal totemism. He (Alpher 1976:93) suggests that the Lamalamic languages underwent initial softening "before initial dropping erased all traces of it", and if so, "the association of this linguistic innovation with the abovementioned sociocultural one [of maternal totemism] is perfect." Alpher also notes that the further dimensions of this sociocultural correlation with initial softening included the use and manufacture of outrigger canoes, as well as the practice of tooth avulsion. The use of varieties of double-outrigger canoes was recorded as spreading southwards along the coast of Cape York Peninsula during the early years of the twentieth century, including passing through the Umpithamu and Umbuygamu areas, "apparently at the expense of the undercrossed (single) outrigger", which would have facilitated greater communication between groups of the region (Alpher 1976:93-94). Jolly (1997:278) asserts that a picture of "a much more cohesive social and linguistic network characterised by maternal totemism" now emerges. She suggests that the failure of the Lamalamic-speaking peoples to adopt the ritual-bearing section system, with its structural potential for empowering men over women, "perhaps

provides evidence that it has always been important to them to recognise both “mother right” and “father right” ...”.

Jolly does not state this as cognatic descent, but the principle she is propounding is one which has taken on increased significance in recent writings. Langton (1997:86) has recently suggested a similar view in relation to the present, by elucidating the importance of “grandmother’s Law” in the contemporary situation, where much of the political dynamic about land-based succession is played out in the forum of land claims:

It is increasingly acknowledged by anthropologists that among Aboriginal groups which have endured rapid population loss as a result of frontier violence and disease, forced removals or other impacts of colonisation, the senior women of the relevant land tenure corporations take on a special role in succession arrangements where the original land-holding corporation has not survived.

Understanding the role of grandmothers’ Law in the transformation of land-holding patterns from small “clans” to the wider regional groupings, and in particular, in succession processes, is particularly important for both statutory and native title claims (Langton 1997:86)

Increasingly, Langton suggests, it is the matrikin of customary land corporations who are assuming the caretaker role for extinct groups, and assuming an important role in the formation of the regional groupings which present as claimant groups in some claims. Langton’s view of contemporary land-focussed action groups, which draw on the structural and political position of women, seemingly interrogates matters germane to Sutton’s model of the post-classical principles of cognatic descent reckoning and group formation. Indeed, Langton (1997:fn.2) acknowledges that this is so. She makes the salient point that successive colonial impacts have had “differential effects on males and females at the macrolevel, and on surviving sibling sets in generations at the microlevel” - an important point in relation to the evidence it is necessary to present in support of legislated opportunities, such as native title claims, especially when considered against the backdrop of historical pressures on marriage patterns and rules of

descent that may have prevailed in the past. These descent rules have often been interpreted as patrilineal, particularly in the Northern Territory, where the definitional model of the ALRA has been influential, as both Keen (1984) and Langton (1997:92) point out.

Sutton and Rigsby (1982) have previously argued against a strictly patrilineal (or even unilineal) model of descent as applying in Cape York Peninsula. They have suggested that unilineal land-owning corporate groups on the Peninsula are characteristically limited to a size of up to 50 people, thus are likely, over time, to become extinct. They write that such groups act as managers of the structural dimensions of land ownership:

Without such management, it is clear that the mechanical implementing of a simple rule of patrilineal succession ("all persons inherit their father's land") would rapidly result in a smallish number of very large groups owning small areas in large areas of land lacking owners. The political management of land divides oversized land-owning groups into smaller segments and ensures that the lands of extinct land-owning groups continue to be owned and used by successors (Sutton and Rigsby 1982:159).

One of the ways in which Aboriginal landowners manage succession to land is through the active negotiations of women, "legitimately pursuing their interests and those of their descendants" - the relationship between mother's mother and grandchild is a crucial one in organising succession, Langton suggests (1997:106), particularly in cases of succession between land-owning groups with insufficient members to be viable. In these cases, Langton states, it is the marriages between people at the grandparental level, and thus the alliances forged between estates through marriage, which determine patterns of relationship between landholding groups. In terms of descent, this must be viewed as a cognatic principle to allow for the appropriate degree of inclusiveness that is expressed by groups such as the Lakefield claimants (Langton 1997:106-107). Certainly, the Lakefield claim revealed considerable reduction in the numbers of clans which formerly existed, and owned countries in the pericoastal Bay area - in most cases, rights in those estates were presumed to be shared by the Lamalama, as is all the land of their former clan estates.

Langton's views of the importance of grandmothers to the process accords with my experience on Cape York Peninsula, where I observed grandmothers actively controlling the movements of grandchildren in and out of the community, in what might be regarded as rehearsal for future governance of the land-based polity. Of course, the Lamalama are now a single group with broad regional focus and unified identity as a land-based social group, which raises a final consideration. Although we can trace the movements of the Lamalama mob through time, to the moment of their ultimate resettling of the Port Stewart region, is it possible to trace the development of their singular identity from what would obviously have been a more elaborated perception of themselves as owners of smaller, more distinct tracts of country? Rigsby (1993 pers.comm.) told me during the research preparation for the Lakefield claim that now-deceased informants such as Frank and Daisy Salt tended to refer to themselves as members of certain clans rather than by the single, language-based identification of "Lamalama", during his linguistic recording sessions with them in the early 1970s. Present Lamalama people, however, do not consciously recall a time when they thought of themselves in any other way. Other Coen *pama*, on the other hand, recall thinking of them as groups gathered around a focal person. An Olkolo man who spent his childhood on the old Reserve on the edge of Coen township told me once that he used to love seeing the Port Stewart mob coming into town from out of the bush, naked and carrying spears. "They wild mob, old man Jimmy Jealous mob, and I bin frighten from 'em!"

With this in mind, it would seem that the singular identity of the Lamalama is a relatively recent formalisation of what was probably already a socially close group. Sutton and Rigsby (1982:158) note that coastal people tended not to move over wide areas, but to "shift mainly within the narrow coastal strip." The observations of Roth, Hale and Tindale, and Thomson indicate the progressive consolidation of the people of Princess Charlotte Bay into closer physical, and ultimately, social proximity with each other through intermarriage and the alliances so brought about, as a result of rapid population loss. Langton's (1997) and Sutton's (1998) recognition of the changes to patterns of descent and succession to land that result from the loss of population numbers is important here. Despite

some linguistic diversity indicating potentially lesser social interaction or proximity in the past, Umpithamu speakers have not only become integrated with the rest of the Lamalama mob, they have, through an appropriate past transfer of rights from mother's brother to sister's son, become significant customary owners of land at Port Stewart.

Among the reasons that section systems were not adopted in the past, lack of numbers to fill ritual roles is likely to have played as much a part as is a concern with equitable recognition of the rights of both genders. In such conditions, negotiation over succession to the land, thus ensuring the survival of the group, was demonstrably an important consideration. It is at least partly through the transfer of rights between clan members in the past that the present Lamalama mob is constituted as it is. If, as it seems, a singular Lamalama social group identity was not commonplace in the 1970s, then it is very recent indeed, being less than thirty years old. It is nonetheless grounded in long-standing relations of kin, clan, and social contiguity, and is likely to have been reaffirmed in the process of once more establishing a Lamalama presence in the Bay area in the aftermath of removal, and consequent return.

Appendix Three

Both Rigsby and I gave opinion evidence before the Tribunal convened to hear the Lakefield National Park and Cliff Islands National Park land claims, on the relative meaning of traditional affiliation and traditional ownership (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996a: s.718-719). I suggest now that the concept of native title elucidates an aspect of the definition of “traditional ownership” that the Queensland Act and previous Land Rights legislation did not establish. All of these Acts take an ahistorical stance in relation to Aboriginal relationships to land, whereas the Native Title legislation begins with the premise that the land of Australia was previously owned by Aboriginal people. The Preamble to the *Native Title Act 1993* states that:

The people whose descendants are now known as Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islanders were the inhabitants of Australia before European settlement.

This simple statement reflects the Lamalama view of their status in relation to land, and it is this dimension of recognition of prior ownership that is missing from the word and the spirit of the ALA. The Queensland legislation makes limited categories of land available to claim (Cordell 1995:6), and does not seek to recognise past injustice, as the High Court of Australia did in the Mabo judgement (Lavarch 1994:iv), or as the Native Title Act does (Preamble p.2). It should be noted, however, that the Mabo judgement omitted to characterise the right of the Meriam people to the possession, occupation, use and enjoyment of their traditional lands as “ownership” (Pearson 1993:82), and the subsequent legislation seeks only to recognise the existence of native title where the holders of such title have not been dispossessed (Lavarch 1994:iv).

In seeking to claim the land occupied by the two National Parks, the Lakefield and Cliff Islands mobs were asserting their continuity with the period before dispossession, and in their moral purview, they were acting on their

responsibility to claim title to the land. The notion of 'spiritual connection' that *pama* hold is constituted of their knowledge of themselves as members of a continuing line of connection with particular land that stretches through time, and is not broken by the events of the post-classical period. Their view of their status as 'traditional owners' incorporates aspects of both the ALA and the native title legislation, in viewing that status as proof of 'spiritual connection', but is not encapsulated by it. While the claimants accepted the condition of joint ownership with the State, their concern was to reinstate the Aboriginal presence in the landscape. This process began with their presence at all the proceedings associated with the claims.

Waiting out the bureaucrats

The process of claiming the land was prolonged, covering more than three years from the initial meetings at the Laura Dance Grounds in December 1992, to the announcement of the Tribunal's decision in April 1996. The claimants, including the Lamalama, were active in the process until the completion of hearings in November 1994. After the Lakefield decision was made, the claimants were subject to the legislated requirements of the Queensland Department of Environment (DEH), which were that a joint Board of Management be formed between that Department and the claimants, and a plan of management developed. It was not until 1999 that the Queensland government finalised the transfer of Lakefield National Park.

While none of the Lamalama have expressed bitterness to me about the lengthy period to a successful outcome of their claim, their frustration with the situation was already evident at a June 1995 meeting at old Breeza homestead⁷⁰. In particular, claimants were disturbed by the lack of understanding on the part of DEH of Aboriginal notions of ownership, which incorporate living on the land and using its resources according to established patterns of need and availability. The DEH position presented to the claimants was inherently conservative, seeking to

⁷⁰ This meeting was attended at various times by a representative group of claimants, as well as representatives of the Queensland Department of Environment and Heritage (as it then was), and the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs, and a staff solicitor from Cape York Land Council. I attended and reported on one day of the meeting at the request of the Land Council.

contain Aboriginal notions of ownership within bureaucratic management regimes, manifested for example, in competing views about residence and the keeping of domestic animals on the Park (Hafner 1995b). A decision had not been handed down by the Tribunal at the time of this meeting, but there was little evidence that DEH would willingly relinquish an equal portion of executive management to the new joint owners.

In seeking to work out joint management arrangements, the Departmental approach at the time gave priority to the bureaucratic process developed in response to statutory requirements, and economic considerations. Issues of contention between the claimants and DEH at the Breeza meeting included the requirement that the claimants apply for a Traditional Use Authority in order to access natural resources within the Park, and lack of funding to establish management regimes that would employ Aboriginal owners. From the point of view of some of the Aboriginal people present, including some of the younger Lamalama, this approach questioned their authority as land owners, effectively calling on them to prove once again that they would be responsible land managers. In giving evidence before the Tribunal, claimants had already been required to demonstrate their responsibilities, as they exist within Aboriginal tradition, as land and resource managers.

The claimants are not yet actively in control of the land they have successfully claimed. There are still no *pama* living in Lakefield National Park, apart from one man employed as a Ranger, and another elderly man there for health reasons. The Port Stewart Lamalama have attended one meeting about joint management arrangements held at the site of the old Breeza Plains homestead within Lakefield National Park in June 1995, and they infrequently traverse the Park on their way to other destinations. Apart from these and similar instances, there is no real *pama* presence on or involvement with management of Lakefield National Park. In the intervening years, interest in the Park has waxed and waned.

Post-claim impacts on Lamalama land use

For the Lamalama, the claims process was a matter of establishing a new integration of people with their country. Identity is concerned with this integration, and not with a nostalgic adoption of past practices. In the long-term, the most lasting effect of the relevant legislation enacted in the 1990s seems to be less a matter of material benefit for the Lamalama, with the exception of the transfer of land at Port Stewart. Acquiring title to the Cliff Islands was of great cultural significance, but its value is not primarily that of a resource base. The potential value of the Lakefield National Park lands as a base for economic pursuits or customary resource practices have not yet been effectively tested.

Rowse (1993) has made it clear that the intention to make Parks in the national estate available for Aboriginal claim is not unmitigatedly beneficial, because of an innate difference in understandings of appropriate land management between Aborigines and the wider Australian perception. During the period of the Lakefield claim, for example, considerable debate on the issue of traditional Aboriginal resource exploitation and its relevance to National Parks occurred, some of it in the daily news media, some spilling over into academic discussion (eg. Ponte, Marsh and Jackson 1994).

The hoary issue of the nature of Aboriginal tradition, rendered via the distinction between the right of Aborigines to employ technologies acquired in the post-contact era, versus the notion that it is the continuation of practices across time that constitutes traditional resource exploitation, was raised. In the view of the Lakefield claimants it was both ridiculous and unjust to expect them to begin to adopt practices that belonged to a previous era and with which many were not familiar. In the main, they had grown up using firearms and motorised vehicles, and as Australian citizens with equal responsibility under the laws of the land, they regarded it as unjust that they should be expected to behave in a contrary fashion. It is also an ahistorical view; a wealth of documentation exists, beginning with explorers' accounts (eg. Mitchell 1848; Carron 1996) that informs us of the rapidity with which Aboriginal people selectively sought out and adapted the material culture of the invaders. The 'pro-tradition' (or perhaps 'anti-change')

view acquired strength in relation to National Parks because Aboriginal uses of Parks would undoubtedly impact on the national public interest.

Discussions between the claimants and representatives of Queensland's Department of Environment⁷¹ before the Tribunal hearings made it apparent that there was considerable bureaucratic resistance to the use of firearms within the Park, on the grounds of public safety. At the June 1995 meeting of Rirmerr members at the old Breeza Plains homestead in Lakefield National Park, Departmental representatives were arguing for the exclusion of living zones within the Park. In the view of the Park's now declared Aboriginal joint owners, areas needed to be set aside as living and hunting areas, from which the wider public should be excluded. The frustration of the *pama* present, and the difficulty the Departmental personnel had in accommodating the Aboriginal view, made it apparent that despite the long lead-up, and the already existing models (notably the Uluru/Kata Tjuta plan of management), Queensland Department of Environment was not prepared for substantial Aboriginal participation in the management of Lakefield National Park, or adjacent Parks similarly claimed by traditional owners.

This was despite the size of the Park, consisting of more than a half-million hectares of varied country and waterways, and the paucity of staffing numbers - at the time, three full-time staff. DEH representatives also spoke to the claimants of their inability to effectively manage the Park due to inadequate funding, or to police its precincts. In contradistinction, the claimant body was more than 2500 people, in my conservative estimate (State of Queensland Land Tribunal 1996a:s.851), of which numbers of people were prepared to relocate to the Park and participate in its management. The DEH model for management appears to have more in common with the 'Yellowstone model' (Cordell 1995:2; Lane 1993), which promotes protection of natural features, and a guarantee, for all time, of a public right of access. This model equates national parks with pristine wilderness, promoting the view that they are "uninhabited land where the course of nature progresses without human intervention" (Cordell 1995:2). Needless to say, it is difficult to bend such a model to accommodate the full range of rights,

⁷¹ Previously, and during the claims period, the Department of Environment and Heritage.

interests, and responsibilities that Aboriginal people seek to pursue on national parks.

The transferred land at Port Stewart, on the other hand, has remained the centre of Lamalama land-based practices. Equally important, it is the locus of the practices which allow the Lamalama to assert a particular identity. On this land they are free to develop a collective future according to their own designs and the limits of their abilities to achieve it. They are able to make their own decisions about the practices carried out on the land, and are not restricted by imposed views of appropriate Aboriginal behaviour.

Initial concerns held by senior Lamalama people and some of their advisers about the possible fragmentation of the Lamalama polity as the result of the Lakefield National Park claim have not been realised. Plans for the use of the Park included various economic uses, which, it was feared, would tend to draw the younger people away from the Coen-Port Stewart region for employment on projects jointly managed by the claimants and the Queensland Department of Environment. The Lakefield claim has not substantially increased the mobility of the Lamalama, nor changed the way in which they apply their principles of social organisation.⁷² The gaining of title to land at Port Stewart, and the co-operative relationship between them and their peak political and resource agencies, the Cape York Land Council and Balkanu Cape York Development Corporation respectively, has effected the most significant recent changes to Lamalama ways of being. Living patterns have not been essentially changed by participation in the claims.

⁷² It is unlikely, in my view, that the Lamalama of the Coen-Port Stewart outstation will now be drawn towards future projects in Lakefield National Park. Port Stewart outstation development is considerably more advanced than it was at the time of the claims, and it is more likely that members of the wider claimant group will be drawn to projects there than the Lamalama.

References

Aboriginal Land Tribunal

- 1994 Transcript of proceedings. *In the matter of Aboriginal land claims to: Lakefield and Cliff Islands National Parks*. Recorded at Cooktown, Bizant, Brisbane and various sites, June-November, 1994.

Abu-Lughod, L.

- 1986 *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 1990 Shifting politics in Bedouin love poetry, pp.24-45 in C. A. Lutz and L. Abu-Lughod (eds.) *Language and the politics of emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Abu-Lughod, L. and Lutz, C.A.

- 1990 Introduction: emotion, discourse, and the politics of everyday life, pp.1-23 in C.A. Lutz and L. Abu-Lughod (eds.) *Language and the politics of emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Alpher, B.

- 1976 Some linguistic innovations in Cape York and their sociocultural correlates, pp.84-101 in P. Sutton (ed.) *Languages of Cape York*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Anderson, J.C.

- 1979 Multiple Enterprise: Contemporary Aboriginal Subsistence Strategy in South-east Cape York Peninsula, pp.77-81 in N.C. Stevens and A. Bailey (eds.), *Contemporary Cape York Peninsula*. Brisbane: Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland.
- 1984 *The Political and Economic Basis of Kuku-Yalanji Social History*. St Lucia: Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Queensland.

- 1989 Centralization and group inequalities in north Queensland, pp.67-84 in J.C. Altman (ed.) *Emergent Inequalities in Aboriginal Australia*. Sydney: Oceania Monograph No.38.
- Beale, E. (ed.)
- 1970 *Kennedy Workbook: A Critical Analysis of the Route of E. B. Kennedy's 1848 Exploration of Cape York Peninsula*. Wollongong: Wollongong University College, University of New South Wales.
- Beaton, J.M.
- 1985 Evidence for a coastal occupation time-lag at Princess Charlotte Bay (North Queensland) and implications for coastal colonisation and population growth theories for Aboriginal Australia. *Archaeology in Oceania* 20: 1-20.
- Beckett, J.R.
- 1988 Introduction, pp.1-10 in J.R. Beckett (ed.) *Past and Present: The Construction of Aboriginality*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Berndt, R.M. and Berndt, C. H
- 1970 *Man, Land, and Myth*. Sydney: Ure Smith.
- Bolton, G.C.
- 1970 *A Thousand Miles Away: A History of North Queensland to 1920*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Bolton, R.
- 1995 Tricks, friends and lovers: erotic encounters in the field, pp.140-167 in D. Kulick and M. Willson (eds.) *Taboo: sex, identity and erotic subjectivity in anthropological fieldwork*. London: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P.
- 1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. R. Nice (trans.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Briggs, J.

- 1970 *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Burbank, V.K.

- 1988 *Aboriginal Adolescence: maidenhood in an Australian community*. New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press
- 1994 *Fighting Women: anger and aggression in Aboriginal Australia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Burke, P.

- 1997 Representations of the Self from Petrarch to Descartes, pp.17-28 in R. Porter (ed.) *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*. London and New York: Routledge.

Carron, W.

- 1996 *Narrative of an Expedition, undertaken under the direction of the late Mr. Assistant Surveyor E.B. Kennedy, for the exploration of the country between Rockingham Bay and Cape York*. Sydney: Kemp and Fairfax. [1849] Les Hiddens Facsimile edition, Bundaberg: Corkwood Press.

Carter, P.

- 1989 *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Chase, A. K.

- 1972 *The Coen Races – An Aboriginal Meeting Time*. Unpublished typescript. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Library.
- 1980 *Which Way Now? Tradition, continuity and change in a north Queensland Aboriginal community*. St Lucia: Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Queensland.

Chase, A.K. and Sutton, P.

- 1987 Australian Aborigines in a rich environment, pp.1819-1852 in A. Keast (ed.) *Ecological Biogeography of Australia*. The Hague: W. Junk.

Coen Regional Aboriginal Corporation (CRAC)

- 1995 Indigenous management of land and sea project: Coen Aboriginal community profile, pp.8-1 - 8-15. In J.Cordell (ed.) *Indigenous Management of Land and Sea and Traditional Activities in Cape York Peninsula*. Brisbane: Office of the Coordinator General, Canberra: Commonwealth Information Services.

Collier, J. and Yanigasako, S.

- 1987 *Gender and kinship: Essays toward a unified analysis*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Cordell, J.

- 1995 Indigenous peoples' involvement in terrestrial protected areas, pp.13-1 - 13-23. In J. Cordell (ed.) *Indigenous Management of Land and Sea and Traditional Activities in Cape York Peninsula*. Brisbane: Office of the Coordinator General, and Canberra: Commonwealth Information Services.

Corfield, W, H.

- 1935 Reminiscences of North Queensland, 1862-1878. Paper read at a meeting of the society on 18 August, 1920. *The Historical Society of Queensland Journal* Vol. 11(1-6):81-97.

Csordas, T.J.

- 1990 Embodiment as a Paradigm for Anthropology. *Ethos* 18 (1):5-47.
1994 Introduction: the body as representation and being-in-the-world, pp.1-26 in T.J. Csordas (ed.) *Embodiment and Experience: The existential ground of culture and self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Curr, E.M.

1886 *The Australian Race. Its origins, languages, customs, places of landing in Australia and the routes by which it spread itself over that continent.* Melbourne: Government Printer, 4 volumes.

Darwin, C.

1872 *The expression of the emotions in man and animals.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Davis, S and Prescott, J.R.V.

1992 *Aboriginal Frontiers and Boundaries in Australia.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Dudgeon, P and Oxenham, D.

1990 *The Complexity of Aboriginal Diversity: Identity and Kindredness.* Ngulaig Monograph No.1. University of Queensland: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Unit.

Ekman, P.

1974 *Universal Facial Expressions of Emotion*, R.A. LeVine (ed.) *Culture and Personality: Contemporary Readings.* Chicago: Aldine.

1977 *Biological and cultural differences in facial expressions of emotion.* *The Anthropology of the Body*, J. Blacking (ed.). ASA Monograph 15 London: Academic.

1980 *Face of Man: Universal Expression in a New Guinea Village.* New York: Garland.

Elkin, A.P.

1964 *The Australian Aborigines.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

Environment Science and Services (NQ)

1995 *Stage 1 Overview Reports: Thematic Report 1 of 3 - Natural Resources and Ecology.* Cape York Peninsula Land Use Strategy, Department of the Premier, Economic and Trade Development, Brisbane, and Department of the Environment, Sport and Territories, Canberra.

- Fison, L. and Howitt, A.W.
1880 *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*. Melbourne: George Robertson.
- Fitzgerald, R.
1982 *From the Dreaming to 1915: A History of Queensland*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
- Fortes, M.
1969 *Kinship and the Social Order*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
1978 An Anthropologist's Apprenticeship. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7:1-30.
- 1979
- Foucault, M.
1972 *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. A.M. Sheridan Smith (trans.). New York: Pantheon Books.
- Goodenough, W.H.
1968 Componential Analysis. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. D. Sills (ed.) Vol 3:186-192.
- Green, L.
1998 Lived Lives and Social Suffering: Problems and Concerns in Medical Anthropology. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 12 (1):3-7.
- Hafner, D.
1990 *The Dugong Hunters of Cape York Today: Factors in the Formation of Identity and the Emergence of the Port Stewart Lamalama "tribe"*. Unpublished Honours thesis, St Lucia: Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Queensland.
1995a Lamalama "One Mob" for Land: The Port Stewart Lamalama Community. In J. Cordell (ed.) *Indigenous Management of Land and Sea and Traditional Activities in Cape York Peninsula*. Brisbane: Office of the Coordinator General, and Canberra: Commonwealth Information Services, pp.9-1 - 9-21.
1995b *Report On Meeting With Rirmerr Members (Lamalama) At Old Breeza Plains Homestead Camp, Lakefield National Park, 13 June*

1995. Restricted unpublished report to the Principal Solicitor, Cape York Land Council.

Hale, H. and Tindale, N.B.

1933 Aborigines of Princess Charlotte Bay, North Queensland. *Records of the South Australian Museum* 5(1): 65-173.

1934 Aborigines of Princess Charlotte Bay, North Queensland. *Records of the South Australian Museum* 5(2):117-172.

Hale, K.

1964 Classification of northern Paman languages, Cape York Peninsula. Australia: a research report. *Oceanic Linguistics* 3:248-265.

1966 The paman group of the Pama-Nyungan phyllic family. *Anthropological Linguistics* 8(2):162-197.

Hallowell, A.I.

1955 *Culture and Experience*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hamilton, A.

1981a *Nature and Nurture: Aboriginal Child-Rearing in North-Central Arnhem Land*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

1981b A complex strategical situation: gender and power in Aboriginal Australia, pp.69-85 in N. Grieve and P. Grimshaw (eds.) *Australian Women: Feminist Perspectives*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Harkins, J.

1990 Shame and Shyness in the Aboriginal Classroom: A case for "Practical Semantics". *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 10:293-306.

Haviland, J.B. and Haviland, L.

1980 "How much food will there be in heaven?" Lutherans and Aborigines around Cooktown before 1900. *Aboriginal History* 4:119-149.

Hiatt, L.R.

- 1962 Local Organization among the Australian Aborigines. *Oceania* 32: 267-286.
- 1966 The Lost Horde. *Oceania* 37 (2): 81-92.
- 1965 *Kinship and conflict*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- 1978 Classification of Emotions, pp.182-187 in L.R. Hiatt (ed.) *Australian Aboriginal Concepts*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- 1984 Traditional Land Tenure and Contemporary Land Claims, pp.11-23 in L.R. Hiatt (ed.) *Aboriginal Landowners: Contemporary Issues in the Determination of Traditional Aboriginal Land Ownership*. Sydney: University of Sydney.

Hirsch, E. and O'Hanlon, M. (eds.)

- 1995 *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hughes, I.

- 1978 "A State of Open Warfare": Frontier Conflict in the Cooktown Area, pp.99-117 in H. Reynolds (ed.) *Race Relations in North Queensland*. Townsville: James Cook University of North Queensland.

Jack, R.L.

- 1922 *Northmost Australia*. Melbourne: George Robertson.

Jackson, M.

- 1981 Knowledge of the Body. *Man* 18:327-345.

Jolly, L.

- 1997 *Hearth and Country: The Bases of Women's Power in an Aboriginal Community on Cape York Peninsula*. St Lucia: Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Queensland.

Jolly, L. and Jolly, P.

n.d. *Living Traditions and Cultural Heritage: The Case of Old Silver Plains Homestead*. Unpublished paper produced for the Australia Heritage Council, 7 pages.

Keen, I.

1984 "A Question of Interpretation: The definition of 'Traditional Aboriginal Owners' in the Aboriginal Land Rights (N.T.) Act", pp.24-43 in L.R. Hiatt (ed.) *Aboriginal Landowners: Contemporary Issues in the Determination of Traditional Aboriginal Land Ownership*. Sydney: University of Sydney.

Keesing, R.

1975 *Kin Groups and Social Structure*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

1982 Kastom in Melanesia: An Overview. *Mankind* 13: 297-301.

Kidd, R.

1997 *The Way We Civilise: Aboriginal Affairs -The Untold Story*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

Korn, C.J. and A.M. Nicotera

1993 Friend and Mate Relationship Literature, Empirical Propositions, and Methodology. In Anne Maydan Nicotera and Associates, *Interpersonal Communication in Friend and Mate Relationships*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Kuper, A. (ed.)

1977 *The Social Anthropology of Radcliffe-Brown*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Lane, M.

1993 *Joint Management: Sharing the Wet Tropics*. Unpublished discussion paper commissioned by the Rainforest Aboriginal Network.

Langton, M.

- 1988 *Medicine Square*, pp.201-225 in I. Keen (ed.) *Being Black: Aboriginal Cultures in 'Settled' Australia*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- 1997 *Grandmother's Law, Company Business and Succession in Changing Aboriginal Tenure Systems*, pp.84-116 in G. Yunupingu (ed.) *Our Land is Our Life: Land Rights - Past, Present and Future*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

Lavarch, M.

- 1994 *Foreword*, pp.iii-v. *Native Title Act 1993 with Foreword by the Attorney-general, Michael Lavarch, Commentary and Index by the Attorney-General's Legal Practice, National Native Title Regulations, and Second Reading Speech*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Laycock, D.

- 1969 *Three Lamalamic languages of North Queensland*. *Pacific Linguistic Series A* 17:71-97.

Lee, R.B and Devore, I.

- 1968 *Man the Hunter*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing.

Levy, R.I.

- 1973 *Tahitians: Mind and Experience in the Society Islands*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Liddy, M.

- 1985 *Lumma Lumma Tribe: Past and Present*. *Black Voices* 2 (1):9-11.

Linnekin, J. and Poyer, L.

- 1990 *Introduction*, pp.1-16 in *Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Loos, N.

- 1982 *Invasion and Resistance: Aboriginal-European relations on the North Queensland frontier 1861-1897*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Lutz, C.A.

- 1982 The Domain of Emotion Words on Ifaluk. *American Ethnologist* 9:113-128.
- 1983 Parental goals, ethnopsychology, and the development of emotional meaning. *Ethos* 11:246-62.
- 1988 *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and their Challenge to Western Theory*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Lutz, C.A. and White, G.

- 1986 The Anthropology of Emotions. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 15: 405-436.

Lyon, M.L. and Barbalet, J.M.

- 1994 Society's body: emotion and the "somatization" of social theory, pp.48-66 in T.J. Csordas (ed.) *Embodiment and Experience: The existential ground of culture and self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MacAndrew, C. and Edgerton, R.B.

- 1970 *Drunken Comportment: A Social Explanation*. Melbourne: Thomas Nelson.

McConnell, U.

- 1930 The Wik-Munkan Tribe, Part 2. *Oceania* 1:181-205
- 1934 Wikmungkan and allied tribes of Cape York Peninsula. *Oceania* 4:310-367.
- 1940 Social organization of the tribes of Cape York Peninsula. *Oceania* 10:434-455.
- 1950 Junior marriage systems. *Oceania* 21:107-145.

MacDonald, G.

- 1988 A Wiradjuri fight story, pp.179-199 in I. Keen (ed.) *Being Black: Aboriginal cultures in 'settled' Australia*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

McDougall, W.

- 1923 *An outline of psychology*. 11th edition. London: Methuen.

Mackenzie, I.

- 1980 European incursions and failures in northern Australia, pp.43-72 in R. Jones (ed.) *Northern Australia: Options and Implications*. Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.

McKnight, D.

- 1971 Some Problems Concerning the Wik-Mungkan, pp.145-180 in R. Needham (ed.) *Rethinking Kinship and Marriage*. London: Tavistock.

Malezer, L.

- 1979 Early Effects of European Settlement, pp.9-17 in *Beyond the Act*. Queensland: Foundation for Aboriginal and Islander Research Action Ltd.

Malinowski, B.

- 1929 *The sexual life of savages in north-western Melanesia*. London: G. Routledge and Sons.
- 1930 *Parenthood - The Basis of Social Structure*, pp.112-168 in V. Calverton and S.D. Schmanhausen (eds.) *The New Generation*. New York: Macaulay.
- 1963 *The Family among the Australian Aborigines*. New York: Schocken.

Malkki, L.H.

- 1997 National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees, pp.52-74 in A. Gupta and J. Ferguson (eds.) *Culture, Power, Place*:

Explorations in Critical Anthropology. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Marcus, G.E. and Fischer, M.J.

1986 *Anthropology as Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Marshall, P.A.

1991 Research Ethics in Applied Medical Anthropology. In C. E. Hill (ed.) *Training Manual in Applied Medical Anthropology*. Washington: American Anthropological Association.

Martin, D.

1993 *Autonomy and Relatedness: An ethnography of Wik people of Aurukun, western Cape York Peninsula*. Canberra: Unpublished PhD thesis submitted to the Australian National University.

Mauss, M.

1938/ (1985) A Category of the Human Mind: the Notion of Person; the Notion of Self, pp.1-25 in M Carrithers, S. Collins, and S. Lukes (eds.) *The Category of the Person*. Translated by W.D. Halls. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mead, G.H.

1934 *Mind, Self, and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviourist*. C.W. Morris (ed.). Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Mead, M.

1962 A cultural anthropologist's approach to maternal depression. Pp.45-62 in *Deprivation of maternal care: a re-assessment of its effects*. Geneva: World Health Organisation (Public Health papers No. 14).

Merlan, F.

1986 Australian Aboriginal Conception Beliefs Revisited. *Man* 21(3):474-493.

Meston, A.

- 1896 Report on the Aborigines of Queensland. *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*, Vol. IV:723-738.

Michaels, E.

- 1985 Constraints on Knowledge in an Economy of Oral Information. *Current Anthropology* 26 (4): 505-507.

Mitchell, J.P.

- 1997 A moment with Christ: the importance of feelings in the analysis of belief. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 3(1):79-94, March 1997.

Mitchell, T.L.

- 1848 *Journal of an Expedition into the Interior of Tropical Australia, in search of a route from Sydney to the Gulf of Carpentaria*. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman.

Montagu, M.F.A.

- 1974 *Coming into being among the Australian aborigines*. London: Routledge.

Morgan, L.H.

- 1871 *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*. Washington: Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge Vol. 17.

Morphy, H.

- 1993 Colonialism, History and the Construction of Place: The Politics of Landscape in Northern Australia, pp.205-243 in B. Bender (ed.) *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*. Oxford: Providence.

Myers, F. R.

- 1976 *To Have and to Hold: A Study of Persistence and Change in Pintupi Social Life*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr.
- 1986 *Pintupi Country, Pintupi Self: Sentiment, Place, and Politics among Western Desert Aborigines*. Washington and London: Smithsonian

Institution Press and Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

- 1991 Burning the truck and holding the country: property, time and the negotiation of identity among Pintupi Aborigines, pp.272-291 in T. Ingold, D. Riches and J. Woodburn (eds.) *Hunters and Gatherers 2: Property, power and ideology*. New York: Berg.

Needham, R.

- 1990 Remarks on the Analysis of Kinship and Marriage, pp.1-32 in R. Needham (ed.) *Rethinking Kinship and Marriage*. London: Tavistock.

Nerlove, S. and Romney, A. K.

- 1990 Sibling terminology and cross-sex behaviour. *American Anthropologist* 69:179-187.

Nettheim, G.

- 1979 Queensland Laws for Aborigines, pp.31-39 in *Beyond the Act*. Queensland: Foundation for Aboriginal and Islander Research Action Ltd.

Nicotera, A.M.

- 1991 Summary of Studies on the Theory of Friendship and Consideration of Implications, pp.125-135 in Anne Maydan Nicotera and Associates, *Interpersonal Communication in Friend and Mate Relationships*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Neuman, W.L.

- 1997 *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Noyes, J.K

- 1992 *Colonial Space: Spatiality in the discourse of German South West Africa 1884-1915*. Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers.

Parry-Okeden, W.E.

- 1897 Report on the North Queensland Aborigines and the Native Police. *Votes and Proceedings of Queensland Parliament 1897*:327-346.

Pearson, N.

- 1992 204 Years of Invisible Title, pp.75-95 in M.A. Stephenson and S. Ratnapala (eds.) *Mabo: A Judicial Revolution. The Aboriginal Land Rights Decision and Its Impact on Australian Law*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

Peile, A.R.

- 1997 *Body and Soul: an Aboriginal View*. Edited by P. Bindon. Victoria Park W.A.: Hesperian Press.

Peletz, M.G.

- 1995 Kinship studies in late twentieth-century anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:343-72.

Peterson, N.

- 1972 Totemism yesterday: Sentiment and Local Organisation among the Australian Aborigines. *Man* 7(1):12-32.
- 1976 *Tribes and Boundaries in Australia*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- 1995 Foreword, pp.vii-viii in P. Sutton *Country: Aboriginal boundaries and land ownership in Australia*. Canberra: Aboriginal History Monograph 3.

Peterson, N. and Long, J.

- 1986 *Australian Territorial Organization: A Band Perspective*. Oceania Monograph 30, University of Sydney.

Piaget, J.

- 1967 *Six Psychological Studies*. New York: Vintage.

Plutchik, R.

- 1962 The evolutionary basis of emotional behaviour. In M. Arnold (ed.) *The Nature of Emotion*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Plutchik, R. and Kellerman, H.

1980 *Emotion: Theory, Research, and Experience*. New York: Academic Press.

Ponte, F., Marsh, H., and Jackson, R.

1994 Indigenous Hunting Rights - Ecological Sustainability and the Reconciliation Process in Queensland. *Search* 25 (9):258-261.

Port Stewart Lamalama and Centre for Appropriate Technology Inc.

1997 *Moojeeba-Theethinji. Planning for a Healthy Growing Community. A Community in a Cultural Landscape Project Report*. Cairns: Queensland Department of Health and Queensland Office of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Affairs.

Povinelli, E.A.

1993 *Labor's Lot: The Power, History, and Culture of Aboriginal Action*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Quinn, N. and Holland, D. (eds.)

1987 Culture and Cognition, pp.3-40 in N. Quinn and D. Holland (eds.) *Cultural models in language and thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R.

1930 The Social Organization of Australian Tribes. *Oceania* 1 (1):34-63, 1(2) 206-246; 1 (3):322-342; 1(4):426-456.

1952 *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. London: Cohen and West.

Rappaport, R.A.

1979 *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion*. Richmond: North Atlantic Books.

Reid, G.

1982 *A Nest of Hornets*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reynolds, H (ed.).

- 1972 *Aborigines and Settlers*. Stanmore: Cassell Australia.
- 1978 Unrecorded battlefields in Queensland. In H. Reynolds (ed.) *Race Relations in North Queensland*. Townsville: James Cook University of North Queensland.

Rigsby, B.

- 1980 Land, Language and People in the Princess Charlotte Bay Area, pp.89-94 in N.C. Stevens and A. Bailey (eds.), *Contemporary Cape York Peninsula*. Brisbane: Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland.
- 1981 Aboriginal People, Land Rights, and Wilderness on Cape York Peninsula. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland* 92 (1-10):1-10.
- 1992 The languages of the Princess Charlotte Bay region, pp.353-360 in T. Dutton, M. Ross and D. Tryon (eds.) *The Language Game: Papers in memory of Donald C. Laycock*. Pacific Linguistics Series C-110.
- 1995 Tribes, Diaspora people and the vitality of law and custom: Some comments, pp.25-27 in J. Fingleton and J. Finlayson (eds.) *Anthropology in the Native Title Era*. Canberra: Proceedings of a workshop conducted by the Australian Anthropological Society and the Native Titles Research Unit, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.
- n.d. Structural Parallelism and Convergence in the Princess Charlotte Bay Languages and their Linguistic Prehistory. Unpublished manuscript submitted to P. McConvell and N. Evans (eds.) *Archaeology meets Linguistics: Perspectives on Ancient Australia*.

Rigsby, B. and Chase, A.

- 1998 The Sandbeach People and Dugong Hunters of Eastern Cape York Peninsula: Property in Land and Sea Country, pp.192-218 in N. Peterson and B. Rigsby (eds.) *Customary Marine Tenure in Australia*. Sydney: Oceania Monograph No.48.

Rigsby, B. and Hafner, D.

- 1992 *Anthropological Report for Transfer of Public Purposes Reserve (R11) at Port Stewart to the Port Stewart Lamalama People*.

- Unpublished consultants' report prepared for Moomba Aboriginal Corporation, 12 pages.
- 1994a *Lakefield National Park Land Claim: Claim Book Part A*. Cairns: Cape York Land Council, restricted.
- 1994b *Lakefield National Park Land Claim: Claim Book Part B*. Cairns: Cape York Land Council, restricted.
- 1994c *Cliff Islands National Park Land Claim: Claim Book Part A*. Cairns: Cape York Land Council, restricted.
- 1994d *Cliff Islands National Park Land Claim: Claim Book Part B*. Cairns: Cape York Land Council, restricted.
- 1994e *Lakefield National Park and Cliff Islands National Park Land Claim. The Genealogies. Appendix 2. Restricted*. Cairns: Cape York Land Council.
- 1994f *Lakefield National Park and Cliff Islands National Park Land Claim. Clans and named Social Groups. Appendix 3. Restricted*. Cairns: Cape York Land Council.
- Rigsby, B. and Sutton, P.
- 1982 Speech Communities in Aboriginal Australia. *Anthropological Forum* 5:8-23.
- Rigsby, B. and Williams, N.M.
- 1990 Reestablishing a Home on Eastern Cape York Peninsula. *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 15(2):11-15.
- Robinson, G.
- 1990 Separation, Retaliation, and Suicide: Mourning and the Conflicts of Young Tiwi Men. *Oceania* 60:161-178.
- Róheim, G.
- 1932 Psycho-analysis of primitive cultural types. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 13:1-198
- 1996 *Children of the Desert: The western tribes of Central Australia*. Vol. One. New York: Basic Books.

Rosaldo, M.

- 1980 *Knowledge and Passion: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1984 Toward an anthropology of self and feeling, pp.137-157 in R. A. Schweder and R.A. LeVine (eds.) *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roth, W.E.

- 1898 *On the Aboriginals Occupying the Hinter-Land of Princess Charlotte Bay together with a Preface containing suggestions for their better Protection, and Improvement*. A Report to the Commissioner of Police. Cooktown 30th December 1898.

Rowse, T.

- 1993 *After Mabo: interpreting indigenous traditions*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Sansom, B.

- 1980 *The Camp at Wallaby Cross*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Scheffler, H.W.

- 1966 Ancestor worship in anthropology: or, observations on descent and descent groups. *Current Anthropology* 7(5):541-551.
- 1972a Systems of kin classification: a structural typology, pp.113-133 in P. Reining (ed.) *Kinship Studies in the Morgan Centennial Year*. Washington: The Anthropological Society of Washington.
- 1972b Kinship, Descent, and Alliance, pp.747-793 in J.J. Honigmann (ed.) *Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- 1972c Kinship Semantics. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 1:309-328.
- 1978 *Australian Kin Classification*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1991 Sexism and Naturalism in the Study of Kinship, pp.361-382 in M. di Leonardo (ed.) *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Scheffler, H.W. and Lounsbury, G.F.

- 1971 *A Study in Structural Semantics: The Siriono Kinship System.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Schneider, D.M.

- 1968 *American Kinship: A Cultural Account.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- 1972 What is Kinship All About?, pp.32-63 in P. Reining (ed.) *Kinship Studies in the Morgan Centennial Year.* Washington: The Anthropological Society of Washington.
- 1984 *A Critique of the Study of Kinship.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Schieffelin, E. L.

- 1981 Anger and Shame in the Tropical Forest: On Affect as a Cultural System in Papua New Guinea. *Ethos* 11(3):181-191.

Schulze, L.

- 1891 The aborigines of the upper and middle Finke River. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 14:210-246.

Schweder, R.A. and LeVine, R.A. (eds.)

- 1984 *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Service, E.R.

- 1962 *Primitive Social Organization.* New York: Random House.

Solomon, R.C.

- 1977 *The Passions.* New York: Anchor/Doubleday.

Spencer, B. and Gillen, F.J.

- 1899 *The native tribes of central Australia.* London: Macmillan.
- 1927 *The Arunta: A Stone Age People.* London: Macmillan, Vols 1&2.

Stanner, W.E.H.

- 1965 Aboriginal Territorial Organization: Estate, Range, Domain and Regime. *Oceania* 36 (1): 1-26.
- 1968 *After the Dreaming: Black and White - An Anthropologist's View*. Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Commission.

State of Queensland

- 1992 *Aboriginal Land Act 1991 Practice Directions: Procedures for assessment by the Land Tribunal of Aboriginal Land claims*. June 1992, no publication details.

State of Queensland Land Tribunal

- 1996a *Aboriginal Land Claim to Lakefield National Park*. Brisbane: Land Tribunal.
- 1996b *Aboriginal Land Claim to Cliff Islands National Park*. Brisbane: Land Tribunal.

Steward, J.H.

- 1951 Levels of Sociocultural Integration: An Operational Concept. *Southwestern Journal Of Anthropology* 7:374-390.
- 1963 *Theory of Culture Change*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Strang, V.

- 1997 *Uncommon Ground: Cultural Landscapes and Environmental Values*. Oxford: Berg.

Strehlow, C.

- 1913 *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stammein Zentral-Australian*. Vol.1 *Das Soziale Leben*.

Strehlow, T.G.H.

- 1947 *Aranda Traditions*. Melbourne: University Press.

Sutton, P.

- 1978 *Wik: Aboriginal society, territory and language at Cape Keerweer, Cape York Peninsula, Australia*. Unpublished PhD thesis,

- Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Queensland.
- 1989 *Dreamings*. New York: Asia Society Press.
- 1993 *Aboriginal Claim to Melville and Flinders Islands Group National Parks*. Restricted documents produced for the claimants. Cape York Land Council.
- 1995a Atomism versus collectivism: The problem of group definition in native title cases, pp.1-17 in J. Fingleton and J. Finlayson (eds.) *Anthropology in the Native Title Era: Proceedings of a workshop*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.
- 1995b *Country: Aboriginal boundaries and land ownership in Australia*. Canberra: Aboriginal History Monograph 3.
- 1998 *Native Title and the Descent of Rights*. Commonwealth of Australia: National Native Title Tribunal.
- Sutton, P. and Rigsby, B.
- 1979 Linguistic Communities and Social Networks on Cape York Peninsula, pp.713-732 in S. Wurm (ed.) *Pacific Linguistics Series C-54*.
- 1982 People with "Politicks": management of land and personnel on Australia's Cape York Peninsula, pp 155-171 in N.M. Williams and E.S. Hunn (eds.) *Resource Managers: North American and Australian Hunter-gatherers*. Boulder: American Association for the Advancement of Science.
- Sutton, P., Rigsby, B., and Chase, A.
- 1993 *Flinders Islands and Melville National Parks Land Claim, Appendices (Restricted): Genealogies, Maps, Group Register, Site Register*. Cairns: Cape York Land Council.
- Tedlock, D.
- 1982 *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Thomson, D.F.

- 1987 *Report on Expedition to Cape York, North Queensland*. Committee of Anthropological Research, Australian National Research Council. Unpublished manuscript: 27 pages.
- 1932 Ceremonial presentation of fire in north Queensland: a preliminary note on the place of fire in primitive ritual. *Man* 32:162-166.
- 1933 The Hero Cult, initiation and totemism on Cape York. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 63: 453-537.
- 1934 Dugong Hunters of Cape York. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 64:237-262.
- 1935 The Joking Relationship and Organized Obscenity in North Queensland. *American Anthropologist* 37:460-490.
- 1952 Notes on some primitive watercraft in Northern Australia. *Man* 52:1-5.
- 1955 Two devices for the avoidance of cross-cousin marriage among the Australian aborigines. *Man* 55:39-40.
- 1972 *Kinship and Behaviour in North Queensland. Preliminary Account of Kinship and Social Organisation on Cape York Peninsula*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. Australian Aboriginal Studies Series No. 51. Foreword, afterword and editing by H.W. Scheffler.
- 1983 *Donald Thomson in Arnhem Land*. Compiled and introduced by N. Peterson. Canberra: Currey O'Neil.

Thompson, D.A.

- 1988 *Lockhart River "SandBeach" Language: An Outline of Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila*. Darwin: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Tonkinson, M.E.

- 1990 "Is it in the Blood? Australian Aboriginal Identity", pp.191-218 in J. Linnekin and L. Poyer (eds.) *Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Tuan, Y-F.

- 1977 *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Turner, V.W.

1957 *Schism and Continuity in an African society; a study of Ndembu village life*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

1982 *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*. New York: Paj Publications.

von Sturmer [Smith], D.E.

1980 *Rights in Nurturing: The social relations of child-bearing and rearing amongst the Kuku-Nganychara, western Cape York Peninsula, Australia*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Canberra: Australian National University.

von Sturmer, J.R.

1978 *The Wik Region: Economy, territoriality and totemism in western Cape York Peninsula, North Queensland*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Queensland.

Weiner, A.

1985 Inalienable Wealth. *American Ethnologist* 12:205-27.

1992 *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

White, G.M. and Kirkpatrick, J.

1985 *Person, Self and Experience: Exploring Pacific Ethnopsychologies*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Whittaker, E.

1992 The Birth of the Anthropological Self and its Career. *Ethos* 20(2):191-219.

Wierzbicka, A.

1993 *Semantics, Culture, and Cognition: Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Williams, N.M.

1985 On Aboriginal decision-making, pp.240-269 in D. Barwick, J.Beckett and M. Reay (eds.) *Metaphors of Interpretation*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Statutes

Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1893

Aborigines Act 1971

Torres Strait Islanders Act 1971

Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976

Pitjantjatjara Land Right Act 1981

Maralinga Tjarutja Land Rights Act 1984

Aboriginal Land Act 1991

Nature Conservation Act 1992

Native Title Act 1993

