

## TIME FOR RELAXATION

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In this contribution in honour of Dr. A. Capell, we have chosen two interconnected song cycles which are designed, as far as the people at Goulburn Island are concerned, for entertainment. They have no ritual overtones although, of course, they do have symbolic associations. Our choice in this respect rests on a couple of factors relevant to the purpose of a *Festschrift*.

In the first place, this offering is not intended as a contribution to our discipline (although it may perhaps be so, in a small way). (We use the term discipline in the singular since Dr. Capell, like ourselves, does not see Linguistics as being completely separated out from the main stream of Anthropology; and apart from any personal considerations, this is one reason why we, as social anthropologists, are contributing to this volume.) As it was, and is, for the Goulburn Islanders, so we trust that for Dr. Capell himself it will serve for relaxation: a projection into the realm of myth or fantasy of mundane occurrences that are meaningful to individual persons, rather than an account of momentous happenings which have broader socio-cultural implications. But however ordinary they may appear to be, because they deal with the calm and not-so-calm activities of song and story characters whose human qualities are not obscured by the labels they bear (associated with various natural species) they are no less significant in understanding the Aboriginal scene in that particular region. The stories unfolded in these two song cycles, limited as they are, might be taken as an Aboriginal commentary on aspects of their own life - although that is obviously not their intention. Perhaps a better way of thinking of these two cycles is to use the analogy of a well-known book which we may pick up from time to time as the mood

moves us, to refresh ourselves, to recreate a past enjoyment which still has its appeal just because it is so well-known, and gives us a feeling of well-being simply because of its familiarity. Even though songs are added to the cycles and they are subject to individual interpretation, their basic substance is not appreciably changed.

In the second place, the region we have chosen is in Arnhem Land - where Dr. Capell carried out some of his most important linguistic survey research in 1938 and 1939 (1940; 1942), a few years before we commenced work there ourselves. His survey included a short study of Mauṅ, and it is on the Mauṅ that we concentrate here. In fact, little has been published on the socio-cultural life of these people, although adjacent areas have not been so neglected - the Gunwiṅgu, for instance (see R. and C. Berndt 1970). One reason is probably the intensive mission (Methodist) contact they experienced, beginning as far back as 1916; but even before that, the Goulburn Islanders had more intensive association with aliens than did the people farther east and southeast. (See R. and C. Berndt 1951; 1954.) Over and above this, the Gunwiṅgu were expanding into the Marganala plain area, and their influence was felt most notably by the Mauṅ as well as by the remnants of the indigenous populations around the East Alligator River. (See R. Berndt 1969; R. and C. Berndt 1970.)

The Mauṅ were not confined to South and part of North Goulburn islands. They also occupied territory on the adjacent mainland from Brogden Point (where they joined the Jiwadja), especially Sandy Creeks and Anuru Bay, Barclay Point, and east almost to Hall Point (where they met the Gunbalaṅ or, to use the Mauṅ name for them, Walaṅ). They were vulnerable to 'outside' Aboriginal pressures, and intermarriage between them and neighbouring groups has been fairly common. Gunwiṅgu speakers, particularly, became well entrenched at South Goulburn Island mission settlement; and Gunwiṅgu became a *lingua franca* for the whole western Arnhem Land region, including the Mauṅ. Older people kept their Mauṅ identification largely intact, at least ideally, but the content of Mauṅ traditional material was imperceptibly infiltrated by Gunwiṅgu. The two cycles recorded here are both Mauṅ; but in one of them Gunwiṅgu as a song medium predominates: and this is typical for other data. When we first commenced to work at Goulburn Island in 1946, and intermittently after that up to 1964, we ourselves used Gunwiṅgu consistently and neglected Mauṅ as a means of communication - even though we were, at times, exploring Mauṅ material. This would not have worked so well later on, say in the mid '60s, when there was a Mauṅ language revival (mainly through mission stimulation), but even that has not meant Mauṅ

socio-cultural revival; the process of cultural 'evaporation' had proceeded too far. Also, Gunwingu and other mainland influences were already well established - mostly in the form of numbers of small items, reinforced by diffuse assumptions about the vitality of their traditional sources.

It is not our intention in this short contribution to discuss these problems or to provide a sketch of what Mauŋ society and culture was like or what remains of it. Nor shall we discuss the relation between larger 'tribal' names, like Mauŋ and Gunwingu, and the small territorial-linguistic units which seem to have been more important traditionally in this region. (See R.M. and C.H. Berndt 1970, especially Chapter 1.) That aside, however, insofar as the Mauŋ can be singled out as a separate socio-linguistic entity they were quite distinctive, and more closely resembled the western coastal and island cultures of the Jiwadja, Margu, and Jilga, with probable linkages with Melville and Bathurst islanders. Resembling the Gunwingu in many respects, they nevertheless contrasted very sharply with them in most others.

A further point. We have made no attempt at a linguistic analysis - even as a nominal gesture. This means that we do not take up the question of translation as such, its conceptual basis or the matter of procedures and techniques - either in general, or specifically in reference to these two cycles. It will, however, be obvious to the reader that two very different approaches were adopted in translating these songs. The fact that our knowledge of the Mauŋ language is limited to a small and partial vocabulary was a handicap here. It was offset to some extent by the fluency in English and the articulate song-discussion of the Mauŋ speakers involved. We have left the inter-linear translations more or less intact, recognizing that in such cases they tend to come in 'bundles' rather than in exact item-for-item equivalents and that the 'meanings' are not separated out as we would like. The general renderings rest on the contextual discussion as much as on these specific 'translations'. In the Gunwingu case, however, our own knowledge of the language has served as a fairly detailed check: although we do not go into these details, we are in control of the specific as well as of the general language-elements that make up the songs themselves. In both the Mauŋ and Gunwingu examples, we have kept the general renderings as close to the original rhythms as possible, and also as close as possible to the original text - with the proviso that these *are* translations into English, not simply English annotations of the vernacular text, and that in our view they should be as simple,

colloquial and unpretentious as the originals themselves: they should convey, as well as possible, the essence and the atmosphere of the originals.

In brief, then, this contribution rests, one, on its entertainment value and, two, on the fact that it provides some additional material on the Maug.

#### THE CONTEXT OF THE CYCLES

We have selected these two cycles more or less arbitrarily, from a fairly wide range of a non-ritual nature, all of which have been recorded on tape. We must admit that the Nagarududu songs have a special appeal to us, and not only because of the beauty of their rhythm. In 1961, when I (R.M.B.) recorded the series, a small nagarududu fish was brought to me for identification: we put this in a jar of spirits and carried it with us, later, to Elcho Island. When we arrived there, a crowd of children noticed it at once and gathered eagerly around it, all asking the same questions: 'Jagu-miri? Manigai-miri?' (*'Has it a name? Has it a song?'*) Subsequently, I was persuaded to play off the relevant tape for these north-eastern Arnhem Landers to hear. At Goulburn Island, when I (R.M.B.) recorded the series, I was afterwards repeatedly asked to replay it in the main camp. It was so popular that the original tape recording was in danger of being worn out. In 1964, the Jibijibi song provoked the same result, although in that case no specimen was obtained for identification.

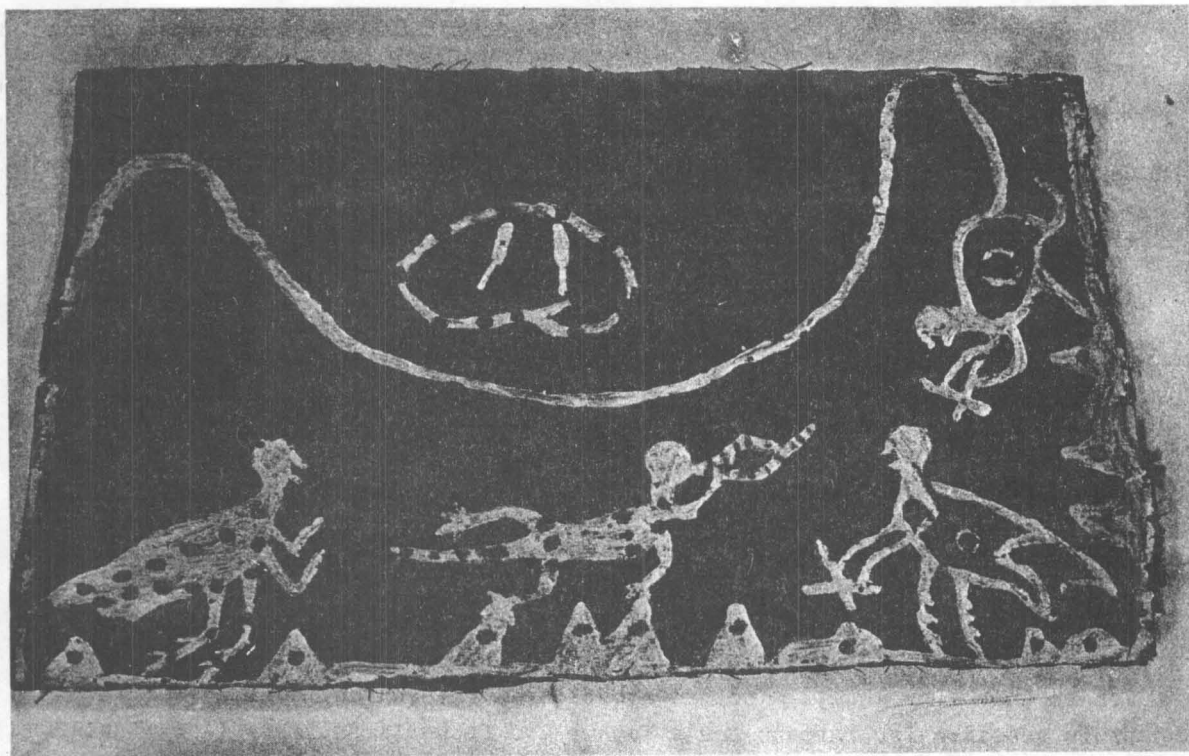
The Nagarududu series is shorter than the Jibijibi (15 songs, as against 33). In time sequence the Jibijibi comes first, since in the Nagarududu the main character (Nagarududu herself) dies in childbirth. On the other hand, it is not to be supposed that only one Nagarududu is involved. Such characters are often duplicated - Nagarududu had sisters, for instance. In any case, such characters are 'recurrent'. We use this term in contrast to 'eternal' because the stories relevant to these songs are not necessarily mythical: but they do bear marked similarity to what passed as myth. In the context in which they appear in these two cycles, they are personalized or humanized natural species. That is to say, they act in an Aboriginal way, and not especially in the way that natural species would. Essentially human situations are projected into the stories, and the special characteristics of the species concerned do not necessarily impinge - although occasionally an explanation is offered as to why a particular species has what it has (a spiky back, for instance). The attribution of human features to such species rests on the widespread Aboriginal view that there is no

intrinsic dichotomy between human and other living creatures - that all possess certain common qualities. Nevertheless, in composing the songs, some care must have gone into the selection of particular animal (etc.) characters so that they are able to convey the human qualities appropriate to the themes.

The Jibijibi cycle is in a sense, like the Nagarududu, separate and complete in itself. In fact, each is 'owned' by different persons. However, they do connect at one or more points. For instance, Nagarududu appears in the Jibijibi. In turn, there are other cycles which highlight particular characters, and these connect one with another. For instance, Rock Cod (Nunmin) who appears as a margidjbu (native doctor or '*clever man*') in the Nagarududu is the central character of another cycle: the same is the case with Loglog (in the Jibijibi) and the Jalmanea, sardines, who play a more important part in association with crabs. And so on.

We have not been able to collect all such series, but we do have enough to suggest that, traditionally, a fairly large network must have existed. Each cycle is, as noted, owned by one or more songmen: Jibijibi by Gamaraidj, a Gunwingu man, and Magundili, a Mauŋ man; Nagarududu by Malangawa, a Mauŋ man. These songmen not so much 'own' as 'are in possession of' a cycle. A traditional framework is handed on to them - by whom, is not always clear. The conventional answer to this question is, through one's father and father's father. (A typical example of this is mentioned in R. and C. Berndt 1951:212-5.) Although Mauŋ society is primarily matrilineal in many respects, ties framed in patrilineal terms are dominant in the sphere of territorial association and religious ritual. It is also clear (from Gunwingu examples too) that much depends on individual interest and ability, and this is quite variable.

The major inspiration for such songs is said to depend on dreams. For instance, the characters appearing in these two cycles are 'dream creatures': they appear in the dreams of a particular songman and 'teach' him the songs so that he may sing them in the camp. In this way, the songman builds up a repertoire which constitutes a sequence of events. In a small bark painting that was intended simply as a sketch (Plate 1), Gamaraidj depicts the dream-spirits who appear to him: they tell him the words of a particular song as well as its associated musical pattern. (Bark painting No.5, R.B.: Goulburn Island, February 23rd. 1964.) In this painting (from left to right): Go:li, with clapping-sticks, is dancing; Loglog is in the middle blowing his conch shell (jubllg); on the right is Jibijibi, with Mulbu above, both singing and holding clapping-sticks. The surrounding line represents Aŋamuri bay.



### PLATE ONE

Bark painting by Gamaraidj, in the Maun tradition. The dream-spirits of the Jibijibi cycle: from left to right, Gɔ:li, Loglog, Jibijibi and Mulbu. Central design, floating seaweed in Anamuri bay.

Within this bay is a floating lump of seaweed (miwidj) upon which lies Nanamoiindjin (or Anamojindjin), the son of Jibijibi and Mulbu (see Song 31). Two paddles (miri) rest there, one belonging to Mulbu and the other to Loglog - who are roughly drawn, each alongside his paddle. It is said that they came on this lump of seaweed (using it as a raft - hence the two paddles) from the mythical (dream) island to the west called Anmaralu (see Song 10) to Anamuri on the Marganala plain. Now, in Gamaraidj's dreams they appear to him in the same way.

It is quite probable that traditionally, as well as in the contemporary scene, as new songs entered the stream of a particular cycle older ones were discarded. This is not so apparent in the two cycles presented here. In others that one of us (R.M.B.) has recorded, however, older men recall songs they heard in their youth; songs belonging within the framework of a contemporary cycle but no longer remembered by the majority, or even by the actual songman.

The songs, then, are popular. They have a general appeal because they treat incidents which concern common experience, thus providing an opportunity for audience identification. Although those discussed here were recorded in a 'closed' camp in order to maximize transcription clarity and facilitate discussion of meaning, they are generally sung to a mixed group of people who sit clustered around the songman and his didjeridu accompanist. Some simply listen with rapt attention, others join in the singing, while others again go about their ordinary tasks. The singing itself may continue late into the night, but the whole cycle is not necessarily sung at 'one sitting'. Many are repeated again and again, and conventionalized dancing can accompany them. The two cycles given here are not complete: probably a number of songs have been omitted and, of course, others will be added as the dream-spirits dictate and as events stimulate composition.

#### THE JIBIJIBI CYCLE

The songman is Gamaraidj, a Gunwingu man, jariwurig semi-moiety (Maun form; jariburig in Gunwingu), and his didjeridu accompanist is Mangulugulu, Maun, jarigarngulg (jarigarngurg) semi-moiety. (The Maun semi-moiety forms normally take a female-indicating prefix.) The songs are in Gunwingu unless otherwise stated. From Song 21 onward, Gamaraidj was helped by Magundili, Maun, also jarigarngulg. The series was recorded in February-March 1964.

Diagrams 1 and 2 provide a genealogical linkage between the characters mentioned in the songs, from both Maun and Gunwingu perspectives. The genealogical patterns are vertically banded in terms of

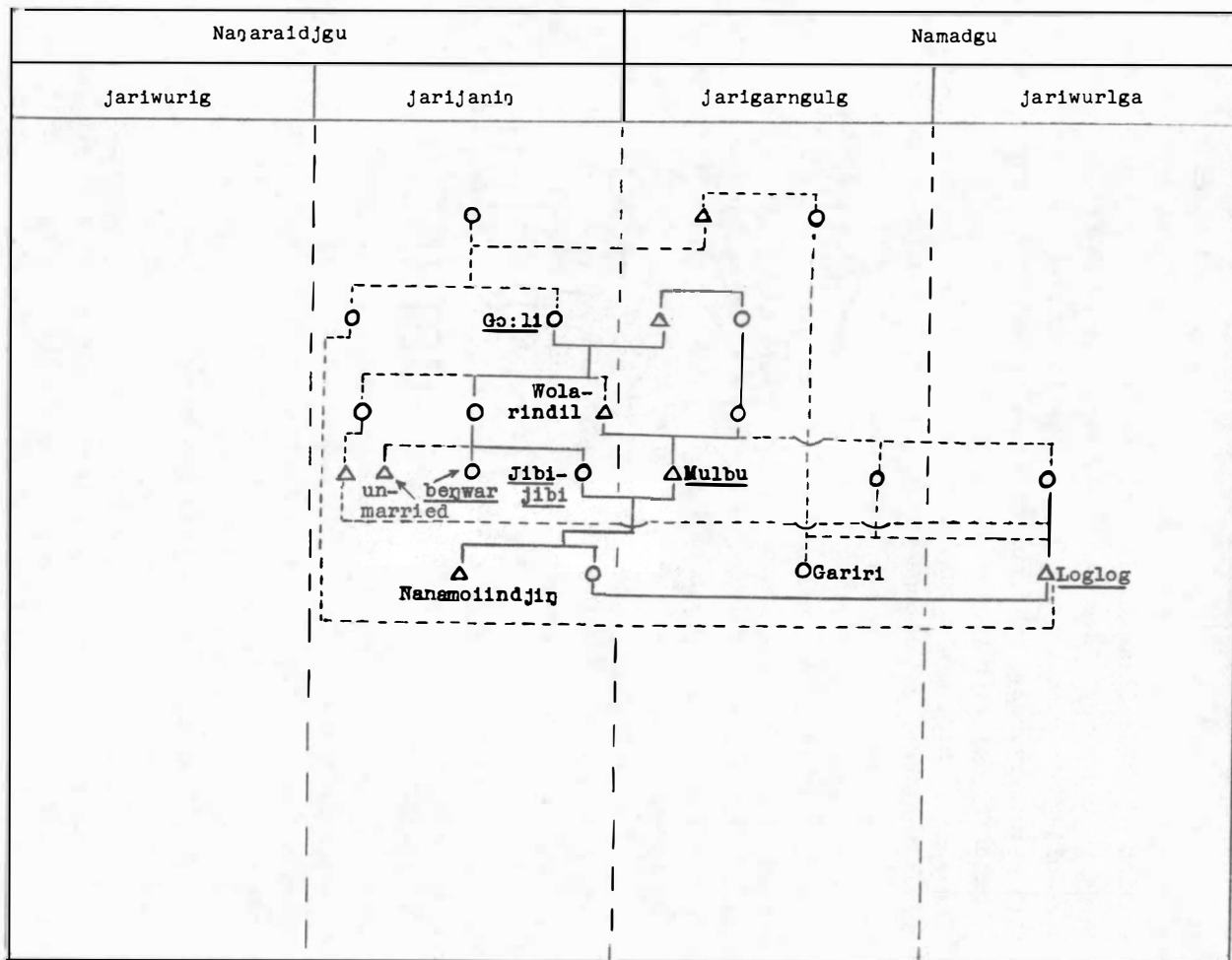


DIAGRAM ONE

Social alignments of characters mentioned in the Jibijibi cycle: Mauq version.

Key:

- △ = male
- = female
- ┌──┐ = descent
- └──┘ = marriage



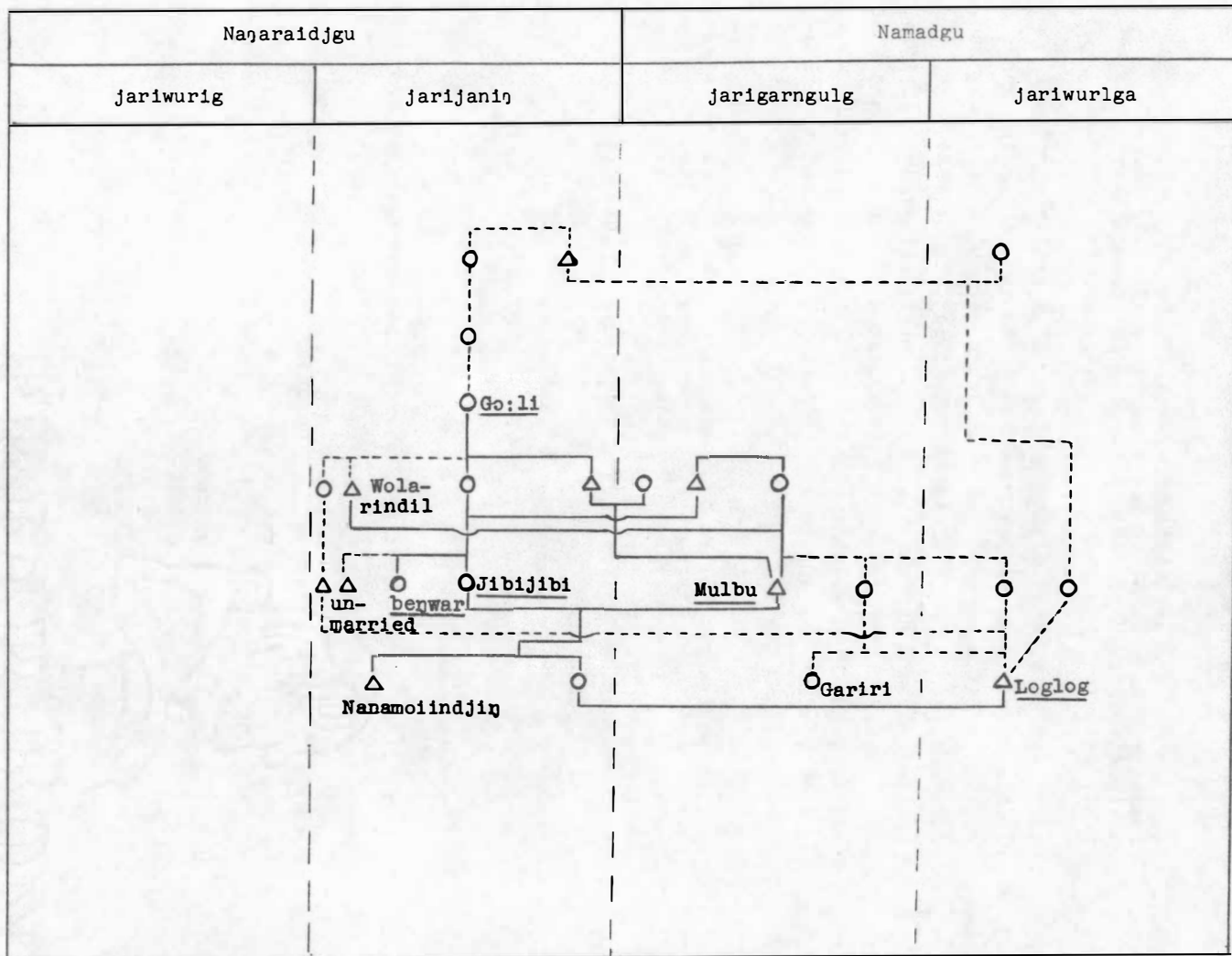


DIAGRAM TWO

Social alignments of characters mentioned in the Jibijibi cycle: Gunwingu version.

Key:

- △ = male
- = female
- ┌ = descent
- └ = marriage



<sup>a</sup> Or, *ɲamarwe?marwenl*, intensified: *I'm hungry, hungry.*

<sup>b</sup> Or, *gungwleŋ*, a long (time).

Jibijibi is 'hungry' for him. In this context, Gunwiŋgu and Mauŋ use words relevant to eating, to refer to the emotions as well as the physical aspects centering on sexual intercourse.

4    *ɲawam*        *ɲarergaŋ*        *ɲabolŋnaŋ*        *gunganel*  
       *I went*        *I sat down*        *I looked around*        *excitement*

*ɲanbo:m*                      *ɲabolŋnaŋ*  
       *hit me (struck me)*    *I looked around*  
                                   *I went and sat down there, looking around.*  
                                   *I felt excited.*

Jibijibi feels excitement within her, a feeling indicating that something might happen: Mulbu might come back soon.

5    *bolgiml*        *wɔ:gwon*                      *ɟlmanlɟiml*  
       *now*                      *give message*                      *you (sing.) tell him*

*bolgiml*        *ɲamaŋ<sup>a</sup>*  
       *now*                      *I took (got)*  
                                   *Now, here is a message: tell him,*  
                                   *Now I can take him.*

<sup>a</sup> Or, *ɲanmaŋ*, (he) took me. On the face of it, therefore, an alternative rendering is possible: but in such cases we have preferred to stay with the songman's own interpretation.

Jibijibi gives Loglog, a lizard man, *ɟariwurlga* (*hariwurga*), *nagudjug* subsection, a message to take to Mulbu. Loglog is Jibijibi's *nagurŋ*, or DH (or FZDS) in Gunwiŋgu, a relationship of constraint. A limited range of conversation between *ɲalgurŋ* and *nagurŋ* is quite in order, provided they use the special 'language' that is specific to this relationship: *gunmlgml* (or *gunmlimgan*; these are 'verbal' forms) or *gungurŋ*, with its substantially different vocabulary. In Mauŋ Loglog is Jibijibi's *mawawln*, or son-in-law. Loglog is Mulbu's *gaŋgln*, in Gunwiŋgu (DH or ZS; reciprocal, *ɲadjadj*, MB); in Mauŋ, *ganjuŋ* (ZS; reciprocal, *idji*, MB).

- 6 bolgimi qarmeren min mag ganba?bawu  
 now we two come together<sup>a</sup> do not leave me  
*Now we are married,  
 Don't ever leave me.*

<sup>a</sup> Ordinarily, this word would mean simple *meeting each other*, but it is also used in the special sense of *becoming married* (or publicly coming together in a sweetheart relationship): literally, *they-two take each other*, or, as here, *we-two take each other*.

Mulbu returns to Jibijibi after Loglog has given him her message.

- 7 ŋuda ŋale ju:n ganbawu  
 you me don't leave me  
*You and I ...  
 You musn't leave me ...*

Jibijibi says to Mulbu.

- 8 ŋalga ŋanbawurln<sup>a</sup> ŋalga beŋwamen  
 she (seems to have) left me she became 'deaf'  
*She left me, because  
 She went mad!*

<sup>a</sup> Or, *ŋanebawurln*, *we two left each other*.

Jibijibi tells Mulbu her sister has left her because she went beŋwar (that is, 'deaf', but also silly: see R. and C. Berndt 1951:75-89).

- 9 ŋale rergan ŋaburbun jabog ŋaie  
 I sat down I think elder sister I  
 ŋarowerowen  
*I'm very sick/dying  
 I sit and think of my sister.  
 I'm sick from worrying.*

Jibijibi is worrying about her beŋwar sister. But she is also worrying about Mulbu, who is now her husband: he may leave her if she goes in search of her sister.

- 10 wiwi waladeian ŋadu<sup>a</sup> wiwi  
 mother's mother look after him (mine) mother's mother

guwalangilg                      ɲadu  
*watch him carefully              (mine)*  
*Granny, look after my sweetheart!*  
*Granny, watch over him for me!*

<sup>a</sup> ɲadug, *mine*, in Gunwiŋgu; an alternative meaning is also relevant here: *(look after him) for me*.

This song is in Mauŋ. Jibijibi is speaking to her wɪwɪ (MM), gaga in Gunwiŋgu, Gɔ:lɪ (in Mauŋ; Ngalgindjegin in Gunwiŋgu), a 'blue grasshopper' or cicada, ɲjindjarɪjanɪŋ, ɲalbulan subsection. (In Gunwiŋgu stories we recorded earlier, she is jariwurlga and ɲalgaŋɪla.) Jibijibi asks Gɔ:lɪ to look after Mulbu, because she herself is going to a ceremony at Anmaralu, west of where they are living at Aŋamuri on the Marganala plain (see R. Berndt 1969). Anmaralu is an imaginary (mythical) place, and Jibijibi is ostensibly going in search of her beŋwar sister.

The same song, recorded by C. Berndt from women's singing, goes as follows:

wɪwɪ	gɔ:jadajan	ɲadug	(in Mauŋ)
gagag	ɲɪna?nan	ɲadug	(in Gunwiŋgu)
MM	<i>you looking</i>	<i>mine</i>	
	<i>after</i>		

Women said this was a love song associated with Jidbidbi, or Jidbi:ɪdbi. (C.B., Goulburn Island, 1964).

ɪɪ	ɲarre	bolgbugan	boljen	ɲane?nɪ	
	<i>we two go</i>	<i>(I) show you place</i>	<i>yesterday</i>	<i>we two sat here</i>	
	ɲɪna	nabl?	gamlobmɪ	ɲawarɪ	nuje
	<i>you look</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>he comes hurrying</i>	<i>I'm no good</i>	<i>for him</i>
			<i>Come with me, I'll show you where</i>		
			<i>Yesterday he and I were sitting together.</i>		
			<i>Look, there he comes running!</i>		
			<i>I'm not good enough for him!</i>		

Jibijibi finds her sister, and they set off for Aŋamuri. When they are almost there, they come to a place where Jibijibi and Mulbu had been making love (this is implied). She points it out to her sister. A little later, seeing Mulbu, she says, *I'm not good enough for him!* - a polite form of conventional self-disparagement used in relation to a husband.

- 12 jigl:n                    ɲadug    jlmangeg            ɲajlmeŋ            ɲadug    jlmangeg  
*you're jealous    of me    maybe            I did/said    of me    may be*
- ɲagudʒl  
*I alone*

*Maybe you're jealous of me  
 For what you think I did,  
 Going off by myself.*

Jibijibi thinks Mulbu might be jealous - that he might suppose, when she went in search of her sister, she had gone to meet a sweet-heart.

- 13 ɲangugnaŋ                                    ɲanbulgnaŋ  
*(he) looked hard at me    (she) looked at my body*
- He looked at me!*  
*She looked at me!*  
*(They say to themselves.)*

The scene shifts to Jibijibi's wɪwɪ, Gɔ:li, who calls Mulbu mamam (in Mauŋ; ganjuɟ in Gunwiŋgu). That is, Mulbu is Gɔ:li's DDH; in Mauŋ the term for spouse is mamam, a term also applied to a MF, the husband of a MM (wɪwɪ). In other words, Gɔ:li and Jibijibi stand as 'wives' to Mulbu, and that is one reason Jibijibi asked Gɔ:li to look after him in her absence (Song 10). In Gunwiŋgu, mamam is equated with ganjuɟ (see Song 1), although first choice spouse in Gunwiŋgu is gagali (MFZDS, FMBSS, MMMBS, MMFZS - MMMDD, FFZSD, FZDDD, MBDDD). But Mauŋ, also, usually equate the spouse type of mamam with Gunwiŋgu ganjuɟ. The reason for this is not clear, since in the Mauŋ system cross-cousins are clearly distinguished from the marriageable mamam, being ɲawɪn, classified as son and daughter. A further interesting feature is the use of mamam in both Gunwiŋgu and Mauŋ systems. The Gunwiŋgu term mamam is used in the grandparents' and grandchildren's generations to refer to *husband of MM*, and *wife of MMB*, and conversely to *DD* and *DS*. The Gunwiŋgu junior marriage system enables a person's classificatory mamam to marry someone that person calls *B* or *Z*. In one version Gɔ:li is said to regard Mulbu as a manman, but this could be the case only if cross-cousin marriage were formally permissible among the Mauŋ, when the husband of a ɲawɪn is a manman. Gɔ:li regards Loglog as her ɲanuŋ (in Mauŋ), gagali in Gunwiŋgu. In Gunwiŋgu this is a first-choice husband (a MMBDS). In Mauŋ, from a man's point of view, his ɲanuŋ is a ZH or WB; from a female's point of view, he is a brother-in-law (non-marriageable).



again. A comment on this song is that Jibijibi collected the yams and Mulbu prepared them.

17 gunag nanan garuŋ ɲaganɛ?wareimin jaugjaug  
 fire I see burning I become sad (wulg, Mauŋ) young girls

gabelɲname?

(it) forms cloud

*I see fire burning: it makes me sad.*

*Girls, (see) the smoke rising, forming a cloud!*

Jibijibi and Mulbu have gone into the bush hunting: they make a fire and its billowing smoke forms a cloud (gunŋolbele, a white cloud). This is seen by a number of girls, Gariri (in Mauŋ and Gunwiŋgu), crickets, who identify it sentimentally (in the way people sometimes do when they see signs of their close relatives, 'countrymen', and so on, who have gone away for even a short space of time). These girls are njindjarigarngulg (ɲalgudjug subsection); Gɔ:li (although Jibijibi calls her wiwi, she is a young girl) is one of them, and seems to be the speaker.

Jibijibi calls these Gariri girls mawawin (in Mauŋ), that is, 'sisters of a daughter's husband' (or MMBD); or in Gunwiŋgu, ɲalɲurɲ ('mother-in-law' category, used also by a man in reference to his ZSW or by a woman in relation to her DHZ, as in Mauŋ). The Gariri are Mulbu's ganjuŋ, ZD (Mauŋ; ganɲin in Gunwiŋgu). Loglog regards the Gariri as sisters, lala (Mauŋ; jabog in Gunwiŋgu) but classificatory sisters, since they belong to cognate semi-moieties within the namadgu moiety. The Gariri are Gɔ:li's ɲawin BD, female speaking (Mauŋ; gulun in Gunwiŋgu).

18 ɲabolɲabolɲan ɲaganɛwareimin nalgbom  
 I looked around at the place I became sad wept<sup>a</sup>

*Looking around at our old camping site*

*I was saddened. I wept.*

<sup>a</sup> In this form, the 'third person singular' is usually implied; but because of the statements preceding it, and because this is a song, the subject could be I, i.e., as if it were ɲanalgbom.

Jibijibi and Mulbu turn to look back at their camping ground - where they had stayed while they were hunting and where they made the fire noted in Song 17. They are sorry to leave it, and Jibijibi cries.



- 19    ɲanaŋ        ɲadug        gabandi  
       I saw        mine        he climbs  
                   I saw him, my own one,  
                   Climbing a tree.

Mulbu climbs a tree after a goanna. Jibijibi calls out as she sees him.

- 20    ɲagugwarlwarl            ɲannaŋ        beŋwar        ɲannaŋ  
       I, not quick enough<sup>a</sup> he saw me    beŋwar        he saw me  
                   I wasn't quick enough, and he saw me.  
                   Beŋwar, he saw me!

<sup>a</sup> Literally, I [am/was] really no good: gug can mean *body* (among other things, e.g., *raw* or *uncooked* or *dead*); and is also used as an intensifier.

Loglog reappears in search of his sweetheart, Gɔ:li. Mulbu, however, sees him; embarrassed, he disappears, calling Mulbu beŋwar! Usually, this term means *deaf* or *lacking understanding* (see its use in reference to Jibijibi's sister, Song 8). In this case, it is a term of respect since Loglog does not want to call Mulbu by his personal name as he is a special relative - that is, WF or MB.

- 21    ɲamadbuŋ                    ɲamanɪjimi  
       I wait (for him)        I tell (him) about (it)  
                   I'll wait, and tell him about it!

Back in camp, Jibijibi quarrels with Gɔ:li about her liaison with Loglog. Jibijibi says she'll tell Mulbu about this when he returns from hunting.

- 22    gugɲagugnaŋ                    ganganne?mi                    djawadjawan  
       I looked at you, all over    (I felt emotion)            asking, asking  
                   gandudumeɪ  
                   you took my heart  
                   I looked at you, overcome with emotion,  
                   Asking you, [why] you've taken my heart.

Gɔ:li, however, continues to meet Loglog. She says, *when I looked at you, you made me feel excited* (upset my breathing). *I ask you* (that is, tell you), *I feel that you've taken my heart.*



The cycle returns to Jibijibi. Although in Song 24 Mulbu was invited to attend the ceremony he remained at their camp, at Aṅamuri. Jibijibi, however, did go. Here, she sits down and thinks of Mulbu, looking back toward Aṅamuri.

- 27    nunga            gamdundi                    ḡawari?wari  
       *him            let him come back I'm no good at all*  
                   *If only he would come back!*  
                   *I'm no good, without him.*

Gɔ:li, also, remained at Aṅamuri. While Loglog is away she doesn't want to walk about - she is upset, and can't carry on with her usual activities.

- 28    gamagmungewerɪn                    jiburggoldjdugmin  
       *(if) he sends a message<sup>a</sup>    you must certainly nod your head*  
                   *He sent a message:*  
                   *You must agree that you'll come.*

<sup>a</sup> Or, a 'reflexive' form - sent each other; mag here is *mark, message*, and not *gamag, good*.

Mulbu tells Gɔ:li he has a message from Loglog asking her to come to him, and says she must agree.

- 29    ḡamaɪdʒmaṅmaɪdʒmaṅ                    ḡadjɔ:gwɔ?dʒɔ:gwɔn  
       *I gathered my things, gathered my    I'm happy, happy*  
       *things*  
                   *I've gathered my things together*  
                   *I'm happy, happy!*

Gɔ:li gathers together her belongings and goes to meet Loglog.

- 30    ḡadjawa?djawan                    ḡaneni  
       *I ask (her), ask (her)    we two sit down*  
                   *I ask her, ask her,*  
                   *And we sit down together.*

When Gɔ:li comes to Loglog, he asks her to sit down with him: this implies, making love together.

- 31    gulagbami    jɪniɪalmɛin                    guri:ḡin                    janadjanad  
       *son            he look for him brother-in-law (Maṅ)    those (two)*  
       ḡalɔ:benani  
       *brother-in-law<sup>a</sup>*

*He looks for his son.*

*He is with your brother-in-law.*

<sup>a</sup> nagobeṅani, Gunwiṅgu; nagobeṅ is *husband*, or *gagali*.

In Maṅ. Mulbu accompanied Gɔ:li to the ceremony held by the fish. Here he met his father (bunji, Maṅ; ṅabad, Gunwiṅgu), Wolarindil (see Song 9 of the Nagarududu cycle: he is a puff fish with spikes). However, in this case Wolarindil is not jariwurlga, but jarijaniṅ, of the opposite matrilineal moiety and the nawamud subsection. He is Jibijibi's |dji| (Maṅ; ṅadjadj, Gunwiṅgu). He is Loglog's manman (Maṅ; maga, Gunwiṅgu), FMB: he is Gɔ:li's ṅala (Maṅ; djedje, Gunwiṅgu), child, offspring (female speaking). To Gariri, Wolarindil is a manman (Maṅ; maga, Gunwiṅgu), as in the case of Loglog.

Mulbu and Jibijibi have a daughter who is married (or betrothed) to Loglog. We do not hear of her in this cycle. They also have a son, Nanamoindjiṅ (Maṅ) or Gidjigidjidaidai (Gunwiṅgu), mouse, namaraṅ subsection, and jarijaniṅ like his mother. Jibijibi calls him djedje (Gunwiṅgu; ṅala, Maṅ); Mulbu calls him ṅawin (Maṅ; gulun, Gunwiṅgu), child (man speaking). Loglog calls him mamam (Maṅ; ganjulḡ, Gunwiṅgu), wife's brother, or brother of a mamam (or ganjulḡ), not ṅanuṅ as if he were an actual wife's brother. Nanamoindjiṅ is Gɔ:li's wulubulu (Maṅ; wulubulu or doidoi, Gunwiṅgu), MMB, a person of the great-grandparents' generation; in this case Nanamoindjiṅ is Gɔ:li's DDS. He is Gariri's mamam (Maṅ; ganjulḡ, Gunwiṅgu), and Wolarindil's wawul (Maṅ; mawa, Gunwiṅgu) - that is, Wolarindil is his FF.

Mulbu is looking for his son, Nanamoindjiṅ, and asks Wolarindil where he is. Jibijibi, however, knows and answers for him, *He is with your brother-in-law* (that is, her brother, an unmarried Jibijibi: Mulbu's ṅanuṅ (Maṅ; gagali, Gunwiṅgu); but he is not an actual brother of Jibijibi, since Mulbu called Jibijibi ganjulḡ and not gagali (in Gunwiṅgu), although ṅanuṅ is clearly a wife's brother.

32 gundjullrɔ:ga(n)                      ṅanan  
*shadow (shade) moves                  I see*  
*I see the shadows moving.*

Jibijibi is sitting with Mulbu; she sees the shade moving and moves, herself, out of the direct sunlight.

33 nunga    ṅagudji            ṅanbawu            wa:m            ṅadug  
*he            I'm alone    he left me    went away    mine*  
*He has left me alone,*  
*My own one, he's gone away!*

Gɔ:li is speaking to Jibijibi about Loglog. *He's gone away and left me.*

[In a song recorded from women by C.H.B., Mulbu (who is said to have come from Gunburai, in Gunwingu territory) and his friend Djabo (spotted cat) go to a ceremony. Djabo does not appear in this cycle, but has a separate one of his own in relation to Moon (dealing with the coming of death to the world). We include it here, although it is probably out of context.]

garaṅadburɪ:gl	garaṅadburɪ:gl	ɟɔ:ɟɔ:
<i>name of the ceremony</i> <sup>a</sup>		<i>(noise of didjeridu starting up)</i>
guṅṅaɪe	(repeat)	giriḍɛŋgl:dʒi
<i>we are happy</i>		<i>noise of Djabo playing the didjeridu</i>

<sup>a</sup> Mulbu is showing this, and 'calling the name of the ceremony'.

This song is in Mauṅ (Goulburn Island, 1964).]

#### THE NAGARUDUDU CYCLE

The songman in this cycle is Malangawa, a Mauṅ man, jarigarngulg semi-moiety. His didjeridu accompanist when these particular songs were recorded on tape (in February-March 1961) was Mangulugulu, also Mauṅ and jarigarngulg. The songs are in Mauṅ. Diagram 3 demonstrates the genealogical connections between the main characters in this cycle, placing them within their semi-moiety and moiety categories.

The first song tells of Nagarududu, a mudfish, of the njindjariwurig (Mauṅ female form) semi-moiety. She lives in the mud of the shallows, and when men go out for turtle they can hear the sound she makes.

1 (R. No.1)<sup>a</sup>

nagarududu	gi:nmalba	gl:nball
<i>Mudfish (her name)</i>	<i>she emerges</i>	<i>she sits down</i>
<i>Nagarududu comes out and sits down.</i>		

<sup>a</sup> R. = recorded with relevant number: these numbers refer to those on the original tape recordings.

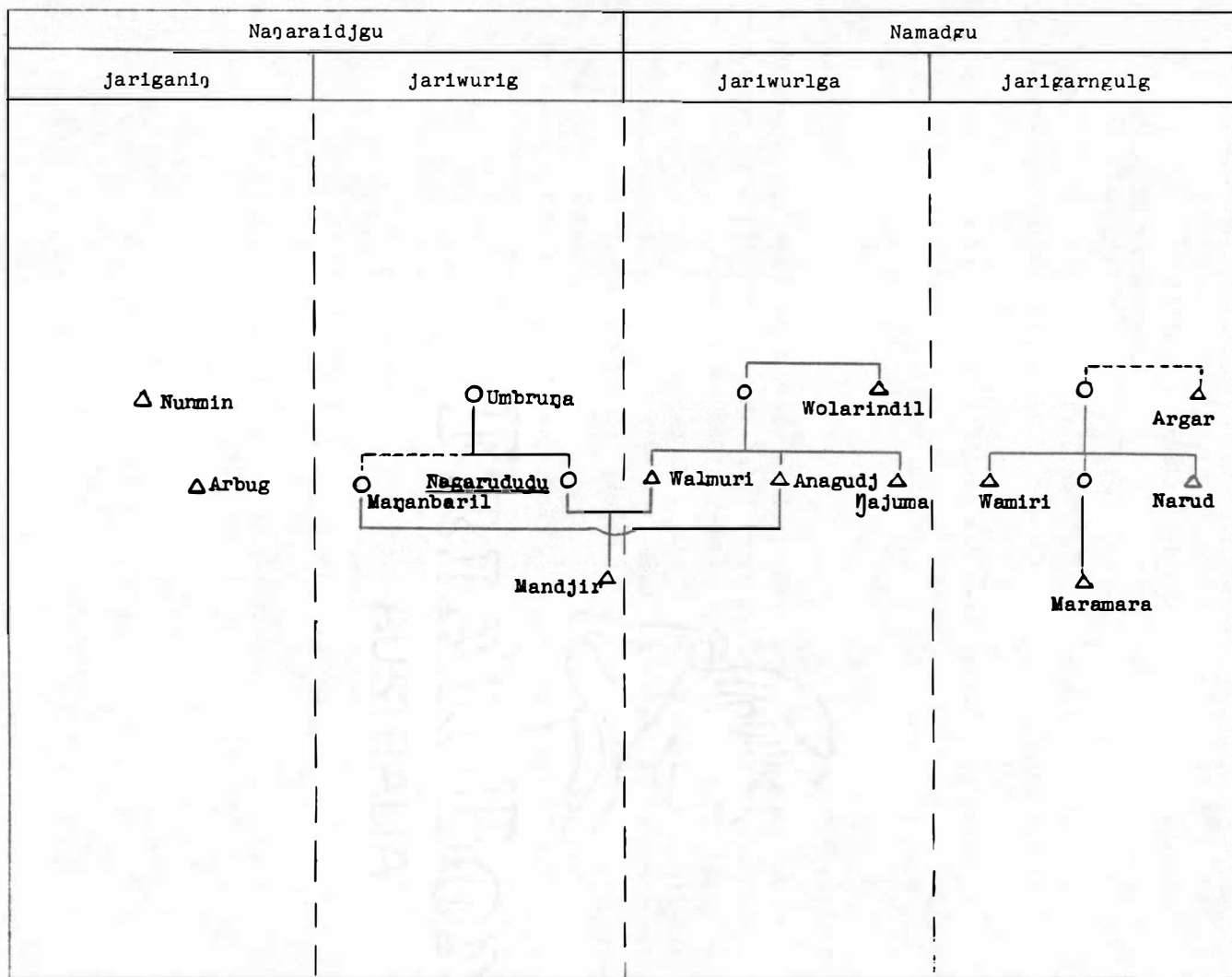


DIAGRAM THREE

Social alignments of characters mentioned in the Nagarududu cycle.

Key:

△ = male

○ = female

└── = descent

┌── = marriage

## 2 (R. No.2)

gl:ndjalgalnl                      gi:njajan    mlnjalawal  
*she is combing her hair    she sees her shadow*  
*Combing her long hair,*  
*Seeing her shadow (reflected).*

## 3 (R. No.10)

nagarududu    la    walmur!    jinjajau?  
*mudfish                      puff fish    he sees her*

jinmalban        mararaidj        jinjaranun  
*he comes out    sweetheart    he walks round*

djudju                      jinjamanbarag        la    jinmaidjun  
*this way, that way    he takes her                      he is love sick*

jinjunbaran        la    l:waranaimjan                      walmurin  
*he lies down                      he cries for her                      puff fish*  
*Walmuri sees Nagarududu.*  
*Lovesick, he walks this way and that way.*  
*They become lovers.*

Walmuri, puff fish, of the jariwurlga semi-moietry, is living at Marugbu, a large reef out from the one immediately opposite the mission station at South Goulburn Island. He sees Nagarududu and falls in love with her. They become husband and wife, and she eventually becomes pregnant.

C.B.H. has recorded, from women, a love song that they said was often sung by children. It is 'a boy calling to his girl friend'.

nawu                      gundalgena                      gl:glganme  
*you come!    I want to ask you    what, how are you*

nadug                                      amunananjewa                      guna?rudba                      a!  
*how are you feeling?    come back and tell me!    I don't want you!*

The boy calls to the girl, asking how she is, asking her to come back to him. But she walks away. The subject of the song C.H.B. was told, 'might be Nugurududu' (their pronunciation). The singers insisted that the name had no Gunwingu equivalent: 'It's a Maun fish!'

## 4 (R. No.19)

nagarududu    gl:njulu                      gl:naidbl                      waranju  
*mudfish                      she is pregnant    she bears                      child*

lqulaidj                                      mandjlr  
*child's name (fish)                      stingray*

*Nagarududu is pregnant.*

*She bears a child, Inulaidj-mandjir.*

Nagarududu gives birth to a small spotted stingray, jariwurig semi-molety.

5 (R. No.20)

nagarududu	inmadjuṅan	waranju	galwaralgen
<i>mudfish</i>	<i>she dies</i>	<i>child</i>	<i>cries</i>

walmuri	galwaralgen
<i>puff fish</i>	<i>he cries</i>

*Nagarududu dies in childbirth.*

*Her baby is crying. Walmuri weeps.*

6 (R. No.21)

walmuri	awunimaingilga
<i>puff fish</i>	<i>he gathers together the other (fish)</i>

minṅugalwanl	manguburl	manjuban
<i>for mortuary ceremony</i>	<i>neck string</i>	<i>puts on</i>

*Walmuri summons them all for a mortuary ceremony,*

*Puts on his mourning necklet.*

Walmuri calls together all the other fish (of different varieties) and himself puts around his neck a jungle-bark fibre necklet such as is worn by widows and widowers. Today, the puff fish bears the mark of this necklet.

7 (R. No.28)

umbruṅa	injuṅga	wiwi	gunduṅul
<i>fish</i>	<i>she came</i>	<i>mother's mother</i>	<i>killed her</i>

wamiri	injiwuṅ
<i>flat fish</i>	<i>killed her</i>

*Umbruṅa came, the child's*

*mother's mother:*

*'Wamiri killed her!'*

Umbruṅa is 'almost like' a puff fish, and is the real mother of Nagarududu. She is njindjariwurig, like her daughter. She speaks to the child (her wiwi), telling him that Wamiri (a small flat fish with white and black stripes, jarigarngulg) is responsible for Nagarududu's death.



## 8 (R. No.29)

arbug	anjuman	gundana:wun	wamiri
<i>small barramundi</i>	<i>told him</i>	<i>they'll kill you</i>	<i>Wamiri</i>

nanudin	wadbian
<i>I'll go ashore</i>	<i>(to) Wadbian</i>

*Arbug told Wamiri,*

*'They'll kill you!'*

*'I'll go to Wadbian' (Wamiri said).*

Arbug is a small barramundi or black fish living in the rocks: he is jarijaniṅ (alternate semi-moiety of the same moiety as Nagarududu). He warns Wamiri, who is frightened and goes to Wadbian (Sims Island) where he believes he will be safe.

## 9 (R. No.35)

anagudj	wolarindil	galwaga
<i>large puff fish</i>	<i>spiky puff fish</i>	<i>they are coming</i>

liri	narud	a:wunlwuṅ
<i>for fighting</i>	<i>black fish</i>	<i>he beats them</i>

*Anagudj and Wolarindil are coming*

*for fighting.*

*(But) Narud will win!*

Anagudj is Walmuri's (the widower's) brother, and also jariwurlga. Walarindil is an idji (MB) of Anagudj and Walmuri. They come to avenge the death of Walmuri's wife. (Anagudj is a larger puff fish; Wolarindil is like a puff fish but has spikes along his back.) Narud is a black fish, jarigarngulg, and therefore of the same moiety as Anagudj and Walmuri. He is a brother of Wamiri, and comes to defend him. The three meet and fight, and Narud is the victor.

## 10 (R. No.36)

maṅanbaril	injanjunaṅ	gamadju	inbaniṅ
<i>stingray</i>	<i>she heard</i>	<i>they were injured</i>	<i>she sat down</i>

inbaralganaṅ
<i>she cried</i>

*Maṅanbaril heard they were injured.*

*She sat down and cried.*

Spotted stingray, who is the wife of Anagudj (of the same semi-moiety as Nagarududu), heard of the fight and that her husband and his MB had been injured. She wept.

## 11 (R. No.37)

nunmin            margldjbu            awunjelal            duga a:wun  
*rock cod            native doctor            he saw (them)            where they lay*

a:wunjadbuŋ            a:maldjbugln  
*massaged (them)            they got up*

*Nunmin, a native doctor, saw them  
 lying there,  
 Massaged them and made them well.*

Nunmin, a powerful margldjbu, of the jarijanin semi-moiety, healed the two injured men by massaging them.

## 12 (R. No.43)

ŋajuma            inja:gan            nuju            maigu            narud  
*salmon            he gave            for him            a mal?gug            black fish*

jiwain maigu

*ŋajuma prepares a mal?gug  
 For Narud.*

ŋajuma is a white, red-mouthed fish like a salmon: he is jariwurlga, a brother of Anagudj and Walmuri. Wolarindil is his idji. ŋajuma prepares a sorcery bundle (mal?gug) containing the hair of the dead Nagarududu: he gives this to another man who, on receiving it, knows he must kill the person named. Narud is the victim, since his brother Wamiri ran away (see Song 8).

## 13 (R. No.44)

argar            juranga            manimain            andjlla            inirdjin  
*sawfish            he came            got            spear            he speared*

duga            wamuwun  
*that            coral*

*Argar came with his spear,  
 Spearing that coral.*

The mal?gug was given by ŋajuma to Argar, a jarigarngulg man. Knowing he is now obliged to kill Narud, he gets his spear. This is an idagal?, an old fashioned wooden-pronged spear similar to a fishing one: it is said that this is how Argar got all his teeth - these were his idagal? spears. Narud was inside the coral reef, Junguri, just opposite the Goulburn Island mission settlement. It was there that Argar speared him. Narud was a good fighter, especially with his mlaruŋ (or mlarui)

fighting sticks: he fought back, but Argar killed him. Narud, as a fish, has two razor-sides to his tail: these are the mlaruŋ fighting clubs, which Mauŋ copy from this fish's tail.

14 (R. No.45)

maramara	Juranga	lnl:man	lnljudjln
<i>black-spotted fish</i>	<i>he came</i>	<i>he got him</i>	<i>he buried him</i>

iqalbun	ji:waraigan
<i>he cut himself</i>	<i>he cried</i>

*Maramara came, took him and buried him,  
Cutting himself and weeping.*

Maramara, a black-spotted fish like Narud, is jarigarngulg. Narud is his idji (MB) and Argar his wlwi (MMB). For corpse-disposal, the Mauŋ practised earth-burial as well as platform exposure. In both cases the bones were collected later, the skull was red-ochred and placed in a tall hollow log, and a mortuary ritual was held. Maramara gashed his head in sorrow as he wept.

15 (R. No.46)

alwurangilga	angularuŋ	gungama
<i>they all came</i>	<i>they finished</i>	<i>ritual</i>

*Everyone came*

*For the mortuary ritual.*

All the fish come together for the mortuary ritual. At the end of this song, the singer makes the sound of waves breaking on the reef. The cycle is completed.

## CONCLUSION

Basically, the stories to which the songs relate are constructed in a simple and direct way. Jibijibi and Gɔ:li each have a lover, Mulbu and Loglog respectively. Mulbu is assumed to be Jibijibi's husband, since a child is implied - in fact, two children, a daughter and a son. Although other characters play their part, these four remain the primary actors. The theme focuses on their love for one another, their despair at being parted, and the concern of the females for the males. For instance, there is the fear that Mulbu is not entirely to be trusted. Loglog, too, is to be regarded in this way in spite of his attachment to Gɔ:li - after all, he did have earlier associations with Nagarududu. Jibijibi goes in search of her beŋwar sister, leaving Gɔ:li to look after

Mulbu. During her absence, she worries about her relationship with him. In Gɔ:li's case, it is Loglog who goes away. Jibijibi and Mulbu are reunited and spend some time in the bush together. Loglog reappears, surreptitiously 'sneaking for' Gɔ:li; and it is this reference which makes clear his status as a lover, in contrast to the 'open', spouse relationship of Jibijibi and Mulbu. This is reinforced by the quarrel between Jibijibi and Gɔ:li, which does not deter Gɔ:li - because sweet-heart partners were/are publicly recognized in Mauṅ (and Gunwiṅgu) society. The breach between Jibijibi and Gɔ:li is healed, and a gift marks their reconciliation.

However, the partners are separated again. Loglog and Jibijibi go to the Nagarududu ceremony; Gɔ:li and Mulbu remain at 'home', at Aṅamuri. (The Nagarududu incident occurs at this juncture. It turns out that Nagarududu is still attracted to Loglog - but she keeps away from him.) Jibijibi is longing for Mulbu; Gɔ:li languishes back at Nṅamuri. Mulbu receives Jibijibi's message and both go off to meet their partners. On reaching the ceremony, Mulbu meets his father and seeks his son (by Jibijibi).

The final scenes depict Jibijibi and Mulbu comfortably happy together. Mulbu, who at first appears untrustworthy (that is, potentially unfaithful to Jibijibi), turns out to be a constant husband. Loglog, on the other hand, goes away and leaves Gɔ:li sorrowing alone. The implicit moral is - that true love and domestic happiness can be found only in marriage and in children. In a purely sexual liaison, however strong the emotional commitment between those concerned (as is so clearly expressed through the behaviour of Gɔ:li), the ties are much more tenuous and the parting of the ways almost inevitable.

In the Nagarududu cycle, Walmuri falls in love with Nagarududu. They marry (implied), and she dies in childbirth. A mortuary ritual is held and, as is natural in this situation, the inevitable question is asked: 'Who is responsible for her death?' Nagarududu's mother's mother accuses Wamiri. Wamiri, however, is warned and escapes to Sims Island. Two of the bereaved husband's relatives, intent on revenge, go in search of him. Wamiri's brother, Narud, takes his place. Narud is a well-known warrior, and in the confrontation which follows he injures the avengers; Nunmin, a native doctor, heals them. Not content to let the matter rest, another brother of Walmuri prepares a sorcery bundle and gives it to Argar. Argar is therefore obliged to spear Narud, and does so. (The implication here is that Narud, in spite of his fighting prowess, had been made vulnerable by means of the sorcery bundle). The dead Narud is buried by Maramara, his sister's son. All participate in the mortuary ritual.

It is not really possible, as far as we can see, to read into this story any moral injunction - except, perhaps, obliquely. In Maun society, as in others impinging on it, women should not ordinarily be obtrusive, and they should hesitate to take the initiative in dancing for fear they will be singled out as being potentially bold - as inviting sexual attention. Nagarududu is almost a prototype of the desirable female, and did not lack lovers (as in the case of Loglog, for instance, in the Jibijibi cycle). It could therefore be argued that under such conditions, even though she married and died in childbirth, others would be jealous and would be ready to cause her or her husband harm. On the other hand, in spite of the emphasis on female submissiveness, women did, on many occasions, take the initiative in love-making. Also, the events that followed the death of Nagarududu were expected events, normally congruent in traditional terms.

One of the major points arising from a consideration of these stories is that they mirror ordinary, everyday experiences. The truths they offer are those known to and appreciated by all belonging to this particular society. Those listening to the stories or the songs have no difficulty in identifying not only their relatives but themselves - and the contexts are not dissimilar to those in real life. The resemblance is, actually, quite striking. Our notebooks contain many contemporary accounts detailing situations in which named (and known) persons are involved, and in which the sequence of events and the behaviour of these persons do not appreciably differ from those reported in the stories or songs.

One question is, then, in what respects these stories differ from ordinary life-experiences - that is, beyond the fact that animal or dream-spirit characters are involved. Personally, we do not think that they are especially different, or are intended to be so. Analysis of such stories lies in a different dimension (see below). In direct terms, they simply provide 'verification' of ordinary socio-cultural living.

One interesting feature which does bear on the problem of analysis is that of social alignments. The diagrams attached to each cycle provide clues to the relationships between the primary characters. Jibijibi and Mulbu stand to each other in the proper relationship as conventionally appropriate and preferential spouses, while Gɔ:li and Loglog do not - at least, not in Maun terms; they are potential spouses in Gunwingu terms, but this is a Maun story. Additionally, Loglog is related as actual or classificatory husband to Jibijibi and Mulbu's daughter. It was this that precipitated the argument between Gɔ:li and Jibijibi - which under ordinary circumstances would not have been

an argument. Nevertheless, sweetheart liaisons were apparently fairly common between persons in those particular kin-categories - but they had to be more careful than in the case of liaisons (pre- or extra-marital) between persons in a preferred-spouse relationship. The fact that two kinship systems are operating on Goulburn Island complicates the situation a little.

In other words, part of the story, or stories, lies in the implied obligations and responsibilities between the characters, who are all related in one way or another. And part of the story, too, is to be found in the interplay of the semi-moieties. In the Jibijibi case, there are three: two of one moiety, one of the other. In the Nagarududu, all four semi-moieties are relevant, and it is significant that two of the characters, Arbug and Nunmin, have no traceable genealogical connection with each other or with others who appear in the story. Nunmin is the marg|dju who is specifically called in to cure the two injured men. Arbug, on the other hand, although of the same moiety (but not the same semi-moiety) as Nagarududu, warns her supposed 'killer'. In the events which follow, brother stands for brother; the widower's brothers and mother's brother act for him in avenging, or attempting to avenge, Nagarududu's death, and another brother prepares a sorcery bundle. However, it is a mother's brother who kills the brother of the supposed 'killer'. Ordinarily, this would not be the case: but here the 'mother's brother' is classificatory and, what is more, has been given the sorcery bundle - which, in effect, absolves him from personal responsibility: or, rather, makes personal responsibility irrelevant in the face of such an obligation. And, finally, the dead man is buried by his sister's son.

Such stories, then, respond to two forms of direct analysis: one, the examination of the cultural content of situations depicted, viewing them within the perspective of 'real' life; and two, the tracing out of social alignments relevant to the primary and secondary characters, and in so doing adding an extra level of explanation - underlining the dictum that the course of events can often be predicted in terms of the relationships between those involved. In other words, given the basic kin relationships of these story characters, it is not unreasonable to say that they will act in defined ways, in particular situations - provided we know something of the content of the behavioural patterns between particular kin, consanguineal, affinal, and simply classificatory. In this respect, among others, the songs in these two cycles differ from the traditional 'children's songs' which deal with the characteristics of various natural species - short, separate songs, in many of

which the birds and other creatures concerned 'speak' in their own particular 'language', which human beings may or may not attempt to translate. But the characters in those songs are treated in their own right; the qualities they share with human beings are not treated, except very indirectly indeed.

One line of analysis which we contemplated pursuing, as an entertaining diversion or 'game' would take us a considerable distance away from what the people themselves say about songs and stories like these. Myth-analyses stimulated by Lévi-Strauss have become quite fashionable in Anthropology - 'stimulated by', but not necessarily 'approved by'. And certainly one way of looking at this material is to see it in terms of contrasts and oppositions, and mediators. As a small facet of this paper, then, we proposed to start with the kind of division that the Mauṅ-Gunwiṅgu and their neighbours make quite readily: between fresh and salt water, land creatures and sea creatures, coast and inland, edible and inedible (or, like many of the characters in these cycles, eaten only when more palatable foods are lacking), and so on. Up to a point, these two cycles lend themselves easily to such treatment. But a full-scale analysis would call for much more, and also for inclusion of other cycles and individual songs that bring in the same characters. At a superficial level, it is tempting to speculate on such points as, in the admittedly somewhat tenuous link between the two cycles, the relationship between Nagarududu (a salt-water, coastal creature) and Loglog (a creature of the inland, the 'bush', with fresh-water associations), but with a rapprochement between them that does not apply in the case of the other fish: Nagarududu is a mudfish, Loglog a reptile who makes his home in shallow holes in the ground as well as in crevices in trees and rocks; both are attracted to each other, but Loglog goes his own way and survives, undiminished; Nagarududu eventually dies (in childbirth, certainly, but that is another story). A partial parallel, at least, could be drawn here, in regard to the relationship between Mauṅ and Gunwiṅgu, bringing in other supporting - and contrary - elements. But whether or not one takes this suggestion seriously, to *discuss* it seriously would involve a more complicated and weighty examination than we want to engage in here.

A further problem involves a different type of analysis and we shall not elaborate on it here. It depends on the relationship between such stories and their song expressions. This basically concerns the problems of the *use* of language. On one hand, is the story as such - the stories of Jibijibi and Nagarududu. In spite of what we said earlier about individual ownership of the song cycles, it is fairly obvious that the story (stories) is common property. Many, if not

most people know it (or them). 'Ownership', then, entails something over and above this. What the songman or composer 'owns' is the right of access to the dream-spirits manifested in the story. The stories themselves are stories about people (in the guise of natural species): the songman is in direct contact with these *live* spirits, even though they do appear to him only in dreams. He is not simply recounting in song an already familiar story, but the spirits tell him of their adventures and these are placed within the framework of the story. He is providing the revitalizing element for these stories: it is not just the song words which he 'receives', but the rhythms as well. In this way the story, traditional as it must be (and is acknowledged to be), is brought constantly up to date.

The other facet to this problem concerns the words of the songs themselves. Without a running commentary on the meaning of such songs, placing them as it were within the context of a story, no clue would be provided as to their story-content. There are exceptions, of course, when specific natural species names are mentioned - like that of Nagarududu and others; but in the Jibijibi cycle, her name is not mentioned in any song - nor are the names of Mulbu, Loglog, Gɔ:li and so on. One needs to remember that such songs are sung in the camp *without explanations*: the story is not told simultaneously. Although we may assume that the stories are widely known, we cannot assume that each song is identified in the way it would be by the songman himself.

Of course, people recognize that one songman is well known for a particular cycle, and they recognize the relevant rhythms of that cycle, which would be distinct from others. At the same time, there is flexibility in interpretation of any specific song. And it is in this direction that their primary appeal lies. Listeners can identify within such songs what they wish to identify, over and above any story content these may convey. In this respect they are very close indeed to the 'gossip' songs of western Arnhem Land (see R. and C. Berndt 1951:211-40; 1968:318), which report contemporary events without mentioning any personal names; listeners enjoy the game of identifying persons who might be involved, and, in the process, often start fresh gossip sequences. We have many hundreds of such songs, most recorded directly from the songmen themselves, others (in C.H.B.'s case) from women who were particularly interested in remembering them. (The earlier ones, of course, are simply in writing, since at that time, beginning in 1947, we had no mechanical recorders.) One feature that they share with the Jibijibi series is their elusive, almost anonymous quality: even in those cases where place names are mentioned, there is no way of



identifying the characters involved. The songs themselves supply no internal evidence; identification comes only from their context, from what the songmen (and others) say about them.

In Aboriginal terms, real relaxation is sought, and found, in the company of others - not simply in co-activity of a physical nature but in gossiping about others, in speculating about what they are doing when not under direct observation and what they will do, and especially about their relations with others. This is to be expected among a people who emphasize social relations, particularly in kin terms; where no person is a stranger; where all are more or less closely linked with one another; where the actions of one person impinge on those of others; where privacy is at a minimum. Aborigines are *social* beings to a much greater extent than are the members of many other societies, and certainly more so than those living in the compartmentalized existence typical of industrialized society. These songs, then, provide an open and public encouragement of such an interest, and that is a major reason for their popularity.

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