

The Language of the Land

VESPER TJUKONIA

Le pays et la langue partagent la même écologie. L'Anglais dépossédé de ses racines est imposé en Australie avec des conséquences dévastatrices. Comment être à l'écoute des peuples de ce territoire quand les attitudes territoriales anglaises sont ancrées dans le vocabulaire anglais?

Stilts wade unhurried in the shallows. A sandpiper scurries across the mud. The sound of beating wings announces a grand gliding procession of pelicans. There is constant activity in this estuary, and yet the prevailing atmosphere is one of peace. Here a river, which has flowed a thousand miles from its source, swells into a delta: a life-giving womb, giving shape to *Kumarangk*, the island heart of the Ngarrindjeri nation.¹



Ngarrindjeri memini [women], Aunty Dot centre, sing on Kumarangk. Photo: Vesper Tjukonia

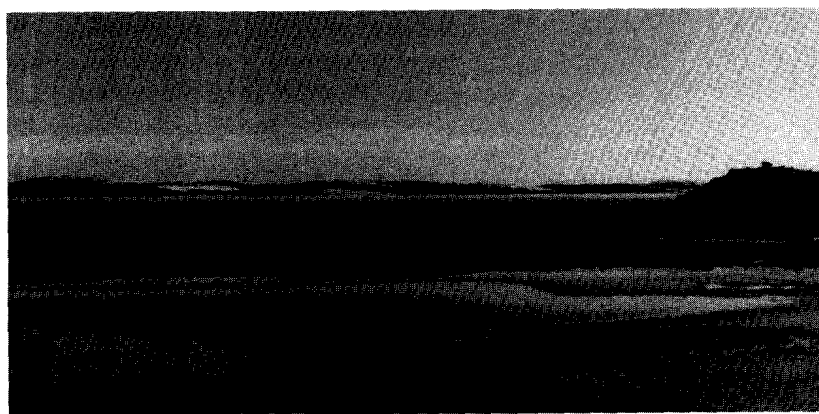
Here at the mouth of the Murray River, “God, the Creator of everything” gave her “The Dreaming of a Ngarrindjeri *Memini*” (Bell 191). Aunty Dot’s song follows the Ngarrindjeri tradition of *pakari*, dreaming song:

The Political Landscape

The Ngarrindjeri lost culturally appropriate access to their island in 2001, after a decade of legal protest. The Hindmarsh Island Bridge, “detrimental to Ngarrindjeri heritage, cultural and spiritual beliefs and Ngarrindjeri women’s cultural connection to Goolwa and its waters,” carries an increasing population into an area subject to the international RAMSAR treaty for the protection of migratory birds. In 2002, the Ngarrindjeri gathered with the solemn task of reburial of their ancestors, exposed during excavations at the \$2.7 million Goolwa Wharf “redevelopment” project. Most signs here in the Coorong National Park note bird-life and plant species and don’t mention the Ngarrindjeri at all. One sign says, “The Coorong was the territory of an Aboriginal group called the Ngarrindjeri.”

The eyes of Ngarrindjeri woman, Ellen Trevorrow, burned deep with sadness, “Without us, our land is deteriorating.”

Aunty Cherie Watkins put it an-



Ngarrindjeri traditional industry, working with nature: fish-traps in the Coorong. Photo: Vesper Tjukonia

“This island is not just any island
It belongs to the Ngarrindjeri
Memini [woman]
It shelters her from the stormy
weather
Kumarangk is all of life to the
Ngarrindjeri *Memini*,”
sings Aunt Dot Shaw.

“This island is not just any island
From the Murray River to the
Coorong Hummocks.
It’s welcomed everyone
who lived
in these homelands,
Kumarangk is all of life to the
Ngarrindjeri *Memini*.”



*Traditional Ngarrindjeri dancer from Talkindjeri: Irene Allen.
Photo: Vesper Tjukonia*

other way: "The spirit of the land is weakening. We are weakening. The island needs us women to go back to strengthen it."

In her book, Aunty Veronica Brodie says:

It is really heartbreaking to think what has happened... It's been a long drawn-out process and lots of hurts have been brought out with it... We were all taught to love, not to hate. And on the strength of that love, we Ngarrindjeri women have had to try to get through the hard times we've had.... In recent years the Hindmarsh Island affair has been really hurtful to us.

What concerns us are all the developments that are likely to take place all over that little island now that the bridge is built. (159)

Community health worker, Andrea Henschke, spoke about the Ngarrindjeri Memini's Group which met regularly to talk about local community issues and to participate in community activities.

The only time we got big numbers of women attending was when we met on the island. It was where the women felt "at home." When the bridge was built, and the women couldn't use the *Pulgi* [Ngarrindjeri meeting place on Kumarangk], the group folded. We tried another venue at the Health Service, but the women felt it was clinical and not welcoming. The local Council offered the use of the Old Police Station. The women refused to meet there. It had been built on an area important to them as women.

Meeting on the island," Andrea continued, "was vital to the emotional well-being of the women."

When the bridge was built, the women were disempowered and dispossessed all over again. The impact on their psyche was dramatic and physical health issues have been exacerbated. Diabetes and heart disease are significant issues for older Ngarrindjeri women. Substance abuse and suicide are issues for the young. Violence and abuse against women within the community is of great concern."

"And without the Ngarrindjeri women," Andrea said, "the land is not regenerating."

The Ngarrindjeri Heritage Committee wrote:

The island (Kumarangk) is vital to the Ngarrindjeri Memini's (women's) spiritual beliefs. The impact of the denial of Ngarrindjeri women's human rights which has occurred, is genocidal and a travesty of our social, political and cultural identity.... Until the physical creation and working acceptance of a culturally appropriate means of access to Kumarangk exists, the Ngarrindjeri Memini will remain denigrated and demeaned as women....

Ngarrindjeri Ruwi

What can I say that will add to the



*Ngarrindjeri women protest against the building of the Hindmarsh Island Bridge.
Photo: Vesper Tjukonia*

healing and not the harm? Even this English that I write, by its domination, threatens Indigenous language:

Oppression, genocide and assimilation pressures have led to the death of one hundred Aboriginal languages since 1788 and the present “dying state” of another hundred. (Dixon qtd. in Clyne).

If these trends continue unchecked, by 2050 there will be no longer any Indigenous languages spoken in Australia. (McConvell and Thieberger)

There’s a Welsh saying: *Gwlad heb iaith, gwlad heb galon*. “Land without language, land without a heart” (Nettle and Romaine). The Indigenous voices that sing this land were once silenced by guns and by the cross. Too many are now silenced by a length of rope, by substance abuse, by grief. What can I say to this land?

Ask the Ngarrindjeri what their word for “land” is. The answer shows strong cultural ties woven since ancient times: *Ngarrindjeri ruwi* is country, homelands, birthplace.

armpit,” here *tipping*, “the lips.” Where in any English word do we find a similar understanding of country? The British dismembered the living *ruwi*, anglicised this bit as Coorong, renamed that bit “Loveday Bay,” and the sacred nature of this land lies buried under the names of the British occupiers, just as invaders of Briton suppressed another ancient heritage. How can English-speakers relate to this land in a sustaining way, when their language has been torn from its roots, from its ecological origins?

Invading the Land, Invading Language

The word “country” didn’t exist in English before the Norman invasion, neither did “real estate,” “property,” “territory,” nor “place.” The Norman Conquest marked a dramatic change for Britons in relationship to their land. Ancient stories of the British Isles say that sovereignty of the land resides in the “Great Mother,” “Goddess of the Land” herself, writes Caitlin Matthews. She cannot be “owned.” The “male tribal leader” entered into a “sacred marriage” with

the people were ensured. After the Norman Conquest, the land became “real estate,” from the Latin *res*, meaning a “thing.” (Ayto 433) Individuals could own it. Under the Normans, land was given to local lords in exchange for loyalty and for supplying a “striking force.” This was feudalism. To the people on the land it was virtual slavery (*Larousse Encyclopedia of Ancient and Medieval History*).

“Territory,” “terrain,” and “terrestrial” have their roots in *terra*, Latin: “earth, land,” notes John Ayto (525). *Terra* is familiar in the expressions *terra cotta*, “cooked earth,” and *terra firma*, “dry land.” *Terra nullius* “unoccupied land” had its roots in Roman law: *res nullius*, but it was the Medieval Church of Rome that used *Terra nullius* to legitimize the European land grab for the “New World.” “The coming of Christ” took jurisdiction away “from every infidel” (Cardinal Hostiensis 17). Indigenous inhabitants were considered “wild beasts in a forest” (Gray qtd. in Porter 357). *Terra nullius* is responsible for, Valerie Taliman estimates, 96 million Indigenous peoples” losing their lands, their lives and much of their traditional knowledge. The lie of *terra nullius* persisted in Australia law until 1992 when the High Court ruled that “native title” had not been extinguished by British occupation. The Ngarrindjeri people clearly state that “they have never ceded nor sold” the sovereignty of their territory (“Proclamation of Ngarrindjeri Dominion”).

The Ecology of Land and Language

The regenerative cycle of the Seven Sisters story gave the Ngarrindjeri women “directives,” “what they needed to live by or do certain things by,” observes Diane Bell (580) Ngarrindjeri elder, Doreen Katrinyeri, explains:

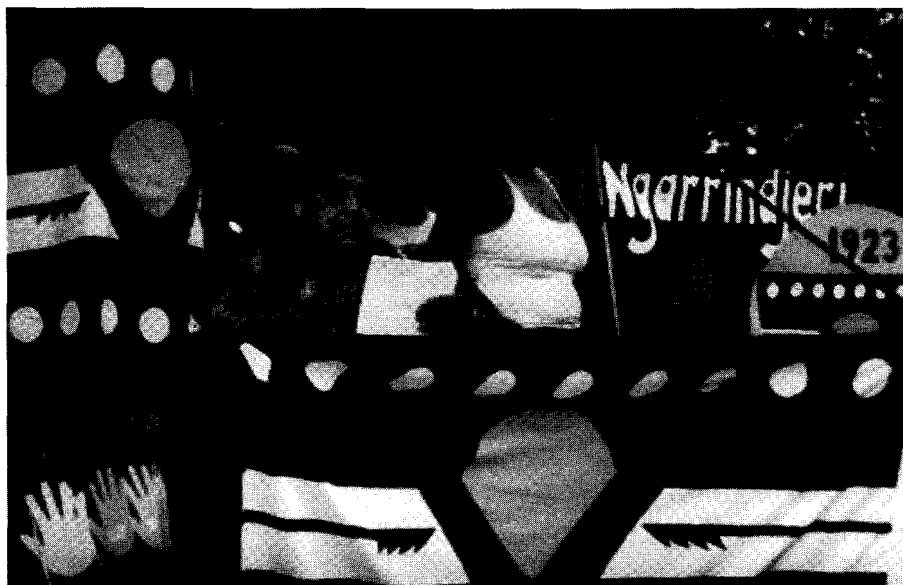
... the Seven Sisters Dreaming is important to us, because the stars, the moon, the sun controls



Traditional Ngarrindjeri weavers, including Ellen Trevorrow, on Kumarangk.
Photo: Vesper Tjukonia

Ngarrindjeri *ruwi/ruwa* is the “living body” of the land and waters, creatures and peoples, writes anthropologist Diane Bell. Here is *kurangk*, “the neck,” here is *ngiakkung*, “the

her. If the Queen of the Land, was neglected or laid waste, she would “take a new partner,” writes Lynne Sinclair Wood (56). Thus, the fertility of the land and the prosperity of



Auntie Veronic Brodie. Photo: Vesper Tjukonia

the seasons... I would say that a diary and a calendar would be the two most important things that the Seven Sisters would be able to tell Ngarrindjeri women over thousands of years.... (qtd. in Bell 580)

Each season "is associated with a Dreaming that has a manifestation in the skyworld." Each season is an initiation cycle, so that "ecological time and ceremonial time run on the same calendar," observes Diane Bell. For thousands upon thousands of years, Ngarrindjeri women passed on their stories to assist in the renewal cycle of life in the area. "Hindmarsh Island ... [is] a impregnated with a wonderful Aboriginal spirituality" (Brodie 156).

But without the women, what is happening to the island and the area around it? The River Murray is in trouble. In a typical year, the flow to the sea from the Mouth is only 27 per cent of the natural median flow. In September 2002, the Murray-Darling Basin Commission allocated two million dollars to dredge sand from the Murray Mouth to keep water flowing.

If the mouth was to close, towns and agricultural land...may be inundated when a flood comes

down the river. Water in the Coorong would become more saline...This would degrade valuable habitat for native fish and waterbirds. The fishing industry would be damaged, as would local tourism and recreation.

No mention of the impact on the Ngarrindjeri Nation despite the Ngarrindjeri Working Party's statement in 1998: "The Ngarrindjeri lands, in particular the River, the Lakes and the Coorong are crucial for the survival of the Ngarrindjeri people" (South Australian Department for Environment Heritage and Aboriginal Affairs 3).



Silent procession to Adelaide's Government House. Photo Vesper Tjukonia

Aunty Veronica says:

Now, years ago, where the natural opening of the Murray Mouth was, you couldn't get near it because of its ferocity... That's where we used to camp as children. So what did whiteman do?... They built the four barges ... to keep the salt water back.... It's totally destroyed the Kurrangk and its surrounds for us.... So our fear is that because they've built a bridge to Hindmarsh Island they'll eventually build a bridge across to Mundoo Island. And then they'll want to make a freeway right through down the Kurrangk for all the tourists. That will destroy all that vegetation and everything environmentally. And that's where where my sister's ashes lie as well as many other old Ngarrindjeri burial grounds. (Brodie 182-3)

The land is crying out for help. Government spending isn't enough. The survival of this area depends on the knowledge of its Indigenous custodians. How do I hear the people of this land, when English attitudes to land are embedded in English words?

The "Earth," which English speakers generally regard as an inanimate planet or the dirt beneath their feet, has a large word-family of forgotten predecessors: *Erce, Ertha, Edda, Hretha, Nerthus, Urd*. They all mean

Mother, Giver of Life, writes Barbara Walker. *Urd* or *Ureor*, is the eldest of the Norse Norns, weavers of Fate. *Ureor* spins the thread of life while her sisters weave and cut them. *Ureor*, which means "origins," later became *Ereoa*, and then Earth. "*Erce*, *eorthan modor*," "Earth, mother of earth," chanted farmers in Britain before mechanization. *Erce*, mother of earth, awakened to the tiller's call and helped the crops to grow (Walker 264).

"Ground" or *grund* in Old English, meant "earth" or "land," but it also meant "depths." The *grund* could be inhabited by *grund-wyrgen*, "female monsters of the deep" or of the "underworld" (Whitelock). The pre-Christian Underworld was home to all manner of fairy queens and wizard-kings, and could be a place of "sensual delight," notes Walker. To the Celts, it was a "source of wisdom," says Matthews. In Norse cosmology, adds Patricia Monaghan, "the misty world under the earth" was ruled by the goddess Hel (Monaghan 150). Hel gave shelter to the dead. But her realm was also a "sacred cave of rebirth," writes Barbara Walker. Medieval Christian theologians turned Hel's "womb of regeneration" into a "vast torture chamber," an inferno, Hell, notes Walker.

While the sacred meanings of many English words to do with "earth" have been buried, others have been debased: "Cunt" used to be "a true language word of the oldest stock,"

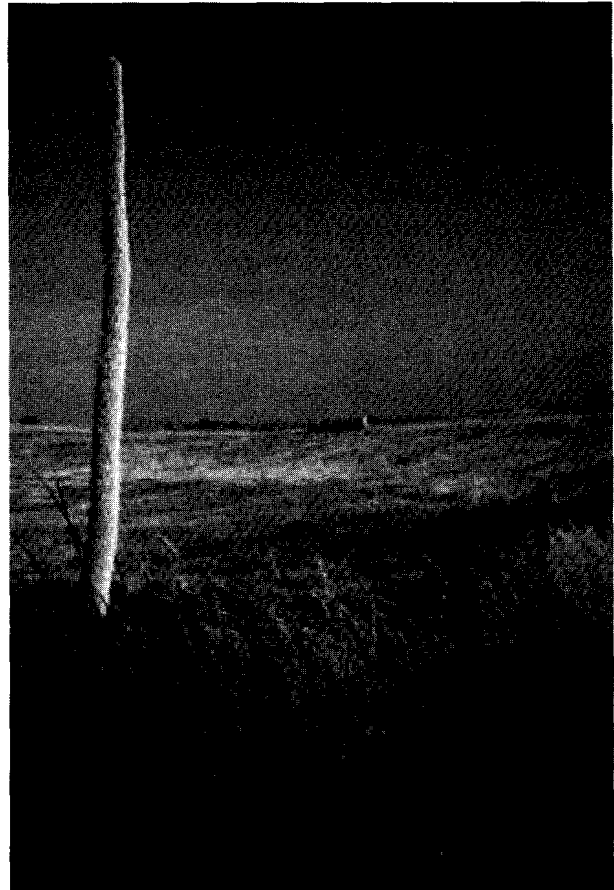
writes Michael Dames. All over the Sacred Isles, Celtic women were guardians of sacred springs and "cunt-shrines," some of which still retain their old "cunt" derived names. "Cunt" and *cwithe*, meaning "womb," descend from the same ancestor word, says Jane Mills. "Cunt" entrances and *cwithe* underground rooms were sacred to the Celts. A similar word *cweorth* was a rune carved in such places and meant "ceremonial fire." Conventional archaeologists have identified these places as "tombs" or "food stores" or "hiding places," note Janet and Colin Bord (10). But local people speak from an unbroken oral tradition of entering into the womb of Mother Earth to gain Her wisdom and to help in the renewal of Her seasons, says Michael Dames.

The sexual element of many Celtic customs charged the atmosphere with excitement, and the energy revitalized the "living forces of the Earth" (Bord and Bord). Sexuality, however, was profane rather than sacred to the Medieval Christian Church. Women were particularly persecuted because they were all "copies of Eve," writes Barbara Walker. Eve was blamed for tempt-

ing Adam and getting them both thrown out of Paradise. Yet "Eve," *Hhavah* in Hebrew, meant "life" and Adam called her the "mother of all living" (Genesis 3, 1-24). "Eve" was a common Middle-Eastern name for the Mother Goddess, adds Walker.

"Western culture is the only one that which has no on-going concept of sacred sex," observed Thomas Wright in 1957 (qtd. in LaChapelle). Is there a link between sexual suppression and abuse of the land? The colonial male saw land "unoccupied," "virginal," "untouched by man," as ready to be taken. "Rape of the land" is a common description of the "colonial" impact on this country.

Today pristine land is called "wilderness." Ironically, "wilderness" attracts people, tourist dollars. Noel Pearson, of the Cape York Land Council, observes that Australian "wilderness" is another version of the *terra nullius* myth, for wilderness preserves the "invisibility of Aboriginal



European farmers cleared the land of Indigenous vegetation for European cropping. Photo: Vesper Tjukonia



Ngarrindjeri dwelling place, thousands of years old. White cockle shells indicate a favourite food. Photo: Vesper Tjukonia



After two hundred years of European occupation, a rising water table, salinity and litter create a wasteland in Ngarrindjeri country. Photo: Vesper Tjukonia

people" (Pearson and Cape York Land Council). Pearson wants Aboriginal people to be "on the frontline of conservation management" in "wilderness protection." Likewise, the elders of the Ngarrindjeri Nation are calling on the South Australian Government to return the Coorong National Park.

Originators of the word "wilderness," *wildeornes* in Old English, had a tradition of "nature worship" and a concept of "sacred places...imbued with will-force and spirit." They were "not bent on dominating all environments," observes Jay Vest (qtd. in LaChapelle 310). *The deor* part of *wildeornes* in modern English is "deer." In Old English "deer" meant all animals. The groves and forests were places of power, and their wild inhabitants were respected. The flesh of the *deor*, "venison," "Venus's son," was the "reward of the hunt." Venus is known today as a Love Goddess, but she was in ancient times Lady of the Forest, writes Walker. She was "Lady of Animals."

Sacred groves and forests were turned into "wilderness" when the Medieval Church of Rome went to "war" against Indigenous nature-worship. For political gain, for territorial gain, disconnection between

indigenous peoples and their land was deliberately constructed. "Sacred trees were cut down and burned, people whose minds had stored the lore and wisdom of generations were hacked to pieces," writes Alexei Kondratiev (20). "And the Pope declared, an inquisition. It was a war against the women, whose power they feared. In the holocaust against the nature people Nine million European women died" ("The Burning Times"). Language recorded the oppression: heath-dwellers became "heathen"; the *pagani*, country people, became "pagan"; the *witega*, the wise, became "witches"; Pan, the fertility god became "the horned satanic figure of the Christian Devil," observe Janet and Colin Bord (215).

The old lore foretold that if the Great Mother, Ertha, Queen of the fertile earth, were "offended or neglected," she would lay the land to ruin and waste, continues Walker. The Waste Land is a "recurrent threatening theme of medieval romances" (Walker 1064). The Holy Grail stories used Christianized language to keep the old lore alive in a climate of suppression. One story tells how an English king raped one of the Great Mother's priestesses and stole a gold cup from her. The cup, "a symbol of

love," could only "be given," never possessed. As a result of the king's actions, notes Lewis Spence: "Priestesses of the sacred springs no longer welcomed wayfarers with food and drink. The Peace of the Goddess was destroyed.... The land went to waste" (qtd. in Walker 1064).

The Waste Land

"Waste and unoccupied" were the words the British Parliament used in 1834 to create South Australia and put up the "for sale" sign (Jenkins 25) "Waste and unoccupied?" Charles Stuart reported in 1830 to the SA Colonial Commission that "we seldom communicated with fewer than 200 [of the population] daily" (qtd. in Jenkins 28). In 1842, the British Parliament passed the Australian *Waste Lands Act*. It legalized land reserves for "Use or Benefit of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Country." Elders today talk of the reserves as "concentration camps." The Act also pledged "15 per cent of the gross proceeds of Land Sales for the benefit, civilization and protection of the Aborigines." This happened once in 1843. The Waste Lands Act, in effect, "ossified the position of the Aborigines as a mendicant, pauper class, completely at the mercy of a foreign authoritarian government," notes Jenkins (41). The terrible truth is that prior to European invasion, Indigenous civilization had ensured that its people were "much better fed, were a lot healthier, more comprehensively educated, were able to spend more time in cultural pursuits; and, generally, were more complete people: in body, mind and soul," observes Jenkins.

"Waste and unoccupied" land was refuted formally by the Ngarrindjeri Nation in a petition given by Ellen Trevorrow to the Governor in December 2003. It also called for a Treaty and a Bill of Rights to secure "Ngarrindjeri lands and waters to the perpetual inheritance of the Ngarrindjeri Nation."

Has colonial disregard for rightful

Indigenous custodianship of the land now turned Australia into a Waste Land?

The Australian environment is in the state of “tragedy,” the term of emergency response to human disaster. The repair bill is estimated at \$65 billion. The repair effort is not keeping up with the increasing degradation. Currently \$1.4 billion is being spent. “Natural eco-systems are crashing, and there’s nothing to replace them” (“Background Briefing”).

Other English-speaking countries have forests and woodlands. Australia has “bush” and “scrub,” derogatory terms. “Forest” and “woodland” indicate the vegetation is valued. Bush and scrub can be cleared with little sense of loss. “Bush” wasn’t always a generic term for a diversity of habitats, from mallee to casuarinas to saltbush to sedges and rushes. “Bush” was imported from South Africa, from the Dutch: *bosch* meaning “woodland” (Evans 173). In Dutch, the “*bosch wachter*” was a highly regarded “forest-keeper.” In Australia, the bushwhacker was typically male, an “unskilled labourer” who “bush bashed” to “open up the country,” a hero (Hughes). Colonial women were largely invisible in the bush, as were Indigenous peoples. In the 1950s, Ronald and Catherine Berndt translated the Ngarrindjeri *lemangk* as “scrub” (Berndt and Berndt). I can’t help wonder what Ngarrindjeri understanding about tree-community was lost by that translation.

English words change their meaning because they are not rooted in a continuous lore or a sustaining place. English has become a language of abstraction. It enables mind to transmit ideas to mind, but not feet to talk to the earth beneath them. Benjamin Lee Whorf observes that English words such as “hill” or “swamp” have been separated from the “entire relationship” with nature. They are perceived not as “an aspect of nature’s endless variety” but as a “distinct thing, almost like a table or a chair” (qtd. in LaChapelle 25). A German

zoologist, Ernst Haeckel in the 1870s had to create a word to describe relationships between living creatures and the land. *Ökologie*, “ecology,” the study of habitat, was invented from the Greek *oikos*, “house or home” (cited in Ayto 193). In contrast, Indigenous language is rooted in the country of its birth. When the Ngarrindjeri speak what’s left of their language, they can hear how their identity, culture and country are connected.

The Language of the Land

Bonney Reserve, Ngarrindjeri land in the Coorong, is “a rare oasis of health” (Ross). Across the road is land farmed by the European method: paddock upon undulating paddock of cleared land, land slowly wasted by salinity. Ngarrindjeri cultural educator, Tom Trevorrow explains his people’s relationship with land:

When you’re born, when you’re a baby, ... who’s, what’s the most important thing in your life?” And a lot of the little ones’ll say: “Orr ... mum and dad.” I say, “Correct. Okay, mum and dad, which one’s the most important?” They say, “Orr ...

mum,” and I say, “Why?” They say, “Well, she’s the one who looks after me. She’s the one who gives me a drink when I’m thirsty. She’s the one who feeds me when I’m hungry.” “Now that you’re grown up and you’re older, what’s the most important thing to you now?” And they say, “Orr, a good job, er good money.” And then I’ll keep asking, and I’ll keep asking, and then one’ll say, “Orr ... the trees?” I say, “Yeah! Now we’re getting somewhere.” Then they’ll catch on and some’ll say, “Orr ... the water. I say, “Yes. The birds, the animals,” and then they’ll say, “The land.” I’ll say, “Yes, ... just like when you were born and your mother was the most important to you. That’s how we as Aboriginal people look upon the land, as our Mother. It provides everything for us ... without the land, without the clean water ... you’re nothing. (*Indigenous People’s Basket Conference Newsletter*).

I am constantly surprised by the tenacity, resilience and generous spirit of the Ngarrindjeri women. Cutting up apples for a recent shared meal, I



European lifestyle dominates the “bush” in Ngarrindjeri ruwi.
Photo: Vesper Tjukonia

asked what keeps Aunty Cherie going. "This!" she replied. What sustains the Ngarrindjeri women: their love of family, culture and country. And, the desire to pass on that love to future generations. We are all born of the land and to the land we will return. The language of the land is not all that complicated. We can hear it on the wind. We can feel it beneath our feet as we walk or on our faces as we turn the sun. We can taste it in our own breath. Life.

Autumn Equinox: 40,003.

Thanks to Ngarrindjeri educator, Daryle Rigney, Yunggoorendi, Flinders University, Adelaide for his editorial comments.

Author statement: My generation was taught that Ngarrindjeri people were "troublesome." Truly troubling is my Anglo-Celtic family history: silent in this land. For almost a decade, the Ngarrindjeri community at meetings, ceremonies, family gatherings, funerals, rallies, has re-educated me.

Vesper Tjukonia lives in South Australia.

¹The Ngarrindjeri are the people of the Lower Murray River, Lakes and Coorong, South Australia; British invaders named *Kumarangk* Hindmarsh Island.

References

Ayto, John. *Dictionary of Word Origins*, London, Bloomsbury, 1990.
.Background Briefing. ABC Radio National, September 15, 2002.
 Bell, Diane. *Ngarrindjeri Wurrurarrin: A World That Is, Was and Will Be*, Melbourne, Spinifex, 1998.
 Berndt, Ronald M. and Catherine H. Berndt, with John Stanton. *The World That Was*. Appendix 4.15, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1993.
 Bord, Janet and Colin Bord. *Earth Rites: Fertility Practices in Pre-In-*

dustrial Britain. London: Granada, 1983.
 Brodie, Veronica. *My Side of the Bridge*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2002.
 "The Burning Times." Song by Charley Murphy.
 Clyne, Michael. *Community Languages, The Australian Experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
 Dames, Michael. *The Silbury Treasure: The Great Goddess Rediscovered*, Thames and Hudson, 1976.
 Evans, Ivor H. Revised edition. *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*. London: Book Club Assoc., 1981.
 Hostiensis, Cardinal. *Lectural in Quinque Libros Decretalium*. Translation by James Muldoon. from "Doctrine of Discovery and Terra Nullius." <http://general.synod.anglican.ca/gs2001/rr/presentations/terranullius.html>
 Hughes, Joan. Ed. *Australian Words and their Origins*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
Indigenous People's Basket Conference Newsletter. South Australia, 1996.
 Jenkins, Graham. *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri, The Story of the Lower Murray Lakes Tribes*. Adelaide, Rigby, 1979.
 Kondratiev, Alexei. *The Apple Branch, A Path to Celtic Ritual*. Cork: Collins Press, 1998.
 LaChapelle, Dolores. *Sacred Land, Sacred Sex, The Rapture of the Deep, Concerning Deep Ecology and Celebrating Life*. Durango, CO: Kivaki Press, 1988
Larousse Encyclopedia of Ancient and Medieval History. London, Paul Hamlyn, 1963.
 McConvell, P. and N. Thieberger. *State of Indigenous Languages in Australia, 2001*. Dept of Environment and Heritage, 2001. www.deh.gov.au/soe/techpapers/main1.html#state.
 Matthews, Caitlin. *The Celtic Tradition*. Element Books, 1997.
 Mills, Jane. *Womanwords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Patriarchal Society*. Harlow: Longman, 1989.
 Monaghan, Patricia. *The Book of*

Goddesses and Heroines. Minnesota: Llewellyn Publications, 1990.
 Murray-Darling Basin Commission. Online: TheLivingMurray.mdc.gov.au.
 Nettle, Daniel and Suzanne Romaine. *Vanishing Voices, The Extinction of the World's Languages*. Oxford University Press, 2000.
Ngarrindjeri Brochure. March 2003.
 Pearson, Noel and Cape York Land Council. "Indigenous Wilderness." *Cape York Peninsula, The Land Needs Its People*. Supplement to *Habitat Australia*, Australian Conservation Council, 1995.
 "Proclamation of Ngarrindjeri Dominionium." Goolwa, November 20, 1999.
 Porter, H. C. *The Inconstant Savage: England and the North American Indian 1500-1600*, London: Duckworth, 1979.
 Ross, Jacquelyn Jenner, Pomo/Coast Mewuk. "In the Arms of the Coorong, A Weaving of Hearts and Culture in Australia." *News from Native California* 10 (3) (Spring 1997).
 South Australian Department for Environment Heritage and Aboriginal Affairs. *Coorong, Lake Alexandrina and Lake Albert Ramsar Management Plan*. Vol 2.
 Stevens, Iris E. *Report of the Hindmarsh Island Bridge Royal Commission*. Adelaide: State Print, 1995.
 Taliman, Valerie. "Revoke the Inter Cetera Bull." *Turtle Quarterly* (Fall Winter 1994): 7-8. <http://ili.nativeweb.org/ricb.html>
 Walker, Barbara G. *The Woman's Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets*. New York: Harper and Row, 1983.
 Whitelock, Dorothy. *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader*. Revised ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967.
 Wood, Lynne Sinclair. *Creating Form from the Mist, Wisdom of Women in Celtic Myth and Culture*. Freshfields, Chieveley, Berks: Capall Bann Publishing, 1999.