

Bardi Plants: An Annotated List of Plants and Their Use by the Bardi Aborigines of Dampierland, in North-western Australia

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Abstract

This paper presents a descriptive list of the plants identified and used by the Bardi Aborigines of the Dampierland Peninsula, north-western Australia. It is not exhaustive. The information is presented in two ways. First is an alphabetical list of Bardi names including genera and species, use, collection number and references. Second is a list arranged alphabetically according to botanical genera and species, and including family and Bardi name. Previous ethnographic research in the region, vegetation communities and aspects of seasonality (1) and taxonomy are described in the Introduction.

Introduction

At the time of European colonisation of the south-west Kimberley in the mid-nineteenth century, the Bardi Aborigines occupied the northern tip of the Dampierland Peninsula. To their east lived the island-dwelling Djawi and to the south, the Nyulnyul. Traditionally, Bardi land ownership was based on identification with a particular named **buru**, translated as home, earth, ground or country. Forty-six **buru** have been identified (Robinson 1979: 189), and individually they were owned by members of a family tracing their ownership patrilineally, and known by the **buru** name. Collectively, the **buru** fall into four regions with names which are roughly equivalent to directions: South: **Olonggong**; North-west: **Gulargon**; North: **Adiol** and East: **Baniol** (Figure 1). These four directional terms bear a superficial resemblance to mainland subsection kinship patterns, in that people sometimes refer to themselves according to the direction in which their land lies, and indeed 'there are . . . subtle differences of language and culture which are relevant to internal social relations, although these are not sufficiently important to change the view of the Bardi themselves that they share a common culture which sets them apart from their neighbours' (Robinson 1979: 188). Despite

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¹ Seasonal data as originally published by M. Smith, 'Joules from pools: social and technological aspects of Bardi stone fish traps', in M. Smith (Ed.), *Archaeology at ANZAAS 1983*, W.A. Museum, Perth, 1983, pp. 29-45, is revised in this paper based on subsequent research.

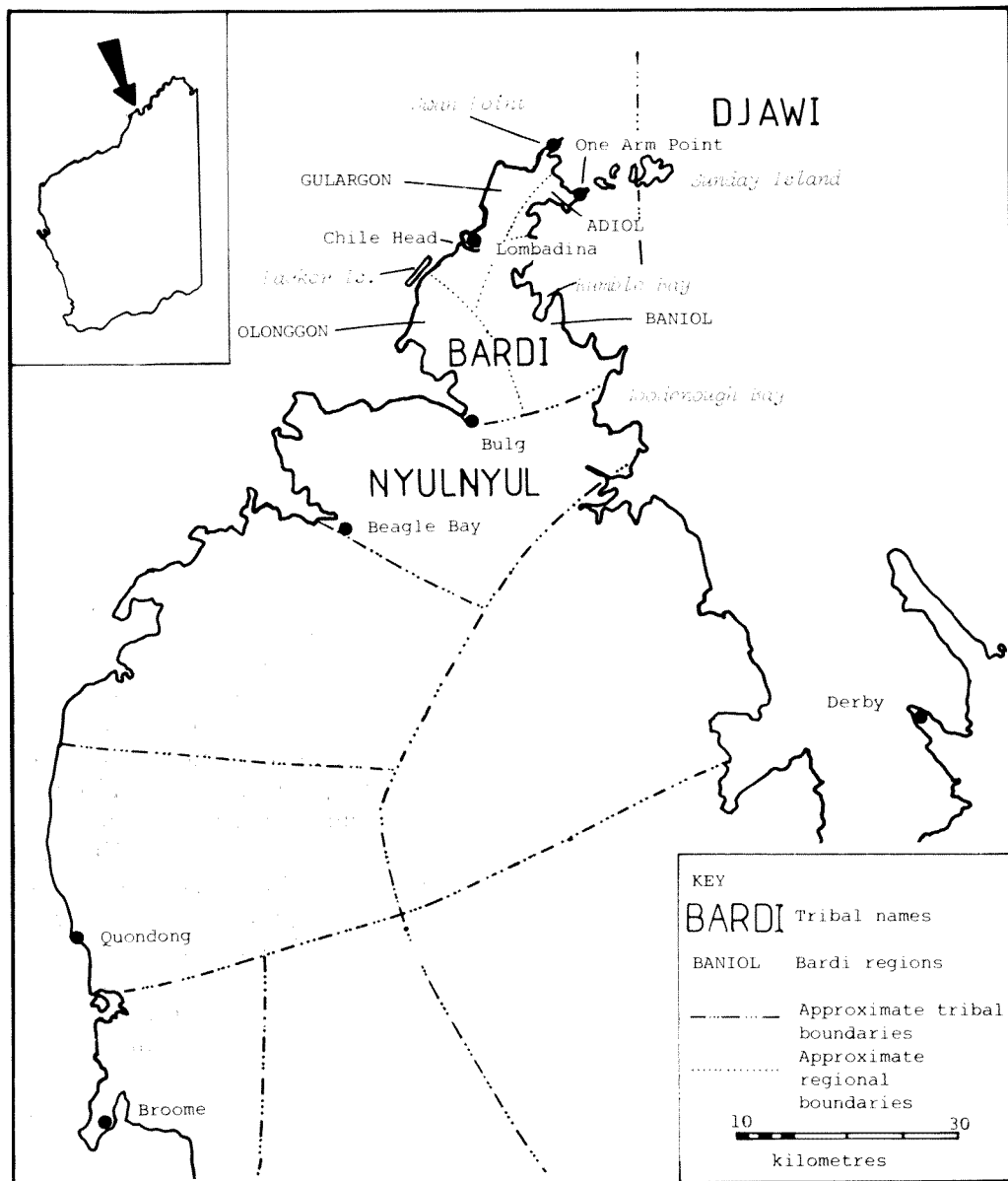


Figure 1 Map of Dampierland Peninsula.

changes in occupation and land use patterns since European settlement, recognition of regional boundaries and land ownership continues. The mainly Adiol/Baniol Bardi, together with the Djawi, lived on Sunday Island under the aegis of the United Aboriginal Mission until its closure in 1957. Many of these people shifted to Derby but by 1972 they had returned to Bardi land and settled at One Arm Point, and subsequently houses, a school and store were established there. **Gulargon/Olonggon** Bardi focussed at Lombadina where a Catholic Mission was begun in 1892, abandoned in 1905, then re-established in 1911-13. At present Lombadina people are predominantly **Gulargon** with some **Olonggon**, though many of the latter reside at Beagle Bay. Today, the main centres of Bardi population (estimated at 400-600) are Broome, Lombadina, One Arm Point and Derby, with extensive ties to Beagle Bay.

During the last 70 years Bardi ethno-botanical information has been collected by geologists and schoolteachers (Campbell and Bird 1913), foresters (Lane-Pool 1919), botanists (Kenneally 1983b), missionaries (Worms 1943), film-makers (Douglas 1978), and anthropologists (Metcalf n.d.; Akerman 1975). Their work, and that of the authors of this list (an anthropologist and an ethno-botanist), is numerically coded in the bibliography and referred to by number in the checklist. The orthography used in this list follows Metcalfe (1979)(Table 1). Where the orthography used by earlier collectors differs from Metcalfe's, their versions are bracketed.

Vegetation Communities: Bardi and Botanical Views

The Bardi state that northern Dampierland comprises two 'sides': the saltwater or coast 'side' (**gara**), and the inland or bush 'side' (**bindan**). In the bush side are trees and shrubs covering Pleistocene red or Holocene yellowish-grey sandplains, creeks, freshwater swamps and outcrops of Broome and Melligo sandstones (Gibson 1983). On the saltwater side are dunes, reefs, creeks, pools, the ocean itself, sandbanks, intertidal and supratidal mudflats, mangroves, paperbark thickets fringing the mudflats and rocky headlands of limestone, lime-cemented sandstone and Melligo sandstone. The Bardi describe both bush and saltwater sides with terms which relate to the thickness of vegetation, distinguishing between them by the inclusion where necessary of the word **garadjun** (saltwater side). The bush has closed forests (**budan**), fairly open areas (**bindan**), areas where you can see right through the scrub (**djarara**), open areas for camping (**baangga**) and creeks (**idara**). The coast has thick mangroves (**garadjun budan**), stands of mangroves where you can see from one side through to the other (**garadjun djarara**), paperbarks fringing the mudflats (**garadjun bindan**), creeks (**garadjun idara**), pools (**yaga**), coastal dunes (**gara**) and mudflats (**biyanba**).

The nine vegetation communities which McKenzie and Kenneally describe as occurring in Bardi country (1983) could also be divided into coast or inland communities. The coast comprises: coastal dune, mudflat, mangrove, coastal

limestone and sandstone communities; and the inland includes: vine thickets and closed vine forests, sandplain and riverine communities, freshwater swamps and sandstone lithic complexes. Vegetational formation and structurally dominant floristics of these communities are described below (based on McKenzie and Kenneally [1983]).

Coastal Dune Communities

Coastal sand dune vegetation commonly consists of the shrub *Crotalaria cunninghamii*, the grass *Spinifex longifolius*, and the sedge *Fimbristylis sericea*. The prostrate creeper *Ipomoea brasiliensis* and *Salsola kali* are found on the foredunes, and creepers *Boerhavia* aff. *gardneri*, *Cayratia trifoliata* and *Pterocaulon glandulosum* and small shrubs *Acacia wickhami* and *Tephrosia* aff. *rosea* occur on sandy headlands. *Cyperus bulbosus* is found in lowlying mobile coastal dunes bordering mangrove communities. On the leeward side of the dunes, *Santalum lanceolatum* as a low wind-pruned shrub and *Crotalaria cunninghamii* are sometimes associated (e.g. at Chile Head). *Mallotus nesophilus* and *Grevillea heliosperma* are also found on the leeward side of the dunes, as are isolated examples of trees usually concentrated in vine thickets: *Celtis philippinensis*, *Diospyros ferrea* var. *humilis*, *Dodonaea platyptera* and *Syzygium suborbiculare*. These trees sometimes support the pendulous parasites *Dendrophthoe acacioides* and *Lysiana spathulata*. Isolated clumps of *Pandanus spiralis* and *Pandanus darwinensis* occur between the dunes.

Mudflat Communities

Behind the mangrove communities broad saline tidal mudflats often occur. Tidal areas are bare, though supratidal areas support low shrublands dominated by *Halosarcia* species (samphires), sedges (e.g. *Fimbristylis* sp.) and other salt-tolerant species. Subshrubs, including *Suaeda arbusculoides*, occur on the landward perimeter of the mudflats, which are sometimes fringed by stands up to 10 m wide of *Melaleuca acacioides* and occasionally *M. dealbata*, with the strand shrub *Thespesia populneoides* on sandy regions.

Mangrove Communities

Stands of mangroves have developed on the tidal mudflats associated with sheltered embayments and estuaries. These stands are often characterised by a seaward zone of *Sonneratia alba*, with *Campostemon schultzei* and *Aegiceras corniculatum* commonly fringing the sea and creeks. In the central zone of mangrove stands, major species include *Avicennia marina* and *Rhizophora stylosa*, and the landward side is dominated by *Avicennia marina* and *Ceriops tagal*, with *Excoecaria agallocha*, *Bruguiera exaristata* and *Osbornia octodonta* also occurring. The hemiparasite *Amyema thalassium* is common on *Avicennia marina*.

Coastal Limestone Communities

The two main areas of coastal limestone on the northern tip of the Peninsula are Packer Island and Chile Head. Here, the limestone is covered with orange

sand and shrubs such as *Pemphis acidula* and *Scaevola sericea*. Other shrubs, including *Acacia tumida* and *Crotalaria cunninghamii*, are common in sheltered depressions, and occasional clumps of *Pandanus spiralis* occur. *Spinifex longifolius* is the most common grass, and the coastal creepers *Canavalia rosea* and *Ipomoea brasiliensis* scramble over the rocky outcrops.

Vine Thickets and Closed Vine Forests

Behind the coastal dune system are pockets of dense vegetation ranging from vine thickets to closed vine forest. Principal upperstorey tree species of the closed vine forests include *Melaleuca dealbata*, *M. viridiflora*, *Terminalia petiolaris*, *Celtis philippinensis*, *Diospyros ferrea* var. *humilis*, *Ficus virens*, *Mimusops elengi* and *Pouteria sericea*. The understorey comprises shrub species including *Dodonaea platyptera*, *Exocarpos latifolius*, *Flueggea virosa* subsp. *melanthesoides*, *Santalum lanceolatum*, *Pandanus spiralis*, *Croton* aff. *tomentellus* and *Diospyros montana* and the herb *Cleome viscosa*. Vine species include *Abrus precatorius*, *Flagellaria indica*, *Gymnanthera nitida* and *Tinospora smilacina*. The parasite *Cassytha filiformis* forms dense tangled masses in the canopies of *Melaleuca* and other species. The tree *Syzygium suborbiculare* occurs on the coastal fringes of some thickets.

Sandplain Communities

The major communities of the northern Peninsula are the open forests of *Eucalyptus*-dominated pindan. Pindan (locally, **bindan**, meaning scrub, bush or inland), is used throughout the Kimberley to describe a grassland wooded by a sparse upper layer of trees, and a dense, thicket-forming middle layer of *Acacia*. Common species include the following in a variety of combinations, resulting in open forests and woodlands: *Eucalyptus miniata*, *E. papuana* (supporting the orchid *Cymbidium canaliculatum*), *E. terminalis*, *E. tectifera*, and an understorey of *Acacia eriopoda*, *A. tumida*, *Brachychiton diversifolius*, *Buchanania obovata*, *Canarium australicum*, *Dodonaea* sp., *Erythrophleum chlorostachys*, *Gardenia* sp., *Lysiphyllum cunninghamii*, *Maytenus cunninghamii*, *Persoonia falcata*, *Planchonia careya* and *Terminalia ferdinandiana*. Less common pindan species are trees including *Grewia breviflora*, *Gyrocarpus americanus*, *Hakea aborescens*, *H. macrocarpa*, *Melaleuca* aff. *nervosa*, *Owenia reticulata* and *Ventilago viminalis*, and shrubs including *Acacia holosericea*, *A. pellita*, *Calytrix exstipulata*, *Ficus opposita*, *Grevillea heliosperma*, *G. refracta*, *G. pyramidalis*, *Pandanus darwinensis*, *P. spiralis*, *Flueggea virosa* subsp. *melanthesoides*, *Terminalia canescens*, *Trichodesma zeylanicum* and *Wrightia saligna*. Subshrubs include *Solanum cunninghamii*, *Tephrosia* aff. *flammea*, *Tephrosia* sp. and *Velleia panduriformis*; the herb *Cartonema parviflorum* grows in sandy soil adjacent to fresh water and mudflats. The pendulous parasites *Amyema bifurcatum*, *Dendrophthoe accioides* and *Lysiana spathulata* occur on species of *Acacia*, *Eucalyptus* and *Persoonia*. In some areas sandplain vegetation grades into riverine communities.

Riverine Communities

These include dense stands of *Melaleuca acacioides* as low closed forests in estuarine situations, and fringing woodlands which include *Melaleuca viridiflora* over *Pandanus* (including *P. darwinensis* and *P. spiralis*) along freshwater courses. The herb *Dicliptera glabra*, erect shrub *Trichodesma zeylanicum*, and subshrub *Velleia panduriformis* occur in river-washed sand along creeks.

Freshwater Swamps

These predominantly ephemeral swamps support a low woodland of *Lophos-temon grandiflorus* with a fringe of *Melaleuca acacioides*, *M. viridiflora* or *M. aff. nervosa*, and *M. dealbata*. Sometimes *Eucalyptus papuana* and *Pandanus spiralis* occur over various grasses. The tree *Sesbania formosa*, the shrub *Acacia pellita* and low herb *Sida* sp. also occur here.

Melligo Sandstone Communities

Outcrops of Melligo sandstone support small trees, tall shrubs, small shrubs, scramblers and grasses. In relative order these include: *Buchanania obovata*, *Glycosmis trifoliata*, *Ficus leucotricha* and *Atalaya hemiglauca*; *Acacia monticola*, *Canarium australianum*, *Cochlospermum fraseri*, *Exocarpos latifolius* and *Pouteria sericea*; *Acacia wickhami*, *Crotalaria crispata* and *Trichodesma zeylanicum*; *Abrus precatorius*, *Flagellaria indica*, *Pterocaulon glandulosum* and *Tinospora smilacina*; and *Plectrachne bynoei*.

Climate and Seasonality

The climate is tropical with a distinct Wet-Dry seasonal cycle. During the Wet from December-March, the Peninsula receives 77% of its annual rainfall of 718 mm (ranging from 79-133 mm/month). During the Dry, the rainfall totals 134 mm (ranging from 1-48 mm/month). Mean maximum temperatures during the year range between 29-33°C, the hottest period being either side of the Wet; humidity varies between 47-76% (McKenzie and Kenneally 1983).

Bardi Concepts

Bardi concepts of seasonality are more complex than that of a two-fold Wet-Dry pattern. They recognise six seasons, distinguished mainly by wind and rainfall direction and intensity, ripening of fruits, and appearance, disappearance and 'fatness' of fish and animals. The beginning, duration and end of the seasons vary though *approximate* timing relative to calendar months is included here (Figure 2). Bardi descriptions of the seasons and recollections of traditional foraging patterns follow, beginning with the season closest to January.

Mangal is the Wet, the rains, the monsoon season, characterised by strong winds and storms from the ocean (**ungulungul**) and whirlwinds (**adjibangur**).

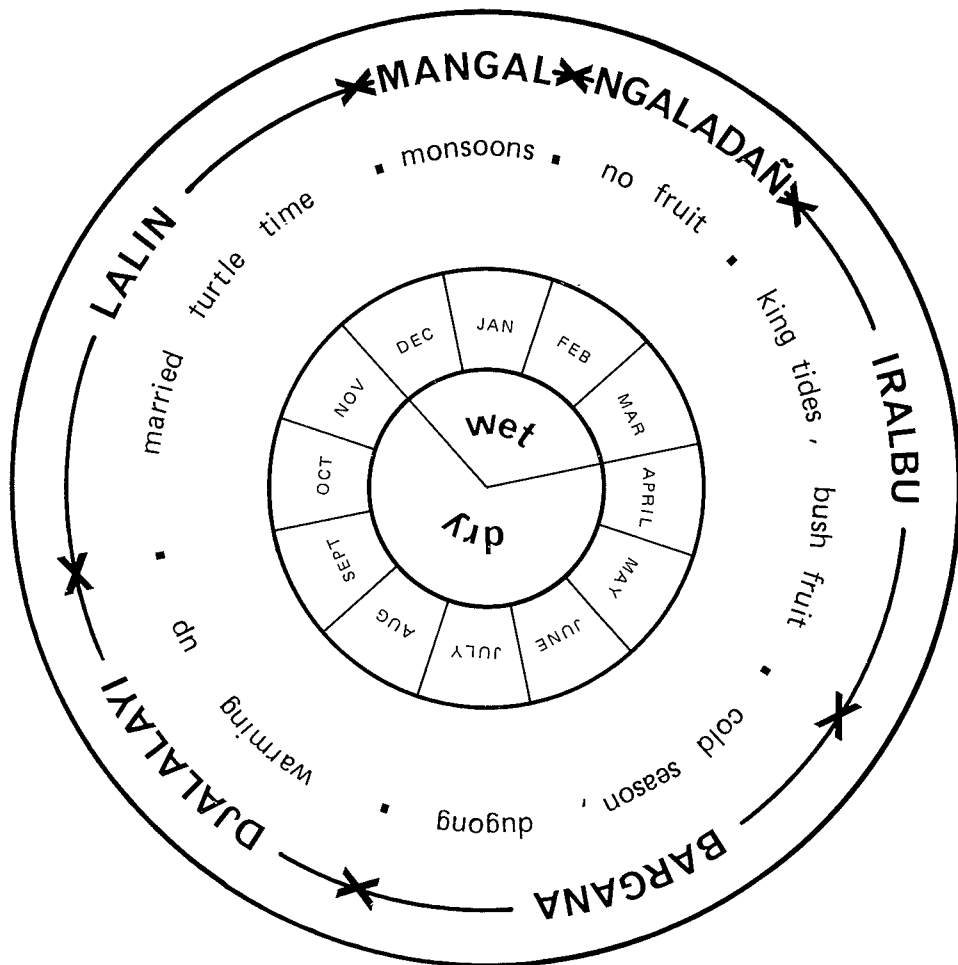


Figure 2 Diagrammatic representation of Bardi seasons in relation to calendar months.

People normally shift away from the coast to the inland during periods of heavy rains, staying in paperbark shelters (*gidun*). Some years, *Mangal* may last only one or two weeks. With the exception of *gamalun* (*Persoonia falcata*), little fruit is available, though some roots are dug from the rain-softened ground. The beginning of the rain usually signifies the movement of turtles away from the area and thus the end of the turtle hunting season, but then turtle eggs are collected.

Ngalandany is the end of the Wet, and literally means 'no fruit'. Temperatures and humidity are high, there is no wind, and during this 'rubbish time' people move around as little as possible.

Iralbu is the period of king or big tides; the low tides are ideal for reefing. There is much fruit available. Generally it is hot and windless at the beginning of the season, but towards April **albulbur** the south-east breezes begin to blow, bringing the mosquitos. The appearance of **ngurngulu** (*Avicennia marina*) fruit indicates that it is time to shift camp to beaches and high dunes to avoid mosquitos. **Mambin**, soft gentle rain falling straight down without wind, ripens the **gaamba** (nuts) of pandanus (**idul**). Goannas, caterpillars, grasshoppers and kangaroos are fat. As the heads of grasses turn brown stingray cease to be fat; and when **bilal** (*Eucalyptus terminalis*) flowers the dugong hunting season begins.

Bargana is the 'cold' season when people start to light night fires. Strong often unpleasant south-east winds blow, and the season is often called south-east time. **Bargana** is said to have begun when pandanus nuts (**gaamba**) are red. This is the dugong hunting season, many fish are 'fat', night fishing (**undug**) is common though tides are 'rubbish' for reefing. This is also the time when pindan resources are plentiful and people take advantage of wells sunk in the bush country before the Wet, to exploit resources including honey, wallaby, lizards, snakes and popular fruits including **djungun** (*Mimusops elengi*).

Djallalayi is a short warming up season. **Almbana** the west winds start, the dugong season ends, and people exploit the exceptionally low spring tides and concentrate on reefing. **Garnbor** (*Melaleuca dealbata*) flowers indicate that stingray are fat.

Lalin the build up to the Wet, is hot and humid. This is 'Married Turtle Time' (the mating season), the turtle hunting season. Favoured **ilara** (*Syzygium suborbiculare*) fruit is available. The winds vary in intensity, shifting from westerly to strong north-westerly (**banidjunu**) bringing the rain (sometimes rain comes from the south). Tropical storms or 'cock-eyed bobs' (**djandjala**) from the north-west occur in December. People tend to camp close to the coast to hunt turtle.

Plants are important as seasonal indicators and signals of the availability or optimal condition of other food resources, and reflect extensive Bardi knowledge of the plants of the Peninsula. Examples include: 'when **gorrgorr** fruits, turtle arrive'; 'when **marulal** flowers, turtle go'; 'when **manawan** flowers, **aragul** and other sharks are fat'; 'when **urulbur** is in flower, stingray are fat, and turtle eggs are available'; 'when **wongayi** flowers, bluebone (fish) are rubbish' and 'when **bilal** flowers, dugong appear'. Known plant foods include fruits, seeds, roots, bulbs and corms, gum, nectar and other sweet substances, and insect galls. In addition many plants are medicinal and used in curing rheumatism, aches, cuts, sores, itchy bites, sore teeth and gums and 'cold sick'. Others are used for artefacts including shields, spears, clubs, boomerangs, digging sticks, axe handles, walking sticks, firedrills, containers and rafts. They provide string, are used in constructing shelters (supports, roofing) and windbreaks, are worn (as headbands, beads, shark repellent), are burnt to repel sandflies, are a source of paint and dye, used as adhesive, firewood, and fish poisons. Knowledge of local flora extends

to the plants that are harmful or poisonous as well as those which as shelter or food attract insects, birds or animals that are also exploited. Figure 3 depicts the numbers of food, medicinal and other useful species according to the plant communities in which they occur. While all plant communities contain some useful species, the majority are concentrated in the pindan or sandplain.

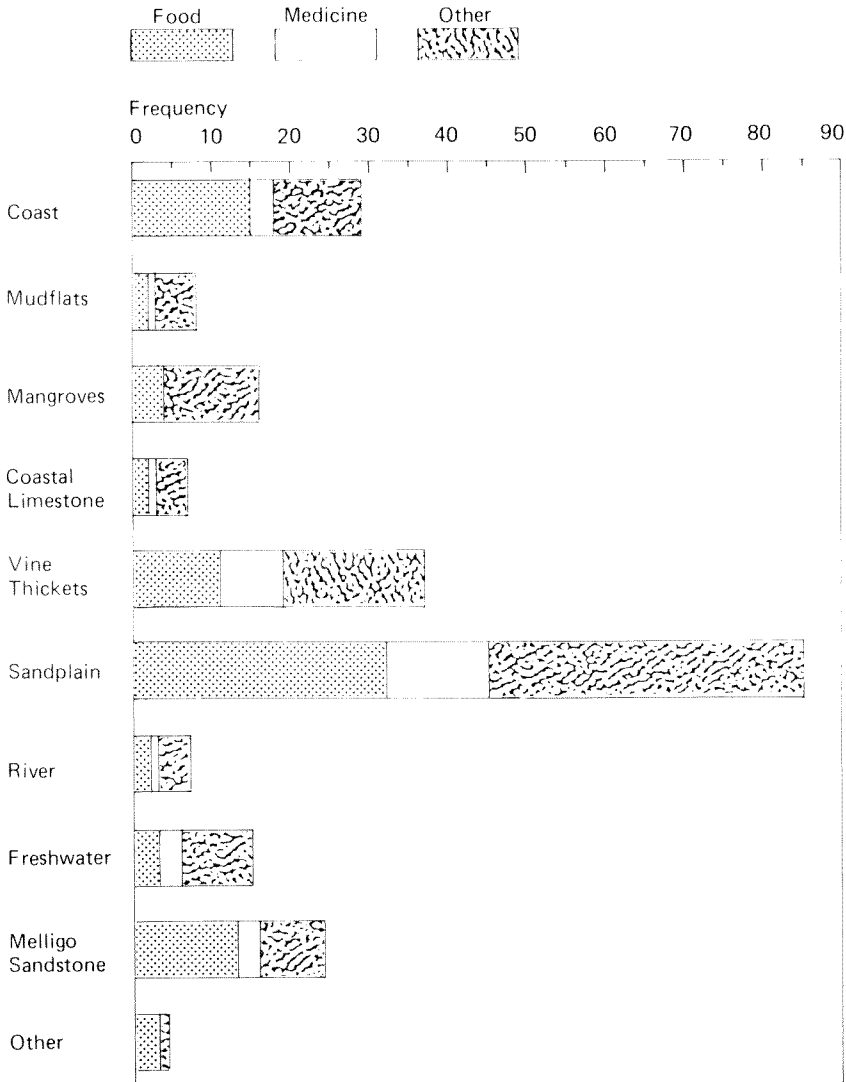


Figure 3 Diagrammatic representation of the distribution of useful species according to the plant communities in which they occur.

Bardi Taxonomy

Aboriginal classification systems differ greatly from European common and Western scientific systems. A list such as this, organised alphabetically by Bardi plant name or by botanical name, is an artefact of European thought processes. The Bardi say that 'all trees are good, **bundja badag gon**', that 'food comes from the ground and trees'. They group plants as either tree (**badag**) or grass (**guldju**), and according to factors including function (food, firewood, source of grubs and galls, source of water, medicines, fish poisons, used for axe handles etc.), locations or time of flowering and fruiting. Names used can include descriptive adjectives, function (**irgil** is the name of both the tree and the boomerang made from the wood) or growth stage (**narga** is the root or young shoot of **gorrgorr**). Some plants which we divide into two or more species are given the same name, others of different genera share names (**nyilanyil**). Conversely plants of the same species may bear different names according to growth stage or locality (**wongayi/djar-bayi**). Our ability to fully understand their taxonomy improves in proportion to our developing fluency in Bardi.

Further Comments

The names and descriptions of the plants and their uses included in this list were collected, recorded, and revised between 1980 and 1985 as the first part of a continuing research project on Bardi traditional resource use. Members of the Lombadina community: Audaby Jack, Esther and Sandy Paddy; and Molly Wiggan of One Arm Point, guided the collectors, providing Bardi names, describing seasonal use patterns and methods of preparation. Audaby, Esther and Sandy are **Gulargon** people and the majority of plants collected and described were collected within this region.

This list of 144 plant names recognised and used by the Bardi is not exhaustive but provides an outline of plant resource use in north-west Dampierland. Elderly Bardi say that some names, particularly of plants that were not used, have been forgotten, however as far as possible all important food, medicinal and useful plants have been recorded. The data is arranged in two lists, the first according to Bardi name, the second according to botanical name. Formal botanical identification of the plant specimens was made by Kevin Kenneally of the Western Australian Herbarium and Arpad Kalotas of Alice Springs. It is published here for Lombadina people and to make the information available to other researchers in ethno-botany. Detailed analysis and description of the traditional role of plant resources in this maritime economy is continuing as part of a long term research programme. Integrating both ethnographic and archaeological observations, this project is developing a model of population movement and resource use in northern Dampierland.

Explanatory Note

Bardi Names

The orthography used in this list follows that proposed by C.D. Metcalfe (1979)(Table 1). Names recorded by earlier collectors using different orthography are included in brackets.

Table 1 Bardi orthography based on Metcalfe (1979.199).

Consonant Chart

Point of Articulation

Mode of Articulation	bilabial	apico-alveol	lamino-alveol	apico-domal	dorso-velar	lamino-palatal
STOPS (Voiceless)	b	d	dj	rd	g	
NASALS (Voiced)	m	n	ny	rn	ng	
LATERALS (Voiced)		l	ly	rl		
VIBRANT (Voiced)		rr				
SEMI-CONSONANTS (Voiced)	w			r		y

Vowel Chart

FRONT
(Unrounded)CENTRAL
(Unrounded)BACK
(Rounded)

HIGH (Close) (Open)	i/ii		u/uu
MID			
LOW (Close) (Open)		a/aa	o

Botanical Names

Genus and Species names are presented as binomials without Botanical authorships and correspond to species listed in the *Census of the Vascular Plants of Western Australia*. (Green 1981) or as subsequently amended. An asterisk (*) appearing below a botanical name indicates that the species was not recorded in the Dampierland Flora Survey (Kenneally 1983a).

Common Names

These are those recorded in recent publications (e.g. Levitt 1981; Petheram 1983), or those recorded in the field.

Descriptive Terms

Generally an idea of the plant's habitat is given: subshrubs are taken to be <1 m high; shrubs: 1-2 m high; tall shrubs: >2 m high; trees: 2-8 m high; tall trees: >8 m high.

Use

Only annotations are given; more detailed information on the use of some plants will be published at a later date.

Plant Communities

These abbreviations refer to the plant community in which each plant species occurs.

- [C] Coastal dune communities
- [Mu] Mudflat communities
- [Ma] Mangrove communities
- [Li] Coastal limestone communities
- [V] Vine thickets or closed vine forests
- [S] Sandplain communities
- [R] Riverine communities
- [F] Freshwater swamps
- [Msa] Melligo sandstone communities (coast and inland).

Collection Number

MS refers to the plant collections made by Moya Smith in 1981 (MS81), 1982 (MS82), 1983 (MS83), 1984 (MS84) and 1985 (MS85); ACK refers to the plant collections made by Arpad C. Kalotas in 1982.

All specimens are housed in the Western Australian Herbarium (PERTH). Some duplicates are held in the Anthropology Collection of the Western Australian Museum.

Reference Number

Refers to the published and unpublished references listed at the end of this publication.

List 1 Plant names and uses, alphabetically in order of Bardi names.

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
aindju (see irilmi)	? <i>Glycine</i> sp.	scrambling subshrub [S; R; Msa]; edible root: baked in hot sand or ashes, available in Iralbu	MS 81.30, 83.47, 85.15 (18)
alarga	<i>Dodonaea platyptera</i>	'broad-winged hop-bush'; tall shrubs; [V; C] no recorded use	MS 85.12 ACK 1377 (7), (8), (11)
alarga	<i>Osbornia octodonta</i>	'myrtle mangrove'; tall shrub; [Ma]; branches used for making shelters 'salt water alarga different to bindan side one'	MS 83.31 ACK 1366 (7), (8), (17), (18)
albayi (albay)	<i>Ficus virens</i>	'banyan'/'strangler fig'; large, tall tree; [V]; edible fruit available in Bargana; string (guwayi) made from aerial roots; wood used for shields	MS 81.34, 83.17 ACK 1339 (2), (7), (8), (11), (13), (18)
amam	<i>Bridelia tomentosa</i> var. <i>glabrifolia</i>	tall shrub; [S; Mu]; edible fruit; purple-black berry, eaten raw when ripe (Iralbu)	MS 85.19 (18)
amanganan	<i>Scaevola sericea</i>	compact shrub; [Li]; branches used for shelters; considered poisonous	MS 83.41 (8), (13), (18)
angulmara	<i>Croton tomentellus</i>	dense shrub; [V]; medicinal: with nice smell, used for rheumatism; leafy branches worn in ceremonies	MS 83.53 (8), (18)
ari	?	subshrub; [C; Msa]; edible fruit: 'like grape or watermelon', available Iralbu	(18)
arungul (see mador)	<i>Terminalia ferdinandiana</i>	tall tree; [S]; loan word (Djawi), Bardi = mador	(7), (13), (18)
badarbadar (see longayin)	<i>Mallotus nesophilus</i>	'yellow-ball flower'; tree; [C]; edible fruit: 'nice and sweet', available any time before the south-east winds	MS 81.19, 81.45, 82.6, 83.18 (8), (11), (18)

Bardi Plants: An Annotated List

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No. -
balalagudu	<i>Acacia wickhami</i>	'small shrub'; [C over Msa]; seed and leaves medicinal: used for rheumatism and sores, and possibly colds; branches worn tied through hair belt when swimming, said to be an effective shark repellent especially when recovering turtle	MS 81.40 (13), (18)
balbal	<i>Flagellaria indica</i>	'lawyer vine'; climbing vine; [V;Msa]; used for spears, and as ceremonial headband	MS 83.15 (3), (8), (11), (13), (18)
baldjir	<i>Suaeda arbusculoides</i>	clumped herb; [Mu]; used for hut roofs	ACK 1370 (7), (8), (13), (18)
bamba (see gungunu)	?	mangrove; [Ma]; used for heavy spears (djarra)	(18)
bandarang	<i>Ventilago viminalis</i>	'supplejack'; tree; [S]; wood used for boomerangs (djiwa); said to grow in Quondong region or along the Broome road, known but not used by Bardi	MS 82.20 (8), (15), (18)
bangaldjun (bungulyon)	<i>Cymbidium canaliculatum</i>	'tree orchid'; [S]; 'edible cormes' [sic] at base of leaves; pseudobulbs grow in soil-filled hollows on bilal (<i>Eucalyptus terminalis</i>), marulal (<i>E. papuana</i>), garnbor (<i>Melaleuca delabata</i>), lunyamad (<i>M. acacioides</i>)	MS 85.6 (10), (18)
banguldjun	<i>Dicliptera glabra</i>	sprawling herb; [R]; no recorded use	MS 83.64 (8)
bidiny	<i>Tephrosia</i> aff. <i>rosea</i>	erect open shrub; [C]; root used as fish poison	MS 82.16, 83.49, 85.14; (8), (18)
bidor	<i>Melaleuca</i> aff. <i>nervosa</i>	'paperbark'; small tree; [S;F]; leaves medicinal: an infusion of soaked and crushed leaves is drunk for 'cold sick', considered a potent medicine (crushed leaves have a strong <i>Eucalyptus</i> smell)	MS 83.37 (8), (13), (15), (18)

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
bilal	<i>Eucalyptus terminalis</i>	'bloodwood'; tall tree; [S]; edible lerp (godjor): 'fog or mist settles on leaves and crystalises (as lerp)', collect leaves, dry them in the sun on a paperbark sheet, pound with a stick, winnow, and the 'sugar' separates, it tastes like 'ice-cream'; available in Lalin; edible inner part of insect gall (dodor); leaves and red gum (gingba) medicinal: gum applied to sore teeth: 'jam gum in hole'; preferred firewood for night fires as it burns slowly; bark ash (gadjud) is mixed with bush tobacco (gilala) for chewing; seasonal indicator: 'when bilal flowers, djangara (stingray) and possums are fat; and the dugong season begins'	MS 81.32, 82.14, 83.3, 85.3 ACK 1346, 1348 (7), (8), (15), (18)
bilalur	<i>Santalum lanceolatum</i>	'bush plum'; shrub; [C; V]; edible fruit: eaten raw when bluish-black; leaves and bark medicinal: a poultice of warmed leaves is applied for rheumatism, and cuts and sores are washed with an infusion of the 'skin' or bark; smoke from burning bark repels mosquitos	MS 81.12, 82.5 ACK 1397 (7), (8), (11), (13), (15), (18)
bilangamar	<i>Gyrocarpus americanus</i>	'stinkwood'; deciduous tree; [S]; leaves and bark medicinal: used for rheumatism (applied) and sores (bark only); wood used to make shields (marga)	MS 82.9 (8), (13), (15), (18)
bilgin	? <i>Eleocharis</i> sp.	rice grass; [F]; edible root or tuber eaten raw; grows in Beagle Bay area 'in big lake' or spring country	MS 85.32 (13), (18)

Bardi Plants: An Annotated List

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
bindun bindurnu (see yinbir)	<i>Rhizophora stylosa</i>	'spotted-leaved red mangrove'; tree; [Ma]; wood sometimes used to make fishing boomerangs (gargarbin) and spears, and considered good firewood (noru)	MS 83.28 ACK 1369 (7), (8), (9), (11), (13), (18)
bindjud	<i>Tephrosia crocea</i>	sprawling subshrub; [S]; roots are the most commonly used fish poison: grind with wet sand on stone, then place in pool or under rocks in reef (today people sometimes use kitchen graters to shred the root); green roots medicinal: used for itchy bites (applied); small, young roots are strongest. The plant's distribution is said to be restricted to Bulg, Rumble Bay and Goodenough Bay	MS 81.25, .46 (8), (18) (Figure 4)
birimbiri (brembre)	<i>Diospyros ferrea</i> var. <i>humilis</i>	tall tree; 'ebony wood'; [C; V; S]; edible yellow fruit available in Lalin; wood used to make smoking pipes	MS 81.16, 82.27 ACK 1371 (7), (8), (10), (11), (13), (18)
bor	<i>Sida</i> sp.	low herb; [F]; no recorded use	MS 83.46 (18)
bulurbulur	<i>Gleome viscosa</i> *	'tick weed'/'mustard bush'; sticky herb; [V]; no recorded use	ACK 1338 (7), (11), (15), (18)
bundugara	<i>Crotalaria crispata</i>	subshrub; [Msa; V]; considered a snake habitat and to be avoided	ACK 1378 (7)
dalwarr	<i>Gardenia</i> sp.	small tree to 5 m; [S]; flowers in Lalin; bark is medicinal: an infusion is drunk for 'cold sick' and applied to aches and sores	MS 83.35, 85.29 (18)
djagal (see djuuma)	<i>Lysiphillum</i> <i>cunninghamii</i>	'bauhinia'; tree; [S]; loan word (possibly Nyulnyul), Bardi = djuuma	(13), (18)



Figure 4 Sandy Paddy using a digging stick made of wongayi (*Acacia tumida*) to dig up roots of bindjud (*Tephrosia crocea*) for use as fish poison.

Bardi Plants: An Annotated List

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
djalgay	<i>Canarium australianum</i>	'stypitic tree'; tree; [S; Msa]; edible fruit: elongate, ripe fruit is cooked in warmed sand, available in Djalalayi; edible kernel lasts until the end of Lalin and is eaten raw or warmed in ashes after smashing the dried seed open; wood used for shields (marga); flowers 'after Christmas'	MS 82.23, 83.9, .26, .36 (3), (8), (11), (13), (18)
djamudu	<i>Grevillea heliosperma</i> *	'rock grevillea'; tall shrub; [C; S]; edible seed: eaten when fruit splits open to expose mature seed; edible gum (gudju); chew red flower ('nice and sweet'); branches: used to make windbreaks (lungin)	MS 81.21, .48, 82.7, 85.27 (11), (15), (18)
djamudu	<i>Grevillea refracta</i>	'silverleaf grevillea'; [S]; tall shrub; use: as above	ACK 1372 (7), (8), (15), (18)
djamba djanba	<i>Exocarpos latifolius</i>	'mistletoe tree'; tree; [V; Msa]; bark medicinal: burning bark used to smoke and heal sores and cuts, and repel mosquitos; wood used to make boomerangs	MS 81.18 (8), (11), (18)
djaradiny	<i>Hakea macrocarpa</i>	gnarled tree; [S]; wood used to make boomerangs	MS 82.18 (8), (18)
djarbayi (see wolweron wongayi)	<i>Acacia tumida</i> (infertile hybrid)	'pindan wattle'; tall spreading shrub; [S; Li]; trunks of young trees used to make spears; 'smaller than wongayi'	MS 81.38 (3), (8), (15), (18)
djilar	<i>Salsola kali</i> *	'buck bush'; herbaceous sub-shrub; [C]; no recorded use	ACK 1395 (7), (11), (15), (18)
djimany	<i>Wrightia saligna</i>	low shrub; [S]; branches used as a fire drill	ACK 1373 (7), (8), (11)
djirawan	<i>Cassytha filiformis</i>	'dodder-laurel'; parasitic vine; [V]; whole plant medicinal: warm vine applied for rheumatic pains and general aches; edible white fruit available any time	MS 81.11, 82.10 ACK 1340 (7), (8), (11), (18)

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
djolor	<i>Excoecaria agallocha</i>	'blind your eyes'; shrub or small tree; [Ma]; wood used for shields (marga)	ACK 1365 (7), (8), (11), (17), (18)
djolor	<i>Sonneratia alba</i>	'pornupan'; tall mangrove; [Ma]; wood used for shields (marga); nectar sucked from flowers during Lalin	ACK 1336 (7), (8), (9), (13), (17), (18) (Figure 5)

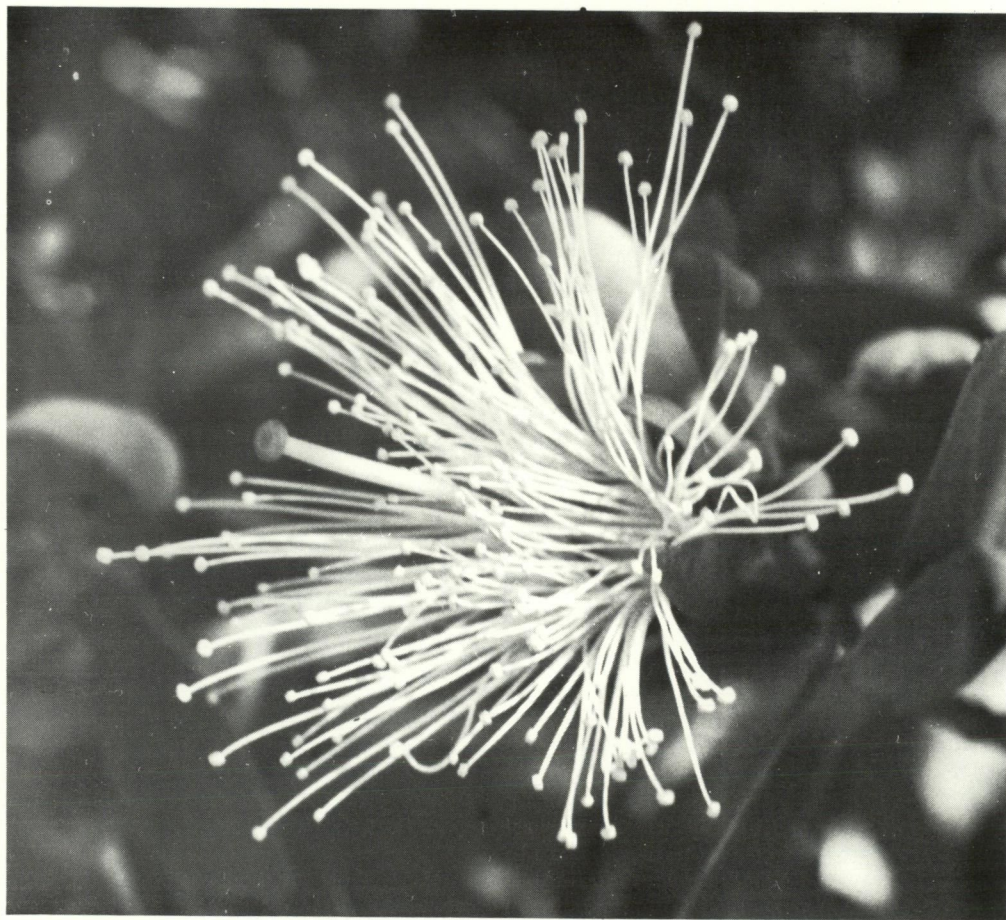


Figure 5 Djolor (*Sonneratia alba*) flower from which nectar is sucked.

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
djulal	<i>Terminalia canescens</i>	tall shrub; [S]; edible gum; branches used in constructing shelters	ACK 1386 (2), (7), (8), (11), (15), (18)
djulba djulba (choolboor)	<i>Camptostemon schultzii</i>	'kapok mangrove'; columnar tree; [Ma]; trunks used to make log rafts (galwa); supports edible oysters (balna) on base of tree trunks	MS 83.30 ACK 1363 (1), (2), (7), (8), (9), (13), (17), (18)
djungumara	<i>Erythrophleum chlorostachys</i> *	'ironwood'; tall tree; [S]; hardwood used to make fighting sticks (nola); poisonous	MS 83.24 (11), (15), (18)
djungun (a) (joongena)	<i>Mimusops elengi</i>	'orange spike berry'; tall tree; [V]; edible fruit: eaten when ripe (orange-red) or warmed in hot ashes, available in Bargana; said to be unavailable on Sunday Island	MS 81.6, .43 ACK 1335 (2), (3), (7), (8), (11), (13), (18) (Figure 6)



Figure 6 Unripened fruit of djungun (*Mimusops elengi*).

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
djuuma	<i>Lysiphyllum cunninghamii</i>	'bauhinia'; tree; [S]; edible gum; nectar sucked from the flowers; good firewood; branches used in constructing windbreaks	MS 82.21, 83.16 ACK 1356 (7), (8), (13), (15), (18)
gabindj gabing (kabing) (see mador)	<i>Terminalia ferdinandiana</i>	tree; [S; V]; edible fruit: eaten raw when ripe (yellow) and ready to fall off tree, fruit (djiyalgu) is also used to make a drink, 'pound it up and just cover with water, these days add a bit of sugar', available in Lalin; loan word (Nyulnyul) used as an equivalent to Bardi = mador	MS 85.7 (10), (18)
gabul	?	bamboo no use recorded	(13)
gadga (see ngalnguru)	<i>Eucalyptus polycarpa</i>	'bloodwood'; tall tree; [S]; red gum (gingba): medicinal, applied directly to sore teeth; edible seed: 'tastes like coconut' available late Mangal to Iralbu	MS 81.26, 83.11 (11), (13), (18)
gadjinangor	<i>Triglochin</i> sp. *	'rush'; [F]; edible tubers eaten raw or after warming in hot ashes, available in Iralbu and Bargana after rains	MS 85.34 (18)
galeran	<i>Acacia monticola</i>	'red wattle'; shrub; [Msa]; wood used to make digging sticks, boomerangs, raft (galwa) pegs (mundu) (One Arm Point area) and spears. Galeran is much harder wood than wongayi (<i>Acacia tumida</i>) which is now commonly used for spears, wongayi is easier to straighten over the fire, and the use of metal rods for spear tips make hardwood unnecessary	MS 81.37 (4), (8), (14), (18)

Bardi Plants: An Annotated List

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
gamalun	<i>Persoonia falcata</i>	'wild pear'; tree; [S]; edible fruit: eaten raw, when ripe (yellow), or three days after it has ripened, turned black and fallen to the ground; edible seed: pounded and warmed in hot ash (both seed and fruit can be treated in this manner), the best time is Lalin and Mangal; 'the seed is so hard it takes a long time to grow', 'when the fruit is green, eat the seed and throw the skin away, when black, smash up the seed and skin, mix with a small amount of water and eat'	MS 81.7, 44, 82.19, 83.2 ACK 1388, 1394 (3), (7), (8), (11), (15), (18)
gargar	<i>Gymnanthera nitida</i> *	climbing vine; [V; C]; medicinal: warmed vine used to treat rheumatic pains, applied to afflicted area; string made from vine	MS 83.38, 85.16 (8), (13), (18)
gariling gariliny	?	tree; edible gum; edible fruit available in Lalin	(18)
garnbor garnburu (parl karnborr)	<i>Melaleuca dealbata</i>	'paperbark'; tall tree; [Mu; V; F]; bark 'sheets' (bal) used in roofs of shelters; in cooking; as 'blankets' or to wrap dead bodies for burial; seasonal indicator: 'when in flower, stingray and possums are fat'; tree trunks were used in building pearling luggers in the early 20th century	MS 81.24, 82.12 ACK 1355 (2), (7), (8), (13), (18)
garungam (carringum)	?	grass-like; grows in Swan Point region; [C; Msa]; edible corm: eaten raw or warmed in ashes, available in Iralbu	(2), (7), (18)
garuwal	<i>Aristida browniana</i>	grass; [S; V]; grass seeds are extremely sticky, may cause festering sores if embedded in skin, and if contaminate drinking water could lodge in throat and cause choking	MS 85.13 ACK 1391 (7), (11), (18)

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
gidagid	<i>Calytrix exstipulata</i>	'Kimberley heath'/'pink fringe myrtle'; shrub; [S]; 'pretty flower' noted	MS 82.13 ACK 1334 (7), (8), (11), (15), (18)
gilala	<i>Stemodia lythrifolia</i> *	'bush tobacco'; [Mu]; crush dry leaves and chew like tobacco, mix with ash (gadjud) of bilal (<i>Eucalyptus terminalis</i>), marulal (<i>E. papuana</i>), gulayi (<i>Planchonia careya</i>) or rinya (<i>Ficus opposita</i> var. <i>indecora</i>)	MS 85.28 (18)
gorrgorr	<i>Brachychiton diversifolius</i>	'northern kurrajong'; tree; [S]; edible seed: seed winnowed to remove irritant hairs and cooked in ashes; ripe during Lalin ; root of young trees eaten as yam (narga); edible white gum (ngalindjun), cooked in hot ashes till brown then pounded to powder, soaked in water, used as drink (now sugar is added to the drink), popular in Lalin ; soft inner parts of bark used to make short-lived but strong string (marda); bark used as handle and tie for axes	MS 81.20, .50, 83.10 ACK 1389 (3), (7), (8), (11), (15), (18) (Figure 7a and b)
gorola (carroll koroll)	<i>Buchanania obovata</i> *	'wild mango'; small tree; [S; Msa]; edible fruit: available in Mangal , falls when ripe	MS 83.55 (2), (3), (11), (15), (18)
gudayun	<i>Canavalia rosea</i>	twining creeper; [Li]; vine medicinal: warmed and applied to joints afflicted with rheumatism; seeds: not eaten	MS 83.42 (8), (18)
gudayun	<i>Ipomoea brasiliensis</i>	'beach morning glory'; prostrate creeper; [C]	ACK 1396 (7), (8), (11), (13)
gudigudi	?	'cyprus' (grows in Yampi area); possibly a loan word; used to make raft paddles (gambana); smoke repels mosquitos	(1), (13), (18)



Figure 7a Seedpods and edible seed of gorr-gorr (*Brachychiton diversifolius*)



Figure 7b Edible gum of gorr-gorr

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
gusal	<i>Caesalpinia globulorum</i>	scrambling vine; [S]; birds nest in its drooping leaves; children play with the 'marbles' (pods)	MS 85.2 (8), (13), (18)
gulayi (coolay)	<i>Planchonia careya</i>	'cocky apple'; tree; [S]; edible fruit: eaten raw when soft, squeeze out centre, available when rain starts in Mangal; bark is medicinal: an infusion is applied for aches, rheumatism, cuts and sores; bark ashes (gadjud) are mixed with bush tobacco (gilala) for chewing; root is medicinal: an infusion is used as a wash for itchy bites; red inner bark used as a fish poison; wood used as firewood; bark containers are made from protrusions on branch or trunk	MS 81.29, .47, 82.3, 83.6 ACK 1349 (2), (7), (8), (11), (13), (15), (18)
guldja guldju (goldy)	<i>Eriachne avenacea</i> *	grass; generic term for grasses	ACK 1350, 1351 (7), (11), (13), (18), (19)
gulma gulmi	<i>Grewia breviflora</i>	tree; [S]; edible fruit: eaten raw when ripe and purple-black during Iralbu; wood used to make spears and ceremonial boomerangs	MS 81.48, 83.20, 85.8 ACK 1376 (8), (13), (18)
gulngariny (coolngarrie) * (see mardelang)	<i>Dioscorea bulbifera</i> *	'white yam'; [Msa]; edible vine root: cooked in hot ashes available in Djalalayi; vine also has an edible pea-like 'berry' or bulbil (mardelang), roasted in hot ashes available in Iralbu	MS 81.31, 85.17 (2), (3), (6), (11), (13), (18)
gulun	<i>Cochlospermum fraseri</i>	'kapok/cotton tree'; [Msa]; tall deciduous shrub; roots baked in ashes and eaten, available Bargana and Mangal when the rain softened ground is easy to dig	MS 82.11 ACK 1333 (3), (7), (8), (15), (18)
gulongguluwara	?	tree; edible pods 'only know the name, don't know where it is'	(13)

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
gulyindji	<i>Celtis philippinensis</i>	'wild cherry'; tree; [C; V]; edible fruit: pea-sized fruit is eaten raw when it ripens and turns scarlet, available in Iralbu and Bargana	MS 81.23, 83.1, 85.30 (8), (11), (18)
gumbin	<i>Calandrinia</i> sp.	succulent herb; [Mu]; edible root: eaten raw or warmed in hot ashes, or boiled	MS 85.26 (18)
gunam	<i>Diospyros montana</i>	tall shrub; [V]; fruits considered poisonous	MS 82.24, 83.48 (8), (18)
gungala (see magabala)	<i>Tylophora ? flexuosa</i> *	'bush banana'; vine; [V; S]; edible fruit: eaten raw when ripe	MS 85.10 (3), (6), (18)
gungara	<i>Maytenus cunninghamii</i> *	tree; [S]; edible fruit eaten when ripe (black); medicinal: used for sores; wood sometimes used for spears (grows in Quondong area)	MS 82.17 (18)
gungunu (see bamba)	?	'mangrove'; [Ma]; loan word (Djawi), Bardi = bamba	(13), (18)
gunura (konore) (see marulal)	<i>Eucalyptus papuana</i>	'white gum'; tall tree; [S; F]; probably a loan word (unknown source, ?Nyulnyul), Bardi = marulal	(10), (18)
guradid	<i>Dodonaea lanceolata</i> var. <i>lanceolata</i>	'hop bush'; tall shrub; [V; S]; hardwood, used to make boomerangs, digging and walking sticks	MS 83.32 (8), (18)
guralga (ra)	<i>Flueggea virosa</i> subsp. <i>melanthesoides</i>	tall shrub; [V; S]; edible fruit eaten raw when white and ripe, during Iralbu; white bark and roots medicinal: used for rheumatism, and infusions applied to cuts, sores (e.g. used to soothe pain from catfish spike) and itchy bites (roots)	MS 81.8, 83.45 ACK 1380 (3), (7), (8), (11), (13), (18)

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
guray gurir (koorie)	<i>Ficus leucotricha</i> *	'large-leaf rock fig'; tree; [Msa]; edible fruit eaten raw; available in Bargana; used to be found only on the islands	MS 82.2 (2), (13), (15), (18)
gurili	<i>Ceriops tagal</i>	'yellow-leaved spurred mangrove'; shrub/tree; [Ma]; wood used to make fishing boomerangs (gargarbin) and sometimes spears; bark is currently soaked in water to produce a red/pink clothes dye	MS 83.27 ACK 1367 (7), (8), (9), (11), (13), (18) (Figure 8)



Figure 8 Kevin Ningella using a fishing boomerang made of gurili (*Ceriops tagal*).

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
idul (see manbang)	<i>Pandanus spiralis</i>	'screwpine'; tree; [C; Li; V; S; R; F]; edible seed: (gaamba) when ripe (soft and red), the fruit is cooked in hot ashes, then ground until the seed is visible; the seed is then shaken or prised out with a stick and eaten raw or lightly baked; seasonal indicator: 'the soft, gentle rain with no wind that falls straight down (Mambin) turns gaamba red. When they are red like this, it is Bargana'	MS 81.33 ACK 1344 (7), (8), (11), (13), (18)
ilara (illara)	<i>Syzygium suborbiculare</i> *	'wild apple'; tree; [C; V]; edible fruit: eaten raw when fruit ripe and red tinged, available in Lalin	MS 81.28 (2), (7), (11), (13), (18)
iling iliny	<i>Grevillea pyramidalis</i>	'caustic bush'; tall shrub; [S]; yellow paint is obtained from the inner bark; the gummy substance on seed pods is caustic	MS 81.22, 83.7 ACK 1360 (7), (8), (15), (18)
ilngam (a)	<i>Tephrosia</i> sp.	shrub; [S]; roots (djalan) used as a fish poison	MS 82.29 ACK 1361 (7), (13), (18)
inger (a)	<i>Vitex glabrata</i> *	'bush currant'; tree; [S]; edible fruit: marble size, purple-black when ready to eat, available in Bargana; 'not many trees around'	MS 85.5 (3), (11), (18)
irgil	<i>Hakea aborescens</i>	'yellow hakea'; tall shrub; [S]; wood of bent branches used for boomerangs (irgil)	ACK 1392 (7), (8), (11), (15), (18)
irgul	<i>Acacia eriopoda</i>	'Broome pindan wattle'; tall spindly shrub; [S]; grows in Beagle Bay region	MS 81.35 (8), (15), (18)
irilmi (errelm) (see aindju)	? <i>Glycine</i> sp.	scrambling subshrub; [S; R; Msa]; loan word (Djawi); Bardi = aindju	(2), (13), (18)

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
irola	<i>Chrysopogon pallidus</i>	'kangaroo/razor grass' long, spear-like (irola) stem of grasses e.g. sorghum	MS 85.4 (3), (6), (8), (13), (15), (18)
lambilum	<i>Owenia reticulata</i>	'desert walnut'; tree; [S]; fruit NOT eaten; leaves, bark, and fruit are reputed to be the strongest medicine: these are currently boiled with water in a billy-can and the infusion applied for rheumatism and to cuts and sores; originally parts of the tree were warmed on a fire and then applied, or soaked in water in a baler shell and the infusion used as a wash	MS 81.9, 83.8 ACK 1354 (7), (8), (15), (18)
langur	<i>Solanum cunninghamii</i>	subshrub; [S]; berries are poisonous; no recorded use	MS 83.44 ACK 1362, 1390 (7), (8), (18)
lardiu	<i>Lophostemon grandiflorus</i>	tree; [F]; used for making containers; common in Beagle Bay area	MS 83.25 (8), (18)
largarda largirda	<i>Adansonia gregorii</i>	'boab'; large tree; (doesn't grow locally) edible fruit	(3), (8), (13), (15), (18)
liili	<i>Velleia panduriformis</i>	much branched subshrub; [S;R]; emu food	MS 82.26 ACK 1393 (7), (8), (13), (18)
linmidi (lingmiddi)	<i>Acacia monticola</i>	'black wattle'; shrub; [Msa]; used for making raft nails; loan word (probably Djawi); tree grows on islands	(1), (2), (18)
longayin (see badarbadar)	<i>Mallotus nesophilus</i>	'yellow ball flower'; tree; [C]; loan word (Djawi); Bardi = badarbadar	(13), (18)

Bardi Plants: An Annotated List

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
lunyamad lundjamada (londyeman)	<i>Melaleuca acacioides</i>	'coastal paperback'; tree; [Mu;R;F]; trunks used in constructing framework of huts or shelters; native bee-hives found in trunks and branches; water can be extracted from large trunks; smoke of burning bark repels mosquitos; leaves medicinal: infusion used for 'cold-sick'; rolls of bark burnt and used for night fishing (undug), burns slower than garnbor (<i>M. dealbata</i>) bark	MS 81.5 (8), (11), (15), (18), (19)
luruda	<i>Thespesia populneoides</i>	tree; [Mu]; 'hibiscus like' yellow flower; wood good for axe handles	MS 83.43 (3), (8), (18)
mador madur (murdorr) (see arungul)	<i>Terminalia ferdinandiana</i>	tall tree; [S]; edible fruit: eaten raw when ripe (yellow), 'available from Christmas till bilal flowers'; edible seed: tastes 'like apricots', smash to retrieve kernel; edible red gum: cook it with hot sand till 'burnt' and cracked; bark medicinal: applied as an infusion for rheumatism and sores	MS 81.13, 83.56 ACK 1387 (2), (7), (8), (15), (18)
magabala (see gungala)	<i>Tylophora ? flexuosa</i> *	'bush banana'; vine; [V;S]; loan word (Nyulnyul) Bardi = gungala	MS 85.10 (3), (6), (7), (18)
malgal	?	loan word (Djawi); wild grapes, black when ready; said to grow on 'east side'; no known Bardi term	(13), (18)

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
manawan manuan	<i>Eucalyptus miniata</i>	'woolybutt'; tall slender tree; [S]; edible seed; lower bark used for shelter 'roofs', can be removed from tree easily after first rains; native beehives frequently found in trunks and branches; harpoons made from young tree trunks; wood used for making boomerangs and shields	MS 82.25, 83.4 ACK 1359 (7), (8), (11), (15), (18)
manbang (see idul)	<i>Pandanus</i> sp.	'screwpine'; tree; [C;S]; loan word (Nyulnyul), Bardi = idul	(13), (18)
manburunul	<i>Bruguiera exaristata</i>	'ribbed-fruited orange mangrove'; tall shrub/tree; [Ma]; wood used to make boomerangs	ACK 1368 (7), (8), (9), (11), (13), (17), (18)
mangar (a)	<i>Pouteria sericea</i>	'wild prune'; bushy tree; [V;S; Msa]; edible fruit: eaten raw when ripe and black, spit seed out, available in Iralbu; native beehives in trunks	MS 81.17, 82.22 ACK 1345 (3), (7), (8), (11), (13), (18)
mardelang	<i>Dioscorea bulbifera</i> *	bulbil of vine; [Msa]; edible 'berry' of gulngariny, roasted in hot ashes, available in Iralbu	(3), (6), (11), (18)
marul	<i>Terminalia petiolaris</i>	tree; [V;S]; edible fruit: eaten raw when ripe (purple-black), available Djalalayi; edible gum	MS 81.15, .52 ACK 1374 (7), (8), (13), (18)
marulal (maroolul) (see gunura)	<i>Eucalyptus papuana</i>	'ghost gum'; tall tree; [S; F]; red gum (gingba) medicinal: applied to sore teeth; bark is burnt to provide ash (gadjud) for mixing with chewing tobacco or gilala (bush tobacco) for chewing; containers made from bark; seasonal indicator: 'when marulal flowers, turtles go'	ACK 1352 (2), (7), (8), (10), (11), (13), (15), (18)
mayala	<i>Plectrachne bynoei</i>	hummock grass; [Msa]; used for roofing in shelters	ACK 1379 (7), (8), (13),

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. Nö.
mulindj mulinji	<i>Glycosmis trifoliata</i> *	small tree; [Msa]; edible fruit: orange or red when ripe, with a large seed; it is watery ('like grapes'), requires no preparation, and flowers after the first rains (of Mangal)	MS 83.14, .54 (7), (11), (18)
narga (see gorrgorr)	<i>Brachychiton diversifolius</i>	'northern kurrajong'; tree; [S]; edible root of young tree (gorrgorr): eaten raw or cooked in warm ashes, optimal time is Bargana	MS 83.40 (3), (8), (11), (15), (18)
ngalany- djudun	<i>Fimbristylis sericea</i>	rhizomatous sedge; [C]; crushed and placed on top of water containers as a 'hat' (djalngu) to prevent spillage	MS 85.1 ACK 1399 (7), (8), (11), (18)
ngalili	<i>Pterocaulon glandulosum</i>	herb; creeper; [C;Msa]; loan word (Djawi), no known Bardi term; medicinal: warmed leaves applied as poultice for aches and rheumatism	MS 83.51 (8), (13), (18)
ngalingingal (ngulangungil)	<i>Premna acuminata</i> *	deciduous tree; [V;S]; wood used to make spears, and firesticks	MS 83.33, 85.24 (2), (3), (18)
ngalnguru (ngalngoroo) (see gadga)	<i>Eucalyptus polycarpa</i>	'bloodwood'; tall tree; [S]; loan word (Djawi), Bardi = gadga	(2), (13), (18)
ngaminy- ngaminy	<i>Abrus precatorius</i>	'crab's eye'; creeper; [V;S;Msa]; red and black seeds used to make necklaces, seeds are extremely poisonous	MS 85.11 ACK 1375 (7), (8), (11), (18)
ngoandj	<i>Boerhavia aff. gardneri</i>	'tarvine'; prostrate creeper; [C]; edible root: baked in hot sand and ashes, available in Iralbu	MS 83.50, 85.20 ACK 1357 (3), (7), (8), (18)
ngoandj	<i>Cayratia trifoliata</i> *	creeper; [C]; edible root: baked in hot sand and ashes, available in Iralbu	MS 81.10 (3), (11), (18)

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
ngorar (ngoorarra)	<i>Portulaca</i> sp.	succulent; [Msa]; edible root: baked in hot sand and ashes, 'like a carrot'	MS 85.21 (2), (18)
nguli	<i>Capparis lasiantha</i>	vine; [S; V]; leaves medicinal: applied as warmed poultice for rheumatism; leaves 'pretty and look like a chain'	MS 85.9 (8), (18)
ngurngulu (ngoor- ngoorloo)	<i>Avicennia marina</i>	'white mangrove'; tree; [Ma]; edible fruit, once toxins have been removed by soaking them in mangrove mud till they turn black (3-7 days), rinsing, or boiling twice, until the skins and the black colour have gone, or roasting; without treatment it has a 'rubbish taste' and is not eaten; this is the only mangrove fruit eaten, it is ripe in Iralbu; Bird and Campbell identified this as a 'seed of the white mangrove ranja'; branches used in 'shades'; smoke of burning branches repels sandflies; native beehives found in hollow branches	ACK 1337 (2), (7), (8), (9), (11), (13), (18)
nimalgan	<i>Melaleuca viridiflora</i>	'broad-leaved paperbark'; tree; [V; R; F]; no use specified; described as having a 'pretty flower', 'just a flower'	MS 82.4 (8), (11), (15), (18)
niyalbun	<i>Cyperus bulbosus</i> *	'bush onion'; sedge; [C]; edible bulb: eaten raw or roasted in warm ashes; ready to eat when 'grass on top goes brown', optimal time is after the Wet, but available throughout the year. 'If you pull it up when it's raining, it causes lightning'	MS 81.3 (3), (7), (18)
noorda	<i>Eucalyptus tectifica</i>	'grey box'; tall tree; [S]; bark used as containers (orlad); once the weather 'hots up' the bark 'gets stuck' and is difficult to remove	MS 81.14, 83.1 (8), (15), (18)

Bardi Plants: An Annotated List

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
numorgudgud	<i>Acacia holosericea</i>	'candelabra wattle'; tall, open shrub; [S]; branches used to make spears if nothing else available	MS 81.36, 82.8 (8), (11), (15), (18)
numorgudgud	<i>Acacia pellita</i>	tall open shrub; [S; F]; use: as for <i>Acacia holosericea</i>	MS 81.28 (8), (11)
nyilanyil	<i>Amyema bifurcatum</i>	'mistletoe'; pendulous parasite; [S]; children suck the sweet nectar from the flowers	ACK 1347, 1353 (7), (8), (18)
nyilanyil	<i>Amyema thalassium</i>	'mistletoe'; pendulous parasite; [Ma]; children suck the sweet nectar from the flowers	ACK 1381 (7), (8), (18)
nyilanyil	<i>Dendrophthoe acacioides</i> *	'mistletoe'; pendulous parasite; [S; C]; children suck the sweet nectar from the flowers	MS 81.27, 83.34 (3), (18)
nyilanyil	<i>Lysiana spathulata</i>	'mistletoe'; pendulous parasite; [S; C]; children suck the sweet nectar from the flowers	ACK 1343 (7), (8), (18)
rambag	<i>Cartonema parviflorum</i>	'arda'; grass-like with small corm; [S]; edible corm: eaten raw or baked in hot sand or ashes, the best time to collect is after rain though it is available throughout the year	MS 81.1 (3), (8), (11), (18)
randji ranya (ranja)	<i>Ficus opposita</i> var. <i>indecora</i>	'sandpaper fig'; [S]; edible black fruit: warmed in hot ash and eaten, best time is after Mangal during Iralbu; leaves used as sandpaper: 'good sparkplug cleaner' and used for cleaning pots; wood used for shields; bark ashes (gadjud) are mixed with bush tobacco (gilala) for chewing	MS 81.4, .42, 85.20 ACK 1384 (2), (3), (7), (8), (11), (15), (18)
ranyaranyor	<i>Ischaemum ? arundinaceum</i>	grass; [F]; used in shelter roofs, when bark not available	MS 83.22 (8), (18)

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
rirawal	<i>Sesbania formosa</i>	'swamp corkwood'; tree; [F]; shady tree	MS 83.21 (8), (15), (18)
udul	<i>Atalaya hemiglauca</i>	'whitewood'; tree; [Msa]; no recorded use	MS 83.57 (8), (15), (18)
ulur	?	mangrove; [Ma]; wood used to make spears	(13)
unbi	<i>Chrysopogon pallidus</i>	grass; [C]; grass seed head, avoid seeds which can stick into you; seasonal indicator: 'when the seeds are green, stingray are fat, when seeds are dry, stingray are no good'	MS 85.4 (3), (6), (8), (13), (15), (18)
undala	<i>Tinospora smilacina</i>	'snake vine'; twining vine; [S; V; Msa]; young plants (leaves and stems) medicinal: used for rheumatism (warmed and applied to afflicted area); used as a rope (djidaga), worn as a headband in ceremonies	MS 83.5 ACK 1342 (3), (7), (8), (11), (18)
unggany	?	spinifex; loan word (Djawi), unggany = sign word in Bardi	(13), (18)
unggandjun	<i>Cynanchum</i> * ? <i>pedunculatum</i>	creeper; [S]; edible fruit: eaten raw or cooked in lalb (stone based oven). Popular food	MS 85.31 (6), (11), (18)
unurr	<i>Fimbristylis ferruginea</i>	'salt grass'; sedge; [Mu]; no recorded use	MS 83.23 (8), (18)
ural	<i>Spinifex longifolius</i>	'spinifex'; clumped grass; [C; Li]; used in shelter roofs	ACK 1358 (7), (8), (11)
urlg(a)	<i>Crotalaria cunninghamii</i>	'parrot pea'; shrub; [C; Li]; water and nectar can be sucked from the flowers in Djallalay	MS 81.2 ACK 1398 (7), (8), (11), (15), (18)
urulbur	<i>Aegiceras corniculatum</i>	'river mangrove'; tall shrub/tree; [Ma]; leaves, bark, and wood used as fish poison; seasonal indicator: 'when urulbur is flowering, stingray (banamb) is fat	MS 82.28 ACK 1364 (7), (8), (11), (17), (18)

Bardi Plants: An Annotated List

List 1 (continued)

Bardi name	Botanical name	'Common name'; Descriptive term; Plant community; Use	Coll. No./ Ref. No.
wolweron (see djarbayi wongayi)	<i>Acacia tumida</i>	'pindan wattle'; tall spreading shrub; [S]; 'like wongayi but flowers whiter'; edible seeds: ground to flour, mixed with water and eaten as paste; grows in Quondong area	MS 82.1 (18)
wongayi (wongi) (see djarbayi wolweron)	<i>Acacia tumida</i>	'pindan wattle'; tall, spreading shrub; [C; S]; edible seeds: when green, cook in fire and eat without pounding, when black, pound into flour, mix with water and eat as a paste; available in Lalin; edible gum; young trunks used for spears (irola); wood used for boomerangs; bark used to make short-lived string; small green twigs (inda): ends squashed, used to spoon out honey from hives; seasonal indicator: 'when wongayi flowers, bluebone (fish) are rubbish; when wongayi is properly 'cooked' tides are right for reefing'	MS 81.39 ACK 1341 (2), (3), (7), (8), (13), (15), (18)
yinbir (see bindun)	<i>Rhizophora stylosa</i>	'spotted-leaved red mangrove'; tree; [Ma]; wood used for ceremonial objects and shields	MS 83.29 (8), (11), (18)

List 2 Plant names, alphabetically in order of botanical names

Botanical names: genus/species	Family	Bardi name
<i>Abrus precatorius</i>	Papilionaceae	ngaminyangaminy
<i>Acacia eriopoda</i>	Mimosaceae	irgul
<i>Acacia holosericea</i>	Mimosaceae	numorgudgud
<i>Acacia monticola</i>	Mimosaceae	galeran linmidi (? Djawi)
<i>Acacia pellita</i>	Mimosaceae	numorgudgud
<i>Acacia tumida</i>	Mimosaceae	djarbayi (infertile hybrid) wolweron wongayi
<i>Acacia wickhami</i>	Mimosaceae	balalagudu
<i>Adansonia gregorii</i>	Bombacaceae	largarda largirdi
<i>Aegiceras corniculatum</i>	Myrsinaceae	urulbur
<i>Amyema bifurcatum</i>	Loranthaceae	nyilanyil
<i>Amyema thalassium</i>	Loranthaceae	nyilanyil
<i>Aristida browniana</i>	Poaceae	garuwal
<i>Atalaya hemiglauca</i>	Sapindaceae	udul
<i>Avicennia marina</i>	Avicenniaceae	ngurngulu
<i>Boerhavia</i> aff. <i>gardneri</i>	Nyctaginaceae	ngoandj
<i>Brachychiton diversifolius</i>	Sterculiaceae	gorggorr narga
<i>Bridelia tomentosa</i> var. <i>glabrifolia</i>	Euphorbiaceae	amam
<i>Bruguiera exaristata</i>	Rhizophoraceae	manburunul
<i>Buchanania obovata</i>	Anacardiaceae	gorol
<i>Caesalpinia globulorum</i>	Caesalpiniaceae	gulal
<i>Calandrinia</i> sp.	Portulacaceae	gumbin
<i>Calytrix exstipulata</i>	Myrtaceae	gidagid
<i>Campostemon schultzei</i>	Bombacaceae	djulba djulbu
<i>Canarium australianum</i>	Burseraceae	djalgay djalgir
<i>Capparis lasiantha</i>	Capparaceae	nguli
<i>Canavalia rosea</i>	Papilionaceae	gudayun
<i>Cartonema parviflorum</i>	Commelinaceae	rambag
<i>Cassytha filiformis</i>	Lauraceae	djirawan

List 2 (continued)

Botanical names: genus/species ^s	Family	Bardi name
<i>Cayratia trifoliata</i>	Vitaceae	ngoandj
<i>Celtis philippinensis</i>	Ulmaceae	gulyindji
<i>Cerriops tagal</i>	Rhizophoraceae	gurili
<i>Chrysopogon pallidus</i>	Poaceae	irola unbi
<i>Cleome viscosa</i>	Capparaceae	bulurbulur
<i>Cochlospermum fraseri</i>	Cochlospermaceae	gulun
<i>Crotalaria crispata</i>	Papilionaceae	bundugara
<i>Crotalaria cunninghamii</i>	Papilionaceae	urlg (a)
<i>Croton tomentellus</i>	Euphorbiaceae	angulmara
<i>Cymbidium canaliculatum</i>	Orchidaceae	banggaldjun
<i>Cynanchum ? pedunculatum</i>	Asclepiadaceae	unggandjun
<i>Cyperus bulbosus</i>	Cyperaceae	niyalbun
<i>Dendrophthoe acacioides</i>	Loranthaceae	nyilanyil
<i>Dicliptera glabra</i>	Acanthaceae	banguldjun
<i>Dioscorea bulbifera</i>	Dioscoreaceae	gulngariny mardelang
<i>Diospyros ferrea</i> var. <i>humilis</i>	Ebenaceae	birimbiri
<i>Diospyros montana</i>	Ebenaceae	gunam
<i>Dodonaea platyptera</i>	Sapindaceae	alarga
<i>Dodonaea lanceolata</i> var. <i>lanceolata</i>	Sapindaceae	guradid
? <i>Eleocharis</i> sp.	Cyperaceae	bilgin
<i>Eriachne avenacea</i>	Poaceae	guldju
<i>Erythrophleum chlorostachys</i>	Caesalpinaceae	djungumara
<i>Eucalyptus miniata</i>	Myrtaceae	manawan manuan
<i>Eucalyptus papuana</i>	Myrtaceae	gunura (Nyulnyul) marulal
<i>Eucalyptus polycarpa</i>	Myrtaceae	gadga ngalnguru (Djawi)
<i>Eucalyptus tectifera</i>	Myrtaceae	noorda
<i>Eucalyptus terminalis</i>	Myrtaceae	bilal
<i>Excoecaria agallocha</i>	Euphorbiaceae	djolor
<i>Exocarpos latifolius</i>	Santalaceae	djamba djanba

List 2 (continued)

Botanical names: genus/species	Family	Bardi name
<i>Ficus leucotricha</i>	Moraceae	gurayi gurir
<i>Ficus opposita</i> var. <i>indecora</i>	Moraceae	randji ranya
<i>Ficus virens</i>	Moraceae	albayi
<i>Fimbristylis sericea</i>	Cyperaceae	ngalanydjudun
<i>Fimbristylis ferruginea</i>	Cyperaceae	unurr
<i>Flagellaria indica</i>	Flagellariaceae	balbal
<i>Flueggea virosa</i> subsp. <i>melanthesoides</i>	Euphorbiaceae	guralga (ra)
<i>Gardenia</i> sp.	Rubiaceae	dalwarr
? <i>Glycine</i> sp.	Papilionaceae	aindju irilma (Djawi)
<i>Glycosmis trifoliata</i>	Rutaceae	mulindj mulinji
<i>Grevillea heliosperma</i>	Proteaceae	djamudu
<i>Grevillea pyramidalis</i>	Proteaceae	iliny iling
<i>Grevillea refracta</i>	Proteaceae	djamudu
<i>Grewia breviflora</i>	Tiliaceae	gulma gulmi
<i>Gymnanthera nitida</i>	Asclepiadaceae	gargar
<i>Gyrocarpus americanus</i>	Gyrocarpaceae	bilanggamar
<i>Hakea aborescens</i>	Proteaceae	irgil
<i>Hakea macrocarpa</i>	Proteaceae	djaradiny
<i>Ipomoea brasiliensis</i>	Convolvulaceae	gadayun
<i>Ischaemum arundinaceum</i>	Poaceae	ranyaranyor
<i>Lophostemon grandiflorus</i> subsp. <i>grandiflorus</i>	Myrtaceae	lardiu
<i>Lysiana spathulata</i>	Loranthaceae	nyilanyil
<i>Lysiphyllum cunninghamii</i>	Caesalpiniaceae	djagal (? Nyulnyul) djuuma
<i>Mallotus nesophilus</i>	Euphorbiaceae	badarbadar longayin (Djawi)

List 2 (continued)

Botanical names: genus/species	Family	Bardi name
<i>Maytenus cunninghamii</i>	Celastraceae	gungara
<i>Melaleuca acacioides</i>	Myrtaceae	lunyamad lundjamada
<i>Melaleuca dealbata</i>	Myrtaceae	garnbor garnburu
<i>Melaleuca</i> aff. <i>nervosa</i>	Myrtaceae	bidor
<i>Melaleuca viridiflora</i>	Myrtaceae	nimalgan
<i>Mimusops elengi</i>	Sapotaceae	djungun (a)
<i>Osbornia octodonta</i>	Myrtaceae	alarga
<i>Owenia reticulata</i>	Meliaceae	lambilam
<i>Pandanus spiralis</i>	Pandanaceae	idul
<i>Pandanus</i> sp.	Pandanaceae	manbang (Nyulnyul)
<i>Persoonia falcata</i>	Proteaceae	gamalun
<i>Planchonia careya</i>	Lecythidaceae	gulayi
<i>Plectrachne bynoei</i>	Poaceae	mayala
<i>Portulaca</i> sp.	Portulacaceae	ngorar
<i>Pouteria sericea</i>	Sapotaceae	mangar (a)
<i>Premna acuminata</i>	Verbenaceae	ngalingingal
<i>Pterocaulon glandulosum</i>	Asteraceae	ngalili (Djawi)
<i>Rhizophora stylosa</i>	Rhizophoraceae	bindun bindurnu yinbir
<i>Salsola kali</i>	Chenopodiaceae	djilar
<i>Santalum lanceolatum</i>	Santalaceae	bilalur
<i>Scaevola sericea</i>	Goodeniaceae	amanganan
<i>Sesbania formosa</i>	Papilionaceae	rirawal
<i>Sida</i> sp.	Malvaceae	bor
<i>Solanum cunninghamii</i>	Solanaceae	langur
<i>Sonneratia alba</i>	Sonneratiaceae	djolor
<i>Spinifex longifolius</i>	Poaceae	ural
<i>Stemodia lythrifolia</i>	Scrophulariaceae	gilala
<i>Suaeda arbusculoides</i>	Chenopodiaceae	baldjir
<i>Syzygium suborbiculare</i>	Myrtaceae	ilara
<i>Tephrosia crocea</i>	Papilionaceae	bindjud

List 2 (continued)

Botanical names: genus/species	Family	Bardi name
<i>Tephrosia</i> aff. <i>rosea</i>	Papilionaceae	bidiny
<i>Tephrosia</i> sp.	Papilionaceae	ilngam
<i>Terminalia canescens</i>	Combretaceae	djulal
<i>Terminalia ferdinandiana</i>	Combretaceae	arungul (Djawi) gabing (Nyulnyul) gabing mador madur
<i>Terminalia petiolaris</i>	Combretaceae	marul
<i>Thespesia populneoides</i>	Malvaceae	luruda
<i>Tinospora smilacina</i>	Menispermaceae	undala
<i>Triglochin</i> sp.	Juncaginaceae	gadjinangor
<i>Tylophora</i> ? <i>flexuosa</i>	Asclepiadaceae	gungala magabala (Nyulnyul)
<i>Velleia panduriformis</i>	Goodeniaceae	lili
<i>Ventilago viminalis</i>	Rhamnaceae	bandarang
<i>Vitex glabrata</i>	Apocynaceae	ingera
<i>Wrightia saligna</i>	Apocynaceae	djimany

Note

Number of specimens recorded with botanical names — at species level — and with one or more Bardi names = 114

Number of specimens recorded with botanical names — at genus level only — and with one or more Bardi names = 6

Number of specimens recorded with botanical names — at species level — with no Bardi name but with name from neighbouring group = 1

Number of specimens recorded with botanical names — at genus level only — with no Bardi name but with name from neighbouring group = 1

Specimens recorded with Bardi names, but with inadequate plant material for positive identification = 2

Plants with Bardi names recorded, but with no voucher collections made = 9

Bardi plant names recorded = 128

Djawi plant names recorded = 9 : (with known Bardi term = 5

with no known Bardi term = 3

with different meaning in Bardi = 1)

Nyulnyul plant name recorded = 3 (with known Bardi term)

Plant names of unknown derivation (probably Nyulnyul) = 2 (with known Bardi term).

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