Module 4:
Sea Country
The sea country of New South Wales has strong significance for Aboriginal people living along the coast. For thousands of years, Aboriginal people have relied on the natural resources provided by the sea. The sea country, including islands, beaches, headlands, rocky shores, the ocean and estuaries, holds spiritual significance, and is central to their cultural practices and activities. Evidence of Aboriginal use of these coastal and sea environments can be found in many places, and includes large stone fish traps, such as those found in the Solitary Islands and Port Stephens-Great Lakes marine parks, middens adjacent to beaches and estuaries, and tool-making sites on rocky headlands.

The importance of sea country to Aboriginal people is reflected in their languages, use of cultural totems, artworks (including paintings), music and dances, and stories and Dreaming. Many coastal Aboriginal communities continue to collect sea tucker and plants, animals, shells and stones important for traditional medicine and healing, conduct ceremonies, and pass this knowledge on to the next generations. All Aboriginal objects, places and areas in NSW are protected under the National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974, and the NSW Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water is responsible for this Act.

In many marine parks in NSW, Aboriginal communities actively manage key sites, places and areas under agreements and management plans which allow them to continue using cultural resources.

**Sea tucker**

Aboriginal communities in NSW still collect traditional foods from the sea, resources which they have relied upon for thousands of years. These foods come from all the different coastal habitats. For example, mangrove worms, yabbies, crabs and certain fish species are found in estuaries, pipis and cockles are found on beaches, turban snails, mussels, and oysters are found on rocky shores, and fishes and octopuses are found in the ocean. Aboriginal peoples’ deep connections with and experience of nature allows them to know exactly when each food source is at its best for collection. This is known as a seasonal calendar. Aboriginal people use nature’s indicators to tell them what foods to eat and when.

**Traditional harvesting methods**

Always resourceful, Aboriginal people have developed many different methods for harvesting sea tucker, including, but not limited to, spears, nets, small traps, lines with hooks, and stone fish traps. Canoes made from the bark of trees such as eucalypts, mahogany and turpentine were often used to go fishing in.

Spears are the most widespread and common harvesting tool. They can be made either from lightweight materials, such as the grass tree and kurrajong, and heavyweight materials, such as eucalypts. Nets and traps are generally made of natural fibres, and fishing line from the inner bark or shredded leaves of various plants which, when twisted, can be very strong. Hooks can be fashioned from sharpened shells.
Fish traps are large structures built from rocks in the tidal zone of rocky shores. The traps are baited on the outgoing tide, and the smell attracts fishes into the traps on the incoming high tide. Once in the fish trap, the fishes are either collected in smaller traps or speared. Stone fish traps are generally used at certain times, such as when large quantities of fish are required for ceremonies or gatherings, and the men net, spear or trap the fishes. In some places, the poisonous sap or leaves of particular plants can be used to stun the fishes temporarily, making them easier to catch.

Dolphins are known to assist in the fish harvest at many coastal locations. When dolphins are seen, a gifted community member will sing to them. The dolphins circle the fishes and drive them onto the shore where they are netted. Sometimes fishes will be left stranded if the tide is outgoing at the time, and then they are simply collected from the beach.

**Middens**

A midden is a mound made up of the remains of shells, fish bones, charcoal, the bones of mammals and, sometimes, tools. Middens are generally found at important sites where people from the area, or even neighbouring areas, have gathered. On the coast, they are found near places of good fishing or abundant shellfish, such as in estuaries, on beaches and dunes, and near rocky headlands. Middens vary in size, which reflects how they are used. Large middens may show they are used for large gatherings and ceremonies at particular times, while smaller middens may be regularly used by a family group. Due to the accumulation of debris, a midden that has been used over a long period of time can become very large. Excavation and carbon-dating have established that some middens are more than 4,000 years old.

Shell middens reveal a lot about Aboriginal peoples’ activities, both in the past and the present. The types of shells in a midden point to the kind of marine environment they were sourced from, and the time of year it is used. Each midden will have a different assortment of bones and shells, depending on what was abundant at that location. For example, estuarine middens may contain whelks, oysters, mussels, crabs and estuarine fish species, such as bream and flathead, whereas beach middens will mostly contain shellfish and fish bones from the rocky shore and beach. Middens range from thin scatters of shell to deep, layered deposits which have built up over time.

Middens may contain evidence of stoneworking and stone artefacts. Stone occasionally came from a very different area, showing that it was traded or transported. Records show that shell or bone artefacts, such as fish hooks or barbs, can be found in the upper layers of shell middens.
Artworks

Aboriginal art is part of a living tradition, perhaps the oldest and most continuous in the world. Like all forms of cultural expression, Aboriginal art is constantly adapting and changing with time. Even the traditional arts that express spirituality, land and Dreaming reveal the individuality of each artist and their ancestral footprint. The entire continent of Australia is covered by an intricate web of Dreaming. These Dreamings provide the framework by which Indigenous people live, and the powers which permit life to continue. Each tribe has its own Dreaming, spirituality and creation that permeates through its art, dance and story. Contemporary art forms also tell new stories that reflect a range of subjects, including politics, traditional tales, cultural awareness and the identity of Aboriginal people today.

“Each year, when the mullet were running, one of the tribal elders would go to a point overlooking the ocean. They would call out in Gumbaynggirr lingo for the dolphins to help round up all the fish and bring them in so the tribal people could feast.”

as told to Tony Hart, Gumbaynggirr artist, by his grandfather
Many Australians are familiar with Aboriginal rock art and paintings. Some drawings are pictures chalked onto rock surfaces using dry pigments. Paintings use wet pigments, and are made by stencilling, finger painting, or by using makeshift brushes such as chewed sticks. The pigments or paints used in rock art are usually naturally-occurring minerals (like ochre), which are generally the product of weathering, and are often found on rocky headlands. These “paints” can last a very long time. Pictures on rocks are an important part of Aboriginal peoples’ songs, stories and customs as they connect them to the land. Paintings and drawings can still be found where they are protected from direct rain and sun, such as rock caves, rock shelters and cliff faces. The National Parks and Wildlife Service conserves many rock art sites, working with local Aboriginal community groups. If you visit rock art sites, please be careful not to touch or damage the art, and to show respect for the sites and surrounding areas.

Sand painting is a common art form in coastal areas, where coloured sands are used to create a temporary picture which is then washed away by the next high tide.

**Gatherings and ceremonies**

Aboriginal people celebrate times when food is plentiful, often inviting neighbouring groups to join the feast, or holding gatherings and ceremonies for births, deaths and initiations into adulthood. Depending on the occasion, some gatherings and celebrations occur at particular sites, which may be for men only or women only, or only at a specific place and time of the year. These gatherings and ceremonies typically involve music, song and dance, and are important today for networking and meeting up with neighbouring groups and communities. Aboriginal people often decorate themselves for ceremonies and celebrations using locally found ochre.

Gatherings and ceremonies are also important for teaching and transferring knowledge from one generation to the next, and thus they continue to be held and practised today. This knowledge may include how to read nature’s signs to know when certain foods are abundant, how to determine the best tides, and how to use plants and animals for medicinal purposes.

Music and dance are a very important part of ceremonies, and are often used to tell traditional stories and Dreaming, which always have an educational purpose. Dreaming songs and song-lines tend to have a series of verses that tell the story of an ancestor spirit, and a particular event or place, or may link a series of places or experiences. Often a ceremonial dance will be performed with the song so as to act out the story. If you listen carefully, the song-lines will tell you what you would see if you made the same journey.

Dance is a unique aspect of ceremonies which is learnt and passed down from one generation to another. To dance is to be knowledgeable about the stories of the ancestral heroes, although dancing, unlike painting and singing, is learnt at an early age.

Sources: Arrawarra Sharing Culture <www.arrawarraculture.com.au>; Yarrawarra Aboriginal Cultural Centre; the Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water; the Garby Elders; Uncle Milton Duroux; Tim Cowan; Dee Murphy; and Alison Williams.
The people of the Jerrinja and Wreck Bay Aboriginal communities have strong ties to the land and sea, in coastal areas that are included in the Jervis Bay Marine Park. The marine park works closely with the Aboriginal people of this area, whose traditional role as custodians of the land and sea, and of marine resources, is to ensure sustainable environmental practices for future generations.

There is a unique and diverse range of ecosystems found in the Jervis Bay Marine Park. These include rock platforms (below left), sea cliffs (below middle), beaches, bays, and a variety of estuaries (below right). The waters of Jervis Bay and its surrounding lands hold a bountiful supply of resources which have sustained the local Aboriginal people for thousands of years. All of these ecosystems combined make this area a living cultural landscape, managed and shaped by the people who continue to use it. This is evidenced by the region's rich diversity of Aboriginal cultural sites, including ceremonial areas, meeting places, spiritual areas and sacred sites.

Gatherings, Ceremonies and Dreaming

Cultural learning and traditional stories that are still passed on today tell of strong spiritual connections with the sea. The ancestral figure of Bundoola lived in Devil’s Hole and was associated with the well-being of the fish and shellfish resources. He is said to have been a great fishermen who supplied his tribe with only the best mullet, groper (right) and snapper. He controlled the seas and weather, and could use them to his advantage in catching fish. Bundoola was a fearless fisherman who could manage the roughest storms and could see fish without any difficulty.

Spandula, a dreamtime snake figure, sometimes confused with Bundoola, is the strongest and most powerful of the ancestral beings. This figure is associated with Hare Bay and Green Point. The significance of the Beecroft Peninsula to coastal Aboriginal groups is due to its association with Bundoola and Spandula.
Nature’s Calendar

Aboriginal people have a deep connection with nature and the changes through the seasons. The natural environment provides foods and medicines at different times of the year. Not only are these foods harvested when in abundance, but they also give an indication as to what else is happening in the natural environment. For example, the flowering of the coastal wattle indicates the northward migration of whales along the coast. When white berries develop on the coastal bearded heath in the Jervis Bay Marine Park region, it is a sign that the bream are ready to be harvested. With these indicators, Aboriginal people are able to move around the coastline, knowing that areas will be able to sustain a group of them at a particular time of year.

Middens

Middens are accumulated deposits of charcoal, bone and shell artefacts, along with stone debris, which have built up in the sandy soil over thousands of years. Middens are usually found around Aboriginal camp sites where people gathered seasonally to collect specific foods. They can also be connected to ceremonies and social gatherings.

Middens are evidence of past Aboriginal life. The lowest level of a midden is the oldest. The difference in materials found between the lower and the upper layers shows changes in food and tool technologies over thousands of years. One of the earliest coastal middens in Jervis Bay was located at Wreck Bay and is known to have been in use up to 1200 years ago. It contained mussels and very little else. The most recent middens found in Jervis Bay, however, contain a variety of shellfish, including mussels, turban snails, cockles and pipis, as well as a range of tools made from bone and shell, including spearheads and fish hooks.

Around 27 midden sites have been recorded on the Beecroft Peninsula, and 23 on the Bhewerre Peninsula. It is difficult to tell where a midden begins and ends; however, one at Green Point has been found to be over 250 metres long.
Rock Shelters

Rock overhangs provided shelter for local Aborigines for thousands of years, and over a dozen have been identified along the Beecroft Peninsula. Located in gullies which provide protection from the weather, access to fresh water and firewood, they are near to suitable habitats for land and marine foods, such as possums, kangaroos, birds (particularly shearwaters), fish (e.g. snapper and bream), shellfish (e.g. mussels, oysters and whelks), and crabs.

Local Aboriginal people used the rock shelters to cook food, as well as to make and repair fishing tackle and hunting equipment. Remains found at these sites include fish hooks made from shell, cutting tools made from stone flakes, and piercing tools fashioned from wallaby bone.

Visiting traditional sites

When visiting cultural sites, it is important to respect local traditions. To do this you should:

- find out if an area you wish to visit contains Aboriginal places or cultural materials. (Contact your local marine park office or local Aboriginal land council for information.)
- ensure you are accompanied by a local Aboriginal community representative
- avoid entering known sacred sites
- use only quiet voices
- avoid spitting
- leave all plants and animals where they are
- look at middens but do not touch.

With thanks to the Jerrinjia and Wreck Bay communities.
Identifying tucker by the sea with the traditional owners of the Jervis Bay area.

**Turban snail**

**Cockles**

**Oyster**

**Periwinkles**

**Pipi**

**Mudwhelk**

**Octopus**

**Crab**

**Mullet**

**Pigface**

**Spinach**

**Wattle tree**

Fish image by Richard Taffs, Industry and Investment NSW.
MODULE 4 SEA COUNTRY

Stage 1 - Local Places
Teacher Activity Plan

Level
Stage 1 - Local Places
COG Group A - Exploring Our Place

Key Learning Areas
MUS1.1, MUS1.2, DAS1.1, DAS1.2, DAS1.3, VAS1.1, VAS1.2, VAS1.3, VAS1.4

Objectives
The objectives of this activity are:
• to use a range of media to design traditional Aboriginal-style art;
• to paint these designs onto Aboriginal-style instruments;
• to use these instruments while performing some basic percussion and movement.

Equipment Used
• paint
• paint brushes
• sticks that are similar to clap sticks (about 3cm in width and 20cm in length)

Teacher Resources
Please contact the marine park office on 4428 3000 for a copy of all educational material on CD or to request staff attendance for excursion support. The marine park office is able to advise you on appropriate Aboriginal Elder or community contacts to participate in a class excursion.

Additional resources are available on:
• http://www.aboriginalartonline.com/methods/methods.php
• http://www.outbackjack.info/dotpainting.htm
• http://environment.nsw.gov.au/nswcultureheritage/AboriginalUse.htm
• http://yarrawarra.com
• http://arrawarraculture.com.au
• http://australianmuseum.net.au/Stories-from-New-South-Wales

About this program
This module is designed to cover MUS1.1, MUS1.2, DAS1.1, DAS1.2, DAS1.3, VAS1.1, VAS1.2, VAS1.3 and VAS1.4, and when combined with the other three modules in this kit, addresses the key learning areas for COG Group A, Stage 1 - Local Places. Follow up this module with the Marine Parks, Rocky Shores and Estuaries modules for further insight into the local environment. The modules are designed to address the NSW DET primary school curriculum, and can be used to complement current teaching programs.

Education material in this module consists of this Activity Plan to guide teachers through an activity, a general Fact Sheet to provide background information on NSW Aboriginal Australians' way of life on the coast, a Fact Sheet on the local Aboriginal communities near the Solitary Islands Marine Park, an Activity Sheet for students to work from, and an ID Guide for both teachers and students to identify the most common animals and plants used as bush and sea tucker on the coast.

Activity 1
• In the classroom, in small groups or individually, ask the students to choose a marine animal as a totem. (Use the fact sheets to explain the use of totems to the students). Examples of totems, such as stingrays and dolphins, are included on Activity Sheet 1.
• Using local Aboriginal art techniques, the students then paint or draw their totem onto the activity sheet provided. Show some of the examples supplied on the following pages. Discuss with the class the features and design of each totem.
• Visit the playground and get each group to find some sticks (to be used as clap sticks) and flat rocks (to be used for music). The students should then paint their sticks and rock using traditional artwork, transferring their totem onto the musical instruments.
• Using the sticks, invent a beat for the animal groups. For example, perhaps give the dolphin a quick constant tapping beat to represent its fast pace as it swims, or to represent the clicks that it uses to communicate with other dolphins. Perhaps the turtle group could have a slow beat to represent the turtle's slow movements through the water. Then a couple of faster beats could be added to represent its quick movement as it escapes from a hunter or a shark.
• With the students still in their groups, suggest that they invent some movements so they can act out their animals.
• As the final group activity, and so as to act out how the animal moves in its natural environment, ask some students to perform these movements while others use their instruments to supply the beat.

Optional activity
Invite a local Aboriginal community member to talk with the class and share stories. They might be interested in sharing a Dreamtime story about the local environment, showing some of the instruments that are used in traditional ceremonies, and perhaps performing some music or dance for the students. They might also enjoy seeing the class perform some of the music and interpretive dance created in Activity 1.
Activity Sheet 1 - Totems

Using the examples below as inspiration, choose a marine animal as a totem, and then practise drawing it in the space provided before transferring it onto your instrument.

Dolphin by Tony Hart

Eagle Ray by Sean Kay

My totem is:  ..............................................................................................................................
Module 4: Sea Country

Stage 2 - Local Environments

Teacher Activity Plan

Level
Stage 2 - Local Environments
COG Group A - Exploring Our Place

Key Learning Areas
MUS2.1, MUS2.2, MUS2.3

Objectives
The objectives of this activity are: to demonstrate an understanding of Aboriginal music by exploring various ways to make sounds using traditional methods; and to translate natural sounds into a musical pattern.

Excursion Timing
The excursions must be undertaken at low tide. Check the tide times at: http://www.bom.gov.au/oceanography/tides

Teacher Resources
Please contact the marine park office on 4428 3000 for a copy of all educational material on CD or to request staff attendance for excursion support. The marine park office is able to advise you on appropriate Aboriginal Elder or community contacts to participate in a class excursion.

Additional resources are available on:
- http://www.outbackjack.info/dotpainting.htm
- http://yarrawarra.com

About this program
This module is designed to cover MUS2.1, MUS2.2 and MUS2.3, and when combined with the other three modules in this kit, addresses the key learning areas for COG Group A, Stage 2 - Local Environments. Follow up this module with the Marine Parks, Rocky Shores and Estuaries modules for further insight into the local environment. The modules are designed to address the NSW DET primary school curriculum, and can be used to complement current teaching programs.

Education material in this module consists of this Activity Plan to guide teachers through an activity, a general Fact Sheet to provide background information on NSW Aboriginal Australians’ way of life on the coast, a Fact Sheet on the local Aboriginal communities near the Solitary Islands Marine Park, an Activity Sheet for students to work from, and an ID Guide for both teachers and students to identify the most common animals and plants used as bush and sea tucker on the coast.

Activity 1 - Excursion
Discuss what a midden is, what you may find in a midden, and the significance of these sites to local Aboriginal people. Use the fact sheets to help. Get the students to draw a midden on the activity sheet, and include items they think might be found in a midden in the local area. Use the photo on the activity sheet to help and to show the layers of items deposited over time. If there is a midden in your local area, visit it on the excursion in Activity 2. It is strongly suggested that a local Aboriginal Elder is with you to discuss the significance of the site. Never touch or disturb a midden; just observe. Refer to the Rocky Shores Risk Analysis (pp.50-51) or the Estuaries Risk Analysis (pp.74-75) to ensure student safety.

Activity 2 - Excursion
Conduct an excursion to a coastal area to explore the local bush and sea tucker. Use the ID guide to identify some of the local bush tucker, and use the local Indigenous names when talking about them. Invite a local Aboriginal person along to help with the identification, and to explain the traditional uses of the tucker. Discuss the importance of the surrounding land for the Aboriginal people. Refer to the Rocky Shores Risk Analysis (pp.50-51) or the Estuaries Risk Analysis (pp.74-75) to ensure student safety.

While on the excursion, conduct a listening exercise to see how many natural noises can be heard. The students are to sit quietly and listen to all the noises they hear. They then record what is heard on the activity sheet, including a description of the sound. For example, a snapping shrimp may be described as having a short, sharp clicking sound.

Using traditional Aboriginal music techniques (such as clapping and stomping, using clap sticks and vocals, etc.), translate the nature sounds recorded previously into a musical beat. This may be done individually, in small groups, or as a class. Extend this activity so that each person or group performs their sound(s) followed by the next. As these sounds are performed closely together, they effectively stream together to make a song.
Activity Sheet 1 - What’s in My Midden?

Draw your midden here.

Label what you see in the midden, and draw the different types of shells you can identify.

Closer to the top of the midden = *younger shells*

Closer to the bottom of the midden = *older shells*

Pipi shell
Activity Sheet 2 - Sounds of Nature

1. What noise can you hear? e.g. snapping shrimp
   Describe this noise in words...
   e.g. short, snapping sound like clicking fingers
   How could you imitate this noise?
   e.g. clicking my fingers together every few seconds

2. What noise can you hear?
   Describe this noise in words...
   How could you imitate this noise?

3. What noise can you hear?
   Describe this noise in words...
   How could you imitate this noise?

How can you make these noises into music using natural materials and body percussion? (for example, clapping or stomping)
About this program
This module is designed to cover ENS3.5, ENS3.6, DAS3.1, DAS3.2, DAS3.3 and MUS3.3, and when combined with the other three modules in this kit, addresses the key learning areas for COG Group A, Stage 3 - Living Land. Follow up this module with the Marine Parks, Rocky Shores and Estuaries modules for further insight into the local environment. The modules are designed to address the NSW DET primary school curriculum, and can be used to complement current teaching programs.

Education material in this module consists of this Activity Plan to guide teachers through an activity, a general Fact Sheet to provide background information on NSW Aboriginal Australians’ way of life on the coast, a Fact Sheet on the local Aboriginal communities near the Solitary Islands Marine Park, an Activity Sheet for students to work from, and an ID Guide for both teachers and students to identify the most common animals and plants used as bush and sea tucker on the coast.

Activity 1 - Excursion
Conduct an excursion to a local marine environment to explore how Aboriginal people lived in the area prior to European settlement. Looking around the landscape (imagining it in its pre-settled state) and using the activity sheet, ask the students to mark where they think the best place for a camp would be. (Discuss the need for shelter, food and fresh water first.) Now get them to draw the same landscape as they see it today, including houses, roads and other built features, as well as the changes and impacts they have observed following European settlement. Discuss these changes and impacts as a group.

Prior to the excursion, visit www.arrawarraculture.com.au and look at the artwork section. There are two paintings here that will provide background to this activity: one of Arrawarra Headland, part of the Solitary Islands Marine Park, before European settlement, and another showing the same location following European settlement. Refer to the Rocky Shores Risk Analysis (pp.50-51) or the Estuaries Risk Analysis (pp.74-75) to ensure student safety.

Activity 2
After imagining what life was like on the coast in the past, choose three marine themes from Activity Sheet 2 (e.g. hunter, fish and sea urchins) to devise a simple story (e.g. a hunter catching fish and gathering urchins in a rock pool). Divide the class up into groups of three students, and give each group a set of cards copied from Activity Sheet 2. The students are then to use movement and sound to tell this story to the rest of the class. Explain the detail that is needed to tell the story: The hunter has to search the area first to find the fish and sea urchins. How are the students to illustrate this in a dance? The hunter finds some urchins, and stops to eat and gather some for the rest of the camp. How can this be acted? Then some fish are found and a spear is used to catch them, but the hunter must sneak up slowly on the fish then spear them. Did he miss? Once he is successful, he takes a full harvest back to camp to cook and share with the rest of his people.

If one student is acting as the hunter, the others in the group could be clapping a beat and using it to accentuate parts of the story. Another person could act as the big fish.

Additional activity
In groups, translate the story in Activity 2 into a sand drawing, the same way an Aboriginal artist would. Use traditional symbols and different coloured sands to tell the story. For examples of Aboriginal artwork, visit www.arrawarraculture.com.au and look at the artwork section prior to the excursion.
Activity Sheet 1 - Jervis Bay

Pre-settlement site

Imagine that you have been living with your people inland. Your mob have read the signs in nature: the coastal bearded heath is fruiting, which means the bream are ready to be harvested, so it is time to move to the coast.

Looking around the landscape (and trying to visualise it before it was built up), imagine that you have just arrived in the area and have decided to stay for a few weeks. You will need to decide where to set up camp. Use the questions below to help you figure out where this would be.

Draw a map of the area and include the following items (in bold):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelter</th>
<th>Where would be a good place to set up camp? Think about where the wind is blowing from at the moment. Where would you find a good spot to shelter from this wind? Could you use some of the nearby trees, or bark from the trees, to help build a shelter?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fresh water</td>
<td>Where is the nearest fresh water supply? It would be best to set up a camp that is not too far from drinking water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hills</td>
<td>The hills may help you see where fresh water could come from when it rains. Look for the valleys where creeks may have formed. Hills will also provide a good hiding place for animals to hunt, such as wallabies and goanna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rocky shores and creeks</td>
<td>Rocky shores and creeks are a great source of food, such as shellfish and fish. Can you identify any seafood while you are on the excursion?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tucker</td>
<td>Use the ID guide to see what is available at the moment, and note where it is on the map.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Post-settlement Site

Draw the landscape as you see it today, including roads, houses, where trees have been cleared, etc.

What are the current human impacts from this built environment?
**Activity Sheet 2 - Life on the Coast**

Choose a card and, using the three marine themes on your card, devise a simple story about what life was like on the coast. Use movement and sound to help tell your story.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hunter</th>
<th>Gatherer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>Oysters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea urchin</td>
<td>Pigface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River</td>
<td>Camp fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flood</td>
<td>Turban snails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp</td>
<td>Rocky shore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>Ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berries</td>
<td>Pipis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basket-weaving</td>
<td>Fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spear</td>
<td>Stingray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Octopus</td>
<td>Cave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shark</td>
<td>Elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nets</td>
<td>Hunter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolphins</td>
<td>Nets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish traps</td>
<td>Mullet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>