

1.—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF SOME WESTERN AUSTRALIAN TRIBES.

By Mrs. D. M. Bates.

INTRODUCTION.

The aborigines of Western Australia may be classified, according to their social organization into a certain number of types:—

I. Northern Division—

1. East Kimberley.
2. West Kimberley.
3. East Pilbara.
4. West Pilbara.
5. Ashburton.
6. Gascoyne (Lower and Middle).
7. Upper Murchison.
8. Lower Murchison.
9. Laverton (Eastern Gold-fields).
10. Southern Cross.

II. Champion Bay Division.

III. South-western Division.

IV. Southern Division.

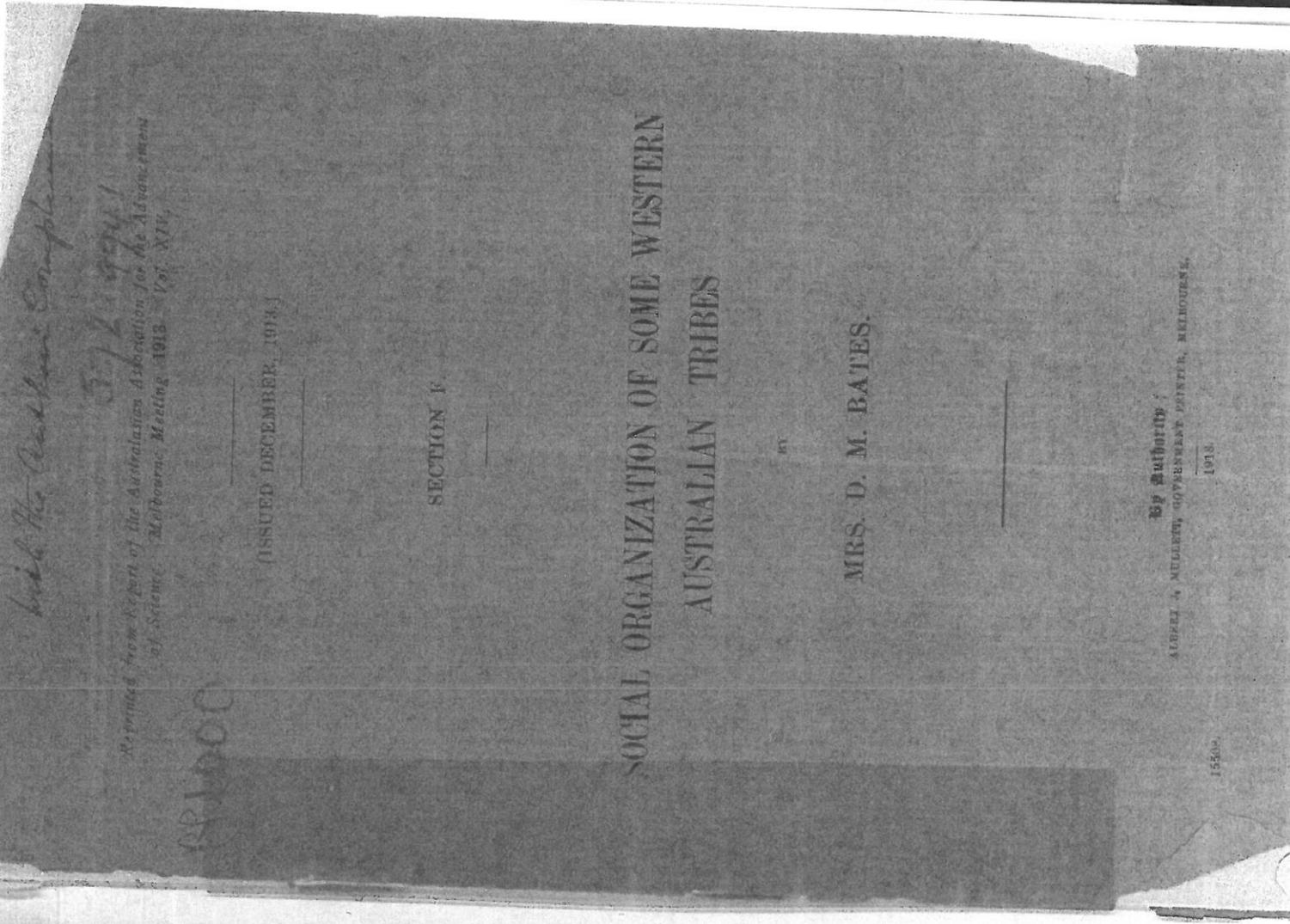
V. South-eastern Division (Eucla).

In the Northern Division all the tribes except 4, 5, 6 (partly), and 8 (partly) practise circumcision.

In the Champion Bay Division (II) circumcision was practised within (about) 20 miles of Geraldton.

In the South-eastern Division (Eucla) circumcision and subincision were practised.

Divisions III and IV (South-western and Southern) did not follow this custom.



The tribes following this system are the Mai'al'nga (Glengel River), T'ohau'i (Sunday Id.), Barda (Swan Point), Nyul-nyul (Beagle Bay), Warrwai and Nyi-g'ini (Derby district), Kularra-bulu (Broome), Yauera (east of Broome), Warrangari (partly, Fitzroy, &c.).

Members of some of these tribes have intermarried with the East Kimberley tribes, the co-arrangement of the respective class systems of East and West Kimberley being as follows:—

| | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------------------|-------|
| West Kimberley. | | East Kimberley. | |
| A Boorong | .. .. | { A Jaualyi. | .. .. |
| B Banaka | .. .. | { A' Ngauajil. | .. .. |
| C Kaimera | .. .. | { B Jaggara. | .. .. |
| D Paljari | .. .. | { B' Ngaggara. | .. .. |
| | | { C J'ung'ara. | .. .. |
| | | { C' Nganjeli. | .. .. |
| | | { D Jang'ala. | .. .. |
| | | { D' Ngang'ala. | .. .. |
| | | Offspring. | |
| A Boorong = | B' Ngaggara | { Jungara (male) C. | .. .. |
| B Banaka = | A' Ngauajil | { Nganjeli (female) C'. | .. .. |
| C Kaimera = | D' Ngang'ala | { Juru (male) D''. | .. .. |
| D Paljari = | C' Nganjeli | { Nyaueru (female) D''. | .. .. |
| | | { Jaualyi (male) A. | .. .. |
| | | { Ngauajil (female) A'. | .. .. |
| | | { Jambian (male) B''. | .. .. |
| | | { Ngambian (female) B''. | .. .. |
| | | C Kaimera. | .. .. |
| | | D Paljari. | .. .. |
| | | A Boorong. | .. .. |
| | | B Banaka. | .. .. |

The totems of the West Kimberley tribes (jal'nga—Broome and Beagle Bay equivalents for totem) are hereditary and exogamous, and there are also individual totems. The increase of the totem is usually dreamed by the totemists. A Kaimera son inherits his Boorong father's totems, and passes them on to his own Boorong son; but he also brings an individual totem with him when he is born. The Broome district natives believe that every baby must be dreamed by its father before it comes into the world, and this "dream baby" is called ngargalula. If the ngargalula does not appear to its future father, and his wife gives birth to a child, the father does not believe that the child belongs to him, since the ngargalula did not come to him. Again, should a man have been separated from his woman for some considerable time, and while he is away from her a ngargalula comes to him in his dreams, and should the woman have a baby in the meantime, the man believes this baby to be his ngargalula baby, no matter what length of time may have elapsed during which he has been apart

EAST KIMBERLEY (HALL'S CREEK, ETC.).

The class system of the tribes of this district (the Hall's Creek section of which appear to be called Jarruru) is as follows:—

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| A Jaualyi (male). | |
| A' Ngauajil (female). | |
| B Jaggara (male). | |
| B' Ngaggara (female). | |
| C J'ung'ara (male). | |
| C' Nganjeli (female). | |
| D Jang'ala (male). | |
| D' Ngang'ala (female). | |
| The marriage laws of these are as under— | |
| Male. | |
| A Jaualyi = | B' Ngaggara |
| B Jaggara = | A' Ngauajil |
| C J'ung'ara = | D' Ngang'ala |
| D Jang'ala = | C' Nganjeli |
| Offspring. | |
| .. .. | { Junara (male). |
| .. .. | { Nganjeli (female). |
| .. .. | { Juru (male). |
| .. .. | { Nyaueru (female). |
| .. .. | { Jaualyi (male). |
| .. .. | { Ngauajil (female). |
| .. .. | { Jambian (male). |
| .. .. | { Ngambian (female). |

There are apparently sixteen classes in the East Kimberley Division, yet, notwithstanding their numbers, I will show how they fit in with the West Kimberley four-class system. I have not yet made personal investigation in the East Kimberley district, my informants as to the above classes having been East Kimberley native prisoners at Rottnest, Carnarvon, and Roebourne gaols.

WEST KIMBERLEY.

The class system of the known West Kimberley tribes is as follows:—

| | |
|---|------------|
| A. Boorong. | |
| B. Banaka. | |
| C. Kaimera. | |
| D. Paljari. | |
| The marriage laws of these tribes are as under— | |
| A Boorong = | B Banaka |
| B Banaka = | A Boorong |
| C Kaimera = | D Paljari |
| D Paljari = | C Kaimera |
| .. .. | C Kaimera. |
| .. .. | D Paljari. |
| .. .. | A Boorong. |
| .. .. | B Banaka. |

from his woman. Procreation does not appear to have anything to do with the birth of the child. A man sleeps, and while he sleeps he dreams, and in his dream a ngargalula comes to him, the ground on which he sees it being generally some known part of his father's territory. He sees on the ground near the ngargalula some vegetable or animal, or if he is a sea-coast native, it may be part of the coast within his territory, and a turtle or some fish may be seen near the ngargalula. Whatever animal bird, or fish is seen on the ngargalulu booroo ("spirit baby's" ground) becomes the individual jal'nga or totem of the baby. The little ngargalula follows its future father to his camp, and, according to him, is merely "carried" henceforth by his woman, through her mouth or navel. It brings its own totem with it, but later it inherits its father's totems. Its special booroo is called its ngargalula booroo, and some function connected with the initiation of the boy will take place on the ngargalula booroo. Let us suppose that the long edible bean is the boy's ngargalula totem. When he has passed some stages of his initiation, he begins to dream the increase of his totem. He dreams he is on his ngargalula booroo, and he picks up a branch of the bean, and chewing it, spits the chewed portions all about him. When the ripening season for the bean comes round a very plentiful supply will ensue from the dream increase.

The whole subject of the ngargalulu amongst the Broome district people is so very interesting, and so interwoven with the lives of these people, that I have felt some mention of it was necessary when dealing with the West Kimberley tribes.

Totems (or jal'nga) are eaten by their totemists (jal'nga-ngurū). Cross cousin (first cousin) marriages are forbidden in West Kimberley. Circumcision and sub-incision are practised.

A few kinship terms in the Broome district dialect illustrate the class system of marriage. I, a Boorong woman, am speaking—

Ngoonoo—sister (Boorong).

Babbula—brother (Boorong).

I' bala—father (Kaimera).

Ngābu—youngest father (Kaimera), (father's brother).

Yūramūroo—father's own sister (Kaimera).

Tālor; yālor—father's tribal sister (Kaimera), "mother-in-law."

Bibi—mother (Paljari).

Bibi; jiji; woonjuboo—mother's sister (Paljari).

Kogga—mother's brother (Paljari).

Yagu—husband (Banaka).

Tchāminyerrī—husband's father (Paljari).

Yalma—husband's sister (Banaka).

Yalma—brother's wife (Banaka).

Rambar—husband's mother's brother (Kaimera).

Babba, nganjū—daughter (Paljari).

Babba—son (Paljari).

Variations in class nomenclature occur amongst the divisions in the northern areas, but as it was necessary to have a uniform system of spelling in the districts where the above four classes obtain, the dialectic equivalents which were most extensively used were adopted. Two dialectic variations are here given—

Derby, Beagle Bay, Glenelg River.

Puroong'oo

Pānaka

Kaiam'ba

Parrajer

Fitzroy River District.

Parungu

Panaka

Kaiamba

Parrjerri

EAST PILBARA.

The class system of the East Pilbara tribes, some of which are Nang'a murda, Kār'adhari, Ngala, Nyamel, Widagari, Bailgu, Ngādhari, and Ibarrga, whose territories range from south-west of the Ninety-mile Beach towards Marble Bar and the Nullagine, is as follows:—

A. Boorong.

B. Banaka.

C. Kaimera.

D. Paljari.

A change occurs here in the marriage laws and descent, as shown hereunder—

| | Male. | Female. | Offspring. |
|------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| A. Boorong | = D. Paljari | .. C. Kaimera | .. C. Kaimera |
| B. Banaka | = C. Kaimera | .. D. Paljari | .. D. Paljari |
| C. Kaimera | = B. Banaka | .. A. Boorong | .. A. Boorong |
| D. Paljari | = A. Boorong | .. B. Banaka | .. B. Banaka |

It will be noted that the West Kimberley marrying pairs, Boorong—Banaka, Kaimera—Paljari, become the "mothers' children" moiety in the above arrangement of the classes.

Cross-cousin (first cousin) marriages are permitted in the above tribes, own mother's brothers' sons and own father's sisters' daughters being betrothed to each other.

Totems are hereditary, and certain ceremonies are performed by the Boorong—Kaimera moiety (fathers and sons), and by the Banaka—Paljari moiety (also fathers and sons), for their hereditary totems.

Certain hereditary totems are localized, and in these local centres there are special places called thalu, which may be mound, pool, or hill, where the ceremonies for the increase of the totem are performed by the moieties of such totem. Some totems are eaten, others are abstained from. Women may assist and take some part in the ceremonies for the increase of the totems of their moiety.

A few kinship terms in the dialect of the Widagari tribe are here given (Boorong woman speaking)—

- Jurdu—sister (Boorong).
- Kurdana—brother (Boorong).
- Kalyana—father (Kaimera).
- Ngardina—mother (Banaka).
- Yaru; Yarugür—father's sister (Kaimera).
- Koggardi—mother's brother (Banaka).
- Nyubana—husband (Paljari).
- Thooa—husband's mother (Kaimera).
- Mün'goora; jilya—son, daughter (Banaka).

WEST PILBARA.

The class system of the West Pilbara tribes—the Karriara, Ngäluma, Mardatunera, and Kau'arndhari—and the marriage laws of these people are similar to those of West Kimberley Division, and are as follows:—

| | Male. | Female. | Offspring. |
|------------|-------|------------|---------------|
| A. Boorong | = | B. Banaka | .. C. Kaimera |
| B. Banaka | = | A. Boorong | .. D. Paljari |
| C. Kaimera | = | D. Paljari | .. A. Boorong |
| D. Paljari | = | C. Kaimera | .. B. Banaka |

These tribes occupy the coast between Port Hedland and a point somewhere west of Roebourne.

~~Cross-cousin marriages are permitted in the Karriara and Ngäluma tribes. I am not quite sure if they are permitted in the Mardatunera and Kau'arndhari.~~

At Balla-balla, a point on the coast between Port Hedland and Roebourne, the line of demarcation between the circumcised and uncircumcised people begins, and this line runs southward, at varying distances, along the western and southern coast, until it again finds an outlet at Point Malcolm, between Esperance and Israelite Bay, on the southern coast. I have ascertained as definitely as it was possible to do, that the custom of circumcision was encroaching upon the western and southern borders at the time of white settlement, and in the Champion Bay district the circumcised tribes had reached within 20 miles of the coast. Adoption into circumcised local groups is going on even at the present day. A Minung man (southern Phratry) was adopted into a circumcised local group in the Eastern Gold-fields district, and an Ashburton coastal native belonging to the Tallainji (uncircumcised) tribe was adopted into the Warianga tribe, and circumcised by the Warianga people. Numerous instances of members of un-

circumcised tribes being adopted into tribes following this custom have been brought before me, and compelled me to conclude that the rite had been introduced from the north, and was spreading southward and westward at the time of white settlement, as it is spreading at the present day.

Cross-cousin marriages are permitted in the Ngäluma and Karriara tribes, but are forbidden in the Mardatunera (or Mardatuna) and Kau'arndhari.

Totems are similar as regards thalu ceremonies, and appear to be hereditary, descent being in the male line.

Infant betrothals are common in all the tribes above-mentioned.

The Ngäluma equivalents of the kinship terms are as follow (Boorong woman speaking):—

- Thurdu—sister (Boorong).
- Käja—brother (Boorong).
- Mamardi—father (Kaimera).
- Ngang-gardi—mother (Paljari).
- Mügül—father's sister (own) (Kaimera).
- Thooa—father's sister (not own) (Kaimera).
- Koggardi—mother's brother (Paljari).
- Yäkan—husband (Banaka).
- Nyooba; yäkan—husband's brother (Banaka).
- Kundal—daughter (Paljari).
- Mainga; thoogo—son (Paljari).

ASHBURTON.

The class system of the Ashburton district tribes—the Tallainji, Barduna, Biniguru, Baiung, Maia, Targari, &c.—whose tribal areas run from north of Onslow (Ashburton River), towards the Gascoyne River, is similar to that of the Ngala, Nyamel, Nang'a murda, &c., and is as under—

| | Male. | Female. | Offspring. |
|------------|-------|------------|---------------|
| A. Boorong | = | D. Paljari | .. C. Kaimera |
| B. Banaka | = | C. Kaimera | .. D. Paljari |
| C. Kaimera | = | B. Banaka | .. A. Boorong |
| D. Paljari | = | A. Boorong | .. B. Banaka |

These tribes do not circumcise.

The Boorong—Kaimera moiety perform ceremonies for the increase of the rain, kangaroo, and other totems, at certain pools within their areas. At Bibinji pool, the bilana (rain), and Lungirdi (kangaroo) thalu ceremonies are performed. At Winning Pool the bardura (turkey) thalu ceremonies are held by barduna bardura totem people.

In the districts occupied by those tribes which are homogeneous it is interesting to note that there are special names given to the possessors of certain totem phratryes. I will give a few instances of these—

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|--|
| (Kajalbu) Emu totem | Male. Wariara | Female. Ngogoji.. | Burduna tribe (Paljari—Banaka Phratry) |
| (Bardura and Wáru Turkey and fire) | .. Waliri | .. Wilari | Burduna tribe (Paljari—Banaka) |
| (Bungurdi) Kan-garoo | .. Kájardu | Ngajuri | Tallainji tribe (Boorong—Kaimera) |
| (Káju) Snake | .. Yau | .. Nyarl | Burduna tribe (Kaimera—Boorong) |
| (Wárida) Eagle-hawk | .. Wiarrji | Mambulu | Talainji and Burduna tribes (Paljari—Banaka Phratry) |

No marriages are allowed within the totem phratry. Some possible marriages are as follow:—

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Male. Wariara (emu) can marry | Female. .. Ngalguji (lizard) | Offspring. .. Wariara |
| Waliri (turkey) can marry | .. Wírdari (iguana) | .. Waliri |
| Kájardu (rain and seed) can marry | .. Mambulu (eaglehawk) | Kájardu |
| Wariara (emu) can marry | .. Wilari (turkey) | .. Wariara |

It will be gathered from the above few instances how interesting the Ashburton tribes are.

The women of the totem phratryes join in the songs and ceremonies for the increase of the totem.

Cross-cousin marriages are forbidden within the area covered by the Ashburton tribes.

Their kinship terms are (Boorong woman, Tallainga tribe, speaking)—

| |
|--|
| Jijuni—sister (Boorong). |
| Bald-ani—brother (Boorong). |
| Baboji—father (Kaimera). |
| Binarda; bibiju—mother (Banaka). |
| Mimi—mother's brother (Banaka). |
| Nganyi; mogolyu—father's sister (Kaimera). |
| Jurdi yágan—husband (Paljari). |
| Yágan—husband's brother (Paljari). |
| Thuani—husband's sister (Paljari). |
| Jurdigura—son (Banaka). |
| Kundalyu—daughter (Banaka). |
| Dhooa nganyina—husband's mother (Kaimera). |

The kinship terms of the Burduna tribe differ slightly from the Tallainji equivalents (Boorong woman speaking)—

| |
|---|
| Joi—oldest sister (Boorong). |
| Boi—oldest brother (Boorong). |
| Baldhai—brother (Boorong). |
| Bai-u—father (Kaimera). |
| Biwi—mother (Banaka). |
| Mimi—mother's brother (Banaka). |
| Mogurji—father's sister (Kaimera). |
| Yágan mai—husband (Paljari). |
| Yágan—husband's brother (Paljari). |
| Dhu-ai, du-ai—husband's sister (Paljari). |
| Dhuai, du-ai—brother's wife (Paljari). |
| Ngaiu-ngara—son (Banaka). |
| Kurli—daughter (Banaka). |
| Mō-werdiji—husband's mother (Kaimera). |
| Nidi-i—father's sister's son (Paljari). |

LOWER AND MIDDLE GASCOYNE.

The class system of the Lower and Middle Gascoyne tribes—the Ingara, Targari, &c.—and their marriage laws are as follow:—

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---|-----------------------|----|--------------------------|
| Male. A. Boorong | = | Female. C. Kaimera | .. | Offspring. D. Paljari |
| B. Banaka | = | D. Paljari | .. | C. Kaimera |
| C. Kaimera | = | A. Boorong | .. | B. Banaka (or Boorguloo) |
| D. Paljari | = | B. Banaka | .. | A. Boorong |

It is in this district, somewhere north-eastward of the Ingara tribe, that the term Boorguloo takes the place of Banaka.

It will be noted that the intermarrying pairs again undergo a change, making Banaka—Kaimera fathers and sons, and Boorong—Paljari also fathers and sons.

The totemic system of these people is somewhat similar to that of the Ashburton, except for the difference in the moieties responsible for the increase of their totem. The Boorong—Kaimera totems in the Ashburton district become the Boorong—Paljari moiety totems in the Gascoyne area. Infant betrothals are the rule. Cross-cousin marriages are prohibited, and no marriages are allowed within the totem.

I have found, however, in one or two marriages between the coastal Gascoyne and some Ashburton families some persons who had the same totem. This was explained by the natives, who stated that the moieties being changed in each district, and the totem entering another moiety, the marriage was allowed. But it is doubtful whether, in those districts where cross-cousin marriages were forbidden, marriage between persons of the same totem was permitted.

The class system of the Upper Murchison tribes is as follows (Boorguloo definitely taking the place of Banaka):—

| Male. | Female. | Offspring. |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|
| A. Boorong | = C. Kaimera | .. D. Paljari |
| B. Boorguloo | = D. Paljari | .. C. Kaimera |
| C. Kaimera | = A. Boorong | .. B. Boorguloo |
| D. Paljari | = B. Boorguloo | .. A. Boorong |

The head waters of the Upper Murchison and Upper Gascoyne are not far apart, the two rivers—the south branch of the Gascoyne and the Murchison near its source—apparently junctioning somewhere near the Robinson Ranges (Peak Hill district, see map), and the Lower and Middle Gascoyne system appears to be followed in the following tribes:—Ngarga wonga, Nang'a wonga, Ngaiu wonga (south), Ngana wonga and Yira wonga, Bardu wonga, Ditu wonga, and Manjinji wonga.

The districts in which these tribes are situated cover collectively a very large area, for they extend along the Upper Gascoyne towards Lake Nabburn. At Wiluna, Lake Way, Mt. Sir Samuel, and Lawlers, the south Ngaiu wonga have their "burna" (home), and north-east, east, and south of Laverton are the Bardu wonga, Manjinji wonga, and Ditu wonga.

Amongst the Bardu wonga and Ditu wonga tribes Thäruu (or Jaruru) takes the place of Paljari, and Ibarra of Banaka. Their class system is, therefore—

| Male. | Female. | Offspring. |
|------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| A. Boorong | = C. Kaimera | .. D. Thäruu |
| B. Ibarra | = D. Thäruu | .. C. Kaimera |
| C. Kaimera | = A. Boorong | .. B. Ibarra (ee'barra) |
| D. Thäruu | = B. Ibarra | .. A. Boorong |

The Manjinji wonga, east of Laverton, bring another change into the class names—Milanga taking the place of Kaimera, as follows:—

| Male. | Female. | Offspring. |
|------------|--------------|---------------|
| A. Boorong | = C. Milanga | .. D. Jaruru |
| B. Ibarra | = D. Jaruru | .. C. Milanga |
| C. Milanga | = A. Boorong | .. B. Ibarra |
| D. Jaruru | = B. Ibarra | .. A. Boorong |

The Manjinji, Bardu wonga, and Ditu wonga are in the spinifex area, the so-called "desert" interior, but the springs and water-holes in the territories of these people are numerous.

The Bardu wonga equivalent for totem is kordorm.

Some Bardu wonga kinship terms are as under (Boorong woman speaking)—

| |
|--|
| Thurduna—sister (Boorong). |
| Kurdali—brother (Boorong). |
| Mamana—father (Thäruu). |
| Yaguna—mother (Ibarra). |
| Kämuru—mother's brother (own) (Ibarra). |
| Wâbadhu—husband's father (Ibarra). |
| Ngunari—father's sister—(Thäruu). |
| Mardung'u—husband (Kaimera). |
| Wâjira, kardega—husband's brother (Kaimera). |
| Dhuari—husband's sister (Kaimera). |
| Kadha—daughter, son (Ibarra). |

I would direct attention to the similarity of these names Ibarra and Jaruru (or Thäruu) to the names given to two northern tribes—the Ibarra, whose territory is somewhere east or south-east of the Nyamel tribe, and the Jaruru, which was given me by some Hall's Creek native prisoners at Rottnest and elsewhere, as the name of their tribe. Why these tribal names should take the place of class names in the eastern division I could not discover but I hope some day to be able to journey by easy stages from the Bardu wonga tribe northward, deviating towards Hall's Creek, when probably I shall find why and where the names have been changed from tribe to class.

It would be impossible to accurately define the boundaries of the tribes possessing the above class system. The deviation of their line or route is apparent from the districts where the arrangement is found. The D, argari people, near Kennedy Range (neighbouring tribe on west, Ingara) apparently followed this system, and again at Mt. Clere, and Mt. Labouchere, the same system was followed, and at Lake Nabburn, Lake Darlot, Bates Range, Erlestoun, Laverton, and eastward into the spinifex country.

All these tribes practise circumcision and sub-incision. The totemic system of these tribes is somewhat more elaborate than that of the western uncircumcised tribes.

The Ngaiu wonga of the Yarnder district (Lake Way area) have the jimari, or cutting flint used in the initiation ceremonies, as their localized totem, and certain elder men amongst them can produce jimari at will from their stomachs! I possess two such jimari, one taken from the stomach of Jal, a Ngaiu wonga Boorong (Yarnder), and the other was produced from the stomach of Jin'guru, a Ngaiu wonga Kaimera, also from Yarnder.

These two men are ngäbari (brother-in-law relationship) to each other, and both decorated their miruda (small churinga of Spencer and Gillen) with their jimari kurdaru (totem). The mirudi varies in length from 2 or 3 inches to about 2 feet. The jimari markings are concentric squares or concentric rings. Other

mirudi belonging to Yarnder jimari totem men had transverse lines placed lozenge-wise on them, these markings representing the track of the maiamba jimari burna (maiamba totem ground). Maiamba may mean shrine, ancestral sacred spot, &c.

The long, flat, carved and pointed boards are called yinma, and these also have totemic markings on them. They are usually secreted, with the mirudi in some spot near the maiamba burna; and neither women nor uninitiated boys can see these implements.

The jimari totem does not appear to be confined to father and son moiety, as with the Ashburton totems. All the Ngaiu wonga men at Yarnder appear to have the jimari as their totem.

Stone mirudi with totem markings, are found in the spinifex area. A large stone mirudi in the Bardu wonga tribe is of oval shape, and is about 2 feet in length and over a foot in width. The eaglehawk (walau-uru) is the totem of some Jaruru-Boorong (fathers and sons) in the Bardu wonga tribe, and amongst these the term applied to their totem is miljibimi (finger nail), alluding to the claws of the bird. The bird's real name must not be mentioned. The real name of the animal or bird totem is not mentioned, but some attribute or function of the totem is used when speaking of it.

Totems throughout this area also seem to be localized, and all have "maiamba" kurdaru burna (totem ground). The maiamba spot, or ground (burna), may be a hill, a small, flat, cleared space, or a curiously shaped stone representative of the totem itself. There are maiamba kangaroo, maiamba emu, and maiamba lice, &c., &c., and the elders whose kurdaru (or totems) these are, and who are "mobburn" (sorcerers), can kill enemies with their totem magic—the lice totem man sends lice upon his enemy, the jimari totem man sends the jimari inside his foe, whose intestines are cut by the magic implement, and so on.

Possibly "maiamba" may hold a similar meaning to Spencer and Gillen's "alcheringa."

"Bilyunu," or infant betrothals, are customary in all these tribes.

Some kinship terms of the Ngaiu wonga tribe are as follow (Boorong woman speaking):—

Jurdaju—sister (Boorong).
 Kurdaju, boaju—older and younger brother (Boorong).
 Mamadhu—father (Paljari).
 Yago, yagoli—mother (Boorguloo).
 Kombarnu, kômuru—mother's brother (Boorguloo).
 Marajji—father's sister (own).
 Mardung—husband (Kaimera).
 Mardungu—husband's brother (Kaimera).
 Juari—husband's sister (Kaimera).
 Wâbi, ngumari—husband's mother (Paljari).
 Kadha—son, daughter.

These equivalents are also found amongst the Ngadha wonga and other Murchison tribes, whose class system differs from the Ngaiu wonga.

LOWER MURCHISON.

The class system of the Lower Murchison tribes resembles that of the Ashburton area, except in the substitution of the term Boorguloo in place of Banaka—

| | Male. | Female. | Offspring. |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| A. Boorong | = D. Paljari | .. C. Kaimera | .. C. Kaimera |
| B. Boorguloo | = C. Kaimera | .. D. Paljari | .. D. Paljari |
| C. Kaimera | = B. Boorguloo | .. A. Boorong | .. A. Boorong |
| D. Paljari | = A. Boorong | .. B. Boorguloo | .. B. Boorguloo |

The tribes following this system are: Wâjari (Uue, Nannine, Yalgoo, Mt. Magnet, Nookawarra, &c.), Ngadha wonga (Meekatharra, Peak Hill, &c.), Waian wonga (Thaduna district partly), Ngaiu wonga north (north of Wiluna, Lake Way, &c.), Ngaja wonga or Jargurdi (east of Peak Hill, about), Kurdu wonga (Mt. Gould, north-west of Robinson Ranges, Peak Hill district), Wir-dinya (north-east of Teano district, north of Peak Hill), &c.

Most of these tribes are contiguous to those of the Upper Murchison, whose intermarrying pairs are Boorong-Kaimera and Paljari-Boorguloo.

Their totem system is similar to that of their Upper Murchison neighbours. Cross-cousin marriages are forbidden. Bilyunu (early betrothals) are customary.

Ceremonies for the increase of the totem are performed on the maiamba kurdaru burna, and certain totems belong to the father and son moieties (Boorong-Kaimera and Paljari-Boorguloo).

In the "border" tribes, so to speak, members frequently intermarry with the tribes whose class systems differ from theirs, and I have occasionally met a Boorong man with both Kaimera and Paljari wives, both "marriages" being correct in the different tribes from which he obtained his women.

Some Boorong men of the Wajari tribe gave sisters to Ngaiu wonga Kaimera men in exchange for their Kaimera sisters; the Wajari Boorong having, therefore, a Wâjari-Paljari wife and a Ngaiu wonga Kaimera wife. In the Wâjari district the Ngaiu wonga Kaimera woman entered the Paljari division, and in the Ngaiu wonga district the Wâjari-Paljari wife became a Kaimera.

I am of opinion that such exchanges could not have occurred in the old days without some punishment following, as, although the Yarnder Ngaiu wonga had "trade highways" from time immemorial to the Wajari district, the confusion of kinship relations which such unions would bring with them would have prevented the tribes from indulging in the practice.

Up to the present I cannot find any meaning attached to the class names, though most of the tribal names have meanings. A few of these will suffice—

Ngau wonga (ngau, I; wonga, speech).

Ngadha wonga (ngadha, I; wonga, speech).

Bardu wonga (bardu, blood, blood-drinking; or bādu, no).

Tēma (tēn, dead).

Jargurdi (jargurdi, netted bag made from spinifex fibre).

Wājari (waji, no).

Wirdinya (wirdi, 'no,' 'lie,' 'pearlshell').

Nyul nyul nganga (nyul-nyul, snake; nganga, speech).

Barda nganga (barda, sea beach; nganga, speech).

In the fear that my paper has even already become unusually lengthy, I will not extend it further, and will, therefore, leave the interesting social organization of the Southern Cross, Northampton district, south-western, and southern tribes to some future occasion.

The Eucla division has not yet been touched by the inquiring ethnological student, and I am, therefore, happy to say that I leave for that area very shortly, and will remain a year partly within and partly beyond the border of Western and South Australia, where I shall obtain first-hand information. My adoption into the Boorong division of the north, and the Manitchmat of the south and south-west is, I find, my passport into all tribes.

As steamer communication with Eucla only takes place quarterly, I shall be practically out of civilization for the next year, but I hope to do some good work in that time.

I hope this paper has conveyed some little idea of the intensely interesting subject of these Western aborigines, whom I have made my special study during the past twelve years, and over whose wonderful customs, laws, ceremonies, &c., I am even more enthusiastic now than when I began my investigations. The late Dr. Andrew Lang was revising the *History of the Native Tribes of Western Australia*, which I had compiled for the Government of this State, and the book is, therefore, still in manuscript, as Dr. Lang had not completed his revision when his lamented death took place. The book was intended to have been published by the Western Australian Government, but the question of expense intervened, and the MS. has now been handed over to me to publish.

The MS. will have to be almost entirely reconstructed on lines laid down by the late Dr. Lang, but I am pleased to say that some Oxford and Cambridge ethnologists have most kindly offered to revise and edit the book, voluntarily offering their services on the death of my learned friend and kindly helper. I hope within the next year to be able to add to my MS. the social organization of the Eucla and Central divisions.