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SOCIAL ORGANISATION

MURCHISON TRIBES

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

MURCHISON DISTRICT

MARRIAGE LAWS OF MURCHISON TRIBES

<u>Wajari</u>	Kaimera = Paljari =	Burgulu Burangu
<u>Ngadawonga</u>	Kaimera = Paljari =	Burgulu Burangu
<u>Waianwonga</u>	Kaimera = Paljari =	Burgulu Burangu
<u>Ngaiuwonga (north)</u>	Kaimera = Paljari =	Burgulu or Banaka Burangu
<u>Ngajawonga or Jargurdi</u>	Kaimera = Paljari =	Banaka Burangu
<u>Kurduwonga</u>	Kaimera = Paljari =	Burgulu Burangu
<u>Wiridinya</u>	Kaimera = Paljari =	Banaka Burangu
<u>Yenawonga</u>	Kaimera = Paljari =	Banaka Burangu
<u>Ngadariwonga</u>	Kaimera = Paljari =	Burgulu Burangu
<u>Kurilawonga</u>	Kaimera = Paljari =	Burgulu or Banaka Burangu
<u>Nyanawonga</u>	Kaimera = Paljari =	Burgulu Burangu
<u>Ngargawonga</u>	Kaimera = Paljari =	Burangu Burgulu
<u>Nugarn wonga, Bilili, Mili mili</u>	Kaimera = Paljari =	Burangu Burgulu
<u>Nangawonga (E. of Lake Way)</u>	Kaimera = Jarprui =	Burangu Burgulu
<u>Ngaiuwonga (south)</u>	Kaimera = Jaruru =	Burangu Burgulu
<u>Wurdan'gara, N.E. of Lake Way)</u>	Kaimera = Paljari =	Burangu Burgulu
<u>Baduwonga</u>	Kaimera = Jaruru =	Burangu Burgulu
<u>Nganawonga</u>	Kaimera = Paljari =	Banaka or Burangu Burgulu
<u>Yirawonga</u>	Kaimera = Jaruru =	Burangu Burgulu ?

Informants = Inya, Ngaji, Nya-in, Biara, Bajiwala, Witiga.

Womburu stated Burangu and Banaka were one here. Witiga is

Banaka or Burangu, and Biara is Banaka or Burangu.

MEANING OF TRIBAL NAMES

The meaning of these tribal names may be taken from the words they represent in the dialects which are here appended.

Wajari	Waji = no.	Murchison
Ngadawonga	Ngada = I, me	"
Waianwonga	Waian wonga = do not speak	L. Nabaru dialect (see Bilbil)
Ngajawonga	Ngaja or ngaija = I	Murchison (upper)
Jargurdi	Jargurdi = netted bag made of fibre string or spinifex	Central
Kurduwonga	Kurdu = head Kutuwana = opphaned country	Wirdinya dialect Murchison
Wirdinya	Wirdi = pearlshell? lie? no? wirda = honey bag ant	Lower Murchison
Yenawonga	Yena = to go, or quickly go	
Ngargawonga	?	
Ngadariwonga	Ngadari = we? all of us?	
Kurila wonga	Kurili = dance where exchange of women takes place or kurila = quickly	
Nugarn wonga	Nugarn = S.E., S. or S.W. from Meekatharra	
Nyanawonga	Nyanaa to go	
Baduwonga	Badu = thigh, or blood drinking	
Ngaijuwonga	Ngaiyu = I	Lake Way, New England
Yira wonga	Yira = teeth	N.E. New England
Ijaganda wonga	Ijaganda = nail	
Kuriwonga	Kuri = quickly	
Nganawonga	Ngana = what? what is it? I?	
Nganga wonga	Nganga = temple	

IRREGULAR MARRIAGES

It will be noticed in the Tables that although the marriage laws change, there was no change in the descent of the offspring. Irregular marriages were found in practically every genealogy submitted, but whatever the irregularity of the marriage, the child entered the class into which it would have gone had its mother married "straight". The law of descent appeared to be unaltered amongst all the tribes investigated; a Burangu woman had Burgulu children and vice versa and a Kaimera woman had Paljari children and vice versa, and no irregular marriage of the parents interfered with the descent of the child, nor did such marriage appear to interfere with the kinship, as whatever the marriage, the woman and her offspring were apparently addressed by their proper kinship term. The offspring of irregular or cross marriages also held their proper kinship with their mother. They were always her kada (children) but their father sometimes applied the class kinship term and not the parental; they were not his kada.

For instance, if a Burgulu man married a Burangu woman and she was his yaguli, her children by him entered the Burgulu class and were boaju (young brother) or kurdaji to him. Similarly with Kaimera and Paljari unions. Should a Kaimera man marry a Burangu woman who was his maraiji in a district where Kaimera and Burgulu formed the marrying pairs, the offspring of such marriage entered the Burgulu class and became the ngabariju and juariju of their father. They were the kaja or kada of their mother.

Should, however, the members of the adjoining tribe have Kaimera and Burangu as their intermarrying pair, the Kaimera man could claim the parentage of the children of his wrong marriage by entering the neighbouring tribe, and betrothing his female offspring to some member of that tribe who would be a Paljari or T'aruru as the case might be.

He could also if he were strong or cunning, compromise for his wrong marriage in his own tribe, by giving his daughter to a Kaimera kami, a Paljari kamuru or kombarnu (mother's brother)

or some other relative, either of his own, or his wife's family. By giving his Burgulu daughter to a Paljari man, he continued the irregularity of his own marriage, in his own tribe.

I may mention here that I was given now and again the following classes and the intermarrying pairs of these, the district in which they are supposed to obtain being beyond the Wirdinya :-

Paljari = Burgulu

Kaimera = Banaka

The class Burangu does not appear in this division. Such information came from the districts north, Nor^West and northeast of the Wirdinya area.

Witiga (m.), Nguilbu (m.), Bilbalalbu (f.), Bangat-bangal (m.) Inyao (f.) at Bajiwala (f.), Biara (f.), Nyā-in (f.) stated that a Burgulu woman had Banaka children and vice versa. Kaimera and Paljari appeared to stand as in the other tribes. As however each of my informants told me at various times that "Banaka and Burangu were all the same," and that "Banaka and Burgulu were all the same", it is only necessary to mention that such arrangements of the classes had been given me, the classes coming from a district not yet personally investigated.

The genealogies of these three people were afterwards corrected or amended by several of their relatives in the Peak Hill and Meekatharra camps. If such arrangement comes into the northern divisions it will open up an interesting subject for inquiry. It is somewhere in the neighbourhood north or northwest of the Wirdinya that Burgulu takes the place of Banaka, and it is in the neighbourhood north or northeast of the Wirdinya that Ībarrga as a class name comes in, also Tharruru; Jarruru is the name of a tribe in Hall's Creek district.

Children of Irregular Marriages

It is usual for the offspring of an irregular marriage to be given to or adopted by their mother's brother, who with their mother may betroth (bilyunu) them to men of their own choice, for no matter what the class of the child's father may be, his mother is always his yagoju, and her brother is her kamuru or komuru, or kombarnu.

There appear, so far as present investigation had extended, to be no other words expressive of the relationship between the male parent and his offspring by a wrong marriage, other than the kinship term applied to the members of the class into which the child enters. The child will call his male parent (by a wrong marriage) mamadu, and the father may allude to the boy or girl as his kada, but the boy enters the class to which he is entitled through his mother, and the kinship term applied to her son is given him.

(See previous list - this has addition of locality)

<u>Tribelet</u>	<u>Law of Marriage</u>	<u>Locality (approx.)</u>
Ngad,awonga	Kaimera = Burgulu Paljari = Burangu	Meekatharra, Peak Hill, Mt. Maitland
Wiridinya wonga	Kaimera = Banaka Paljari = Burangu	Kundra and Teano areas, Windell part of
Yenawonga	Kaimera = Banaka Paljari = Burangu	North of Mt. Leake (Robinson Ranges)
Ngagawonga	Kaimera = Banaka Paljari = Burangu	Towards Jibungana, Wandierang, Wilgoonah, & south branch of Gascoyne.
Ngargawonga or Ijagundiwonga	Kaimera = Burangu Paljari = Burgulu	Between Nungamurra Pool, Jibunganna Pool and Calyie Hills
Wad,ari wonga	Kaimera = Burangu Paljari = Burgulu	Nannine, Cue, etc. Neokawarra up towards Milguin
Kurduwonga	Kaimera = Burgulu Paljari = Burangu	Nangamara Pool, Gascoyne R. towards Mt. Labouchere (Malbia) & along river towards Jigaji Creek (a trib. of Gascoyne), towards Tchugariera (Mt. Clere)
Ngad,ari wonga	Kaimera = Burgulu Paljari = Burangu	West of Meekatharra between Wajari S. & Kurduwonga N.
Ngaiuwonga	Kaimera = Burgulu (or Banaka) Paljari = Burangu	Balju Springs, Mt. Alice (Murchison watershed)
Baraganwonga or Ngagawonga or Waianwonga	Kaimera = Banaka Paljari = Burgulu	Jibungana, Bathemurnana Hill towards Wilgoonah
Ngaiawonga	Kaimera = Burangu Paljari = Burgulu	Yarnder, L. Way dist. Wilurnu, Wiluna dist. towards Lawlers.
Marduwonga or Wajari	Kaimera = Burangu Paljari = Burgulu (or pald,ari)	Milyura Creek N. of Wajari, W. of Ngadawonga
Waianwonga	Kaimera = Burgulu Paljari = Burangu	Yauerina, Taduna & towards L. Nabberu district also towards Edingunna spring.
Ngaladi wonga or Ngalari wonga or Kulili wonga	Kaimera = Burgulu Paljari = Burangu	N.E. of the Gap and Marsh, where the jargurdi are.
Karada wonga or Kuri wonga or wajari	Kaimera = Burgulu Paljari = Burangu	Biringarra Stn. & Mt. Matthew, nr. Milly milly Stn.
Kurila wonga	Kaimera = Burgulu Paljari = Burangu	Orilba, Yirgareri, between Mt. Gould & Mt. Clere, N. of Kuruwonga.

(cont.)
Tribelet

Marriage Law

Locality

Nugarn wonga or Ngad,awonga	Kaimera = Burangu Paljari = Burgulu	Southwest of Meekatharra.
"Barndiwonga" or Nugarnwonga or Ngad,awonga	Kaimera = Burangu Paljari = Burgulu	South of Meekatharra & S.W. "
Wurdangura wonga	Kaimera = Burgulu Paljari = Burangu	N. and N.East of Mt. Clere and Mt. Gould, etc.
Jargurdi wonga? or D,argurdi wonga? or Ngajawonga	Kaimera = Banaka Paljari = Burangu	The Gap and Marsh
"Kauar nyina" wonga or "Kauai"wonga, or "Migara" wonga or "Maianyina" wonga or Ngad,awonga	Kaimera = Burgulu Paljari = Burangu	Mt. Taylor district Murchison R.
Ngabala wonga and Waianwonga	Kaimera = Burgulu Pad-jari = Burangu	Wonyalgana Hill, Jedinya Pool, Towards Glover Tabletop
Ngad,ari wonga and Kurduwonga	Kaimera = Burgulu Paljari = Burangu	Malbia (Mt. Labouchere) and towards Mt. Arapiles
Nuguru wonga or Waianwonga	Kaimera = Banaka Paljari = Burangu	Mibin, Edingunna Spring etc.
Ngajawonga and Wurdangura	Kaimera = Burangu Jaruru = Burgulu	Gascoyne R. Jigaji creek etc.
Burdongura wonga or Nyanawonga	Kaimera = Burgulu Paljari = Burangu	North of Peak Hill, towards Murnang-yanna.
Ngaiawonga	Kaimera = Burangu Jaruru = Burgulu	E. & S. & S.S.E. of L. Way, also L. Way, Lawlers, etc.
Barduwonga or Ngaiyuwonga	Kaimera = Burangu Jaruru = Burgulu	Between L. Way (Yander) and Lawlers (Wargubirdi)
Nanawonga	Kaimera = Burangu Jaruru = Burgulu	North and N.E. of Lake Way
"Madiagai" "Mägumaia" or Wad,ari wonga or Wajari wonga	Kaimera = Burgulu Paljari = Burangu	Nannine, Cue, Austin, Anneean, etc., Mt. Farmer, Gabanintha, Gum Creek, etc.
Yira wonga	Kaimera = Burangu Taruru = Burgulu	Red Knob, Red Point, ngama holes, N.E. Nigara creek, and N.E. of L.Way

(A similar account occurs in III 5f, iv (from Notebook 7b, P. 136)

This is a later copy, with additions.

Mimbilyongu has been given NGABUJA, by Walgalburdi (a Burangu).
According to Mimbil, a Kaimera, Walgalburdi's marriage is wrong.
Mimbil calls Walgalburdi maraiji.

" " Ngungo-ngungo, a Paljari, kurda.

Nyirdi, a Paljari, calls Walgalburdi, a Burangu, kungari.

Ngungo-ngungo, Nyirdi calls kombarnu.

Nyirdi calls Ngabuja, Banaka, mamadu.

Ngabuja, Banaka, calls Kundilyan ngabaju. K. a Kaimera, is Ngungo-
ngungo's mother.

Mimbil (Kaimera) calls Kundilyan yagoju.

Jinalada, a Paljari, calls Walgalburdi, a Burangu, juari, and W.
calls Jinalada, a Paljari, juari.

Mimbil calls Nyirdi, a Paljari, boaju.

Nginder, Banaka, calls Jinalada, Paljari, maraiju. J. calls Ng.
balyongu.

Jinalada, Paljari, calls Ngangongungo, a Paljari, kombarniju.
Ngangongungo calls J. baldongu.

Jinalada calls Ngabuja, Banaka, balongu.

Jinalada calls Dirgarn, Banaka, Gammi, Banaka and Bigurda, Banaka, b
balongu.

Jinalada, a Paljari, calls me (a Burong) mulonguin.

Mimbilyongu, a Kaimera, calls me mango (sister-in-law).

Jinalada's people married as under :-

Paljari = Burangu
Kaimera = Burgulu

Mimbilyongu's people's marriage laws were :-

Kaimera = Burangu
Paljari = Burgulu.

Note : Nearly all Jinalada's and Mimbilyongu's people have
married wrong, hence the mixed relationships.

Ngardinya - Burgulu and Banaka call each other.

Marula - brothers (not own).

MARRIAGE LAWS

Broome and Beagle Bay, Derby, Roeburne

Male		Female		Offspring
A. Boorong	=	B. Banaka	=	C. Kaimera
B. Banaka	=	A. Boorong	=	D. Paljeri
C. Kaimera	=	D. Paljeri	=	A. Boorong
D. Paljeri	=	C. Kaimera	=	B. Banaka

Gascoyne district

A. Boorong	=	C. Kaimera	=	D. Paljeri
B. Boergooloo	=	D. Paljeri	=	C. Kaimera
C. Kaimera	=	A. Boorong	=	B. Boergooloo
D. Paljeri	=	B. Boergooloo	=	A. Boorong

Ashburton district, Talainji

A. Boorong	=	D. Paljeri	=	C. Kaimera
B. Banaka	=	C. Kaimera	=	D. Paljeri
C. Kaimera	=	B. Banaka	=	A. Boorong
D. Paljeri	=	A. Boorong	=	B. Banaka

Murchison district (Wajari)

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A. Boorong	=	D. Paljeri	=	C. Kaimera
B. Boergooloo	=	C. Kaimera	=	D. Paljeri
C. Kaimera	=	B. Boergooloo	=	A. Boorong
D. Paljeri	=	A. Boorong	=	B. Boergooloo

Lake Way district (Ngaiawonga)

A. Boorong	=	C. Kaimera	=	D. Paljeri
B. Boergooloo	=	D. Paljeri	=	C. Kaimera
C. Kaimera	=	A. Boorong	=	B. Boergooloo
D. Paljeri	=	B. Boergooloo	=	A. Boorong

District North-east of Laverton (Barduwonga)

A. Boorong	=	C. Kaimera	=	D. Tharrooroo
B. Ibarrga	=	D. Tharrooroo	=	C. Kaimera
C. Kaimera	=	A. Boorong	=	B. Ibarrga
D. Tharrooroo	=	B. Ibarrga	=	A. Boorong

District South of Laverton (Manjinji?)

A. Boorong	=	C. Meelanga	=	D. Tharrooroo
B. Ibarrga	=	D. Tharrooroo	=	C. Meelanga
C. Meelanga	=	A. Boorong	=	B. Ibarrga
D. Tharrooroo	=	B. Ibarrga	=	A. Boorong

Eastern Goldfields, Edjudina, etc.

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A. Boorong	=	C. Kaimera	=	D. Tharrooroo
B. Boorgooloo	=	D. Tharrooroo	=	C. Kaimera
C. Kaimera	=	A. Boorong	=	B. Boorgooloo
D. Tharrooroo	=	B. Boorgooloo	=	A. Boorong

Southern Cross District

A. Beerungoomat	=	Beerungoomat	=	B. Joowuk
B. Joowuk	=	Joowuk	=	A. Beerungoomat

Southern District, Bibbul

A. Manitch	=	B. Wordung	=	A. Manitch
B. Wordung	=	A. Manitch	=	B. Wordung

Southwestern District, Bibbul and Yabarn

	m.		f.	
Didarruk)	Tondarup	=	Ballaruk or Nagarnuk
Manitch)			
Tondarup)	Didarruk	=	Ballaruk or Nagarnuk
Ballaruk or Nagarnuk	=	Tondarup or Didarruk		
Nagarnuk or Ballaruk	=	" " "		

Children follow Mother

All these are decadent groups, beginning from the "offshoots" of Broome area who first broke the straight laws.

Waianwonga at Wonvalgunya

A. Boorong = D. Paljeri = C. Kaimera
 B. Boergooloo = C. Kaimera = D. Paljeri
 C. Kaimera = B. Boergooloo = A. Boorong
 D. Paljeri = A. Boorong = E. Boergooloo

The Wirdinya or Jargurdi tribe seem to have no Boorong.

The classes appear to be either :

A. Banaka = C. Kaimera = D. Paljeri
 B. Boergooloo = D. Paljeri = C. Kaimera
 C. Kaimera = A. Banaka = B. Boergooloo
 D. Paljeri = B. Boergooloo = A. Banaka

or :

A. Boorong = C. Kaimera = D. Paljeri
 B. Boergooloo = D. Paljeri = C. Kaimera
 C. Kaimera = A. Boorong = B. Boergooloo
 D. Paljeri = B. Boergooloo = A. Boorong

or :

A. Boorong = D. Paljeri = C. Kaimera
 B. Banaka = C. Kaimera = D. Paljeri
 C. Kaimera = B. Banaka = A. Boorong
 D. Paljeri = A. Boorong = B. Banaka

Wirdinya =

Tuckanarra

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Boorongoo = Paljeri

Kaimera = Boergooloo

Kaimera = Banaka

Paljeri = Boorangoo

East of Lake Way

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A. Boorong = C. Kaimera = D. Jarrocroo
 B. Boergooloo = D. Jarrocroo = C. Kaimera
 C. Kaimera = A. Boorong = B. Boergooloo
 D. Jarrocroo = B. Boergooloo = A. Boorong

Talu

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Burangoo and Kaimera	Kajardu (rainmaker)	Ngajuri, rain	Burong or Kaimera
Banaka	Wariera		
		Ngalguji	Kaimera
	Wud'ad'a (baidi)		
Paljeri	Waliri (turkey)	Wilari, turkey	Paljeri
Paljeri and Banaka	Kajalbu, emu		
	Waiera	Nyarlu	Banaka
Banaka or Paljeri	Yauaji	Nyarlu	"
	Yau, snake?	Nyardu	
Banaka	Wardira	Wirdari	

Bilana may be talu of Kaimera and Burangoo

Increase of Talu is made at certain spots at Miran', emu, at Yauerdagi and Bibingi, also at Medhering. Bilana, rain.

Bilana thalu with seed

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At Bibingi Pool, Medhering Pool, Ngaraguldhu (Bungurdi thalu, Talaingi people), Kajalba thalu at Jambogudhu and Mulyurana?

Where are these and who Burduna? and by Wariaru Banaka and Paljeri Yagarongu Pool (Burduna) turkey talu.

Waiari and Ngadawonga, Meekatharra

A. Burongu = D. Paljeri = C. Kaimera
 B. Burgulu = C. Kaimera = D. Paljeri
 C. Kaimera = B. Burgulu = A. Burongu
 D. Paljeri = A. Burongu = B. Burgulu

Ashburton district

A. Boorong = D. Paljeri = C. Kaimera
 B. Banaka = C. Kaimera = D. Paljeri
 C. Kaimera = B. Banaka = A. Boorong
 D. Paljeri = A. Boorong = B. Banaka

Phratries of the Talainji, etc.*Relayed*

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Paljeri and Banaka	Wariara (emu-Kajalbu)	Ngogoji (emu-Kajalbu) Burduna and Dargari tribe
Paljeri and Banaka	Waliri (pardura=turkey) and fire	Wilari or Widari (pardura) Baiang and Burduna
Boorong and Kaimera	Kajardu (Bungurdi, kangaroo)	Ngajuri (Bungurdi) Talainji
Banaka and Paljeri	Kajardu (Bilana=rain)	Ngajuri (Bilana) Talainji
Kaimera and Boorong	Mirdirba (Jiriwari and Kangalda, lizard and root)	Ngalguji (Jiriwari) Burduna

PHRATRIES OF THE TALAINJI, etc.

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	
Paljeri and Banaka	Wariara (emu-Kajalbu)	Ngogoji (emu-Kajalbu)	<u>Burduna and Dargari tribe</u>
Paljeri and Banaka	Waliri (pardura=turkey and fire)	Wilari or Widari (pardura)	<u>Baiang and Burduna</u>
Boorong and Kaimera	Kajardu (bungurdi=kangaroo)	Ngajuri	(bungurdi) <u>Talainji</u>
Banaka and Paljeri	Kajardu (bilana=rain)	Ngajuri	(bilana) <u>Talainji</u>
Kaimera and Boorong	Mirdirba (jiriwari and kang-alda, lizard and root)	Ngalguji	(jiriwari) <u>Burduna</u>
Banaka and Paljeri	Yirrgu (yirrgu=hill roots)	Girbiji	(yirrgu) <u>Talainji</u>
Paljeri and Banaka	Wiarrji (warida or wardau-era, eaglehawk)	Mambulu	(warrida) <u>Talainji and Burduna</u>
Kaimera and Boorong	Waliri (jirdara=iguana)	Wirdara	(jirdara) <u>Burduna</u>
Kaimera and Boorong	Yau (kaju=snake and seed)	Nyarlu	(kaju) <u>Burduna</u>
Paljeri and Banaka	Wadiri (pardura)	Widari	(parduna) <u>Baiungu</u>
Kaimera and Boorong	Yau (kardan, kadurdu = seed)	Nyardu	(kardan) <u>Burduna</u>
Boorong and Kaimera	Kajardu (wong-nguru, mad'a, wilaguru, seeds)	Ngajuri	(wonguru) <u>Talainji</u>
Boorong and Kaimera	Yau (madarongu=seed and rain)	Nyardu	(madarongu) <u>Burduna</u>
Boorong and Kaimera	Yauiji (wongana=duck)	Nyarlo	(wongana) <u>D'argari</u>
Banaka and Paljeri	Kajardu (nganmari=duck, baurda, kardan = seed)	Ngajuri	(nganmari) <u>Talainji</u>
	Kurdarda (?)	Ingarda (?)	

Some possible marriages in the above Phratries :-

Bungurdi man can take Barduru woman and vice versa.

Kajardu man can take Wirdari woman " " "

Yauiji man can take Ngogoji woman " " "

Burduna word, Dauerari = totem

Parduru may not take Kajalbu. He can take bungurdi.

Warianga, near Lyons, Badu, Tenma, Burduna, Talainji, Dargari, near Warianga.

Some possible marriages in Phratries. These are all doubtful, though they may at one time have confined their marriages, thus decadence was all over Western Australia and there were no straight unions in any group.

<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>	
Wariara	(emu)	Ngalguji	(lizard)
Kajardu	(seed)	Girbiji	(roots)
Kajardu	(rain and seed)	Mambulu	(eaglehawk)
Waliri	(turkey)	Wirdari	(jirdara, iguana)
Waliri	"	Nyarlu	(snake)
Yirrgu	(roots)	Nyarlu	"
Kajardu	(rain)	Nyarlu	"
Wariara	(emu)	Nyarlu	"
Kajardu	(nganmari and seed)	Nyardu	(seed)
Wariara	(emu)	Nyardu	" and rain
Kajardu	(nganmari and seed)	Ngalguji	(lizard)
Waliri	(turkey)	Ngalguji	"
Mirdirba	(jiriwari and seed)	Ngajuri	(nganmari)
Waliri	(turkey, kangalda, root)	Ngajuri	(bungurdi)
Waliri	(turkey and fire)	Ngajuri	(rain)
Wariara	(emu)	Wilari	(turkey)
Kajardu	(wong-nguru, etc., seeds)	Ngogoji	(emu)
Kajardu	(seeds)	Wilari	(turkey and fire)
Yauiji	(duck)	Ngajuri	(rain)
Yauiji	(duck)	Ngogoji	(emu)