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TOTEMS

Murchison District

Note : In the following account, the word for "totem"
has been mis-spelt; "n" should be substituted
for final "u" : kordorn is correct form.

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The initial difficulty facing an inquirer into the more sacred and secret customs of the natives is the ever-lessening numbers of those by whom such ceremonies were constantly practised, and from whom reliable information might be gathered. Disease, drink and that nameless "atmosphere" surrounding the white man, within which the native apparently cannot live, are yearly lessening the aboriginal population, so that to obtain information which would be absolutely reliable, one should visit districts well beyond the pale of civilisation, where the rites and ceremonies of the days before the white man's coming, are still carried out in their entirety, uncontaminated by outside influences.

Every function of native life had its attendant ceremony, and amongst all tribes there were certain "elders" whose familiarity with the customary procedure to be followed in the practice of the various rites, gave them the leading part in the performance of these functions.

These men were not "chiefs" of their tribe; but in nearly all cases where they were the performers in the more sacred or important ceremonies, they were the possessors of "supernatural power", or as the natives say, they were mobarn (magic or magicians) and as such were held in fear and consequent respect.

Of all the important functions connected with native life, that of increasing or regulating the supply of food comes first, and in order that the supply shall not diminish and that there will always be a sufficiency for all, and to ensure that each variety of food shall be plentiful in its season, the wise men who were amongst the forefathers of the aborigines have instituted a system by which the native food products are regulated in their consumption and are apportioned so effectively, that the balance is kept even and no one food becomes scarcer or more plentiful than another, for each food appears to have its "guardian" or "guardians" whose function it is to maintain its increase by magical practices, and to keep it at its due level for the consumption of those who are allowed under the same system to partake of it.

This system is called Totemism, the word being taken from the dialect of the Ojibeway Indians who also pursued some such system in their daily lives. A "totem" is supposed to be some animal, bird or natural object between which, and the person whose totem it is, a mysterious kinship exists, so that a man who has the emu as his totem, has a peculiar kinship with that bird, and can bring about its increase whenever he desires by the performance of certain magical practices or by simply taking it out of his stomach, where, according to some beliefs, an indefinite supply of the totem is magically stored.

The West Australian system of Totemism appears to differ essentially from that of other parts of Australia in that in most parts of the West, a man, say of the emu or kangaroo totem, can eat his totem, whereas in other countries, the totem of a man is absolutely forbidden to him. He brings its increase, but only for other people.

In the very short time afforded for investigation in the Upper Murchison, the totems and "familiar" of the natives could not be gone into as thoroughly as was desirable. There are three terms, expressive of that something which a man possesses, which is part of his being, which is "inside him", as the natives say, and which, amongst the Murchison people, belongs to him always - these terms are kordaru, ngalungu and kada or kaja. Kordaru are generally inherited, but they may also be given by a father to his tribal son, and in the case of irregular marriages they may be given by a mother's brother of the boy. A boy inherits a malu (kangaroo), bardura (turkey) or yalgu (blood) and the word kordaru will be uttered to and before him with the explanation of his duties in connection with the kordaru that is inside him, the restrictions placed upon him with regard to the eating of his kordary, and with his latent powers to bring the increase of the kordaru.

The term ngalungu cannot be mentioned before an uninitiated boy or girl, for this term is not only used in reference to the plant, animal etc., given the boy at his initiation, but it also used towards the person or persons who conducted the principal

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part of the initiation ceremony. These persons are known as girgi and yulaji respectively. Girgi appears to be the name applied to the man who sits on the boy's chest and performs the actual operation, and yulaji is the term used towards those older ngabari whose bodies are used to form the couch or table upon which the boy is placed, or to those who hold the hands and feet of the boy. The girgi is always the ngalungu of the boy, but all the yulaji may not become his ngalungu.

(I witnessed the meeting - after a long absence - between two ngalungu, one of whom had taken a principle part in the initiation of the other. The ngalungu approached each other and each placed his arms round his ngalungu, clasping him closely to his breast. The elder ngalungu then blew into the younger one's ear and mouth, the younger doing the same after his elder ngalungu had finished. They remained clasped together for a little time, and then separated, the elder going over to some old men amongst whom he sat, the younger returning to his own camp. These ngalungu were ngabari to each other.)

Kada or kaja, meaning children, is used when speaking of young of the animals by the men whose kordaru the older animals are.

The kordaru are generally of an edible nature and must be magically increased periodically. Whether it be turkey, kangaroo or emu, it is always "inside" its owner. All the natives interrogated agreed about this, and he brings its increase in various ways.

It appears that certain members of local groups have certain animal kordaru and that there are also special places on their grounds where they must resort to obtain an increase in the supply of their kordaru. Certain curiously or even ordinarily shaped stones in these places have a name applied to them which somewhat associates them with the alcheringa of the Central Australian natives, described by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen. These stones are called maiamba, and the kordaru they are supposed to represent have this term prefixed to them. They are maiamba emu, maiamba kangaroo, maiamba opossum, maiamba lizard, etc., and a man or men, for there may be several yalabiri or

or other kordaru whose kordaru the yalabiri (emu) is, must journey to the place where the maiamba yalabiri "sits down" and there go through the traditional practices for the increase of the yalabiri. The districts where these maiamba animals or birds are, are called "emu country", "kangaroo country", and so on (yalabiri barna, malu barna, etc.).

Also, it appears to be only amongst certain classes in each group that the various kordaru are distributed, the members of these classes only having the right to make the increase.

For instance, at Yulbari and Wogari, N.E. or N. of Lake Nabberu, the country was called malu barna (kangaroo country). Yambirin a Jaruru (Paljeri) had the malu as his kordaru and in a certain place in his district there was a maiamba malu (stone kangaroo) and Yambirin and other members of his group, and his Burangu sons who were malu kordaru, journeyed to the maiambamalu, at certain periods of the year, and there performed ceremonies for the increase of the kangaroo.

Yambirin is long dead, but his daughter Winmi, who is a Burangu and who has also the malu as her kordaru, stated that her fathers and brothers went to the maiamba malu, and struck it with the spears (kuilba), miros and kandi (clubs) which those who desired the increase of malu food had given them. By striking the maiamba malu with these, all the kangaroo that were hidden inside came out and spread over the country. Winmi was stated to have the power to make the increase, now that her father was dead.

At Jimindinya there is also a maiamba malu for whose increase some Burangu fathers and their sons who were malu kordaru and who belonged to the district were responsible. I was informed however that the Jimindinya malu kordaru were all dead.

Malbia, near Mt. Labouchere, was also malu barna and D'abidi, a malu kordaru, was one of the last men to bring the increase of malu at Malbia.

The malu kordaru of Wogari and Yulbari were of the Burangu-Paljeri society, the intermarrying pairs in that district being as under :-
 Kaimera = Burangu
 Paljeri = Burgulu

The malu kordaru were therefore "fathers and sons".

The following pools and camping places were malu barna. They comprised part of the run of some local families, some of whose members were malu kordaru. These malu kordary are also said to be all dead.

Mili (ngama hole), Birawil (pool in creek), Malabaria (hill with pool), Hgaludanu (hill with pool), Bulanambirdi, Ngalainga (maiamba malu at this spot), Wardubi, Karain, Ilbagaia (maiamba also here), Karain, Kandimarda, Burdajina, Wira wira, Jandi ā wi, Yalguruwil, Kudurdu, Yirilya, Kurda, Mirujindal (big spring in rock), Warguli, Mulu mardu, Burndal, Karari, Burlanu.

These pools are partly in the Wadari area.

Mardonguyuara (Meekatharra district) was bardura barna and some Paljeri and Burgulu belonging to the local families were bardura kordaru, but now that the Mardonggayuara inhabitants are all dead, there can be no increase made in the turkey supply and the turkeys of that district, according to the natives, are dying out "because they have no kordaru to make them come."

The Meekatharra marrying pairs were :-

- Kaimera = Burgulu
- Paljari = Burangu

Besides the Paljari-Burangu malu kordaru who belonged to Jimindinya, there were also some Kaimera and Burgulu of the local families who were bigurda (rock kangaroo) kordaru, and who brought the increase of bigurda periodically. It was not stated whether there was a maiamba bigurda at Jimindinya as well as the maiamba malu there. No native could be found in any of the camps visited belonging to Jimindinya who was capable of giving reliable information.

The yalabiri kordaru belonging to Yalamura (Peak Hill) journeyed to the maiamba yalabiri to make the increase. Jina, a Yalamara Paljari, was the last Yalamura yalabiri kordaru, but he has been dead some time and there are no other yalabiri kordaru belonging to the district.

Ngalbuna, near Lake Nabberu, was also yalabiri barna, and some of the Paljari and Burgulu of the Waianwonga local families were

stated to have been yalabiri kordaru and to have periodically journeyed to the rockhole at Ngalbuna where the emus "sat down". They took with them gifts of weapons from those who desired them to make the increase, and they broke these or struck them upon the rock beside the waterhole and in this way all the emus were "liberated", "let loose", or "came out", or emanated from the performers, a great number going towards the barna of the givers of weapons, etc., who were thus enabled to catch emus easily. Wiluru, a Paljari and three brothers, also Paljari, were yalabiri totem and made periodical visits to Ngalbuna to bring the increase of their kordaru. No particular season of the year appeared to be set apart for the visit. Only Wiluru is alive now of all the members amongst his local family group who were yalabiri kordaru, and he journeys alone to Ngalbuna to bring the increase. Apparently Burgulu and Paljari in Wiluru's local family could bring the increase of emu.

The Waianwonga marriage laws were :-

Kaimera = Burgulu
Paljari = Burangu

Therefore the yalabiri kordaru were also fathers and sons. Wiluru also took gifts of weapons to Ngalbuna and broke them beside the rockhole and plenty emus came.

In the journey to Ngalbuna maiamba yalabiri, Wiluru might also take part in a Junma ceremony which would be held near Ngalbuna, though not in the vicinity of the maiamba yalabiri.

At Yalgunga or Yagunga, a hill near Burnaboora, there is a maiamba yalabiri, but the yalabiri kordaru of the district are said to be all dead. At Nganamara Hill, near Quinns, there are maiamba nganamara ("ngow") and their eggs, also a maiamba yalabiri called Ngauad'anu. There were yalabiri and nganamara kordaru who brought the increase of these birds. The moiety responsible for the increase of these birds could not be ascertained without a visit to the spot.

Nyilun, a Waianwonga Paljari, was wardabi kordaru (iguana) and journeyed to the Wulbari district, where there was a maiamba wardabi, on a mound called Wiriri, in order to make the increase. Nyilun and other Wardabi kordaru, who were all Tcharidiguru (old men) stood round the mound at Wiriri and changed, while throwing stones at the maiamba wardabi :-

Ya, ya, wardabi ya,
Ya wardabi, ya, ya.

Then they blew heavy puffs of breath round and about them, and plenty wardabi came out of their stomachs and also out of the mound and scattered over the barna. Paljari and Burgulu - fathers and sons, were the wardabi kordaru of Wulbari, the marriages being
Kaimera = Burgulu
Paljari = Burangu

At Gabamintha pool the water was called maiamba baba, some members of the local family groups being baba kordaru.

At Ngaragulgu, near Nannine, Julgad (Lake Way district), Yalad'ulgu (Francisco's Station, N.E. Peak Hill) and at Wijjin, there are maiamba waiurda (opossum) and waiurda kordaru from their respective districts journeyed to the maiamba waiurda to bring the increase.

At Kajagulu, near Yaladulgu, some members of the local families were bangara (iguana) kordaru, but these brought the increase of bangara by mobarn only. They journeyed to Kajagulu hill and taking bangara from their stomachs strewed them about the hill, from whence they travelled over the district. Gifts of weapons, hair string, etc., were presented to the bangara "kaja" of Kajagulu by those who wanted iguana food. Bangara is stated to be the name of the only bangara kordaru left now living at Yaladulgu. Bangara can bring the increase of his kordaru by going up any marda (hill) as the increase is brought about by magic (mobarn) only. Bangara goes up the hill and breathing or spitting the magic bangara from his stomach, the bangara are thus scattered about.

At Junadurgada near Mt. Magnet, in the Wadari area, there is a Ngaludanu maiamba yamaji (man) but no Mt. Magnet native could be found who could give any information in connection with maiamba yamaji. There are apparently ^{no} maiamba yamaji kordaru.

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At Munga mūyū, also in the Wadari area, a maiamba wilara (stone moon) may be seen, but nothing concerning the stone could be obtained. In the Nannine district, a Paljari of Ngauad'angu was wilara ngalungu and on the Sanford River, a Paljari there gave the wilara as his ngalungu. These wilara ngalungu were given at initiation.

The district round Bathenmurnana Hill. in the Thaduna area is bargala (tree seed) tared 8. Some Bargulu and Paljari of the local group were bargala kordaru and went From Notebook 10, P. 77

Brown said that turkey totem people also had fire totem with which the turkey was associated and he gave the connection between the two in that the heat dried up the rivers etc., so that the turkeys were compelled to come in to special waterholes and be caught!

When he had cleared the traditional space, he went to a little rise close by, and putting the stone against his teeth he made the motion of spitting the stone towards the various points of the compass. Rain soon followed and an increase of bargala was the result.

Nyumbur stated that some seed kordaru were rainmakers. He was the rainmaker of his own group. Yangalngunda, a Burgulu of Balbinya was the rainmaker of his group, and brought rain for the increase of his kordaru, the kulyu (root of a creeper) which he had inherited from his father. He used a piece of pearlshell.

Ngaiajara, a Ngaiuwonga of the Lake Way district, stated that the following kordaru belonged to some members of his local group and were their kordaru. They all kept their kordaru inside their stomachs "like a woman carrying a baby", and from their stomachs their kordaru came. Some birds were what might be called the "familiar" of those whose kordaru they were. The girgurda (hawk) and kaju (crow) kordaru had the power of changing themselves into hawks or crows, and flying to some other district, and could kill any native who had offended them. Ngadajara's peoples' local kordaru were :-

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The district round Bathenmurnana Hill, in the Thaduna area, is bargala (tree seed) barna. Some Burgulu and Paljari of the local group were bargala kordaru and went to Būlbaru the bargala ground between Bathenmurnana and Jibun, to make the increase.

Nyumbur, a Burgulu and one of the last bargala kordaru, went to Bulbaru and took with him a little round black marda (stone). When he arrived at the spot, a flat piece of ground, where the ceremony of increasing the bargala has always been held, Nyumbur scraped or swept the ground with the marda, clearing it of all leaves and rubbish and making it quite smooth. When he had cleared the traditional space, he went to a little rise close by, and putting the stone against his teeth he made the motion of spitting the stone towards the various points of the compass. Rain soon followed and an increase of bargala was the result.

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<u>Kordaru</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>District</u>
Bardura (turkey)	Paljari	Ngaiuwonga	Lake Way
M̄alu (kangaroo)	Burgulu	"	"
Yalabiri (emu)	Kaimera	"	"
Kagu (crow)	Burgulu	"	"
Warida (eaglehawk)	Paljari	"	"
Kujida (snake)	Kaimera	"	"
Girgurda (hawk)	Paljari	"	"
Kurildu (swan)	Burgulu	"	"

Kurildu kordaru can bring rain with Jaramara (stone or
pearlshell)

While making the increase of malu, yalabiri or other kordaru, those who perform the ceremonies do not eat their kordaru. In some instances, however, the kordaru men eat their kordaru, but apparently it was a rule in the old days for a man not to eat his own kordaru or that of his moiety, or if he did eat it, to do so but sparingly. Nowadays kordaru men eat their kordaru whatever it may be.

I could not, in the limited time at my disposal, and without a visit to the maiamba grounds, make any detailed inquiries respecting a belief in the reincarnation theory which Spencer and Gillen associate with the alcheringa, but on one point the natives were decided; they did not return to their "maiamba" kurdaru ground when they died, nor were any of their group reincarnated from the maiamba ground of their kordaru. Further inquiry may possibly reveal some association, either of birth or death with the maiamba or "stone shrines" of the Upper Murchison.

Of the non-edible kordaru there are jimari kordaru, men who can bring jimari from their stomachs as the bardura kordaru can bring turkeys. A certain part of the Lake Way district is said by its owners to be jimari barna, and all the male members of this local group are jimari kordaru, but apparently not all have the power of bringing jimari from their stomachs. Jai, Jinguru, Jangari and other natives of this district were amongst those who could produce jimari from their stomachs. All these men were elderly, and all had their kordaru markings on mirudi and other sacred weapons. Jinguru's markings were concentric circles only, Jangari's were short transverse lines forming lozenge-shaped markings, the centre of the end lozenge having a concentric square which was the jimari. The transverse lines represented the track to the jimari barna. Each member of the jimari totem appeared to have a different series of markings, though the concentric squares and circles invariably represented the jimari proper, the "embellishments" only being varied according to the person making them.

A Wadari Burangu I met at Tuckanarra was jimari kordaru, and a Burgulu from Yurubardu district. All these were supposed to have the power to produce jimari from their stomachs at will.

At Yardaronggu near Minga (Gascoyne River) there is a maiamba junma (circumcised boy). No women ever approached the vicinity of the marda junma as it is called.

At Jibun, on the Gascoyne, there was a "marda yamaji", called Jibu. The stone was not called maiamba yamaji, marda yamaji being the name always applied to it.

All places where the increase of kordaru was made were called maiamba, the same term being used to express "a long time ago", or the days when certain birds and animals were men and women, and vice versa.

There was not sufficient time to inquire into this deeply interesting subject, a visit to the several maiamba districts being absolutely essential before any reliable information as to their origin can be obtained.

Some instances of hereditary malu kordaru are furnished. Jimbi-i, a Burangu, and his son Janburda and daughters Kunyaji and Yamiya (Kaimera) were all malu kordaru. They belonged to the Waianwonga tribe, Jaduna being one of their chief pools. Yamiya and Janburda stated that Jimbi-i's father's fathers had the malu as their kordaru; it belonged to their barna.

Yauerda (kangaroo) was the kordaru of some Burangu fathers and Kaimera sons, at Binamara (Cue district). The wife of one yauerda kordaru was bardura kordaru.

At Mulgulgu (Tuckanarra) the malu (kangaroo) was the kada or kaja of a Burgulu woman and her Burangu children, but how the kaja was obtained, could not be ascertained, as the last Tuckanarra native died last year.

At Yalgowuru (Janga pool), 6 miles from Tuckanarra, the ngauajari (ground grub) was the kada of the father (Paljeri) mother (Burangu) and children (Burgulu) in one family.

The T'anindi (mallee hen) was the kordaru of Burangu father MIJIGARDA and Paljeri children, KUNDARA, JINJAGURU, WINGURU, in a local family at Kundakaldu, near Wandari, Murchison River.

At Kalungwa in the Weld Range, the ngau (native pheasant) was the kordaru of Paljari father and Burgulu sons in a local family there.

The wiradu (owl) was the kordaru of Ngilyir's father; it was also his own, and his son's. The wiradu was amobarn kordaru.

Jimbi-i's marriage laws were :-

Kaimera = Banaka
Paljari = Burangu

The moiety making the increase of the malu kordaru were therefore of the father and son kinship.

Yambirin's father and father's father were malu kordaru, as was also his daughter Winmi.

Some kordaru appeared to descend to sons and daughters equally, but the daughters could not transmit it to their offspring.

Yalgu (blood) was also an hereditary kordaru amongst some members of the Ngadawonga tribe. Kanaiingu a Burangu of Bilyawon

Pool, was a yalgu (blood) kordaru, his sons Jinaiga and Kaiagaia, and his grandson Yinibundu (Jinaiga's son) a Burangu, being also yalgu kordaru. Walbun and Yalgunyua Hill, near Brimangu Pool were yalgu barnar (mobarn yalgu only - apparently no maiamba yalgu). All yalgu kordaru were mobarn and could draw blood from their enemies and so kill them, or draw evil magic blood from their sick relatives and cure them. They could also make blood emanate from their own bodies at will. For killing or healing their mobarn was yalgu only.

Baligura a Burangu of Malbia was malu kordaru, also his father (name forgotten, a Kaimera), and his son Malada, also a Kaimera. They journeyed to the Maiamba malu to assist with other malu kordaru in making the increase.

If malu is the kordaru of (say) the Paljari-Burgulu moiety in some local family, they do not eat plentifully of that kordaru, but they may partake fully of the kordaru of the other moiety whatever that may be. All kordaru eat sparingly of their own totems. In some districts of the Ngaiawonga according to Jal and Ngaiajara, milyura (snake) is a Kaimera ngalungu, and the Kaimera whose ngalungu it is, will not eat milyura. Burgulu may eat it and Kaimera will eat jilawara which is a Burgulu ngalungu. Burangu cannot eat their own waiurda ngalungu, but they can eat kundara (turtle) which is Burgulu ngalungu. Kaimera and Paljari will eat waiurda. Jal stated that only Burangu can eat kundara (I could not discover whether the fact that Jal, & Ngaiajara called these totems ngalungu, had anything to do with the abstinence from them; it probably has.

Malu is a Paljari ngalungu in part of Lake Way district; those Paljari who are malu kordaru will not eat malu but they may eat wardabi (iguana) which is also a Paljari ngalungu of a local family in another district. It appears also from the statements of Kaligurdaji, Malada, Nyimin and others that if, for instance, the Paljeri-Burgulu moiety at Yarnder (Lake Way district) are malu ngalungu, they may not eat their ngalungu within that area, but they may eat the malu if it happens to be the ngalungu of the Kaimera-Burangu moiety at Walgarbardi (Lawlers) or some other "far away" district.

Individual ngalungu whether given at initiation or any other time, were not eaten by those whose ngalungu they were. Indeed, such was the feeling of some people towards their ngalungu, that if a milyu (lizard) happened by accident to come near the camp in which a milyu ngalungu was sleeping, the man got up at once and moved to another camp, nor would he even walk on the track the milyu had made.

In the Annean district, also Murchison amongst the Wadari, when the initiation is being performed, the first living creature seen by the boy or his operators, became his ngalungu and he must never kill or even look at such totem. If it is spoken of in his hearing, he must leave the company at once; if, being edible, it has been caught and cooked by others of his people, he can neither taste nor see it, and should he come across it during hunting, and find out its nest, burrow or sleeping place, he cannot touch it, but he can convey its whereabouts to his ngabari, by saying, "Ngalungu nyining" (totem sitting down or resting at such and such a place).

The kordaru of the Upper Murchison natives, as has been said before, is something that is part of themselves, that lives inside them, and that they can bring forth and multiply at will, for they are responsible for the production of their kordaru. Some eat their kordaru at all times, except when engaged in bringing the increase, others will not eat their kordaru at any time, though they will spear it and leave it for others who are not of that kordaru to eat. Malada, a malu kordaru, was very successful in spearing malu, but he did not eat his kordaru, although his wives partook of it.

Nyilun, a wardabi kordaru, brought the increase of the wardabi, but he neither killed nor ate it, and Nyimin, a bardura (turkey) kordaru, also brought the increase of his kordaru, but refrained from eating it except very sparingly, and then only on certain occasions.

Kordaru, in most of the cases under review, were hereditary, and appeared generally to have been confined to the "fathers and sons" of the local group. Ceremonies were performed for the increase of kordaru only by those members whose kordaru they were. This was proved beyond doubt because if other persons who were not of the kordaru could have assisted in making the increase, Wiluru, Nyiluru, Nyimin and others who were the sole remaining members of their respective kordaru, would have requested someone to aid them in performing the ceremonies, whereas the natives mentioned explicitly stated that all those of their own kordaru who could have helped them were dead, and only themselves could now bring the increase.

Ngalungu appear to be only distinct from kordaru in that the word is chiefly associated with the initiation ceremonies and besides the seed or other ngalungu which may be given to the boy or girl at the time. Males or females who are special attendants at the actual initiation of the boy or girl, are made the ngalungu of the young people, and also in some instances, give them their ngalungu. These attendants who may be men or women, are either the actual operators or take some principal part in the ceremony. The men may be girgi, the women may be those who brought the girl to the ground.

Some human ngalungu are given in illustration of this :- Mindimimbi-ingu's ngalungu at his initiation was Jinabindal, a Kaimera. Mindimimbi-ingu was a Burangu and therefore the ngabari of Jinabindal. Mindi was kuldu ngalungu.

Gunjanmara a Kaimera, Mindimimbi-ingu's wife, had Ngatawombi-i, a Paljari, as her ngalungu. Gurara (prickly bush seed) was Gunjanmara's ngalungu, and was given her at her initiation but by whom was not ascertained.

Bardara a Burangu (Mindimimbi-ingu's sister) had Murni, another Burangu as her ngalungu, Murni being "oldest sister" to Bardara, who was kuldu ngalungu. These women were afterwards alluded to as "ngalungu yara".

Ngadaguru a Burgulu and a kuldu ngalungu, had Jinawiri a Paljari of Milyura, as his ngalungu, Jinawiri assisting at Ngadaguru's initiation.

Ngilyir, a Burangu, had two ngalungu, Jinabalgu and Jujujara, both Paljari. Ngilyir's ngalungu was not given.

Kanabirding a Burgulu and kuldu ngalungu, had Kauain a Paljari as his ngalungu, Kauain being the actual operator at his junma.

Ngurgabardi a Burangu and kuldu ngalungu, had two Paljari men, Janumaia and Murndinji, as his ngalungu.

Ningali, a Burgulu, and Jiwi (seed) ngalungu, had Yaialisa Kaimera, as his junma ngalungu.

Jal, a Burangu, besides being jimari kordaru, had two other ngalungu, kala (fire) and kungu (junma and migarn "smoke") given him by Juguljara and Lungu, both Paljeri, and his (human) ngalungu.

Nyumbul, a Burgulu and kagu (crow) ngalungu, was given the kagu at his junma initiation by Narndar a Kaimera and his ngalungu also.

Winyirdi, a Paljari and bargubardi (grub) ngalungu was given the grub by his ngalungu Burdardi, a Burangu and his junma operator.

Mijawin a Burangu halfcaste, appeared to have been given no ngalungu, but had Nyanuyn a Kaimera woman as her ngalungu. Nyanuyn accompanied Mijawin to the initiation ground and lighted the "smoke" fire.

Yamiju a Kaimera and malu kordaru had Nyanibula (f.) a Burgulu as her ngalungu.

Balardu a Burgulu and jibinjibin (native onion) ngalungu, had as his human ngalungu Nganamara, a Kaimera man, and Yalai and Mugari, two Burgulu men. Nganamara gave Balardu the "onion" ngalungu.

Janburda a Kaimera and malu kordaru had Wiluru a Kaimera and Yangalnganda, a Burgulu, as his ngalungu.

Wailbandi a Burgulu had Nyirdi (f.) a Paljari as her ngalungu. Nyirdi gave Wailbandi the ngalgu (root) for her ngalungu.

Ngalara a Kaimera had Ngurgobardi a Burangu as his ngalungu. Ngurgobardi gave Ngalara the yiramiri (frog) as his ngalungu, a yiramiri having croaked during the junma ceremony.

Kurolyu, a Burangu and Kurolyu (swan) ngalungu had Nyin-nyin and Gunanyu two Burgulu women as her ngalungu. Her kurolyu ngalungu had been given her, together with her name, by a mother's brother (kombarnu).

These are examples of human and other ngalungu, all of which were given at initiation only.

Several seeds and other foods besides the kuldu appeared to have been the kurdaru or kada of all the members of a local group. The kulbari (seed from the mulu, a species of mulga) was the Kurdaru of a number of Wajari people in the Warambu (Mt. Magnet)

district, the kurdaru not being confined to any one class or moiety.

Guyong, a sweet gum or manna was found very plentiful in the Barambi district and appeared to have been the kurdaru of some members of all the classes there.

The bird, animal or seed which may be seen by either ngabari or kombarnu during the junma operation, will be given to the boy as his ngalungu, the ngabari also becoming the boy's ngalungu, such ngabari being either an actual or tribal brother-in-law.

At the initiation of young girls, a juari (brother's wife, own or tribal), will become the girl's ngalungu, or an elder tribal sister may be ngalungu. Either the juari or jurdu may give seed, or some other ngalungu, to the initiated girl. The juari must have actually performed some ceremony in connection with the girl's initiation, either holding her legs, or lighting the "smoke" fire, etc.

There would appear then, to be a difference between kurdaru and ngalungu, but malu kurdaru have called the malu their ngalungu. I have not, however, heard anyone call their ngalungu by any other name. Ngalungu is only mentioned during the boy's or girl's initiation, and the girls avoid their human ngalungu always.

Ngalungu given at initiation were not eaten, nor could a girl apparently gather the seed ngalungu which had been given her at her initiation.

Certain seed, such as the kalbari, gurara, buli-buli, appear like the kuldu very plentifully. In the Warambi (Mt. Magnet) districts the Kalbari grows plentifully. It was gathered and eaten by kalbari kurdaru.

The gurara (prickly acacia) was also plentiful at one time in the district round Cue, and was the kurdaru or kaja of several people belonging to the district, no special class being particularised as having the gurara kurdaru or kaja. At Kudardi, north of Cue, some Kaimera brothers and sisters had the gurara as their kurdaru, their father also having the gurara.

In the two buli-buli (seed) areas which I visited, all the local families belonging to the district were buli-buli kada.

In a spot 4 miles from Mindoola (Weld Range) and at another some miles away from Yalgu, are large fresh water clay pans, which in the rainy season become shallow lakes. It is in these claypans the buli-buli grows. In the month of October, the claypans have generally dried up, and the buli-buli is ripe. It is then gathered by its local kurdaru or kada, and distributed amongst the visitors who have arrived for the harvest. Payment is made in weapons, etc., for the buli-buli. The visitors may also help to gather the seed for their own consumption, while they are on the ground, and buli-buli will also be sent to persons living at a distance from whom payment in weapons, etc., will later on be received. Karidi is the last "owner" or buli-buli kada of the Mindoola district.

All the possessors of seed kurdaru were not rainmakers, but rain was necessary in the performance of the increase of their kordaru, and if a natural rain fall did not come, the professional rainmaker of the tribe was called upon and presented with gifts of weapons, hairstring, etc., to induce him to bring the necessary rain.

The kurdaru of Wardadam (m.), a Paljari, was ngalgu, a small root growing extensively in some parts of the Murchison. To bring the increase of his kordaru he was obliged to stand in the heavy rain and let the water stream over him. There appeared to have been no special maiamba ngalgu barna (ancestral totem ground) on Wardadam's ground. He might perform the increase in any part of it, but he and those of his people who were ngalgu kordaru must not be seen by their women, or by the younger members of the tribe. When performing ceremonies for the increase of their kurdaru.

As they stood in the heavy rain the ngalgu "emanated" from their bodies and scattered in all directions. Sometimes the "emanation" was so great that the possessor of the ngalgu kordaru fell down from exhaustion, after the ceremony had been performed.

In a similar manner, the increase of the kulyu kordaru and other seed and root kordaru was accomplished.

The duari or red ochre which is found in great quantities in a hole on top of an ironstone hill in the Weld Range, was the kada or kurdaru of the local family at Duaribarlu as the hole was called. Idiongu, a Burgulu, is the last remaining owner of Duaribarlu and the last duari kordaru or kada of that district.

Ngalungu are obtained in various ways, at initiation, by some special circumstance noted by the father at the birth of the child, or at some period of the child's life, or through some animal being seen at the time of birth. Whatever the special object may be, it is the kaja of the child until his initiation when he may either retain it as his ngalungu, or be given another; he always retains the kada attached to his name. These ngalungu are individual ngalungu, that is, they belong only to the person to whom they have been given. A ngalungu of this kind given during initiation is not eaten by its owner.

At Kula kujara, near Boclardi, a woman found an emu's nest, and catching the young emus by the neck, she killed them and brought them back to camp. The kami to whom she gave them made her and her children yalabiri kaja. They could always kill the emu afterwards, but could not eat it.

A Burgulu man was out hunting and saw a number of emus with their young ones, near a bimara (spring). He crept cautiously up to them, keeping them in sight all the time, but when he had got within spearing distance, they disappeared suddenly, and concluding they were mobarn, he returned to his camp, and made his son yalabiri kada. The yalabiri became the boy's ngalungu at his initiation, hence the son never tasted emu.

Jal found a jilawara (lizard) when out hunting one day, and brought it home, and while he and Yanguri or Yanguli were eating it, Yanguri became sick (pregnant sickness). When the baby was born, Jal gave it the jilawara as its kaja. The baby was called Mulajindi from some circumstance connected with the jilawara. Mulajindi does not eat jilawara. He has not yet been initiated.

The nyundilya and ilyiwalga (bull frogs) crying loudly in Minyundu's vicinity during her initiation, Kaligurdaji, her mamadu, gave her both of them as her kada. Minyundu has never eaten her ngalungu, as she now calls it. Yongaljara was also ilyiwalga ngalungu, his father Gunmanjara having given him the bullfrog. Yongaljara cannot catch or eat ilyiwalga.

Jinalda was given the kalaijidu (big bird ?) as her individual ngalungu at her kardabilga (vulvotomy) operation, which took place at Jābuga barna. Jinalada has never eaten kalaijidu.

A ngabari gave Winyirdi his individual ngalungu during his initiation, another ngabari Burdariji, the girgi of the ceremony, becoming ngalungu to Winyirdi.

A Mukawara Burangu had four ngalungu, the bigurda being one of these. They were given him at his initiation by mother's brothers (kombarnu) and brothers-in-law (ngabari).

Other individual ngalungu were as follows, several of these being the ngalungu of persons whose genealogies could not be ascertained.

(Ngadawonga and Wadari)

<u>NGALUNGU</u>	<u>MALES</u>	<u>TRIBE</u>	<u>FEMALES</u>	<u>CLASS</u>
Kalarbi (pelican)		Wadari	Nyirgarli	Kaimera
"		Wadari	Nyijaningu	"
Malgura (small rat or mouse)	MINANGU	Wadari		Paljari
Kuldu (edible root)	NGAGULBARDI	Ngadawonga		Kaimera
Irdibilyi (snake)	WALIJA	Wadari		Burgulu
D'anjugu (bandicoot)	IRDILYI	Wadari		Burgulu
Bigurda (kangaroo)		Ngadawonga	Jurdur	Burangu
Milyura (snake)		Ngadawonga	Ngunjija	Paljari
Milyu (lizard)		Ngadawonga	Bundingu	Burgulu
T'ardunga (tree with seeds)		Ngadawonga	Yangula	Paljari
Yabo (bushes)		Wajari	Wirdainma	Paljari
Jimari (cutting flint)	NINGALYI	Ngadawonga		Burgulu
Yauerda (kangaroo)	BIRBU	Ngadawonga		Burangu
Wilara (moon)		Wadari	Nganuri	Paljari
Bardura (turkey)		Wadari	Wardabi	Paljari

<u>NGALUNGU</u>	<u>MALES</u>	<u>TRIBE</u>	<u>FEMALES</u>	<u>CLASS</u>
Kalbari (seed)	YULAD'ARA	Wadari		Burgulu
"	WILGA (his son)	"		Paljari
Ngudarna (seed)		"	Injidi	Kaimera
Warngoa (bull frog)	MITCHALNGARDI	"		Paljari
Jonga (seed)		"	Karowin	Lurangu
Karia (spinifex seed)		"	Nyelgani	
Windanga (seed of yal- buru shrub)	D'UNDARNU	"		"
D'arnaianga (padi melon)		"	Yauanungu	Paljari
Mangarda (jamwood seed)	WARDUWANARA	"		Burangu
D'urdia (vine root)		"	Ingani	"
D'ardunga (tree seeds)	WIDANGURU	"		
Kagu (crow)		"	Yuringuga	"
Jilgara (sp. of padi melon)	NGANDARGA	"		Burgulu
Yalibiri (emu)		"	Jibi	Kaimera
Munjaj-munjaj (birds)	NGAROWINYAWA	"		"
Malu (kangaroo)		Ngadawonga	Jilungu	Burangu
Wilu (curlew)	MINGANYA	Wajari		Kaimera
Waiurda (opossum)	MURDABILA	"		"
Minjin (molech horridus)		"	Bulgaringa	Burgulu
Biali (galah cockatoo)	MIRI	"		Kaimera
Watu-watu (butcher bard)		"	Jilungu	Burangu
Miniera (centipede)	JERGAIA	"		Kaimera
Girgarda (hawk)		"	Yajiliri	"
Windadu (wild onion)		"	Nima	"
Ngauajari (ground grub)	YANJINGGARI	"		Burgulu
Kurafa (prickly tree with seeds)	D'ABI	"		Kaimera
Warura (little lizard)	GIJIGIJI	"		Burgulu
Ngau (mallee hen)	KARIDI	"		"
Gungun (owl)		"	Wongadura	Burangu
Yalburu (shrub)	D'UND'ARNU	"		"
Wirad'u (sp. of owl)	LUNGU	"		Kaimera
Wilara (moon)	WONGURA	"Field's Find" (Ningan)		"

<u>NGALUNGU</u>	<u>MALES</u>	<u>TRIBE</u>	<u>FEMALES</u>	<u>CLASS</u>
Jabi (little lizard)		Walanwonga	Milibardi	Burangu
Dirandi (black cockatoo, red tail)	BINYU	Wajari		paljari
Kunduwa (porcupine)	JERNONGU	"		"
"			Wiuja	Kaimera
Ngalgu (edible root)	NUNAJARA	"		Kaimera
Kulyu (wild potato)		"	Dajiliri	Burangu
Wirda wirda (honey ant)	NGAGUBARDI	"		Burgulu
Jilgara (bushes)		"	Malu	Paljari
Warlba (kingfisher)	NGALUD'A	Ngaiuwonga		Burgulu
Bogu bogu (bell bird)		Ngadawonga	Mundajingu	"
Nyin-nyin (little grey bird)	YAUERN	"		Kaimera
Kurbaru (magpie)	NGUYERINGU	Jargurdi		Paljari
Jilinbi (snipe?)		Ngadawonga	Nya'iuba	Burgulu
Jul (mopoke)	WAJIDA	Jargurdi		Burangu
Miling (bat)	"	"		"
Injinji (parrot)		"	Kurgaji	Burangu
T'anindi (water hen)	MIJIGARDA or KANDARA	Najawonga		"
Ilyiwalga bullfrog)	T'ANGURI	Wajari		Burgulu
"	D'UMBĒRI	"		Paljari
Ngalgu (root)	NUNAJARA	"		Kaimera
Gurara (seed)	NGUNBINYU	"		Burgulu
Jiali or bundawaru (carrot)	BURBAIJA			"
Kulyu (root)	T'AGUWEWA	"		"
Kalbari (seed)		"	Uternongu	Paljari
Tchabi (lizard)		"	Iraminara	"
Dirandi (black cockatoo, red tail)	BINYU	"		"
Minjin (mountain devil)		"	Bulgaringa	Burgulu
Maruwa (mouse or native cat)	KALLBERGU	"		Burangu
Waurda (opossum)	MARDABILA	"		Kaimera
Nyin-nyin (little grey bird)		"	Gurara	Burgulu
Injinji (parrot)	KUNYINDI	"		Burangu
Kurgurda (hawk)	MARUNDA	"		Kaimera
"	His daughter	-	Mungelyu	Burgulu
"			Inyi	"

<u>NGALUNGU</u>	<u>MALES</u>	<u>TRIBE</u>	<u>FEMALES</u>	<u>CLASS</u>
Kagu (crow)	WILAMIRNI	Wajari		Paljari
Munjal-munjal	NGAROWINYAWA			Kaimera
Warlba (sp. of kingfisher)	NGALUD'A	Ngadawonga		Burgulu
Windadu (like an onion)		Wajari	Manija	Kaimera
Kurbaru (magpie)	NGUYERINGU	Waianwonga		Paljeri
Jilinbi (snipe)		"	Nya-in	Burgulu
Kunduwa (porcupine)	JUNYI	Wajari		Burangu
Maruwa (mouse, or "like a rabbit")	GURANBIN	"		"
Widawida (ant)	WALER	"		Y

Certain moieties possess edible kurdaru for whose increase they are responsible. To judge from Ngayaringu's and Mindimimbi-ingu's classification, it would appear that certain animals, birds, edible foods, rain, etc., were divided between the moieties, the kinship term being applied to the native possessing the kurdaru.

NGUYARINGU (informant)
(Paljari)

<u>Bird, etc.</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Kinship term applied by Nguyaringu.</u>
Yalabiri (emu)	Paljari	Jurduli (sisters)
Kunduwa (porcupine)	"	Boa (brothers), jurdu (sister)
Juju (dog)	"	Kurdaju (brothers), jurduli
Girgurda (hawk)	"	Kurda
Walara (pigeon)	"	Kurdali, jurduli
Bigurda (rock kangaroo)	Burangu	Tamuli
Kagu (crow)	"	Ngabari
Boguldara (wallaby)	"	Kabarli
Bimbalulu (pelican)	"	Tamuli
Warngoa (frog)	"	Kabarli
Warida (eaglehawk)	Kaimera	Yaguli
Malu (kangaroo)	"	Kombarnu, mimi, maraiji
Waiurda (opossum)	"	Yaguli
Bilyagu, biarga (cockatoo)	"	Kombarnu, mimi
Ngarawa (duck)	"	Mimi
Kagara (magpie)	"	Yaguli
Kalbi (owl)	"	Kombarnu
Minmara (native pheasant)	"	" mimi
Jilawara (iguana)	"	"
Kundara (tortoise)	"	Yaguli
Kujida (snake)	Banaka	Wumari
Warlba (kingfisher)	"	Mamali

MINDIMIMBI-INGU (informant)
(Burangu)

(Male, female and young of animals etc., are here classified)

<u>Bird, etc.</u>		<u>Class</u>	<u>Kinship term applied by Mindi-mimbi-ingu</u>
Malu (kangaroo)	(m.) (f.) (young)	Paljari Burangu Burgulu	Ngabari Jurdu Baldongu
Kujida (snake)	(m.) (f.) (young)	Paljari Burangu Burgulu	Ngabari Jurdu Baldongu
D'ud'u (dog)	(m.) (f.) (young)	Paljari Burangu Burgulu	Ngabari Jurdu Baldongu
Jangala (opossum)	(m.)	Paljari	Ngabari
Waiurda "	(f.)	Burangu	Jurdu
Bulawila "	(young)	Burgulu	Baldongu
Boguldara (wallaby)	(m.) (f.) (young)	Paljari Burangu Burgulu	Ngabari Jurduju Baldonguja
Girgurda (hawk)	(m.) (f.) (young)	Paljari Burangu Burgulu	Ngabari Jurduju Baldongu
Yalabiri (emu)	(m.) (f.) (young)	Kaimera Burgulu Burangu	Mamadu Yagodu Boadu, kurdaju
Bardura (turkey)	(m.) (f.) (young)	Kaimera Burgulu Burangu	Mamadu Yagodu Boadu, kurdaju
Kunduwa (porcupine)	(m.) (f.) (young)	Kaimera Burgulu Burangu	Mamaju Yagodu Boadu, kurdaju
Bilyago (cockatoo)	(m.) (f.) (young)	Kaimera Burgulu Burangu	Mamaju Yagodu Boadu, kurdaju
Warlba (kingfisher)	(m.) (f.) (young)	Kaimera Burgulu Burangu	Mamad'u Yagoju Boadu kurdaju
Kalbia (owl)	(m.) (f.) (young)	Kaimera Burgulu Burangu	Mamadu Yagoju Boadu kurdaju
Minmara (native pheasant)	(m.) (f.) (young)	Kaimera Burgulu Burangu	Mamadu Yagoju Boadu kurdaju
Bimbalulu (pelican)	(m.) (f.) (young)	Kaimera Burgulu Burangu	Mamadu Yagodu Boadu kurdaju
Walara (pigeon)	(m.) (f.) (young)	Kaimera Burgulu Burangu	Mamadu Yagodu Boadu kurdaju
Bujura ?	(m.) (f.) (young)	Kaimera Burgulu Burangu	Kajaju Baldonguju Kamiju
Warngoa (frog)	(m.)	Kaimera	Mamadu
Margarn	(f.)	Burgulu	Yagodu
Margarn	(young)	Burangu	Kurdaju

<u>Bird, etc.</u>		<u>Class</u>	<u>Kinship term applied</u>
Kago (crow)	(m.)	Burgulu	Kombarnu
	(f.)	Kaimera	Wabi
	(young)	Paljeri	Mardungu
Warida (eaglehawk)	(m.)	Burgulu	Kombarnu
	(f.)	Kaimera	Wabi
	(young)	Paljeri	Mardungu
Ngarawa (duck)	(m.)	Burgulu	Kombarnu
Banaji "	(f.)	Kaimera	Maraiji
Ngarduru "	(young)	Paljeri	Ngabari, mardungu
Kogoro (magpie)	(m.)	Burgulu	Kombarnu
	(f.)	Kaimera	Wabi
	(young)	Paljeri	Ngabari, mardungu
Kuyal (iguana)	(m.)	Burgulu	Kombarniju
Jilawara "	(f.)	Kaimera	Wabiju
Bidiara "	(young)	Paljeri	Ngabari, mardungu
Kundaia (land tortoise)	(m.)	Burgulu	Kombarniju
	(f.)	Kaimera	Wabiju
	(young)	Paljeri	Mardungu, ngabari
Kurild'u (swan)	(m.)	Burangu	Kurdaju
	(f.)	Paljeri	Mardungu
	(young)	Kaimera	Kajaju

The younger members of the tribe cannot eat any of these animals, birds or reptiles. When they have reached the age and status which permits them to eat any one of these, the restriction is removed by the mama taking some fat (jarderr) or meat (kuga) of the animal about to be eaten and putting the jarderr on the young man's body or rubbing his mouth with the meat, the embargo against that particular food is thus removed. This ceremony usually takes place some time after migarn has been performed on the boy.

Mindimimbi-ingu's junma initiation took place at Irilyi, near Yaluwila and was similar to that of Gunyirdi. The migarn ceremony was held at Cue, Karbailga a Paljari ngabari performing the operation.

Mindimimbi-ingu, informant

Wajari tribe, near
Milguin Station.This also occurs in III 5f.iii(Wardangura, Ngajawonga or
Wajari.)

Burung	Burgulu	Paljari	Kaimera
MINMARA =Ngau (native pheasant) Bimbalulu (pelican)	X	NGARAWA (duck (male)) Banaji (duck - female)	X
X	KAGO (Crow) WARIDA (eagle- hawk) KOGORO (magpie) GIRGURDA (hawk) Yalabirdi (emu) Bardura (turkey) Kunduwa (porcu- pine) Bilyagu (black cockatoo) Warlba (king- fisher) Kalbi (owl) Wulara (pigeon) NGARAWA (duck?)	X	YALABIRI (emu) BARDURA (turkey) KUNDUWA (porcupine) BILYAGU (black cockatoo) WARLBA (kingfisher) KALBI (owl) NGARDO (duck, young) WULARA (pigeon) Kago (crow) Kogoro (magpie) Waiurda (opossum, female) Girgurda (hawk) Banaji (duck)
YALABIRI (emu) BARDURA (turkey) KUNDUWA (porcupine) BILYAGU (black cockatoo) WARLBA (kingfisher) KALBI (owl) WULARA (pigeon) KURILDA (swan) Malu (kangaroo) Yalabiri (emu) Bardura (turkey) Dudu (dog) Kunduwa (porcupine) Wulara (pigeon) Warlba (kingfisher) Kalbi (owl) Bilyagu (black cockatoo) Boguldara, Waiurda	X	KAGO (crow) WARIDA (eagle- hawk) GIRGURDA (hawk) KOGORO (magpie) BOGULDARA (wall- aby) JANGALA (male opossum) D,UD,U (dog) KUJIDA (snake) MALU (kangaroo) Kurilda (swan) Ngarawa, Banaji	
X	KUJIDA (snake) D,UD,U (dog) BULAWILA (opos- sum, young) BOGULDARA (wallaby) Minmara Bimbalulu	X	MINMARA (pheas- ant) KURILDA (swan) BIMBALULU (pelican)
MINMARA (pheasant) Bimbalulu (pelican)	X	NGARAWA duck, male	

Some examples of names which were bestowed from some circumstance attendant at birth, or from some action of the animal, bird, etc., seen at that time which might or might not become the kaja of the child. Nyin-nyin (little grey bird), Generi (white cockatoo feathers), Wonga (spinifex gum), Murdinga (cold), Nyundilya (frog), mungada (night) etc. show their origin. The animal, bird or reptile or object after which the child was called, was not necessarily the kaja of the child. Nyin-nyin was not nyin-nyin kaja. Generi was not white cockatoo feather kaja, and so on.

Kurdaru, kaja and ngalungu were given alternatively by adult natives when stating the animal, bird, etc., that belonged to them, but kaja and kurdaru might be mentioned in the hearing of children whereas ngalungu was not uttered before uninitiated boys or girls. The ngalungu, though apparently in some cases belonging to the boy or girl before their initiation, was then called kaja and was not formally called ngalungu until the junma or kardabailgu ceremonies had taken place.

Boys and girls were forbidden to eat young kangaroo, emu, bandicoot, opossum, some species of iguana and many other animals, birds and reptiles.

The junma boy is specially forbidden malu, yalabiri, kundawa, waiurda and jilawara, during the interval between his junma and migarn ceremonies. After the latter ceremony the restriction on these will be lessened gradually, the mama or kombarnu of the migurn man removing the restriction off malu, for instance, and leaving it on the other foods. Later on the restriction on emu will be removed and so on.

No migurn man has ever had the restriction removed from all prohibited foods at one time.

Young girls when they have been allotted to their husbands for some time, may have some of the foods hitherto forbidden allowed to them. A kombarnu must however remove the restriction, the girls' husbands not being allowed to perform the slight ceremony for their release from abstinence.

The following foods were forbidden to the Ngaiawonga :-
 warida (eaglehawk), kagu (crow), girgurda (hawk), kurildu (swan), kujida (carpet snake), kunduwa (porcupine), dudu (dog), jangala (opossum - male), boguldara (wallaby), bilyago (cockatoo), ngarawa (duck), warlba (kingfisher), kogoro (magpie), kalbi (owl), minmara (native pheasant), bimbilulu (pelican), walara (pigeon), warngoa (frog), kuyal (iguana), kandara (turtle).

When the restriction was about to be removed from the young man, which occurred after his migarn ceremony, his mama (father) or kombarnu (mother's brother) took some fat preferably of the animal, bird or reptile about to be eaten and rubbed the jarder (fat) over the boy's body, greasing him all over, if there were sufficient fat, but if a scarcity obtained, the boy's face and breast only were rubbed. When the restriction was about to be removed from a woman, her mouth only was rubbed with the fat of the prohibited animal which she was then permitted to eat.

The following rather interesting totems belonged to a Ngadawonga woman, Nyundiwidi, a Burangu, and Ngadawonga, possessed two "spirit children" kurdaru called Maiangurun and Windabirdi - boy and girl. These were either inherited by her from or given to her by her father or mother, which, couldnot be ascertained. Nyundiwidi has a peculiarity not often seen amongst the Murchison natives - her hands and feet being splashed and streaked with patches of white, the white patches also slightly covering her face and body.

The possessor of these kurdaru, together with her piebald appearance, render her mobarn, and by their aid she is enabled to perform services for her friends and bring punishment on those who offend her. Wurdabirdi, the female spirit child, enabled Nyundiwidi to locate lost articles, absent friends, etc., but the functions of the boy spirit I was unable to obtain beyond the statement that he punished those who offended Nyundiwidi or her friends.

Although there were some instances of the death of a ngalungu or kurdaru preceding that of the man whose kordaru it was, there were unfortunately so few animal and bird kurdaru alive amongst the tribes gathered at Tuckanarra, Meekatharra and Peak Hill, that it was impossible to obtain any definite statements in this connection. A yalabiri kordaru came upon a dead emu that showed no marks of spear or gun, and he died shortly afterwards, believing that the dead emu had presaged his own death.

A jilawara was found dead beside a spring by a kalbari kurdaru, and a jilawara kurdaru died soon afterwards.

The kurdaru also went before its owner to "announce" his visit to the camp of some relatives.