

V 2b

TOTEMS

SOUTH AND SOUTHWEST

W.A.

SUMMARY

<u>Page</u>	
1	Suggested derivation of divisional names Ballarruk and Ngagarnook.
3	Nagarnook and Ballarruk Rain totem Tondarup and Didarruk had other totems through marriage
4	Maternal descent of totems. Hereditary totems connected with certain localities, due to prevalence of food products.
5	Perth borungur- phratry, class, hereditary, personal. Origin of hereditary totems.
6	Origin of dwert borungur (legend)
7	Names of dwert borungur
9	Capel kalda borungur Various borungur within a local group
10	How children's totems are determined Inherited borungur of S. and S.W. Bestowal of personal totems
11	Examples of above
12	Connection between natives and certain of their totems.
13-16	Personal totems made to work mischief.
17	"Singing" of hereditary totems for increase.
19	Wordung and Manitch in the South.
21	Hereditary borungur found at various localities.
22	"Rise" of rain totem recent.
23	Ngarree borungur - song for increase
24	KKardar and swan borungur
25	Opossum "
26	Kalda "
27	Variety of personal totems in one family. (Pelican totem - dance (nyeerimba)
28	Wallaby totem, legend concerning it.
29	Totems called by relationship terms
31	How some Northam totems arose (jerd borungur)
32	Edible totems food for totem kins Winnaitch birds and animals
33	Removal of abstinence from certain totem foods
34	Non-edible totems. Vasse dog traditions.
35	Ngittungit and Koobijet Cannibalism in S.W.

- 36 Relationship terms applied to borungur (see 29)
Gingin "moorurt" or relations - lizard, etc.
- 37 Birds that were once natives.
Yorna or stump-tailed lizard dance
- 38 Insects that were once natives.
- 39 Elements as personal totems.
Punishment to breakers of totem laws.
- 40 Woggal and the Boys (Doweringup)
- 41 Woggal in various aspects
- 44 Trees of S.W. with both phratry and sex
- 47 Phratry totems
- 47a Hereditary - 3 generations
- 48 Marriage of persons of same totem - Vasse
- 49 "Headmanship" of totem kin groups not found.
- 50 Whale totem
- 51 Methods of revenge through totem animal.
- 53 Markings on weapons and scarring have no totemic significance

In those tribes with female descent the phratry totem descended from mother to child, a Crow woman bore Crow children, and so on, and with regard to their marriage laws, a Crow woman married a White Cockatoo man, and vice versa.

According to Grey, the divisional name Ballaruk appears to have been derived from a now extinct species of marsupial called ballager or balauara, which was once plentiful in the Southwest. Inquiries amongst the oldest natives in the district elicited the fact of an animal of the wallaby species having been at one time the borungur of some Wordungmat. The animal was called balauara, but no one could remember whether the term Ballaruk was derived from the animal. There was also a group of Wordungmat in the Karridale or Jarradale districts who were ballargum borungur - tree totem. The term Ballaruk may as easily have been derived from ballargum as from Balauara. The Ballaruk of those heavily timbered districts were more recently dang-ngail borungur, dang-ngail being the manna from the ballargum.

There are no Ballaruk now living who can afford satisfactory information on this point. It is probable, however, that as the Ngagarneok, Didaruk, Ngogonyuk and other subdivisions have been derived from some special borungur, food, etc., so the Ballaruk may have had a similar origin for their divisional name.

Grey also stated that Ngagarneok was derived from nagarn, a little fish, like whitebait, which was very plentiful on the southwest coast, but no confirmation of this statement could be obtained, for every Ngagarneok interrogated was wejuk or wej borungur, and none could render any meaning for the term nagarn. The tiny fish that abound in the waters washing the coast where the Ngagarneok group have been located are called nimmat.

Balbuk, the last Perth district native woman, vaguely remembered having heard the word nagarn as applied to a small fish by the Fremantle and Rockingham district natives, but again, Yaburgurt, a Mandura district native who was about the same age as Balbuk, did not appear to understand the term nagarn, and gave the word nimmat, also deeda, for the small fish which abounded on the coast.

North and east of Gingin, no Ngagarnook woman appears to have married into the groups, and in these districts instead of a Ngagarnook subdivision of the Wordungmat phratry, the term Jirdajuk is applied to the jerd borungur of the local group. Descent of the jerd borungur appears to be through the mother's brother.

Mss. P. 14

Retyped page 3 (V 2b) line 28

"totem kins" - class - mates?

Brown's comments

line 1

Negarnook eat more emu than do Tondarup etc.

last line

If you cannot give a concrete instance, miss it out, as it is probably wrong.

In the districts where Nagarnooks are found their alternative title was Wej'uk (emu people). A Wej'uk is a Nagarnook, a Nagarnook is a Wej'uk and wek borungur (emu totem). The Nagarnooks have the power of changing themselves into emus, and going into a flock can kill as many as they like. The first "home" as it were, of the Nagarnook subdivision appears to have been in the well-timbered areas of the Southwest, Bunbury, Vasse, etc., and from this point the subdivision spread through intermarriages into districts as far north of it as Gingin, and became sufficiently important in numbers and area to take its place as a subdivision of the primary phratry - Wordungmat. North and East of Gingin the term Nagarnook is not in general use, being replaced in the Victoria Plains district by Jirdajuk.

The Ballaruk, according to Grey, appear to have had at one time a class totem in a now extinct species of marsupial called ballagor or ballawara, from which the name Ballaruk is said to have been derived. Certain heavily timbered areas in the S.W. were also supposed to belong to a section of the Wordungmat phratry, who were called ballargum borungur - tree totem, by the Tondarup and Didarruk (Manitchmat) of those areas. In recent times the Ballaruk subdivision of some S.W. districts have the dang'all (manna from certain species of gum) as their borungur. In the Bridgetown district some Wordungmat are Guenmak-mar borungur (clouds) and S. and S.E. of the Katanning district, several Wordung inherit the spear totem - the wood being called didar - they are didarruk.

Edible totems are eaten by their totem kins.

With regard to the water or rain totem Tondarup and Didarruk of the coastal areas, these people had many other totems obtained through marriage. For instance, a Tondarup man of the rain totem married a Nagarnook woman of the emu totem, also a Ballaruk woman of the manna totem. Their children were emu and manna totem from their respective mothers. Hence in

one family there would be representatives of two class totems, emu and manna. In the next generation the emu and manna male children sought for mates amongst the gab borungur Tondarup or Didarruk, either amongst some coastal family outside the dow'-el'ung - koo'ta'jung ("one thigh one bag") or "forbidden degree" (or Local group) or from some family within the tribe, provided the dowelung-kootajung relationship did not stand in the way. Thus in the Southwest the eternal change in class (and borungur) went on.

In the Nagarnook wej borungur ^{kin?} group the same law prevailed. A Nagarnook married a Tondarup or Didarruk gab borungur woman, the children inheriting the gab borungur of their mother.

Also a Ballarruk man of the dangail borungur married a rain totem woman (Tondarup or Didarruk), their children inheriting the rain totem of their mother. All these borungur might be represented in a local family as follows: Gab borungur man marries wej and dangail borungur women. His children are wejuk and dangail wak. The Tondarup man's sister marries a wej borungur man (Nagarnook). Her children have the gab borungur of their mother. Besides the phratry and class totems of the Southwestern people, there are also inherited totems, and personal or individual totems amongst them.

Some hereditary borungur were attached to localities and apparently originated through the prevalence of certain food products, animal or vegetable, or certain species of wood, growing within a defined area, certain of the inhabitants of such area having the animal, vegetable or tree as their hereditary totem. Kangaroo, opossum, swan, gum, honey (from flowering banksia), didar (spear wood), all these products had certain special habitats where they were more abundant than in other places. The didar grew in a district North and East of Two People Bay, several Wordungmat families having it as their borungur.

MSS. P. 15

Retyped Page 5, line 1

Kangaroo totem -

District, hereditary, or what?

Last par. Is this a matter of your own observation? (Brown)

MSS. P. 16

Retyped Page 5, Table showing totems :-

But where is hereditary?

Here (D.M.B.) - mungaitch borungur

First par. Rough sketch map. (Brown)

Table (as above)

Give the genealogy of this man.

One or two concrete instances.

4th line from end - "real names of the ancestors,....."

How do you know they are the real names?

P. 6 (retyped)

Give particulars of the dog totem.

Yongar (kangaroo) borungur were very numerous from North-
 am northwards towards Dandarraga. Gumal (opossum) borungur
 lived in parts of the Swan district. Kuljak (swan) borungur
 were found in the Gingin district. Mēn (gum) borungur (mēn =
 edible gum from jamwood trees) were located in the York, Bev-
 erley and other eastern districts. Mungaitch borungur were
 numerous in the Perth and Pinjarra and other areas.

A Perth man of the White Cockatoo phratry has the White
 Cockatoo as his phratry borungur. Being of the Tondarup
 subdivision or matrimonial class, he has the gab as his "class"
 hereditary borungur; he may have the mungaitch as an hered-
 itary borungur also, and he will have a personal totem which
 will have been given him with his name, from some circumstance
 attendant on his birth. His totems will therefore be as
 follows :-

Phratry	White Cockatoo (Manitch)	(Manitch borungur)
Class (hered- itary)	Gab (rain)	(Gab borungur)
Hereditary	Mungaitch	(Mungaitch "
Personal or individual	Hawk, cloud, wind, etc.	(Girgail borungur) (Wuralk " species of wallaby)

Hereditary totems sometimes originated with single and not
 very remote ancestors; with the father of a family, or with
 two brothers, all of whom might, from some circumstance, choose
 a certain totem for their respective families, through whom
 the totems descended in some cases to their children and child-
 ren's children irrespective of sex or class. For instance,
 the dog totem, which appears to have a legendary origin, des-
 cended to some Victoria Plains district families from two
 ancestors called Beenjerree and Jirgabee, which shows that,
 since the real names of the ancestors are remembered, the
 period cannot have been very remote. Both the Manitch and
 Wordang descendants of these have the dog as their hereditary
 borungur.

The legendary origin of the dwert (dog) borungur is as follows :-

Two big dogs, a male and a female, were travelling north from Balbarup ("Albany way") and they came near some thick scrub. As they approached the scrub they heard a great noise proceeding from it which they found was caused by two yungar (natives) who were throwing kaili (boomerangs). The dogs came up to the yungar and ate them, the male dog eating one yungar, the dwerda yog' (woman dog) eating the other. After a little while they began to feel the yungar scratching and fighting inside their stomachs, and presently they vomited the yungar, who turned into a white stone, "like a huge snake's egg." After they had vomited the men, the dogs ran round and round the plain (kwong'an), and by and by they wanted a drink, but there was no water anywhere so the dogs began to dig. The dwerda maman (father dog) dug north and east, but could not find any water; the dwerda yog' or dwerda nganga (mother dog) dug Southwest (waddarn-el-da'long'in - going towards the sea) and found good water. She dug and dug until she had made the big hole at Nyeerrgoo where water can now always be found. No yungar or yogga can however, go into that hole unless they are absolutely naked. They must take off their noolburn (hair belts), wogarree (hair strings), ngool'yan'biddee (nose bone) if they are men, and their bookas (kangaroo skin cloaks) if they are women. When divested of these they must go along the hole or tunnel which the dwerda yog' made, until they come to the water. They then strike the water with their hand or with the bark vessel which they carry, and immediately run towards the entrance, the water following them. They fill their vessels near the entrance. They must not break the stone near the entrance or they will die. If a yoongar or yogga entered the cave or tunnel with any clothing on, either the water splashed over them and they died, or the jan'ga dwerda (spirit dog) which "looks after" (haunts) the cave howls and barks

until the offender dies. As it was the mother dog that found the water, all dwerd borungur must follow the female dog.

For what reason Binjeri and Jirgabi made the dog an hereditary or local group totem is not known. These men were not dwerd borungur themselves, but they made their descendants dwerd borungur. This hereditary totem was not eaten by the totemists.

The names of dwerd borungur are usually applied from some circumstance connected with the motions, etc., of the dog.

Some examples are here given :-

- Dikkijan (Ballarruk, female) Dogs crunching leaves under their feet as they walk along. Dikkee-dikkee = crunching.
- Wee'at (Ballarruk, male) Dog coming back covered with foam after a day's hunting. (wijar = foam)
- Buddarn (Ballarruk, male) A lost dog. Buddarn eejan = lost.
- Gabbaitch (Ballarruk, male) Two dogs drinking flood waters. Gabbaitch = flood waters.
- Monnop (Ballarruk, male) Two dogs walking, one behind the other.
- Wabberan (Tondarup, female) Puppies playing about. Wabbain = playing.
- Beenaran (Tondarup, female) Dogs scratching a hole in search of some burrowing animal. Beenaran, scratching or digging.

Only four of the once extensive dog totem local group are now living; these are : Monnop, Dikkijan, Wabberan and Beenaran. Monnop and Dikkijan are own brother and sister, and are of the wordang (crow) phratry borungur, the dang'ail (manna) class borungur, the karna (root) and the dwerd (dog) hereditary borungur.

Wabberan and Beenaran are own sisters and are of the white cockatoo (Manitch) phratry borungur, the gab (rain) borungur (class), the karna and the dwerd hereditary borungur. All these edible borungur except the dog, were eaten. Three Nyeerrgee brothers, now dead, all of whom were dwerd borungur,

MSS. P. 18

Retyped P. 8

"The kalda or sea mullet, etc."

Myth

Same paragraph (Brown's comments)

Male descent of totem with female descent of moiety.

Prove.

MSS. P. 19

P. 9

Par. beginning "There were also totems "by adoption"

Concrete instances inserted at end.

0

were not named after the dog but after a personal totem, the warrain, an edible root. The names were bestowed by a mother's sister (ngan'gamat). She was not warrain borungur, nor was the boys' own mother, but the warrain was the personal totem of her kogga (mother's brother), and the totem of the dogs was given to the children.

Their names were :-

- Bee'a'na - peeling the skin off the warrain
- Doonamurra - digging horizontally for warrain which had grown crookedly.
- Ngoo'gulgurt well cooked warrain (ngoogul-ngoogul - very sweet and nice.)

These warrain borungur could not be transmitted to the children of the above.

Certain fish, birds, etc., also became hereditary borungur, but the descent did not always, as with the dwerd borungur, pass through the families of the successive generations. Male descent of the borungur was sometimes found amongst tribes with female descent.

The kalda or sea mullet was given as a ^{hereditary} borungur to a far back Capel district Tondarup family, by an ancestor. It passed on to the Nagarneok sons of the next generation, and to their Tondarup offspring. The daughters of the family had the kalda as their totem, but could not transmit it to their children.

The Capel district kalda borungur are now all dead. Merderung appears on the Southern coast among families having male descent. I found some Esperance men possessing it as their hereditary totem and an Albany district local group also had the merderung as their hereditary totem. It has been found as the borungur of both Manitchmat and Wordungmat. In a Manitchmat's family it was passed on to the Wordungmat sons.

The eaglehawk as an hereditary totem has been found in certain southern districts, and is passed on from father to son. The crow appears to be a personal totem only in the Southern districts.

Three generations of families are supposed to constitute a local group, and within this local group in the S.W. there may be found phratry, "class", hereditary and personal borungur.

There were also borungur "by adoption" or gift, which added to the number. A man of the sea mullet (kalda) hereditary borungur who had a brother-in-law (who was his babbin or koobong) of the kardar (iguana) hereditary borungur, would give the kalda to his babbin, the babbin returning the compliment by giving his kardar to his friend and brother-in-law. These borungur could not be transmitted to the children of either babbin, and also, in giving the totems, the babbin was only included in the hereditary totem, since giving the totem did not mean that the kalda borungur exchanged his borungur for the kardar. Each still kept his own borungur in addition to the adopted or given borungur.

The wife removed to her husband's district, taking her phratry and class borungur with her, but except in the case of the dwerd borungur she did not transmit her hereditary borungur, if she possessed one, nor her personal borungur. Her phratry and class borungur only descended to her children in those districts where female descent obtained.

MSS. P. 20

Retyped P. 10

line 23

How can what is hereditary be given?

The borungur of the children were determined by phratry, class, and inheritance.

If, however, a baby was born during the visit of its parents to some outlying families with whom they had some distant connection, and if the borungur were different from those of the child's parents, the baby was not infrequently given the borungur of some konga (mother's brother) or some other relative whom its parents were visiting, the borungur being in this instance neither that of its father nor mother. The child, if a boy, would doubtless be placed in charge of some member of these outlying families on his initiation.

Inherited borungur are found throughout the South and Southwestern areas.

Burn'gap (a species of wallaby now extinct on the mainland) borungur (hereditary) were found in the Swan and Bunbury districts, and bootalung (pelican) borungur were found at Bunbury and the Vasse.

Woggal (carpet snake) borungur were at Gingin, where there were also kuljak (swan) borungur. A certain lake in the Gingin district was a favourite breeding place for swans (kuljak) and during the laying and breeding season numbers of visitors came to the district.

Jerda or jerd' borungur (bird totem) had their totems (hereditary) given them by some comparatively recent ancestors, Victoria Plains district giving a legendary origin for the jerd borungur.

Personal or individual borungur belonged to single persons only in the S.W. and might be bestowed by grandfathers, or grandmothers, fathers, father's brothers, father's sisters, or mother's brothers, from some incident happening at their birth. Examples of these will suffice :-

Jang'il, a Nagarnook. Hia kongan (mother's brother) was picking pieces of bark off a tree when the boy was born, "jangee-jang'ee." Bark was Jang'il's borungur.

Ban'yap, a Nagarnook, mother of the above. Her name was given from her father returning from a hunting expedition perspiring profusely, ban 'ya bin' = perspiring. Banyap's borungur was banya - perspiration.

Ngalyart, a Ngogonyuk was so named from her father seeing some ragged clouds scudding across the sky - ngal-ngal warin - little clouds rushing about the sky. Marr - cloud, is her borungur. Ngalyart's mother's borungur was the warrain, her father's was the yongar, her half brother's the yongar, and her sister's the gij (spear).

Balbuk, a Ballarruk. Her name was obtained from seeing a female kangaroo (warra) sitting and eating the herbage bal-bal nyin' (he is sitting). The warra was Balbuk's borungur or oobar.

Deelerung, a Didarruk. So called from the waves of the sea beating on the shore and receding again, waddarn bom dee'-ler'ung'in, the waves striking and returning again. Deelerung was waddarn borungur, also gab borungur.

Yoorin, a Tondarup. Her grandmother went to the river to drink but some one called out "gabi yocra" (water is dirty) and the baby was called Yoorin. Her borungur is the gab-baitch, flood waters.

Geerel, a Tondarup, so called from his mother's brother hearing a hawk's cry, "Gerr-gerr-gerr,". The gĩrgĩr (species of hawk) is Geerel's oobari or borungur.

The mysterious blood relationship that exists between the

natives and certain of their borungur was demonstrated in the case of Balbuk in the following manner : One day, not long before her death, Balbuk was lying outside her hut in the cool of the evening when a warra suddenly and unexpectedly ran across the paddock not twenty yards from the hut. As the warra came in front of Balbuk it suddenly sat up and looked towards her for the space of a second. Just then the dogs, of which there were about forty or fifty in the various camps around, wined the warra, which disappeared into the bush. I had seen the kangaroo from my tent, and observing some commotion about Balbuk's hut after the warra had vanished, I went over and found everyone discussing the visit of the warra and what it portended. They all agreed that the warra was sent to fetch Balbuk whose borungur it was, and that although the dogs had all gone after it none of them could catch it, for it was a "jan'ga" warra (spirit). Balbuk lay stretched upon her rug without motion of any kind, her eyes wide open and staring at the spot where the warra had sat and looked at her. From that moment she knew that her death was near, she was "warra borungur" and the warra had come to tell her.

The death of a white cockatoo or crow did not generally presage the death of a member of either phratry. It was only in the case of hereditary or personal totems that the death of any of these precluded the death of the persons whose borungur they were.

Some personal borungur, particularly those of poisonous snakes, etc., could be made to work mischief by their owners, but in all cases the owners must be "mulgaguttuk" or "bul'-yaguttuk" ("medicine men"). The snake borungur became in a sense the "familiar" of the mulgaguttuk, who could send it to any tribe he wished in order to work magic on his enemy. These magic borungur could not be transferred, but their owners might be asked by some ordinary member of the tribe to send bulya into such and such a person of another tribe who had offended, and for a certain payment a norn borungur (black snake totem) etc., mulgaguttuk performed the service. In the case of ordinary hereditary or personal borungur, these will often go in advance of their owners to announce a visit to some koobong or brother-in-law's district. The borungur appears in a dream to the person about to be visited, and when he sees the borungur in his dream he knows his koobong has sent it to announce his coming visit. If a man dreams of a kalda he knows that a kalda borungur is coming to see him; if a man sees an opossum in his dreams, he will expect to see the gumal borungur man in a short time. In interkin quarrels, if, say, a kangaroo (yongar) borungur has been injured or killed by a gumal borungur, the yongar borungur men must punish or kill a member of the gumal borungur in expiation.

If a man is dying from what he believes to be magic projected from some member of another tribe, and if he desires vengeance to be executed, he will, sometimes, when asked
 whom he suspects,

mention the borungur of his injurer, and his hearers will then consult amongst themselves as to which individual of that borungur is the member who has been performing the evil magic. It must always be remembered that the relationship and "family history", so to speak, of every individual within a certain tribal area is generally known, and gossip and scandal concerning men and women will always be freely discussed. Hence when a man is dying and confesses his belief that from such and such a totem district, the magic which is killing him has been sent, his relatives will sit together and consider which one has been injured by the dying man or has injured him, the names of the individuals never being mentioned throughout the discussion. Ultimately, the onus of projecting the magic will fall upon some individual, a gumal, yongar or other borungur, as the case may be. This custom would appear to show that the local group or hereditary borungur name is more "individual" than the class or phratry name.

If a dying man wished to locate the whereabouts of his presumed murderer, or the person whose bulya caused his death, he invariably conveyed the information by imitating the tracks or some peculiarity of the enemy's hereditary borungur. A striking example of this custom was witnessed during the last days of Joobaitch.

One afternoon, a few days before his death, when we were seated round his bed, Joobaitch, after having lain quiet for some time, suddenly began to scratch his ribs in imitation of the male kangaroo, and one of his relatives who was watching him said, "Old man is telling us some yongar borungur have put bulya into him." I leaned over towards Joobaitch and said to him, "Yongar borungur noona bul'yak?" (Kangaroo totem man bulya'ed you?). "Kaia," (Yes), he faintly replied.

On another afternoon only two days before his death we were again assembled in Joobaitch's hut, where he was now lying in apparent unconsciousness. With the same sudden movement as on the previous occasion, Joobaitch drew his finger tips together, and pressing them upon the dusty floor, made a distinct impression of an opossum pad. His stepson said, "Goomal borungur send bulya too." I asked Joobaitch if we had interpreted him correctly, and a faint nod was his reply. I made inquiries into the matter and found that a yongar borungur had many years ago married Joobaitch's sister, but she ran away from him and refused altogether to live with him. Joobaitch was asked to interfere, and punish his sister for her disobedience, but he refused to take any active measures to compel her return to her husband, and now the yongar borungur was having his revenge, although twenty years had elapsed since the woman had run away. This yongar borungur was one of the only two yongar borungur men now living in the Northam local group.

The goomal borungur bulya was in consequence of Joobaitch having given his stepdaughter to a man standing in the relation of "brother" to the girl, who had been promised to a goomal borungur of her proper marrying class. Additional proof of the goomal borungur's guilt was furnished after Joobaitch's death. One of his stepsons remembered a question which had been asked him by a goomal borungur before Joobaitch's last illness. "When the old man dies you will bury him at Guildford, won't you?" "The old man is not sick," replied the stepson, but not many days afterwards Joobaitch, who was staying with the man to whom he had given his stepdaughter, suddenly called out, "Bulya, bulya kool," (Magic, magic coming). His son-in-law who was near asked him what he saw, and Joobaitch said that a light (kala - fire) came towards him from the Northeast, and he felt the bulya go inside him. The light

coming from that direction meant that the goomal borungur had sent it, and thus Joobaitch was convinced of the locality and borungur of his murderer. Later information disclosed the fact that Joobaitch had intercepted the bulya which was meant for his son-in-law in revenge for his "Mootchoo" (wrong class) marriage.

Had this incident occurred in the old native days, when native laws were in full vigour, it would have been the duty of Joobaitch's own relatives to immediately despatch an avenging party to kill some member of both borungur in retaliation.

With regard to the performance of magic for the increase of certain edible borungur,

Certain bird or fish hereditary borungur were "sung" by some of the older borungur. Kuljak borungur/sang for the increase of swans and swans' eggs. A me'lok or ngarree (salmon) borungur/sang for the increase of the salmon. Goo-mal borungur/will not sing for opossum, but the older initiated men will take their nose bones, and make opossum claw marks on the gum and other trees upon which the opossums feed. This must be done before the trees are in flower, and it must also be done neither too soon before the opossum season nor too late.

To make an increase in the honey bearing flowers of the banksia, the mun'gaitch borungur/wilgee'd themselves, and gathering leaves and small branches of the mungaitch in early winter, they rolled these together and placed them in the forks of the mungaitch tree. Wordungmat and Manitchmat took part in this ceremony every winter. Mungaitch borungur must not pick the honey bearing flowers too soon, or great rain will come and very little honey will be gathered. Kwonnert (jam-wood gum) borungur/got some leaves and shavings of the mungart (jamwood) tree, and placed these in the forks of the trees in the early winter, and plenty kwonnert was the result.

Mēn (edible gum) borungur also got some shavings and leaves of the kol'yung (wattle tree) and placed them in the forks of the tree, and dang'ail (manna) borungur caused the increase of the dang'ail in the same manner. Only initiated men must work for the increase of their borungur. These, with the songs and motions of the swan and other food totems, which will be described later, represent the only magical observances practised by the southwestern natives for the increase of the food borungur. They possibly represent the beginnings of totemic practices, although Dr. Andrew Lang is of opinion that they rather show the decline of totemism, but food has always been plentiful in the coastal districts of the West, and in those places where food is not plentiful,

totemic practices are still in "full swing". "Why should we dance for yongar?" the natives say, "or for any other food? Demma goomber bring plenty, but we must not mock (ngurannae) our borungur," that is, they must not destroy the food before it is ripe, nor the trees which bear the food, nor must they wantonly mock or imitate the animals and birds that are both their totem and their food.

V. 2. 3 (cont.)

All men of the same generation and phratry in a local group where hereditary borungur obtain are Ngundurumat - brother stock.

Certain borungur, such as the wej borungur of the Nagarnocks of the S.W. and the gab borungur of Tendarup and Didarruk will belong to tribal brothers in the districts where female descent obtains. All Nagarnock men of the same generation will be ngundanmat - brother stock.

Phratry, class and hereditary totems are known throughout all the tribes having communication with each other, and therefore no magical use can be made of them to injure the phratry or class. But a single member of a district or hereditary borungur may be killed by the projection of magic into his district from some sorcerer of another tribe, one of whose members he may have offended. The magic is sent into the tribe, but in nearly all cases the name of the offending member will be uttered or thought in the incantation designed for his punishment. It is not always necessary to mention the name of the person in "singing" the magic. It is sent to his district and if it kills some one else instead of the person towards whom it has been directed, that is because such person intercepted the magic on its way.

It will be noted that the phratry names Wordung and Manitch are the actual everyday names of crow and white cockatoo in almost all the Southern districts where the phratries extend. In this respect the Southwest Australian tribes differ from the people mentioned by Drs. Howitt and Fison, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, the Rev. J. Matthew and others whose phratry bird names appear to have long been obsolete. This might imply a more recent origin for the Southwest Australians than is accorded the Eastern aborigines, but taken in conjunction with the absence of many introduced rites, the uniformity of the dialects, and many other evidences of the antiquity of the inhabitants of the Southwestern corner of the continent,

MSS. P. 26

Retyped P. 20

Table :-

Are there two kinds of tain?

Next line :-

"No marriages can take place within these totems
classes?"

Brown's comments

"In districts where certain kinds of trees..."

Refer to map.

it may afford one more proof of their being the remnant of the oldest race on the continent.

The subdivisions of matrimonial classes may have been instituted to prevent the marriage of father and daughter in the districts where female descent obtained, and between mother and son in those tribes where descent was agnatic. The four classes are in one sense the totem kins of the two primary phratries :-

Phratry and borungur

White cockatoo

Class Borungur

Rain (gab), Tondarup
" or water Didarruk

Phratry and borungur

Crow

Class borungur

Emu (wej), Nagarnook
Dangail (manna)
Ballarruk

No marriages can take place within these borungur.

In localities where certain kinds of trees are plentiful, such as jerrail (mahogany), mungart (jamwood), spearwood, etc., natives of these districts frequently have jerrail, mungart borungur, gij (spear), as hereditary borungur. There may also be in addition to these, gumal (opossum), jiuk (wild cherry), roots, or other products that may be plentiful in the same districts. Spearthrowers, kailees, and other weapons and implements will be made of jamwood in the jamwood district, and of mahogany in the jerrail district, and so on, the wood proclaiming the district.

Marriages cannot take place between persons of the same hereditary borungur, unless the man or woman come from a distant tribe with which there is no near kinship and unless the relationships between the parties admits of such marriage. In the following localities hereditary borungur were found :-

At Mobberdin (east of Northam) there were hereditary kwont (snake) borungur. All Geejup's "grandfathers" were kwont borungur. Geejup and his brothers and sisters were geej borungur "a little bit" from their mother who was geej borungur (maternal descent prevailed at Mobberdin.)

In the Collie district the walitch (eaglehawk) was the hereditary totem of some Manitchmat families (paternal descent).

In the Katanning district the emu was an hereditary totem of some Wordungmat families, the children's names being applied from some circumstance connected with the emu :-

Bā'bung, female - emu twitching its tail (baaba = twitching)

Manyungan " emu walking steadily (manya-manya = steadily)

Descent was paternal in this district.

At Karrgaining, near Wagin, a boy was born on ground supposed to be haunted by a jaanuk (spirit, ghost). His father gave him the jaanuk as his borungur, and when the boy grew up and married he gave his children the jeenuk as their borungur, and from them it passed on to their descendants. The jaanuk will not hurt their borungur. There are but ¹⁹ two jaanuk borungur now living. / ¹⁸ of whom are half castes. The names given to the children were not necessarily connected with the jaanuk (paternal descent).

In the Wagin district there were hereditary ngoop (blood) borungur. These people always drank the blood of the animals they killed. Descent was paternal amongst them. Barndirlyirt a manitch of Yauangain was ngup, also his father.

In the Southern districts, east, west and north of Albany, Manitchmat families had as a rule the following hereditary totems amongst them :-

Ngow (mallee hen or native pheasant), weelar or maale (swan), yongar and warr (male and female kangaroo), kwurr (brush kangaroo), tamar (species of wallaby).

Wordungmat families were geej (spear) borungur; kwonnert or doogup (gum of jamwood tree); wej (emu), but one or the other phratry might possess either of these totems according to circumstances. For instance, a Manitch and ngow borungur man may have married a Wordungmat and kwonnert borungur; according to the importance of the families of each borungur, the children were ngow or kwonnert borungur, or, if the child was born in the kwonnert district, it would receive the kwonnert from its mother's brother, and if the next child happened to be born in the ngow district, it was ngow borungur, and so on.

If the kwonnert happened to be more plentiful, or if the kwonnert hereditary totem families were a strong and numerous local group, all the children would perhaps follow their mother's totem, although their descent was paternal. There was neither finality nor definiteness in the hereditary totem rules of the Southwestern people.

Names of maale (swan) hereditary borungur were applied from some motion of the swan :-

Yeerrgil (male)	Swan chasing cygnets
Deeril "	Breaking shells of swans' eggs
Ngalgean (female)	Swan glancing from side to side while slowly swimming in search of food.
Ngoongean (female)	Sean laying eggs on the side of the river bank.

In the Gingin district the Swan was the district totem, but the totemists were not named after any action of their district totem.

In the Arthur River district the woggal was an hereditary borungur, descending from father to son. Gūlarn of Murdiaring (Arthur), a Manitch, and his father and sons were woggal.

Beel'ya'gur, beel'ya'ruk, or beel borungur (river totem) was found east of York as an hereditary totem. All the South Western people living on the banks of the rivers were karbil nyinap. In the York district also the kangaroo was an hereditary totem.

Forty miles north east of Kellerberrin the wal' (wallaby) was a district totem of Joowuk and Beerungemat, and at Beverley I found a yog' borungur (woman totem), and wan' (woman's stick) borungur, these two women having been stolen from the Kellerberrin district by a kookar or bērang (prickly bush) totem man of the Manitchmat phratry in the Beverley district. These women's totems were personal totems only.

In the Denmark district, the mannur (long-tailed iguana) was hereditary, descending from father to son. In this district, "true dem", that is, father's own sisters' children and mother's own brothers' children could not be "kord" (husbands and wives) to each other; they were "dem" only, or demgur, therefore marriage could not take place within the mannur totem. The mannur borungur ate their totem, it was their daaj (meat), but when a mannur borungur died, the male relatives refrained from eating the male mannur for one season, the female relatives abstaining from the female mannur. Before they resumed the general eating of the mannur they put moorur or kop (charcoal) across nose and cheeks, the women putting dardarr (pipeclay) on nose and cheeks. The totem could then be eaten without any ill effects resulting.

When a mannur or other hereditary totem was found dead, it was believed that the death of a mannur borungur followed shortly afterwards. It might be the death of one of those who found the dead mannur, or a member of the camp nearest the spot where it was found, or any member of the mannur totem, a mannur borungur must surely die when the mannur died.

The walitch (eaglehawk) was an hereditary totem in more than one district. In the Dale River district, it was eaten by the totemists, but in the Williams district, it was not eaten, although the Williams people ate all their other edible totems.

In the Bridgetown district, yongar, goomal and wej were hereditary totems, the district totem being the jerrail, and the class totem the dangail/^{or kutang}and rain. Some hereditary kutang borungur were at Bilya-wong, but all are not dead.

MSS. P. 29

Retyped page 22

X This is merely a parallel to Jiouun modern class names.

line 3 "The rise of this totem....is comparatively recent."

How do you know? (Brown)

Rain or fresh water was the hereditary totem of some Wordungmat in a locality somewhere near Bridgetown, which still has the heaviest rainfall of the South. The "rise" of this totem, which eventually gave its name to a local section of the Wordungmat phratry, is comparatively recent, like that of the dog totem of Victoria Plains, and the bird totem of some eastern districts. Some mammamat (father stock) were paying a visit to their relatives in this district during the rainy season, and as day after day the rain fell without a moment's cessation, the mammamat said, "Gab' gab' goo'an bo'ming, nyoenda goo'an'uk," (The water - rain - is always wetting and teasing you, you are gooanuk - wet people.) The "gooanuk" district was situated between Augusta, the Vasse and Albany. Ngyitinyan, a gab borungur of Jitangandi (11 or 12 miles from Katanning) is Wordang. No more of her people are alive. There were guanakat Yiraminap.

X South of the Vasse district some Wordungmat-Gooanuk people of the water totem had the ngarree (salmon) as their hereditary totem, this totem passing from father to son.

MSS. P. 30

Retyped P. 23

Salmon are very recent fish!

MSS. P. 31

Retyped P. 24

line 22 "(for more than one borangur can sing the
 district totem)"

Which is not a totem.

The ngarree borungur "sing" for the salmon the night before they go fishing. Visitors, knowing when the salmon season is at hand, make their way to the camps of their relatives who are salmon totem people, and to ensure an abundance of the salmon being caught for these in the weirs, and other traps, the oldest man amongst the ngarree borungur will sing the following song, his brothers (own) taking up the song if the singer tires :-

Ngaaree bee ngaaree
Salmon

Ngana moogaa
Ground where salmon come from

Koortbeet beetalwoo

Kalbara yaa waddarn (sea)

As the song is being sung, the singer makes many motions with his hands in imitation of the salmon's movements. He shows the fish rushing through the water, and goes through the process of spearing it, hitting it with the kailee, or driving it into the shallow waters of the estuary with the aid of boughs. As he sings the refrain he now and then makes a kind of hissing sound, then a brrrrr to represent the rushing of the salmon, and a motion with his hands as of catching and killing the fish as it forces its way through the small opening left in the weir, pretending to make a great heap of the fish he is killing. When the imaginary heap is large enough, the singer calls out, "Karrgo, karrgo" or "Woorrgoo, woorrgoo," which marks the close of the song.

The ngarree borungur will not eat the fish until all their visitors have been satisfied. When the gum tree has flowered the ngarree come in shore.

The kardar (lizard) was an hereditary totem eastward of the Vasse, the following song being sung by one of the older borungur. The song was sung when the lizards began to appear, "a little before bearuk (summer time)."

Waraloo bee'an'goo yarrooloo
 Moorgooloo billee billee
 Ngarda goorum woonda goorum
 Below shield
 Yarrooloo besangoo waraloo billee
 Karrgo, karrgo.

The kuljak (swan) song, sung by old Kuljak borungur in the Gingin district was as follows :-

Boo'yoo warrbaa, boo'yoo warrbaa
 Smoke plenty
 Kela ngurrae dandara noo
 Fire (sitting) walking
 Wow'al yaaloo Karoo war'yeedee
 Lots of nyoonger coming, you see them
 Nyinna mungala nyinna karoo war'yeedee
 Sitting eggs sitting (on) you see them.

While the kuljak borungur are singing (for more than one borungur can sing the district totem), they sit on the haunches and gathering the grass and brushwood into a loose heap, they imitate the kuljak preparing her nest for the eggs.

Two kuljak borungur were the last to sing the increase of their totem. Moorgin and Boongoordee, now long dead, lived at one time in the Gingin district. Boongoordee sang for the increase of the kuljak and sent them "two and two" to the lake (a famous swan breeding ground) to mate, lay eggs, and bring more kuljak. Boongoordee sang at a place some distance from the lake, and while he sang he sat on the ground and made motions with his hands of clearing the place for the nest, similar to the movements of the geans' feet and wings when preparing their nests and then covering the eggs.

Boongoordee's song differed slightly from the ordinary kuljak song, and was as follows :-

Wommooloo karda jeegara jee
Swans' down middle don't touch

Nyoorga jee ngaree
Eggs sitting or lying around

Wommooloo karda jeegara jee

Wommooloo karda eedalyee ngaree
Swans' down middle feathers lying

Wommooloo karda bulgara ngaree
Swans' down middle cover up lying.

When Boongardee had sung for the increase, Moorgin sent to the different camps of their relations to bring all the nyoongar to the feast, and Boongoordee sent other kuljak borungur in other directions to bring the visitors to the meat feast. When the nyoongar came there were many, many (boola-boola) kuljak for them, and eggs, and young kuljak. When the relatives and friends had arrived they began to eat the kuljak. Mooran (grandparents) took them, and jamain (brothers-in-law) took them, and ngan'gan and mamman (mothers and fathers) took them, and koolon'gur (children), every one had koota ngoobarn (bags full). The visitors remained until they were satisfied with swan food and eggs and then they departed to their own districts to repeat probably the performance with some other district totem food of their own locality, to which the kuljak borungur would be invited.

When the goomal district borungur wished to bring an increase of opossum in their district, they obtained some opossum fat and rubbed themselves with it. Then they went amongst the trees and taking the jeong'ek (nose bone) out of their noses they marked the trees the opossums frequent in the same manner as the opossums do when climbing the trunks, scratching their toe marks on various parts of the trees. In this manner they brought the increase. In the evening some of the elder goomal men sang for the opossums, but there were no accompanying actions.

MSS. P. 32

Retyped P. 26, line 1.

Mythical?

Line 1. (Brown)

Tribe?

Capel. (D.M.B.)

Hereditary.

Weereetch, a Tondarup (manitchmat), had the kalda as an hereditary totem for himself and his children and children's children. They were generally named from some circumstance connected with the kalda (sea mullet). The kalda songs were always sung in boornor (autumn). The ngeon'jook (a species of interwoven wire grass which answered the purpose of a fishing net, and was much used in the construction of the non-ga or weir) was placed on the ground beside the singer, and all night long the song was sung for the kalda. The singer called to the demma goomber who sat on the Capel Sand Patch and watched the melok (species of salmon) and kalda come in towards the shore, and when demma goomber saw them he put his booka (cloak) down on the hill and went towards the sea where the kalda were and he speared them for the borungur. The kalda and melok called out to their borungur to come and save them, "Ngana ngammana Doweera yoolburt yool," (My mother's brother Doweer, come, come.) "Yoo'on'gool yoolburt yool," (Yoo'on'gool come come), but Doweer and Yoo'on'gool paid no heed to them, only speared them. (Doweer and Yoo'on'gool were two kalda borungur.)

The phosphorescence in the sea was supposed to be fire which the melok and kalda carried with them, but when they came in shore they blew out the fire so that they should not be seen. The kalda borungur did not eat the sea mullet until the singing was over, but sometimes they picked up a kalda that someone else had caught and they stroked it and sang to it and put it back again for their visitors to eat. Baabur, a kalda borungur, said that a kalda kaaning (dance) accompanied the singing, which was performed every evening during the visit of the relatives to the camp. A melok borungur stated that in the old days there was no kalda kaaning, only singing. Dances always marked the close of the visit, but these were not dances of the totems which the visitors had come to eat. The Gigin natives sang for the increase of their personal totems if these were a favourite native food.

MSS. P. 33

(Brown)

Retyped p. 26a

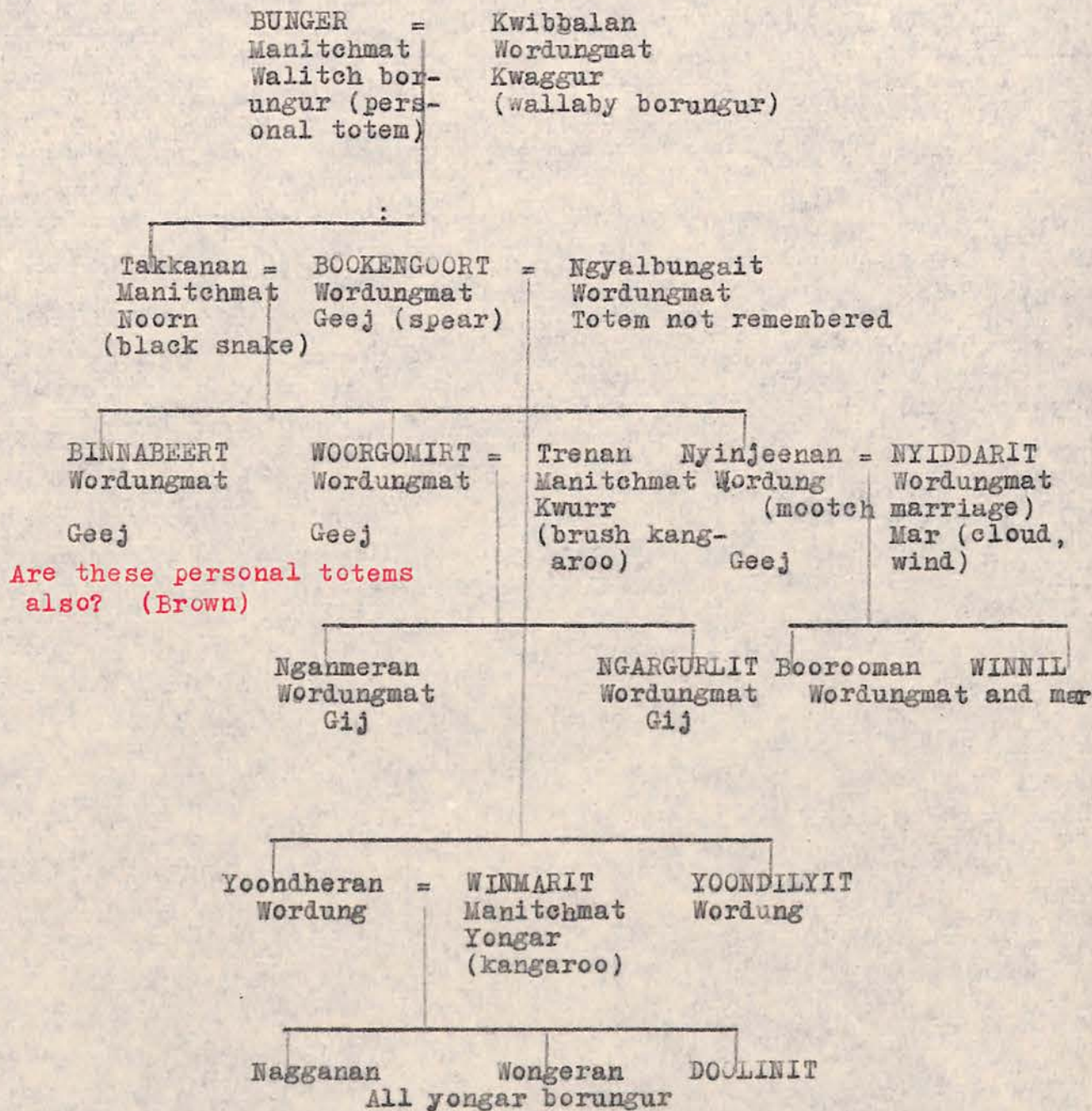
"Eastward of the Katanning district...."

Give genealogy.

p. 26b Pootenup and Koojonup pedigree.

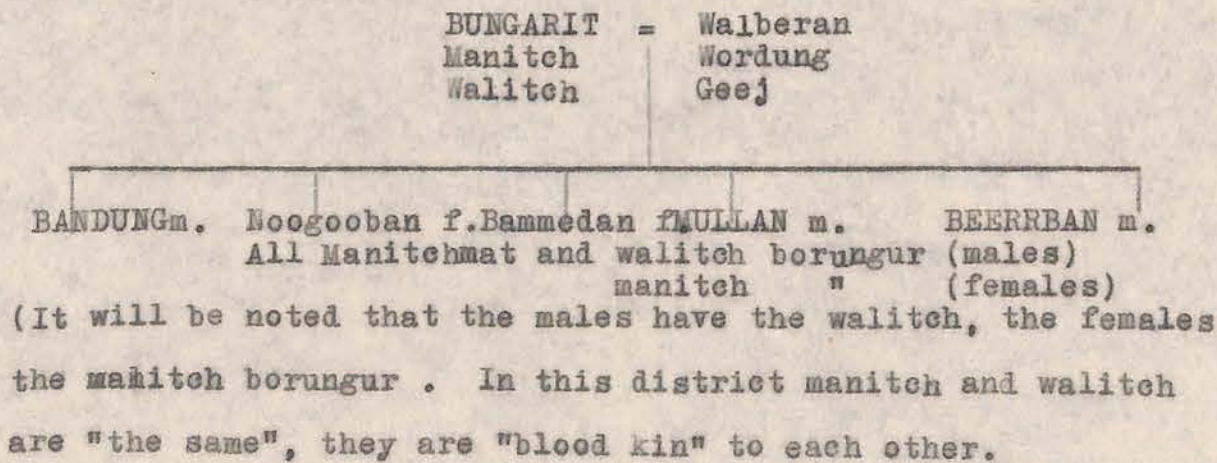
Personal

The following pedigree shows diversified totems, belonging to some Pootenup and Koojonup natives :-



Are these personal totems also? (Brown)

An hereditary eaglehawk totem pedigree, varied however with a white cockatoo was obtained from the Collie district (Kalgoorain)



Second generation continued on next page.

MSS. P. 37

Retyped P. 26d

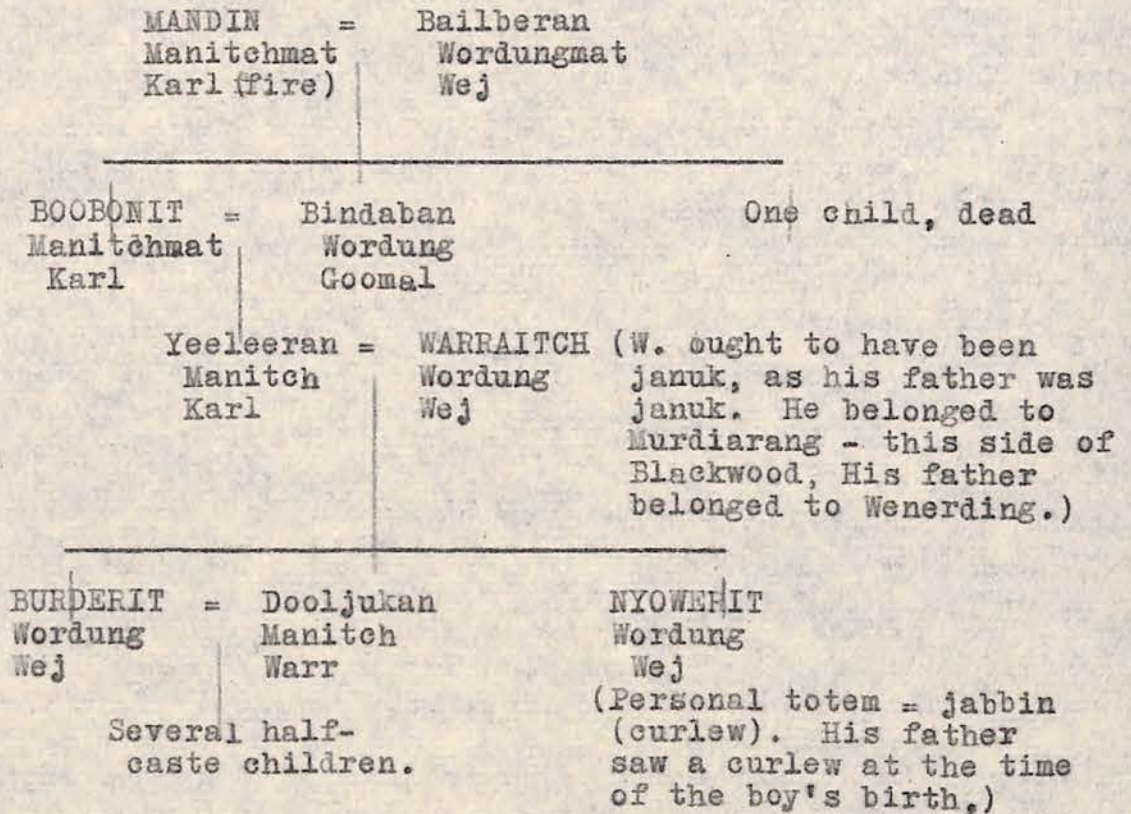
Bridgetown pedigree :-

Male descent.

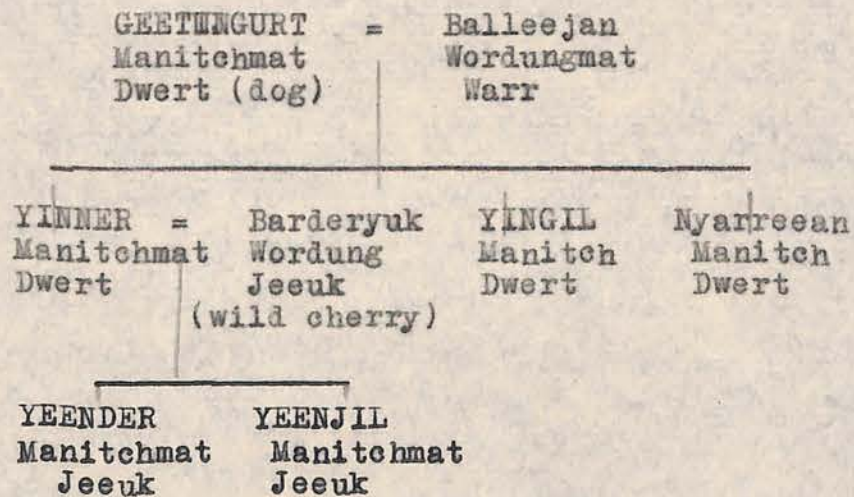
MSS B9;P. 26e "These families will not eat the ngow, but
their relatives can eat it."

What relatives?

In the Bridgetown district the following pedigree shows an hereditary fire totem :-



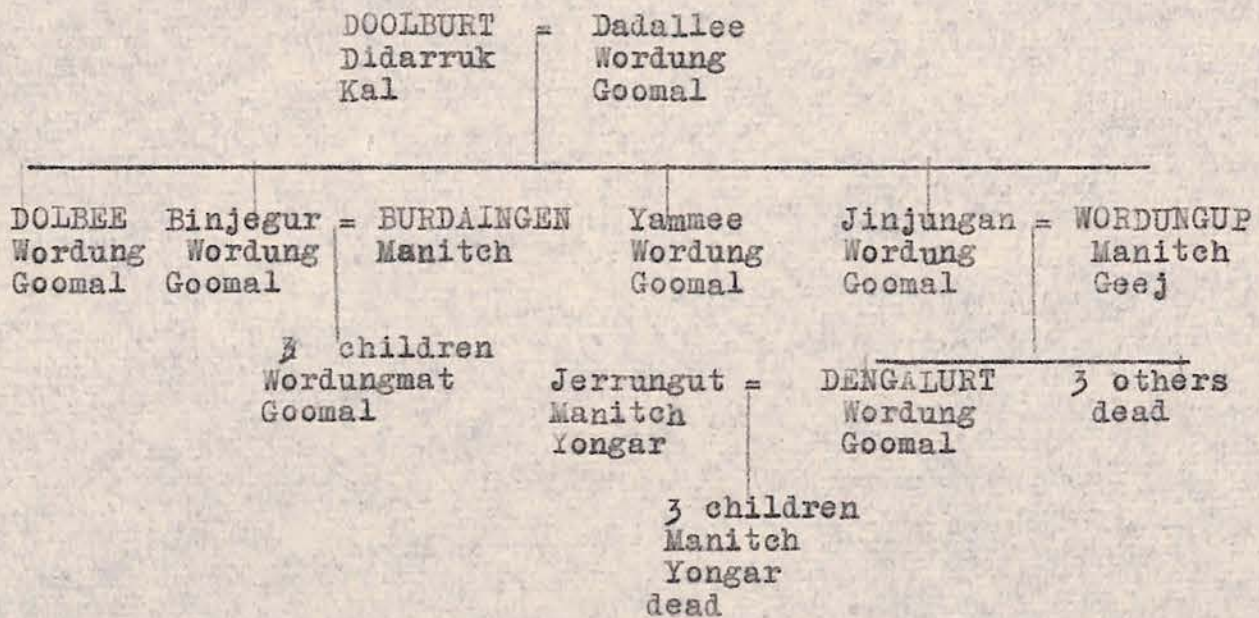
A Baalingbup pedigree shows the second generation following their mother's district totem (wild cherry) instead of their father's hereditary totem (dog), although the descent is paternal.
x



x No reason for this change in the descent of the totem could be supplied.

Yes, the reason was that Yinner had married wrong.

At Borilyaggain where maternal descent obtained, the totem also follows the mother :-



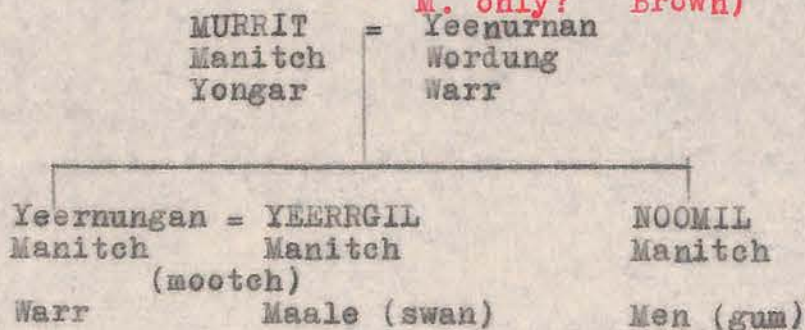
In the Dalyabup district the jeeuk (wild cherry) is an hereditary totem.

The kwurr (brush kangaroo) is the hereditary totem of some Kwerlungup Manitchmat families.

Some Maajetup (Southcoast) Manitchmat families have the warr as an hereditary totem and at Mungarint (N.E. of Albany) the emu is an hereditary totem amongst some Wordungmat. The ngow (pheasant or mallee hen) is also an hereditary totem amongst some Manitchmat families at Mungaring. These families will not eat the ngow, but their relatives can eat it.

At Arthur River the maale or weelar (swan) is an hereditary totem of a Manitchmat local group, but at Wagin the maale becomes an hereditary totem amongst some families in the Wagin district, and north of Narrogin the yongar was an hereditary totem, the women taking the warr (female).

In a Williams district, the male and female kangaroo are the totems of Manitch and Wordung. (Of all Manitch and all Wordung, or of M. only? Brown)



Yeernungan probably came from the Narrogin district where the warr was an hereditary totem.

MSS. P. 40 (footnote)

Retyped Page 27

X

How many hereditary totems can one enjoy?

An example of the variety of personal totems distributed in one family is here given :-

Father (Woolberr)	nyittung borungur	("cold" totem)
Mother (Banyap)	banya	" (perspiration totem)
Eldest son (Winnel)wej		" (emu ")
2nd son (Kaieel)	boorn	" (tree ")
3rd son (Nyabbel)		grease or fat totem
4th son (Jang'el)		bark "
1st daughter (Minnil)		splinter "
2nd daughter (Jang'eejun), no personal totem, the name having been dreamed by the father.		

All these children had the kuljak (swan) as their hereditary totem, their father being kuljak borungur. This is only one of many examples of every member of the family having a different personal totem. In the district or hereditary totems the men of these were alluded to as yongar borungur, wej borungur, goomal borungur, etc., this being a collective as well as an individual totem.

With the exception of certain animals etc., which were forbidden to young people, all edible totems were generally eaten, no restriction being placed upon their consumption, except when the death of a totemist occurred.

The nyeerimba or bootallung (pelican) was an hereditary totem of some Swan district Wordungmat. This totem was distinguished from the majority of hereditary totems by having a dance belonging to it. Some long dead member of the totem "dreamed" a nyeerimba ke'ning (pelican dance) which in time became very popular, the dance travelling South as far as Pinjarra. In the dance the movements of the birds were imitated, and head dresses representing the long bill were worn, the mask of the bird itself being sometimes worn by the older men amongst the dancers. When the "owners" of the song, that is the descendants of the man who dreamed it, were attending a beedawa, they generally danced the nyeerimba ke'ning at the

beedawa showing it to the other visitors to the ceremony. The nyeerimba was not "sung" by any member of the totem. The term "nyeerimba" was confined to the Swan district, bootallung being the general equivalent in the south west dialects. A Ballarruk man made his Tondarup children bootallung borungur, and the sons and daughters of these were bootallung borungur.

Kwanja borungur ("little woman") totem was given by a grandfather to a girl child as her personal totem. It was a mulgar (magic) totem, and when the child grew up she was mulgarguttuk, the kwanja being her "familiar."

The walyoo (wallaby) was an hereditary totem of some Mandura and Pinjarra families. The following vague legend, obtained at Mandura, relates to the travels of a mythical wallaby which appears to have "rested" or remained at Mandura before he travelled further north. In Nyitting times ("in the time of the cold" or in ancestral times), a walyoo or walya came from the south, and sat down to rest. Where he rested a small rock near Kan'goolup and Wilyamup was formed, and this is winnatich and all who go past make a bed for it. As he walked along he left little shells and pebbles behind him. The stone was taken to Koorannup by some natives and was away for years and then was brought back again. A stump is near it. It goes away and comes again. A janga wanted it but janga gumbu b It is called nyiting, also. It is on an island. When the kairip die the stone disappears and goes with them and comes back. As the jungar died the little rushes and every little heap disappeared.

MSS. r. 42

Retyped P. 29

1st par.

Totem myth section separate.

If the yoongar knocked these stones about, the janga walya came to them and said, "What are you knocking my food about for?" and then the yoongar knew that the shells and stone heaps were winneetch and they carefully avoided their vicinity.

As long as Kan'goolup remained solid, the walya borungur lived, but when the rock was broken in pieces they all died. There were many wal' borungur (or oobarree), but they are now all gone. The heaps of pebbles and stones were winneetch until the white people came, when they were scattered about.

In many of the pedigrees it will be noted that the members of certain local (totem) groups exchanged sisters with each other, that is, a Kangaroo totem man married an opossum totem woman, an opossum totem man obtaining a woman from the kangaroo totem local group; but there was no definiteness regarding this rule, which might or might not be followed according to local circumstances.

The hereditary or local group totems appeared to have been of most importance as totems, and in several instances were identified with their owners. In many cases totems were alluded to by their relationship terms, that is, a man whose father stock were gumal borungur, called gumal father, and so on. In the Gingin district the yow'art (kangaroo) was the mamman (father) of some local Nagarnook who had the emu as their ngoondan (brother). Like the emu class totem of the Vasse Nagarnooks the yowart could change itself into a noongar at will. In the Vasse districts some of the older Nagarnooks called the emu their nyooba (children), yet they ate and hunted nyooba and ngoondan.

The presence of the Nagarnooks in the Gingin district was due to an amicable interchange of dajjeluk (betroted girls) during some beerdoewong ceremonies. No regular "line" or "road" for any of these exchanges could be said to exist,

MSS. P. 43

(Brown)

Retyped p. 50

There must therefore be 5 subdivisions at Gingin.

Mythology.

as in many places the neighbouring tribes would be held at enmity, while a friendly exchange of women would take place with tribes almost beyond the "friendly boundary" of local tribes. X

The kangaroo appears to have been ngunning (blood relation) to all Tondarups and was called kon'gan (mother's brother) in the Capel and Vasse districts. It was the mamman to the Gingin Nagarnocks because all their mamman were Tondarups.

A kardar (lizard) hereditary totem man called the kardar "borungur", "oobarree", and "nobba" (child). The kardar was his daaj (meat). If I, being the kardar borungur's babbin, dreamed of a kardar, I would either expect my babbin or some news from him. The totem dreams were always received as omens of some kind, of evil, if a strange totem was dreamed of, and either of news of the person or his arrival in camp in the case of a friendly totem. To dream of a totem falling down, or otherwise injured or wounded, means that the totemist is ill or dead. District totems, of which the hereditary totem may be the modern outcome, were also dreamed by friends of the totemists. At Goo'malung (the present Goomalling) the goomal was the district totem, and should some goomal borungur intend to visit Toojee, Gingin or some other friendly group the goomal went on in advance to announce their coming. If it is seen close in the dream, the visitor will arrive kale'rak (afternoon) next day. The nearness or otherwise of the totem determines the time of arrival of the totemist.

According to the Gingin people the walja was "everybody's moorurt" (relation).

Jarrah was usuallya Wordungmat hereditary totem, but Yoolyeenan, a Tondarup woman, was jerrail oobarree, from her father seeing a little wood grub making a heap of sawdust at the foot of a jarrah tree while boring.

Balbuk's grandmother was given the kuljak as her personal totem by some Gingin moorurt who were kuljak borungur, and who were visiting the Swan district natives at the time of her grandmother's birth. She was called Wang'oorn from the cry of the swan, "Wang'oorn, wang'oorn." In the Swan and Gingin districts if the mother died, her son would not eat the female of his mother's totem, nor the female of his own totem. If the father died, the son refrained from eating his own and his father's male totem, but the female totems were eaten.

The hereditary bird totem of some Northam district natives furnishes an instance of how the origin of certain totems arose :-

Mirram or Yakkangurt used to watch his children sit beside the waterholes with their dowuks (clubs) raised ready to kill all the little birds (jerd) that came to the water to drink. Mirram made his children by two mothers jerd borungur, and the descendants of these were always jerd borungur. Mirram was not jerd borungur, but he founded the hereditary totem and after he had made his children jerd borungur, their indiscriminate killing of the jerda was stopped, and certain regulations respecting the eating of the little birds were observed. Perhaps the easy manner of obtaining food made the children somewhat lazy, and they didnot go far afield to get meat food while it was so ready to their hand. Waterholes are not very frequent in the eastern districts, and many small birds may be seen in the dawn of the morning at certain springs or soaks in these districts, or they will come to the waterholes at sunset and probably camp in the vicinity of the waterhole after they have slaked their thirst. After sunset or before sunrise hundreds of them may be brought down by dowuks and kailees thrown amongst them. After Mirram had made the children jerd borungur, they no longer sat by the waterhole to catch the birds, but went away and hunted the larger animal foods.

All edible cobarree or borungur were given as food for their human totem kins, but perhaps the totemic relationship restricted indiscriminate slaughter or destruction, for no native can wantonly injure or destroy his totem, nor can he kill for the pleasure of killing, he must only kill to eat.

The kweenda (bandicoot) was not only a local group totem in some districts, but it is also traditionally credited with possessing fire, which the pigeon and sparrowhawk filched from it. It is a favourite food of the natives, so much so that that they have forbidden it to boys and girls. If the former eat it they will become boy'ar (lustful, blackguards) and if the girls eat it they will have as many children as the bandicoot which is a prolific breeder.

Any departure from the usual habits of a totemic bird or animal rendered it magic, and it was therefore left untouched by the hunter. When a yongar borungur followed up the tracks of a kangaroo (yongar ngardongin - hunting singly) and killed the animal, should he be obliged to sleep on his tracks, he cut off a paw of the kangaroo, and placing it at some distance from the little fire guarding him on the one hand, the paw of his totem on the other. "The janga kangaroo would then see that the yongar borungur kept the native law and would "look out" for him." According to Balbuk, the kumbegor (owl or mopoke) had power to punish all natives who broke their native laws. He was sometimes called warlogum and was always winnaitchung in the Swan district. Kumbegor is supposed by Balbuk's people to have changed the walja, wordung, manitch and weja into men and women. There was no hereditary kumbegor borungur, but the bird was a personal totem of Kikkit, a Mt. Stirling Tondarup. Different methods were employed for removing the abstinence connected with the totem or other forbidden foods.

MSS. P. 46

Retyped p. 33

Last paragraph

Totemic area

p. 34, par. 1

Dialect

In some districts if the male relatives of a yongar borungur had been abstaining from the yongar owing to the death of their brother, or father, and the abstinence was about to be removed, a yongar was caught, killed, and the fur singed or plucked, and put underneath the coals to cook. While it was being cooked a boorn (stick) was used to stir up or rake the coals together. Each moolcowarra (abstainer) helped to stir the fire with the boorn, which was passed on from one to the other until all the moolcowarra had touched the fire with the boorn. When the yongar was cooked, all partook of it without any more ceremony, the moolcowarra being now free to eat of their totem.

Another method in the Southern districts consisted in getting some of the fat of the forbidden totem, and rubbing it suddenly over the mouth of the abstainer, but the fat must be obtained entirely without his knowledge, or it is ineffectual in removing the ban.

Sometimes a man will refrain for a year (from "beeruk to beeruk" - summer to summer, etc.) from some totem food on the death of a relative, and will then resume the eating of the totem without any ceremony, except perhaps the application of a line of charcoal across nose and cheeks. The length of time seems to obviate the necessity for any further ceremony.

A babbin who has been given a babbin totem will not eat the totem of the dead babbin for a certain time although it is only a personal and babbin totem, and according to the degree of his affection for his dead friend will the period of abstinence extend.

In the Korrlup district, ngow, jeeuk and weest (ant)borungur did not eat their own totems, but ate each other's. In the Balladonia district also the totems were not generally eaten by their totemkins, Weekoowuk ate ngammin (wild fruit) or other totem, and Ngamminwuk ate weeloo eten. Too little, however, is known of these people to do more than make this general statement, given by some Balladonia natives. Deedarr is the Bridgetown equivalent for quail or plover. but I found no didar borungur, either personal or hereditary, at Bridgetown.

In the Swan district deedarr means hornet, but I could not find quail or hornet totem people in either district, neither did there appear to be an hereditary quail totem. The kweelam (swamp hen) was also not a totem in the Southern districts, nor in the Vasse district where it was supposed to have brought the Doonan dialect. Probably a kweelam totem woman had been captured from some north eastern tribe. The Doonan dialect has been found to have many north eastern words in it.

"Kwaggum", the old wordung "kongam" (mother's brother) was traditionally supposed to have been the first bulyaguttuk in the Vasse district, and the noorn (black snake) and kardar (lizard) were assumed by the natives to have power to make bulyaguttuk. All noorn and kardar berungur, when old, were more or less bulyaguttuk.

There were many non-edible totems both of birds and inanimate objects. The kaan'yeenuk (kingfisher) was a totem of some Northam natives who called the bird moorurt, the tummeluk (little ground parrot keolbart (magpie) and jeeluk (squeaker crow) were also moorurt, and totems, but were never eaten by their totem kins.

The koobijet and ngittungit (robin and wagtail) were nguljaruk and were everybody's moorurt, but whether they were at one time district or hereditary totems cannot be stated. Their "moorurt"-ship dated from the time they came to the rescue of the natives killing all the cannibal dogs of the Southern caves.

Vasse tradition states that in Nyitting times a number of dogs lived in the caves (called junga garup - spirit holes) and every day the dogs used to go out hunting and came home in the evening, each dog having a yeongara in his mouth, one big dog, the mamman or father, having an old man in his mouth. The yeongar were too frightened to cook their food, and had to

eat it raw, as they knew the dogs could see or smell the fire.

One day, two little birds, ngittungit and koobijet sat down close by the entrance to the cave, and when the dogs came out one by one, ngittungit hit the first one on the nose and chucked it away, and the next one and the next one and so on, until the big mamman dog came out, and ngittungit also hit him on the nose and chucked him away. Then a little slut (ngan'ga dwerda) came out, and ngittungit tried to hit her but she got away and ran back to the cave, and he searched all over the cave to try and find her but he could not, and that is why there are still dogs in the Southwest. The koobijet became frightened as soon as he saw the dogs, and he went and sat in a tree and watched ngittungit (who was his koobong) kill all the dogs. When the ngittungit had finished his killing he sang, "Jittee-jittee, jitta-jitta," Now no one must touch the ngittungit or koobijet because they saved the yoongar from the cannibal dogs. The ngittungit and koobijet are now demma goomber or nyitting. (Cannibalism must have prevailed in the south in very early times, as although the present day natives state that they were never cannibals, several of their legends point to the practice of cannibalism by local groups.)

Another traditional proof that cannibalism once existed in the Southwest lies in the following legend :- ^(Baaburgurt, informant) The janga boogur (sulky spirit natives) used to eat the yoongar, and the yoongar were very frightened. They had no fire. The ngittungit was very sorry for the yoongar and he cried and Koobijet saw his tears falling.

The koobijet (robin) went to the janga boogur's sister's maia (hut) while her korda (husband) was away. Koobijet sat down beside her, and her sister's children said, "Kon'gan yenna," (mother's brother come), and they came close to koongan, and koobijet caught them and killed them all, and put them into the fire and cooked them. When they were cooked koobijet

called to his people, "Come and carry the meat I have for you." The koobijet killed all the janga boogur, and the ngittungit killed the dwerda, and now all the yoongar can light a fire and not be afraid of being caught and eaten.

Native belief in a mysterious relationship existing between man and animals or birds which were their totems, was particularly strong in the Gingin district.

Relationship terms were applied to animal, bird and other borungur and the words moorurt (blood relation) and borungur were practically synonymous at Gingin. Woolberr stated that the kallil (sergeant ant) was demma (grandfather) to the Gingin natives, and was "moorurt" to those tribes eastward of Gingin. The Gingin men refrain from killing them.

The birart (little lizard) was moorurt to the Gingin men, and the yemerr was the Gingin women's moorurt.

The kaan'yeenuk was a Yabbaroo (northern) moorurt.

The berra-berraling (gold digger bird) was an eastern moorurt (the two class divisions Beerineomat and Joamat are east of Gingin.)

The tummelyk (parrot), koolbart (magpie) and jeelok (squeaker crow) are all eastern moorurt.

The wordung is both a Gingin and an eastern moorurt (in the Gingin district the natives announced the death of a Nagarnook or Ballarruk (Wordungmat) by saying "Woorong' gool wordung," - sea going crow, or crow going over the sea.

The mannait (manitch) is the Southern moorurt, of the Vasse, Bunbury and Murray Manitchmat.

The weejee (emu) was Woolberr's ngangan moorurt through his mother who was weejee borungur., and came from Bunbury district.

The yowart was Woolberr's manan moorurt through his father who was yowart borungur. The kuljak (swan) was their district totem. The woggal belonged to the grandparents of those of the Gingin natives who were mulgarguttuk (possessors of magic).

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It might be that these lizards were sex totems as they are supposed to have formed the male and female organs.

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These terms in themselves show the mystic kinship between men and animals. In all the animal myths of the South, a connection between animals and men is always apparent. Every tribe has legends of birds, animals and reptiles who were once human beings but were changed into their present forms in "demma goomber times." The jerragurt and kallal or koolong (little lizard and sergeant ant) have some connection with the birth of children, but there were no jerragurt borungur nor kallal borungur, (in the latter case the reason was because the kallal was boo'gur (sulky) and required no borungur.) The noorna (black snake) is also neither noy'yung nor ngunning, he can be the totem of Manitch or Wordung.

The following birds, etc., have been specialized as having been natives (human) in demma goomber times :- kweslam (swamp hen), kumbeegor (owl or mopoke), jeedal (little grey insect), kallal, jerragurt, ngan'ga we'ning (blue pigeon), snipe, eaglehawk, emu, crow, cockatoo, lizard, kangaroo, opossum, etc. Dances were at one time held in which the actions, etc., of some of these birds and animals were imitated. Both dances and songs had their origin in dreams. For instance in the yorna (stump-tailed lizard) dance the movements and habits of the reptile are closely imitated. It appears that the yorna are generally found in pairs, the male and female living by themselves and seeking their food together. In the yorna dance two natives only danced at one time, coming out of the shelter with a gliding motion resembling the movement of the yorna, and as they danced or rather glided round the circle, they sang :-

Nganni,boort daji koordar' koelijoo,
Yornan koordar' koelijoo, etc., etc.

(We two, husband and wife, go like the stump-tailed lizard, two together, two together.)

This was generally sung when a man took someone else's wife. The dancers were not necessarily yorna borungur, and although the male and female lizard were supposed to be represented in the dance, no woman could join in it, but one of the dancers generally put some feminine adornment upon himself to personate the female yorna.

There is a distinction between the totems and certain insects etc., which are supposed to have been demma goomber only, and which we must not kill, as we might be killing our own ancestors. Whether the spirits of ancestors entered into these insects instead of going to Kocrannup, the home of all dead natives, or whether they were once human ancestors and were afterwards changed into the shapes they now possess, could not be discovered. The natives have been so long in touch with white settlement in the South, that they unconsciously try to "fit in" their native legends with what they have absorbed of white ideas, particularly as regards birth, death, etc.

Balbuk and I once came upon a sergeant ant's nest. "Are all these kallal demma goomber?" I asked. "Kaia," (yes) said Balbuk, "boorda balgup yoongar kubbain," (by and by they might be yoongar). Balbuk's remarks would intimate that insects and other demma goomber ancestors, might at some future time again become humans. The term demma goomber covers all grandparents and ancestors generally.

The ngan'ga we'nee (mother dead, blue pigeon) was called joogarung (sisters) in some Southern districts, the term being very similar to the Broome district word jonga-jonga (pigeon) which was also a woman in ancestral times. The nganga wenee was not a totem, but in the ^{Bunbury and Vasse. specialize locality} South it represents but one sex, yet it was not a sex totem, it was "dead mother" only, and if it were killed or eaten all the women - mothers, sisters, etc., would die.

The centipede (gunbir) and moojeen (little black ant) have also no human totem kins, yet they have certain special functions in connection with the kallal; they must kill any man who marries his female babbin. These also are demma goomber.

The jecreej (snipe) is another demma goomber who is supposed to have divided the land and the sea with his generative organ. He is moorurt to all coast natives, but he has no totem kins.

As has been shown, the sea, land, moon, stars, daylight, etc., have been personal totems of many of the Southern natives; a Newcastle woman was be'mung (daylight) totem, and also a Bremer Bay district woman. A Southern Cross woman had two star totems (jindung "stars" wardet "morning star"). The ground - boojoor - was a personal totem, the moon being also a personal totem of a Northern man.

Wind and clouds were also personal totems only. The rainbow (walgeen) was not a totem in the Southwest. It belonged to the Ngarinooks of the Capel district but was moorurt to their moorurt (Tondarup children etc.). It was a personal totem in the Murchison district.

The jeerajain is a species of little bird that has no totem kin, but is identified with the natives in some unexplainable way. Like the nganga weni it must never be killed nor eaten.

It is not improbable that certain demma goomber insects etc., once represented certain branches of the family, that is, "father's side," "grandfather's side," "mother's side," "grandmother's side," amongst those people by whom they are now held sacred or winnaitchung (forbidden). Their demma goomber-ship is not universal in the Southwest.

Amongst many of the hereditary animal totems there are legends which show that a spirit animal is associated with them who can bring punishment to those who fail to obey the rules concerning the killing and cutting up of such totem foods.

In the following legend the woggal is appealed to by the Janga kangaroo to bring punishment upon some children who had "made a mock" of him during their father's absence. The janga kangaroo apparently cannot punish the children himself so he calls in the aid of the janga woggal.

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It is not improbable that certain demma goomber insects etc. once were totems in the Vasse, Bunbury and Perth districts

Give native names of father.

"father's side" - mama

grandfather's side - murrin

Mother's side - nganga

grandmother's side - demma

... punishment upon some children who had "made a mock" of him during their father's absence. The janga kangaroo apparently cannot punish the children himself so he calls in the aid of the janga woggal.

Some yoongar and yogga went out one day kangaroo hunting, leaving their little boys in the camp with the old people. By and by one of the boys said, "Let us catch some mice and skin them and cook them just like father killing the kangaroo." They got some mice and killed them and skinned them, pretending they were kangaroos, and then they cooked and ate them. By and by the mother mice, who had been away hunting, came home and looked for their children, but they could not find them anywhere; presently they saw their tracks, and they followed these and soon came to the place where the boys had caught the mice. Then they tracked the boys and very soon came to their camp where they saw only the bones of their little children.

They cried and went to the janga kangaroo, and told him the boys had made a mock (nur'raning) of him, and had killed and skinned and eaten their little children, pretending they were kangaroos. The janga kangaroo was very angry (gaa'-rung'-gaa'rung) and went and told the woggal what the boys had done, asking him to punish them for mocking him. The woggal came along with the janga kangaroo to the boys' camp and when he reached it he turned it upside down (mooja-deeja) and covered it with water, and it drowned the boys who had mocked their daaj (food). The janga kangaroo and the woggal then returned to their own boojoor (ground) and they sang their own names as they went to show what they could do :

Dowingerup ga, dowingerup ga,
Woggalilla baggineree kaangana ga,
Kaanganup woggalilla baggineree ga,
Dowingerup ga.

The place where Dowingerup camp was is now a lake, and is winnaitch. It appears from the above legend that the totem animal cannot hurt its human totem kins, but if they offend against the totem food laws the spirit animal can bring punishment upon them for such offence.

It is a very interesting circumstance that the fossil remains of a giant marsupial have been discovered recently in the district where the janga kangaroo, which is supposed by the natives to be a huge mythical beast, had its special habitat. The travels of the janga kangaroo were between Cape Naturaliste and Hamelin Bay, in what are now known as the Caves districts, in one of which (the Mammoth Cave) the fossil remains were discovered. The neighbourhood of the caves was winnaitch boojoor (forbidden ground) to all natives.

There was apparently but one janga kangaroo in the South west, although there were many hereditary kangaroo totem people living in districts far away from the special ground which was the home of the janga kangaroo mentioned above. The legend undoubtedly has some relation with the giant marsupials which appear to have flourished at one time in the Southwest corner, and which were doubtless contemporary with the ancestors of the present inhabitants.

Every deep pool throughout the West is inhabited by a huge snake, called by various dialectic equivalents, and the services of these mythical snakes can be commanded by the sorcerers of the districts, all of whom will have the woggal either as a "familiar", personal totem, or hereditary totem. In the district where a woggal pool exists, the sorcerer who wishes to use the services of the snake goes down to the bottom of the pool and lies beside it and whispers his desires which the woggal grants. The woggal is especially the friend of the Nagarnocks of the Vasse and Bunbury districts and will not harm them, but it is not their totem. A vague statement was given by Wunar and Yurnil that it had the power of changing itself into an emu, but for what purpose was not stated. The emu, which is the class totem of the Nagarnocks, cannot change into a woggal.

In some of the pools which the woggals frequent, the mythical snakes extract tribute in food from persons visiting the pool, whether they are woggal borungur or not, and in all places haunted by woggal (woggal winnaitch) either rushes are strewn when passing the vicinity, or the place is avoided altogether. With many woggal totem people the woggal was an article of food, but the woggal inhabiting the deep pools were magic and could not be eaten.

The woggal is therefore healer, punisher, cannibal, and malignant reptile, but it has never had any other shape than that of a reptile, except in the Kallurnung pool, where it appears to be a sort of mythical beast with feathers growing on head and back. When it is a totem it can be eaten by some tribes, not by others. The magic snake can extract tribute from those who hunt in the vicinity of its pool, whether they are woggal borungur or not, and it exacts certain propitiatory services from all those passing its winnaitch grounds, in the form of rushes or boughs which must be strewn on the rock, hill or other place which it has made winnaitch.

If a kangaroo is killed near a woggal's pool and the hunters camp near the water and cook part of the game, a portion must be set aside for the owner of the pool or harm will come to the men. The woggal smells the food while it is being cooked.

The Collie district woggal lived in a pool in the river near a big hill. When the yoongar go opossum hunting they usually camp in the vicinity of the pool, but when the opossum is cooked they must break off a quarter of the animal and leave it beside the pool for the woggal. If no food is left, the woggal puts bulya into the native who "gets giddy" and very soon dies.

The Swan district natives believe that

If bubbles rise to the surface of the water in a woggal pool when a native stoops to drink, that native will soon die.

The woggal will coil round a native who ventures into his pool and will kill him, but if a native is "clever" he can dive underneath the woggal and escape it. A Capel district native who was mulgarguttuk but not woggal borangur was one day caught by a woggal who swallowed him. The man, however, turned into a turtle and was vomited by the woggal, and when the turtle came out of the woggal it changed into the mulgarguttuk again. This mulgarguttuk was not a turtle totem man.

Another native sorcerer transformed himself into lightning and killed the woggal, and after he had killed it he got his own body back again. All these legends, etc., show the importance of the woggal, not only as a totem, but also as healer and vengeful reptile. It is healer to its totem kin only, and is "sulky" (boogur) to all others unless it is propitiated by some gift of food, or by the strewing of rushes.

Certain trees within and beyond the timbered areas of the Southwest have both phratry and sex, and are the totems of the phratries to which they belong. In the timber districts, as has been stated, Wordungmat are generally boorn borungur (tree totem), but both within and beyond those timbered belts, certain specified trees belong to one or the other phratry, irrespective of other totems. The following are some of the trees so classed :-

<u>English</u>	<u>Native</u>	<u>Sex of tree</u>	<u>Phratry Totem</u>
Red gum	Marree	Male	Manitchmat
White gum	Bulleet, warnda	Female	Wordungmat
Blue gum	Bulleet	Female	Wordungmat
Tuart	Too'urt	Male	Manitchmat (grandmother's side)
Peppermint tree	?	Female	Wordungmat
Cabbage tree	Moojarr	"	"
Jamwood	Mungart	"	"
Banksia	Mungaitch	"	" and Manitch
Paperbark	Goolyung	"	Manitch gee'an'- agur & demmagur (grandparents' side)
Paperbark	Yorla moodart	"	Manitchmat
Broombush	Ngoondeck	"	"
Wattle	Bee'burrak	"	"
Stinkwood	Kobba	"	Wordungmat
Blackboy	Kalga	"	"
Blackboy	Yoolak	"	"
Jarra	Jerrail	"	"
Spearwood	Joorra	"	Manitchmat (ngan'gan'gur & kon'- gan'gur, mothers & mothers' brothers)
Sea coast shrubs	Woo'ee'um	"	Manitchmat
Bulrushes	Ka'raburt	"	"

<u>English</u>	<u>Native</u>	<u>Sex of tree</u>	<u>Phratry totem</u>
Sea coast shrubs	Ee'rin'yung	Female	Wordungmat
Sheoak	Kweela, kwela	"	Wordungmat (Demmangur)
Prickly acacia	Be'run	"	Wordungmat (keolongur - children's side)
White flowered acacia	Dulgarn-dulgarn Dwalgur, dulgara	"	Manitchmat (demmangur)
?	Mo'a beeramitch	"	Wordungmat

Notwithstanding that these objects are divided into phratry totems, a Manitchmat may have a Wordungmat tree as an individual totem. Yoolyeenan, a Manitchmat by maternal descent had the jerrail as her personal totem, given her by her father, a Wordungmat and boorn borungur. Certain trees belong to certain sides of the family, so to speak, as the toourt and paperbark which belong to the father's father's side; the spearwood which belongs to the mothers and mothers' brothers' side; the kweela (sheoak) which belongs to the mothers' fathers' side, and the berung (prickly acacia) which belongs to the brothers' children's side. It is possible that these terms mean that the trees bearing such special designation were at one time the totems of certain Manitch and Wordung local groups. Some of the trees grow within certain defined areas, such as the tuart, which is confined to the coast district between Capel and Perth. My informant's father's father belonged to the coast within these boundaries, and it might be postulated that the tuart was at one time an inherited totem of Manitchmat families in that district. The special species of paperbark (goolyung) might also be local and confined to my informant's grandparents' district. So with the spearwood, sheoak and prickly acacia. The Casuarina Fraserina (sheoak) which belonged to my informant's (Baburgurt's) mother's

father's side is chiefly found in that part of the South Western district which was their hereditary hunting ground. The natural habitat of the be'rang or prickly acacia also appears to be the Southwestern district, and consequently may be the possible home of the young be'rang borungur.

Ngilgee's grandfather was Manitenmat and belonged to the tuart country, the tuart being his district borungur. Baaburgurt's mother and grandmother were Manitenmat and came from the goolyung (paperbark) country. The spearwood (joora) belonged to the "mother's people" of another informant. The kwoola (sheoak) was the district totem of Doon-gunit's grandmother, and the prickly acacia (be'rang) was the district totem of the children only.

The red gum tree is male, yet at certain seasons it sheds a kind of red gum which the natives say resembles the women's menstrual periods, and is consequently unclean. All natives avoid the tree at this time, and will not allow their women to go near it. Should a girl wilfully approach the tree at the period of its exudations, she will be a bad woman. Even if no other trees are available in the vicinity, the natives will not camp under the gum at that season.

In the Bridgetown district the phratry of some of the trees changes, and they are the totems of the phratries they enter. The jerrail is Manitch and is the totem of Manitchmat and so on. In this district also, the woggal, noorn, waalaitch, jeer or jorrabit (snipe) are all Manitchmat totems, and various roots -- maaj, kwerding, jinjung (like a punpkin), ngwammelong (fungus), joobok (wild potato) and weet (white ant) are the totems of Manitchmat only. Kubijet and minnijit (robin) are demma goomber (not totems) in the Bridgetown district. In the demma goomber times the waddarngur used to let all the kangaroo go away, but kept the warr for himself. Minnijit asked waddarngur where all the warr were. Waddarngur said, "Ngan kuttitch burt," (I don't know). "Bal koolyumitch," (He tells lies) said Minnijit, to himself, so one day he watched the waddarngur and saw him take a warr out of the hole where he had hidden them, and take the warr away to his kont (cave), and as soon as the waddarngur went away, Minnijit let all the warr out of the hole, and that is why we have plenty warr. If it had not been for Minnijit we should have no warr (female kangaroo).

MSS. P. 57

Retyped pages 47 , lines 6 and 7

Only two?

MSS. P. 58

Retyped pages 47a, line 1.

More than two?

"descend from parent to child" - what parent?

It has been shown that within the two primary phratries of the South West, there are class totems, district or local totems, hereditary totems, and personal totems.

The phratry totems are the phratry bird names, class totems are the emu (Nagarnook), rain (Tondarup and Didarruk), and dang'ail (Ballarruk). The district totems are the black swan (Gingin), mungaitch (Swan district) etc., the hereditary totems are the dog totem (Nyeerrgoo district), the bird totem (Northam) etc., the personal totems are bark (Gingin), wind (Pinjarra) etc.

Persons of the same phratry totem cannot marry, neither can persons of the same "class" totem, nor, as in the case of Nagarnook and Ballarruk class totems which differ from each other, can the members of these intermarry, for they are the subdivisions of one phratry (Wordungmat). Persons of the same hereditary totem cannot marry because of the blood relationship between them.

N.W. Thomas in his recent work, "Kinship and Marriage in Australia," p. 51, states that "membership of the totem kin descends from parent to child while one member remains." In West Australia this statement is somewhat qualified through the number of "totem kins" existing amongst the phratries. The phratry totem kin membership certainly descends from parent to child for ever, unless the male severs his connection with his people and becomes "naturalized" in a new tribe. The subdivisional or "Class" totem kin descends from Nagarnook mother to Nagarnook daughter, or from Tondarup mother to Tondarup daughter for ever (maternal descent prevailing). The district totem kin belongs to all the members born in such district.

The members of hereditary totem kins such as the "dog", "bird", etc., descend from parent to child for ever regardless of descent. That is, a dog (hereditary) totem man will marry a bird totem woman and their children will be both dog and bird, the dog being predominant in the father's district, the bird in the mother's. These children cannot marry into either dog or bird group for they are the blood relations of both. For three generations the relationships, totem kins, etc., are distinctly marked, and known, but anything connected with the fourth generation is problematic., for there is no native equivalent for great-grandparents, great grandchildren, etc. Should there happen to be a great grandchild, the great grandmother calls it jockan or ngoondan (sister or brother) or ngan'gan (mother), or nooba (child). The terms differed with each of my native informants. At Kerriup I found five generations in one family, the fifth being half-caste. The great-great-grandmother (Ngalbaitch) was called jockan by her great granddaughter, and dem ("cousin") or ngais (usually the name applied by a daughter-in-law to her mother-in-law by her great-great-grandson. All relationships beyond the demma and murrin (grandparents) are demma goomber (ancestors).

MSS. P. 59

Retyped page 48

/ This is transitional merely, the paternal is becoming the
totem.

An instance of two persons of the same totem marrying was found in the Vasse district. A Nagarnook and wej (emu) borungur (class totem) man married a Gingin woman whose personal totem was the emu, her name and totem being given to her from her father finding an emu sitting on its eggs. The woman was a member of the kuljak (swan) totem kin (district) and the rain totem kin (Class). Her children inherited her Class totem (rain) but neither her district totem nor their father's Class totem directly, only "half and half", as the natives say. They had a life membership with both on account of their parents. The children of these (the 3rd generation) were a Manitenmat and rain (Class) totem.

Marriage is therefore outside the phratry totem, and the Class totem (generally), also the hereditary totem, but it may be within the district totem (and the class totem) if the areas of these be sufficiently large to ensure due attention being paid to the relationship of the parties. The special relationship terms which represent the "forbidden degree" (dow'el'ung-kootajung, and deetaganjee), of marriage have already been explained.

Dr. Andrew Lang's statements that "in no tribe with female descent can a district have its local totem" (Secret of the Totem, p. 73) and that "each child, as in all tribes with female descent is of its mother's totem" (ibid. 75) are not borne out in the Southwestern tribes. In all tribes with female descent the father's hereditary or local group totem will take precedence of the mother's totem, except in the case of the emu totem of the Nagarnook. The mungaitch borungur, the kuljak borungur, and other district totems are found amongst tribes with female descent.

There was no actual or definite headmanship of totem kin groups, for although the names of some "founders" of hereditary totems were known, as they were not themselves members of the totems they founded they could assume no headmanship of such totems. Age appeared to be the principal qualification amongst the members of a group, and personal character also went for much. The "singing" of an hereditary totem was usually conducted by one or more of the older men, but in the case of a district totem, such as the mungaitch, any fully initiated man might work for its increase in the manner previously described. Each season in the South had its totems, but in such a prolific country as regards game, fish, etc., the ceremonies held for the increase of each totem were very short. The kalda kaening (dance) lasted but one afternoon and evening, although the "singing" might occur every day during the "visitors'" stay at the fishing grounds. It was the general rule that the singing should be done by the elder or elders of the totem group, and these in nearly all cases were more or less mulgarguttuk (medicine men).

The ceremony of increasing opossums, banksia flowers, edible gum, etc., was performed at varying intervals by separate members of these district totems, all of whom took care to confine the ceremonies to their proper seasonal periods, as if they were performed too early or too late, very little, if any, increase in the supply would ensue.

To pick the flowers of the honey-bearing banksia or any flowering edible root before these had become ripe was to cause heavy rain to come, which would diminish the supply of honey, roots, etc. Children were made aware at an early age of the "magic" penalties attaching to a breach of this custom, and were taught to distinguish the difference between flowers and edible food blossoms.

One of the principal and most succulent root foods of the Southwest is the warrain, yet amongst all the tribes visited

none had any recollection of any ceremony being practised for its increase. It was at one time a district totem, being very abundant within a certain defined area, but there are very few, if any, warrain borun, or now living. Demma goomber are supposed to have planted the warrain within a certain radius, beyond which it was not found.

At Cape Leeuwin and along the coast towards the Vasse and Bunbury, there were at one time mammang borungur (whale totem people), but with the departure of the whales, their human totem kins also disappeared. The last mammang borungur died about forty years ago. It is curious to note that a dead whale, stranded on the beach, was eaten by its totem kins and others, its death having apparently no significance. In the case of all other fish totems, a dead totem found on the beach means the death of its human totem kin. As all the mammang borungur were dead, no inquiry could be instituted into this exception to the general totem rule. The huge seas and mountain waves that roll inward on the coast about Cape Leeuwin during the winter months cause the seas in those parts to be termed "mamman waddarn" or "father seas", the estuaries and quieter bays and inlets being nganga waddarn, "mother seas". The natives never swam in the mamman waddarn "because father was always angry there." Although the seas were represented as of both sexes, the waddarn borungur or sea totem people did not differentiate the sexes. Whether it was estuary, bay or inlet, or sea, all coastal people were waddarn borungur without distinction of sex, either of the totem or of themselves.

MSS. P. 61

Retyped P. 51

"The magic of incantation," etc.

That is, we assume the totem to the totem. marriage as primitive.

Brown's comments

"The magic of incantation," etc.

Make this concrete.

Magic used through totems only.

In the Perth, Northam, Gingin and York districts, if a native woman wished to take revenge upon some one, it was not necessary for her to obtain the totem animal of the person in order to carry out her purpose. An opossum or kangaroo rat or some other small animal was caught alive, and a small pointed bone or stick (beenda) was stuck through its head or stomach. The animal was then placed in the woman's goota (bag), and as its groans were heard, the woman knew that her enemy was also suffering in the same manner and crying out. As the animal wasted so did the enemy, and when it eventually died, the woman knew that her vengeance was accomplished. She did not utter the enemy's name aloud when the animal was pierced, nor at any time during its wasting away, nor did she "sing" the enemy's name. As she pressed the pointed stick through the little animal she "whispered" either her enemy's name or the locality of his camp, and the stick, as it was driven through the animal pointed in the direction of the enemy. This proceeding was called bul'yak ngannin ("bulya" eating him or her).

The magic of incantation, that is, the singing of a totem name in order to injure some member of that totem, could not have been evolved at the period when the two phratry names only existed, since if a Werdungmat wished to use magic on another werdung (crow) he harmed possibly his own mother's and his father-in-law's people, or if he wished to put magic into a Manitchmat he inflicted the injury on his own father's and his mother-in-law's people. Singing an enemy's totem name could only have begun with the subdivision of the primary phratries, and the rise of the hereditary totems.

Many totems may have arisen and died out in the ages that have passed, others constantly taking their places. Certain species of animals have flourished and become extinct in districts to which they were apparently confined. The natives give many names of animals that have long since died out, the people whose totems these animals were having also died with their totems. It is not improbable that there were giant kangaroo totem kins in the days when the sthenurus lived and roamed over its prescribed area.

Markings on Southwestern weapons were not totemic, they represented only the ownership of the weapon, or the district where it was made. The wood of the weapon might be the totem of the owner, or the weapon itself might be a totem (such as the boorn borungur - tree totem; ge-j borungur - spear totem), but the markings only distinguished the owner, or district.

Scarring the body had also no totemic significance. The scars were usually executed by kobongur upon each other, or by women upon their men as tokens of affection, the man also scarring the young woman. Jobaitch showed me special scars which had been made by some of the young women with whom he had eloped in his early days. Woolberr had also many scars reminiscent of his success with women. The men in return scarred their women on breast, stomach, thighs or upper arms, and both men and women were very proud of these scars, but they were not totemic. Wordung scarred Manitch and Manitch scarred Wordung, each being ko'bong to the other, but the scarring was not accompanied by any special ceremony. Sisters and brothers never scarred each other.

The phratries may be posited as having arisen from variations in colour and physique the "kinship" to the phratry bird names naturally following. The district totems must have had their rises through plenitude of the animal, bird or vegetable in the district. The hereditary totems will also have had their origin in some special manner, such as the dog totem or in their abundance or through their being a favourite food of some group.