MARRIAGE LAWS, etc.

Information obtained from Dorre Island, of the Ashburton and more northerly districts.

Also part of Cornally's information on marriage laws.
Wogura, Korabali
nyiringningu
Yauauui, nyad, u
totems yalabiri, wad, u, u, root.
Mariara, ngogi
ngaiari
Kaiada, kajurdu
jirdji (seed)
nyarduna
yungu, tualga
ngaiara
waderi, wirdari, wilari got pardura
wad, iri
kada wiragula, iguana

Matarra matchongoi

Wiarrji - maburdee
Bauing

wallaridoo - eaglehawk

Yalabidi man - Wogura woman.
Pardura cannot take kajalbu. He can take bungurdi.
Kajalbu can take nyarduna.

Nyirningningu (grape)
Yungu can take wariara
m. Banaka

Nyarduna, f.
Burunguna

Wogura m.

Ngogi, yalabiri woman

Nyarduna, f.

Wariara m.

Wogura woman can take yalabidi man.
<table>
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<th>Father and son</th>
<th>Mother</th>
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<th>Brother</th>
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<td>Dargari, Yauli</td>
<td>Yurla</td>
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<td>Talainji</td>
<td>Banaka</td>
<td>Kajariu</td>
<td>Kajariu</td>
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<td>Kajariu</td>
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Note: **Madi, a wilaguru** P. 99

**Panguru**, roots on buln.

**Bungurdi**

**Bilarru**

**Burdura**

**Kajalbu**

**Fardura**

**Kardan, etc. seed, and kadurru seed.**

**Jirubardi**

**Bongana (duck)**

**Ngamani**

**Kardan**
A Bungurdi woman can take a Pardura man.
A Kajalbu woman can take wongana yakan.
A Pardura woman can take Bungurdi yakan.
A Bilana woman can take Wong-nguru or Wor-ngura man
A Jirikwari woman can take Kajalbu man.
A Xirrgu woman can take wong-nguru man.
A Warrida woman can take yanga t'adu man, rain N. of Bibingi.
A Jirdara woman can take Pardura man.
A Kaju woman can take Pardura man.
  " " " " " Xirrgu man.
  " " " " " Bilana man
  " " " " " Kajalbu man.

A Kardandu woman can take Ngamari or Bauerta man.
A Wong-nguru woman can take Ngamari or Bauerta man.
A Mādaronga woman can take Kagalbu yakan.
A Jiribardi woman can take Ngamari man.

F. 100

Banaka and Faljari    Mjajongu, white gum
                       Bauerta tree.
MARRIAGE LAWS

Mr. Young makes mention of *wadjera* as a name denoting certain women of his marrying class whom a man may not marry although they are his murdong (see dowelung kootajung).

Cornally states that *wadjera* is Champion Bay word for cousin and even although a woman may be the murdong of the man, if she becomes in some way his cousin or *wad-jeer-a* he cannot marry her.

The mother-in-law

Too-ah in the Nor’West (Nooalla)

Doo-ah amongst the Thadgardee and Bootena

Nganyerri - Irrawadjeree, Ingardas and Gascoyne and Champion Bay

Kad- jeri - Minilya (Byong)

Doo-ah, Talinjee

Nganyi - Gascoyne district

Maam yog, Southern district (Williams)

According to Cornally, the word *ncool-vae* was applied to all old women or to women who had lost their husbands.

(See above p. 9)

*Wadjera* is the name given on the Eastern Goldfields to certain women who, notwithstanding that they are the “wives” (murdong) of the men of their marrying class, yet cannot marry them because of a relationship existing between them. In Champion Bay the word has a similar meaning - what we would call “cousin.” A woman may be the murdong of a man, but if she is wadjera to him he cannot marry her, which is probably similar to the custom in the south. A father’s sister’s children and a mother’s brother’s children are kordamata to each other, but they cannot marry because of the relationship - dowelung-kootajung it is called.
MARRIAGE LAWS

Cornally has known certain Kymera men who could not take certain Paljeri women from a desire probably to prevent in-breeding. He has also known a Gascoyne Kymera obtain his Paljeri wife from Nor'West Cape nearly 200 miles away and he has known another Gascoyne native, a Nyg Kymera, take a Malinjee Paljeri woman from the Ashburton about 160 miles away.

The only reason Cornally says that a Kymera man cannot marry every Paljeri woman is that she may be related to him, as well as being of his marrying class and the relationship prevents the marriage.

Cornally mentions amongst others the case of a Peedong Kymera native coming from the Upper Gascoyne between Charlie Smith's and Shaw's, marrying a Kookynie Paljeri woman 300 miles away from him. How the parties must have come together would be in one of those big cowiroos which probably would take place say at Wiluna. The man's tribe would journey possibly 150 miles to the place of the corroboree and the woman's tribe would come the same distance from the opposite direction and they would meet at the cowiroo. This is a point in favour of the universality of the Class names Boorong, etc. and also of the fundamental unity of language. The natives of the interior have to travel greater distances to the cowiroo grounds than the coastal natives.
Cormally states that the marriage laws and class divisions published in the circular are absolutely correct. He was adopted by the Kymeras and every Boorong man was his "father" and every Banaka woman his mother, every Paljeri woman being his potential wife. All Kymeras were his brothers.
Let it be supposed that two Kymeras, one young, beardless and single, the other older, bearded and married. These have been great friends during the boyhood of the younger man. As soon as the latter is circumcised, he must not speak to or look at the older man; should they meet at a camp and desire to exchange news, they turn their backs upon each other, and the elder begins a recitative of all the news he has obtained during the absence of the younger. His words are apparently addressed to the air, but the younger man listens and at the close of the recitation, he commences to tell his news in the same manner. If any food, tobacco or presents pass between, they must throw it behind their backs towards each other. This ceremony of avoidance of direct communication with each other is kept up until the young man obtains a wife, when the friends can again hold open converse with each other, and continue their friendship. The reason for this avoidance being that the wives of the elder man are Pajjeri and the younger Kymera having been initiated might possibly be tempted to steal one of them.
Fun'-iarne is applied to a young woman who has just been allotted to a man and who becomes from the first apparently discontented with her lot. She will not sit with her husband, nor near him, she will always turn her back upon him, will not look at him, nor sleep close to his side, nor perform any of these attentions usual in a young wife. Cornally says he has never known the men to be cruel to the young women who treated them in this manner. Perhaps it is the native method of courting? The young woman will run away from him and take refuge in the camp of some of her relatives, but she does not go too great a distance away, so as to prevent the young man from easily obtaining her again, and she does not go away with another man. During all this time the husband is patient with her and humours her until at last she rests content with her lot. This procedure on the young woman's part sometimes lasts two or three months. After this time and presumably when she has asserted her inalienable right to be pursued and won, her changes her tactics and becomes the obedient wife.

If the elder brother has two wives and has a younger brother who becomes attached to one of these women and runs away with her, if he is followed by his father or uncle and brought back, neither is speared, but if she runs away with him a second time, the husband follows and the two brothers fight, the victor keeping the woman. If she runs away a third time she is killed, either speared by the men or pounded by the women, the man being speared for the offence, but in the event of her relatives resenting her death, the young man stands a good chance of being killed by them. Yallinyoo is the name given to this method of elopement, as distinguished from pun-iarnoe which is merely a form of courtship after marriage.

A bad woman in the tribes is simply showered with spears by all the men of her tribe, but this is not resorted to until it is proved that nothing can be done with her, that she makes no distinction of class in pursuing her evil course. Walyeecooroo is the name given to a woman of this kind, on the Gascoyne and Ashburton.
Cornally has only known one case in which two men were married to the one woman. One of these men was a Wat'ardee man (uncircumcised) named Mardee-wadjoo, and the other was an Agardee (circumcised) man named Ngoo'boo-marra. Both belonged to Champion Bay, one belonging to the eastern portion, the other to the western part of the Bay. Both were Kymeras, and both had been reared together as boys, the Watardee adjoining the Agardee boundary.

They both lived together with this woman for about 6 or 7 years, and eventually Ngooboomarra thought he would like to have the woman to himself and so ran away with her. Mardeeawadjoo followed him and speared him and returned to his camp with the woman. After a time Ngooboomarra came back to the camp and the old relations were resumed between the three. The three did not sleep in the one hut, Mardeeawadjoo having first obtained the woman slept with her in their hut, Ngooboomarra sleeping in another hut or shelter some distance away, but in all other respects the woman paid equal attention to both men, pounding roots and seeds for them in equal proportion. When they changed camp the woman carried the bundles of both men and when the new camp was reached, she made two shelters, once for each man. The woman was of the proper marrying class of each man.