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TOTEMS

SOUTHERN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

T O T E M S.

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T O T E M S

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The Southern and Southwestern equivalents for "totem" are : borungur, oobarri, woobarri, oobar (all terms for brothers), uk, wuk (belonging to).

The term borungur is however most generally used, and is understood by the tribes of the Southern districts as far as Balladonia (lat. 32, long. 124), and is used by the Southwestern natives as far northward as Jurien Bay (lat. 30, long. 115-116). As far as has been ascertained, there are no elaborate ceremonies practised by the Southern tribes for the increase of their totemic animals or plants. Certain little customs are followed in the case of some vegetable totems, such as plucking a leaf and twig from a branch of the honey-bearing banksia, and placing these in the fork of a tree, in order to ensure a plentiful supply of the honey. This small ceremony is however performed by an individual member of the banksia totem, and is not accompanied by any special decoration of the body. Beyond these practices, and the singing of some Southwestern totem songs by one of the older members, the tribes under review appear to allow their respective totems to increase and multiply for their benefit without any magical performances.

The Southern and Southwestern portion of the State has however an ample supply of native foods throughout the year, for the rainfall is regular and the nature of the country, in its well-timbered areas and rich river flats, must have been from time immemorial fully capable of maintaining a constant supply of animal and vegetable food. There would therefore be no necessity for the performance of elaborate ceremonies for the increase of the various animal and vegetable totems, since the natural increase of these was sufficient for the inhabitants, but there were laws, rules, customs, etc., for the preservation of certain animal and vegetable foods.

With regard to non-edible totems, no ceremony of any kind appears to have been performed for them. The most searching inquiries failed to obtain the counterpart of the Thaballa totem

so elaborately ceremonialised by the Arunta people in South Australia.

The term "kobong" has always been taken by writers on W.A. totems to mean "a totem or crest", ever since its first mention in Grey's Journal as holding that meaning. Kobong, koobong and babbin are however terms applied to a human friendship, pledged between two young men who stand in the relation of brothers-in-law to each other, or between an elderly woman and a young boy, whose parents or grandparents may have been the kobongur of the woman, or in some such case as will be explained later. Kobong is the equivalent in the Vasse district, but both kobong and babbin are found amongst the tribes between Albany and Victoria Plains. This human friendship exists throughout the State under various dialectic names, and has been found in all to be quite distinct from that peculiar and mysterious kinship existing between the aborigines and all natural objects which is called by the Southern and Southwestern people the "borungur" or elder brother (borung = eldest brother).

In the native mind, the distinction between human friendship and the totem kinship is never confused. A pledged friendship (called kobong-guktuk) could not exist between a man and any object in the animal or vegetable world. Human friends are kobongur, totemkin are borungurmat.

In the Social Organisation of the Southern Group, the two primary phratries possess bird names - Wordungmat (wordung = crow) Manitchmat (manitvh = white cockatoo, mat = family stock or leg).

Marriage is exogamous between these two phratries. A Crow man calls the crow his borungur, and a White Cockatoo man is manitch borungur; marriages cannot lawfully take place within the phratry or within the phratry borungur.

There was no superstitious respect for Crow or White Cockatoo amongst the Southern people, the white cockatoo being eaten whenever caught. Crow however was not a usual article of food except as a matter of necessity. The crest and other feathers of the white cockatoo were frequently worn at dances and other ceremonies, and from their gay colouring they form an article of commerce amongst all the tribes, but apart from their decorative uses

and their value as articles of barter, they are of no other importance, and have no further totemic significance than that a Wordungmat is wordung borungur and a Manitchmat is manitch borungur.

The bird names of the phratries may have been applied (1) from colour, and (2) to form exogamous intermarrying groups, so that a group bearing one bird name could only marry into a group bearing the other bird name.

There is no legendary evidence that the phratry names were not applied to the two primary groups by themselves, but were bestowed upon them by the eaglehawk - that is, from outside. No magic could be worked upon the name to injure the phratry or any member of it, since the names were familiar to all. There is however a certain feeling of fear connected with the phratry totem, as for instance, if some Manitchmat are seated by their camp fire and a crow alights in their vicinity, they believe that it may be a booyungur Wordungmat (stranger crow) come to work evil magic upon some of their members. Similarly, a Wordungmat will be careful not to mimic the cry of a cockatoo that flies shrieking over his head, feeling sure that if he does, the Manitchmat of some booyungur tribe may resent the mockery. Further than this, the phratry borungur has no special regard shown to it, nor is there any "tabu" connected with it; the death of a Manitchmat or Wordungmat is not followed either by abstinence from crow or cockatoo as food, nor is the name of either bird changed.

It appears, therefore, that the phratry borungur is merely the outcome of the exogamic division of the two groups into Crow and White Cockatoo and only means that the men of either group feel that there is a peculiar blood tie between them and the bird whose name they bear, and to which they apply the term borungur, elder brother. Each man is proud of his group name and proclaims his phratry on all occasions.

The Southern people within the area embraced (approximately) between long. 117-123, and lat. about 33'30 have but two borungur - phratry and hereditary. These two borungur - the same term being applied to each - are somewhat distinct from each other in that, as regards the phratry borungur, the child is not named from any

thing connected with crow or cockatoo, whereas it was usual and correct to give the child a name having some association with its hereditary group borungur.

The borungur name was therefore given to the child, but there were some instances where the families possessing certain borungur were numerous, and names associated with their borungur were all used. In these cases another name having reference to some action or circumstance occurring at the time of birth was bestowed upon the child. It possessed, however, its hereditary borungur.

The following names, with their meanings, show the connection of the owners with their borungur :-

<u>NAME</u>	<u>BORUNGUR</u>	<u>MEANING</u>
NGAUARAN	Ngau (mallee hen)	Ngau's nest on ngwan or bank of winding creek.
KENIAN	Ngau	Keniagunning = treading on a ngau.
Yangup	Weet (ant)	Yirangartin = lifting top off weet's nest.
WARIN	Ngau	Woori = a high ngau's nest
Ngabburan	Ngau	ngap-ngap - "fire blazing" (no ngau's name found).
NGAIJUNG	Ngau	Ngajjin = broken spear (name given by father's mother's brother)
Jidingan	Kwent (bandicoot)	Jin-jin = the sound made by a bandicoot.
Bordinan	Wej (emu)	Borduk = emu close or near
YIRAIN	Ngau	Ngau yira = ngau holding up or raising its head.
MURBIL	Wej	Wej murbil = emus walking in single file.
DANGUR	Wej	Daahgurhing = emu eructing
Yarran	Weet	Yarri-yarri = sifting ants in bark vessel.
MIDUP	Karl mit	Firestick, cone of banksia
WULBAITCH	Karl wulbait	Burnt wood
Genungan	Wej	Genung = emu walking by itself
NYUDER	Weet	Nyootitch = making hole in ants' nest.
KALARN	Wej	Oil from emu fat

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TOTEM</u>	<u>MEANING</u>
Nyinbilan	Wej	nyinning = emu sitting
WIBIL	Male (swan)	Male kwibil = swan hiding, pretending
BAIJEL	Male	Baijep = male making nest in grass
JAMBORIT	Male	Jambar-jambar = male flapping its wings
YIRGIL	Male	Swan chasing cygnets
Ngalgian	Male	Swan is glancing from side to side for food
DARIL	Male	Swan breaking its eggshells
Nungian	Male	Swan laying eggs on bank
TARGART	Gig (spear)	tarwurt = spear rattling
WUNGARIT	Tammar (sp. of wallaby)	Wungar = clouds curling round and round, name given by mother's brother.
YOORIL	Tammar	Tammar yur = tammar doubling when chased
Ngargerl	Tammar	Ngargail = gum on jamwood tree (given by mother's brother)
Mullyian	Tammar	Mulyak = tammar escaping the hunters
Bindukan	Tammar	Binduk = tammar creeping through low scrub
TARAPWIRNI	Tammar	Tammar running across hunting dog
BONAP	Tammar	Tammar lying down
MURDILWUR	Tammar	Murdil = tammar eating herbage
WURUKWUR	Tammar	Wuruk = tammar lying on salmon-wood branches
Ngobanup	Tammar	Ngoban = tammar speard and blood flowing.
Julal	Tammar	Julal = tammar lying on ashes
Wijup	Tammar	Wij-wij = tammar seen by hunters crawling through scrub.
Waiaman	Jannuk (spirit)	waiuk = frightened of ghosts, spirits
METWURT	Jannuk	Metuk - tree stump, looking like jannuk
BUGURUP	Jannuk	boogur = sulky jannuk
KAIAR	Jannuk	kai-kai = seeing and hearing (or kaianung) jannuk
DARINGIRT	Jannuk	Dar-jannuk making barb of spear
BOCYARIT	Jannuk	Booyar = frightened of jannuk

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TOTEM</u>	<u>MEANING</u>
Ballian	War (female kangaroo)	bali-ining = sneaking on the war
MULAP	War	mul = war grinding its teeth and pulling out its fur.
DALUNGURT	War	daling = war's tongue licking wounds.
KWELUNGIT	War	kwelungur = war shaking spear as it ran away wounded.
NGERDUMBURRONG	War	ngardongain = hunting war singly.
Boyup	War	boyup = war watching hunter
Ngojeran	War	Ngoja = war stooping as it grazed.
TOGUR	War	Tuga-tuga = war throwing dust over itself.
MURAP	War	Mur = burning war's tail, skin and fur.
Ngauerdan	War	Little war suckling.
Malukburt	War	Maluk = thicket into which war has run.

The borungur of these people was hereditary and descended from father to son for ever.

In the case of those people whose totems were given by the mother's brother, the marriage of the child's parents appears to have been irregular.

In the following districts, the totems belonged to either the Manitchmat, ^{or Wordungmat} moiety, and a Manitchmat of one totem might only marry a woman of another. Descent of totem and moiety were paternal.

Ngamalup district	Manitchmat moiety	ngau (mallee hen)
Duri-iring "	Wordungmat	wej (emu)
Kojenungup, Phillips R.	Manitchmat	ji-uk (wild cherry)
Koeroogup, Farrest Hill	Wordungmat	kwent (bandicoot)
Baiangerrup (Ellen's Peak)	Manitchmat	male (swan)
Karrgainyin, E. of Duri- iring	Manitchmat	jannuk (spirit, ghost)
Karagurning, Fanny's Cove	Manitchmat	tammar (sp. of wallaby)
Majjeduggin (Salt R.)	Manitchmat	war (female kangaroo)
Nauualungin or Ngauualungup N.E. of Ngambup	Manitchmat	ji-uk
Manduburning, nr. Esperance	Wordungmat	karder (iguana)
Wandelungup, about 70 m. N.W. of Bremer Bay	Manitchmat	ji-uk
Gabbikail (Esperance)	Wordungmat	merderung (sea mullet)
Balerongin	Wordungmat	tammar
Ngauajiring, E. of Bridge- town	Wordungmat	mar (cloud, rain cloud) (An additional totem of these people was the wej but they called them- selves and were called by their neighbours Goenuk.)
Nornagalur and Balingup (Deep River)	Manitchmat	dwert (dog)
Mungup and Ngamalering (nr. Kojonup)	Wordungmat	goomal (opossum)
Boorumalling (Eticup) & Boogerup (Kendenup)	Manitchmat	walitch (eaglehawk)
Kwonnarnung (pool in Arthur River)	Manitchmat	kwonnert (jamwood)
Kebbaing, nr. Wandering	Wordungmat	men (edible gum from jamwood)
Boornoording, nr. Hastings	Manitchmat	yongar (male kangaroo)
Denmark district	Wordungmat	ma-nur (iguana)
Binjibup	Wordungmat	went (bandicoot)
Korlup (abt. 100 m. N. of Bremer Bay)	Manitchmat	ji-uk

Jerramungain or Jerramungup (50 m. N. of Bremer)	Manitchmat	nyeamaruk (duck)
Kingilyiling (Albany)	Wordungmat	gij or didar (spear) These people call themselves deedar-wuk.
Wejung (Wagin)	Manitchmat	ngoop (blood) These people drink the blood of the animals they killed.
Bilgaung	Wordungmat	kootung (manna from gum tree)
Kingilyiling (Albany)	Wordungmat	ngilgaitch (a small striped marsupial, now apparently extinct, as are also the members of the totem.
Jitangunda, Broome Hill dist.	Wordungmat	Gab (water)
Ngauingarrup	Manitchmat	karl (fire)
Bridgetown district	Manitchmat	karl
Balerongin	Wordungmat	merderung
Kwelungup	Manitchmat	kwurk (brush kangaroo)
Majjetup	Manitchmat	war (female kangaroo)
Moongup or Moongaring	Wordungmat	wej
" "	Manitchmat	ngau
Arthur River district	Manitchmat	weelar (swan)
Jiakain (Jacup on map)	Wordungmat	weet (edible or honey ant bag)
Ngamalering, Kojenup dist.	Wordungmat	mamagurt (sea)

An emu Wordungmat marries a mallee hen Manitchmat, and the children are emus. Should an emu totem man have as wives a mallee hen, swan and female kangaroo, the children of these women are emus, that is, provided the marriages are what is called "straight". If wrong class marriages take place, that is, if a Manitchmat of the kangaroo totem marries another Manitchmat of the swan totem, the children are generally taken into the Wordungmat moiety, and are given the totem which would be their hereditary totem had their mother married straight - that is, the totem of her "straight" husband's people.

It is seen that each phratry in the Southern district has its hereditary borungur, and that these borungur were confined to certain districts. The eaglehawk, nallee hen, male kangaroo, swan, tamar, dog, wild cherry, brush kangaroo, appear to belong to the Manitchmat moiety, the spear, opossum, sea mullet, edible gum, iguana, emu, bandicoot, etc., belonging to the Wordungmat moiety.

The descent of these totems was therefore strictly paternal, and, like the phratry name, they could only belong to their own moiety.

Borongur and names were, however, exchanged between koobongur or ngoolyarwunni (brother-in-law, "mate") and the exchanged totem would be held by each for their lifetime, but could not be transmitted to their children. These exchanges were made to enable the koobongur to attend each other's corroborees, to take care of each other's immediate relations in the absence of either one or the other of the koobongur, and frequently to act as guardians of each other's boys at initiation. Koobongur could not claim marital rights over each other's wives, since the wife of one of them was the own or tribal sister of the other.

At the present day the facility for travelling long distances afforded by white settlement, has enabled the native tribes to contract irregular or "mootch" marriages, often with members of tribes far distant from their own, and hence the genealogies of practically all the living members of the tribes of the Southwest show irregular descent of both totem and phratry.

The Southern and Southwestern areas have been occupied by the white settlers for sixty or seventy years and even before that time, natives accompanied explorers into districts far beyond their own boundaries. In the early 30's, natives from King George's Sound visited Perth, coming overland with surveyors and other travellers, and stopping at the various native camps on the way; and little by little, through one cause and another, natives left their own district, frequently taking their wives and families with them, and settled down amongst some tribe far from their own kalleep (fire, hearth, home), adopting the form of descent of the local group to which they became attached.

Again, young men were encouraged, by the safety afforded them by white settlement, to go far afield for women, whom they obtained by capture, or elopement. I have found in the genealogies of nearly all the Southern people, women who were captured from districts two and three hundred miles away from the husbands' tribal territory.

The phratries and totems of the women thus captured were either ignored or the woman kept her totem, and her children, if any, by the husband from whom she had been stolen or captured, retained their hereditary totem, while the children she bore to her captor received their father's hereditary totem. If the woman's totem was ignored, she was given the totem of a father's sister, or mother's brother (konk) according to local circumstances. It appears to have been a usual proceeding to "adopt" the captured women and children, who were generally given the phratry and totem of the person adopting them.

In some cases I found that such captured women came into the line of regular marriage, that is, although they were taken from a distant tribe, the elders, after inquiry into their genealogies, found that they belonged to a phratry or division which would make them the kordmat (husband stock) of their captors. In this instance they were entered into the marrying phratry of the tribe, and their children, if any, by former husbands, were given the totem and phratry of their "step" fathers, and these children, if boys, could transmit both totem and phratry to their offspring.

Amongst the genealogies of the Southern tribes, with paternal descent, I found that some women had been captured from districts where maternal descent obtained, but the children, if any, entered the phratry and received the phratry borungur of their step-father, whatever their own phratry may have been. In this way, the children of a Tondarup or Didarruk woman who had been stolen or captured by a Wordungmat man, entered the Wordungmat division of the local group, and were given the hereditary borungur of the Wordungmat phratry of such local group.

Of later years, however, irregular marriages were of frequent occurrence, and in the genealogies of Wungarit (m.), Yoolbian (f.)

and many others, the many "yoordabilbil" (irregular, or wrong class) marriages that took place led to a change of the hereditary borungur from one phratry to another, no system being apparently followed in the descent of the totem. This was the result of indiscriminate marriages, but there was a system followed in some of these irregular unions whereby the children entered their proper phratry. Where a yoggalong marriage (Manitchmat and Manitchmat) took place, the children entered the phratry which they would have entered had their mother married straight. The children of a Manitch-Manitch entered the Wordungmat phratry, and the offspring of a Wordung-Wordung marriage entered the Manitchmat phratry.

So far, therefore, as the phratry was concerned, "mootch" or "yoggalong" marriages did not affect the children of such marriages, but they did not inherit the borungur that would have been theirs in a straight marriage. In these cases, as has been stated, a konk (mother's brother) or maan or maam (father's stock) of the woman, or some relative of the children's father's mother, gave them a borungur, either the konk's or maam's own hereditary borungur or some other, local circumstances deciding the totem. This may possibly explain the mixture of some hereditary totems, whereby a Manitch totem in one district becomes a Wordung totem in another.

Marriages were exogamous both in phratry and totem amongst the Southern people. Members of the same phratry and the same hereditary totem were called "moorurt" (blood relations) and marriage was forbidden between these; a jennuk borungur Wordungmat man could not marry a jannuk borungur woman, as she was member of his own local group phratry and totem. In the Kojonup district (Southern group) I found an instance of a Manitchmat of the wallaby totem having married a Manitchmat woman also of the wallaby totem. Since their marriage, however, neither Ngardarit nor his wife Kepugan have been able to associate with their people, nor have they been able to leave the close vicinity of the white settlers in their district.

Southern marriages appear therefore to have always rested on phratry and totem, persons of the same phratry and totem being within the forbidden degrees of kindred, and so interdicted from marrying each other. Irregular marriages, however, seem to have taken place shortly after the first white settlement, and possibly before that, since it is inherent in the human to make and break its own laws; these wrong marriages being either between Manitch and Manitch, or a "maanap" (father and daughter, not own) or moyer and maan yog (brother's son and father's sister, not own), but if these marriages were not made within the local group, the borungur would be a different one, and the offspring were given a different totem. Irregularity of marriage always produced irregularity of the totem.

All edible hereditary totems were eaten by their members, for their totems were their "daaj" (meat food); kangaroo, emu, iguana, seeds, roots, honey, etc., every species of food which was the totem of the local group was hunted and eaten by the members at all times of the year, except when the death of a member of the totem occurred.

When a member of the Manitchmat phratry and kangaroo totem died, his relatives in the local group to which he belonged refrained from eating their totem for a season, nor did they hunt the kangaroo during the period of abstinence. Others of the local group (the Wordungmat moiety) hunted and ate the kangaroo, distributing it amongst those who were not of the kangaroo totem, and those who were forbidden by custom to eat the kangaroo, moved aside when their women (mothers, wives, etc.) were eating the kangaroo. It was usual, however, for the women to refrain from eating the totems of the husbands' or sons', etc. dead relatives.

In the Southern districts where the yongar was the hereditary totem of the Manitchmat of a local group, when a member of this totem died, all the yongar borungur refrained from eating the male kangaroo. When the time came for the removal of the "ngooluk" or abstinence, some members of the totem went "yongar ngardongin" (hunting a kangaroo singly). The successful member brought

the yongar "daaj" (meat) into camp, and all the yongar borungur in the local group put "moorur" (charcoal) on their faces and bodies, and seated themselves at a certain spot near the slain kangaroo. Blood from the carcass was then dropped on or poured over them, and when this was done, the animal was placed in an oven which had already been heated by filling the hollowed out space with hot stones and sand. No bones of the animal were broken, the temporary oven having been made large enough to hold the whole carcass. As soon as it was cooked, the kangaroo was taken out and placed lengthwise on the ground, belly downwards, and all the ngooluk relatives, except one of the nearest - own brother or son - sat round the yongar and picked the flesh off it without breaking the bones or touching the fat round the heart and kidneys. All partook of the food, except the single member who sat apart with his "mir", "kairi" and "dauak" (throwing board, boomerang and club) beside him. He sat beside a little fire which he had made for himself, and waited quietly with bowed head, until an old man or ngoont (father or father's father) or elder brother advanced towards him. As the old man walked towards the seated member, who was still ngooluk, he rattled two kairi together, and when he approached quite close, the young man, who is so far supposed to represent the jennuk (spirit) of the dead man, rises quickly and runs away, taking his weapons with him. With this ceremony the old man is believed to have propitiated and then driven off the jennuk of the dead man, and the ngooluk is entirely removed. The old man returns to the feast, and when the bones of the yongar have been picked quite clean, all rise from the ground, and leave the "daaj kurdil" (meat skeleton) lengthwise on the ground. The young member who has run away will return to the camp and partake of any yongar that has been cooked without any further ceremony. After all in camp have eaten, a dance generally follows the removal of the ngooluk.

This ceremony was not performed for all meat totems, the general rule being for the members of the ngooluk food to put moorur (charcoal) across nose and cheeks, a vertical line being also drawn along forehead and down the nose. The ngooluk women

put dardar (pipeclay) on forehead, nose and cheeks in similar pattern and the borungur could then be eaten without any ill effects. Should any ceremony be neglected, however simple that ceremony might be, the food borungur would gradually disappear, and finally die out, and those who did not follow the borungur rules in these cases were never able to catch yongar or other food for themselves or their children for magic was at work to punish them for their breach of the borungur law.

Men will not only abstain from their own borungur on the death of a "moorurt" (relative) of the same borungur, but they have also become ngoolak from the borungur of their mothers and their wives' people.

Kaiar, the last full-blooded member of thejennuk borungur (spirit totem) has continued to be ngooluk from yongar since his mother's death which occurred many years ago, his mother being yongar borungur. His reason for his avoidance of kangaroo is that there are no members living who can perform the ceremony for the removal of the self-inflicted ngooluk.

Again, a yongar borungur became ngooluk from emu on the death of his own mother's brother who was wej borungur, and he has not since resumed the eating of that totem, for the same reason as Kaiar.

When an iguana, kangaroo or other hereditary group totem was found dead, and if no cause of death were visible, no blood, nor wound of any kind, the death of the totem was taken as a warning that a human "borungur" would soon die, and if the person who came upon the dead animal had that animal as his hereditary totem, he believed that it was his own death which was foretold, and on returning to his camp he either refused food, or taking it, while still believing in the warning he had received, he very soon died.

The mysterious connection between the Southern natives and their hereditary group totems, which they themselves are unable to explain, causes them to attach significance to any unusual movement or proceeding on the part of their edible totems. Their group area was also their group totem area.

A war (female kangaroo) was seen to enter a maia (hut) occupied by a war borungur. Some person in camp who had seen the war go inside the maia, ran to catch it, but found neither the war nor its tracks near the hut, and shortly afterwards a war borungur of the local group died.

A man found a goomal (grey opossum) dead in the bush with no wound of any kind upon it. When he returned to camp (where there were no goomal borungur) but where the son of a goomal borungur woman was staying, he said to him, "I am afraid that someone, your mother perhaps, is dead," and he told him of the dead goomal he had seen. Two days afterwards news was brought of the mother's death.

The rule that forbade the mention of the borungur when a member of that borungur died had gradually fallen into disuse, but there were occasions when it was obeyed.

Nungian, an hereditary gij (spear) borungur, died at one of the native camps where I was sojourning, and after her death, the term gij was not used for over six months, ngerdom - a kind of spear - being the term in use. At the end of the third season the term gij was resumed. In the Southern districts gij is the generic term for spear.

Names of edible borungur appeared however to have been mentioned on the death of one of the members, for a tamar (sp. of wallaby) borungur, a ngalgaitch and merderung (marsupial and sea mullet) borungur had also died in camp, but no restriction was placed on these names. The member of the tamar borungur was however a little half caste child, and the ngalgaitch and merderung borungur was the last member of his local group and totem.

The young of hereditary meat totems were not hunted or speared unless in cases of hunger. War nganneep (young kangaroo in pouch), young goomal, wej, tamar, etc., were left unhurt by the men whose totems they were, and who called them "ngooht" (brothers) or koolongur (children). When asked why they did not kill them they replied that they were "koolmerung" (ashamed) to kill the nganneep, only when they were very hungry and not strong enough to kill the grown animals.

To dream of the hereditary borungur meant the return of an absent member of the totem, or some news concerning him.

When a member of an hereditary borungur desired some favour or gift of food etc., from his koobong or ngoolyarwuni (mate, brother-in-law) for which he did not like to ask personally, he dreamed of his own borungur, and at the same time he dreamed of his koobong. Next day he found that his borungur had visited his koobong, for the koobong told him that he had seen his borungur, and wished to know what his friend sent it to him for, when the favour may be mentioned.

If, say, a jennuk borungur wanted something and did not wish to express his desire, he mentioned the request in his heart (koort wongin - heart speaking) and the person from whom he desired something dreams of a nyauerlim or jennuk (ghost, spirit) which he or she sees coming towards them, or perhaps a little "mot" (grave) may be seen in the dream. Then the dreamer knows that the jennuk borungur wants something from him and he goes to his camp next day to ask what is wanted.

If a member of a totem wished to visit a moorurt's camp, and for some reason or another failed to carry out his wish, the occupant of that camp saw the totem of his moorurt, and went on to the camp in response ^{to} the call of the borungur, and to ask the moorurt why he did not follow up his borungur and pay the intended visit.

When Yoorongirt, a Wordungmat and weet (white ant) or honey bag ant) borungur died, his dem (grandmother) Weerijan was camped at a place two days journey away, and at the same camp Direerit a Manitchmat was staying. Direerit saw a warang (a species of bush rat) go over towards Weerijan's camp, and when he saw it he said to himself, "Weerijan has lost her dem." The same evening Direerit thought he heard Weerijan crying, but three or four days after the incident a policeman brought the news of Yoorongirt's death to the camp. He had died on the day that Direerit saw the warang. Neither Direerit nor Weerijan were warang borungur, nor was the dead man, but the warang lived generally in or near the weet's nests, and was the koobong or babbin of the weet.

Dreams of hereditary group borungur were always received as omens of some kind. In the case of a friendly local group member whose borungur might be dreamed by a member of another group and borungur, either his arrival in camp might be expected shortly, or some news of him would reach the camp. If the borungur is close to the dreamer, news of the member will arrive next day.

To dream of a borungur falling down, or wounded, or lying dead, means that a member of such borungur is ill or dead. To dream of being bitten by a black snake or other venomous totem means that a snake totem man is "sulky" and is trying to injure the dreamer.

There was no actual or definite headship of any borungur amongst the Southern tribes, although age appeared to be a qualification for the exercise of initiative, but personal character, and an intimate knowledge of native laws and observances counted for much in the exercise of a sort of patriarchal authority. All the older members of a local group were the custodians of the borungur and other laws; abstinence from the totem food, its restriction and resumption, and the ceremonies, if any, attached to the borungur generally. But as a rule, all initiated members of a totem followed automatically the observances connected with their respective totems.

There were no borungur markings either on weapons or persons in any of the local groups under review. The *gij* (spear) of *deedar* (spearwood) was an hereditary totem, and the *gij boordong* (heavy war spear) was also only made within the *boordong* wood area, but no markings distinguished the *gij* of *gij borungur* from those of other makers, beyond the excellence of otherwise of the manufactured article. The wood of the *gij boordong* and other spears proclaimed the district from which they came, and possibly some personal markings were added by the maker, who, however, was not necessarily *gij borungur*.

As amongst the Southern tribes there are certain borungur belonging to each phratry, it follows then that no man can lawfully marry a woman of his own totem, nor can a *Manitchmat* man marry a woman of any *Manitchmat* totem since she is also of the *Manitchmat* phratry. Not infrequently I have discovered that although the genealogies of certain families are apparently straight, the hereditary totems are mixed, but close inquiry reveals illegality in the marriage owing to the parents or grandparents having married within the forbidden degrees of kindred, after the arrival of the whites.

The mysterious kinship which exists between men and their hereditary borungur is shown, not in any ceremonial observance but in the resumption of the totem food after the mourning period has elapsed, of which the yongar borungur ceremony for the removal of the ngooluk is an example.

The edible or meat totem does not return after death into the body of the human borungur. It has no "jennuk" and therefore when dead it is a skeleton - no more. The Southern dead go "marruk" - the west, or to some other point of the compass, whither their "wee-oorn" (soul, spirit) may be carried by birds, but their totems do not follow, for a totem has no weecorn. Totems may disappear with the death of the totemist and if he is the last member of his totem, the totem will die and become skeleton and there will be no more of that totem since there are no more human borungur belonging to it.

If ever a belief had existed that the totem went to the country of the dead together with its human borungur, no native of the present day entertains that belief, nor could I find traditional evidence that such a belief had ever been held. Nevertheless, in the country of the dead, which to the native mind is somewhat similar to his own ground, the same animals, birds, etc., exist that he found on his own country, and his future life is but a continuance of the life he had left behind him.

Amongst the Kaiali people, northeast of Jerramungup, the belief is held that whatever bird hovers in the vicinity of the dead, such bird becomes the bearer of the spirit (wee-oorn) of the dead man or woman to their final home. This bird may not necessarily be the totem of the dead person; swan, eaglehawk, sparrowhawk, duck and other birds have been the bearers of the dead to their final home, but none of these appear to have been the borungur of the dead whose spirit they have carried "marruk".

For instance, a weet borungur woman died near Jerramungup, and her weecorn entered into a nyimeruk (duck) and would in the ordinary way have been carried away to the home of her dead people, but through some unknown cause the nyimeruk became unable to rise from the water, and floundered about in such a strange manner,

that the relatives of the dead woman, in an excess of fear, killed the bird. They assumed that the weecorn was "too heavy for it", and that when the spirit was released it would find some other bird carrier. The nyimeruk borungur who were at the camp left it on the same afternoon, and shortly after their departure a member of the weet borungur became ill and died.

The Southern people are unable to explain the manner in which their hereditary borungur arose. They knew that certain edible totems were men, fully developed men, koorraa (long ago), but they themselves are not the descendants of these men, nor of the animal or bird totems which now belongs to them, and which may have been human koorraa. According to them, the moon is the universal maam (father) and from the moon all the babies come, for the moon has many children - you can see them in the full moon (meeak goombar) and the noongar (men) can always get these babies for their kord (women). The moon is supposed to be weet borungur by some Katanning district tribes, but the babies whom he sends to the noongar have their own fathers' borungur.

If there ever had been a belief in totem ancestors, the Bibbulmun natives of the present day have entirely lost even the tradition of such belief.

Some early Southern Notes concerning Totems.

Moongur, alias Meetap, his boojur was Koolbup where there is a murdar doorarn (wilgie hole). Meetap was Wordungmat and sold him murdar frequently for boonarruk (a heap of things).

According to Joowel, Ballarr is a species of sea lizard, Deedaruk are named from a species of spear, Tondaruk from weeloowuk, and Nagarnook from little river fish, Ngogonyuk are from the jamwood tree.

Yoween, the moon, is demman to Wordung and borungur to Mannitch.

Ngank, the sun, is 'kan to Wordung and demman to manitch.

Yongar is Mannitch borungur and mannitch moorurt.

Mar (cloud) is Wordung borungur, they are gooanuk.

Tondaruk and Deedaruk are mannitchmat.

Ballarruk and Nagarnook are Wordungmat.

(Deebungool's mother was Nagarnook, all are dead.)

Jekok is a corruption of jerkwuk.

Mungart, jamwood, Wan'nil, peppermint.

Bootenan (Mt. Barker) says there are tamar borungur and kail borungur west of Mt. Barker. Waalitch are konk to wordong.

Beerl karl, river people.

Burnik karl, clay country people

Men borungur are wordungmat usually. Mt. Barker is meenung country.

Bridgetown people are called Weel by Mt. Barker people.

Sea mam'murt, kalleepung = home people.

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Wabbinyet says magpie is no one's borungur. Waleetch is Manitchmat.

Jelyan (fish) is wordungmat. Kardar (iguana) Wordungmat.

Jabburu (squeaker crow) is Wordungmat.

Jakbum says the kwcat had fire and the water and karreegur took it from him.

Norn was one of Tommy King's names.

Paddy melon (worl) is manitchmat.

Wordung ngoota = black crow

Mammurt, the sea.

Yerrureo, hair ornament (Jakbua)