

III 3c

SOCIAL ORGANISATION.

A collection of notes
dealing with various
tribes of W.A.

(Part of this information
occurs elsewhere.)

I will now take the Northern group, and give you a glimpse into the Social Organisation existing amongst these.

This group is divided into a number of tribes which are called by various names, taken principally from some special word in the vocabulary of that tribe. I may give you some examples of these before I proceed with the marriage laws.

The Wajjari (Central Murchison) from waji = no.

Ngada wonga (Meekatharra, Peak Hill), ngad,a = I, me.

Ngaiyu or Ngaia wonga (Lake Way district), ngaia = I, me.

T,enma, Tenna (East of the Ashburton), ten,den = dead

Bādu wonga (E. & S. of Laverton), badu = blood

Maia (between Gascoyne & Minilya), maia = voice

Yangur wonga (Victoria Plains), yangur = to go.

Burrong wongi (Bunbury), burrong = bring, fetch

Waian wonga (Thaduna, Upper Murchison), waia = no

Wijāri wonga (wijari = to go), Dandarraga

Illa kuri wonga (Perth, Fremantle) going directly

Badimaia - badi = no

Kurin wongi (S. & S.E. coast), Kurin = east.

Kaiali wonga (Jeramungup) kaiali = N.E.

Wirdinya wonga (S. of Ophthalmia Range), wirdi = no? or snell

Wajari - waja = no

Burrong wongee (Bunbury), burrong = catch hold of

Jabbun wongee (Gingin), jabbun " " "

Kooree wongee (Pinjarra), kooree = directly

Illa kooree wongee (Perth) "

Kwejjat wongee (Vasse) "

Weejeree wongee (Berkshire Valley), weejeree = going

Weejaaree wongee (Dandāaraga), weejaaree = going

Marrin and Kurin wongee (York), marrin = edible root

Kurin wonga (Katanning), kurin = east

Baaduk (Balladonia), baadee = blood or badu = man

Baaduk (Fraser Range) " "

Kaiali wonga (Jerramungup)

Kaiala wonga (north of Eucla)

Roebourne, etc.

(See Kinship terms elsewhere)

Thurdu = sister

Kaja = brother

Mamardi = father

Ngangardi = mother

Kogga = mother's brother

Mugäl = father's sister (own)

T,ua = father's sister (not own)

Mainga, thugo = son

Kundal = daughter

Nyuba, yakan = wife

Marrgai = wife's brother

Nyubaji, yakanji = wife's sister

How the Southern Cross mixes with the E. Goldfields

Birungu (Boorong), Birungu (Kaimera), Jua (Tharuru)

Jua (Tharuru) Jua (Ebarga) Birungu (Boorong)

Birung (Kaimera) Birung (Boorong) Jua (Ibarga)

Jua (Ibarga) Jua (Tharuru) Birungu (Kaimera)

The known tribes bearing these four names run from Macdonald Ranges in West Kimberley (near the Glenelg R.) all along the coast to the Gascoyne River, to Derby, Disaster Bay, Swan Point, Broome, Ninety Mile Beach, De Grey, Yule, Turner, Sherlock, Fortescue, Ashburton and Gascoyne Rivers. How far inland they extend has not yet been accurately ascertained.

I will begin with the West Kimberley tribes :-

At Macdonald Ranges, Derby, Broome and part of the Ninety Mile Beach, the class system is as follows :

- A. Boorong = B. Banaka = C. Kaimera
- B. Banaka = A. Boorong = D. Paljari
- C. Kaimera = D. Paljari = A. Boorong
- D. Paljari = C. Kaimera = B. Banaka

Between the Ninety Mile Beach and Port Hedland a variation of these class system occurs which Mr. Brown personally investigated, which I only discovered when at Dorre and Bernier Islands.

- A. Boorong = D. Paljari
- B. Banaka = C. Kaimera

From Pt. Hedland westward to some distance west, S.W. of Roebourne, the classes are similar to those at Broome, Macdonald Ranges, etc., the marriages being similar. Cross cousin marriages, that is, the union of own mother's brother's son and own father's sister's daughter are the rule in the tribes following this class system, the tribes being the Kariara (Port Hedland), Ngaluma (Roebourne etc.). Cross cousin marriage is forbidden in Broome. (See later on re cross cousin marriages.)

Midway between Pt. Hedland and Roebourne, at Ballaballa, the line of demarcation between the circumcised and uncircumcised is drawn.

On the Fortescue and Ashburton Rivers/[&]towards the Gascoyne River, the system is as under :

A. Boorong = D. Paljari = C. Maimera

B. Banaka . C. Kaimera = D. Paljari

C. Kaimera = B. Banaka = A. Boorong

D. Paljari = A. Boorong = B. Banaka

which you will note is similar to that prevailing between 90 Mile Beach and Port Hedland.

In the Upper Gascoyne district the arrangement is

Kaimera = Burong (see totams)

Burgulu = Paljari

Below the Gascoyne River towards the Murchison the term Burgulu takes the place of Banaka, otherwise the above system is followed:

A. Burong = D. Paljari = C. Kaimera

B. Burgulu = C. Kaimera = D. Paljari

C. Kaimera = B. Burgulu = A. Boorong

D. Paljari = A. Boorong = B. Boorgooloo

The Wajari tribe occupying the Weld Range, Mt. Magnet, Yalgu, Cue, Nannine, Gabbion, Mika, Sandstone, etc. follow this system and the Ngad,awonga follow this system.

In the Lake Way district the Ngaiawonga tribe, which occupies a large area, have the following system :

A. Boorong = C. Kaimera = D. Paljari or Jarooroo

B. Boergooloo = D. Paljari or Jarooroo = C. Kaimera

C. Kaimera = A . Boorong = B. Boergooloo

D. Paljari or Jarooroo = B. Boergooloo = A.Boorong

The Barduwonga tribe in the Mt. Margaret Goldfields district bring in a new equivalent for Banaka or Boergooloo - Eebarrga, and definitely use Tharooroo, the arrangement otherwise coinciding with the Ngaiawonga.

A. Boorong = C. Kaimera = D. Tharruru

B. Eebarrga = D. Tharruru = C. Kaimera

C. Kaimera = A. Boorong = B. Eebarrga

D. Tharooroo = B. Eebarrga = A. Boorong

Ashburton

Jijini = sister
 Baldnani = brother
 Baboju = father
 Bibiju = mother
 Mimiju = mother's brother
 Mogulyu = father's sister
 Jurdigura = son
 Kundagu = daughter
 Yakan = husband
 Tuani = husband's sister

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In the Thaduna district the Waianwonga tribe have part of the Upper Gascoyne R. as their territory and follow the system obtaining amongst the Wajari, Ngadawonga and Ashburton.

- A. Boorong = D. Paljari = C. Kaimera
- B. Boorgooloo = C. Kaimera = D. Paljari
- C. Kaimera = B. Boorgooloo = A. Boorong
- D. Paljari = A. Boorong = B. Boorgooloo

The Bailgu wribe are about the Marble Bar district and towards the Nullagine. Their system is similar to that of the Ashburton.

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East of the Barduwonga and the furthest eastward point of which I have up to the present any knowledge, Kaimera takes a new equivalent, Meelanga. The system obtaining is :-

- A. Boorong = C. Meelanga = D. Tharrooroo
- B. Eebarrga = D. Tharrooroo = C. Meelanga
- C. Meelanga = A. Boorong = B. Eebarrga
- D. Tharrooroo = B. Eebarrga = A. Boorong

East of Kalgoorlie and at Edjudina where the Ditawonga tribe appeared to be located the class names are similar to the above except that Kaimera and Boorgooloo take the place of Meelanga and Eebarrga.

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



||| cross cousin marriages
 permitted
 === cross cousin marriages
 prohibited

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Cross cousin marriages appear to be permitted in the Ngaluma,
 Karriara, Ngala, Nangamarda, Nyamel, Bailgu, Ngad,ari tribes.
 Prohibited in Mardathuna, Noala, Biniguru, Tchoeraroo, Talainji,
 Jiwarli, Burduna, Maia, Baiang, Targan, T'enma, Warianga and
 Ingarda.

I would ask you to notice the similarity existing between these four northern names and the sectional names of some of Spencer and Gillen's Arunta people, which were Panunga, Bulthara, Purula, Kumara. These authors traced the changes in the class names occurring amongst the different tribes with whom they came in contact, so that the changes should "fit in" with the system of marrying into the right division.

This is not so in W.A. as will have been seen, changes of descent and marriage occur, the classes of the tribes remaining the same. The Ashburton people have crossed the Roebourne district marriages, the marrying pair (Boorong-Banaka) in the latter becoming the mother and children (Boorong mother, Banaka son) in the Ashburton district.

Mr. A.R. Brown pursued this subject through the Stations on the Ashburton and De Grey, but I have not yet heard the result of his investigations.

My own informants from East of the De Grey who have the Kaimera-Banaka marrying pair, stated that "Banaka was the same as Paljari" and the Roebourne district people informed me that "Paljari was the same as Banaka" which didn't convey much information. It simply meant that the son of a Boorong mother who was Banaka from the De Grey entered the Paljari division in Roebourne, while the son of a Roebourne district Boorong woman, who was a Paljari in his own tribe, entered the Banaka division in the De Grey, but the class names themselves are not changed.

Messrs. Spencer and Gillen state also that the division of these classes "is evident when a number of these are camped together as one moiety will be separated from the other by some natural feature, or perhaps Kumara and Purula will camp on high ground while Panunga and Bulthara will camp on the flats."

In W.A. the four classes may be represented in the families composing the camps, a Boorong father and Banaka mother will have their Kaimera children in their own camps, while the Boorong man's sister and her Banaka husband and their Paljari children are camped near the same waterhole.

I may mention however that where fathers and sons are respon-

ible for the increase of their hereditary totems, and where there is a certain pool, mound or sacred place, where the increase took place, the fathers and sons of one moiety, say Banaka and Paljari, would visit their "maiamba" while the Boorong and Kaimera fathers and sons would together perform the ceremonies for the increase of their own totem. Each moiety might however by virtue of its relationship accompany the other to the vicinity of the maiamba ground but the sacred ceremonies are only performed by the totemists.

betrothments

stepsons or daughter mir burrongain
wan "

Minung, Kurin

konk who has given dajeluk = konk neela

Nganganap = a man marrying his "mother", mother & son marriage.

Konga mer = man marrying his sister's daughter

Yunbula = a Manitch pretending to be Wordung and vice versa.

Kalleepgur

Wadarndi, Gebungaruk = water, sea people

Bilgur = river people

Buyungura = over the hills, hill people

Kalleepa buyung?

Avoidance of mother-in-law

They hold that the daughter is specially a product of her mother and always holds that physical relation to her, intercourse with her, is worse than incest. The mother-in-law always wundun-guttuk or winnaitchung.

Consanguinity is recognised by all in this and in their customs they are a homogeneous people.

A Manitch of Esperance is a Manitch at Jurien Bay.

Dajeluk giving.

Mamal wundung gutuk throws her wan between the man's legs and her sister gets dulyar (small branches) and heats them in the fire. When they are heated she strikes the chosen son-in-law with the wann dulyar - doogurn boming nungaring (warming (bushes) and striking man with them). This proceeding prevents the potential son-in-law from going bald, it keeps his hair on, to use a vernacular. He merin daj yonga from this time, and konk nila and mam wundun guttuk. Konk nila hands the girl over. If she runs away her father brings her back.

Wuk, Balladonia, Fraser Range

Borongur, S.W.

Borongur, wuk, ubar, bari, Southern dist.

Bitangal = X

Kurdarn, kada, kordorn

T,alu, Ashburton

Jalnga, W. Kimberley (part of)

Dauera, Gascoyne " "

The borongur of the South, between long. 117° to 123° E. and lat. about 33.30 N. are two phratry and hereditary descending from father to son for ever.

Certain borongur were localised and were the totems of one or the other phratry in the local group.

For instance in the Ngamalup district all the Manitchmat of the Ngamalup local group were ngau borongur, their name being connected with their borongur, as :

- Nguanan, m. nguan, ngau's nest on bank of winding creek
 Kenian, m. keniagurning = treading on a ngau
 Warin, m. wuri = a high ngau's nest (wuri = high)
 Yirain, m. yira = ngau raising its head
 Kaiar, m. kai,kai, kaianang = seeing and hearing januk
 Daringirt, m. dar = barb, januk making barb
 Buyarit, m. buyar = frightened of januk
 Jamborit, m. jambarjambar = male flapping its wings.
 Yirgil, m. swan chasing cygnets

Ellen's Peak Manitch were male. (swan)
 Kargainying wordung were jenak.
 Duri-iring Wordung were wej.
 Karagurning (Fanny's Cove) Manitch were tamar.
 Kingilying (Albany) Wordungmat were gij.
 Didar (calling themselves Didarwuk)
 Here also some Wordung were Ngilgaitch but these are all long dead.
 Mungaring, Mungup Wordung were wej and the Manitch of the same
 group were ngau.
 Arthur R. had wilar (Manitchmat) swan.
 Jiakain (Jacup on map) wit borungur were Wordung.
 There are only 19 jenukwuk now, 18 of whom are half caste.
 Daringirt and Buyarithave borungur names.
 Walitch, ngau, yongar, war, male, tamar, dwert, kwurr, all Manitch.
 Gij, gumal, merderung, men, manur, wej, went are Wordung.
 These borungur were strictly hereditary within the phratry, but
 kubonggur exchanged borungur and names frequently.
 Marriages were forbidden within the phratry, and totem, the
 borungur being mururtmat.
 If a breach of the marriage laws occurred as they sometimes did,
 the wrongdoers were punished.
 Manap, father and daughter tribal
 Moyer and manyog (tribal)
 Konk and moyer yog.
 Irregularity of marriage brought irregularity of inheritance of
 borungur.
 All borungur eaten.

Murchison Tribes

Wajari or Wad,ari, Ngad,awonga, Ngaiuwonga (N. & S.), Waianwonga, Ngajawonga, Kurduwonga, Wirdinya, Yenawonga, Ngargawonga, Ngad,ariwonga, Kurila wonga, Yenawonga, Nugarn wonga, Badu wonga or Ngaiyuwonga, Yirawonga, Nyanawonga.

Lat. $24^{\circ}30'$ to about $26^{\circ}2'$ and long $116^{\circ}40'$ to $120^{\circ}20'$ (approx.)

Maiamba, emu, maiamba malu, etc.

Malu burna is N.W. and N. of Lake Nabberu. Malu was a Burongu-Jaruru moiety. Kurdarn and there was a maiamba malu there.

Meekatharra (Mardongayuara) was Bardura burna and Paljari-Burgulu brought the increase at the maiamba bardura. Fire was always associated with this. All these are dead.

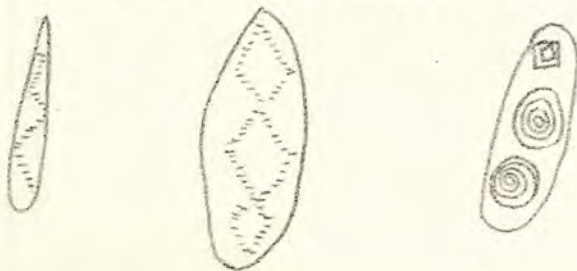
Peak Hill (Yalamura) there were yalabiri kurdarn, Paljeri-Burgulu moiety.

Bathewmurnana is bargala (seed) burna. Burgulu and Paljari went to Būlbaru. The maiamba was a flat surface. Nyunbur (Burgulu) (last one) took a little round black stone (I've got it). He scraped the levelled surface with the stone (marda), when he had scraped and swept all rubbish away he went to a little rise close by and putting the stone against his teeth he made the motion of spitting it and rain and bargala were the result. Jaramura or d,aramura, magic stone or pearishell that can bring rain.

Jimari burna, Yander. All the Yarnder men are jimari kurdarn, but not all could bring the increase. They got the totems from inside their stomachs and those who could do this could make the jimari markings on their mirudis etc. Those who could not made the road to the maiamba jimari. Concentric squares and circles represented the jimari kurdarn of the Ngaiawonga. Transverse lozenge shaped lines the track.

The term maiamba is also used to express a long time ago.

The edible kurdarn are not eaten generally, but are eaten sparingly. One moiety will eat plentifully of the kurdarn of the other moiety. The kurdarn (borungur) goes before its owner.



They refrained from eating the borungur on the death of their borungurmat, but whether the borungur was Manitch or Wordung, those whose borungur it was not hunted and ate it all the time.

Ngulāk = abstinence from borungur.

No borungur markings in the South.

Descent of phratry and borungur paternal in the South.

It follows that a man cannot marry a woman of his own totem, as they are the same phratry.

Nor can a māle for instance marry a walitch for both are Manitch. I find this interesting fact. Manitch and walitch are the same.

Wajari (no)	Kaimera - Burgulu Paljari - Burangu	
Ngada wonga (I)	"	
Walanwonga (do not speak)	"	
Ngaiyuwonga (I) (north)	"	(or Banaka)
Ngajawonga or Jargurdi (bag of spinifex fibre)	"	(Banaka)
Kurduwonga (kurdu = head, Wirdinya dialect)	"	
Wirdinya (pearlshell, lie, no, honey bag ant)	"	"
Yenawonga (to go)	"	"
Ngadariwonga (we)	"	
Kurilawonga (dance)	"	
Nyanawonga (to go)	"	
Nugarn (S.)	Kaimera = Burangu Paljari = Burgulu	
Bilili	"	
Mili mili	"	
Nangawonga (what) (E. of L. Way)	"	
Ngaiuwonga (south) (I)	"	
Wurdangura (N.E. of L. Way)	"	
Bad, uwonga (thigh or blood drinking)	Jaruru - Burgulu	
Yirawonga (mouth or teeth)	"	

There appears to be no other words expressive of the relationship between a male parent and his offspring by a wrong marriage than the kinship term applied to the class into which the child enters.

The boy will call his male parent mamadu and the father may allude to the boy as his kada, but the boy or girl enters the class to which they are entitled through their mother and the kinship term applied to her son and daughter is given to them. The mother is always the yagoju and the mother's brother komuru.

Bunburi's tribe is called the Mingin/^{mai-}mira. His neighbouring tribes are Maiajaggardi maimira, or mai-abi maimira (mai mira Kalgurdunu maimira, Gabigabi maimira means speech). It may be interesting here to give the Burketown Class Divisions (Queensland) and their intermarriages which I obtained from three natives of that district. These were as follows :-

- A. Bunburi = Woongoo B - Guberoc C.
 B. Woongoo Bunburi A Gurgila D.
 C. Gooberu Gurgila D Bunburi A.
 D. Gurgila Gooberoc G. Woongoo B.

My reason for this insertion of these classes is that it illustrates the dovetailing of the various divisions.

Burangani came overland from Queensland many years ago in the company of white men. He entered the Jaualyi division in East Kimberley. He was a Boorong in West Kimberley, Pilbara, Ashburton, Gascoyne, Murchison and Lake Way district. He was Birungumat at Southern Cross, Tondarup in the southwest and Manitchmat in the South.

His woongoo brother-in-law entered the Jaggara division in East Kimberley, the Banaka in West Kimberley, Pilbara, Ashburton, Gascoyne, a Burgulu on the Murchison and Lake Way, Tondarup in the southwest and Manitchmat in the south.

gūlamu = sister

ngabbun = brother

muju = father

muju = father's sister (?)

ngajjia = husband

Ngajia, ngarai = wife

ngamun = wife's father

tchallarma = wife's mother

ngammun = mother's brother

Banjil = native man

Banya = native woman

Ashburton district tribes.

Talainji, Burduna, Piniguru

Baiong, Thargari, Jiwarli

Gascoyne - Maia, Thargari

Ingara, Wariwanga

Cane and Fortescue

Thurdu = sister

Kajja = brother

Baboji = father, father's brother

Binarda = mother

Yaroni = mother's sister

Mimi = mother's brother

Yaggan = wife, husband

Yaggan = wife's sister

Mimi = wife's father

Thua = husband's mother, wife's mother

The Kaimera and Paijari mothers and sons never change, whatever other change in marriages there may be.

Nanda, Nandathari - Northampton, Nanda kuli = what name

Nunnagurdi - Champion Bay, nunna = what or which

Ngurdimaia - from about Dongara to Jurien Bay, ngurdi = down below,
maia = voice speech

Batteega - battee = no - West of Watheroo and between Ninghan
and Yilgardu.

Wajari - waji = no

Badimaia - Mingenow, Yandaooka, Arrino - badi = no

Dhauarngu - Carnamah district - dauera and jauera north, or
dauera = totem

Bulimai - buli = snake - near Dongara

The karder (iguana) is local totem at Warduraing (Carnamah)

the Ballaruk section having it.

At Jiberding E. of Berkshire Valley the womilyerra (manna from
gum) was the borungur of Ballaruk Bateega.

Yangur wonga - Victoria Plains speech - yanga = to go.

Yangur are between the Bateega and Wajari. They have jirdajuk
in place of Ngarganuk. They belonged to Nggobungur, Nyurgu,
Waiening and New Norcia.

Local exogamy existed in some tribes. The Badimaia went north
for their wives, the Nunagurdi went south.

See. P. 157 of book ?

Bailgu are S.E. of Nyamel.

Nyamel are at Marble Bar.

Ngaluma and Kariara adjoin each other.

Mardathoonera west of Ngaluma.

Kaiarnd,ari W. of Mardathoonera.

Ngala, next Kariara

Karad,ari next Ngala

Nungumurda next

Ibarrga somewhere in vicinity

In the Northampton district and between Northampton and Dongara are tribes who appear to be isolated from their neighbors, marrying endogamously and apparently having no term except that of kinship to distinguish the parents and offspring. A few instances of these are given (I may say that investigation here was very slight owing to want of time and paucity of natives.)

Northampton	Nanda	-	Nanda	-	Ngandamaia
	Ngurdimaia		Ngurdimaia		Ngurdimaia
Towards Dongara					
	Nunnagurdi		Nunnagurdi		Nunnagurdi

South of Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie towards Fraser Range and Hampton Plains, the people of these areas are called generally Bādūk, by the tribes north and west of them.

Their marriage laws appear to be arranged by the totem of the district. They are apparently endogamous. Those whom I have encountered and whose pedigrees I obtained were Jiwuk (wild cherry), Ngaminwuk (wild grape), Wiluwuk (curlew) etc. etc. and the marriage system was as under :-

Male	Female	Offspring
Ngaminwuk	Ngaminwuk	Ngaminwuk
Jiwuk	Jiwuk	Jiwuk

All that I know of these people at present lies in the few pedigrees obtained from those who were found far away from their own country. The circumcised and subincised tribes are found a short distance east of Esperance. I am however hoping to study these people, as I make my first visit to Eucla shortly.

Circumcision was spreading throughout the State at the time of white settlement. (see page 159 in book.)

I who am Boorong in the Northern division am Ngauajari at East Kimberley, Birungu in Southern Cross, Tondarup in S.W. and Manitch in South.

Of the tribes East of Esperance and towards Eucla nothing definite is yet known. A few of those I have encountered have mentioned what appear to be totemic names, of which I will give instances. I hope, however, to visit Eucla shortly, when I shall begin at the beginning there. It would be better to work slowly eastward from Esperance, but I cannot conveniently do that at present. I am taking the only opportunity offered, which makes Eucla my first point of inquiry. I shall probably find Spencer and Gillen's Mattari and Karrari at Eucla.

I am keenly desirous of getting into touch with the natives between Eucla and the Goldfields, before the Trans. Aus. will have interfered with their old customs, and between the Goldfields and East Kimberley, as this ground is absolutely virgin soil to the ethnologist.

As I am a Boorong throughout the Nor' West and West Kimberley and a Ngauajari in E. Kimberley, in passing through those tribes where the changes in marriages occur, I simply have to adjust the kinship terms I apply to the men and women in the new camps. For instance in the S. where I am Manitch I call the Wordung women of an older generation than myself ngank (mother) and the Manitch women are my manyog (father's sisters) and so on with the other relationships, my descent being paternal.

In the S.W. I (a Tondarup) call Manitch women of an older generation than myself nganga (mothers) and Wordung women are my manyog (father's sisters), descent being maternal.

In the Southern Cross district, I am Birungu and elder Juamat women and men are my mothers and fathers and my mother's brothers and my father's sisters are all Juamat.

The tribes of Divisions I, II, III and IV practise circumcision, while those of the coast do not.

In the Broome and Roebourne areas, a Boorong can^{not} marry a Paljari as that would be the union of mother and son.

A Banaka cannot marry a Kaimera as that also would be the union of mother and son, nor can Boorong marry Kaimera as that is father and daughter, and Paljari and Banaka are also father and daughter.

The tribes with these laws are Maialnga, Glenelg R., Tchauie (Sunday I.), Barda (Swan Pt.), Nyulnyul (Beagle B.), Warrwai, Waiungarrie (Derby, Disaster Bay, etc.) Kularabula (Broome), Yalmban S. Baniabul E., Kulajari, Bajibugu (90 Mile), Kariara (Pt. Hedland), Injibandi (Tableland), Ngaluma (Roebourne).

Somewhere south and S.W. of the Nullagine Burgulu takes the place of Banaka and Southeast of that area Tcharuru comes in. Ibarrga is a small tribe somewhere S.E. of De Grey, and this name appears in the spinifex area as a divisional name, taking the place of Banaka and Burgulu.

Why the changes in descent, marriage and class nomenclature, could not be ascertained.

There are certain highways along which the natives can travel and certain camps or tribes from which they can obtain their wives. For instance, the Kularabulu of Broome got their wives from the Yauera of Lake Eda district, 40 miles away. An Eastern Goldfields road lay through Yijudin, Kurnalpi, Kurrawang, Kanowna, Kalgoorlie, and part of Coolgardie. There are kindred in all these camps. There is no straight road. All roads having waterholes as their objective and in the deviation those native roads take may be found the changes in Class marriages.

State where the various class divisions obtained.

The men of the marrying class whom I cannot marry are Wajirara or Kurdali.

Intrusions of certain divisions and formation of camps, all belonging to these divisions find out their own camps and go to them. In these days of white settlement the facilities for safe travelling take the natives entirely out of their own areas, which they never would have dared to do in the old days.

Localised totems.

At Kallungwa (Weld Range) the ngau is a local totem, Paljeri-Burgulu (father and son).

Milanga coming into Laverton was Eebarrga.

A Paljari was Tarruru.