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Author(s): Andrew Lang

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a small nut-like fruit. No human genitalia were worn, but almost every man wore on each upper arm the testes of several pigs, all in a more or less dry and quite inoffensive condition. In every case the spermatic cord was twisted round the arm forming a rough bracelet which ended in front in the testis from which it arose. Although a few rough stone-headed clubs were seen, the common weapon was the bow made of bamboo, and with this they made very fair shooting. The Toro canoes were dug-outs without outrigger, and we saw no paddles, the canoes being poled over shallows, and a fair pace being maintained even in deep water by paddle-like movements of the long bamboo poles used by a man standing at the prow and stern of the canoe.

C. G. SELIGMANN.

Australia.

Lang.

Animal Names of Australian "Class" Divisions. By Andrew Lang.

43

In his presidential address to the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science (Dunedin, 1905) Mr. Spencer says, "The evidence that the names of the two moieties were originally those of totems is extremely meagre" (p. 461). By "names of totems" Mr. Spencer here means "names of animals" borne by exogamous divisions of a tribe, but not by totem kins. I wish to show that the evidence for the animal names of such divisions is not "meagre," and that, when the names of exogamous moieties and "classes" have been translated, they have always proved to be names of animals, or other such objects as totems are made of. Where "phratries," that is "exogamous moieties," occur in America, as among the Thlinkets, their names are invariably animal names, so I confine myself to Australia. I have elsewhere shown (*Secret of the Totem*, pp. 159-161, quoting Mr. Lockhart (1853)—cited by Curr, *The Australian Race*, II., p. 165—and Mr. Bulwer, cited in Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, I., pp. 423-464, and I., p. 86) that the widely-spread moiety names, *Mukwara* and *Kilpara*, mean Eagle-Hawk and Crow. These two fowls, *under other native names*, occur each in his own moiety, like Raven and Wolf in America. These two moiety names, then, are current among Australian tribes, which occupy a vast area.

I have also shown that, where Eagle-Hawk and Crow cease to give names to phratries among the Wiimbaio, a set of names denoting two separate species of cockatoo are given to the moieties. Thus, *Gamutch* (black cockatoo) heads a phratry in which is the totem *Wurant*, black cockatoo, while the other moiety is *Krokitch*, another sort of cockatoo, with *Garchuka*, galah cockatoo, for one of its totems. In other adjacent tribes *Krokitch* is named *Kroki*, *Gamutch* is *Kumite*, and the totem-birds are *Karaal*, white crestless cockatoo, and *Wila*, black cockatoo. Elsewhere *Krokitch* remains *Krokitch*, but *Gamutch* becomes *Kaputch*; *Krokitch* becomes *Kuurokeetch*, and *Gamutch* changes into *Kaputch*; or, again, *Krokitch* appears as *Krokage*, with *Gamutch* as *Kubitch* (Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 120-128).

On the south coast of Western Australia, as I am informed by Mrs. Bates, now camping among the blacks, moiety Wurdungmat is named after one kind of cockatoo, and moiety Munichmat after another sort of cockatoo.

To return to Eagle-Hawk and Crow, as *Merung* and *Yukambruk*, or Malian and Umbe, and *Multa* and *Umbe*, they give names to the moieties of the Ngarigo, the Wolgar, and other Victorian tribes. Far away from these, among the Euahlayi, on the south border of Queensland, Eagle-Hawk is Mulyan = Malian, but does not give a name to a phratry. Among the Wonghibon we find *Makula*, untranslated, and *Budthuruug*, Black Duck, with Black Duck as a totem in Budthuruug phratry (Howitt, p. 107). In Queensland we have moieties named after two distinct species of bees, Walar and Murla; probably these bees are of opposite colours; Walar (bee) is a totem in *Walar*; Jurro, another name for bee, is a totem in *Murla*. As I find Eagle-Hawk and Crow in opposite moieties among several tribes whose moiety names

are untranslated, there is, perhaps, ground for a presumption that these untranslated moiety names once meant Eagle-Hawk and Crow. Among the many Lake Eyre tribes having moieties of the untranslated names, *Kararu* and *Malleri*, the Yartuwanta, by way of exception, have (untranslated) *Kulpura* and *Tirawa*. *Kulpura* suggests *Kilpara* (Crow), but the *Kulbara*, Emu, a totem of the Kurwanduburi, seems to offer a more plausible equation; compare the Wonkamala *Pulkara*, Emu; the Wonkamala being of the Urabunna "nation" (Howitt, p. 95).

The rashness of attempting to select such equations would seem greater if there were not examples of the same name for the same animal among tribes very widely sundered and speaking dialects now very much differentiated. For example, in the Kamilaroi tribe I think I have found light in the meaning of one of the four hitherto impenetrable Class names—Ipai, Kumbo, Murri, Kubbi. In the Murri class is the totem Red Kangaroo (native name not given) (Howitt, p. 104), and Murri means Red Kangaroo among the Wiradjuri, north of the Lachlan River (Howitt, p. 107). Murri is also Red Kangaroo in the tribe of Sandy Island, on the Queensland coast (Howitt, p. 117). As Red Kangaroo is a totem in the *Murri* class of the Kamilaroi, it seems probable that the Kamilaroi class name does mean Red Kangaroo. If so, the three other class names among the Kamilaroi are probably animal names now obsolete, like the Red Kangaroo (Warri), Emu, Eagle-Hawk, and Shark, of the Narrang-ga tribe, and the Kuinmarbura class names, Barrimundi, Hawk, Good Water, Iguana (Howitt, p. 111), and the Annan River class names, Eagle-Hawk, Bee, Another Bee, Salt water Eagle-Hawk. I have already suggested elsewhere that *Tj-upila*, a class name of the Warramunga, may be the Dieri totem name *Upala*, Cloud (plus the habitual affix, Tj), that the class name *Ungalra*, or *The Ungalla*, is the Arunta *Ungilla*, Crow, the *Ungala*, Crow, of North-West Queensland tribes, and that the class name *Panunga*, *Banaka*, *Panaka*, resembles Dieri *Kanunka* or *Kanunga*, Arunta *Atnunga*, Kangaroo Rat (*Secret of the Totem*, pp. 182–183). Unluckily, our informants often do not give us the native names of the totems in the tribes.

Assuredly when one gets moiety and class names translated with certainty they always prove, like totem names, to indicate objects in Nature, usually animals. The singular exception is in the case of the Euahlayi, who, with Kamilaroi class names, have the moiety names, *Gwaigullean*, *Gwaimuother*, translated by Mrs. Langloh Parker, "Dark blood and Light blood" (*The Euahlayi Tribe*). These are opposed shades, as Black and White Cockatoo and Light Eagle-Hawk and Crow are of opposite colours. Is *Makula*, a white duck, opposed to *Budthurung*, black duck? Are the moiety names selected to express contrasts? Till we get more of them translated we cannot decide this question. Meantime, the evidence that moiety and class names indicate animals is co-extensive with the moiety and class names which have been translated in Australia, as in America.

The meanings of moiety and class names become forgotten, I presume, because the names of animals, in every day speech, are subject to change, while the names of classes and moieties remain fixed in customary law. Mrs. Langloh Parker says: "A little boy always known as *Weedah* (bower bird) died lately, so probably a new name will have to be found for the bird, or to mention it will be taboo, at all events, before the old people, who never allow the names of the dead to be mentioned" (*The Euahlayi*, pp. 26, 27).

This taboo is a well-known cause of the change of names, and while the *Weedah* may, for instance, cease to be so called, the name *Weedah*, if it happens to be the name of a moiety or class, becomes unintelligible. No doubt there are other causes for that common result, the different names given by cognate tribes of common speech to the same animal or other object. Meanwhile we have established the fact that many moieties and classes do bear animal names—a point of importance.

A. LANG.