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## THREE TRIBES OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

[WITH PLATE IV.]

BY A. R. BROWN.

IN the year 1910 I was elected to the Anthony Wilkin Studentship in Ethnology founded at Cambridge University in memory of the late Anthony Wilkin, whose early death was a great loss to the science to which he had devoted himself. Under the terms of that studentship I undertook certain investigations among the aborigines of Australia. Additional funds for the purpose of these researches were provided by Mr. S. P. Mackay of Victoria and Western Australia, by Sir John Murray, and by the Royal Society. During some part of my investigations I had the help of Mrs. D. M. Bates, who has for some years been studying the aborigines of Western Australia on behalf of the West Australian Government. The services of Mrs. Bates were generously placed at my disposal by the Government. The results of my investigations and those of Mrs. Bates in the same field will be published in due course. A part of the results of my own researches are published in the present paper. The information which is contained therein was all obtained in 1911 during a journey through the country of the tribes referred to.

## THE KARIERA TRIBE.

The Kariera tribe occupies the coast of Western Australia from a point to the east of the Sherlock River to a point east of Port Hedland, extending inland for about 50 miles. The tribe is adjoined by the Ngarla on the east, the Ngaluma on the west, the Injibandi on the south, and the Ñamal on the south-east. No meaning has been discovered for the name Kariera, by which members of the tribe are spoken of by themselves and by their neighbours.

*Bibliography.*

The Kariera tribe is one of the tribes referred to in a pamphlet by Mr. J. G. Withnell entitled "The Customs and Traditions of the Aboriginal Natives of North-Western Australia," published at Roebourne, 1901. The name of the tribe is spelt *Kyrecara*. The same tribe is referred to under the name *Kaierra*, by Dr. E. Clement in "Ethnographical Notes on the Western-Australian Aborigines," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Band XVI, Heft I and II, 1903. I have found the statements of Dr. Clement, except where they repeat the information

given by Mr. Withnell, to be careless and inaccurate. The name of the tribe is given as *Karriarra* in a pamphlet entitled "Aborigines of North-West Australia," by "Yabaroo," Perth, West Australia, 1899.

*Present Condition and Numbers.*

At the present day the natives of the Kariera tribe are nearly all living on the sheep stations that have been established in their tribal territory. They are fed and clothed by the station owners or at the expense of the Government, and the able-bodied men and women work on the stations. Their country has been

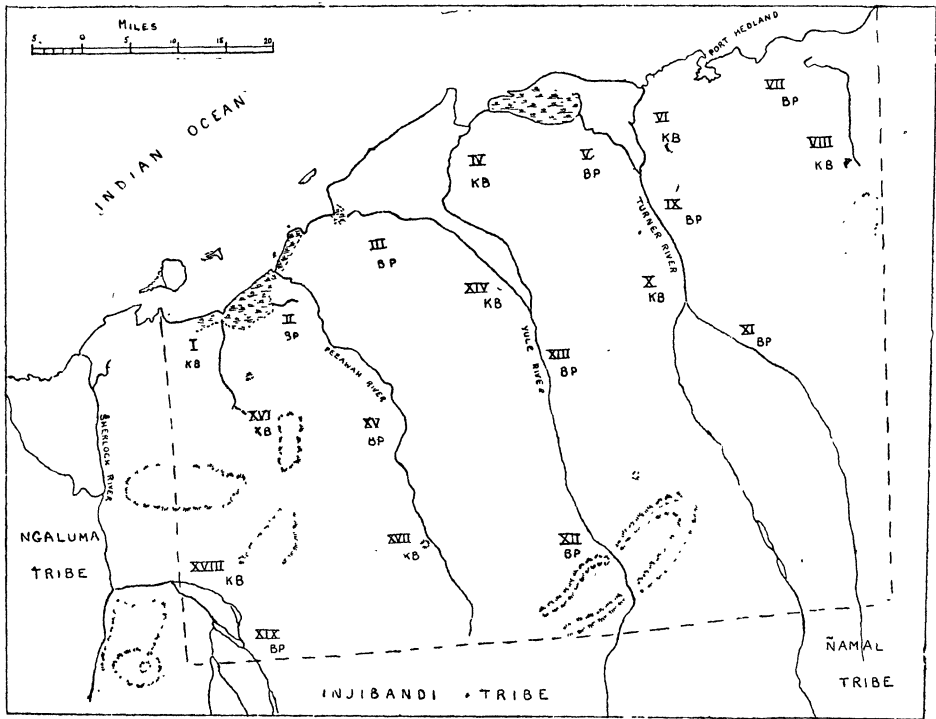


FIG. 1.—MAP OF THE KARIERA TRIBE.

occupied by the whites for about fifty years, and during that time their numbers have steadily decreased. At the present time there are not more than 100 all told, men, women, and children. My own estimate would put their present number at between eighty and ninety. All of them, except the oldest, can speak fairly good English.

*Tribal and Local Organization.*

The tribe is distinguished from its neighbours by the possession of a name, a language and a defined territory. There is no tribal chief, nor any form of tribal government. The fights that formerly took place were not wars of one tribe with

another, but of one part of one tribe with one part of another, or at times of one part of a tribe with another part of the same tribe. Thus there was no unity of the tribe in warfare.

The extent of the territory of the tribe is between 3,500 and 4,000 square miles. The boundaries are shown approximately on the accompanying map. The northern part is mostly level plain covered with grass and scrub with occasional hills of no great height. In the south, there are numerous stony hills with intervening flats. The coast is low and consists chiefly of sand-dunes and mangrove swamps. There are three main rivers or water-courses, the Turner, the Yule and the Peeawah. These so-called rivers only run after heavy rains, but, during most of the year, water is to be found in the river beds in pools or soaks. Many of these pools were formerly permanent and contained fresh water fish. Since the country has been stocked with sheep, some of the formerly permanent pools now dry up in the summer.

The natives have a very large number of geographical names. Many of these, if not all, have a meaning that is understood at the present day. An interesting feature, and one often leading to confusion, is that there are often two different places with the same name. Thus, there are two places called Murumbarina, one on the Turner River, and one on the Sherlock River. *Murumbari* is the name of a species of beetle, which is common, it seems, in these two places. Every geographical feature, every little hill or pool or creek has its name. There are a few names that seem to be the names of districts, but there is a good deal of uncertainty in their application. A very large proportion of local names end in the syllable *-na*, as in the above example, while others end in *-adina* or *-indina*.

The tribe is divided into a number of local groups, each with its own defined territory. Membership of the local group is determined by descent in the male line; that is to say, a child belongs to the local group of its father and inherits hunting rights over the territory of that group. There are no distinctive names for the local groups. To the question "Where is your country?" (*Wanja nyinda ngura?*), a native replies by naming one of the more prominent camping places of his local group, or in some cases the place where he was born. On the accompanying map of the Kariara tribe I have, therefore, indicated the different local groups by means of Roman numerals. The map is not complete; that is to say, it does not show all the local groups formerly existing, but only those about which I was able to obtain reliable information by means of genealogies. I found out very little about the southern part of the tribal territory.

In default of an actual survey, it is impossible to do more than give a rough estimate of the extent of the territory belonging to each local group. Along the coast there are seven local groups, occupying altogether a strip of land about 80 miles long and a little less than 10 miles wide. This gives the area occupied by each as about 100 square miles or a little more. The inland local groups seemed to me to occupy each a somewhat larger country, between 150 and 200 square miles. This is what we might expect, since the coast natives have both the land

and the sea from which to obtain their food-supply. As a rough estimate, therefore, but the best that our knowledge permits, we may suppose that the tribe consisted of between twenty and twenty-five local groups. It is impossible at this time to obtain any accurate information as to the former volume of the local groups, that is the number of individuals belonging to each. My own estimate is that each group contained not less than 30 individuals, giving the minimum for the tribe at about 750 with a density of about .2 per square mile. This, however, is a very rough estimate, and no reliance must be placed upon it.

The country of a local group, with all its products, animal, vegetable, and mineral, belongs to the members of the group in common. Any member has the right to hunt over the country of his group at all times. He may not, however, hunt over the country of any other local group without the permission of the owners. A single exception to this rule seems to have existed where a man was following a kangaroo or emu and it crossed the boundary into the country of his neighbours, when he might follow it and kill it. Hunting, or collecting vegetable products on the country of another local group constitutes an act of trespass and was in former times liable to be punished by death. The importance attached to this law seems to have been so great that offences against it were very rare. In the early days of the settlement of the whites in the country of this and neighbouring tribes, the squatters made use of the natives as shepherds, and I have been told on several occasions that they found it at first impossible to persuade a native to shepherd the sheep anywhere except on his own country. I could not find any evidence of the individual ownership of any part of the soil or any of its products. The whole territory of the group and everything on it seem to belong equally to all the members of the group.

It is impossible for a man to leave his local group and become naturalized or adopted in another. Just as the country belonged to him, so he belonged to it. If he left it he became a stranger, either the guest or the enemy of the men in whose country he found himself. He might pay visits to other groups, and such visits were apparently of very frequent occurrence, but his "home" was his own country, the country of his father and his father's father. At the present day the influence of white settlement has altered all this. The country now belongs to the white men and the natives have to live where they can. But even now the attachment of a man to his own country has not been destroyed. Natives often express a wish to die and be buried in their own inherited hunting ground.

In their original condition of life the natives never stayed long in one place. They shifted from one camping ground to another perpetually. It does not seem that the whole local group always lived and moved about as one body. A single family, that is a man and his wife or wives and their children, often travelled and hunted by themselves. A single individual, or a family, or several families, might pay a visit to a neighbouring group, during which time they hunted in the country of their hosts. When some particular article of food became very plentiful in the

country of one group they invited their neighbours to come and stay with them. Thus the inland natives visited those on the coast when fish was plentiful. On the occasion of the performance of a ceremony, members of different local groups might be found camped together often for weeks at a time. There was thus a perpetual shifting to and fro both within the country of the group and from one group to another.

This state of things shows very clearly that the unit of social life in the Kariera tribe was the family, consisting of a man and his wife or wives and their children. Such a unit might move about by itself without reference to the movements of the other families of the local group. In the camp each family had its own hut or shelter with its own fire. The family had its own food supply which was cooked and consumed by the family. The man provided the flesh food and his wife provided the vegetable food and such things as small mammals or lizards.

A native camp is composed of two parts, the married people's camp and the bachelors' camp. The latter contains all the unmarried men, including widowers; unmarried women and widows live with one or other of the families of the married people. If a visitor comes to the camp and brings his wife with him, he puts his fire and shelter near the married people, on the same side as his own country lies. If he is unmarried, or if he has not brought his wife with him, he goes to the bachelors' camp.

It will be shown later that a man is not permitted to marry a woman of his own local group. The result of this was that in the camp of a local group would be found only men and unmarried women and children who belonged to the group by birth, the married women all belonging by birth to other groups. A woman seems to have retained a sort of right over the country of her birth, so that a man and his wife were generally welcome to visit the wife's local group whenever they wished. A man seems also to have a sort of secondary right over the country of his mother, that is the country to which she belonged by birth. In a large number of cases this was the same as the country of his wife. In both cases, however, it seems to have meant no more than that a man was sure of a welcome in the country of his wife or his mother.

#### *Relationship and Marriage.*

The Kariera tribe is divided into four parts that I shall speak of as *classes*. The names of these are Banaka, Burung, Palyeri, and Karimera. No meanings were found for these names. To the natives of the present day they are simply the names of social divisions, and have no further meanings. These classes regulate the marriages of the natives. A man of any given class is restricted in his choice of a wife to one of the other classes. Thus a Banaka man may only marry a Burung woman and a Burung man may only marry a Banaka woman. The two classes, Banaka and Burung, thus form what will be spoken of as an

*intermarrying pair* or simply a *pair*. This does not imply that a Banaka man may marry *any* Burung woman, but only that he may not marry a woman of any other class. The child of a Banaka man and a Burung woman is neither Banaka nor Burung but Palyeri, while the child of a Burung man and a Banaka woman is Karimera. The rules of marriage and descent of the Kariera tribe are shown in the following table :—

Father.	Mother.	Child.
Banaka.	Burung.	Palyeri.
Burung.	Banaka.	Karimera.
Palyeri.	Karimera.	Banaka.
Karimera.	Palyeri.	Burung.

This may be expressed more concisely by means of a diagram.



The sign = connects the two classes of an intermarrying pair, and therefore shows the relation of husband and wife. The sign } connects the class of a mother with the class of her child. I propose to speak of the classes so related as together forming a *cycle*. In the Kariera tribe Banaka and Karimera form one cycle and Burung and Palyeri the other. The children of a woman always belong to the same cycle as herself, but to the other class of the cycle. The sign / connects the class of a father with the class of his child. I propose to speak of the two classes so connected as together forming a *couple*. In the Kariera tribe Banaka and Palyeri form one couple and Karimera and Burung form the other. The children of a man always belong to the same couple as himself, but to the other class of the couple. There are no names in the Kariera tribe for the cycles, couples, or pairs.

This class system can only be understood by a study of the system of reckoning the relationships of consanguinity and affinity. The following is a list of the terms used to denote these relationships. M. stands for "Male speaking," F. for "Female speaking," and M.F. for "Male or Female speaking" :—

*Maeli*.—Father's father M.F., father's father's brother M.F., mother's mother's brother M.F., consort's mother's father M.F., son's son and daughter M.

*Kabali*.—Father's mother M.F., father's mother's sister M.F., mother's father's sister M.F., consort's mother's mother M.F., son's son and daughter F.

- Tami*.—Mother's father M.F., mother's father's brother M.F., father's mother's brother M.F., consort's father's father M.F., daughter's son and daughter M.
- Kandari*.—Mother's mother M.F., mother's mother's sister M.F., father's father's sister M.F., consort's father's mother M.F., daughter's son and daughter F.
- Mama*.—Father M.F., father's brother M.F., mother's sister's husband M.F., consort's mother's brother M.F.
- Nganga*.—Mother M.F., mother's sister M.F., father's brother's wife M.F., consort's father's sister M.F.
- Kaga*.—Mother's brother M.F., father's sister's husband M.F., consort's father M.F.
- Toa or Yumani*.—Father's sister M., mother's brother's wife M., wife's mother M., brother's son F., daughter's husband F., husband's sister's son F.
- Yuro*.—Father's sister F., mother's brother's wife F., husband's mother F.
- Kaja*.—Older brother M.F., father's brother's son and mother's sister's son if older than the speaker.
- Turdu*.—Older sister M.F., father's brother's daughter and mother's sister's daughter if older than the speaker.
- Margara*.—Younger brother M.F., father's brother's son and mother's sister's son if younger than the speaker.
- Mari*.—Younger sister M.F., father's brother's or mother's sister's daughter if younger than the speaker.
- Ñuba*.—Mother's brother's daughter M., father's sister's daughter M., mother's brother's son F., father's sister's son F., wife M., husband F., brother's wife M., wife's sister M., sister's husband F., husband's brother F.
- Kumbali*.—Mother's brother's son M., father's sister's son M., sister's husband M., wife's brother M.
- Bungali*.—Mother's brother's daughter F., father's sister's daughter F., brother's wife F., husband's sister F.
- Maiña*.—Son M.F., brother's son M., sister's son F.
- Kundal*.—Daughter M.F., brother's daughter M., sister's daughter F.
- Kuling or Yaraija*.—Sister's son M., daughter's husband M.
- Ngaraia or Bali*.—Sister's daughter M., son's wife M.
- Ngaraia*.—Brother's daughter F., son's wife F.
- Ngiranu*.—Wife M. (specific).
- Yarungu*.—Brother's wife M.

As shown in the above list, each term is applied to a number of different relatives. Only some of those to whom the term is applied are mentioned in the list. Thus the term *mama* is also applied to a mother's brother's wife's brother, to a sister's husband's mother's brother and to many other relatives. The list of relatives denoted by any one term could be extended indefinitely.



At the same time each of the terms in the above list is used by the natives in a sense corresponding to our own use in English of the terms "father," "mother," etc. Thus, although a given person applies the name *mama* to a large number of individuals, if he is asked "Who is your *mama*?" he immediately replies by giving the name of his actual father, unless his own father died during his infancy, in which case he gives the name of his foster father. In the same way, if asked for his *maeli* he gives the name of his own father's father, although there are a number of other men to whom he applies the same term. Each term, therefore, has, what we may call, a primary or specific meaning. The primary meaning of *mama* is "father," and that of *maeli* "father's father." The primary meaning of the native term corresponds very closely to our own use of relationship terms in English. In West Australia I collected a large number of genealogies, and in questioning the natives I always used the native terms of relationship in their primary meanings. I never experienced any difficulty except in such cases as the one I have mentioned, where the name of a foster parent was substituted for that of the true parent.

In English we use the one word "cousin" to denote a number of persons standing in different relations to the one person. We distinguish between near and distant cousins, and have developed a somewhat complicated terminology to denote these distinctions. Just as we use the word "cousin" so the Kariera native uses his word *mama* (father), speaking of a large number of different related persons by the one name, but distinguishing in thought, though not in words, those of his "fathers" who are more nearly related to him from those who are more distantly related. In the modern blackfellow English he speaks of his "close-up" and his "far-away" "fathers." The same is the case with every other term of relationship. With regard to the term for "father," a man's nearest relative of this kind is not necessarily the man who gave him birth, but the man under whose care he lived as a child. This is, of course, his own physiological father in most cases, and in cases where the real father dies the child is, in most cases, adopted by a brother of the father. This distinction between nearer and more distant relatives of the same kind (that is, denoted by the same term) is of the greatest importance in the social life of the Kariera tribe. It seems probable that it is equally important in other tribes of Australia, though I do not know that it has been specifically pointed out by previous writers.

Although the use of the terms of relationship is based on actual relations of consanguinity and affinity, it is so extended as to embrace all persons who come into social contact with one another. If we take any single member of the tribe, then every person with whom he has any social dealings whatever stands to him in one or other of the relations denoted by the terms in use and may be addressed by that term. In this way the whole society forms a body of relatives. In the Kariera tribe, a man or woman never addresses anyone, except young children, by a personal name, but uses the appropriate relationship term. The method of determining the relationship of two individuals is extremely simple. Let us suppose, as an example, that two men, A and B, meet each other for the first time. The man

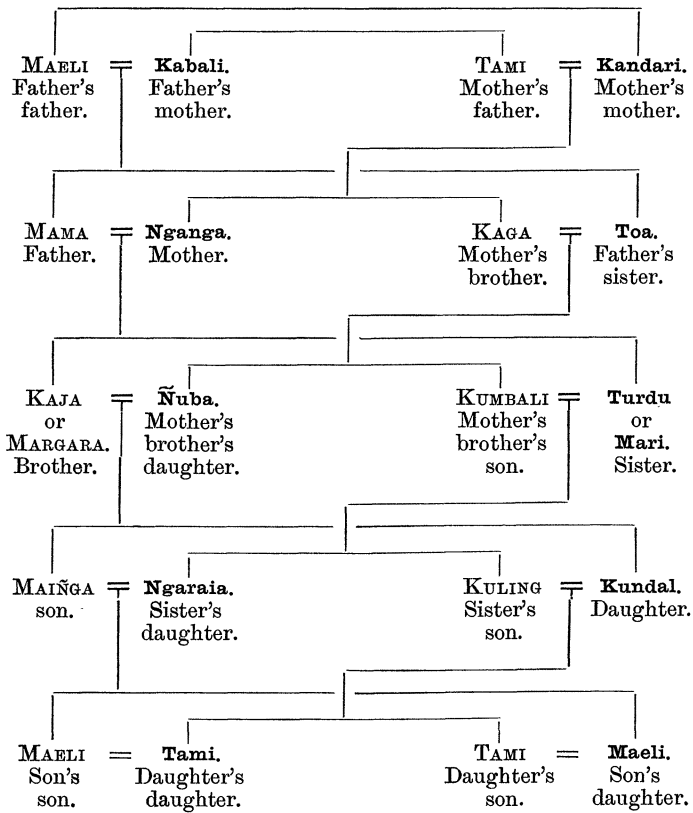
A has a relative C who is his *mama*. At the same time C is the *kaga* of B. It immediately follows that A and B are *kumbali* to each other. Yet in all this system of widely extended relationships the real relations of consanguinity are never lost sight of. The natives preserve their genealogies carefully in their memories, though in these degenerate days the younger men and women neglect such knowledge. With the help of the genealogical knowledge of the older men and women it is possible to trace out some relationship, however distant it may be, between any two members of the same tribe. When a stranger comes to a camp that he has never visited before, he does not enter the camp, but remains at some distance. A few of the older men, after a while, approach him, and the first thing they proceed to do is to find out who the stranger is. The commonest question that is put to him is "Who is your *maeli*?" (father's father). The discussion proceeds on genealogical lines until all parties are satisfied of the exact relation of the stranger to each of the natives present in the camp. When this point is reached, the stranger can be admitted to the camp, and the different men and women are pointed out to him and their relation to him defined. I watched two or three of these discussions in West Australia. I took with me on my journey a native of the Talainji tribe, and at each native camp we came to, the same process had to be gone through. In one case, after a long discussion, they were still unable to discover any traceable relationship between my servant and the men of the camp. That night my "boy" refused to sleep in the native camp, as was his usual custom, and on talking to him I found that he was frightened. These men were not his relatives, and they were therefore his enemies. This represents the real feelings of the natives on the matter. If I am a blackfellow and meet another blackfellow that other must be either my relative or my enemy. If he is my enemy I shall take the first opportunity of killing him, for fear he will kill me. This, before the white man came, was the aboriginal view of one's duty towards one's neighbour, and it still remains at the back of his mind at the present day in spite of the new conditions brought about by the coming of the white man.

In order to explain the Kariera system of relationship, I have made out the two accompanying genealogical tables, by means of which it is possible to trace out the relation of a man or a woman to any other member of the same society. We must regard the tribe as divided into what I shall speak of as "generations," using that word in not quite its usual sense. We may use special terms to denote these generations. Thus I shall speak of a man's own generation as "contemporary," and shall call the "first ascending generation" that of a man's parents, and the "second ascending generation" that of his grandparents, and "first descending" and "second descending" those of his children and his grandchildren respectively.

The first ascending generation includes a man's father and mother and the brothers and sisters of these. He calls his father and his father's brothers *mama*; his father's sister he calls *toa*; his mother and mother's sisters are his *nganga* and his mother's brothers are his *kaga*. The wife of any *mama* is *nganga* and the

husband of any *nganga* is *mama*; similarly the wife of a *kaga* is *toa*, and the husband of a *toa* is *kaga*.

In the second ascending generation his father's father is *maeli*, and the same term is applied to the father of any *mama* or of any *toa*. The brother of any *maeli* is also *maeli*, and the sister of a *maeli* is *kandari*. His mother's mother is also *kandari* and so are her sisters, while her brothers are *maeli*. His mother's father is *tami*, and the same term is applied to the father of any *nganga* or *kaga* and to

TABLE 1.<sup>1</sup> MALE SPEAKING.

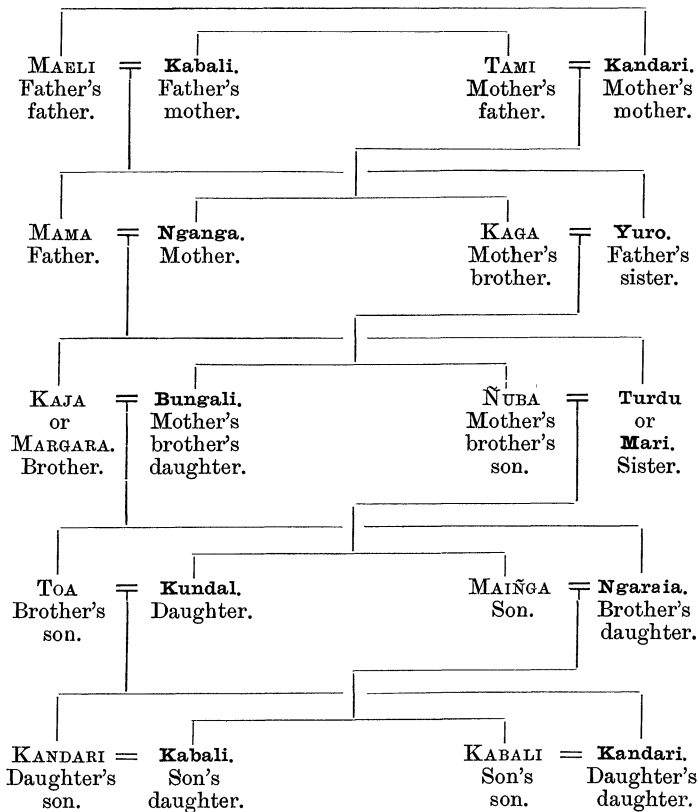
the husband of any *kandari* (to the husband of a father's father's sister, for example). The brother of a *tami* is also *tami*, while the sister is *kabali*. The term *kabali* is also applied to a father's mother, a father's mother's sister, and to the wife of any *maeli*, that is to the mother of any *mama*. The brother of a *kabali* is *tami*. We thus see that all the relatives of a man in the second ascending generation are

<sup>1</sup> In these tables the sign = connects a husband and a wife. The husband is on the left of the sign and is denoted by capitals (MAMA), the wife is to the right, and is denoted by clarendon type (Nganga). The descendants of a married pair are shown by the lines from the sign =.

classified into two divisions. In one of these divisions all the men are *mæli* and the women are *kandari*; in the other the men are *tami* and the women are *kabali*. *Mæli* and *kandari* are brothers and sisters to each other, and so are *tami* and *kabali*. *Mæli* and *kabali* are husband and wife to each other, and so are *tami* and *kandari*.

The children of *mæli* and *kabali* are all *mama* and *toa*, and the children of *tami* and *kandari* are all *kaga* and *nganga*. Thus in the first ascending generation also, all the relatives of a man are divided into two groups, in one of which all the males are *mama* and the females are *toa*, while in the other the males are *kaga* and the females are *nganga*.

TABLE 2. FEMALE SPEAKING.



The children of relatives of the first ascending generation belong to the contemporary generation. The son of any *mama* and of any *nganga* is either *kaja* or *margara* according as he is older or younger than the speaker, and the daughters are similarly either *turdu* or *mari*. The children of a *kaga* or a *toa* are *kumbali* (male) and *ñuba* (female).

In the first descending generation the children of a *kaja* or a *margara* and a *ñuba* are *maiñga* and *kundal*, these being the terms that a man applies to his own son and daughter. The children of a *turdu* or *mari* and a *kumbali* are *kuling* and

*ngaraiä*. In the second descending generation the children of *maiñga* and *ngaraiä* are *maeli* without distinction of sex, and the children of *kuling* and *kundal* are *tami*. This last feature is due to the reciprocal use of the terms for grandparents. Thus I am *maeli* (father's father) to my son's son and he is *maeli* to me. Similarly I am *maeli* to my son's daughter and she is *maeli* to me. If a woman is speaking she is *kabali* (father's mother) to her son's son and he is therefore *kabali* to her. The following table shows how the terms for grandparents and grandchildren are used reciprocally :—

Father's father M.F.	=	Son's son and daughter M.
Father's mother M.F.	=	Son's son and daughter F.
Mother's father M.F.	=	Daughter's son and daughter M.
Mother's mother M.F.	=	Daughter's son and daughter F.

By means of the laws enumerated above, which are expressed in a concrete form in the genealogical tables, it is possible to find immediately the relation of any two persons by considering the relation of them to a third. There is, however, one important point that has so far been omitted. It may happen that a man B is by genealogy the "father" of a man A, but is younger than A. In such a case A calls B not "father," but "son," and B calls A "father," although by genealogy he is his "son." The same thing may occur in the case of a *kaga*, a *nganga*, or a *toa*. In one case I found three men, A, B, and C, aged about 65, 63, and 60, respectively. The father of A and C, who were brothers, was the "elder brother" of B, and therefore, both A and C were, by genealogy, the "sons" of B. He called C his "son," but as A was older than himself, he called him not "son," but "father," thus reversing the genealogical relation.

There are in the Kariëra tribe no terms for relatives in the third ascending or the third descending generations. I was able in a few cases to obtain the name of a man's father's father's father. When I asked what term would be applied to this relative I was told that he would be *maiñga* (son). In the same way I was told that a father's father's mother would be *ngaraiä*. I do not think that these terms were ever actually used. I did not come across a single instance of a man or woman, and his or her great-grandchildren being alive at the same time. The point is, however, interesting.

We can now proceed to examine the connection of the system of relationship with the classes previously described. It has been shown that by the system of relationship the whole tribe is divided into a number of different groups of relatives. Thus if I am a man, every male with whom I have any social relations is either (1) my *maeli*, (2) my *tami*, (3) my *mama*, (4) my *kaga*, (5) my *kaja* or *margara*, (6) my *kumbali*, (7) my *maiñga*, or (8) my *kuling*. My *maeli* are either older than myself, as my father's father, or younger, as my son's son; and similarly with my *tami*. My *kaja* are older than myself, and my *margara* are younger, while my *kumbali* may be either older or younger. My *mama* are older than I, and I am *maiñga* to them; my *maiñga* are younger than I, and I am *mama* to them. Similarly with the

relatives *kaga* and *kuling*, I am *kuling* to my *kaga*, and *kaga* to my *kuling*. These male relatives may be arranged in the following diagram, a horizontal line separating those older from those younger than the speaker :—

A	D	B	C
Maeli. Kaja.	Mama.	Tami. Kumbali.	Kaga.
Margara. Maeli.	Maiñga.	Kumbali. Tami.	Kuling.

Thus I belong to the column A, and every person represented in that column is either my *maeli*, my *kaja*, or my *margara*. Every person in column D is either *mama* or *maiñga* to me, and is either *mama* or *maiñga* to every person in column A. But a man who is *mama* to me may be *maiñga* to my *kaja*, and one who is *maiñga* to me may be *mama* to my *margara*. Inversely every person in column A is either *mama* or *maiñga* to every person in column D. Similarly the men of Column B are *tami* and *kumbali* to those of A, and inversely those of A are *tami* or *kumbali* to those of B.

The four columns in the diagram correspond to the four classes which have been described earlier. Thus if I belong to the class Banaka all the men of that class are, by genealogy, either *maeli*, *kaja*, or *margara* to me; the men of the Palyeri class are my *mama*, and my *maiñga*; those of the Burung class are my *tami* or my *kumbali*; and the Karimera men are my *kaga* and *kuling*.

It was stated earlier that a man of the Banaka class can only marry a woman of the Burung class. We are now able to explain what this rule means. In the Kariera tribe a man may only marry a woman who stands to him in the relation of *ñuba*. If the man is Banaka his *ñuba* is Burung, and therefore in saying that he must marry a *ñuba*, we are saying that he must marry a Burung woman. But amongst the Burung women there are some who are not his *ñuba*, namely, his *kabali* and his *tami*, and these women he may not marry. A man's *kabali* may be only a few years older than himself, so that marriage would be quite possible. It is, however, in the Kariera tribe, forbidden. The marriage rule of the Kariera is simplicity itself: a man may marry a woman who is his *ñuba*, but he may marry no one else. Thus we may say that in the Kariera tribe marriage is regulated by relationship, and by relationship alone.

A man applies the term *ñuba* to the daughter of any *kaga* and any *toa*. He applies the term *kaga* to his mother's brother and the term *toa* to his father's sister. Therefore it is obvious that by the above-stated marriage rule a man may marry the daughter of his own mother's brother, or of his own father's sister. Such

marriages of the children of a brother with those of his sister are common in this tribe. Indeed we may say that the proper person for a man to marry, if it be possible, is his own first cousin. In the genealogies collected by me I found that in nearly every case where such a marriage was possible it had taken place.

A common custom in this as in most Australian tribes is the exchange of sisters. A man, A, having one or more sisters finds a man, B, standing to him in the relation of *kumbali* who also possesses a sister. These men each take a sister of the other as wife. As a result of this practice it often happens that a man's father's sister is at the same time the wife of his mother's brother. If these two have a daughter she will in the ordinary course of events become the man's wife.

As the natives themselves put it to me, a man must look to his *kaga* to provide him with a wife by giving him one or more of his daughters. The relative who is most particularly his *kaga*, in the same sense that his own father is most particularly his *mama*, is his mother's brother, who may or may not be at the same time the husband of his father's sister. It is to this man that he looks first for a wife. If his own mother's brother has no daughter, or if she is already disposed of, he must apply to other persons who stand to him in the relation of *kaga*, to the husband of his father's sister for example. He may have to go much further afield and apply to some distant *kaga*, but this is only the case when there are available no nearer relatives. Thus we may say that the man who is pre-eminently *kaga* (as his own father is pre-eminently *mama*) is his mother's brother; the woman who is pre-eminently *toa* is his own father's sister who should be the wife of the *kaga*; consequently the woman who is pre-eminently a man's *ñuba* is the daughter of his own mother's brother, or failing this, of his own father's sister. It is this woman to whom he has the first right as a wife.

The arrangement of marriages, as in other Australian tribes, is managed by the older people. While the children are quite small it is arranged which ones are to marry. The death of one or other of them may, of course, necessitate a new arrangement. Thus, when a boy is growing up he learns which girl is to be his wife. To the father of this girl he owes certain duties, the chief being that he must make him presents from time to time. This man is his father-in-law, and, as has been said, is in some cases his mother's brother. At the same time the man has a secondary right to a number of other girls. If the girl betrothed to him should die, he will have to try to obtain one of these, and therefore he must devote some attention to their fathers, making them presents from time to time, and going to visit them. It is this fact that seems to determine the social relations of a man with his various *kaga*. They are all prospective fathers-in-law. A man owes the same sort of duties to all the men whom he calls *kaga*, but the recognition of these duties is more intense in some cases than in others.

A man applies the name *toa* to his father's sister and to the wife of any *kaga*, that is to any woman who might be his mother-in-law. He may not speak to any of these women, nor have any social dealing whatever with them. If for any reason he is obliged to be near one of his *toa* he must take care that he does not

look at her. He will, if possible, interpose a hut or bush between himself and her, or else he will sit with his back to her. This rule breaks down when a man gets on in years and has been long married with children of his own. He then ceases to speak of these women as *toa*, calling them *yumani* instead, and he is permitted to speak to them if he wishes, although the old habit still shows itself, and he has very little to do with them. I was not able to make out that the necessity of avoidance was more intense in respect to the actual mother-in-law. A man must avoid all his *toa*, and must apparently avoid them all to an equal degree, until the time comes when they can be regarded as *yumani*, and the necessity for avoidance ceases.<sup>1</sup>

There is no similar avoidance in the case of a woman, that is to say, she does not need to avoid her father-in-law or her mother-in-law, but only her son-in-law. A woman calls her husband's mother not *toa* or *yumani* but *yuro*.

We may resume briefly the chief points of the above description :—

- (1) The relationship system of the Kariera tribe is not only a system of names or terms of address, but is pre-eminently a system of reciprocal rights and duties. A man owes the same duties (though not in the same degree) to all the persons to whom he applies the same term. Thus the relationship system regulates the whole social life of the people.
- (2) It is based on actual relations of consanguinity and affinity that can be traced by means of the genealogical knowledge preserved by the old men and women.
- (3) The recognition of relationships is so extended that everyone with whom an individual comes in contact in the ordinary course of social life is his relative. It is impossible for a man to have any social relations with anyone who is not his relative because there is no standard by which two persons in this position can regulate their conduct towards one another. I am compelled to treat a person differently according as he is my "brother," "brother-in-law," "father," or "uncle." If I do not know which of these he is, all intercourse is impossible.
- (4) Within the body of relatives of a given kind distinctions are made between nearer and more distant relatives, just as in English we distinguish between nearer and more distant "cousins" though still calling them all by the same name. These distinctions are not of kind but of degree, if we may use the phrase. Thus though a man owes certain duties to all the men he calls "father" he must observe them more particularly in regard to his own father or his father's brothers than in regard to a distant cousin of his father. The same is the case with every other relationship.

<sup>1</sup> I believe that the matter is settled by the older men and women, who decide that two persons who are *toa* to each other shall be made *yumani*. There may be some sort of ceremony on such occasions, but I could not ascertain any details about it.



- (5) In Australia, much more than in civilized communities, a great deal of attention is paid to actual relationship by blood and marriage. Thus the Australian system is characterized, not by a less intense, but by a more intense recognition of actual relationships of consanguinity.
- (6) The classes of the Kariera tribe are groups of related persons. The rule that a man of one class may only marry a woman of one of the other classes is the result of the more fundamental rule that a man may only marry a woman bearing to him a certain relation of consanguinity, namely, the daughter of his mother's brother. Marriage is regulated by consanguinity and by consanguinity alone.

When a girl is old enough to be claimed as a wife she is handed over by her father to the husband, who takes her away to his own camp. There does not seem to be any ceremony on such an occasion. Polygyny is practised. In the genealogies I did not find a case of a man having more than three wives alive at the same time. Where there are several sisters in a family they are all regarded as the wives of the man who marries the eldest of them. He may, if he chooses, waive his right in favour of his younger brother, with the consent of the father of the girls. If a family contained four girls and a man took the two oldest, but permitted his younger brother to marry the third, the youngest daughter thereby also becomes the wife of the younger brother, and the older brother cannot claim any right to her. When a man dies his wives pass to his younger brother or to the man who stands nearest to him in the relation of *margara*. This man marries the widow and adopts the children.

There is no polyandry; that is to say, a woman is always the wife of one man alone. The word *ngurani* is used by a man to distinguish his own wife from other women whom he might have married but who are actually the wives of his own or tribal brothers, the latter being called *yarungu*. In this and the neighbouring tribes there are certain customs of sexual licence on ceremonial occasions when men who stand in the relation of brother to one another lend each other their wives. I was not able to witness one of these ceremonies and what little information I obtained in answer to questions is too unreliable to allow me to speak definitely on the subject.

A woman who is promised or married to a given man may run away with another. If the two who thus elope are not *nuba* to each other they are separated by the tribe and punished, the woman being beaten by her female relatives and the man speared through the thigh. If they are of the proper relation, that is, if they are *nuba* to each other, it rests with the husband of the woman to get her back if he can. This often leads to a fight in which one or other gets killed. Practically all the quarrels amongst the natives are about the women.

In many Australian tribes what we may call irregular marriages are in some instances permitted, that is, a man is permitted by the tribe to marry a woman who by the tribal law is forbidden him. I have obtained good evidence, by means

of genealogies, that in a number of tribes of Western Australia such irregular marriages took place before the country was occupied by white men. In the Kariera tribe one or two such marriages have taken place in recent years, but have been viewed with great disapproval, and in the genealogies I collected, there is not a single instance of such a marriage taking place before 1860.

Having described the relationship organization of the Kariera tribe it is necessary to consider the relation of that system to the local organization previously described. The whole tribe is divided into two couples of classes, Banaka-Palyeri and Karimera-Burung. Each local group, however, that is, each of the local subdivisions of the tribe, consists of members of one couple only. Thus one local group consists of men and women of the classes Karimera and Burung, while another consists of Banaka and Palyeri men and women. In the map of the tribe, underneath the numeral denoting each local group, will be found two letters indicating the couple to which the group belongs. B.P. stands for Banaka-Palyeri, and K.B. for Karimera-Burung. It is thus possible to realize at a glance the geographical distribution of the couples.

In referring to a local group of the same couple as himself a native often uses the term *ngaju maru*, and refers to a local group of the other couple as *balu maru*. *Ngaju* means "my" and *balu* means "his," these being the common personal pronouns. I do not know what would be a suitable translation of *maru*. We may regard the two phrases as equivalent to "our side" and "the other side." A man sometimes speaks of his own local group as *maman-maru*, from *mama*, "father."

It is obvious from the above account that a man can never marry a woman of his own local group, since such women are either *kandari*, *toa*, *turdu*, *mari*, *kundal*, or *maeli* to him. We therefore find in this tribe the condition often called "local exogamy" by ethnologists. On analysis, however, we see that this local exogamy is simply the result of the regulation of marriage by relationship, together with the peculiar constitution of the local group.

I propose in this and future publications to use the word "clan" to denote a social division of this kind, of which the Kariera local group is an example. A clan by this definition consists of a body of persons who are closely related to one another in one line (that is, either in the male line or in the female line) and who are clearly marked off in some way from the similar divisions of the same society. In the Kariera tribe we have clans with descent in the male line. Each clan includes a number of men who are, by the relationship system, father's father, father, brother, son, or son's son to each other. Each clan is marked off from every other by the possession of its own territory, and as we shall see later, by other features also.

A man's own clan contains only men who are his *maeli*, *mama*, *kaja*, *margara*, and *mainga*, and it contains all his nearest relatives of these kinds, thus serving to mark off those most nearly related to him from those more distantly related. This is the essential feature of a clan in Australia, that it provides this distinction between near and distant kindred.

*Totemism.*

We have seen that the Kariëra tribe is divided into a number of local groups each with its own defined territory, with descent in the male line, and that each local group belongs to one of the two couples into which the tribe is divided. It has been shown that the local group thus forms what we may call a "clan," with male descent, all the male members of the clan being "father's father," "son's son," "father," "son," or "brother," to each other.

Each of these clans forms a single totemic group, possessing a number of totems. All the totems of the clan are equally the totems of every member of the clan. For each totem belonging to the clan there is within the territory of the clan a ceremonial ground or totemic centre for which the name is *talû*. The *talû* is a spot set apart for the performance of totemic ceremonies. Thus the *Pidira talû* is the spot set apart for the performance of ceremonies connected with the *pidira*, white cockatoo. The *talû* belongs to the men of the local group in whose territory it is found, and the ceremonies connected with the *talû* belong to them at the same time. If a *talû* lies within the territory of a certain local group only the members of that local group can perform the ceremony connected with it.

The totemic ceremonies of the Kariëra tribe have been discontinued for many years. I was therefore unable to see any of them performed and had to rely entirely on what the natives told me about them. Information of this kind is of course very unsatisfactory. The purpose of the ceremonies is said to be to increase the supply of the animal, plant, or other object with which it is connected. Thus the purpose of the *mungu* or white ant ceremony is to increase the white ants, which are eaten by the aborigines. At many of these totemic ceremonial grounds there is either a single boulder or a heap of small stones and these play a part in the ceremony connected with the place. In some cases it would seem that the stone or heap is struck with clubs or with stones held in the hand. The performers of these ceremonies are painted, and decorated with feathers and bird's down. The women of the clan take part in the ceremonies as well as the men. In some cases songs are sung, in others one of the performers calls out the names of different parts of the country. The head man of the clan, unless he be too old, takes the leading part in the ceremonies of his clan.

There is no prohibition whatever against a man or woman killing any one of his or her totems, if it be an animal, or against eating it if it be edible.

The following is a list of the totems of some of the clans of the Kariëra tribe. The list does not profess to be complete. It does not include all the clans of the tribe, nor can I be sure that all the totems of any clan are enumerated. The numbers of the clans in this list correspond to those on the map.

The clans numbered XVIII and XIX are doubtful. They lie at the boundary of three tribes, the Kariëra, Ngaluma and Injibandi, and it is impossible to say with certainty to which tribe each clan belongs. Thus I was told more than once that XVIII was "half Ngaluma, half Kariëra," and it was sometimes spoken of

as a Kariëra clan and sometimes as Ngaluma. In exactly the same way there is some doubt whether XIX is Kariëra or Injibandi, or even Ngaluma. I have included both clans in the Kariëra tribe for convenience, not because their claim to belong to that tribe is any stronger than their claim to belong to the neighbouring tribes. The fact is that one tribe is not clearly marked off from its neighbours, but there are often near the border a number of local groups that occupy an indeterminate position.

## I.—Karimera-Burung.

<i>Yiligiiji</i>	...	...	rainbow	...	...	at Womalana.
<i>Pidira</i>	...	...	white cockatoo	...	...	at Balla-balla.
<i>Kuringja</i>	...	...	March fly	...	...	at Balla-balla.
<i>Mängäbuga</i>	...	...	a fish.			
<i>Yatumba</i>	...	...	„			
<i>Pira</i>	...	...	conch shell.			

## II.—Banaka-Palyeri.

<i>Wongali</i>	...	...	a lizard	...	...	at Kayingarana.
<i>Tarbun</i>	...	...	crab.			
<i>Balanu</i>	...	...	a fish.			
<i>Banangura</i>	...	...	„	...	...	at Magalana.
<i>Waragalara</i>	...	...	„	..	...	at Madukurbarana.
<i>Churi</i>	...	...	„			
<i>Minagalara</i>	...	...	„			
<i>Kagumada</i>	...	...	„	...	...	at Kagumadana.
<i>Nyumeru</i>	...	...	„			
<i>Kandara</i>	...	...	a seed	...	...	at Kayingarana.

## III.—Banaka-Palyeri.

<i>Wanangura</i>	...	...	whirlwind	...	...	at Wanangurana.
<i>Kambuda</i>	...	...	child or baby	...	...	at Pilgun.
<i>Puna</i>	...	...	sexual desire	...	...	at Kalbana.
<i>Wajabi</i>	...	...	a small mammal	...	...	at Wajabina.
<i>Wanangadi</i>	...	...	a snake	...	...	at Bambana.
<i>Kulibiri</i>	...	...	„	...	...	at Kulibirina.
<i>Mungu</i>	...	...	white ant	...	...	at Mungulina.
<i>Tanamada</i>	...	...	a grub	...	...	at Maludarana.
<i>Taiyimara</i>	...	...	honey flower	...	...	at Kaiyuna.
<i>Yigara</i>	...	...	mangrove	...	...	at Walunguna.
<i>Nyura</i>	...	...	(?)			
<i>Pindanu</i>	...	...	(?)			

## IV.—Karimera-Burung.

<i>Puriya</i>	...	...	the tide	...	...	at Kurjadagabuna.
<i>Kunya</i>	...	...	mosquito	...	...	at Chindagalarana.

<i>Kumi</i>	...	...	...	sand-fly	...	...	at Kumina.
<i>Ngalun</i>	...	...	...	a snake	...	...	at Ngaluna.
<i>Mogudi</i>	...	...	...	a snake.			
<i>Yurguliguli</i>	...	...	...	a snake	...	...	at Ngaluna.
<i>Tambalambala</i>	...	...	...	a bird	...	...	at Chindagalarana.
<i>Namali</i>	...	...	...	a fish	...	...	at Kabuna.
<i>Ngalara</i>	...	...	...	„	...	...	at Ngalarana
<i>Muraban</i>	...	...	...	„			
<i>Waberi</i>	...	...	...	„	..	...	at Majanina.
<i>Chindabiri</i>	...	...	...	„			
<i>Kalandi</i>	...	...	...	„	...	...	at Kalandina.
<i>Mänjir</i>	...	...	...	a flat fish	...	...	at Ngamana.
<i>Kadumada</i>	...	...	...	medusa (?)	...	...	at Kalandina.
<i>Ngalgu</i>	...	...	...	root	...	...	at Yarina.
<i>Bagada</i>	...	...	...	grass	...	...	at Chindagalarana.
<i>Waru</i>	...	...	...	a seed	...	...	at Chindagalarana.

## V.—Banaka-Palyeri.

<i>Ngandarimirgura</i>	...	...	...	a shark.
<i>Ngadabururu</i>	...	...	...	a fish.
<i>Midu</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Moji</i>	...	...	...	sting ray.
<i>Yidawari</i>	...	...	...	saw-fish.
<i>Walimbira</i>	...	...	...	a fish.
<i>Munyangolo</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Malal</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Piain</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Karbu</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Ngalgura</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Paldharangara</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Ngundara</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Bungari</i>	...	...	...	crab.

## VI.—Karimera-Burung.

<i>Kudunguru</i>	...	...	...	ebb-tide.
<i>Kalunganara</i>	...	...	...	a snake.
<i>Bulyago</i>	...	...	...	a fish.
<i>Chabiya</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Kailyu</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Wandamala</i> (or <i>wanda-</i> <i>mana</i> (?))				„
<i>Wadabara</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Mingalaru</i>	...	...	...	„

<i>Waragalara</i>	...	...	a fish.
<i>Churi</i>	...	...	„
<i>Nyunurdu</i>	...	...	„
<i>Kunabandi</i>	...	...	„
<i>Wili</i>	...	...	„
<i>Yuandu</i>	...	...	„
<i>Magadu</i>	...	...	„
<i>Madamada</i>	...	...	„

## VII.—Banaka-Palyeri.

<i>Kaliwana</i>	...	...	a grub	...	...	at Kaliwanana.
<i>Wanangadi</i>	...	...	a snake	...	...	at Wanangadikundina.
<i>Kunkun</i>	...	...	a fish.			
<i>Wandimara</i>	...	...	„	...	...	at Wandimaranguna.
<i>Pirbila</i>	...	...	„			
<i>Ngulgun</i>	...	...	„			
<i>Budabudara</i>	...	...	„			
<i>Banagura</i>	...	...	„			
<i>Wanngai</i>	...	...	„			
<i>Wirinbuga</i>	...	...	„			
<i>Nanungana</i>	...	...	a seed.			
<i>Tulimalu</i>	...	...	„			

## VIII.—Karimera-Burung.

<i>Kanjamara</i>	...	...	a root	...	...	at Wargalgura.
<i>Kalumbu</i>	...	...	a fruit.			
<i>Bangamalu</i>	...	...	(?)			
<i>Pidira</i>	...	...	white cockatoo.			
<i>Katunganaru(?)</i>	...	...	snake.			
<i>Wuta</i>	...	...	(?)	...	...	at Maringa.

## IX.—Banaka-Palyeri.

<i>Woluga</i>	...	...	frog.			
<i>Mali</i>	...	...	„			
<i>Chargarang</i>	...	...	(?)			
<i>Wogurarangu</i>	...	...	(?)			
<i>Walambari</i>	...	...	opossum.			
<i>Murumbari</i>	...	...	a beetle	...	...	at Murumbarina.
<i>Mitabiliya</i>	...	...				
<i>Kobilya</i>	...	...	dew	...	...	at Murumbarina.
<i>Purgun</i>	...	...	a beetle.			
<i>Chulgu</i>	...	...	a lizard	...	...	at Chulguna.
<i>Nyiriba</i>	...	...	a small mammal	...	...	at Tungadangkundina.

## X.—Karimera-Burung.

<i>Walamara</i>	...	...	hot weather	...	at Walamarana.
<i>Wanbangu</i>	...	...	eaglehawk	...	at Chidamba.
<i>Wagura</i>	...	...	crow	...	at Wagurana.
<i>Biliga</i>	...	...	hawk	...	at Kurāna.
<i>Wolgalu</i>	...	...	red gum	...	at Malumalunguna.
<i>Kunguvara</i>	...	...	(?)	...	at Karpa.
<i>Toli</i>	...	...	a grub	...	at Parderingunina.
<i>Mariang</i>	...	...	"	...	at Maraianguna.
<i>Maguya</i>	...	...	the red grub found in gum trees.		
<i>Chiyin</i>	...	...	a tree.		

## XI.—Banaka-Palyeri.

<i>Kolobuñ</i>	...	...	honey flowers (cajeput)	at Kolobuna.
<i>Murigangabu</i>	...	...	grub	at Muruna.
<i>Maldhangara</i>	...	...	honey.	
<i>Walyuru</i>	...	...	a seed.	
<i>Maiyingu</i>	...	...	(?)	
<i>Malyagolya(?)</i>	...	...	fish poison.	
<i>Talburu</i>	...	...	" "	

## XII.—Banaka-Palyeri.

<i>Kalagolu</i>	...	...	fresh-water fish.	
<i>Mudu</i>	...	...	cold weather.	
<i>Waranu</i>	...	...	edible gum.	
<i>Walaiyura</i>	...	...		
<i>Wanyali (Walyuru)</i>	...	...	seed.	
<i>Nyurukadingana</i>	...	...		
<i>Chugura</i>	...	...	fresh-water fish.	
<i>Pidbarara</i>	...	...	" "	

## XIII.—Banaka-Palyeri.

<i>Yugoro</i>	...	...	dingo	...	at Yulonguina.
<i>Nangu</i>	...	...	snake	...	at Murijonguna.
<i>Mangaiyura</i>	...	...	spinifex	...	at Mogurina.
<i>Tungariri</i>	...	...	"		
<i>Puru</i>	...	...	fly	...	at Nyanyanana.
<i>Yalya</i>	...	...	lizard	...	at Yalyabaduna.
<i>Maribula</i>	...	...	spinifex.		

## XIV.—Karimera-Burung.

<i>Kuraba</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	at Kurabana.
<i>Wuda</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	at Nguberna.
<i>Walba</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	at Walbangunina.
<i>Jima</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	a fruit.
<i>Bajela</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	„
<i>Nyuna</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	a snake (adder(?)).
<i>Manalya</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	
<i>Wandajiri</i> (?)	...	...	...	...	...	a lizard.
<i>Minamba</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	at Minambana.
<i>Manangura</i>	...	...	...	...	...	
<i>Woba</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	

## XV.—Banaka-Palyeri.

<i>Yungoma</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	a lizard ... at Malana.
<i>Mandarara</i>	...	...	...	...	...	dew.

## XVI.—Karimera-Burung.

<i>Wanbangu</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	eaglehawk... at Chidambana.
<i>Ngaba</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	a root.
<i>Nyurukalara</i>	...	...	...	...	...	
<i>Ngalgu</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	a root.
<i>Kamarangu</i>	...	...	...	...	...	a fish ... at Kamaranguna.
<i>Kandarigura</i>	...	...	...	...	...	

## XVII.—Karimera-Burung.

Totems uncertain.

## XVIII.—Karimera-Burung.

<i>Yura</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	the sun, or hot weather.
<i>Kolu</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	louse.
<i>Wanbangu</i> (?)	...	...	...	...	...	eaglehawk.
<i>Bibingu</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	(?)

## XIX.—Banaka-Palyeri.

<i>Walambari</i> ...	...	...	...	...	...	opossum.
<i>Maldhangara</i>	...	...	...	...	...	honey.
<i>Mangula</i>	...	...	...	...	...	child.
<i>Murumbari</i>	...	...	...	...	...	beetle ... at Murumbarina.

This list of clans and totems probably contains some errors, though I used every endeavour to make it as accurate as possible. As the ceremonies in connection



with the totems have been discontinued for many years, all the younger men are ignorant on matters concerning them, and often do not know their own totems. Even the statements of the old men are not always reliable. Thus one old man in giving me the totems of his clan included some belonging to a neighbouring clan of the same couple, and it was only with great difficulty that I sorted out the totems of the two clans. Such errors were much more frequent when a man was enumerating the totems of a clan other than his own, for example, that of his mother. There was thus a large number of cases in which it was doubtful to which of two neighbouring clans a particular totem belonged, and I cannot hope that I found the correct solution in all of these cases. The only satisfactory way of removing errors of this nature would be to visit all the ceremonial grounds of each clan, but this would have required time and labour that I could not give.

A point of considerable theoretical interest is whether each totem is strictly confined to one couple or is to be found in both couples. To determine this I examined all the cases in which the same totem was found in two clans. The following is a list of these cases:—

Eaglehawk ... ..	X, XVI and XVIII	Karimera-Burung
Hot weather ... ..	X and XVIII	” ”
White cockatoo ... ..	I and VIII	” ”
Baby ... ..	III and XIX	Banaka-Palyeri
Opossum ... ..	IX and XIX	” ”
Honey ... ..	XI and XIX	” ”
Murumbari ... ..	IX and XIX	” ”

In the case of the eaglehawk totem it is probable that it belongs either to XVI or to XVIII but not to both. As regards the white cockatoo there was some doubt in my mind as to whether it belonged to clan VIII or to a neighbouring clan of the Banaka-Palyeri couple. The balance of evidence was in favour of the view that it belonged to VIII.

Besides those of the above list there are three species of fish, *churi*, *minagalara*, and *waragalara*, which are included amongst the totems of clan II (Ban-Pal) and also amongst those of clan VI (Kai-Bur). The list for clan VI is a rather doubtful one as it was obtained from only one informant, and he was an old man who spoke no English. I cannot therefore regard this instance as definite proof that the same totem is found in both couples. The best that can be said on the evidence available is that the question must be left open.

Most of the totems are of an edible nature. Among the clans of the coast various species of fish preponderate. There is not a large number of vegetable species in the list of totems. I think it is probable that if the list were complete a larger number would be found. I did not find in the Kariera tribe either a

kangaroo totem or an emu totem, nor was there a rain totem, unless we include in this tribe a clan at Pilbara, which more probably belongs to the Injibandi tribe. The absence of these totems in the Kariera tribe is of some interest when we compare that tribe with others, for example, with the tribes on the Ashburton River, to be described later.

I could not find any prohibition against a man or woman eating his or her own totem if it were edible, or against killing it. Every native that I questioned said that there was no such restriction. A man killed and ate his own totem as readily as he killed and ate any other animal.

As regards many of the totems, it would seem that the totemic centre or ceremonial ground is in a part of the country where the totem species is naturally plentiful. Thus the ceremonial grounds of the white cockatoo and the March fly are in the creek at Balla-balla, where these two species are plentiful. In a number of cases, not only in this but also in other tribes, I was able to satisfy myself that the totem animal or plant is actually more abundant near the ceremonial ground belonging to it than in other parts of the country. In a large proportion of cases the place where the ceremony is performed is called by a name formed by adding the suffix *na* to the name of the totem. Thus there are two totemic centres for *murumbari*, and in both cases the name of the totem centre is Murumbarina. Many other examples may be found in the list of totems given above. Similar place names, that is, consisting of the name of some species of animal or vegetable species with the suffix *-na*, are also given to spots where there is no totemic centre, but where the species in question is more abundant than elsewhere.

#### *Initiation Ceremonies.*

According to the statements of the natives the chief feature of the initiation ceremony of the Kariera tribe consisted of tying a band of string tightly around the biceps of each arm. The boy during his initiation is called *Wamubu*.

A man of the Karimera class described how he was initiated as follows:— He was seated on the ground with a circle of spectators round him. He sat motionless and silent during the ceremony. Two men, spoken of as *Mamia*, looked after the spectators. They were Palyeri and Karimera. Strings of opossum wool were tied round his two arms just above the biceps. They were tied on by a man who was his *tami* (of the Palyeri class) and a man who was his *maeli* (of the Karimera class). A song, called *chunbaji*, was sung by those looking on:—

<i>Jina</i>	<i>yura</i>	<i>ngari</i>
Foot	hot	lying down
<i>Jili</i>	<i>mindii</i>	<i>burdijang.</i>
Arm	band	?

At the same time a belt of human hair (*pururu*) was tied round his waist, a band of fur-string (*kundi*) was tied round his head, and a tassel of the tails of the

spinifex rat (*chuba*) was fastened to the head-band so as to hang down on his neck. Two bullroarers<sup>1</sup> (*banangari*) were given to him, a large one and a small. The larger one he wore in the front of his belt and the smaller one at the back of his head-band. The arm-bands are not taken off, but must remain on till they break and fall off.

It seems that amongst the southern Kariera some of the men were initiated by their neighbours the Injibandi, who practised circumcision. In the Kariera tribe itself circumcision was not practised.

#### *The Birth of Children.*

When a woman conceives, her condition is said to be due to the action of some particular member of her tribe, who is spoken of as the *wororu* of the child after it is born. If a man of the right relationship gives a woman some food and after eating it she becomes pregnant, this man becomes the *wororu* of the woman's child. Sometimes the *wororu* does not give the woman food to eat, but when he is hunting and has speared a kangaroo or an emu, as he is killing it he speaks to the spirit of the kangaroo and tells it to go to a certain woman. The spirit of the kangaroo follows the man home to the camp and goes inside the woman indicated, who thereby becomes pregnant. The man who sent the kangaroo or other spirit is recognized as the *wororu* of the child. In one case I was told that a man had "made" his own child, having killed an emu and sent the spirit into his own wife. Such a case is, however, an exception. The *wororu* of a child in every case (except this one) that I examined in the Kariera tribe is a man standing in the relation of "brother" to the actual father of the child, and therefore stands in the relation of *mama* (father or father's brother) to the child itself. In most of the cases that I examined the child had its origin in the spirit of a kangaroo killed by the *wororu*. In one case the man showed me a birth-mark on his thigh which he said was where his *wororu* had speared the kangaroo.

I did not find that there were any specific duties that a man or woman owes to his *wororu*. All that the natives told me was that a man "looks after" his *wororu*, that is, he attends to his wants, gives him food when there is an opportunity and treats him much as he does his own father. It is possible, however, that there are some more specific duties that I did not discover.

The animal from whose spirit the child arises, or the animal or vegetable eaten by the mother and causing conception, is not in any way sacred to the individual thus connected with it by birth. He treats it just as he does every other animal or plant.

It must be remembered that "children" are a totem of one of the Kariera clans, and it is the duty of the members of this clan to perform ceremonies for the increase of children.

<sup>1</sup> In this tribe women are permitted to see the bullroarer (*banangari*).

*Death and Burial.*

When a man or woman is near to death the relatives often throw themselves on the body of the sick person and weep loudly. After the death the relatives, both male and female, wail and cut their scalps until the blood trickles from their heads. The hair of the deceased is cut off and preserved, being worn by the relatives in the form of string.

The body is often buried in the ground, a grave being dug three or four feet in depth. The body is doubled up in a sitting posture and is placed facing the birth-place of the dead man or woman. Occasionally the body is placed in a tree or in a hole in the rocks. It would seem that this is a more honourable form of burial, reserved for those who are particularly esteemed as magicians or hunters. In such cases some of the bones are recovered after a time and kept by the relatives and friends. The relatives of a dead man or woman are required during the period of mourning to abstain from eating the flesh of kangaroo. This was in former times the principal meat food of the natives. In modern times, since the natives have settled down to work on sheep stations, and their principal flesh food has become mutton, they now abstain during the mourning period from this, either instead of kangaroo or in addition to it. A man who is thus restricting his diet is said to be *chaji*. The abstention comes to an end in the following way: A friend of the mourner, who is not at the time himself mourning for anyone, takes some of the fat of the animal, be it mutton or kangaroo, and comes up unobserved behind the man who is *chaji* and rubs the fat on his mouth. After this he is free to eat again of the food, but only if he was unaware of the intention of the man who thus released him from the ban. A mourner will often take great precautions against being surprised by some friend who thinks that he has mourned long enough.

There is little doubt but that the Kariera, like the other tribes of this part of Australia, were originally cannibals. At the present day it is impossible to obtain any reliable information on the subject. It would seem, however, that in some cases they ate parts of their enemies slain in a fight, while in others they ate parts of their own relatives and friends. I suspect that the practice of infanticide existed also in connection with cannibalism, but cannot speak with certainty as to how far the custom was at all general.

*Myths and Legends.*

## Eaglehawk and Crow.

In the times long ago (*palam* or *padam*) there were two eaglehawks (*wanbangu*) who were brothers and had for their wives two galahs (*bilagu*). The eaglehawks were *kaga* (mother's brothers) to the crow (*wagura*). The eaglehawks and their nephew the crow used to go hunting together. The eaglehawks always took for themselves the fattest animals that were killed. One day they had killed some kangaroos. The crow took the fattest and hid them. The kill had been placed near a cave. The two eaglehawks thought that the crow might have hidden the fat kangaroos in the cave, so they went inside to look for them. Then the

crow sealed up the entrance of the cave and left the eaglehawks inside. The crow went home to the camp. The two wives of the eagle hawk were there, waiting for the return of their husbands. (As these two were the *toa* or mothers-in-law of the crow they could not, of course, speak to him or have anything to do with him.) The crow lay down in his camp. By and by he pretended that the ants were biting him. He scratched himself and moved his camp nearer to that of his mothers-in-law. They were watching him. After a while he pretended that the ants were biting him again and moved still nearer. At last he came right up to the camp of the two women and lay with them.

The two eaglehawks managed to get out of the cave in which they had been shut up. They found the crow with their wives. The eaglehawks seized the crow. They rubbed him in the charcoal of the fire and made him black all over. As they did this they said to him, "You stole our wives. You stole our meat. You lay with your *toa*. We make you black now. You will have to steal whatever you can. You will never hunt with us any more. You will not eat fresh meat any more. You will steal what you can from the camps. You will pick up the scraps and offal." The crow could only answer "Wa! Wa! Wa!"

#### NGALUMA TRIBE.

The Ngaluma tribe occupies the coast of Western Australia from the Maitland River to the Sherlock River, extending inland for about fifty miles. The neighbouring tribes are the Kariera on the east, the Mardudhunera on the south-west, and the Injibandi on the south. Ngaluma is the name by which the members of the tribe refer to themselves and by which they are known to their neighbours. No meaning could be discovered for the name.

#### *Bibliography.*

The tribe is described as the Nickol Bay tribe, in Curr's *Australian Race*, vol. i, pp. 296-303, the brief account there given being by Mr. A. K. Richardson. It is referred to in Mr. J. G. Withnell's "Customs and Traditions of the Aboriginal Natives of North-Western Australia," the name being given as *Gnalouma*. In Dr. E. Clement's "Ethnographical Notes on the Western Australian Aborigines" the name is spelled *Gnaluma*. In a pamphlet by "Yabaroo," entitled "Aborigines of North-West Australia," the name is spelled *Gnalooma*.

#### *Present Conditions and Numbers.*

There are very few survivors of the Ngaluma tribe, probably not more than sixty all told. They are mostly employed by settlers, chiefly on sheep stations, and all of them, except the old men and women, talk English fairly well. Their country was first occupied by the whites in 1864. In 1866 a large number of them died during an epidemic of small-pox. A little later an outbreak of measles caused a further decrease of the tribe. Mr. A. K. Richardson, writing in Curr's

*Australian Race*, says that "in 1865 the tribe numbered from two hundred and fifty to three hundred persons." As Mr. Richardson does not mention the area which he takes as his basis, and as he does not seem to have known the tribal name, this statement should not be taken as referring to the whole tribe as here described, but only to that portion of it in the neighbourhood of Roebourne and Nickol Bay. It is probable that the whole Ngaluma tribe included at least twice as many persons as that part of it referred to by Mr. Richardson.

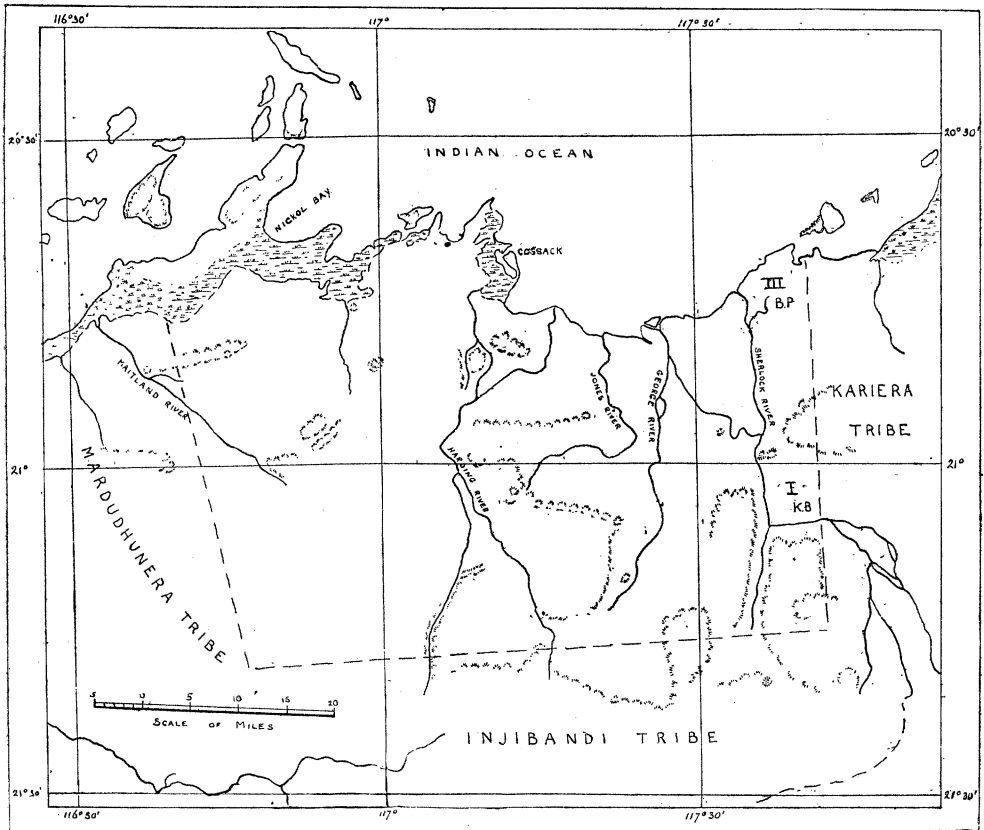


FIG. 2.—MAP OF THE NGALUMA TRIBE.

#### *Tribal and Local Organization.*

The extent of the tribal territory is approximately 2500 square miles. It consists of stony hills with intervening flats often of considerable area. The chief rivers are the Maitland, Nickol, Harding and Sherlock. The pools in these rivers provide a fairly plentiful supply of fresh water.

The tribe is divided into local groups in exactly the same way as the Kariera tribe, and the description given under this head for that tribe will apply equally well to the Ngaluma. On the accompanying map are marked by means of Roman numerals two of the local groups about which I was able to obtain information.

*Relationship and Marriage.*

The relationship system of the Ngaluma tribe is similar in every detail to that of the Kariera tribe, and it is therefore unnecessary to describe it. The classes are :

( Banaka = Burung )  
( Kaimera = Palyeri )

The following is a list of terms of relationship. The use of each particular term is exactly the same as the use of the corresponding term in Kariera :—

<i>Maiali</i>	...	...	...	Father's father M.F.
<i>Ngabari</i>	...	...	...	Father's mother M.F.
<i>Tami</i>	...	...	...	Mother's father M.F.
<i>Kandari</i>	...	...	...	Mother's mother M.F.
<i>Mama</i>	...	...	...	Father M.F.
<i>Nganga</i>	...	...	...	Mother M.F.
<i>Kaga</i>	...	...	...	Mother's brother M.F.
<i>Toa</i>	...	...	...	Father's sister M.
<i>Kaia</i>	...	...	...	Older brother M.F.
<i>Turdu</i>	...	...	...	Older sister M.F.
<i>Mariara</i>	...	...	...	Younger brother M.F.
<i>Mayi</i>	...	...	...	Younger sister M.F.
<i>Yagan</i>	...	...	...	Consort M.F.
<i>Marganu</i>	...	...	...	Wife's brother M.
<i>Bungali</i>	...	...	...	Husband's sister F.
<i>Maiŋga</i>	...	...	...	Son M.F.
<i>Kundal</i>	...	...	...	Daughter M.F.
<i>Yaraija</i> or <i>Ngajela</i>	...	...	...	Sister's son M.
<i>Bali</i> or <i>Ngajela</i>	...	...	...	Sister's daughter M.
<i>Toa</i>	...	...	...	Brother's son F.
<i>Ngaraia</i>	...	...	...	Brother's daughter F.

*Totemism.*

The totemic organization of the Ngaluma tribe is exactly similar to that of the Kariera. I was not able to obtain much information about the particular totems. Only two clans are marked on the map. The totems of these, and of another of which the exact locality was not determined, are :—

## I.—Kaimera-Burung.

<i>Taiyangul</i>	...	...	a fresh-water fish.
<i>Piranu</i>	...	...	eel.
<i>Jigura</i>	...	...	a fresh-water fish.
<i>Ngaburain</i>	...	...	a vegetable.
<i>Mariangu</i>	...	...	a grub.

<i>Ngangari</i>	...	...	...	a seed.
<i>Jimar</i>	...	...	...	a fruit.
<i>Kalgai</i>	...	...	...	vomiting sickness.

## II.—Banaka-Palyeri.

<i>Mudu</i>	...	...	...	cold weather.
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## III.—Banaka-Palyeri.

<i>Kalaijura</i>	...	...	...	a bird.
<i>Walaigura</i>	...	...	...	pigeon.
<i>Minarang</i>	...	...	...	centipede.
<i>Ngandarimigura</i>	...	...	...	shark.
<i>Budabudara</i>	...	...	...	a fish.
<i>Puliribuga</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Win-ga</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Bida-bida</i>	...	...	...	„

A clan, the exact locality of which I could not determine, belonging to the Kaimera-Burung couple, had amongst its totems three species of snake called *kalunganara*, *bajamalu* and *ngamurgala*. I was also told of a *yungo talu* (rain totem) and of a *māngula talu* (baby totem) in the Ngaluma country, but I could not determine the clans to which these two totems belonged. I was told of a number of other totems each having its own ceremonial ground, without being able to determine the clans to which they belonged. Some of these were as follows:—

<i>Ngaba</i>	...	...	...	a root.
<i>Kardang</i>	...	...	...	edible gum.
<i>Waramba</i>	...	...	...	a seed.
<i>Kandul</i>	...	...	...	a root.
<i>Koro</i>	...	...	...	a seed.
<i>Kulboro</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Bilar</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Bindanu</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Magardu</i>	...	...	...	a fruit.
<i>Turguiñ</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Madar</i>	...	...	...	a root.
<i>Bugaji</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Marduwari</i>	...	...	...	„
<i>Pauwira</i>	...	...	...	grass-seed (?).
<i>Mirganu</i>	...	...	...	the grass seeds collected and stored by a species of ant.



The totemic ceremonies of this tribe have not been performed for many years and the younger men know very little about them. When the ceremony for producing cold weather was to be performed the men and women of the clan proceeded to the ceremonial ground. Here they painted themselves with white clay. Some of the men made a big break-wind of boughs and grass, and to one side of this a big fire was lighted. The break-wind was so placed that it would shelter the occupants from the south-east wind, which is the cold wind, even if at the time the wind was actually blowing from some other direction. The performers then sat round the fire within the break-wind or shelter and pretended to shiver with cold. After this the weather was sure to get colder in a few days. In some of the ceremonies connected with seed totems, a part of the ceremony consisted of grinding some of the particular seeds in the way in which they are usually prepared for food, and then scattering the flour in different directions, calling out the names of different parts of the country in which the performers wished the seeds to flourish and ripen. One of the totems of clan I was said to be "vomiting." I gathered from my informant that if this ceremony were performed the natives were seized with attacks of vomiting. Why this ceremony should ever be performed, unless perhaps as a means of annoying their neighbours, it is difficult to see.

#### *Initiation Ceremonies.*

When boys attain a certain age they are prohibited from eating emu and small kangaroos. At this period the boy is called *jajira*. When he is sufficiently grown he is sent away with five or six men, who are his *kaga* (mother's brother) or his *marganu* (brother-in-law), to collect friends from neighbouring camps to visit his father's camp. These men bring presents. The boy's journey seems only to have been a short one.

The ceremony on the boy's return consists of tying around each of his arms a band of fur-string. The boy is decorated with red paint, and a bunch of eagle-hawk feathers is fastened in his hair. A bullroarer (*banangari*) is given to him and he wears this fastened in his head-band at the back of his head. The arm is tied by a *marganu* (brother-in-law). The whole ceremony takes place at a cleared spot away from the camp. Women are present during some part of the ceremony but are prohibited from seeing other parts.

After this ceremony the boy is *bagali* and remains so for about a year, during which time the bands remain on his arms. At the end of this time he becomes *muruguru* and is free to marry. When married he is called *kumbungu*. When the youth ceases to be *bagali* and becomes *muruguru* he is again permitted to eat emu. A *kaja* (elder brother) takes some emu fat and rubs it on his face and then gives him emu flesh to eat.

The Ngaluma also scarify the chest with horizontal cuts, but this seems to be done in camp without any particular ceremony.

## THE MARDUDHUNERA TRIBE.

The Mardudhunera tribe occupies the coast of Western Australia from a point somewhere between the Cane and Robe Rivers as far as the Maitland River. The tribe is adjoined by the Noala on the south-west, the Ngaluma on the north-east,

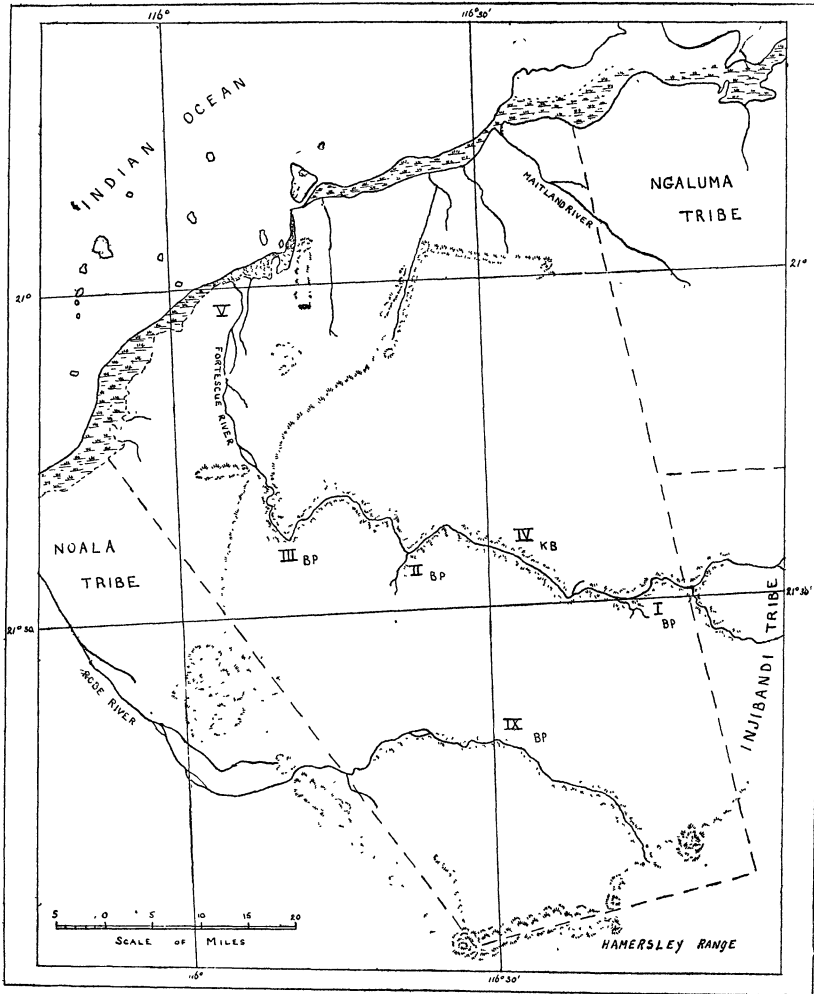


FIG. 3.—MAP OF THE MARDUDHUNERA TRIBE.

and the Injibandi or Korama on the south-east. No meaning has been discovered for the name Mardudhunera,<sup>1</sup> which is the name that members of the tribe apply to themselves. They speak of the Noala and Talainji tribes as Noanamaronga, and

<sup>1</sup> Many personal names in this tribe begin with the two syllables Mardu-, as Mardungaiana, Mardudhangulu, Mardumijering, Mardumaninya.

refer to the Injibandi or Korama tribe by the name Korama, or else include them under the general term Yanari, which they apply to all natives living inland.

#### *Bibliography.*

The tribe has not been described by any previous writer. It is referred to under the name *Maratunia* by Dr. E. Clement in "Ethnographical Notes on the Western-Australian Aborigines," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Band xvi, 1903. The name is spelled *Mardathoni* in a pamphlet entitled "Aborigines of North-West Australia," by "Yabaroo," Perth, W.A., 1899.

#### *Present Condition and Numbers.*

Like the other tribes of this part of Australia, the Mardudhunera natives now mostly live on sheep stations, where they work for the whites and are fed and clothed. Their numbers have decreased greatly during the last fifty years, and there are probably not a hundred members of the tribe now alive.

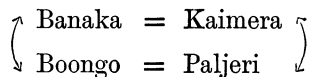
#### *Tribal and Local Organization.*

The country of the Mardudhunera tribe lies on the coast, at the north-west end of the Hamersley Range. This range of mountains forms a barrier between the tribes on the Fortescue River and those on the Ashburton River, a distinct ethnographical boundary coinciding with the geographical one. At the north-western end the Mardudhunera tribe forms a connecting link between these two groups of tribes. Consequently some of its customs and institutions resemble those of the Ashburton tribes while others resemble those of the Fortescue tribes.

The area of the tribal territory is about 3500 square miles. The tribe is divided into a number of local groups each with its own defined country. There are no names for these local groups. In the accompanying map I have denoted them by means of Roman numerals. The local organization is in all respects similar to that of the Kariera tribe.

#### *Relationship and Marriage.*

The Mardudhunera tribe is divided into four classes as shown in the following diagram<sup>1</sup> :—



A comparison of this diagram with that given for the Ngaluma or Kariera

<sup>1</sup> In the word *Boongo* there is a "w" glide between the two "o's"—*Bowongo*. This is the equivalent of the "r" in *Burong*.

tribe shows that while the names of the classes are similar, the arrangement is different. In the Ngaluma tribe the classes are arranged as follows:—

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Banaka} = \text{Burong} \\ \text{Kaimera} = \text{Paljeri} \end{array} \right\}$$

Thus in the Ngaluma tribe a man of the Banaka class marries a Burong woman, while in the Mardudhunera tribe a Banaka man marries a Kaimera woman. By means of genealogies showing inter-marriages between the two tribes it is possible to discover which are the equivalent classes. These are shown in the following table:—

<i>Ngaluma.</i>		<i>Mardudhunera.</i>	
Banaka	... ..	...	Paljeri.
Burong	... ..	...	Boongo.
Kaimera	... ..	...	Kaimera.
Paljeri	... ..	..	Banaka.

To put this in another way we may consider which classes in the two tribes may intermarry:—

<i>Ngaluma.</i>		<i>Mardudhunera.</i>
Banaka	marries	Boongo.
Burong	„	Paljeri.
Kaimera	„	Banaka.
Paljeri	„	Kaimera.

The system of relationship terms of the Mardudhunera tribe is very different from that of the Kariera, and is of a type common in many parts of Australia. The following is a list of the terms in use:—

*Maiali.*—Father's father M.F., father's father's brother M.F., son's son and daughter M.

*Ngabari.*—Father's mother M.F., father's mother's sister M.F., son's son and daughter F.

*Tami.*—Mother's father M.F., mother's father's brother M.F., father's mother's brother M.F., consort's father's father M.F., mother's father's sister M.F., daughter's son and daughter M.

*Kandari.*—Mother's mother M.F., mother's mother's sister M.F., father's father's sister M.F., consort's father's mother M.F., mother's mother's brother M.F., consort's mother's father M.F., daughter's son and daughter F., mother's mother's brother's son's son and daughter, mother's brother's son's wife

M.F., mother's brother's daughter's husband M.F., son's wife's mother M., etc.

*Babu.*—Father M.F., father's brother M.F., mother's sister's husband M.F.

*Bebe.*—Mother M.F., mother's sister M.F., father's brother's wife M.F.

*Yaji.*—Mother's brother M.F., father's sister's husband M.F., consort's father M.F.

*Mogul.*—Father's sister M.F., mother's brother's wife M.F.

*Talyu.*—Mother's mother's brother's son M., mother's father's sister's son M., mother's mother's brother's son's son's son M., mother's brother's daughter's son M., wife's mother's brother M., sister's daughter's husband M., etc.

*Nganyi.*—Mother's mother's brother's daughter M., mother's father's sister's daughter M., mother's brother's daughter's daughter M., mother's mother's brother's son's son's daughter M., wife's mother M., daughter's husband F., sister's son's wife M., husband's mother's brother F., etc. etc.

*Kaia.*—Older brother M.F., father's brother's or mother's sister's sons if older than the speaker.

*Turdu.*—Older sister M.F.

*Paldha.*—Younger brother M.F.

*Mayi.*—Younger sister M.F.

*Ngadhal.*—Mother's brother's son M., father's sister's son M., mother's brother's daughter F., father's sister's daughter F.

*Bungali.*—Mother's brother's daughter M., father's sister's daughter M., mother's brother's or father's sister's son F.

*Yagan.*—Mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter M., mother's mother's brother's daughter's son F., mother's father's sister's daughter's daughter M., mother's father's sister's daughter's son F., wife M., husband F., wife's sister M., husband's brother F., brother's wife M., sister's husband F., sister's son's daughter M., father's mother's brother F.

*Marianu.*—Mother's mother's brother's daughter's son M., mother's father's sister's daughter's son M., wife's brother M., sister's husband M.

*Mura.*—Son M.F., brother's son M., sister's son F.

*Kundal.*—Daughter M.F., brother's daughter M., sister's daughter F.

*Ngajela.*—Sister's son and daughter M.

*Kanainyu.*—Mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter F., mother's father's sister's daughter's daughter F., husband's sister F.

*Yumani.*—Father's father's father M.F., son's son's son M.

*Yarugalu.*—Mother's mother's mother M.F.

The system of relationship of the Mardudhunera tribe is a very complicated one to follow out in detail. The account here given is based entirely on examples from actual genealogies. If I am a man of the Banaka class my father is Palyeri, and is my *babu*. My father's brother is also *babu*, and my father's sister is *mogul*. My father's father belongs to the same class as myself and is my *maiali*. The brother of a *maiali* is also *maiali*, but the sister of a *maiali* is *kandari*. My father's mother is Kaimera and is my *ngabari*. Her sister is also my *ngabari*, while her brother is my *tami*.

My mother is my *bebe*, and I apply the same term to her sister or to the wife of my father's brother. My mother's brother is my *yaji*, and I apply this term also to the husband of my father's sister. My mother's father is my *tami*. The brother and the sister of this man are also my *tami*. My mother's mother is my *kandari*, and the same name applies to her sister and to her brother.

It thus appears that in the second ascending generation I have three names for male relatives (*maiali*, *tami* and *kandari*) and the same number for female relatives (*ngabari*, *kandari* and *tami*).

If we consider the children of these relatives, those of my *maiali* are my *babu* and my *mogul*. Those of my male *tami* are my *yaji* and *bebe*, and those of my male *kandari* are my *talyu* (male) and my *nganyji* (female). Thus in the first ascending generation also I have three terms for male relatives (*babu*, *yaji* and *talyu*) and the same number for female relatives (*mogul*, *bebe* and *nganyji*).

In my own generation the children of my *babu* and my *bebe*, that is, my brothers and sisters and the sons and daughters of my father's brothers or of my mother's sisters, are my *kaia* (elder brother), my *turdu* (elder sister), my *paldha* (younger brother) or my *mayi* (younger sister), according as they are older or younger than myself. The children of my *talyu* are my *kandari*, male and female. The son and daughter of my *mogul* (father's sister) are my *ngadhal* and my *bungali*, while the son and daughter of my *nganyji* are my *marianu* and my *yagan*. It is to be noted that the wife of my *babu* and the wife of my *talyu* are both equally my *bebe*, but in the one case the children are my brothers and sisters, and in the other they are my *kandari*. Similarly, my *mogul* and my *nganyji* both marry men whom I call *yaji*, but in one case the children are my *ngadhal* and *bungali*, while in the other they are my *marianu* and *yagan*. Thus in my own generation I have four names for male relatives, exclusive of the distinction of older and younger brothers (*kaia* or *paldha*, *ngadhal*, *marianu* and *kandari*), and four names for female relatives (*turdu* or *mayi*, *bungali*, *yagan* and *kandari*). The most interesting feature here is that the same term *kandari* is applied to the children of a *talyu* as to the father of a *talyu*. My *kandari* and my brothers and sisters belong to the same class as myself, Banaka. My *marianu*, *yagan*, *ngadhal* and *bungali* belong to the class Kaimera, from which I must take my wife. By the rule of the tribe I am not allowed to marry any woman who is my *bungali*, but may only marry a *yagan*, that is, the daughter of a *nganyji*, and not the daughter of a *mogul*.

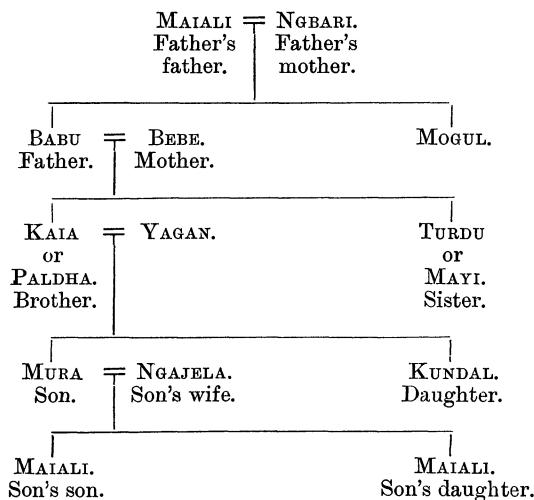
In the first descending generation my own children are my *mura* (son) and *kundal*

(daughter). I apply the same names to the children of any woman whom I call *yagan*, whether she marries a man who is my *kaia* or *paldha*, or one who is my *kandari*. My *bungali* (mother's brother's daughter), as a rule, marries a man who is my *kandari*, and their children are my *talyu* and *nganyi*. The children of my *turdu* or *mayi* (sister), or of my female *kandari*, who are at the same time the children of my *ngadhal* and my *marianu*, are my *ngajela*, male and female.

In the second descending generation the children of my *mura* (son) are my *maiali*, male and female, and the children of my *kundal* (daughter) are my *tami*, male and female.

The system may be more clearly understood by reference to the accompanying genealogical tables, which show all the different relatives of a male. Table I shows the direct male line. It starts from my *maiali* (father's father) and his wife. The children of this pair are my *babu* (father) and *mogul* (father's sister). My *babu* marries my *bebe* and their children are my *kaia* or *paldha* (brother) and my *turdu* or *mayi* (sister). The children of my *kaia* or *paldha* are my *mura* and *kundal* (son and daughter), and the children of my *mura* are my *maiali* (son's son and daughter).

TABLE I.



In Table II we start from a pair who are my *tami* and *kandari*, but who are the *yaji* and *nganyi* of my *babu*. The son of these two is my *yaji* and marries my *mogul* (father's sister). The children of these latter are my *ngadhal* and *bungali*. The children of my *ngadhal* are my *ngajela*, and they call me *yaji*. My male *ngajela* marries my *kundal* (daughter) and their offspring are my *tami* (daughter's son and daughter).

TABLE II.

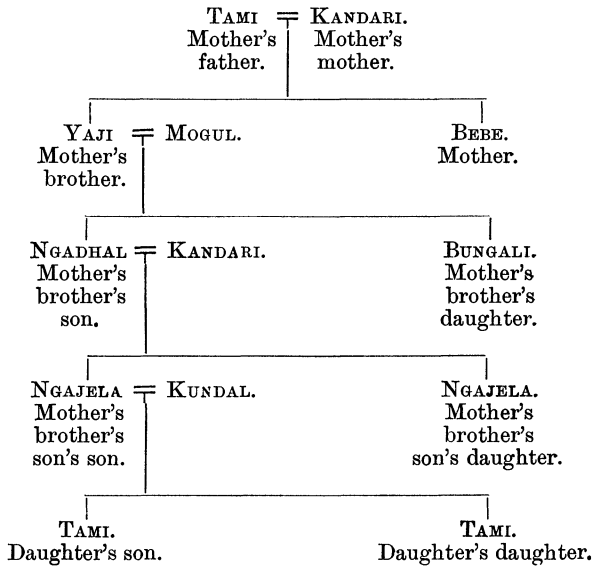
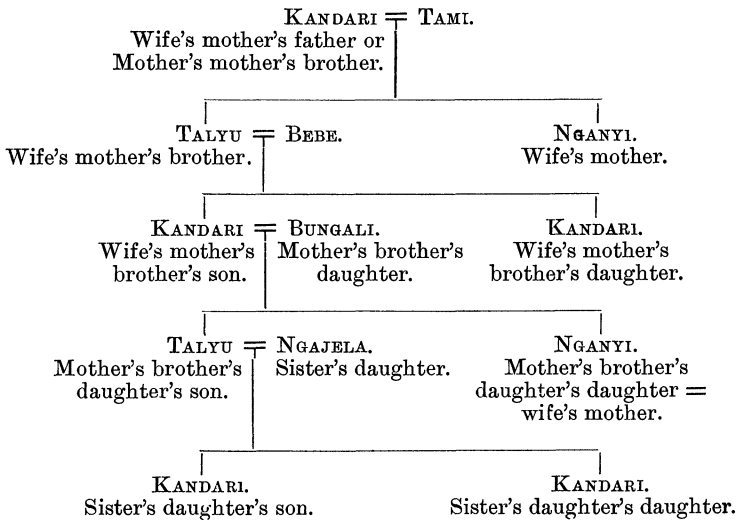


Table III starts from my *kandari* (mother's mother's brother) and his wife, who is my *tami* (mother's father's sister). The children of this pair are my *talyu* and *nganyi*. My *talyu* marries a woman who is my *bebe* and their offspring in turn are my *kandari*, male and female. My male *kandari* in my own generation marries a woman who is my *bungali* and their children are my *talyu* and *nganyi*. My *talyu* in the first descending generation marries my sister's daughter (*ngajela*) and their children are my *kandari*, male and female. The peculiarity of this table as compared with I and II is obvious. In Tables I and II the same term (*maiali* or *tami*) recurs after four generations. In Table III the same term recurs every

TABLE III.





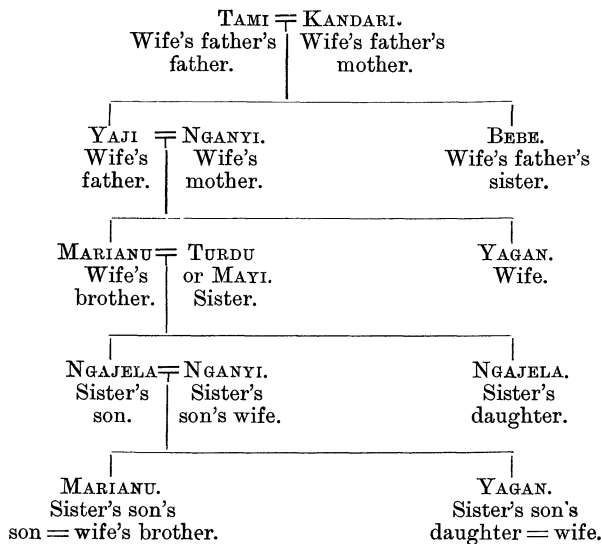
alternate generation. Thus in the direct male line the two terms *kandari* and *talyu* alternate with one another. The son of my male *kandari* is in all cases my *talyu*, and the son or my *talyu* is my *kandari*.

This peculiarity in the use of the terms *kandari* and *talyu* deserves a brief comment. The term *kandari* is applied to a mother's mother. This is, at the same time, the meaning given to the term in the Kariera tribe. In the Kariera tribe a mother's mother's brother is called *maeli* (this being the term for father's father). In the Mardudhunera tribe, on the other hand, the term for mother's mother's brother is *kandari*, one term being thus used for both male and female relatives. This is a fundamental feature of the system, a mother's mother's brother being distinguished from a father's father's and all their descendants being equally distinguished from one another. The terms for grandparents and grandchildren being reciprocal a woman calls her daughter's children *kandari*, since she is their mother's mother (*kandari*). A man uses the same term to denote his sister's daughter's children, calling them by the same term that they apply to him. It thus follows that a man uses the term *kandari*, as applying to men and women of the same generation as his grandparents, and also to both males and females of the same generation as his grandchildren. In the Kariera system, while a man applies the term *kandari* only to women of the generation of his grandparents it is only a woman who applies the same term to persons (both male and female) of the generation of her grandchildren. Thus in the Kariera tribe a man has only female *kandari*, while a woman has both male and female *kandari*. In the Mardudhunera system a man applies the term *talyu* to his mother's mother's brother's son, who is thus distinguished from a father's father's son (*babu*). The peculiarity about this term *talyu* is that, unlike the terms *babu* (father) and *yaji* (mother's brother), it is reciprocal. While my *babu* calls me *mura* and my *yaji* calls me *ngajela*, my *talyu* (mother's mother's brother's son) calls me *talyu*. Thus a man applies the same term to men of the generation of his parents, and also to men of the generation of his children. Now the father of a man's senior *talyu* is that man's *kandari* (mother's mother's brother). On the other hand, the son of a man's junior *talyu* is that man's *kandari* also (sister's daughter's son). By what is a very simple step in the logical development of the system a man therefore applies the term *kandari* to the father and also to the son of any *talyu* whatever. The result of this is that the term is applied to the father of his junior *talyu*, who is at the same time the son of his senior *talyu*, in other words, to his mother's mother's brother's son's son. The term *kandari* thus comes to be applied by a man to men (and women) of the generations of his grandparents and of his grandchildren and also to men of his own generation. This is a feature of very great importance in the Mardudhunera system.

Table IV starts from the same pair of relatives as Table II, but in the first ascending generation my *yaji* in this case marries a woman who is my *nganyyi*, belonging to the line of descent shown in Table III. The children of this *nganyyi* are my *marianu* and *yagan*. My *marianu* marries my sister (*turdu* or *mayi*) and their children are my *ngajela*. Just as my sister's daughter marries my *talyu*, so my

sister's son marries my *nganyi* (from Table III), and the children of this pair are my *marianu* and *yagan*. The peculiarity of this table lies in the second descending generation where my sister's son's son and daughter are given the same names as my brother-in-law and my wife. This is due to the fact that the children of a *nganyi* are in all cases *marianu* and *yagan*, just as the children of a *talyu* (the brother of a *nganyi*) are always *kandari*.

TABLE IV.

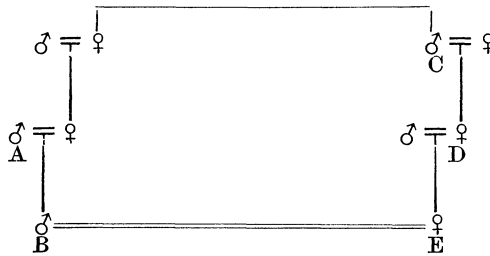


The above is what we may speak of as the general basis of the system. In actual practice certain modifications have to be taken into account. In Table I my *maiali* is shown as marrying my *ngabari*. But in some cases it may happen that a man who is my *maiali* by genealogy may have married a woman who is my *tami*. Now the children of a *maiali* are *babu* and *mogul*, while the children of a female *tami* are *talyu* and *nganyi*. Where a *maiali* has married a *tami* the natives speak of the son of this pair as "half *babu* half *talyu*" and the daughter as "half *mogul* half *nganyi*." Exactly the same thing occurs if a male *kandari* (Table III) marries a *ngabari*, instead of a female *tami*. I found two or three such cases in the genealogies that I studied. The same thing may happen in the contemporary generation. Thus my *bungali*, as shown in Table III, marries my male *kandari*. It may happen, however, that she marries a man who is my *karia* or *paldha* (brother). In such a case the son of this pair will be my *talyu*, if I trace the relationship through his mother, and my *mura*, if I trace it through his father; in other words, he will be half *mura* half *talyu* to me, and in the same way the daughter will be half *kundal* half *nganyi*. These indeterminate relationships are very interesting. In practice it always happens that a choice is made between the two alternative relationships, but the principles that guide this choice are not at all clear. In one case a man's male *kandari* had married a woman who was the man's *ngabari* and had five

children, three sons and two daughters. The man, in giving me the terms of relationship, called the two oldest brothers *babu*, while he called the other brother *talyu*, and he called the two sisters *nganyi*. He was unable to explain why he differentiated between them, and said that the men in question were all of them really half *babu* half *talyu*.

The other modification of the system as described above is due to the fact that a man who is by genealogy my *mura* (son) may be actually older than myself, and in that case I must call him not *mura* but *babu*. Inversely, if a man who by genealogy is my *babu* is younger than myself, I call him not *babu* but *mura*. The same thing occurs in the case of the relationships *yaji*, *bebe*, *mogul*, *ngajela* and *kundal*, but not in the case of *talyu* and *nganyi*. Let us examine the case of a man who is by genealogy my *mura*, but is a year or two older than myself, and is therefore my *babu*. This man's father's father may be alive and would be by genealogy my *babu*. Thus I should have to apply the same term *babu* to a man and to this man's father's father. This is obviated by the use of the term *yumani*, which in this case would be applied to the father's father of my *babu*. In the same way the term *yarugalu* would be applied to the father's father of a man who is my *yaji*. These terms therefore, *yumani* and *yarugalu*, refer to the third ascending generation, and, in their reciprocal use, to the third descending generation. Both terms, however, are also used in a looser sense. A man or woman applies the term *yumani* to any man or woman of his or her father's class who is considerably older than the speaker's father. In the same way a man or woman applies the term *yarugalu* to old men and women of his or her mother's class. Thus, in one case that I examined, a woman applied the term *yarugalu* to her husband's father and his sister. The father of this *yarugalu* she called *tami*, and the mother *kandari*. In another case a man applied the term *yumani* to his own mother's father's sister's son.

The marriage law of the Mardudhunera tribe is very simple. A man may marry a woman who is his *yagan*, that is, the daughter of his *nganyi*, the daughter's daughter of his male *kandari*. He may not marry any woman who does not bear this relation to him. Marriages are arranged before children are born. Let us



take the case of a newly married man, whom we may call A, who has as yet no children. A man C, who is the *talyu* (wife's mother's brother) of A, has a daughter born to him, whom we may call D. It is arranged that this girl D shall be the

*nganyî* (wife's mother) of the first son born to A. When A has a son born to him this son B is told that the woman D is his *nganyî*, the man C being his *kandari*. The woman D grows up and marries and has a daughter E, who is by betrothal the wife of B. He keeps his claim alive by visiting the father of the girl, that is, the husband of his *nganyî*, and by making him presents. On one occasion I acted as messenger and took some presents from a man about twenty to his prospective father-in-law. The daughter who was to become the young man's wife was at that time about seven or eight years old. He would therefore not be able to marry her for six or seven years. Every boy is made *nganyî* to several women so that he may have the better chance of ultimately obtaining a wife. But of all these there is generally one who is specially marked out. To the daughter of this woman he has the first right, while to the daughters of other *nganyî* he has only a secondary right, some other man having the first right in each case. A man's own *nganyî*, that is the woman to whose daughter he has the first right, is often the daughter of his own father's own *talyu* (wife's mother's brother). That is to say, a man's own *nganyî* is the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. In other cases a man A and his wife may ask the woman's father's sister (*mogul*), who is the man's *bebe*, to promise her daughter as the *nganyî* of the yet unborn son of A and his wife. In this case a man's *nganyî* is the daughter of his mother's father's sister.

A man must carefully avoid all social contact with any woman who is his *nganyî*. There is no such avoidance in the case of a *mogul*. The daughter of a man's *mogul* is his *bungali* and he cannot marry her.

Whenever a man is made *nganyî* to a woman his mother is at the same time made *nganyî* to this woman's son. Thus we have two women, A and B, who are *ngadhâl* to each other, each of whom is *nganyî* to the son of the other. The son of A then marries the daughter of B, and inversely the son of B marries the daughter of A. That is, there is exchange of sisters.

The mother's brother of a girl occupies an important position. If there are several claimants for his sister's daughter it is often he who decides which shall be the favoured one. This man is the *talyu* of the girl's future husband. If a man wishes to obtain a girl in marriage he must therefore pay his attentions not only to the girl's father (his *yaji*), but also to her mother's brother (his *talyu*).

In many tribes of Western Australia in which the system of relationship is similar to that of the Mardudhunera, I found that irregular marriages (that is, marriage of a man with a woman who is not his legal wife) occurred in fair numbers as far back as I was able to trace the genealogical record, that is, some time before the country was occupied by the whites. In the Mardudhunera tribe the only irregular marriages that I found had all occurred recently, and there were very few of those. In the old days, before the occupation of their country, irregular marriages were not permitted and did not occur.

A consideration of the Mardudhunera system of relationship shows that if that system were used consistently throughout it would result in the division of the tribe into eight sub-classes similar to those of the Warramunga and other tribes

MARDUDHUNERA TRIBE.

	PALJERI.		BANAKA.		BOONGO.		KAIMERA.	
	α	β	α	β	β	α	β	α
Third ascending generation.	YUMANI (Father's father) <i>Yumani</i>	YUMANI <i>Yumani</i>	—	—	YARUGALU <i>Yarugalu</i> (Mother's mother)	YARUGALU <i>Yarugalu</i>	—	—
Second ascending generation.	—	—	KANDARI (Mother's mother's brother) <i>Kandari</i> (Mother's mother)	MAIALI (Father's father) <i>Kandari</i> (Father's father's sister)	—	—	TAMI (Mother's father) <i>Tami</i> (Mother's father's sister)	TAMI (Father's mother's brother) <i>Ngabari</i> (Father's mother)
First ascending generation.	BABU (Father) <i>Mogul</i> (Father's sister)	TALIYU (Wife's mother's brother) <i>Nganyi</i> (Wife's mother)	—	—	YAJI (Mother's brother) <i>Bebe</i> (Mother)	YAJI (Wife's father) <i>Bebe</i> (Wife's father's sister)	—	—
Contemporary generation.	—	—	KANDARI (Mother's brother's daughter's husband) <i>Kandari</i> (Mother's brother's son's wife)	EGO ♂ KAIA (older brother) PALDHA (younger " <i>Turdu</i> (older sister) <i>Mayi</i> (younger "	—	—	—	MARIANU (Wife's brother) <i>Yagan</i> (Wife)
First descending generation.	MURA (Son) <i>Kandal</i> (Daughter)	TALIYU (Sister's daughter's husband) <i>Nganyi</i> (Sister's son's wife)	—	—	NGAJELA (Daughter's husband) <i>Ngajela</i> (Son's wife)	NGAJELA (Sister's son) <i>Ngajela</i> (Sister's daughter)	—	—
Second descending generation.	—	—	KANDARI <i>Kandari</i>	MAIALI (Son's son) <i>Maiali</i> (Son's daughter)	—	—	TAMI (Daughter's son) <i>Tami</i> (Daughter's daughter)	MARIANU <i>Yagan</i>
Third descending generation.	YUMANI (Son's son's son) <i>Yumani</i> (Son's son's daughter)	YUMANI <i>Yumani</i>	—	—	YARUGALU <i>Yarugalu</i>	YARUGALU <i>Yarugalu</i>	—	—

ARUNTA TRIBE.

	Panunga.	Uknaria.	Bulthara.	Appungerta.	Purula.	Ungalla.	Kumara.	Umbitjana.
Grandparents' Generation	—	—	IPMUNNA (Wife's mother's father) <i>Ipmunna</i> (Mother's mother)	ARUNGA (Father's father) ?	—	—	TJIMMIA (Mother's father) ?	?
								<i>Aperla</i> (Father's mother)
Parents' Generation	OKNIA (Father) <i>Uwinna</i> (Father's sister)	MURA (Wife's mother's brother) <i>Mura</i> (Wife's mother)	—	—	GAMMONA (Mother's brother) <i>Mia</i> (Mother)	IKUNTERA (Wife's father) ?	—	—
Contemporary Generation	—	—	IPMUNNA (Father's sister's daughter's husband) <i>Ipmunna</i> (Son's wife's mother)	EGO ♂ OKILIA (older brother) ITIA (younger brother) <i>Ungaraitcha</i> (older sister) <i>Itia</i> (younger sister)	—	—	UNKULLIA (Father's sister's son) <i>Unkulla</i> (Father's sister's daughter)	UMBERNA (Wife's brother) <i>Unaaca</i> (Wife)
Children's Generation	ALLIRA (Son) <i>Allira</i> (Daughter)	? ?	—	—	? <i>Gamma</i> (Son's wife)	UMBA (Sister's son) <i>Umba</i> (Sister's daughter)	—	—
Grandchildren's Generation	—	?	?	ARUNGA (Son's son) ?	—	—	TJIMMIA (Daughter's son) <i>Tjimmia</i> (Daughter's daughter)	? ?

of Central and Northern Australia. In order to make this clear to the reader I have made out the accompanying table of Mardudhunera terms, which may be compared with the similar table for the Arunta tribe reproduced from Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's "Northern Tribes of Central Australia." In these tables the terms for male relatives are printed in capitals, while those for female relatives are printed in italics.

The only way in which the Mardudhunera system differs from the systems of Central Australia is that the former is not used consistently throughout. For example, suppose I call B my *kaia* and C my *babu*. Then if the system were used consistently B would also call C *babu*. But there actually occur cases where B calls C not *babu* but *talyu*. It is for this reason and this alone that the Mardudhunera system differs from that of such tribes as the Warramunga.

It now remains to consider the connection of the relationship system with the local organization. In the Mardudhunera tribe, just as in the Kariera, the members of one local group belong to only one couple of classes. One local group contains only Banaka and Paljeri men and women, while another contains only Kaimera and Boongo. On the accompanying map, beneath the number denoting each local group, the letters BP and KB show to which couple the group belongs.

In the case of the Mardudhunera tribe another problem arises. In the Kariera tribe one couple contains only one line of descent. In the Mardudhunera tribe each couple includes two lines of descent, as below:—

<i>Maiali</i> , father's father.   <i>Babu</i> , father.   <i>Kaia</i> or <i>paldha</i> , brother.   <i>Mura</i> , son.   <i>Maiali</i> , son's son.	<i>Kandari</i> , mother's mother's brother.   <i>Talyu</i> .   <i>Kandari</i> .   <i>Talyu</i> .   <i>Kandari</i> .
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The question of interest therefore is, "Does a man's own local group contain only men who are his *maiali*, *babu*, *kaia*, *paldha* and *mura*, or does it also, in some cases, include men who are his *kandari* or *talyu*?" Unfortunately, I was not able to determine definitely which of these alternatives actually obtains. So far as my information went, I did not find a single case in which a man's local group included men who were his *kandari* or *talyu*; but the genealogical information that I collected was not sufficiently extensive to permit me to state that this is really so in all cases. However, while I cannot speak definitely, I think it is probable that a man's own local group includes only his relatives in the direct male line, that is, his *maiali*, *babu*, *kaia*, *paldha* and *mura*. In other words, the Mardudhunera local group is a simple clan with male descent. I much regret that I am not able to speak more definitely on a point which is possibly of fundamental importance in connection with the origin of this type of relationship system.

It is obvious from the above account that a man cannot marry a woman of his own, that is, his father's, clan or local group. A point of considerable interest is whether he can marry a woman of the same clan, and therefore of the same totem, as his own mother. In the few genealogies that I was able to collect, I found one case in which a man had married his mother's father's brother's son's daughter, who, of course, belonged to the clan of his own mother. This one case may have been an exception, but I think it is probable that there is no special law prohibiting a man from marrying into his mother's clan.

### *Totemism.*

The totemism of the Mardudhunera tribe is similar to that of the Kariera. Each local clan has a number of totems that are transmitted from father to son. The members of the group perform ceremonies, called *taluu*, for the purpose of increasing the totem, but there is no objection to a man eating or killing any of his totems.

The following is a brief list of some of the totems of some of the clans of this tribe<sup>1</sup> :—

#### I.—Pulamba clan (Banaka-Paljeri).

<i>Manjeriwura</i> or <i>manjidiwura</i>	...	...	...	...	monitor lizard.
<i>Waneriya</i>	...	...	...	...	a bird.
<i>Mardera</i>	...	...	...	...	an edible root.
<i>Kanguriya</i> or <i>ngalirmara</i>	...	...	...	...	a fresh-water fish.

#### II.—Chanjara clan (Banaka-Paljeri).

<i>Wanda</i>	...	...	...	...	devil or evil spirit.
<i>Walambari</i>	...	...	...	...	opposum.
<i>Buluwa</i>	...	...	...	...	the white-tailed spinifex rat.
<i>Mulyaru</i>	...	...	...	...	a snake.
<i>Biriu</i>	...	...	...	...	spinifex lizard.
<i>Kardangu</i>	...	...	...	...	edible gum.
<i>Walayuru</i>	...	...	...	...	a bush with edible fruit.
<i>Warari</i>	...	...	...	...	common fly.
<i>Janungu</i>	...	...	...	...	a grub.

<sup>1</sup> In this list, names have been given to the different clans (local groups) in order to distinguish them. In each case the name is that of some important camping place in the country of the clan. The natives themselves have no distinctive names either for the clan or for the whole of its country.



## III.—Bulandurwa clan (Banaka-Paljeri).

<i>Milyangura</i>	...	...	...	a long red fish.
<i>Yaruwara</i>	...	...	...	a small fish.
<i>Kurinja</i>	...	...	...	March fly.

## IV.—Mandamalu clan (Kaimera-Boongo).

<i>Kwâeno</i>	...	...	...	magical power.
<i>Mayi</i> or <i>Wanja</i>	...	...	...	dingo.
<i>Kalaidu</i>	...	...	...	swan.
<i>Ngarandi</i>	...	...	...	duck.
<i>Wilinja</i>	...	...	...	white cockatoo.
<i>Wilulu</i>	...	...	...	curlew.
<i>Kolu</i>	...	...	...	a bird.
<i>Balgunji</i>	...	...	...	a snake.

## V.—Jiwural clan (Kaimera-Boongo).

<i>Jiwura</i> or <i>Jigura</i> ...	...	...	...	a fish.
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## VI.—Munguji clan (Banaka-Paljeri).

<i>Mudu</i> or <i>Ngudu</i>	...	...	...	cold weather.
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## VII.—Yaliangu clan (Kaimera-Boongo).

<i>Banga</i>	...	...	...	(?)
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## VIII.—Mulala clan (Banaka-Paljeri).

<i>Ngogura</i>	...	...	...	(?)
<i>Mungeramara</i>	...	...	...	honey.

## IX.—Chalyianu clan (Banaka-Paljeri).

<i>Changuna</i>	...	...	...	emu.
<i>Wongada</i>	...	...	...	an edible root.

## NOTE ON SYSTEMS OF RELATIONSHIP IN AUSTRALIA.

In all the Australian tribes about which we have detailed information marriage is regulated by relationship. In all tribes a man may only marry women who stand to him in a certain relation of consanguinity. There are two different forms of marriage law, which I propose to speak of as Type I and Type II. The Kariera tribe is an example of Type I, while the Mardudhunera tribe is an example of

Type II. In tribes with a marriage law of Type I, a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, or some woman who stands to him in an equivalent relation. Where the marriage law is of Type II, a man marries his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or some woman who stands to him in an equivalent relation. I have found the marriage law of Type I amongst a number of tribes on the Fortescue and De Grey Rivers in Western Australia. It is reported by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen for the Urabunna tribe near Lake Eyre, with a peculiar modification whereby a man may only marry the daughter of his mother's elder brother. According to the late Mr. Howitt, the marriage rule of Type I was found in the Wolgal and Ngarigo tribes of the Upper Murray River. The Rev. John Mathew (in *Two Representative Tribes of Queensland*, p. 157) states that the same form of marriage is found in the Kabi and Wakka tribes of Queensland, but the list of terms of relationship given by the same author suggests that the Kabi marriage-system is really of Type II, so that, till further information is forthcoming, we must regard this case as doubtful. If I interpret rightly a very difficult passage by Dr. Basedow in the *Trans. Roy. Soc. South Australia*, vol. xxxi, p. 4, the Larakia tribe of Port Darwin also has a marriage law of Type I.

I have found a marriage law of Type II in a number of tribes of Western Australia, including the Mardudhunera. The same type is described by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen as existing in all the tribes studied by them in the Northern Territory from the Mara and Anula in the North to the Arunta and Luritcha in the South. Howitt's description of the Dieri tribe shows that there also the marriage is of Type II. According to Mr. R. H. Mathews this type is found in most of the tribes of New South Wales and Victoria. It seems probable from the description of the tribes of Western Queensland by Dr. W. E. Roth that they also have a marriage law of Type II.

The only tribes in which a different form of marriage law has been observed are the Kurnai tribes as described by Howitt. Our knowledge of these tribes, however, is very incomplete and unsatisfactory. Mr. R. H. Mathews states that the Brabirrawulung tribe (one of the Kurnai tribes) has a marriage law of Type II (*Journ. Roy. Soc. New South Wales*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 263-4).

We may say, therefore, that we know of only two forms of regulation of marriage in Australia, and of these two Type II is very much more widespread than Type I.

Corresponding to each type of marriage rule there is a type of relationship-system. We may take as the characteristic feature of systems of Type I the fact, that the term for "mother's mother's brother" is the same as that for "father's father." Except for the Kariera and Ngaluma systems, described by myself, the only other system of this type about which we have any information is that of the Urabunna tribe, described by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen.

The characteristic feature of Type II is that the term for "mother's mother's brother" is different from that for "father's father," and is, in many cases, the same as that for "mother's mother." Besides the Mardudhunera system, the following:

systems of Type II have been described, though in some cases only imperfectly—the Arunta, Luritcha, Kaitish, Warramunga, Worgaia, Umbaia, Tjingilli, Binbinga, Mara, and Anula, described by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen; the Dieri, described by Mr. Howitt; the Narrinyeri, described by the Rev. C. Taplin; the Wathi-wathi, described by A. L. P. Cameron in the *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xiv, p. 354; the Pitta-pitta and other tribes, described by Dr. W. E. Roth; and the Chaap-wuurong and Kuurn-kopan-noot tribes, described by James Dawson.

In some of the systems of Type II there is one feature of such extreme importance that I propose to use it in order to define what I will call Variety (a) of Type II. This distinguishing feature of the Variety (a) is that one term of relationship is applied to a “mother’s mother,” and also to a “mother’s mother’s brother’s son’s daughter,” and one term (in most cases the same as that for “mother’s mother”) is applied to a “mother’s mother’s brother,” and to a “mother’s mother’s brother’s son’s son.” The result of this peculiar feature is that amongst the women a man may marry are his “mother’s mother’s brother’s son’s son’s daughter’s daughter.” In tribes with a system of Type I women of that relationship would be forbidden in marriage. The distinguishing feature of Variety (a) of Type II has been observed by myself in many tribes of Western Australia, including the Mardudhunera. It is also recorded by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen amongst the following tribes of the Northern Territory—Arunta, Tjingilli, Warramunga, Binbinga, Worgaia, Umbaia, Mara, and Anula. With regard to most of the tribes with relationship systems of Type II, we have no information whether the distinctive feature of Variety (a) is present or absent. In only one case, that of the Narrinyeri, have we any evidence that it is absent, and even in that case the matter is not quite certain. It may perhaps seem unnecessary to thus distinguish a separate variety when it has not been definitely ascertained that any other variety of the same type exists. It is, however, quite conceivable that a system of Type II (with marriage with a mother’s mother’s brother’s daughter’s daughter) might exist without this particular feature. It is probable indeed that there is such a system in the Narrinyeri tribe. Further, the Dieri system, while probably possessing the peculiar feature of Variety (a) possesses another feature of somewhat the same kind which is absent in the other systems here referred to (namely the use of one term for mother’s father and for mother’s brother’s son). If this feature should be found in any other tribes besides the Dieri, it will be convenient to distinguish such systems as forming a separate variety of Type II.

I hope shortly to publish a detailed account of the marriage laws and relationship systems of Australian tribes. Meanwhile, it may be worth while to point out one important fact which is often overlooked by writers anxious to expound theories, that is, that the marriage laws of Australian tribes are not in any way whatever affected by the existence in the tribe of two or four named divisions. Amongst tribes with two named divisions, we find Type I in the Urabunna tribe and Type II in the Dieri, Wathi-wathi and Chaap-wuurong tribes. Amongst tribes with four named divisions, we find Type I in the Kariera and other

tribes, and Type II in the Mardudhunera, Luritcha and Pitta-pitta tribes, and probably in most of the tribes of New South Wales. We also find Type II in such a tribe as the Narrinyeri, which has no named divisions. Finally, even the existence of eight named divisions is not a feature on which we can lay much stress in classifying Australian tribes. It is true that wherever there are eight sub-classes the marriage must be of Type II, but exactly the same marriage rule, and an exactly similar system of relationship, may be found in tribes in which the

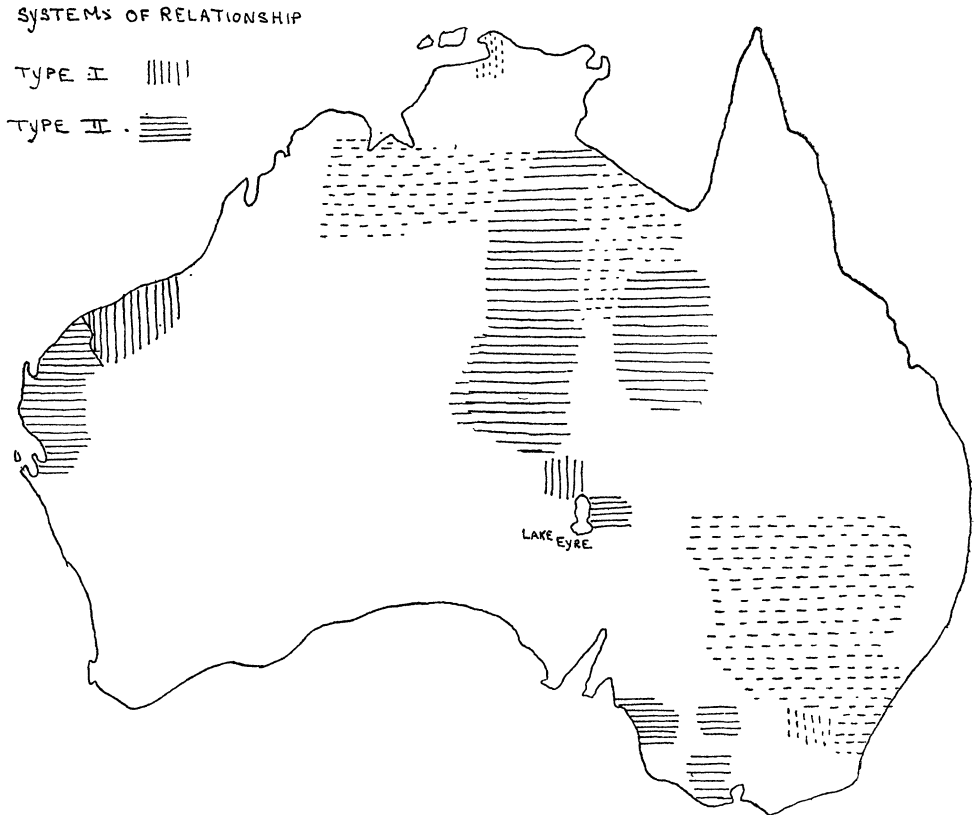


FIG. 4.—SKETCH-MAP OF AUSTRALIA SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF THE TWO TYPES OF RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM.

eight sub-classes are not named. The fact that a tribe has two or four named divisions tells us nothing whatever about the marriage law of the tribe, which can only be ascertained by a careful study of the system of relationship.

It may also be worth while to note, in connection with the theory that the prohibition of the marriage of first cousins (and the origin of the relationship system of Type II) is due to the change from maternal to paternal descent of the totem,<sup>1</sup> that in the Kariera tribe, Type I (with the marriage of first cousins), exists together with paternal descent of the totem, and that in many tribes of New

<sup>1</sup> Professor Durkheim. *Année Sociologique*, vol. viii.

South Wales and Victoria, Type II exists together with maternal descent of the totem. The theory is therefore not supported by the facts.

The accompanying sketch-map of Australia shows the distribution of the two types of relationship system so far as it is at present known. Where the marriage rule has been reported, but where at the same time we have no detailed information about the terms of relationship, the two types are marked by means of dotted lines.



FIG. 1.—TABU (TOTEM CENTRE) OF THE KURINJA (MARCH FLY) TOTEM, KARIERA TRIBE.



FIG. 2.—TABU (TOTEM CENTRE) OF THE PIDIRA (COCKATOO) TOTEM, KARIERA TRIBE.

THREE TRIBES OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA.