

V 1c

TOTEMS

SOUTH AND SOUTHWESTERN DISTRICTS

WESTERN AUSTRALIA



## T O T E M S

### SOUTHERN AND SOUTHWESTERN DISTRICTS, WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Dialectic terms for "totem"

Tables showing inheritance of phratry and phratry totem, which is also exogamous.

Bird names - eaglehawk and crow - how applied.

Connection or "blood tie" of native with his totem - example of Balbuk.

Signification of actions of totem animals, in reference to their totemkin - illustration of Jobaitech's death.

Methods of increase of totems - examples, "singing", etc.

Abstinence from totem after a death.

Names derived from hereditary totems.

Trees as totems of the two phratries.

All Ngagarnooks are emu totem.

Relationship (moorurt) of animals to particular groups

Birds which were human in ancestral times.

Woggal borungur and customs

Goomal borungur.



## T O T E M S

### SOUTHERN AND SOUTHWESTERN DISTRICTS, WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Much has been written relative to a supposed supernatural agency for the origin of totemism. In Southeastern Australia "Bunjil" was, according to some writers, the name of the deity who was the founder of the totems and totem laws. In New South Wales, Baiame is the supernatural founder. In Southwestern Australia, the eaglehawk (walja (S.W.), walitch (S.)) appears from traditional evidence to have originally divided the phratries and instituted the totems. He is called "mamman-gurra" (father of all), but there is no evidence to show that he was at any time venerated as a supernatural being.

Since the totemism of the South and Southwestern tribes differs in some respects from that of the Arunta and other Central and Southeastern tribes, it may be advisable to present it as it has been obtained from the natives themselves, rather than to try to fit it in with the other Australian systems.

In Southern and Southwestern Australia there is a general equivalent for the animal, plant or other natural object, to which the term "totem" has been applied by European writers. "Borongur", meaning "elder brother" is the name given by the tribes from about Jurien Bay to Esperance, to the special object - animal, vegetable, etc., - with which they are, so to speak, spiritually associated or related, and this term is applied to every "familiar" or totem that a man or woman may possess.

In the Arthur River district, the natives call their totems borungur and borogurt. "Oobbarri" is also an alternative term amongst the Bunbury, Vasse, Bridgetown, Pinjarra, Collie, Perth, Guildford, York, Beverley, Gingin, Northam and Toodyay, but "borungur" is the general term, and is understood by all the tribes within the areas mentioned. "Wuk" is a termination sometimes added to the name of the animal or plant which is the totem of the person or tribe, as wej-wuk or wejuk - wej or emu borungur people, belonging to the emu totem, emu "elder brothers".



At the outset it may be mentioned that the term "kobong" or "koobong", which Grey and others have interpreted as meaning "totem" or "crest" was an expression used to denote a special human friendship existing between persons or families. Two young men of opposite phratries or matrimonial classes will be koobong to each other, but their borungur will be different. The relatives of these young men, male and female, will call each other koobongur, or babbingur, these terms being synonymous. This human friendship or "mateship" exists throughout the State under various dialectic equivalents, and is found in all to be quite separate from the peculiar and mysterious kinship existing between the aborigines and certain natural objects which he calls his borungur (elder brothers).

In all the districts where the term borungur is used to express this kinship, the equivalents koobong, kobong, babbin, denote the human friendship only, and have never been applied to the totem. Koobongur are human friends, totem kin or stock are borungurmat, and in the native mind the distinction between these is never confused; a pledged friendship, called kobong-guttuk, could never exist between a man and any object in the animal or vegetable world.

The question usually asked in the South and Southwest, when a visitor who is not well-known arrives at a camp is, "Yinnok maata naitch?" (yinnok = your; maata = leg, family, stock; naitch = what?) "Wordungmat" or "Manitchmat" is the answer generally given, which will be the phratry of the person questioned. The next question will probably be "yinnok borungur naitch?" (your totem what?) and the animal or plant which is the borungur of the person will be given.



I have endeavoured to show in the chapter on Social Organisation, that the two phratry names appear to have been applied from colour - that is, from the coalescence of two primarily distinct races - a fair and a darker people.

Marriage is exogamous between these two phratries, and as every Crow man is of the Crow phratry totem, and every White Cockatoo man's phratry totem is the White Cockatoo, no marriages can take place within the phratry totem, since a Crow man of the Crow totem and phratry can only marry a White Cockatoo woman of the White Cockatoo totem and phratry. The children inherit the phratry and phratry totem of their father amongst the tribes having male descent, as for example :-

<u>MALE</u> <u>Phratry A</u>	<u>FEMALE</u> <u>Phratry B</u>	<u>OFFSPRING</u> <u>Phratry A</u>
NgOOGARAN Manitchmat	Bijjeran Wordungmat	Manitch
phratry totem = Manitch	Wordung	Manitch
hereditary totem = ngau (mallee hen)	weet (ant)	ngau

2nd generation

Manitchmat	Wordungmat	Manitch
phratry totem = Manitch	Wordung	Manitch
hereditary totem = ngau	went (bandi- coot)	ngau

<u>Phratry B</u>	<u>Phratry A</u>	<u>Phratry B</u>
Wordungmat	Manitchmat	Wordung
Phratry totem = Wordung	Manitch	Wordung
Hereditary totem = wej (emu)	yongar	wej

2nd generation

Wordungmat	Manitchmat	Wordungmat
Phratry totem = Wordung	Manitch	Wordung
Hereditary totem = wej	meale (swan)	wej



The phratry totem also obtains amongst the tribes with four matrimonial classes and female descent :-

<u>Phratry A</u>	<u>Phratry B</u>	<u>Phratry B</u>
Manitchmat	Wordungmat	Wordungmat
<u>Class Tondarup</u>	Ballaruk	Ballaruk
<u>Phratry totem</u> Manitch	Wordung	Wordung
<u>Hereditary totem</u> Walja (eaglehawk)	Men (edible gum)	Men (given by mother's brother)
<u>2nd generation</u>		
<u>Phratry B</u>	<u>Phratry A</u>	<u>Phratry A</u>
Wordungmat	Manitchmat	Manitchmat
<u>Class Ballaruk</u>	Didaruk	Didaruk
<u>Phratry totem</u> Wordung	Manitch	Manitch
<u>Hereditary totem</u> men	Tammar (sp. of wallaby)	Tammar (given by mother's brother)
<u>3rd generation</u>		
<u>Phratry A</u>	<u>Phratry B</u>	<u>Phratry B</u>
Manitchmat	Wordungmat	Wordungmat
<u>Class Didaruk</u>	Ballaruk	Ballaruk
<u>Phratry totem</u> Manitch	Wordung	Wordung
<u>Hereditary totem</u> tammar	Goomal (grey opossum)	Goomal (given by mother's brother)

EXAMPLE II (showing marriage of two classes)

<u>Phratry A</u>	<u>Phratry B</u>	<u>Phratry B</u>
Manitchmat	Wordungmat	Wordungmat
<u>Classes Tondarup</u>	Ballaruk Ngagarnook	Ballaruk Ngagarnook
<u>Phratry totem</u> Manitch	Wordung	Wordung
<u>Hereditary totem</u> Yongar	Men (Ballaruk) Wej (Ngagarnook)	Men (Ballaruk) Wej (Ngagarnook)
<u>2nd generation</u>		
<u>Phratry B</u>	<u>Phratry A</u>	<u>Phratry A</u>
Wordungmat	Manitchmat	Manitchmat
<u>Classes Ballaruk, Ngagarnook</u>	Tondarup or Didaruk	Tondarup or Didaruk
<u>Phratry totem</u> Wordung	Manitch	Manitch
<u>Hereditary totem</u> Men (Ballaruk) Wej (Ngagarnook)	War, Gab (water, rain)	War Gab Tondarup Didaruk



The phratry totem is therefore hereditary and exogamous, and is obviously an outcome of the phratry name. The birds become "borungur" - elder brothers - of the men who bear their name.

Legends of eaglehawk and crow are current in many Southern and Southwestern tribes, and eaglehawk and white cockatoo also form the subject of legendary tales. In some of these legends (Vasse, Capel) the marriage of eaglehawk and crow takes place; in Beverley and York, the eaglehawk is the kongan (mother's brother) of the crow; in the Perth district the eaglehawk dies and leaves two sons - eaglehawks also - behind him. The Perth district local groups had three legends of the eaglehawk, one showing him at enmity with the crow, another typifying him as the playmate of the white cockatoo, and a third in which he is depicted as having brought fire to the tribes. In the Bunbury and Vasse districts and also in the Murray and Perth areas, the eaglehawk is the mammangurra (father of all - mamman = father; gurra = many) of all the natives both Manitchmat and Werdungmat, and is traditionally supposed to have instituted the matrimonial classes.

These bird names may have been first applied (1) from colour and (2) to form exogamous intermarrying groups, so that a group bearing one name could only marry into a group bearing the other bird name, and in process of time, each group becoming conscious of its designations, began to think of a possible relationship existing between itself and the bird whose name it bore. The community of names would doubtless, in successive generations, help to develop the "elder brother" connection between man and bird, and would become the "foundation" for the legends and myths in which eaglehawk, crow and white cockatoo so frequently figure. These birds were "human" in demna goomber (greatgrandfathers, ancestors) times.

It is evident from the legends that the phratry names were not applied to the primary groups by themselves, but were bestowed upon them from outside - by the eaglehawk. No magic could be worked upon these names to injure the phratry or any member of it, since the names were familiar to all.



In all tribes of the South and Southwest, manitch and walja or walitch (white cockatoo and eglehawk) are "the same". Walitch is manitch-mukkin, manitch is walitch-mukkin (like, or the same), and both are found only as totems in the Manitchmatmoiety.

Amongst the tribes bearing the two bird names, some had male and some had female descent. In those tribes with male descent, the phratry totem descended from father to son for ever; and in female descent the phratry totem descended from mother's brother to sister's children for ever. This however was only possible where, as in the S.W., neighbouring groups intermarried and where intercommunication was constant, as amongst the Ngagarnooks, etc.

The phratry totem of Tondarup and Didaruk is manitch (white cockatoo) and that of the Ballarruk and Ngagarnook, wordung (crow).

In the case of a male member of one of the four classes, who marries into both the classes in the opposite phratry, the children take the respective hereditary totems of their own local family - their mother's brother's totem, which is also that of their mother. For instance, a Ngagarnook and emu totem man marries a Tondarup and male kangaroo woman; he also marries a Didaruk and water or rain totem woman. His children by the Tondarup woman will be Tondarup and kangaroo totem, and the offspring of the Didaruk woman will have the totem of their mother's brother and their mother - water or rain (gab = rain, water).

In all tribes of the South and Southwest, whether the descent of the totem be through the father's or through the mother's people, as regards the totem which is not inherited, that is, the totem of the father in the districts where female descent obtains, and that of the mother where the descent is agnatic, the children are indirectly associated with the non-inherited totem, or as they say, it is "a little bit" theirs, through their fathers' or their mothers' people according as their descent is paternal or maternal.



This inheritance "a little bit" probably indicates nascent transition to male descent in those groups where descent is maternal, and may be a survival of female descent in the groups where male descent obtains. These signs of transition are natural where tribes or groups have the same phratries but different lines of descent.

The mysterious connection or "blood tie" existing between the aborigine and his totem was demonstrated at one of the native camps where I was sojourning. Balbuk, the last Perth district native, lay dying outside her hut at the Maamba camp. She had been ailing for many days, and the end was not far. I had been sitting with her and had returned to my tent, when I saw a warra (female kangaroo - Perth dialect) run across the paddock, not twenty yards from where Balbuk was lying. As the warra came in front of Balbuk, it suddenly stopped, sat up and looked towards her for the space of a few seconds. Just then the camp dogs, of which there were some forty or fifty, apparently wined the warra, and ran towards it, but in a short time all returned without either having seen the warra or been able to catch it, for in the moment of its departure it seemed to disappear.

Observing some commotion at Balbuk's hut after the warra had vanished, I went over and found everyone discussing the significance of the visit. The warra was Balbuk's hereditary totem, and all agreed that it had been sent either to fetch Balbuk or to tell her that she was soon to go to Koorannup (the home of the dead). As the dogs returned from their fruitless hunt, the natives said, "Of course they could not catch it, for it was a janga (spirit) warra."

Balbuk lay stretched upon her rug without motion of any kind, her eyes wide open, staring at the spot where her borungur had sat and looked at her. From that moment she knew that her death was near; "she was warra borungur, and the janga warra had been sent to tell her." After her death the members in the camp refrained from eating warra for several months.



Some totems, such as those of poisonous snakes etc., could be made to work mischief by the older male members of the totem, who must however be mulgarguttuk, or bulyaguttuk (sorcerers or medicine men). With these the snake totem became in a sense a "familiar" which could be sent to any tribe to work snake magic on the enemy. The mulgarguttuk members of these totems were often asked by some other member of the local group to send "norn bulya" (black snake magic) into such and such a person of another tribe who had offended, payment being made to the sorcerer for his magic services. The magic is sent and the victim duly succumbs, the time the magic takes to effect its evil being immaterial.

When however, a man is dying from what he believes to be magic projected from a member of a snake or other poisonous totem, if he desires vengeance upon the local group of that totem of any member of it, he will, when asked whom he suspects, mention the totem of his injurer, and his relatives will then consult amongst themselves as to the identity of the individual who had caused the magic to be sent.

It must always be remembered that every individual member of a local group within certain tribal areas is generally known, and any quarrel, disagreement or enmity of any kind between persons will be known and discussed with all the gossiping and scandal-monging surmises and inuendos that usually accompany the recital of such matters. Hence, when a man is dying from the effects of some evil magic and has named the totem of his murderer, his relatives sit together and consider which member of such totem has been injured by, or has injured the dying man, no other name than that of the totem or perhaps the kinship terms, being used. The kinship term is however rarely used, as generally every member of the group is aware of the cause of the enmity; and the identity of the person who caused the magic is disclosed early in the discussion.

A striking example of this custom of locating a person by either mentioning or imitating his totem was witnessed by me during the last days of Joobaitch, the last Guildford native. One afternoon, a few days before Joobaitch's death, I was seated



with the members of his family beside the spot where he lay. He had been lying quietly for some little time and we feared he was becoming unconscious, but presently he opened his eyes, looked at us all for a few seconds, and then proceeded to scratch his ribs in imitation of the male kangaroo. One of his relatives immediately said, "Old man is telling us some yongar borungur (kangaroo totem) member put bulya (evil magic) into him." I leaned over towards Joobaitch and asked him if this were so. "Yes," (kaia) he faintly replied. His relatives did not discuss the matter then, but shortly afterwards and just two days before his death, when we were again assembled by his bedside, where he was now lying in an almost death-like quiet and repose, he made again the same sudden movement as on the previous occasion. This time however he lifted his hand, drew the finger tips together, and then, pressing them on the dusty floor, made a distinct impression of an opossum pad. His stepson said, "Goomal borungur send bulya too." I again asked Joobaitch if we had interpreted him correctly, and a faint nod was his reply.

Later on, when we had gathered together to talk over the matter, I was told that many years ago a yongar borungur from Beemalung had married Joobaitch's sister, but shortly afterwards she ran away from him and ultimately refused altogether to live with him. Joobaitch was by native law the proper person to bring his sister back and restore her to her husband as their father and father's brothers were dead and Joobaitch was the eldest brother, but he refused to take any active measures to compel her to return to her allotted husband, and now the yongar borungur was having his revenge, although twenty years or more had elapsed since the woman had run away. The bulya sent by the goomal borungur was in consequence of Joobaitch's conduct in connection with his stepdaughter's marriage. He and the girl's mother had made Yinjeran "dajjeluk" (betrothed) to a goomal borungur of her proper marrying phratry, but before the man had come to claim her, a second suitor had turned up in the person of a man of her brother stock, that is, of the same phratry and class as Yinjeran, and both the girl and the parents,



being well fed and looked after by the young Tondarup, accepted his advances, regardless of their breach of native law. This was however in the days of white settlement when native justice could not be prosecuted without offence to white justice, and therefore Joo baitch remained unmolested. Magic, however, had been set in motion by the rejected dajjeluk man, and in the course of the discussion on the circumstances, one of Joo baitch's stepsons remembered a question that had been asked him by a goomal borungur shortly before Joo baitch's illness. "When the old man dies you will bury him at Koondelup (Guildford), won't you?" "The old man is not sick," the stepson replied. Not many days afterwards, Joo baitch, who was staying at the camp of his stepdaughter and her new husband, suddenly called out, "Bulya kool, bulya kool," (magic coming, magic coming) and fell down beside the hut. His son-in-law asked him what was the matter, and he told him that a fire (kala) came towards him from the northeast, and he felt the bulya go inside him. The kala coming from that direction meant that the goomal borungur had sent it. Later information, obtained from the goomal borungur, was to the effect that the kala bulya (fire magic) was meant for the son-in-law, and that Joo baitch had intercepted it.

Had this incident occurred in the old native days, when native laws were in force, it would have been the duty of Joo baitch's relatives to immediately despatch an avenging party, or obtain the services of their own bulyaguttuk to work evil magic upon a member of the kangaroo and grey opossum totems. But in these days it would have been the son-in-law and Yinjeran who would have been killed for the offence of their mootchoo (wrong, irregular, adulterous) marriage.

Certain bird, fish and animal totems were "sung" by the elder members at certain seasons.

Lake Bambar (near Gingin) was a favourite breeding ground for the black swan and was the localised hereditary totem of a group at Gingin. As the swans came to the Lake to build their nests and lay eggs, the elder kuljak borungur (black swan totem) members sang of swans and swans' eggs and a great increase of these was supposed to result from the songs.



Melok or ngarri (salmon or salmon trout - a local fish somewhat resembling the English salmon) borungur sang the salmon song when the fish came into the estuaries to spawn.

Goomal borungur ensured a good supply of young goomal by the ceremony of making opossum claw marks with their nose bones on the gum and other trees upon which the opossums feed. This must be done before the trees are in flower, and it must also be performed neither too early nor too late in the season.

The members of the mungaitch borungur (honey-bearing banksia) marked their faces and breasts with wilgi (red ochre) and gathered leaves and small branches of the mungaitch in early winter, rolled them together and placed them in the forks of the mungaitch trees. They must not pick the honey flowers too soon, or great rain will come and very little honey will be gathered.

Kwonnert (jamwood seed) borungur obtained some shavings and leaves of the mungart (jamwood tree) and placed these in the forks of the trees in the autumn (boornor) and plenty kwonnert resulted.

Men (edible gum) borungur also got some leaves of the mungart and kolyung (wattle tree) and placed them in the forks of these trees, and dang-ngail (manna from gum trees) borungur used the same formula. Only initiated men performed these ceremonies. These were the only magical observances practised by the Southwestern natives for their borungur. They may possibly represent the beginnings of totemic practices, although Dr. Andrew Lang is of opinion that they rather show the decline of totemism. Food has however always been plentiful in the Southwest, owing to its rich soil, abundant rainfall and thickly timbered areas. "Why should we dance for our borungur," the natives say, "Demma goomber (ancestors, grandparents; demma = grandparents, goomber = great, big) brings us plenty always, but we must not mock (ngoor-anhi) our borungur." They must not touch the tree before the fruit is ripe, nor must they mock the bird or animals that are their borungur and their daaj (meat food).



Dr. Fison has stated that all men of the same generation who bear the same totem are tribal brothers, but this is not so amongst some of the local groups previously mentioned whose hereditary borungur belongs to both phratries; their hereditary borungur are the same but their phratry borungur - Wordung or Manitch - prevents them from being tribal brothers. In a totemic sense, they are brothers, since the term borungur means "elder brother" and kuljak etc. borungur men of both phratries will be "swan" elder brothers, but in no other way can a Wordungmat be the tribal brother of a Manitchmat of the same generation.

In these areas, also mentioned, where a totem is confined to one phratry, the members of these totems, of the same generation will be tribal brothers, such as the Ngagarnook of the Bunbury district, who are wej borungur.

It will be noted that the phratry names Wordungmat and Manitchmat are the actual everyday names of the crow and white cockatoo in all the southern and southwestern districts where these phratries extend. In this respect the tribes differ from those mentioned by Dr. Howitt, Messrs Fison, Spencer and Gillen, the Rev. J. Matthew and other writers, whose phratry bird names appear to have long been obsolete. Whether this fact implies a greater antiquity for the Southern and Southwestern aborigines must be left to future scientists to determine. Taken in conjunction with the absence of many introduced rites (circumcision etc.) the uniformity of the dialects and the homogeneity of the tribes, it may give point to the suggestion that these people are a remnant of the older races that people the continent.



The melok or ngarri (native salmon trout) song is sung by the elder ngarri borungur the night before the first big catch is made. Friendly visitors from all the camps with whose occupants the ngarri borungur are associated either by marriage or blood kin, come to the fishing. Everyone knows when the salmon season is at hand, and contingents generally arrived within a few days of each other. Hanga (native weirs) are placed where they are most likely to catch the salmon on their return from their spawning grounds, and when all the camps are pitched in the direction from which the occupants have come, the Yabbaroo people to the north, the Koorin to the east, the Minung to the south, of the kalleepgur (home people), the oldest member of the ngarri borungur begins the "ngarri maia" (salmon song) the words of which are as follows :-

Ngaari bi ngaari-i  
(salmon)  
Ngana moogaa  
(my ?)

Koort beet beet-al-wee  
(heart ? ?)

Kalbara yaa waddarn (sea)

As the old man chants these words he makes many motions with his hands in imitation of the movements of the salmon. He shows the fish rushing through the incoming waters, gliding onward to its kalleep (spawning ground). Then the various motions of spearing it, hitting it with kaili (boomerang) or driving it into the shallow waters of the estuary with the aid of boughs, are gone thoroughly through by the singer, who now and then utters a kind of kissing sound, or a "brrrrrr" to represent the rushing of the fish through the narrow waters of the rivers on its way up stream. Now he is seated by the small opening left in the weir, and makes the motion of catching and killing the fish as it forces its way through the narrow gap, pretending to make a great heap of the fish as the song goes on. He is joined in the song and movements by the other elders present, until presently every initiated ngarri borungur is singing and imitating the actions of the fish. All round the singers the visitors are seated listening to the song and watching this or that singer amongst the group



applauding their "kooongur" now and again as a pause occurs in the chanting, but although they know the song from constant repetition, none of the visitors take any part in it, nor will they take any active part in the actual fishing, or rather catching of the fish at the small weir openings the next day, for only kalleepgur can catch ngarri; should a man from another district enter the river, the strange smell would frighten the ngarri, who would then leave that district. Hence the kalleepgur catch all the fish which their visitors can eat, and see them well supplied daily with salmon food, of which they themselves will eat but sparingly at this time. The daaj (meat) of the ngarri borungur continues plentiful for some time, or until the salmon have finished spawning. The weir is kept full during the whole time of the visit, since only one or two fish can pass through the small opening in the centre of the weir, and thus a constant and unfailing supply is secured for the visitors, who subsist on fish diet until they become surfeited. During their visit, the members of the visiting camps go out daily with their kooongur hunting, and all bush spoils are brought home to the kalleepgur, who will divide the food in the proper manner. Dancing, singing, dajjeluk giving and babbun making ceremonies are carried on by all the assembled tribes while the visit lasts, and many friendships and some new enmities may be formed amongst the young men. It may be that a beedawa ceremony will be co-incident with the visit to the fishing ground, but it is <sup>not</sup> necessarily connected with the gathering. When the gum tree has flowered, the ngarri comes in shore, and the various tribes who year by year visit the ngarri borungur watch eagerly for the flowering which will tell them the time of the visit has come. When the visitors have been satiated with the fish, they prepare for their return journey to their own kalleep, and in this way may be accompanied by some old and new kobongur who will sojourn with them for weeks or months according to the popularity of the young kobong in the camps.



The karder borungur (long tailed iguana) sang the karder maia when the iguanas began to appear in the late spring, or just before beeruk (summer) time. There was no action accompaniment for this song, which was sung by all initiated karder borungur, and the song itself contains no mention of the iguana; it merely refers to "below" (ngarda) or underneath the ground where the karder had lain in its longwinter sleep.

The words of the song are as follows :-

Warralee bee-an-gee (digging)

Moorgulee billi billi

Ngarda goorum woonda goorum  
below shield

Yarraloo bee-an-goo warraloo billi.

The words "karrgo, karrgo," or "woorrgoo, woorrgoo" mark the close of all songs.

The kuljak (swan) song was sung in the Gingin district by the kuljak borungur of Lake Bambar, etc. While they sang they sat on their haunches and gathered the grass and brushwood near them into a loose heap, in imitation of the swan preparing her nest for the eggs.

There were two refrains sung by the kuljak borungur, all of whose initiated members might sing the first one, which was as follows :-

Booyoo warrbaa, booyoo warrbaa (smoke, plenty smoke)

Kala ngaaree dandara noo (fire sitting, walking)

Wau-wai yaloo karu war-yi-gee (many nyoongar coming, you  
see them)

Nyinna mungsla nyinna karu war-i-dee (sitting, eggs  
sitting (on) you see them)

Two old kuljak borungur were the last to sing the borungur song; Moorgin and Boongoordi, now long dead, owned the ground of which Lake Bambar forms a part.

Boongoordi was mulgarguttuk (mulgar = thunder; guttuk = having, possessing thunder magic) and sang for the increase of the kuljak. He sang at a spot some little distance from the lake, and while he sang he sat on the ground and made motions with his hands of clearing the place for the nest, similar to the movements of the swans' feet and legs as they prepare their nests and cover the eggs. He sent his borungur swans two and two to Bambar to lay



plenty eggs, and as he sang you could see the kuljak coming and covering the lake."

Boongoordi's song was as under :-

Wommuloo karda jigara jee  
Swans down middle don't touch

Nyoorruga jee ngaaree  
eggs lying or sitting all around

Wommuloo karda jigara jee

Wommuloo karda eedalya ngaaree  
swans down middle feathers lying

Wommuloo karda bulgara ngaaree  
swans down middle cover up lying.

When Boongoordi had finished this song, which he sang by himself, Moorgin went to the different camps of their moorurt (relatives) to bring all the nyoongar to the kuljak feast, and Boongoordi sent north south and east for the people to come and eat the kuljak.

When the visitors came there were many, many (boolla, boolla) swans and swans' eggs, and young swans ready for them. Mooran (grandparents) came and jammin (brothers-in-law) and ngangan (mothers) and mamman (fathers) and koolongur (children) and everyone had koota ngoobarn (bags full). When all had tired of eating swan food, they returned to their own districts. If there were a localised edible totem food in the visitors' districts, the kuljak borungur accompanied the visitors to their kalleep and ate the new food until they were satisfied.

Each localised group which possessed hereditary edible totems such as the swan, salmon etc., exchanged visits with other groups in the seasons when the edible totem of those groups, warrain (roots) etc., was most plentiful, and hence a constant round of visits might be made in the course of the year by friendly tribes into each other's territory.

Kalda (sea mullet) songs were sung in the autumn (boornor) the ngoon-jook (a species of wire grass which is interwoven roughly, and answers the purpose of a fishing net; it was also used in the construction of the manga or weir) being placed beside the singer or singers who handled it as they sang. The kalda singers "called" to the demma goomber (ancestors) who sat on the Capel Sand Patch watching the kalda and melak come in



towards the shore. When he saw them he put his booka (skin cloak) down on the hill (a dark looking growth that came on the Sand Hill in the autumn months was called "demma goomberung booka") and went towards the sea where the kalda were and he turned them inshore for the kalda boru ngur. When the kalda saw demma goomber come they called out to their borungur, "Ngana ngammana Dau-eera yoolburt yool," (My mother's brother Dau-eer come, come (and save us)); "YU-on-gool yoolburt yool," (Yu-on-gool, come, come), but Dau-eer and Yu-on-gool, although they were kalda borungur paid no heed to them, only speared them for their visitors. The fire (phosphorescence) which the kalda and melok carry with them is "put out" before they reach the shore, so that they shall not be seen.

Such is the burden of the kalda song, the ngoon-jook being stroked during the singing. Sometimes a singer will pick up a kalda and stroke it while he is singing, giving it to the visitors when the song is finished. Kalda eat sparingly of their borungur during the stay of the friendly visitors, but koobongur go out daily and bring in other meat food which is given to the kalleepgur. No visitor must go out hunting unless accompanied by a koobong, as if the visitors tried to hunt by themselves, the janga yongar (spirit kangaroo) would become sulky, and take all the kangaroo food away from the kalleepgur.

The nyirimba or bootalung (pelican) frequented the Swan River and the island above the present causeway in great numbers, and was the hereditary totem of the local group whose territory included the islands. As female descent obtained, the children of a Ballaruk man were either Toniarup or Didaruk, and the nyirimba borungur descended to these, thus passing from one phratry to another in each generation.

There was no song for the nyirimba, but it was distinguished from other Southwestern borungur by having a dance connected with it. Some long dead member of the borungur had dreamed a nyirimba kening (pelican dance) which became popular as time went on. In the dance the movements of the pelican were imitated and head dresses representing the long bill of the bird were



worn, the mask of the nyirimba being sometimes worn by one or more of the elders amongst the nyirimba borungur. There was no special song attached to the nyirimba kening, nor was the dance performed at any particular time, but was frequently danced by nyirimba borungur at a beedawa ceremony, or at any other gathering, when requested.

In all districts, members of hereditary borungur are mentioned by their borungur title, and the animals and birds which were hereditary totems were often alluded to by the relationship of the borungur to the person speaking. For instance, yongar (kangaroo) were called the "kongan" (mother's brother) of Tondarup local groups in the Vasse and Capel districts, because their mothers' people were yongar borungur. Yongar was mamman (father) to the Bunbury district Ngagarnooks, for their fathers were Tondarup and yongar borungur. The walja was "everybody's moorurt" (blood relation). Members of localised hereditary borungur in the southwest districts called the young of their borungur "nobba or nyooba" (children) and the full grown animal or bird "ngoondan" (brother), yet they hunted and ate both ngoondan and nyooba. A karder (long-tailed iguana) borungur called the karder his borungur, oobarri and nobba, also his daaj (meat).

To dream of a person's hereditary borungur meant an omen of some kind. If the borungur were seen coming towards the dreamer, then a member of the borungur would soon arrive. If it came close to the dreamer, the member arrived kale'rak (in the afternoon) and to dream of a borungur falling down, or otherwise injured or wounded, meant that some similar misfortune was about to befall some member of that borungur. When a member of the goomal borungur intended to visit his relatives, the goomal went on in advance to announce his coming, and appeared in a dream to some member, generally a koobong, of the tribe about to be visited.

In the Southwestern districts, on the death of a woman, her children refrained from eating the female of their hereditary totem for a season, their totem being the same as that of their mother, though given to them by their mother's brother; the male of the totem might be eaten, but only in cases of hunger, and when no other food was available. Generally however, both male and



female of the hereditary borungur were "ngooluk" (forbidden) on the death of a member.

The kweenda, kwent, went (dialectic terms for bandicoot), although a localised hereditary totem in some Southern and South-western districts, was forbidden to uninitiated boys, and to young girls until they were men and women, notwithstanding that it was their hereditary borungur. If the boys eat their borungur before they have been beedawa, they will become boyar (lustful, "blackguards") and if the young girls eat of it before they are allotted to their dajjeluk (betrothed husbands) they will have as many children as the bandicoot.

Any departure from the usual habits of a bird or animal rendered it "magic", and it was therefore left untouched by the hunter. When a yongar borungur followed up the tracks of a kangaroo (yongar ngardongin - hunting alone or singly) and killed it, should he be obliged to sleep on his tracks, he must cut off a paw from the fire he has lighted. He then sleeps between the fire and the paw. The janga yongar (spirit kangaroo) takes care of the sleeping yongar borungur when this rule has been complied with.

In the Southwestern districts, if the male relatives of a yongar borungur had been abstaining from the yongar owing to the death of one of their members, and the abstinence was about to be removed, a yongar was caught, killed and skinned, and put underneath the coals to cook. While it was being cooked, a boorn (stick) was used to stir or rake the coals together. Each mooloowarra (abstainer) helped to stir the fire with the boorn, which was passed on from one to another until all the mooloowarra had held it and touched the fire with it. When the yongar was cooked, all partook of it without any further ceremony, the mooloowarra being now free to eat their borungur.

Another method of resuming the forbidden food after abstinence was similar to that of the Ewahlayi people. An older member will obtain some of the fat of the forbidden totem and will rub it suddenly across the mouth of the abstainer. The fat must however have been obtained without the abstainer's knowledge or the rubbing will be ineffectual.



Sometimes the members of an edible borungur will refrain from eating their totem on the death of one of their members "from beeruk to beeruk" (summer to summer) and will then resume the eating without any further ceremony except the application of a line of charcoal across nose and cheeks. The length of time that has elapsed, appears to obviate the necessity for any further ceremony.

Koobongur who exchange totems, or rather give a share, so to speak, of their totems to each other, will on the death of one of them refrain from eating the koobong's borungur. According to the measure of his affection for his dead koobong, will the period of abstinence extend.



In the Southern districts, names of individuals had reference to, or some connection with the hereditary borungur, but in the Southwestern areas, the names of persons had no connection with their hereditary totems. I have found several names given to individuals from some incident connected with their birth, such incident or circumstance being turned to account in giving a name to the child. The child is also given the object, whatever it may be, as its personal borungur. The hereditary totem of the child may be warr (female kangaroo), yongar (male kangaroo) etc., but its personal borungur will be the object that has been seen and noticed at its birth.

The following names show these personal borungur, the hereditary borungur also being given :-

Wong-corn - the cry of the kuljak (black swan) heard at the child's birth. Its hereditary totem was warr, but its own personal totem was the kuljak. (There did not seem to have been any functions attached to the personal borungur, nor did the member whose personal borungur it was, refrain from eating it if it were an edible borungur, nor from mentioning its name should occasion give rise to its utterance. It was the personal borungur of the child, and nothing more was thought of it. The borungur was bestowed upon, or given to the child by grandfathers or grandmothers, fathers, fathers' sisters, mothers' brothers, etc.

Other names were :-

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>HEREDITARY TOTEM</u>	<u>PERSONAL TOTEM</u>
Winnel	Kuljak	Emu, an emu having been observed shaking its feathers (win-mok, win-mok) at the time of the child's birth.
Jangil	Kuljak	Given by mother's brother, who was picking pieces of bark off a tree (jangee jangee = picking bark) when the child was born.
Banyap	Wej	Banyabin = perspiring. Child's father returned from hunting in a profuse perspiration.
Ngalyart	Ngooga (edible fungi)	Mar = clouds. Her father observed some clouds (ngalyart wareen) rushing across the sky, at the time of the child's birth.
Nyabbel	Kuljak	Grease of fat (nyabbain = smearing with grease).



<u>NAME</u>	<u>HEREDITARY TOTEM</u>	<u>PERSONAL TOTEM</u>
Minnil	Kuljak	Splinter, a splinter having entered her father's finger at the time of the child's birth.
Kwanja		Little (spirit) woman. A janga yogga (spirit woman) was seen by the child's grandfather at the moment of her birth, and he gave it to the child as her personal borungur. It was a mulgar (magic) borungur, and when the child grew up she possessed magic from her borungur, which was her "familiar".
Dolyup	Wej	Dolya - fog, mist, a dense fog having occurred at the child's birth.

The woggal (carpet snake) was the hereditary borungur of some natives in the Victoria district, and was credited by tradition with magic healing of its members' wounds. Its home was in a deep pool at Kallurnmung and when a wound received in battle did not heal the woggal borungur went to the pool, and were taken beneath it by the woggal, who licked their wounds until they were healed, when she - for it was a female woggal) rose with them to the surface again.

Myth and tradition explain or give reason for the rise of many hereditary totems. The dog totem in the Victoria district, and the bird totem are supposed to have had their origin from some named ancestors.

The dog totem of the Nyeerrgoo (Victoria Plains district) is one of the few Southwestern hereditary borungur, which supplies a name for its members, each name having some connection with the borungur. Some examples are :-

Dikkijan, female	Dikki-dikk = crunching, the dog crunching leaves as it walks along.
Weeat, male	Weeat = foam covering a dog's mouth.
Buddarn, male	Buddarn eejan = lost, a lost dog.
Gabbaitch, male	Gabbaitch, flood waters, two dogs drinking flood waters.
Habberan, female	Habbain = scratching, dogs scratching.

This borungur was, like the woggal, the female of its species, and was not eaten by its members.

(The myths and traditions relating to the woggal, dwerda and jerd (bird) totem will be given later.)



Certain trees, shrubs, etc., in the timbered areas of the Southwest appear to have been divided amongst the phratries, and were alluded to as the borungur of such phratry. Sex was also applied to the trees, and many had also relationship terms attached to them. It was impossible to conduct further inquiries into this subject, owing to the death of all the native inhabitants of the district from which the information was first obtained.

The following were some of the trees so classed :-

<u>TREE</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>PHRATRY</u>	<u>RELATIONSHIP</u>
Marri (red gum)	male	Manitchmat	
Warnda (white gum)	female	Wordungmat	
Bulleet (blue gum)	female	Wordungmat	
Toourt, tuart	male	Manitchmat	Demmagur (grand-mother's side)
Meejarr (cabbage tree)	female	Wordungmat	
Mungart (jamwood)	"	"	
Mungeitch (banksia)	"	Wordung and manitch	
Koolyung	"	Manitchmat	Gee-annagur and demmagur = grand-parents' side
Moodurt yorla (paperbark)	"	"	
Ngoondil (broombush)	"	"	
Beeburruk (wattle)	"	"	
Kobba (stinkwood)	"	Wordungmat	
Kalga (blackboy)	"	"	
Yoolak	"	"	
Jerrail (jarrah)	"	"	
Joorra (spearwood)	"	Manitchmat	Mothers and mothers' brothers
Woo-i-um (seacoast shrubs)	"	"	
Karaburt (bulrushes)	"	"	
Erinyung (seacoast shrubs)	"	Wordungmat	



Kweela, kwela (sheoak) female		Wordungmat	
Berung (prickly acacia) "	"	"	Children's side ("koolongur")
Dwal-gur ?	"	Manitchmat	Demmangur
Moa beeramitch ?	"	Wordungmat	

It may be postulated that the above trees grew in the areas occupied by the local group to which my informant belonged, and in the territories of tribes with which his own group was associated by marriage and relationships arising out of intermarriage. Probably Baahurgurt's (my informant's) mother's mother's people came from districts where toourt and koolyung (paperbark) were the distinctive timbers; his mother's people from the country where joora (spearwood) grew most abundantly, his mother's father's people from the she-oak area, and his father's people, his own generation and his children, belonged to the berung country. Other old natives have corroborated the phratry of certain trees. Ngilgi's grandfather was Manitchmat and toourt was the principal timber in his territory. The kwela (shaoak) grew plentifully, and was the chief timber of Duongunit's grandmother. The joora belonged to the mother's people of another informant. The marri (gum) is male, yet at certain seasons of the year it exudes a red gum which, according to the natives, resembles menstruation; and at these times the tree is said to be "unclean". It is avoided by all natives during this period, and should a woman or girl wilfully approach the marri at the period of exudation, she will be boyar (wanton, lustful) from that time. Even if there were no other shady trees in the neighbourhood, no native will camp under the marri at that season.

In the districts where male descent obtains, the phratries of some of these trees are changed. The jerrail is Manitch, and other trees that are in the Wordungmat phratry are also manitch. In the Bridgetown district, where the descent is paternal, various roots, etc., are the borungur of Manitchmat only, as :- Maa] (white roots), kwerding (red root), jinjung (like a small pumpkin), ngwammelong (fungus), joobok (wild potato), while men (jamwood gum) is a Wordungmat borungur. Weet (white ants) are



Manitchmat borungur, as are also woggal (carpet snake), noorn (black snake), walitch (eaglehawk), joorr or jorrabirt (snipe). Amongst the animals the war (female kangaroo) was a Manitchmat borungur, and the following myth is told in connection with this totem :- Waddarngur (wattlebird?) and Minnijit (robin) are demma goomber (ancestors) in the Bridgetown district. In the days when these were men, Waddarngur used to let the yongar go free, but kept all the war for himself. Minnijit asked him where all the war were; but Waddarn said, "Ngan kuttitch burt," (I don't know). "Bal koolyumitch," (he lies) said Minnijit to himself, so one day he watched the Waddarngur and saw him take a war out of the hole where he had hidden them, and carry the war to his kont (cave, camp). As soon as Waddarngur went away, Minnijit went over to the hole and let all the war out, and that is why there are plenty war now. If it had not been for Minnijit, there would have been no war, only yongar.

These two birds were not the totems of either individuals or of a local group, but they were the demma goomber of the Bridgetown district local groups.

In many cases, local group hereditary borungur were alluded to by their relationship term, although they were the food of the members.

In the Gingin district the yau-art (male kangaroo) was the mamman (father) of some Ngagarnook people whose mothers were Ngagarnook, and came from the Bunbury district. The yau-art like the emu of the Ngagarnooks, could change itself into a yoongar (man) at will.

In the Bunbury and Vasse districts, the older Ngagarnooks called the emu their nyooba (children), the younger Ngagarnooks called them their brothers (ngoondan), yet they hunted and ate both ngoondan and nyooba.

The presence of the Ngagarnooks in the Gingin district was due to a peaceable exchange of dajjeluk (betrothed) girls, at some ceremonial gathering of the tribes. No regular "line" or "road" for any of these exchanges could be discovered, as in many groups the neighbouring groups would be held at enmity while a



friendly interchange of women would take place with groups almost beyond the "friendly boundaries" of some of the groups.

The yongar appears to have been "ngunning" (blood relation) to all Tondarups, whether it was their borungur or not. In the Capel and Vasse districts it was called kongan (mother's brother) and it was as the "yauart" the nanman (father) of the Gingin Ngagarnooks because all their fathers were Tondarups.

A member of the karder (iguana) borungur called the iguana his borungur, oobarri, and nobba (child) also his daaj (meat). The walja or walitch (eaglehawk) was "everybody's moorutt" (blood relation).

The kaanyinuk (kingfisher), tummeluk (little ground parrot), koorlbart (magpie) and jeeluk (squeaker crow) were the moorurt of Northam group, and had been borungur at one time, but all the members were long dead. These birds were never eaten.

The koobijet and nyittungit (robin and wagtail) were everybody's moorurt amongst the Vasse and Bunbury groups, their moorurtship dating from the time they came to the rescue of the tribes by killing all the cannibal dogs who lived in the South-western caves.

It is difficult to distinguish between the borungur and what the natives call "demma goomber" as applied to animals and insects in some tribes, for at Gingin, borungur, moorurt and demma goomber appeared to be synonymous. Probably the insects, etc., alluded to <sup>by</sup> certain relationship terms may have been borungur of other local groups with those members they intermarried.

The kallil (sergeant ant) was demma (grandfather - mother's father) to the Gingin natives, and was the moorurt of those groups living eastward of Gingin.

The birarr (little lizard) was moorurt to the Gingin men, and the jemerr (another species of little lizard) was the Gingin women's moorurt.

The kaanyinuk was a Yabbaroo (northern) moorurt. The beera-beeraling (gold digger bird) was an eastern moorurt, and the wurdung (crow) was both a Gingin and eastern moorurt. (In the Gingin



district when the death of a Wordungmat who was either Ngagarnook or Ballaruk was announced, he was said to be "wurong gool wordung" (wurong = sea, gool = going or gone, wordung = crow).

The mannait (white cockatoo) was a Southern moorurt. The weejee (emu) was Woolgerr's moorurt through his mother who was Ngagarnook and wej borungur or wejuk. The kuljak was the hereditary local group borungur.

The woggal belonged to those damma (grandparents) of the Gingin people (local group) who were mulgarguttuk (possessors of thunder magic).

These terms of relationship were applied by Woolberr, the last Gingin district native, to the birds and insects named. They serve to show the mysterious kinship existing between men and their borungur.

In all the animal myths of the South and Southwest, a connection between animals, birds and men is always apparent. Every tribe has its legends of birds, animals and reptiles who were once human, never semi-human, for I have not yet come across the counterpart of the Arunta semi-bestial - semi-human ancestors, but changed into their present forms "in demma goomber times". The jerragurt (little lizard) and the kallal or koolong (sergeant ant) were said by the Perth district natives to have some connection with the birth of children, the kallal destroying and the jerragurt reforming the babies, but I could find no trace of jerragurt borungur amongst the Perth genealogies, and the kallal was always "too sulky to want a human borungur".

The following birds were specialised by the local groups from Perth to the Vasse as having been human in demma goomber times :-

Kweelam (swamp hen), kumbegor (owl or mopoke), jidal (little grey insect), kallal, jerragurt, nganga wenee (nganga = mother dead - the blue pigeon is so called), jeereej (snipe), eaglehawk, crow, white cockatoo; and amongst animals, the kangaroo and opossum were once human. Dances were at one time held in which the actions, etc. of some of these birds and animals were imitated, but these dances and the songs connected with them were dreamed



by some member of the group in which the dance was initiated. Neither the dreamer nor the dancers were necessarily members of the borungur or "demma goomber" which formed the dance.

Except amongst the Gingin natives, there was a certain distinction between the hereditary local group borungur and certain insects which were supposed to have been demmar goomber only, and which must not be killed as the person who killed them might be killing his or her own grandparent. Whether these insects held, or were the spirits of ancestral beings could not be definitely ascertained. There existed a vague belief that they had been the ancestors of those local groups within which the legends concerning them were to be found, but they were human ancestors, not insects, in those far off days.

In my sojourn amongst the few remnants of the Perth and Guildford local groups, Balbuk - the last Perth native - had taken a walk with me in the bush. We came upon the nest of the sergeant ant (kallal). "Are all these kallal demma goomber?" I asked. "Kaia," (yes) said Balbuk, "boorda balgup yoongar kubtain," (boorda = by and by; balgup = they; yoongar = men; kubtain = perhaps - by and by they might be men again). I inadvertently killed one of these vicious insects in Balbuk's presence, and for several days she kept aloof from me, fearing she knew not what. However, no evil results followed my rash act.

The blue pigeon (nganga wenee = mother dead) was called joogarung (sister) by the Perth, Guildford, Northam and other groups, and although I could not discover any trace of its having been a borungur amongst these groups, it was tabu (winnaitch) and must never be killed or eaten, or all the women - mothers, sisters, etc., would die. It appeared to represent one sex only.

The gunbir (centipede) and moojeen (little black ant) are not borungur, but have certain special functions allotted to them, in that they must always kill any man who marries his female babbin or koobong. These are also demma goomber.



The jooreej (snipe) is another demma goomber who is supposed to have divided the land and the sea with his generative organ. He is moorurt to all the coast natives between the Murray district and Gingin.

The jeerajain, another species of little bird, was demma goomber also; like the nganga wenee, it must never be killed or eaten. It is not improbable that these insects, now called demma goomber by the local groups of certain districts, may have once been the hereditary borungur of some of these local groups, all of whose members have long since passed away, giving place to the borungur of the present day. Their "demma goomber-ship" only obtains amongst the local groups above mentioned, and by whom they are held sacred or "winnaitchung".

Amongst many of the local groups who possess an hereditary local group borungur, there are legends in connection with the rules concerning the killing, distributing and eating of the hereditary borungur food, and certain spirit animals (janga = spirit) can bring punishment upon those who disobey the food laws.

Amongst the members of the yongar (male kangaroo) borungur the janga woggal (carpet snake) was told off by the janga yongar to punish those who mocked (muranning) the hereditary borungur. The legend of the Woggal and the Mischievous Boys illustrates this. Although there were many yongar borungur in other parts of the South and Southwest, no other legend could be obtained of the janga kangaroo. The spirit kangaroo, however, was always supposed to hover near his human borungur, on the occasions when the rules relating <sup>to</sup> the cutting up and proper distribution of kangaroo meat, and the removal of the abstinence were to be observed. The placing of the kangaroo paw between the yongar borungur, and the evils of the darkness, was obviously an appeal to the janga yongar to take care of his "brother" while he slept; and the observances connected with the resumption of the meat after the death of a yongar borungur, were also watched by the jannuk (spirit) yongar of Ngamalup and other southern districts.

The woggal or mythical carpet snake was the borungur of a local group at Kallurmmung (Victoria Plains district), all the



older members being mulgarguttuk from their borungur. They could call upon the woggal to punish their enemies by magic, notwithstanding that they themselves, being mulgarguttuk, were able to project mulgar magic into an enemu, but the woggal was swifter in results.

Their borungur could also cure them of wounds received from an enemy, as the legend of Bladwa and the Woggal demonstrates.

The janga woggal was the special friend of the Vasse and Bunbury Ngagarnooks, and would not harm them although it was not their borungur. It could, however, change itself into their borungur (emu) at will, but the Ngagarnooks also could change themselves into their own borungur and so deceive their enemies, and sometimes lead their friends on a false hunt.

In some of the pools which the magic woggal frequent, they exact tribute in food from persons visiting the pools, whether these persons are woggal borungur or not, and in certain places, other than pools - a hill, a tree, a stone, etc. - which are inhabited by magic woggal, rushes must be strewn round the spot where the woggal "sits down" or the persons passing will die. Some spots have been avoided altogether by the local group living on the same ground, as the woggal is a boogur (sulky) one.

Some woggal borungur will not eat their totem, others pay superstitious respect to its home on their territory. It is healer in some districts, punisher in others, cannibal in one group, and malignant reptile in many. In all the places which it has made winnaitch by its residence there, it exacts certain propitiatory services from all those passing its winnaitch grounds, in the form of rushes or boughs which must be strewn on the rock, hill or other place which it has made winnaitch.

If a yongar is killed near a woggal's pool, and the hunters camp near the water to cook their game, a portion must be set aside for the woggalowner of the pool or harm will come to the men. The woggal smells the food while it is being cooked.

Goomb borungur (opossum totemkins) when camping near a woggal pool, cook their opossum food and then break off a quarter for the woggal. If they left no food, the woggal put bulya (magic) into



them, and they "get giddy and very soon die."

If bubbles rise to the surface of the water in a woggal pool, when a woggal borungur stoops to drink, he will soon die, for he has offended the woggal in some way.

The woggal will coil round a native who ventures into his pool and will kill him, but if a native is bullaitch (cæever) he can dive underneath the woggal and so escape. A Capel district yoongar, who was karder (iguana) borungur and mulgarguttuk was one day caught by a woggal who swallowed him. The mulgarguttuk turned into a yakkan (turtle) and was vomited by the woggal, and when the yakkan came out of the woggal it changed into the mulgarguttuk again.

The woggal is however the friend and healer of its human borungur in some districts, but it is boogur (sulky) with all others unless it is conciliated by some gift of food, or by the strewing of rushes for its bed.

In the Kaat (hill) at Bonkil (Wandering district), a woggal has its home (woggal nyinnain = woggal sits down), and no strange noongar can go there. The mulgarguttuk of Bonkil who were woggal borungur are all long dead.

At Daalungup, also, a woggal "sits down" in the gully. It will not hurt kalleepgur, but booyungur (strangers) must never go in the vicinity.

Kebugain gully is also the home of a woggal, who guards the kalleepgur. Winninup bridge, Nanilgup swamp, Wilbinyup, Doon-gagup (Margaret River), Dwergalyup (a mile from Doonganup) were all woggal boojoor, and were winnaitch to all who were not woggal borungur. Neither fish nor birds can be caught near any of these places. Kalleepgur can always pass the woggal boojoor in safety, but they must not hunt near the woggal's home, and if the kangaroo or other game that is being hunted, takes refuge within the winnaitch boojoor (forbidden ground) the hunter must leave it, as it is then boylya (magic) and cannot be eaten. All the above woggal are friendly towards their kalleepgur, but at Wendinup there is a boogur woggal (sulky carpet snake) and if he smells meat that is being cooked near his home, and the noongar leave none for him, he punishes the offenders either by causing sickness amongst them, or in some other way.