

VII 3a

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

Complete

CONTENTS

- ✓ 1 Aboriginal Stellar Myths
- ✓ 5 a. The Legend of the Two Brothers (Willilambi)
- ✓ 10 b. The Story of Orion (Nyeeruna)
- ✓ 14 Mingari the Mountain Devil
- ✓ 16 Giniga, Jamma and Kallia (Twilight Cove)
- ✓ 21 The Yog Who would not Share Her Fire (near Twilight Cove)
- ✓ 22 The Sparrowhawk and Pigeon (Balladonia)
- ✓ 24 Moolanu the Fire Stealer (Bight Head)
- ✓ 25 The Legend of Warrdarrgani Gabbi (Boundary Dam)
- ✓ 28 The Legend of Ooldea Water
- ✓ 41 Beelarl, the Sooty Bell Magpie
- ✓ 42 The Ngannamurra (mallee hen)
- ✓ 43 The Legend of the Bell-bird
- ✓ 44 C.A. Astronomy
- ✓ 45 Mingari (see also P. 14)

ABORIGINAL STELLAR MYTHS

One often wonders if the route along which certain aboriginal myths and legends may be traced is an indication of the old route traversed by the progenitors of the tribes possessing these myths, in their journey from the northern points of entry to the various waters beside which they settled in the long ago. Aboriginal bondage to tradition still survives, and tribes, now far apart, whose very dialect has changed in the centuries, possess myths and legends whose similarity is evidence of tribal unity in some far-off time.

Especially is this the case in the stellar myths of the aborigines. Our "Zodiac" is known to them as a "Dhoogoor yuara", a winding road of the dream times, along which stars and constellations now travel that were once men, birds, beasts and reptiles, metamorphosed into stars because they brought fire or water, victory, or some special benefit or relief to the tribe or group that translated them into heavenly bodies. Good and evil persons and creatures have been transformed into stars, but I have not yet found in any group a myth of the Deity or "All-father" such as the Pundjil or Baiamai of eastern tradition.

The circumcised hordes who possessed almost two-thirds of the continent at the time of white settlement brought many quaint myths with them, or originated these during their journeys southward, eastward and westward, through the centuries. Sun, moon and stars figure in the legends of these circumcised people. Curiously enough, Jupiter and Venus, both males, are associated in a myth covering a large area of South and Western Australia, from Eucla towards the Mann and Petermann Ranges and from the Bight to a point almost to the Southern border of the Northern Territory. Near or far as these planets may be as they travel over their appointed track, they are Katta kudharra (heads two), having no bodies, but always following one another along the "dream road" which they themselves had

made after their translation.

One myth (with slight and unimportant variation) was obtained from the surviving members of the Willilambi (Twilight Cove) group, and also from some border area (S.W. - W.A.) groups, and others whose waters were west and north-west of the Central and Border Ranges.

Malinowski

(Rough notes)

Myths strengthen the oral traditions by bringing them too in accord with religious beliefs, a by product of living faith always in need of miracles of sociological status which demands precedent of moral rule which requires sanction.

The native myths belong to the groups who "present" it to others. Natives gesticulate always in narrating myth and legend.

The star myths of China, India, Egypt, may present near or remote points of resemblance to the Australian myths, but Australian myths are local and the natives of the southwest and West of W.A. have their own tribal star myths - the Nyiruna myth may be said to belong to the Central Australia and (part of) W.A. border area. These myths always belong to the group that dramatises them and presents them to visiting groups, exchanging them with the dramatised myths of the visitors.

One wonders if in myths of other ancient races a relationship was established between certain constellations. In Australia this is so, the myth connecting Vega in Lyra with Altair in Aquila and Delphinus, Vega and Altair are husband and wife and Delphinus is Altair's brother. Two stars belonging to Lyra are the sons of Vega and Altair.

Orion

Do they see on rare occasions the great streams of nebulous light radiating from the great nebula which to them has phallic significance.

All night long and for many nights and weeks and months, when Orion is only visible.

Orion, also m'maingurra. His right foot is Kara - spider.

Kambugudha - oldest sister of Pleiades. Aldebaran, also Namgabbera.

Nyeeruna - Orion.

Kunggara - Pleiades, also sp. of hawk (legendary)
(a lot of women)
also Yaggaingurra

Achernar is ab abba with babba guling following him.

Sirius is part of Orion.

We find Orion mentioned in Job and Homer.

Pleiades are also Mingari.

Ancient astronomy.

Lives in other regions.

Orion

Glorious assemblage of Taurus, etc.

Aldebaran with reddish gleam in the V formed by the Hyades.

In the old legend it is the "right eye" of Taurus the Bull and the Bull is charging Orion the Hunter. Taurus is one of the oldest constellations, at least 8000 years old. Aldebaran was known 5000 years ago in Babylonia as the "Star of stars".

Aldebaran and her dogs and Vesta. Was Vesta another dog?

The whole group with many outlying stars are :

Orion the mighty hunter of antiquity that faces Taurus the Bull, with club uplifted and screening himself with the skin of a lion, 8000 years ago Orion was known, early Babylon and Chaldea, but one part of interest that is the close connection of

Orion Nyiruna.

(some words not clear)

THE LEGEND OF THE TWO BROTHERS

In the dhoogoorr or dream times of long ago the mulba (men) of Willilambi (Twilight Cove) lived in great fear and trouble. Walja the eaglehawk who lived Kaiali (north) was their enemy and whenever he came near their wommu (fire, hearth, home) he shouted at them, and every time he shouted a wandi (boy) died, and when he broke a branch off the baru (sandalwood) a wandi died, so that the Willilambi men had no boys for yirganu (initiation) gatherings.

They tried to spear Walja but their spears were too soft and would not pierce the hard skin of Walja. Also they were in great and constant fear that Walja would break the warda (big tree) which grew near Willilambi and which held up the sky, for if the warda were broken the sky would fall down and darken the earth and all the mulba and baru (meat food) would be killed.

There were two big brothers, Badhu-wudha (right-handed) and Kurulba (left-handed) who were goonming arra (friends) of the mulba and they were very sorry to see the walja killing the wandi with their shouting and branch breaking. One day Badhu-wudha sat down by Willilambi gabbi and said to the mulba, "We will kill the walja who are killing and eating your wandi and when we have killed them we will show you how to make good hard spears so that by and by you can spear all the walja that come to your wammu."

The two brothers had very strong spears (naldhara), hard and smooth and with very sharp points, and they made a great wind come and while the wind was coming over the koondan (plain) they made a big fire and hid in the warda (trees) near by. Darkness came along with the magic kaiali-nil (north wind) and Walja and his yaggulu (woman) and two wandi came in the big wind and sat down in the nimba (shade) under a tree. Walja said, "Wommu ngannain (my home)," and he and yaggulu and wandi sat down to eat, and after they had eaten they slept, hiding themselves among the leaves of the tree.

Badhuwudha and Kurulba were watching them and presently Badhuwudha crept and crept quietly under the warda that held the sky up, for if he had gone quickly he might have broken the warda.

Badhu and Kurulba came close to the sleeping walja. They had their kajji and wardan (spears and spearthrower) ready, and right-handed Badhu-wudha threw his naldhara at M'malu Walja (father eaglehawk) and left-handed Kurulba threw his naldhara at yaggulu Walja (mother eaglehawk). M'malu and yaggulu walja cried out and flew away with the naldhara sticking out on each side of their bodies.

By and by they came back for their wandi and Badhuwudha caught hold of the kajji and they held them and held them until the walja were nalba (dead) and went madu madu (up high, on top). The two walja wandi were very frightened and hid in the warda, but Badhuwudha brought them out and killed them on the koondan (plain). They then said to the Willilambi mulba, "There is your baru (meat). Cook it and eat it."

The name of the place where walja were killed was Gooilgamba and their bones are now bandong (stones, rocks) and may be seen scattered and strewn about Wommundo (Eyre's Sandy Patch).

Then Badhuwudha made a great many bunggal trees come out of the ground, and he took the wood from these and showed the Willilambi mulba how to make bunggal kajji and bunggal wardan, and said, "Now you will always have good strong kajji and wardan that won't break, and you will no more fear walja. I give the bunggal to the Willilambi men."

The Willilambi mulba were very glad and the jilbi (old men) said, "Our wommu is bunggal wommu now and we are brothers of the bunggal. We will carry the ngwan (shadow) of the wardan inside us so that it will tell us when walja are coming, and all the Willilambi mulba became bunggalaum (aum = contraction of wammu) and were always able to kill and eat walja.

And the old men made yinmas (long carved boards - Spencer's churingas) and burbing (bullroarers) and the walga (markings) on the yinmas were the heart, ribs, stomach and entrails and tail of the walja. No waljaum could make kajja gunna from the bunggal, for it was moodiji (forbidden) to them, and belonged to bunggalaum only.

By and by, when they had made the Willilambi mulba yaddoo (good, all right), Badhuwudha and Kurulba went up into the sky where they have been sitting down since dhoogoorr times, Badhuwudha at one side and Kurulba a little distance away. When Willilambi bunggalaum died, Badhuwudha stretched out his right hand and took them up to his wommu and when yaggulu and wandila and wanyila died, Kurulba reached down his left hand and drew them up to his wommu. When a bunggalaum dies, they make him very bright and clear so that the bunggalaum will not be frightened, and the long right hand of Badhuwudha and the left hand of Kurulba can be seen stretched down to catch and bring the bunggalaum to bubulu (brothers) wommu.

White men call Badhuwudha and Kurulba Magellan Clouds, but the Willilambi mulba know they were the two big brothers, right-handed and left-handed, who saved their wandi from the wicked walja.

Walja came from kaiali and they also went up to the sky where walja and yaggulu and their two wandi are now the Southern Cross and the Pointers.

In the days before the white men came, the bunggalaum of Willilambi were a great group (yangarra), having so many boys and girls amongst them that the daughter of a Bunggalaum man was betrothed in infancy to the son of the bunggalaum man's own sister (first cousin marriage). Their little boy babies always came to their father first, bringing their kundi with them, and while the father beat his woman with his kundi, the baby boy went inside her. Little girl babies came to their fathers with their kandula (digging sticks) and their

M'malu either beat yaggulu with the kandula, or threw water over her, and while he was doing this, the girl baby went inside her.

The once great and numerous family group of the bunggal-aum are now all dead, except two men, uncle (mother's brother) and nephew (sister's son) who wander to and fro along the white man's tracks. Willilambi water is orphaned water, and Willilambi wommu is no more a home. Here and there in hidden places are the yinma and burbin of the dead bunggalaum, but these will soon rot and die for there are no jilbi to visit the sacred places and to grease and rub and pay reverence to the yinma, as they did in the days of old. The spirit of the yinma vanished with the death of their dhoogoerr owners, and only burna walgaji (wood, carved) remains.

At Kwialap (Harvey) there is a clear patch like an ants' nest swept and if you think anyone is dead and you go to this spot you will see his jen. If it is a woman you will see her jen and wan (track of foot and stick). Kwialap is 30 miles from Bunbury, past Australind and Parkfield, near where Miss Fouracre got killed.

9

The "Zodiac" of the aborigines was a winding sky road, traversed by the mythical creatures that roamed over the winding earth roads in the dhugurr or dream times of long ago until their misdemeanours or their prowess or some notable action translated them into the constellations and stars of today.

Curiously enough, within a large area embracing South and Western Australia from the Border and Central Ranges to the Great Australian Bight and the cliffs west of Eucla, Venus and Jupiter traverse one road only. In all the legends covering this great area, the two planets are called kutta kudharra - heads two - great heads with no bodies, traversing the earth, helping some groups, destroying others.

The astronomy of the aborigines is sui generis. Their sky animals no more resemble the real animals or human than the bear or the fish goat of comparatively modern astronomy. Humans, animals, birds, clubs, spears, even the cliffs of the Great Australian Bight, are represented in Southern star groups.

The Southern Cross was known throughout W.A. and C.A. as the eaglehawk's foot, the Pointers being the eaglehawk's club, but many stellar myths have a defined area. Altair in Aquila is known as Kaangga the Crow in North Central Australia. Delphinus are kaangga boys (crow boys) and Vega in Lyra is known as the Gibbera, wild turkey. The boys of a group whose totem was the gibbera were not allowed to look at Vega until after the initiation.

CENTRAL AUSTRALIAN ASTRONOMYTHE CONSTELLATION ORION

The constellation Orion is known to the Central Australian natives as Nyeeruna, a name which would seem to have some linguistic affinity with Orion.

Nyeeruna is a hunter, but of women only, a baffled and humiliated hunter, kept for ever at bay by Kambugudha (the "V" in Taurus - bull's head), the elder sister of Yugarilya, the Pleiades, whom Nyeeruna is ever trying to capture and possess, but they are so well-guarded by their elder sister that Nyeeruna has never been able to reach them.

Kambugudha always stands naked before him, feet and legs wide apart, her left foot (Aldebaran) filled with fire magic, which she threateningly lifts each time she sees Nyeeruna's right hand (Betelgeza) endeavouring to put red fire magic into his club, to hurl at her and so gain possession of her younger sisters. Kambugudha dares Nyeeruna with her whole body, and is so contemptuous of him and his vain personal display of feathered headdress and ochred body, string belt and whitened tassel that she has placed a line of puppies only between her and Nyeeruna (a faint waving line of stars between Orion and V in Taurus).

The puppies' fathers and mothers - all relations of Kambugudha - and her young sisters stand apart on roundabout tracks watching the game. The younger sisters (Pleiades) are very timid and when they see Nyeeruna's body reddened with fire and lust (radiations from nebulae ?), fear comes upon them and they change into mingari (Moloch horridus) while Nyeeruna's rage lasts; but Kambugudha never changes her defiant attitude and she too can emit fire from her body, so that the red fire of her anger and her magic is so strong that it can subdue the fire magic Nyeeruna throws out, and when she advances towards him, lifting her left foot, she frightens him so greatly that the fire magic of his arm becomes faint and dies out for a while.

Again Nyeeruna's magic comes back in great force and brightness, and when Kambugudha sees the strong magic in arm and body, she calls to a father dingo (horn of the Bull) to come and humiliate Nyeeruna and Babba the Dingo rushes over to Nyeeruna and snakes and swings him east and west by his middle and Kambugudha points at him and laughs but her frightened little sisters hide their heads under their little mountain devil neck humps until Babba loosens his hold and returns to his place again.

A great portion of the constellations and stars surrounding Orion form part of this great Central Australian myth, Procyon, Achernan, Taurus and others are all ready to help Kambugudha. They resent Nyeeruna's humiliating position and they laugh and are friendly with Kambugudha because of her care for her younger sisters, the Pleiades.

Even Joorrjoorr (Canopus) the owled nightjar, though only an onlooker, laughs his Joorrjoorr laugh as he watches Kambugudha blazoning all her charms before the baffled Nyeeruna, daring him for ever. Kara the red back spider (Rigel) is also redly shining, ready to bite Nyeeruna. All the animals and birds round and about jeer loudly when they see Babba the Dingo debasing Nyeeruna's manhood. Beera the moon also mocks at him whenever he sits down beside Kambugudha and her young sisters during his journeys to the west, and Nyeeruna loses his red fire and no sparks come from his body (nebulae) in his shame and humiliation.

On fine bright starlight nights, the old men of the Central groups watch the game between Kambugudha and Nyeeruna; the little line of star puppies between them brightens and laughs, and Achernan the mother dingo, standing at the end of her long row of puppies, joins in the laugh, and the old men re-tell the old story, and wink at Beera the moon whenever they see him sitting beside Kambugudha and her young sisters and leering and jeering at Nyeeruna's impotence.

Thus the myths has come down through the ages, but its special interest to ethnologists lies in its adaptation and re-adjustment to the real lives of the groups "owning" the myth.

It has been "dramatised" as a performance for men only, and is acted as a comedy or satire before every young initiate. The myth is first recited to them with many unpublishable details and every night during their novitiate the "play" is performed. They see the Nyeeruna actor trying to reach Kambugudha and her young sisters and they watch Babba the dingo disgracing Nyeeruna's manhood before the sisters, and see him crawl away in shame and ignominy. No woman can see or take part in the performance but within an enclosure, just about the distance away in which Nyeeruna and Kambugudha and her sisters "sit down" in the sky, a bush enclosure is made before the play begins and within this enclosure women and girls are hidden and raided at will by all the performers, including Nyeeruna. The women represent Kambugudha and her young sisters and the young novices are taught that they can raid young women at will when they have become men. Nyeeruna is shown throughout in the drama as a "shocking example" to all men.

During the performance songs are sung by the groups owning the special myth, the songs being accompanied by the beating of short heavy clubs on a prepared sand mound (mankind's first drum) the drum beating and singing being quick and loud or slow and soft as the drama proceeds, the frequent "raiding" of Kambugudha and her sisters being hailed with triumphant drumming and singing.

This performance usually begins when the young boys are considered ready for initiation, and at a period when Nyeeruna is absent from the night sky, and it may last until Nyeeruna becomes visible again.

Night or day every native of the group owning the myth can point out the exact position of Nyeeruna and the other stars and constellations. The young initiates are thoroughly taught Nyeeruna's story which they must never reveal to women. The moral of the story is meticulously explained by the brothers or guardians of each young novice.

The boys must look upon all women as their slaves, to do their will at all times and in all places, to "fetch and carry" for them throughout their lives.

A certain ruthless and savage power is thus instilled into the young novices as they fully grasp - through a wearisome reiteration - the acted story of the constellation, and see it turned topsy-turvy in meaning and application, and when they realize their appalling power over all their womenkind and think of Kambugudha's successful defiance of Nyeeruna's advances, whatever cruelty is inherent in them is given full bent.

The myth and performance (both grossly phallic) cover a wide area of Central Australia and the western border, south towards the Great Plain's northern edge and east and southeast towards the Diamantina, Cooper and other rivers.

There is a religious instinct, though in a debased form, in this myth, as their only religious sentiments centre round phallicism. Totems, legends, initiation, all rites and ceremonies are representations of phallic worship.

MINGARI THE MOUNTAIN DEVIL

The little Mountain Devil (*Moloch horridus*) of the Central areas occupies a unique position in native legends, for the first mingari were women, who controlled a tribe of dingoes which were kept to repel all advances from men. They sent their dingoes to chase men away whenever they endeavoured to obtain a mingari for a wife. Mingari wanted no husbands and the mountain devil of the present day keeps up the old tradition by never having a husband, for no native has ever seen two mingari, man and wife, together.

In long ago times the Mountain devil were women who travelled by themselves and wherever they sat down they left babies at the spot where they rested. Before they continued their travels they gathered their children round them and said, "You must now live by yourselves for we are going far away from you. Do not speak or whistle, for if you do you will die."

The children did what their mothers told them and so when they were changed into the mountain devils of the present day they obey the law their mothers gave them and make no sound when resting or travelling. The mingari in spite of their formidable appearance are perhaps the gentlest of all living creatures and natives say they have never seen two mingari fighting. They attribute this fact to their belief that mingari do not marry and so there is no jealousy amongst them to stir up enmity. In the old days when mingari were women, they would not have any men near them, and they employed the dingo men, who were their friends and relations, to chase the men away.

Nyiruna, a big man, who lived in those days, greatly desired a mingari kungga (woman) but she would not have him and made her dogs chase him away, whenever he came near her camp. Mingari was followed by Nyiruna always, but the dogs kept him back and he never got Mingari.

Maalu and Kanyala (two species of kangaroo) and Jurrjurr (small night owl) were also friends of Mingari and helped them to keep Nyiruna away and when the Mingari changed into little mountain devils, the old kungga mingari went up into the sky where they and their dogs who went with them were changed into stars, and Maalu, Kanyala and Jurrjurr went with them and Nyiruna followed them. Nyiruna (Orion) and Sirius still chase Nyiruna, but the dogs keep them away on one side and Jurrjurr on another side and Maalu and Kanyala on the north side, so Nyiruna can never come near Mingari (Pleiades).

In dhoogocorr (dream or ancestral) times, Giniga and Kallia were man and wife. They lived between Willyalambi and Drollinya and their burna (ground, domain, territory) was a very fertile one and had plenty of game at all times of the year, cold times and hot times, minyaru and kombaring. Every day Giniga went out meat hunting and every afternoon he came back to the wammoo with plenty of meat food, sometimes turkey, duck, wallaby, cockatoo would be hung from his nanba (hair belt) and fall all around him, hitting his legs as he walked. He carried kangaroo and large game over his shoulder, but all the smaller game he fastened in his nanba. Always they went out together from their wammoo (fire, home) but soon separated as men meat-hunters must go by themselves and woman root and seed gatherers go by themselves also.

Kallia took her thaggulu (wooden vessel) and would soon fill it with gooyana (native gooseberry), ngoora (native currant), minu (wattle seeds) and gum and nala (roots of a species of mallee, edible) and sometimes she would find a ngannamurra's (mallee hen's) nest and then she would have a difficulty in carrying them all home, there were so many. So always they had plenty to eat, good fires, and cool shady places in summer time and they never forgot to burn the patches where the gooyana was most plentiful, for they knew if they did not burn them the gooyana would get sulky and would not come up again. Ngoora came of itself and did not want them to look out for it. The ngoora bushes grew very big and fat in their burna, and often when they met each other in their day's hunting they would both sit down beside a ngoora bush and pick the ngoora off and eat them until they were satisfied. On these days they did not bring any ngoora to the wammoo.

They were thus living very happily and comfortably, but Giniga loved Kallia more than she loved him. Kallia was always admiring herself, walking on her toes, turning her head this way, that way, and looking at her ngoocan (shadow) as she walked about

mincingly.

One day Kallia had gone out to get kalda (stump-tailed iguana) for their supper, for both had been over-eating, because it was summer time and the native fruits and roots were abundant, and the meat food easy to obtain, as the birds and beasts used to come to drink at Giniga's waterholes, and he always knew where to find them sleeping or resting in the shade during the hot days. Kallia caught several kalda and came back very early to the wammoo. She had nothing to do but wait for Giniga, as the kalda must not be cut open and cleaned till just before they are put on the ashes to cook. They are walyi ("no good") if they are cleaned when they are caught. Kallia used to hit them with her kandula or wanna (digging stick) and then, when they were stunned she caught hold of their stumpy tails and knocked their heads on a stone or on her kandula. As soon as she placed the kalda in the wammoo, she began to mince along on her toes, turn her head about and look very proud and saucy. Presently her bright eyes caught sight of a jamma sitting some distance away and looking most admiringly at her performance. Kallia displayed her little tricks for some time after she caught sight of Jamma and then sat down in her wammoo. Jamma came over to her and said, "How beautifully you walked and held your head, and how small and pretty your feet are, and you are altogether so nice and fat that I like you very much, and want you to be my yogga, mundurn (woman, wife)."

Kallia was very greatly pleased at the flattery Jamma was uttering, and smiled encouragingly at him. Jamma then came into the wammoo and sat beside Kallia, and they played with each other and fondled one another till at last Jamma said, "I must go back to my ngooroo, but before I go, I must put murdar (red ochre) on you, for I've never seen such a nice girl as you are."

And Kallia sat covered with murdar which men should only put on their own wives. Then Jamma went away, and Kallia sat covered with murdar, thinking of all the nice things Jamma had said and how all of them were quite true.

By and by Giniga returned with a kangaroo. What was his surprise to see his wife covered all over with murdar which he

had not put on her, and which she dare not put on herself. He hissed fiercely at her, "Where did you get that murdar?"

"I found it," said Kallia, who now knew the wrong she had done. Giniga could say no more for a time for he was hissing and spitting and biting his beard with jealous rage. He looked round for the tracks of the man who had put murdar on his wife and presently saw the place where Jamma had sat down, and where Kallia had danced before him, and then he traced the tracks right into his own ngooroo. He said nothing for a little while, for he was too angry to think that Kallia would let a walyi jamma come into her own husband's ngooroo.

When he could speak he called to Kallia, "Make a big fire. First make a hole and then make the fire in it."

Kallia began to make the hole, thinking that Giniga wanted it to cook the koolber (kangaroo). But when she had made it and was putting more and more wood on the firestick she had taken from the wammoo, she looked at Giniga and then she knew that the fire was for her, that she was to be burnt for having let Jamma talk to her, come into her ngooroo, and put murdar on her. She began to cry and her tears fell on the fire, hissing and spitting just as Giniga did in his anger. She cried aloud as she heaped the wood on, but Giniga sat and waited, biting his beard and spitting it out, until he saw the fire was burning well. Then he caught hold of Kallia by the legs and threw her on her back into the middle of the fire. Kallia struggled and screamed, and moved her arms this way and that way, trying to get out of the fire, but having been thrown on her back her arms got quite burnt off. Then with one big scream she got out and ran away, and when Dhoogurr changed her into a bird, she had no wings, for she had no arms when Dhoogurr changed her.

Meanwhile Giniga, who thought no more about Kallia after he had thrown her into the fire and left her struggling there, had followed Jamma's tracks, and on his way he gathered his brothers, as many as he could see, to come and help him punish Jamma for breaking the law. All the brothers got their koondi for giniga koondis are the best. They also took kaj and miro

but they relied more upon their clubs, for giniga were then big and strong and had great muscles on their bodies.

Jamma knew that Giniga would follow him up for what he had done, and that Giniga would kill him, so he too called to his brothers to come and help him fight Giniga.

"What did you take Giniga's yogga for?" they said, "You have your own yogga and it's no good taking a yogga that doesn't belong to you. You know Jamma can't take kallia, that's walyi. Jamma have their own yogga, proper wife stock, and they must not touch Kallia who are ngallara (blood relations)."

Jamma tried to excuse himself, saying that Kallia made big eyes at him and danced for him, and the brothers who knew that all kallia were vain and empty headed consented at last to help him fight Giniga and his brothers.

So when Giniga and his mob came there was a great fight. All the jamma speared as many of the giniga as had come to do battle, and the giniga hit jamma always on the head with their koondi, always on the top of the head, so that by and by when Dhoogurr changed the jamma into opossums, every one had a flat head, flattened at the top by Giniga's koondi, and all the giniga whom Dhoogurr changed into native cats had the white holes of jamma's spears all over their bodies, for jamma didn't hit in any one place but the spears stuck all over them. Jamma and Giniga will sometimes meet and fight now and Giniga fastens on Jamma's head where the koondi hit him in Dhoogurr times, and Jamma snaps at Giniga all over his body, and not in one place as Giniga does.

Kallia asked Jamma where he was going when she saw him, and Jamma said, "I've come to see you," and in another version Giniga does not collect his brothers - he goes alone to Jamma's ngoora. The guilty Jamma took refuge in a hollow tree, and let all his brothers throw their spears at Giniga, but Giniga found the tree and stooped down and hit Jamma on the head with his koondi. Now Jamma always run into hollow logs or trees, frightened, but Giniga come out in the open.

The dark patch in the Milky Way is Wej Mor, the great father of Wej and yoongar may not look at Wej Mor too closely or they will not be able to spear any Wej, but Wej borungur may look at Wej Mor without fear after they have passed their beedawong period and are men.

THE YOG WHO WOULD NOT SHARE HER FIRE

Away down at Willilambi, there lived an old woman who had fire but would not give any to the mulba (men) to cook their food. She lived by herself and every time they went to her to get some from her, she hid the fire, making big holes by taking the sand out with her hands. Girr-girr and Karrgain (hawk and blue pigeon) asked her for the fire but she hid it and said, "I have no fire," but they could see the smoke coming from under her armpits, and they knew she was telling lies. So they flew up very high, so high that they could not throw their shadow on the ground and watched to see where the old woman put the fire.

They saw her looking all round and about to see if they were watching her, but they had flown so high she could not see their ngwan (shadow) and she stooped down to make a big hole in the sand to hide her fire. She dug down and down, throwing the sand out as she went down, and coming out every now and then to see if Karrgain and Girr-girr were about. They waited and waited high, high up until they could only see the old woman's back sticking out of the hole she had dug, and they flew down quickly and speared her and caught the fire. All the sandhills along Willilambi Coast are the heaps of sand the old woman threw out every time she hid her fire.

Now when a nice blue smoke comes out of the fires, the women sing the following song in memory of the time when Karrgain and Girr-girr flew high up to watch where the old woman put her fire :

Karrgain goolain bal nambal nambal,
 Embalalla geen'geen eemalalla geen'geen,
 Embalalla geen'geen eemalalla geen'geen.

(See the karrgain going up and up in the sky where he went to watch and bring the fire to us so that we could cook our meat.)

THE SPARROWHAWK AND PIGEON

(A Dralyinya Legend - Balladonia)

Mer mer (sparrowhawk) and Kargain (pigeon) were husband and wife and banju (turkey) and winoin (anteater) were also husband and wife. Banju and winoin kept the fire to themselves and would not give any of it away, so the mulba(men) could not cook their meat food as they had no fire.

Winoin used to make a big fire and Kargain and Mer mer asked her to give them some, but she always refused.

They continued to ask her so she thought she would make a hole into the sea and cover the fire. She dug and dug (baianu) a hole beside the fire (which was burning at both ends and was very big) and as she dug she looked out now and then to see if Kargain and Mer mer were coming. They went up into the sky to find out where the Winoin's fire was and they saw the big fire and also saw Winoin digging and scraping the hole beside it.

They flew very high so that they should not cast any shadow (nguan) and when Winoin had dug half way through the hole, she came out of it and looked round, but could not see Mer mer or Kargain, so she went in again and scratched deeper and deeper. Kargain and Mer mer flew down nearer and nearer (yamar dinu) but Winoin had dug so deep down that she could not see them. She wanted to put the fire quite out. Mer mer got close up to her and he had his kaji (spear) with him, and when he reached her back (the rest of the body being in the hole), he drove his kaja into her and speared her and killed her. Then Kargain brought her kangula (stick) which was very long, and she lifted the fire with it and threw it all about, so that all the mulba could get the fire.

Mer mer cut Banju in half (barda) with her kundi (club) and said to him, "You go and walk along plains (dobarn) now and you won't have any more fire." Now the mulba have all the fire and Banju must always walk about the dobarn. The sandhills (do) near Dralyinya are the big heaps that Winoin

scraped out of the hole.

The Kargain song now sung by the Dralyinya natives is as follows :-

Kargain gulginba nam bal nam bal
ilambala gin gin ilambala gin gin

Kargain gulainba nam bal nam bal
ilambala gin gin ilambala gin gin

(Kargain flying higher and going so high that she casts no shadow.)

Kargain is fire master and when the smoke rises from fires she can always be seen in the buya (smoke). There are no karrgain wuk (totems), the kargain being fire master.

In the district north of Balladonia there are great stretches of treeless plains, and these are said to be the plains where Banju was sent by Mer mer as there is no wood on the plains with which a fire could be made, and so the Banju (turkey) can make no fire.

Bight HeadMOOLANU THE FIRE-STEALER

One day Dhoogoorr Mama (ancestral father) of Ilgamba Gabbi (Bight Head Water) said, "Maalu and Kallaia (great red kangaroo and emu) smell the fire and run away. We will get Moolanu the carpet snake to hold our firestick and keep it alight while we go hunting."

Mama went to Moolanu and asked him to "look out" for their fire and when they brought back kooga (meat) they would share it with him. Moolanu said, "Yaddu," (good, all right) and so the next time they went out hunting they left their firestick with Moolanu. When they returned with Kallaia and Maalu kooga (kangaroo and emu meat) there was no sign of Moolanu and no fire. He had stolen the fire and taken it away to his own ngoora (camp).

Dhoogoorr Mama was very angry and said, "I will send Walja (eaglehawk) to bring back our fire and to spear Moolanu."

Walja started off but he came back after going only a little way and said his arms were tired. Then Dhoogoorr Mama sent Kaang-ga (crow), but he got tired and only went a little way. Mama then told Yang-guna (white cockatoo) to go and steal the fire, but Yang-guna began to feed and would not go.

"Let Miribilyardi (little falcon) go," said Tham'u (grandfather). Miribilyardi got up quickly and went a long way, and by and by he saw the fire and Moolanu lying asleep beside it. Miribilyardi came close up, quietly, quietly, so that he should not wake Moolanu, and when he came quite near he lifted his spear and speared Moolanu and brought the fire back to Dhoogoorr Mama.

Mama then made a song about Miribilyardi, and Nung-ga (men - Bight term) always sang the song when making a fire after good hunting, and no nung-ga ever killed Miribilyardi because he brought back their fire from Moolanu when Walja and Kaang-ga and Yang-guna had refused to go for it, but they killed and ate eaglehawk and crow and white cockatoo wherever they found them.

THE LEGEND OF WARRDAREGANA GABBI(BOUNDARY DAM)

Away on the western border of South Australia, 170 miles north of Eucla and about the same distance W.N.W. from Ooldea on the East-West Line, lies Warrdarrgana gabbi, which Giles named Boundary Dam when he came upon it in 1875. It is a difficult water to find, as are most native waters, for there are no conspicuous natural features or leading marks whereby the locality could be described or recognised. Close by it is a low cliff of sandstone which, however, is not distinguished at a distance from the other sandhills in the vicinity. Mallee and spinifex cover the sandhills interspersed here and there with small clumps of sheoak. Mulga, the term which we apply to many varieties of bush and tree for each of which the natives have a distinct name; sheoak and native plum (boorn-boorn) cover the wide valleys to the Ooldea district. Wardarrga - a species of mulga bearing an edible seed pod - grows luxuriantly about, also dharrulga (native apple), koorrugu-koorrugu, boggurda, tharrulyu, ngau-ilya, and many other species of mulga and acacia, each having its use in aboriginal domestic economy.

In dhoogoorr or dream times of long ago there was no water at Warrdarrgana, and when Ngannamurra the mallee fowl went travelling north, he came and sat down on the oonderi (plain) between the thali (sandhills), and found the country good and the sand soft and firm and nice to walk on and build his kaang-gu (shelter) with, and Ngannamurra said, "I will stop a beena (lake, swamp) so that there will always be gabbi." Ngannamurra took his guraara karli (boomerang made from needlebush) and threw it low over the oonderi, and the karli went round and round and scooped out the warrdarrga and made a long wide beena like a ngannamurra ngogorn (egg), and he said, "This is Warrdarrgana beena and my gabbi and I will

sit down here." And Ngannamurra built his kaang-gu and ate warrdarrga and dharrulga and boondu (native hop) and womma (manna) and was balyanu (good, glad).

There was only one big beena - Warrdarrga - so by and by (baarl) when Milbarli (short-tailed iguana) and Yoonga (long-tailed black iguana) who were mulba (mates) for Ngannamurra, came to see him, they said, "We will make some more beena for you so that there shall be plenty of gabbi always for mulba," and Milbarli threw his karli and made Warranjurda beena and Yoonga threw his karli and Beeduring beena was made. And Ngannamurra said, "You are my mulba, and we will never fight or hurt each other, but we will always build our kaangu near each other and live together. Warranjurda and Beeduring are close to Warrdarrgana.

Maalu (silver-grey or white kangaroo) was also thoonadha (friend), but when he came to Warrdarrgana, he had to make his kaangu further away than Yoongga and Milbarli, and he saw the beena that his thoonadha had made and he said, "I will make a beena, too," and he lifted his koondi (club) and threw it and made a long narrow good beena, which he called Maalurdu after himself, and he wanted to make another beena, but Milbarli and Yoongga, who were jealous (bala moguringinyi) of Maalu, made their eenma (bullroarer) meera meera (shout loudly) all round and about him, and Maalu heard the meeranyi (shouting) but could not see anyone, and he was greatly frightened and ran away allinjerra (north) and left the beena which is still called Maalurdu.

By and by Ngannamurra became Baadu (man) and they made a law and said, "We were ngannamurra in dhoogoorr times and so all ngannamurra must be our dhoogoorr brothers (totems) and we can eat them and give them to our friends to eat. Milbarli and Yoong-ga also became Waddi (men) and Waddi and Baadu are mulba just as they were in dhoogoorr times, and they can visit each other and not be afraid, and when Waddi come to Warrdarrgana, Baadu bring them plenty ngannamurra, for that is the law

that a man gives his friends his dhoogoorr kooga (meat), and Waddi give Baadi yoong-ga and milbarli, and they are mulba always and take part in each other's ceremonies.

Ngannamurra the mallee fowl makes his minnaing in the soft sand, and wherever the minnaing is found, there beside it will be the kardala dharrbungu (tunnelled nests) of Milbarli and Yoong-ga.

THE LEGEND OF COLDEA WATER

In Weeljara or Dhoogoorr times, the long ago dream times, the country where Ooldil-nga gabbi now "sits down" was as desolate as the great wini (plain) which edges it, and as waterless. There were no trees at Ooldil-nga, only murnda-murnda (earth, soil) everywhere. All the animals and birds were nunga (men) in those far off days.

Ginniga the native cat and Beera the Moon had been sulky with each other for a long time and had been fighting and running away, fighting and running away, but always coming back again to fight on the murnda. One day Beera hit Ginniga with a wij-wij (heavy club-like boomerang) and made his nose bleed. Ginniga ran a long way and made a blood-red karu (creek) all the way. He sat down at the end of the karu and all the ground over which he ran was red with his blood and now it is murdarba (red ochre) which the ginniga nunga can sell to their friends. Ginniga speared Beera and Beera ran to Dhoorinya and sat down there and you can see a big mardargi (circle) where Beera sat down until his wounds were healed.

By and by when Ginniga had rested he got up again and went after Beera, and standing in front of him, Ginniga moordi, moordi, moordi (stamped his foot), challenging Beera to fight again, and they fought and fought until Beera was killed. "Yoogan (standing), Ginniga killed Beera," and Beera turned into stone and all his eelpa (dogs) ran away.

Now Ginniga stood for law and order in Dhoogoorr times and when Wilba (species of wallaby) would not stop in their own murnda but went round in big mobs spoiling the ngalda gabbi (water root mallee) and letting the water run to waste, Ginniga was sulky (wala). One day a big mob (boolga waddi) of Wilba came to Ginniga and moordi moordi'd (challenged) him. "All right," said Ginniga, "I'll fight you, but I will give you my entrails (koorda manthu) to eat, for you must be hungry." Ginniga was Mamu (sorcerer), so he took out his koorda manthu and gave some to each wilba and as they ate they died, for it was mobburn kooga (magic meat). Three of them, Dhadel,

Malaguli and Manu ran away leaving their kajji behind. Ginniga took all the kajji (spears) of the dead Wilba, all made of different warda (wood) and the bungala kajji he threw south, and bungala spears and karli (boomerangs) and miro (speartrowers) are now made by bungala nunga. He threw bilbagooroo west and bilbagooroo kajji now come from there. OoJan and kalliwara he sent north and yaggala, koorrgu, jindu and ngabbarli and kajji east and all the kajji turned into trees and the murnda was covered with them, and that is why some trees have mai (vegetable foods) and some have gabbi (water), because all the kajji were different. Ginniga kept three spears and went after Dhadel, Malaguli and Manu, and he chased them and chased them a long, long way. They tried to make nests (tunnelling species of wallaby) and threw up the murnda quick, quick, quick, but Ginniga caught them up before they could hide in the nests and he speared them and killed them, and the earth they threw up in now called Wilba (Ooldea Range), a little rockhole called Kara marks the spot where they died, and the hills near it are called Wilba-murdu.

When Ginniga had killed all the Wilba he heard his koorda manthu talking, and he said, "My brother wants me." He walked a long way and saw a lame jinna (track, footprint). "My brother's foot is minga (sick)," he said. He sat down by a rockhole till kang-gal (afternoon) and he called the water Ganga-abbi. Then he went further and came to another waterhole which he called Beeran-garra. He slept there and early next morning he saw smoke, and by and by he met two old men carrying a firestick and a nyurdi (a small bag) but he did not hurt them. He tracked his brother's jinna and at last he found his lame brother whom Beera had speared. Ginniga was goonbu (glad) he had killed Beera and went back to his kaanga (fire).

Now there were trees of as many kinds as there were Wilba kajji all about, and the murnda that the three Wilba had thrown up were made into hills, but there was only a little gabbi, burnda gabbi (rockholes), ngalda gabbi (mallee root water) and koolo gabbi (sheoak water roots).

One day Karrbiji (species of marsupial) started from a long way weelurarra (west) with a bagginya or kanyala gooloo (kangaroo skin bag) full of gabbi. He was travelling Yulbari (south), but Ngabbula the spike-backed lizard followed him up, and Karrbiji turned a little bit Allinjerra (north) and then Koggarara (east) with his bagginya still full. He went a long, long way Koggarara and then turned Yulbari again and sat down on a little biring (sand) mound, and scratched and scratched until he had made a nice hollow to put the gabbi in. He poured out some of the water and said, "Ooldil," ("Here I shall stay,") and sat down beside it. The water was on the surface so that everyone could see it. Presently he heard rong-guin minna (whistling) and he cried out, "Who is that?" and he covered up the water quickly with biring. Ngabbula came along whistling and frightened Karrbiji so much that he said to himself, "Ooldil binna," ("Staying here is no good,") and he picked up his bagginya and ran weelurarra.

He sat down near the edge of the wini (plain) and scooped out a big deep hollow in the biring and emptied all the gabbi into it. Again he said, "Ooldil-nga," ("I will stop here,") and he sat down beside the gabbi and saw the wilba and warda (hills and trees) that Ginniga had made and he said, "Ginniga yaddu (good)." (Yaddu is coast term - balya).

Kallaia (emu) were the first to see Karrbiji's gabbi and they ran quickly to get it, and then came Ginniga and Ngannamurra (malleehen) and Wai-urda (opossum) and Burna (long-tailed iguana) and Maalu and Waru (kangaroo) and many more, all came to drink the water that Karrbiji had brought and they sat down beside Karrbiji and were goonbu (glad) for the yaddu water. Karrbiji too was very happy, until one day he again heard rong-guin (whistling). "Oh," he said frightened, "that is Ngabbula coming," and he again covered the gabbi with biring so that Ngabbula should not see it and then Karrbiji took his empty bagginya and went away Allinjerra. Ngabbula followed him up, thinking he still had the gabbi, and when Karrbiji had gone a long way he dropped

his bagginya and it turned into a burnda (stone) and the bagginya burnda is still where it fell. Karrbiji went on still further Allinjerra and turned into burnda. Yambadhu (far away) he went and Ngabbula never found him. Kallaia, Wai-urda and Ginniga were all very angry with Ngabbula for frightening Karrbiji away from his gabbi, and Kallaia said, "I will track Ngabbula and kill him when I find him." Kallaia tracked a long way and could see the jinna (tracks) of Karrbiji and Ngabbula, and Karrbiji was always ahead. Ginniga and Wai-urda followed behind, for they were not so strong or so quick as Kallaia.

By and by Kallaia came up to Ngabbula and challenged him by stamping his feet and lifting them high off the ground (moordi moordi). Ngabbula stopped and fought, and Kallaia speared him and all Kallaia's long spears stuck in Ngabbula's back, and Kallaia killed Ngabbula allinjerra way.

When Ginniga and Wai-urda came up, Ngabbula was dead, with all the spears sticking out, and when he turned into Ngabbula (lizard) again, all the kajji still stuck out of his back. Ngabbula is always sulky and goes koojoo (alone) rong-guin mina (whistling) when anyone comes near him.

By and by Kallaia, Wai-urda and Ginniga turned into stone and if a strange nunga goes near the burnda, Kallaia and his thoonadha (friends) will stand up and the strange nunga will very soon die. When they were all changed into nunga again everyone knew where Karrbiji gabbi was, and first the Kallaia nunga sat down beside it and then the burna and ngannamurra and ginniga men, and all the others who were thoonadha in Dhoogoorr times continued friendly when they changed into nunga again. Jiwin-wongga, Oolawongga, Ngallea wongga, Jiji wongga, were all kallaia men, but they called each other by these names; jiwin, cola, jiji, and bilyi all mean "boy" and each little group used its own name and was known by it. There was one word for meat food - kooga - which all the thoonadha used, and no matter what the local group name of each was they all called themselves Koogurda; Ngallea, Ginniga, Ngannamurra, Weerongu, Wong-gai-i, Jiwin, Cola, Ngang-gali and Kaiali, were all Koogurda nunga. All these could

come and drink from the Ooldil-nga gabbi, and each could scratch out his own little waterhole in the biring and cover it up when he went away. The water was always minyaru (cold) in Kon'baring (hot) time. The Jiwin kallaia men were camped always close by the water and they made a well for themselves in the biring and kept it open as Karrbiji had made it when he first came to Ooldil-nga.

Marda wongga, Rabbuni and Yarunda nunga came from the east, Yulbari, and Walba from the south, and Kaiali, Munjinji, Kalur and Badu from the west, and Ngallea wongga from the northwest. Sometimes the gabbi made Marda wongga or Badu sick and then a Jiwin Mamu (sorcerer) performed ing-gariri (rubbing stomach with nulu - magic stone, or Jalyir - white magic stone) and the minga ones were soon all right again. From wanma yambadhu and weenduru (far away) nunga came to Karrbiji gabbi when digil (drought) dried all the burnda gabbi, and amongst them were many ngadharri (strange) nunga who had heard of Ooldil-nga and these brought dhula (flints), warrja (string), karrarr (pearlshell), and many other goods to pay for the water and for their sojourn there, so that Karrbiji gabbi was known a long way allinjerra, yulbariri, weelurarra and koggararra. Koogurda all joined together when big mobs came from far away, so that if a fight should occur, all the thoonadha were in one mob and were always ready to defend their gabbi with kajji and koondi. Many ngadharri brought their boys for weela and kulu ("initiation") and thus made a claim to be included amongst the thoonadha, and many different wongga (speech, dialects) were brought by them to Ooldil-nga gabbi.

Each nunga ate his own dhoogoorr food (totem) and gave it to his friends. Kallaia were eateh by kallaia men, ngannamurra by Badu, for it was their dhoogoor (totem), the Wong-gai-i wongga ate Ginniga, the Yairunda caught koong-gara (bird, hawk or pigeon) and gave it to Jiwin kallaia, and exchange of dhoogoorr mai (vegetable) or kooga always made for peace amongst the various mobs. Sometimes a grievance arose because the exchange of food was not considered equal, and now and then a great fight

resulted from this cause, and there were many deaths and those who ate their dead cooked their brothers, etc., and shared the food with their thoonadha. The Badhu drank the blood of those they killed, and sucked in their lips and made a great noise while drinking it, and there was one very fierce nuntha (bad) mob, the Ka-lur wongga, who came from "this side" (east) of the Badu. Ka-lur were kanyala (kangaroo) men, and though they brought many boys for kulu and weela, they were angry because they had not any gabbi so good as Karrbiji gabbi, and they spat and mouthed at the kallaia men, and dug holes for themselves without permission in the biring, but they only got salt water, for Karrbiji kept the good water for the thoonadha. Then Ka-lur were more angry, for they had to come to the kallaia men to get the good water. They were a fierce arrogant tribe, and stole or killed fat men, women and girls, and cooked them in a nuntha (bad) way, by making a deep hole in the sand or burnda, and putting the dead nunga or wia (woman) sitting up in the hole, and then when the meat was cooked they took it out of the hole quick, quick, and made it spin round and round, so fiercely did they handle it. Myin-ain (sitting) Kalur cooked nunga. The kaiali wongga ate girls and cooked them face downwards, their foreheads resting on a hot burnda, and they swallowed the flesh without biting it with their kardidi (teeth).

Ka-lur and Kaiali killed nunga, wiana and gijjara (men, women and children) and ate them even when there was plenty dhoogoorr kooga, and were not like the other nunga who only ate those who had been killed in fight, or when there had been no kooga for some time and they were meat hungry, or when young boys were sick and wanted "sister" food to make them strong and well.

On the steep sandhills round Karrbiji's gabbi the visiting nunga camped, each in his own place, Mardu, Guyani, Rabbuni, Wirongu and their thoonadha on the east side, Yulbareri and Walba on the south and southeast, Munjinji, Wong-gai-i, Kalur and Badu on the west. Ngallea, Oola and Jiwin sat down by the water on the north side.

Always the gabbi was there in abundance and always covered up when the tribes left, except the well the Jiwin kept open.

Besides the abundant gabbi and kooga, there were bardi and mai in great plenty, bundi (acacia), boorrgu, malungarri, ngau-ilya, and kilguwara (species of mulga) and bardi (grubs) and gabbi from yaggala, ngabbari, jindu (mallee sp.) and kooli (sheoak) and womma (manna) from ngabbari, and there were yalda dhaddagoola (native applies) and nyoorongil (parakylia) and booya (a sweet-tasting grassy plant.)

Coldil-nga nunga had therefore plenty of food and water always, and they could go to Coldilbinna gabbi too, for Coldilbinna and Coldil-nga gabbi are "all one" - they meet under the ground and only come up in the two biring where Karrbiji made the hollows, and though they are far away from each other, it is the same water in both, karrbiji gabbi, tasting just the same, and coming up in the same way. When the Kallaia nunga went hunting a long way they did not have to take weera (scoops) with water, for Ginniga had put gabbi into the trees and Kallaia knew where the gabbi warda (trees) were.

Ngadharri (strangers, strange tribes) were always sending magic amongst them. Magic went inside the women who were carrying the little babies that had gone inside them after first telling their future fathers or uncle's (mother's brothers) that they were coming, and the magic cut the bidi (sinews) of the baby so that when it was born, its joonda (thighs) never grew and it had to crawl about on its marra (hands) always, or it injured the boy babies so they could not be made kulu and weela men, or it twisted their heads and made them wobbaluru (insane). Coldil-nga nunga sent back fire magic and blood magic and many other kinds, so that when a ngadharri succeeded in putting magic inside a kallaia man, magic went back again, and to and fro, it was always working. So much kooga was always obtainable at Coldil-nga that babies and others were only killed when the former were "too many" and when the latter had been wounded in fight, or when little babies were stealing the fat off their brothers. The Koogurda were a big mob, for many claimed Coldil-nga as their dhoogorr gabbi.

And so they lived and thrived, watching daily for the light smokes that told them thoonadha were coming, or the heavy smokes that prepared them for the ceremonial visit of large tribes, or the numerous small signs that warned them of magic coming. There was no world but their own, and there were no other people but those of their own colour, thoonadha or ngadharri as these might be. They knew every animal and every living thing that moved on, over or under their own country and they heard tales from the north of burna (iguana) who were so large and so magic that they could swallow a whole family at a meal (alligators ?) From the great wini south of them they heard the roarings and rumblings of the huge snake (kulai' ganba) that lived on the wini and made moonjungarra (blowholes) all along its warri (roads) underneath the wini, through which it boomed at them or tried to suck them in as it inhaled its oorna (stinking) breath in passing. They could see the ground move up and down, up and down, as the kulai' ganba travelled underneath the nurnda, roaming about always and frightening them with the big noises it made at the moonjungarra. Sometimes it put its head out of the moonjungarra and spat out burnda (stones) and sucked them in again. They could not stop it from travelling over their country, but they feared it too much to try and find its kaanga (camp, home, fire) on the wini, and so they never saw where it lived. Many tales came to them from the east of a tribe of great eeipa (dogs) whose daily food was nunga, and from the west and northwest came strong magic, but there also came beautiful karrarr (pearlshell) and sacred kalleegooroo (bullroarers) which when laid on the boys' wounds quickly healed them and made them grow strong men, and new dances came to them through the Badu of Wardarrgana (Boundary Dam) who were thoonadha of the Wong-gai-i, or perhaps from the Wanmaring wongga of Jinyila (Eucla) through their Yulbari thoonadha. When the Wong-gai-i ginniga visited them there was always friendly meeting and feasting and parting, for Ginniga kept the laws in Dhoo-goorr times, and were the dhoo-goorr thoonadha of the Kallala nunga.

And so their lives went on. Their religion was Fear, fear of magic, of thunder, of lightning, fear of the awful Unknown that lived in eenma and koondain (churinga of Spencer) whose roaring voices were only understood by the Mamu who whirled them round and round to make them talk, and who noticed the smallest wrong doing and sent magic punishment for every breach of native law. Sometimes when the "thunder and lightning god" crashed and burned around them, or when bigger booming sound than usual came up from the angry Kulai ganba, and it seemed as if he would tear up the ground and come and eat them, some male or female Mamu, with spear or digging stick, went into the open, and thrusting the weapon above, around and below, remonstrated with the noisy god, telling it they had done no wrong, beseeching it to go elsewhere, continuing their efforts until the noise abated. Anything unusual in the elements, in tree, plant, animal, or bird, brought the Fear God before them, and at times propitiatory offerings were made to subdue its wrath. When a star fell or a meteor, and they found meteorites or obsidian on the spot where the star had fallen, this was taken as a sign of grace, and was endowed with magic power and used in healing or killing as needed.

And then, long before Flinders and his men were seen by the Yulbari wongga of Fowlers Bay district, or the warda nunga of Kooluna (wombat men of west coast, S.A.) rumours were carried from north and west of still more fearsome monsters, mawgun-spirit (white men - walking like themselves, and having ngarn-goor (beards), but "different" and having a fire magic that sent burnda (bullets) inside nunga or kooga or anything the magic firestick (gun ?) pointed at. How the rumours spread, and gained in the spreading! Horned mawgun, mawgun with tails, mawgun with great kooroo (eyes) that they could draw out of their heads and put back again (spectacles ?), awful mawgun! and camp after camp along the route of the rumours surrounded itself with its greatest magic - fire - which it lighted

at all points, as it did not know from which direction the mawgun would come. Rumour swelled in the spreading, and to the mawgun's human features and bodies, horrible malformations were added. Aboriginal imagination revelled in the hideous monstrosities it conjured up out of the rumours.

Time after time, mawgun became a new and old and new tradition with fresh horrors added to the old ones. Flinders had time to become a tradition when Eyre and his comrade Baxter passed across their view, bringing ngadharri of their own colour with them. (No wonder the ngadharri were killed and eaten afterwards.) By and by the rumours became more than traditional and were relations of fact. Sturt and his nandhu (horses - the first Central Australian name applied to horses) were seen of many, and probably Leichhardt and his nandhu, and then came a new name for the mawgun - "wail-bela" (a corruption of whitefellow) and we come down to Giles' journey through the Badu at Boundary Dam, the Wong-gai-i, the Ngallea and other Koogurda groups, and still later came a fresh horror, and monsters that were shouted at as "Windinjiri! mawgun ngalguri!" (Camels! run! the monster spirits are going to eat you!) made their appearance, and groups scattered to the four winds, dropping infants and food in their desperate fright. In time the origin of that dreadful creature was solved: its mother was most certainly the Kallaia (emu) and its father the nandhu (horse)!

There was still fear of the wailbela, but he had been "touched", tasted and handled by some one and the fear died down. Anger took its place for a time, for wailbela were killing their dhoogorr kooga and taking only the gooloo (skin) thus offending dhoogorr maaluu (kangaroo) and kallaia. Wailbela were taking their dhoogorr gabbi, and when they had drunk of it they let the windinjiri (camels) spoil it, and would not let its owners come near it; then, little by little, or quickly, according to local circumstances, the wailbela

assumed another, and although they did not know it, a still more dreadful aspect, and became a source of "idle wealth" to the natives who found a familiar labour for their women in administering to all that was bad in the wailbela who was no longer above their own native level.

Then the wailbela came to stay, and first the Yulbari nunga became less and less, others followed suit; the Walba wongga, the Wanmaring, Badu, Wong-gai-i, Ngallea; for with the first survey of the East-West Line which cut through the Koogurda groups and their allies, the extermination began - not from any deliberate cruelty of the white man, but from the impossibility of amalgamating two such extreme types - primitive man and civilised man, and the ready and eager adoption of the white man's vices only. They were always familiar with traffic in women, and that the wailbela knew the trade also simplified matters. Diseases from which we have become immune through the centuries - measles, chickenpox, whooping cough, came upon them suddenly and killed them off "like dogs", and so their destruction went on.

As the construction of the East-West Line proceeded, tribes from far and near heard of the abundance of food and the new "fire stink" ("Kala gabbi") that made them koora bamba (eyes blinded, drunk), and if, here and there, the prices of food and drink was a wiana or wanyi (woman or girl), why, these had always been saleable. Each group through whose territory the line was passing saw its waters absorbed, its game driven away, its food and water trees cut down, the whole country turned to strange uses, and its own people intruders on their own ground; but in their eagerness to "make the most of what they yet may spend" they did not realise the tragic significance of the event. The Koogurda allies closed in their ranks as their numbers lessened; they drank their Karrbiji gabbi only by courtesy of the white man, and from their appointed places and the spots where they had erected their kaanga (homes) for thousands of generations

became closed to them. Having stood aside to let the white man pass, they found they had to stand aside for all time.

When the first half-caste baby was born, they believed that the white man's food was the cause, for they were ignorant of the facts of birth, and they rubbed it frantically with charcoal to bring it to the "clean black colour" again, often killing the poor infant in the process. When they had eaten of the white man's "tree of knowledge", so to speak, they were not altogether pleased, for they had seen piebald horses and dogs of mixed colour, and though they could not coin the term "mongrel" the idea was there and they felt the degradation, until some one of them with Shavian humour, drew attention to Paddy's nose, or Micky's red hair in the baby, and Paddy and Micky had in consequence many calls on their wages. I know that the sight of the baby led many a white man to repentance'.

The outlying tribes who came amongst them to share in the good things, brought strange magic with them, as well as strange women, and unprofiting by the protection of the white man, the remnants of the old tribes begged, borrowed and stole the women. Caste and law, by which their old life was regulated, consanguineous relationships which forbade marriage, were broken down in a moment, and as the women and girls succumbed, fresh contingents were sought for as far north as Musgrave and Everard Ranges, for it is only from the north and northwest that the new supplies can now come. All joined together in a sort of "armed neutrality" and began roving from Kalgoorlie, Laver-ton and Leonora (W.A.) to Tarcoola, Port Augusta, Eucla and Fowler's Bay (S.A.), their old life with its songs and ceremonies travestied by the mongrel mobs that eke out their years under the shadow of the white man. They still drink Karrbiji gabbi, but they have to take it from the hot pipes stretching out from Ooldil-nga to the Railway Siding at Ooldea. Anyone who can claim the remotest connection with Karrbiji gabbi, with Ngallea, Jiwin, Wirongu or Badu, still feels pride in his

dhoogoorr water, and claims it as his, but there are very few to whom the ground is familiar and the old haunts of ngannamurra, burna, ginniga and kallaia are unknown to the younger members of the mob who play at hunting nowadays.

BEELARL, THE SOOTY BELL MAGPIE

The young beelarl allow their mothers to feed them long after the other young birds have discarded their parents, and in the legend of the bird, this characteristic is kept in view.

Wiana beelarl (mother beelarl) was making her wurli for rain, and while she made, she sang :-

Latti lannaa rabbura kuaji,
Eelal beelalbee,

Latti lannaa rabbura kuaji,
Eelal beelalbee.

Near by dhalgara (young married woman) who was a Dhalbu (native cat) had made her wurli, but she was young and did not know how to make a rain proof wurli, and the rain was coming through it. Wiana said, "Where is the water coming through?" Dhalgara could not speak because wiana was yumeri (mother-in-law - forbidden) but she pointed to the place where the rain was coming through and Beelarl wiana made it all right. Beelarl was mungari (father's sister) for dhalgara who had Beelarl's wandi (son) for her majji (husband).

By and by Beelarl saw wandi coming home bringing some malu (silver grey or white kangaroo), so she went to her own wurli, and Beelarl and Dhalbu (native cat) cooked the malu and laid kuldu and junda (ribs and thighs) on the ground near Beelarl's wurli.

One day young Beelarl went out hunting gana (alone) and afternoon came and he hadn't returned. "You stay here," said Beelarl, "dhalbu and I'll track wandi," and by and by she saw him. Mumu (spirit, devil) was catching him and letting him go and catching him again, playing with him before they killed him. Beelarl ran and rantail she came up behind Mumu and she hit him with her wanna and killed him and took Wandi back alive to his Dhalbu, and looked out for Wandi, who gave her junda and kulda, because that is the proper portion to give wiana.

(Kalbin)

THE NGANNAMURRA

(MALLEE HEN)

The ngannamurra or mallee hen has many and varied legends. In some districts it is very plentiful, in others it is a somewhat rare visitor. From one of the latter areas comes the following legend.

A nunga (man) went out hunting daily "nyidiri bina" (alone) and killed plenty baru, brought it home, made a fire, cooked it and made his wadhu (breakwind) and slept. Just before jindu ngalya bugganyi (sunrise) he heard someone singing very softly (bungara) :-

Nyinna gabbi gabbi bur ma lee
(Sit down water water on the stones in the shade)

Nyinna bur ma lee
(Sit down on the stones in the shade)

Nyinna gabbi gabbi.

Far away he heard it. He looked round but could not see anyone, and there were no tracks anywhere. He heard it again, but could not find out where it came from, so he went back to his kala (fire), cooked some more baru (meat), made his wadhu, and slept.

At sunrise again the song came,

Nyinna gabbi gabbi bur ma lee,

close up he heard it, but could not see anyone. He went quietly along towards a little warlba (hill) and saw a lot of munda (earth) just like wardu (wombat) making his hole. Nunga went up close and called out, "Hey, nunga, what are you doing?" but no one answered him and he went closer and closer until his shadow fell on the hole. The ngannamurra (Kalbin) came quickly out of it and rushed at him saying, "Ngo, ngo, ngo," and so frightened the nunga that he ran a long long way to another ngoora, and ngannamurra went back to her song and her building

Now she is a bird and sings her song quietly while she is making her buni (nest).

THE LEGEND OF THE BELL BIRD (BARRIDAN)

The barradin has a long legend to itself. Wiana and nunga went out daily hunting for baru and mai (meat and vegetable food). "Kirridan, kirridan, kirridan," the wiana (women) sang when they went out for the day's hunting. Their nunga (men) went for baru and the wiana for mai. When the nunga had left them, the wiana put thagulu (wooden scoop), kadha (digging stick) and kala (firestick) all in one place and then began to dance and sing, "Kirridan, kirridan."

Moongauli (afternoon) came and they were still dancing. They were going yulbareri (south); when it was time to go back to camp, they danced up to bilda wiana (opossum women) who had plenty mai and got some from them and took it home, pretending that they had caught it themselves.

They did this many times (these women never bring home any baru) and at last nunga tracked them up and saw thagulu, kadha and kala all lying together. They went on further and the wiana saw them and took their kata gulu (head skin) (katta or kogga = head) off and sang, "Kirridan, kirridan," and put it on again, and took it off and put it on, while the nunga were coming along towards them. Nunga then sang out, "What are you doing here?" and all the women laughed and danced and took their gulu off and put it on, crying out, "Barradin, barradin, barradin," and they all changed into barradin (bell birds).

CENTRAL AUSTRALIAN ASTRONOMY

Karduna	Spica in Virgo
Nyiruna	Orion and Sirius, belt and sword, penis and tassel (nambu and thani)
Burndila	A falling meteor
Waldu judi	Magellan's Clouds (nunga gothara)
Kanggarara	A hot country east, where dead wirongu go. Kanggi = wall or pole
Dhugurr linjiri	A cold country where the andinggiri mob (Tharnduriri's mob) went - it is west.
2 burna, S.E. of Orion	These were men - Sirius? or horns of the Bull?
Kurbaru	Near burna
Kambugudha	Aldebaran - oldest sister of Mamu kunggara (Pleiades). All were women.
Nyiruna	Chased Kunggara (Pleiades)
Burna Nilu ?	Black banded
Achernan	Babba (dogs)
Canopus	Jurr-jurr
Aquila	Kaangga (mother)
Delphinus	Her wandi (boy)
Vega	Gibbera
Pointers	Jurding
Southern Cross	Waljajina
Moon eclipse	Bira dharbongu
Jupiter	Karrail, katta
Meteor	Mama
Moonlight	Bironggu, woggaralbin
Waning moon	Bira ilung(waning)
Full moon	Mungurda murdiji bira bulgana
Waxing moon	Bira goarrija
The V in Taurus	Mingari
Pleiades	Kunggara; a lot of girls = yugarilya
Sky	Gaddina ilgari
Stars	Kalla ngaldha boggarnu, kattana
Venus	Ganba, guldu, katta
Sunrise	Jindu ngaldha buggin
Sunset	Jindu dharburu or dharibinyi

Mingari

Mingari were all women, no mama, they sat down at Kallangaba. They sat down allinjerra because Nyiruna who was Burnburnbulala, came and frightened them. He went underneath the ground and heard them gumbuna (urinating) and wanted them for his guri (wives).

Then dogs, bulgu, heard Nyiruna, but Nyiruna caught Mingari and then they fought with Nyiruna's dogs. Mingari sat down at their own kaangga and their dogs kept Nyiruna. Then he chased them allinjerra and they sat down at Annungga where they now are. All the baby mingari are there - no mama - mingari dhugurr. Nyugaling was Nyiruna's dog.