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SOUTHWESTERN TOTEMS

TOTEMS

Southwestern District

The Southwestern term for totem is also "borungur", "oobarri" (or woobaruk).

The Southern phratries - Wordungmat and Manitchmat - are, in the Southwest, subdivided into four classes, namely, Ballaruk, Nagarnook (Wordungmat phratry); Tondarup, Didaruk (Manitchmat phratry), but the phratry names are also in use.

Female descent obtains in the tribes living along a narrow strip of coast between lat. 30° and 34° (approx.).

The borungur system of the Southwestern tribes varies some.

what from that of the Southern people, owing mainly to the difference in descent, but the term "borungur" has the same signification attached to it in all the tribes of the South and Southwest, and all edible borungur are eaten by their "borungurmat".

The S.W. borungur are three - phratry, hereditary and individual.

Beyond the fact of all Wordungmat being wordung borungur and all Manitchmat being manitch borungur, the phratry borungur - if it may be so called - appears to have no other meaning. The Southwestern groups attach no importance to their phratry totem. There is no abstinence from the flesh of either bird on the death of a Manitch or Wordungmat, nor are the names of either forbidden on the death of a member of either phratry yet every Wordungmat and Manitchmat will state his phratry borungur as well as his hereditary borungur.

Within the tribal area mentioned above, the word "wordung" has two separate meanings. In the Mandura district (lat. 32,20) the term wordung, besides signifying phratry and "crow", also means the "marrow" inside the bones of the animal or bird killed; and in the Gingin local tribe wordung means "dead". A Gingin man or woman who died was said to be "wordung", whether the dead person was Wordungmat or Manitchmat.

HEREDITARY BORUNGUR

Some hereditary borungur appear to be localised in certain tribes. These borungur have male descent irrespective of the phratry or class of the individuals whose borungur they are, so

that the hereditary borungur of a Manitchmat will descend to his Wordungmat offspring and vice versa, but there are other hereditary borungur which are confined to one subdivision only.

The following are examples of the localised hereditary borungur which alternate with the descent :-

Mung-gaitch borungur (honey bearing banksia)

Localities :- Wilyamup, Moondap, Koolyalup, Kabbinyup, Kebidup.

Yajangup; these areas over which the banksia grows plenti-

fully are called "mung-gaitch boojoor" (honey banksia country).

Members of local group :- Nolyet (m., Ballaruk), Bilja (m. Tondarup),

Yualbuk (m. Tondarup), Deewar (f. Tondarup), Mara (m. Tondarup), Deep (m. Ballarruk), Warngait (f. Ngagarnook), Wal-er (f. Ngag-

arnook), Moorgan (m. Tondarup), daughter of Deep (Tondarup).

Wedern (m. Ngagarnook), Yoornil (m. Tondarup) (all dead).

The mung-gaitch honey was eaten by all the members of this borungur. (Female descent of class and phratry).

Waddarn borungur (sea totem)

Locality:- Koolinyinup (Murray district), called "waddarn boojoor".

Members of totem :- Mogam (m. Tondarup), his sons Winjan and Wan-daland, his daughter Wommolu (Ballaruk), his grandson and

grand-daughters Yabburgurt (m.) and Waiar (f.), Tondarup.

(Only one member living. Female descent of class and phratry).

Malgan borungur (tailor fish)

Locality :- Karbungup (Estuary area).

Members of totem :- Yoogool (m. Ballaruk), Yoongup (m. Tondarup),
Ngoowir (m. Ballaruk).

Borungur eaten by borungurmat (all are dead).

Female descent of class and phratry.

Kalda borungur (sea mullet)

Locality: - Wonnerup, Capel.

Members of totem :- Weerestch (m. Tondarup), Woolgurt (m. Ballaruk),

Baaburgurt (m. Tondarup). Totem saten. (All dead).

Tremale descent)

Ngarri bornngur (salmon)

Locality :- Younderup, Busselton.

Members :- Beejilber (m. Gooanuk), Banmung (m. Tondarup), Banmung

children (Ngagarnook). (All dead except a few halfcastes.)
Female descent.

Totem eaten. (Ngarri borungur were called by their neighbours "mela murnong" (mel = eyes; murnong = like to or same as; having "full eyes like the salmon"). "Salmon trout" is the more correct name for the ngarri or native fish.

Female descent.

Boolvagur totem (species of bird).

Locality :- Meckering.

Members: - Yalugurt (m. Ballaruk), Munbaitch (m. Tondarup), his children (Ballaruk) Yojjaburt (m. Tondarup), Ngwoonbib (m. Tondarup), his child (Ballaruk). (All dead except Ngwoonbib.)
Female descent.

Kuljak borungur (swan)

Locality :- Gingin, Lake Bambarn, Moore River, Webiri.

Members :- Nyeeramurra (m. Tondarup), Nyeeramurra's father (Ballaruk), Nyeeramurra's children (Ngagarnook), Jabarl (Tondarup),

Karringurra (f. Ballaruk), Goomur (m. Tondarup), Maggai-yu (m. Ballarruk). (All dead.)

Borungur eaten.

Female descent.

Yenii totem (fresh water)

Locality :- Blackwood River (part of)

Members :- Gooanuk and Tondarup - all long dead.

(Descent mixed, male, female, in local groups.)

Reel borungur (river)

Locality :- Beelagoo (Preston River ?)

Members: - Nangin (m. Tondarup), Moongalit (m. Tondarup), Moongalit's
two sons - Boorong'irt and Ngirit - (Ballaruk). All these
people are dead. (Female descent)

Yongar borungur (male kangaroo)

Locality :- Booribirdup (Murray district)

Members :- Karril (m. Tondarup), Karril's father (Ballaruk), Yarngitch (m. Ballaruk), Y.'s children (Tondarup). (Female descent of class and phratry.)

Borungur eaten. (All these people dead.)

Gab borungur (rain, water)

Locality :- Koolinup (Murray River district)

Members :- Wandin (m. Tondarup), Wandin's father, (Ngogonyuk),

Moat (m. Tondarup), Docturn (m. Tondarup), Koorgup (f. Ballaruk), Birrban (m. Tondarup), Dwanyin (f. Gooanuk), Nyader

ff. Gooanuk), Banber (m. Tondarup), Kaler (m. Gooanuk),

Wilber (m. Gooanuk), Nyirbir (m. Tondarup). (All dead.)

Female descent.

Dwerda borungur (dog)

Locality :- Nyeerrgoo (Victoria Plains)

Members :- Monnop (m. Ballaruk), Dikkijan (f. Ballaruk), Beenaran

(f. Tondarup), Wabberan (f. Tondarup).

Totem not eaten.

Female descent.

Jerd borungur (bird)

Locality :- Victoria Plains district.

Members :- Kauar (m. Ngogonyuk) of Werrgejan, nr. Northam,

Nanyip (m. Ballaruk) of Ngar'ragijain and Wej'undungooling (Northam district).

Totem eaten. All the Victoria Plains district jerd borungur have long been dead. Female descent.

Wan borungur (woman's digging stick)

Locality :- Jirr'nging'an (Northam district) (called wana boojur.)

Members :- Banju (m. Ballaruk), Wannuk (Banju's father, Tondarup),

Banju's children (Tondarup). (Banju's mother and mother's

brother were koclyagu (potato-like root) borungur.) All dead.

Female descent.

Karder borungur (iguana)

Locality :- Konningerdup, Younderup district.

Members :- Doongunit (m. Ngagarnook), the last remaining member.

Female descent.

Warrain (edible root)

Locality :- Booribirdup (Murray district)

Members all dead.

Female descent.

Mean horungur (mallee hen)

Locality :- Ning'arn, near Victoria Plains.

Members all dead.

Female descent.

Kanvin bornngar (species of kingfisher)

Locality :- Northam district.

Members all dead. (If a kanyin were killed a kanyinuk must kill the "murderer".) Kanyin not eaten. Female descent.

Kolyung (wattle tree and bird)

Locality :- Donnelly River.

Members: Kolyungit (m. Ballaruk), his father (Tondarup), his father's father (Ballaruk). All these are dead.

Female descent partly.

Localised hereditary borungur which appeared to be confined to one subdivision or class only were :-

Wei (emu), Class - Ngagarnook; Locality - Bunbury, Vasse, Koolinyinup, Yoonderup, Wallalup (near Donnelly River).

Female descent of class and phratry.

Members :- Meelak (f. Ngagarnook), Dolyup (Ngagarnook), Nyeendil (m. Ngagarnook), Nyeerbukan (f. Ngagarnook), Ngooyep (f. Ngagarnook), Bargil (m. Ngagarnook), Yalung (m. Ngagarnook), Yooarjup (m. Ngagarnook), Goombil (m. Ngagarnook). Totem eaten. Two members living.

All Ngagarnook in the districts above mentioned were also called Wejuk (Emu people). Descent of the totem was through the kongan (mother's brother). A ngagarnook or Wejuk woman did not pass her totem to her children as female descent of the totem did not obtain in the Southwest, but the mother's brothers passed the totems to the children of Ngagarnook women. These Ngagarnook children were supposed to come first to the mother's brother before they came to their mother to be born of her. In families where there were no kongan (mother's brothers) the children of the Ngagarnook and Wejuk woman were given the localised hereditary totem of their father. They were, however, called "kootaju-murnong" (koota = skin, bag, womb; murnong = like, same as) by the Ngagarnook and Wejuk when they visited their mother's people's district.

Ngagarnook men' could not pass their totemsto their own children, they could give their totem to their sisters' children only and not to their own children.

If.I, being a Tondarup man, marry a Ngagarnook and Wejuk woman from the above districts, my children follow their mother's brother's totem, and are Ngagarnook and Wejuk.

If I, being a Ngagarnook and Wejuk man, marry a Tondarup woman my children are Tondarup and have the borungur of their Tondarup kongan, but are kootaju murnong to Ngagarnook.

All Ngagarnook men were Wejuk, but their sons were only kootaju-murnong to Wejuk and Ngagarnook. All Ngagarnook women were Ngagarnook and Wejuk and their children were Ngagarnook and Wejuk, the borungur being given them by their mother's brother (kongan).

Ngagarnook and Wejuk were Maan-gur, Ngooljarmat, and Koolonggur (father stock, brother-in-law stock, and children stock) to the Tondarup and Didaruk of their intermarrying tribes.

No Tondarup or Didaruk sons of a Ngagarnook or Wejuk father can have the wej totem, as that is a Ngagarnook totem only. They take the totem of their Tondarup or Didaruk mother's brother which is also their mother's totem. Hence it is the mangur of Tondarup and Didaruk who are Ngagarnook and Wejuk; their ngooljarmat are also Ngagarnook, and their Koolongur are Ngagarnook. All Tondarup and Didaruk belonging to the districts named are kootaju-murnong - like brothers, the same lot - to Ngagarnook and Wejuk. Intermarrying with the neighbouring tribes through many generations has spread the Ngagarnook class name and totem over a large area.

Beerangoo of Moolip boojoor, near Vasse, was the last of the old Ngagarnook and Wejuk. "He had many moyer (sister's children), demman (father's father's people) and morangur, all of whom were Wejuk. To all his moyer Beerangoo gave the Wej." (Wordungmat moiety.)

The dang-ngail (manna from gum) to tem was also confined to one of the four classes - Pallaruk. Capel district was the locality of this totem, and it was given by their kongan to the children of a Ballaruk woman who was dang-ngail borungur. This totem was also eaten. (Wordungmat moiety). Female descent.

Others were: Walja (eaglehawk), the totem of Bulyagin and Mittering (near Northam) Tondarup, also of some Tondarup in the Collie River district. All the members of this totem are dead. Totem eaten by borungur. (Manitchmat moiety).

(The walitch was the hereditary totem of some Southern local groups of the Manitchmat moiety only.)

Men (edible gum) was confined to the Ballaruk Class in Werrgejan (Beverley), and Ballardong (York). The members are all
dead. The totem was given by kongan, and was eaten by the members.
(Wordungmat moiety) Descent mixed.

Yongar (male kangaroo) and Tammar (species of wallaby) totems belonged to Tondarup and Didaruk in the Ballardong and Werrgejan districts, was transmitted through the kongan, and was eaten by the members, all of whom are now dead. (Manitchmat moiety) (In the Murray district the yongar entered both moieties in successive genemations.) Descent mixed.

Goomal (grey opossum) was confined to the Ballaruk of Dandarrage and Goomalung, and was eaten by the members, who are all now dead. (Wordungmat moiety). Female descent.

Gab (water or rain) belonged to the Ballaruk of Karagullen,
Bebe, Koondelup districts (Guildford), maa-le (swan) to some
Tondarup in the Wailwilyup (York) district, and was eaten by the
members (all now dead).

Wordungmat moiety, female descent.

Jitil or jidal (species of locust) was confined to the Tondarup of Kebidup, near Yoonderup. The only members living are Jitil (m. Tondarup), Jitil's sister's sons, Minjaij and his sisters' sons. Jidal borungur were called by their neighbours "Jidalyuk" and were distinguished for their height and slimness. Manitchmat moiety, Female descent.

In the Victoria Plains district the jerd borungur were

Ballaruk. The totem was given by the kongan, and the members

of the jerd borungur were called Jerdajuk, or Jirdajuk, by them
selves and their neighbours. (Wordungmat moiety). All are dead.

The term jirdajuk took the place of Ngagarnook in this district.

Female descent.

Ngook or ngooga (edible fungi) belonged to the Ballaruk class in the timbered area of a part of the Southwest, the exact locality not being ascertainable, as the members are all now dead. Ngooga is a fungoid growth which comes after the first rains (about May). Ngooga borungur were called Ngoogunyuk. (Wordungmat moiety). Female descent.

Deedara gab (deep water) borungur were found in various localities, in the Murray River district, and all mumbers of this totem were called Deedaruk. All dead. Manitchmat moiety. Female descent.

Dornt (fish hawk) was the borungur of some Mandura and Pinjarra Tondarup. (The class name Tondarup may have been derived from this.) All these are dead. Manitchmat moiety. Female descent.

Kwenda (bandicoot) was a Ballaruk totem at Koolyagin, Windil being the last member. Wordungmat moiety, female descent.

Ngwarra (black opossum) belonged to the Ballaruk of a district south of Busselton. All its members are dead, except a few half castes. Female descent. Wordungmat moiety.

Gab (water) was also a totem of the Tondarup at Yoordamup, and Molamup, Collie River district. Walbin was the last member. (male descent - partly). Manitchmat moiety.

Hereditary localised borungur members in S.W. genealogies, the borungur alternating with the descent are :-

BORUNGUR	NAME	CLASS	DISTRICT	TRIBE
Waddarn (ma)	Le)MOGAM	Tondarup	Koolinyinup	Bibul
n .	WANDAL	Ballaruk	п	10
n , 1	WINJAN	n		н
" (female)	Wommolu	п	п	п
n	YABURGURT	Tondarup	π.	
n	Waiar	u	u	10
Mung-gaitch	NOLYET	Ballaruk	Moondap	н
II .	BILJA	Tondarup	n	11
n e	YUALBUK	п	n	11
II.	Diwar	n	n	ii
n	MARA	II .		m-
II .	Warngait	Ngagarnook	Kabinyup	п
II.	Waler	п	Koolyalyup	n
n	MOORGAN	Tondarup	Yajjungup	n
•	DEEP	Ballaruk		11
п	Daughter of DEEP	Tondarup	Kebidup	n
n	WEDERN	Ngagarnook	# NEST	n
W	YOORNIL	Tondarup	п	
Malgan	AOOGAT	Ballaruk	Karbungup	
	YOONGUP	Tondarup	п	u e
	NGOOWIR	Ballaruk		n
Yongar	KARIL	Tondarup	Booribirdap	п
	KARIL'S father	Ballaruk		
п	YANGITCH	n		9
Kalda	WEERITCH's			
ALCO MANAGEMENT	father	Ballaruk	Wonnerup	11
	WEERITCH	Tondarup	"	n
	WOOLGURT	Ballaruk		10
	BAABURGURT	Tondarup	n	п
Boolyagur	YALUGURT	Ballaruk	Meckering	Minung
	MOONBAITCH	Tondarup	R	
**	MOONBAITCH children	'S Ballaruk		

BORUNGUR	NAME	CLASS	DISTRICT	TRIBE
Ngarri	BEEJILBER	Gooanuk	Yoonderup	Bibbul
•	BANMUNG	Tondarup	B	
Kooljak	NYEERAMURRA'S father Ballaruk		Moore River	Yangur
•	NYEERAMURRA	Tondarup	H	10
	N'S children	Ngagarnook		
	JABARL	Tondarup		n
u .	Karringurra	Ballaruk	"	n
11	GOOMUR	Tondarup		n
B	MAGAI-YU	Ballaruk		n
Wej	Milak	Ngagarnock	Koolinyinup	Bibul
и	Dolyup		11	n
п	NYINDIL			
п	Nyeerbukan	n	Younderup	10
n	Ngoorjep	tī		п
TI .	BARGIL			17
8	YALUNG	n		W.
п	YOOARJUP	11	Walalup	
n .	GOOMBIL	11		n
Dang-ngail		Ballaruk	Victoria Plains distri	Yangur
Walja		Tondarup	Jir-ngi-ngan, Bibul Boolyagin, etc.	
Men		Ballaruk	Ballardong	Minung
Yongar		Tondarup & Didaruk	u Beverley	
Goomal		Ballaruk	Dandarraga.	
		DETTERM	Goomalung	Yabbaru
Gab gooanuk		Ballaruk	Karragullen, Bebo	n
Maale		Tondarup	Wallwilyup (York dist.)	Minung
Jitil or Jidal		n	Kebidup, nr. Yoonderup	Bibul
Ngook or Ngooga		Ballaruk	Timbered area of S.W.	п
Dornt		Tondarup		H
Deedara gab		Didaruk		n
Kwenda		Ballaruk	Koolyagin	
Ngwarra		n	s. of Busselt	on w
10				-

A. Lang's book

Mr. Eades Frederick

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There appears to be no phratries in the north and northwest.

Lang found in Eaglehawk phratry eaglehawk as totem kin and in kilpara phratry crow as totem kin.

Only in the S.W. are some manitch borungur, no crow totem in the phratry. Only one bird is given as a totem, and it is in the manitch phratry.

Towards the north of S.W. tribes the phratry names appeared to be falling into abeyance; whenever a totem of the same name as the phratry is found, it is in that phratry.

By exogamy and female descent the local groups hereditary totems, wej, say, has members of every other totem except its own. The Ngagarnooks have for generations married wives of other totems and the children of these women had the totems of their mothers and brothers, except in the cases of captured women from far distant tribes whose children received the totem of the hereditary local group.

No crow to marry a crow. The true totem is hereditary and marks the exogamous limit.

The same totem never exists in both phratries. No wej could marry a wej.

No marriage in the animal name of descent, no rain can marry rain, no war a war. The totem of the man is nearer to him than his phratry.

177 The Southern totems, under male descent, become names of groups of locality, and local limits and local names (of places, not totems) become the exegamous bounds.

See 188 re animal names of matrimonial classes, Ngagarnook little fish, ballaruk, opossum, wallaby, Tondarup, fishhawk, didarruk, spear, quail or deep river.

Eaglehawk must marry crow or vice versa.

Within the phratries are kins called by the names of animals or plants.

No phratries in the Eucla area.

Lang, 150 et seq.

Ngagarnook name prevails in Bunbury, Busselton, etc. although

female descent obtains totems and names are given by mother's

brother. The name is the person, the dead or living man it is

his living or dead self. According to the importance of the

totem as food is the regard for the name.

The totem is the elder brother and has its mystic rapport, with the name of the totem the bearer feels himself one with it in a special and mysterious sense.

No pictographs of totems.

How tribal names arose. We are Bibul. They are Minung thadus men. Waddaruk and Jidalyuk may have once been nicknames. These names were first given from without, and adopted later.

One group or tribe calls another by some name derived from the dialect. Mining call Badu, Badu call mulba.

Amongst the totem groups budes were generally peacefully exchanged. First small local groups, then animal names for these, the names becoming totems sanctioning exceamy. Then by exceamy and female descent, each animal named local group becomes full of members of other animal names by descent. Theman approach to peace among all the groups, then peaceful connubium.

The Bibulmun tribes are a set of generally harmonious groups with two phratries and with four sub phratries, two in each phratry. Amongst these are numbers of small local groups each containing members of as many animal names and totems as the groups which they have married into or from, from which each have taken wives.

Regard paid to the totem.

Grey's two names of totem kins from small fish and from opossum. Are the animal names the germ of totemism. They were the names of groups not of individuals, for the totem of an individual died with him.

Mr. Howitt calls these minor totems and major totems.

Wej by local group, snipe by name of maternal descent.

Emu - snipe, emu lizard

Deedar (Bridgetown) means quail or plover. In Swan district hernet.