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SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Mainly Eucla district

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

In all the known tribes of Western Australia there is a definite social organisation which may be classified into a certain number of types.

The Eucla type, apparently anomalous, with evidently no main exogamous groups, possessing only totem-named local tribes, amongst a section of which cross- or first-cousin marriages are the rule.

The Southwestern type, with two main exogamous groups, named respectively Wordungmat and Manitchmat, descent being counted in the female line within a certain area, and in the male line outside that area.

The Southern Cross type, with an anomaly not previously recorded in Australia, of two main groups called Bi-rung-umat and Jua-mat, each group marrying within itself and producing the other group.

The North West type, with four matrimonial classes or divisions, Boorong, Banaka, Kaimera, Paljeri, but with crossings in the marrying pairs amongst the various tribes; with cross cousin marriages obtaining also amongst a section of the tribes included; and with partial sumbergence of the class name into local totemic divisions obtaining in another section.

The Champion Bay type, with local groups, each of which appears to have married within itself, as Nanda (m) = Nanda (f) = Nanda (offspring).

The West Kimberley type, with four matrimonial classes - Boorong, Banaka, Kaimera, Paljeri, the same system of marriage and descent obtaining amongst all the tribes included in the West Kimberley section.

The East Kimberley type, with apparently sixteen matrimonial classes, representing the males and females of the tribes. Jau-al-yi (male), Ngau-a-jil or Ngau-a-jarri (female), Jaggara (male), Ngaggara (female), Jungara (male), Ngan-ja-li (female), Jangala (male), Ngangala (female). The offspring of these have the following names :-

male	female	boys	girls
Jau-al-yi marries	Ngaggara; offspring =	Jungara	Ngan-jali
Uaggara	Ngau-a-jil	Juru	Nyau-a-ru
Jung-ara	Ngang-ala	Jau-al-yi	Ngauajil or Ngauajarri
Jang-ala	Nganjeli	Jam-bi-en	Ngam-bi-en

The Central Areas types, including the Upper Fortescue and Ashburton and part of the Upper Gascoyne, whose four matrimonial classes are :- Boorong, Banaka, Kaimera, Paljeri; part of the Upper Gascoyne and Murchison and Lake Napperu districts, whose divisions are :- Boorong, Burgulu, Kaimera, Paljeri; Lawlers and Lake Way (partly), Northeast of Peak Hill, etc., whose divisions are :- Boorong, Kaimera, Burgulu, Jarruru; Laverton, north east of Laverton, east of Leonora, Eastern Goldfields (Kalgoorlie, etc.) :- Boorong, Kaimera, Ibarra, Tharruru; eastward of Kanowna, Kalgoorlie, Laverton (approximate) :- Boorong, Milanga, Ibarra, Tharruru. Between these and the Eucla tribes the Class names are lost.

The Eucla district, the Southern Cross district and the Champion Bay district present three anomalous systems of social organisation.

In the Eucla district cross cousin marriages obtained in the tribes west of Twilight Cove towards Point Malcolm, but when a scarcity of girls occurred in any tribe, and the law of first cousin marriage could not be carried out, girls from outlying tribes were obtained by capture, by barter of goods, through the exchange of boys for initiation, and by stealing and fighting.

It may be stated here, and this applies to all the known tribes of the West, that although there is a recognised law as regards pairing or marriage in every tribe, I have not yet found a tribe or local group in which some wrong marriage had not occurred, in one generation or another, but that a certain definite system of marriage obtained, the kinship and other special terms applied to "right" and "wrong" marriage, and their consequent relationships, is sufficient evidence, otherwise there would have been no need for those terms to have been included in the various dialects.

The terms used in the Eucla area for a "right" or straight marriage are :- durdana, dumbaribija (betrothed in infancy), yunga manu, kundi i-ja manu; those employed in speaking of a wrong marriage are :- yanna i-jin, yanna, gunminyerra yanna (gunminyerra also means "one people", "friends", "blood relations", "intermarrying families" and "countrymen"; also ngallara and tharburda).

When women are captured or stolen from outside tribes or otherwise obtained, they are called "ngammin" and the sense in which this term is understood by the natives is shown in their application of the word to some of their gunminyerra. If mothers, or sisters, do not give freely of food etc., to their sons and brothers, they are alluded to as "ngammin". Therefore the term ngammin which is applied to captured or stolen women from outside, shows that the family of the woman had given no food, etc., to the man's family into which she was brought.

In the previous chapter it will have been noticed that the various tribes composing the Jinyila (Eucla) Nation apparently overlap each other's territory. The Guyana-um run into the Bungalum waters, and so on with the other neighbouring tribes or local groups. Whether the various tribes had at one time rigidly defined boundaries, beyond which they dared not pass, cannot now be ascertained. The coast district name for the boundaries between the Willyaru (seacoast) people was "kugardi", but Guyana-um passed the kugardi between their ground and the Bungalum territory, and Ngaua-um crossed the kugardi between their "yula" (land, ground) and that of the Ngura-um etc., for their gunminyerra resided in all the Willyaru, and many of the inland tribes. The only definite Kugardi I can discover is that between the tribes east and west of Twilight Cove.

Although in the days before white settlement the law relating to cross-cousin marriages was frequently broken in the manner previously mentioned, there were certain fundamental laws which could not be broken under pain of death. These were : that a man cannot marry a sister, own or tribal; that a man cannot marry a mother's sister, own or tribal; that a man cannot marry a father's brother's daughter, own or tribal;

that a man cannot marry a mother's sisters' daughters, own or tribal; that a man cannot marry a mother's mother's sister, own or tribal. A breach of any of these laws was punishable by death.

I, being a Jinyila man, all my fathers' and my fathers' brothers' children are my jajjalu (brothers) and wal-dhulu or wal-yuru (sisters); all my mothers' and my mothers' sisters' children are my jajjalu and waldhulu; all my brothers' children are my wandi (sons) and wanya (daughters); all my mothers' mothers' sisters are my kabbarli waldhulu; all my fathers' fathers' brothers are my thammo jajjalu. (kabbarli and thammo are used in speaking of the "grandparent" generation.)

In the above laws lies the whole root principle of native kinship. The settlement of the country by the white people, and the safety such settlement affords to the native lawbreaker, has been taken such advantage of by those who are not desirous of keeping up the traditional laws and customs of their forefathers, that the above laws, and every other native law which made for a certain tribal morality are now set aside, and men marry when and whom they like, ignoring all rules, and daringly venturing into districts where, without the protection of the white man, their lives would not be worth a moment's purchase.

The classificatory system of relationships which obtains amongst the Australian aborigines appears to be common amongst many other native races. The following table gives the Jinyila terms of relationships :-

<u>English</u>	<u>Native Male Speaking</u>	<u>Native Female speaking</u>
Father's father	Thammo jajjalu, nyanyalu	Thammo bai-igu
Father's father's brother	Thammo jajjalu	Thammo bai-igu
Father's father's sister	Kabbarli waldhulu	Kabbarli waldhulu
Father's mother	Ngammin, majjelu	Kabbarli ngammin
Father's mother's sisters	Ngammin, majjelu	Kabbarli or thamilba
Mother's mother	Kabbarli waldhulu	Kabbarli waldhulu
Mother's mother's sisters	" "	" "
Mother's mother's brothers	Thamo, nyan-yalu, jajjalu?	Thammo bai-igu ?

Male speakingFemale speaking

Mother's mother's brother's wife Ngammin Kabbarli ngammin

Mother's mother's sister's husband Ngammin, majjelu Majjelu

Collective terms for :- father, mother, father's brothers,
mother's sisters and their families :- ngarrjami; ngallija
(Eyre) (90 Mile)

Father	M'malu	M'malu
Father's brothers	"	"
Father's sisters	Maddarn, ngarri- burdu, yumeri	Maddarn, yumeri
Mother	Yaggulu, wia	Yaggulu, wia
Mother's sisters	" "	" "
Mother's brothers	Bu-balu, (own) yumeri	Bubalu yumeri
Sisters	Narrumba (oldest) Dhugalu (youngest) Waldhulu (generic)	Waldhulu dhugalu (youngest)
Brothers	Ngallinea (own) Jajjalu, dhadhalu, gurdanea	Bai-igu
Sister's husband	Majjelu, yanirba, thanirba	Majjelba
Brother's wife	Majjelu, yalba, tagga	Thammilba
Mother's brother's son	Yannirba	Majjelu
Mother's brother's daughter	Majjelba	Thammilba
Father's sister's son	Majjelu, yannirba, majji	Majjelu
Father's sister's daughter	Majjelba	Thammilba
Wife	Dhugabu, majjelba (own) Ngammin	
Husband		Majjelba, ngammin
Wife (betrothed in infancy)	Dhumbarribijja majji	
Husband " " "		Dhumbarribijja maj- jelba
Wife's sister	Kanjalo, majjelu, yagga, dhammirba, ngammin	
Wife's brother	Majji, yannirba, dhanirba	
Wife's mother	Ngarri-burdu, yumeri, mudu-wuja	
Wife's father	Bubalu yumeri	
Wife's sisters (tribal)	Yagga, ngandudha, walliji, ngandami, ngammin	

	<u>Male speaking</u>	<u>Female speaking</u>
Husband's brother		Majjelba, majji
Husband's sister		Thamilba, kanjalo, dhammirba
Husband's mother		Maddarn yumeri
Husband's father		Bubaly yumeri
Youngest brother	Yarri-erral ("last one"), gurulba (younger), gurdunea (younger)	Manna-warrin
Oldest brother	Dhadhalu	Bai-igu
Mother's father	Thammo majjelu, yannirba	Thammo majjelu
Mother's father's brother	Thammo majjelu	Thammo majjelu
Mother's father's sister	Ngammin, Thammo majjelu	Ngammin, Kabbarli majjelu or thammilba
Mother's brother's wife	Maddarn, ngarriburdu, Yumeri	Maddarn, yumeri
Mother's sister's husband	M'malu	M'malu
Son	Wandi	Wandi
Daughter	Wanya	Wanya
Brother's sons	Wandilu	Wandilu, yumeri
Brother's daughters	Wanyilu	Wanyilu, yumeri
Sister's sons	Wandilu, yumeri	Wandilu
Sister's daughters	Wanyilu, yumeri	Wanyilu
Son's wife	Yumeri	Yumeri
Daughter's husband	"	"
Brother's son's wife	Yumeri, wanya	Wanya
Brother's daughter's husband	Wandi, yumeri	Wandi
Sister's son's wife	Wanya	Yumeri, wanya
Sister's daughter's husband	Wandi	Wandi, yumeri
Son's son	Jajjalu	Majjelu
Daughter's son	Majjelu	Bai-igu
Daughter's daughter	Majjelu	Waldhulu

In the genealogies of the Eucla district, it will be noticed that cross cousin marriages occurred in those families where there were girls and boys born who could be thus paired. It will also be observed that when a man went "outside" for a wife, a woman had to be given in exchange to the tribe from which he obtained his wife. If, say, a Bongurgaum man takes a Kailgaum woman, he is obliged to give his daughter (if he has one) to some one or other of the Kailgaum woman's relations, or his sister, or his mother, as the case may be.

The kinship terms are not only applied to the family groups, but also to the whole of the tribes included under the term "guminyerra", the "friendly" tribes of the Jinyila Nation, whose members have exchanged boys for initiation, and from whose groups women have been captured or stolen or bartered with other local produce from time immemorial. Dhumbaribijja majji, and dhugabu are however terms which a man applies to his own wife or wives and bibi yaggulu to his mother.

A man is either a "blood relation" or a "relation-in-law" of every other man and woman amongst the guminyerra. In his blood relationships are his kabbarli waldhulu (mother's mothers); his thammo jajjalu (father's fathers); his bibi yaggulu (breast mother); his yaggulu (mothers); his m'malu (fathers and fathers' brothers); his jajjalu or dhadhalu (his own brothers and the sons of his fathers' brothers and his mothers' sisters); his waldhulu or walyuru (his own sisters and the daughters of his fathers' brothers and his mothers' sisters); his wandi (his own sons and the sons of his brothers); his wanya (his own daughters and the daughters of his brothers); and again his jajjalu (his own sons' sons and his brothers' sons' sons); and his waldhulu (his sons' daughters and his brothers' sons' daughters).

In the relationships-in-law are his thammo majjelu (mother's fathers); his kabbarli majjelu (father's mothers) or his ngammin (father's mothers); his bubalu (his mother's brothers); his bubalu yumeri (fathers-in-law); his maddarn (father's sisters); ngarriburdu or yumeri (terms used when his maddarn have become his prospective mothers-in-law); his dhumbaribijja majji, dhugabu

(own wife); majjelba, ngammin, yalba, yaggarga (father's sisters' daughters or mother's brothers' daughters) ; his majji, yannirba, dhannirba, majjelu (wife's brothers and father's sisters' sons or mother's brothers' sons); his wandi or wandi yumeri (sisters' sons), his wanya or wanya yumeri (sisters' daughters); (these only become his yumeri when (1) he assists at the initiation of the boy or girl, or (2) the boy or girl marries his own daughter or son.) ; his thammo majjelu (his daughters' sons and his brothers' daughters' sons); his majjelu or ngammin (his daughters' daughters and his brothers' daughters' daughters).

The blood relationships of a woman are :- her thammo bai-igu (fathers' father and father's father's brothers); her kabbarli waldhulu (her mother's mother and her mother's mother's sisters); her bai-igu (her own brothers, and the sons of her father's brothers and her mother's sisters); her m'malu (her father and her father's brothers); her bibi yaggulu and her yaggulu (her "breast" mother and her mother's sisters) ; her waldhulu and dhugalu (her own oldest and youngest sisters and the daughters of her father's brothers and her mother's sisters); her wandi (her own sons and her sisters' sons); her wanya (her own daughters and her sisters' daughters); and her thammo bai-igu (her daughters' sons and her sisters' daughters' sons); her kabbarli waldhulu (her daughters' ^{daughters} and her sisters' daughters' daughters).

The term a woman applies to her relations-in-law are :

her thammo majjelu (her mother's fathers); her kabbarli thammilba or ngammin (her father's mothers); her yumeri bubalu and her bubalu (her mother's brothers who have become her fathers-in-law); and her mother's brothers

her yumeri maddarn and her maddarn (her father's sisters who have become her mothers-in-law and her father's sisters); her dhumbaribijja majji, and her majjelba or ngammin (her betrothed husband and her husband's brothers); her thammilba, dhannirba or kanjalo (her husband's sisters and her brothers' wives' sisters); her wandi or yumeri wandi (her brothers' sons and her brothers' sons to whom she has become mother-in-law); her wanya or yumeri wanya (her brothers' daughters and her brothers' daughters to whom

she has become mother-in-law;) her thammo majjelu (her sons' sons and her sisters' sons' sons); and her kabbarli ngammin or thammilba (her sons' daughters and her sisters' sons' daughters).

Though many of the above terms appear to be applied to the members collectively, and thus seem to point to a former system of group marriage, the individual terms for wife - dhumaribijja, and dhugabu - show that there was individual ownership of women, and also the term bibi yaggulu implies a distinction between a man's own mother and his tribal mothers whom he calls yaggulu only. There is no special term applied to a man's own father as distinguished from his tribal fathers, all of whom were m'malu. The members of the family group - fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, are alluded to

To be continued from rough notes
taken at Eucla.