

**AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION**

David H. Turner

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Preface

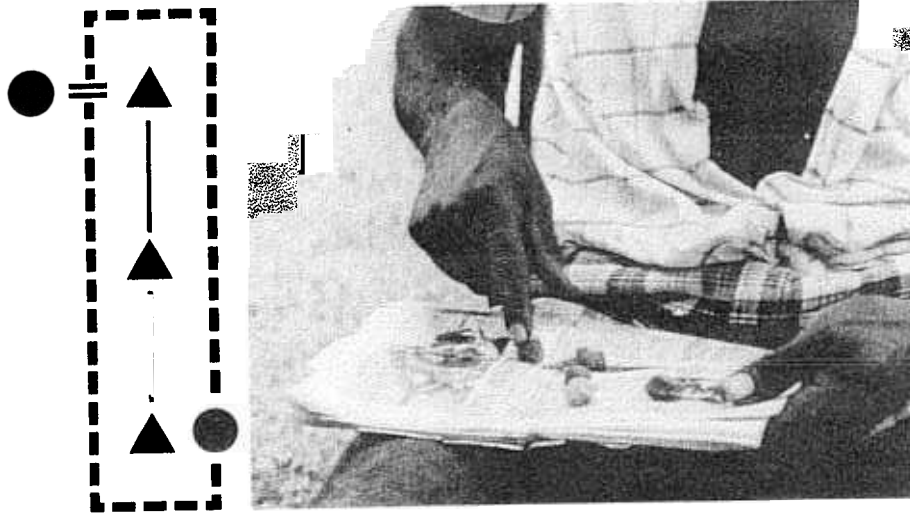
This book grew originally out of a series of lectures given in an undergraduate course on "The Sociology of Aboriginal Australians" in the School of General Studies at the Australian National University in 1972. Its development owes much to the critical response of the students in this class. The manuscript was originally commissioned by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies for publication in a series on the Social Anthropology of the Australian Aborigines. It was submitted in 1974, refereed, and accepted in 1975. However, due to circumstances beyond the Institutes control this series was cancelled and publication delayed indefinitely. Instead, the manuscript was offered to Humanities Press in New York, the Institute's agent in North America.

I would like to thank Peter Ucko, Principal of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies and Simon Silverman, editor of Humanities Press, for their support and efforts in realizing publication of the original manuscript. I would also like to thank Professor R.M. and Dr. C.H. Berndt of the Department of Anthropology, University of Western Australia, Dr. Marie Reay of the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, Dr. N. Peterson also of the A.N.U. and Dr. L.R. Hiatt, Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, for the comments they made on the original manuscript.

A special debt of thanks is owed to Joanne Culley who edited the final manuscript for publication and to my wife Ruth without whose encouragement and continued support the book would not have been written.

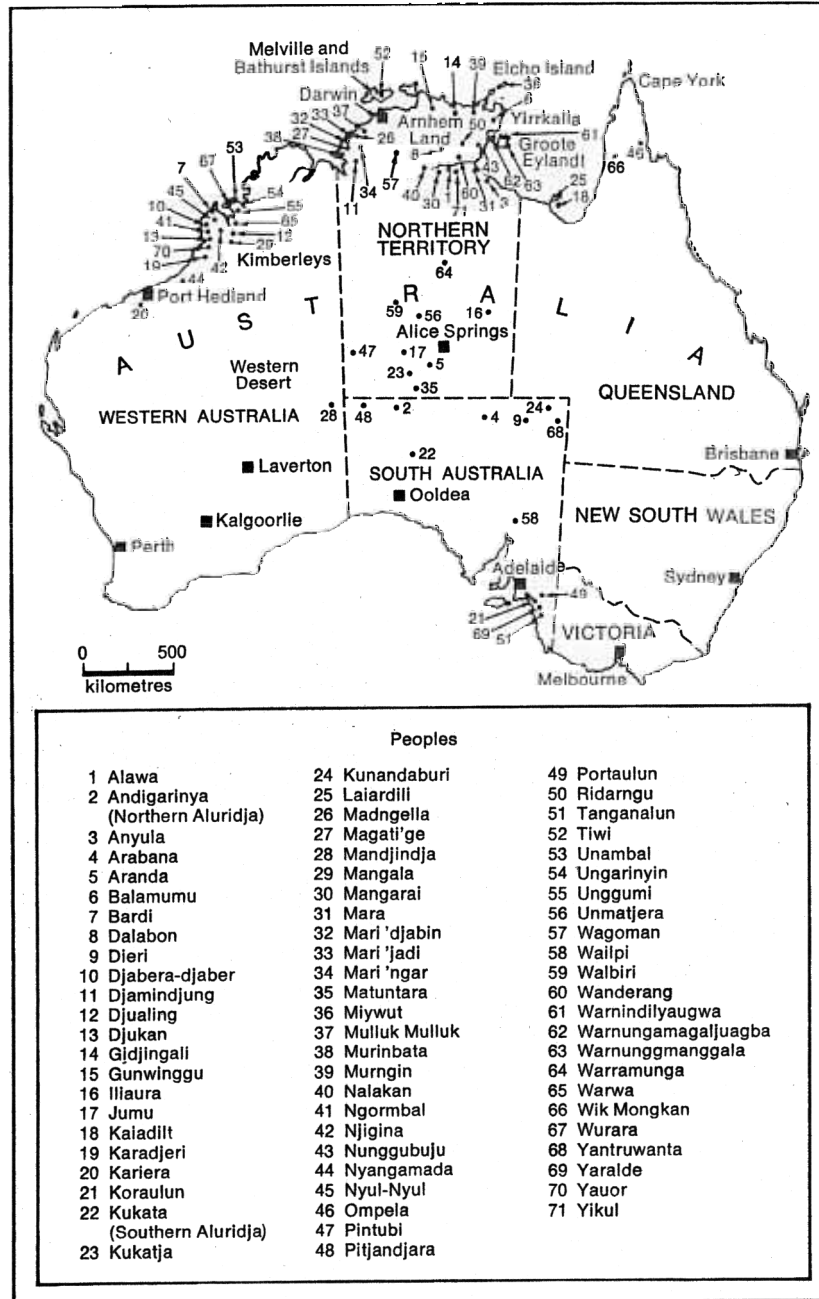
I should also mention that since completing this work I have undertaken a comparative study of Australian and Cree and the results have been published in a monograph entitled "Shamattawa: the structure of social relations in a northern Algonkian band", National Museums of Man, Ottawa, 1977 (with P. Wertman). Papers discussing the theoretical implications of the comparison have appeared in the Canadian journal *Anthropologica*, Vol. XX, Nos. 1-2, 1978 ("Ideology and Elementary Structures"); as Occasional Paper 36 of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1978 ("Dialectics in Tradition"); in the journal *Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift*, Heft 4, 1978 ("Die Ethnographie von Groote Eylandt und eine neue Interpretation der sozialen Organisation der Australier"); and forthcoming in the journal *Bijdragen tot de Tall-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Spring, 1980. The *Bijdragen* . . . paper also explores the Leiden School's connection to the conclusions drawn from the comparative analysis. A paper exploring the economics of clan alliance ("Structuralism, Social Organization and Ecology"), given the findings of this book, is also forthcoming.

David H. Turner
Trinity College



A Bickerton Island Aboriginal's conception of his ideal wife *dadingya*. The stone on the upper left (his point of view) represents a woman in his patri-group two generations in the past. The three stones arranged vertically are three generations of males in the clan she married into. The stone on the lower right is a woman in that group in his own generation — the woman he should take as wife.

MAP 1. Peoples referred to in the text



Preface

Since writing this book I have become aware that key ideas here attributed to Lévi-Strauss and Needham were, in fact, anticipated by members of the Leiden School of Dutch anthropology, a fact acknowledged by both writers. I have explored the "Dutch connection" to the solutions proposed in this book at length in a paper soon to appear as part of a collection commemorating the 50th anniversary of the W.D.O. Disputat at Leiden University, edited by Professor P.E. de Josselin de Jong. Chapters 9 and 10 have since been reprinted as articles in the book *Tribes and Boundaries* (N. Peterson ed., 1975) and in the Journal *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde* (Deel 133, 1977) respectively. The idea that various Australian configurations represent different ways of accomplishing the same ends, introduced in Chapter 11, has since been elaborated in an article to appear in *L'Homme* (summer, 1979).

David H. Turner
March 25, 1979

Theme

This book is based on three assumptions. The first is that the cognatic mode of reckoning descent through ancestors and ancestresses in the ascending generations is universal in Australia. The second is that the territorially-defined land-owning group centred on the continuity of males is also universal. The third is that reciprocity is a general feature of Aboriginal marriage arrangements in the sense that an exchange of spouses between groups is desired even though it may not always be practised. My thesis is that Australian systems of kinship and marriage reflect different alliance arrangements between land-owning groups reckoned over a culturally defined genealogical grid.

Needham describes the relationship between "cognatic" and "lineal" principles of reckoning descent in the following concise terms:

The categories in lineal descent terminologies have absolute, systematic, and distinctive social connotations . . . The categories of a cognatic society, by contrast, represent a contingent means for the recognition of relatives . . . The cognatic recognition of relatives is common to all societies and characteristic of none. It is not that there are two opposed and mutually exclusive modes of organisation — lineal descent and cognation — for lineal descent systems also recognise cognation. The kinship features of lineal descent systems are not at all of the same kind as this cognatic recognition, but are quite distinct social phenomena. Those societies which lack the rule of lineal descent are necessarily left with only the universal feature of cognation.

. . . The terminology of a cognatic society is not so much a jural classification as a means to the genealogical recognition of an individual's kindred; status defined by category is more a matter of degree, and its content in any particular case is contingent upon the consideration of relative age (1966: 28–29).

In Aboriginal societies everywhere a person recognizes a link or bond of some kind, whether physical, spiritual or sociological, between himself and individuals he designates as father, mother, father's father, father's mother, mother's father, and mother's mother, and so on. In this aspect the situation is much the same as in our own society. Where the difference lies is that an Aborigine's cognates also belong to territorially-defined land-owning groups consisting of both males and females but depending on the continuity of males for the persistence of the group (they also belong to other kinds of groups which I will discuss later).

For want of a better term we can say that the land-owning group is

patrilineal, people of both sexes assuming membership in the same group as their father. But, as we shall see, this grouping has a territorial and symbolic dimension as well as a kinship one. Occasionally people are able to alter their group affiliation by residence or consent.

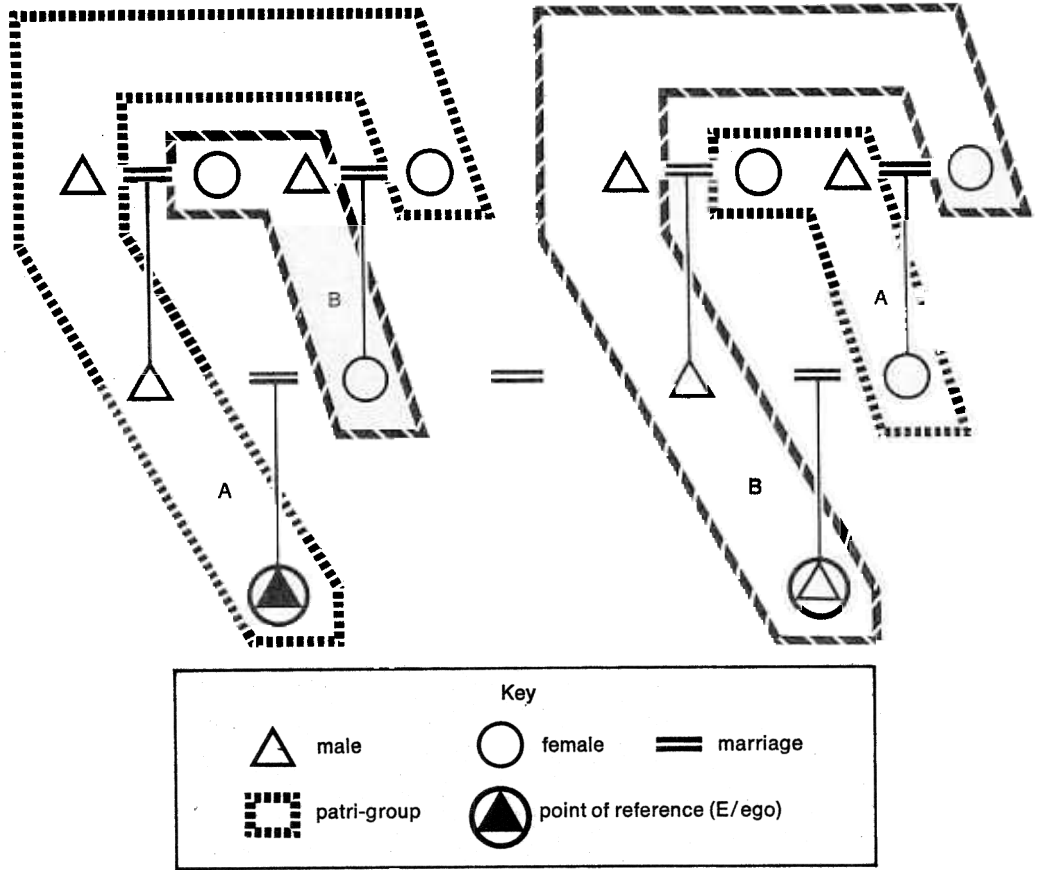
>|| In this book the terms "clan" and "patri-group" will be used synonymously to refer to the land-owning unit and both terms will imply patrilineality.

>|| An Aborigine, unlike a European, finds he is simultaneously related both to a cognate and to his or her patri-group and has relatives who are similarly related to their cognates and their patri-groups. These descent relations may overlap so that one individual finds, for example, that his MM¹ is in patri-group X which is also the group of a relative's FM. My thesis is that it is such interrelations which in Aboriginal societies are the crucial, but not the sole, determinants of the classification of "kin" ("relatives" may be a more appropriate term).

This framework is diagrammed in Figures 1 and 2. Here only two relatives have been selected and only one point of overlap is existent — Ego finds he is in his relative's M's patri-group. Their mode of interrelation is examined under two "classic" exchange conditions, namely direct exchange renewable, on the one hand, in consecutive and, on the other, in alternate, generations. Each enclosure formed by a broken line represents a patri-group and is meant to imply a number of people (in addition to the cognate so designated) who are united by common territorial identifications. The nature of the relationship expressed in Figure 1, given the preferred exchange arrangement, means that Ego will marry a woman in the same "box" as his relative. In Figure 2 he will be precluded from marrying this class of relatives and will instead look to someone in "enclosure" D, his FM's patri-group, or to a relative with a FM in his own "enclosure" or patri-group. Henceforth, a person's patri-group, his cognates and their patri-groups will be referred to as that person's "patri-group family."

By introducing this concept I aim to avoid the confusion which normally arises over the concept "descent" and its cognate "filiation" (see Barnes 1971: 237–50), and to avoid misuse of the term "matrilineal." If "descent" merely refers to transmission of some quality, rights or duties, then an Aborigine is descended from all his cognates and the patri-groups to which they belong. But if by "descent" is meant "the criteria and processes by which group membership is determined" (Buchler and Selby 1968: 69), then one is not *descended* from one's cognates and their groups, apart from one's F and FF, but is merely *filiated* with them. The idea I wish to communicate here is that qualities, rights and duties are transmitted through one's cognates as members of patri-groups and so I will use "descent" in the first sense (following Fortes 1959) and speak of *patri-groups* when I wish to refer specifically to lineal descent groups as such. One is thus descended, for example, from one's MM and her patri-group as well as from one's M and hers. Relationships to these particular individuals and groups should not be phrased as *matrilineal* as they so often are in the Australian literature (see for example, Elkin 1932: 327–28; Meggitt 1962: 194; Stanner 1936: 188).

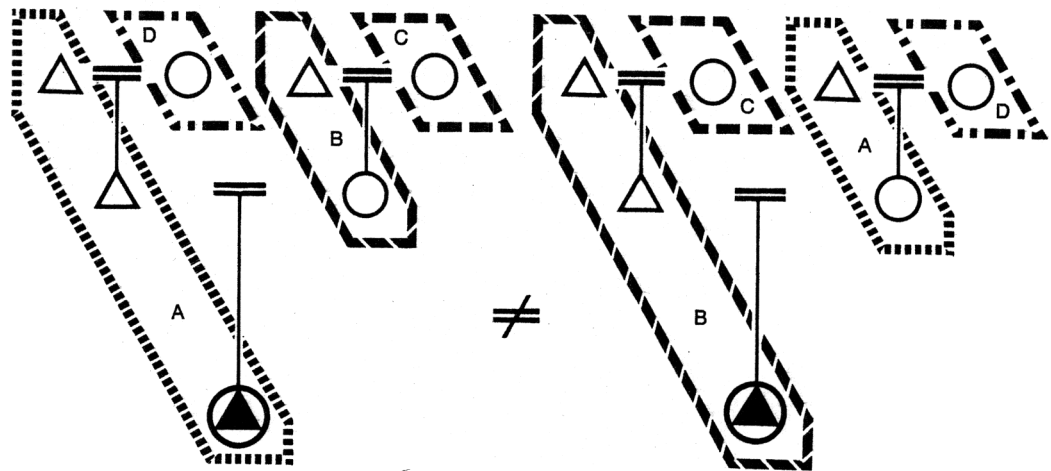
FIGURE 1. Interrelated "patri-group families" under direct exchange renewable in consecutive generations*



Theme

iv

FIGURE 2. Interrelated "patri-group families" under direct exchange renewable in alternate generations



Australian Aboriginal Social Organization

The "patri-group family" is the irreducible unit with which analysis of Australian social organization should begin. Relatives, or "kin" if you like, could now be defined as people in the patri-groups of one's cognates' patri-groups. But the situation is not so simple as this. Relatives are also people in patri-groups mythologically or totemically linked to those of one's cognates or people whose cognates are in patri-groups linked to the groups of one's own cognates.

In order to understand this principle, two forms of alliance need to be distinguished — the *affinal* and the "fraternal." An affinal alliance may be effected by a direct exchange of people between two patri-groups — we give to them and they give to us. Or it may be effected by an indirect exchange in which we give to them, they give to another group and that group gives to us in turn to complete the circle. In Australia direct exchange would seem to be the norm, at least on the level of preference and prescription. A "fraternal" alliance is effected, not by exchange of people, but by the reduplication of a *type* of relation. This is what Lévi Strauss has called alliance by "blood-brotherhood":

It is far from our mind to claim that the exchange or gift of women is the only way to establish an alliance in primitive societies. We have shown elsewhere how . . . the community could be expressed by the terms for "brother-in-law" and "brother" . . . However, the whole difference between the two types of bond can also be seen, a sufficiently clear definition being that one of them expresses a mechanical solidarity (brother), while the other involves an organic solidarity (brother-in-law, or god-father). Brothers are closely related to one another, but they are so in terms of their similarity, as are the posts or the reeds of the Pan-pipe. By contrast, brothers-in-law are solidary because they complement each other and have a functional efficacy for one another . . . their masculine alliance as adults is confirmed by each providing the other with what he does not have — a wife — through their simultaneous renunciation of what they both do have — a sister. The first form of solidarity adds nothing and unites nothing; it is based upon a cultural limit, satisfied by the reproduction of a type of connexion the model for which is provided by nature. The other brings about an integration of the group on a new plane (1969: 483-84).

In Australia, "brotherhood" alliance takes on a fairly unique form with the relation being reduplicated by a totemic operator. The operation itself takes two forms, both of which allow a person and his or her cognates' patri-groups to reach out and embrace the universe. First, different people in different groups may recognize a bond of "brotherhood" between them because they possess a common totem or totems. As Stanner says,

. . . when a particular totem is cited it is as though it were the cardinal number of all the family of sets associated with that number. In this aspect a totem is an *abstract symbol for the possible membership, over all space and time, of the sets of people symbolized by it — the dead, the living, the unborn*. The whole family of sets is "listed" or "mapped" under the abstract symbol and brought into correspondence with it. Any particular instance of

a totem at a place or point of time is, in the symbolic sense, an image of the whole indefinite family of sets. A thoughtful Aboriginal once said to me: "There are Honey People all over the world" (1965: 229).

Stanner cautions against adopting a deterministic position with regard to the relationship between totems and social organization. As he puts it,

Two strangers who discover they are of the same totem may treat each other as class-brothers, if there is no great difference of age, and if there is, then as father-son or grandfather-grandson. But the totem is a sufficient condition, not a determinant, of any such relationship . . . A man does not marry a woman because she is of a different totem. The difference of totem makes marriage permissible for other reasons (1965: 226).

Second, and closely related to the first, a "brotherhood" alliance may also be recognized if two people find themselves in groups whose countries are linked by the track of a common mythological or Dream-time being. Consider Strehlow's remarks on the wanderings of totemic ancestors among the Aranda:²

An old man, for instance, who happened to be a well-known and respected ceremonial chief at one of the great Northern totemic centres, was always sure of a cordial reception at any place in the tribe which had been linked by legends with the ancestral home whose keeping had been entrusted to his own particular care. Thus the ceremonial chief of the renowned honey-ant centre Ljaba³ was a welcome guest amongst any group of natives whose territorial haunts contained local honey-ant centres which had been visited, according to the legends, by migrating honey-ant hordes from Ljaba. The Ljaba chief had . . . the freedom of every great honey-ant ceremonial ground in the Aranda, Unmatjera and Kukatja tribes . . .

It is clear from this account that the strongest links between the various Aranda groups had all been forged, according to native belief, at the dawn of life and time, when their original ancestors were still roaming about on earth. Kinship and friendship by reason of interlinked myths play a very prominent part in the life of the Central Australian native; and this type of "spiritual affinity" finds its most striking expression in the custom of lending the local *tjurunga* to a distant group . . . (1947: 52-53).

As will become apparent later, a "brotherhood" alliance may be formed or rationalized on the basis of a direct link between two peoples on the same track (as in the passage from Strehlow, above), or it may be based on association by implication due to events along a track. In both instances there still results a series of alliances formed or rationalized through the reduplication of a cultural type of relation. As I will demonstrate later, when reduplication within the above cognatic structure occurs at the "parent" level, a Kariera-like system is formed (Figure 1). When it occurs at the "grand-parent" level, the result is an Aranda-like system (Figure 2). But these systems are not the Aranda and Kariera of conventional analysis as constructed by Radcliffe-Brown (1930-31: 46-59) or Elkin (1964: 92-103).

In Figure 1 an indefinite number of . . .

but all would be linked to either group A or group B, such that, for example, had Ego's relative's MM come from patri-group D or X we would find both these groups to be totemically linked to group B. Similarly we would find numerous other groups existent in the society portrayed in Figure 2, but all would be linked to either group A, B, C, or D. Here Ego's relative's MM might be in group X, which could be linked to B or D but should be linked to D. (In a truly Aranda-like system, as we shall see, D will also be linked to B at a higher level — that of the moiety.) Within the above framework of affinal and totemic alliances marriage classes (sections and subsections) prove to be epiphenomena, operating to reinforce alliance relations at the patri-group or clan level.

Now that "relatives" have been located and defined it remains for us to introduce a further distinction made universally in Australia between "near" and "distant" — "close" and "far-away" — relatives, and to introduce the concept of generation level. On both counts I turn to my own research in eastern Arnhem Land for an initial formulation of the meanings of these concepts.

The Aborigines of the Groote Eylandt area of eastern Arnhem Land, conventionally known as the Nunggubuyu and Warnindilyaugwa, both of whom operate in a manner similar to the Aranda, distinguish two types of relatives — those they call *augudangwa* or "close" and those they call *auwilyagarra* or "far-away" (Turner 1974: 16, 38–39). A "close" relative is one who has a cognate in one's own patrilineal group, and a "far-away" relative is one with no cognate in one's group (usually reckoned over three generations). Where there are only four such groups in the system, as among the Bickerton Island Aborigines of the Groote Eylandt area, all relatives will, of course, be "close." In fact, among the Bickerton Islanders where the professed ideal was island endogamy but where considerable island exogamy was practised, all people from Bickerton patri-groups were considered "close" relatives. Here, "closeness" was based on the *belief* in actual island endogamy at some point in the past beyond genealogical memory. In terms of marriage then, a "close" relative may be someone in a group which is nearby geographically and whose members are likely to have married into one's own patri-group, or someone with a cognate actually in one's group. The Bickerton people consider all Groote Eylandt and adjacent mainland people "far-away" unless it can be shown that they had a Bickerton cognate within genealogical memory. Thus a geographically "close" relative is simultaneously one in a group which has recently been affinally aligned with one's own.

Similar distinctions between "close" and "far-away" relatives have been noted for other Aboriginal societies in the literature, but only rarely have these concepts been rigorously defined. This is, perhaps, because a direct translation of the Aboriginal word results in the English equivalents "close"-"far-away," "near"-"distant," terms which are also used in the realm of European kinship. Here the connotations are strictly genealogical, which may have unfortunate implications for our understanding if we translate them directly. The difficulty anthropologists have had when attempting to comprehend these distinctions is clearly illustrated in the following comments by Scheffler on Thomson's Wik Mongkan and Ompela material:

Thomson reports that although Ompela denote their genitors as well as certain other types of kin by the term *pipi*, they may (if need be) distinguish terminologically between their genitors and at least two other kinds of *pipi* (see p. 3). This shows that the term is polysemic, i.e., that it designates not just one but several categories which obviously are semantically related to one another. These categories are distinguished on the basis of the genealogical distances of their respective members from ego. Although it is not clear from Thomson's account exactly how the latter two categories, close and distant, are distinguished from one another, i.e., just how far removed a kinsman must be before he is considered distant, this distinction does seem to depend in part on clan affiliation. Thus members of ego's own clan and his mother's clan are considered close kin (see p. 3), though it is not clear from Thomson's statement that all other relatives are considered distant kin (1972a: 38).

That Aborigines in general simultaneously imply genealogical and geographical distance when they use terms corresponding to "close" and "far-away" in relation to kinship, is mentioned throughout the literature. For instance, note the following remarks by Elkin on the Karadjeri of the Kimberley Division, Western Australia:

Thus it is that in arranging a marriage, the chief consideration is to find a mother-in-law in a horde which is not closely bound to the suitor's horde by blood ties or by nearness of locality — to get, as the natives say, a mother-in-law from "little bit long way" both in blood and locality. And even though a man marries his own mother's brother's daughter (I found seven cases of this amongst the Karadjeri), he only does so if mother's brother's wife satisfies these conditions (1932: 304–05).

Of the Gunwinggu, R.M. and C.H. Berndt (1970: 87) write that "even though genealogical proximity is significant" in reckoning "closeness,"

... it can be offset by other factors. One is territorial affiliation. Two men from the same or adjacent small territories or cluster of named sites are "brothers" even if no genealogical links can be traced. Each is "close father" to the other's sons, and may be acknowledged as "closest father" if no "father" from a common grandparent is living. Ideally, the territorial bond is indicated and symbolized in the sharing of the same *gunmugugur* and *igurumu*, or, at the next level of closeness, in being "company," "mixing together" in one large territory or adjoining small ones. The fact of being neighbours is important in itself, but mythical and ritual connections are even more so.

The theoretical implications of the concepts "close" and "far-away" were anticipated but never fully explored by Radcliffe-Brown. Speaking generally about Australian social organization he says,

By reason of the patrilineal descent of the horde all the nearest relatives in the direct male line of any person are to be found in his own horde. Similarly all his nearest relatives through his mother in the male line are to be found in his mother's horde. Consequently the hordes play an important part in the kinship system in the clas-

sification of the relatives of an individual into near and distant. So much is this so that when natives speak of "distant" relatives they combine in the one conception both genealogical remoteness and geographical distance (1930-31: 438-39).

When alliance "distance" is recognized as an integral part of the meaning of "closeness" in an Aboriginal context, the apparent ambiguity of the concept disappears. Because marriage is simultaneously a relation between individuals and groups, because those groups are territorially defined, and because marriages were normally contracted within a fairly narrow range, a geographically close patri-group (if it is not linked in the same "brotherhood" group) is likely to have entered into an affinal alliance relation with one's own. This yields "close" relatives with cognates in one's own patri-group. A geographically distant patri-group, however, is not so likely to have done so and therefore is unlikely to be a group whose members have cognates in one's own patri-group. Thus, these are "far-away" relatives.

We have seen that within the framework offered here the patri-group is not only the unit primarily involved in the giving and taking of spouses in Aboriginal society. It also enters in the kin classification process, the categorization of people into "near" and "distant" relatives and, as I am about to show, forms the basis of an arrangement of people into generation-level groupings.

On this question of generation levels we will have to settle for a less adequate definition than was the case for "far-away" and "close" relatives. We are more certain of what generation divisions are *not* than of what they are, and even less certain of the logic of their construction. We do know that "generation levels... are not reckoned in terms of chronological age" (R.M. and C.H. Berndt 1968: 88), nor are they simply "an extension or reflection of the parent-child bond" (*ibid.*: 88). The Berndts see them rather as "formal divisions, hinging on relative status" (*ibid.*: 88). That is, generations are not so much made up of individuals in Aboriginal society as of groups, and within a particular group a number of individuals considered on the equivalent generation level share a common status. How is this status defined?

In eastern Arnhem Land generation levels within a clan are calculated from the vantage point of a common ancestor or ancestors who called one another "brother." Equivalent levels between clans are calculated in terms of ideal marriage alignments in the distant past given knowledge of the appropriate levels within patri-groups. Thus, because the FFFF of a particular group of people within a clan whose cognates have the same alliance histories, *should* have married into another particular clan (regardless of where they actually did marry) the SSSS of the great-great grandfathers in both groups should now be exchanging sisters and are therefore on an equivalent generation level. From this all other generation relations between other clans can be deduced (see Turner 1974: 35). Generation divisions, then, seem to be concerned with status positions relative to marriage. This accords with the general practice in Aranda-like systems (Figure 2) of applying the same subsection label to people in alternate generations⁴ in the same patri-group as well as,

In such systems people in the same subsection should be marrying into the same patri-group, or a patri-group totemically linked to this patri-group (see Variation 5).

Considering now the overall framework in which social relations are ordered in Aboriginal Australia (Figures 1 and 2) and incorporating the concepts of "brotherhood" linkage, "close" and "far-away" relatives, and generation level, two extreme possibilities present themselves as far as alliance relations are concerned. On the one hand, the people of any particular patri-group may choose to marry their own members, i.e., they will choose to marry their "closest" relatives. Since the resulting relations are only reproducible within the patri-group, this possibility precludes the establishment of "brotherhood" relations in the larger society. At the other extreme, the men in a patri-group may decide to marry into a patri-group with which their own has had no previous affinal relationship. In terms of our framework this means they would wish to avoid marrying any of their cognates' patri-groups — that is, they would wish to marry not only outside the "patri-group family" but also outside the father's "patri-group family," his father's "patri-group family," and so on. Within the logic of this system each new alliance formed leads to the incorporation of the wife's group into the "brotherhood" of the husband's, thereby precluding future affinal alliances between them. The result would be an ever-expanding network of mechanical ties combined with nonrenewable and ever more distant organic ties.

Theoretically, both these polar situations can be seen as representing extreme "solutions" to the problem of survival in the most basic terms. In precontact Aboriginal Australia threats to existence would have arisen from a variety of sources — from a particularly harsh environment and unreliable food supply in the face of a stone technology, from the relative isolation of patri-groups and bands (composed of the males of a patri-group, their wives and unmarried children) often spread over vast areas, and from occasionally vengeful and belligerent outsiders whose customs possibly differed qualitatively from one's own and who sometimes found themselves with a deficit of suitably related marriageable women. Theoretically at least, patri-group endogamy — the ultimate in mechanical reproduction — would achieve maximum solidarity within the patri-group, but at the same time would lose all wider organic ties of reciprocity and mechanical ties of allegiance by isolating the group from the larger society. Such endogamy might also achieve maximum economic security at the local level by developing a continuous population of both sexes with an intimate knowledge of the local area, but at the expense of political security within the larger society.

Exogamy outside one's own and male ancestors' "patri-group families," on the other hand — the ultimate in mechanical extension — would not create such close ties within the patri-group as endogamy but would achieve the widest possible range of organic-like relations and most comprehensive network of mechanical ties with the larger society. While economic security within the local area would not be based on the same degree of intimacy as under endogamy, ties with other local areas would compensate for this as would the degree of political security achieved in the society as a whole (*cf.* Maddock 1972: 35-42, 64-67).

1 "Brotherhood" group endogamy

Kaiadilt

According to Tindale, the Kaiadilt were divided into eight unnamed patrilineal, patrilocal *dolnoro* or territorially defined "herds" (Tindale 1962: 273). These were in turn grouped into four larger units (*ibid.*: 274) *dolnoro* "T" is partly in "north" and partly in "east". After pointing out that "inter-*dolnoro*" marriages are probably all on a one for one exchange basis (*ibid.*: 307), that is, symmetrical, Tindale remarks on a striking and very unusual feature of the Kaiadilt system:

In the larger *dolnoro* a proportion of the women are kept in marriage within the *dolnoro* of their male parent. This type of endogamous marriage has a sanction, as being the best one, by men of *dolnoro* S, T and U and X, although men of the other *dolnoro*, whose numbers are fewer, consider other marriage ways are better. In 122 listed marriages 26 or 21 per cent were endogamous, i.e., were within the *dolnoro* (*ibid.*: 308).

Tindale estimated that each horde or *dolnoro* formerly embraced "some ten to thirty people," although by 1947 the total Kaiadilt population had been reduced to 58 from a peak of 123 in 1942, a ratio of 1.7 persons per square mile of land and reef area (*ibid.*: 275, 299-300, 304). This decline appeared mainly due to "inter-horadal conflicts, accidental drownings by loss of small rafts during inter-island crossings, a long continued drought of serious effect, and finally an abnormal tide or tidal wave in February 1948" (*ibid.*: 298).

At first glance his account seems to present a clear-cut case of patri-group endogamy — a polar type in our model. However, closer examination of Tindale's genealogical data (*ibid.*: 319-36) in the light of other published works on the area, prevents us from drawing this conclusion. The main question raised is whether, in fact, the *dolnoro* is the land-owning, theoretically exogamous, unit in Kaiadilt society as Tindale believes. First, Tindale's data show that offspring are sometimes placed in *dolnoro* other than their father's, and that people in different *dolnoro* have the same birth place and/or totem. Furthermore, when marriage is considered on a totemic, rather than *dolnoro* basis, only four of 122 marriages are endogamous, and two of these are questionable. Except for one of these questionable cases, no two people within the same *dolnoro* with the same totem have intermarried. Seen in relation to information provided by Sharp (1935, 1939,

Most Australian peoples, of course, have opted for a solution somewhere between the two extremes of marriage within the patri-group and marriage forever outside the groups one's ancestors have married into: between no "brotherhood" ties and universal "brotherhood" ties. These latter, unlike alliances through marriage, are suspended in time and remain forever unaffected by the vagaries of reciprocity politics. In fact, functionally, this form of alliance would seem to take the place of patri-group endogamy, and its benefits are basically the same as would accrue to this kind of "solution."

Any *actual* "solution" will, of course, be contingent on particular circumstances and culturally specific problems, which often means that the society in question is unable to realize its theoretical potential.

"Theoretical potential" here refers to the design of rules and models on the "mechanical" or cultural level of reality, as opposed to practices and frequencies of actual behaviour on the "statistical" level (see Levi Strauss 1968 b: 283-89). The fact that the following analyses will relate mainly to the level of Aboriginal theory is partly dictated by the available ethnographic sources which have placed more emphasis on the ideal rules for behaviour than on the extent to which these ideals are realized in practice, often assuming, quite wrongly, an isomorphic relation between the two levels.

Although the vast majority of Australian societies have adopted a compromising attitude in choosing between the benefits of patri-group endogamy or of ever-expanding "patri-group family" exogamy and their associated "brotherhood" types, there is evidence to suggest that the extremes have been approximated in practice, or at least have been entertained as imagined possibilities by some Aboriginal peoples. Toward the "marrying-in" end of the scale as defined here are two cases — the Kaiadilt of Bentinck Island, southwestern Queensland, and the Warnung-mangala of Groote Eylandt. Toward the "marrying-out" end are the Yaralde, late of the Murray River estuary.

Notes

1. Mother's mother. Other notations used throughout this book are F (father), B (brother), Z (sister), S (son), D (daughter), C (children or offspring), E (elder), Y (younger), W (wife) and H (husband), m.s. (male speaking), f.s. (female speaking).
2. The location of these people and all those discussed in this book is found on Map 1.
3. While original spellings of Aboriginal words have been retained, some modifications have been made, such as eliminating complex diacritics, to facilitate publication.
4. That is, in the first ascending (1a) and first descending (1d) generations; and in E/ego's (o), the second ascending (2a) and second descending (2d) generations.

5 Direct exchange renewable in alternate generations

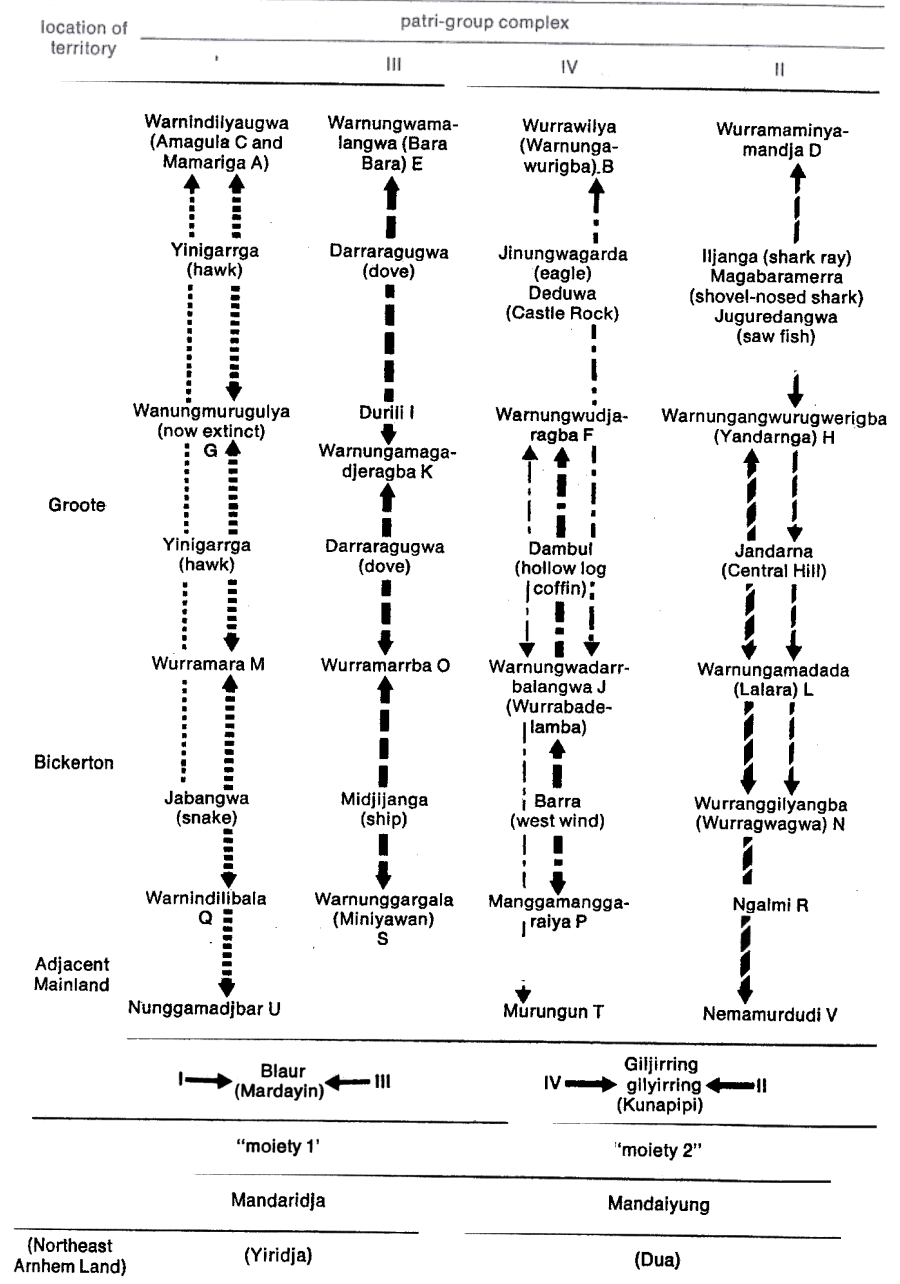
Eastern Arnhem Land

The first example of our fifth variation is the Aborigines of the eastern Arnhem Land area of northern Australia who traditionally occupied Groote Eylandt, Bickerton Island and the adjacent mainland between the Walker and Rose Rivers.⁶ These people are organized into twenty one named patrilineal clans linked into four unnamed complexes or "brotherhood" groups. These, in turn, are linked on a higher level into two exogamous groupings of two clan complexes each (Figure 7). The adjacent mainlanders' moieties are named whereas the islanders' are not. The seven adjacent mainland clans refer to themselves collectively as the Nunggubuyu while the five Bickerton clans call themselves Yarnungamagalyuagba (we Bickerton Island people) and are called Warnungamagalyuagba (they Bickerton Island people) by the Nunggubuyu and Groote Eylandters respectively. The nine Groote clans have no collective name for themselves although they are designated by the Nunggubuyu as Warnindilaugu and by the Bickerton people as Warnindilyaugwa. However, from the Groote peoples' points of view these are merely names for the largest clan on the island. I will, however, use Warnindilyaugwa as a short-hand way of designating the Groote Eylandt Aborigines.

The Nunggubuyu now live primarily at the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) Numbulwar Mission (established 1952) near the Rose River on the mainland and at Ngukurr on the Roper River to the south (established 1908 as a C.M.S. mission). Most of the Bickerton people are at the C.M.S. Angurugu Mission (established 1943) on Groote Eylandt (372 of 417 in 1969), and the majority of Warnindilyaugwa at Umbakumba Settlement (established 1938) on the opposite side of the island (295 of 409 in 1969). The Groote-Bickerton population just before permanent settlement in the early 1940s has been estimated at between 300 and 350 (Rose 1960: 12), a ratio of one person for every three square miles. In 1953 the population was 450, and in 1969 it was 667. In 1953, the Numbulwar population was 129 and by 1969 it had grown to 317 (including a small contingent of "Balamumu" from northeastern Arnhem Land).

Mythological tracks criss-cross eastern Arnhem Land to link various clans into "brotherhood" alliances, implying exogamy. On some occasions the links formed by direct means involve the operation of a common mythological being on the territories of two or more clans; on others the means are indirect involving the principle "things

FIGURE 7. Groote Eylandt area patri-groups arranged by location and mythical linkage



connected to the same thing are connected to each other." In either case, the people in the clans concerned, on the same generation level, *should* call one another by the kin terms which include brother and sister. (This ideal is much weaker at the moiety level than at the clan complex level.) Within this framework, an exchange of women is preferred with the same group in alternate generations but is prohibited in consecutive generations. The following is a summary of the beings and tracks linking clans into the four complexes and the two moieties (read in relation to Map 2).

Clan Complex I

Hawk (●●●●)

In the country of the Wurramara [M], Hawk speared the sandstone cliffs, Malurba, causing boulders to fall into the sea. Malurba thundered his rage and Hawk flew off toward Groote Eylandt. At Muwarndamandja (Jagged Head, Murugulya [G] country) he speared the cliff again and flew on, this time to Warnindilyaugwa country [A]. At Manggala, he speared the rock cliffs again and there he remains.

Rainbow Snake (-----)

Two mighty snakes live in the sea. They created deep channels in the water called *madalyuma*. one snake stretching himself all the way from the Amagula River [C] to Wurramara country on Bickerton [M] and the other between Nunggamadjar [U], Warnindilibala [Q] and Wurramara [M] country close to the mainland. The *madalyuma* curves calm and smooth and shiny from the fat of the snakes' bodies. Up and down those snakes continually plough back and forth, sometimes in, sometimes out of their channel, forming reefs and points of land as they go.

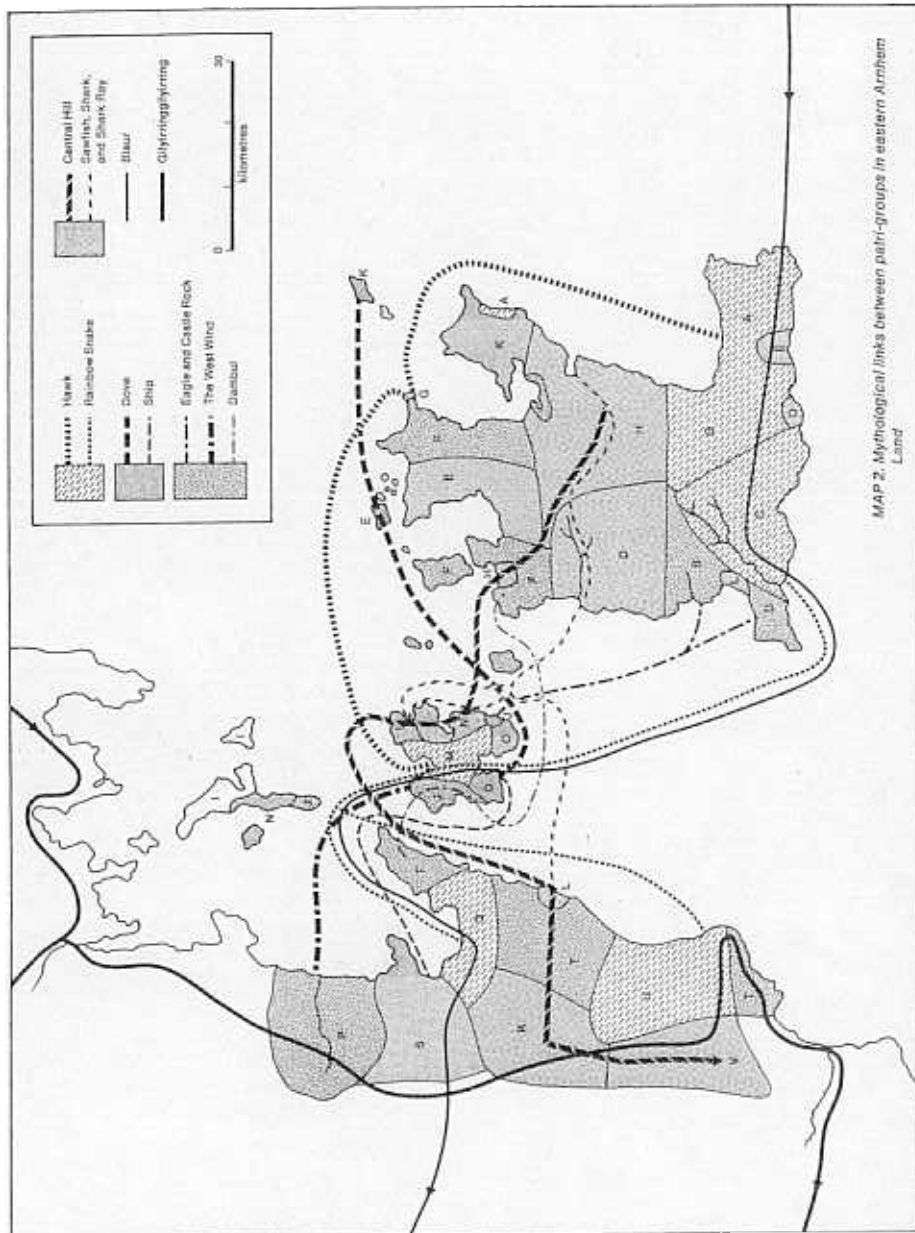
Clan Complex III

Ship (---)

From the country of the Mirniyawan [S] on the mainland ancestral spirits journeyed to Wurramarrba country [O] on Bickerton Island. There they chopped down a tree and constructed a boat, tying it together in customary fashion with rope. But when they pulled it out into the sea, the rope broke and they left it there where it can be seen today.

Dove (■ ■)

Dove was flying from Yimbiya (in Wurramarrba country [O] on Bickerton Island) pulling a string; but the string broke. At Arrarrarra on the east side of Wurramarrba territory she fixed that string and flew on. She flew on and on until Wurramarrba country disappeared far behind. Finally she came to rest on Chasm Island in Warnungwamalangwa country [E]; but from there heard the distant cry of another dove. So off she flew to North East Island (Warnungamagadjeragba territory [K]) with a feathered armband in her beak, met the other dove, mated, and eventually had a baby.



Clan Complex II

Central Hill (—)

Central Hill's journey began in Nemamurdudi country [V] at Bamburruri and took him eastward to Groote Eylandt through Ngalmi [R] and Warnungamadada countries [L] on the mainland and on to Bickerton Island. At every place, he sank into the muddy soil. At Aburrgmadja in Warnungamadada country [L] he emerged from the water and cut across land right through to Angilyangba [N] territory where he met the woman Dimimba. Again he sank into the mud. To lighten his load, he dropped off some rocks (his sons) and struggled away, digging yams with Dimimba and sewing wild apple trees and *mamilyana* (a root vegetable) in the vicinity. Again he sank into the mud. Leaving Dimiba behind he turned east for Groote. Enraged, Dimimba threw spears after him (creating an island where they landed), sobbed, and gashed her brow. Then, she and her sons followed, spreading with them the Anindilyaugwa language and custom of wearing paperbark dresses. But Dimimba eventually returned to her home on Bickerton.

Central Hill, meanwhile, landed at Amalyigba but again found it too muddy. Leaving more sons behind in the middle of that mangrove swamp, now to be seen in the form of rocks, he dragged himself off and finally came to rest at Garangara (in Warnungangwurugwerigba territory [H]), a comfortable, dry spot where he could catch many fish and see for miles.

Sawfish, Shark and Shark Ray (- -)

Sawfish, Shark, and Shark Ray travelled to a place in Warnungamadada country on the mainland [L]. From there they swam, together or in turn cutting a channel through the water all the way to Warnungamadada and Wurrangilyangba [N] countries on Bickerton Island. Shark Ray led from there, cutting a channel to the mouth of the Angurugu River [D]. Then Shovel-nosed Shark took his turn and tried to split the country. But for him it was too difficult. So Sawfish, with his sharp nose and teeth, took the lead and opened up the Angurugu River cutting right across the island. He carved out the Angwurugwerigba River and all three swam round and round in Lake Hubert (Warnungangwurugwerigba country [H]).

Clan Complex IV

Eagle and Castle Rock (-

Eagle flew from Anemurremadja in the country of the Warnungwadarrbalangwa [J] and sat on two little rocks off the coast. From there eventually he flew all the way to South Point in Warnungawurigba country [B], seeing and doing many things. On his journey he met Castle Rock, his FZ. She had come to shore from an unpleasant spot, she said, deep in the ocean. She was old and tired and weak, yet she struggled from place to place (in Warnungawurigba country) to find a comfortable home. Finally she could go no further, put down her load, rested, and gazed around. It was a good place and there she stayed.

Dambul --)

In Murungun country [T] spirits of the dead constructed from paperbark a log coffin and decorated it with parrot feathers. Pulling it by rope, they went on a long journey passing through Warnungwadarrbalangwa [J] country on Bickerton and Warnungwudjaragba country on Groote Eylandt [F], stopping at many places along the way dancing and performing rituals. People followed after them, making the log coffins and dancing as the spirits had done before them.

The West Wind (•—)

The West Wind came from the country of the Manggamanggaraiya [P], to Warnungwadarrbalangwa country [J] on Bickerton Island. After resting there for a while he flew over to Groote Eylandt, and landed in Warnungwudjaragba territory [F] (not traced on map).

Moiety 1 (Clan Complexes I/III)

Blair (—)

Blair came from the west travelling through Dilyargurba [A] toward the Amagula River [C], singing as he went. There he looked northward and saw Ambugwamba [K] and called its name. He met no people there. Continuing, he travelled to Wurramarrba country [O] on Bickerton where he saw men sleeping by their fire. Without waking them he passed on and met some Wurramara people [M], but he did not reveal his identity to them. From a hill top there, he saw and called the name of Chasm Island [E]. Then again he turned west, following the snake's channel, and arrived at Wurindi [Q]. Straight on to Mirniyawan country [S] he travelled and stopped for a drink, but was stung there by a fish. Frightened, he left the area. Two large dogs joined him on his journey as he sighted Nunggamadjbar [U] country to the south. Finally he reached the land of the Ridarngu far inland where he put down the tapping sticks and burrawong seeds brought from Groote Eylandt and related his adventures to the people there.

Moiety 2 (Clan Complexes II/IV)

Gilyirringilyirring (—)

A large group of men and women came journeying down from the north, singing and dancing. They passed through Manggamarygaraiya [P], Ngalmi [R] and Nemamurdudi [V] countries (and some also say Nunggamadjbar [U]). At Randjeridj (in Murungun country [T]) they turned and saw South Point (land of the Warnungawurigba [B]) which they sang about briefly. Then they turned south and continued their journey.

A close examination of Map 2 reveals a number of additional linkages which might, at first glance, appear to contradict the "mythological linkage into 'brotherhood' alliance" principle of which the above tracks are said to be an expression. These are the areas carved out within the territories of particular patri-groups and which are similarly rationalized on the basis of the travels of mythological beings — in fact many of the same beings given above. They are therefore suggestive of "brother-

hood" linkages between the patri-group owning the larger area of territory and the patri-group associated with the mythological being which has operated on the smaller territory. An outline of these "countries within countries" and the totemic beings involved is presented below:

Warnindilyaugwa country in the northeast of Groote Eylandt

It is said only that two men, one Warnungamagadjeragba, the other Warnindilyaugwa, were out for a walk one day. They decided one part of the country they were in to be Warnungamagadjeragba [K] and the other part, Warnindilyaugwa [A].

Warnungwamalangwa country on the south coast within Warnindilyaugwa territory

On part of his journey, the Warnungwamalangwa porpoise went from Chasm Island [E], where she was bitten by a shark, underneath Groote Eylandt eventually emerging in a billabong in Warnindilyaugwa country [A] in the south of Groote. This and the surrounding area are consequently considered Warnungwamalangwa territory.

Warnungangwurugwerigba territory within the area of the Warnungwudjaragba

This was mentioned in the story of Central Hill as the area Amaljigba. Where Central Hill landed is still considered Warnungangwurugwerigba territory [H].

Warnungmurugulya territory at Jagged Head on the coast of Warnungwudjaragba country

This was mentioned in the story of the hawk.

Wurramaminyamadja territory on the south side of Groote Eylandt within Warnindilyaugwa country

Mythological link not known.

Wurramaminyamandja and Warnungamadada territory on southwest coast of Groote in Warnungawurigba country

Mythological link not known.

Warnungawurigba territory at Thomson's Bay within Warnungagnurugwerigba territory

Sometimes it is said that Castle Rock (see above) travelled to this place. Sometimes it is said she had two sisters and that the rocks here are the manifestations of one of them. And sometimes Eagle is said to have travelled here. Nevertheless, this still rationalizes ownship by the Warnungawurigba [B].

In all of the above cases, the smaller areas belong to patri-groups in different clan complexes and even different moieties from the patri-groups owning the larger areas in which they are contained, thereby apparently contradicting the principle of "brotherhood" linkage by common mythological affiliations. But what is significant here is that these small parcels of land have been singled out as *belonging to another patri-group* by virtue of the operation of a totemic being principally associated with this other group in another group's territory. In the case of the other mythological tracks dealt with earlier, such beings were seen

were not claimed by the group *principally* associated with the being.

What I would hypothesize is that such claims to territory within territory are only made when two or more patri-groups decide to alter the nature of their alliance relationship such that, for example, they no longer wish to regard one another as "brothers" but perhaps as "mothers-in-law," or even as "wives" or "brothers-in-law." Rather than being a claim to land, or even expressing inalienable rights to land as implied above, the carving out of such territories is the masking of an implicit cultural contradiction. The problem is how does one maintain a belief in the nature and function of mythological reality in the face of changing social relationships? How can men alter a relationship fixed once and for all in the Dreamtime by the creative beings? The "solution" as I see it is to create "countries within countries," thereby eradicating the "brotherhood" linkage yet maintaining intact the knowledge of the ancients.

It is much easier within the Aboriginal scheme of things to rationalize and form new linkages than it is to eradicate old ones. Signs may become apparent in the environment that certain mythological beings, whose presence was hitherto unknown to the local people but which were associated with certain other patri-groups, had in fact visited their territory, thereby implying that a "brotherhood" relationship should exist between themselves and the members of the other group on the same track. Such a process is happening today among the Groote Eylandt and Bickerton Island Aborigines with respect to the Kunapipi track.

One moiety (Mandaridja) already has its linking being — the man Blur or Djadjabul — associated with Mardaiyin mythology and ritual. The other moiety has not. Their clans are only indirectly linked by virtue of each of their two clan complexes being linked to two Nunggubuyu patri-groups which are themselves in different clan complexes but linked on the moiety level by the travels of the Gilyirringgilyirring beings associated with Kunapipi. During their travels from north to south (from the eastern Arnhem Landers point of view), they are said to have stopped at a place called Randjeridj on the mainland (Map 2, area [T]), and looked across to Groote seeing its southwest part in the country of the Warnungawurigba patri-group (area [B]) in the Groote moiety equivalent to the Mandaiyung. Signs are now becoming apparent to Groote and Bickerton ritual leaders that the Gilyirringgilyirring travelled by boat during part of their journey at Randjeridj and it is only a short step from this to realizing a more direct connection between the relevant island groups.

To return to the question of "covering up" old alliance patterns by creating "countries within countries," there is concrete evidence supporting this interpretation and I would like to cite three examples. First, there are the Durili, former members of a northeast Arnhem Land "phratry" (Warner 1964: 35) who migrated to Groote via Woodah Island in the pre-White past and were incorporated as a patri-group linked to the Warnungamagadjeragba. Eventually the Warnungamagadjeragba came to be associated with the Nunggubuyu Mandaridja moiety through the mythological track of Blur and thus the Ridarngu Yiridja moiety of the Arnhem Land interior.

In the context of northeast Arnhem Land society, however, the Durili

and Groote people. Banjo, a Bickerton/Nunggubuyu ritual leader of the Warnungamadada clan (Mandaiyung moiety), had been instrumental during his lifetime — through most of the mission period on Groote — in trying to organize a movement to relocate the Durili in the opposite moiety (linked to the Dua). When he died, this endeavour was continued by his eldest son. Negotiations are still continuing but there is a reluctance among those clans looking to the Durili for wives over the next two generations to allow the changeover. What the Durili's position is on the mainland is of little concern to most of the local people not yet well versed in Kunapipi moiety ideology nor yet realizing its implications. It is of concern to the Durili, however, who are upset over the implication that they may be marrying extremely incorrectly.

The second case is that of the Warnungawurigba and Warnungwadarrbalangwa clans of Groote and Bickerton/Groote respectively. Members of these clans said they held a meeting during the Old Mission period (roughly between 1930 and 1940) and decided to exchange *alara* or important totemic names, the Warnungawurigba giving the Warnungwadarrbalangwa ones associated with the West Wind and Broлга, while the latter reciprocating with names related to Eagle. In doing this, informants said the clans became "one company" or "like brothers." Just at what point the recognition of Eagle's track between the two countries concerned came into this, I do not know — informants of course insisted it had been there always. But this event does explain why the Wurraraminyamandja and Warnungamadada clans have a stretch of territory within Warnungawurigba country on Groote (Map 2, area [B]). These are groups in the opposite clan complex of the same moiety as the Warnungawurigba and to whom the latter are most likely to have been formerly linked.

The final example involves the Nunggubuyu Nunggamadjbar group which, my Nunggubuyu informants said, was on the Gilyirringgilyirring track and therefore in the Mandaiyung moiety, but which my Groote and Bickerton informants said was linked by the Rainbow Snake to the Bickerton Wurraramara and Nunggubuyu Warnindilibala patri-groups (both in the Mandaridja moiety). It could well be that this group is in the process of altering its allegiances on the mainland, a change that will eventually become apparent to the Groote people.

Theoretically at least, by recording countries within countries one obtains a clue as to former alliance patterns. However, the rationale for the existence of many of these alienated lands was not known, even by the men in the groups concerned. It seems likely then that their existence is forgotten over time as the new alliances become institutionalized.

The mythological tracks and beings mentioned above all find expression in ritual contexts where the spirits of the dead are taken away and the ancestral spirits returned to see that all is in order among men.

During these rites the songmen follow the tracks of their clan totems, or those of other clans linked to theirs, as they take the spirit and the ancestors on their travels. This also occurs when a dead man's hair is placed in a dillybag to be taken later to his country, and when a special remembrance ritual is held for an important man sometime later.

of central and northeast Arnhem Land (Warner 1964) and is founded on the travels of the culture hero Blaur on his way from Groote to the mainland.

The evidence suggests the Blaur track was revealed to the Groote and Bickerton people some three generations ago, and that the Gilyirringgilyirring's, associated with Kunapipi, was revealed only in the early 1960s. Both were introduced via the Nunggubuyu who are more in contact with "Murngin" peoples. The implication of all this is that the union of each pair of clan complexes into a more loosely linked "brotherhood" exogamous moiety group is also fairly recent. The logic of kin classification and the nature of marriage preferences and prohibitions also support such an interpretation.

Kin terms (Table 2) classify on the basis of the intersecting clan affiliations of relatives' cognates such that the clans of cognates of relatives defined as "ideal spouses" intersect with one's own cognates' clans two generations previously through the wife's father's mother. The clans of cognates of relatives defined as "prohibited spouse" intersect with one's own cognates' clans one generation previously through the "prohibited spouse's" mother. The "ideal wife" for a man is thus a "close" *dadingya* and the prohibited one a "close" *dernda*. Because the "close" *dernda* has a mother in one's own patrilineal clan she will always be in the patrilineal moiety opposite to one's own. It would obviously be unnecessary to single out people in such a relationship as "prohibited marriage partners" were the moiety principle the regulating factor. What the moiety principle does do is form into a loose "brotherhood" alliance with one's own clan a category of relatives that one could exchange spouses with every three generations, thereby prohibiting marriage and precluding this form of affinal alliance. These people are equally as "distant" from one's own clan as *Naningya/dadingya*, or spouse (i.e., both have cognates in own clan two generations ago), but here the intersection is through their mother's mother.

Even as the system is now constituted, with its moiety division, there is nevertheless a preference for marriage with the clan one's own gave women to, or exchanged women with, two generations previously and prohibitions of marriage with anyone in a clan one's own exchanged women with, or gave women to, the *previous* generation. Marriage is also prohibited between people in the same "brotherhood" grouping either at the clan complex or at the moiety level (see Figure 8). The prohibited category in the opposite moiety represents an avoidance of uninterrupted restricted exchange with a single clan, the preference among the Kariera, in favour of exchange in alternate generations with two other clans.

In practice, of course, it is not always possible to realize these preferences. Other categories of people are available who are neither prohibited as spouses nor ideal (e.g., people designated by Class 4 terms *N/dumindja*, *Nanigabidja/dadiyabidja*; "far-away" *N/daberra*; and "far-away" people called by Class 2 terms). As soon as marriage is arranged with someone who is not ideally related for marriage, however (which should mean that an exchange has been effected or at least promised), the woman is assigned the term *dadingua*. the man *Nanineua*.

TABLE 2 Principal relationships defined by eastern Arnhem Land kin terms

Class 1

*N/dumera** (*Nangamuri/ngarangamuri*) people in my patri-group in the 2a and 2d levels whose Ms are in my M's patri-group; whose MMs are in my MM's patri-group; and whose FMs are in my FM's patri-group.

Nungwa/dungwiya (*Nababa/naranauwi*) people in my patri-group in the 1a level whose Ms are in my FM's patri-group; whose MMs are in my MM's patri-group; and whose FMs are in my M's patri-group.

Nawa/diyaba (*Namuruyu/ngamuruyu*) people in my patri-group in my generation level older than I am, whose Ms are in my M's patri-group; whose MMs are in my MM's patri-group; and whose FMs are in my FM's patri-group.

NANIGUMANDJA/DADIYAMANDJA (*NAMUNYUNYU/ngamunyuyu*) people in my patri-group in my generation level younger than I am, whose Ms are in my M's patri-group; whose MMs are in my MM's patri-group; and whose FMs are in my FM's patri-group.

NANUGWA/dadiyawa (*NANIGI/ngarrangarri*) people in my patri-group in the 1d level whose Ms are in my FM's patri-group; whose MMs are in my MM's patri-group; and whose FMs are in my M's patri-group.

Class 2

N/dangandjamindja (*NABUNGWADJI/ngarabungwadji*) people in my M's patri-group in the 2a level whose Ms are in my patri-group; whose MMs are in my FM's patri-group; and whose FMs are in my MM's patri-group.

NABA/dernda (*NABIBI/ngariga*) people in my M's patri-group in the 1a and 1d levels whose Ms are in my MM's patri-group; whose MMs are in my FM's patri-group; and whose FMs are in my patri-group; and those in the 0 level whose Ms are in my patri-group; whose MMs are in my FM's patri-group; and whose FMs are in my MM's patri-group.

N/diyarangwa (*NAYARNGWIYI/ngayarngwiyi*) people in my M's patri-group in the 2d level whose Ms are in my patri-group; whose MMs are in my FM's patri-group; and whose FMs are in my MM's patri-group.

Class 3

N/dunggwa (*NAGAUGU/ngaragaugu*) people in my MM's patri-group in the 2a level whose Ms are in my FM's patri-group; whose MMs are in my own patri-group; and whose FMs are in my M's patri-group.

N/dadidja (*NANGANDJARL/ngarangandjarl*) people in my MM's patri-group in the 1a level whose Ms are in my M's patri-group; whose MMs are in my own patri-group; and whose FMs are in my FM's patri-group.

NANIGANGGWA/dadiyanggwa (*NANIGUNGURA/ngarengariyunggura*) people in my MM's patri-group in the 0 and 2d levels whose Ms are in my FM's patri-group; whose MMs are in my patri-group; and whose FMs are in my M's patri-group; and those in the 1d level whose Ms are in my M's patri-group; whose MMs are in my patri-group; and whose FMs are in my FM's patri-group.

Class 4

N/dumindja (*Nangabudji/narangabudji*) people in my FM's patri-group in the 2a level whose Ms are in my MM's patri-group; whose MMs are in my M's patri-group; and whose FMs are in my patri-group.

N/darnggija (*Narnggi /ngararanggi*) people in my FM's patri-group in the 1a level whose Ms are in my patri-group; whose MMs are in my M's patri-group; and whose FMs are in my MM's patri-group.

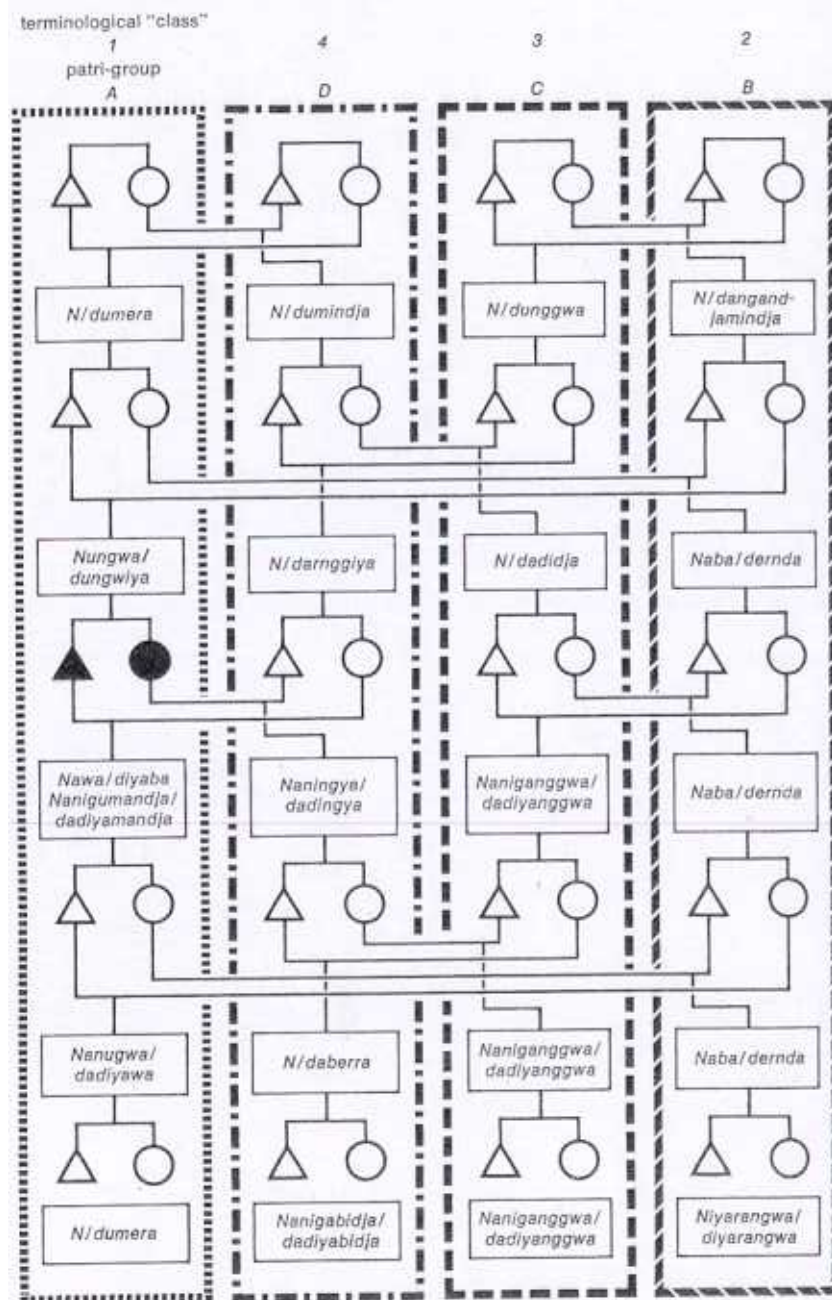
Naningya/dadingya (*Naninyargi/dadinyargi*) people in my FM's patri-group in the 0 level whose Ms are in my MM's patri-group; whose MMs are in my M's patri-group; and whose FMs are in my patri-group.

N/daberra (*Namarig/ngaramarig*) people in my FM's patri-group in the 1d level whose Ms are in my patri-group; whose MMs are in my M's patri-group; and whose FMs are in my MM's patri-group.

Nanigabidja/dadiyabidja (*Nangabudji/ngarangabudji*) people in my FM's patri-group in the 2d level whose Ms are in my MM's patri-group; whose MMs are in my M's patri-group; and whose FMs are in my patri-group.

*N- and d- are prefixes defining "male" and "female" respectively. Nunggubuyu equivalents of Anindilyaugwa terms are enclosed in parentheses.

FIGURE 8. Eastern Arnhem Land kinship and marriage



two generations later. If a "close" *N/dadingya* is not available, the preference is for a "far-away" one, that is, someone in a clan mythologically linked to one's "close" *N/dadingya*'s.

In the case of alternate marriages, as the reader will have noted, kin terms could not be applied consistently according to the meanings given in Table 2 since more than one term, as defined here, will always locate a *part* of the actual relationship existing between the people in question. For example (Figure 9), if Ego's "far-away" *dungwiya* (in a clan linked to his own on his father's generation level) married her "far-away" *Naba* (in a clan linked to her mother's but on her own generation level), then *dungwiya*'s offspring would have both a M and a FM in a clan linked to Ego's. The first of these is one of the defining characteristics of a *dernda* and the second, of a *dadingya*.

Here, as in other such cases where there is a conflict of meaning, the term chosen will be the one that defines the "closest" aspect of the relationship existing between the two people — in this example, *dernda*, because the woman in question has a mother in a clan linked to Ego's. If *dungwiya*'s offspring had a cognate in Ego's own clan, however, the term chosen would be the one that located in terms of its meaning the actual point of intersection between the two "patri families" involved. For instance, if *dungwiya*'s *NABA*'s mother (Figure 9) were in Ego's clan (A) — as she must be were there only two clans in each complex exchanging women (F with A and J with G in one generation, F with G and J with A in the next) — Ego would call *dungwiya*'s (and her *Naba*'s) offspring *NANINGYA/dadingya*, since they would be in a clan that exchanged women with, or took women from, his own two generations previously.

In brief, then, eastern Arnhem Land kin terms define people as to how their cognates' clans have been aligned for marriage purposes. These terms fall into four "classes," each "class" defining a different point of intersection between a relative's cognates (as members of patri-groups) and one's own cognates (as members of groups).

In relation to the Yarlalde and other people dealt with thus far, eastern Arnhem Landers prefer a renewal of organic ties with another group every two generations to establishing a wider, or even expanding, network of similar bonds through exchange with the same group every third or even every fourth generation (as *could* occur in the Yarlalde case). They also choose this arrangement in preference to establishing a close organic tie with another patri-group which is renewable every generation (as in the Kariera case). But they do achieve as wide a range of mechanical ties as the Kariera by applying the *totemic operator* at the moiety *as well as* at the clan complex level, thereby enabling the single patri-group to relate, in theory, to twice as many in a fraternal way as would otherwise be the case. The moiety links also have the effect of institutionalizing the eastern Arnhem Land exchange preference by linking one's own complex and another into an exogamous grouping. One's mother's mother and her clan will always fall into this unit and be thereby prohibited for marriage. This is the clan with which one could, in the absence of the moiety, exchange women every *three* generations.

FIGURE 9. Eastern Arnhem Land alternate marriages

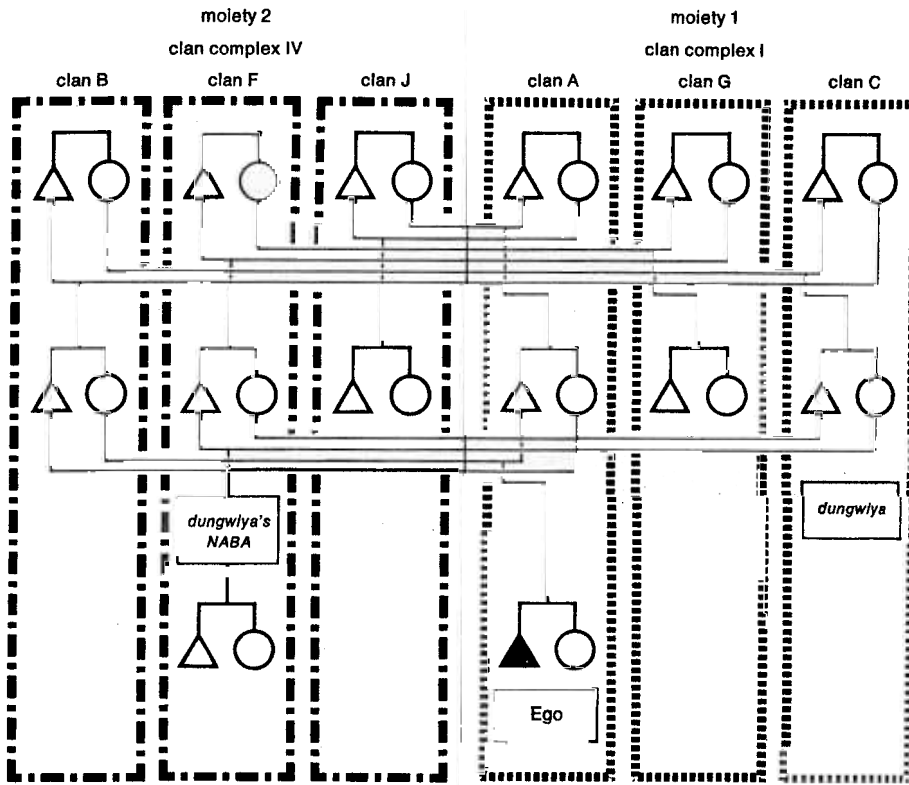
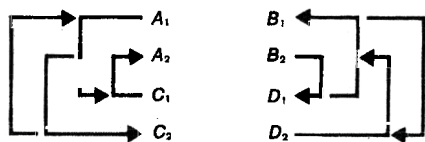


FIGURE 10. Anyula "semi-moieties" and subsections

'semi-moiety	subsection		'semi-moiety'
Wiella (Kual*)	BORALANGI nurulama (A ₁)	NGARIGBALANGI nyuanama (B ₁)	Rumburla (Mumbali)
	KAMARANGI nimarama (D ₂)	BANGARINJI nungerlma (C ₁)	
Wudalla (Purdal)	KANGALA nangalama (A ₂)	BULANYI nulanma (B ₂)	Waugarla (Murungun)
	YAGAMARI yagamarlma (D ₁)	BALYARINYI nulyerlma (C ₂)	



Mara/Anyula

If the eastern Arnhem Landers' clan complexes were named, their kinship, marriage and "brotherhood" system would correspond to the so-called "semi-moiety" system located just south of the Nunggubuyu by Spencer and Gillen (1904; 1914) among the Wanderang, Nalakan and Yikul, and south again of these peoples among the Alawa, Mara, Anyula and Karawa. Most of the former now live at Ngukurr settlement on the Roper River, while most of the latter have moved to Borroloola further south (Reay 1962: 90). As Radcliffe-Brown (1930-31: 332-333) pointed out, all these "tribes" were organized into a number of patrilineal totemic clans linked into four named groupings, each one constituting a "semi-moiety." The "semi-moieties" were in turn paired into two exogamous moieties. However, the nature of the relationship between the eastern Arnhem Land clan complexes, the Mara "semi-moiety" system and the Anyula system is not as clear cut as I had once thought from a reading of the literature (Turner 1974: 100).

Preliminary research among Mara and Wanderang people at Ngukurr in southern Arnhem Land in May of 1974, confirmed Spencer and Gillen's (1904: 126-127) finding that the patrilineal descent principle in relation to "semi-moiety" membership may be interrupted — but not always under the conditions set down by Spencer and Gillen. The same principle in relation to patri-group affiliation, however, is not. Both the Wanderang and Mara are organized into four patri-groups, the former's located north of the Roper River up to and including the Rose River, and the latter's from the Roper River south beyond the Limmen River. Each patri-group covers a continuous stretch of territory although, as in eastern Arnhem Land, "countries within countries" carved out by the wanderings of "foreign" mythological beings do exist. These patri-groups are known both by place names within their countries and by their "semi-moiety" names (*Mumbali* and *Murungun* of *Urku* moiety, and *Kual* and *Purdal* of *Ua* moiety). "Semi-moiety" membership was found to express common totemic ties between people in different patri-groups in different "tribal" clusters. Informants distinguished members of the same "semi-moiety" but different cluster as "top-end" *Purdal*/"bottom-end" *Purdal* (Wanderang/Mara); "top-end" *Mumbali*/"bottom-end" *Mumbali*, and so on. I also found that many of the totemic tracks linking the various Mara and Wanderang patri-groups as "semi-moieties" extended north into eastern Arnhem Land and south toward Borroloola. The rainbow snake (*ardlja*) track, for instance, links the Mara *Purdal* "semi-moiety" (Ngawunya country) to the Wanderang *Purdal* (Ainbala country) to the Nunggubuyu Nunggamadjar clan to the Bickerton Wurramara to the Groote Warnindilyaugwa (see p. 40).

At first glance it seemed that "semi-moiety" membership was a prime determinant in fixing kinship relations. That is, if "semi-moiety" were substituted for "patri-group" in the definitions given on pages 47-48, and predictions were attempted for a sample of informants as to the kinship terms they applied to each other (I first asked the Mara/Wanderang equivalents of the Nunggubuyu terms), utilizing the same logic as located for eastern Arnhem Land, a high proportion of actual usages could be

exception proving the rule. Closer examination showed that in all cases where a particular kind of "semi-moiety" correspondence in two respective (patri-group) "families" predicted the terms actually used between two informants, neither had a cognate from the same "tribal" cluster as the other. Where two people had cognates in the same "semi-moiety" in the same "tribal" cluster, this correspondence fixed the relationship between them irrespective of any "close" "semi-moiety" correspondences in their "families." Thus, for example, if Ego were *Mumbali* Wanderang and the relative in question were *Purdal* Mara on his generation and had a mother who was *Mumbali* Mara and a father's mother who was also *Mumbali* but Wanderang, then Ego would call this relative *Numbarna* (the Mara equivalent of the Nunggubuyu *Naninyargi*) rather than *Gardigardi* (the Mara equivalent of the Nunggubuyu *Nabibi*) (given that the relative had no other "closer" cognate in a Wanderang "semi-moiety"). Thus, "semi-moiety" predicts only when there is no correspondence between "patri-group families" in patri-group terms — the same logic the eastern Arnhem Landers use to fix a relationship when neither relative has a cognate in the other's "patri-group family." As my best Wanderang informant expressed it, "First we look to the country [patri-group], then to the ceremony [semi-moiety], then to the skin [subsection]."

It is also in cases like the one mentioned above where the "semi-moiety" patrilineal descent principle may be violated — that is, only but not always (as Spencer and Gillen [*ibid.*: 126–27] had thought) on the occasion of an alternate marriage. (In fact, just *some* of the offspring of such a marriage may be placed in the opposite "semi-moiety" of their own moiety while others retain their father's "semi-moiety.") In the above example, Ego's relative might be *Purdal*, as his father, or he might be *Kual*. However, while he might be "counted" *Kual*, informants stressed that he would still retain his father's "dreaming" and country. I could get no consistent "explanation" for this procedure from informants. But by placing such a person in the opposite "semi-moiety" of his own moiety and "tribal" cluster and locating him in the kinship system from that vantage point, he will be ideally related, terminologically, to women in the "semi-moiety" (and perhaps patri-group) from which his father should have taken a wife (*Murungun* in the above example). This assumes that the *Kual* group to which he is assigned has not also married incorrectly. If it had, he would probably have remained *Purdal* like his father. Traditionally among the Mara and Wanderang, as in eastern Arnhem Land, the aim seems to have been to obtain a woman from the same country as one's father's mother, and, failing that, a woman from a country totemically linked to hers, i.e., in the same "semi-moiety."

Although these data are by no means conclusive, gathered as they were over a relatively short period of time and amongst a now fairly "de-tribalized" people (compared to the more northern peoples), they do confirm some of Spencer and Gillen's remarks on Mara "semi-moiety" organization, particularly that there may occur a break in the patrilineal descent of the "semi-moiety" from generation to generation. But they do not support his contention that the "semi-moieties" operated in practice as if they were subsections or that "semi-moiety" organization was uniform in nature throughout the south-west gulf region. This pos-

sibility was raised by Reay in 1962 on the basis of data she gathered among the Anyula at Borroloola, but it was not clear then whether Spencer and Gillen's overall interpretation of "semi-moiety" organization was incorrect or merely their interpretation of the Anyula's system.

Reay found that each Anyula "semi-moiety" incorporated a number of "not necessarily contiguous" parcels of land, in turn subdivided into a number of localities, each associated with a particular totem by virtue of "being along the track of that totem's Dreamtime travels" (1962: 100). Totemic identification, like "semi-moiety" membership, was based on patrilineal descent. It is not clear from Reay's account just what the relationship between these "non-contiguous" parcels of land is — whether they belong to separate but totemically linked patri-groups within the same "tribal" cluster (along the lines of the Nunggubuyu and Groote Aborigines), or whether the smaller parcels merely represent "countries within countries" and belong to one of only four patri-groups (as was once the case on Bickerton Island). As the latter is the situation among the Wanderang and Mara I will assume, for purposes of analysis, that it is also the case among the Anyula. Although the Anyula "semi-moiety" names differ from those of the Mara, correspondences are known (Figure 10); and as the Mara share their categories with the Wanderang (among others), so the Anyula share theirs with an adjacent people, the Karawa (see Warner 1933: 81).

Reay points out that the Anyula "semi-moieties" must be distinguished from subsections because each involves an uninterrupted line of patrilineal descent:

To put it in a kinship idiom, the four semi-moieties are the four different lines of descent — through the father's father, the father's mother's brother, the mother's father and the mother's mother's brother [i.e., there are four "classes" of kin terms as in eastern Arnhem Land]. A man is in the same semi-moiety as his father, his father's father, his son and his son's son. The subsection system, on the other hand, distinguishes between alternate generations by allotting father and son to different subsections. A man is in the same subsection as his father's father and his son's son, but his father and his son are in another subsection (1962: 95–96).

The nature of the ideal relationship between the Anyula's "semi-moiety" system and their subsection system is shown in Figure 10 (following Reay 1962: 91). Whereas each "couple" of subsections ideally correlates with a patrilineal "descent line" and "semi-moiety," when alternate or irregular marriages occurred, "the child 'threw away' the father and became a member of the subsection he would have belonged to anyway if his mother's marriage had been regular" (*ibid.*: 99). As Reay points out, this "throwing-away" of the father has been cited by Australian anthropologists "as evidence of the recognition of matrilineal descent" (*ibid.*: 99). As Reay sees it, it is rather "filiation with the mother, not direct or indirect matrilineal descent, that determines a person's subsection membership" (*ibid.* 1962: 100).

What helps us to understand even better the logic of subsection formation and operation is Reay's discussion of the concepts "moiety" and "semi-

The so-called "moieties" exist only as an abstraction (by anthropologists) from the marriage arrangements and as a clustering of performers in the important ceremonies. . . . I think the importance of the moieties as implicit or "anonymous" social groups is over-stressed by a tradition amongst anthropologists of dubbing the really important groups in Anyula society "semi-moieties." If they had been simply called "patrilineal descent groups," which they are, we might have got a different emphasis and a more accurate picture of the ethnographic reality (*ibid.*: 98-99).

Here, as in eastern Arnhem Land, moieties would seem to be loosely linked patri-groups at the "parent" level, while "semi-moieties," like clan complexes, are more securely linked patri-groups, but at the "grand-parent" level. More specifically, among the "semi-moiety" peoples investigated here, each named division designates a series of patri-groups in different "tribal" clusters which are totemically linked into one of four "brotherhood" complexes. When seen in this way, "semi-moieties" are not *subdivisions* of moieties, and, following on this, neither are subsections *subdivisions* of sections. Any subsection — i.e., one of eight sections — merely combines into one category alternate generations in one of the four patri-groups distinguishable among one's cognates at the "grand-parent" level and, ideally, all those mythologically linked to this group. This would yield eight categories in all, or four father-son "couples" operating at a different level of abstraction from either the patri-groups or the "semi-moieties." Sections, by contrast, combine alternate generations in the two patri-groups distinguishable at the "parent" level and, ideally, in their respective "brotherhood" groups.

As far as marriage preferences and prohibitions are concerned, the Anyula and Karawa follow the normal Wanderang/Mara/eastern Arnhem Land pattern. They prohibit marriage both within the "semi-moiety" and within the moiety (i.e., *Wialia* may not marry *Wudalia*, nor *Waugaria*, *Rumburia*), and the ideal union is "between a man and his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter" (*ibid.*: 101). Expressed in terms of Figure 10, a *Wialia* man (A1) marries a *Rumburia* woman in one generation, and his son, also *Wialia* (D2), marries a *Waugaria* woman in the next. In other words, the preference is for taking women from the same "semi-moiety" and, theoretically, from the same patri-group within that "semi-moiety," every second generation.

Furthermore, "Throughout this region there seems to have been an 'alternate' marriage with a classificatory mother's brother's daughter" (*ibid.*: 101), that is, with a class of relative in the "semi-moiety" opposite to, but in the same moiety as, the one from which Ego should ideally take his wife. In Spencer and Gillen (1904: 126), this is expressed as marriage with a MBD who comes from "a distant locality." In our terms, for a man this would be women in the opposite moiety in a patri-group linked to the group prohibited to Ego (i.e., FZH/M's) but whose members had not entered into any form of marital alliance with his group over the past two generations. Neither Reay nor Spencer and Gillen discuss exchange relations on a patri-group or "semi-moiety" basis but we would expect that here, as in eastern Arnhem Land, marriage and exchange are also taking place between patri-groups. Indeed,

this is implied from Spencer and Gillen's remarks that it is locality which determines an acceptable alternate marriage.

Even in the absence of explicit information on exchange relations it is clear that the subsection system would complement, and even reinforce, marriage preferences phrased in "semi-moiety" or patri-group terms. This is obviously true on an ideal level where subsections and patrilineal territorial groups articulate perfectly; but it is also true on the level of actuality where alternate marriages cause the father to be "thrown away" as far as the subsection affiliation of his offspring is concerned. Here the child of a person who has married into the wrong "semi-moiety" (e.g., in Figure 10, *Wialia* A¹ marries *Waugaria* B² instead of *Rumburia* B¹) is assigned a subsection belonging to the appropriate generation but to the "couple" ideally associated with the other "semi-moiety" in his own moiety (i.e., YAGAMARI D¹ ideally in *Wudalia*) — the "semi-moiety" into which the *Waugaria* woman should have married. He will, according to subsection rules (D¹=C¹), be required to marry a woman in a subsection (*nungerima*) in the "couple" associated with the "semi-moiety" his father should have taken a woman from the previous generation (i.e., *Rumburia*) (but presumably not the same *patri-group* his clan exchanged with the previous generation or he would be marrying a woman with a mother in his own patri-group). In other words, he is aligned, as far as marriage is concerned, with the people in his own "semi-moiety" (*Wialia*) who did practise the ideal and marry into *Rumburia* the previous generation. This ensures reciprocity on the "semi-moiety" level between *Wialia* and *Rumburia* since the former would have given a woman to the latter without getting one back in return due to A1's alternate marriage.

Although in strictly theoretical terms, reciprocity would not be ensured on a patri-group basis, *practically* there are bound to be women in the clan from which Ego's father should have taken women on Ego's generation whose "patri-group families" do not contain a cognate in his own patri-group the previous generation due to the alternate marriages of their forebears. In Ego's position as a member of the "wrong" subsection, these women will be preferred spouses, given the subsection alliance rules. Even if all were ideal up to the point of Ego's father's "deviation," the rules would at least dictate that he obtain a woman from a clan totemically linked to the one into which his father should have married. Ego, however, will remain in the D¹-A² "couple," as will his offspring, and so on, until there is another alternate marriage in the patriline in question.

That subsections and "semi-moieties" operate on different levels is clear from Reay's account of the Anyula's attempt to articulate the two systems. The Anyula's problem is that they do not completely understand the principle behind the practice of "throwing away" the father in the case of alternate marriages:

. . . the introduction of the subsection, and particularly the marriages contracted between Anyula and people reckoning subsection membership by maternal filiation, have resulted in confusion. Some people "follow the father," some people "follow the mother," . . . Often nobody is willing to predict the subsection membership of a child whose parents have married (Spencer and Gillen, 1904: 126).

This difficulty is perhaps related to the fact that, unlike the Mara, the Anyula do not occasionally "throw-away the father" when operating their "semi-moiety" system and place the offspring of an irregular marriage in the opposite "semi-moiety" but the same moiety as the father. Rather, if a *Wialia* man married a *Waugaria* woman instead of a *Rumburia* woman, as he should have, his children will still be *Wialia*, not *Wudalia* as could happen in a similar situation among the Mara and Wanderang. In this aspect the Anyula differ from the Mara, and Spencer and Gillen's opinion that they were they same in all respects (1904: 118-120) seems to have been incorrect and based solely on their encounter with Mara informants. Furthermore, their belief that the "semi-moiety" system was operationally equivalent to a subsection system is not entirely correct, as in the case of an alternate marriage the offspring may remain within the same patrilineal "couple" as is associated with their father's "semi-moiety." (To maintain the analogy, Spencer and Gillen [*ibid.*: 124] designated the alternate generation divisions as *Murungun a/Murungun B*, *Kuial a/Kuial B* and so on.) In a subsection system these offspring would be placed in one of the sub-sections in the "couple" associated with the opposite "semi-moiety" in their own moiety. Spencer and Gillen's adoption of the subsection model to interpret the Mara "semi-moiety" system would have been in part influenced by their observation that children did not always adopt the "semi-moiety" of the father, but also by their expectations derived from previous research among the Aranda and Warramunga (*ibid.*: 104-110). They admit to having been perplexed by "The fact of some Murungun and Mumbali men marrying Purdal and others Kuial women, and *vice versa*" among the Mara, something they found "so different from anything in the marriage arrangements in any other Australian tribes known to us" (Spencer 1914: 62). This system seems less "anomalous" when its relationship to the eastern Arnhem Land arrangement is pointed out. Here, the preference for an exchange of women with the same patri-group (which the Mara would also designate by a "semi-moiety" name), in alternate generations means that the men of that group marry into a different patri-group in consecutive generations.

Aranda

Apart from the Southern Aranda who in some ways resemble their neighbors the Aluridja proper (Variation 3) in mode of social organization (Elkin 1938-40: 423-424), other Aranda-speaking peoples of the now Alice Springs region of Central Australia operate according to basically the same principles as the eastern Arnhem Landers and the Mara/Anyula group. The Western Aranda, for example, were divided into ten patrilineal clans or "*nyinanga section areas*," each containing

... a group of men (and women) belonging to two classes [subsections] standing in a father-son (or father-child) relationship to one another and living in their appropriate local group area. Such a group forms a localized part or section of the *total number of men and women in Central Australia* who belong to these two classes (Strehlow 1965: 136, f.n. 14).

Each of these clans was centered on a *pmara kutata* or "everlasting home", where the most honoured totemic ancestors . . . lived ever from the beginning, and where they went to their final sleep when they had grown tired of living" (1947: 112).

People in *nyinanga section areas* with *pmara kutata* on the track of the same ancestral beings were designated by the same subsection "couple," forming clans into groupings comparable to the four eastern Arnhem Land clan complexes and Anyula/Mara "semi-moieties." These Aranda ancestors moved across the country in "hordes" which often contained representatives of all *nyinanga sections*, that is, of all subsection "couples" (*ibid.*: 155). Each one created its own tradition in the territory of a particular *nyinanga section*. As in eastern Arnhem Land these beings functioned to establish common bonds of "brotherhood" between patri-groups in widely scattered areas. The Honey Ant track mentioned in the "theme," for instance, links clans of the Western and Northern Aranda, Pintubi, Kukatja, Unmatjera and Iliaura "tribes" (1965: 128-129). A portion of this track mapped by Strehlow (1964: 753) shows *pmara kutata* at Ljaba and Roulbmaulbma in different *nyinanga section areas*, but that each "area" is designated by the *BANGATA-PANANGKA* "couple" of subsections (see also the map in Strehlow 1965: 137). A similar phenomenon was noted in relation to the Kariera and their four-section system.

As among the Anyula, the Aranda prohibit marriage among people of the same father-son "couple" of subsections or *nyinanga sections*. Put another way, people in "totemic clans linked by mythological ties" (*ibid.*: 141) may not intermarry — as in eastern Arnhem Land. Marriage is also prohibited between two pairs of *nyinanga sections*, thereby dividing Aranda clans into two exogamous moieties. Thus *PANANGKA-BANGATA* may not marry *KNGUAREA-PALTARA*, nor *PURULA-KAMARA*, *NGALA-MBITJANA* (1947: Appendix; 1965: 136). It would seem from Strehlow's account that the rationale for marriage prohibitions among moiety members is the same as for those in totemically linked *nyinanga section areas* as they are also phrased in subsection terms.

Aranda marriage rules can be expressed as relations between subsections and "semi-moieties" as among the Anyula. Thus,

PANANGKA A ¹	PURULA B ¹
BANGATA D ²	KAMARA C ¹

KNGUAREA A ²	NGALA B ²
PALTARA D ¹	MBITJANA C ²

A¹ (Figure 10) is now *PANANGKA*, B¹ *PURULA* and so on. As in the Anyula case, the offspring of alternative marriages are placed in the appropriate generation category of the subsection "couple" to which their mother's "correct" husband would have belonged (e.g., if *PANANGKA* marries *ngala* instead of *purula*, the children will be *PALTARA*; see Spencer and Gillen, 1899: facing p. 81). Here, as in the Anyula case, these operations can be seen as reinforcing patri-group alliance relations, particularly as Strehlow is explicit that first and foremost Aranda marriage prohibitions

and preferences are formulated in *nyinanga section* area or patrilineal clan terms:

Since every *nyinanga section* area originally contained men belonging to two classes [subsections] only, exogamy was a necessary institution in order to provide wives for them. Each *nyinanga section* area was therefore linked by marriage ties with at least two other *nyinanga section* areas; for men of alternate generations⁸ could not find wives in the same area. The Purula men of Ntarea, for instance, had to find their Panagka wives in such areas as those around Roulbmaulbma, Lyaba, and other Bangata-Panangka centres; the Kamara men [in same father-son subsection "couple" as PURULA men] of Ntarea, on the other hand, had to look for their Paltara wives among the Paltara-Knguarea groups of Ltalaltuma, Ulaterka, and so on (Strehlow 1965: 141).

This indicates a definite preference for taking women from the same clan every second generation (hence the necessity for links with *two* other clans) and an avoidance of marriage with someone in a clan from which members of one's own took women the previous generation. Since exchange also is a regular feature of Aranda marriage arrangements (1947: 61; Elkin 1964: 100), the situation is exactly the same as in eastern Arnhem Land.

Among the Aranda, also as in eastern Arnhem Land, we find relatively stable intermarrying clusters of clans — stable to the extent that each cluster under traditional conditions "eventually came to constitute a linguistic unit" (Strehlow 1965: 141). It is on this basis that Strehlow is able to single out the Western from the Northern, Eastern and Central Aranda. As I have shown elsewhere (Turner 1974: Chapter 4), a grouping of from eight to ten such clans, as among the Western Aranda, operating according to "Aranda" principles can allow considerable departure from ideal arrangements and still remain relatively endogamous as a cluster. On the other hand, where there are only four clans intermarrying according to Aranda preferences and prohibitions, there is little flexibility as far as marriage arrangements within the grouping are concerned and a shortage of women in a particular clan or an incorrect marriage in one generation will force marriage outside the cluster in the next.

Besides establishing stable relationships with only a few nearby clans through intermarriage, links of a totemic nature reach out in Aranda society, as in the other areas discussed, to create bonds of a different nature both within the cluster and with other clans in different clusters. The Western Aranda, for instance, include three clans of the *PALTARA-KNGUAREA* subsection "couple," only two of which are contiguous; one clan of the *BANGATA-PANANGKA* "couple" is adjacent to another designated by the same "couple," but in the Northern Aranda cluster; and of the three clans of the *PURULA-KAMARA* "couple" two are adjacent, while the two clans of the *NGALA-MBITJANA* "couple" are non-adjacent (Strehlow 1965: 137). The advantages of such ties are pointed out by Strehlow:

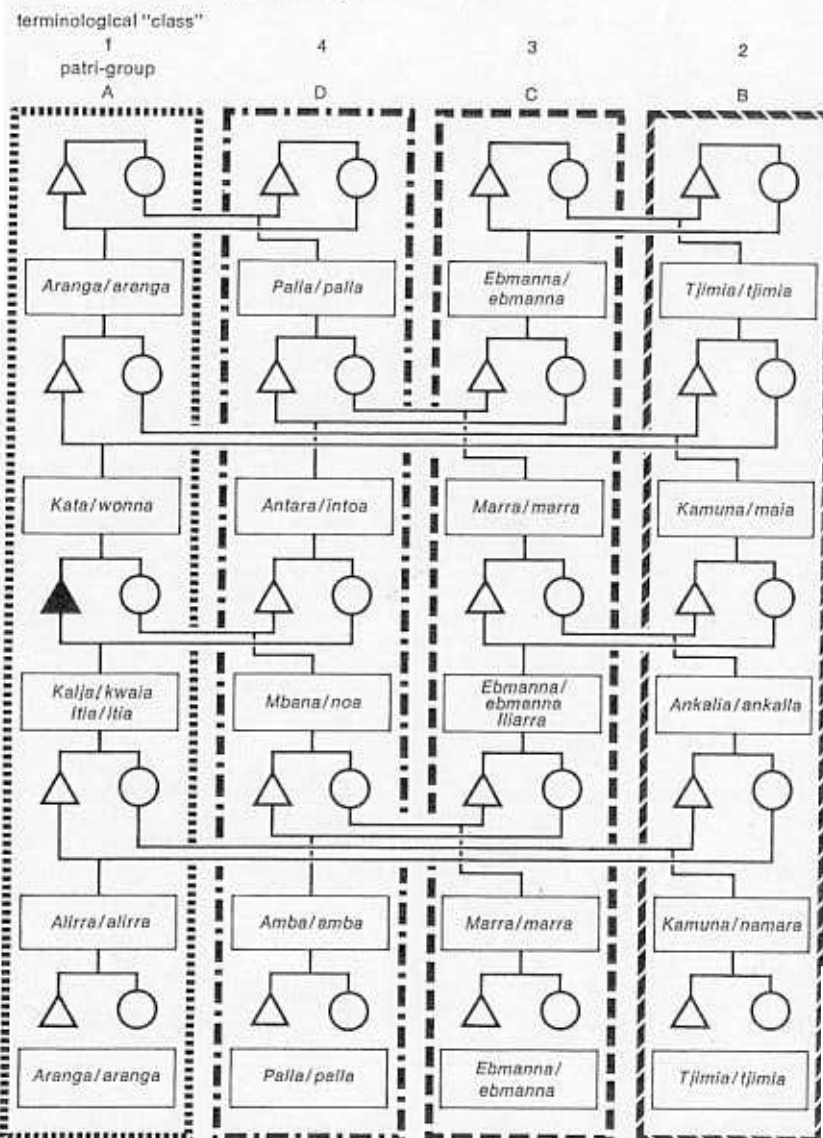
them had to move even temporarily, and then only in very bad droughts. Those that did had to move only a few miles out of their own territory into that of their neighbors, with whom they had exogamic marriage ties or ceremonial links in any case (*ibid.*: 142).

As in eastern Arnhem Land and Mara/Anyula societies, Aranda kin terminology (Figure 11) is arranged into four "classes" — one for the father's father and those of various generations in his clan, the mother's father and those in his clan, the mother's mother's brother and those in his clan and the father's mother's brother and those in his clan. Ideally, of course, the same "class" of terms as applies to each of these categories of relative should also apply to all those in totemically linked clans. Occasionally, the same term is repeated for alternate generations within each "class," reflecting the unity of these generations within the same clan. In varying degrees this feature is characteristic of all kinship systems dealt with thus far (see Elkin 1964: 102; Spencer and Gillen 1904: 90; Strehlow 1947: 174). Although we cannot test it, Aranda kin terms should interrelate people in the same manner as those of the eastern Arnhem Landers.

In summary, what the Aranda framework permits, whether or not this is always realized in practice, is the exchange of women between two patrilineal land-owning groups or clans every second generation and the maintenance of "brotherhood" groupings at two different levels — the moiety and the clan complex. These groupings are the result of extensions outward from the single patrilineal clan by means of the totemic operator at the "parent" and "grandparent" generation levels, where two and four cognates respectively are distinguished. This perspective is shared by Strehlow who says that to "state that the Aranda tribe is divided into two moieties, each of which falls into two sections, which in their turn are divided into two subsections . . . [is to] imply a system which — in the absence of any recognizable tribal structure — could not exist in actual fact" (1965: 134). Indeed, I have shown that among the Anyula and Mara as well as the Aranda, subsections are merely named alternate generation divisions within patri-groups or clans, the same "couple" ideally attached to all those totemically linked in the same complex. Among the Kariera, it was shown the sections similarly combined alternate generation levels within the patri-group, but at the "parent" level. The practice of inventing intersecting matrilineal and patrilineal moieties to "explain" sections as Radcliffe-Brown does among the Kariera (Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31: 54-55) is therefore unnecessary (Barnes 1971: 159). It follows then that the subsections such as exist among the Aranda are not subdivisions of the four sections thus formed, as Radcliffe-Brown (1930-31: 55-58) also holds. Unfortunately, this practice, originally a theoretical inference, has been transformed into ethnographic "fact" and become generally accepted as the basis of section and subsection formation across Australia (e.g., R.M. and C.H. Berndt 1968: 48; Lévi-Strauss 1969: 157; Maddock 1972: 76). Apparently, Strehlow's comments have been ignored; or at least their implications have gone unnoticed.

Aranda or eastern Arnhem Land organizational principles can be seen to meet one of the alternatives possible within our "theme" (no. 1b page 28) but with one exception. We were not able to predict the

FIGURE 11. Aranda kinship and marriage*



*following Strehlow (1907-20: 1201-120B; see also Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31: 323; Spencer and Gillen 1899: 90).

compounding of "brotherhood" ties over and above the clan complex level which has the effect of establishing mechanical links with a wider range of alien patri-groups than we would have expected. However, these bonds would not be so strong as at the four complex level. One effect is to simulate the Kariera solution in this aspect of alliance relations; another, for reasons discussed earlier (pp. 46, 50), is to institutionalize the affinal exchange preference by preventing the alternative of renewal every three generations (Variation 6). But what is lost here are renewable ties with a single patri-group every generation as in the Kariera case, although there is a gain relative to the Aluridja in this respect. Where the Aranda-like peoples lose relative to the Aluridja is in failing to establish a universal "brotherhood" group and where they gain, relative to the Kariera, is in a wider range or organic bonds through a wider network of affinal relations.

If my reinterpretation is consistent with the "facts" of Elkin's Aranda/Nyul-Nyul "type," then it could be termed the "normal" Australian solution to our endogamy/exogamy problem, for Elkin (1964: 100) held the "Aranda or Nyul-Nyul system of kinship" to be "the most widespread of any in Australia." However, in contrast to our reinterpreted Kariera, we must not generalize that systems operating according to our Aranda principles coincide with systems defined as Aranda/Nyul-Nyul by Elkin. When examined within our framework, the Nyul-Nyul people, who formerly occupied the Dampier Land peninsula of Western Australia (1933: 437), are found to differ in important respects from the Aranda and from peoples here located as operating in a like manner.

Nyul-Nyul

If we were to emphasize affinal alliance preferences over numbers of "descent lines" in "typing" the Nyul-Nyul, we would find them more akin to the Aluridja than to the Aranda. That is, a Nyul-Nyul uses four "classes" of kin terms to designate different categories of relatives but he prefers marriage with someone in a patri-group outside his "patri-group family" — with someone in a clan which is totemically linked to his FM's group. We saw how among the eastern Arnhem Landers — more akin to the Aranda — that this was a second preference to exchanging with one's FM's patri-group, but that the aim was to transform the relationship, once established, into a regular alternate generation exchange relation. This, however, cannot happen in the Nyul-Nyul case. But in contrast to the Yaralde and Aluridja, the Nyul-Nyul do not seem to *prohibit* all groups within the "patri-group family" as potential marriage partners; restrictions seem to apply only to the M's and FZH's patri-groups, as among the Aranda:

... the Nyul-Nyul ... trace descent through four lines, distinguishing in terminology, as in fact, between four families in the grandparents' generation, prohibit cross-cousin marriage, and, in terminology at least, allow marriage with certain types of second-cousins (Elkin 1932: 307).

Like the Aranda, the Nyul-Nyul are organized into patrilineal land-

owning groups — some twenty-eight of them (1933: 437) — totemically linked into “brotherhood” complexes. Although he does not give their number and composition, Elkin says this latter aspect of Nyul-Nyul culture is similar to what is found among the neighboring Bardi (who I discuss next). We do know however that “a man’s wife . . . must come from ‘little bit long way,’ meaning ‘long way’ in blood relationship and also in the geographical situations of the hordes [patri-groups] concerned” (1932: 308). For us this is the anthropologist’s way of expressing, within the genealogical frame of reference, the Aboriginal distinction between “close” and “far-away” relatives, in this case between a “near” and “distant” *malar* (*ibid.*: 300), or wife (equivalent to the eastern Arnhem Land *dadingya*). Within our framework, a “close” *malar* would be one with a cognate in own patri-group two generations previously, that is, a woman whose FM is in own patri-group. A “far-away” *malar* would be one without a cognate in one’s own patri-group. Because the woman one marries is classed with *malar* (a “distant” *malar*), however, we would expect that under ideal conditions (and with “sister” exchange) *malar* would be in a patri-group linked to Ego’s FM’s. Under actual conditions she would at least be in a group outside Ego’s “patri-group family.”

Notes

i.e., alternating combined alternate generation divisions

6 Direct exchange renewable every third generation

Bardi

In 1932 Elkin commented briefly on a kinship system he called the “Bardi type” and which, he said, was similar in some respects to his conventional Aranda “type” (1932: 310, 307). Among the Bardi, however, “there are neither moieties nor sections, and therefore marriage is controlled solely by the kinship and local organization,” and “a man may marry . . . a woman of the mother’s mother’s brother’s horde [patri-group]” (*ibid.*: 326, 310). As we have already seen, the Aranda *have* both moieties and subsections and *prohibit* marriage with the mother’s mother’s patri-group.

Where the two systems were similar was in the distinction drawn in the kin terminology in the “grandparent” generation between the FF (*Kalingod*, in the Bardi language), FMB (*Kal*), MF (*Dzam*) and MMB (*Kamad*), that is, between four so-called “lines of descent” or, more correctly, between the four clans of one’s cognates in the 2a generation level. Elkin noted “the tendency to treat all the members of a horde [patri-group] in the same way,” particularly those in the mother’s mother’s group (*ibid.*: 311). Indeed, Elkin regarded the Bardi system as “an important step in the development of the solidarity of the horde [patri-group], showing how the local organization can affect terminology,” and found them comparable to the Yarlalde in this respect (*ibid.*: 311, 316).

In all, Elkin located some forty-two patrilineal exogamous groups in Bardi society “each of which occupies a definite subdivision of the tribal territory, called *bor*” (1933: 437, 438). These *bor* were distributed along the coast of the Dampier Land peninsula north of what is now the town of Lombardina in Western Australia (1932: 297). When Elkin contacted them, the Bardi had been under prolonged contact for some fifty years and were living primarily on missions and settlements in different centres on the peninsula. He estimated that all the people of the peninsula had been “reduced to about thirty or forty percent of their former numbers” from a total population at the time of contact of “about 1,500.” This was an average of “one person to about four or five square miles” (1933: 435–438).

Under traditional conditions, a Bardi would, theoretically, have some thirty or so patri-groups to choose from as far as marriage was concerned. First, he was of course prohibited from marrying into his own patri-