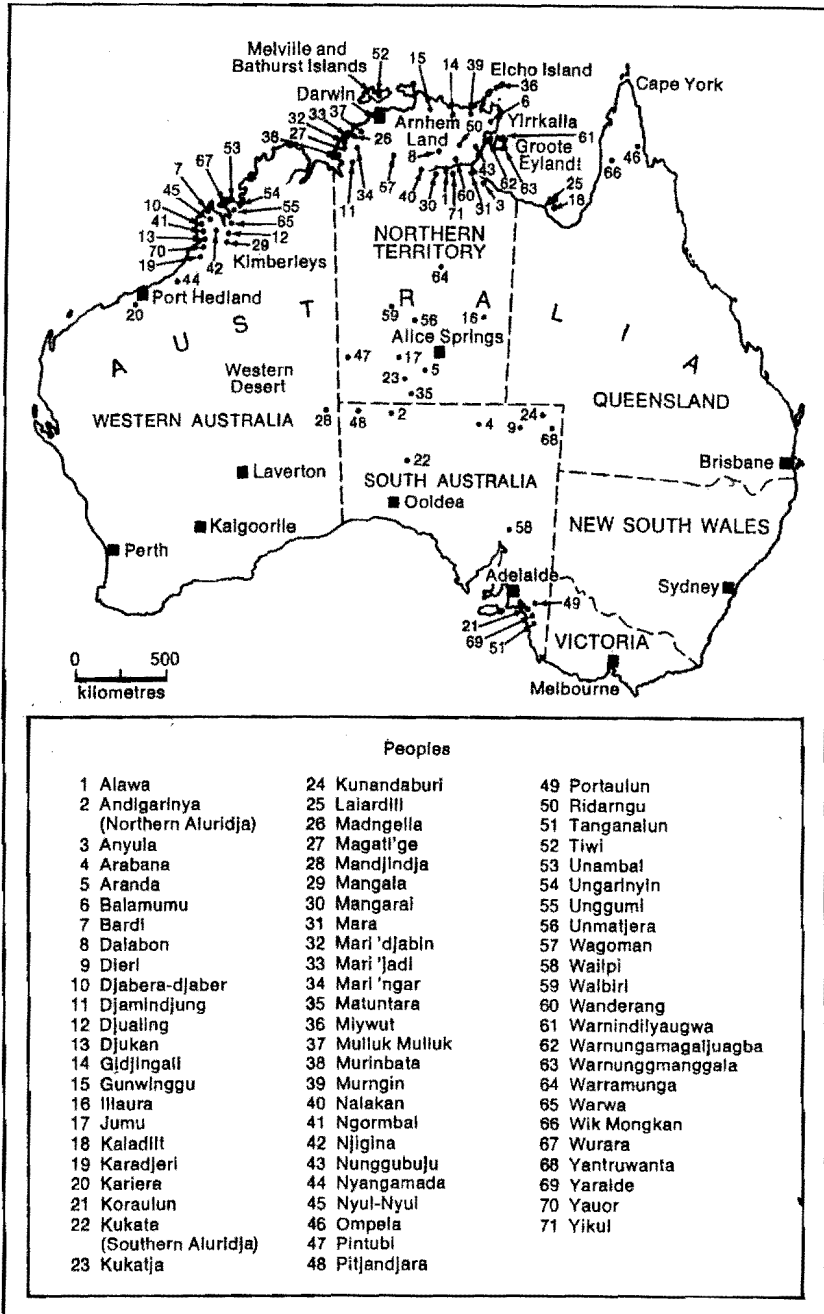


MAP 1. Peoples referred to in the text

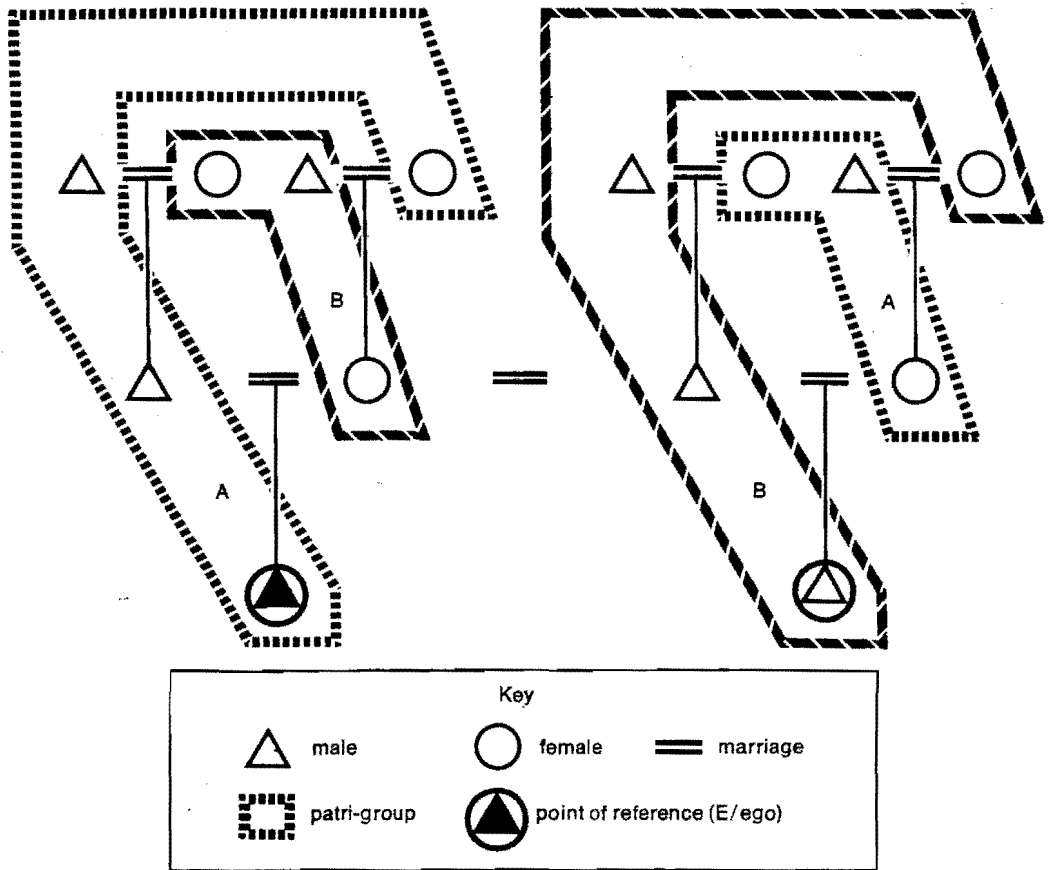


Preface

Since writing this book I have become aware that key ideas here attributed to Levi-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. Dispuut 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

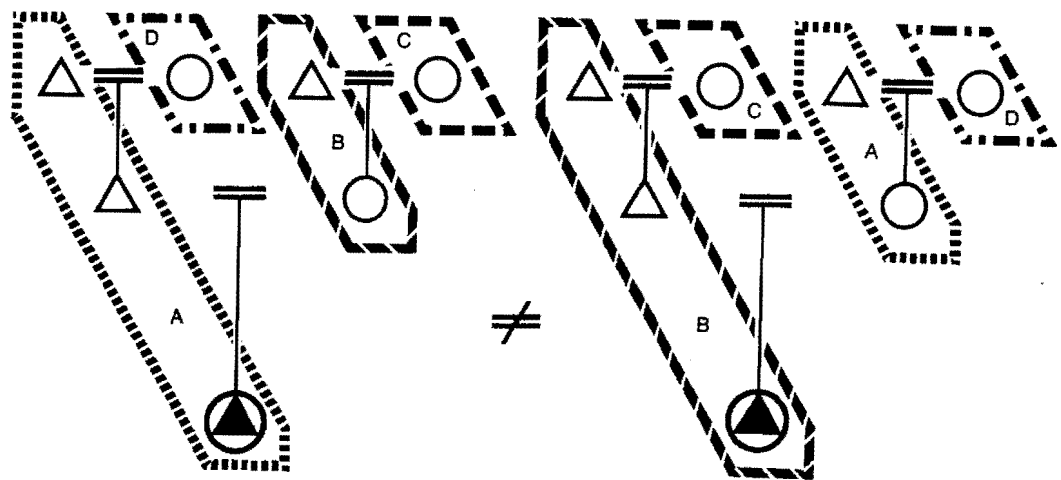
FIGURE 1. Interrelated "patri-group families" under direct exchange renewable in consecutive generations*



Theme

iv

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



Australian Aboriginal Social Organization

5 Direct exchange renewable in alternate generations

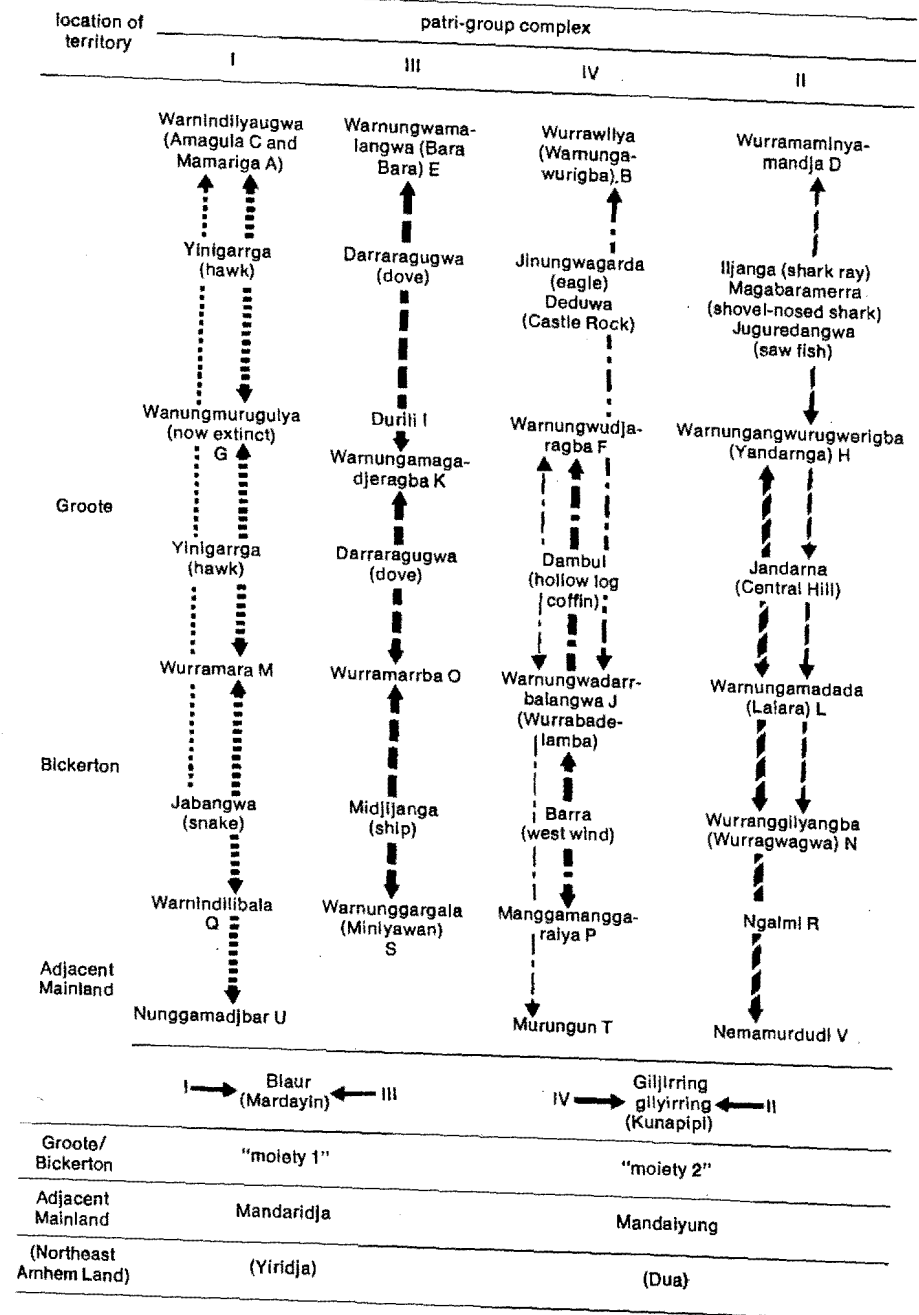
Eastern Arnhem Land

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;

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 Nunggamadjbar [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.

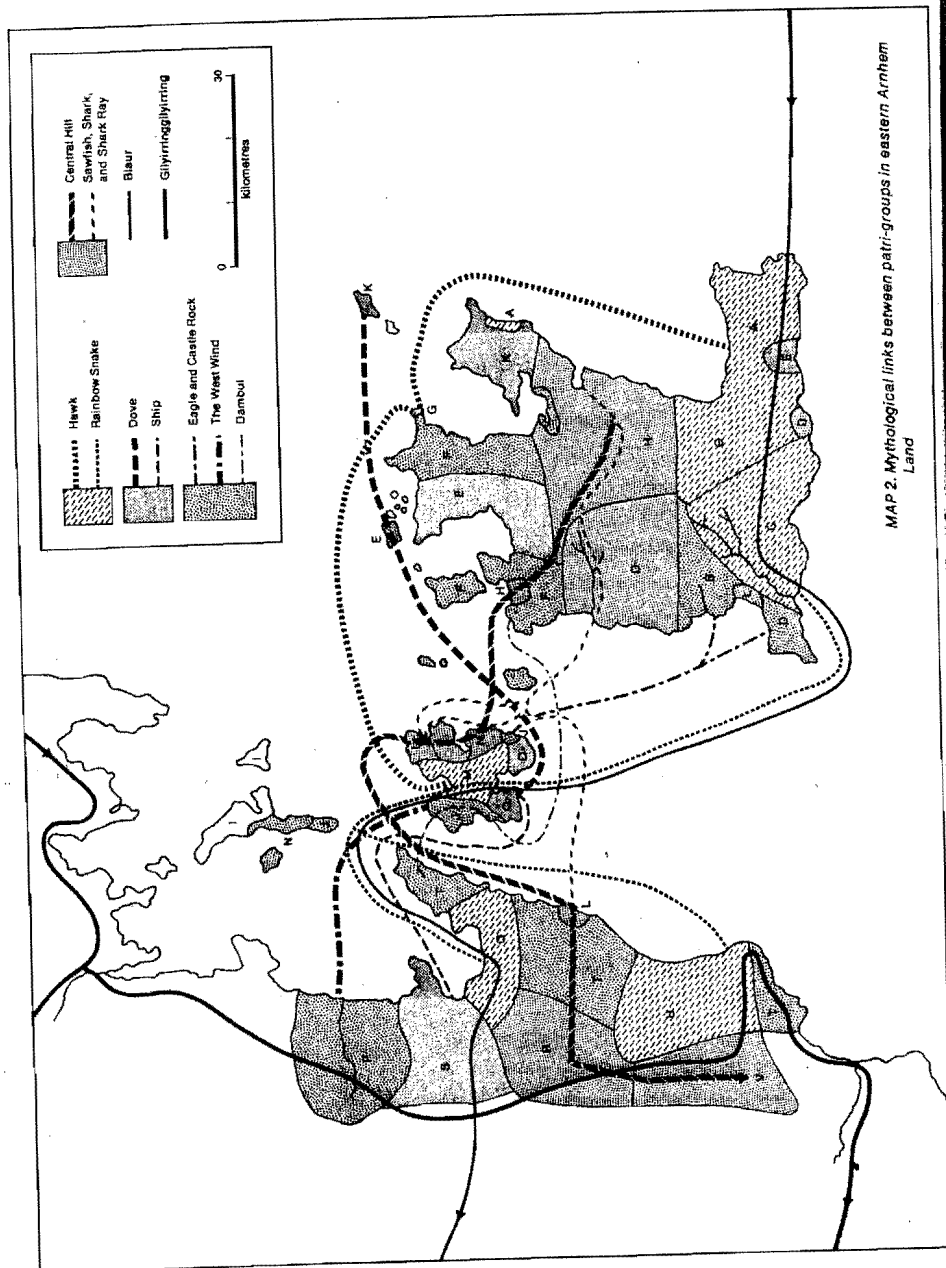
Clan Complex III

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 (Warnungamagadjragba 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 Dimimba 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 Garagara (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 Wurranggilyangba [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 Angurugwerigba 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)

Blaur (—)

Blaur 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 Wurramarra 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 Manggamaryggaraiya [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

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 Warnungawurugwerigba 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

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 Blaur 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 Gilyirringilyirring 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 Gilyirringilyirring 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 Blaur 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 Warnung-wadarrbalangwa 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 Warnung-wadarrbalangwa 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 Gilyirring-gilyirring'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 *dadingya*. The man is assigned

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 (*NANIG/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.

Nidiyarangwa (*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

Nidungguwa (*NACAUGU/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.

Nidadidja (*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/dadiyanguwa (*NANIGUNGGURA/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

Nidumindja (*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.

Nidarnggtja (*Narnggt/ngararnggti*) 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.

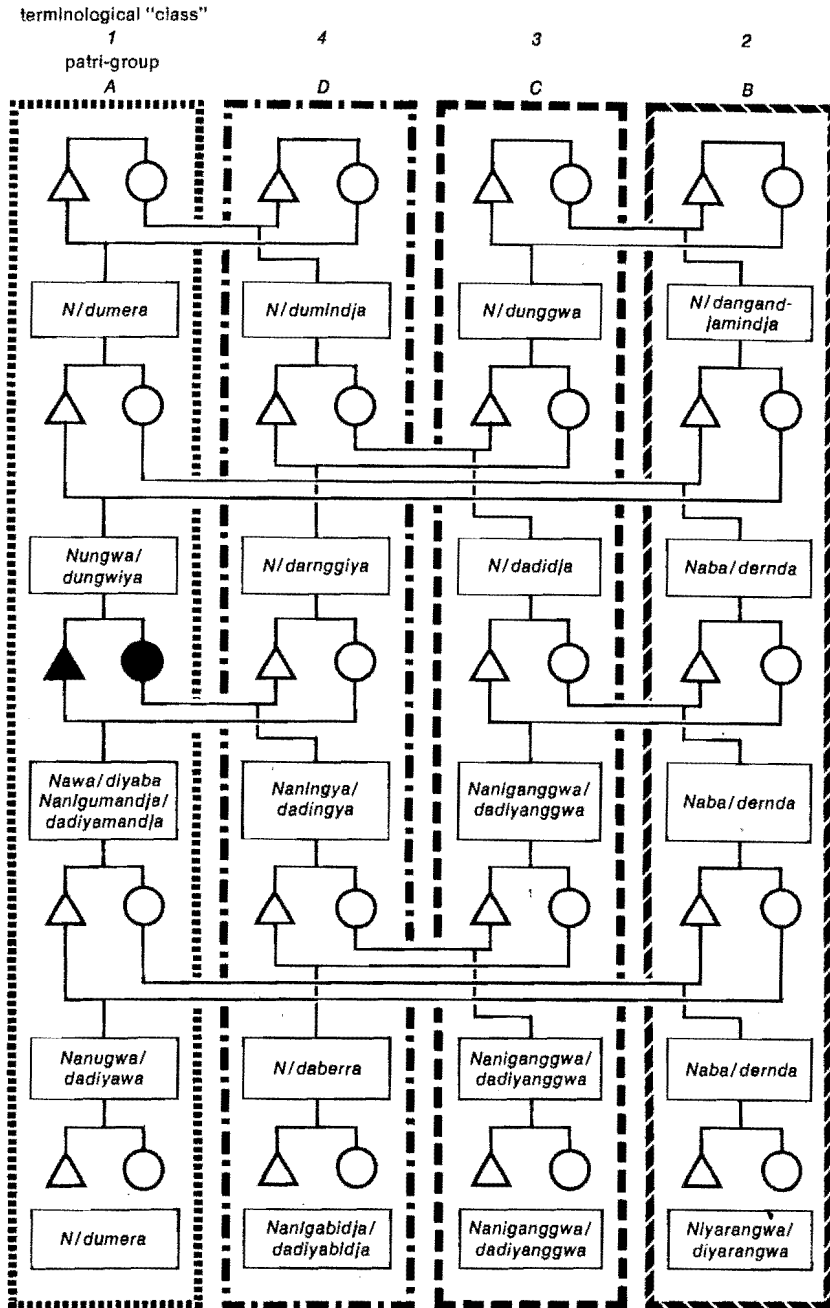
Naningya/dadingya (*Naninyargi/dadinyargi*) people in my FM's patri-group in the 0 level whose Ms are in my MM's patri-group; whose MMs are in my M's patri-group; and whose FMs are in my patri-group.

Nidaberra (*Namarig/ngamarig*) 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*