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A. R. Brown

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NOTES ON THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF AUSTRALIAN TRIBES.

By A. R. BROWN.

PART I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THESE notes were intended to be included in an extensive and systematic work on the social organization of Australian tribes, one part of which was to be a list of all the tribes at present known to us, with a brief description of the social organization of each, when that was known. It seems unlikely that I shall have the leisure to bring even the first volume of this work to completion, and I have therefore decided to publish my notes on those tribes about which I have collected first-hand information from the natives themselves. The purpose for which they were written will explain the peculiar form in which these notes are cast.

To make my descriptions quite clear it is necessary to define certain terms of which I shall make use.

Tribe.—By a tribe I mean a collection of persons who speak what the natives themselves regard as one language, the name of the language and the name of the tribe being generally one and the same.

This word “tribe” has been used very loosely by writers on Australian ethnology. For example, Howitt sometimes applies the word to what I shall call a tribe; at other times he applies it to subdivisions of a tribe; and in yet other instances he uses it to denote a group of tribes having similar customs and using the same word for “man.” My use of the term agrees exactly, I believe, with that of Spencer and Gillen.

Horde.—I shall use the word “horde” (from Tatar *úrdú*, a camp) to denote what is, in Australia, an extremely important and very well-marked social division. The horde, as it is found in the normal forms of Australian social organization, may be defined by the following characters:—

(1) It consists of a number of persons who regularly live together in one camp and share a common life.

(2) The horde is the primary land-owning group, each horde owning and occupying a certain area of country.

(3) Each horde is independent and autonomous, and manages its own affairs by means of the camp-council, often directed by one head-man.

(4) A child belongs to the horde of the father—*i.e.*, descent is strictly in the male line. A woman, on marriage, joins and lives with the horde of the husband.

(5) The horde acts as a unit in its relations with other hordes of the same or of other tribes.

Family.—By a family I mean a social group consisting of a man with his wife or wives and such of their children (own or adopted) as are still dependent upon them—*i.e.*, unmarried girls and uninitiated boys. The family as thus defined is a well-marked social unit of great importance in Australian life. Its existence involves three kinds of individual relationships: (1) that of husband and wife, (2) that of parents and children, and (3) that of children of the same parents (brothers and sisters). As the family in Australia is not exactly the same thing that it is in England, the relationships set up by the family are different. It is therefore necessary to define these individual relationships in order to determine in what sense we are to use the words “father,” “mother,” “child,” “brother,” etc., in reference to the Australian aborigines.

Husband and Wife.—A man and a woman are husband and wife when they live together (occupying the same hut or shelter in the camp and sharing one camp-fire), their union being recognized by the other members of the tribe.

Parent and Child.—The parents of a child are the man and woman (or women) with whom the child lives, who care for him and provide him with food. A child may have two or more mothers, either simultaneously or in succession. He can have only one father at a time, but may have two or more successively. A child enters a family in one of three ways: (1) as the child of the wife at the time of the marriage; (2) by birth, being born of the wife and accepted of the husband (who generally has the right to say if the new-born infant shall live or not); (3) by adoption (in general only on the death of the first mother). It is sometimes necessary to distinguish the blood-mother (she who gives birth to the child) from other mothers. And it is similarly necessary sometimes to distinguish a child's own father, who is defined as the husband of the mother at the time of the birth. It is necessary to give this definition, as some Australian tribes appear to hold that there is no physiological relationship between father and child.

Brothers and Sisters.—Two persons are brothers or sisters or brother and sister if, during the whole or a part of their infancy they have belonged to the same family group—*i.e.*, if they have been fed and cared for by the same parents. It may sometimes be convenient to use the term “blood-brothers” to denote two children born of the same mother while she was the spouse of one and the same husband.

In the following pages, whenever the words “father,” “mother,” “husband,” “wife,” “brother,” “sister,” or “child” occur without any qualification, they will be used in the senses defined above, and not with the usual English connotations.

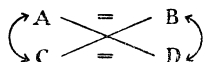
Clan.—By a clan I mean a social group marked off in some way (as by a name) from other similar groups, consisting of a number of persons who are or who regard themselves as being, closely related in one line. When the relationship is reckoned in the female line, we have clans with female descent; when it is

reckoned in the male line we have clans with male descent. In some tribes the horde is a clan in this sense, and such hordes may be called local clans or clan-hordes. These local clans are in many instances also totemic. The only other kind of clan commonly found in Australia is the non-localized totemic clan with female descent.

Systems of Relationship.—By a system of relationship I mean (1) a system of terms applied to relatives, by means of which a person classifies his relatives into a certain number of kinds, and (2) a system of rights and duties connected therewith. I distinguish two principal types of relationship system, each having different varieties, and I shall call them Type I and Type II. These may be briefly defined as follows:—In Type I only two lines of descent are recognized, this being brought about by the classification of mother's mother's brother with father's father and of father's mother's brother with mother's father. An example of a system of this type is that of the Kariera tribe.¹ In systems of Type II mother's mother's brother and father's father are distinguished from one another, and so also are father's mother's brother and mother's father. In completely developed varieties of Type II this leads to the recognition of four lines of descent, those, namely, from father's father, mother's mother's brother, mother's father, and father's mother's brother, if we reckon through males or those from mother's mother, father's father's sister, father's mother, and mother's father's sister, if we reckon through females. An example of Type II is the system of the Aranda tribe.

In order to avoid certain difficulties in dealing with classificatory terms of relationship I have adopted the plan of using English terms (simple or compound) such as "brother" or "mother's brother" as the exact equivalents of classificatory terms in the native languages, placing them in inverted commas to show that they are used in this special manner. Thus, while *brother* without the inverted commas will be used to refer to the individual relationship between two members of the same family, "*brother*" with the inverted commas will be used as an equivalent of the native term which a man applies to his own brother, but also to other relations such as a father's brother's son or mother's sister's son.

Section.—I shall use this term (in preference to "class") to denote such social divisions as those named *Ipai*, *Käbi*, *Märi* and *Kämbö* in some of the tribes of New South Wales. Where there are eight divisions I shall speak of *subsections*. I have rejected the more usual terms "class" and "sub-class" on account of the present confusion in their use. I have found it useful to represent the relations of sections and subsections by means of diagrams. In many tribes with four sections the relations between these are such as are conveniently represented by the diagram:—



¹ See *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. xliii, 1913, p. 147.

Here A, B, C and D stand for the four sections. The sign = connects the two sections that intermarry; the sign / connects the section of a father with that of his child; and the sign \int connects the section of a mother with that of her child.

The diagram therefore reads as follows :—

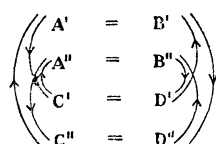
A man of A marries a woman of B and the children are D.

„ B „ „ A „ „ C.

„ C „ „ D „ „ B.

„ D „ „ C „ „ A.

When there are eight subsections their relations may be represented by the following diagram :—



In this diagram the letters stand for the subsections. The sign = connects the subsections that intermarry in accordance with the ordinary marriage-rule of the tribe. The lines on each side of the diagram connect the subsection of a mother with that of her child, the arrow showing the direction in which the line is to be read. Thus from the diagram it may be seen that a man of A' marries a woman of B' and the children are D', while a man of B' marries a woman of A' and the children are C'.¹

In these notes I shall use these diagrams, substituting for the letters the names of the sections or subsections in the tribe under discussion.

Phonetics.—All native words printed in italics are spelt according to the Anthropos alphabet of Father Schmidt. In the names of tribes diacritical marks are generally omitted.

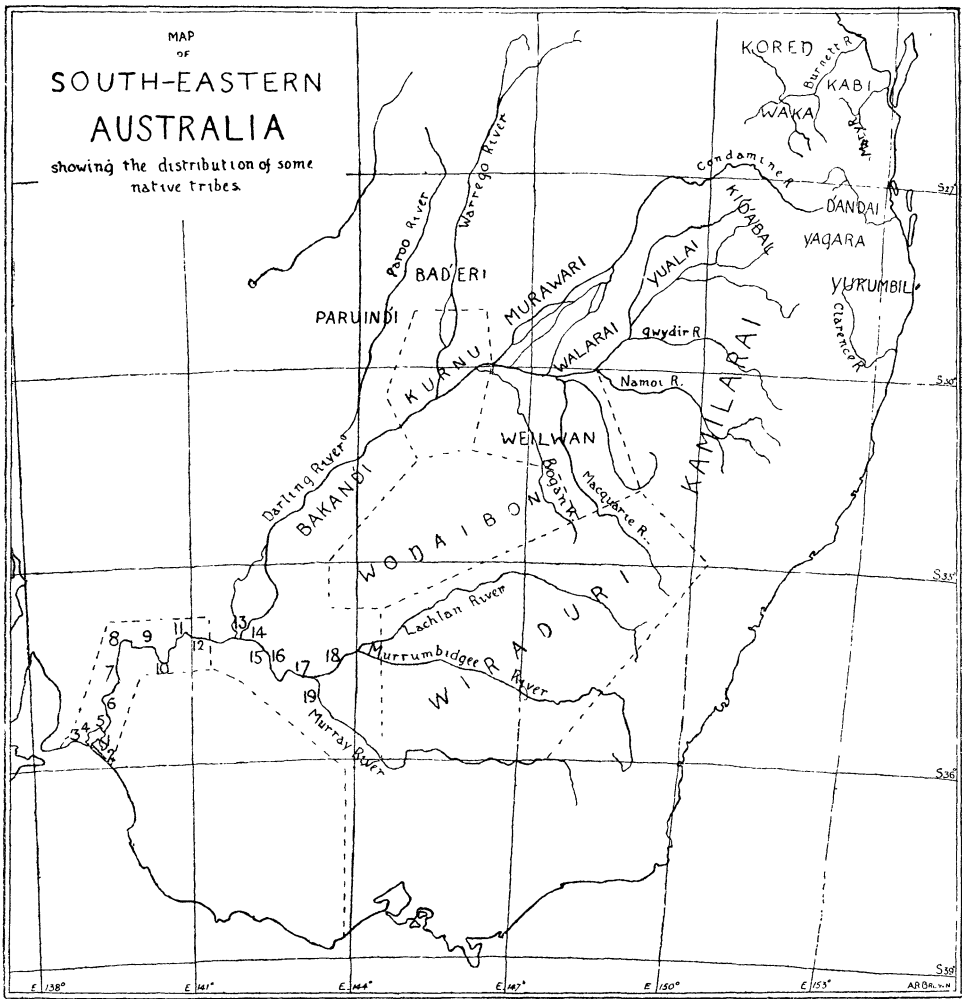
The accompanying map (Map I, p. 226) shows, by means of names in some instances and numbers in others, the approximate positions of the tribes mentioned in the notes. The boundary lines between tribes or groups of tribes are indicated by dotted lines. It must not be supposed that these lines are more than merely roughly approximate.

1. *Yárälde*.

The *Yárälde* or *Yárilde* tribe formerly occupied the country around Lake Albert, and part of the shore of Lake Alexandrina at the mouth of the Murray River in South Australia.

Yaralde is the name both of the tribe and of the language or dialect spoken by the tribe. The language is called *Yarälde tı̃nar*, while the people who speak it are

¹ I first used these diagrams in *Mon*, 1910, 32.

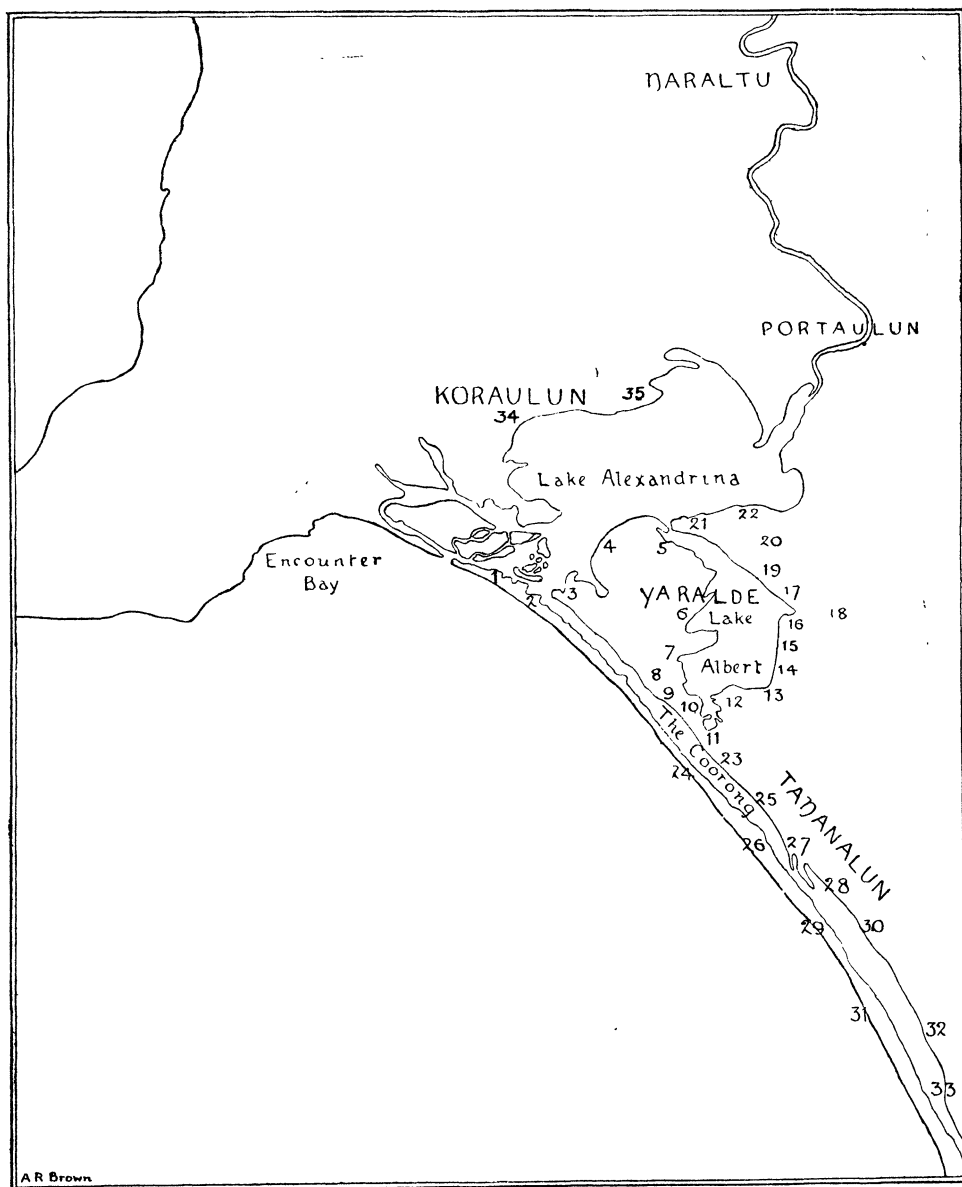


MAP I.

Yaralde kald. The origin of this name and of that of the neighbouring tribe (the Tapanalun) is explained by a legend. The ancestors of the two tribes are believed to have come down the Murray River. When the Yaralde reached the present country of the tribe they came upon the sea, and they said, in their dialect, *Yarawalayan?* "Where shall we go now?" They stayed where they were and their descendants have ever since been known as Yaralde. The ancestors of the Tapanalun similarly came upon the sea farther to the south-east, and they said *Tawalayan?* "Where shall we go?" Their descendants have been known ever since as Tapanalun.

The Yaralde and Tapanalun, together with the Portaulun and the Koraulun and the Encounter Bay tribe, spoke closely related languages, or dialects of the same language. Since the time of Taplin it has been customary to denote these five tribes together as Narrinyeri. In all the dialects or languages this is the word for

“man.” In the Yaralde language it is, at the present time,¹ pronounced *harindêri*, plural *harinderar*. It is not used by the natives as the name of any social division. To a member of the Yaralde tribe any blackfellow is a *harindêri*, no matter what his tribe may be, and whether or not he belongs to the group of tribes to whom alone Taplin applies the term Narrinyeri. A native of the Adelaide tribe is a



MAP II.

¹ In Taplin's works the words and grammatical forms which he gives as Narrinyeri seem to be mainly Yaralde with some admixture of Tadanalun and rather more of Portaulun.

Harinderi, but is not one of Taplin's Narrinyeri. Thus it was Taplin and not the natives themselves who first used the word to denote a distinct body of persons.

The Yarlalde tribe was divided into hordes, each consisting of a number of persons who collectively owned and permanently occupied a certain area of country which was their hunting-ground. No one might hunt over the country of a horde other than his own, or fish in its waters, except on the invitation or with the permission of the owners. Without any exception a child always belonged to the horde of the father.

Each horde of the Yarlalde was a clan—i.e., it consisted of persons who regarded themselves as being closely related in the male line.

Each clan-horde had a name, formed in most instances by adding the suffix *-inderar* (singular *-inderi*) to the name of some prominent spot in its country.¹ Thus the Piltinderar were so named after the spot called Piltank, which belonged to them. A member of the clan was *Piltinderi* (belonging to *Piltank*), a man being *Piltinderiorn* (*korn*, or *-orn* = man), and a woman *Piltinderimimini* (*mimini* = woman). All the members of the clan together were Piltinderar, this being the plural form of the word.

Each clan had a special connection with one or more species of natural objects. A species to which it was related in this way was called the *gaitye* of the clan, and in the description that follows will be spoken of as its totem.

The following list contains the names of most of the clans of the Yarlalde, with the totems when they could be discovered. The numbers of the list correspond to those on the accompanying map, which shows the distribution of the various clans (Map II, p. 227).²

Clan.	Totems.
1. Lugundinderar,	<i>morinderiorn</i> , white-bellied sea-eagle. ? <i>teniteri</i> , seagull (tern ?).
2. Kagalinderar,	? <i>kalu</i> , a bird. ? <i>wankeri</i> , a fish like a mullet.
3. Kandukari,	? <i>teniteri</i> , seagull.
4. Retirinderar,	<i>waiyi</i> , brown snake. <i>wiruri</i> , spider.
5. Manäykar,	<i>rakalde</i> , water-rat. <i>kinkindili</i> , small black turtle.

¹ Meyer (Bibl. 4, p. 185) states that the names of the clans (called by him "tribes") of the Encounter Bay district were formed in the same way. This conflicts with the statements of Howitt (Bibl. 6). See on this point Appendix I.

² The list is not complete, and almost certainly contains some errors. It is possible that there were one or two more clans, the names of which were not discovered. A clan has often two or more names by which it is known to the natives, and this makes it practically impossible to compile a complete and accurate list of the clans in such a short time as that I was able to spend with the tribe. The list of totems is certainly incomplete, and perhaps in some places inaccurate. The natives are now all Christians and pay little or no attention to the totemic system. It is only possible to get a reliable list of the totems of a clan from an old man or woman of the clan itself, and this I was only able to do in a few instances, and even then it is by no means easy to arrive at the exact truth.

Clan.	Totems.
6. Liwurinderar,	<i>nouari</i> , pelican. <i>tukuri</i> , silver bream.
7. Milinderar,	<i>rakalde</i> , water-rat. <i>kinkindili</i> , small turtle.
8. Turarorn,	<i>turi</i> , coot.
9. Yedawulinderar,	<i>panki</i> , a water plant. <i>mainguni</i> , a stinging nettle.
10. Tumbalinderar,	
11. Wuraltinderar,	<i>kungari</i> , swan.
12. Kinarinderar,	<i>paraywateri</i> , a snake.
13. Krapinderar,	<i>pelage</i> , small butterfly. <i>karaiyi</i> , a snake. <i>puykalateri</i> , prickly lizard.
14. Paraigelinderar,	<i>tukuri</i> , silver bream.
15. Yukinderar,	<i>piuwihi</i> , hawk.
16. Limpinderar,	<i>waldi</i> , hot weather.
17. Wutsautinderar	<i>waldi</i> , hot weather.
(or Waltarpularorn)	<i>waltarwaltariñeri</i> , a small bird.
18. Rajurinderar,	<i>keli</i> , wild dog (dark colour). <i>kalari</i> , sleepy lizard.
19. Mulberaperar	<i>nogkulauri</i> , mountain duck.
(or Mulberapinderar)	
20. Yankinderar,	<i>nowari</i> , pelican. <i>pomeri</i> , catfish. <i>përi</i> , hawk. <i>tuyuyui</i> , monitor lizard.
21. Karatinderar,	wild dog (light colour).
22. Piltinderar,	<i>pomeri</i> , catfish.

It will be noticed that in two instances (*Turarorn* and *Waltarpularorn*) the clan-names are formed from the names of totems. Most of the other names are taken from names of localities owned by the clan.

It is very desirable that we should be able to form some idea of the former extent and volume of the clan in this and the neighbouring tribes, *i.e.*, the area of country occupied by each and the average number of persons contained in the clan. Any very exact calculation is unfortunately now impossible. The Rev. George Taplin, who settled among the natives of the Yaralde tribe before they had been greatly influenced by the white settlement, states that "in 1840 the Narrinyeri, according to the most trustworthy evidence, numbered about 3000 souls." (Bibl. 4, p. 9.) In an account of the murder by the Coorong natives of the survivors of the wreck of the *Maria*, in 1840, Taplin, writing of "all the Narrinyeri on the southern side of Lakes Alexandrina and Albert," states that "they could muster

easily 800 warriors," and adds that an eye-witness soon after counted 800 fighting men at a corrobory. (Bibl. 4, p. 154.) To provide 800 fighting men a population of at least 3000 must be supposed, so that if these statements be exact we must conclude that the tribes on the south side of the lakes (*i.e.*, the Yaralde and Tapanalun and perhaps part of the Portaulun) had a total population of not less than 3000. The natives on the other side of the lakes, including those of Encounter Bay, can certainly not have numbered less than one-third of those on the south side, and more probably numbered one-half, so that the whole group of tribes denoted as Narrinyeri must have contained, in 1840, 4000 to 4500 persons. Moreover, we know that about 1820 an epidemic of small-pox came down the Murray River, and carried off the natives literally in hundreds, so that dozens and scores of bodies were buried together. The tribes can hardly have recovered their numbers in twenty years, so that the original population of this part of the country (before 1820) may well have been as much as 6000. We may take this figure as the maximum possible.

Let us now seek a corresponding minimum. Since 1840 the natives have been dying out steadily. All the tribes except the Yaralde and Tapanalun are now practically extinct. The Yaralde tribe has suffered less than the others owing to the influence of the mission established by Taplin in their country. In the year 1877 Taplin wrote down the names of 613 members of the tribes included by him under the name Narrinyeri who were living at that time. This list is still preserved at Point Mackay Mission, and I found that by far the greater number were members of the Yaralde tribe, with some Tapanalun. It is safe to say that in 1877 there were living over 400 of the Yaralde tribe, and that the original numbers of the tribe (before 1820) cannot certainly have been less than 600. It is, therefore, practically certain that the whole of the so-called Narrinyeri cannot have numbered less than 1800 in 1820.

In one passage Taplin relates that in 1849 he saw a battle where 500 of the Narrinyeri met some 800 of the Murray natives. A muster of 500 fighting men would not be possible in a population of less than 1500.

These figures provide us with higher and lower limits. Now the Narrinyeri occupied a country of not much if any more than 3000 square miles, including even the area of the lakes from which they obtained a large part of their food-supply. Taking the maximum figure of 6000, therefore, we have a maximum possible density of population of 2 to the square mile. With the minimum figure of 1800 we have a minimum possible density of 0.6 to the square mile.

We may conclude that prior to 1820 the Narrinyeri probably numbered about 3000 to 4000 with a density of 1 to 1.3 to the square mile; that they certainly could not have numbered less than 1800, and that it is very improbable that they were more than 6000.

Comparing these figures with what we know of other parts of Australia, it appears that this district must have been one of the most densely populated of the whole continent. This is a conclusion that may be supported by considering

the natural resources. The most favoured area of Australia, for a people obtaining their sustenance as the Australian aborigines do, is the narrow strip of country on each side of the Murray River, from its mouth to a point some distance above the Murrumbidgee Junction. It is a region of small rainfall as compared with some other districts of Australia, but it has an inexhaustible supply of fresh water, and, before the white man came, had an abundance of fish and waterfowl and no lack of other game (kangaroos, opossums, wombats) and vegetable food. All the information I have been able to collect points to this strip of country as having been the most densely populated part of Australia before the days of white settlement.

The tribes of the Narrinyeri, so far as I can estimate, contained from 60 to 80 hordes. Some of these owned a large stretch of country, such as the Ragurinderar (18), while others, such as the Siwurinderar (6) had only a small territory. Taking them all together, it may be said that the average "extent" of a horde, including the land over which they hunted and the water over which they fished, was not more than 50 square miles, and may well have been less than this. We may put down the average volume of the horde (*i.e.*, the number of persons it contained) as being about 60. It can hardly have been over 100 or less than 25. Taking Taplin's figure of 800 fighting men on the south side of the lakes, and taking it that there were 40 clans or hordes all told, we have an average of 20 fighting men to the clan.

During the greater part of the year the members of the clan—that is the male members, with their wives and unmarried children—would be found living together in their own country. A camp would be formed in a suitable spot and occupied for a few weeks. This camp would be the temporary headquarters of the clan. As a rule the men and women would go out during the day in search of food and return before nightfall. When food was scarce they might scatter in small parties over the clan's hunting and fishing grounds, and such parties might be away from the main camp for several days at a time. At other times members of the clan might be away visiting their relatives of other clans, or the clan itself might receive visits from relatives. In the summer there were meetings, when several clans would camp together for a few days at a selected spot for the purpose of settling differences by fighting or talking. At such meetings corroborrees were performed. There were meetings of several clans at intervals for the purpose of initiating the young men.¹

Each clan was autonomous and managed its own affairs by means of a camp council. In every clan there was some one man who was regarded as the leader or headman of the clan. The position of headman was not hereditary, but was filled by a sort of informal election.

The way in which the clans were connected with one another will be clearer

¹ See Meyer, *Bibl.* 4, p. 191, for a description of the life of the horde in the Encounter Bay Tribe.

after the relationship system has been described. There are, however, certain special connections between clans that need to be mentioned.

One instance of a special connection is where two clans, not being immediate neighbours, have the same totem (*yaitye*). Thus the Liwurinderar (6) and Yankinderar (20) both have the pelican as their totem. In such a case the two clans are regarded as being related. The men and women of the one are brothers and sisters to those of the other, and are said to be *land'ular*, this being the plural of a word which, in the dual form, *land'ulayk*, is used to denote two brothers together. The members of the two clans cannot intermarry, nor may they fight against each other.

A second case is where two clans having adjoining territory are what is called *tauwali* (plural *tauwalar*) to each other. When two clans are connected in this way the members are regarded as brothers and sisters to each other and may not intermarry; nor would the two clans fight against each other. An example is found in the case of the Manaykar (5), Milinderar (7), and Liwurinderar (6) clans. Manaykar and Milinderar, although, according to the statements of the natives, they are separate clans (*lakalinerar*), have the same totems. The two clans are friendly and do not intermarry. The Liwurinderar clan, although it has different totems, is *tauwali* to both Manaykar and Milinderar. A Liwurinderar man could not marry a woman of either of these two clans. Though they are independent of one another, Liwurinderar and Manaykar are often spoken of together, and are collectively called Palkaruminderar. This name perhaps applies also to Milinderar, but I am not sure on this point.

When two clans are *tauwali* to one another there seems to be a tendency for each to claim the totems of the other. The existence of this peculiar local relationship makes it impossible to compile an accurate list of the clans and their totems without lengthy and laborious enquiry. If there are errors in my list it is probably owing to this cause.

The matter is one on which it would be interesting to have fuller information than I have been able to obtain. Two adjoining clans with the same totems might almost be regarded as subdivisions of one clan. The natives themselves, however, seem to regard them as separate units. So far as I could ascertain, each of the two connected clans in every case maintained a separate camp and had exclusive rights of ownership over its own territory.

Taplin has given two separate accounts of the system of relationship of the Narrinyeri (Bibl. 3, and Bibl. 4, page 48), neither of them sufficiently detailed to permit an exact comparison with other Australian systems. The description given below, while at some points it is fuller than Taplin's, will be found to agree very well with it. The terms in use in the Yarlalde tribe are given in the following list.

Maiya.—This stem, in the form *maiyo* or *maiyanowe*, means "my father's father," and is also applied to a father's father's brothers and sisters and to other relatives of the same generation. In the form *maiyo* or *maiyo* it is applied

by a man to his son's son and daughter, and his brother's son's son and daughter, and by a woman to her brother's son's son and daughter. Thus *maiyno* and *maiya* are reciprocal terms.

Mutša.—The term *mutšano* or *mutšanowe* means "my father's mother," and is also applied to a father's mother's brother and sister. The term *mutša* or *mutšari* is used by a man for his sister's son's son and daughter, and by a woman for her own son's son and daughter, and for her sister's son's son and daughter. Thus *mutšano* and *mutša* are reciprocal.

Yaitya.—In the form *yaityano* or *yaityanowe* this term denotes a mother's father, and is also applied to mother's father's brother or mother's father's sister. The reciprocal form is *yaityeri*, which is applied by a man to his own (or his brother's) daughter's son and daughter, and by a woman to her brother's daughter's son and daughter. The term *tamukunu* is sometimes used as an alternative for *yaityano*. It has probably been borrowed from the tribes to the west of the Yarlde. In the language of the *Hañawara* tribe, which formerly occupied the country round Adelaide, *tamamu* was the term for mother's father. In the form *tami* this term is used over a large area of Western Australia.

Baka.—In the form *bakano* or *bakanowe* this term applies to a mother's mother and her brothers and sisters. The reciprocal form is *bak*, *baka*, or *bakari*, which a man applies to his sister's daughter's son and daughter, and a woman to her own (or her sister's) daughter's son and daughter. The term *kurukunu* is sometimes substituted for *bakano* with the same meaning, and *kuruk* for *baka*. The use of this alternative term has possibly been introduced from the tribes to the east of the Yarlde towards the Victorian border.

Nayai.—This term means "my father" and is also applied to a father's brother, mother's sister's husband and other relatives of the same generation. "Your father" is *naiyu* and "his father" is *yikuwale*.

Yopa.—The term *yopano* or *yopanowe* is applied to the elder of two persons called *nayai* to distinguish him from the younger. It would be thus applied to a father's elder brother. Inversely a man would call his younger brother's son *yopa* or *yopari*.

Waiyati.—Used to distinguish the younger of two brothers who are both *nayai*. Thus, a man would call his father's younger brother *waiyati*. A man applies the same term to his elder brother's son, the term being reciprocal.

Yamba or *mba*.—In the form *yámbar*, *yámbarno*, *yámbarnowe* or *mbárno* this is applied to a father's sister and to a mother's brother's wife. Reciprocally, a woman calls her brother's son and her husband's sister's son *yamb*, *yámbari*, *yámbarian* or *mbári*. I believe that the forms *mbárno*, *mbári* are really the Yarlde words, while the longer forms are Tapanalun, but it is impossible to be sure of this. For "his father's sister" the Yarlde say *mbápali* or *bápali*.

Neyko or *Nayko*.—This term *neyko* or *neykowe* means "my mother" and is also applied to a mother's sister and a father's brother's wife. "Your mother" is *neykowe* and "his mother" is *narkowale*.

Wano.—The term *wanowe* or *wanowa* is applied to a mother's brother and a father's sister's husband. In referring to the mother's brother of another person the terms *kawa*, *wawu*, and *wapali* are used, but I am not sure whether the differences are of dialect or of grammatical distinction. "Where is his uncle?" would be, I believe, *Yaya ni wapali inikai*?

Kela.—This term is applied to an elder brother, and to a father's brother's or mother's sister's son if older than the speaker. "My brother" is *kelano* or *kelanowe*; "his brother" is *kelawale*.

Mara.—This is applied to an elder sister and to the daughters of a father's brothers and of a mother's sisters if older than the speaker. "My sister" is *maranowe*; "his sister" is *marawale*.

Tarte.—Applied to a younger brother or sister and to the sons and daughters of a father's brothers and a mother's sisters when they are younger than the speaker.

Guya.—This term (in the forms *guya*, *guyano* and *guyanowe*) is applied to the son or daughter of a mother's brother or of a father's sister.

Porle.—This term means "child" (son or daughter), and is applied (in the form *porlean*) by a man to his own children and his brother's children and by a woman to her children and her sister's children. It is thus the reciprocal term of *nayai* and *neyko*.

Jaiyi.—A term applied by a man to his own child, but perhaps not to his brother's child. On the latter point I am doubtful. The term is only used in addressing and not in speaking about the child.

Jara.—A term applied by a woman to her own child, but perhaps not to her sister's child. Only used as a term of address.

Najari.—Used by a man to denote his sister's son and daughter. A *najari* is addressed by the term *ajj*. The term is the reciprocal of *wano*.

Yulundi.—A man applies this term to his wife's father and his wife's father's brothers, and (reciprocally) to his daughter's husband and his brother's daughter's husband.

Karihe.—A man applies this term to his wife's mother and she applies the same term to him.

Roggi.—A man applies this term to his wife's brother and to his sister's husband, and also to his wife's sister and his sister's husband's sister.

Jopeli.—A man applies this term to the wife of any man he calls "brother" (*kela*, or *tarte*), and to the wife of his *mutsa* or his *gaityeri*. A woman calls her husband's brother *jopeli*.

Rinanowe.—A woman applies this term to the wife of any man she calls "brother" and reciprocally to her husband's sister.

Wärägalupi.—A man applies this term to the husband of any woman he calls *guya*, and reciprocally to the *guya* (mother's brother's or father's sister's son) of his wife.

Nauwiruli.—Used by a man to denote the husband of his wife's sister.

Maiyareli.—A man applies this term to his son's wife or his brother's son's wife, and she applies the same term to him.

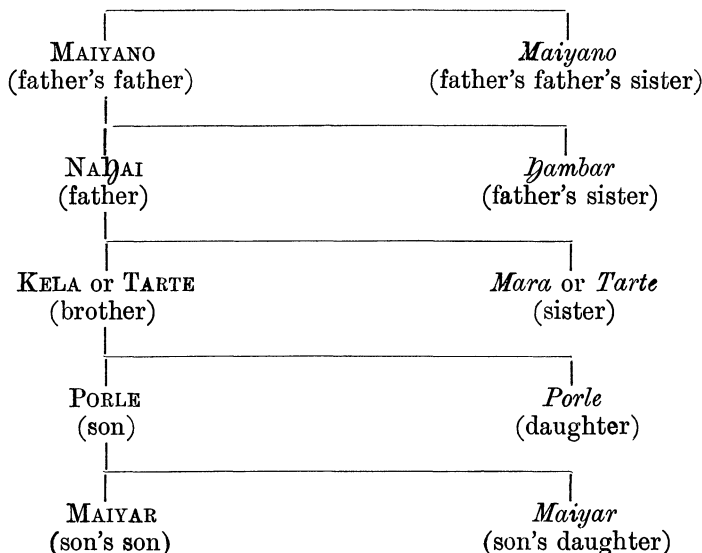
Kut'il.—Applied by a man to the wife of his *nayari* (sister's son).

Nape or *Napian*.—"My wife" or "my husband." Used by a man only in reference to his own wife, and by a woman to her own husband.

Besides the above terms, there are others used for certain relatives together, as *rituleyk*—father and child; *ratuleyk*—mother and child; *landulanjk*—two brothers; *landular*—a number of brothers (more than two); *yoperleyk*—a man with his *yopari*, etc.

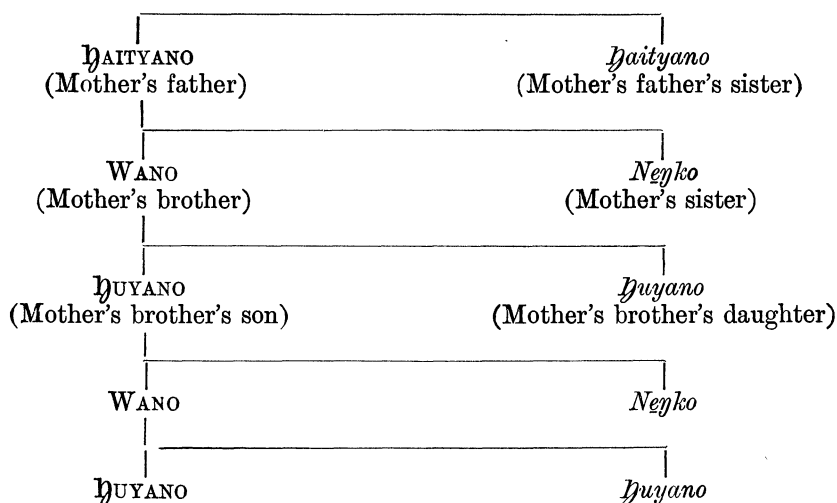
The basis of the Yaralde system of relationship is the classification of grandparents into four kinds. These are the *maiya*, father's father and his brothers and sisters; *mutsa*, father's mother and her brothers and sisters; *yaiya*, mother's father, etc.; and *baka*, mother's mother, etc.

A man belongs to his father's clan, which is, of course, the clan of his own *maiya*, or father's father. His father's father's brothers and sisters and all the men and women of the clan of the same generation are his *maiya*. He calls them *maiyno* or *maiyanowe*, and they call him *maiya* or *maiyaereri*. The sons of his male *maiya*, including his own father and his father's brothers, are all his *nayai*, while the daughters (his father's sisters) are his *yambar*. The sons of his *nayai* (including his own brothers) are his *kela* or *tarte*, according as they are older or younger than himself, and the daughters are his *mara* and *tarte*, with a similar distinction as to age. These are his clan brothers and sisters. His own children and those of his *kela* and male *tarte* are his *porle*. Finally, the children of his sons and his brothers' sons are his *maiya*. A man's relatives of his own clan are shown in the following table:—



These relatives, of his own clan, all belong to what may be called one line of descent (counted through males), being all descendants of the *maiya*. The next

line of descent to be considered is that of the *yaitya* (mother's father). A man applies the term *kaywiti* to the clan to which his mother and her father (his *yaitya*) belong. His mother's father and the other men and women of the same clan and generation are his *yaityano*. The sons of these are his *wano* (mother's brother) and the daughters *neyko* (mother and mother's sister). The children of his *wano* are his *yuyano* (male and female cousins). The sons of his male cousins he calls *wano*, they calling him *ay* or *nayari*, and the daughters he calls *neyko*. There is here a most interesting and important feature of the Yarlde system as compared with the Australian systems. The same term (*wano*) is applied to a mother's brother and to a mother's brother's son's son, and thus the reciprocal term (*nayari*) is applied both to a sister's son and to a father's father's sister's son. The following table shows the relation of the mother's clan or *kaywiti*:—



The next line of descent to be considered is that of the *mutga* or father's mother. A man calls the clan to which his father's mother belongs (which is of course his father's *kaywiti*) his *mutgaaurui*. He calls all the members of the clan, male and female, *mutgano* or *mutgau* and they call him *mutg* or *mutga*.

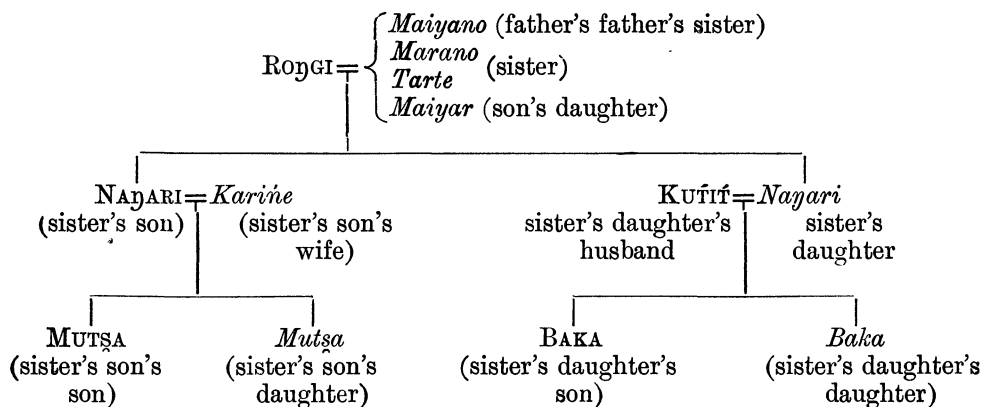
The last of the four lines of descent of the Yarlde system is that of the *baka* or mother's mother. A man calls the clan to which his mother's mother belongs his *bakaaurui*. He calls all the members of the clan *bakano* (or *kurukunu*) irrespective of sex or age, and they call him *bak* or *baka* (or *kuruk*).

These are the four principal clans to which a man is related, *viz.*, his own clan (*maiya*), his mother's clan or his *kaywiti* (*yaitya*), his father's mother's clan or *mutgaaurui* and his mother's mother's clan or *bakaaurui*. There are, however, other clans to which he is related and which he calls his *maraurui* (*mara* = elder sister). These are the clans of his father's father's mother (his father's *mutgaaurui*, the *kaywiti* of his own *maiya*) and of his mother's father's mother (his mother's *mutgaaurui*, the *kaywiti* of his own *yaityano*). A man calls all the men of these two clans *kela* (elder brother) and all the women *mara* (elder sister).

Besides these general clan relationships which are traced through the four grandparents, a man is also related to certain persons in many other clans without thereby being related to all the members of the clan to which such a person belongs. Returning to the relatives of a man's own clan we may note the following relationships brought about by marriage :—

The	wife	of	his	<i>mai</i>	is	his	<i>mut</i>
„	„	„	„	<i>nayai</i>	„	„	<i>neyko</i>
„	„	„	„	<i>kela</i> or <i>tarte</i>	„	„	<i>yopeli</i>
„	„	„	„	<i>porle</i>	„	„	<i>mai</i> <i>yareli</i>
„	„	„	„	<i>mai</i> <i>yar</i>	„	„	<i>yopeli</i>

The above are all women who belong to other clans, but come to live with his clan on marriage. On the other hand, the women of his clan marry into other clans. The husband of a *mai**yano* (father's father's sister), of a *marano* or *tarte* (sister), or of a *mai**yar* (son's daughter) is called *roygi*, and the children of these are called *nayari*. The relationships thus established are shown in the following table:—



The husband of a father's sister (*yambarno*), unless he be a relative (such as *wano*) by some other connection, is called *roygi*. The children of the *yambarno*, to whatever clan they may belong, are called *yuyano*. The husband of a *porle* (daughter or brother's daughter) is called *yulundi*, and the children, whatever may be their clan, are *yaityeri*.

Turning now to the *kaywiti*, or mother's clan, there are one or two interesting features. The wife of a *yaityano* (mother's father's brother) is *bakano*. The wife of a *wano* (mother's brother, or mother's brother's son's son) is *yambarno*. The wife of a *yuyano* (mother's brother's son) is apparently *kari**ne*. This last is an important feature, as *kari**ne* is the term applied to a wife's mother.

The female members of a man's *kaywiti*, marry into other clans. The husband of a *neyko* (mother's sister) is *nayai*, and their children are regarded as brothers and sisters. The husband of a *yuyano* (mother's brother's daughter) is denoted by a special term, *wäräyalup*.

Besides these more direct relationships there are others more distant. Thus, two men who have the same *bakaurui* or the same *mutšaurui* are "brothers" to one another.

The above description should make it clear that each man has a number of relatives in different clans besides those in his own clan, his *kaywiti*, *mutšaurui*, *bakaurui* and *maraurui*. The difference is that the individual relationships just described do not necessarily involve relationship with all the other members of the same clan. Thus a clan may contain a man who is *nagai* (mother's sister's husband) to me and whose sons and daughters are my "brothers" and "sisters"; but this does not necessarily involve any particular relation between me and the other members of the clan.

We must now consider the relationships set up by a man's own marriage. The clan from which he obtains his wife becomes his *nauwarui*. His wife's father and the clan brothers and sisters of this man become henceforth his *yulundi*. The clan brothers and sisters of his wife are his *roygi*. In receiving his wife he gives a "sister" in exchange, and the children of this woman, who of course belong to his wife's clan, are his *nayari*. The other children of the clan are not necessarily related to him, and he may call them *roygi*.

His wife's mother, who does not belong to his *nauwarui*, is his *kariñe*. By an unfortunate and inexcusable oversight I neglected to make sufficient enquiry concerning the wife's mother's clan.

An interesting relationship brought about by marriage is that of *nauwiruli*. A man applies this term to the husband of his wife's own sister.

It is now possible to state in precise form the marriage regulations of the Yaralde tribe. A man may not marry any woman to whom he is related by any of the recognised relationships (except that of *roygi*). He may not marry a woman of his own clan, nor of any clan that is *tauwali* to his own, nor of any clan that has the same totem (*yaitye*). He may not take a wife from his mother's clan (his *kaywiti*), his father's mother's clan (his *mutšaurui*), his mother's mother's clan (his *bakaurui*), nor from the clans of his father's father's mother and his mother's father's mother (his *maraurui*). He may marry into any other clan, but he may not marry a woman who is related to him by any of the recognised blood-relationships—e.g., his *yuyano* (father's sister's daughter), or his *marano* (mother's sister's daughter).

A man can only obtain a wife by giving a woman in exchange. If he had an unmarried sister he would give her. If he had no sister of his own any unmarried girl of his own clan would do, but he would have to obtain the consent of her father and brothers, and in any case the exchange would have to be approved by the whole clan. Indeed, it is the clan, and not the individual, which arranges the marriage, obtaining wives for its males in exchange for the marriageable women. If a man cannot find a girl from his own clan he may be able to obtain one from a clan that is *tauwali* to his own. Thus a man of the Milinderar clan might obtain a woman from the Manapkar clan to give in exchange for a wife. In rare cases a

woman might be married without having been paid for by another given in exchange, but this was looked upon as a disgrace for the woman herself and for the clan into which she married. The woman given in exchange is taken as wife by one of the men of the clan.

It is obvious that in these circumstances the arrangement of marriages was a lengthy and often troublesome business. It would seem, however, that, in former times, infringements of the marriage regulations were of rare occurrence. (Since the establishment of the Mission amongst them this is no longer so.) I was told of instances in which a man had married a woman of his *bakaurui* (mother's mother's clan). Such a marriage, however, was very likely to lead to quarrels and fights, and the husband was always in danger of being punished by evil magic (*milin*) by old men of the tribe who disapproved of his action.

Perhaps the marriage regulations will be made clearer by giving a concrete example. Dan Wilson (my best informant of this tribe) belongs to the Liwurinderar (6) clan. He could not marry into the Manajkar (5) or Milinderar (7) clans owing to the local relationship, those clans being *tauvalar* to him. He could not marry into the Yankinderar (20) clan because it had the same totem as his own. His *kaywiti* (mother's clan) was *Mulberaperar* (19), his *mutšaurui* (father's mother's clan) was *Paraigelinderar* (14), and his *bakaurui* (mother's mother's clan) was *Piltinderar* (22). He could not take a wife from any of these. The *Yukinderar* (15) clan was his *maraurui*, being the *mutšaurui* of his mother, and the *Rajurinderar* (18) clan was also his *maraurui*, being his father's *mutšaurui*, so that he could not marry into them. Besides these clan relationships, as they may be called, Dan Wilson of course had many female relatives in other clans whom he might not marry. Thus the *Karatinderar* (21) clan was his mother's *bakaurui* and, moreover, one or two women of his clan (who were *gambar* to him) had been given to *Karatinderar* men. For this reason practically all the members of this clan are Dan's relatives (*wano*, *guyano*, etc.), so that he could not find a wife there.

Dan Wilson obtained a wife from the *Kinarinderar* (12) clan, which thereby became the *kaywiti* of his children, the *mutšaurui* of his grandchildren (son's children) and the *maraurui* of his great-grandchildren (son's son's children). Thus, Dan having married into this clan, his sons and sons' sons and sons' sons' sons are prohibited from marrying into it.

There is one matter, of fundamental importance, about which the genealogical material collected did not give sufficient information. The *Yaralde* system of relationship is a variety of what I propose to call Type II. Now, in most of the Australian tribes having a system of this type (as, for example, in the *Dieri* and *Aranda* tribes), the proper person for a man to marry is his second cousin, being his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, or his father's father's sister's son's daughter, or some person who stands to him in the same relation and is denoted by the same term. It would, therefore, be of considerable importance to ascertain if such marriages of second cousins are allowed by the *Yaralde* system.

Unfortunately, as mentioned above, this could not be done. A man's mother's mother's brother's daughter is his *bakano* (belonging as she does to his *bakaurui*). I imagine that it is possible that, if she married a suitable husband, she might become his *kariñe* (wife's mother) and her daughter be given to him to wife; I have no evidence that such marriages occurred, but there does not seem to be any objection to them so far as I understand the system.

A man's father's father's sister's son is his *nayari*, and the wife of a *nayari* is called *kariñe*. The latter term would suggest that the daughter of this pair (*i.e.* his father's father's sister's son's daughter) would be eligible as his wife. Against this there is the fact that she is his *mutsa*, and certainly as a rule a man may not marry a woman to whom he applies this term. The question has to be left open.

It is quite possible that the Yarlde system does permit a man to marry his second cousin (of the kind mentioned), but it is not certain that such marriages would not be regarded with disapproval.

To complete this account of the relationship system it would be necessary to describe the way in which a man's conduct is regulated by custom in his dealings with different kinds of relatives. On this subject, however, I have only the scantiest information.

I was told that in former times a man might not fight against his *kaywiti* (mother's clan). He would always be welcome to visit his mother's people and would be entertained and looked after by them. A man would also be well received by the members of his *mutsa* (father's mother's clan) and of his *bakaurui* (mother's mother's clan), and I believe that he would not fight against these clans. I was told that men who are *mutsa* to one another are like brothers, and this is confirmed by the fact that a man applies the same term, *yopeli* to the wife of his *mutsa* as to the wife of his brother. A man is always on friendly terms with his *nauwarui* (wife's clan). He would be welcomed on a visit and hospitably entertained. A man might speak freely to his *yulundi* (wife's father), but he might on no account speak to or have any contact with his wife's mother.

An interesting relationship is that between two men who have married two sisters and who call each other *nauwiruli*. Two such men are said to be very closely connected. They must always help each other in every possible way. If a man went on a journey by himself, he would, if possible, leave his wife and children in the care of his *nauwiruli*. If he visited a camp to which one of his *nauwiruli* belonged, the latter would entertain him.

It should be added that in the Yarlde tribe, as in so many Australian tribes, persons never address one another by name, but use instead the proper term of relationship.

It is now too late to obtain information about the totemism of the Yarlde tribe. It is possible that there formerly existed an organised totemic ritual. Taplin has not recorded anything on the subject, and my own enquiries failed to elicit any information, but this must not be taken as evidence that such a ritual did not

exist. The men and women of a clan might eat, and did eat, their totem, if it were edible, but they were careful to destroy all the remains (bones, etc.), lest they should fall into the hands of an enemy and be used for evil magic. Some part of the totemic animal was in some instances used as a badge of the clan. Thus the Liwurinderar used to carry pelican skins on their spears when they went out to fight.

Further information on the language, customs, etc., of the Yaralde will be found in the works mentioned in the bibliography.

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2. *Táyanálun*.

The Táyanálun tribe formerly occupied the country to the south-east of the Yaralde, and lived on the shores of the long narrow sheet of water known as the Coorong. The language or dialect was very similar to the Yaralde ținar and the two tribes seem to have had exactly the same social organisation and the same customs.

The following is a list of Tayanalun clans with the totems where they are known. The information from which the list is compiled is not very trustworthy.¹

<i>Clan.</i>	<i>Totems.</i>
23. Timpuruminderar,	<i>maluwi</i> , a big fish. <i>tili</i> , blue fly.
24. Kargarinderar,	<i>galgarinderiorn</i> , bull ant. <i>? kanmera</i> , mullet.
25. Kaikalabinderar,	
26. Kanmerarorn, or Kanmer- inderar,	
27. Mantandar,	
28. Țaiyinderar,	
29. Puruwinderar,	
30. Momakenderar,	
31. Neȝkandular,	
32. Milminderar,	

¹ The numbers refer to Map II, which shows the approximate position of the clans.

In reference to this list of clans it should be noted that with regard to some clans, such as the Wuraltinderar (11) and Kinarinderar (12) included in the Yaralde list, it is difficult to decide whether they should be considered to belong to the Yaralde or to the Tapanalun tribe. As one of my informants said, they are "mixed Yaralde and Tapanalun." In other words, there is no clear fixed boundary between the two tribes.

3.—*Encounter Bay Tribe.*

The natives who formerly owned the country around Goolwa and Encounter Bay spoke a dialect closely related to Yaralde, and had the same social organisation and observed the same customs as the Yaralde tribe. It is possible that they were really a part of this tribe. One of my native informants told me that these people, whom he spoke of as Tarbanawalun, were merely a division of the Yaralde kald.

The tribe (if it were really such) is now practically extinct. I could only learn the name of one clan, the Raminderar, and even about that one could obtain no satisfactory information.

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4.—*Koraulun.*

Koraulun is the name by which the Yaralde denote the former inhabitants of the northern shore of Lake Alexandrina, but I am not satisfied that this is really the tribal name and only use it for convenience.

The social organisation of the tribe was similar to that of the Yaralde. The two tribes had frequent dealings with one another and communicated by smoke signals across the lake.

I could only obtain information about two clans of this tribe. The Pujuratpular clan (number 34 on the map) held the country around Milang. The totems of the clan were *peldi*, musk duck, and *kërli*, a bird living in the reeds, possibly a kingfisher. Another clan (35 on the map), formerly occupying the country around Taldaraj (now called Tolderol), had for its totems *lauari*, grey goose, *kqribäli*, a little bird like a skylark, and *patpotariki*, a small bird. I was told that the name of this clan was Korowalde, but this is only another form of the name Koraulun, given above as possibly the name of the tribe. Taplin mentions a clan named Korowalle, and gives the whipsnake as its totem. It therefore seems probable that *Korowalde* (or Korowalle) is a general name for a number of clans—possibly for the whole tribe.

Bibliography.

The Koraulun is one of the tribes included by Taplin under the name Narrinyeri. For bibliographical references see under "Yaralde," p. 241.

5. *Portaulun.*

According to informants of the Yaralde tribe, Portaulun was the name of the tribe that formerly occupied the lower part of the Murray River where it enters Lake Alexandrina. The social organization of this tribe was similar to that of the Yaralde.

6. *Ḥaráltu.*

The Ḥaráltu tribe formerly occupied the banks of the Murray River between Swanport and Mannum. I am not quite sure of the correct name. The Ḥayuruku immediately to the north gave it to me as Ḥarált or Ḥaráltu. The Yaralde seem to refer to the same tribe by the name *Wañakald* or *Wañaulun*.

What little information I could obtain about this almost extinct tribe points to its having had a social organization similar to that of the Yaralde. It was divided into local clans, each with its own territory and each having one or more species of natural objects as its totem or *yayuzu*. Thus, near Mupuluoyko (Mobilong as it is now called) was an important clan having as its *yayuzu* the black duck *yakuru*. A child belonged to the clan of its father. Marriage within the clan was forbidden.

Of the system of relationship I gathered only scanty details. It seemed to me probable that it was in the main similar to that of the Yaralde. The strict accuracy of the following list of terms cannot be vouched for:—

<i>metat</i> , father's father.	<i>yayara</i> , son (female speaking).
<i>māzan</i> , father's mother.	<i>yuluwuntu</i> , wife's father, wife's mother.
<i>yatat</i> , mother's father.	
<i>pakaiya</i> , mother's mother.	<i>yuzunta</i> , mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter (female speaking).
<i>ḡiyiga</i> , father.	
<i>yaraga</i> , mother.	<i>yandi</i> , mother's brother's son, father's sister's son (female speaking).
<i>kaḏaga</i> , mother's brother.	
<i>yambara</i> , father's sister.	<i>maiñuzu</i> , brother's son (female speaking).
<i>kula</i> , elder brother.	
<i>yanduta</i> , younger brother.	<i>Waragalup</i> , mother's brother's daughter's husband.
<i>maiaga</i> , elder sister.	
<i>yamaiya</i> , younger sister.	
<i>yaiñi</i> , son (male speaking).	

7. *Ḥayuruku.*¹

The Ḥayuruku tribe formerly occupied the banks of the Murray River from Mannum to about Herman's Landing. The social organization seems to have been

¹ My information about this tribe was obtained from an old woman named Jenny, whom I met at Morgan in 1914. Her father belonged to the Ḥañawara tribe of Adelaide, but her mother was Ḥayuruku, and she was adopted into her mother's tribe when she was a girl.

similar in the main to that of the Yaralde tribe. The tribe was divided into localised clans, each owning and occupying a defined portion of the tribal territory. Each clan had a special relation to one or more species of natural objects which was the *ṭini* of the clan. I have very little information about the clans and their totems. At Mannum, on the west (right) bank of the river there was a clan named *Welula* (said to be named after the sugar ant) with the *witakuru* (Murray cod) for its totem. On the opposite side of the river was a clan called Kupulaka, which also had the cod for its totem. The members of these two clans might not intermarry. At Manupka there was a clan named Tupawalaka, having the *witṣamayk* (musk duck) for totem.

The following is an incomplete list of terms of relationship¹—

meṭei or *meṭsa*, father's father, father's father's sister, son's son (m.) brother's son's son (m. f.), son's daughter (m.), brother's son's daughter (m. f.), brother's wife (f.).

noidla, father's mother, father's mother's brother, son's son and daughter (f.), sister's son's son and daughter (m. f.).

yatta, mother's father, mother's father's sister, daughter's son and daughter (m.), brother's daughter's son and daughter (m. f.).

paka, mother's mother, mother's mother's brother, daughter's son and daughter (f.), sister's daughter's son and daughter (m. f.).

pita, father, father's brother.

yurla, father's sister, mother's brother's wife.

wawur, mother's brother.

yaka, mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.

marāka, elder brother (*markilaky*) = two brothers together.

payka, younger brother.

maika, elder sister (*maitilaky* = two sisters together).

laka, younger sister.

reya, son, daughter.

pipka, husband.

gamaitu, wife (woman).

mambuk, husband's brother.

mambua, brother's wife (m.).

lunta, wife's mother, wife's father, daughter's husband (f.).

raykai, sister's husband (f.), wife's brother, husband's sister.

napnap, brother's son (f.).

kurumera, mother's brother's daughter's husband (f.), wife's mother's brother's daughter (m.).

runna, mother's brother's daughter (f.), father's sister's daughter (f.).

runta, mother's brother's son (f.), father's sister's son (f.).

pama, sister's son and daughter (m.).

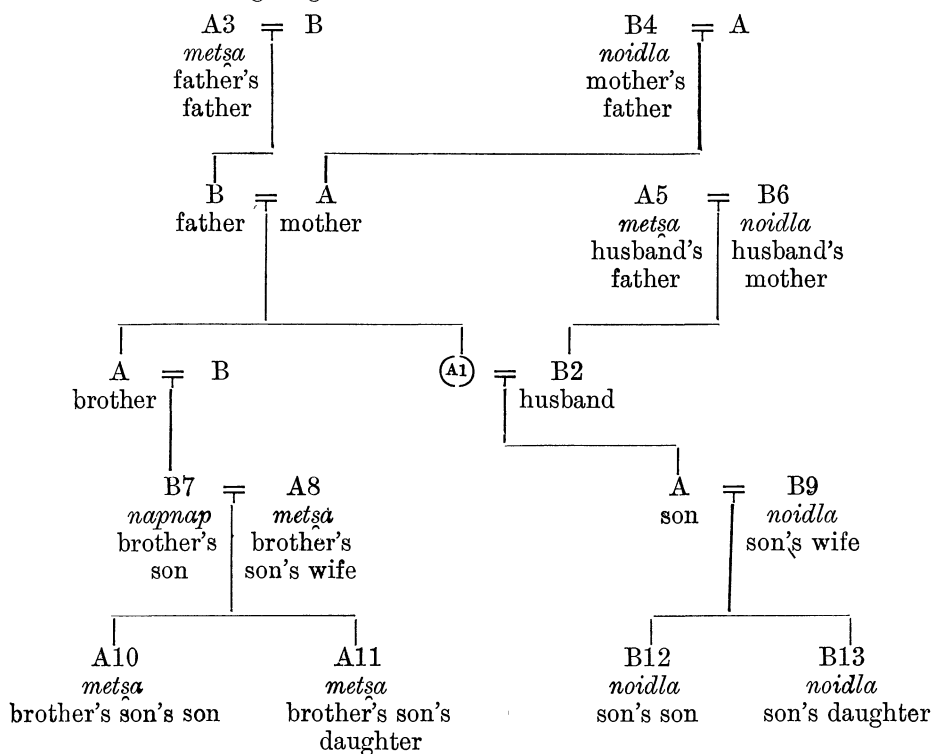
¹ In this and other lists m. stands for "male speaking," and f. for "female speaking."

This list of terms may be compared with a list given by Taplin (Bibliography, p. 169), which was probably obtained from the *Ḥayuruku* tribe. Two other lists of relationship terms from the same tribe or from the neighbouring tribes are given on p. 158 of the same work.

A comparison of the terms given above with those of the Yaralde shows that there is some similarity between the systems, a few of the terms being nearly the same (*yatta* = *yaitya*, *paku* = *baka*, etc.). However, what little information I was able to collect seems to show that there were important differences between the Yaralde and the *Ḥayuruku* systems. One or two interesting features of the latter system may be briefly noted.

A woman applies the term *noidla* to her father's mother and to the brothers and sisters of the latter, and also to her husband's mother and to her son's wife. Her son's children are also *noidla* and their children again are *noidla*. A woman calls her husband's father *metṣa*, that being the term she also applies to a father's father. She also calls the wife of her *napnap* (brother's son) *metṣa* and the children of this pair are again *metṣa*.

These peculiarities at once suggest that there may be in the *Ḥayuruku* tribe some trace of the dual division which is found in tribes higher up the river (the Maraura, for instance), but which is entirely absent in the Yaralde. This may be seen from the following diagram:—



This diagram shows the relatives of the woman A1. If there were a dual division with female descent in this tribe, all those shown as A in the diagram

would belong to the same moiety of the tribe as the woman herself, and those marked B would belong to the other moiety. It will be noticed that the woman applies the term *meṭsa* only to persons marked A, such as her father's father (A3), husband's father (A5), brother's son's wife (A8), and brother's son's children (A 10 and 11); whereas she applies the term *noidla* only to those marked B, such as her mother's father (B4), husband's mother (B6), son's wife (B9), and son's children (B 12 and 13).

These peculiar features suggest that the ḡayuruku tribe might at one time have had the dual division with female descent. Although the surviving members of the tribe are well acquainted with the Kilpara and Mākwarā divisions of the Maraūra tribe and other tribes up the river, and the Krokiḍ and Kamad divisions of the tribes to the east of them, yet I could not discover that the ḡayuruku tribe itself had similar named divisions.

With reference to the totemism of this tribe it may be noted that personal names always have some connection with the person's totem.

Thus a member of the cod-fish clan is named *Rakara* from a word referring to the gills of the fish.

Bibliography.

- (1) Taplin (Rev. G.), *The Folklore, Manners, and Customs of the South Australian Aborigines*. Adelaide, 1879.

Taplin speaks of the Meru "tribe," and includes under that name the ḡayuruku and the other tribes higher up the river, all of which use the word *meru* to mean "man."

8.—ḡaiyau.

The ḡaiyau tribe formerly occupied the banks of the Murray River about the North-West bend. The language and social organization were apparently similar to those of the ḡayuruku.

The following terms of relationship are extracted from an early vocabulary by Moorhouse (Bibliography 1) of what he calls the Meru tribe. This word *meru* is the word for "man" in the ḡayuruku and ḡaiyan languages, and probably in those of the Ṃanaif, Yiran, Yuyu and ḡintait also. I was told by the natives who remember him that the language Moorhouse knew best was the ḡaiyan. The original spelling is retained:—

bāākai, grandmother on mother's side.

bāāko, grandchild.

loangko, a wife.

lunko, name for a relative.

markilakko, two brothers.

marrukko, elder brother.

metei, grandfather on father's side.

metto, grandchild.

narnatower, name for a relative.

neneruonko, name for a relative.

noilya, grandmother.

noilyawur, grandchild of the *noilya*.

nukko, uncle.

nukkuwur, father.

ngaimetti, mother-in-law.

ngaingakka, my mother (*ngaiyo* = my)

<i>ngaiyopitti</i> , my father.	<i>pangur</i> , stepfather.
<i>ngakkai</i> , thy mother.	<i>pangkai</i> or <i>pangko</i> , younger brother or sister.
<i>ngammaityu</i> , woman, female.	
<i>ngatta</i> , grandfather on the mother's side.	<i>pangwun</i> , name of a relation.
<i>ngatto</i> , grandson of the <i>ngatta</i> .	<i>petuwarra</i> , father.
<i>ngawur</i> or <i>ngakur</i> , mother.	<i>pewi</i> , husband.
<i>ngurlo</i> , mother-in-law.	<i>pitai</i> , thy father.
<i>pamkalpo</i> , son-in-law.	<i>reyu</i> or <i>reiya</i> , a child.
<i>pammo</i> , nephew.	<i>waumai</i> , father-in-law.

Bibliography.

Moorhouse (M.), *A Vocabulary and Outline of the Grammatical Structure of the Murray River Language, spoken by the natives of South Australia, from Wellington, on the Murray, as far as the Rufus.* Adelaide, 1846. pp. viii + 64.

9. *Nauait*.

A tribe which occupied the banks of the Murray River between Boggy Flat and Loxton. The social organization was probably of the same general type as that of the Yaralde and Januruku tribes.

Bibliography.

- (1) Taplin, *Folklore, etc., of the South Australian Aborigines*, 30. A few brief notes on this tribe, of little value, are given in Taplin's work. The name of the language is given as Niawoo. I have heard the name pronounced in a way that might be rendered by this spelling, the final *t* being sometimes slurred in speaking.
- (2) Curr, *Australian Race*, II. 278.

The vocabulary given from the North-West bend of the Murray River is possibly from this tribe.

10. *Yirau*.

This tribe formerly occupied the banks of the Murray River between Loxton and Paringa. I have no information about the social organization.

11. *Yuyu*.

A tribe formerly living on the Murray River above Paringa. There is nothing known about the social organization.

Bibliography.

- 1) Taplin, *Folklore of the South Australian Aborigines*, 28.

Brief information about this tribe is given on the authority of Corporal Shaw. The name of the language is given as You-you.

12. *Yintait*.

A tribe formerly occupying the country on both sides of the Murray River, below Salt Creek about Ned's Corner Station. I have no exact information about

the social organization, but I believe that the tribe had no dual division and was organized into local totemic clans in much the same way as the Januruku and Yaralde tribes.

Bibliography.

(1) Curr, *Australian Race*, II, 280.

Curr gives a vocabulary, probably from this tribe, contributed by A. H. Pegler

13.—*Maraura.*

The Maraura tribe formerly occupied the country around the junction of the Darling and Murray rivers, apparently extending down the latter as far as Lake Victoria. The natives around Lake Victoria were known as Yakumku, but this is probably the name of a local subdivision (sub-tribe) of the Maraura.

The Maraura tribe had the dual division, the moieties being named Kilpara and Mäkwara (or Mäkgara). I understood from a man of this tribe that a child belongs to the mother's moiety, but Holden (Bibliography 1) says that "the children in most cases take the father's class name, but at times the mother's. What rules the matter it is very hard to say for certain." Every individual has one or more totems which he inherits from his mother. The *Maraura* term for totem is *ṭapi*. My informant told me that his totems were *kanau* (eaglehawk), *ṇamba* (silver fish), *puḍali* (a star) and *pilṭa* (opossum), this being the order in which he mentioned them. He could not remember his father's totems. He himself belonged to the Kilpara moiety. He had married (against tribal law) a woman of the same moiety as himself. Her totem was the Murray cod, *pärndu*. The totem, if it be edible, may be eaten by the person whose totem it is.

I was not able to work out the system of relationship, but I collected a list of terms.

<i>kambia</i> , father.	<i>ḡaiṇmia</i> , father's sister, sister's son's wife.
<i>ḡamaga</i> , mother.	<i>ḡundi</i> , mother's brother's son.
<i>matiya</i> , father's father, son's son.	<i>kuliri</i> , wife's mother.
<i>kaiṇta</i> , father's mother.	<i>ḡunduwa</i> , wife's father, daughter's husband.
<i>ḡatta</i> , mother's father, daughter's son and daughter.	<i>ṭanguwa</i> , wife's brother.
<i>kakwia</i> , elder brother.	<i>ṇuḡai</i> , wife.
<i>wituwa</i> , elder sister.	<i>mambu</i> , wife's sister, brother's wife.
<i>paluwia</i> , younger brother.	<i>wimbara</i> , son, daughter.
<i>kaityaga</i> , younger sister.	<i>kigwia</i> , sister's son.
<i>wakia</i> , mother's brother.	<i>tawaṇa</i> , son's wife.

The above terms are in all cases those used by a male. The list is to be compared with that given by Taplin (Bibliography 1, 167, 168).

So far as I could learn it seemed probable that the tribe had a relationship system of type II, but this could not be determined with certainty. In Taplin's work it is stated that a man may marry his mother's brother's daughter, but I

certainly think that with the above list of terms before us we are justified in suspecting that this statement may be erroneous.

Bibliography.

- (1) Taplin, *Folklore, etc., of the South Australian Aborigines.*

Information about the "Maraura" tribe is given by Rev. R. W. Holden in the form of answers to questions (pp. 17-28). A list of terms of relationship is given (pp. 167, 168).

- (2) Curr, *Australian Race*, II, 238.

A vocabulary of the Maraura language was contributed to Curr's work by John Bulmer. The tribal name is given as Marowera.

- (3) Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia.*

The tribe is mentioned under the name Wiimbaio. The word *wimbaia* is the term for "man" in all the languages of the Darling River including the Maraura. It is not a tribal name.

14. *Karin.*

This tribe is also known by the names Karinma and Pintwa, the latter being the word for "No" in the language of the tribe. It formerly occupied the country on the north bank of the Murray River between the Taḡi-taḡi and the Maraura tribes. We have no information about the social organization.

Bibliography.

- (1) Curr, *Australian Race*, II, 282. Curr gives a vocabulary of what he calls the Kemendok language, described as extending from Mallee Cliffs Station to Wentworth. This is most probably from the Karin tribe.
- (2) Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 52. The tribe is mentioned by the Kerinma, but no information is given about the social organization.

15. *Laitu-laitu.*

This tribe formerly occupied the south side of the Murray River below Euston. I met with one man of the tribe in 1914, but he had been away from his own country for many years and was not a reliable informant.

The tribe is divided into two moieties named Kailpara and Mäkwara. A child belongs to the mother's moiety. My informant told me that there was a special connection between Kailpara and the emu and a similar connection between Mäkwara and the eagle-hawk. It appears that there are totems inherited in the female line, the totem of my informant being *manul*, a bony fish.

Bibliography.

- (1) Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia.* The tribe is mentioned by the name Leitchi-leitchi, but no information is given as to the social organization.
- (2) Beveridge, in *Journ. Roy. Soc. of New South Wales*, XVII (1883), 19, 71. The tribe is mentioned by the names Litchy-Litchy and Litchoo-Litchoo

16.—*Taḡi-taḡi.*

This tribe, which formerly occupied the north bank of the Murray River between Euston and Wentworth, is also called Ta-taḡi and Yitṣa, the latter being the term for "No" in the language of the tribe.

The tribe is divided into two moieties named Kailpara and Mākware. A child belongs to the mother's moiety. There are totems which are inherited in the female line. The totem of my chief informant was *tamburay*, the frilled lizard. I was not able to determine the system of relationship. A list of terms is given below. The spelling is only approximate, as the phonology of this tribe is very difficult.

<i>met</i> , father's father.	<i>māhi</i> , elder sister.
<i>mim</i> , father's mother.	<i>raiŷä</i> , son, daughter (male speaking).
<i>paka</i> , mother's mother, mother's mother's brother.	<i>pamma</i> , sister's son and daughter (male speaking).
<i>ɣatai</i> , mother's father.	<i>runt</i> or <i>runtai</i> , mother's brother's son and daughter.
<i>beɬ</i> , father.	<i>malol</i> , wife.
<i>ɣak</i> , mother.	<i>lun</i> , wife's mother.
<i>kuau</i> or <i>kwau</i> , mother's brother.	<i>ɣuɬ-ɣuɬ</i> , wife's father, daughter's husband (male speaking).
<i>ɣarul</i> , father's sister.	<i>mām</i> , brother's wife.
<i>ɣwait</i> , father's brother.	<i>naɬuɣak</i> , son's wife (male speaking).
<i>kum</i> , elder brother.	
<i>ɣän</i> , younger brother, younger sister.	

This list of terms suggests that the tribe had a system of relationship of Type II similar to that of the Waṭi-waṭi tribe.

Bibliography.

- (1) Cameron, "Notes on Some Tribes of New South Wales," in *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. xiv.
- (2) Curr, *Australian Race*, II, 285.
Curr gives a vocabulary by J. A. Macdonald from the tribe which he calls Yit-tha, which I believe to be the same as the Taṭi-taṭi or Ta-taṭi.
- (3) Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*: Howitt mentions the tribe by the name Ta-tathi.

17. *Waka-waka.*

A tribe named Waka-Waka, or Wakaua, formerly inhabited the banks of the Murray River about the junction of the Murrumbidgee. *Waki* means "No" in the language of the tribe. I have no information about the social organization.

Bibliography.

- (1) Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*.

The tribe is mentioned by the name Weki-weki.

18. *Mäti-mäti.*

A tribe called Mäti-mäti, or Mätaua, from its word for "No" (mäti), formerly occupied a part of the Murrumbidgee River above the Waka-waka. I have no information about the social organization.

Bibliography.

- (1) Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 50, 52. The tribe is mentioned by the name Muthi-muthi.

APPENDIX I.

A Note on the Clans of the Narrinyeri.

For the sake of those who may wish to compare the account given here of the social organisation of the Yarlalde and neighbouring tribes with earlier published accounts, I reproduce below the list of the clans of the Narrinyeri given by Howitt in his *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*. Howitt based his list on the earlier list published by Rev. George Taplin, but added some information obtained by Mr. F. W. Taplin. Taplin's original list is to be found in Woods' *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 2.

Name of Clan.	English of the Name.	Totem.
Bamir-inyeri ...	<i>rumaii</i> , the west ...	<i>wirulde</i> or <i>tangari</i> , wattle gum
Tanganarin ...	where shall we go? ...	<i>manguritpuri</i> , the pelican, or <i>nori</i>
Kandarl-inyeri ...	whales ...	<i>kandarli</i> , whales
Lungundaram ...	seaside men ...	<i>tyellityelli</i> , fern
Turarorn ...	coot men ...	<i>turi</i> or <i>tetituri</i> , coot
Park-inyeri ...	deep water ...	<i>kunguldi</i> , butterfly
Kanmerarorn ...	mullet men ...	<i>kanmeri</i> , mullet
Kaikalab-inyeri ...	watching ...	(1) <i>ngulgar-inyeri</i> , bull-ant (2) <i>pingi</i> , a water-weed
Mungul-inyeri ...	thick or muddy water ...	<i>wanyi</i> , chocolate sheldrake
Rangul-inyeri ...	howling dog ...	<i>turiit-pani</i> , dark-coloured dingo
Karat-inyeri ...	signal smoke ...	<i>turiit-pani</i> , light-coloured dingo
Pilt-inyeri ...	ants ...	<i>maninki</i> , leech
		<i>pomeri</i> , cat-fish
		<i>kalkalli</i> , a lace-lizard
Talk-inyeri ...	fulness ...	? leech
		? cat-fish
	Artemus sp. ...	<i>tiyawi</i> , a lace-lizard
Wulloke ...	the wood-sparrow ...	? leech
		? cat-fish
		? a lace-lizard
Karowalli ...	gone over there ...	<i>waiyi</i> , whip-snake
Punguratpula ...	place of bulrushes ...	<i>peldi</i> , musk duck
Wel-inyeri...	belonging to itself or by itself	<i>nakare</i> , black duck
		<i>ngumundi</i> , black snake with red belly
Luth-inyeri ...	belonging to the sun-rising	<i>kungari</i> , black swan
		<i>ngeraki</i> , seal
		<i>kikinunmi</i> , black snake with grey belly
Wunyakulde ...	corruption of <i>walkande</i> , the north	<i>nakkare</i> , black duck
Ngrangatari or Gurrungwari	at the south-west or at the south-east	<i>waukawiye</i> , kangaroo rat

Bamir-inyeri.—This seems to be meant for the name given as Raminyeri by Taplin, the B being a misprint and the extra syllable -ir perhaps having been inserted in error. It is the Raminderar clan of Encounter Bay. Meyer, who

knew the clan well gives the name as Raminjerar and states that it is derived from the place Ramong which was the headquarters of the clan, the name meaning "those who belong to Ramong." My information on this point confirms the statement of Meyer. Howitt gives the totem as wattle-gum, and this agrees with Taplin's original list, but Meyer states that the totem (patron or protector he calls it) was thunder. It is of course possible that thunder and wattle-gum were both totems of the same clan.

Tanganarin.—This is one of the names of the Tapanalun tribe, which contained many clans. The name is derived from *Tajawalayan*? "Where shall we go?" just as *Yaralde* is derived from *Yarawalayan*. It may be noted here that Taplin (*Folklore of the South Australian Aborigines*) mentions the Yarilde-thinggar (*i.e.*, the *Yaralde* language) as a "clan" of the Narrinyeri, although he does not give it in his list of clans.

Kandarlinyeri.—I was told by the natives that Kondarlinderi (the place of whales) is merely the name of a part of the country occupied by Pankinderar clan, and that there is no clan of this name.

Lungundararn.—This is the clan I have called Lungundinderar (those belonging to Lupundi). The alternative name given by Howitt is formed with the plural suffix *-ar* and the suffix *-orn* (*Kom*), meaning "men," and so means "the men of Lupundi." Howitt gives the totem as *tyellityelli*, fern, the latter word being a misprint for "tern," while the native word seems to be that which I have written *tenileri*.

Turarorn.—This is the *Yaralde* clan that I have given in my list under the same name.

Park-inyeri.—This seems to be a misprint for Pankinyeri, given in my list as *Pankinderar*.

Kenmerarorn.—This, from my own information, seems to be a clan of either the *Yaralde* or the Tapanalun, but I was not able to obtain reliable information about it.

Kaikalab-inyeri.—Kaikalabinderar is the name of a Tapanalun clan of which I did not discover the totems. According to my information the bull-ant is the totem of the Kargarinderar clan, and this is confirmed by a statement of Meyer. It is just possible that Kaikalabinderar and Kargarinderar are two names for the same clan.

Mungul-inyeri.—Mugulinderar is a general name for all the clans on the north-east side of Lake Albert, and not the name of a single clan. The chocolate sheldrake (or mountain duck) is the totem of the Mulberaperar.

Rangul-inyeri.—Although Taplin spells the name thus, I always heard the natives, including a member of the clan, pronounce it *Rajurinderar*, in which form it appears in my list of *Yaralde* clans.

Karat-inyeri.—This is the *Karatinderar* of my list.

Pilt-inyeri.—This is the *Piltinderar* of my list. Howitt says the name means "ants," but I was assured by the natives that it means "those belonging to Piltayk,"

this being the name of a place belonging to the clan. It is of course possible that the name Piltayk has some connection with ants.

Talk-inyeri.—Not given in Taplin's list. I have no information about it.

Wulloke.—Not mentioned in Taplin's list. I was told that Wulloke is the same as *Yankinderar*. My informant said that *wuloke* is the name of the black cockatoo.

Karowalli.—In Taplin's list this is spelt Korowalle. I always heard it pronounced *Korowalde*. It was probably the name, not of a clan, but of a tribe or collection of clans, of which one may have had the whipsnake as its totem.

Punguratpula.—In Taplin's list this is spelt more correctly Punguratpular. It is a clan of what I have called the Koraulun, or Korowalde tribe.

Wel-inyeri, *Luth-inyeri*.—These are clans of the Portaulun tribe, about which I have no information. The second is spelt Lathinyeri by Taplin, and the alternative is probably only a misprint. In the list of totems Howitt has "seal" where Taplin gives "teal"—clearly a misprint in Howitt.

Wunyakulde.—Howitt says that the name is a corruption of walkande, the north, but I doubt this. The Yaralde use the name Walkandawani to denote the natives of the Murray River, but they also use the name Wañakalde (*kald*=people) or Wañaulun, to denote the *Īaraltu* tribe, or perhaps a part of that tribe. It seems that a powerful clan of that tribe had the black duck as its totem.

Ngrangatari.—This is given in Taplin's list as the name of a clan at Lacepede Bay, which is part of the country occupied by the tribes having the dual division with the names Krokid and Kamad. If we confine the name Narrinyeri to those who use the word *yarinderar* for "men," then neither the Wunyakulde nor the Ngrangatari, even if these are the names of clans, are to be included in the Narrinyeri.