

III 5 f, i

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Murchison tribes

For original, see III 4d

KINSHIP TERMS

The following list gives the kinship terms used throughout the Murchison area. There are certain dialectic differences in the kinship terms of the Wirdinya, Kurduwonga and the tribes to the South and Southeast of Lake Way and Lawlers, but the relationship expressed is the same as that obtaining in the Murchison area.

	<u>Male speaking</u>	<u>Female speaking</u>
Father's father	Kamiju, tamoju	Kamiju, tamoju
Father's father's mother	" "	" "
Father's father's sister	Kunjariju	Kunjariju
Mother's mother	" kami ?	"
Mother's mother's mother	Kamiju	Kamiju
Mother's mother's sister	Kunjariju, kami?	Kunjariju
Mother's father	Kamiju	Kamiju
Mother's father's brother	"	"
Mother's father's sister	Ngabaiju	Ngabaiju
Father's mother's brother	Kamiju	Kamiju
Father's mother's sister	Ngabaiju, kabarli	Ngabaiju
Wife's father's father	Kamiju	Kamiju (husband's)
Wife's father's mother	Kunjariju	Kunjariju "
Wife's mother's father	Kamiju	Kamiju "
Wife's mother's mother	Ngabaiju	Ngabaiju "
Father	Mamadu	Mamadu
Father's mother	"	"
Father's sister	Maraiju, wumari	Maraiju
Mother	Yāgo	Yāgo
Mother's brother	Kombarnu	Kombarnu
Mother's sister	Yāgo	Yāgo
Wife's father	Kombarnu	Kombarnu (husband's)
Wife's mother	Wabi, wumari	Wabi "
Mother's brother's wife	Maraiju	Maraiju
Father's sister's husband	Kombarnu	Kombarnu
Wife's father's sister	Yagodu	Yagodu (husband's)
Wife's mother's brother	Mamadu	Mamadu "

	<u>Male speaking</u>	<u>Female speaking</u>
Brother (older)	Kurdaju	Kurdaju
Brother (younger)	Boaju	Boaju
Sister (older)	Jurdaju	Jurdaju
Sister (younger)	Boaju	Boaju
Father's brother's son	Kurdaju	Kurdaju
Father's brother's daughter	Jurdaju	Jurdaju
Mother's sister's son	Kurdaju	Kurdaju
Mother's sister's daughter	Jurdaju	Jurdaju
Mother's brother's son (own)	Kurda, yungara	Kurdali
Mother's brother's son (not own)	Ngabari, wajiru	Mardungu
Mother's brother's daughter (own)	Jurdu	Jurdu, malongu
Mother's brother's daughter (not own)	Mardungu	Juari
Wife	Mardungu	
Husband		Mardungu
Wife's brother	Ngabari	Ngabari (husband's)
Wife's sister	Mardia, mardungu	Juari "
Sister's husband	Ngabari	Ngabari
Mother's brother's son's wife	Jurdu	Jurdu
Mother's brother's daughter's husband	Kurda	Kurda
Father's sister's son's wife	Jurdu	Jurdu
Father's sister's daughter's husband	Kurda	Kurda
Son's wife's father	Ngabari	Ngabari
Son's wife's mother	Jurdu	Jurdu
Daughter's husband's father	Ngabari	Ngabari
Daughter's husband's mother	Jurdu	Jurdu
Son	Kada	Kada
Daughter	"	"
Brother's son	"	Baldongu
Brother's daughter	"	Ngaraia
Sister's son	Baldongu	Kada
Sister's daughter	"	"
Son's wife	"	Baldongu or ngaraia
Daughter's husband	Baldongu	"
Sister's son's wife	Kada	Ngaraia

	<u>Male speaking</u>	<u>Female speaking</u>
Sister's daughter's husband	Kada	Baldongu
Brother's son's wife	Baldongu	Kada
Brother's daughter's husband	"	"
Son's son	Kamiju	Ngabaiju
Son's daughter	Kunjariju	"
Daughter's son	Kamijuju	Kunjariju
Daughter's daughter	Ngabaiju	"
Sister's son's son	Kamiju	Ngabaiju
Sister's son's daughter	Ngabaiju	"
Sister's daughter's son	Kamiju	Kunjariju
Sister's daughter's daughter	Kunjariju	"
Brother's daughter's son	Kamiju	Ngabaiju
Brother's daughter's daughter	Ngabaiju	"

RELATIONSHIPS

It is usual for a woman to call her son's son kamiju, the son's son calling her ngabaiju. She may also call him ngabaiju, but kamiju appears to be generally used in addressing the males. Also a woman usually calls her daughter's son kamiju and he calls her kunjariju.

A woman will call her sister's son's son kamiju and he will call her ngabaiju and she will call her sister's daughter's son her kamijũ and he will call her kunjariju, and she will call her brother's daughter's son kamijua and he will call her ngabaiju.

A woman will call her sister's husband ngabari, and she will also call her husband's married brother ngabari, although either of these men may become her own mardungu, on the death of their wives or of her husband. There appears to be an understanding of the individual rights of women over their own husbands in the Ngadawonga tribe, and except in the case of irregular marriages where a tribal mardungu has married into the wrong class, the sister's husband and husband's married brother appear to be called ngabari. The extreme jealousy of the women with regard to their own men may account for this custom.

KINSHIP TERMS

Kurdiwonga tribe (Bulugu's vocabulary)

Jugarnu	oldest sister
Jura	youngest sister
Boa	youngest brother
Kurda	oldest brother
Ngaraian	brother's daughter (female speaking)
Maraiji	father's sister
Kunja	sister-in-law (female speaking)
Ngabari	brother-in-law (male speaking)
Kombarnu	mother's brother
Kami	mother's father, father's father
Boa, munagutia	father's own sister's son or daughter; mother's own brother's son or daughter.

Wirdinya and Kurila wonga districts - terms show a slight variation
in dialect

(female speaking)

Kamiju	father's father, mother's father
Mamaju or mamadu	father
Maraiju	father's sister
Ngabaju	father's mother
Kundariju	mother's mother
Yagoju	Mother
Kombarnuju	Mother's brother
Kurdaju	brother
Marula	brothers (not own)
Mulonguju or mango, or juari	brother's wife, husband's sister
Baldongu	Brother's son or daughter
Jurdaju	sister
Boaju	younger sister or brother
Boaju	mother's brother's son (own) (if younger)
or	mother's brother's daughter " "
Kurda	mother's brother's son or daughter (older)

Ngardinya = Burgulu and Banaka call each other by
this term.

APPLICATION OF KINSHIP TERMS

It will be seen that there are kinship terms applied to individuals as well as to groups and members of the different classes.

With regard to the terms applied to the class of which the individual is a member, he not only calls the members of his own group by such a term, but he will also apply similar terms to members of his own class in another tribe. That is, a Kaimera man of the Wajari tribe is the kurda of a Kaimera man in the Ngadawonga or KURduwonga tribe, or if he is an old man he is kamiju. A Kaimera woman entering another tribe calls the Kaimera women of her own generation jurdaju, the old Kaimera women being her kundariju.

The term applied individually to mothers-in-law (father's sisters) is wabi. These mothers-in-law may be actual or potential, but they must be either the one or the other. All other fathers' sisters are given the kinship term maraiju, and this term will be used in addressing them until one or other of them becomes a potential or actual mother-in-law, when they become wabi.

The Wajari and Ngadawonga, Waianwonga and Ngaiuwonga natives also stated that they called their own mother's brother's son kurda and their own father's sister's daughters jurdu (sister) and marriage with these was forbidden. The tribal names for mother's brother's sons and father's sister's daughters were mardungu, ngabari and juari (wife or husband, brother-in-law and sister-in-law).

Amongst the Kurduwonga the terms boa and munagutia were applied to father's own sister's son or daughter or mother's own brother's son or daughter. Amongst the Ngaiuwonga, Jal stated that munagutia was the term applied to the men and women who were present at his initiation, and the fact of these women taking part in the initiation of the young man, placed them within the forbidden line of possible wives. They were munagutia and avoided.

Own mothers have also been distinguished from tribal mothers by the term bibiju (breasts) applied to them. Yagoju or yagoli is the term used for "mother" generally, but when a young woman mentions her own mother, she generally prefaces yagoju with bibiju, that is, the one mother from whose breasts she received her sustenance. A stepmother who may also have given breast to the child on the death of its own mother will not be called bibiju by the child, but will be addressed as yagoju or yagoji or yagoli.

DESCENT

Descent, in the tribes dealt with, is maternal; the irregular marriages prove this. The mother and child are always Burgulu and Burangu or Kaimera and Paljari. The fathers and sons of a straight marriage in those districts where Kaimera = Burangu and Paljari = Burgulu form the intermarrying pairs, were Kaimera and Burgulu, Paljari and Burangu respectively.

Amongst the tribes where the Kaimera = Burgulu, Paljari = Burangu marriages obtained, the fathers and sons were Kaimera and Burangu or Paljari and Burgulu.

In the irregular marriages the male parenthood was, as has been said, indeterminate. In these later days, the child calls his own father mamadu, whatever the class of that father may be, but if his mother has married a baldongu (brother's son) the boy may take the sister of such baldongu to wife, if he and she are of marriageable age.

A man has married a woman and taken as a second wife the kunjariju (mother's mother) of his wife. In Nguyaringu's genealogy, he takes Inya a Burgulu to wife, and also Nyā-in who is a Burgulu and is kunjariju to Inya. Inya calls Nyā-in kunjariju (mother's mother) and not jurdu (sister).

Another instance of mixed relationship arising out of irregular marriage occurs in Mimbilyongu's pedigree. In all cases the kinship terms are applied instead of the terms which would be applied had the marriage been straight.

Mimbilyongu (f.), a Kaimera and Wirdinya, was bilyunu (betrothed) to Bigurda, a Banaka of Orilba (Kurilawonga). She called her husband mardungu; Dirgarn and Gunmi, both Banaka, were in successive possession of her, and were her mardungu. At Dirgarn's death she was taken by Gunmi and at Gunmi's death she attached herself to Womburu, a Burangu and her baldongu, then to Mitajindi, a Kaimera and her boaju and finally to Ngabuja, a Banaka, the offspring of Yargu and Walgalburdi who is maraiji (father's sister) to Mimbilyongu. Mimbilyongu calls Ngabuja mardungu, but Ngabuja calls her maraiji, because her daughter

had married his own brother. Walgalburdi made Mimbilyongu and Ngabuja bilyumu (betrothed), and Nyirdi, Mimbilyongu's daughter, married Nginder, own brother to Ngabuja, Mimbilyongu's husband.

Other relationships in Mimbilyongu's genealogy show the apparent confusion resulting from a series of irregular marriages. Nyirdi, Mimbilyongu's own daughter (half caste) calls Walgalburdi ngabaju (father's mother), although she has married Walgalburdi's son Ngindir.

Nyirdi calls Ngabuja mamadu, Ngindir being also her mamadu. Ngabuja is bilyumu to her mother - Mimbilyongu.

Nyirdi calls Jinalada (a Paljari) jurdaju.

Jinalada calls Nyirdi boaju (younger sister).

Ngindir calls Jinalada maraiji.

Jinalada calls Ngindir baldongu.

Mimbilyongu calls Jinalada kajaju.

Jinalada calls Ngabuja baldongu.

Jinalada calls Mimbilyongu yagoju.

From the insistence upon the kinship between the offspring of irregular marriages, who do not appear to enter into any near relationship formed by such marriages, it is apparent that the system of consanguinity takes precedence of all other relationships.

No tribe on the Murchison has yet been located whose marriages are not irregular, and thus the straight laws of kinship cannot be applied to the genealogies obtained.

The kinship terms were however confirmed by the natives in all the groups investigated and are therefore as reliable as it was possible to make them, from the inhabitants of the local camps in the Ngadawonga tribe.

In those tribes adjoining each other, whose marriage laws differ, as for instance the Yenawonga and Ngargawonga, the marriage law of the former being

Kaimera = Banaka
Paljari = Burangu,

and that of the latter

Kaimera = Burangu
Paljari = Burgulu,

the law of kinship is followed throughout, that is, a Kaimera man of the Yenawonga tribe may be given a bilyunu Burangu in the Ngargawonga tribe, the compliment being returned by the Kaimera man making his Burangu child the bilyunu of a Paljari man amongst the Yenawonga. There must however be no near blood relationship between the pair, nor between the mothers of the bilyunu girls.

A glance at the pedigrees will show the numbers of marriages of this kind that have taken place. A Burangu man will have both Paljari and Kaimera wives and a Paljari woman may have Burgulu and Burangu husbands.

This proceeding may be conducted friendly or the reverse, according to local conditions. The children, if any, of these unions enter the class they are entitled to through their mother and a Kaimera man who may marry Burangu and Burgulu women will call all his children kada, although one set is Burgulu and the other Burongu.

As has been said before, the children of own mother's brothers and own father's sisters could not marry in the old days, but the natives informed me that in these later days a mother's brother will not infrequently offer his daughter to his own sister's son, an offer which is in nearly all cases accepted by the young man. A woman also will offer her daughter to her own brother's son, who, if he accepts the daughter, immediately places the mother, until then his maraiji, in the wabi or forbidden relationship. These bilyunu are generally given for the sake of the food and attention the young man must henceforth give to the mother or father of his wife. Indeed, at the present day, a woman will give her girl child to any man who will supply her with food, etc., no matter to what class the man may belong. He will have to fight the men of the girl's proper marrying class.

In the old days, the kurda and jurdu or wajirara kinship terms, stated to have been applied to own mother's brother's son and own father's sister's daughter, effectually prevented the union of first cousins.

The marriage law therefore directs that a man shall marry into only one of the four classes obtaining in his tribe. And he is further restricted (in some tribes) in that he cannot marry the daughter of his own mother's brothers, or his own father's sisters. Other natives at Peak Hill, etc. have stated that a man may marry his own mother's oldest brother's daughter or his own father's oldest sister's daughters. In the generality of tribes visited, however, it was stated by the older people that own first blood-cousins could not marry.

The marriage law also prevents the union of persons who are not at all connected by blood, in prohibiting the marriage of (say) a Wadari Burangu with a Burangu from the Wirdinya tribe, when these two persons have probably never seen each other. The Burangu man can only legitimately marry a woman of the one group which is his intermarrying group or class.

KINSHIP IN FAMILY GROUP

To illustrate the kinship existing amongst the members of a family group I will represent an individual of the Ngadawonga tribe and show the relationship in which I stand to all the other members of my family group.

The marriages of the Ngadawonga are as follows :-

Kaimera = Burgulu
Paljari = Burangu

I am a Burangu woman. My father is Kaimera and is my mamadu and all my father's brothers are my mamadu also. I am kada to my mamadu.

My father's sisters are also Kaimera and are my maraiji, and I am ngaraia to them.

My father's father is Burangu and is my kamiju. His brothers are also my kamiju and he and they call me kamiju or ngabaiju (son's daughter).

My father's father's wife is Paljari and is my ngabaiju and I am ngabaiju to her.

My father's mothers are Paljari and are my ngabaiju and I am ngabaiju to them.

My mother's fathers are Paljari and are my kamiju and I am kamiju to them (or ngabaiju).

My mother's fathers' wives are Burangu and are my kundariju and I am kundariju to them.

My mother's mothers are Burangu and are my kunjariju and I am kunjariju to them.

My mother's mothers' husbands are Paljari and are my kamiju and I am kamiju or ngabaiju to them.

My own mother is Burgulu and is my bibiju yagoju and all my mother's sisters are my yagoju. I am kada to my bibiju and yagoju.

My mother's brothers are Burgulu and are my kombarniju, and I am baldongu to them.

My own mother's brothers' wives are Kaimera and are my maraiji and I am ngaraia to them.

My tribal mothers' brothers' wives are Kaimera and may be my wabi (husband's mothers) and I will be ngaraia to them.

My father's (own) sisters are Kaimera and are my maraiji and I am ngaraia to them.

My tribal fathers' sisters are also Kaimera and may be my wabi and I will be ngaraia to them.

My own mother's brothers' sons are Paljari and are my kurdali or boaju and I am their jurdaju or jurdali or munagutia or boaju or wajiraju.

My own mother's brothers' daughters are also Paljari and are my jurdali or jurdaju and I am boaju or molyu to them if I am younger than they. If they are younger than I, they are my boaju or molyu and I am their jurdaju or munagutia.

My tribal mothers' brothers' daughters are Paljari and are my mangu or juari and I am their mangu or juari.

My tribal mothers' brothers' sons are also Paljari and are my ngabari or mardungu and I am mardungu or mardia to them.

My own father's sisters' sons are Paljari and are my kurdali or boaju or wajiraja (oldest and youngest) and I am jurdali, boaju or molyu (oldest and youngest) to them.

My tribal fathers' sisters' sons are Paljari and are my mardungu or ngabari and I am mardungu or mardia to them.

My tribal fathers' sisters' daughters are Paljari and are my juari or mangu and I am juari or mangu to them.

My own father's sisters' daughters are Paljari and are my jurdali, boaju or molyu and I am jurdali, boaju or molyu to them.

My husband is Paljari and is my mardungu and I am his mardungu.

My husband's brothers are Paljari and are my mardungu and I am mardia to them.

My husband's brothers' wives are Burangu and my jurdali or boaju and I am jurdali or boaju to them.

My husband's sister's husband is Burangu and is my kurdali or boaju and I am jurdaju or boaju to him.

My husband's mother is Kaimera and is my maraiji or wabi and I am wabi or ngaraia to her.

My husband's father is Burgulu and is my kombarnuju and I am baldongu to him.

My own husband's sister's daughter is Kaimera and is my ngaraia and I am maraiji to her.

My tribal husband's sister's daughter is Kaimera and may be my ngaraia and I may be wabi to her.

My own husband's children are Burgulu and are my kada and I am their bibiju or yagoju.

My tribal husbands' children are Burgulu and are my kada and I am yagoju to them.

My daughter's husband is Kaimera and is my baldongu and I am wabi to him.

My son's wife is Kaimera and is my ngaraia and I am maraiji to her.

My daughter's husband's father is Burangu and is my kurdaju and I am jurdaju to him.

My daughter's husband's mother is Paljari and is my ^{or mangu}juari/and I am juari or mangu to her.

My son's wife's mother is Paljari and is my juari or mangu and I am juari or mangu to her.

My son's wife's father is Burangu and is my kurdaju and I am jurdaju to him.

My son's son is Paljari and is my kamiju or ngabaiju and I am ngabaiju to him.

My son's daughter is also Paljari and is my ngabaiju and I am ngabaiju to her.

My daughter's son is Burangu and is my kamiju or kundariju and I am his kundariju.

My daughter's daughter is also Burangu and is my kundariju and I am her kundariju.

These practically represent the entire kinship systems obtaining in any one group, and are important in that they show the clearness of the method of grouping throughout by the natives. At the present day, notwithstanding the disruption and decadence of all local groups which have come in contact with civilisation, and in spite of the many irregular marriages that are now of common occurrence, the kinship system still holds, and a man or woman will generally give the true relationship term which applies to the husband or wife of the irregular or wrong class to whom he or she will have been "married".

The kinship terms ngabaiju, kundariju and kamiju were frequently used by the Ngadawonga, Waianwonga, Ngaiuwonga and other tribes as follows :- A man called his father's mother ngabaiju and she called him kamiju. A young man called his mother's mother kundariju and she called him kamiju.

Annie of Tuckanarra, a Paljeri, calls Mr. Searle, a Kaimera, kombarnoo or wabee; Mrs. Searle, a Boorongoo, marrajee. (Mrs. Searle calls Annie ngarreea). Annie calls Bertie Searle, a Boorgooloo, mardongoojoo, and she calls Cissie, a Boorgooloo, mungajoo.

Moolgoolgoo = Tuckanarra

Milla = Cue, Day Dawn districts

Kalagoodhara = near Boolardee Station

Kardilga, about 6 miles from Tuckanarra

Yalgooroo = Nannine

Pabbawandoolyoo = between Meekatharra and Peak Hill

Bendee boorun = water near hill Anman

Yallamurra = Peak Hill

Anneedee = pool near Minderoo

Moolajindeeuya = Abbots

Billy of Geraldton's mother calls white people wongedongoo .

Kanbaangoo, moondungoo, evil spirit

Wardal or murdra, name given at Tuckanarra to Peak Hill natives.

Tuckanarra natives only went to Nannine, eastward to Quinn's,

Weeloo (west) to Meega, meenung (south) to Yalgoo.