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CONTENTS

Language Locations (map)..... ii
Symbols and Abbreviations..... iii

Introduction, by *Jeffrey Heath*..... 1

Dalabon Dual-Subject Prefixes, Kinship Categories, and Generation Skewing, by *Barry Alpher*..... 19

The Logic of Damin Kinship Terminology, by *Kenneth Hale*..... 31
(Appendix by *Ellen Woolford*)..... 38

Where Is That (Knee)?: Basic and Supplementary Kin Terms in Dhuwal (Yuulngu/Murngin), by *Jeffrey Heath*..... 40

Kinship Categories in Kaytej Pronouns, by *Harold J. Koch*..... 64

Warlpiri Kinship Structure, by *Mary Laughren*..... 72

Neutralisation and Degrees of Respect in Gurindji, by *Patrick McConvell*..... 86

Dyadic Kinship Terms, by *Francesca Merlan* and *Jeffrey Heath*..... 107

'Egocentric' and 'Altercentric' Usage of Kin Terms in Manarayi, by *Francesca Merlan*..... 125

An Etymological Note on Warlpiri kurdungurlu, by *David Nash*..... 141

Gun-Gunma: An Australian Aboriginal Avoidance Language and its Social Functions, by *Alan Rumsey*..... 160

Personal Power, Kin Classification and Speech Etiquette in Aboriginal Australia, by *Peter Sutton*..... 182

List of Contributors..... 201

WARLPIRI KINSHIP STRUCTURE

MARY LAUGHREN

1. Introductory remarks.[1]

The Warlpiri (Walbiri) people occupied a large block of the arid country northwest of Alice Springs in the Northern Territory of Australia until their lands were invaded by Europeans in the first half of the twentieth century. Since the Second World War, most Warlpiris are settled on government-run settlements such as Yuendumu and Lajamanu, or on cattle stations such as Willowra. They are best known in anthropological circles through the important ethnography by Meggitt (1962) and the work of Munn (1973).

The Warlpiri kinship system is a complex hierarchically organised structure which encompasses a conventionalised set of relations based on the maternal and paternal relations. These relations hold between individuals on the basis of actual genealogical relationship or on the basis of their membership of recognised related sets. In addition to the relations which hold between people and sets of people, the kinship system is extended to the relations between people and their actual and ontological world, thus encoding their social and political organisation; it provides a system of personal appellation and reference.

Terms denoting kin relations make up a large part of the Warlpiri lexicon. The subcategorisation of lexical entries as 'kin' terms is not only based on semantic grounds but also on syntactic and morphological criteria (see section 4, below).

The analysis of Warlpiri kinship sketched here emerges primarily from an examination of the kin terminology - the terms and their denotations. This paper does not try to give an exhaustive list of the Warlpiri kin terms; for example, it does not even touch upon terms particular to bereavement.

The social behaviour associated with specific kin relations is only briefly mentioned in this paper, as is the ritual and political organisation which is encoded in terms of kin relations. Instead it deals with the broad structural outlines of the system, the internal semantic structures and the form and content of kin referential expressions.

2. Kin relations as binary relations.

A kin relation is always binary in the sense that the relation R holds between two elements x and y or between two sets X and Y. A referential expression can be formed to designate a value x as a function R of an argument y, by concatenating the term for y plus dative (DAT) case and the term for R plus a kin-anaphoric/person-deictic suffix whose antecedent is y. Thus x = R(y): 'Y+DAT+R+ANAPH'. This is illustrated in the following sentences. In (1) it is asserted that a paternal relation Rp holds between Japangardi and Japanangka. In (2) Japangardi is referred to by an expression which contains both the relation and the argument of that relation, i.e., Japanangka.

(1) Japangardi ka-rla karri jaji-nyanu Japanangka-ku.
PRES-3SgDat is father-ANAPH -DAT
'Japangardi is father to Japanangka.'

of their referents. Speakers must be constantly aware of the patrimoiety affiliation of their acquaintances, since it must be indexed whenever two or more people are referred to by a pronoun. The relevance of patrilines to the inheritance of land and the division of participants according to patrimoieties during the performance of land-based ceremonies ('owners' and 'managers'/trustees have different but complementary functions) also reinforce the awareness of patrimoieties. The matrimoiety division, on the other hand, is referred to much less frequently and has no reflection in the pronoun system. Unlike Warlpiri, where egocentric terms for matrimoieties occur (makurnta-wangu 'own matrimoiety' and makurnta-warnu 'other matrimoiety', Meggitt 1962:190-1), no Arandic terms for matrimoieties have ever been reported, to my knowledge. The division according to generation, moreover, is subordinate in Kaytej to the division according to patrimoiety, since it is made only within the 'same patrimoiety' category. I know of no Kaytej terms referring to generational halves, such as have been reported for Warlpiri (Meggitt 1962:189) and some Western Desert groups (Douglas 1976:57 reports nganantarrka 'own generation level' and inyurrpa 'other generation level').

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(2) Japangardi, ngulaju Japanangka-ku-jaji-nyanu.
he is -DAT-father-ANAPH
'Japangardi, he is Japanangka's father.'

The referential expression in (2) contains the kin term jaji 'father', which designates the function Rp (paternal relation); Japanangka-ku, which designates the argument of the function; and -nyanu, a special kin anaphoric affix which is coreferent with the argument (=propositus).

The term jaji does not designate an individual, it designates a paternal relation between two individuals, one of whom is the value of the relation (in this case the referent) and the other of whom is the argument (in this case the propositus). Since jaji is primarily a term which designates a kin relation between individuals and not a relation between the sets of which the individuals are members, it can contain as part of its meaning characteristics or qualities which can only be the properties of individuals.

Jaji contains as part of its meaning 'male', thus it selects a male referent in function of the paternal relation with some propositus.

Warlpiri kin terms which primarily designate relations between sets (see sections 5 to 10, below) do not contain as part of their meaning characteristics or qualities which are only properties of individuals in the Warlpiri system.

3. Trirelational speaker-centric model of reference.

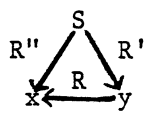
So far, we have only seen a term based on the single binary relation of the type x R y from which is derived a referential expression designating the value x, composed of the function R of the argument y: $x = R(y)$.

In Warlpiri, if the speaker belongs to the same set as y and if the relation that holds between y and x is identical to that holding between s (speaker) and x, then the referential term is based on the single binary relation R which holds between x and y, since s could be defined as $R^{-1}(x)$ just as $y = R^{-1}(x)$. (R^{-1} is the inverse or reciprocal of the relation R.) However, if s does not belong to the same set as y and/or if the relation holding between s and x is not identical to that holding between y and x, then y must be converted into a function of s based on the relation holding between s and y.[2] This situation is illustrated in Figure 1.

- -

FIGURE 1

Trirelational Model



$x = R(y) = R''(s)$

$y = R'(s) = R^{-1}(x)$

$x = R(R'(s))$

- -

Warlpiri kin terms designate three binary relations - that which holds between the value (referent) and the argument (propositus) of the primary relation, that which holds between the speaker and the argument (propositus) of the primary relation, and that which holds between the speaker and the value of the primary relation. If two of the relations are known, then the third can be deduced. Thus a Warlpiri kin term can be said to designate a function of a function. A Warlpiri kin referential expression is composed then of a term which designates a function of a function of the speaker and a term which designates the argument of the primary function of which the referent is the value. This is the principle which will be seen to underlie the kin terms seen in sections 5 to 13, below.

4. Kin terms: a subcategory of the category of nominals (N).

Terms designating kin relations form a subset of the category N (=nominal). They must be subcategorised as kin terms Nk in the lexicon (see Nash 1980a: 24-5).

Only nominal roots classified as Nk can host a member of the category of kin affixes Nk]___]N which have an anaphoric and/or deictic function.

Where x is referred to as R(y), then the unmarked anaphoric affix -nyanu coreferent with y can be suffixed to the term designating R. Where y is coreferent with the speaker and is not overtly expressed then an affix -na can be suffixed to the term designating R. Where y is coreferent with the addressee and not overtly expressed, then the affix -puraji can be substituted for -nyanu.

In Warlpiri it is also possible, where a relation holds between x and y, to designate both x and y by suffixing -rlangu to the term designating the relation between x and y in function of that holding between s and y.[3] The term which would designate the 'senior' element of the pair is taken to designate the relation between x and y.

If we take the term kirda 'father' we can form the following:

(3) a. kirda-nyanu 'father of some x'
b. kirda-na 'my father'
c. kirda-puraji 'your father'
d. kirda-rlangu 'father of some x and y'

There exists a special avoidance-language kin anaphoric affix which can be substituted for any of the four above when the relation holding between the speaker and the referent/propositus is an 'avoidance' relation. This affix is -wurdu-wurdu.

5. Closed system of kin classification: relations between sets.

The closed circular system is based on relations between sets. The elementary relations are the maternal relation (Rm) and the paternal relation (Rp). Elements included in those sets are defined in terms of the relation holding between the sets of which they are members. The relation can be defined thus: for any element x which is a member of a set X, and for any element y which is a member of set Y, if a relation R holds such as X R Y, then it can be said that the same relation R holds between the elements x and y such that x R y.

Within the closed system the converse does not hold true. Relations between sets are not defined in terms of the binary relations holding between the elements of those sets.[4]

The sets which make up the closed system of kin relations in Warlpiri can be represented as the elements of the Dihedral group of order 8 (D_8).[5]

6. Closed kinship system as a Dihedral group of order 8.

The eight 'subsections'[6] recognised by the Warlpiri can be expressed in terms of the eight elements of D_8. If we take as our two generators P (= father's set) and M (= mother's set) and the relator $P^{-1}MP = M^{-1}$, then[7] we can generate D_8 which is shown graphically as a cube as in Figure 2.

This is a closed system since $1 = P^2 = M^4$, $PM^3 = MP$, $M^2 = M^{-2}$, and so on. Each of the eight elements of this group D_8 is a set of elements related by relations based on Rp and Rm.[8]

7. Closed kinship system of eight related sets.

If Ego is a member of the set 1, then the eight sets can be defined in terms of the relations holding between 1 and the eight sets including 1. The set P, for example, is defined as Rp(1), the set M as Rm(1), the set PM as RpRm(1), and so on. What distinguishes the Warlpiri eight-set system from the four-set system or the much rarer six-set system (Douglas 1964:126-7) is the fact that

while the paternal relation Rp is symmetrical in the eight-set system so that Rp = Rp^{-1} (i.e., the set of Ego's paternal parents is the same as the set of Ego's paternal children), the maternal relation Rm is not symmetrical. In the four-set system both Rp and Rm are symmetrical relations.

In Figure 3, the Warlpiri eight-set system is shown graphically as a plane figure. Symmetrical relations are shown as double-headed arrows whereas asymmetrical relations are shown as single-headed arrows.

FIGURE 2

Dihedral Group of Order 8

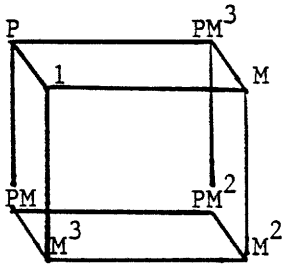
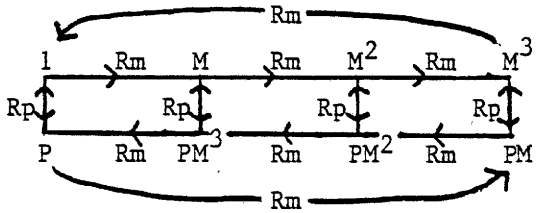


FIGURE 3

Relations Between Elements of D_8



8. Referential system based on the D_8 model.

There are two series of terms which may be used to designate each of the elements of D_8 shown above as 1, M, M^2, M^3, P, PM, PM^2, PM^3, where each of these elements is a set interrelated by binary relations.

Each of these sets can be referred to by a term which designates both the general relation holding between the members of the designated set and the relation which holds between designated set and that of the set of which the speaker is a member. We will assume in each case that the speaker is a member of 1. The speaker-centric terms are given in column 1 of Table 1, below.

Each of these sets can also be referred to by a term which is said to be sociocentric.[9] The sociocentric term designates both the set and any one of (or any subset of) its members. Where the identity of the speaker's set is known (for our purposes we will give the value Japaljarri to 1), then the names of the other sets can be calculated in terms of the binary relation between 1 and those sets.

In Warlpiri there is both a male and a female series of sociocentric terms as well as an adult and a child set. The adult male series is the unmarked on These names are seen in columns 2 through 5 in Table 1.

9. Referential terms based on subgroups of D_8.

The subgroups which make up D_8 are shown in Figure 3, below. We now discuss subgroups of order 4, subgroups of order 2, and the set Rm.

9.1. Moieties: subgroups of order 4.

What anthropologists traditionally call moieties in the context of Australia kinship systems can be expressed as factor groups of D_8, obtained from four subgroups of D_8. 'patrimoieties' = $D_8/\langle P, M^2\rangle$, 'matrimoieties' = $D_8/\langle M\rangle$, 'alternate-generation moieties' = $D_8/\langle PM, M^2\rangle$.

The Warlpiri employ relative terms to designate each of the factor group elements or cosets in terms of the relation which holds between the elements

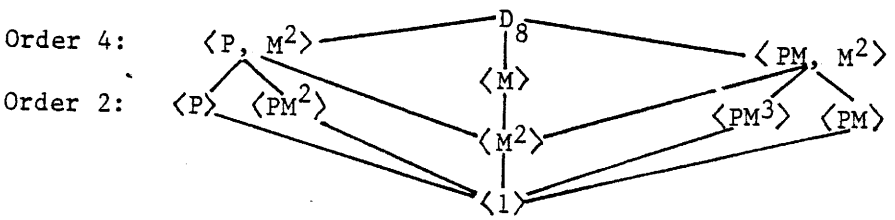
TABLE 1

Speaker-centric and Sociocentric
Set Designations

speaker-centric (relative) terms (speaker in set 1)		sociocentric (absolute) terms (1 = Japaljarri-warnu)			
		adult		child	
		male	female	male	female
1.	yurnturrujangu	JAPALJARRI	NAPALJARRI	JAPALYI	NGALYIRRI
M.	purtari-rlangu[10]	JANGALA	NANGALA	JANGKARLI	NGANGKALA
M^2.	ngarrka-panji	JAPANGARDI	NAPANGARDI	JAPAYARDI	NGAMPAYARDI
M^3.	kulu-panji	JUPURRURLA	NAPURRURLA	JURLAMA	NGAMPURLA
P.	papang-ku-rlangu	JUNGARRAYI	NUNGARRAYI	JUKURTAYI	NGAMPUKURLU
PM_2	warnarrpi-rlangu	JAKAMARRA	NAKAMARRA	JAKARRA	WAJALA
PM^2.	murrkardi-rlangu	JAPANANGKA	NAPANANGKA	JANAMA	NGAMANA
PM^3.	papa-nginta	JAMPIJINPA	NAMPIJINPA	JAMPIRLKA	NGAMPIJAKURDU

FIGURE 3

Subgroups of D_8



contained within the designated coset and of the relation which holds between the coset of which 1 is an element and the designated coset. (A 'coset' of a subgroup G is an element of D_8/G.)

Some absolute or sociocentric terms also exist for designating the 'patrimoieties' and the 'alternate generation moieties'. These will be underlined (as well as capitalised) and given for the case where 1 = JAPALJARRI as in Table 1.

(4) patrimoieties.

$$D_8/\langle P, M^2\rangle = \{(1, P, M^2, PM^2), (M, M^3, PM, PM^3)\}$$

KIRDA (1, P, M^2, PM^2) — NGURRA-YATUJUMPARRA

KURDUNGURLU (M, M^3, PM, PM^3) — NGURRA-KURLARNINYARRA

The division into KIRDA and KURDUNGURLU is a crucial one in the politico-religious domain.[11] The 'absolute' terms NGURRA-YATUJUMPARRA and NGURRA-KURLARNINYARRA mean respectively 'camp across the north side' and 'camp across the south side'.[12] The terms KIRDA and KURDUNGURLU can be used to refer to the entire cosets as well as to elements and subsets of them.

(5) matrimoieties.

$$D_8/\langle M\rangle = \{(1, M, M^2, M^3), (P, PM, PM^2, PM^3)\}$$

MAKURNTA-WANGU (1, M, M^2, M^3) — MAKURNTA-WARNU (P, PM, PM^2, PM^3)

The division into MAKURNTA-WANGU (literally, 'shame-without') and MAKURNTA-WARNU (lit., 'shame-having') is crucial in determining interpersonal

or social behaviour. As the names suggest, one can interact relatively freely with members of the subgroup which includes one's own set whereas interaction with members of the other matrimoiety is bound by very elaborate conventions including actual physical avoidance with some members and the use of special lexical items in addressing members of some subsets of one's MAKURNTA-WARNU or in referring to matters related to them.

(6) alternate generation moieties.

$D_8/\langle PM, M^2\rangle = \{(1, PM, M^2, PM^3), \quad (P, M, M^3, PM^2)\}$

YARLPURRU-KURLANGU — KUYU-KARI *; NYURRPU *; NGAWU-KURLANGU *

NGANARNTARRKA — JARNAMILJARNPA

While the element of which 1 is a member is referred to as YARLPURRU-KURLANGU (lit., 'belonging to agemates'), there are three synonymous terms for the element of which 1 is not a member: KUYU-KARI (lit., 'meat/flesh/dreaming-other'), NYURRPU (a borrowing from Western Desert languages), and NGAWU-KURLANGU (lit., 'belonging to big ones').[13] The social significance of this division is great since marriage can be legally contracted between elements belonging to any two sets contained in the same 'alternate generation moiety'. Men's sporting teams were traditionally formed according to this division.[14]

The terms NGANARNTARRKA and JARNAMILJARNPA are especially used in the context of male initiation.

9.2. Subgroups of order 2.

The subgroups of order 2 produce sets of four cosets (right and left) each. A typical set of cosets can be expressed as the defining set of pairs of a certain relation, one which holds between the elements of each of the cosets.

(6) $D_8/\langle P\rangle = \{(1, P), \quad (M, PM^3), \quad (PM, M^3), \quad (PM^2, M^2)\}$

Rp — WAPIRRA — YARRIKI — KIRDA — WURRURU

Since each of the cosets of $\langle P\rangle$ is a subset of one of the patrimoieties, $D_8/\langle P, M^2\rangle$, these further divisions are very important in the politico-religious sphere which of course includes the question of inherited rights and responsibilities for country and related ritual.

(7) $D_8/\langle PM\rangle = \{(1, PM), \quad (M, P), \quad (M^3, PM^2), \quad (M^2, PM^3)\}$

RpRm — MARRKARI-RRA — NGAPUJU-RLANGU — MANGKAN-KU-RLANGU — MAKARI-RLANGU

The elements of $D_8/\langle PM\rangle$ constitute the preferred spouse set pairs. An element of 1 can marry an element of PM, an element of M can marry an element of P, etc.[15]

$D_8/\langle M^2\rangle$ is a factor group of order 4. For this subgroup, the Warlpiri terminology only distinguishes between the element containing 1 (that is, the speaker's set) and the elements not containing 1. Thus there is a neutralisation of contrasts.

(8) $D_8/\langle M^2\rangle = \{(1, M^2), \quad \underline{(P, PM^2), (M, M^3), (PM, PM^3)}\}$

Rm^2 — PILPIRLI-RRA — WARRANGARDA-RLANGU * or JAJA-RLANGU

Each element of $D_8/\langle PM^2\rangle$ consists of two sets such that the elements of one are potentially in a strict avoidance relation to the elements of the other set.[16] In terms of the cubic representation (see Figure 1) the distance between the sets which pair to form the elements of the $D_8/\langle PM^2\rangle$ is maximal. The element containing 1 is terminologically distinguished from the other elements. The element containing M is also distinguished while the remaining two elements bear the same name. We will see that this is also the case with $D_8/\ PM^3$.

(9) $D_8/\langle PM^2\rangle = \{(1, PM^2),$ (M, PM), $(M^2, P), (M^3, PM^3)\}$
WAJAMIRNI-RLANGU MAKURNTA-RLANGU MALI-RLANGU

Each element of $D_8/\langle PM^3\rangle$ consists of two sets such that the elements of one are either the JAMIRDI (Rmp), WANKILI (Rmp^{-1} male) or JUKANA (Rmp^{-1} female) of the elements of the other set.

(10) $D_8/\langle PM^3\rangle = \{(1, PM^3),$ $(M, PM^2),$ $(M^2, PM), (M^3, P)\}$
NGARRMARA-RRA MARAJI-RLANGU JUKA-RLANGU

9.3. The set Rm.

The relation Rm is a set made up of eight pairs of elements of D_8. Each member of Rm is a subset of an element of $D_8/\langle M\rangle$.

(11) $Rm = \{(1, M^3), (M, 1),$ $(M^2, M),$ $(M^3, M^2),$
LAMPANU JARNIMIRRI-RLANGU KARDU-RLANGU

$(PM, P),$ $(PM^2, PM),$ $(PM^3, PM^2),$ $(P, PM^3)\}$
KALPA-RLANGU NGALKARI-RLANGU JAPUN-KU-RLANGU NGARRJIRN-KI-RLANGU

All the Warlpiri terms which designate the elements of the factor groups and subgroups of D_8 which are coset pairs can also be used to refer to a subset or an element of both the sets making up the coset pair, since the terms designate the binary relation between the two sets contained in the pair, with respect to the relation which holds between those sets and 1.

Since it is primarily a relation which is designated by the term, features of the related elements or sets such as sex, age, genealogical proximity are not part of the 'meaning' of the terms.

10. Coinitiate reciprocal referential system.

Young men who are initiated at the same ceremony call and refer to each other by a special series of terms formed by suffixing -lyka to the morpheme which designates the relation holding between a pair of sets including 1 and the set (other than 1) containing the referent. Where the referent belongs to 1, the term YARLPURRU is used. Coinitiate terms are given in Table 2.

11. Kin relations as binary relations between elements of sets.

We have seen that the 'closed' system of kin classification is based on relations which are recognised as holding between sets of individuals (section 5). Those relations, which are all derived from two primary relations Rm and Rp, can be viewed as being sets of relations which hold between the members of the eight recognised sets. The elements of the eight sets are individual people. The elements of the relational sets are the binary relations which hold between those individuals.

Now the individuals can be seen to have properties not applicable to the set to which they belong. In other words, a relation such as 'is father of' which holds between an individual Jungarrayi and an individual Japaljarri does not necessarily hold between all Jungarrayi and all Japaljarri.

TABLE 2

Coinitiate Kin Reference Terms

1	yarlpurru
M/M^3	lampanilyka
M^2	pilpirlilyka
P	wapirralyka
PM	marrkarilyka
PM^2	wajamirnilyka
PM^3	ngarrmarilyka

At the level of relations between individuals, in addition to relations generated by Rm and Rp and representable in D_8, the Warlpiri take into account at least three dimensions: relative generational level, sex of referent and speaker, and relative degree of genealogical proximity.

12.1. Generational relation.

Where two elements, x and y, belong to different generation levels, then the generational relation between them is necessarily asymmetrical. If x is in a generation above that of y, then y is in a generation level below that of x. Where x and y belong to the same generation level, the generational relation is symmetrical, reciprocal and reflexive since if x is in the same generation as y, y is in the same generation as x.

In Warlpiri there are two 'generational' affixes indicating a function 'is in the same generation as' (-pirdangka), or a function 'is in a higher generation level than' (-palangu). These affixes can be suffixed to a dative case-marked nominal which refers to the argument of the function. The morphological category of these affixes can be represented thus:

(12) $N + DAT]\ __]_N$

(See Nash 1980 :24-5). Use of these affixes is shown in (13) and (14):

(13) Japangardi, ngulaju Japanangka-ku-palangu.
he is -DAT-upper generation kinsman
'Japangardi is Japanangka's upper generation kinsman.'

(14) Japangardi, ngulaju Napangardi-ki-pirdangka.
-DAT-same generation kinsman
'Japangardi is Napangardi's same generation level kinsman.'

Where x belongs to a generation level below that of y, then there is no special affix which designates the relative generation level. However, x can be referred to as 'y-POSS'. The possessive (POSS) affix is the same one that is used to designate any alienable possession in Warlpiri. Where y is expressed by a pronoun, POSS = -nyangu, and where y is expressed by a noun, POSS = -kurlangu/-kirlangu. A general kin term meaning 'child', kurdu, can also be added. Where kurdu is overtly expressed, then either POSS or DAT can be suffixed to y as in (15) and (16), respectively.

(15) Japangardi, ngulaju Napurrula-kurlangu (kurdu).
he is -POSS child
'Japangardi is Napurrula's child.'

(16) Japangardi, ngulaju Napurrula-ku-kurdu-nyanu.
he is -DAT-child-ANAPH
'Japangardi is Napurrula's child.'

12.2. Seniority.

Adjunct to the notion of relative generation level is that of seniority. If x is in a higher generation level than y, then x is senior to y and hence y is junior to x. Where x and y belong to the same generation level, then the respective seniority of one over the other is worked out in terms of the respective seniority of their parents. Any x which is senior to y is said to be wulu to y. Conversely, y is said to be kiwayirla to x. These terms can designate either an element or a set of elements for which the relevant relation holds true.

The division into wulu and kiwayirla is particularly pertinent to the organisation of certain initiation rituals. Figurative terms designating wulu and kiwayirla are derived from these rituals. Wulu = mardarnu-mardarnu 'holders' or kurduju-mardarnu 'shield holders'. Kiwayirla = karli-parnta 'ones having boomerangs'.

13. Complex relations based on Rm, Rp and generation level.

In section 12 we discussed the expression of kin relations based on a single dimension, that of relative generation level. This relation can be compounded with that which holds between individuals by virtue of their membership in one of the eight closed sets. Thus where x belongs to 1, y belongs to M^2, and x is a higher generation kinsman of y, then the relation can be expressed as x Rm^2 y. Therefore x = $Rm^2(y)$ and y = $Rm^{-2}(x)$. The Warlpiri referential expression for x and y are given in (17) and (18), where x is JAPALJARRI and y is JAPANGARDI.

(17) Japaljarri, ngulaju Japangardi-ki(-palangu) jaja-nyanu.
he is -DAT(-upper gener.) Rm^2-ANAPH
'Japaljarri is Japangardi's upper generation level kinsman belonging to the set of Japangardi's mother's mother.'

(18) Japangardi, ngulaju Japaljarri-ki-mirntirdi-nyanu.
-DAT-Rm^{-2}-ANAPH
'Japangardi is Japaljarri's lower generation kin belonging to the set of Japaljarri's mother's mother.'

Where x and y belong to the same set 1, and where x is in a higher generation than y, then x = $Rp^2(y)$ and y = $Rp^{-2}(x)$. If x and y are Japaljarri they can be referred to by (19) and (20).

(19) Japaljarri, ngulaju Japaljarri-ki-palangu warringiyi-nyanu.
-DAT-upper gener. Rp^2-ANAPH
'Japaljarri(x) is (the other) Japaljarri's(y's) paternal parent in the same set.'

(20) Japaljarri, ngulaju Japaljarri-kirlangu warringiyi-nyanu.
he is -POSS Rp^{-2}-ANAPH
'Japaljarri(y) is (the other) Japaljarri's(x's) paternal child in the same set.'

We note that these terms warringiyi, jaja, mirntirdi in (17-20) do not include specification of the sex of the referent. In fact, Warlpiri kin terms which designate a generational distance of more than one do not distinguish between male and female referents.[17] Kin terms which designate a generational distance of less than two do distinguish the sex of the referent - thus there is a 'male' and a 'female' set of terms for designating both same generational level relations and odd-numbered generational level relations at the level of relations between individuals.

The relation between two elements which takes into account the relative generation level of the elements, is not computed in Warlpiri in terms of actual generational distance.[18] Only three relations are recognised (cf. section 12): 1) 'is in the same generation as'; 2) 'is in a higher generation than'; which implies its inverse 3) 'is in a lower generation than'.

Where one of these relations is said to hold between x and y, as well as a relation based on Rm and Rp which holds between x and y by virtue of their membership of one of the eight sets of the closed D_8, then a relation which is the intersection of these two relations can be said to hold between x and y. These can be expressed graphically by combining exponents with Rm and Rp such as we have done in (17-20).

Given that this relation is the intersection of one holding between elements and one holding between the sets of which they are members, where those sets belong to a closed system such as D_8, generation levels are collapsed in the Warlpiri system: 2 = 4 = 6..., and 1 = 3 = 5... While the classification of kin based on relative generation level is directional, it is not open-ended.

14. Sex - a distinctive feature of referent and speaker.

Some terms designating kin relations between x and y defined as the intersection of the generational relation between x and y and the set-derived relation between x and y contain, as part of their meaning, reference to the sex of the referent.

Where x is in the same generation as y (exponent = 0), or where the generational distance can be expressed as ± 1, then maximal distinctions with respect to sex are made. Where $(s,x,y) \in 1$, and where x is in the same generation as y, then x might be designated as any of the following with respect to y. The relation of seniority is pertinent for adults:

(21)

where s is adult		where s is child	
papardi	[male, senior]	kakiyi	[male]
kukurnu	[male, junior]		
kapirdi	[female, senior]	yayi	[female]
ngawurru	[female, junior]		

The terms used by young children to denote members of their own set 1, or the set MP^3 who are of the same generation level, collapse the senior/junior distinction but make the male/female distinction.

Since the kin reference is speaker-centric, where x and y belong to a set different from that of the speaker s, the relations of same generation level and of seniority are expressed as a function of a function of s. The sex of the referent x is designated where x is senior to y but is not designated if x is junior to y. The collapsing of the sex distinction with respect to a junior relation including a lower generation relation is common to the Warlpiri system of kin reference, as illustrated in (22).

(22)

where $s \in 1$, $(x, y) \in PM$		where $s \in 1$, $(x, y) \in P$	
warnarrpi	[male, senior]	papang-	[male, senior]
narrumpa	[female, senior]	kaku	[female, senior]
ngalukurru	[junior]	ngalukurru	[junior]

Given the speaker-centric nature of kin reference, some terms encode the sex of the speaker as well as that of the referent. For example, if s female refers to x female ($\in$PM), where x is in a relation Rm to y ($\in$P), then s can refer to x and y as kantara-rlangu. If s is male, then s refers to x female and y as ngama-rlangu. At the level of the relation Rm between the set PM and P, the term of reference used by s ($\in$1) to designate those sets or elements of those sets, irrespective of sex or generational relations, would be KALPA-RLANGU. It would be appropriate to apply this term irrespective of the sex of the speaker where x is male. Given that the relation that holds between PM and P is Rm, the maternal relation, and if we assume that the notion of this relation is derived from that of actual genealogical maternity it is clear that at the level of individuals a male x cannot be a physical 'mother' of any y in P. The maternal relation Rm which holds between a male x in PM and a y in P is such because the relation Rm holds between PM and P at the level of sets (or classificatory level), or alternatively because male x is a brother of the actual mother of y. This actual individual-oriented relation is said to be miyalu-warnu 'from the stomach'.

15. Distant vs. close genealogical kin.

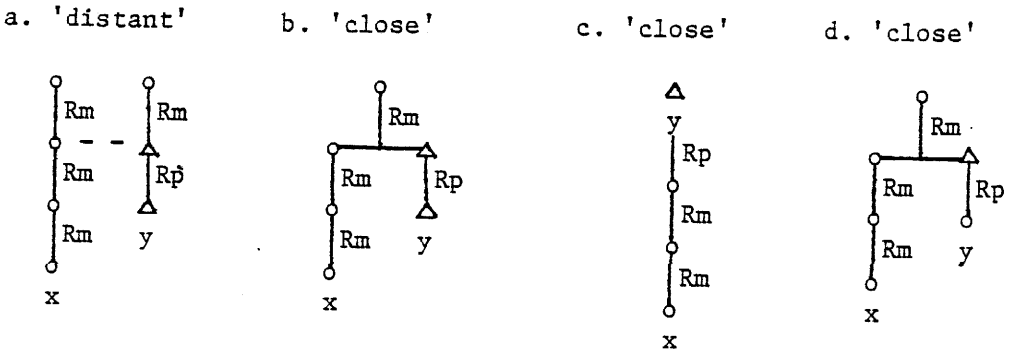
In defining and designating kin relations between individuals, the degree of direct genealogical relation is reckoned (in addition to relative generation, direction, seniority and sex). This is particularly pertinent with respect to the members of a set which is in an avoidance relation to the set of which the speaker is a member (cf. MAKURNTA-WARNU in (5), above). An element x of PM^2 which is related to s such that x is the actual father of the actual mother of the actual mother of s, then x is the ngunyarri of s and not the

malirdi of s. Whereas one must act with extreme circumspection towards one's malirdi, one can behave towards one's ngunyarri with the degree of intimacy that is permissible between actual parents and their children. Where the series of paternal and/or maternal relations that relate x and y involves the actual mother and father (or persons recognised to stand in lieu of them as in the case of adoption), the relation is said to be 'close'. It is also said to be close if the relation passes via a close sibling at a generation level not too far removed from the individuals in question. Three to four generation levels seems to be the limit with regard to judgements of relative proximity of genealogical relation.

Where the series involves a link such that Rp or Rm holds only by virtue of an element's co-membership of a set, and not by virtue of actual paternity or maternity, then it is said to contain a distant relation. Some examples of 'close' and 'distant' relations are given in the diagrams below. The discontinuous line indicates a distant relation whereas the continuous line indicates a 'close' one. The circles represent females and the triangles, males.

FIGURE 4

'Close' and 'Distant' Relations



In diagram (a) in Figure 4, y is the malirdi of x. Conversely, x would be the kurriji of y, who would perhaps marry x's daughter. In (b) and (c), y is the ngunyarri of x, whom y calls kurdu 'child'. In (d), y is the pirlipirli of x who considers the former as an aunt (pimirdi). We note that in (b) and (d) y is the actual first cross-cousin of x's mother.

16. Conclusion.

The Warlpiri kin referential vocabulary which constitutes a large part of the total vocabulary of the language can only be adequately defined in relation to the underlying systems of kin relations which are recognised in the culture. This paper has sketched an analysis of those related systems and has dealt with some of the dimensions that are encoded in the 'meaning' of kin terms. It attempts to show the primarily speaker-centric and hence trirelational structure of the kin referential system and the way in which dimensions such as sex, seniority and genealogical distance are encoded in the kin terminology.

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NOTES.

[1]Many of the data for this paper come from Ken Hale's fieldnotes and transcripts of tapes which he has generously made available to the author. Other data were collected by me at Yuendumu and Willowra from 1975 until 1980 while I was employed by the Northern Territory Division of the Department of Education. Information gathering was funded both by the Department of Education and by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. The writing of this paper was funded by the Department of Education and by National Science Foundation grant BNS-7913950 (K. Hale, Principal Investigator). The Warlpiri people who patiently and intelligently taught me about their kinship system are many. I am especially indebted to Big Willy Japanangka, Darby Jampijinpa and George Robertson Jampijinpa who systematically checked through and annotated the kinship term card file at Yuendumu in November and December 1979.

[2]The existence of speaker-centric trirelational kin terms has been noted in other Australian languages such as Nyangumarda (O'Grady and Mooney 1973), Pintubi (Hansen and Hansen 1974), Gurindji (McConvell, this volume), and Maŋarayi (Merlan, this volume).

[3]Certain terms which designate the relation holding between the set of which the speaker is a member and a set of which the speaker is not a member, and which can be used to designate both sets or elements of both sets, can be suffixed by -rra instead of -rlangu (see section 9.2).In Pintubi (Hansen and Hansen 1974), -rra is the productive 'dyadic' affix.

[4]The relation which holds between any two of the eight sets in the closed system of related sets can be viewed as the set containing all the possible binary relations between the members of those two sets.

[5]It was David Nash who brought to my attention in 1978 the fact that the Warlpiri eight-set closed relational system had the structure of a Dihedral group of order 8. I am also grateful for his help during the writing of this

paper, which is an expanded version of a paper delivered at the M.I.T. seminar on Australian languages, January 1981.

[6]What anthropologists have called 'subsections' and what are commonly called 'skins' in Australian English are defined here as the eight elements which constitute D_8.

[7]At the individual level, the relator $P^{-1}MP = M^{-1}$ means that for a man, his father-in-law (i.e., his child's mother's father) belongs to the same set as his sister's child. While a man calls his father-in-law lamparra and considers him to belong to a generation higher than his own, the father-in-law refers to his son-in-law as maternal uncle ngamirni in recognition of the fact that the latter belongs to M, the set containing the former's mother. A corollary of the relator $P^{-1}MP = M^{-1}$ is $PMP^{-1} = M^3$, i.e., one's father's cross-cousin wantirri belongs to the same set as one's mother's mother's mother. Within the closed eight-set system $P^{-1}MP = M^{-1} = PMP^{-1} = M^3$.

[8]A formally defined comparative account of the four-section and eight-subsection kin systems is given by Weil (1969). Six-section systems are rare and are not generally discussed in the literature. A brief description of the six-section system of the Warburton Ranges is given in Douglas (1964) and is further discussed in Gould (1969).

[9]The 'subsection' ('skin') names are sociocentric or absolute.

[10]The speaker-centric terms purtari-rlangu, papangku-rlangu, warnarrpi-rlangu and murrkardi-rlangu designate a sibling relation 'is senior sibling to' in function of the relation between 1 and the set containing the elements between which the relation holds. The suffixes -panji and -nginta are only used with kin relation terms. They are probably borrowed from the Warlmanpa language. -panji is the paucal suffix in that language, equivalent to Warlpiri -patu, while -nginta is the equivalent of Warlpiri -rlangu (Nash 1979).

[11]An excellent exposition of the complementary politico-religious roles of KIRDA and KURDUNGURLU in Warlpiri society is to be found in Hale (1980). Meggitt (1972) also treats this topic of complementary roles. For the etymology of KURDUNGURLU and additional remarks see Nash (this volume).

[12]Myers (1976) recounts a Pintupi legend which explains the orientational content of these same terms among those people, the immediate southwestern neighbours of the Warlpiri.

[13]NGAWU-KURLANGU contains the speaker's mother and father, and their siblings and cross-cousins. This is a possible motivation for the name ('belonging to big ones'). NGANARNTARRKA and JARNAMILJARNPA have been reported as relative, speaker-centric terms equivalent to Warlpiri YARLPURRU-KURLANGU and KUYU-KARI for Western Desert languages (Gould 1969, Myers 1976).

[14]Warlpiri men traditionally played a game similar to football called purlja after the name of the hair-string ball which was used.

[15]The relationships which determine the choice of actual spouses are much more complex and have to be considered as relations between individuals. For example, only a subset of 1 could potentially marry an element of PM.

[16]The relation Rm^2Rp^{-1} holds between actual 'malirdi' and a member of 1. Special vocabulary is used when addressing or referring to a person thus related. However, not all persons come within the 'avoidance' range simply by belonging to the relevant sets - actual relations and social relations established through participation in male initiation determine avoidance.

[17]In southern Warlpiri, while jaja is used to refer to both men and women related to Ego by Rm^2, the term kaparli (probably a borrowing from Pintubi) is used to designate a female only.

[18]Because the generational relation intersects with the closed system of maternal and paternal relations, the Warlpiri kin relational system is not open-ended like the English one which can theoretically (but not practically) encode a recursive relation such as great-great-...-grand-parent/child.

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