

PERCEPTION OF KINSHIP STRUCTURE REFLECTED IN THE ADNJAMATHANHA PRONOUNS

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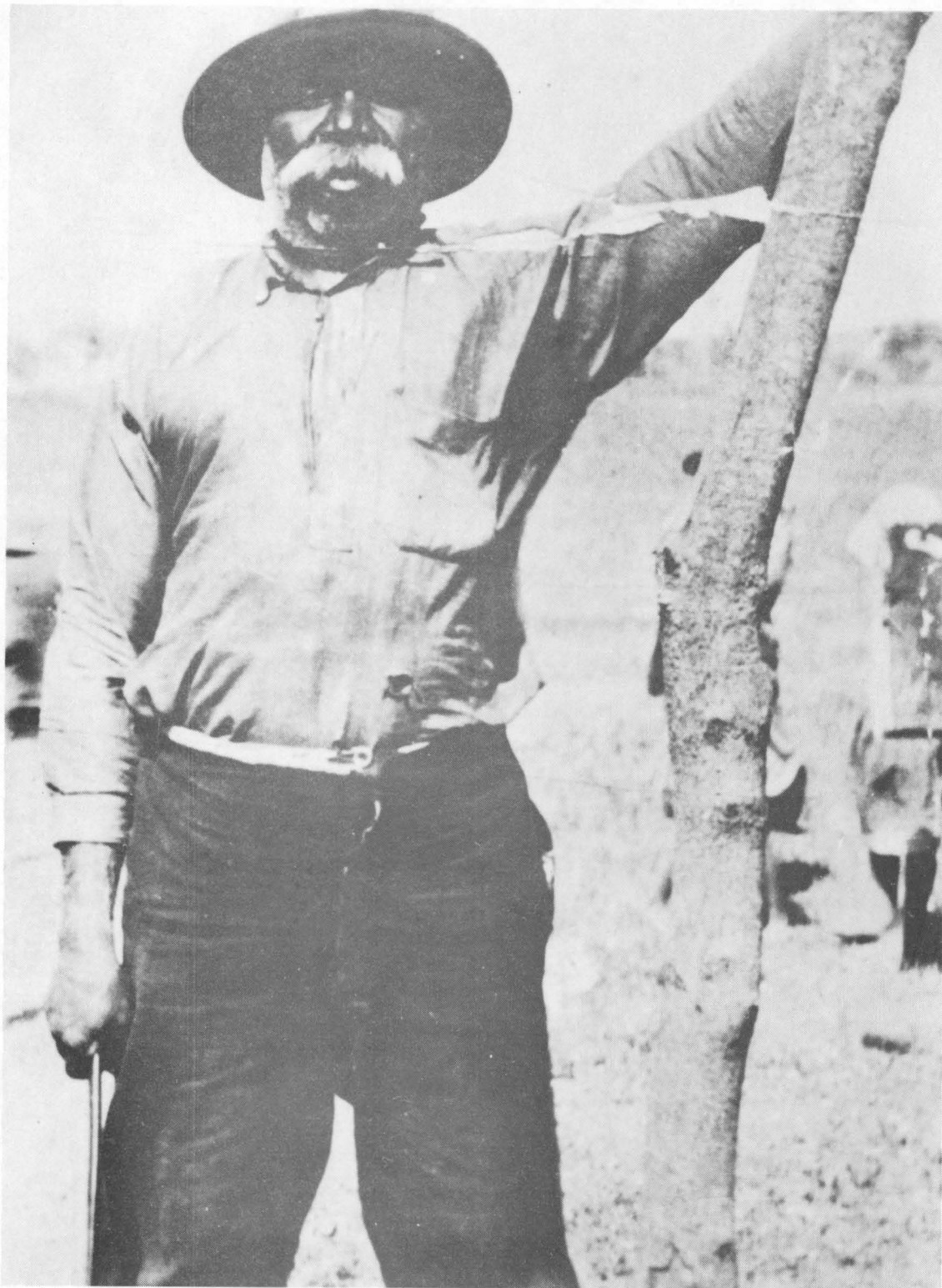
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1. INTRODUCTION

The research for this paper was undertaken at the request of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in order to verify the remarkable findings of the linguist Bernhard Schebeck concerning the complex pronominal structure of the Adnjamathanha¹ language. Mr Schebeck had suggested that a reliable woman informant should be interviewed to check differential language use of the two sexes. This turned out to be a most rewarding and exciting enterprise, not only because of the interest of the problem, but also because we came to know well Mrs May Wilton, a woman of the highest intelligence, with even greater linguistic knowledge than her cousin, the well-known Andrew Coulthard, Schebeck's chief informant, whose sudden and untimely death in July 1970 saddened all who knew him.

May Wilton brought home to us the tragedy of illiteracy in one so intelligent when she said, "It's sad I never had a chance to learn to read and write, because I could have written all this down for you folks and saved you a lot of trouble". Her clear perception of the kinship structure and its reflection in her precise use of language answers the occasional criticism of social anthropologists that their models of kinship structure are constructs imposed from without and quite unrecognizable to the people living within the system.

The choice of this particularly interesting language for depth study was a fortunate chance as it would soon have been too late, since the younger generations of the Adnjamathanha now speak English most of the time. There is now no male speaker left who both knows and can also explain the language as Andy Coulthard did. In addition to May Wilton, we found two or three other female speakers who spoke the language well, but none was so capable of answering our difficult questions as May. May herself is nearly seventy and not in good health.

The other fortunate chance was that the linguist first involved was Bernhard Schebeck, whose arrival at a model and interpretation of the complex pronominal system shows a streak of genius. We were able to verify and even build on his model, but only because he had done the basic research and interpretation.

Briefly, this intricate pronominal structure consists of ten series of pronouns. Which series is used depends both on the kin relationship of the speaker to the referents, and the relation of the referents to each other.

2. THE ADNJAMATHANHA AND THEIR KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE SYSTEM

It is necessary first to give a brief description of the Adnjamathanha people, past and present, and their kinship and marriage organization. In the old days the Adnjamathanha lived on the western slopes of the northern Flinders Ranges (see map). They had linguistic, social and marriage ties with their neighbours, the Wailbi, the Jadliaura, the Bangala and the Gujani. The Adnjamathanha today are nearly all part-caste descendants of unions of Aboriginal women with the first sheep station managers, who came mostly from Scotland. (Our older informants told us interesting tales of these early settlers - their grandfathers - who were said to have treated their de facto wives, their children and their grandchildren, with affection and care. Angus Mackenzie, who was the favourite grandson of his maternal grandfather, Jock Clarke, speaks with a noticeable Scottish accent).

While a hundred or so Adnjamathanha live at Nepabunna Mission in the Flinders Ranges within their old tribal territory, others live at Leigh Creek, Copley, Beltana, Hawker and Quorn, and the greatest number of all live at Port Augusta, either on Davenport Reserve or in houses scattered throughout the town. Social change has destroyed almost all of their tribal culture, the notable exception being the language, which they speak among themselves, though the rising generation prefer to speak English. The middle-aged and older maintain a feeling of identity and are proud to call themselves Adnjamathanha.

As with all the Aboriginal peoples of this region, the Adnjamathanha are divided into two matrilineal moieties, Aṛaṛu and Mathari, and the most important marriage rule, whose infringement is unthinkable even under the present changed conditions, is moiety exogamy, with the children belonging of course to their mother's moiety. The preferred marriage is basically of the Kariera type, with symmetrical cross-cousin marriage; that is, a man can marry his father's sister's daughter or his mother's brother's daughter, actual or classificatory. (See kinship tables). Since the kinship terminology recognizes only two lines of descent and pre-supposes sister exchange in each generation, the preferred marriage is to a woman who is both kinds of cross-cousin, actual or classificatory. A rule as rigid as that of moiety exogamy is that the man must always be older than his wife (preferably, we were told, five to ten years older), and he uses the term *atuna* (*wife*) for younger female cross-cousins and the term *ṇapaḷa* for those older, whom he is forbidden to marry. Similarly a woman uses *māṇi* (*husband*) for older male cross-cousins and *ṇapaḷa* for younger ones.

This society could well have served as model for Leach's exercise (Leach, 1961, Ch:2) of postulating a minimum number of kinship terms from given marriage rules. Like the Jinghpaw, used by Leach for his exercise, the Adnjamathanha use different terms for older and younger cross-cousins. Similarly they separate older and younger brother, and older and younger sister, (with younger brother and younger sister sharing one term) and also have different terms for mother's older and younger sister - all of which follows logically from the rule that a man's wife must be younger than himself.

As the numbers of the Adnjamathanha people seem to have been always small, so the number of women standing in the ideal relationship to a young man must always have been very few (Yengoyan, 1968), and we would expect deviations from the ideal. Marriages that deviate from the ideal, but are nevertheless acceptable, are unusual in the framework of most Aboriginal societies, because marriage into the adjacent generation is allowed, whereas other societies allow marriage into the alternate but never the adjacent generation. (The neighbouring Western Desert people even have opposing terms for the adjacent generations, giving them the status of endogamous moieties).

One quite common type of alternative marriage is of a man to the daughter of a woman he calls *ŋapa!a*, i.e. to the daughter of his older and forbidden cross-cousin. The term for this daughter is *ubma!i*,² and she calls him *ubma!i* or *ubma!i vapi* (*vapi* means father, and this man is in fact a classificatory brother of her own father), though if such a marriage has taken place, they call each other *atuna* and *māŋi*, like any married couple. So here we have the marriage remarked on by Elkin (1938) as most unusual - namely the marriage of a man to his classificatory daughter. That the relationship must indeed be classificatory was emphatically stressed by our informants. As May Wilton said, "A girl must not marry into her father's line", thus cutting out the actual younger brother of her father (who also calls her mother *ŋapa!a*, and is called *ubma!i vapi* by the girl and all her brothers and sisters). Theoretically a man can marry a younger cross-cousin (*atuna*), and take for his second wife, the daughter (his *ubma!i*) of *atuna*'s older sister (his *ŋapa!a*), a system more reminiscent of Africa than of Australia. (Compare for example the Swazi, where a man may take his wife's brother's daughter as his second wife (Kuper, 1950: 99)). But the Adnjamathanha would probably regard the actual sister's daughter of the first wife as too close.

Since polygyny has not been practised for several generations, it is difficult to discover whom a man might take for a second wife, since our informants could not visualize their respected middle-aged brothers and cousins taking second wives. We had similar difficulty in discovering the traditional rules for widow inheritance. Clearly the *atuna/ŋapaŋa* differentiation makes the junior levirate impossible. We were however told of one actual case of widow inheritance, itself unusual in the Aboriginal context. After May Wilton's mother had died, her father inherited the widow (younger than himself) of his *ŋamaŋa* (mother's brother). Their two sets of offspring were brought up together; there were no children born of the new marriage. This is an example of the marriage of a man to his classificatory father's sister (see below).

We have dealt with the alternate marriage where the man marries into the lower generation. What about his marriage into the upper generation? If we postulate the mirror image of a woman marrying her father's classificatory younger brother, we arrive at the marriage of a man to his father's classificatory younger sister, to a woman he calls *atāpi*, (again the husband must be older than the wife). Our informants admitted that this was allowed and gave us actual examples, (one of which is the inheritance of a mother's brother's widow given above).

We have dealt at some length with the variations from the ideal marriage rule, because they have been accommodated within the language. But here, according to our findings, there lies a significant contrast. The marriage of a man into the lower generation is accommodated within the kinship terminology by the term *ubmaŋi*, but not given special recognition within the pronominal system. On the other hand, the marriage of a man into the upper generation is not accommodated within the kinship terminology, but is given special recognition within the pronominal system (see p. 56 below). It would be hard to argue from this evidence that one variation is older than the other, but it does suggest that they both go back to pre-contact times, and are not, as Elkin suggests (1938:433) a consequence of European settlement. Basically, however, the kinship terminology indicates the equivalence of alternate generations, which would presumably allow marriage into the grandparent or grandchild generation, though we were given no confirmation of this by our informants. Perhaps the incomplete language accommodation to the deviant marriages suggests that they might be comparative innovations, even if older than white settlement. We could imagine the necessity arising if the population were decimated by drought, disease or warfare, in order that all could find marriage partners. On the other hand the deviations might have arisen as a direct result of the seniority rule,

(with the proviso that the age-gap should not be too large) which could make it difficult for the oldest and youngest of large families to find spouses. Our actual examples of marriages between adjacent generations show a tendency for the youngest members of families to marry into the lower generation and for the oldest to marry into the upper.³

Our Adnjamathanha informants showed no doubt that the ideal marriage is between real or classificatory cross-cousins, other marriages being regarded as only second-best. So in the first place we should examine the pronominal system in the light of the ideal marriage of cross-cousins, with male seniority.

3. THE PERCEPTION OF KINSHIP STATUS

In a small-scale society, such as the Adnjamathanha, all members are kin to each other, and the perception by one person of the kinship status of others depends on a series of binary determinants, as follows:

- 1) Moiety: Aṛaṛu (A), or Mathaṛi (M),
- 2) Generation level: as in other Aboriginal societies, the Adnjamathanha recognize two generation levels: ego's generation, together with his grandparents' and grandchildren's generations, (let us call this X); and his parents' and children's generations, (let us call this Y),
- 3) Sex: male or female,
- 4) Older or younger than ego,
- 5) Marriageable or not marriageable to ego in the case of an individual referrent, or, in the case of a number of referrents, marriageable or not marriageable to each other; note that this opposition is in fact already settled by the answers to 1-4,
- 6) Avoidance-respect or joking relationship; this opposition is of course settled by the answers to 1-5.⁴

The chief determinants of pronominal usage are in the oppositions 1 and 2, so let us proceed with these. From them we can form four categories of people, AX, MX, AY and MY. (See tables 1 and 2). If our ego is AX, then this category will also include brothers and sisters (actual or classificatory), and from the alternate generation father's father, mother's mother and son's children for a male ego, daughter's children for a female ego.⁵ MX (opposite moiety, same generation) must include potential spouses and other cross-cousins. For a male or a female ego, AY will include mother, MY father, but for a male ego, his children will be in MY, for a female in AY. In the Adnjamathanha

pronominal system these four categories coincide with the first four series of pronouns. (AX = Series 1, MX = Series 2, AY = Series 3, MY = Series 4).

Now those who are familiar with a four section kinship system will recognize that these four categories represent the four sections, and can be represented as in Table 1 for a male ego and Table 2 for a female ego. Of course any system of preferred cross-cousin marriage can be pictured as a section system, and it should be remembered that the Adnjamathanha do not have four named sections, but only named matrilineal moieties; to simplify our explanation we shall call these four divisions "sections". Note that the ideal marriage partners for a male or female in AX are in MX, whereas the alternate partners are in MY. (In a strictly operating four section system, the alternate partners are from the grandparent or grandchild generation and are therefore, like the ideal partners, in MX).

The first four series of pronouns correspond then to these four sections, so that an AX speaker referring to another AX individual or to more than one AX individual will use Series 1. This series is in fact the basic one, and the plurals are used for a mob of people from all the sections. When referring to those in MX he will use Series 2, Series 3 for AY and Series 4 for MY. Only Series 1 can include first person pronouns.

But suppose our AX speaker is referring to two or more individuals who come from two of the sections. The number of ways in which four items can be arranged in pairs is six, namely, AX and AY, AX and MX, AX and MY, AY and MX, AY and MY, MX and MY. This theoretically (though not quite in practice) gives us our other six series of pronouns. Schebeck arrived at this model for determining correct pronominal usage, and our findings have confirmed this in principle, although we found variations from expected usage, as did Schebeck. Moreover we discovered two further series of pronouns: in talking of certain pairs of individuals, the generation level of the speaker is taken into account, and we have therefore found it necessary to divide Schebeck's Series 7 and 8 into 7a and 7b, 8a and 8b (see below).

It is important then to understand how an Adnjamathanha speaker would perceive those whom he is speaking to or about. In this set of six pronominal series there are also some oppositions. We will examine this from the point of view of an Aṛaṛu woman, which describes our chief informant, May Wilton. Series 5, representing AX and AY, she perceives quite clearly as Aṛaṛu people, "my mob" (there is no Adnjamathanha word for "moiety") or "my mother's line", with individuals standing in the

relationship of mother and child, or mother's brother and sister's child - i.e. two generations (or more, because she used this series for "grandmother, mother and children"). Clearly this series can include first person pronouns, as well as second and third, because our speaker can be in the group referred to. Series 6, MX and MY, she sees similarly, but consisting of Mathaṛi people, "My husband and his mother", etc. This series cannot then include first person pronouns. (Note that series 5 is always used for the speaker's moiety, so that a Mathaṛi speaker would use series 5 for Mathaṛi people).

The opposition between Series 7 versus Series 8 (and our more elaborate 7a and 7b versus 8a and 8b) is based on whether the individuals are marriageable or not marriageable, so that Series 7 is used for a married couple, including those married under the alternate marriage rules, or for a couple that could be married, or for any number of such couples, or for a man and his wives or possible wives. Series 8 is used for people of same generation, opposite moieties who cannot marry, for example a ṇapaḷa man and woman, or persons of the same sex and same generation, but of opposite moieties, and for a number of such persons together. However we discovered that both these series had two divisions, determined by the generation level of the speaker. Series 7a (the valaḍupa series) is used for married couples in the speaker's own generation (or the grandparent or grandchild generation), while 7b (the valanbi series) is used for couples in the parent's or children's generation. Similarly, Series 8a (the valanaḍapa series) is used for persons in the speaker's own generation (or the grandparent or grandchild generation), while Series 8b (the valuḷa series) is used for persons in the upper or lower generation. The example we were given by May Wilton and Eileen Mackenzie is that "atāpi would say valuḷa for her yakaḷa (own daughter) and her vananji (brother's daughter)". A further elaboration in the valuḷa series is that, if the speaker wishes to include herself in this group (that is if the atāpi, wants to say "we three") she can use the pronoun valuḷa ṇalpula. This is the only special pronoun that can include three of our sections, in this case, if the speaker is AX, her daughter would be in AY and her niece in MY. May Wilton, however commented that there is no special pronoun for a family group of mother, father and children (AX, MX, AY), for which the general pronoun (Series 1, yadna) must be used. (For the forms of Series 7 and 8 see p. 58-59 below).

The use of Series 9 and 10 presents the same sort of difficulty. These pronouns are used for persons standing in a father-son relationship (or father's sister, brother's son), and again it would be easy if the

speaker used Series 9 for "my father's line", i.e. AX and MY and Series 10 for "my husband's father's line" i.e. MX and AY. But it appears that Series 9 is used for all father/children combinations, except where a man has married his classificatory father's sister, in which case Series 10 is used when talking of that man and his children. May Wilton, questioned several times on this point said she would use Series 10 for talking of a father and his sons and daughters only in such cases as that of her classificatory nephew (her vananji) who had married her classificatory younger sister (her vilhali), i.e. his atāpi. She called his children her yakaḷa (the term for own or sister's children, not that for brother's son's children). Present at the time of this conversation was May's oldest daughter Pearl, who had married John Mackenzie, May's mother's brother's son, younger than May (i.e. May's ḡapaḷa, Pearl's ubmaḷi vapi). May and Pearl both agreed that Series 9 pronouns would be used for John and his children, (whom May would call ḡuaḷi, i.e. "daughter's children", not "own children"). So Series 10 is used when one of the two kinds of cross-generation marriage has taken place, when the man has married into the upper generation but not when he has married into the lower. This was confirmed by Angus and Eileen Mackenzie, who stated that this series was used for father and children only when a man had married his atāpi. The logic of this could perhaps be explained as follows: when a man has married his "father's sister", his children, reckoned from his wife's generation level, are in his own generation, and other people will call him and his children by terms from the same generation level giving him the status of cross-cousin to his own children. (It seems that not only moiety affiliation but generation level also is settled by the mother). This paradoxical situation has then given rise to a special set of pronouns. For the other alternate marriage, where a man marries his classificatory daughter, then his own children will fall into his grandchild generation. However, it is perhaps not seen as so paradoxical for a man's own children to be also his classificatory grandchildren, and hence no special pronoun is used. An alternative explanation would be that the ubmaḷi marriage with its special kinship terminology is older and more integrated into the system and not requiring a special pronoun, and that there were originally only nine series, with Series 10 later added to the language to cope with a newer alternate marriage.

4. PRONOUN FORMS

Work with the Adnjamathanha women confirmed the general accuracy of the model given by Schebeck for the ten different types of dual and plural forms of the personal pronouns. As was to be expected male and female usage are identical with reference to the upper generation levels, while for the lower generation levels women's usage simply represents a mirror image of the model given for male usage. There are however a number of definitions and applications that are restricted by their nature to female speakers, and there are also some additional variant forms that must be added to the lists of pronouns given by Schebeck.

ADDITIONAL FORMS AND MEANINGS

Series 2 (same generation level, opposite moiety),

2nd plural: wadnamunga said by a woman speaking to her female cross-cousins, *ḡapaḷa*, who might also be *adlari real sister-in-law*.

3rd plural: valana-munga additional definition: 'the *māḡi* mob', *my husband and his brothers*.

Series 3 (other generation level, same moiety),

2nd dual: *nhuwadnbila*

3rd dual: *vadnbila*

2nd plural: *nhuwadna-munga*

These forms were used by a woman speaking to or about her own children or the children of her *yaka elder sister* or her *vilhali younger sister*.

Series 4 (other generation level, opposite moiety),

2nd dual: *valdu* (shortened from *valatu*)

2nd plural: *wadnātu*

The third person dual *valatu* was used referring to two *atāpi father's sisters*. Series 4 pronouns were also used reciprocally by *atāpi* herself, i.e. a woman would use them when speaking about her *vananji children of older or younger brother*. This confirms Schebeck's suspicions that the use of series 3 with *atāpi* (which he had heard) is incorrect. As the use of the pronominal base *wadn-* in parts of both series indicates, there was a close formal association between series 3 and 4, and occasional instances of confusion are therefore not surprising.

Series 5

This series represents one of the most commonly used sets of pronouns in the speech of women 'I and my children' or 'my mother's line'.

wadnāga is equivalent to *my line, all us Aṛaṛu mob* (when an Aṛaṛu woman is speaking).

Series 6

This series is used particularly for mothers and their children of the opposite moiety, for what is termed *yaṛu-yaṛinji people of the opposite moiety*. These can include particularly my *adlari mother-in-law*, my *māṇi husband* and my *ṇapaḷa's* (female cross-cousin's) *children*.

Series 7a

This series is used for married couples of the speaker's generation and of the alternate generation. For the sake of clarity the forms already given by Schebeck have been included here (and in 7b and 8a,b).

The following were recorded:

	DUAL	PLURAL
1	ṇadli	valadaḍupa ṇalpula
2	nhuwaḍupa	valadaḍupa vadadaḍupa nhuwadaḍupa
3	valaḍupa	valadaḍupa

The first person dual form ṇadli belongs to both series 7a and 8a, it conveys *I and my spouse, I and any person I could possibly marry*, as well as *I and a non-marriageable cross-cousin*.

Series 7b

This series is used for married couples of the adjacent generation. The following were recorded:

	DUAL	PLURAL
1		valanbi ṇalpula
2	nhuwatalanbi watalanbi	nhuwadnbi wadnanbi
3	valanbi	valananbi

The first person plural is used to indicate *we*, (mother, aunt) *and a married couple consisting of son and daughter in law, daughter and son in law*. The use of valanbi for a married couple of the adjacent generation was obligatory, e.g. *a daughter says that about her mother and father, she could never say valaḍupa for that*.

Series 8a

This series is used for non-marriageable couples of the speaker's or the alternate generation:

	DUAL	PLURAL
1	ḡadli	valanaḡāpa ḡalpula
2	nhuwadnāpa	nhuwadnāḡapa
3	valanāpa	valanaḡāpa vadnāḡapa

Series 8b

This series is used for non-marriageable couples of the adjacent generation:

	DUAL	PLURAL
1		valuḡa ḡalpula
2	nhuwalla	(nhuwadnāḡapa)
3	vallu val(u)ḡa valuru	valla

The first person plural form implied *we*, (aunt, mother) *and daughter* (son) *and niece* (nephew). There is some liberty of usage in series 8, and particularly forms of the plural of series 8a could be used as alternatives for the plural of series 8b, but the reverse is not permissible. This implies that series 8a is felt to be the more general series 8 pronoun.

Series 9

This series was generally used for *my husband and his children* i.e. my māḡi and his vapalu, (my yakaḡa). My old ḡamaḡa (mother's brother) and my ḡapaḡa (cross-cousins).

Additional forms:

1st dual	ḡari-ḡalpu
3rd dual	valnjinji
2nd dual	nhuwadnanjinja

Series 10

Series 10 could be used in a very particular sense involving a cross-generation marriage. A woman could use it for a group consisting of her vananji (brother's son) and her own children (yakaḡa) if that nephew had married the speaker's real or classificatory vilhali (younger sister). His children, by her vilhali, would then be included in the term yakaḡa.

Additional form:

2nd plural nhuwaltaltuřu

It is important to note that the forms listed throughout this paper are only those of the free morphemes marking person: further suffixes, particularly case markers, can be added to these free forms.

Corresponding to the many free morphemes there are also bound forms of the personal pronouns. These bound forms are generally identical with the free forms except for the loss of the initial consonant. They are generally used with verbs to indicate the pronoun subject. Examples are:

- nukarinji *we two, father and son (series 9) are going (řuka- to go).*
 nukadli *we two, husband and wife (series 7) are going.*
 nukařupa *they two, husband and wife of my generation level (series 7a) are going.*

5. COLLECTIVE NOUNS

As pointed out by Schebeck there are certain collective nouns denoting groups of kin: these are closely linked with the pronominal system.

These terms fall into three groups:

- a. terms which refer to people in a particular relationship to the speaker:

valda-valda *two or more of my brother's children, woman speaking*

yařu- yařinji(nha) *two or more people in the opposite moiety to the speaker, of more than one generation.*

- b. terms which indicate groups of two or more people in a particular relationship to one another, without reference to the speaker:

ařupanha *married couple, (included by Schebeck as No. 6 of his 'residual forms'). ařu-ařupa(nha) two or more married couples. The corresponding Gujani terms was gařuba. These forms are closely linked with pronominal series 7a (valařupa). There was a collective term of similar meaning in Jadliaura:
nuwala *married couple,*
nuwa-nuwala *two or more married couples.**

vapirinji	<i>father and son or daughter, vapi-vapirinji father(s) and sons or daughters; related to series 9.</i>
ɣamināka	<i>mother (or mother's brother) and child; related to series 5 dual (vadnāka).</i>
ɣami-ɣami-ɣalpu) ɣami-djuɣu-djuɣu }	<i>mother (or mother's brother) and children; related to series 5 plural (valalpu).</i>
adnjani-wiɣi-wiɣi	<i>grandmother and grandchildren.</i>
ɣuaɣi-wiɣi-wiɣi	<i>paternal grandfather and grandchildren.</i>
vapapa-wiɣi-wiɣi	<i>maternal grandfather and grandchildren or groups of cross-cousins.</i>
adlari-wiɣi-wiɣi	<i>women related to one another as sisters-in-law.</i>
vinga-wiɣi-wiɣi	<i>men in relationship of brothers-in-law to one another.</i>
vinga-ninganji	<i>my husband and my brothers.</i>
vayaɣa-wiɣi-wiɣi	<i>mother and sons in law.</i>
ɣapaɣa-wiɣi-wiɣi	<i>two or more people in ɣapaɣa relationship to one another.</i>

- c. terms consisting of kinship term together with a special pronoun to indicate that the kinship term is used to refer to both moieties:

adnjani- valanāpa	<i>father's mother and mother's mother the series 8a pronoun is added to the kinship term.</i>
vapaɣanāpa	<i>mother's father and father's father, vapapa and ɣuaɣi (cf. series 8a pronoun).</i>

6. THE GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT OF THE ADNJAMATHANHA PRONOUN SYSTEM

The geographical extent of this complex pronominal system is of interest within the general framework of Australian linguistics. The system is strictly linked with the kinship patterns of Adnjamathanha, and it seems probable that it occurred over the same area, although we can no longer prove this. The Adnjamathanha type of kinship system is similar to that of the following closely associated groups: Wailbi, Jadliaura, Gujani, Bagaɣa, Nugunu, and Kurna (speakers of the Adelaide Language). The languages of these groups are now practically extinct,

but from the little that could be recorded there is at least indirect evidence of the existence of the Adnjamathanha type of complex pronoun system. The last Jadliaura speaker has indicated that an almost identical system was current in Jadliaura, and he quoted forms of Series 9, 'me and my dad'.

The works of Schürmann and of Teichelmann and Schürmann show that there were similar forms in Baŋgaḷa and in the Adelaide Language. We were able to record the following forms from the only surviving speaker of Gujani:

Series 5 (different generation levels, same moiety):

1st dual	ŋadlāga
2nd dual	<u>nu</u> wadnāga
1st plural	ŋadlalbu
2nd plural	wadnalbu

Series 7a (married couples)

1st dual	ŋadli
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Series 7b (married couples)

3rd dual	wadnalbila
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Series 9 (different generation levels, different moieties):

1st dual	ŋarinji
2nd dual	<u>nu</u> warinji

The great similarity of these Gujani forms to Adnjamathanha is obvious. There can thus be no doubt that these Southern Central Australian languages, spoken by people who shared the same kinship system, formed a closely knit group: and one of the most striking characteristics was the intricate pattern of pronominal usage.

7. THE FURTHER EXTENT OF COMPLEX PRONOUN SYSTEMS

a. In Other Parts of Australia

That the pronoun in Aboriginal languages can reflect the social organisation has been reported by other research workers. Elkin (1940, pp.345-349) shows that in Gugada (immediately to the west of the Adnjamathanha-Gujani language group) the third person plural of the personal pronoun (tjana) was used instead of the second person singular between certain persons in an avoidance relationship. In an unpublished

paper Hale has shown that a more complex usage exists in a number of languages: he has described the differentiation by generation level in the pronouns of Lardil, and the complex pronoun system of some north-western Australian languages. There is a possibility that special forms of pronouns were even more widespread in Australia: they may not have been noticed in the course of rapid linguistic surveys.

b. Southern and Eastern Aranda

K. Hale has also given an account of the agnate versus non-agnate distinction and the generation-level distinction in the pronominal system of Andegerebina (Eastern Arandic).

C. Yallop (unpublished thesis) has given a detailed description of the agnate versus non-agnate distinction in Aljawara (north-eastern Arandic). We have recorded the following pronoun forms from the almost extinct dialect of Southern Aranda once spoken in the Dalhousie area:

Southern Aranda Special Pronouns

	AGNATE	NON-AGNATE
	DUAL	
1st person	ilaga	il <u>anda</u>
2nd person	mbalaga	mbul <u>anda</u>
3rd person	alaga	al <u>anda</u>
	PLURAL	
1st person	anagara	an <u>andara</u>
2nd person	aragara	ar <u>andara</u>
3rd person	idnagara	idn <u>andara</u>

These forms are easily analysable: -ra is a plural marker, -ga, is the characteristic affix of the agnate forms, and -nda of the non-agnate. The Aljawara pronouns given by Yallop are almost identical (e.g. agnate dual: ailaga, mbalaga, alaga). The Andegerebina (Eastern Arandic) forms are also very similar, as shown by Hale (unpublished MS), but there is a further distinction in the agnate series according to generation level.

c. Arabana - Wanganuru and the Dieri Language Group

The geographic position of the Arabana-Wanganuru language group is immediately between the Southern Aranda to the north and the Gujani - Adnjamathanha group to the south. We have found that in Arabana-Wanganuru there exist two special pronominal series in addition to the ordinary forms in the dual and plural. One is used for persons related

as 'mother and children' (i.e. in the same moiety): it corresponds in meaning to the series 5 and 6 of the Adnjamathanha pronoun. The other is used for 'father and children' (i.e. in opposite moieties): this corresponds to series 9 in Adnjamathanha. In Jelujendi, Dieri (and the closely related Tirari language) such special forms occur only in the dual.

The following were the forms found:

	Ordinary form		Same moiety		Different moieties					
	Arabana	Wanganuru	Arabana	Wanganuru	Dieri	Jelujendi	Arabana	Dieri	Wanganuru	Jelujendi
1st incl.)	aru }		al <u>anda</u>		nalanta		alagia		nalagia	
1st excl.)										ari }
2nd person			unbal <u>anda</u>		ambalanta		unbalagia		ambalagia	
3rd person	bula		bulal <u>anda</u>		bulalanta		bulalagia		bulalagia	
PLURAL										
1st incl.)	aṅi }		aṅ <u>andara</u>				aṅagara			
1st excl.)										aṅiri }
2nd person	urgari		ar <u>andara</u>				aragara			
3rd person	gari		garan <u>andara</u>				garanagara			

Examples of the use of such forms are:

al <u>anda</u>	jug <u>aṅḍa</u>	<i>we two, my son (or daughter) and I are going (woman speaking)</i>		
<i>we-two</i> (special form)	<i>go</i>			
w <u>aṅa-waṅa</u>	an <u>andara</u>	<i>madliṅa</i>	<u>d</u> an <u>gaṅura</u>	<i>early this morning all we of the same moiety (my 'mother' 'maternal grandmother' and I) were very cold</i>
<i>early-morning</i>	<i>we</i> (special form)	<i>cold-in</i>	<i>staying</i>	
bulalagia	bandi <u>ḍa</u>	<i>the two of them, father and (classificatory) son are having a fight</i>		
<i>they-two</i> (special form)	<i>fight</i>			

The Arabana-Waṅgaṅuru special forms, like the ten series of pronouns in Adjamathanha, show that when relationships are so clearly expressed the exclusive-inclusive distinction in the first person does not appear to be relevant.

Eastern and Southern Arandic are associated with a four-section kinship system. The special pronouns used in these languages are almost identical in form with those of Arabana-Waṅgaṅuru, but the meaning is different. In Arandic the opposition is between agnate and non-agnate, while in Arabana-Waṅgaṅuru the opposition is associated with the matrilineal moiety system. The following distribution pattern prevails:

1. Almost identical special pronoun forms, but difference in meaning (Eastern and Southern Arandic versus Arabana-Waṅgaṅuru).
2. Differing forms but identical meaning (Arabana-Waṅgaṅuru versus Adjamathanha).

The complexity of the Adjamathanha system suggests that it might have been the centre for diffusion. At the limits of this diffusion the oppositions changed in order to accommodate the four sections rather than the matrilineal moieties.

Sketch of distribution of certain special pronouns:



Identical forms (Arabana-Waṅgaṅuru, Dieri, S. and E. Aranda)



Identical meaning (Arabana-Waṅgaṅuru, Dieri, Adjamathanha)

Dieri is here loosely used to include Tirari and Jelujendi.

Adjamathanha is here loosely used for all the southern group of languages.

This evidence shows that in a large part of southern-central Australia there prevailed complex pronominal systems based on kinship patterns. This differentiation of pronouns reflects the basic behaviour patterns in Aboriginal society. The Adnjamathanha language is of particular interest in this respect, as it contains the most complex elaboration of the pronoun system that has yet been reported.

8. NOTES

1. For the Adnjamathanha words the spelling system used in B. Schebeck's paper on pronouns has been adopted here. The main features of this spelling are:

- a. th, nh, lh indicate the interdental consonants.
- b. the voiceless series is used to indicate plosive consonants other than the retroflex plosive, which is written ɖ.
- c. dn, dnj, bm, are pre-stopped nasals.

For all other languages the more usual phonemic spelling with voiced plosives has been used, and interdentals in these languages are underlined.

2. Schebeck has suggested that ubmaɭi is derived from the word for *one* (ubma) in Adnjamathanha, but we have several reasons for rejecting this:

- a. In the neighbouring language to the east, Jadliaura, the equivalent word for ubmaɭi is gubmaɭi, but the word for *one* is gulaɖu.
- b. In the Maljanaba language, further east again, own father is guma, while wife's mother's brother (a classificatory father) is gumali (Beckett, 1967).
- c. In the neighbouring languages to the west, in the Western Desert, umari is wife's mother, wife's father and son's wife, and indicates avoidance.

We therefore conclude that ubmaɭi is related to terms in neighbouring languages, and is not connected with the word for *one* in Adnjamathanha.

3. This is reminiscent of the Wik-munkan system, where the preferred marriage of a man to his mother's younger brother's daughter, requires the sons of youngest daughters to marry women two generations down (McConnel 1934 and 1950).

4. Though Schebeck has suggested that the pronominal system might have some connection with the avoidance/respect versus joking opposition, we could find no evidence of this, though we do not claim that it cannot exist. Each kin category determining pronominal usage could include both kinds of kin as regards avoidance and joking. For example a woman would use one set of pronouns (Series 8, see below) for her brothers and her brothers-in-law together, and another set (Series 9) for a group

containing her father, all his offspring and his sister. Now a woman can joke with her brother-in-law, but must observe a strict code of avoidance with her brother, she can joke with her father's sister, but must show respect to her father. The choice of pronoun seems to be structurally rather than behaviorally determined.

5. Note that moiety affiliation overrides parenthood in determining the kinship terms for the lower generations, so that husbands and wives use different terms for their children and for their grandchildren. Therefore *yaka!a* does not really have the meaning of *my children*, but rather "lower generation, my moiety".

THE NAPAŁA AND UBMAŁI RELATIONSHIPS.

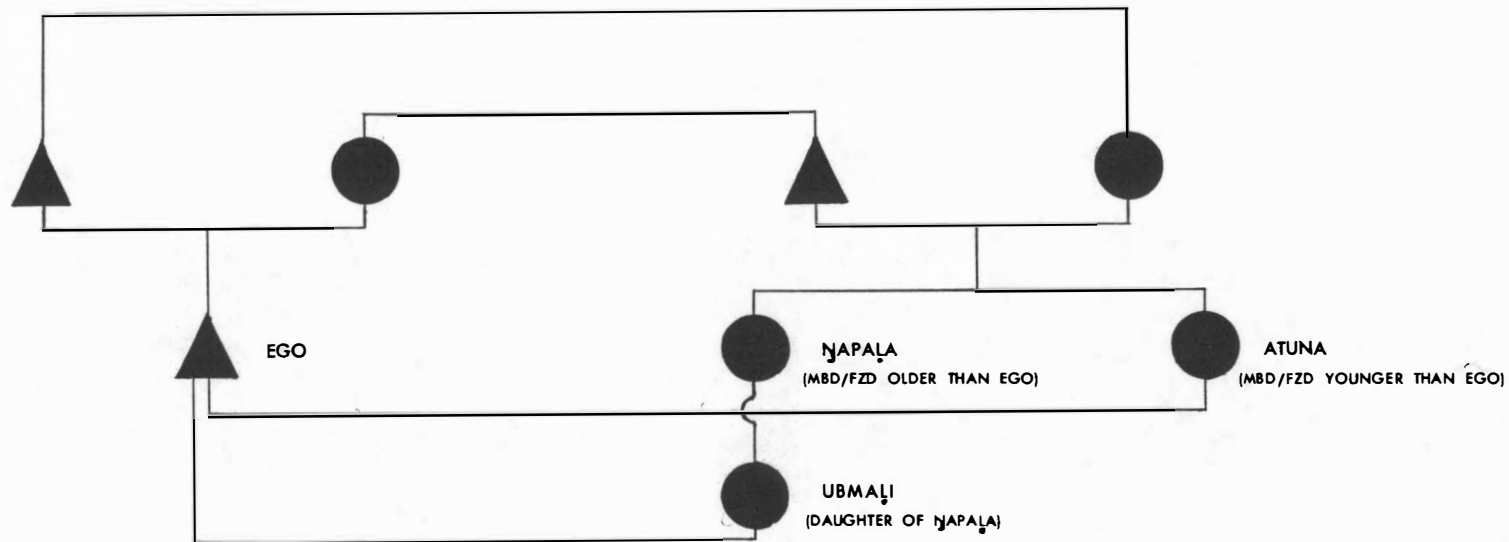


FIGURE I

Ego may marry his actual or classificatory cross-cousin (MBD and/or FZD) if she is younger than he is: he calls her Atuna, she calls him Māpi. He may not marry his cross-cousin if she is older than he is; he calls her Napała and she calls him Napała too. He may however marry the daughter of Napała, provided that Napała has not married his own older brother. He calls this daughter Ubmałi, and she calls him Ubmałi too.

TABLE 1

Adnjamathanha kinship from the point of view of a man (Araṛu moiety):

Section AX	Araru Moiety	Section MX	Mathari Moiety
EGO		MBS/FZS (if not ZH or WB)	VAPAPA or ḡAPALA
OB	NHUḡA	ZH/WB	VINGA
YB	VILHALI	MF/WFF	VAPAPA
FF/MMB/WMF	ḡUALI	DS/ZSS	VAPAPA
SS/ZDS	ḡUALI		
oz	yaka	mbd/fzd (younger than ego)	atuna
yz	vilhali	mbd/fzd (older than ego)	ḡapaḷa
mm/wfm	adnjani	fw/wmm/mfz	ḡapaḷa (old ḡapala)
sd/zdd	ḡuaḷi or adnjani	dd/zsd	or adnjani vapapa
Section AY		Section MY	
MB	ḡAMAḡA	F	VAPI
WF	YAṚU	FoB/MoZH/FFF	ḡAḶU
If MB is WF	ḡAMAḡA YAṚU	FB(calls ego's mother ḡapaḷa)	UBMAḶI VAPI
ZS	YAKALA		
Actual DH	YAṚU	"FB" (calls ego's mother atuna)	UBMAḶI ḡAMAḡA
m	ḡami	S/ZDH	VAPALU
moz	ḡaḷāmi	fz/mbw (if not wm)	atāpi
myz	wadnāmi	wm	vayaṛa
mmm/ffm	ḡaḷāmi	d	vapalu
zd	yakaḷa	mbdd/fzdd (ḡapaḷa's daughter)	ubmaḷi
Actual sw	yaṛu	mfm/fmm	atāpi

Notes to Table 1:

a) Capitals are used for the terms for male kin, small letters for females.

b) Forms in boxes give those terms which are used only in the speech of males, (or only in the speech of females, Table 2).

Boxes have also been used to indicate terms which have different meanings (in English) for male and female speakers.

c) The four sections as such are not recognized or named by Adnjamathanha speakers but have been designated by the authors to simplify explanation of the pronominal system.

d) atāpi is an abbreviation of *atu-vapi female father*.

TABLE 2

Adnjamathanha kinship from the point of view of a woman (Araṛu Moiety):

Section AX	Araṛu Moiety	Section MX	Mathari Moiety
ego		MBS/FZS (older than ego)	MĀNI
OB	NHUḐA	MBS/FZS (younger than ego)	ḐAPAḐA
YB	VILHALI	MBS/FZS can also be called	VAPAPA
FF/MMB/HMF	ḐUAḐI	MF/HFF	VAPAPA
DS/BSS	ḐUAḐI	SS/BDS	VAPAPA
oz	yaka	mbd/fzd	ḥapaḐa or
yz	vilhali		vapapa
mm/hfm	adnjani	actual hz or bw	adlari
dd/bsd	ḥuaḐi or adnjani	fm/hmm/mfz	ḥapaḐa or adnjani
		sd/bdd	vapapa or adnjani

Section AY		Section MY	
MB	ḐAMAḐA	F	VAPI
Actual HF	YARU	FoB/MoZH/FFF	ḐAḐU
If MB is HF	ḐAMAḐA YARU	FB (calls mother ḥapaḐa)	UBMAḐI VAPI
S/BDH	YAKAḐA	"FB" (calls mother atuna i.e. older than mother)	UBMAḐI ḐAMAḐA
		BS (calls ego atāpi)	VANANJI
m	ḥami	DH (calls ego vayara)	VAYARA
moz	ḥaḐāmi	MBDS/FZDS	UBMAḐI
myz	wadnāmi		
d/bsw	yakaḐa	fz/mbw (if not hm)	atāpi
mmm/ffm	ḥalāmi	Actual hm	adlari
		bd	vananji
		Actual sw	adlari
		mfm/fmm	atāpi

Notes to Table 2:

a) Capitals are used for the terms for male kin, small letters for females.

b) Forms in boxes give those terms which are used only in the speech of males, (or only in the speech of females, Table 2).

Boxes have also been used to indicate terms which have different meanings (in English) for male and female speakers.

c) The four sections as such are not recognized or named by Adnjamathanha speakers but have been designated by the authors to simplify explanation of the pronominal system.

d) atāpi is an abbreviation of atu-vapi *female father*.

1. DISTRIBUTION OF BIRTH—ORDER NAMES



2. DISTRIBUTION OF SPECIAL PRONOUNS IN SOUTH CENTRAL AUSTRALIA.

