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Patriclan Subsets of the Ashburton River District in Western Australia

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Abstract

In the Ashburton River district of Western Australia, individual members of different patrilineal totemic country groups (patriclans) could share a common name that was used in both address and reference for those individuals. This namesake relationship between members of distinct patriclans or descent-based estate-owning groups existed regardless of the linguistic identities of the patriclans concerned and was regional in distribution. This institution had family resemblances to cross-regional identity-sharing systems in other parts of Aboriginal Australia; however, it was unique in its detail. These shared names frequently, but not always, reflected shared patriclan totems. In any case, they structurally yielded subsets of patriclans. In some recorded cases, members of these subsets married each other. These cases may or may not have been post-conquest 'wrong marriages' contracted when the old prescriptive marriage laws were losing force.

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss certain anthropological and linguistic records from the Ashburton River district of the Pilbara region of Western Australia (see Figure 23). My focus is on several authors' descriptions of subgroupings of descent-based totemic clans—subsets that they variously named 'phratries' (Bates 1913), 'inter-tribal totemic divisions' (Radcliffe-Brown 1931) and 'totem classes' (Austin 1992a–e, 2012). The information left to us regarding these subsets is limited and no longer being socially reproduced. For this reason, we have a small and closed corpus of evidence about them. Their unusual features, though, make it worthwhile for this paper to attempt as comprehensive a description and analysis of them as practicable.

While the evidence for the emotional colour of intra-set relationships among the people concerned is sparse, it does point towards amity—a 'mateship'—based on mutual likeness. The members of these subsets enjoyed a commonality of identity, irrespective of their constituents' linguistic group memberships. These subsets linked people, not only as individuals, but also as members (or perhaps 'representatives' would be closer to classical Aboriginal psychology) of different estate-holding totemic clans both within and across linguistic-territorial boundaries. Although two or more such subsets might have possessed the same linguistic variety, they were not structurally nested subgroups of linguistic groups per se; rather, they were distributed in a mosaic fashion across the landscape—geographically and socially.

They thus formed a superordinate association of women, men and presumably children who were at once both 'same and different'—in the sense of that widespread Aboriginal expression that reflects a philosophical preference for conjoint complementarity rather than monoliths of unity. These patrician membership subsets formed discontinuous unities of like peoples who differed in other respects. Thus, they were counterterritorial in function, if not intention—that is, one peacemaking role of the patrician subsets was that within this system, one could find namesakes with linguistic affiliations and home locations far from one's own. In classical Aboriginal Australia generally, namesake relationships are always infused with a positive tone. Shared names often imply shared transcendent substance. That this amity-oriented structural institution formed a mosaic across territorial groups in the present case suggests that the Ashburton system was another example, although unique in detail, of the tendency of Australian societies to codify and formalise social forces that countervailed

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against the insularity and, at times, aggressive localism typically associated with patrification or patriliney and male political dominance. Balance, not uniformity, was the supreme principle underpinning the valorisation of both kinds of institutions.



Figure 23: Map showing the locations of the Ashburton and Gascoyne rivers of Western Australia.

Source: Prepared by William McConvell from standard topographic maps of Australia; geodata from Geosciences Australia.

In spite of this distributive function in relation to identity, the Ashburton patrilineal subsets were not strictly exogamous. In this sense, their members could not have been culturally constructed as being 'of one blood'. I say this because a structure of a similar kind, widely spread in classical times in much of Australia and still extant in some regions such as the north central Northern Territory, consists of matrilineal totemic clans. Co-members of such descent-based unities were deemed to be of the same 'flavour', 'aroma' or 'meat', which meant there was a ban on sexual relationships between co-totemites, whether within one area or between distantly linked geographical areas. Along with an incest taboo, these matrilineal clans generally combined an ethic of amity between co-members.

Matrilineal social totems identified in these ways include the *dbii* or 'meat' of north Central New South Wales (Ash et al. 2003, p. 61; Mathews 1897, p. 157, 'dheeh'), the *mardu* or 'flavour' of the Lake Eyre region (Hercus 1989, p. 102; Howitt 1904, p. 91, 'murdu') and the *ngurlu* of the north central Northern Territory. *Ngurlu* is used mainly north and north-west from near Newcastle Waters and Beetaloo, and literally means 'taste, flavour' (Gurindji) or 'human scent, smell of a person's sweat' (Djamindjung) (Nash 1982).

The 'Phratries' of North-East Arnhem Land

Religiously linked patrilineal groups in north-east Arnhem Land—the Yolngu region—have some features in common with the Ashburton system. The local missionary and scholar Theodore Webb (1933) referred to these as *mala* (untranslated by him, but generally meaning 'groups') possessing common *rangga* (sacred ceremonies). He implied that the constituents of these *mala* were 'hordes' (patrilineal descent groups; Webb 1933, p. 406). The constituent hordes were not clustered geographically but could be 'as widely separated as Elcho Island on the north coast and Blue Mud Bay on the Gulf of Carpentaria' (Webb 1933, p. 408). On the matter of terminology for such scattered unities, he stated: 'I leave it to be determined whether the term tribe, subtribe, or some other should be applied to these *mala*' (Webb 1933, pp. 408–9).

Lloyd Warner (1958 [1937], pp. 9, 33–5) identified the same sets as 'phratries', an anthropological term from *phratris*, meaning 'brotherhood' in Greek. Each phratry in north-east Arnhem Land belongs to only one of the exogamous patrilineal moieties of the region and has a mythic basis

for unity of its members. Its members have similar languages ideologically, but not dialectally. Likewise, there is a doctrine of phratry solidarity that is not borne out in practice, and in two cases, Warner found the phratries 'too nebulous in their composition to give their clan membership'. Warner (1958 [1937], p. 35) regarded the phratries as 'a weak attempt within the culture to create new and larger groups than the clan to control the intra-moiety antagonisms of the clans within it'.

In general, later anthropologists did not settle for Warner's terminology. Ronald Berndt (1955, p. 96) preferred 'parallel descent groups' and referred to 'clans' comprised of linguistic groups that consisted of parallel sets of minimal patrilineal descent groups. Warren Shapiro (1981, pp. 23, 91, 97–8) called Warner's phratries 'totemic unions' and pointed out more of their indeterminateness. Bernhard Schebeck (2001, pp. 46–9) included 'phratry-like names' among his schema of 10 types of collective names in the region but could not find rigid formalisation in their use. Nancy Williams (1986, p. 70) called the relevant entities *manikay mala*. Ian Keen (1994, pp. 65, 75) explicitly rejected 'phratries' and opted for 'groups' (*mala*), given the indeterminacies he described, and the presence of strings of links rather than sets marked by closures. Komei Hosokawa (2003) called Warner's phratries 'clans'.

Despite such differences, the agreed picture for the Yolngu region is one in which identities and sacra may be held in common by people whose local country interests are separated by often considerable distances, people who belong to the same moiety and therefore cannot intermarry, and who may share a common title or group name. The first feature is shared with the Ashburton, while the latter two are not.

The Ashburton District

The Ashburton district is distinctive within the gallery of Australian traditions concerning kin superclasses. Appropriately, Bates (1913, p. 394) commented on 'how interesting the Ashburton tribes are'.

Bates (1913, pp. 393–5) reported the existence of 'certain totem phratries' in a district of Western Australia that she referred to as the Ashburton. She described the Ashburton district as an area running 'from north of Onslow (Ashburton River), towards the Gascoyne River' (Bates 1913, p. 393). It was identified by Bates (1913) as an area in which the Aboriginal

people shared a distinctive cluster of key features of social and religious organisation: a four-section system that was subgrouped into two moieties whose members had prescribed ritual roles, the absence of circumcision, localised increase (thalu) ceremonies, a ban on cross-cousin marriages and totemic phratries. She cited no source here other than ‘Cornally’ and knowledge based on her own fieldwork, which seems to have principally been among the 77 Aboriginal women living at Dorre Island Isolation Hospital in late 1910 and early 1911 (Bates 1966, pp. 97–104; n.d., Notebook 7a: cover sheet). I have used Bates’s field materials to flesh out her published description. Bates (1966, pp. 97–104; n.d., Notebook 7a: cover sheet) also acknowledged that her manuscript contained ‘part of Cornally’s information on marriage laws’.¹

Radcliffe-Brown (1931, pp. 38–42) acknowledged Bates’s 1913 published paper as one of the sources for his own discussion of the Ashburton peoples, whom he denoted as ‘Talaindji type’ in his taxonomy of Australian social organisation. He had also done fieldwork in the same region in the period from 1910 to 1912 (Radcliffe-Brown 1931, p. 42), and his notes from that work (Radcliffe-Brown n.d.) have been used in this chapter in addition to his published statements. He described the district as being on both sides of the Ashburton River for the lower two-thirds of its length, south to the Gascoyne River (Radcliffe-Brown 1931, p. 38).

Berndt et al. (1979, p. 32 [map], p. 35 [table]) identified a similar Ashburton-centred region of ‘traditional social categories and social groups’, which he denoted as the ‘Central-west coastal and inland’ area—subgroup ‘E’. Differences between the publication by Berndt et al. (1979) and that of Bates (1913) and Radcliffe-Brown (1931) suggest that Berndt was using his own and/or other unpublished field data as sources in this 1979 essay, which was brief. He did not mention in print the phenomenon that Bates called ‘phratries’. Unfortunately, Berndt’s field notes remain under a 30-year embargo at the University of Western Australia, and were not made available for this chapter.

1 James Cornally, a shepherd, was a resident in the Gascoyne and Ashburton River districts for about 20 years (Biblioteca versila 2015).

The linguistic-territorial groupings indicated in print as component members of the Ashburton regional social organisational system by Bates (1913), Radcliffe-Brown (1931) and Berndt et al. (1979) are shown in Table 17. I have reordered the groupings to match as many as possible across the rows. Bates (1913) listed only six but added ‘&c’—implying that perhaps she had recorded more; Radcliffe-Brown (1931, p. 38) listed 11; and Berndt et al. (1979) indicated that there were 18.²

Table 17: Language groups of the Ashburton social organisation district.

Bates	Radcliffe-Brown	Berndt et al.
Tallainji	Talaindji	Djalendji
Burduna	Burduna	Buduna
Biniguru	Binigura	Binigura
Baiung	Baiong	Baiyungu
Maia	Maia	Maia
Targari	Targari	Dargari
&c	Noala	Noala
	Tjuroro	Djururu
	Djiwali	Djiwali
	Tenma	
	Warienga	Warianga
		Bandjima ¹
		Inawongga
		Nyanu
		Malgaru
		Yinigudira
		Djungurdia
		Gurama
		Guwari

¹ Radcliffe-Brown placed Pandjima in his ‘Kariera Type’ subgroup instead.

Source: Bates (1913), Berndt et al. (1979) and Radcliffe-Brown (1931, p. 38).

It is not the aim of this chapter to discuss the differences between these authors in any comprehensive detail; however, it is clear that they agree on a core regional set of six linguistic groups.

² Here, as elsewhere in the chapter, I have retained the original spellings of the Aboriginal words by the source authors.

Additionally, from Bates (1913), Radcliffe-Brown (1931) and Austin (1992a–e, 2012) we may derive a largely parallel record of the names used in address and reference for the members of the patriclan subsets that we are considering (see Table 18).

Table 18: The subset members' names.

Subset		Bates	Radcliffe-Brown	Austin
1	Male	Kājardu (Kagardu)	Kadjardu	Kajartu
	Female	Ngajuri	Ngadjuri	Ngajuri ~ Ngaji
2	Male	Wariara	Wariera	Wariyarra
	Female	Ngogodji	Ngogodji	Ngukuji
3	Male	Waliri (Wadiri)	Waleri	Walirri
	Female	Wilari (Widari)	Wilari	Wilari
4	Male	Yau(i)j		
	Female	Nyarlu		
5	Male	Wiarriji	Wiardji	Marramalu, Yawiji
	Female	Mambulu	Mambula	Mampulu
6	Male		Wilyaru	Wilyaru
	Female		Ngwolyi	Ngulyi
7	Male	Yirrgun	Yirgu	
	Female	Yirbiji	Yerbidji	
8	Male	Mirdir(ba)	Mirdirba	Murtirr
	Female	Ngalguji	Ngalgudji	Ngalkuji
9	Male		Tambula	
	Female		Murdari	

Source: Austin (1992a–e, 2012), Bates (1913) and Radcliffe-Brown (1931).

Note, though, that individuals were addressed and referred to by the 'totem class names'. Such usage may well have implied a 'totem class' or shared higher order unit; however, but the names were not the names of the totem classes.

The Labelling of the Subsets by Scholars

While Bates (1913, p. 394) referred to 'totem phratries', Radcliffe-Brown (1931, p. 41) referred to the same phenomenon as 'inter-tribal totemic divisions' and avoided the term 'phratry'. It is hardly conceivable that he

did so lightly, and, in my opinion, it is a clear rejection of Bates's term. Radcliffe-Brown (1931, p. 41) recorded that Aboriginal people of the region would often refer to their totem as their 'eldest brother'. However, if there was an Indigenous cover term for what Bates called 'phratries', it is unlikely to have been 'brother' or 'sibling', because their members could belong to all four sections—that is, in the correct relationships, they could marry each other. However, it is possible, as suggested by an anonymous reviewer of this chapter, that a 'sibling' identification could be used as a metaphoric cover term.

The cover term in use for Bates's 'phratries' in at least one case is most likely to have meant 'mate' or possibly 'friend' instead. I say this because in her unpublished manuscript (Bates n.d., Notebook 7a p. 98) under the heading 'PHRATRIES', she made a note that had been typed as 'Jadiara = mate, Talainji', followed by a listing of 13 marriages specifying language, section and 'phratry' for each partner and the totem of the male (see Tables 23 and 24). Given that the typist has rendered Payungu waliri as 'wadiri' on the same page, it may be that Bates actually wrote 'Jaliara = mate'. These terms can be compared with the published terms from Austin's (1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1992e) work (see Table 19).

Table 19: 'Mate' terms in the region recorded by Austin.

Term	Gloss	Language	Source
jali	friend	Jiwarli	Austin 1992e, p. 3
jaliyarra	pair of mates	Jiwarli	Austin 1992e, p. 3
jalignurdi	mate	Thalanyji	Austin 1992a, p. 2
jalignurdi	friend	Payungu	Austin 1992b, p. 2
jali	mate	Tharrgari	Austin 1992c, p. 3

Source: Austin (1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1992e).

Oddly, Bates (1913) used the term 'phratry' not to refer only to totemic groups, but also to pairs of sections. Hence, the Emu totem 'phratry' of the Burduna tribe was of 'Paljari-Banaka Phratry' (Bates, 1913, p. 394)—with Paljari and Banaka being section terms. As will be discussed, the patriclan subsets were not associated with a single section couple or moiety, as this might have implied.

Acquisition of Membership

Bates (1913) did not explicitly state the rule for acquisition of the ‘phratry’ totem; however, her list of four examples of possible marriages between members of different ‘phratries’ shows in all cases that the offspring of such couples belonged to the ‘phratry’ of the father—not that of the mother. If this was general practice, this would have meant that the rule was one of patrilineation.

Radcliffe-Brown (1931, pp. 41, 42) was clearer and stated that ‘patrilineal clans’ of the region were ‘grouped together’ into ‘inter-tribal’ totemic divisions, and that ‘since the local clan is strictly patrilineal, it follows that the totemic divisions are also patrilineal’. This would imply, although it is not stated, that males in such divisions had the same divisional names as their brothers, sons, fathers, fathers’ brothers and so on, while females had the same divisional names as their sisters, brothers’ daughters, fathers’ sisters and so on.

Distribution

According to Radcliffe-Brown (1931), among the Ashburton-Gascoyne region’s nine totemic divisions, only one (Kadjardu/Ngadjuri)³ was ‘found in all the tribes’. The Wilyaru/Ngwolyi division was only found in the southern tribes, while the Yirgu/Yerbidji, Mirdirba/Ngalgudji and Tambula/Murdari divisions were absent in the south—namely among the Maia and Baiong tribes (see Table 18). What he suggested as universal among the Ashburton regional system is the totemic division as a structural and religious entity, not the actual and total set of divisional names or totemic associations per se.

The totemic divisions were scattered across the landscape—both between and within language territories:

In a list of seventeen local clans of the Baiong tribe, which is probably not complete, there are three Kadjardu clans, seven Waleri, one Wariera, three Wiardji, and three Wilyaru. (Radcliffe-Brown 1931, p. 41)

3 The first term is the male name and the second is female for members of the same division.

According to Radcliffe-Brown (1931, p. 42), this interdigitating system of commonly based distinctions that disregarded linguistic unities or differences gave rise to the use of divisional names—and not kin terms—as the predominant form of address between men and women. Gender was marked in the differences between the male and female ‘names’ that rested on divisional memberships (see Table 18). Austin’s (2012, p. 16) later work confirmed both points: ‘There are separate terms for male and female members of the totem groups, and the terms are often used to refer to or address people, much in the manner of personal names in English’.

In these three respects—supra-segmentary linkages, eliding of names or kin terms and the principle of amity among those who are akin—the speech etiquette of patriclan subset membership in the Ashburton resembled that of subsection usage in Central and north central Australia. Further, it was quite dissimilar to regions such as Cape York Peninsula where kin terms and clan-based names were among the main norms for address and reference. It was a system bigger and less personalised than putative genealogy, as it was one that flattened the carefully modulated distances and tensions of genealogically based relatedness into a subsection-like pan-regional set of a manageable number of likenesses and differences. It may also have added a rather emotionally light means of disambiguation of interpersonal reference. Such simple conversational functionality is not to be dismissed as a possibility.

Perhaps the most consistently noted and notable element linking members of the various descent-group subsets in the Ashburton case is the addressing of and referring to subset members using distinctive male and female names that reflect subset identity, in preference to the use of kin terms. Ideologically, at least, this was generally in recognition of the totems commonly held among members of the same identity. However, this system was by no means as neat as that would imply. It is the names that are most consistent and the totems less so.

The Totems and Descent Groups

Bates’s (1913, p. 394) brief published tabulation of ‘phratry’ names and totems presented a very simple picture of the relationship between the two. Table 20 retabulates the ‘phratry’ names and totems for clarity.

Table 20: Bates's totems linked to 'phratry' names.

Totem	Male name	Female name	Tribe	Section couple
Emu	Wariara	Ngogodji	Burduna	Paljari-Banaka
Turkey & Fire	Waliri	Wilari	Burduna	Paljari-Banaka
Kangaroo	Kājardu	Ngajuri	Tallainji	Boorong-Kaimera
Snake	Wiarri	Mambulu	Tallainji & Burduna	Paljari-Banaka

Source: Adapted from Bates (1913, p. 394).

This indicates that each 'phratry' was associated with one—occasionally two—totems. However, Radcliffe-Brown (1931, p. 41) reported more complexity:

[The Kadjaru/Ngadjuri division] represents water or moisture, and therefore such things as water birds, frogs, water plants, and grass-seed ... are Kadjaru. Similarly Waleri has for its principle fire and heat, things that are especially associated with hot weather, such as snakes and lizards belong to this division. But for some of the other divisions it has not been possible to discover any simple principle by which things are classified under one or other. Different stars, or portions of the sky, are connected with the totemic divisions.

Indeed, Radcliffe-Brown's unpublished field data (Appendix 1) held the fact that different descent groups whose members shared a common name were identified with widely distinct, if at times semantically related, entities.

In Radcliffe-Brown's (n.d.) field notes, Kadjaru/Ngadjuri was the naming tag for members of clans with the following totems: Yungadji (lizard sp.), Rain, Pandura [Parturra? = Bustard], Galah, Turtle, Bandicoot, Red Ochre, Grass Seed, Kangaroo, Plum Tree, Bony Bream, Honey, Rainbow, Kadjura (mythic snake), Kulyu (edible root), Paljuwara (river sand?), Winter Rain and Thurna (snake). Bates's (1913, p. 324) simple entry of '(Bungurdi) Kangaroo' for this 'phratry' belied—or she had missed—a huge range of variation. The other clans and totems recorded as belonging to the seven 'totemic divisions' by Radcliffe-Brown (n.d.) provide further detail (see Appendix 1).

However, Radcliffe-Brown (1931, p. 41) was able to state firmly that:

Any local clan that has rain as its totem belongs to this [Kadjardu] division. Similarly any group that has the fire, sun, and hot weather totem belongs to Waleri (fem. Wilari). The Wariera (fem. Ngogodji) division includes all clans with an emu totem, and all the eaglehawk clans belong to Wiardji (fem. Mambula).

Thus, the correlations between totems and divisions worked best in a one-way direction. All Rain clans were members of the Kadjardu division, but not all Kadjardu division descent groups were Rain clans—a salient point omitted by Radcliffe-Brown (n.d.). He also left aside one apparent exception to the ‘all Rain clans are Kadjardu’ rule: a ‘Warunga’ [Warriangga?] tribe’s clan of ‘Yungo’ division was also a Rain clan (see Appendix 1; it could be Kadjardu). Radcliffe-Brown, like many others, apparently liked to see that the loose thrums of the warp and weft of the record were trimmed, and the descriptive picture reduced to something systemically rigorous through a little snipping along the fringes.

The patriclans’ totems had corresponding totemic centres at specific sites in the relevant clan estate generally, if not universally (see Appendix 1). These centres were established by mythic beings. Radcliffe-Brown (1931) considered the establishment of the totem centres ‘to have been affected by the existence of the inter-tribal divisions’; however, he was coy as to how. He then offered a solo example: ‘This Yauardamai (Burduna) or Kardamai (Baiong) seems to be the special culture-hero of the Kadjardu division’ (Radcliffe-Brown 1931, pp. 41–2). I suggest that the base evidence in Radcliffe-Brown’s (1931) paper is most likely fragmentary, rather than a richness pared down by way of example.

The relevant notes that Radcliffe-Brown took in 1911, tabulated in Appendix 1, are reorganised so that his intertribal totemic divisions are placed first and in alphabetical order.⁴

Table 21 shows Austin’s (2012, p. 17) record of totemic classes.

⁴ The raw text material in Appendix 1 was originally keyboarded from Radcliffe-Brown’s field notes at the University of Sydney Archives, by Brett Baker, then of the University of Sydney, in 1998. This work was funded by the New South Wales Land Council and the Aboriginal Legal Rights Movement of South Australia in a transcription project organised by myself.

Table 21: Austin's record of totemic classes.

Male name	Female name	Totem	Translation
Walirri	Wilari	Karla	Fire
		Parturra	Bustard
Kajartu	Ngajuri	Yungu	Rain
Wariyarra	Ngukuji	Jankurna	Emu
Marramalu (in Jiwarli & Thiin), Yawiji in Warriyangka & Tharrkari	Mampulu	Warlartu	Eaglehawk
Mirtirr	Ngalkuji	Jiripari	Echidna
Thampurla	?	Kurrumantu	Goanna

Source: Austin (2015, p. 28).

However, this apparently simple picture is tempered by Austin's (2012, p. 17) comment:

It appears that the totems listed above for each group are prototypical for the local groups having that totem class name, however, evidence from Radcliffe-Brown's card file suggests that for any given local group there could be many associated totems, not always the one typical of the totem class of the clan.

Marriage, Patriclan Subset and Section Membership

Bates (1913) stated that in the Ashburton, no marriages were permitted 'within the totem phratry', and followed this statement with four examples of 'possible marriages' between 'phratry' members. It is anomalous, then, that in her list of permissible weddings was the pair Wariara (Emu) marrying Wilari (Turkey). Prior to this, Bates had identified Wariara as a male 'phratry' name and Wilari as the equivalent female 'phratry' name—both of which belonged to the Paljari-Banaka section couple (both Burduna tribe in this instance). If there had been a rule of exogamy for these patriclan subgroups, Bates's use of the label 'phratry' for them would be justified. However, exogamy did not apply as a strict rule so much as a common pattern. Further, Bates's assertion that Wilari/Wariara people belonged to the Paljari-Banaka section couple mistakenly implied an alignment between the two sets of categories. In fact, the patriclan subsets and the section terms associated with members of their constituent

descent groups were not exclusively aligned with each other. Men of all four sections could be named Kadjaru, Waliri, Wiardji, Yauadji and, probably, Yirgu; female equivalents of these are few in the record but can be assumed to also have been applied. Table 22 shows evidence of this.

Table 22: Patriclan subsets and sections.

Subset name	Sections	Source	No. of examples
Kadjardu (m)	Boorong-Kaimera	Radcliffe-Brown	8
Kadjardu (m)	Paljari-Banaka	Radcliffe-Brown	1 + (1?)
Kajardu (m)	Boorong-Kaimera	Bates	1
Waleri (m)	Boorong-Kaimera	Radcliffe-Brown	3
Waliri (m) Wilari (f)	Paljari-Banaka	Bates	1
Wariara (m) Ngogodji (f)	Paljari-Banaka	Bates	1
Wariera (m)	Paljari-Banaka	Radcliffe-Brown	2
Wiardji (m)	Boorong-Kaimera	Radcliffe-Brown	2
Wiardji (m)	Paljari-Banaka	Radcliffe-Brown	1
Wiardji (m) Mambulu (f)	Paljari-Banaka	Bates	1
Yanadji (m) Nyalu (f)	Paljari-Banaka	Radcliffe-Brown	1
Yauadji (m)	Boorong-Kaimera	Radcliffe-Brown	2
Yai (m) Nyarlu (f)	Boorong-Kaimera	Bates	1
Yirgu (m)	Paljari-Banaka	Radcliffe-Brown	2
Yugu? Kadjadu	Boorong-Kaimera	Radcliffe-Brown	1
Yungo ['Rain']	Paljari-Banaka	Radcliffe-Brown	1

Source: Bates (1913) and Radcliffe-Brown (n.d.).

Bates (1913) did not publish her list of 14 female–male relationships, plus a few other people, together with their linguistic group names, section names, ‘phratry’ memberships and totems. These are my terms as the columns containing these data lacked identifying headers. This list was located in Bates (n.d., Notebook 7a pp. 98–9) and is tabulated in Tables 23 and 24.

Table 23: Bates's unpublished data on marriages.

H lg	H section	H 'phratry'	H totem	W lg	W section	W 'phratry'	W totem
Burduna	Pajlari	Wariara	Kajalbu [Emu]	D. argari [sic]	Banaka	Ngogoji	
Baingu [Baiungu?]	Pajlari	Wariri	Pardura [Bustard]	Burduna	Banaka	Wirdari	
Talainji	Boorong	Kajarda	Bungurdi	-	Kaimera	Ngajuri	
Talainji	Banaka	Kajardu	Bilarra	-	Pajlari	Ngajuri	
Burduna	Kaimera	Mirdirba	Kangaldha [Wild Potato?] and Jiruwari [Echidna]	-	Boorong	Ngalguji	
Talainji	Banaka	Yirrgun	Yeergu, roots on buln	-	Pajlari	Yirbiji	
Talainji	Pajlari	Wiarriji	Warnda or waraueru	Binigura	Banaka	Mambalu	
Burduna	Kaimera	Waliri	Jirdara, iguana	-	Boorong	Wirdari	
Burduna	Kaimera	Yaiui	Kaju (snake) and seed	-	Boorong	Nyarlu	
Baiungu	Pajlari	Wadiri	Pardura [Bustard]	-	Banaka	Widari	Pardura [Bustard]
Burduna	Kaimera	Yaiui	Kardan etc. seed & kadurdu seed	-	Boorong	Nyardu	
Talainji	Kagardu [sic]	Kagardu	Wong-nguru [Bandicoot]			Ngajuri	Mad, a wilaguru
Burduna	Boorong	Yaiui	Maderongu (seed and rain)	-	Kaimera	Nyardu	
Burduna	Kaimera	Mirdir	Jiribardi [Echidna]	-	Boorong	Ngalguji	Jiribardi [Echidna]

Source: Based on Bates (1913), with headers added by Sutton.

Below this list (Bates n.d., Notebook 7a pp. 98–9) fell an extension (see Table 24).

Table 24: Extended Bates data.

Father and son							
Dargari		Yauiji	Bongana (duck)				
		Nyarlo	Nganmari				
Talainji	Banaka	Kajardu	Baurda	–	Paljeri	Ngajuri	Kardan

Source: Bates n.d., Notebook 7a, pp. 98–9.

It is not entirely clear what this list was meant to represent. However, the heading above the list is as follows:

PHRATRIES

Nidi and ngallariju relationships, cannot marry. (marginal note) Jadiara = mate, Talainji. (Bates n.d., Notebook 7a p. 98)

Given that the sections of the couples listed by Bates all form impermissible relationships according to the section system, it would seem that this is perhaps a list of actual wrong marriages or a list of imagined wrong marriage possibilities between people who ‘cannot marry’. Here, Bates’s ‘nidi’ is most probably the *nyirdi* recorded by Austin as follows: ‘wife’s parents’ (Thalanyji, 1992a, p. 19; Tharrgari, 1992c, p. 15); ‘wife’s father, daughter’s husband’ (Payungu, 1992b, p. 27); ‘son-in-law, daughter’s husband’ (Wariyangga, 1992d, p. 14); and ‘wife’s mother, daughter’s husband’ (Jiwarli, 1992e, p. 33). Bates’s (1913, p. 395) list of Burduna kin terms includes ‘Nidi-I—father’s sister’s son’. I have been unable to identify ‘ngallariju’; the ‘ngal-’ segment suggests a possible first-person dual inclusive pronoun as the stem.

All 14 marriages in Table 23 where the partners’ sections are identified are between men and women of the same patriclan subsets, as identified by names—that is, the patriclan subsets shown here are endogamous. This is the opposite of the rule propounded by Bates (1913), who stated that they were exogamous.

The section memberships of the spouses recorded here are also the opposite of the prescriptive marriage rules published by Bates (1913) and Radcliffe-Brown (1931). Bates (1913, p. 393) gave the rule for the Ashburton people as:

Male	Female	Offspring
A. Boorong	= D. Paljari	C. Kaimera
B. Banaka	= C. Kaimera	D. Paljari
C. Kaimera	= B. Banaka	A. Boorong
D. Paljari	= A. Boorong	B. Banaka

[= means marries by rule]

Similarly, Radcliffe-Brown (1931, p. 39) wrote:

Banaka = Kaimera
 Burungu = Paljeri

In the 14 marriages recorded by Bates (n.d.) and illustrated in Tables 23 and 24, the relationships are:

Banaka = Paljeri (seven cases)
 Boorong = Kaimera (seven cases)

An anonymous reader for this chapter suggested that the marriage evidence gathered by Bates (n.d.) may have been from people who had married wrongly as a result of the massive impact of colonisation, and whose marriages would not have otherwise been representative of precolonial or classical norms or behaviours. However, I would also make the following points. Bates worked anthropologically in Western Australia for 12 years prior to her publication on 'phratries' of the Ashburton (Bates 1913, p. 400)—so, from 1901. The peak of this activity in the Pilbara perhaps occurred in 1911, and the commencement of pastoral and pearling impacts on the region date from the 1860s. Roughly speaking, this impact had begun to take form some 40 years before Bates's records. Anyone aged over 40 who worked with Bates (e.g. at Dorre Island) would have had parents who married before the old system was impacted. Assuming some of these people described their parents to Bates, those descriptions can be expected to reflect precolonial norms. Bates's list of marriages shown in Table 23 are all within patrilan subsets; further, in every case, the sections of the marriage partners are given as a father/child pair. This adds to its appearance of being an artifice emphasising patrilan subset exogamy as a rule. However, this was apparently not the rule because Bates also recorded permissible marriages between members of the same 'phratry'.

Bates (n.d., Notebook 7a p. 99) made a list of permissible marriages between females of particular totems and males of other totems for these same Ashburton people. The intertribal permissible marriages she recorded were presumably given by a woman, as they are all from the

woman's point of view. Bates did not attempt to associate particular section couples with the totemites, who in this case may be understood as standing for particular patrilineal groups. She also made no record of which totems were associated with which 'phratry'. In Table 25, I have used Bates's and Radcliffe-Brown's data to deduce what these may have been. The numbers in Table 25 correspond to the patrilineal subset numbers in Table 18. In instances where I have no data, the entry is marked by '-'. Bates's list was also in Aboriginal language and offered no translations. I have provided translations using Austin's dictionaries of relevant language varieties (various dates) and also alphabetised Bates's material by the first column.

Table 25: Bates's field data on permissible 'phratry' marriages.

Wife's totem	Wife's 'phratry'	Husband's totem	Husband's 'phratry'
Bilana Rain	1	Wor-ngura Bandicoot	1
Bilana Rain	1	Wong-nguru Bandicoot	1
Bungurdi Red Kangaroo	1, 7	Pardura Bustard	3
Jirdara Black Goanna	3	Pardura Bustard	3
Jiribardi Echidna	8	Nganmari	4
Jiriwari cf. Echidna jiribarri	8	Kajalbu Emu	2
Kajalbu Emu	2	Wongana Black Duck	4
Kaju Snake	1, 4, 5	Pardura Bustard	3
Kaju Snake	1, 4, 5	Yirrgu Root	7
Kaju Snake	1, 4, 5	Bilana Cloud	1
Kaju Snake	1, 4, 5	Kajalbu Emu	2
Kardandu [cf. kardan Ranji bush (<i>Acacia pyrifolia</i>)]	4	Bauerda Tree [sp?]	-table 2
Kardandu [cf. kardan Ranji bush (<i>Acacia pyrifolia</i>)]	4	Nganmari Snake	4
Madaronga [seed type?]	4	Kagalbu [probably kajalbu] Emu	2
Pardura Bustard	3	Bungurdi Red Kangaroo	1, 7
Warrida Eaglehawk	5	Yanga t,adu [sic] [thalu?], rain N of Bilbingi	1?
Wong-nguru Bandicoot	1	Nganmari Snake	4
Wong-nguru Bandicoot	1	Bauerda Tree [sp?]	-
Yirrgu Root	7	Wong-nguru Bandicoot	1

Source: Bates (n.d.).

Although somewhat disordered, this evidence again indicates that women and men of the same patriclan subset could, under certain circumstances, marry permissibly. It also makes clear that the invariable patriclan subset endogamy shown in the 14 marriages of Tables 23 and 24 was not a result of a prescriptive rule.

Conclusion

While they were elementally structures that rested on local religious and other rights in estates and totemic descent-group membership, the Ashburton patriclan subsets emphasised pan-territorial and pan-linguistic commonalities and cloaked or elided territorial distinctions. As far as the record allows us to say, they emphasised an emotionally positive pattern of interpersonal address and reference based on this kindred of some among the many. At the same time, the Ashburton patriclan subsets also elided precise reference to the actual inter-kin status, and to differences of seniority versus juniority that otherwise obtained between interlocutors and the people they spoke to or spoke about using the patriclan subset person terms. Unlike many kin terms, the names did not structurally mark senior or junior persons. They were sociocentric rather than egocentric in basis—although the ‘groups’ they yielded had no proper names that have been recorded. In principle, they were not each identified with only a single father/child section couple. However, they distinguished terminologically between the genders—something one finds often among subsection systems, and at times among section systems, but rarely among the terminologies for sociocentric, geopolitical and religious alliances, including the ‘phratries’ or wider *mala* of north-east Arnhem Land.

In short, this system and its associated social etiquette shared several of the key features of universalist kin superclass systems, while at the same time being rooted in patrifilial localism.

I make this suggestion, not to advance a theory of evolutionary relationships between such a patriclan subset system and a section system, but merely to imply that some of the common cultural logics and achieved outcomes of ostensibly different social institutions resulted in some of the same ends being accomplished by similar—at times different but cognate—means. The Ashburton patriclan subsets rather look like an experiment in this domain that was shattered by the colonial avalanche, while still on the way to becoming.

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Appendix 1: Radcliffe Brown's 1911 Field Data on Totemic Divisions in the Ashburton District

Divisions	Totems	Sections	Clans	Estates/Places	Lgs
Kadijardu	yungadji lizard		Yirdibura?		Tjuroro
Kadijardu [also:] Waleri? Yagarang	rain		Mangai?		Burduna
Kadijardu	pandura	Burong	Kalgagara ¹		Tjuroro
Kadijardu	totems: — kobirt, galah; wanguru, bandicoot; bijjura, red ochre; tanbadji (?tarbadja) a tree (plum)	Kai-Bur	Mandari	Territory stretching from Mandarara on the Yannarie R. to Uaroo Station on Rouse Creek. Eastern part of country on beds of Ashburton Series low rocky hills and intervening flats. Western part in granite country. Includes Uaroo and country to west of Rouse Creek.	Talainji
Kadijardu	rain		Ngalzaramai	NE of Wining?	
Kadijardu	djigura fish		Ma:rdawa:ra ²		Tjuroro
Kadijardu	djigura fish		Ma:rdawa:ra?		Tjuroro
Kadijardu			Ngarballi		Tjuroro
Kadijardu	tjunguradji honey		Nyirawara?		Tjuroro
Kadijardu	yungadji lizard		Yirdibura		Tjuroro
Kadijardu	rain		Balurda	On Lyndon R?	Burduna
Kadijardu	bungundi (?bungurdi)		Bulara or Kabicjera		Burduna

7. PATRICLAN SUBSETS OF THE ASHBURTON RIVER DISTRICT IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Divisions	Totems	Sections	Clans	Estates/Places	Lgs
Kadjardu	bungundi (?bungurdi)		Kabidjera or Bulara		Burduna
Kadjardu	bilana rain		Mangali		Burduna
Kadjardu	kundjarga rain		Wundubaita	Extends from N. side of Mimiya R. as far as Mugulu Hill + including Barnabarnong Hill to NW of Wandagu Strn.	Batong
Kadjardu	bimara rainbow, kadjura a mythical snake, kulyu an edible root, paljuwara sand (?) ?river sand, waniu wanyu a bush		Wazunmadi ³		Maia
Kadjardu	bilana ⁴ rain		Kanmara	At Bibindji, rugged schistose hills with intervening flats; well grassed and with numerous creeks; Uaroo series of Ashburton beds includes Murabandala, Palir creek on road from Uaroo to Towera	Talaindji
Kadjardu	rain above		Tjundalya	Globe still on the Ashburton	Talaindji
Kadjardu	rain		Kunagari	Yannarie Station	Talaindji
Kadjardu	rain		Mandari		Talaindji
Kadjardu	rain		Mindigara	Near Mand's Landing	Talaindji
Kadjardu	rain		Nyagun		Binigura
Kadjardu	bungurdi		Tjaljali		Burduna
Kadjardu	kundjarga = rain		Birgalyiwadu	Level or slightly undulating country with occasional sand hills	Batong

Divisions	Totems	Sections	Clans	Estates/Places	Lgs
Kadjardu	madjun—turtle; ?winter rain ?Waleri warabidi, red ochre		Warura		Batong
Kadjardu	rain		Bigalana		Noala
Kadjardu	bilana, rain		Wambun	Level grassy flats with a few sand hills; gum trees	Noala
Kadjardu	bilana talu—rain totem		Mangala		Noala
Kadjardu	bilana, rain		Tjauayaburu	Sand plain with slight sand-hills—of recent origin with corals and shells	Noala
Kadjardu	rain		Yuweri		Noala or Tal.
Kadjardu	bilana—rain		Mangala		Noala
Kadjardu	djigura ⁵		Yirda	Talu at Kandang, at a stone near a pool, creek off \ol Ashburton R. below Kurara. Territory includes following pools on Ashburton R. above Hardey Junction—Mazanyi, Midjalmidjala, Yirda, Kandang or Kandangu. — this is in order passing upstream. [Next sentence crossed out:] Beyond Yibidji [?Yilidji] the next pool is Wirdadji of another local horde which is said to [be] half Binigura half Tjuroro. In the Yirda territory there are also 2 clay-pans Djundalya to the west of the river and Kurara or Kurarda to the east. At Madandji there is a wanamangura (mythical snake). At Kandang is the totem centre of djigura. Ngulyaguru [male]; Wandjaring [male]? he makes ngurawari at Yirgu.	Binigura

7. PATRICLAN SUBSETS OF THE ASHBURTON RIVER DISTRICT IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Divisions	Totems	Sections	Clans	Estates/Places	Lgs
Kadjardu	kobirt — galah; wan:guru — bandicoot; bidjura — red ochre; tarbadja — a bush (native plum)		Mandari	Rugged schistose hills and level flats with numerous creeks. Near Yannarie R. the country is of granite formation.	Talaindji
Kadjardu	rain		Mugulu		Burduna
Kadjardu	wandjoain — a bush? a snake? (sulky fellow.)		Wanarainy		Talaindji
Kadjardu	rain	Ban. Paji Marries Bungara, Binguda [local groups]	Wagula	At Bibindji ⁶ on Cameron's Station	Talaindji
Kadjardu	tintabi	Burong.	Mindangara ⁷		Tjuroro
Kadjardu	bungurdi	Int. Army. ?Walgubadu K.B. ⁸	Walyidala	At Walgadazara on Duck Creek includes Nogunmara, Walzainmara, Bilarabuga, Walgadazara	Binigura
Kadjardu	bungurdi	K.B.	Walgubadu		Binigura
Kadjardu	totems rain, at Bibindji; tjintabi	Kai.Bur.	Maianu	At Bibindji; tjintabi; granite hills and grassy flats; Station, Mugerara (dry country) Mananu; Bilyarbilyarjaga; Bidjura; Bolaru Bangaberri; Mananu; Nanyuthara Strn; Ngamarbilla	Talaindji

SKIN, KIN AND CLAN

Divisions	Totems	Sections	Clans	Estates/Places	Lgs
Kadjardu	rain	Kai-Bur.	Bibindji Midari	Small granite rocky hills and flats covered with grass and in places with gum trees. The edge of the coastal plain River running between high banks. Includes Yabangula, Mezereng, Darduradij, Bibindji, Ngaralya, Midari. Djibara; Yabungala, Mezereng (bilana talu), Darduradij, Bibindji (bilana talu), Daralya, Manadjimandera. Midari rock hole.	Talaindji
Kadjardu	bungurdi—kangaroo	KB	Pidiza	At junction of Henry R + Ashburton R, pools belonging to the group are Irawal, Wambu, Yidiri, Pidiza, Wagurang, Kalgany, Bindaning, Maludji; Irawal; Wambu, Pidiza; [side branch] Wagurang; [main branch] Kalgany; Bindaning; Maludji. Bungurdi talu at Ngurir-ngurin.	Binigura
Kadjardu?	Djigura [Bony Bream]; See Yirda		Kandang?		Binigura
Kadjardu?	rain?		Tubirdji [?] Tubindji]		Noala or Talaindji?
Kadjardu; [in pencil] ?Yirgu	djigura—fish	[in pencil] ngarawari K.B.	Kurara		Binigura
Kaiaadu (Ngaiuri) [i.e. Kadjardu (Ngadjuri) M and F terms, same phratry, PS]	thurna—snake		Yulura		Thargari

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Divisions	Totems	Sections	Clans	Estates/Places	Lgs
Mirdir	waila yam see Pindarar Wan.guda? Wateti padura		Wanguda?	On Wan.guda Creek evidently	Burduna
Mirdir?	waila—root		Ngogarbuga	Includes Yulmanidjang. S.W. of Bigali	Burduna
Mirdirba	kangkala		Tjandiyanu		Burduna
Mirdirba	kangalha ⁹ —root (?kangadha) ?Is this really Wariera emu milawizi is Mirdir		Bigali		Burduna
Mirdirba	wailu or kangkala —root		Bugaianu		Burduna
Tambula	wiluru		Pa:da:ri		Tjuroro
Tambula	wiluru		Pa:da:ri?		Tjuroro
Tambula	piribidjangura snake		Palga ¹⁰		Tjuroro
Tambula	piribidjangura snake		Palga?		Tjuroro
Tambula	warara		Warara		Tjuroro
Tambula	kalzandira		Wiruira		Tjuroro
Tambula	kalzandira		Wiruira?		Tjuroro
Tambula	punai snake	Kadjawain	Kulangaranu ¹¹	Kulangaranu is the talu place for punai. There is a tree near to the water-hole which is the head-spring of Budlangana Creek.	Tjuroro
Tambulu	wagura crow [scribbled out:] male. tuogane, tagata		Nganyanamuga?		Burduna

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Divisions	Totems	Sections	Clans	Estates/Places	Lgs
Wairdji	wabargu—eaglehawk, matu baby' kadjura— snake? Rainbow? yirabalu—cockatoo		Mo-iurgan		Baiong
Wairera	emu	B.P.	Wadura	On Henry R. between Pidiza and Mumurba (Batangula)	Binigura?
Waleri	manbi pigeon		Yirigali?		Tjuroro
Waleri	manbi pigeon		Yirigali?		Tjuroro
Waleri	madanna euro, djidara lizard, mungurgura grub (found in sand and clay pans)		Bin-garba		Baiong
Waleri	kala		Yardi		Talaindji
Waleri			Panduzini	Nor N.E. of Wining. Tea-tree Flat—Big lake?	Talaindji
Waleri	kurai		Kuierai		Burduna
Waleri	mangurgura—grub		Wining		Burduna
Waleri	djarbadi		Bungara?		Burduna
Waleri	panđuuna		Midandjing?		Burduna
Waleri	kala		Malianu	On Yannarie R. above Tjeani	Burduna
Waleri			Mirdalyu ?same as Mumurba		Burduna

7. PATRICLAN SUBSETS OF THE ASHBURTON RIVER DISTRICT IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Divisions	Totems	Sections	Clans	Estates/Places	Lgs
Waleri	djambali mirdir [div name?] mananchanu		Mangeri	On Lyndon R	Burduna
Waleri	malu—kangaroo, mogudi—snake; wadowuru—a small mammal ?lizard; mandari—a bush; walyadji—a small mammal (?mouse)		Kulgilya	Country was to S of Mirniya R. including Wandacjji Hill. Hard plain [—] for Wandacjji Hill. Sand ground Abundance of plains kangaroo. Includes Kulgilya, Bulgurdu, Tulbacjji, Karamada, Wan.gu, Kulgabuiza (clay pan), Kardaigo.	Baiong
Waleri	?tan.gura—frog; ?tangura; minindja centipede kanba = spider		Badjera	Country of low flats flooded during rain.	Baiong
Waleri	tjurogo. Varanus sp.		Maia-maia		Baiong
Waleri	kala—fire; djindaliba—the sun; padura—bustard		Kwo:ialybadu		Baiong
Waleri	tjurogo, Varanus sp (?same as pandjuna)		Maia-maia		Baiong
Waleri	djidara = lizard		Kardabaia	N of Birgalwiwadu	Baiong
Waleri	kundjalga—a bush		Yalabaia	On coast N of Warura	Baiong
Waleri	yagarang—hot weather; malga—a lizard; ?padura—bustard		Mamurba	(Includes Baiangula); Baiangula horde on Henry River, includes 3 pools, Mamurba (?Mamarba) Baiangula and Mirni (called Minnie Spring) also a claypan Kanberdji or Pundiring and two creeks Madharing and Wan.guda. Mamurba is the totemic centre for yagamag and ma:iga.	Burduna

SKIN, KIN AND CLAN

Divisions	Totems	Sections	Clans	Estates/Places	Lgs
Waleri	padura—bustard at Wan. guda?; ?yagarang (yanda)		Pindarara (Wan. guda?)	Includes Tjari, Bindaining, Kuldjan, Ngurawata, Wan. guda, Pindarara, Pindarangara. Wan.guda is totemic centre of padura.	Burduna
Waleri	kalbany—black opossum; tjudungedji—honey; ?balli—dingo		Mardangu	Kalbany totem centre is at Nanyutara Station. The country included Mardanga rockhole N of Ahburton, Ngadjungarina, Ko:iangulera [or Ko:iangulua?]	Binigura or Talaingji
Waleri	yagarang, ?padura	K.B.	Pididji		Burduna
Waleri	djarbadi	Kai-Bur	Bungarra		Talaingji
Waleri	pandjuna ¹²	Kai-Bur	Binguda, Bingudu?		Talaingji
Waleri	manbi [bronze-winged pigeon]	Wurbulain (?section)	Bandima Widani	Widani, a round hill near the Yirigali Creek (Irregularly Ck) is the totem centre for manbi	Tjuroro
Waleri manbi		Wurbulain	Yirigali ¹³	On Irregularly Creek; map of sites: Kulabu, Birikuru, Widani hill manbi talu; Bandima, Bundaringu, Banamita, yagarang is also the talu of this clan	Tjuroro
warara, yam see gen[teology]. of Kumbangara horde Kari.			?		Tenna
Warier	kadjalbo emu		Mugubalga		Tjuroro
Warier	kadjalbo emu		Mugubalga?		Tjuroro
Warier	yalibiri emu		Yalgazara		Maia?
Warier	kadjalbi		Nyingulu	Pt. Coates	Talaingji
Wariera	yalibiri emu		Bulazana		Maia

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Divisions	Totems	Sections	Clans	Estates/Places	Lgs
Wariera	emu		Madariri	In De Pledge's country	Talaicnji
Wariera	emu		Balicjangu		Binigura
Wariera	kadjalbo emu		Ngaragulu (Ngaragulzu)	S or S.W. of Bigali	Burduna
Wariera	emu		Bigurgura	Near Nyanyeraddy Station	Burduna
Wariera	kadjalbo—emu		Pirganu	A creek running into Yannarie R. near Tjiari Pool	Burduna
Wariera	yalibir ¹⁴		Wuruwala	Talu on Lyons R. (near Minmi Creek?) Wuruwala or Parar near Minmi Creek	Thargari
Wariera	ngalibiri—emu		Ngabariera	Grass flats flooded during rain.	Batong
Wariera	emu	BP	Pidan	Miran is the totem centre	Binigura
Wariera	emu	see genealogy of Budjuring	Wirumanu	(Batthu—axe)	Talaicnji
Wauadji	ngaurara? a sea bird		Kurdalguwadu	East of Yardi Creek	Talaicnji
Wiardji	wabargu eaglehawk, yirabalu cockatoo		Wurd.		Batong
Wiardji	warida		Waridawazara		Burduna
Wiardji	kulyiri		Nguridji?		Burduna
Wiardji	wabargu, eaglehawk; matu, baby; kadjura, snake (?)		Mo:irgan	Includes Nyindirbulu	Batong
Wiardji	wabargu—eaglehawk; yirabalu—cockatoo (or kigjil) also kobodju (child)?		Nyingulo:ra	Mand's Landing on coast	Batong

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Divisions	Totems	Sections	Clans	Estates/Places	Lgs
Wiardji	eaglehawk		Wirinya		Noala
Wiardji	warida—eaglehawk	Ban. Pal.	Wicindja		Noala or Talaingji
Wiardji	Kulyiri ¹⁵	K.B.	Mardulu		Binigura
Wiardji	warida ¹⁶ —eaglehawk	K.B.	Bululu		Binigura
Wiyari	mulgarda, kala		Nyandu		Maia
Wiyaru	wirgura lizard, ngudjeri spirit, muncjederi, nanaradji mountain devil, tuni snake, nyabaru black ant		Tungari		Maia
Wiyaru	mauari, pandjuna, nyabara, ?kala fire; same as tungari + barubidi		Yirbadi		Maia
Wiyaru	waiuda opossum, maradjongo a small marsupial (opossum?), mardjuru a small mammal (lapostrophus? ¹⁷)		Djulaburu	Includes probably Djulaburu, ¹⁸ Kuro:ialing, Bugabugara, Kulirbandi, Midalia	Batong
Wiyaru	wura dingo, tjalbira native cat (?), kundawa a bush		Manduzara		Maia
Wiyaru	totems: tjararu jackass, maradjong animal now extinct (?opossum)		Waigadawara		Maia
Wiyaru	kabalo—dingo wadjari baldjuwara		Miniya		Batong

7. PATRICLAN SUBSETS OF THE ASHBURTON RIVER DISTRICT IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Divisions	Totems	Sections	Clans	Estates/Places	Lgs
Wilyaru	kabalo, dingo (or wura) wadjari; baldjuwara		Miniya	Country includes Muduguru—Buraguri (—Booreoorliya), level sandy plains with good grass	Batong
Wilyaru	bari—snake; yindidja, a sp. of marsupial; ?wallaby		Buraura	Country includes Buraura (Boorawoora) Coolkalyu and Yambetharra; country of level sandy plain and low sand hills	Batong
Wilyaru (Ngoly)	tjaruru, kalabulzara		Tindinygara		Maia
Yanadjji (Nyalu) ¹⁹	nganmari—snake sp.; parjdjeda—a mammal; tiredu wild cat; wuzada a bush	Ban. Paji.	Nganyu or Bauarazalu	Barradali Pool of Yannerie R. Bauarazalu = Barradali, Nganyu—Nganyon, Barbandjang—Babbanjung; The talu is (at Bamama?) in the bush some distance E of Yannerie R. other totems tarduradji—fresh water turtle; djalgonung—a red grub; The country includes the following pools on the Yannerie River: —Bauarazalu (Barradali), Nganyu (Nganyon), Barbandjang (Babbajung)	Talaindji
Yargangu	yindidja, wallaby; tarabadja, a bush		Tjaminsyu		Noala
Yargangu	yindidja—wallaby?; tarabadja—a bush		Tjaminsyu		Noala
Yargangu	maclun—turtle		Windhu	At Mundunu; near Mardu [? Mardijj, N.E. from Minderoo	Noala
Yargangu	ngurawari—fish; balli—dingo		Djibara		Noala
Yargangu	wongala		Mardi		Noala
Yargangu	wa:gura—crow; tугanu		Waizu	Level grassy flats with gum trees near the river [in blue, 'H', circled]	Noala
Yargangu?	yagarang—hot weather		Baguraindji	Flat sandy country	Noala

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Divisions	Totems	Sections	Clans	Estates/Places	Lgs
Yauacji	ban.ga	Kari.Bur	Wirabara		Warienga
Yauacji ²⁰	dhodho, ²¹ dingo	Bur.Kari	Kaguara		Warienga
Yauai	bali dingo		Doyibadu?		Burduna
Yauai	bali—dingo		Kweal		Burduna
Yauai	mogudi ²² —snake		Kalyu		Burduna
Yawaji	wangana—duck? ?wagura—crow		Wilyambari		Thargari
Yirgu	kabardina		Yenigudi	?('belong sea')	Talaindji
Yirgu	bungurdi—kangaroo; dijigura—fish; ngurawari— fish	Ban. Pal.	Wuramalu	Granite hills with intervening flats, often stony. River has several large permanent pools incl Ngamanda; The neighbourhood of Globe Hill Station [etc.]; many place names omitted here]	Talaindji
Yirgu ?Kadjardu	bungurdi? (emu?) bungurdi? ²³	Ban. Paji.	Warida	East of Nan.gutara	Talaindji (?Binigura)
Yirgu. ?Kadjardu	ngurawari; see yirda.		Yaribidi or Yirgu ²⁴	talu at Yirgu?	Binigura
Yugu ?Kadijadu	bungundi kangaroo; bandura, magaran dagura badjarang; bandura— bandicoot	Kai-Bur.	Kurdaman	Ngatalangka (hill) talu for bungundi, magaran and dagura. Kurdaman (clay-pan) talu for bandura and badjarang. includes claypans Kundaman, Mangalandi, Pindagara. Open flats and granite hills—abundance of kangaroos. includes the hills Walgadazara (Mt. Alexander) and Ngatalangka. granite country	Talaindji
Yungo	rain see gen. War.ix.	Ban.	?		Warunga? [cf. Wairiyangga]

7. PATRICLAN SUBSETS OF THE ASHBURTON RIVER DISTRICT IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Divisions	Totems	Sections	Clans	Estates/Places	Lgs
—				Upstream of Hardey junction: Wirdaeji (pool); beyond- y#bi#ji [ʔ#fi#ji] [strike through original]	Half Binigura- half Tjurero
—	Totems same as Tungari ?same clan, ?totem kurianara a ?seed, ?totem pandjuna		Barubidi		
—	bilungu grub		Tala.		Maia?
—	rain		Kwinywadu		Maia, ?Ingarda
—			Baniazuni		Talaingji
—	ngurawari.?		Kalgalgara	At junction of Hardey — Ashburton	Binigura
—	kadjalbo — emu		Yuramari	On south of Robe River, near Warambu Flat	Noala
—	wongada	B.P.	Wongadamuga		Binigura
—	kadjalbo ²⁵	Ban.	?	See gen. of Waiamba horde	Targari
—	kurbili, plains kangaroo	Ban. Pali.	Kumbangara		Warienga
—	wandaikura, an edible grub See gen[teology] of Kaguara	Bur.	?		Warienga
—	moro, a root	Bur.	Yiridini		Warienga
—	walaindja, wallaby [rock wallaby]	Bur.	Maluwara		Warienga

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Divisions	Totems	Sections	Clans	Estates/Places	Lgs
—	tungo (?) tintabi	Burong Kurgabidi [female] Burong, marr. Birgabidi (Tjuroro) Pajleri	?		Djiwali
—	kanma ²⁶ , a fish	Kari.	Puanberi		Warienga
—	ngalgu, a root; See gen of Waiamba.	Kari.	?		Warienga
—	kanma, a root; ?same as Puanbari	Kari.Bur	Waiamba		Warienga
—	walaru ²⁷ , eaglehawk; See gen of Wirbara horde	Paji.	?		Warienga
—	kurbili, kangaroo [plains kangaroo]	Paji.	Waribungara		Warienga
—	baba rain	Paji.Ban.	Tjiala? ²⁸	Baba at Tjiala tintabi — grass-seed; at Mindangura bigurda — euro; punai or punai (?snake) at Kulugaranu	Tjuroro
?	kigiji — cockatoo		Bangudja		Binigura
?	emu		Yirbira	Wamaguru [male] Yirbira Mangidi Bularu Kurdiya [these four names linked by a sloping line]	Binigura
?	bungurdi [punggurdi red kangaroo]		?Tjugurgu		Burduna

7. PATRICLAN SUBSETS OF THE ASHBURTON RIVER DISTRICT IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

- ¹ This is the Kalgalgare of Palmer (2007): para 186 said to be at the Hardey River junction at a claimants' meeting in 2007.
- ² This is the Marduwara of Palmer (2007): para 186 and cited there as site 51 but on the claim map as site 62.
- ³ The character transcribed /z/ here is probably /ʒ/ in the original, as in 'beige' /beyʒ/.
- ⁴ Thalanyji = cloud, thunder (Austin 1992a, p. 22).
- ⁵ Cf. Jiwarli = bony bream (Austin 1992f, p. 5).
- ⁶ See also Kanmara group.
- ⁷ This is the Minangara of Palmer (2007): para 186 and cited there as site 17 but shown on the claim map as site 68.
- ⁸ K.B. = Kaimara-Burong or Karimera-Burung depending on language (see Radcliffe-Brown 1913, p. 159).
- ⁹ Cf. Payungu = wild potato (Austin 1992b, p. 7).
- ¹⁰ Probably the Palga of Palmer (2007): para 186 where it is given as site 24 and also the Balga(na) of the claim map where it is given as site 2.
- ¹¹ This is the Kulangaranu of Palmer (2007): para 186 said to be on the Hardey River upstream from Jila at a claimants' meeting in 2007.
- ¹² Thalanyji = racehorse goanna (Austin 1992a, p. 21).
- ¹³ This is the Yirigali of Palmer (2007): para 186 in the area of the Irregully Creek of the maps. Not on claim map.
- ¹⁴ Cf. Yinggarda = emu (Austin 1992d, p. 44).
- ¹⁵ Cf. = budgerigar, shell parrot in Thalanyji (Austin 1992a, p. 8).
- ¹⁶ Cf. = wedge-tailed eagle in Thalanyji (Austin 1992a, p. 30).
- ¹⁷ is on Google but rare; mostly what comes up is —the banded hare-wallaby restricted (in the past) to offshore island Bernier and Dorre.
- ¹⁸ Same as clan name; may be focal site in that estate.
- ¹⁹ These are probably the equivalents of Bates's (1913, p. 394) phratry terms 'Yau'i' (misprint for Yani?) and 'Nyarlu' (male and female).
- ²⁰ Cf. 'yau'i', a male totem phratry name (Bates 1913, p. 394).
- ²¹ Warriyangga = dog (Austin 1992e, p. 22).
- ²² Cf. = type of snake in Payungu (Austin 1992b, p. 3020).
- ²³ Thalanyji = red kangaroo (Austin 1992a, p. 24).
- ²⁴ I think Yirgu is a phratry term, PS.
- ²⁵ Thargari = emu (Austin 1992c, p. 4).
- ²⁶ = fish (generic) in Warriyangga (Austin 1992e, p. 4).
- ²⁷ = eaglehawk in Warriyangga (Austin 1992e, p. 24).
- ²⁸ Probably the name R-B also wrote as Ciala in his genealogies and which is rendered Jila (site 69) in Palmer (2007): para 186 and Jirla (site 57) on the claim map.

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