

1. Description

1.1 Name of society: Eastern Arrernte, Arunta, Eastern Aranda, Upper Aranda (1)

Language: Mparntwe Arrernte, Ikngerripenhe, Akarre, Antekerrepenh, Upper Aranda

Language family: Aranda

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): aer (1)

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):

between 132° and 139° S and 20° and 27° E

Alice Springs/Santa Teresa district (3)

1.4 Brief history:

Aborigines have lived in Central Australia for at least 20,000 years, although few details of their history are known. The Aranda were nomadic hunter-gatherers when Whites first came to Central Australia in the 1860s, but from the 1870s onwards they steadily moved into a more sedentary (though still mobile) way of life on missions, pastoral stations, and government settlements (3).

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:

“Though many Aranda peoples still exist in Australia, they have been forced to live in a certain area and way since the westerners settled.” They still have much of the same culture, but rely on westerners for things like food and economic support (3).

1.6 Ecology:

“They have mainly occupied the relatively well-watered Mountainous areas of this desert region, although several groups, particularly around the northern, eastern, and southern fringes of the Aranda-speaking area, have very extensive sandhill regions within their territories.” (3)

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: Before contact no more than 3,000. After europeans came numbers dropped sharply due to new diseases, but is again rising over 3,000. Camps may consist of one extended family, or a group of 200 depending on people leaving or joining (3). A density of about 0.0055 people per square kilometer, perhaps the lowest density of any hunter-gatherer.

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): insects, fruits, and vegetables were gathered including grass seeds that were ground into a flour to make bread (3).

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: red kangaroo, euro, and emu and smaller game animals including marsupials, reptiles, and birds (3).

2.3 Weapons: spears, spearthrowers, carrying trays, grinding stones, and digging sticks (3). “Duboisia Hopwoodii (Aranda name, monunga) grows on the sandhill country” and is used as an emu poison. The best wood for making spears is considered to be that of Tecoma (11).

2.4 Food storage: before contact did not have any storage or pottery besides wooden trays for carrying things, now they use plastic tubs.

2.5 Sexual division of production: there were no specialist professions, and any man or woman could make equipment to hunt and gather. Adult men are the main hunters of large game, while women and children, sometimes with men, hunt smaller game and gather fruits and vegetables (3).

2.6 Land tenure: As individuals, Aranda people have rights in land through all 4 grandparents and may acquire rights by other means as well. There is a strong belief that one belongs to or owns the country of one's paternal grandfather and that one has a very strong connection to the country of one's maternal grandfather (3).

2.7 Ceramics: In pre-contact times, long-distance trade extending far outside the Aranda-speaking area was carried out for certain specialty goods, like ochres and pituri (native tobacco). Today the Aranda produce arts and crafts for the local and national tourist and art markets (3).

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: the Aranda people participate in an egalitarian society where things are shared and people rely on one another. This way of living greatly impacts their relationships with one another (3).

2.9 Food taboos: Boys, for example, may not eat lizards and emu fat or they will grow up deformed, and girls must abstain from the echidna, brush turkey, and eagle-hawk else their breasts will not develop (13). Restrictions on eating plants or animals with the name of your totem are very common, though there are special ceremonies where a person partakes in eating his totemic animal or plant, but it is a very special circumstance (14).

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

Today's Economy: With the arrival of the whites people became increasingly reliant of western foods like white flour, tea, and sugar. Today, some hunting and a little gathering take place, but people mainly rely on the meat, jam, bread, etc. that can be brought from supermarkets and local stores.

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

Male: 1663 mm

Female: 1568 mm

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

Male: 56.7 kg

Female: 45 kg

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): this first time a girl has a menstruation, her mother takes her to a spot close to the women's camp, where no man ever goes. "A fire is made and a camp formed by the mother, the girl being told to dig a hole about a foot or eighteen inches deep, over which she sits." She is attended by different women, and no child, no matter the sex, is allowed to come near her. She is made to sit there for two days without leaving. When the flow ceases she is told to fill the hole, and she has now become a Wunga, and lives in the women's camp. Soon after this she is turned over to the man whom she has been pledged to (14).

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

- 4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): “A child is generally allotted to its husband early in infancy, but actual possession is not taken until the girl is of a marriageable age, that is, when she is about twelve years old” (10).
- 4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: divorce and broken marriage promises have always occurred, though a percentage is not clear (3).
- 4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: “Polygyny was permissible, but was not the norm; today it is extremely rare” (3). “Polyandry is not practised by the Aranda, nor so far as is known, by any tribe in Central Australia” (4).
- 4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: “In pre-contact times, bride-service was normal, with a man often remaining with his parents-in-law for some time before his promised wife matured to marriageable age” (3).
- 4.9 Inheritance patterns: “The main heritable property, until recently, was land, together with the myths, ritual acts, and paraphernalia that still effectively act as title deeds to land” (3).
- 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: “Infants and children are heavily indulged by their parents until adolescence, when they tend to be disciplined for the first time.” Deprivation and physical punishment are frowned upon; parents want to foster independence and autonomy (3). “Parents devote much of their time to the entertainment and amusement of their children; but the economical side of play is never forgotten. If during a game, a practical wrinkle can [70] be taught which will prove useful when the playful moments are left behind and the more serious stage of life is entered, the opportunity is never missed” (10).
- 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: “unmarried men are generally accompanied by young boys, who are allotted to them by the old men. No man has the privilege of obtaining a boy until he has himself passed through the ceremonies of circumcision and subincision. The boy is a brother, actually or collaterally, of one of the woman whom the man will be permitted to marry by and by. Such a boy's mother, therefore, is the potential mother-in-law of the man, and consequently he must neither speak to nor look at her” (6).
- 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): “These totemic groups are divided amongst the exogamous matrilineal moieties and, according to the views of the natives, consist of groups of blood-relations. In other words, a social totem is the symbol of the blood relationship which exists between those who are descended, or are believed to be descended, in the matrilineal line from a common ancestress” (12).
- 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized? “The Aranda have no conception of physical paternity. Pregnancy results, not from any act of the father, but from the entrance into the mother's body of the spirit of some totemic ancestor, whose identity is determined by the old men. A father regards his child, not as his offspring in our sense, but rather as his property, on a principle similar to that by which we recognize the owner of a cow as the owner of her calf. An Aranda, therefore, shows no surprise or concern when his wife gives birth to a half-caste child; he attributes it, perhaps, merely to her eating white flour obtained from the Europeans” (13).
- 4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)
- 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? “A person is very often born or conceived on a ‘path’ in his father's local country, which may also be his father's mythological path; this is, of course, a result of patrilocal marriage (8).

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape:

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin) “The Aranda have given their own name to a kinship type in which marriage is enjoined with a classificatory mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter” (3). 7 of 8 women are taboo according to the marriage rules.

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? “In the wuljankura , which Chinche-wara (Aranda woman) regarded as the supreme secret of her sex, the women rub each other's clitoris with their legs, singing of the bell-bird who will fetch their lovers”. This ceremonial dance is dedicated to the women showing off their sexuality to the men, and then after the song and dance they have sex with those other than their husbands. After the ritual the husbands tell the men their wives desire about her desires and basically set things up for her (7)(9).

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: family members and groups of people are bound to one another through gift giving and service exchange (3).

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females

4.22 Evidence for couvades:

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

4.24 Joking relationships?

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: “In certain respects, descent is cognatic; in others it is ambilineal, but with a patrilineal bias. People regard themselves as part of a single, territorially based, cognatic group, descended from 1 or more common ancestors, but for certain purposes they also recognize separate lines of inheritance through males and females, often affording a kind of priority to agnation.

4.26 Incest avoidance rules: men are killed if they marry incestuously.

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? “When the marriage day has arrived, an elder brother or grandfather decorates the young man with a forehead-band, and a girdle under which a bunch of long bird-feathers is tucked, and across his breast and over his eyes he is painted with red stripes. The bride is decorated with red ochre and carries a crown made by winding a cord, with rat-tail tips attached, around her head. The bride then retires to the unmarried girls' camp, and the bridegroom to the unmarried men's camp. Later, the bridegroom, accompanied by relatives, goes quite close to the women's camp and halts. Then a relative of the bridegroom goes up to the bride, seizes her by the arm, and conducts her to the bridegroom” (4).

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? named according to their totem (3). Every individual in the tribe is born into a totem, being a group of people who each bear the name of it, usually associated with some natural object, animal, or plant (14). Engwura ceremony is the naming of individuals; it is the last ceremony one must go through before he becomes what is called Urliara, or a fully developed native. In this ceremony they receive another totem name (14).

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?): “Marriage between dialect groups or between Aranda and non-Arandic Aborigines is common and there is also a certain amount of marriage between Aborigines and Whites, usually between Aboriginal women and White men” (3).

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? “Marriages were originally arranged between families on a promise system, although this system has been increasingly eroded up to the present time. Today, people are just as likely to marry "sweethearts" as they are to marry into the "correct" families” (3). Marriages were strictly regulated by “moiety”, which means section and subsection. Though the totems are highly important to kin relationships, they have nothing to do with marriage (14).

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: young men are not allowed to marry until they go through 10-15 years of tests and ceremonies, so all of the older men get to marry the younger women.

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: no constant state of warfare, but kidnapping of wives was common.

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: “Conflict usually arises over sexual relations and access to ritual property, land, and locally generated wealth. It may manifest itself in sorcery accusations and violent feuding or "payback" killings” (3).

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):

4.18 Cannibalism? In certain ceremonies dead men are presented to other men to be eaten for different reasons. If a child is weak in health, he will eat a child of younger and stronger health to ‘regain’ their own strength. Sometimes a young child is eaten by their parents in times of great famine (14).

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: “A hearth group might consist of an elder man, his wife, and their unmarried children, together with a number of other relatives, such as parents, unmarried siblings, and sons-in-law working bride-service. But because of the flexibility of hearth groups, both in terms of size and composition, it is difficult to say that even this unit would be typical” (3).

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): Aranda peoples are politically autonomous, and are governed by elder men whose authority tends to be land based. “Male initiation was and still is an important disciplinary procedure in which elder men over many years exercise power and influence over younger men. Initiation is also the channel by which juniors may themselves become respected elders. Political organization as a whole is coextensive with the organization of kinship and marriage, with territorial groupings or dialect groups (or "tribes") being more or less synonymous with local alliance areas” (3).

5.4 Post marital residence:

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

- 5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex): age and sex are the major sources of social differentiation. Outside of those categories there is little specialization. Their group is founded on a strong egalitarian ethic (3).
- 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:
- 5.8 Village and house organization:
- 5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses): based on totems. There are women's camps and men's camps (14).
- 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? Aranda people sleep on the ground, pretty close together.
- 5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: "In hunting and gathering times the Aranda were organized into nomadic bands of bilateral kindred. The size and composition of these bands fluctuated greatly over time. Today, small settlements are organized along similar lines and mobility is very high" (3).
- 5.12 Trade: regularly found among the social life of Aranda people. "Family members and groups are bound to each other through various kinds of gift and service exchange. In pre-contact times, long-distance trade extending far outside the Aranda-speaking area was carried out for certain specialty goods, like ochres and pituri (native tobacco). Today the Aranda produce arts and crafts for the local and national tourist and art markets" (3).
- 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? "Some kindred groups can become more powerful or expand at the expense of others over time" (3).

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6 Time allocation to RCR:

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

Religious leaders: "All adult men and women traditionally had the right to act out or sing, or supervise the acting and singing of, certain "dreamings" in ritual." Though there is technically no religious specialists, many think of the most senior men in local groups as religious "bosses" (3).

Medicine: "Traditional healers, who may be male or female, rely almost exclusively on shamanic arts, although there are a great many local medicines that are known and generally used. Today, the traditional system of healing operates in tandem with the provision of Western medicines and healing techniques. Most women now give birth in hospitals" (3). "The burnt leaves and twigs of the native pine are used by some mothers, as the fragrant smell is thought to be pleasant and good for babies. The somewhat aromatic scent of a small blue-flowered *Eremophila Freelingii* is used as a pillow for natives suffering from headache. The sticky aromatic plants *Stemodia viscosa* and *Pterocaulon* are used as remedies for colds" (11).

6.2 Stimulants: (Narcotics) "The rock ingulba, which is obtained from *N. Gossei* (probably), and is considered the better, grows as tall as four feet in protected positions on the sides of mountains. A smaller *Nicotiana*, probably a new species, growing on the sandhill country, is also used but is considered inferior." The roots, stems, and leaves of ingulba are used by grinding and drying them on a stone. It is then chewed, or stuck into the mouth or behind the ear to later share with others (11).

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): Puberty: "Initiation ceremonies included circumcision and subincision for boys and introcision for girls. Male initiation still takes place and remains very important. A

third male initiation ceremony, which would last for several months, was the inkgura festival, held as a gathering of the clans whenever the local area could sustain a large group for a long time” (3).

6.4 Other rituals: “One historically important ceremony, which has become less significant recently, is the so-called increase ritualōa rite guaranteeing the fertility of a local area associated with particular totemic beings” (3). There is a dance ritual that began with the eastern Aranda and spread to the western and then to the Larijta. “The aim of the ceremony is to make the women desire men who are not their husbands. At the end of the dance this desire is satisfied in a manner that is ‘a mockery of all morals.’ Among the eastern and southern Aranda and also the southern Luritja, a man may even have intercourse with his own mother-in-law at the wuljankura” (7).

6.5 Myths (Creation): “There are a great many myths (or “dreamings”) which tell of totemic ancestors who originally created the universe and everything within it. Some of these myths are secret and known only by a restricted group of men or women” (3).

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): “body decoration, ground paintings, incised sacred boards, singing and chanting, dramatic acting, and story telling.” Red, yellow, black, and white paints are among favorites. In the 1930s some people took up water colors, which has remained strong to this day, and more recently people have begun playing guitar and creating their own videos (3). Of Australian Aboriginal art the Aranda is probably the least appreciated. It is practiced in three forms: firstly being engravings on ritual implements, slabs of soft stone, or on wooden boards (these being the famous churingas). “Secondly, art is practiced in the so-called ground paintings which consist of polychrome designs of the same type as the engravings on churingas but on a much larger scale. They are produced on the ground of ceremonial localities, and the media are ground earth pigments (ochres or kaolin), human blood to harden the soil, and quantities of white birds' down. Thirdly, there is the decoration of the [Page 346] human body for the performance of ceremonies, in particular the various forms of initiation and fertility rites” (5).

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: the most senior men are considered religious leaders. Women and Men both have the right to act or sing out religious rituals or “dreamings”, but elder women are never considered leaders, it is always the men. Even those who today have partook in the practices of Christianity, a few men are the only Christian priests.

6.8 Missionary effect: A few men are now Christian priests and some other people also follow the Christian religion (3).

6.9 RCR revival:

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: “Traditionally, death was followed by burial and this still occurs, usually with Christian ceremony.” One aspect of the spirit can be annihilated, wander as a ghost, ascend to the sky to possibly be with a God figure, or be banished to an evil place. Another part of the spirit goes into the ground to become the land. “This spirit may be reincarnated in another human being, but this is not regarded as personal survival or immortality” (3). “A man cuts his shoulders to mourn either wife's father or wife's mother” (9).

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

6.12 Is there teknonymy?

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.): “The totemic ancestors are regarded as being embodied in the ground and their spiritual essences pervade the land. The environment is also populated by various types of bad spirit beings and ghosts.” Totemic ancestors are used in various ceremonies

and explanations of occurrences. Some people today follow Christian practices and teachings, and a few men are even Christian priests (3). Dreamtime explains and justifies “the law” and everything else but is not a religion with morality and punishments, nor is it truly mystical.

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint: Red, yellow, black, and white paints are among their favorites.

7.2 Piercings: nose piercings.

7.3 Haircut: men are supposed to periodically cut their hair to give to others, as it is seen as a valuable present. When he gets it cut he must sit facing the direct of the camp of his mother; if he fails to do so, something bad is said to happen to him (14).

7.4 Scarification: men and women scarred and have teeth knocked out.

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): Favored mediums for artistic expression include feathers, down, clapsticks, and small drone-pipes (3).

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: “the young men often wear the tail-feathers of the black cockatoo, which are black striped with yellow-red, or the white or yellow feathers of other varieties. The young women, for the same purpose, hang trinkets of kangaroo teeth set in spinifex resin from the hair or hang long necklaces of Stuart's beans several times around their necks, allowing them to hang down back and front as well. When in mourning they wear small bones dangling from the hair. The headband is universally worn, and is their most striking adornment” (4).

7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

7.8 Missionary effect: “Today many Aranda are connoisseurs of country and western music, as well as adventure movies. Quite a few play guitar and some are learning to make their own videos” (3).

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system: there is an extensive list that is shown under ‘other interesting cultural features’, that shows the classification system of any type of kin, their totem name based on their relationship, and their locality (14). It is extensive, confusing, and highly fascinating.

8.2 Sororate, levirate:

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): Kin terms for everyone except enemies. This implies a completely regulated system of land rights and marriage rights (14).

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

Writing: latin script (1)

Social Control:

“Learning to behave correctly is largely a matter of kinship obligations and these are learned throughout a person's lifetime. In early childhood one learns an ethic of generosity and compassion for one's fellows, which

leads to a generalized sense of family identity. As a person grows older, he learns that certain relationships should be marked by respect or shame and that he has different responsibilities. Many infringements of law, usually to do with ritual property or marriage and access to women, are solved by mobility and asylum, but there are also different types of violent punishment (which have historically included the death penalty, the spearing of limbs, and rape)” (3).

Abortion and Infanticide: “We have been repeatedly assured that when twins are born, one has arrived as the result of the evil spirit's witchcraft. The child, one is informed, will do no good for itself, and, on account of the evil within it, it will contaminate others with whom it comes into contact, and, if it were allowed to grow up, it would be in league with the evil spirit, whom it would look upon as a brother, and to whom it would betray all the tribal secrets.” Usually an elder woman in the group would kill the infant by putting a hot coal in its mouth, or by smothering it with sand (10).

The Placenta: “The placenta is waited for, and then the umbilical cord is severed two or three inches from the child's abdomen in one of the following ways: It may be twisted off, cut with a sharp fragment of shell or splinter of rock, or pinched off with the finger-nails, or even bitten off with the teeth. Another method is to batter it through with a stone, after which the small remaining portion is packed with warm ashes. When it falls off, it is tied around the child's neck with a piece of fur-string, where it is worn for a while as an amulet. The placenta is either burned or buried” (10).

Division of Hair: The Arunta people divide their tribe into two divisions according to the nature of their hair: straight versus wavy (14).

Sign Language: “Some form of gesture or sign language is found amongst all Australian tribes, but it appears to be most strongly developed in Central Australia” (14).

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- 14.

1. Relationship.	2. Totem.	3. Locality.
1. Self.	Irriakura.	Ildunda (Owen Springs).
2. Wife.	Udnirringita.	Idrunga-luma.
3. Father.	Achilpa.	Rupitchera.
4. Mother.	Ereninna.	Nowalda-Tera (Temple Downs).
5. Father's father.	Achilpa.	Rupitchera.
6. Mother's father.	Achilpa.	Rupitchera.
7. Father's father's wife.	Yarumpa.	Debidda (Ellery Creek).
8. Mother's father's wife.	Yarumpa.	Tetta (Ellery Creek).
9. Mother's mother.	Irriakura.	Ildunda.
10. Mother's father's mother.	Achilpa.	Rupitchera.
11. Wife's father.	Udnirringita.	Indra-kaluma.
12. Wife's mother.	Erlia.	Indurja-urkwa.
13. Sister.	Udnirringita.	Undairippa (Heavi tree Gap).
14. Sister's daughter (2).	Udnirringita.	Undairippa.
15. Sister's son.	Udnirringita.	Undairippa.
16. Sister's son.	Idnimita.	Ambuninja (Burt Plains).
17. Mother's brother.	Arura.	Undiara.

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1. Relationship.	2. Totem.	3. Locality.
18. Mother's brother.	Erlia.	Panji-intima.
19. Father's brother's son.	Namurra (bush plant).	Lamba (Deep Well).
20. Father's brother's son.	Quatcha.	Uidja (Love's Creek).
21. Father's brother's son.	Arua (rock wallaby).	Arnoldmoldma (Arltunga).
22. Wife's father's brother.	Irritcha.	Kambulia.
23. Wife's father's brother.	Irritcha.	Kambulia.
24. Wife's father's brother.	Erlia.	Kainjerkna (Jessie Gap).
25. Wife's father's sister.	Erlia.	Kainjerkna (Jessie Gap).
26. Wife's father's sister.	Udnirringita.	Underga.
27. Wife's father's sister.	Udnirringita.	Underga (Emily Gap).
28. Wife's father's sister.	Udnirringita.	Underga.
29. Wife's father's sister.	Udnirringita.	Underga.
30. Son.	Udnirringita.	Indurga.
31. Daughter.	Irritcha.	Kambulia.
32. Daughter.	Udnirringita.	Injailja-itailikka.
33. Daughter.	Udnirringita.	Indairippa.
34. Daughter.	Quatcha (water).	Inter-unga.
	Irritcha (Eagle Hawk).	Undoolya.
35. Daughter.	Irritcha.	Undoolya.
36. Son of 22.	Udnirringita.	Kambulia.
37. Daughter of 22.	Udnirringita.	Kambulia.
38. Wife of 22.	Ullagubbera.	Ilkura-punja.
39. Son of 23.	Udnirringita.	Indurga.
40. Daughter of 23.	Udnirringita.	Indurga.
41. Daughter's husband.	Ullagubbera.	Allkurribunja.
42. Daughter of 24.	Udnirringita.	Indurga.
43. Daughter of 24.	Udnirringita.	Indurga.
44. Daughter of 24.	Udnirringita.	Indurga.
45. Daughter's daughter.	Irpunga (fish).	Chalpunga.
46. Daughter's son.	Udnirringita.	Injailga-itailika.
47. Daughter's son.	Udnirringita.	Injailga-itailika.
48. Father's brother's son.	Udnirringita.	Interpitna.
	Ingwunna (White cockatoo).	
49. Father's brother's son.	Yarumpa.	Debidda.
50. Father's brother's son.	Irriakura.	Iltunda (Owen Springs).
51. Father's brother's son.	Irriakura.	Iltunda (Owen Springs).
52. Father's brother's son.	Ereninna.	Inkurritunga.
53. Father's brother's son.	Erlia.	Injapitna.
54. Father's brother's father.	Erlia.	Injapitna.
55. Wife of 54.	Erlia.	Umbaina Lunga.
56. Wife's brother's son.	Udnirringita.	Indairipa.
57. Wife's brother's son.	Udnirringita.	Indurga.
58. Wife's brother's son.	Udnirringita.	Indurga.
59. Wife's brother's son.	Udnirringita.	Indurga.
60. Wife's brother's son.	Irritcha.	Irritcha.