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The unwritten Kamilaroi and Kurnai: unpublished kinship schedules collected by Fison and Howitt

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1. Introduction¹

Inspired by Luise Hercus' groundbreaking work on the use of historical sources in salvaging Aboriginal languages, this paper explores early methods of anthropology in Australia and how nineteenth century texts might be used to reconstruct aspects of Aboriginal languages and culture. It examines the rich but little known kinship material gathered by Lorimer Fison and A. W. Howitt through the 1870s and 1880s and now held in a number of Australian libraries and museums.

Fison and Howitt were inspired to systematically collect kinship terminology in the Pacific and Australia by Lewis Henry Morgan, whose pioneer world survey of kinship terminologies (Morgan 1871) included Fison's first collection of kinship material from Fiji. Fison returned to Australia in 1871 determined to investigate the kinship systems of the Australian Aborigines, some of which he suspected of being of Dravidian type. He enlisted the help of Alfred Howitt, who had strong ties to the Aboriginal people of Gippsland, where he lived. The pair sent out 'schedules' (questionnaires) to correspondents in contact with different Aboriginal groups. After experimentation with new ways of eliciting meanings of terms (McConvell & Gardner 2013), a significant number of schedules were collected.

¹ We are grateful to Tony Jefferies for allowing us access to his work on archival sources on Fraser Island and neighbouring areas, and to Jeanie Bell, descendant of Fraser Island Aboriginal people, for her work on Fraser Island, discussion of related topics in the AustKin project and support for the current research.

Yet very little of this information was published in Fison & Howitt *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (1880), even though the two groups in the title had contrasting kinship systems. This paper outlines the material that was collected by the authors prior to publication of the book, and on other groups collected through the 1880s and 1890s in Australia, mainly by Howitt. Howitt put the information into large comparative tables which could have been used to generate a typology, but they were not published. These unpublished sources can be brought together with the broader set of kin terminologies in the on-line database AustKin (www.austkin.net; Dousset et al. 2010) to see to what extent the early records of Fison and Howitt predict the overall pattern of variation in Australia. For further historical and anthropological background to Fison & Howitt (1880) and discussion of why they did not include much detail of kinship terminology in the volume, see Gardner & McConvell (2015, especially Chapter 11 and Chapter 15).

2. The schedules: Morgan, and Fison and Howitt

During the 1870s and 1880s, Fison and Howitt were trialing new ways of collecting kinship data through a series of kinship questionnaires based on Morgan's original schedule, but modified according to their experiences with the gathering of material.

Morgan developed his kinship schedule of 218 questions through close discussions with the Chippewe (Chippewa) and Ojebwa (Ojibwe) people in 1857. In 1860 Morgan had his list of questions printed into a table of 18 pages introduced with a detailed explanation of the study, including the similarities between Amerindian and Tamil and Telugu kinship, and instructions on how to complete the following schedule. (Morgan 1862:1-33). This document was posted around the world to missionaries, consuls and any others who might provide kinship data.

As the responses were returned, Morgan began the task of compiling the material into *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, which eventually contained kinship tables of 213 distinct systems from around the world. Morgan was checking the proofs of this book when a copy of the 1860 schedule arrived at Lorimer Fison's mission station on the Rewa River delta in Fiji.

Astonished by the close similarities between the kinship systems of his Rewan neighbours and those of the Tamil (Dravidian) people of South India, Fison quickly completed Rewan and Tongan schedules. He then sought kinship data from fellow missionaries in Fiji, Samoa, Rotuma and the Australian colonies. In 1871 he left Fiji for Sydney, where he immediately organised the printing of 500 copies of Morgan's schedule. But he could not afford to replicate all the questions on the schedule, nor Morgan's long introduction. Therefore his schedule opened with a one page description of the study and with 20 questions removed.

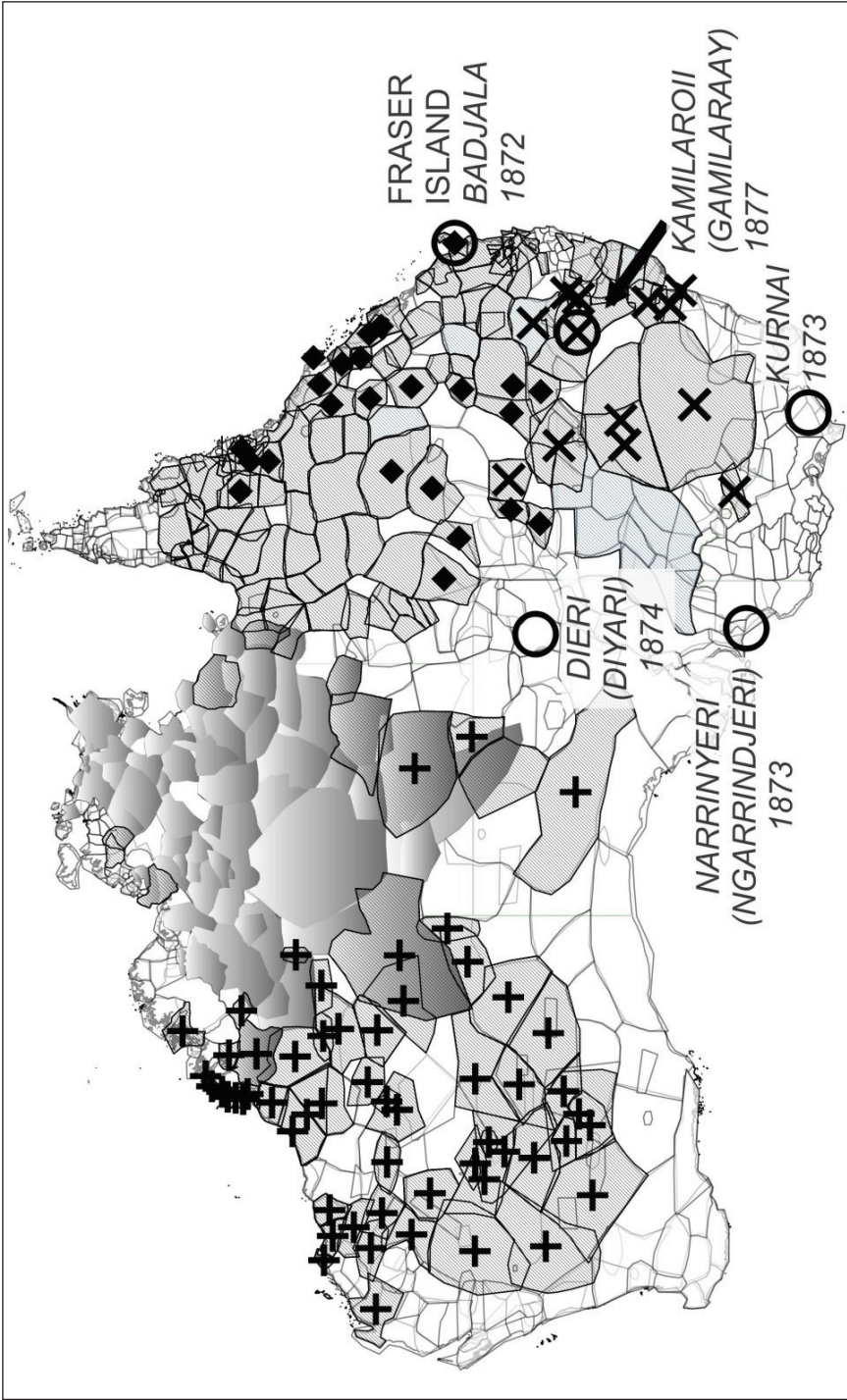
Fison also sought out knowledgeable settlers and missionaries resident in or travelling through Sydney. George Bridgman told him about the four-section

system used around Mackay. Fison concluded that it operated on the same principles as the 'Dravidian' kinship system, also found in Fiji. William Ridley informed Fison of the similar social organisation of the Gamilaraay people of northern New South Wales. Excited by the extension of his study beyond kinship to what he termed the 'marriage classes' [section system] of Gamilaraay people Fison replied to those who responded to his schedule with further requests for details of social organization, such as sections.

Though Fison cast his net wide, the responses were meagre at first. While Australian correspondents responded to Fison's requests and letters to newspapers they did not complete the schedule. Duncan Stewart (1872), of Mount Gambier in South Australia, described what he could recall of the Bunganditj kinship system and offered to check the details with the friends he had made some 25 years earlier. MacKenzie (1872) from Jervis Bay on the New South Wales Coast provided two pages of terms on the Dharumba and Dharawal people. Fison (1872b) encouraged both MacKenzie and Stewart to complete a schedule. Finally, in August, 1872, Edward Fuller and his wife, resident missionaries on Fraser Island, Queensland, returned an almost full schedule. His correspondence (Fuller 1872) gives considerable insight into the difficulty of the task. Daunted at first by the complexity of the schedule, they eventually completed it with a group of local people who identified their kinship names using 'pieces of wood on the ground'. When the group could not agree on a term they would seek advice from an 'aged old woman'. The couple filled up the schedule by taking down the names in the afternoons and then transcribing them onto the printed form. Soon after the Fuller data was returned, George Taplin (1872) sent a partially completed schedule of his Ngarrindjeri congregation in South Australia, filled out with the assistance of James Ngunaitponi.

In May 1873 Fison sent a schedule to Gippsland magistrate A. W. Howitt, who completed a series of family trees of his cultural expert Tulaba, which he sent to Fison with a description of their technique. Excited by this new method, Fison wrote immediately to Morgan describing the process and analysing the results (McConvell & Gardner 2013). Together Howitt and Fison devised a new schedule to collect genealogies rather than the abstracted terms of the original version. Associated questions collected kin terms from what they labeled 'call names': what does x call y? This new version was posted to old and new collaborators and was reproduced in Brough Smythe's (1878) *The Aborigines of Victoria*.

In 1875 Howitt proposed yet another version of the schedule that included a shortened list of 67 kin terms, a description of the genealogical method for those who preferred this, a section on class names (moieties, sections) and totems, and instructions on spelling. This new version, five pages long, was much more successful. German Moravian missionaries sent kinship lists from Yorke Peninsula and the Lake Condah mission as well as on the Diyari people of Coopers Creek (Vogelsang 1876). The new schedule elicited more responses from Queensland. Perhaps the most significant in relation to Fison and Howitt's forthcoming book was the full list of terms from Cyrus Doyle (1877) in Kunopia in the Moree district, on the Gamilaraay people, details Fison had not been able to gather from Ridley.



Map of some early kinship schedules collected by Fison and Howitt.
Map: William McConvell, Patrick McConvell and Helen Gardner.

There were hundreds of communications between Fison and/or Howitt and correspondents eliciting kinship terminologies which we cannot detail here. Five of the early sites which we have put on the map were the following:

1. **Fraser Island.** Queensland, Badjala (Batjala, Butchulla) dialect of Gabi, Edward Fuller 1872, 202 kinship terms.
2. **Narrinyeri (Ngarrindjeri).** Lower Murray River, SA, George Taplin 1873.
3. **Kurnai (Kŭnai),** Gippsland, Victoria, Howitt 1873 (using a novel method of eliciting genealogies which was then numbered and ‘call-names’ ‘what does 1 call 2?’ etc. filled in)
4. **Dieri (Diyari)** Coopers Creek, SA, Hermann Vogelsang 1876 (printed form containing 66 kinship terms and instructions about how to fill in a numbered genealogy)
5. **Kamilaroi (Gamilaraay)** Moree, NSW. Cyrus Doyle 1877 (same form as 4).

Fison and Howitt planned initially to write a South Pacific and Australian version of Morgan’s *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* with their kinship data but they knew they had neither exhaustive coverage nor a representative sample of the kinship systems of the region. Therefore *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* was planned as a short book to engage in the metropolitan debates on classificatory kinship with a larger book to follow.

The larger kinship book was never written. But Howitt continued to gather kinship data throughout the 1880s and 1890s and his archives in the National of Museum Victoria and the State Library of Victoria have details from dozens of correspondents across the continent that have never been properly analysed or explored. Fison’s archival sources in the National Library and St Marks National Theological Centre include thousands of pages of unpublished letters and completed schedules of kinship systems. Further material from both men is held at the Lewis Henry Morgan archive at the University of Rochester and the Bodleian Library Oxford University. The last section of this paper touches on some of the fruits of this effort.

3. Fraser Island

The kinship schedule filled in and sent to Fison by the Reverend Edward Fuller in 1872 from Fraser Island was among the very first he received, and the most comprehensive, completed with great care. But while Fison initially heaped praise on Fuller, his next letter included critical comments:

The divergence from the Tamil [Dravidian] system as to ... ‘my sister’s children’ is extremely important, and not a little bewildering. I have not met with it in any other systems.... The anomaly is that the woman should call her sister’s children her nephews and nieces. This anomaly is so startling and so unaccountable that I venture to provide you with the accompanying schedule in the hope that you will be kind enough to go carefully over it ... (Fison to Fuller, 4 September 1872, Letterbook 3, National Library Australia).

But the Fullers could not check their schedule as they had already been forced off the Island by the Queensland government, and had moved to Noosa. Nevertheless we do have other reports about the kinship system of the Batjala and neighbouring Gabi groups which tend to support the idea that their kinship was not strictly that of a 'Dravidian' system.

Fison's main complaint was that some of the kinship terms entered were not 'logical'. The principles that Fison expected were those of the Dravidian (or 'Tamil' as he called it) classificatory kinship system of south India, which Fison had discovered underlay the kinship system of Rewa Fijian (Fison in Morgan 1871). When Fison encountered the section system in Australia, he thought he had found the key to Dravidian kinship in Australia. Fison knew that there was a section system in operation on Fraser Island with different terms but identical in structure to others in Queensland and New South Wales, so inferred that a classical Dravidian system also operated on Fraser Island.

Fison was objecting that on the one hand some of the patterns of kin terms in Fuller's schedule did not follow the strict cross-parallel divide of Dravidian. On the other hand the examples appended at the end of the schedule show relationships which do follow a Dravidian pattern. In these examples the kinship terms used between the grandchildren of two sisters are shown. Where the descent is consistently in the female line for both grandchildren (as in 221) or consistently in the male line for both grandchildren (as in 222) then the term used between the grandchildren is parallel – they call each other siblings. Where the descent is in the male line for one grandchild and in the female for the other (223) or switches between male and female on one side and female and male on the other (224), then the term used between the grandchildren is cross – the cross-cousin terms *yumu* and *yumun*.

- 221. D of D of one Z to D of D of other Z Yawuing and Nyveer
- 222. S of S of one Z to S of S of other Z Noon and Wuthun
- 223. S of S of one Z to D of D of other Z Yumun
- 224. D of S of one Z to S of D of other Z Yumo

When Fuller's other data did not follow the expected 'Dravidian' pattern, Fison assumed that it was Fuller who was at fault. We shall see below what other factors were at work producing a more complex type of system.

Fison criticized Fuller's method of talking to a group of people together, strongly advocating a method of talking only to one informant at a time, dismissing that person when he became tired or confused. In fact Fuller was trying out what could be an equally good method, if not better. Fuller apparently discussed genealogies with his group using sticks to represent families graphically, prefiguring Howitt's use of this method with Tulaba among the Kurnai.

Fison was also concerned that perhaps Fuller was dealing with a mixed group of speakers of different languages. In this he may have been correct, since it has been reliably reported that there were three languages (or dialects) spoken on the Island: Ngulungbarra in the north, Badjala (Butchulla) in the centre, and Dulingbarra in the south and on the adjacent mainland coast around Noosa Heads (Meston 1895). These different dialects were represented at Fuller's mission

at Balarrgan in 1870-72 opposite the mouth of the Mary River. It is probable that these languages were closely related dialects of a wider Gabi language also spoken on the mainland. Different terms for the same kin type could be caused by such multilingualism especially where people were unsure about which term belonged to which language. Some of the debate in the community about answers to his questions reported by Fuller may have related to this. However the kinship terms of the three dialects on Fraser Island and neighbouring Gabi were not very different from each other and it seems unlikely that they had different semantic structures to any marked extent, either.

But there is another different kind of variation – a number of kin terms mapping on to one kin type – which also plagued Fison not only here but also in his dealings with other schedules in other regions. This ended up being a prime reason why he put so little kinship data into *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*. Social contextual reasons can lead to the use of two (or more) different terms for a kin type. Extreme examples include trirelational terms where terms vary not only on the basis of the relation between propositus and referent but also based on the kin relation between speaker and propositus and/or referent. Explicit descriptions are only found for northern and central Australian languages from the 1970s on (O’Grady & Mooney 1973, McConvell, 1982, Garde 2013) but such systems could have been present in south-eastern languages too (McConvell forthcoming).

There are other interpersonal situations which invoke substitution of kinship terms, including in the south-east. Fison was vaguely aware of this and this led him, by the time he wrote about it in *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (Fison & Howitt 1880: 58-59), to shift from blaming the correspondents or the Aboriginal informants for making errors to adducing socio-cultural factors of a kind which he admitted he did not understand.

There are several examples of ‘unexpected’ kin terms applied to relatives in the genealogies used for the Kurnai (McConvell & Gardner 2013) which are possibly related to the practice described by Howitt (Fison & Howitt 1880) of calling co-initiates ‘brothers’ (cf. McGregor 2013 on Gooniyandi).

Marriage and marriageability are other factors which induce substitution of kinship terms. These are not necessarily fixed but subject to agentive choices, for instance when a leading actor or group decide that a person is or is not an eligible spouse. This affects for instance choice of a distinct cross-cousin term versus the calling of a cross-cousin sibling, in ‘cross-parallel neutralisation’ systems both in several areas of Australia and elsewhere (Dousset 2012).

The variation can also be affected by the topic and style of discourse. This has been studied in some detail with regard to choice between non-skewed and skewed terms, for instance in Omaha skewing for mother’s brother’s Son between a cousin term (non-skewed) and the term for mother’s brother (skewed by one generation down in the patriline). Such skewing has been referred to as an ‘overlay’ (Kronenfeld 2012) – an optional/contextual set of variants on kinship terms used; instances in Australia are reviewed in McConvell (2012).

One of the examples of apparent inconsistency in the Fuller schedule for Fraser Island concerns cross-cousins, where all cross-cousins are termed *yumu* with the

exception of FZD, for which the term for child (*kuma*) or daughter (*nokin*) is used. The latter usage is an instance of Omaha skewing, use of a term one generation up (-1) to the cousin (zero) generation. Normally one might expect in addition the corollary of this on the patrilineal side whereby the term for ‘mother’s brother’ is extended to mean ‘mother’s brother’s son’ for instance, but a possible reason why this does not occur here is presented below.

Howitt (1904: 230) says that among the ‘Murubarra tribe living at White Cliffs of Great Sandy [Fraser] Island ... the proper wife of a man is the daughter of his mother’s brother’. This matrilineal cross-cousin marriage is different from the other two types he identifies, Dieri and Urabunna, which are both bilateral. Matrilineal marriage is frequently correlated with a kinship terminology in which matrilineal cross-cousins (the females of whom are marriageable for a man) are terminologically distinguished from patrilineal cross-cousins, females of whom are unmarriageable for a man, as among the Yolngu of Northeast Arnhem Land (McConvell & Alpher 2003, McConvell & Keen 2011). In the Batjala case, the use of a skewed term meaning ‘daughter’ (*nokin/nhukuny*) for an unmarriageable patrilineal cross-cousin but a dedicated cross-cousin term (*yumu(n)*) for a marriageable matrilineal cross cousin may reflect the overall unilaterality of the system.

Other records of the Fraser Island (Batjala) language also show use of skewed forms especially on the patrilineal side, for instance Howitt (nd) has *nogoin* [*nhukuny*] with a basic meaning ‘woman’s child’ with extensions to ‘father’s sister’s child’ and ‘woman’s mother’s brother’s; alongside *yumo* ‘mother’s brother’s daughter’. Meston (1900) has *nokin* [*nhukuny*] ‘child’ as a general term for ‘cousins’ (presumably cross-cousin) alongside *yoomoo* [*yumu*] and *yoomun* [*yumun*] cousins, male and female respectively. Tennant-Kelly (1930, 1932) records downward Omaha skewing on the matrilineal side, of *gummi* [*kami*] ‘mother’s brother’ to mean ‘mother’s brother’s child’ and of *avung* [*ngapang*] ‘mother’ to mean ‘father’s sister’s child’, with cross-cousin term *yumun* used to mean ‘father’s brother’s child’.

There is evidence in related languages also that the entries in the Fraser Island Fuller kinship schedule are not ‘errors’ but are present in the languages of the Waka-Kabic subgroup more generally. For instance Gureng Gureng (Mathew 1913) has the Omaha skewing pattern but with a different term (*punani*) son=mother’s brother’s child/father’s sister’s child. Mathew (1910:153-7) cites the Kabi language on the mainland as having the forms *yumō* and *yumōn* for the cross-cousins mother’s brother’s child/father’s sister’s child, and the parallel cousin father’s brother’s child, but sibling terms for mother’s sister’s child.

Beyond these examples of skewing, there are instances of apparent cross-parallel neutralisation in Batjala and other Gabi languages, which may be the reason why Fison was disturbed by some equations in Fuller’s schedule. The use of a cross-cousin term to mean a parallel cousin, father’s brother’s child, in the 1930’s (attested in Tennant-Kelly’s data cited above) as well as the extension of the father’s sister’s child cross term to mother’s sister’s child may be attributed to the late date and the ‘breakdown’ of systems. But other examples of cross-parallel neutralisation are found in independently recorded kinship lists from the mid-

nineteenth century on, so an explanation based on English influence or errors on the part of Fuller are implausible.

Cross-parallel neutralisation and Omaha skewing have been referred to as being two solutions to achieve similar objectives of adding contextual meaning and agency to a kinship system (Dousset 2012). It is a rare occurrence for them to be present at the same time in one social system, but this appears to be the case in Batjala and other Gabi languages.

3. Howitt's comparative work on Australian kinship

Even the short discussion above of Fraser Island shows that there is considerable variation between different groups as to the structure of the kinship system – as well as, in some cases, variation within a single language group, sensitive to social contexts and influence by social agents. The variation is systematic and relates to phenomena such as skewing and cross-parallel neutralization widely known across Australia and across the world (Trautmann & Whiteley 2012). There are also hints at why such variation exists, because of different marriage systems.

One might have expected Fison, who began with the brilliant discovery of a Dravidian system in Fiji, to have followed the footsteps of Morgan and produced a typology of variation within Australia, based on comparison of systems. But he was unsure of the data he was receiving from correspondents and even when he trusted his data he had little idea of what was motivating the variation (Fison & Howitt 1880:59).

There were some comparative tables in *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (Fison & Howitt 1880: 61-62; 241) but they were meagre. The two groups in the title had contrasting structures, Kamilaroi with consistently different terms for cross and parallel relations, Kurnai on the other hand with a collapsing of terms for cross-cousins with parallel cousins – later known as cross-parallel neutralization or the Cheyenne/Arapaho system. Yet the tables displayed in *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* did not show any cross kin types, so could not exemplify this key structural difference, despite Fison and Howitt being fully aware of it and having very full and accurate schedules which could have illustrated this.

But Howitt (Fison & Howitt 1880:236) stresses that this was the first step in the development of a typology of kinship systems in Australia, which he conceived of as a 'series' in which one end the Turanian (Dravidian) type is most 'strongly marked'. Although he says that the organisation of kin types into kin terms is different in the three groups he fails to supply the most conspicuous and revealing examples of difference in the cross-cousin terms.

In another paper co-authored with Fison and published after *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (Howitt & Fison 1883: 35-36), the pair began to elaborate on this important idea and marry it to another important suite of concepts around 'local organisation', descent, and marriage, which also fell into a 'series'. In the 1883 paper the two which were at the extremes were: Kunandaburi (Coopers Creek) at the end nearer 'communal marriage' and the Ngarrindjeri with individual marriage, no moieties or sections and patrilineality dominant, at the other extreme.

Howitt continued to probe these issues after Fison returned to the Pacific Islands. Howitt collected more schedules and in 1883 he produced a draft comparative table of 15 groups. Later he produced a more extensive draft comparative table of over 40 groups and over 40 kin types. We analyse a few aspects here of only one of four separate sections of this entitled ‘Brothers, Sisters and Cousins’.

English terms	Kurnai	Dieri	Nimandakin	Marrinyer	Chepara
	Sippaland	Ladehope	Coopen Creek	Lake Alexand	Queen Land
Uncle Brother	tunding	negi	Kotowandy or Kotowry	gelanowi	luang (y.s.) nabong - (y.s.)
Uncle Sister	baung	mautke	Kurrangete	maranowi	mungundul (y.s.) Cajong - (y.s.)
Younger Brother	bramung	ngatata	apogoy	tarte	mungun - (y.s.) nabong - (y.s.)
Younger Sister	lunaul	ngatata	apogoy or mookatye	tarte	mungundul (y.s.) Cajong - (y.s.)
Mr. father's brother son	tunding &	negi &	Kotowandy	gelanowi	woomogery
♀ ditto	baung &	negi &		gelanowi	ugun
Mr. father's brother daughter	baung &	mautke &	Kurrangete	maranowi	Kanilgun
♀ ditto	baung &	mautke &	#	maranowi	Kanilgun
Mr. mother's sister son	tunding &	negi &		gelanowi	woomogery
♀ ditto	tunding &	negi &		gelanowi	woomogery
Mr. mother's sister daughter	baung &	mautke &		maranowi	woomogery
♀ ditto	baung &	mautke &		maranowi	woomogery
Mr. father's sister son	tunding &	negi &		nguanowi	woomogery
♀ ditto	tunding &	negi &		nguanowi	woomogery
Mr. father's sister daughter	baung &	mautke &		nguanowi	woomogery
♀ ditto	baung &	mautke &		nguanowi	woomogery
Mr. mother's brother son	tunding &	negi &		nguanowi	woomogery
♀ ditto	tunding &	negi &		nguanowi	woomogery
Mr. mother's brother daughter	baung &	mautke &		nguanowi	Kanilgun
♀ ditto	baung &	mautke &		nguanowi	maran

Figure 1: first section of Howitt’s comparative kinship table. ‘Brothers, sisters and cousins’ section – original handwritten ms. [Howitt nd.]

The question of how cousins are classified in kinship terminology is clearly of great significance in Australia, as elsewhere. Indeed, cousin terms have been a touchstone for comparative work on kinship world-wide. There is a tradition of study of this domain for instance in the Standard Cross-cultural Sample initiated by George P. Murdock, where a standard template ‘Kin terms for cousins’ was produced (Murdock 1949:223-5; 1970) and is still widely used for cross-cultural comparison. Cousins are also very important since they (particularly cross-cousins) are frequently the preferred marriage partner, especially in south India and other parts of Asia, the Pacific and Australia. The type of cousin marriage (bilateral, vs unilateral: patri- and matri-lateral) has been invested with great typological and evolutionary significance in the structural anthropology of Lévi-Strauss (1949). In Australia one aspect is existence of cross-parallel neutralization of cousins in several areas of the continent (Dousset 2012), against a background of the majority of systems, which distinguish cross-cousins from

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ENGLISH TERMS	KURNAI GIPPSLAND	DIERI LAKE ?HOPE	KUNANDA-BURI COOPERS CREEK	NARRINYARI LAKE ALEXAN-DRINA	CHEPARA QUEENSLAND	YAKONDA ALBURY	YAITMATHANG OMEO	KUNOPIA MOREE NSW WILSON R	WORATCHERY LAKE CONDAR	GOURNITCHMARA LAKE CONDAR
Elder brother	tunding	negi	kokoondy or kokori	gelanowi	luang (y.s.) nabong (y.b)	kallan	tidjang	thiathi wyunga (by 2.5.3)	cocodie	kokung (y.b) wurti (e.s.,y.s)
Elder sister	bau-ung	kaukū	kurranyelu	maranowi	mungunkul (y.s) tajang (y.b)	namang	namang or naming	burrian (? 2.13)	currunie	kaki (y.s.,y.b)
Younger brother	bramung	ngattata	appogy	tarte	mungun (y.s.) nabong (y.b.)	dejang	kūkūng	kulimai (by e.b.) kolominga (by y.s,y.b)	uperki	kokung (e.b e.s.,y.s)
Younger sister	lunduk	ngattata	appogy or morekayaku?	tarte	mungunkul (y.s) tajang (y.b)	kūllūn	kūllūn	barunga	uperki	Kokogor (e.b e.s.,y.s)
M Father's brother's son	tunding	negi	kokoondy	gelanowi	woomoongery	kūkūng	kūkūng	tichandi or woromai[?]	mooreandjer	kopang
F Father's brother's son	tunding	negi	kauku	gelanowi	?ugun	wain	wain		wutudjer [?]	wurti
M Father's brother's daughter	bauung	kauku	kurrangy	maranowi	kanigun	wanja	wanja	buchandi	mooreadjer	bibbaken
F Father's brother's daughter	bauung	kauku	kauku	maranowi	kanigun	merangang	merangang		curucudjer	wurti
M Mother's sister's son	tunding	negi	negi	gelanowi	woomoongery	kabbin	kabbin	tichandi or kunakamdi [?]	mooreadjer	kopang
F Mother's sister's son	tunding	negi	negi	gelanowi	woomoongery	tidjang	tidjang		mooreadjer	wurti
M Mother's sister's daughter	bauung	kauku	kauku	maranowi	woomoongery	kūllūn	kūllūn	buchandi or barunga	currungera	capigourung [?]
F Mother's sister's daughter	bauung	kauku	kauku	maranowi	woomoongery	namang	namang		currungera	kaki
M Father's sister's son	tunding	kami	kami	nguanowi	woomoongery	tidjang	tidjang	kunakamdi	linerbadjer	gaygay
F Father's sister's son	tunding	kami	kami	nguanowi	woomoongery	kūkūng	kūkūng		currocudger	benang
M Father's sister's daughter	bauung	kami	kami	nguanowi	woomoongery	namang	namang	kageena	pupungera	bibbaken
F Father's sister's daughter	bauung	kami	kami	nguanowi	woomoongery	namang	namang		currungera	kamitch
M Mother's brother's son	tunding	kami	kami	nguanowi	woomoongery	tidjang	tidjang	unowi	ubbiger	woorungut
F Mother's brother's son	tunding	kami	kami	nguanowi	cumming	tidjang	tidjang		kowendjer	benang
M Mother's brother's daughter	bauung	kami	kami	nguanowi	kanigun	kūllūn	kūllūn	griamoolul [?]	ubbiger	baboop
F Mother's brother's daughter	bauung	kami	kami	nguanowi	maran	namang	namang		currungera	kamitch

Figure 2: First section of Howitt's comparative kinship table. 'Brothers, sisters and cousins' section – transcript by McConvell.

parallel cousins, which are usually equated with siblings. Historical linguistics has assisted in determining the trajectory of changes in patterns of cousin terms (McConvell & Alpher 2003; McConvell & Keen 2013; McConvell forthcoming).

The section of Howitt's comparative table that we focus on (Figures 1 & 2) shows a number of different patternings of cousins.

The following distinctive types of system can be gleaned reasonably easily:

1. Kurnai with its cross-parallel neutralization in the zero generation. The neighbouring group Yaitmathang at Omeo also has this feature.
2. Dieri with its extension of *kami* 'father's mother' to all cross-cousins of both genders. *Kami can be reconstructed to pPNy as 'mother's mother' – see McConvell (2013) on the change to father's mother. Father's mother=cross-cousin is characteristic of the 'Dieri system' of the Lake Eyre Basin and neighbouring areas (as discussed earlier).
3. Narrinyeri has a dedicated cross-cousin term *nguanowi* distinct from siblings/parallel cousins. This is (unlike Dieri) not an extension of another kin term. Berndt & Berndt (1993) give the related form *nguyanu* for the matrilineal cross-cousin 'mother's brother's child' but a different (but possibly related) form for 'father's sister's child' *nguyi* for Yaraldi.

The following cannot be properly analysed without further research:

4. Chepara is hard to explain. It has *woomoongery* for a number of cross and parallel cousins, but *cumming* [*kaming*] for woman's mother's brother's son, which is also mother's brother (descended from the pPNy *kami already mentioned) thus a product of Omaha skewing. Other sources have these terms but in a range of meanings so far hard to reconcile with this.
5. Kunopia (Gamilaraay) is unclear. The related dialect Yuwaalaraay recorded by Laves (1929) has an equation of mother's brother's child and father's sister's son with mother's father (*thaatha*) but father's sister's daughter with father's mother (*ngaki*) – alternate generation merging.
6. Woratchery [Wiradjuri] is also unclear. Other sources so far discovered do not have terms given for cross-cousins.
7. Gournditch-Mara appears to have a three way distinction: siblings, parallel cousins and cross-cousins. Cross-cousin terms include *kamitch* (woman's father's sister's daughter, man's mother's brother's daughter) probably again related to *kami, and *benang* (woman's mother's brother's son and woman's father's sister's son) showing asymmetrical terminology on the mother and father's side and differentiation according to gender of propositus.

It seems likely that this table was done in preparation for Howitt's major work near the end of his life *The Native Tribes of South-east Australia* (1904). He did devote a chapter to Relationship [kinship] terms [IV, 156-172] but this is only about Dieri and Kurnai.

5. Conclusions

Fison and Howitt made groundbreaking contributions to Australian and Pacific ethnology and linguistics, particularly the semantics of kinship terminology. In this paper we have seen Fison confronting a type of kinship system which challenged him because it was not of the type he expected. His notion of a Dravidian system was indeed useful and he himself contributed to the theorizing of it. But actual kinship systems, like that on Fraser Island, misbehaved. The misbehaviour is itself rule governed, and now, after nearly 150 years of kinship research we can make much more sense of it.

Howitt, the geologist and chemist, had begun to see the variations between the kinship systems as patterns which can be analysed, compared and arranged in types in an ordered series. With multifarious activities claiming his time he did not bring this project to fruition in his lifetime. *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* was written to engage with contemporary global debates on the origin of marriage and as a precursor to a much bigger book to showcase their extensive research. While Howitt published some material in *The Native Tribes of South Eastern Australia*, much was left in his archives. Fison, by contrast, struggled to make sense of the complex Australian material he had gathered from correspondents and could not undertake further research as the rest of his working life was in Fiji. But what Howitt and Fison left us in unpublished materials is a treasure trove with which we can continue the project.

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