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## LANGUAGES OF KINSHIP IN ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIA

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AN ETYMOLOGICAL NOTE ON WARLPIRI kurdungurlu

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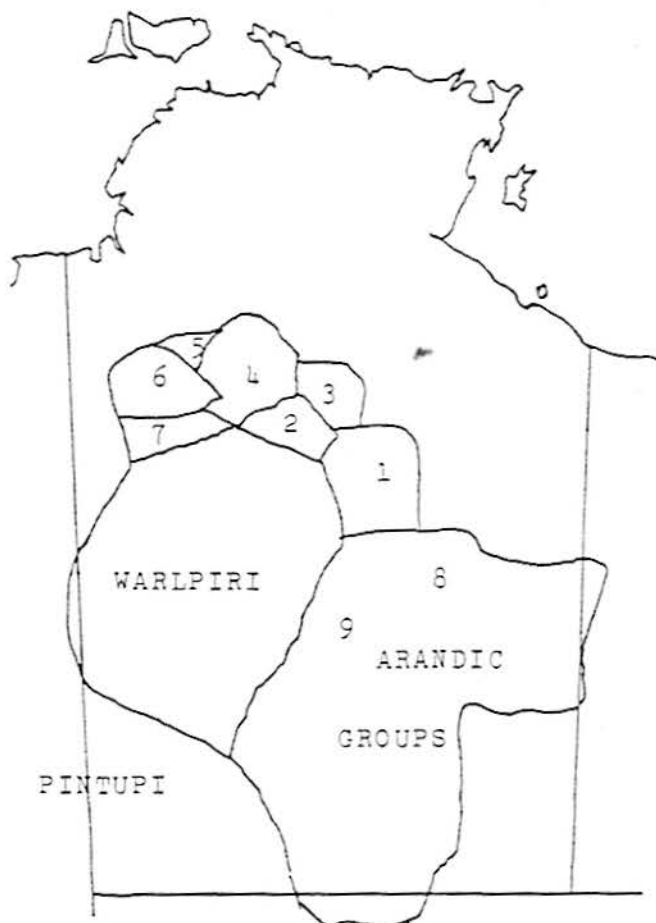
1. Introduction.<sup>1</sup>

This note concerns a term used in traditional ritual and land tenure contexts by people of the west-central Northern Territory, particularly the Warlpiri.<sup>2</sup> The accompanying map shows the names and locations of the groups referred to.

The term kurdungurlu has to be understood in conjunction with the term to which it is opposed, viz., kirda, which is investigated in section 3. Various translations of these two terms in their ritual sense are shown in Table 1.<sup>3</sup>

The question of the semantics and social significance of kirda and kurdungurlu has been a focal issue in traditional land claims before the Aboriginal Land Commissioner, and is far from being of mere pedantic interest. In the hearings the kirda have been taken as the undisputed owners (by

MAP: Northern Territory



Key: 1 Warumungu (Warramunga), 2 Warlmanpa, 3 Jingilu (Djingili), 4 Mudbura (Mutpurra), 5 Ngarinman, 6 Gurindji (Kuurrinyji), 7 Kartangarurru, 8 Alyawarra, 9 Kaititja (Kaytej).

TABLE 1

|                       | <u>kirda</u>                 | <u>kurdungurlu</u>                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|---|
| Aboriginal English    | owner<br>boss<br>manager     | worker<br>-manager<br>policeman<br>lawyer |
| Arnhem Land languages | nimaringgi<br>memingirringki | djunggaiji<br>jungkayi                    |
| widest reference      | Ego's patrimoiety            | Opposite patrimoiety <sup>4</sup>         |

Aboriginal law) of a particular Dreaming and hence of country related to that Dreaming. It is the role of kurdungurlu that has been less clear, and there has been much discussion of exactly what rights in land a kurdungurlu has by virtue of that status with respect to a particular area of land - e.g., Myers (1976, esp. pp. 408-16), Sansom (1979), Maddock (1979a) and Hale (1980a). In the first traditional land claim heard in Central Australia, that of the Warlpiri-Kartangarurru/Kurintji ('Kurintji' is a variant spelling for Gurindji, see McConvell, this volume), the kurdungurlu for each estate were not given in the list of claimants, but in subsequent claims (e.g., to Utopia and Willowra Pastoral Leases, and the Warlmanpa-Warlpiri-Mudbura-Warumungu claim) the kurdungurlu as well as kirda have been claimants. It is therefore timely to make a linguistically based enquiry into the term kurdungurlu, because of its cultural significance and current political importance.

This note has a limited goal: to assess the linguistic clues to the meaning of the kurdungurlu concept. For a discussion of the wider social anthropological issues to which kirda and kurdungurlu are relevant, see Meggitt (1972), Scheffler (1978, esp. Chapter 14), Myers (1976), Keesing (1979) and Hale (1980a,b). Once I clarify the derivation of the term kirda, I review discussions of kurdungurlu by anthropologists who have worked with the Warlpiri, adding clarification where possible from more recent linguistic research. Then I discuss the significance of the linguistic evidence, point out its limitations, and sketch hypotheses which it supports.

## 2. Orthography.

Because some of the problems in previous discussions of the term kurdungurlu have involved confusion among phonologically similar words, we must use an unambiguous orthography for the words under discussion. I use the current standard Warlpiri orthography for words in Warlpiri and other languages, except Pintupi (which has its own literacy orthography, using an underscore to indicate retroflexion).

The vowels are i a u in all of these languages, and they are relatively unproblematic, though there is a tendency to transcribe an unstressed u or i as a. The consonants, on the other hand, have been transcribed variously in the past. The consonants of the standard Warlpiri orthography are displayed in Table 2.

By convention, word-initially (and sometimes after a hyphen) rt rn rl are written simply as t n l, since true apico-alveolar t n l cannot co-occur in this position.

The flap rd is a uniquely Warlpiri sound; it is almost certainly a historical development involving a split from older \*rt, and corresponds to rt in neighboring languages.

In Table 3, I show correspondences between standard Warlpiri and Pintupi

TABLE 2  
Standard Warlpiri Orthography

|                | <u>labial</u> | <u>alveolar</u> | <u>domal</u> | <u>palatal</u> | <u>velar</u> |
|----------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| <u>stop</u>    | p             | t               | rt           | j              | k            |
| <u>nasal</u>   | m             | n               | rn           | ny             | ng           |
| <u>lateral</u> |               | l               | rl           | ly             |              |
| <u>flap</u>    |               | rr              | rd           |                |              |
| <u>glide</u>   | w             |                 | r            | y              |              |

TABLE 3

Previous Transcriptions

| <u>Warlpiri</u> | <u>Pintupi</u> | <u>Capell</u> | <u>Wild</u> | <u>Peterson</u> | <u>Meggitt and Munn</u> |
|-----------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| r               | r              | r             | R           | r               | r                       |
| rr              | rr             | r             | r           | r               | r                       |
| rd              | (absent)       | r or d        | r           | r or l          | r, sometimes r          |
| rl              | <u>l</u>       | l             | <u>l</u>    | l               | l                       |
| l               | l              | l             | l           | l               | l                       |
| k               | k              | g             | k           | k or g          | g                       |

orthographies for certain key consonants, and also show how the Warlpiri consonants turn up in the anthropological literature. Note in particular that transcriptions by Meggitt, Munn and Peterson do not make the full set of distinctions and that their 'r' and 'l' are multiply ambiguous.

Thus the term kurdungurlu has been written variously as 'kurungulu', 'kulungulu', and 'gurungulu' (leaving aside variants with 'ŋ' for 'ng', which is not problematic here). On the other hand, kirda has appeared as 'kira', 'kira' and 'gira'.

### 3. The term kirda.

The term kirda is clearly related to the kinship term kirdana, kirdanyanu 'father' (-na 'my', -nyanu 'his, etc.' being common endings for Warlpiri kinship terms), but there is more to the word than this.

It is true that in a particular context (of a ceremony, or Dreaming, or tract of country), all the kirda

...are related to one another directly or indirectly as one or another kind of FATHER-MAN'S CHILD, so it is appropriate that they should refer to one another as gira, 'the fathers and sons' (by neutralizing the opposition between 'father' and 'man's child' and permitting the designation for the senior category to stand for the reciprocal set as a whole).

(Scheffler 1978:508)

However, there are other occurrences of the morpheme kirda, and terms for 'father' other than kirda; Scheffler's explanation does not help us to understand why kirda, rather than some other morpheme for 'father', underwent the generalisation. To achieve this, we must investigate the other terms.

First, note that kirdana 'my father' means 'real father, genitor' as

opposed to wapirra 'classificatory father'. Both men and women use kirdana to refer to their actual father, and do not use wapirra in that sense. (Women also use kirdana in preference to wapirra for 'my classificatory father' - M. Laughren, p.c.) It is the word used to talk of a relationship of fatherhood between two animals (e.g., 'That dog is the father of this pup'), and is the word for 'father' selected by the verb 'to beget' (a complex stem based on wanti-mi 'to fall, drop'):

- (1) Kirda-nyanu ka-rla            yurru-wanti    ngalapi-nyanu-ku.  
 father-his    Pres-DatObj    beget            child-his-Dat  
 'The father begets his child.'

On the other hand, wapirra is the root morpheme in the term wapirralyka 'age-mate in subsection of Ego's father' (cf. \*kirdalyka), and is the term used in Warlpiri Christian material to translate 'God' (a sort of 'classificatory father' in Christian doctrine).

Following Scheffler's reasoning, we would thus expect wapirra, not kirda, to be the term generalised to refer to the whole of Ego's patrimoiety. To understand why kirda is used, we have to investigate further.

There are four egocentric semi-patrimoiety terms in Warlpiri (Hale, n.d.; Laughren, this volume):<sup>5</sup>

- (2) a. own patrimoiety:            { wapirra    'Ego and Fa(Si), etc.'  
   { wurruru    'WiMo(Br) and WiMoFa, etc.'  
 b. opposite patrimoiety: { yarriki    'Mo(Br) and MoFa(Si), etc.'  
   { kirda     'Wi(Br) and WiFa(Si), etc.'

Consistent with the meaning of wapirra, it is the root associated with Ego's semi-patrimoiety. What is perhaps surprising is that kirda turns up associated with one of the two semi-patrimoieties in the patrimoiety opposite to Ego's (I explore an explanation for this below). We are assisted by Myer's (1976:397) observation that the Pintupi equivalent of kirda (in ritual sense, opposed to kurdungurlu) is both 'yarriki, and kita', i.e., the semi-patrimoiety terms corresponding to Warlpiri yarriki and kirda.<sup>6</sup>

I thus propose that kirda in its widest sense (referring to an entire patrimoiety) is expanded from one of the two terms with point of reference in the opposite patrimoiety to Ego. The degree of generalisation is not so great - less than Scheffler envisaged in his move from 'father' to 'fathers and sons'.

Finally, what is the connexion between kirdana 'actual father' and kirda-rlangu, kuyu-kirda 'semi-patrimoiety of Wi(Br)/Hu(Si), etc.'? Consider the following restatement of the connexion: for a reference point (propositus) in the semipatrimoiety of Ego's spouse (and sister's child), the root 'father' (viz., kirda-) does not distinguish actual from classificatory; whereas for a reference point in the three other semi-patrimoieties the distinction is made (kirda- vs. wapirra-, wurruru-, yarriki-). In this respect, Warlpiri resembles Gurindji: there is no special root for a complex 'father' term with reference point in Ego's spouse's semi-patrimoiety, and the simple root 'father' is pressed into service.<sup>7</sup>

I now propose a possible development of the term kirda, based on the viewpoint of a male Ego. The parallel situation for female Ego, with which I am even less familiar, obviously needs to be incorporated into the analysis. Note that a man's wife's father (actual or classificatory) is: i) a member of the subsection for which the man is kirda; ii) in Warlpiri, referred to as kirda-puraji or kirda-nyanu when his wife or brother-in-law is reference point. The relationship between a man and his wife's father is also connected with the ceremonial notion kirda through the following combination (suggested to me by Ken Hale) of two Pintupi sources. Moyle (1979:172) does not record any term similar in form to kirda - instead, he gives mayutju, 'the so-called "owners" of ceremonies and song series; a moietaal division whose counterpart

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is the kutungulu.' However, Hansen and Hansen (1977) gloss mayutju as 'Boss. One's father-in-law is one's mayutju, as well as other relatives.' Putting together these two glosses, we see that a man who is kurdungurlu in a particular context refers to much the same set of men whether he uses mayutju or kirda, and both are glossed 'boss' in Aboriginal English.<sup>8</sup>

Further evidence that the term kirda originates from the point of view of the kurdungurlu is found in one of the Gurindji equivalents of kirda 'owner', viz., ngurra-mungkuj 'country-wife' (the other two equivalents being kalpiman and ngurramarla). A man is kurdungurlu for a Dreaming and tract of country for which his wife (and her father) is kirda.

Thus, I conjecture that the two kinship senses of kirda- are related through certain social and ceremonial practices involving a man and his wife's father. In this view, kirda- 'actual father' is the basic (at least, historically prior) sense, and both the semi-patrimoiety sense and the patrimoiety sense of the root are derivative (perhaps in that order). Finally, the point of view of the kurdungurlu is the source of the ritual term kirda, in the following sense. If one is related as kurdungurlu to a Dreaming ancestor, then it follows that the particular Dreaming ancestor is in the opposite patrimoiety, and thus one uses terms based on kirda- and yarriki- to refer to the Dreaming with a kirda as reference point. See also section 4.2, below.

#### 4. Proposed derivations of kurdungurlu.

I now survey the historical or synchronic derivations of kurdungurlu and assess each proposal with linguistic information. In general, these derivations have been given without stating explicitly whether they are to be taken as purely historical etymologies or as synchronic morphological analyses with implications for the semantics of the expressions for present-day speakers. I return to this in section 5.

##### 4.1. Derived from 'ritual'.

Meggitt (1962), the most comprehensive ethnography of the Warlpiri, records two analyses of kurdungurlu, both of which relate it to aspects of ritual.

The first interpretation is attributed by Meggitt to a group of Warlpiri at Phillip Creek Native Settlement (where some Warlpiri lived with Warumungu people between 1945 and 1954), and he suggests that the interpretation is a recent innovation under Warumungu (Warramunga) influence: 'guruṅu-lu' is glossed 'those who give the arm blood for ritual decorations' (1962:203).<sup>9</sup>

In fact, the Warlpiri term for 'armblood' is kurrngu.<sup>10</sup> There is no way to connect kurrngu, with apico-alveolar flap rr, to kurdungurlu, with apico-postalveolar flap rd by any process of Warlpiri phonology or word-formation. Meggitt has not repeated this definition in subsequent papers.<sup>11</sup>

Meggitt's other translation was the one he attributed to the Warlpiri, and has been repeated by himself and others:

Some men translated "guruṅulu" as "guru-gulu" = ceremonial business - outside.

(Meggitt 1955:377fn.)

"guru-gulu" 'those outside the ritual'

(Meggitt 1966:202)

'those who may not act in a particular ritual'

(Meggitt 1962:203, cf. Meggitt 1972:69)

This gloss has been repeated, for example, by Peterson (1969:32) and Scheffler (1978:508), and gains plausibility with reference to another term listed by Meggitt (1966:202), 'guru' 'power or virtue...of the songs'. Warlpiri has a case suffix -ngurlu 'away from, out of (in motion or location) (Elative).

There is only one entry in the current Warlpiri dictionary file which could correspond to Meggitt's 'guru', viz., kurru 'men's "business" or cere-

monial ground, parnpa ground'. But to derive kurdungurlu from kurru is not possible in Warlpiri. Rather, as in the previous case, it seems to involve confusion of two distinct stems, aided by an insufficiently precise transcriptional system which does not distinguish rd from rr.

To indicate just how easy such misidentifications can be, consider the entries in Table 4 consisting of the Warlpiri words relating to mythology and ritual which contain phonetically bisyllabic sequences similar (at least to the English speaker's ear) to kurdu.

But words containing ...kuru... or ...kurru... are entirely irrelevant to our discussion of kurdungurlu, since there are no known synchronic or even historical rules which can connect r or rr to rd. Only forms with rd (or the historically related rt) are germane, and we discuss these below.

This is not to say that kurdungurlu cannot be understood by the Warlpiri in terms of ritual roles (or exclusion from them). Meggitt and others since

TABLE 4

Warlpiri Bisyllabic Sequences with kur/kurr/kurd

|  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| a. with <u>r</u> .                       |  |  |
| kuruwarri                                | mark, design   | 'guruwari' Meggitt (1966:181), Peterson (1969:32, 1972:21, 23), Munn (1973).   |
| b. with <u>rr</u> .                      |  |  |
| kurru                                    | 1. men's ceremonial ground<br>(also <u>yukururtu</u> )<br>2. firesaw (also <u>jimanypa</u> ) |  |
| kurrunjuru                               | red ochre (as found in Sandover Creek)   |  |
| kurru-pi-nyi                             | to replace it - as when doctor restores escaped or stolen spirit <sup>12</sup>               |  |
| kurruwalpa<br>(perhaps also kurruwarlpa) | spirit creature  | 'guruwalba' Meggitt (1955: 383, 391, 398), Munn (1973:89, 114fn, 133), Peterson (1969:27, 1972:22); 'kuruwalpa' Wild (1975:44-5). <sup>13</sup>  |
| yukurrukurru                             | women's oval ceremonial boards <sup>14</sup>   | 'yulguruguru' Munn (1973:51 fn)  |
| c. with <u>rd</u> .                      |  |  |
| kurdu                                    | child, young of animal   | 'guru' Capell (1952:116), 'guru' Meggitt (1962:124).   |
| kurdiji (west)<br>kurduju (east)         | 1. broad softwood shield<br>2. circumcision ground<br>3. circumcision ceremony               | 'guřidji' Munn (1973:53)<br>'guridji' Meggitt (1954:7).  |
| jakurdukurdu                             | novice taken on journey  | 'djaguruguru' 'messenger' Capell (1952:115-6); 'ngana-guru-guru' 'those who have imbibed ritual knowledge' said of junior novice near end of Gadjari ritual, <sup>15</sup> Meggitt (1966:176)/ |

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have extensively documented the ceremonial significance of the kurdungurlu, and I am not questioning their descriptions. However, the internal structure of the term kurdungurlu does not in itself provide any evidence for translating it as 'those outside the ritual' or 'those who may not act in a particular ritual'.

#### 4.2. Derived from uterine link.

In a particular ritual context, the kurdungurlu include close uterine and affinal kin of the kirda. This has been observed by Meggitt (1966:205, 1972:69) and Peterson (1972:23), and is central for Scheffler's reanalysis (1978:508). For comments on matrilineal ritual links in another part of Australia, see Heath (1978b:471, 478). In this section I collect linguistic evidence for a derivation of kurdungurlu from a term designating the primary uterine relationship, that between a mother and her child. In this view, kurdungurlu is a semantic complement to the agnatic relationship designated by kirda, already cited.

Warlpiri terms involving the root kurdu, in addition to those shown in the lower portion of Table 4 (above), are shown here in Table 5.

The terms kurduna and kurduyanu are distinguished from kurdu in Warlpiri sign language. For kurduna and kurduyanu the sign is: 'Bent fingers of right hand scoop upwards at stomach' (Meggitt 1954:8; A. Kendon, p.c.). For kurdu, the sign is: tips of thumb, index finger, and middle finger together; other two fingers against palm (Kendon 1978:17 and p.c.); 'All right fingertips together with thumb ball on middle fingernail, palm to body. Swing to palm left, using wrist as axis. Return to original position' (Wright 1980:32).

Thus kurdu appears in the expression of the mother-child relationship, and in special senses involving rain. It is possible that these two domains are relatable in the context of Warlpiri cosmology, but I am unable to pursue this here.

There appear to be cognates to kurduna in neighbouring languages:<sup>19</sup> Gurindji kurturtu 'woman's child, man's sister's child'; Warumungu kurlukurlu 'woman's child, sister's child'; Jingilu kurli 'daughter (woman speaking)' and kuli 'nephew' (Chadwick 1975).

I have not found similar words in available sources on Pintupi or Aranda. Further afield in Australia, there is a connexion with 'umbilical cord'. First, Pitta-Pitta (western Queensland) has kurtu 'umbilical cord' (Blake 1979). Second, in the Wik languages of western Cape York Peninsula, forms derived from \*kuutin(V) mean 'umbilical cord' (Wik-Mungkana kuutana, Wik-Ngathan koetana) according to Sutton (1978), who also records the practice whereby the mother's sister and mother inspect the umbilical cord of the latter's child to determine certain associations of the child. Sutton (this volume) observes that the 'BELLY' hand-sign covers this 'umbilical cord' relation. In Ngarluma (Pilbara, Western Australia) kurtu means

TABLE 5

#### Stems Involving the Root kurdu

|                         |   |   |
|-------------------------|---|---|
| kurduna                 | } | sister's child, (woman's) child; wife's father (male reference point), also <u>wantirri</u> . |
| kurduyanu               |   |   |
| kurdu                   |   |   |
| kurtuparnta (east)      |   | child, young (of animal)  |
| kurdukurdu              |   | pregnant (lit., child-with)   |
|                         |   | 1. children (plural, of <u>kurdu</u> )  |
|                         |   | 2. small rain cloud <sup>16</sup>   |
| kurdu-ya-ni             |   | to enter into (of water), flood, inundate <sup>17</sup>                                       |
| kurdu-yuka-mi           |   | to inundate   |
| kurduyurrulyurru-pi-nyi |   | to start to rain, to make grow. <sup>18</sup>   |



'spirit' (Hale et al. 1981b).

There are a few other words with the meaning 'sister's child', and roughly the form of kurdu-, in other Australian languages,<sup>20</sup> of which the most similar is Lardil (Mornington Island, Gulf of Carpentaria) karda (oblique kardu-) 'sister's son' (Hale et al. 1981a; given in a slightly different orthography as karta in Hale, this volume, Figure 1).

While the kin term kurduna or kurdunyanu focuses on 'child (of woman)', it should be noted that its classificatory sense extends beyond this, potentially to the entire subsection of Ego's sister's child (which is also that of a man's wife's father).<sup>21</sup> It is not clear what particular meaning \*kurtu would have had at the time \*kurtu-ngurlu was formed, but all the evidence points to \*kurtu being strongly connected with the mother-child link.<sup>22</sup>

Given that kurdungurlu is based on a term meaning 'sister's child', we are in a better position to appreciate the derivation of the term kirda (considered in section 3). The kurdungurlu include kurdunyanu 'sister's children' from the point of view of the kirda; complementarily, the kirda include kuyu-kirda 'Wi(Br) and WiFa(Si), etc' from the point of view of the kurdungurlu. Thus, one root which a kirda uses to refer to the opposite patrimoiety (viz., kurdu-) is the basis of the Dreaming-centred term for the other patrimoiety, and a typical root a kurdungurlu uses to refer to the opposite patrimoiety (viz., kirda-) is the basis of the Dreaming-centred term for the other patrimoiety.

#### 4.3. The ending -ngurlu.

If kurdungurlu is derived from kurdu, what is the status of -ngurlu? There are two possibilities known to me, and I consider them in turn.

The Elative (or Ablative) case suffix in Warlpiri is -ngurlu or -ngirli. It is suffixed to a stem denoting a reference point, away from or out of which motion or separation occurs. Wafer and Wafer (1980:6) suggest that this suffix is contained in kurdungurlu:

Whereas kirda(na) is one of the Warlpiri terms for father, kurduna is the term which a woman uses for her children, or a man uses for his sister's children. As the suffix -ngurlu means "from," kurdu-ngurlu probably means "from the son/daughter" (woman speaking) or "from the nephew/niece" (man speaking)... Thus the meaning of the term is contained in its etymology. A man's kurdungurlu (in the narrow sense) will be her own and her sisters' sons and daughters (as well as her brothers' daughters' children).

Ball (1979:16) suggests a similar etymology ('thus kurdungurla are from the child side').

It is true that if kurdungurlu is to be synchronically derived from kurdu, the ending would have to be recognised as Elative -ngurlu. The one difficulty with this analysis, by no means insuperable, is to work out exactly how the sense ('opposite patrimoiety') is to be derived from the senses of kurdu ('(woman's) child') and -ngurlu (Elative suffix, 'from'). Perhaps a person's status as kurduna, i.e., his/her relation from birth to his/her mothers and mother's brothers, is the 'source' of the (adults?) status as kurdungurlu. Presumably this would be rendered at least as accurately in (modern) Warlpiri by means of the case suffix -jangka 'Elative of origin, source, cause; after', or the similar suffix -warnu (Hale 1974:11-12) which occurs e.g. in such expressions as Japanangka-warnu 'one of the Japanangkas' (subsection term) and makurnta-warnu (or makurnta) 'opposite matrimoiety' (contrasting with makurnta-wangu 'own matrimoiety' with Privative suffix -wangu 'without').

Yet the expressions \*kurdu-jangka and \*kurdu-warnu have not been recorded as synonyms of kurdungurlu - the latter is the only form to have undergone the specialisation of meaning.

In addition, the equivalents of kurdungurlu in other languages do not have a parallel morphological structure (involving the Elative suffix of the language), though there are two instances of apparent 'calques' (literal transpositions in borrowing) which do reveal this suffix, and which I mention in section 5, below.

The other possibility for the etymology of the -ngurlu part relates it to a noun. In Gurindji, the noun ngurlu means 'matrilineal phratry (matriclan); taste flavour in mouth; flash, smart' (for the first sense see McConvell, this volume, section 5). In Pintupi, ngulu means the emotion 'fear, fright', and Myers (1976:152) devotes a paragraph to it (spelling it 'ngulu').<sup>23</sup> In Warlpiri and Warlmanpa (closely related to each other) there is a noun of the same phonological form ngurlu, probably related to the Gurindji stem; it means 'edible seeds (especially of mulga tree); plant which bears edible seeds'. See also Hale (1971:481).

Stanner (1979:37) states that 'The Djamindjung and Nangiomeri translate ngulu as 'human scent', e.g. the smell of a man's sweat.' He first encountered ngurlu (his 'ngulu') among the Warumungu, where it refers only to an individual's matrilineal social totem (Stanner 1979:13). (Cf. Warumungu ngarli, jirlpi 'edible seeds', Simpson 1980). Stanner went on to record the institution of ngurlu-totemism among the Jingili, Warlmanpa (also called 'Walpari' by him), Mudbura, Gurindji, Djamindjung and perhaps others (all peoples roughly north of Warlpiri). He found it to be strongest among the Jingili:

The ngulu totems of the Mudburra are fewer in number than those of the Tjingilu. This reduction in number is a notable tendency as one goes west and north-west from the Tjingilu.  
(Stanner 1979:50).

In addition, the ngurlu institution is stronger among the Ngarinman and Mudbura than it is among the Gurindji (McConvell, this volume) and it is nonexistent among the Warlpiri.<sup>24</sup>

It is not possible to relate ngurlu and kurdungurlu directly in modern Warlpiri. There do exist lexical items of the form noun-noun, but they are not formed by productive rules. The examples are mostly flora and fauna terms like yarla-pama 'caterpillar sp.' ('yam sp. - delicacy') and mulyu-kuna 'black-nosed python' ('nose-shit'). P. McConvell (p.c.) has found that this holds also in Gurindji and Mudbura, and I have found it for Warlmanpa. Furthermore, the current meaning of kurdungurlu cannot be derived directly from the separate senses of kurdu and ngurlu. However, this analysis has appeal as an etymology, since both kurdu and ngurlu have reference to the mother-child relationship.<sup>25</sup> Recall, however, that the alternative analysis (with Elative -ngurlu) is just as plausible semantically (particularly when possible earlier meanings of \*kurtu are considered), and is more plausible morphologically.

A note of caution should be sounded here. A correct etymology may tell us nothing about the current meaning of a word, since the meaning may have drifted considerably over time. For example, awful is descended from awe-full and originally meant 'causing fear'. The word sand-blind derives from sam-blind 'half-blind', nothing to do with sand. The relationship between concepts involved in an etymology may belong to a cultural system no longer present. Thus, daisy is from day's eye since the petals of this flower close up at night - this etymology points to an archaic metaphor. In the case of kurdungurlu, then, we need an analysis of the development and spread of the relevant cultural categories to illuminate the linguistically plausible etymologies.

##### 5. Diffusion of kurdungurlu.

The term has apparently been borrowed in recent times by certain Arandic peoples to the east and southeast of the Warlpiri. Meggitt (1966:202fn)

refers to Strehlow (1947:123ff., 132, 149), who explains Aranda 'kũtungula' as 'servant'. Meggitt points out that the Aranda usage does not imply a specific kinship connexion to the ritual leaders and thus differs from Warlpiri kurdungurlu.<sup>26</sup>

In general, true cognates found in Arandic languages and in Western Desert languages (specifically, Warlpiri) show word-initial phonological erosion, called 'initial dropping', so that the original consonant at the beginning of the word (and sometimes also the next vowel) is missing in the modern Arandic forms. Thus compare Warlpiri kiwinyi and Aranda iwenye 'mosquito', or Warlpiri parntapi and Aranda arntape 'bark'. It follows that 'cognates' between Warlpiri and Arandic languages which do not show initial dropping in the latter most likely represent borrowing in fairly recent times. In the case of Warlpiri kurdungurlu, Arandic kurtungurla, it is most likely that Arandic borrowed from the west rather than vice versa. Other diffusionally shared items whose histories are known have generally gone in this direction.<sup>27</sup>

Pintupi, to the south-west of Warlpiri, may also have borrowed the term. Hansen and Hansen (1977, but not 1980) record kutungulu<sup>28</sup> with the following meaning:

Workers - a ceremonial division which may but usually does not correspond to the ngananitja - yinyurrpa divisions.<sup>29</sup> The term is loosely used for workers on the settlement, both male and female. Also used of young kangaroos.<sup>30</sup>

Indeed, kurdungurlu has 'cognates' in a number of languages around the Warlpiri area (either true cognates or borrowings). In Table 6 I give the attested forms, and for comparison I also show the word for 'child' (the kinship term 'sister's child'). The term for 'young human' usually bears no apparent relation, except in Warlpiri.<sup>31</sup>

The borrowed status of the Arandic term was discussed above. In Pintupi as well as Arandic the specific kinship basis for the ritual category is missing, suggesting that the Pintupi term (and perhaps institution) is less ancient than in Warlpiri. Of the two Mudbura terms, one is shared with its eastern neighbor Jingilu and the other is related to kurdungurlu, so the latter may have been a borrowing from the south or west.

We are left, then, with the hypothesis that the term kurdungurlu spread out from the area of the Warlpiri, Warlmanpa and Gurindji. Note that these are languages which would have had (reconstructed) \*kurtu or a variant thereof available for the formation of \*kurtungurlu. Thus the geographical evidence supports (at least weakly) the linking of kurdungurlu with a term associated with the mother-child relationship. This complicated philological problem cannot yet be regarded as solved, and we await data from other languages.

TABLE 6

| language  | cognate of <u>kurdungurlu</u>                              | 'sister's child'    |
|-----------|--|---------------------|
| Warlpiri  | <u>kurdungurlu</u>   | kurduna, kurdunyanu |
| Warlmanpa | <u>kurtungurlu</u>   | kurtuna, kurtunyanu |
| Pintupi   | <u>kutungulu</u>   | yukari              |
| Aranda    | <u>kũtungurla</u>  | aghensterre, etc.   |
| Gurindji  | <u>kurtungurlu</u>   | kurturtu            |
| Mudbura   | { <u>kurtungurlu</u> ,<br><u>kulyungkulyungpi(ri)</u> }    |                     |
| Jingilu   | { <u>kulyungkulyungpiri</u> ,<br><u>kurlukurla</u> , etc.} |                     |

We should also note that when kurdungurlu has been borrowed (as it apparently has been by the Pintupi, Mudbura, Aranda and recently the Warumungu) it has not been 'calqued', that is, reformulated in a borrowing language according to a literal (stem-for-stem, morpheme-for-morpheme) translation of postulated components in the donor language. An example of a calque is Warlmanpa mulyu-lamanpa and Warumungu ngurru-jurlupu 'grass sp.', both literally 'nose-hollow', one probably calqued on the other. Since calquing has not occurred with kurdungurlu, it could be that the original (compositional) meaning of kurdungurlu was no longer obvious at the time of borrowing. The same is true of recent translations of kurdungurlu into local Aboriginal English (Table 1, above).

However, I know of two instances of spontaneous calquing by individual speakers relevant to kurdungurlu, both by speakers of a language which has recently adopted the term. First, Myers reports:

What is even more interesting and suggestive, in light of the complementarity [between "workers" and "managers"] discussed, is a statement made by one man that "workers" (kutungulu) were "from women" (kungkangkatja). I was not able to get him or others to elaborate or even repeat this statement. Further questioning resulted only in a listing of subsections for each patrimoiety division which are certainly now the overriding ideological consideration, the highest level of generality. It is, however, worth considering the content of his suggestion.

(Myers 1976:399)

Myers goes on to sketch how the present senses of 'kutungulu' may well have developed from a sense 'those descended through women'.<sup>32</sup> His proposal is all the more striking when the etymological possibilities within Warlpiri of linking the term to 'descent through women' are considered.

A second instance occurred during the hearing of a traditional land claim, when a woman (whose parents were Warlmanpa, but who is married to a Mudbura man and lives in the Mudbura-speaking community at Elliott) was being questioned about the roles of kirda and kurdungurlu (by counsel who used those terms). She began using the term kirtangurlu rather than kirda - e.g., in describing the Ngapa ('rain') ceremony, she said:

Kurdungurlu all right around kirdangurlu... Kurdungurlu watering kirdangurlu, walking right around.

(Aboriginal Land Commission 1980:349)

Thus, if I am right in assuming that her usage was a spontaneous coinage, understandable in a situation where she was trying to communicate formally to strangers in two languages not her own (Warlpiri and English), she was thinking of the kirda as 'from father'. This makes sense only if she was also thinking of kurdungurlu as 'from kurdu'. (When asked to name kurdungurlu for the Dreaming for which she is kirda, she gave the names of her own four children.)

There has been a recent spread of kurdungurlu into translations of Christian material into local Aboriginal languages. For example, the New Testament in Aranda uses 'kuṭuṇula' in the sense 'disciple', which is congruent with its already-mentioned meaning 'servant, assistant' in Arandic ritual contexts. Even Warlpiri kurdungurlu is used as 'disciple' in Christian material, although the specific kinship basis for the category is inapplicable in the Biblical context. Reece (1975:20, 1979:58) records a further extension to 'missionary', equivalent to yinkarta, borrowed from Aranda 'Inkaṭa'.

## 6. Conclusion.

The linguistic evidence points to a historical connexion between the term kurdungurlu 'other patrimoiety' and terms including kurdu 'child' and kurduna 'sister's child'. The origin of the patrimoiety terms kirda and

kurdungurlu are found in the complementary relationships of these two groups to a Dreaming ancestor. There may also be a connexion between the term kurdungurlu and the ngurlu matrilineal social totemism practiced to the north and east of the Warlpiri. In the present-day languages the word is not regarded as composite, but its meaning still shows an emphasis on relationships reckoned through one's mother. Thus we are told:

I follow him, my uncle's [MB's] country... Japaljarri-kurla [belonging to Japaljarri, the subsection of the speaker's MoBr].  
Me Jupurrula. I follow him, my mother's Dreaming... Poor bugger my country, I sing him my country now for my uncle. I bin lose my mother, I can't be helped. Me kurtungurlu, I gotta sing my country, from two uncle now, I got two uncle left now,... [names two Japaljarri]. Well, I follow him that song, for my uncle and mother. Puwarrijpa [Dreaming] now.

(Donald Graham Jupurrula, Warlmanpa, recorded 22 June 1978) 33

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#### NOTES.

<sup>1</sup>An earlier version of this paper was prepared in February 1980 for the Land Rights Symposium held at the May 1980 Biennial Meeting of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. Additions to that version were made in March 1980. That version was tendered in evidence (Exhibit 48) at the hearing of the traditional land claim to Willowra Pastoral Lease, April 1980. Research was supported in part by National Science Foundation grant no. BNS-7913950 to M.I.T. (K. Hale, Principal Investigator). I am grateful to Hale, M. Laughren, P. McConvell and J. Wafer for comments on earlier drafts, though they do not necessarily agree with opinions expressed here.

<sup>2</sup>Unless otherwise stated, Warlpiri data come from the Warlpiri Dictionary Project, especially the Yuendumu card file (a 1980 copy of which is deposited at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra). A form peculiar to 'Eastern' Warlpiri (as spoken these days at Warrabri Settlement) is marked '(east)', and one peculiar to 'Western' Warlpiri is marked '(west)'. Gurindji data are from P. McConvell (some of them are presented in his paper, this volume). Warlmanpa data are from my own field work.

<sup>3</sup>For the orthography, see section 2.

<sup>4</sup>See Meggitt (1972:69), Peterson (1969:32, 1970:201), Myers (1976:397, giving 'manager' for kirda), Moyle (1979:172), McConvell and Palmer (1979:

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41) and Hale (n.d.:5, 1980a).

Glowczewski (1979:30) provides the French 'patrons' and 'chorégraphes', respectively, for kirda and kurdungurlu.

Maddock (1979a:1-2) also gives 'gidjan' for kirda. He is the source for nimaringgi and djunggaiji, his transcriptions of chiefly Dalabon terms. The forms memingirringki and jungkayi are from Heath (1978a) for Ngandi, recast into the orthography of this paper. The term jungkayi is very widespread in Arnhem Land (Heath 1978b), is used by the Lardil at Mornington Island (Hale et al. 1981a), and is also in use at Elliott.

<sup>5</sup>Glosses indicate sample kinsmen, for male Ego. For female Ego, substitute Hu(Si) for Wi(Br), etc. Each root compounds with kuyu- 'meat' to form the semi-patrimoiety term; each takes the suffix -rlangu to form a dyadic term. Gurindji and Warlmanpa have equivalent terms, but use parnara instead of wapirra; however, in Gurindji, there are terms for just three of the semi-patrimoieties. McConvell (this volume, Table 8) observes that there is no term corresponding to kirda; presumably one refers to the father of Ego's spouse, etc., in the absence of a special 'triangular' ('shared') term, with a construction involving the ordinary word for father.

<sup>6</sup>Myers (1976:397) also records 'kira' as 'sister's husband, or wife's brother and his son', and (1976:382) wapirra as 'wife's mother's brother' (a kinsman who is kuyu wurruru to Ego in the Warlpiri system). Hansen and Hansen (1977, 1980) do not record a term like kirda or wapirra, and have yarriki only in the complex term yarrikirra 'WiBr and SiSo, MoBr and MoBrSo' (1980:29, 31). The latter pair is yarriki-rlangu in Warlpiri, but the former is kirda-rlangu. In these respects, the Pintupi terminology seems to rely more on the four-section system than the eight-subsection system. There is, of course, more to the Pintupi system than this simple statement implies, and the reader is referred to Hansen and Hansen (1980).

<sup>7</sup>See note 5, above, for the Gurindji term. I presume that the term '(actual) father' is pragmatically widened in Gurindji to 'classificatory father of person in Ego's spouse's semi-patrimoiety'. This is the likely historical source of the present Warlpiri usage of the root kirda- as semi-patrimoiety term. However, in modern Warlpiri kirda does pattern morphologically with the three other semi-patrimoiety terms: note the existence of terms such as kuyu kirda 'spouse's semi-patrimoiety'.

<sup>8</sup>In general, though, the two terms are not synonymous, nor do they have identical reference. Myers (1976:489ff., 1980:203) expands on the meaning of mayutju (e.g., 'one's "father" and "mother's brother" are often referred to as one's mayutju or in pidgin as one's "boss," as those persons who can tell ego what to do'), and in their entry for kunatimpa Hansen and Hansen (1977:32) give another sense of mayutju: 'the master of the rite or ceremony'.

Hale (1980a:3) described the ambiguity of 'the term "boss," borrowed in Warlpiri as pawuju (sometimes paaji, or paaju)' as follows: 'in one of its uses, it functions as a gloss for kirda. In this usage, it is opposed to another term "worker," borrowed into Warlpiri as warrkini, which term, in the present context, functions as a gloss for kurdungurlu... The other meaning which Warlpiri pawuju has acquired is closer to the English sense of "boss"... There is a verbalised form of the word in this usage - i.e., pawuju-jarri-mi (boss-Inchoative-NonPast) - which can be rendered in English as "to be boss of, to have authority over" (the grammatical object being in the dative case). It is important, I think, to note that this usage is appropriate for both the kirda and for the kurdungurlu. That is to say, it is ethnographically correct to say both

(a) Kirda karla nguruku pawuju-jarri.

"The kirda are boss for the country."



and also

(b) Kurdungurlu karla nguruku pawuju-jarri.

"The kurdungurlu are boss for the country."

Most appropriate, in fact, is the assertion that

(c) Kirda manu kurdungurlu kapalarla jintangka pawuju-jarri nguruku.

"The kirda and kurdungurlu are jointly boss for the country."

<sup>9</sup>After his first period of field work, Meggitt (1955:377fn) had conjectured that 'the term may perhaps be derived from "gurunu-lu" = armblood - operative case, and so indicate a previous rule that only "working boys" should contribute armblood for the "giṛa" decorations. No such rule is observed today; but according to Spencer & Gillen, 1904:597, it was followed by the Warramunga and Djingili.' Meggitt (1966:181) has the form 'gurungu' for 'armblood' in another context. It is common for an English speaker to hear a vowel, usually u, between an rr and following consonant.

<sup>10</sup>K. Hale (p.c.) points out that the Ergative (or 'operative') case form is kurrngu-ngku, not \*kurrngu-rlu, since the root is disyllabic. The Warlmanpa term is also kurrngu. Myers (1976:211) cites kurrngu as the Pintupi term for 'armblood', and provides (1976:557) the following admonition which applies equally in the Warlpiri case; 'kurrngu, "armblood," is a word not to be spoken in the presence of the uninitiated nor reference made to the concept in any way.'

A form conceivably related to kurrngu is Muruwari (central New South Wales - Queensland border) 'gurungu' 'string' (Barker 1977:70). Note that in a number of Australian languages, one word covers the meanings 'string, tendon, blood vessel', and, in particular, Aboriginal English 'string' is used in these senses.

<sup>11</sup>The definition has, however, been cited by Maddock (1979b:65) and Heath (1980).

<sup>12</sup>The meaning given occurs once in Hale's field notes. A Yuendumu literacy worker has recorded this illustrative sentence, which involves this term and the following one: Ngangkari ka-rla kurru-pi-nyi kurruwalpa-rlu (containing ka-rla 'Present-DatObj, -rlu Ergative/Instrumental case suffix). I would tentatively translate this as 'The kurruwalpa restores the ngangkari (healing powers) for him (the patient)'. This fits with Meggitt's (1955:383) observation that certain bush spirits (=guruwalba) insert power in ngangkari's body, where 'ngangkari' refers to the ngangkarikirli, the 'clever man'.

When I read the above sentence to a Warlmanpa man who also knows Warlpiri, he took kurru-pi-nyi to refer to the act of 'boning'. There may be a connexion here with Reece's (1979:125) entry for a word otherwise unknown to me: kurtuma 'pointing sticks, used for the same purpose as pointing bones'.

<sup>13</sup>Wild (1975:44) says 'A kuruwalpa can also make a person sick if he is displeased with him' and (1975:45) 'Informants attribute to kuruwalpa the role of creating shamans by giving them magical stones which are stored in the shaman's body... it may become visible to the person with whom it is communicating. Informants who claim to have seen kuruwalpa describe them as dwarf-like...'. Also Pintupi kurruwalpa (Hansen and Hansen 1977) is said to be a spirit which lives in trees and can take human form. This is not inconsistent with the view of the Warlmanpa man, mentioned in the previous note on kurru-pi-nyi, that the kurruwalpa is a bird species, one with an active role in the Dreaming. Compare Warumungu (another language he knows) kurruwa(r)l 'brolga' (Simpson 1980).

<sup>14</sup>Wild (1975:44) has 'yukurukuru' as one of a class of spirits. Moyle (1979:173) has 'yukurukuru' as 'the name of a healing ceremony and song series of Walbiri origin known by men at Kungkayunti' (a Pintupi place west of Papunya).

<sup>15</sup>Capell (1952:115) says that the first essential stage in initiation is 'the sending out of a messenger - the boy's guardian - in company with the boy - to bring other groups in'.

<sup>16</sup>Capell (1952:121) has 'gudugudu' as 'its-young [of native cat]' and 'small clouds'. His note 5 elaborates: 'The same word as above for the "young" of a bird; here small clouds moving below the larger clouds, like their young'.

<sup>17</sup>Also as in Munga-rla kurdu-ya-nu pira-ku (dark-DatObj flood-Past moon-Dat) 'Darkness flooded the moon.'

<sup>18</sup>Also kurdulyurrulyurru-paka-rni. The morpheme -lyurru(lyurru) occurs in a handful of nominal stems, such as mungalyurru 'pre-dawn' (cf. munga 'darkness'), pilyirriyirri 'bridge of nose', and a couple of bird names. It is hard to discern one meaning in all its occurrences any more specific than 'transition, edge' or the like.

<sup>19</sup>O'Grady (1976:61) proposes the following cognates in languages further afield: Nyangumarda (north-west Western Australia) kurturtu 'puppy'; Kawurna (Adelaide region) kurtakka 'young kangaroo', kurtu+re+ 'be or look sad, sorry, dejected'; Wadjuk (south-west Western Australia) gurdu 'heart', Pintupi kututu 'heart', Umpila (Cape York) kuytu 'sea'. See O'Grady (1976: 61-2) for discussion of the semantic link between 'sea' and 'sad'.

<sup>20</sup>I am most grateful to Norman B. Tindale for combing his manuscript collection of kinship terms in over a hundred Australian languages, and thereby drawing my attention to forms he recorded in Kaiadilt (Gulf of Carpentaria, 'kardo' 'sister's child'; Pini (Western Australia) and Ngadadjara (Tindale 1974:14), 'kata' 'sister's son'; Ngalea (Nullarbor area), 'kaṭa' 'sister's son'; and Luritja, 'kudang' 'sister's son'. The latter form appears in Hansen and Hansen (1977) as kuta 'elder brothers (younger brother speaking)'.

<sup>21</sup>The two glosses provided for the kin term kurdu- in Table 5 appear to be two generations apart. This observation assumes that a husband and wife are in the same generation, whereas there is evidence, of which the meaning of kurdu- forms is just part, that for the Warlpiri a husband is considered to be two generations senior to his wife, in which case 'wife's father' is in the same generation, as well as the same subsection, as 'sister's child'.

<sup>22</sup>There is other evidence that the kurdungurlu are related to a Dreaming and country (for which they have that status) in the way a child is related to its mother. Consider the Aboriginal metaphor as expressed by two Warlpiri men (Jackie Rex Japangardi and Archie Long Japangardi, concerning a visit to Pawurrinji, a site for which they are kurdungurlu, recorded 10 July 1979): Ngapurlu ka-rli nga-rni (milk Pres-we(InDu) drink-NonPast) 'You and I drink the milk' (said by one kurdungurlu to another).

Warlmanpa men put it this way: Kurtungurlurlu ngampurlu ngarninya 'The kurtungurlu drinks the milk'.

Also, the Warlpiri term ngajarnumpa 'kurdungurlu's birthright' (Hale 1980a:4) is apparently derived from the verb root ngaja-rni 'to void; in particular, to give birth to' (Past tense and Nomic ngajarnu), and 'relates

precisely to the birthright of the kurdungurlu which comes to them by virtue of being born by a woman who is kirda in a particular local descent group' (ibid.). Note the statement: 'Kurdungurlu: yinga ngajarnumpa walya-kungardu-yi.' 'Kurdungurlu: Causal ngajarnumpa land-associate' (transcription by Laughren 1980:12). Warlmanpa men say that the term ngajarnumpa is equivalent to kurtungurlu and kulyungkulyungpi. The Pintupi have two terms kunatinpa and mulutinpa 'A ceremonial gift of meat given by the kutungulu working group or young men to the master of the rite or ceremony (Mayutju).'

Finally, there is a verb which applies precisely to the activities and responsibilities of the kurdungurlu. Consider the following quotation from a narrative 'Ngarliyikirlangu' by Darby Jampijinpa (recorded at Yuendumu 12 March 1979 by Mary Laughren, who provided the transcription):

- (i) Ngulaju ka-lu jukurrpa yalumpu-rla miirn-nyina, Japanangka,  
well Pres-they dreaming that-Loc (a subsection)  
Japaljarri, Japaljarri, Japanangka. Yali-li nyanungu  
(a subsection) (a subsection) (a subsection) that-they that  
jamirdi-ki pu-ngu.  
MoFa-Dat act-Past  
'They "work" (miirn-) that Dreaming, Japanangka and Japaljarri,  
Japaljarri and Japanangka. They dance it for the mother's father (and  
mother's father's sister).'

Laughren (1980:13) cites the further statement:

- (ii) Miirn-nyina, kuruwarri ngula ka-rla kurdungurlu-rlu mardukuru  
design that Pres-Dat -Erg fluff  
kiji-rni - kirda-ku, kurdu-ngka-ju.  
throw-Nonpast -Dat -Loc-Definite  
'Miirn-nyina, the kurdungurlu executes the fluff design for the  
kirda, on the child(?).'

<sup>23</sup>There may be a connexion with Pitta-Pitta ngurlu 'forehead' (Blake 1979:233), Ngarluma ngurlungurlu 'rotten (of wood)' (Hale et al. 1981b) and Guugu Yimidhirr nguwal 'scent' (Haviland 1979:170).

<sup>24</sup>Meggitt (1962:193): 'I did not hear it [ngurlu] used in connection with conception or with matrspirits'. In addition to Stanner (1979) see McConvell and Palmer (1979:23-4) for an account of ngurlu among the Mudbura. Information on ngurlu totemism was first volunteered to Jane Simpson and me in June 1979 by Warlmanpa and Warumungu people, and we were told that it still governs marriages made today among them (and especially among the Mudbura).

<sup>25</sup>This proposal has been entertained by M. Meggitt (p.c.) and was independently suggested by P. McConvell.

<sup>26</sup>So far as I can tell, Spencer and Gillen (1927) do not record the word kurtungurlu - the earlier Arandic occurrence is Pink (1936:291, 295, 300-3). Additional citations include Strehlow (1964:723, 1970:115, 1971), Aboriginal Land Commission (1979:19), and Bell (1979:115). Spencer and Gillen (1927: I, 41fn) give 'Mulyanuka' for 'opposite patrimoiety', and Strehlow (1944: 71) 'maljanuka'; this is rendered in modern orthography by Bell (1979:3) as malye nweke. Here nweke means 'my', and Pink (1936:300) records that: "'Malyanaka mob"...is the opposite two couples of subsections. The term Malyanaka means "my own people," my friends; it is the grouping of four subsections in which a man's sister's sons and father's sister's sons are found.' Pink contrasts this term with 'kutuŋula', assigning the latter a sense having to do with ritual cooperation, which is lacking in the sense of the (basically kin-term) 'Malyanaka'.

The term for 'own patrimoiety' given by Spencer and Gillen (1927) as 'Nakrakia', and Strehlow (1944:71) 'n(u)akerakia' (cf. anewekerrekia in

Bell 1979:3), is missing from Pink's account. It is evidently formed on the term anewekerre, a 1InPl pronoun of the agnatic disharmonic type - see Hale (1966:323), for example, where the above pronoun is spelled 'un-aki-r'. Hale's Kaititj notes (with transcription brought up to date) have aylirnekakiya 'same patrimoiety' and urlakakiya 'opposite patrimoiety', which forms are corroborated by H. Koch (p.c.). They derive from the pronominal roots aylirnek 'we (DuEx agnatic disharmonic)' and urlak 'they (Du agnatic disharmonic)', respectively. Moyle and Morton (to appear:42-3) give the related Alyawarra term as aylinakakiya, and the roughly equivalent gloss 'belonging to those-two who stand in a father-son relationship'. They also record the term kutungurula.

It appears that some Arandic peoples have borrowed \*kurtungurlu for socio-centric use in ritual contexts, and have retained their terms based on kinship-sensitive pronouns for (egocentric) general use. I am grateful to Ken Hale, Harold Koch and Richard Moyle for discussion of Arandic terms.

<sup>27</sup> All of the known borrowings from Aranda to Warlpiri are vowel-initial Aranda words, which in Warlpiri acquire a word-initial w or y, since Warlpiri requires initial consonants. Warlpiri-to-Aranda borrowings normally show initial consonants in both languages. I am grateful to Ken Hale for guidance on this point.

<sup>28</sup> This spelling occurs in their entry (1977:32) for kunaginpa; the word's own entry has kutungulu, which I presume is missing an underscore, even though it is listed in sequence with words beginning kutu...: Warlpiri rd normally corresponds to Pintupi t.

<sup>29</sup> The alternate-generation moieties, reference to which is elucidated by Myers (1976:454-55) - 'The southern Pitjanytjatjarra, who do not distinguish terminologically between "men's children" and "women's children," also do not organise male ceremony by patrimoieties. Instead, they employ generational moieties. This contrasts with the Pintupi who both distinguish these classes of kin and base male ceremonial organisation on the distinction.'

<sup>30</sup> Note Kawurna (Adelaide area) kumtakka (cited in note 19, above).

<sup>31</sup> Note, however, Anmajirra (Arandic) kura 'child (young human)'. Compare the Mudbura and Jingilu terms with Kariara (=Kariara, Western Australia) 'kuling' 'sister's son' (N. Tindale, p.c.). Perhaps the term in those languages has an etymology parallel to that of kurdungurlu.

The Warumungu have been using the term kurtungurlu in the context of recent traditional land claims, but the term was not recorded by Spencer and Gillen or Stanner, nor by Hale, Chakravarti or Heath in their linguistic studies. Warumungu, unlike Warlpiri, has sociocentrically named patrimoieties, first recorded by Spencer and Gillen on their 1901 visit. The Warumungu names are Kingili (Jangala, etc.) and Wurlurru (Japanangka, etc.). The corresponding Alyawarra names are Angele and Arlukwerre (K. Hale, p.c.), and the corresponding Mudbura names are Lirraku and Wilyiku, respectively (cf. Stanner 1979:49).

<sup>32</sup> Hansen and Hansen (1977) list kungka 'Female. Girl or young woman before she has reached puberty'. The suffix -ngkatja is comparable to the Warlpiri Elative suffix -jangka.

<sup>33</sup> A last-second postscript (cf. section 4.2): Adam Kendon (p.c.) has recorded a handsign meaning kurdungurlu. It consists of the signs KURDUNA and NGURLU in sequence; the KURDUNA sign is the one used as a kin term, not that for kurdu in the sense 'child, young (of animal)'.