



A. Testart

Some puzzling dualistic classifications in New South Wales

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SOME PUZZLING DUALISTIC CLASSIFICATIONS IN NEW SOUTH WALES¹

The existence of dualistic classifications of people and nature into moieties in Australia has been well-known since the beginning of anthropological work there in the 19th century. Around 1900 Mathews recorded another division that is widespread in New South Wales: all tribal people here are divided into two categories which are referred to by terms which can be translated as "sluggish, thick or dark blood" and "quick, thin or light blood" respectively. Some 20 years later Radcliffe-Brown confirmed the existence of this division and discovered yet another one, that between totemic animals having fur and those having scales. The principal purpose of this article is to try to throw some light on these two classifications and their relationships with classifications into moieties. The secondary purpose is a methodological one. Totemic classifications have seldom been studied, and I hope with this paper to show that their careful analysis may provide us with useful means of investigating social organization. Incidentally, this paper will also reveal the wealth of data to be discovered in old ethnographic reports. When systematically checked, these can be of considerable value in expanding our knowledge of social organization in a region where there is no longer any traditional aboriginal life.

Mathews (1905a: 7-8, 1906b: 167, 1906c: 97, 99-100, 1907: 78-80, 1908: 25-26)² stated that in every tribe every person always belonged to the same blood category as his mother, and normally married a person of the other blood category. If this were true, then the blood categories would bear a close resemblance to the division into moieties,

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sharing with the latter the features of unilineality (in this case matrilineality)³ and exogamy. According to both Mathews and Radcliffe-Brown, the division into blood categories is quite distinct from the moiety division, and the former cuts across the latter. According to Parker (1905: 11-2), this was not true for the Ualarai (Euahlayi),⁴ where blood categories were said to be the same as moieties, although there may be some inaccuracy here. Mathews (1907: 79, 1908: 26) published genealogies from the Ngemba tribe which showed that out of 29 marriages, 15 were between members of different blood categories and 14 were within the same blood category. These data do not confirm the universal norm of exogamy of blood categories which Mathews claimed obtained, whereas the genealogical evidence is consistent with the matrilineality of bloods in all cases. A genealogy of the Wongaibon tribe corroborates this (Radcliffe-Brown 1923: 428-31, 1930-1: 232). Radcliffe-Brown tried to explain the function of blood divisions by relating an individual's blood category to that of his father, into which he should consequently never marry. This explanation seems to be based exclusively on the single Wongaibon genealogy recorded. Furthermore, it is inconsistent with Ngemba genealogies if we take the function of the division into blood categories to be the same in both tribes.

Beckett, working some 30 years later, could not find any reliable genealogies testifying to the division into blood categories, but reported an interesting statement made by his informant from the Wongaibon tribe, viz.: "If ego thin blood marries *ibada* thin blood he would marry *buda* thick blood" (Beckett 1959: 205). This statement remains to be explained. The section system of the region (excluding the feminine terms) is as follows:

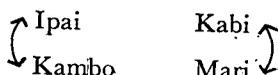


Fig. 1.

In this diagram, the sign \longleftrightarrow connects the mother's section with that of her children. In other areas, a particular section would marry into only one other section, but among the Wongaibon, Wiradjuri and other tribes of New South Wales we have known for a long time (Cameron 1885: 350-1, 1899: 218, 1902a: 84, 1902b: 177; Cameron *in* Howitt 1904: 211-2, 214; Mathews 1896: 413-4, 1897b: 173-4; Radcliffe-Brown 1923: 431, 1930-1: 231; Beckett 1959: 202-3) that a section may marry into either of the sections of the other moiety. Indeed, within the same

tribe, the section system can work in one or the other of two different ways:



Fig. 2. ("=" signifies intermarriage.)

According to this, a *Kabi* man would marry either an *Ipai* or a *Kambo* woman. Returning to Beckett's statement, and taking into account the fact that *ibada* and *buda* are the feminine terms for *Ipai* and *Kambo*, it is clear that the alternative working of the section system is ruled by blood categories.

From previous reports it was not clear whether the dualistic division of people into blood categories also classified nature, i.e. totems. According to Mathews and Radcliffe-Brown, the blood distinction cuts across totemic clans. According to Parker (1905: 11, 15-20), however, all things were divided into the two blood categories. There are some grounds for supposing that this author confused blood categories with moieties, but there is further evidence that must also be taken into account. It has often been stated (Radcliffe-Brown 1923: 428-31, 1930-1: 232) that the alternative working of the section organization depends on the totems, and so is governed by them. If we take this statement along with Beckett's, it can be inferred that totems, when ruling the section system, must also be divided into the two blood categories. This is the question that we should examine now.

In order to get a useful exposure, we shall first deal with the Wongai-bons' neighbours, the northern Wiradjuri (Lachlan River). Their marriage laws were as follows (Cameron in Howitt 1904: 211-2):

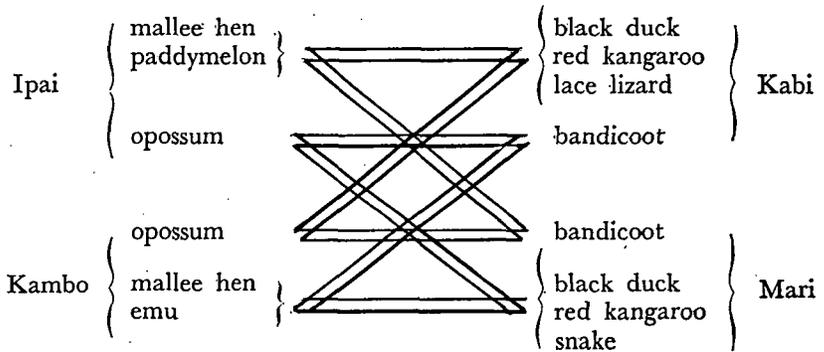


Fig. 3. The Northern Wiradjuri.

From this diagram it is clear that there were two classes of totems within the same section (for instance, the mallee hen and the paddymelon as opposed to the opossum in the *Ipai* section). It is also possible to distinguish between two classes of totems within the same moiety by ordering them in accordance with their marriage arrangements (thus the mallee hen, the paddymelon and the emu are opposed to the opossum in the *Ipai-Kambo* moiety). Fig. 4 represents this division: a straight line ——— joins the totems which marry according to one of the ways of the working of the section system (*Ipai* marries *Kabi* and *Kambo* marries *Mari*) and a broken line - - - - - joins the totems which marry according to the alternative way (*Ipai* marries *Mari* and *Kambo* marries *Kabi*).

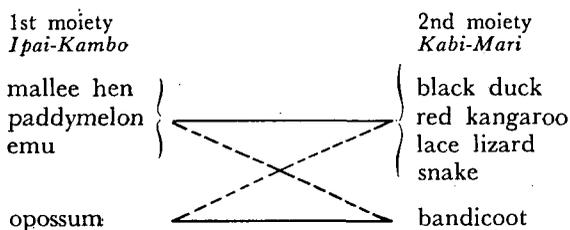


Fig. 4. The Northern Wiradjuri.

Thus we know that there is at least one tribe in which a dualistic division of totems cuts across the moiety division: its function is clearly to govern the alternative working of the section system. According to Mathews (1896: 413-4, 1897b: 173-4), who recorded marriage laws for every totem in each section, the southern branch of the same tribe (Murrumbidgee River) presents a similar case. The first difficulty to be dealt with in this southern part of the tribe is section totemism: the totems are not the same in both sections of the same matri-moiety (Mathews 1896: 412, 1897a: 345-7, 1897b: 173-4; Howitt 1904: 209-10). But as Mathews stated, children's totems are always rigidly determined by their mothers' totems (for instance, an *Ipai* woman of the mallee hen totem has children of the *Kambo* common fly totem and a *Kambo* woman of the common fly totem has children of the *Ipai* mallee hen totem). Thus the totems of the two sections of the same moiety can be paired together in couples (these paired totems are lumped together in the following diagram). In the diagram below the alternative working of the section system is represented in the same way as it is above, the straight line ——— and the broken line - - - - - having the same significance:

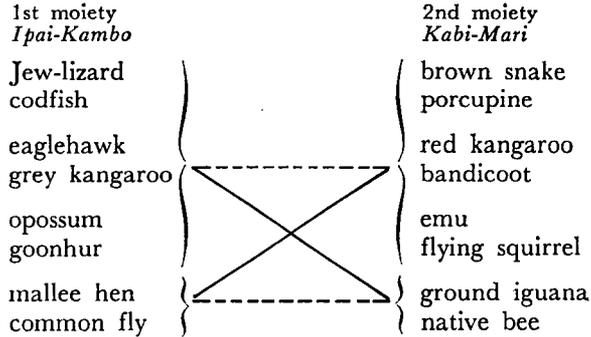


Fig. 5. The Southern Wiradjuri.

The 22 relations between the marriageable totems of the different moieties fall within this broad frame, the only exception being the Jew-lizard *Ipai* marrying the ground iguana *Mari*. But as the former is also said to marry the native bee *Kabi*, he has the possibility of marrying both mother and daughter in the same pair of totems, which seems opposed to the spirit of the system, and thus we suspect either an inaccuracy or an abnormal marriage rule. In any event, the 21 other marriage relationships show that the alternative working of the section system is governed by a dualistic classification of totems which cuts across the moieties.

No statement similar to that of Beckett's concerning the Wongaibon exists for the Wiradjuri. Thus with regard to the southern as well as the northern Wiradjuri it cannot be decided whether these dualistic classifications were blood categories. We shall return to the Wongaibon and try to make the same analysis among them. We find that marriage relationships between totems are, from various consistent reports (Cameron 1902a: 84, 1902b: 177; in Howitt 1904: 214; Radcliffe-Brown 1923: 431, 1930-1: 231; Beckett 1959: 203-4), as follows:

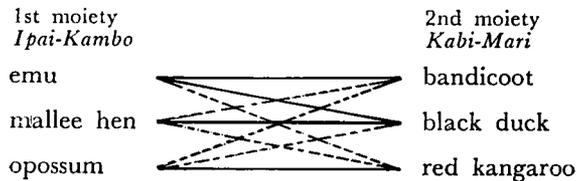


Fig. 6. The Wongaibon.

Here the totems cannot be divided into two classes. The system is more complicated.

In summing up the above results, we find that there are hints that the alternative working of the section system is governed by a dualistic totemic classification into blood categories. It is paradoxical that among the Wongaibon there is definite evidence concerning blood categories but no dualistic classification, whereas among the Wiradjuri there is a dualistic classification but no evidence of blood categories.

It may be useful now to examine the fur/scale division. This is a classification of animals, of totems and therefore of people. As a totemic division in the region, it is necessarily matrilineal. Radcliffe-Brown (1923: 425, 435) said that all furred animals fall into one class and that all scaled animals fall into the other one, but he also gave the classification of some birds among the Wongaibon and the Morowari (Murawari). He noticed (Radcliffe-Brown 1923: 433, referring to Mathews 1905a: 5-6) that Mathews' moiety names for the Ngemba (Ngeumba or Ngiambar) were the same as those that he had recorded for the fur/scale divisions among the Wongaibon, and he suspected some confusion on Mathews' part concerning moieties and these divisions. But apparently he did not notice that the classification of totems given by Mathews under these names was also governed by what seems to be a fur/scale principle: out of 14 animals, with only 2 exceptions, all the furred ones fell on one side and all the scaled ones on the other side. The puzzling fact is that the furred animals fell in the *Ngurrawun* class, which designated the scale class among the Wongaibon, and that the scaled animals fell in the *Mumbun* class, which designated the fur class in that same tribe. Whatever we may think about Mathews' possible confusion, we do know that animals were classified by the presence of fur or scales and we are aware that there were exceptions. In a way the problem of the fur/scale division is the reverse of that of the blood categories: we know how animals were classified but we know nothing about the function of this classification.

Without reference to the fur/scale problem Reay made some interesting statements concerning the Weilwan. Within the moiety of potential wives "a man cannot marry members of certain clans. This depends on the degree of relationship between the totems concerned. Such relationship is not haphazard, but appears to be based primarily on the physical and other characteristics of the totem itself." (Reay 1945: 309). The information furnished by Reay may be tabulated as follows:

1st moiety	2nd moiety	
emu		class 0
possum	paddymelon bandicoot porcupine	class 1
goanna brown snake	red snake	class 2

Table 1. The Weilwan.

Here I have grouped animals which are described as "close relations" and "blood relatives" into three classes (including a zero class for the lonely emu). It is clear that the distinction between the classes is based on the fur/scale principle, without taking account of the emu, which is unclassifiable on this basis because it is a feathered animal. An individual must marry outside his own class. If there is no eligible mate in the facing moiety he may marry within his own moiety, but must still respect the exogamy of fur and scale. Information given by Reay (1945: 307-9) and Elkin (1945: 208, according to whom sand goanna should be added below red snake in class 2 of Table 1)⁵ proves that the fur/scale division functions to regulate the possibility of marriage between different totems of the same moiety, usually in the same section.

This latter form of marriage, which is well-known from the Kamilaroi, puzzled the first anthropologists. Taking into account recorded⁶ marriage relationships between totems of the same section, we can construct the following table distributing the totems between two classes (marriage being impossible within a class, and allowed between different classes):

1st moiety <i>Ipai-Kambo</i>	2nd moiety <i>Kabi-Mari</i>	
emu	paddymelon or kangaroo	class 1
bandicoot	opossum	
black snake	iguana	class 2

Table 2. The Kamilaroi.

Here the fur/scale principle clearly differentiates the two classes and has the same function as among the Weilwan. Mathews (1897b:

162-3, 1898a: 156) provides a long list of totems which can marry other totems of the same moiety. By compiling these data, the subsequent table can be drawn up:

1st moiety <i>Ipai-Kambo</i>	2nd moiety <i>Kabi-Mari</i>	
ringtail opossum	paddymelon	class 1
black snake	opossum	
wallaroo	bony fish	
native bee	yellow-bellied fish	
galah parrot		
red snake		
red kangaroo		
emu	ground iguana	class 2
bream	Jew-fish	
codfish		
bubbar snake		
plain turkey		
	Bandicoot ?	?

Table 3. The Kamilaroi (data from Mathews).

The bandicoot totem does not appear to fit in with the bipartition of totems into two classes, for it is said to marry opossum (of class 1) as well as ground iguana and Jew-fish (of class 2). Other reports, however, contradict the placement of bandicoot in the *Kabi-Mari* moiety.⁷ If we ignore the bandicoot, Mathews' information is consistent with that of other writers, the emu being opposed to the black snake, and the paddymelon and the opossum to the iguana. But the separation of animals on the basis of the fur/scale principle is not clear-cut. If we think of class 1 as furred and class 2 as scaled, the principle holds for ten of the animals but not for four others (ignoring birds and insects), which is an unsatisfactory result. Perhaps we should take into account what we know of the fur/scale classification among neighbouring tribes: in the Ngemba tribe the yellow-bellied fish (one of the two exceptions) belongs to the fur division; in the Wongaibon the emu belongs to the scale division; and in the Morowari the galah parrot belongs to the fur division. So the fur/scale division holds for 13 animals and is contradicted by only three others.

By arranging the data relative to marriage within the same moiety among the southern Wiradjuri (cf. p. 68), we may construct the following diagram (treating section totems as in Fig. 5):

1st moiety	2nd moiety	
Jew-lizard	ground iguana	
codfish	native bee	class 2
eaglehawk	brown snake	
grey kangaroo	porcupine	
opossum	red kangaroo	
goonhur	bandicoot	class 1
mallee hen	emu	
common fly	flying squirrel	

Table 4. The Southern Wiradjuri.

The 11 relations between the marriageable totems of the same moiety conform to this pattern, the single exception being that of the brown snake marrying the native bee (an exception in this table, as in Fig. 5, is formed by the pair made up of the ground iguana and the native bee; it may be that this pair plays a special role or that the record of the female ground iguana's children being native bee is inaccurate). The classification may be a fur/scale classification (with class 2 being scaled and class 1 furred). This fits for 9 animals (the goonhur is a kangaroo-rat) but not for two others.

As far as can be inferred from the above evidence, the division into blood categories may govern the alternative working of the section system, while the fur/scale division may govern marriage within the same moiety. But this does not seem to hold for all the tribes of the area.

Among the Ngemba, as among the southern Wiradjuri, a man may marry into all four sections. On the basis of Mathews' genealogies, as given above (Mathews 1907: 79, 1908: 26), we are able to analyse the 29 recorded marriages in table 5 (see page 73). From this evidence it appears that in the Ngemba tribe blood categories did not govern the alternative working of the section system, but, on the contrary, governed the possibility of marrying into one's own moiety, a function which the fur/scale division filled in other tribes.

Thus the alternative working of the section system was governed by blood categories among the Wongaibon, but not among the Ngemba. Marriage within the same moiety was governed by the fur/scale division among the Weilwan and perhaps also among the Kamilaroi and the

	<i>Ipai</i> marries <i>Kabi</i> or <i>Kambo</i> marries <i>Mari</i>	<i>Ipai</i> marries <i>Mari</i> or <i>Kambo</i> marries <i>Kabi</i>	Marriages within the same moiety	
Marriages within the same blood category	5	9	0	14
Marriages between different blood categories	5	6	4	15
Total:	10	15	4	29

Table 5. Ngemba marriages.

southern Wiradjuri, but by blood categories among the Ngemba. As blood categories and fur/scale classifications did not fulfil the same function everywhere and thus do not seem to have been designed for a specific purpose, what can we really say about these classifications?

We must first question the supposedly similar errors of Parker's confusion of blood categories and moieties and Mathews' confusion of the fur/scale division and moieties. For if these classifications fulfilled different functions in different tribes, why could they not have coincided with moiety classifications in others? Indeed, if this were not the case, we would have an unreasonable number of errors in the available anthropological reports. For Mathews, in addition to reporting the fur/scale names and the classification of the names of moieties among the Ngemba, reported the same with respect to the Wongaibon moieties (Mathews 1905b: 116): in both tribes *Ngurrawan* was said to be the name of the *Ipai-Kambo* moiety and *Mumbun* (or *Ngumbun*) to be that of the *Kabi-Mari* moiety. But the most surprising fact is that among the remote Maljangapa tribe to the west, moieties are said to mark off animals with scales from those without scales (Beckett 1967: 457). An examination of the totemic classification shows this statement to be correct. As for blood categories, the merging of their names and the names of moieties is apparent from the following table (Mathews 1905c: 52, 1906a: 83, 1906b: 168, 1906c: 97, and 1905b: 118; Howitt 1904: 107, 108; and Radcliffe-Brown 1923: 424):

blood categories	Morowari	<i>Muggulu</i>	<i>Bumbirra</i>
	Kula, Naualko, a.s.o.	<i>Muggulu</i>	<i>Ngipuru</i>
moieties	Wiradjuri (Lachlan r.)	<i>Mukula</i>	<i>Budthurung</i>
	Wongaibon	<i>Mukumurra</i>	<i>Ngielbumurra</i>
	Wongaibon	<i>Makangara</i>	<i>Kilpunngara</i>

Table 6.

This evidence is strengthened by the remark of Howitt (1904: 106)⁸ that among several tribes of western New South Wales the widespread moiety names *Mukwara* and *Kilpara* are accompanied by the names *Mukolo* and *Ngieipuru*, which are unmistakable names of blood categories. The strongest argument, however, is based on a comparison of classifications (see Table 7). If Parker and Mathews had both been mistaken and had recorded some classifications that were distinct from moieties, one might expect that the former's would be very dissimilar to the latter's. Indeed, they are different from concordant classifications of tribes (the southern and northern Wiradjuri, the Wongaibon, the Weilwan, and others), having the same section organization. But the Ngemba fur/scale classification is quite consistent with that of the Maljangapa cited above (even for the paddymelon, a fur animal which is classified in the scale class in both tribes). The classifications of the Ngemba and the Maljangapa are again similar to those of the western tribes which are subdivided into the *Mukwarra* and *Kilpara* moieties but not divided into sections. The Ualarai classification into two blood categories is fairly similar to the moiety classifications of the Kamilaroi and the Morowari. From this it is evident that fur/scale classifications and blood categories served to delineate moieties in some tribes.

This also explains the Ngemba case. As the moiety division of this tribe is also a fur/scale division, it cannot govern marriage within the same moiety, and we have seen that this function was filled by blood categories in this tribe. This is the only tribe where this occurred, and also the only tribe which uses the section system along with moieties marked off by fur/scale divisions.

In summation, over the whole of New South Wales (with the exception of the eastern mountains and the coastal region, the Murray Valley and the south) there appear to be three types of moiety classification (see Map 1): a central or southern one (among the Wiradjuri, Wongaibon, Weilwan, etc.); a northern one (among the Kamilaroi, Ualarai and Morowari) correlated with blood categories;

and a western one (shared by all tribes without sections together with the Ngemba) correlated with the fur/scale division.

	Wiradjuri	Wiradjuri Lachlan R.	Wongaibon	Wellwan	Barindji	Kamilaroi	Ualarai	Morowari	Ngemba	Maljangapa	Maraura	Barkindji	Paruindji	Milpulo	Bitjara
Native Cat						+	+								
Dingo			—			—	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
Kangaroo			—		—	—	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
Red Kangaroo			—			+	±	±							
Paddymelon	+	+	+	—		—	±	—	—	—				—	—
Wallaby					—									—	—
Bandicoot	—	—	—	—	—	±	—	—	+	+		—	+	+	+
Opossum	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	+	—		—	+	—	+
Echidna	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	+			+			
Eagle-hawk	+			+	+	—	—	—	—		+	+	+	+	+
Fish hawk						—	—	—							
Crow	+			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—				
White cockatoo						—	±	—							
Emu	—	+	+	±	+	+	+	+	±	—		—	—	—	—
Laughing Jackass						—	—	—							
Native Companion						+	+			+	—	—			
Owl						+	+								
Duck			—									+		+	+
Black Duck		—	—			—		—	—			+			
Wood Duck						—		+				+			
Swan						+	+	+	+			—			
Plain turkey						+	+	+	+			—			
Scrub turkey						—	+	—							
Curlew						+	+	+				—			
Bower bird			+			—	—	—							
Mallee hen	+	+	+							+		—			
Mopoke							—	—							
Magpie						+	+	—				+			
Parrot							+	+							
Galah parrot						+	+	+				+			
Pelican						—	—	—	+		+	+			
Carpet snake					+	+	—	—	—	—	±	—	—	—	—
Black snake			+			+	+	—		—					
Ground iguana	—					—		—	—						
Frilled lizard			+								+	—	+	+	+
Death adder						+		—							
Turtle							—	—							
Codfish	+					+	+	+	—		—				

Table 7. The classification of the most frequently classified animals is reproduced for several tribes: + means that the considered animal is classed in a moiety of the tribe; — means that the considered animal is classed in the other moiety of the tribe; and ± means that the same animal appears to be classified in both moieties. Generally speaking, there are few discrepancies between authors.⁹

or lower portion of a tree is thicker than that of the upper portion, and the natives regard the sap of the upper portion as flowing freely, and therefore as corresponding to the thin active blood, while the lower part corresponds to the sluggish blood" (Radcliffe-Brown 1923: 425). This is consistent with the fact that the gum of the widespread eucalyptus is often red, the butt of some trees seeming to bleed or to wear scars or crusts like coagulated blood. Elsewhere (Testart 1978: 3rd part) I have tried to correlate the usual incompatibility between the hunt and menstrual blood with the dualistic classification of nature into moieties, one side being associated with the hunt and the other with menstrual blood. As there is some analogy between sluggish blood, or encrusted blood on the lower part of the trunk and a menstruating woman, it is consistent that people of the outer margin of the shade, i.e. of the quick blood category, "are supposed to keep a strict watch for any game which may appear in sight" (Mathews 1905a: 7), and are thus associated with the hunt. As blood categories exhibit a property that is at the basis of dualistic classifications into moieties, this is another proof that they represent particular kinds of moieties.

From the beginning we have been dealing with classifications into blood categories, their names and hypothetical functions, but we have had no idea about the way in which these two blood categories classify totems and other items. By now we have gained some insight into these classifications, since they are nothing other than classifications into moieties among the Ualarai, Kamilaroi and Morowari (as given in Table 7). This enables us to go further, as we can now compare the classification which results from the alternative working of sections with the actual classification into blood categories.

Let us return to the Wongaibon case. The alternative working of sections according to totems is given in Fig. 6. Let us reproduce this figure, and add beside each totem's name a + or a —, depending upon whether it falls into one or the other blood category (or moiety) in the three tribes mentioned above. The mallee hen will be dropped since it is unclassified.

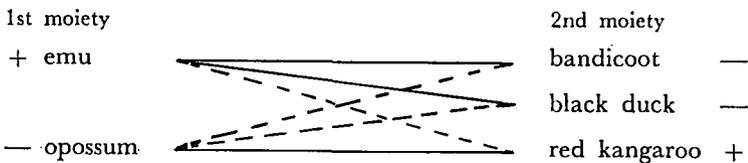


Fig. 7. The Wongaibon.

Two important features emerge from this figure:

1) a totem of one blood category marries a totem of the same blood category according to one way of the working of the section system and the same totem marries a totem of another blood category according to the other way. In other words, it is entirely consistent with Beckett's statement; and

2) the totems of a moiety can be divided into two classes. This is better shown by Fig. 8:

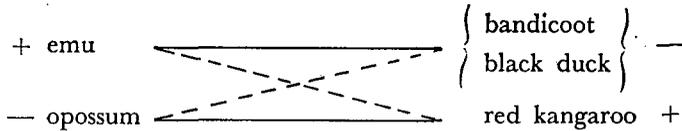


Fig. 8.

This dual division, which is not apparent from Fig. 5, is obvious in Fig. 8. The difference results, of course, from the dropping of the mallee hen. The role of this totem is understood immediately: because it is not classified into blood categories its marriage laws need not conform to the general pattern.

Considering both 1) and 2), it is clear that the alternative working of the section system among the Wongaibon is governed by blood categories which *also* form a classification intersecting the moieties.

Moving to the south, among the Wiradjuri (northern and southern) we can attempt the same exercise, using Figs. 4 and 5 as the starting point. It will be seen that the dualistic classification which governs the alternative working of sections in this tribe is inconsistent with blood categories.

Table 8 sums up all the results of the previous analyses. The question which naturally arises is how the basis for these intermingling classifications which fulfil different functions is to be understood. The alternative working of the section system and marriage within a moiety imply the very existence of moieties and cannot have preceded them.¹⁰ Accordingly, we may assume that tribes borrowed different moiety classifications from their neighbours in order to serve the functions of governing either the alternative working of the section system or marriage within the moiety. Thus we can interpret Table 8 by saying that the Ngemba adopted the blood category classification from their northern neighbours in order to regulate marriage within the moiety, and so on. This functionalist view accounts for the fact that in each

Table 8.

		tribes					
		Ngemba	Kamilaroi	Weilwan	Wongaibon	Wiradjuri (northerns)	Wiradjuri (southern)
functions	existence	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
	type of classification	fur/scale	blood categories	central type	central type	central type	central type
alternative working of section system	existence	yes	no report, probably no	no report, probably no	yes	yes	yes
	ruled by which type of classification	? (no data)			blood categories	?	?
possibility of marriage within the same moiety	existence	yes	yes	yes	?	?	yes
	ruled by which type of classification	blood categories	probably fur/scale	fur/scale			probably fur/scale

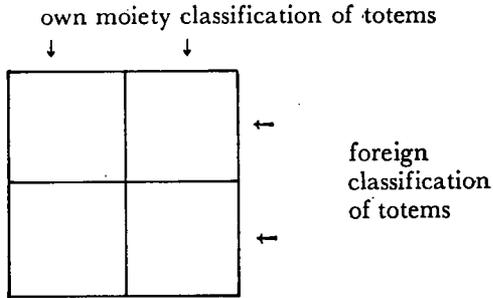
tribe different functions were fulfilled by different classifications. But what was the origin of these functions themselves?

Let us begin with the possibility of marriage within the same moiety. The best account of this custom is given by Reay (quoted above) concerning Weilwan. It was possible to marry inside one's own moiety provided that the exogamy of fur/scale was respected. Furthermore, even if one married outside his own moiety one still had to respect the fur/scale exogamy. From these two rules it follows that the exogamy of the two named Weilwan moieties was entirely replaced by the exogamy of fur/scale. In other words, there seems to have been a kind of conflict, or at least competition, between the two kinds of moiety classification: in the case of Weilwan the fur/scale classification, which came from the west, completely superseded their own. The reason is perhaps that the former rested on an easily understood principle when contrasted to the latter; or it may be because it was linked to more powerful or more prestigious tribes; or perhaps there were other reasons. The fact is that tribes in this region took into account classifications that were present in neighbouring tribes, and it seems that there was some doubt in aboriginal minds as to the exogamy of which classification was to be respected first. This may have resulted in three different patterns of marriage laws with respect to traditional classical moiety exogamy.

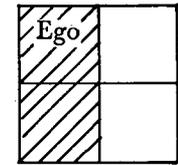
1) They may have retained only one aspect of their traditional law, the obligation to marry outside one's own moiety, and added the interdiction of marriage between totems which are on the same side according to an alien dualistic classification. Thus marriage possibilities were restricted (see Fig. 9.3).

2) They may have retained only one aspect of their traditional law, the possibility of marriage into the other moiety, but added the possibility of marriage inside one's own moiety provided that this marriage occurred between totems which were not on the same side according to an alien dualistic classification. Thus marriage possibilities were extended (see Fig. 9.4).

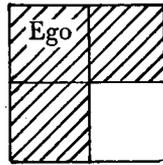
3) They may have combined both effects of the foreign classification, that is, forbidden marriage in the other moiety for totems which came to be on the same side according to this classification, and permitted marriage in the same moiety for totems which were not on the same side according to the classification. This would serve to replace their own moiety exogamy by a similar exogamy of totems grouped according to the alien classification (see Fig. 9.5).



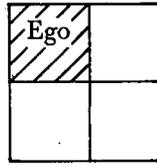
9.1



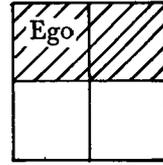
9.2



9.3



9.4



9.5

Fig. 9. Possible influences of foreign classification on marriage laws of totems. Fig. 9.1 shows the quadripartition of totems according to both (own and foreign) classifications. Other figures show the marriage possibilities of an ego from the upper left quarter. Fig. 9.2 (simple moiety exogamy) assumes that foreign classification had no influence. Figs. 9.3, 9.4 and 9.5 refer to the 3 patterns explained in the text.

The third pattern is illustrated by the Weilwan and the second by the Ngemba, Kamilaroi and southern Wiradjuri. As for the first pattern, I know of no evidence showing its existence in the region we are dealing with. In conclusion, the possibility of marriage within the same moiety can be understood as a possible result of the influence of classifications originating in foreign tribes.

The question of the possible origin of the other function — the alternative working of the section system — is slightly more difficult to answer. The explanation may be as follows. The alternative working of the system is definitely reported only for southern tribes (the Ngemba, Wongaibon and Wiradjuri) and not for the northern ones, where we may assume that this feature does not exist, as it does not exist elsewhere in Australia. The area where it does exist is bordered in the west, south and east by tribes where sections are unknown (see Map 1). Consequently, we can surmise that this area constitutes an extreme projection of a system that is widespread all over Australia: sections could only reach this area by diffusion through northern tribes (the

Morowari, Ularai and Kamilaroi), which had moieties classified according to blood categories. Between the northern tribes and the southern ones there are some tribes like the Ngemba and the Weilwan, but since we have no data on the alternative working of the section system among these tribes, let us leave them aside and suppose that the system was diffused to the south directly from the northern tribes having this blood classification. According to our hypothesis the first tribe affected by this diffusion from the north was the Wongaibon.

Among the northern tribes there is no report of any alternative working of the section system, and considering that a tribe like the Kamilaroi has been studied thoroughly since the beginning of anthropological observation, we can admit that this situation corresponds to reality. So with regard to totems belonging to different moieties (or blood categories) there was only one law: *Ipai* married *Kabi*, and *Kambo* married *Mari*. The Wongaibon people could immediately adopt this law to regulate the relationship between two totems which at the same time belonged to different Wongaibon moieties and to different blood categories. Thus (as in Fig. 10, let us recall that a straight line — means that *Ipai* marries *Kabi* and *Kambo* marries *Mari*):

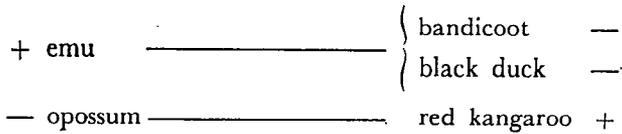


Fig. 10.

Thus for all the totemic relationships noted in the above figure, sectional marriage laws between totems were the same among the Wongaibon and the northern tribes. This identity of marriage laws was possible only for these totemic relationships. According to Wongaibon moiety exogamy, marriage was possible between totems of different moieties even if they were of the same blood category (for instance, the emu with the red kangaroo). We saw that marriage within the same blood category was permitted in at least one northern tribe, the Kamilaroi, and it was governed by the fur/scale division. But marriage within the same blood category among the Wongaibon could not be regulated by the same principle, since it was the result of the crossing of blood categories with Wongaibon moieties: marriage was permitted within the same blood category if the totems belonged to different moieties. So Wongaibon people could not adopt northern marriage

laws for their own, but they could adapt to them. If it is true that they took the sections from the northern tribes, they must have been receptive to their opinions. From a northern point of view the section system (*Ipai* marries *Kabi*, etc.) applied to totems of different blood categories and it would probably have been very objectionable to apply it to totems of the same blood category. We can only suggest that it was precisely for this reason that they devised another way to work the section system (*Ipai* marries *Mari*, etc.) for totems of the same blood category, giving rise to a strange system (Fig. 10 completed as Fig. 8 is). For a totem such as the mallee hen, which was not classified in a blood category, there could be no objection and it left the Wongaibon entirely free (Fig. 6).

The Wongaibon case is another instance of the influence of a foreign northern classification, but this time one that is closely linked with sections. As we assume that sections diffused from the north, such an influence is easily understandable.

We can attempt to make a similar analysis for the Wiradjuri (northern and southern), assuming a diffusion from the Wongaibon or from northern tribes. But here no pattern is recognizable.

The southern Wiradjuri undoubtedly present the most complex case in the region. We have already discussed three different dualistic totemic classifications that were present in this group: a first one between moieties; a second one governing the alternative working of sections; and a third one, based on a fur/scale principle, which regulates the possibility of marriage within the same moiety. But there was also a fourth one, which was connected with section totemism. Indeed, since section totemism results in a quadripartite classification of totems (between the four sections), it can also be seen as the cross result of two dualistic classifications, a classification in matrilineal moieties and another classification, which constitutes this fourth one. This fourth classification cannot be the central type of classification (which is a classification into moieties), nor can it be a fur/scale classification (which fulfils the function of regulating marriage within the same moiety), but it may be a classification into blood categories. In Fig. 11 the allocation of totems to sections is shown, while a + or a — indicates in which blood category each totem is classified (see page 21).

If we want to equate *Ipai* and *Kabi* with one blood category (designated as —) and *Kambo* and *Mari* with the other blood category (designated as +) this will hold for 11 totems, but will not hold for 3.

In other words, it is likely that totems of the same moiety were distributed between the two sections which compose it according to their classification into blood categories.

1st moiety	2nd moiety
<i>Ipai</i>	<i>Kabi</i>
+ Jew-lizard	— porcupine
— eaglehawk	— bandicoot
— opossum	— flying squirrel
? mallee hen	± native bee
<i>Kambo</i>	<i>Mari</i>
+ codfish	— brown snake
+ grey kangaroo	+ red kangaroo
+ goonhur	+ emu
+ common fly	— ground iguana

Fig. 11. Section totemism of the southern Wiradjuri compared with classification into blood categories.

Let us finish with a few words about section totemism, which occurred in the region under discussion only among the southern Wiradjuri. In other parts of Australia section totemism can be considered to be the cross result of two classifications into two different types of moieties. Thus for a normal section system, as is shown in Fig. 12, the classification of totems in section A can be analysed as the result of two of the three following classifications: matrilineal moiety AC; patrilineal moiety AD; and endogamous moiety or generation level AB.

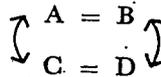


Fig. 12.

But Wiradjuri section totemism cannot be interpreted in this manner. Due to the alternative working of the section system, A can marry B or D (i.e. *Ipai* can marry *Kabi* or *Mari*). AD has nothing to do with a patrilineal moiety and AB has nothing to do with a generation level.

The first of these remarks brings us back to the alternative working of sections. We can ask ourselves whether there was any connection between this feature and section totemism. A second point emerges from a comparison of actual classifications. The classification of totems into sections among the southern Wiradjuri was determined by blood

categories: the alternative working of the sections among the Wongaibon was also ruled by blood categories. The sections of the Wiradjuri must have come from the north, perhaps from the Wongaibon.

From the above we may posit a precise connection between the alternative working of sections and section totemism. Both these customs were found in the same tribe: the former in the northern branch of the Wiradjuri, the latter in the southern branch. Assuming that there was a diffusion of sections from north to south, let us begin with the northern Wiradjuri and examine their alternative working of sections from an ego point of view. Suppose ego is *Ipai* opossum. For him marriageable totems of the facing moiety *Kabi-Mari* are different, depending on whether they are *Kabi* or *Mari* (see Fig. 3). Conversely, totems of his own moiety are distributed between the two sections for his potential wives. So from the point of view of ego *Ipai* opossum, the system appears as it is shown in Fig. 13.

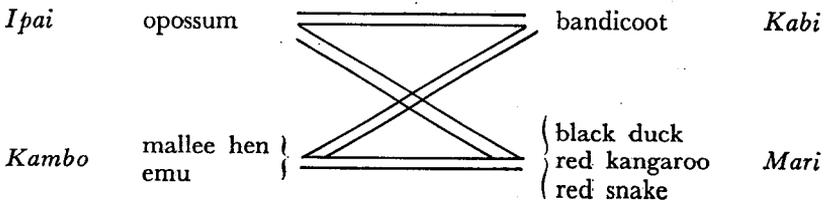


Fig. 13.

Of course, the system appears differently if we begin with ego *Ipai* mallee hen or ego *Kambo* opossum. But the fact remains that from the point of view of any specific ego his own possibilities as well as his potential spouse's are seen as a distribution of totems between sections.

We may surmise that this has something to do with the emergence of section totemism among the southern Wiradjuri. To strengthen this assumption let us finally note that section quadripartite classifications, as shown in Figs. 11 and 13, are consistent for the opossum, bandicoot and red kangaroo. They are not consistent for the emu and cannot be so because this animal does not belong to the same moiety in the southern and northern branches of the Wiradjuri tribe. They also cannot be consistent for the mallee hen, since we have already seen that this is a problematic animal, which is not classified into blood categories and which follows no definite pattern as to which section it must marry among the Wongaibon.¹¹

NOTES

- ¹ A first version of this article was written during a stay in Canberra, at the Research School of Pacific Studies (Department of Anthropology), while I had access to all the information of the Institute of Aboriginal Studies. With the help of funds from La Maison des Sciences de l'Homme a trip to Walgett was made to obtain more information from Weilwan speakers. I would hereby like to thank all of these institutions. I am specially grateful to Mary Reay for the interest she has shown in this paper, the time she has spent in correcting the first version, and the trouble she has taken to obtain more field data.
- ² But notice another report by Mathews (1905b: 117), according to which blood categories appear to have another function. With regard to the fact that blood categories are matrilineal see also Radcliffe-Brown 1923: 426.
- ³ In the area studied matri-moieties are the only significant ones, while patri-
"moieties" are always to be understood as matrilineal moieties.
- ⁴ Tindale's orthography of tribal names will be adopted here (Tindale 1974). Where the tribal name as spelt by the author quoted is very dissimilar, it will be written between brackets after Tindale's spelling.
- ⁵ Concerning the Weilwan see also the rather puzzling reports of Ridley (1875: 162) and Honery (1878: 249).
- ⁶ Ridley 1866: 35-7 (no totems are mentioned here, but this is the first report of marrying into one's own section); 1873: 263, 1875: 161-3; Mathew 1899: 103 (probably Kamilaroi); Bucknell 1902: 67 (the listing of "black snake" in the *Mari* section is probably an error, as is pointed out by Howitt 1902: 159 and Cameron 1902b: 178; I suspect that opossum marrying paddymelon in the *Kabi* section is also an error, as it is not recorded elsewhere); Fison and Howitt 1880: 45; Howitt 1904: 203-4; Greenway 1910: 236-7 (black snake *Mari*, the same error as in Bucknell; he does not list the marriageable totems, but differentiates between two parts in each section); Radcliffe-Brown 1930-1: 232; and Elkin 1945: 208. According to Howitt one can marry into any totem of the right section of the facing moiety. So the whole system is a little different from that of the Weilwan.
- ⁷ Otherwise Mathews' classification is consistent with other reports. Howitt's classification (1883: 500; and 1904: 104, where the assignment of animals to moieties is reversed, though not on p. 204 of the same work) shows the same position for bandicoot.
- ⁸ For the same kind of evidence see also Mathew (1910: 142): amongst the *Kabi* (south-east Queensland) the names of the moieties, which are the same as those amongst the Kamilaroi, are said to mean light and dark blood. But there is a difference of opinion as to which moiety is which blood category.
- ⁹ References:
Wiradjuri: Mathews 1896: 412-4, 1897b: 173-4; Howitt 1904: 106, 209.
Wiradjuri, Lachlan River: Howitt 1904: 107, 211.
Wongaibon: (Cameron 1885: 348, not to be considered because of note 2 on the same page); Cameron 1902a: 84, 1902b: 177; Howitt 1904: 214; Radcliffe-Brown 1923: 425; Beckett 1959: 203-4.
Weilwan: Elkin 1945: 208; Reay 1945: 307-10.
Barindji (id. Barindja, personal communication from M. Reay): Reay 1945: 309.
Kamilaroi: Ridley 1873: 263, 1875: 161-3; Fison and Howitt 1880: 45; Howitt 1883: 500, 1904: 104, 204 (but see note 7 above); Mathews 1895: 20, 1897b: 157-8, 1898a: 156; Bucknell 1902: 67.
Ualarai (Euahlayi): Parker 1905: 15-20.

Morowari: Mathews 1898b: 153-4; Radcliffe-Brown 1923: 434.

Ngemba: Mathews 1905a: 5-6.

Maljangapa: Beckett 1967: 457.

Maraura (Wiimbaio): Howitt 1904: 100.

Barkindji (Barkinji, Barkunjee): Mathews 1898c: 243; Howitt 1904: 99.

Paruindji: Howitt 1904: 99.

Milpulo (Milpulko): Howitt 1904: 98.

Bitjara (Wilya): Howitt 1904: 98.

¹⁰ This is also consistent with my own thesis (Testart 1978), according to which matrilineal moieties (and classifications) are the earliest ones and preceded other social systems such as sections.

¹¹ Is it possible to explain the particular aspects of social organization that we have been dealing with by reference to European colonization? Contact between the Aborigines and European settlers has resulted in depopulation, displacement, the mixing of people and an increase in intertribal marriages. Do these facts account for the curious intermingling of classifications that we have analyzed in New South Wales? Although such an hypothesis cannot be categorically rejected, I see no evidence to support it. The tribes that we have been concerned with were located between the Great Dividing Range and the Darling River. The exploration of this area took place sometime between the crossing of the Blue Mountains in 1813 and the discovery of the Darling River in 1829. European settlements must have followed shortly afterwards. The first ethnographical observations of aboriginal customs in New South Wales go back to the 1860's: in 1866 Ridley reported the section system *and* marriage inside a moiety among the Kamilaroi. If customs such as marriage within one's own moiety or the alternative working of sections are to be explained as changes induced by European settlement, these changes would have taken place in less than 50 years and would have been within living memory. Old Aborigines would have remembered that social organization was not the same before the arrival of the white man and it would have been likely that the new customs of marriage were not considered entirely regular or lawful. There are no data implying such changes. Moreover, there is no need to resort to a contact hypothesis to explain the intermingling of classifications in New South Wales: intertribal economic exchanges and ceremonial meetings, particularly for the purpose of initiation, are well-known in this region as elsewhere in Australia. As for the complexity of social organization, it was no greater than in other parts of the continent, as for instance in Arnhem Land.

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