

then ask the following types of questions: What do you call the person from whose womb you came? What do you call another person that came out of the same womb after you and that is a male (younger brother)? You then use the 'marriage' link to get the affinal males: what do you call the man that married (or is living with) the person out of whose womb you came? And so on.

While the genealogical method is a necessary first step, it also has its limits, since it tackles only more or less close kin (those drawn on the genealogical sheet). To extend the analysis of the usage of terminology beyond close kin, the tabular method can be applied. With the tabular method, you prepare one card for each person you interview. Ideally you attach a photograph of the person to the card, since this will greatly enhance the discussions with other people. These cards are numbered so that you can refer to a person through its number. Showing the photographs, you then ask each person how he or she calls and refers to each other person. The results need to be noted in a tabular way: number 5 calls number 93 'younger brother', number 54 calls number 12 'father', etc. You may at a later stage check the reciprocals, as well as elucidate what I call relational triangles (Dousset 2008). They will help to identify which system is at work or to identify situations in which the expected term is not applied: if person A calls person B 'brother', and if person A calls person C 'mother', then person 'B' should be calling person C 'mother' as well, to take the most simple example. If person B does not call person C 'mother', then you need to find out why and in which situations.

What do we need to remember from this brief overview of terminological systems? Here are a few guidelines to help in the recording of terminologies, which is considered to be one of the first steps of inquiry into human social organization and kinship.

1. Recording the kinship terminology and trying to establish which type the researcher is confronted with is one of the first steps. There are several complementary methods for achieving this. One is to use the genealogical method, drawing genealogies and asking what each consultant calls them, and how they refer to them, making sure one works with consultants of both genders, of different ages, status, etc. The second method is the tabular method that allows you to go beyond close kin. Another important method that follows from the two previous ones is contextual observation and recording of how people call or refer to each other in various social situations (among the family, with other clan members, among ritual comrades, etc.). In some cultures, however, people hardly use kinship terms in everyday interaction; drawing genealogies is sometimes the only means to obtain the terminologies.

It should be noted that real-world systems are never as neat as the theoretical types described in this chapter. Confronting real-world terminologies with ideal typical terminologies provides important insights into local representations and strategies, as our example of *minalinkatja*, *kungankatja* demonstrates. It is not sufficient to record all the words believed to belong to the realm of kinship. It is necessary to record terms with respect to the categories they designate as mapped against a chart of possible genealogical positions. It is also necessary to distinguish descriptive terms (those that designate one category only) from those which are classificatory (designating several categories). For example, there may be a general category for cross-cousins, but once marriage has occurred with such a cross-cousin, his or her actual brother may be called differently. In the Western Desert, cross-cousins are called *watjirra* (classificatory). The actual brother-in-law however, while still a *watjirra*, is also called *marutju* (descriptive).

2. It is thus necessary to record and distinguish kinship terms used between people before marriage and after marriage. The same category of people may be called differently once marriage is envisaged or has occurred. For example, in the Australian Western Desert again, a mother's brother is called *kamuru*, but once he is envisaged as a real or potential father-in-law, he will be referred to as *waputju* (wife's father, initiator), since *kamuru* denotes a proximity that is not appropriate in the case of in-laws.