

*tjanamiltjan*. This person would show some restraint and even avoidance towards members of the other moiety, while generally entertaining relaxed and close relationships with those of his own generational moiety.

Let me sum up the general aspects of social organization before moving on to the domain of kinship itself. Social organization describes the structure which divides a society into distinctive 'sociocentric' and multilayered entities that are at the basis of a multilayered definition of individual social membership. Sociocentric here means that, with the exception of generational moieties, a social category is not the consequence of individual relationships but exists irrespective of people's situation. These entities constitute the sociological contexts of speech, of shared responsibilities, of behavioural patterns, and of ownership and sometimes residence. Depending on the level of the entity people use as their context of speech, they may refer to one and the same person as a brother or sister, as a cousin or as a rival, or even as an enemy. It is common that a person refers to a cousin as a 'brother' when the context of speech is a discourse about clans, since he may conceive the person he refers to to be a member of a 'brother-lineage'.

Membership of these entities is defined by rules of descent, i.e. inheritance through generations following particular rules. These rules, as we shall see, are the foundation of the relationship of distinction between social categories. Bonding these social categories back into a global social unity is generally defined in terms of exchanges, in particular marriage, as will be seen. Both descent and marriage may be considered to belong to the domain of kinship, even though some authors argue that it rather reflects social organization. These discussions are irrelevant in the context of this chapter.

p. 216 While 'social organization' describes the structure of general social distinctions and is sociocentric, kinship is of the realm of the relationships between particular individuals and is thus 'egocentric'. Kinship and social organization must be distinguished as fields of investigation, since they concern separately observable social realities. However, in most cases, the rules that organize egocentric relationships are de facto constitutive of the more general entities which are the categories of social organization. The remaining part of this chapter will discuss kinship rather than social organization; but let us keep in mind the relationship that exists between the individual aspects of belonging to a group of people through the links of kinship and membership of a social group through the principles of inheritance or descent.

During fieldwork the researcher should pay particular attention to the following issues with regard to social organization:

1. Societies are often divided into social groups who own different and complementary aspects of mythological narratives, for example. It is important to understand what these social groups are and how they relate to each other in order to be able to record complete narratives.
2. Social organization constitutes contexts of speech that may change the semantic value of words, for example calling a cousin 'brother' or an aunt 'mother' if the person is member of a particular social category.
3. The names of these social categories are often significant, and etymological work on these names needs to be undertaken, as the Baruya case illustrates. They may be placenames, names of species, of mythical figures, etc., or they may be gendered (as the Australian case illustrates), or include aspects of relatedness, such as with the Navajo.
4. Sometimes these social categories and their names are important for reconstructing the local history. Historical linguistics is relevant here. Names of social categories can often be reconstructed to their proto-forms in a regional scope and provide some perspectives on diffusion, migration, and loan. For example, the central Australian subsection name *Tjakamarra* can be traced back to the section name *Karimarra* used by other groups hundreds of kilometres to the west.