FF, B, and SS, and a woman to the same category as her FFZ, Z, and BSD.

In the wider system now to be discussed, the natives accorded independent status to these sixteen relational categories by giving them invariable names and recognizing objective principles of recruitment. Anthropologists refer to such categories as subsections. The Gidjingali system could be presented by substituting subsection names for the sixteen kinship categories in Figure 7. Figure 10 is a rearrangement of the same facts in accordance with conventional presentations. Male and female subsection names are in capital and small letters respectively, and rectangles enclose the names of brother-sister subsections. Crosses indicate marriage between members of subsections, and arrows show the affiliations of a woman’s children. Thus the male and female offspring of Wamudjan women are NGARIDJ and Ngaridjan respectively.

Although the Gidjingali said they had always had subsections, evidence from elsewhere suggests that the concept spread fairly recently into Arnhem Land (Elkin 1950).