Int Ngani

!gu!na

cy Jan 14, 53

If Toma's toma born by his ll ga he is intimate with not afraid of - but he does not marry. This Toma does not approve of. In ~~Cross~~ breeding dis approved.

582
602

Would If Toma be consulted in the marriage of a !gu!na's daughter? No authority

591
595

Dimensions of Present marriage

Count of Marriages for polygamy + residence

		Dimensions		Residence
D	ǂTma + !ʔ	—		matri local
	!Qui + ||Kushay	—		matri local
D	Gao + !Naoka / Di!ai	yes 2		matri local *1 2
	!Qui + !Khuga	—		matri local
	!Qui + ǂNisa	—	young	matri local
	~~!Gunda + !Nai~~	—		~~patri local *2~~
	gao (big ʔ) + ?	—		matri local
	!Gishay + !ungka Sis ǂTma	—		matri local
	gau (widower) + !Khoa	—		matri local
D	gau + Be / Khuan!!a	yes 2		patrilocal 2.
	ǂgao + !Goishay	—		patrilocal
(D)	gao + Di!ai / !Dan	yes.	(100) !gau / Blimkeopm 3no	patri local
	Dam + ǂGisa	—		patri local
	!Qui + !Naoka	—		patri local
	!gunda + !Nai	—	young	patri local *
	gao + ||Kushay / ||Kushay	yes 2		patrilocal 2.
	ǂTma + !gam	—		patrilocal
	||ao + ǂNisa	—		patrilocal
	!Qui + !gasa	—		patrilocal
	gao + 2 uma	—		patrilocal
	ǂgoma + ?	—	Br of !gasa	matrilocal ?
	gao + Khuan!!a	—	music	patri local

*1 with 2nd (younger) wife *2 Exception & rule - possibly temporary

!Nai shi +	Khuga (?)	—	Ta ǂ Iqasa	patriloca
Debe +	IIKhoa ?	—		?
Igaishap +	DiIIKhao	—		patriloca
IIao +	— ?	—	Da ǂ Igaishay	Matri local
ǂqao +	KwoIIo-ǂqasa	—	" "	Matri local
IQui +	IDũn ?	yes 2	Bri ǂ Xama	patriloca
TiIIKhao +	IKhoa	—	So ǂ Iqui	patri local
(Eyes) !Nai shi +	?	—	Da ǂ Xama's Si	Matriloca
IQui +	Di!ai	—		?
KhanIIa +	—	—	Bri ǂ Di!ai	Matri local
Parents ǂ	!nuka	—	Wi ǂ IGao guide	?
(D) ?	!nuka	—		?
ITi!Kay +	IMaoka !nai	yes 2	Sisters	Patriloca
IQui +	—		Bri ǂ !Naoka & !nai	Matriloca
ǂgao +	Bau !Ghia	yes 2		patriloca
—	—	—	Da ǂ ǂgao	Matri local
—	—	—	ITi!Kay ǂ group	Matriloca
—	—	—	"	Matri loca
—	—	—	"	Matri local
Tsamgao +	Bau	—		Matri local

1 Bechuana + Bushman Marriage.

Count of Marriages pr polygamy + residence continued
p. 3

591 595	#gao?	Xama Khwova	yes 2	old Xama + her sister	Patrilocal
	gao,	Sele	—	1 gam I	Patrilocal
	Dobe +	—	—	" IV	Matrilocal
(D)	/Ti!Kaq +	— —	yes 2	2 no Dan/Qui scaq 2 no Divorced	Patrilocal
	/Qui Scaq	Khwova	—	gam I	Patrilocal
	old ?	—	—	gam II	Patrilocal
	Hison	—	—	" "	Patrilocal
	— ♂	Hisda	—	" "	Matrilocal
	— ?	" "	—	" "	Matrilocal
	Bo	—	—	Pri of Ti Kaq 1 gam IV	Matrilocal
	Dele	—	—	Chsiama	Patrilocal

Total 57

Patrilocal	25	2 wives	9
Matrilocal	23	1 wife	43
unknown	4		

1 Widower not remarried
1 Widow " "
1 unmarried adult Man
0 unmarried adult Women
3 Divorces Each very young girls after brief marriage
3 Divorces prior to present marriage

Ladimo

Feb 25, 53

!ʔ ||~~Guse~~ Kushay !ʔ avoids ||~~Guse~~ Kushay (1)

!ʔ's sister's family - Di!ai · gao

gao med Tui!qa no — Tui!qa - no

||~~Haoga~~ Naoka g's 1st w. ||ga yes* — !Qui no

because same name as the mo. — because Does not know

602 553

1 gaishay	Tsuma	yes	Toma no	Says woman she does not avoid she calls !Qui.
≠ Nisa	!guma	no	||gama yes	
1 gao lin	Tui!qa	no	Tsu yes	
||Kluga	!guma	no	!guma no	
1 Qui horse face	Toma	no	Tui!qa no	
!Nai ||gama		yes	Aiya yes because her name is Khoa i.e. ||~~Guse~~ Kushay's mother's name.	
~~1 gase~~			or ||gama ~~Why~~ not ||gama? She is ||gama.	

1 gase baby Di!ai	Tsuma	yes	Toma no	
			!Qui no	

When !ʔ avoids 1 gaishay what does she call him? She uses his name. What does she do to show she avoids him? When she calls him she uses his name but uses it <u>in plural</u> 1 gaishayi

1 gaishay Tall son of gao · ~~Haoga~~ 1 Naoka is Toma to ||~~Guse~~ Kushay because they are in-laws, she says This !gase's !gu!na's daughter She calls 1 ~~gase~~ gaishay !na Tui!qa because her Tôn + 1 ~~gase~~ gaishay !na were in laws which Tôn ||~~Guse~~ Kushay !No the one she is named for.

In-law = N!un|a gue. gue = each other

ie !Nun ba !nun d'aie

Fedimo says N!un ba

Have we ||Kluga on our list of names?

Yes Louise

!Nani? Don

~~Why~~ is ‖Khunga !ǂ's !guma? ~~all~~ ‖Khunga is !ǂ's Tõn this Khunga is Debe's wife ie Debe bro of qq.

!Nai is ‖gama to !ǂ because born by her !Qui.
Di!ai.

Di!ai is !Qui to ‖~~guse~~ Kushay because all Di!ai's are !Qui to her.

---

avoid

!ǂ			‖ ~~guse~~ Kushay	
≠Toma	Tsu	yes	!qo'	yes
!gam	ǂtsu	yes	!ǂtsu	yes. wife of a !qo is !ǂtsu they say w.s.
‖ao	Toma	no	Tsi	yes
≠Misa	Tsi	no[2]	!ǂtsuma	yes
!gumdu	Tsuma	yes	Tsuma	yes
≠qao	!guma	no	Tsuma	yes
‖ ~~guse~~ Kushay!	‖gama	yes	Tõn	no
helmet qao	Tun!ga	no	Tun!ga	no

1 ≠Toma is !qo to ‖~~guse~~ Kushay because her Tõn is a tsi to ≠Toma which Tõn the me she is named for. ie gam's mo.

2 ‖ao old married !ǂ ~~be~~ !gu!na. ~~!ǂ's !gu!na gave the name to~~ ~~Hao~~ our !ǂ gave the name to ‖ao. !ǂ has a !gu!na ‖ao. She and the old !ǂ named ‖ao. married. The wife of a toma is a tsi w.s. !ǂ says

Gao helmet continue

‖~~Guse~~ Kushay 2 ‖ gama yes ! guma no

χama ! guma no ‖ gama yes

because she is named
for χama:na who is Tõn
!ũ calls χama ! gu!na
!ũ's other name is χama.
Who for? χama!na.

ǂ gao !ũma no ʃsuma yes

! Nani !ũma no ʃsuma yes

because that is how
~~their~~ old Tõn's termed
! nani si their 2 Tons
were not worship
each other.

ǂ gao ʃum!ga ʃsu yes

! gasa Tõn !ũtsu yes

‖ ~~Guse~~ Kushay 2 see above

ǂ gisa ! guma ‖ gama yes

gao ʃ~~suma~~ ʃoma no

‖ Khuga. an old woman is here who is !ũ's father's
ʃsuma there for !ũ's Tõn.

855 ʃsam gao spit on ! ~~gaose~~ atshay (Put in check observation)
5.93
855 Tsamgao. son of ǂ Toma; ! gaishap is lies by B.

!ũ	avoid	‖ ~~gusa~~ Kushay
≠ gao	Tuu!ga no	Tsu yes
602 553 ! ~~Gosa~~ Otshay	Tõõ no	!Qui yes
! Naisi	Toma no	Tsima yes
Khoo‖o	Tõõ no	!ũtsu yes
! ~~Gusei~~ Gishay, !na	Tsu yes	Tuu!ga no

! gaisay	‖ga	yes	!Qui	no
! ~~Haoga~~ Naoka	‖gama	yes	‖gama	yes
!Qui	Toma	no	Tsu	

Because some !Qui she avoids. some does not avoid. For reasons other than his being named !Qui she avoids him.

≠ gisa	!undai	no	‖ga - yes	
Dam	!go	yes	Tuu!ga	no

Because their Tõõs did not avoid each other. She means her pa. mo when she was named for !gu!na

+ ~~Who is~~ Dam's ~~Tõõ~~ whom he was named for. Can't get it.

ǃũ	ǁ ~~guse~~ Kushay
! Qui Xama's brother	
ʈuniga no	ʈsu yes
Doõ ǁ ga yes	! Qui no ! Kui
ǂnisa ǁ ga yes	ǁ ga yes
Ti ǁ Khao ʈsu yes	ʈsu yes
ǀ Khoa ǁ ga yes	ǁ ga yes
Xama ǁ gama no	ǁ gama yes
ǀ Doõ ǁ gama yes	ʈsi no
~~ǀ Khao no~~	
ǁ ~~guse~~ Kushay ǁ ga yes	ʈõ no.
dau. ǁ gao ǁ gama yes	ǁ gama yes
ǂnisa Ciǁ gao	ʈoma no
ʈsam gao ʈsumõ yes	
because ʈ. is name of father of her husband.	

602 553 194 { ǁ ao - son of ǂ ~~g~~ T oma
ǁ gao

{ Fedimo feels an n before circle
Fedimo does not feel a g.

T
Toma Interp. Ledums Jan 21, 53 (1)

M.S. Marriage & Tem

602
582

Ton - Tholes may be passed, but if
or related, not Married
Toma A Ton not related - a Ton by name
only is list of Names May be Married
Reason - of Jokes.

!! ga Not to be Married. Even if named
by same name only - a !!ga Not relatio -
if called !! ga Not to be Married.

of Tsuma?
?

! gui Not to be Married - of !!ga
!u tsu " " " "

If a Tsu fa. bro. had a dau he called Toma
coned he Marry her - No.

Tsuma - if an ordinary person Not relatio
he coned Marry her.

Fa bro
Mo "
Fa sis daughter cant Marry - What ever Tem.
Mo "

m

Sons of a Tsu. W.S.

If a son of a Tsu older than ego WS
he can be called !gu!na ~ Tuu!ga
or if younger !guma or Toma

!guma or Toma.
If same is older than ego
Tuu!ga !gu!na

Daughters.
!guma WS. Tom. ~ !gu!na

Omit in typing.

Supercedence of Terms
~~Preference~~

Son of a !go Tsi? ask tomorrow.
a !guma if he grows up. is old a !guma.

indeed all?

Tsuma Marriage of Teen Jan 21 (3)

Those whom he can marry - relatives of his wife.

1. It was a Tsuma to Tsuma. for relatives
2. It's Tsu was Tsuma. So he turned it Tsuma.

582 587 602 Brother's wife can be married.
Does Tsuma feel it his duty to marry a brother's wife. He feels he should ~~to~~ take care of her.

Brother's daughter - None. (" " " not marry)
582 602 Sister " " None (" " " ")

Dau's husband's sister -
If it is possible to pass jokes he can marry her.

Son's wife's sister. Can be married.

Tsoma Marriage by Tenu Jan 2 (4)

582
602

Wife's sister - Ton can marry
wife's sister's daughter - are Tsuma
and not to be married.
Even if called Toma he can't marry
He feels about them as he feels
about his sister's daughter.
He says he feels like the husband
of his wife's sister so can not
marry her daughters.

gao[e] bro. g!k

Marriage by Terms

582
602

Man can not marry. Can't Marry
His Ton. if not a relative ||ga

If she is from another place
and has the name as his
real Ton he can marry her.

—

||ga if f. another place
+ has the same name as a
||ga he can not marry her.

—

Tsuma. if she has same
name as a Tsuma he can not
marry. ~~!Hoga~~ Naoka is his nootin.
Anyone having name of
~~!Hoga~~ Naoka is his Tsuma
+ he can't marry.

Anyone having same name
as a !gui he can marry.

—

gao can marry: (See over)

gao Marriage by Term gao bro g!u Jan 25 (6)

582
602

1 gui (gao: a) gao (e.Bg!u) has 2 sister s !u & Di!ai
any one named Di!ai he can marry
" " " !u " cannot "
He can pass jokes with Di!ai's (whom he terms Toma)
" cannot " !u's (whom he terms Tsi)
(not with either) his actual sisters
but with other women ~~people of those~~ named Di!ai,
His mother's mother was !u - Ton & Ma Ma
" Father's mother was !Di!ai - Ton
— Late - O.K. I see
Work more on this I don't see why.
He would pass joke with his mother's mother
" " " " " father's mother.
He term women named Di!ai Toma
" " " !u Tsi. or !gui
He can ~~not~~ ~~passed~~ jokes with a woman Tsi & !gui.
~~except~~ but not if her name is !u
Even if !u were his elder sister - he would not pass joke with women her name.
If Di!ai were younger than !u he was pass jokes with proper of her name.
gao does not know the reason. He was so told by his parents.

!nai
!Khuan ||a

Kedima !ũ ||~~guse~~ Kushay

Feb 24, '53

(1)

Avoidance

602 553 |Qui neander is ≠ tum to !ũ

||~~guse~~ Kushay is ||gama to !ũ |Qui having married a ||gama is a ≠ tum

||~~guse~~ Kushay terms !ũ ||ga

!ũ's mother's sister was ||~~guse~~ Kushay. !ũ termed her ||ga.

||~~guse~~ Kushay's ~~mother~~ fathers mother was ||~~guse~~ Kushay. This is one and the same woman.

!ũ can not joke with ||~~guse~~ Kushay. That is all that is prohibited they talk sit together - call each other names.

||~~guse~~ Kushay avoids ≠ Toma - calls him ≠ tum.

!ũ avoids |Qui. Can not say his name. But uses ≠ gao ba |Qui says to her !~~Hoga~~ Ungka d'aie. May not joke but may talk about other things. May they sit at each other's fire. Yes.

Also - if |Qui has water she must not take it without asking. or for example a fire brand? She could take fire. Could she take water from some one she could joke with? Could take water only from her own sister, i.e without asking.

192 ?- ≠ gao is saying to |Qui m ba m ba o

Kedimo !ʔi ǁgusa Feb 24 (2)

602 563 Does ʔi avoid !Nai ~~si~~ n, son of !gui + ǁ~~gusa~~ Kushay? No
She can joke with him. and ± gao? she can joke.
She terms !Nai ~~si~~ n Toma. ± gao is Toma also.
ǁ ~~gusa~~ Kushay term Tsamgao Toma !g~~aso~~ aishay she calls Tsuma.

!Nai ~~si~~ n is Toma to !ʔi because born by her ǁgama
she coned call him !guma i.e. n Toma. interchangeably
ask me * → Any one born by a ǁgama is a !guma.

Why is Tsamgao toma to ǁ ~~gusa~~ Kushay + ! ~~gasa~~ aishay Tsuma
! ~~gasa~~ aishay's !gu!na is ǁ ~~gusa~~ Kushay's Tsu.
! ~~gasa~~ aishay ± i.e. ± Tama's mothers y. bro
married Xama who was ǁ ~~gusa~~ Kushay's ǁga.
this Xama is not our Xama. but another.

Tsamgao married ǁ ~~gusa~~ Kushay. that is why Tsamgao's
are !guma to ǁ ~~gusa~~ Kushay. that was ǁ Kushay Xama's
mother. this Xama is the one who was here.
The mother of Xama, i.e. ǁ ~~gusa~~ Kushay, was married to
Tsamgao. She termed Tsamgao !gu!na.
ǁ ~~gusa~~ Kushay terms Xama ǁga (She is Tsu to !ʔi)

punctuate & danbs & a ix

—

It is "natural" to term the son of a ǁgama. Toma n !guma
because one can joke with a ǁgama's sons
Can one joke with a ǁgama's daughters
If the ǁgama were named for ego's mother she
would avoid. If named for anyone else she coned
joke. Daughter of a ǁgama is !guma.

Pedimo ?i ||gase Feb 24 (3)

If a son of a ||gama had the same name as her (?i's) father she did not joke + would call him Tsuma.
If he had the same name as her e. bro she could ? joke and would call him ?
She can not joke with her bro qao. No hu y. bro.
She avoids me ≠ qao but not others.
She may joke with other qaos + ≠ qao.
If ||Kushay had a son with same name as qao, ?i's e bro, ?i would call him Tma + could joke. Why would she not call him Tsi? If he were named for her e. Br. but if he merely had the hu e. Br. same name as Toma. She would call him Tsi.

Does blank wit?

would call him Tsi

Ledimo !u ||~~gua~~ Kushay FB 24 (4)

WS Ce son of a Tôn is termed tsuma
602 553 dau. ||gama

Son of a !Qui is tsuma W.S.
dau " ||gama. W.S.
If her !qui's dau. is named for someone she can joke with she would be a !guma.

Son of a Tsu - toma
dau " " !gama
son a !gu:na tsuma
dau " ||gama
son of a !go tsuma W.S.
dau !go ||gama W.S.
Can she joke with a !go if he is not her real brother. No.

alternative generalizations.

Reasons - a Tsu's son who was named for her !gu:na she could joke with.

note there may be a law that if you can joke with the parent you can't with the son - unless name factor changes this. If you can not joke with the parent you can with the offspring - Ledimo said once when talking to Tuma, he laughed to think of Ledimo joking with ||Gaus kushay or !u + their children too. Yes. !u says now that is the law.

Ledimo 'n ǁquse 2024

(5)

'n says Ledimo can joke with her but 'n's children are there for her Tsumas. Ledimo is making a joke of this. He said he wanted call 'n + ǁ~~quse~~ Kushay Tin so he coined joke.

print when typing →

? Now they speak of some one who shot a pig.

June 16 1953

Demi, ≠T gma old !Nai ~~si~~ hi T. !Nai shi with blue beads.

582
602
835

Exceptions to Marriage Law.

All people have their laws. and some break them. Do they know of any Bushman who broke the Marriage Law + married some one of his own people? Demi says some people do this. Could they tell me one instance?

!Nai shi, blue beads, sitting here they say married some one who was a Ton. He tells on. They say they sometimes marry a ||ga's, Ton's or gui's daughter. Would !Nai ~~si~~ er tell me exactly? He married | ~~gasa~~ ||asa's dau. + | ~~gasa~~ ||asa is his Ton. How was she a Ton? His wife is | gasa. His wife's Mo is ||asa* ~~+~~ ||asa was his mother's younger sister. What term did he use for | gasa? Tomea. ||asa was his Ton.

* This is a marriage with a cousin. Note he says | gasa, his wife, was his Ton before marriage

(Name - not on list) — OK — on list

Noon June 16 1953

Any other instance? Demi said he did too married within his own people. His wife is IKhoa the dau of Bau. Bau was his tōn. She was the tōma of his father.

His father's tsu Tsamqao!na was the fa. of Bau. Tsamqao was the tsu of Demi's fa Naishu!na. He can not after long questioning tell me what the relationship was.

May 22, 53

!Nai's marriage

585 !Nai sat at her fire head covered
with Kaross

Then at gau's head uncovered

Xama is granddau of Igunda's mother's
sister's husband. - other side of wife for !Nai

F Nisa is dau of !Nai's mo husband.

Parents sat - did nothing

In Am. Khuan ll a anounted !Nai

Di'ai anounted Igunda.

gau gave blanket to Igunda

Khuan ll a gave to !Nai

141 [Size of !Nai - 47" Tall

See answer to Quest. asked
by. Douglas Oliver in letter
written to L. J. M. on April 17, 1953

Put note on this —
Douglas Olive wrote
letter & asked this
question. Took made
letter & refer to
it by date.

Place of the interview
was
Cho/Ana (I think)

Int. Fedimo ≠Toma Gao Gau ≠Toma ≠Toma ǀQui Di!ai !U ǁKushay Cho|ana

582 835 Can a man marry his mother's brother's great grand daughter (classificatory), or anyone three generations below him?

Information obtained through interrogation.

Interrogants ≠Toma, Gao, Gau, ≠Toma ≠Toma, and ǀQui; Di!ai !U and ǁKushay All were present in a group - 6 men 3 women. One period only of interrogation spent on this.

The Bushmen claim that they do not marry anyone born of their own people i.e. blood relations. They say that a mother's brother's great grand daughter belongs in that category of a blood relation and therefore could not be married.

582 602 I asked (I omit reporting in detail the lengthy process of asking these questions and summarizing briefly) if a man can marry a woman three generations below him if that woman is in no way related to him i.e. has neither lineal nor collateral relationship with him.

Moho Dau

gama - friend dau

dau dau

dau dau

Could gama marry great grand dau

Dau - No he could not

only a fu dolu could marry her.

Yes - if the name is O.K.

tgama - friend could gama marry

dau

dau

≠Toma (husband of !xu) answered that this would not be good, (proper, appropriate). It is not that there is a law forbidding such a marriage, provided no other marriage prohibition prevented it. Not a specific law preventing marriage with the third generation case, comparable to a law such as not marrying a woman who has the same name as your mother. It would not be appropriate ≠Toma says. If it were himself, ≠Toma says, he and the grandfather of that girl (3 generations below him) should say !nao to each other. (!nao is a word of address connoting respect not a kinship term.) Or they might be !xmba to each other. (!xmba is a kinship term. Which has several applications; a principal one is son's wife's father + daughter's husband's father) It would not be "good" (chi ja) for them to refer to each other otherwise — call each other by other terms which would not be appropriate to their parallel age. I take this to mean that

F Toma would feel an inappropriateness in being the husband of a grand daughter of a man approximately his own age.

I was not able to express or explain to the Bushmen the difference between a geneological generation and a generation based on relative age. F Toma, I am sure, was thinking of a man not precisely his own age (we specified that, saying he might be considerably older) but a man who is a contemporary adult, whose grand daughter would be a much younger person. So no specific information was obtained about geneological generations.

582
602

The interrogation is slight. All that can be said of it is that it revealed no special condition with regard to marriage with a mother's brother's great grand daughter. It is prohibited as marriage with any linear & collateral relative is prohibited.

June 30 1953

484
584

/Gam the wife of ≠Goma went the day after the fire to /Gam to fetch /Gunda's wife. /Gunda is her second son. The girl /Gunda is engaged to is the daughter of //Ao the cousin of ≠Goma (ours), the //Ao of the triangle affair. /Gam did not tell us she was going. //Khuga the wife of !Naishi went with her. Just the two women alone.

They say that !Ungka, the girl, is as old as ≠Nisa, the wife of Gao Music and quite old enough to marry. They did not bring her up to now because there was no one to go to get her.

484
584
461

The young men are joking with /Gunda saying his breech clout is old and worn out. /Gunda, they say has a steinbuck skin but is too lazy to tan it and make a new breech cloout. They say to look at theirs. They made them in one day.

484
584
/Ti!kay

Later: When Laurence went on the tsi trip with /Gi!Ge and others from his werft they found /Gam and //Khuga on the road. The women were very tired and gave up their trip to return home in the truck with Laurence and the others. So up to the time we left none had gone to fetch /Gunda's wife.

Int. Ngani
For
Woman

(Qi'gao Hage) /Ti! Kay - /Nadka
Cho /Ana
C. March 9, '53

Marriage Avoidance

582
835 Woman ~~must~~ may ~~not~~ marry her Tum!ga or Tsma
if he is from another place &
* Tsma yes not related by blood, ~~except~~ only by name relationship

Can she marry a Tsi- if from another
place & not related except by name - no

Tsi no

Tsi- no

Tseuma - no

≠ Tum no

! um - ba no

! guma yes

(1)

Nai's Marriage night

Fnisa and Xama are

lake he.

Iguada sat behind 11 ao

Not at fire. 11 ao built

with them was 2 half brothers

of Iguada.

8:15

9 Boys. Tsom gao

Igispay Qui on 6 1 gao

2 step brothers 11 ao

2 girls Xama + Fnisa

(2)

Nai at skin fir

of old gam Fgao +

other Nai si + I tha.

Xama + I Nisa came

Sat a while. giggled a little

then came stood up behind

Nai touched her shoulder

She pulled her karos on

her head. She struggled of

their hands. then got up

Together they took her

between them Xama + Fnisa

then Xama took her on

her back carried her

to grandsen Chaggill as is her

(turn inside)

Xama crouched at the skin facing the fire deposited Nai in the skin when she slept quiet, covered now her karos in the shadow.

Iguanda did not move The others seemed to take no notice. They sat Iathes till we left.

!Ui Nai's Marriage. Oct 25

Do I know !Gunda? No I have not seen him. !Nai must grow up some more before she goes to him. She will go before she Menstruate. If !Gunda got a buck now he would bring it. It would not be eaten by Di!ai. Only goat Not! Nai either. if it is a duiker she can't eat it. She would eat another kind of buck. If Di!ai ate the meat !Gunda would not have any power for hunting. They could stay together any time now. !Gunda's Mother gave beads to Di!ai Gaise is now wearing them.

I asked if when !Nai went to live with !Gunda they would not have intercourse until she Menstruate. Ans. They would not. then I, it said she must not speak of such thing about Di!ai's son-in-law. It is forbidden I may ask !Gunda's Mother, she says. She may speak about it.

!Gaishay

582
602
833

!ũ !gau Int. Ebom and !Gao Sat Oct 25 1952

Marriage of !Nai

582
584

Is it planned whom !Nai will marry?
Di!ai made the arrangement. !Gunda is the boy.
He is the son of Bo, ~~who is !Ku.~~ Bo's 1st wife = ~~and~~ Khuan ll a

Bo's wife is Bau 2nd
His father is ll Nami
Mother is Be
brothers } gao d
sisters } !Gunda d
!Naoka (wife Gao Medicine)
Bo above
ll Nao
Khoa d

!ũ's father called ll Nami !gu na
gau says !Gunda to his son.
Ask again

Bo's 1st wife was Khuan ll ã now married to gau
She is the mother of !Gunda by Bo.
Bo left her when he married Bau.
Di!ai asked Khuan ll ã to have her son marry her daughter. She and her husband have no food. We must make arrangement that we take this young boy for hunting & for Karosses so we can get enough to eat.
Di!ai hasn't got her brother. That is why she thinks that boy must marry her dau.
She liked !Gunda & wanted him very badly in her heart. Khuan ll ã said yes, that is very good. We want this too. We were going to ask your dau. Geo & gau were present. They asked !Gunda if he wanted !Nai. and !Nai she also said yes. They have only made speech not a ceremony. !ũ asked me a question the first Do Europeans have a ceremony for the engagement?

Interpreter, Elbson and Igao

Khoan||a on Marriage Nov 14 1952

Prefered and forbidden marriages. p. 174 page

582 835 192

What marriage are forbidden? Khoan||a says she does not know. Igasa f. of Igao'oqua says a girl may marry a stranger or her relatives.

Incest They say absolutely prohibited

Is there a word for incest? Mi ku khoa

Mi = I Ku = to be afraid khoa.

Ku khoa - to be afraid

Study this more

Incest. Marriage forbidden with:

Mother

daughter

sister

Who else - with whom marriage is forbidden?

Mi ||ga = Father's sister. She is like his mother

Mi ||ga Mother's " " " " "

Igaishay ||a thing here - father of Igao's girl.

582 837 Igaishay

Disapproved but not forbidden:

→ I gaishay says. In instance if my sister marries and another girl of another house is also married I am at liberty to engage that girl - although she has my sisters name. Does he say that he could ask her to divorce her husband & marry him? If a wife stays with her husband and if he loves her - though he is not her lover - though he loves her. he will go to that wife and tell her to leave her husband and fall in love with him. If she refuses. he will insist ~~force her~~ till she agrees. or if she will not agree, refuses & refuses, then he will take her violently. Igaishay shes. devilish smile.

This was the father of our interpreter (Igao's wife)

SON 838 861 863

Igai son of Khoan||a - said Da to Elson. of whom he is afraid. But later they made up.

Feel in wide child observation.

2 wives - are sisters preferred?

Insert this note

[I wonder trust ≠ Toma rather than Igaseb.
The Bushmen became very confused on
relationships expressed this way - is like
Mo Br Da also. They are accustomed
to think in kinship terms not
genealogical position. It was born
out later that cousin marriages
are theoretically prohibited as too close
a relationship but exceptions occur. Cf June 16 1953

582
835

Continues Marriages Preferred or forbidden Disapproved Nov 14 1952 2

582 835 Is it thought best to marry a stranger ^ some one with in his own group i.e like group I at again? I gaskay says that depends on his own decision.

Usually a boy is given by his parents - i.e the parents choose the wife.

Is Marriage with father's sister daughter i.e Ilga's desirable? Forbidden

Mother's sister's daughter - Forbidden.

Father's brother's daughter forbidden

Mother's brother's dau NOT Forbidden but not preferred. He can think of no more forbidden marriages.

(Some tribes this is forbidden)

Are there any marriages that are obligatory there are cases in which a man is expected to marry - but if he does not want her he does not marry her. He does not know himself of a marriage taking place because it was obligatory - but he has heard of such things?

582 587

When a man's brother dies - he is expected to marry his brother's widow. His own wife belonged to his brother who is dead. was he unmarried when his bro. died? Yes. How long after his brother's death before he married the widow? After a long time.. His wife's name is Khoanila after 2 Spring have passed. The marriage took place during winter. Did he bring a bride, as with a first marriage? No - he gave beads. The only thing he gave. Does the woman give the man something at marriage. yes - Beads & ostrich eggs

Talking relationship. work more on it.

582 587 How many beads would be an appropriate wedding gift? The wife gives 5 strings f. neck to abdomen.
And the husband gives her? 5 plus a Kaross.
Who makes the beads the husband gives to his wife? His Mother makes them for him. If his mother were dead would a sister make them? ~~No, his !gu!na~~
His mother was dead so he got the beads from an old man who gave him his name. !Gaise aishay na a mi !gu!na*
He was his father's younger brother.
!Gaise aishay - na was the name of the man's y. son.
Q. custom ever.

177 !Gaise aishay says he grew up among Bechuanas Hereros but does not know their language nor pronounce.

582 To Marry is. goo goo a respectable word.
192 Marriage - is !gum.
To have sexual intercourse - !nao !a
" " " " disrespectful word - Tchia
(every one laughed.)
Women would be ashamed to say Tchia
Men may use it. even among women.

*!gu!na
This was carefully said. If I have written !gum Diminutive in K. term 1st
Death + Inheritance Both forms are used

Preferred - Forbidden Marriages I guess for I gam b. of ! Hga ! gao's gal 4

522
195
304
~~197~~

It is a custom with us men to make jokes about sex. Is that a custom with Bushmen too? Yes.

The word considered to be the worst joke is penis. He would say - "your uncovered penis". Naturally the penis has a skin - after circumcision the skin is cut. If it is not cut it is called uncovered. Bushmen are not circumcised. Is Circumcision ~~is to them~~ improper - unseemly, indecent? It is not their custom. but they have a name for that. It is ! gara. Is ! gara a shameful word indecent? No - ~~Not indecent~~. They do not take it to be indecent thing but they take it to be very painful.

March 20 1956

Type this note at Insert

Explanation:

When a man A in Group I marries a woman from ~~a certain group~~ {say Group II} and a man from Group II marries a woman from Group I this exchange between groups is Iau Kue.

582
192

File under Marriage and vocabulary

Terms, address. Marriage: !oa Kue. Nov 13, 52
Info Ebroom + !Gao
!ũ answering

Xama + !gam
!gam is Mother of ‖Guse (Kushay) who Married gao helmet
gao helmet Married Dam of !gam + ǂGoma
‖'s Mother is Xama
And this is !oa Kue.

Guest note.
Dam called mi gõ.
Dam is a strange Man - not related to them
But because her grandmother had a
son? brother whose name was Dam (dead)
So because Dam has the same name
as the above he has become her elder
brother.

? was Dam the bro. or the son of !ũ ? after
15 minutes they are still arguing.

!ũ does not call !Gui's (Meander) name? Why?
‖Guse (Kushay) is Mi‖gama that is why. She
respects him. She refers to him by his son's name
(gao she calls by name. our Med) ǂgao.
Why does she use ǂgao's name instead of !Nai ši's?
according to their custom the youngest son is called.
Example - ǂGoma headman is not called by
his own name by the Bushmen - they call
him by the name of his baby dau. !Unga
He is called !Unga ba
Same for women - so !ũ also would be called
!Unga dai. They were told by God to do so.
so this has been their custom ever since they
were created. Shows Respect.

Children are called by their own names until
they have a child.

1Qui Int. Ledins

Marriage

March 4, 53

Can a man marry?

835
582

Father's brother's daughter if Tõn - no
Father's sister's " " Tõn no
Mother's brother's " " Tõn no
Mother's sister's " " Tõn no

If term used was 1Qui would that make a difference? No If tsuma No

Brother's wife - ~~May~~ No - There are people who have - 1Qui says ~~does not approve~~. If she has children + brings up + slap unmarried - he would marry + bring up his brother's children
Bother's dau - No - What ever term - would he think it his duty? only if someone wants to not compulsory
Sister's dau No

Son's wife
Son's dau No " " "
Dau " No

Wife's sister - yes
Wife's brother's wife - No
Is that personal preference? No - the custom.
Wife's 11 ga - No
Wife's Tõn - yes
Wife's !qui yes not sister

His own !qui No not sister in name relation
His own Tõn yes.
i.e. in examples wife a !qu:na?- He " " "
says it is done but he himself does not approve.

1Qui Marriage March 4

A man must not marry a person whom he avoids. But there are some who do marry women they should avoid, for example. You sh. not marry anyone with the same name as you mother or a !gu!na's daughter. gno example !nani married another !nani's daughter in his tsuma. Did anything bad happen to them? No.

58 2
60 2
83 5

ask again

Same name as sister. Sh. a man not marry anyone having same? No. could marry

of May 15

Same name as mother - must not.
Same name as !!ga should not marry her.
Supposed to marry only some one you can joke with. !!ga. there is a consideration - she could be married.
Same name as your daughter - No of May 15 yes
as strict as having same name as your mother.
Same name as your mother-in-law No.
Could marry women same name as Tôus

!Gui Kedwo avoidance March 4

Penalties if avoidance is violated.

If a man does not avoid his in-laws they say he is ǂKum Ku !qi
that means the divorce takes place.
qoo means to take. also to marry.
Would he get thin? No nothing happens.
Only people would say a man was bad. chi dole chi = thing. i'e a bad thing.
It is a social sanction.
Would the ǁgamasi punish a man for being chi dole in this way? The ǁgamas would be the one's responsible for your being bad in this way. Your bad spirits would have made you not afraid of your in-laws. If one is a good person he must avoid his in-laws.

Son's wife ǀ'ntsu - avoidance is the same as for mother-in-law.

602 Tsu - avoids like a Tuniqa
Do not use his name - Respect him by saying mi Tsu or ǂ'qa
ǂ'qa is the gno per plural - of ǂtsa

ǂtsa refers to 2
ǂ'qa " " many } gno per plural

It is more respectful to say one or other? no alike

ǀQui actual sister.
You may visit her touch her. use her name.
Only you may not joke with her.

Penalties if avoidance is violated. see next page
Words to express avoidance only -
to be afraid of. Kua
i.e. I am afraid of my ǀ'ntsu
mi ǀna Kua mi ǀ'ntsu
I do fear my ǀ'ntsu.
Word for fear is same as one would use for a lion mi ǀna Kua ǂ'ni
also mi ǀna Kua ju dole.

Qu Fedimo Avoidance March 4

Must they sit at opposite sides of fire? - Not opposite but to the side. No reason known.
602 576 other family may sit opposite? Anyone who can fole may sit opposite.

Passing behind people? or in front.
walking behind is polite
" in front impolite
i.e when someone is sitting
Is it impolite to point directly at someone?
Yes.

602 Same avoidance applies to wife's father.

Is there anyone else he must avoid as much as his mother-in-law
Yes. Anyone that his mo. in law or fa-in law term Toma or Ton he avoids as much as he does them.

Ilgas he avoids
Can not Talk to Ilgas? Yes, but not freely
Can he use a Ilga's name. Yes. but on certain occasions he would not.
Example. No - a person can use a Ilga's name when he is young. When adult he calls her a-you or Si Yupl.
Tsuma the same even if the Tsuma is a little girl.

Avoidances Marriage

Does a man say N!ao to a woman - No
" " woman " " " " man Yes.
Is there any term comparable to N!ao that a man uses to a woman Tsam!na i.e. old woman or the name with !na. It is respectful.

Tum. Does a man avoid a Tum more than a Tum!qa Avoided in the same degree.

Wife's mother. Does a man avoide her more than another Lutsu Yes. More especially avoided. When newly married a man does not sit at her fire - No.
Does not speak to her.
Never uses her name. May touch
May not touch her or her things.
May not looked at steadely. Stare or look steady inquiringly. May glance casually. There is no running away or covering of faces.
May she cook for him.
When newly married they do not visit. After having 3 children they may visit but do not enter the skem. just sit by the fire. If there is my ma chief + he is as big as Maisi one may visit

!Qui
Fedmo

Cerordans

March 4

!Qui avoids ǂToma, call him Tum!ga
ǂToma " !Qui " " "

Because ‖Guse (Kushay) calls !ũ ‖ga
!Qui calls !ũ !Ktsuma !ũ calls !Qui ǂtum

He must not get inside their house. May sit by their fire. He can talk freely to ǂToma
But can not joke.

!Qui addresses (ǂToma) ǂtsa - plural of you.
or N!aŏ. respect word meaning elder.

a is singular
mi " " of you
or !Huga ba. "It is the custom".
(Lengka ba)

Is there any dif. if it is a woman whom a man avoids? Does not joke. Say ǂtsa? No
!Huga daie ǂustas ǂ itsa - he would say ǂi - 3rd person plural.
Qui volunteered he could joke with Di!ai.
i.e with any one named Di!ai.
Di!ai was the grand mother of ‖Guse his wife
This Di!ai was named for his wife's grandmother.

Is it more respectful to use the 3rd per. pl than the 2nd person pl.? 3rd per. pl. is used for women. 2nd for men.
ǂToma is older than !Qui ǂToma says ǂsa to !Qui He also says N!aŏ Short 1 syllable.

Marriage March 4

!Ga - might be married ~~if in name relationship~~ only? No ~~he says now~~. He said before we might. He means if a !Ga is merely in name relationship he might. If she were in no way relation but from afar. Yes. ~~But~~ But even if she is not a close blood relative but is some one he terms !Ga in his own system he may not marry her.

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582 835 Do Bushmen have a hard time finding wives - within the prohibitions. This does give them a hard time to find wives. Does !Gui think this is why the girls are married so young? No. He says when she is so high is Bau a !nai she is old enough to be married. A girl can be married at any age. Norna could be married. Have wives been chosen for !nai si ≠ gao. No For !gisi? No. A boy has to grow first. What about ≠ gao lame. His mother died chose a wife for him - but she died. this was before he became lame.

|Qui says he can chose a wife for himself
that cripples do marry. Then he said
a cripple has no need to marry says |Qui
He can not hunt. Women like meat.
So he is not to marry. But if he
succeeded in persuading a woman to
marry him and made the arrangement
himself it would not be improper - or
his parents may arrange a marriage.
They may because he is a head man.
If he were an ordinary person they
could not. Because he is son of Debe
who was a head man. When he grows
up where will he be head man.
gau |Tcha + ||Karu. What people will
he be headman of? The people who
live there. The big open places going to |gau
he will be chief of. ie
gao helmet & his faimly
|Qui " " " gau + |Kupka
≠Toma and !Ti
old ≠goma and |gau ||ao and ≠Nisa etc.

In + out Gi-gae !Qui !Tu!Kay !Gani
Here ǂTma !ǂgia + Tsam qao

P.M. March 4, 53 (1)

Marriage like

Do Bushmen admire tall women? It does not matter - even if a man is short he will take a tall woman. Because a man can do everything - shoot and make fire. ooo reason or is it?

581
832

Do Bushmen women admire tall men. If he would not want him as big as a giraffe. She would look for a shorter one. !Gunda is not too tall.

!Gao who was !ǂ's first husband ǂTma says is too tall. Shuking with laughter he says that is why he took !ǂ away from him. There was one man still taller. They have many thoughts - What is wrong. His father is short his mother is short. Did his mother have a dream with !!gama.

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842
776

!!gama husband is short. Could he be the father of a child. Couldn't be. This is only to say why is he so tall.

NGani P.M. March 4 (2)

!gao: na never took a human wife. Ans to quest.

If a Bushman woman marries a Bechuana
144 or Herero how do they feel about it?
563 They do not feel a bad heart about this.
Many have married Bushmen wives. i.e. Bo.
Half way to Isaaks - a Bushman is married
to a Herero. They steal Herero women.
They sleep. The Herero sleep with Bushmen
women so they sleep with Herero women.
(a man we never met)
*!gao ‡qi - was with a European woman.
She said to him take me as far as
some place. And the Bushman took her.
On the way (‡Toma was my little boy.
When the man told the story) Half way
they decided to sleep together. ‡Toma
does not know the name of the woman.
NGani says this is very dangerous.
The woman said you are a man. What
is the use. We must have a sleep
here together. So they did. NGani
+ ‡Toma laughed till they could not
talk. They were moving from one farm
to another. She was pretty. ‡Toma
says !gao likes women too much - even now.
Was she married? The husband was away.

Ngani. ǂToma +/gia |qi.|qae P.M. March 4 (3)

She was scared to stay alone so she asked the Bushman to take her to another farm to visit. Discrepency. Was afraid of her husband. No - because it was she who asked. He thought she would not see her husband.

|gia woman's idea of a good husband.

581 832 |gia likes the way a man walks - if he walks + carries himself -
She says a man notices the way a woman walks - That is my wife See how she walks. A man uses a diff. step from a woman. A woman sees a pretty girl with her hair decorated. +gia shows a little swing of the back.

ǂToma - says, musing, that he wants to get his second wife - When we go back he will get her He wanted to take him before he left Gautcha.

|qi|qae is her tsu - Her mother's 4. bro. She likes the way he walks.

Who else. |gia's brother qao - she likes his walk. What about Bo +ǂToma the 2 lively ones. They are all nice she says. Full of energy and confidence? She likes her husband

Kedimo !Xu Ess || Gaxa (Kushay) Page 1 of 4 Feb 25, 53

I asked if they could think of any other stories to tell about difficulties over a marriage - like !Nai's.

584 585 586 ! Huga (Unga) ≠ Tama (oma) 's sister left her husband. She did not want to stay with her first husband. Her first husband was ! Nai si (≠Namsi). He was older considerably than ! Huga (Unga). She was not old. All her relatives approved the marriage. But she did not. She ran away every time they got him into the house to sleep with her. ~~The~~ Her mother ~~her husband~~ made a skerm for her to be in with her husband. She did not like to sleep there with him. They gave her ornaments & decorated her hair with ornaments and oil for the marriage. She broke all the ornaments out of her hair, put it in the ashes, ornaments & all. She became filthy and would not stay in the skerm. She did not love him. She put her head into the ash. How old was she? She was old enough. She had not menstruated yet. (and to guess.) 584 582 587 She was older than Bau. After that one man wanted to marry her. He already had one wife. Her mother did not want this marriage for her because she did not want her to be a second wife. That man was after her for years. but she wouldn't not marry him. Then the man gave up and she stayed - says Kedimo a spinster. His vocab. is good

Another man wanted her, Gao. Gao had a
584 583 dau. at Gautsha, with sore eyes ≠ Gisa ma. not very old.
Gao took her by force and brought her to his house.
They slept there with his wife. !~~Haga~~ Unagka got up in
the night and ran away. !~~Haga~~ Unagka's mother
did not like the marriage either. (Was !~~Haga~~ Unagka
father living? Dead) Gao's mother wanted to
anoint !~~Haga~~ Unagka with fat. When !~~H~~ Unagka saw the
old woman coming she ran. Gao + his mother
tried ~~to~~ get her by force several times. She
did not like it. After that the man left + did
not trouble her any more. This was at Masippe* a Bechuana name. *add

What happened exactly when Gao took her
by force? What time of day was it? At night
They went for veldkos that day + brought wild grapes.
About the time they were ready ~~to~~ sleep Gao asked
his ~~old~~ first wife ~~to~~ go + get the girl. The wife refused.
So he went. !~~Haga~~ Unagka was sitting by her mother. He
grabbed her and carried her off on his shoulder.
This was to show he was not afraid of his wife
or anybody. Did she scream and kick and bite?
She did not do any of those things. She knew she
was not going to stay there. Did he have
142 [!Ũ's eyes are brown. So are ll ~~Guss~~ Kushay's.

* also type separately:
192 [* Masippe is like Massipa which means excretion
" means a place of excretion. Means dung gang kind.

584 583 intercourse with her before she ran away? No she was carried to the house. She was put on the other side of the old wife. She slaged quiet till they were asleep and then got up and went to her mother.

I think the carrying off is symbolic.

After that she slaged away in the bush all day and used come home after people were asleep. Sleep at her mother's skerm. Go again early in the morning. Gao got tired of this and gave up.

Was she in love with anyone else at the time? No

584 585 602 She slaged like that. Then they went near Kai Kai to Cha cum toa. Then !gisaxy became engaged to her. !gisaxy mother made a skerm for them. As !gisaxy was young, she loved him and agreed to marry him. She is now happily married. When the skerm was built !gisaxy was given ornaments. The girl was decorated. They were both taken to the skerm by ǂNisa went with !Hugu (Ungka) ǂNisa was? !H does not know what relation she is to !Hugu (Ungka). Her mother could not go because it was her son-in-law's house. Who brought !gisaxy? ǂNamsi (m) who is dead. (Fedimo says the late ǂNamsi) Gao Bo and Gao. Not people we know. !Gisaxy mother had to avoid her house too.

? x

584
585

Then in the morning ! ~~Huga~~ Ungha's grand mother, + ! gisi ary's mother prepared fat. ! ~~Huga~~ Ungha's grand mother anointed ! gisi ary with fat. ! gisi ary's mother anointed ! ~~Huga~~ Ungha.

Did ! gisi ary bring a buck to ! ~~Huga~~ Ungha's mother? They lived there for a time. Then went to another place to Kubi ! Ko Then ! gisi ary + ǂ Nam ni went to hunt and killed a gemsbuck. They came very late at night. In the morning ǂ Tomer + others went and got it and brought it. The gemsbuck skin was given to Gao Gai natcha. Why to him? (Gai natcha is a Herero word) He had lent them the arrows. Did they give the meat to ! ~~Huga~~ Ungha's mother? Yes the meat and fat. Their habit is, says ! ʼi, for the wife to take to her own mother as much as she can.

Did ! gisi ary bring a buck to ! ~~Huga~~ Ungha's mother before ~~they~~ he ~~owned~~ ! ~~Huga~~ Ungha were married. Before he married he hunted + tried but could not get anything.

584
115 ! ʼi is a good informant.

8'5
142 ! Gaos says "Dank you" for a cigarette stub. Nona is grinning + crowing at him.
Nona's eyes are black.

≠ gma 1gu Ngani
≠ Toma 1Gu Ngani

cigarette Dec 31 1952

Marriage prohibited with
835 a sister
582 a mother
mothers mother
fathers mother

≠ Toma
≠ gma says only dogs make like that.

11 ga mother's sister
father's sister

≠ Toma
≠ gma says such a marriage would be dangerous like going up to a lion.

Tsuma father's brother's daughter

father's sister's daughter

mother's brother's daughter

father's sister's daughter

very bad - only when a man is mad would he do like that.

Equally bad

" "

" "

---

835 Ques
582 Did they ever know a Bushman who married his
758 Tsuma? Yes one - 1gunda. He drank the milk of a young gemsbuck doe. This made him mad, and He married his daughter. ≠ gma roared with laughter. This was such a shame that 1gunda lives alone with his 2 wives. He made such a bad mistake that everyone laughs at him. 1gunda is our gau's ~~fathers~~ mother's brother (gau is tsu of 1gunda) It turned out that this daughter was not his daughter but his step daughter. The woman he married had a dau. by a former husband at the time he married her

Marriage prohibitions cig. Dec 31 1952

Hao of the triangle - is related to Di!ai.
Di!ai is Hao's Tsuma. That is
why it is so bad. Tsoma said
such things must not happen in
his family.
~~They~~ Tsoma heard of no others.

582
835

a brother's wife if the brother dies -
a man does not marry a brother's wife.
a man who stays near may marry her
It does not need to be a man from another place.
Same for e. or y. brother.

a son's wife - if the son dies - ~~No~~ prohibited
that would be very very bad, as bad
as marrying a daughter.

a son's wife's e. sister or y. sister - No.
a daughter's husband's sister - No.
even if they lived in another band, far away.
they can not marry.

Wife's sister - a man may marry
Tsoma " " " " if she is born in
another place.

(over)

1 Gui ≠ Toma !ŭ ‖ Kushaq N Gani Dec 31

601
602

Noma's son's son is called Tsi –
his name is not use.
Before the son is born they give him Tsi
When he is born they give him a name.

- ≠ Toma
old ≠ Toma
Di!ai
1 Qui Neander

Gan
Gao Mel

May 15 1953 1

Ledimo

Marriage.

1 Qui Neander's father married a ≠ Suma.
582 835 ie woman having same name as his mother.

Can a man marry his mo bro son's sons dau
ie mo bro great grand dau.
Di!ai says yes. ≠ Toma says maybe in
her family this is done but not his.
Gao Mel says they marry not closely
related having name he can joke with.
They do not understand. Di!ai spoke
too quickly for it to be possible for her to
have understood. I'll try generation.
Ask ≠ Toma
Suppose you had a brother older than yourself
now " there was a man X the same age as
that brother, not closely related. Could
a man marry that man X's son's daughter
≠ Toma says it would not be done.
It would not be good for them to marry
out of their age. so much. That man X
wld be a comrade. They should be
!umba to each other, call each other !Mao
It would not be good for them to call
each other otherwise. Their children could
marry each other.

Marriage

Wife's fa is ǂTum - May 15

582
835 Wife's fa fa is !gu:na

Marriage

Mother's brother's daughter - No Not approved
Toma says there are some peoples who do this
but it is not approved. In ǂTma's family
they would not do this

Mother's sister's daughter - No. They do not
Marry in their families They say no matter
how far you go out in a family from
the center the nuclear family they do not
Marry. They say when they want to marry
they go far to people not of their own family.

(Jokes lungs in sign. things too big too small
therefore inappropriate are funny. Fedima
asked for a stick from the fire to light - cig
" Said he wanted the biggest log. That is
funny to them as to us.)

Your children must do this too. go away to
peoples away from the family to Marry.
I said I was trying to find the limits
ǂToma said there might be limits for other
peoples but not Bushmen. I said if a
Tsen fa fa fa had a brother who married or
lived far away we might Marry that brothers
grand children - with not counting this as marrying
family, ǂToma says we might, but not Bushmen

they would know that the grand sons + daus of the brother, a fa fa fa were of one blood with them, and would not marry.
If Toma says he must find some one not related having a name of one of his relatives with whom he can joke.
Could they marry a woman who had a name they had no term for - a strange name?
Yes they can marry some one from away having a name that does not occur among their people.

(over)

gao -
fa's term tsuma for same woman
his " tsa
Put this down.

602
601

Marriage May 15 4

582
835

Fa fa fa.'s dau No
Fa " " brother's dau No
" " " sister's " No

Mo. fa fa dau No
" " " brother's dau No
" " " sister's " No

Fa fa dau No
Fa fa brother's dau No
Fa fa sister's " No

Mother's fa broth's dau etc. The same.

Father's brother's " No
" sisters's " No
Mother brother's " No
" sister's " No

Father's brother's son's dau No
" " dau's " No
" sisters's son's dau No
" " dau's dau No
" brother's son's son's dau No
" " dau's " No etc No
‡Toma says some people do marry this generation. He does not.
" sister's son's son's dau No
Mother's brother's son's son's dau No
" sister's ~~dau's~~ " " dau No

Daughter dau. No.

Marriage.

Not relatives.

Names + Prohibitions

~~Woman~~ Woman with same name as fa ms r mo ms term Tom Yes.
this is especially approved.
the best possible form.

Woman with same name as Ilga if not related yes
Woman " " " " Mother No
not approved.

Woman with same name as sister. yes
" termed Iqui (not same name as sister) yes

Woman with same name as daughter yes cf Bus no marr
" " " " " son's dau? yes
" " " " " dau's " yes
son's son's dau yes.
(dau's - same)

Woman with same name as wife yes
" " " " " son's wife? No
They say this sounds like marrying an Ikuse.
Some people love women + marry their rendais
brother's wife yes. well approved
wife's sister yes " "

Can they think of any name that prohibits marriage
beside the name of the mother and an Ikuse

---

gau old ≠ Toma have joined ≠ Toma + gao med
+ Fedumo and myself.

Another name that prohibits marriage
Daughter. if that daughter were named for
some one ego could not joke with.
And if a sister is named for fa sister ego calls
!!ga he should not marry any woman having
the name of that sister.
But if his sis. is named for a ton, i.e. in this case fa. sister he could he calls ton.
Marry a woman having same name as that
sis.

Terms-
Ton yes
!!ga - if not ~~named for~~ having same name as Mother + not related yes
!gu - see previous notes
!ntsu - No
!undaie - yes
di!guma - yes if not related

Affines -

587 835 co wife. ego's father's wife other than ego's mother. Could you marry her sister. No Because she would be something like your own mother's sister.

Brother's wife - if brother dies - Yes.
Sister's husband's sister - Yes ie tsi ǂ a tum!ga
Wife's Sister - Yes
wife's brother's wife No ie tum!ga's wife. She is !ku tsu.
Son's wife's sister No - !ku tsu
Dau's husband's sister No - !undaie
because they think about the giving of presents volunteered gao. It is not prohibited but regarded as bad. They (here) would not do it. Because they expect the exchange of gifts given by the !undaie. The dau would say "you have married this woman now where are we going to get the gifts which should come from her."

Reason for not marrying wife's brother's wife
the Tum!ga may have children named for ego ie wife's bro might name for his sister's husband who would be ego.

Neanda Qui says he wanted to marry ǂ Nisa & because ǂ Nisa's fa. was !Qui this was refused. It would "sound" as if he married his daughter. But he says he is not going to stand this prohibition He is going to marry her anyway. She is at cho!aua. Dau of !Qui and !nuǂka

Brother's wife's	mother	no	!utsu
" "	sister	yes	toma
sister's hus.	mo	no	!undaie
" "	sis	yes	!undaie-Toma
wife's mother		no	!utsu
Son's wife's	mother	no	!undaie
dau's hus'	mo	no	!undaie

≠Toma accuses gao of visiting his !undaie at night and they were laughing + talking and ≠Toma does not know what happened. Much laughter.

≠ Toma said you are not supposed to marry certain women but he might do so anyway! there are not enough women who may be married.

!gu!na's Man with same name not a relative

mother	yes
sister	yes
daughter	yes

one man !gase married a woman who had a son named !gase. So he was fa of !gase. Not too bad because they were not related. she was from afar.

this is in contradiction to previous evidence. all right if not related People do this. I said I heard some one say you should not. !qi!qae married the dau of another !qi!qae. ≠Toma says he does not do this but sees some people doing this.

Women - !go not a bro. not a relative Yes.

Get Kedimo
see next page of
informants

585

!Nai :-
Marriage

cf June 5 notes
following.

June 5 1953

7 pages

Questions - about Marriage of !Nai + ǂgunda Magzz
Kin terms of !Nai Xama + ǂgisa ǂgunda
||ao ǂgunda

Significance of ||ao + ǂgunda attention ǂgunda
" ǂgunda's young half brother.
not ½ bro - but sons of his mo's hus. by
other wife.

Both mothers made skein
" " brought wood
Tall Di!ai I brought wood as I promised
Significance of red powder on head next day.
" of !Nai sitting with gau.
Did she show resistance?
Parents did nothing I could see. Did they do anything
Sig. of only young people at the new fire.
" ǂgunda sitting back from fire.
Special Decoration of !Nai -
No circle around eyes.

585
117 Picture of young men singing
" " " girls " " Recording of girls Sat p.m.

≠Nisa!ha

over

In Moving Picture (J.K.M.)

585
117

Boys who fetched ǀgunda. they catch him.
ǀgunda
+ qao } sons old + Tom
ǀgisaq son of gau
they come to fire + sit down

!Nai's son of gau & Bo was there last night

~~Coming~~

~~giraffe~~

Girls Xama + ǂNisa who fetched !Nai came + sat by fire a while. Xama is carrying her baby brother. Sat by fire at new scene a moment.

!Nai at gau's fire. Girls fetch her
Xama carries her on back

Qet + qao ~~standing up to~~ nurse. omit 4 yr

am

June 5 1953

!Nai's Marriage

Demi
!Nai shi Tedimo
gau hi Be + Khwan ||a

584 The father refused his permission to gau tsa!
585 Di!ai the mo. said she had brought up !Nai and would take full control of the marriage. Was gao satisfied? Yes. Did he receive the gift he expected to come to him through Khwan||a? Yes he was given gifts in the marriage sake. It was 8 ostrich egg shell beads, and a blanket. ~~Khwan||a gave them~~ !Nai gave her a gemsbuck kaross to !Gunda who gave it to Khwan||a. The blanket was given by gun to give !gunda and !Gunda gave it to !Nai and she gave it to her mother, Di!ai. Did Khwan||a give anything to gao directly? No just the blanket through !gunda. Who gave the os. egg shell beads? They were given to gao and gao to Di!ai she to !Nai !Nai to her to !gunda, !Gunda to Khwan||a + Khwan||a to gau. What about the gift Khwan||a was said by ǂ'ã to have been due gao last November or three months. Was this ever mentioned? They did not give anything in return. But Di!ai wanted the marriage and forgot the matter of the gift. They have started again in peace.

!Nai's Marriage. ||Khuga + another woman came June 5 1953
to sit Demi !Nai shi + gau (fo.) ||Kuahap)

After marriage was approved.
2 mothers built skem.
2 mothers brought wood for the first fire.
In this case both fathers were absent. (deceased)
Would it have been father who brought wood
if they had been here. It was he brought
by the 2 mothers even if fathers were there,
lighting 1st fire for married couple. The mother
light it They take brands from their own skem
fires.

585 Do women ever use fire sticks? Some do
372 Most do not. No prohibition about it.

585 Did they do anything to prepare !Nai?
Did not cut hair, finger nail, or wash her.
Early the following morning. The mothers came
Khuanu'd anointed !Nai with fat. ~~Di !ai~~ No gao men
anointed !gunda. What kind of fat? Eland
fat. Anything with it? No Where did
they put on the fat. Head, hair not face
neck chest back abdomen legs. Not feet
Not hands. Reason? It is their custom.
Ornaments? often ornaments are put on them. but
!Nai was already wearing many
Has !gunda given her the bracelet with the tab yet.
585 Not yet. When he kills he will. Will he give
583

Striking with shoals

arrows

!Nai's Marriage

a M 4

the first buck to Di!ai - yes to her to go. |N!ai June 5 1953.
Is there anything !Ni ai must not eat at time of Marriage
No, not as result of new marriage.
What about |gunda's buck to Di!ai to go Is there
any that must a must not be eaten - No avoidance
about 1st a 2nd. The hind part may be given to
his own parents to the rest to the in-laws.
This refers to every buck he gets. all along
If the arrow used for killing wild be from the
in-laws they must get the hind part. If
the arrow is from |gunda's parent they
get the hind part to the rest goes to the
in-laws.

585 Is it part of ceremony for !Ni ai not to go till after sun set?
583 Yes. This is important. It is the custom that
this must be after the sun sets. It is the
commandment of the Creator.
N!ai went to sit by gau's fire. leaving her
parents fire. It was from gau's fire she was
taken. It is the custom for her to go to him
because he is !Ni ai's gu!na. The bride is always
taken from the fire of a !gu!na rather than her
father's or Mother's. It is because his skin
was near. She goes to a place near. If he were
her tsa it wld make no difference. Point is -
must she leave her father's or Mother's fire before
she is taken. If there are many relatives the
new wife leaves her mother's place. If there were
no relatives she would stay at her mothers.

Desks
circle
Strike with sticks -

How is it decided which girls will come to take the bride. Her comrades. Can be !!ga !gu!na or !gui. Must the girls who take her be older? It depends on the strength of the girls. Must the girls who take her be married? They can all come, married or unmarried. The one who carries her? If she is not married but strong enough she can carry her.

Fri. June 5.

Can they tell me more about the carrying. She refuses to go and must be brought by force. They encourage her to marry a man who can get meat and she can eat. The idea is present they said in our tongues. that it is not seemly for her not to show reluctance. They are smiling and animated in telling this - laughing, saying she may want very much to go.

Is it a point that she must be covered. That is part of the drama of reluctance. Xama put her right into the skin. She lay there covered and still. After she is carried there, she must not struggle.

Who got !gunda - brought him - Son of !gma - pgunda - took him and !gui the hunter and !!ao the path finder. and ≠!gma son of gau - Be. Why were these the ones to take him? They took him to the skin. Don't say why. The groom must show reluctance too. Tsu !gu!na or !go may take him any of these.

The boys who led him sat by the fire. He sat back from the fire in the shadows, covered with a blanket.

!Nai's marriage

AM June 5 1953

Mr. Jones

He must pretend he is reluctant - pretends to hide. Makes a show of fearing the skeem + his wife. After they ask go he goes into the skeem + sleeps. Does this mean he avoids new skeem + wife actually or in pretense for a certain time. It is just to be modest. Not actual avoidance.

585 Was there anything more done that I did not see? Nothing more. They were now married.
581 One goes for veldkos one hunts. They are married.

585 It was only young people who took the bride + groom + who stayed setting by the fire. No old people present. It is the custom that the adults approved the marriage + made the skeem. The duty of taking them was the y. people's. So it avoided. feared for the old people to go to the skeem the night of the marriage. No avoidance just the custom. An old person could come if he wanted to.

Do they think this will be a happy marriage? They think so. They think these facts will make the marriage happy. They are young and will enjoy their youth. !Nai is not a lazy girl. I said yes that is so. So Igunda a good tempered boy very good. a very good man. He is chief.

585 602 Di!ai, mother of !Nai says she avoids "these people", so !Nai + Igunda so was unable to tell me about them.

Head pass flips over?

Demi
!Nai'chi
gam

!Nai's Marriage -

June 5 - 1953

585 Circles around the eyes -
302 What is reason for them? is in ceremony 1st buck
224 Must. guests arriving. The circles make the eyes see well for hunting. If a girl?
They say they do not paint girl around the eyes. If a girl is choaing the food they paint her and they press her heart which is in the throat so that the heart may be hardened ~~and not easily~~ and strong & keep the avoidance till the food is choa(ed) Do it with red they paint them - Yes. cf. !gam
!goie qwo.ie is the red stuff. Do the line across the cheek down from the circle special significance. It is for decoration.
Do circle? It is for decoration too. Not for eyesight as in hunting.

!Xgha at !Qi:qae (Ti:Kay) Widows July 7 1953

Ledimo interpreting

587 Is there any avoidance of marrying a widow. No any fear at all? No They are free to marry Bushmen have no sense to fear such things says !Qi:qae (!Ti:!Kay). A man is glad to get a chance to marry a widow. I said I thought that very good sense does not he? He says he agrees with me. '!Qi:qae (!Ti:!Kay) says some men hope that husbands will die so they can get the women

587 Is there any ceremony a widow must perform before remarriage. Anything about washing? or rain? 821 Laughter - Tma & !Qi:qae (!Ti:!Kay) snorting with laughter. !Xgha and Maoka answering. Nothing to do with rain - but they have a word which means

July 7 1953

the widow must be left till the rain comes. the rain washes the death away from the widow. Some men might wait for this if they wish. Others do not. & Tma & Gigae (Tu!Kay) say yes. this is the way. Some men would be pleased that the husband was dead & say this is my chance. !qa ǁ Num* is the word i.e. !qa is rain (ǁ Num is not medicine) ǁ Num is to wash. The rain ǁ Nums the widow. Did they ever know a widow who stayed out in the rain all night to be washed? (of other notes -) No they never did. they do not think this would happen because they are afraid of rain. Does this mean they avoid rain (ceremonially) or just do not like to be wet. they fear the rain. they say (this is often) The rain is cold they say & makes them shiver. Does this mean the rain has power to harm them or is just uncomfortable would not harm her - but she fears it. Do they fear rain as they fear sun? Yes - if sun is very hot they go into shade. If rain falls they go under a tree for shelter. Is coldness of rain harmful? It does not harm but cold makes them uncomfortable. May make them sick and shiver.

(Tu!Kay) Q.Q. says the people of the other West know how to speak to please me. He says (some) people do not have reasons!

* ǁ Num is the gesture of wiping a dish with one finger to ~~clean it~~ (the) of the last food of it - & then one licks finger. This is to ǁ Num.

Fun (Tolg; Topeka) place where you made pic for PI fruits ceremony

(ask John about if he took film of this ceremony)

984
766
117

If there were a place where there was medicine
they avoided it they say they fear that place.
Do they fear the rain in this same sense.
No- not the same. Fearing of rain is why
that they are uncomplaïnes. Fearing
of place where there is medicine is dry.
That is death.

Other women besides ≠gloa
Bau w of ≠qao
!Naoka w. of ǂ'ao
Ko Kove
ǂKhuga
Other came + went