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June 22, 1953

# Matrilocal and Palutocan Residents

## † Goma's Band

Matrilocal <sup>T</sup> † Goma 30 yrs old His wife !ū is dau. of former headman, Debe (d.)

Matrilocal Gao. His wife is dead. He lives on with her people. His wife was a sister of Debe (d.) former headman of this band father of !ū. With Gao live his widowed dau. !Nyka, his son Iqubay another son qao, away at present. And his dau // Kusbay. Married to I Gui

Matrilocal I Gui 35 years old Husband of // Kusbay, dau of Gao. !ū wife of † Goma, dau of former headman is the nuclear point of this group. The Bushmen say she has the hereditary right to the water and veld of this place. † Gao has 4 bro, lives with her sometimes. † Gao's bro qao who is with his wife's people.

Gao's extended family, closely allied with † Goma. The link being Di'ai, 2nd wife of Gao, elder sister of !ū dau. of Debe former headman of gautcha.

Matrilocal Gao (40 yrs) His father Iqash<sup>at</sup> is living. Gao's place is Deboragu. It is said that when Iqash<sup>at</sup> dies Gao will go to be headman of Deboragu. Mean while he has lived as part of † Gomas band. We found him so in 1951 1952 1953. With Gao are his 1st wife !Naoka, her son married son Iqash<sup>at</sup>, his 2nd wife Di'ai, her infant son Iqash<sup>at</sup>. The other children are married. See below

Matrilocal I Gui (20 yrs) Husband of // Kusbay, dau of Gao + !Naoka

I Gao " " † Nise " " " "

I Gunda " " ! Nai dau of Di'ai + Guntsoan from whom Di'ai is divorced (over)



With 1gao h.g # Nisa live as part of Gao's  
extended family K<sup>10</sup>110 1900's mother  
!Naishi her y. brother 1Qui his son by a  
former marriage The mother of 1Qui is dead.

Bo brother of <sup>INaoka</sup> 1Naoga lives with Gao at present.



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<sup>T</sup>goma's Band

Patri local <sup>T</sup>goma  
35yr

hus. of Iqam. <sup>T</sup>goma lives at gautsch closely allied with <sup>T</sup>goma + !i but not part of their inseparable group. <sup>T</sup>goma is a brother of <sup>T</sup>Naaga the wife of Debe, father of !i + Di'ai. Iqam, <sup>T</sup>goma's wife comes from a distant place. <sup>T</sup>goma is depicted in the land of his own family, not his wife's. unmarried sons, 2 - Iqunda Iqao - live with him.

Patri local 11ao  
(25yr)

son of <sup>T</sup>goma lives with his father. His wife <sup>T</sup>Nisa comes from Iqam. He has had 3 children. (2 d.) He says he lived with his wife's people when they were first married and went to them for birth of present baby (1 yr). He was with his wife's people when we met him in 1951. He says he likes to live with his father. His father says he is old and needs 11ao to take care of him.

Extended family of  
matrilocal + gao  
patri local (35yr)

gao linked with <sup>T</sup>goma above. His first wife 11Kushay is daughter of <sup>T</sup>goma. gao and <sup>T</sup>goma live together, and in that sense gao is living with his wife's people. gao's father d. was a brother of Debe, father of !i. former headman of gautscha. In this he is patri local in living at gautscha. He does not stay at gautscha as much as <sup>T</sup>goma and !i. Spends much time in an area of little water where there are mangroves to south west. His second wife 11Kushay is a daughter of gao who is a brother of gao who lives with <sup>T</sup>goma + !i. Her people often join him. He does not live with them. They live mostly with Iqase of Deboraga. (fa gao) who is fa. of gao's wife 11Kushay.



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# Goma's band, extended family,  
qao continues

Malutocal / Tuka

husband of qao's dau Xama. He used to  
work at E. Hospital. So living here now since married to Xama  
qao has 4 minor children, #qao,  
#qoma, and !Naii sons of Keshap  
Xama dau of Keshap 20

qao's family often lives with her  
but sometimes they live apart.  
His mother Xama was the wife  
of #qao brother of Debe former  
headman of gautsela. Her other  
children are Qui, Pitma and  
her sister's co wife of #qao had a  
dau. Di'ai. Xama goes with  
them sometimes but mostly lives  
with qao. At present and  
during Sept. Oct Nov 1952 the  
above were all with qao. On  
the whole the following seems to  
be the more usual situation

patrilocal +  
malutocal 1 Qui  
20

son of Xama bro. of qao hus of qasa  
He lived mostly with his brother  
qao and his mother Xama, but  
also lived with his wife's father  
!Naii during Dec, Jan Feb Mar  
April.

patrilocal +  
malutocal qao  
20

hus. of Zuma son of Debe who is bro of qao's  
Here with Zuma now. For several months  
was with his father at cho! ana.  
Don't know which to rate him. They are young  
have, child.

!Ti!Kary



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#Toma's Band continued  
Matrilocal gau

living with #Toma - linked to him  
through his <sup>2nd</sup> wife Khuanka  
who is sister of #Toma's wife, 19am.

Seems to be a case of preference.  
His 1st wife Be, <sup>living with him</sup> comes from ?

With him live sons - goma qao 'Naishi  
sons of Be; 'Qui <sup>only</sup> son of Khuanka



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get genes of her husband

1 Gasa her husband, † goma (deast, belaged at Gantscha

matrilocal / Qui<sub>20</sub> ln of 1 Gasa's dau ! Hooga<sup>1 Naoka</sup>

matrilocal Dau<sub>40</sub> lns. of " " † gisa - away now to 1 gem

Patrilocal † gao son of 1 Gasa - † his wife 1 goishay  
This † gao sometimes lives with  
his wife's mother Khollo

ask again † gis<sub>30</sub> un married - lives with † gao  
He is 1 goishay's ~~man~~ brother

(matrilocal gao son of 1 Gasa lives with his  
2nd wife's people - Not here)



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Typo ✓

# Residence

Apr 29 1953

qao med qao scay gan, bedimo

qao says the law is: When a young man is married he must live with his wife's people for some time and can visit his own people. After he has children he is now a man and can make his own home. He can decide to live with his own people or his wife's. The wife's fa + mo would come to live with him - often happens so.

Is this true for son of a headman? He lives with wife's people and then returns to his father? ans. Yes even a headman's son lives with wife's people first.

If a headman died + son had been recently married would son have to stay with wife's people till he had children or should he return at once to his own people? ans. Even if son of headman has not got children yet, he would return to his father's place.



Residence

Apr 29 1953

Could they say if they think most men  
 come back to their father's people  
 or stay with their wives people after  
 they have 3 children (say 3) and are old  
 enough to choose where they will live.  
 They say. (it was not a good question) that  
 men come back to their own people  
 usually.

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if a man's parents are dead & his wife's  
 parents living does he then tend to stay  
 in with wife's parents? ans When man's  
 people are dead he will stay with his  
 wife's people. Then they said - after  
 a long time he may ask to go & find  
 his nearest relative and his wife's  
 people may come with him. When a  
 man is still young & has no pa. mo  
 he must stay with wife's parents. When  
 he feels he is a man and capable of  
 making his own life - he goes to his father's  
 country. If his in-laws do not want to come  
 he can take his wife & go to his own country  
 his own people & find relatives to live with.



Reason for custom. value.  
what they like.  
with his n sister.



If the in-laws do not want to come with him he can take his wife and go to his own people. Gao <sup>(m)</sup> said this again.

Do men like to live in their own country with their own people. better than with their in-laws? All 3 talk at once, pointing fingers, gesturing with arms nodding their heads, agreeing together. Ans Men like to live with their own people. It depends.

The wife likes to live with her people.

So a man may live with his wife's people some times, his own some times.

If the wife will not come, some times a man must stay. They say, although

\* Toma lives here in 'u' country with her people - his country is 'gam' - he is an example of living with his wife.

A long talk followed this observation. Gao (Maf)

says he is living with \* Toma because he likes his country (ie this is his wife's country Di'ai his wife is sister of 'u') There is little water in Gao's country (Gao son of Gaisaywies he headman of Debbanga

when Gaisaydie) There is water all year here.

Gao says many people like to live here because of the good all year water.

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591 Value of living with wife's people when a man  
 583 is young. Our qoo med qoo ocaf qoo all  
 agreeing they say it is their custom. Do  
 not say why. Is it because parents want  
 to know what kind of a man their dau. has  
 married? <sup>yes</sup> Yes. They want to know if he  
 is a good hunter - if he can give them  
 something to eat. A long talk followed  
 without another guess. Having been asked,  
 Fedimo interprets as follows: It might happen  
 that someone coming from some other place  
 finds a girl he wants and is married  
 they would want to see what kind of  
 a man he is. Can he hunt, can he find  
 beldkos. The boy may ask later if he  
 can take his wife to his own people. He  
 might go to visit a while & then return  
 to his wife's people. They say now they  
 are grown men if they want to marry a  
gno wife they ask the parents to take  
 the girl. If the parents refuse they just  
 take the girl in spite of the parents. A  
 man would take his bow & arrow &  
 force the parents & take the girl. If  
 the girl ran back to her parents. If  
 the man has is brave enough he would  
 say I love this girl - want her. You come



back with me till the girl is used to me then you can go if you wish. If the parents refuse he will fight unless they agree. And there may be some who like the marriage + they all agree. Gas oca says: he wants another wife. He wish he could get a girl whose parents refused, so I could see how they manage their marriage. Gas says there is a <sup>Tuka</sup> guka who is coming to Xana and I will see how they act. When that man comes there will be discussion. Some will agree others refuse. I will see the whole behavior of Bushmen in marriage. Gas medicine says: This man <sup>Tu</sup> gu ka (gu koa) planned to marry another girl the parents did not want their daughter to leave. He stayed with them. But now he is coming. He plans to marry is wait they are talking about 2 people. gu ka is coming for Xana  
 # Toma is " " " I gam. This is the old I gam's iguma. and a toma of # Toma, who is I gasa's sister's husband. I gam's mo is <sup>naisi's son-in-law</sup> ik her pa is gas - She is her <sup>her gas is the ugly, fine-old man visiting #Toma</sup> Xana's marriage with <sup>Tu</sup> gu ka is approved. She agrees. Is <sup>Tu</sup> gu ka a nice boy? Yes very nice but he has no lower teeth. He is a good man. He lived with Hereros.



Residence . qao med qao scay qau

Apr 29 1953

Is there any law as to living with a sister or a brother? It is a choice. If a man's brother is away, he may live with his sister at his father's place. The brother may then come. Or if a sister is away and learns that he has come back to his father's place she might persuade her husband to come to live with him there.

I said that it is important isn't it to Budum to be in their own country. Yes they said, if they are away from their own country they always think of it and want to go back to their own place. They know all about it they know what trees hold water - where the veld kos is. If they live in the country & others they do not know all these things.

### Father's country vs. Mother's country

They say that both mo's & fa's place belong to them. They may have lived in both places. Know both countries.

If mo's place had good water - fa's NOT son is free to live in mother's country.

Do they feel any dif. bet. fa & mo country that mo belongs to them more strongly than the other? All 3 answered. The two countries, the fa & mo are alike. If a fa. dies the country belongs to his son. If the fa has lived



with his wife & dies there it is ego's mother's country the son can come back to his fa. country and say "although I was young and was away why have you people who have been living here in my father's country eaten the bread without asking my permission?"

Ask again - If ego's fa. lived with ego's mo in her country & the fa. died there? If ego's fa lives in ego's mo's country the children have both countries.

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Could the son be headman in his mother's country as well as in his father's country? If his mo. was headman then the son would be headman. If a headman had no son, but had a dau. would the son of that dau. be headman? Yes. They say that is exactly right.

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# Tzoma's bro + sis. where do they live  
This Tzoma is ~~bro~~ of Khuauka. ~~and~~ 1 gasa  
on ! Nai shi

Brothers - none - one y. bro. died young.

Sisters - are here. They are

1 gasa wife of Qui is his wife  
Khuauka... Qui

# Tzoma's fa. ! Nai shi - mo is Kluuga  
His wife is 1 gasa. He has been living with  
her people at ! Nue. His wife does not  
like to stay away from her people. He likes  
to stay with his people. He loves his wife  
+ wants her to be happy. He wants  
his father + mother to come to live with  
him. He wants to stay with his wife's  
people. They live where there are Hereros.  
Bedimo says he was pleased with them

# Tzoma's fa-in-law is at ! Nue. The Herero's  
paid him for his work. He could go to a  
store + buy some things for himself. It is many  
days walk. He knows Epata + Otjinini  
! Nue is near them. Why did he come?  
To see his fa. + mo. He has been long away.  
His people feared he was dead.

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p.m June 18

1 <sup>gand<sup>ans</sup></sup> + Di || Khas  
live at Debra gu

Type

They live with Khasulla and Iao  
Klyo || o | qasa + qao

(Demi lives apart but near stay together occasionally)

! Naisi<sup>sh</sup> + ! Kluga live at Debra gu also

They live with ! Naisi<sup>sh</sup> i.e. 1 <sup>gand<sup>ans</sup></sup> + Di || Khas live with ! Naisi<sup>sh</sup>

Does ! Qui live with ! Naisi<sup>sh</sup> or with qao  
Mostly <sup>bro</sup> Qui is qasa dau of ! Naisi<sup>sh</sup>  
Mostly with Kama.

Who lives with ! Naisi<sup>sh</sup>.

Khasulla Cui y. dau + her husband Qui

! Naisi<sup>sh</sup> lives with ! Kluga's people.

1 <sup>gand<sup>ans</sup></sup> + Di || Khas say they live with their  
people sometimes & sometimes with their  
people.

1 <sup>gand<sup>ans</sup></sup> + Di || Khas live with both their people  
Di || Khas lived at Debra gu. 1 <sup>gand<sup>ans</sup></sup> at  
! Nao near by.

! Kluga is related to ! Haoga<sup>Naoka</sup> yes

! Khas " " " " " yes

Demi " brother of Klyo || o -

Bo and Bau whatever 2 or 3 children

Let's Haoga<sup>Naoka</sup> the chamer is their dau.

This Bo is the bro of ! Haoga<sup>Naoka</sup> w. of qao med.

There are 2 Bos married to 2 Baus.

1 at qigai ! Tu ! Kay

1 bro of ! Haoga<sup>Naoka</sup> - from clw lane



These 2 Baus are related. Hui Tin  
is one person.

Who is father of Igunda - Son of Khualla

It is the Bo who is the brother of  
! Haoga - the one from Cho! ana.

this one they call Black Bo - Bojo

The other - atiqi'gae Bo iqao iqau - shot  
closed au. Means bent back



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1 Gais<sup>hay</sup>'s Band

Palutocas 1 Gais<sup>hay</sup> at Debraga - his father's place  
70ys with his wife Di 11200.

Mabulocas 1120 hus. 1 Gais<sup>hay</sup>'s dau. Kluanna  
20ys

Mabulocas 1920 " " Khollo. dau 1 Gais<sup>hay</sup>  
40ys

(Get genus of Gao lunch back, & wife)



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Demi

Patri local Demi lives at 'Noi ? op) Near Debragu.  
70 yrs His father's place. 1 Khoa his wife  
is with him. Kheulla his son still

?  
Matri local Tye 70  
!Nai shi with his wife's people 1 Kheuga  
65+ get genes of Kheuga

ask about this

With !Nai shi live his dau. Kheulla  
her husband is 1 Qui away working  
now. He was here.

1 Qui h. of 1 gao dau of !Nai shi's son  
(recorded under gao. (Qui is bro of gao.)  
His skun is next to !Nai shi's

ask - Nai shi. blue beads -

Patri local + Joma 25  
Matri local son of !Nai shi. lives with his father had  
until recently lived with his wife's  
people His wife is 1 gao



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Ledino

Type

Residence - Brother Sister

Apr 28, 53

Be - wife & gau. Her bro + sister are:

// Nami Δ Nllami. lives with both his wife's people + his own

o | Haaga <sup>Naoka</sup>

Δ ! Naisi ! Naisli

Δ | qi! qae | Ti! Kay

// Nami Nllami. first lived with his wife's people his sister Be. went to get him. I saw son.

He is younger than Be. Why did she go to get him? It is their custom that a man lives with his wife's people and then goes to his own. Must he have a certain no. of children before returning to his own? - 3 children.

<sup>Naoka</sup>   Haaga	lives with her husband's people in west.
! Naisli	" " <sup>Naoka</sup>   Haaga + her hus. Not Married
<sup>Ti Kay</sup>   qi! qae	" " <sup>Naoka</sup>   Haaga " " " " "

Are Be's fa + mo living? Fa is dead.

Mo is with <sup>Naoka</sup> | Haaga + her hus.

So <sup>Naoka</sup> | Haaga's hus's fa living? Yes No? Yes

<sup>Naoka</sup> | Haaga + her hus. live with them.



Di 11/11/1940. pretty girl an orphan  
lives with 1 Haaga + 1 Qui.

1 gasa - Bang 1 gasa's son Ego



Kluana<sup>2nd</sup> wife of Gau  
o I gam w. of FTzma here.  
Δ Demi dead  
o Zu/Kho dead

Apr 28  
Residence - via Bros & Sisters

Kluana<sup>2nd</sup> her self - youngest.

Did Gau & Be live here at gautsela for a long time?

Ans. They lived with I gam for a long time

.. " just at ! Kolni! guma. = Skull in elephant.

we they with Be's for no at that time. Yes.

Why did they come to live with I gam & FTzma? Gau took Be's people to live with him after before they had children.

Ask Gau.







## Residence

The ~~Kung Bushmen~~ have both  
patrilocal and matrilocal aspects in  
~~the customs~~ their social system.

The Kung Bushmen of the Nainai area  
among whom this study was made provide  
examples of young married couples living  
with the husband's father and mother,  
with the wife's father and mother,  
with siblings of the husband or with  
siblings of the wife. Old widowed fathers  
or mothers live with their sons or  
daughters. Old widowed aunts or uncles  
(either fathers or mothers brothers or sisters)  
live with their nephews or nieces if they  
have no living children to live with. More  
especially an old man or woman who had  
no living spouse or children would live with  
a brother or sister who in turn was living  
with his or her children and if the brother or  
sister died would stay on with the niece & nephews.

1. Seems an inappropriate heading for a nomadic people. Cf. section on - p.  
and - p



One old woman named Baou had no living relative to live with so she lived with <sup>her daughter in the name relationship</sup> another old woman whose name was also Baou, and with <sup>the daughter and son of the second Baou</sup> another old woman named Baou, who was with her daughter + son-in-law. No Kuy Bushman live alone or is cast out. Each individual is linked to the group he lives with by relationship of one kind or another. The relationships <sup>are varied</sup> ~~are varied~~ <sup>systematic</sup> ~~are varied~~ <sup>Residence</sup> ~~are varied~~ is flexible, not rigid. Never the less the author believes that there is a <sup>pattern</sup> ~~system~~ that can be discovered despite the variations. ~~limits~~

The pattern has both patrilocal and matrilineal elements ~~and a tendency~~ for sisters to live together, <sup>greater than for</sup> ~~brothers to live together~~. Also there is <sup>an</sup> ~~an~~ <sup>inclination</sup> ~~inclination~~ <sup>for</sup> ~~for <sup>brothers to live together</sup>. <sup>if the father dies breaks up a</sup> ~~inclination~~ <sup>with the death of the father and extended family</sup> ~~with the death of the father~~ <sup>for the mother</sup> ~~to live with a daughter rather than a son~~. <sup>the weight seems to be on the female side of</sup> ~~the weight seems to be on the female side of~~ <sup>the scale</sup> ~~the scale~~. However what information <sup>has on the patrilocal aspect will be</sup> ~~has on the patrilocal aspect will be~~ <sup>is one important fact on the patrilocal</sup> ~~is one important fact on the patrilocal~~ <sup>patrilocal element to be explained presently must not be overlooked.</sup> ~~patrilocal element to be explained presently must not be overlooked.~~~~



One statement can be made with certainty  
No Kuy Bushman lives alone. No one is  
cast out. (as we observed the life of these people  
except one man considered to be insane who  
lives with his two wives and children, not  
with the band.

Quantitatively more Kuy Bushmen men  
live with their wives <sup>people</sup> families than  
with their own <sup>people</sup> families.



When King Bushmen were asked whether  
the a young married couple goes to live  
with the husband's people or the wife's people  
they <sup>said</sup> say without exception that they  
go to live with the wife's <sup>people</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>they</sup>  
say Informants said that a <sup>young man</sup> man must  
go to his wife's people so that the  
young wife will get used to him, so  
that the parents, the girl will be  
satisfied that he is a good husband.  
He must hunt for his wife's people.  
It is the expected, right thing.

Another point that was made was  
that the girl must be with her  
mother when her <sup>first</sup> <sup>second</sup> or third  
(it was variously stated) child is born.

It was further stated by a man who  
did not live with his wife's people  
but with his own parents, that if the man's  
wife's parents ~~were dead~~ died, then  
a man had the right to take his wife  
to his people. Another young man who



Insert after  
11ab r# 11aa

After there is a tendency for sisters  
to live with sisters, greater than the  
tendency for brothers to live together or  
sisters to live with brothers. The data  
on the bands shows more instances of the  
former. ~~This too may be taken as~~  
etc. And there are more cases of widowed  
mothers living with daughters than with  
sons. This may be further evidence  
of the strength of the matrilineal concept.  
~~When~~ The ~~of~~ extended family more  
often than not being composed of  
the father, mother, daughters and the  
husbands of the daughters <sup>the death of the father</sup> leaves the  
sisters living together and <sup>the widows</sup> the widows  
mother with them. <sup>except in the case of</sup> The sons are <sup>headmen</sup>  
dispersed - living with their wives' people.  
All kinship bonds are strong among the  
King Bushmen, but the bond between  
sisters seems particularly strong.



was living with his father, explained  
that he liked to live with his father  
and did so part of the time but,  
if his wife were going to have a child  
he would take her to her people (the couple  
who to be no older than 20 and have had 3 children  
They had had 3 children each child  
was born with her people) or observations  
Insert about Sisters the author believes that a man's

one of the validly on a Kuy Bushman  
bands confirmed the author's opinion that a man's  
yes living with the wife's people is the  
expected thing and is carried out  
by the population in general, with  
flexibility in adjustment to circumstances,  
and especially  
and that "Matrilocal residence is more  
more strictly adhered to in the early years  
of marriage and may not be adhered  
to when the wife's parents die  
especially after the wife's parents die  
To a man's living with his wife's people

The important exception is the first  
son is the first  
son is the first  
residence is the expected thing, and  
when a first son is a headman does not  
live with his father that is the exception.



The Kung Bushman social system includes the inheritance of headmanship by a son of the headman. The headmanship passes to the first son by inheritance or to succeeding sons if for any reason the first son does not become headman. In most cases recorded in our data the son who was to become headman at his father's death lived with his father and brought his wife or wives to his own band. The data provides ~~several~~ <sup>two cases of</sup> special interest ~~exceptions~~.

In two cases the first son renounced the headmanship and lived on with his wife's people instead of either remaining with his father, or returning to claim the headmanship after the father's death. In both these cases the headmanship was taken over by the husband of the <sup>deceased</sup> headman's <sup>younger</sup> daughter. In both cases there were <sup>sons</sup> of the headman, still minors, and in both cases it was said by several people that these younger sons would become headmen when they grew old enough. In both cases the younger sons who would be future headmen lived with their sisters and their sisters' husbands who were temporary headmen.



There is evidence in this of the <sup>strength</sup> force of the  
concept of matrilineal residence, when ~~even~~  
the sons of headmen remain with their  
wives bands, and when <sup>temporary</sup> headmanship  
is taken over by the husbands of daughters  
of the deceased headmen. And there  
is evidence of the clarity of the concept  
of patrilineal descent of headmen. The  
two concepts exist in the Kuy Bushman  
social system.



It is not easy to determine the pattern of residence with <sup>complete and</sup> precise accuracy among a hunting-gathering people. ~~There is considerable fluidity. There is much visiting. There are temporary combinations of all Bushmen live with kin and affines, but precisely which kin and affines is not to be discovered at first glance. There is considerable fluidity. There is much visiting. There are mergings of units of people for hunting trips and veld kos gathering trips. These mergings shift do shift from time to time do not remain permanent. On another trip a <sup>some what</sup> different combination of people may will merge, to reassort themselves ~~to~~ their ~~rela~~ still again for some season, another time.~~

Nevertheless the author believes that a pattern can be seen. After genealogues were taken and we knew who everybody was in the bands we worked with the attempt was made to watch these mergings, to see which units always went together, merging with other units from time to time. It was helpful to observe where people built their skins when they came together into a big camp of 60 or 70 persons. The people who permanently live together build their skins adjacent to each other in clusters.

(No visiting & mergings) in the Nari Nari area by changes, except in.



the aspect of residence in the social system, the Kung Bushmen is of interest to the author. Whether they are matrilineal, patrilineal or what type of residence their system contained was of interest to the author. The term residence does not seem quite appropriate to a nomadic people.

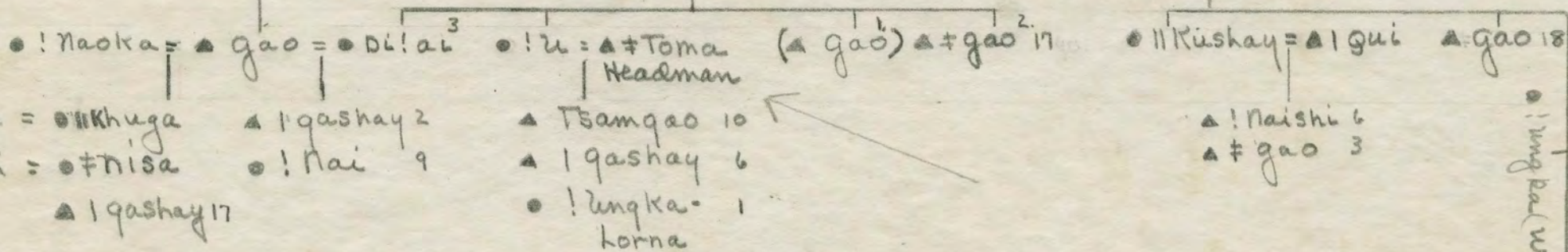
The author attempted to figure out who lived with whom in the bands of Kung Bushmen who inhabit the Nai Nai area. The composition of bands is discussed in the following paragraphs. The author as to matrilineal and patrilineal elements in the social system. The word residence will be used for convenience though it is not precisely appropriate to a people who have no move about so much, building their shelters whenever they ~~leave~~ ~~to be~~ are at nightfall, staying long enough to make a shelter with which, sleeping in the open without <sup>any</sup> shelter at all if the weather is good, ~~and~~ if they are staying a short time and if the weather is good.



(d.) • !u = ▲ || ao (d.) (d.) • Di'ai = ▲ gao<sup>(d.)</sup> (d.) • Kushay = ▲ gao<sup>(d.)</sup> 4.

• !Naoka = ▲ Debe (d.)  
Headman

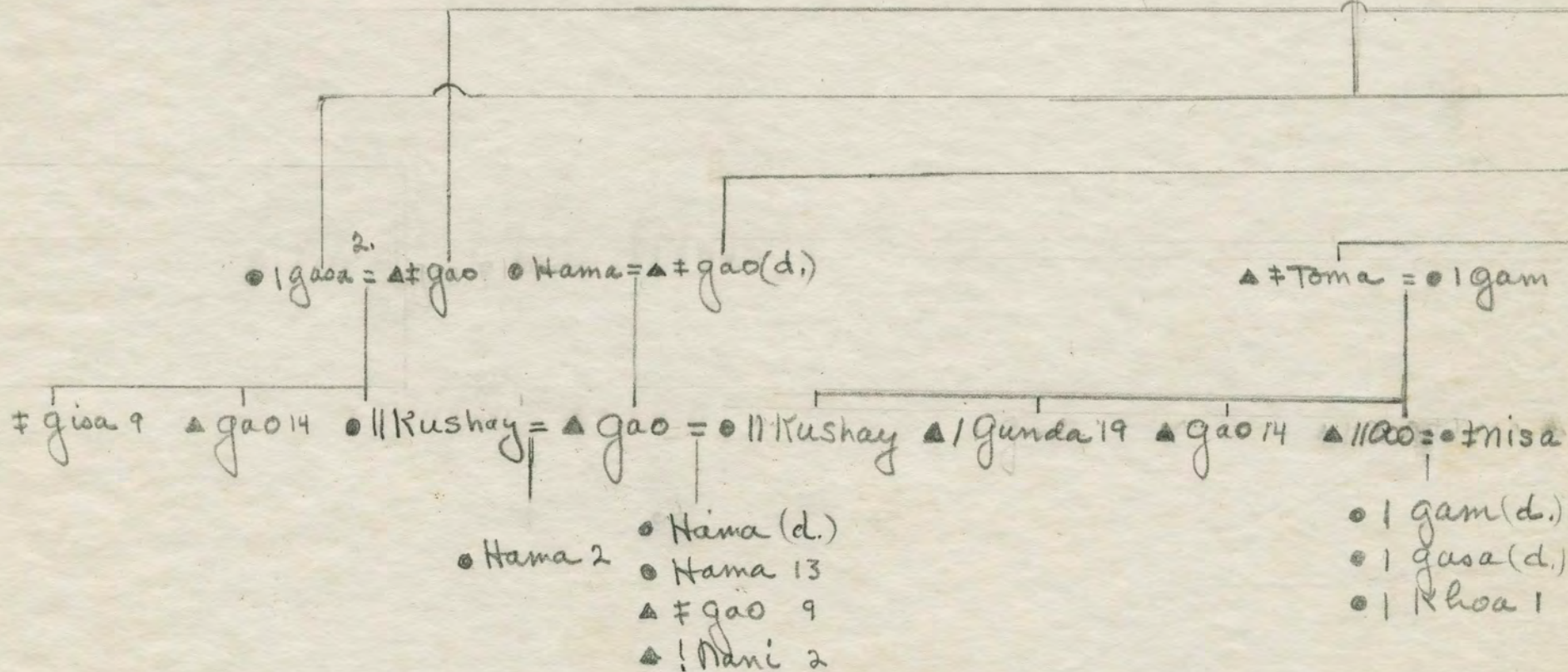
(d.) • |Khoa = ▲ gau



1. gao, e. bro. of !u, lives elsewhere with wife's family. Renounced headmanship.
2. †gao, y. bro. of !u will be headman after †Toma, it is said.
3. Di'ai is older than !u. Her husband's, gao's, father is living at Debbaga. It is said when he dies gao will go there to be headman. gao's father's name is |qashay, see p.1.
4. ||Kushay, mother of gau and †gao was the sister of !Naoka, wife of Debe.



(● Dill Khao = ▲ 1 gashay)



1. 1 gashay and Dill Khao live at Debbragu. 1 gashay is head man there. cf. Note 3 p. 2
2. 1 gasa, daughter of above and her husband † gao live sometimes with 1 gasa's father, sometimes with their daughter || Kushay, wife of gao.



What all about.

Tuma # Toma  
 !u  
 Gu  
 Cui 1 Qui  
 Cuihay // Kushay  
 Old Gao  
 De shay 1 Gishay  
 Kho 0 Kwollo  
 Gisa # Gisa

Gao Music  
 Nisa # Nisa

Cui Hunter 1 Qui  
 Hoaga // Naoka

Helmet - Gao  
 2 Cuihay // Kushay

Gao  
 De Kai + Pi! Kay

Gao  
 Gasa

1 Qui  
 Di! Ai

Gao Med  
 Di! Ai  
 Hoaga // Naoka

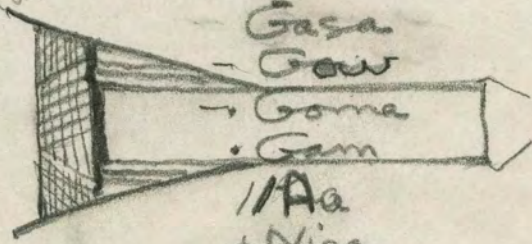
Gao  
 Be

Qua-a K'huay Na

Hama . Xama

Zuma  
 Young Hama . Xama

- Helmet  
 Cuihay 1  
 Cuihay 2  
 Hama (old)  
 Zuma  
 Young Hama  
 - Gow Med  
 De Ai  
 Gasa  
 - Gow  
 - Goma  
 - Gam  
 // Aa  
 # Nisa  
 - Gunda  
 Gow



- Tuma ③  
 - Gu ①  
 - Cui med ③  
 De Ai ①  
 Hoaga ①  
 - Cui ③  
 - Cuihay ①  
 - Old Gao ③  
 Unka ①  
 Gishay  
 Nai  
 Gashay  
 Gashay  
 Samko

Cui Hunter  
 Hoaga  
 Gasa  
 Qua  
 Gisa  
 Dam

- Gao  
 Be  
 - Quanca  
 4 children

4 Blankets  
 4 Shirts  
 4 Pants  
 5 Blankets  
 2 Blankets  
 1 Shirt  
 1 Pants





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