

case is, however, an exception. The *wororu* of a child in every case (except this one) that I examined in the Kariera tribe is a man standing in the relation of "brother" to the actual father of the child, and therefore stands in the relation of *mama* (father or father's brother) to the child itself. In most of the cases that I examined the child had its origin in the spirit of a kangaroo killed by the *wororu*. In one case the man showed me a birth-mark on his thigh which he said was where his *wororu* had speared the kangaroo.

I did not find that there were any specific duties that a man or woman owes to his *wororu*. All that the natives told me was that a man "looks after" his *wororu*, that is, he attends to his wants, gives him food when there is an opportunity, and treats him much as he does his own father. It is possible, however, that there are some more specific duties that I did not discover.

The animal from whose spirit the child arises, or the animal or vegetable eaten by the mother and causing conception, is not in any way sacred to the individual thus connected with it by birth. He treats it just as he does every other animal or plant.

28. BÁNARO SOCIETY⁴

BY RICHARD THURNWALD

EACH of the villages has a name of its own. Different localities, such as parts of the forest, of the grassland, big trees, creeks, hunting grounds, fishing pools, sago swamps, etc., are provided with special designations or proper names. These appellations are used as village-names. However, the name of the settlement must be carefully distinguished from that of the tribe. The tribe-name is the designation given to a tribe by its neighbors. . . .

Each of its villages is composed of from three to six hamlets, each hamlet in turn consisting of from three to eight houses. Every hamlet boasts of a special communal structure, as a religious center called *bú'ek*, but there is no such common "goblin-hall" for the village as a whole. . . .

The social unit of the settlement is the hamlet. The hamlet, together with its inhabitants, derives its name from that of the goblin-hall; the name of the goblin-hall, as well as the name of the tribe, remains

⁴ From monograph of the same name, in *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, Volume 3, Number 4, 1916. The Bánaro live on the Keram River, in the northern part of what was German New Guinea.

constant. If the location of the hall should be changed on account of the migration of the tribe, or if a new hall should be built in the same village, the name would still be retained. So, in the example of the . . . Tjímundo tribe the names of the two goblin-halls, which with their surrounding houses constitute the village, have always been the same—Yuórmua and Nangúndumbir. Not only have the names of the goblin-halls been retained, but also their position in relation to the river in the different localities the tribe has occupied, the first being always farther downstream than the other. Yuórmua, the natives say, "goes first," and Nangúndumbir "follows," the whole village being imagined as floating down the river. Thus, the designation of the hall is in no way connected with the locality, but with the group of people belonging to the goblin-hall. I propose to call such a group a "gens." Thus, there are as many "gentes" as hamlets.

As one enters a goblin-hall, he is immediately impressed by its symmetrical plan. This is especially noticeable in the arrangement of the fireplaces, of which there are four, two on each side of the hall, directly opposite each other. . . .

The two symmetrical rows of fireplaces in the goblin-hall correspond to a division of the gens into two halves. It might perhaps be allowed to use the word "sib" in a narrower sense to indicate these halves. The sibs themselves have no special names, other than "the left," *bon*, and "the right," *tan*, drawn from their place in the goblin-hall. These terms refer to their relative positions as one faces the entry.

The term for the left side, *a bôn areún*, is derived from the name for bamboo pipes, *bon-moróm*, meaning literally "bamboo-goblin."—The designation for the right side, *tan*, probably has some connection with the big wooden drums. Although the word for drum is not involved, the appellation for iron-wood, out of which the drums are cut, is *tan*.

The external form of the settlement reflects precisely the internal organization of the tribe; for the goblin-hall, with adjacent houses in the same clearing, mirrors the social unit, the gens, just as the symmetric partition of the goblin-hall into two parts, the division of the gens into halves [sibs].

The symmetry in the arrangement of the goblin-hall is the expression in space-terms of the principle of social reciprocity or the "retaliation of like for like."

EXCHANGE SYSTEM

Among the Bánaro we find the exchange system in full operation, elaborately worked out in every detail. When a girl has reached the

age of puberty and gone through the initiation ceremonies, she consults with her mother as to which of the marriageable youths suits her best. Of course, she often has an understanding with the boy beforehand. She may choose from among the boys of the several gentes of which her tribe is composed. Marriage within the gens is not permitted. It is only in exceptional cases that marriage into another tribe takes place, as an examination of native pedigrees proves. For this reason we may call the gens exogamic, the tribe endogamic.

The girl's mother discusses the matter with her husband, and if they agree, she prepares a pot of boiled sago, which they then carry in a basket to the parents of the chosen bridegroom. The families concerned confer with each other and come to a formal agreement. As compensation for the girl the sister of the bridegroom must be married to the bride's brother. But the sago is offered under the pretext of asking the bridegroom's sister in marriage for the bride's brother. If the other parents accept the sago, the case is settled, as far as the two sets of parents are concerned.

But the situation is now complicated further. We noticed above that each gens is divided into two sibs. These two sibs are united by a bond of friendship for mutual protection and pleasure, as well as for purposes of revenge against outsiders. The two sibs are considered to be the best of friends. They "can never fight" against each other. It seems required, therefore, by a kind of active sympathy, that if one sib is going to celebrate a marriage, the other sib shall also have an opportunity for a feast. Moreover the principle of requital implies that the other sib shall participate, as we shall see later on. Accordingly a bridegroom of the right side (*tan*) of the sib must take his bride from the same side of the other gens; a bridegroom of the left side (*bon*) takes his bride from a left sib.

After the parties have mutually agreed, each pair of parents confers with the paternal grandfather of each bridegroom. Each grandfather consults with his *mundū*, his special friend in the corresponding sib. If the grandfather is dead, his brother takes his place.

The *mundūs* of the grandfathers now confer with their sons, and the sons with their children, in order to arrange for two corresponding marriages further in the parallel sib. Thus we may count four pairs to be united by marriage. Two gentes each exchange one girl for a girl of the other gens, and this pair of girls is doubled by the parallel exchange in the corresponding sib of each gens.

This is the ideal system, but in reality it cannot always be carried out to its fullest extent. . . .

GIRLS' INITIATION

The marriage ceremony, as was mentioned above, is connected with the initiation ceremony of the girls. Girls are provided with husbands on reaching the age of puberty. It would lead us too far to give a detailed account of the rather complicated festivities here. The following, however, are some of their principal features.

Wild pigs are hunted, and domestic pigs slaughtered on different occasions, once by the fathers of the girls, once by their mothers' brothers. During a lapse of altogether nine months, the girls are confined to a cell in the family house, getting sago soup instead of water throughout that time. For the whole period their fathers are obliged to sleep in the goblin-house. At last their cell is broken up by the women, the girls released and allowed to leave the house. The women get coconuts laid ready beforehand, and throw them at the girls, whom they finally push into the water, again pelting them with coconuts. The girls crawl out of the water on to the bank, receive portions of sago and pork, and are now dressed, and adorned with earrings, nose-sticks, necklaces, bracelets, and aromatic herbs. After this a dance of the women takes place.

That same evening the orgies begin. When dusk breaks in, the men assemble on the streets of the village. The old men consult with each other, agreeing to distribute the girls according to their custom. This custom was explained to me in the following way. The father of the chosen bridegroom really ought to take possession of the girl, but he is "ashamed" and asks his sib friend, his *mundū*, to initiate her into the mysteries of married life in his place. This man agrees to do so. The mother of the girl hands her over to the bridegroom's father, telling her that he will lead her to meet the goblin.

The bridegroom's father takes her to the goblin-hall and bids her enter. His *mundū* has already gone into the goblin-hall, and awaits her within. When she comes in, he, in the rôle of the goblin, takes her by the hand and leads her to the place where the big bamboo pipes (three to six meters long) are hidden.

These musical pipes, by the way, play a most important part in many ceremonies, and their voice is supposed to be that of the goblin himself. Sight of them is forbidden to women, on pain of death.

Before these hidden gods the couple unite. Afterwards the girl is led out of the goblin-hall, where her bridegroom's father awaits her and brings her back to her mother. The *mundū* returns home in a roundabout way, for he is "ashamed" to meet anybody on his way back.

The bridegroom's father goes back to the goblin-hall, and it is now his turn to perform the rôle of goblin, his *mundū* bringing him his son's bride.

After that, the same rite is performed with the other two girls.

The bridegrooms and the other boys, in the meantime, are confined in a house, set apart for this purpose, and watched by their mothers' brothers.

The fathers in their capacity of goblins are allowed to have intercourse with the brides on several subsequent occasions, but only in the goblin-hall.

The bridegroom is not allowed to touch her until she gives birth to a child. This child is called the goblin's child. When the goblin-child is born, the mother says, "Where is thy father? Who had to do with me?" The bridegroom responds, "I am not his father; he is a goblin-child." And she replies, "I did not see that I had intercourse with a goblin."

After the birth of the child, the bridegroom is expected to have finished building a new house, and the bride, the plaiting of the big sleeping bag, used on the banks of the Kerám River, as well as on the Sepík River, as a shelter from mosquitos. Then the couple are finally permitted to begin married life, without any further ceremonies, in the new house. On solemn occasions the goblin-father continues to exercise his "spiritual" function in the goblin-hall. . . .

When the first child, say a boy, comes to the age of puberty, and becomes a *guli*, as a child of about twelve years is called, he goes through initiation ceremonies which are somewhat similar to those of the girls described above.

BOYS' INITIATION

These ceremonies are also connected with the *mundū* institution. Boys of the two sibs are initiated together. First their fathers consult with each other. The grandfathers, who acted reciprocally as goblin-fathers of the firstborn, confer with the brothers of the respective mothers, in order to plan for a hunt of wild pigs in the forest. The two goblin-fathers go in one party, the two mothers' brothers in another. After the hunt, the two parties meet outside the village, and now the respective fathers and uncles of the boys return home together with the pigs. The goblin-father cuts the pig into two halves, giving one side to the adopted father of the goblin-child, and retaining the other for himself. The mothers boil the pork and prepare sago. The next morning the men bring the head of the pig to the goblin-hall, and deposit it before the bamboo pipes. Later on, the two mothers'

brothers and the two legal fathers eat the head of the pig. The other women of the village bring baked sago to the goblin-hall, where the men are assembled. After sunset a *mundū*-festival takes place.

At this time the goblin-father ceases to exercise his right as representative of the goblin, ceding his power to his son, a man of the same age as the initiated woman's husband. The goblin-father, however, is formally invited, but he scratches his head and refuses. He might, for example, say, "No, I am too old now; my son had better take over the *mundū*-rights." These rights are, as a matter of fact, usually inherited.

From this time forth the husband's sib-friend, his *mundū*, acts as goblin on festive occasions.

The initiation ceremony coincides in time with the refusal of the goblin-father to continue in his goblin rights towards his sib-friend's daughter-in-law. This indicates that the goblin-father is entering into another age-class, paralleled by the permission of his son to enter into the full privileges of sex life, and by the arrival of his own goblin-child at the age of puberty. The latter stage is used as a means of grading the age-class.

During these ceremonies in the goblin-hall, the boys are brought to another house, and there watched over by their mothers' brothers. When the father returns, he brings a burning brand from the goblin-hall with him, goes to his son and describes a circle of fire around the head of his boy.

The fathers and the mothers' brothers now pick up the boys and carry them on their shoulders to the goblin-hall. Here they wait outside on the veranda until all the men have entered. The men form a line across the hall and begin to dance. The other men blow the pipes from behind the row of dancers. The boys are now brought inside the hall. At this, the pipers break through the line of rhythmically dancing men, and press the pipes upon the navels of the boys.

After further ceremonies, the boys are placed upon a piece of sago bark, and the fathers and mothers' brothers now take the bamboo pipes and blow upon them. Then they hand over the instruments to the boys and show them how to play them. After this, the boys continually practice playing the pipes.

Thereupon the boys are confined in cage-like cells (*momúnevem*), built for that purpose in the goblin-hall. The goblin-hall itself is surrounded during that time with a fence of sago leaves.

A good many other ceremonies are performed during the period the boys are interned, for instance a ceremony connected with the bull-roarer. They also insert in the urinary passage two or three stems of *Coix lacrima*, a barbed grass. These stems they pull out suddenly, so

that the walls of the passage are cut. After three months of confinement the initiates are "shown" the phenomena of the world that surrounds them—animals, plants, high water, thunder and lightning—which are presented as spirits in the shape of wooden idols. They are also introduced to the goblins of this world and the spirits of their ancestors.

Five months later, during new moon, the father and the mother's brother slaughter domestic pigs, as is usual at the conclusion of ceremonies. The mother now roasts the pork and cooks sago. The other women of the gens also prepare sago. The men of the related gentes bring taro, yams, bananas, sugar cane, tobacco, betel nut, and betel pepper. Then they sing and dance, day and night.

Finally the boys are girded, clothed in a kind of fringed sago-leaf skirt, belted with hoops of rattan, and adorned with plaited bracelets, nose sticks, and ear ropes. Their waists are tightly bound with a wide band of rattan wickerwork, drawn so firmly together that they can hardly eat. It is the pride of the boys to have a slender waist.

Their father then offers them betel nut and betel pepper, and washes them in the water left from the filtration of the sago. The mothers' brothers shave their temples and the back of their heads, leaving a kind of crest.

The fathers in the meantime have carved small human figures (*bukamorom*, on the lower Sepik called *kandimboan*) as a gift of mutual friendship between the intermarrying gentes. With these figures a particular charm is performed. The father goes with the boy into the forest to search for a water liana, a particular species containing water in its stem. This liana is cut and the water allowed to flow over the figure, betel nut and betel pepper are laid upon it, and it is then wrapped up in bark. The figure is used as a love charm. If the boy should go into the bush with this, he would expect to meet a woman. When the women hear that such a charm has been executed, one of them, ordinarily the wife of the mother's goblin-initiator, i.e. the wife of his grandfather's sib friend, complies with the wish expressed in the charm. This is the boy's initiation into sexual life.

At sunset the fathers and mothers' brothers carry the boys with the pipes to the banks of the river, where they line up along the shore, the boys still on their shoulders. The other men stand in a line behind them, dancing and singing. The goblin-fathers, stationed at the two ends of the line, hold a rattan rope in their hands, with which they finally force the boys into the water, so that they may have a bath with the pipes. Afterwards the boys return to the goblin-hall. Meanwhile the women are sent to the forest, lest they should get a glimpse of the pipes.

The next morning another bathing ceremony takes place among

the adults of the community. First the men, singing and dancing, form a line along the bank of the river; the women line up behind them. The mothers of the boys who are being initiated make a fire by rubbing a cord of rattan on fire wood. The women begin to dance, the mothers drawing taut a long rope of rattan behind the men, by means of which they finally push them into the water. After this the women throw at the men coconuts previously laid ready. The men, in return, shoot back with bow and arrow, each man trying to hit his *mundū's* wife. The men now climb out of the water, and the reverse of the above ceremony takes place, the men pushing the women into the water with the rattan rope. This time the women shoot back from the water with arrows, aiming at their goblins.

While the bathing ceremony is going on, the boys are kept apart and watched over by their mothers' brothers.

On the same evening the festival in the goblin-hall is repeated, but this time is extended to the mothers' brothers and their *mundūs*. The latter also meet in the goblin-hall of the initiated boys.

After this the boys are brought home to their mothers. Here their hands are extended over a fire, and the joints of their fingers cracked over the flame.

These ceremonies conclude the festivities, and the boy is finally allowed to associate with women.

The initiation ceremonies, as we have seen, introduce the marriage rites and are intimately connected with them.

I should like to call attention to the fact that marriage ceremonies are not differentiated from the ceremonies associated with puberty. The maturing of sex is ritually identified with the functioning of sex, and the possibility of the function with its practical employment. This employment however is restricted to a definite group of persons and to certain fixed occasions, in the manner shown above. . . .

THE SYSTEM AT WORK

If we try to sum up the system that results from these various customs, we come to the following conclusions:

Each woman, as time goes on, has regular intercourse with three men: (1) With the sib-friend of her bridegroom's father; (2) with her husband; (3) with her husband's sib-friend. And each man also has legal intercourse with three women: (1) With his wife; (2) with his sib-friend's wife; (3) with the bride of his sib-friend's son. This holds true if we leave out of consideration the old woman who initiates the boy.

There is no doubt that this results in greater probability of conception, and that sterile marriages are prevented in a higher degree. But I doubt whether this eugenic reason had any influence in establishing these customs. However, in case a marriage should prove to be sterile, the man is allowed to take another wife; but then there are no ceremonies.

It must be borne in mind that if a child's extramarital father is its mother's sib-friend, this man is the son of its mother's goblin initiator. Thus the three men of the other sib with whom the woman has to deal, besides her husband, are a father and his son, and eventually this latter person's grandson. A man, however, has to do first with a woman of his grandmother's generation, hereafter with his female sib-friend of his wife's age-class, later with this woman's son's wife. A woman has intercourse with males who are lineal descendants, a man with females who are not direct offsprings in successive generations. A male will have union—besides his initiation—with two persons of his age-class and one of the following one, a female with one of the preceding age-class and two of her own, and eventually with her grandchildren's generation. It will be noticed that intercourse is avoided on the female side with the son's generation and correspondingly on the male side with the mother's age-class.

The offspring of the union with the goblin is called the "goblin's child," *mòro-me-mán*. Although the child remains with the mother, we cannot speak of a female line of descent, for the child is adopted by his mother's husband, who cares for his further education, and practically acts as his foster father. . . .

Whether the husband happens to be the children's father or not, is of no importance in this scheme; he is the foster father of his wife's goblin-child, and of any children his wife might have with his own *mundū*, as well. These children of his wife may, perhaps, originate entirely from fathers of the other sib of the gens. But the man is the head of his wife's family. The family relation and the sexual relation rest each upon a different basis, as has been shown above.

It will be seen that each of the four simultaneously intermarrying couples has a different pair of parents, if the first pair of mates is a pair of goblin-children. This first pair is paralleled by a second corresponding pair of goblin-children in the other sib. Each of the two pairs of goblin-children, as shown above, is "complemented" by another pair of ordinary children. The goblin-child and the corresponding ordinary child have each the same mother, but different fathers. The four pairs of intermarrying mates possess four mothers and eight fathers, each of the eight children belonging to another father.

DEFECTIVE CASES

We shall now turn to consider the cases where, for some reason or other, the system cannot be carried out to its fullest extent.

As we have seen, the marriage of one couple is always balanced by the counter-marriage of another couple of the opposite sib. Thus, it is necessary that each girl should have a brother and each boy a sister.

Nature, however, does not dispose of the distribution of sexes to one couple in such a systematic way. Therefore, the natives attempt to improve upon nature by killing the children of the undesirable sex in the succession of births. Thus, if two boys or two girls are born in succession, the second one is generally killed.

A second wife is taken, if the marriage with the first wife remains without issue, or if later the first wife does not give birth to a further child, if such is wanted to fill up the required even number of children.

Nevertheless, the standard of equal numbers in the distribution of the sexes cannot be maintained, because of possible deaths occurring in infancy or childhood. It may always happen that out of the four couples one person may be wanting. In such case the gaps may be filled by the substitution of cousins for brothers or sisters.

If conditions for a complete *mundū* marriage cannot be fulfilled a simple exchange marriage of two couples of corresponding gentes is arranged. On such an occasion the *mundū* is freely chosen from members of the opposite sib.

Where two sisters are to be exchanged for two sisters of another gens, and the elder sister of one family dies, the older brother of the corresponding family has the right to take the remaining sister, and the younger brother is left without a bride (and *vice versa* if the elder brother should die). In such a case a quarrel between the two brothers is likely to result. Later on, if the elder brother should die, the younger would succeed to the right to his brother's widow. . . .

In case the number of persons needed in the exchange system should prove uneven, the person left from one system is allowed to take a person remaining from another system. Should such an occasion occur, there would be no *mundū*.

THE BUYING OF WOMEN

The man, however, is then supposed to give presents for the woman he takes. If it should happen that a woman is obtained from another tribe, she is paid for with pots, usually ten in number. This case appears

to me to be significant and to hint at the way in which in other parts of New Guinea the institution of buying the women may have arisen. . . .

SOCIALIZING INFLUENCE OF THE SYSTEM

The exchange system maintains a great socializing influence, for by its means all members of the tribe are connected with, and dependent on, each other. This appears in the different ceremonials where persons are assigned special functions, as well as in the marriage system, which has spread a network of all kinds of relationships, not only over the gens, but over the tribe itself.

The working of this system of ties could well be felt when I tried to recruit a boy from the Bánaro tribe for service with the expedition. Of the boys who served me as informants, one (Yómba) was a single man from a gens of the Bánaro tribe, the other (Mánape) from the Rámunga tribe. It was impossible, however, to get another boy, in spite of friendly relations, for there was no one to spare, each man having his special part to play in the social system. . . .

Among the Bánaro the economic unit is the sib. It is the sib that has definite claims to the sago places, hunting districts and plantation grounds. These localities are identified by certain names and the boundaries marked by creeks, swamps, big trees, grass limits, ravines, bends of the river, etc. The owners as well as the other members of the tribe know these localities and are aware of the traditional rights to them.

The ties of kinship are associated with the common holding of the land. The *connubium* tends to preserve the claims on a certain territory within a restricted number of people. In consequence of the marriage prescriptions the origin of the persons entitled to exploit the land is limited, so that the offspring derives its rights through kinship to members of the community. Individuals have no claim of ownership or rights of disposal over the ground. Therefore we cannot speak of a transmission by inheritance, as the sib is not like a person, capable of death. The right of a person depends on his situation in the social complex. Hence the importance of stating the relationship.

Even the earnings of a boy recruited for service with the white man fall to his sib as a requital for the absence of his working power claimed by his sib. Whatever he brings home is distributed among his kinsfolk.

Individual property is confined to the products of the labor of the individual. The tree, for instance, that a man plants, or the fish that a man catches, or the weir that a man weaves, or the stone ax he puts

together, belong to him as the fruit of his labor. This individual property is of a very temporary character, for the crops of the plantation are consumed when they are ripe, and the few tools are used up after a relatively short time. If a man should die, they are burned and buried with him, for they are considered as a sort of personal appurtenance. . . .

GERONTOCRACY AND MAGIC

The essential features of the system we have to deal with here, are as follows:

1. The exchange of women between two groups, based on the psychological principle of requital, a principle that regulates the social relations of a community among such of its members as are equal in age or sex. It may also be applied to the making of peace with formerly hostile communities, or the socialization of foreign groups.

2. This special kind of system has been brought about by the political form of the gerontocracy. The old men are the determining factor for external relations (war and peace) and internal life (e.g. the repartition of land for plantation purposes, hunting-grounds, etc.). They derive their power from the real or asserted knowledge they possess.

Ceremonies, especially such as are in connection with the materialization of the goblins, are kept secret. The arranging of the dances, the making and ornamenting of the masks, and, above all, the whirring of the bullroarer and the fluting of the bamboo pipes, are hidden from the people. In these are contained the charms for securing the help of the superhuman powers, on which success in life depends. Only with the lapse of time are the male members of the community successively initiated into the magico-religious ceremonies.

These secret ceremonies contain the sum total of the people's knowledge, representing a kind of primitive science adapted to the supposed pleasing of the goblin. Disease and suffering, defeat in the fight, are considered as consequences of the willful malice of the capricious goblins, and must therefore be prevented or remedied in connection with the supposed cause.

This knowledge, by the way, is often of what we should term a magical kind. We, from our point of view, discriminate between magical and, say, therapeutic means. To them, in general, medical science and magic are one and the same thing. It is we, who, according to the level of our experience, make a distinction between the two which is not felt by the native.

Difference in point of view ought also to be taken into account in a

consideration of the exchange system, which must in no way be regarded as debauchery, but as the outcome of a moral and religious creed for the regulation of the most important problems of social and individual life.

The gerontocracy exercises its influence by theocratic means. But its power must not be overrated. The sway of the old men is not absolute. They exercise their power, not by command, but by advice. The boy or young man may or may not obey. The outcome of each particular case is the resultant of two forces: the authority of the particular old man concerned, and the relative courage of the younger man. But practically, the community is dominated by the influence of a few old men, to whose decisions the people consent.

This, in brief, is their political system: The old men give their tutorage in magic, etc., to the people, demanding a certain amount of deference and allegiance from them in return. On this basis are built up nearly all primitive political systems in the South Seas.

29. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE NAMA HOTTENTOT⁵

BY A. WINIFRED HOERNLÉ

THE people with whom this paper deals live in the territory known today as the Protectorate of Southwest Africa. They form one branch of the people known generally as the Hottentots, but from the very earliest days of the Dutch settlement at the Cape this branch of the Hottentot peoples has been called the Namaqua, and Nama is the name by which they call themselves today. The meaning of the word is unknown, but it is, according to tradition, the name of a remote ancestor of all the tribes calling themselves by the name. The old form, Namaqua, is probably derived from the dual form, Namakha, Namab being the masculine singular, Namas the feminine singular, and Naman the common plural. . . .

The indigenous people were in historical times divided into seven main groups, with one or two subsidiary ones which are known to have been late offshoots from these main groups. According to the

⁵ In *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Volume 27, pages 1-24, 1925: "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots of Southwest Africa." The small numbers ¹, ², ³, ⁴, represent "click" sounds and replace respectively a single bar, double bar, double-crossed bar, and exclamation, in the original—as in the case of Selection 21.

traditions of these people they are all descendants of one line of ancestors. . . .

All these groups which I have enumerated I propose to speak of as "tribes," for, in spite of their claim to a common ancestry, these groups have been for a long time independent of one another. Each group has its acknowledged chief and its acknowledged fountains, though before the coming of the white man and of the Orlams the boundaries between the different groups were not marked in any clear manner. In an old document, translated in the Rhenish Missionary Record for 1854, the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his fountains. He gives them permission to stay, but states specifically that this does not mean that he gives over the fountain to them; "the water is my water," he says again and again. We shall also see a little later that the different water holes, or fountains, in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific groups. This did not mean that other people could not use this water, but that one group had a prior claim to it established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for long would ask permission to do so. . . .

At the present day some of these tribes are extinct; that is to say, the tribal unity is totally destroyed, though one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one or other of these tribes. But even where there is still a small remnant of people holding together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as a headman, or chief, the whole culture and power of the Nama is hopelessly destroyed. The history of all these tribes for the last 150 years has been one of incessant strife, first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the incoming of the tribes from the south; next with the Hereros, a Bantu tribe advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contract with the Germans and never fought against them. . . .

The social organization which I am about to describe, therefore, relates almost entirely to the past. The details of it have been gathered with great difficulty from the old headmen of the tribes, and much of it is little known to most of the younger generation.

If we study what I have called a tribe more closely, we shall find that in all cases it is composed of a number of patrilineal sibs, that is, of groups of people claiming to be related in the male line; and that one of these sibs claims seniority. The chieftainship is hereditary in this senior sib and is inherited in the male line. In some cases I have been given traditions of the formation of the tribe, the various sibs claiming