

1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family:

Society: Ju|'hoan (1)

Language: Ju|'hoan (1)

Alternative names: !Xo, Dobe Kung, Dzu'oasi, Ju'oasi, Kung, Kung-Tsumkwe, Tsumkwe, Xaixai, Xû, Xun, Zhu'oasi (1)

Language Family: Khoisan (1)

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com):

ISO code: ktz (1)

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):

Approx: Slightly North and West of 22°East 20°South, the border of Botswana and Namibia (2)

1.4 Brief history:

“From the archaeological record, the Dobe area has been a hunting and gathering stronghold for literally thousands of years. Middle Stone Age materials 20-40,000 years old have been found at \neq Gi and elsewhere (Yellen and Brooks, 1988; Brooks and Yellen, 1992). The Later Stone Age of the Dobe area shows remarkable continuity from at least 3000 BC and probably as early as 18000 BC. Yellen and Brooks have reported unbroken deposits of Later Stone Age materials underlying or close to contemporary Ju|'hoansi villages. The Dobe are Ju|'hoansi themselves have no tradition of being refugees from other areas.”

“The First Non-San to penetrate the area (in modern times) were European hunters and Tswana herders. From the 1870s on, the herders came to trade, hunt, and graze their cattle. After some initial shyness, the Ju were quickly incorporated into the Tswana tributary system. The Ju acted as trackers for the Tswana and helped butcher the meat, and when the summer had passed they acted as porters, carrying the season's take of their new overlords back to the east.” (3, pp. 18,21)

“What is the Ju|'hoansi's view of their own history? ... the Dobe San were convinced that their ancestors were a distinct people who lived on their own by hunting and gathering. When the area was opened up after 1870, Blacks and Whites arrived within a few years of one another, but Ju|'hoan elders insisted that when outsiders finally came to their area in the nineteenth century *it was Whites who came first and the Blacks only came after*. When told of the views of Wilmsen and Denbow (1990) – that their ancestors had been herders and serfs for centuries- the Ju|'hoansi were offended. In response, the elders characteristically posed a rhetorical question: how could their ancestors, they wondered, be portrayed as long-time serfs of Black masters, when these same Blacks only arrived within the last three generations (Lee, 1998; Smith and Lee, 1997).” (3, p. 20)

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:

“Since the time of the first Black visitors in the nineteenth century, the Ju|'hoansi have been exposed to several important innovations: the use of metal tools and containers, the smoking of tobacco, and the raising of livestock and planting of crops. They adopted the first two with enthusiasm: iron tools and cooking utensils are universals among the Ju|'hoansi, and everyone smokes tobacco when they can get it. In fact, the two innovations are combined in the Ju's favorite smoking device, an empty rifle shell obtained from the Blacks with tobacco stuffed in one end and a grass stopper in the other. But the more basic economic changes of agriculture and livestock production did not take hold. By 1960 the Ju|'hoansi still remained largely hunter-gatherers without herds or fields. They have, however, established social and economic ties with Blacks.” (3, p. 141)

“In comparison to Dobe, the situation of the Nyae Nyae people across the border in Namibia has been even more difficult. While the Dobe people had to meet the challenges of declining foraging, sedentarization and the cold immersion into a market economy, the Ju|'hoansi of Nyae Nyae had to deal with even more: massive resettlement, the imposition of apartheid, the loss of most of their land base, militarization, and finally the triumph and trauma of Independence and post-Independence Namibia.

For over two decades, 900-1000 Ju|'hoansi were herded together under the watchful eye of South African authorities and missionaries, while weekly shipments of government rations supported the settlement. These rations were supplemented by some wage work, and by occasional trips out – further and further from the artificial center as time went on- for bush foods. The enforced idleness and unaccustomed crowding took a heavy toll; home-brew parties, social problems, and family violence became a regular feature of life at Tjum!kui.” (3, p. 174)

1.6 Ecology:

“The Dobe area is part of a vast basin 1000 to 1200 meters above sea level, bisected by the Botswana-Namibia border on the northern fringe of the Kalahari Desert. The first impression of a traveler to this region is an immense flatness, where the sky dominates the landscape. The Aha Hills rise only 100 meters above the surrounding plain, and from their top one sees what seems to be endless vistas of brush and savannah stretching to the horizon in every direction. ... The Ju themselves distinguish four kinds of habitats: (1) dunes, (2) flats (3) *melapo*, and (4) hardpan and river valleys.

Dunes Unlike the moving dunes of the Namib and southern Kalahari deserts the dunes of the northern Kalahari are fixed by vegetation. *Ricinodendron rautanenii* (the mongongo nut), the major plant food of the Dobe-area !Kung, is found only on the crests of the fixed dunes. The mongongo provides a protein-rich nut meat and a nutritious fruit, and the tree's hollow interior traps rainwater for drinking.

Flats Intermediate in elevation between the dunes and the melapo are plains of buff-to-white compacted sands. The flats provide extensive groves of *Grewia* berry bushes, the vegetable ivory palm with its tasty fruit, and a number of other edible species.

Melapo [river courses, in Setswana] Two subtypes can be distinguished here. The smaller melapo have compacted soils of light gray or buff. Here are found dense thickets of small trees verging on forests. Well-defined melapo, with gray, compacted, silty soils and occasionally hardpan, support many species of *Acacia* and other edible gums.

Hardpan The soils here consist of patches of bare rock alternating with patches of sand or mud. The baobab tree with its fruit and seed is the most important food found here” (3, pp. 27-28)

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density

Population Size:

People Name	ROP Code	Countries	Language	ROL (Ethnologue ISO Code)	Total of People	Total of Language
Kung	105423	Namibia	Kung-Tsumkwe	ktz	3,000	7,000
Kung-Tsumkwe	105423	Angola	Kung-Tsumkwe	ktz	4,000	7,000

Source: (8)

Mean Village Size: varies seasonally – see 5.8

Home Range Size: 8000 square kilometers (3, 14)

Density: $7,000 \text{ people} / 8000 \text{ km}^2 = .875 \text{ people} / \text{km}^2$

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

“The mongongo (fruit and nut) is in a class by itself. All the Dobe !Kung agree that it is their main important vegetable food. It is superabundant, found near all waterholes, and available all months of the year; it is easy to collect, tasty, and highly nutritious. Only meat rivals the mongongo as the most desirable food of the !Kung. I asked one informant to tell me what his idea of an ideal diet would consist of. Without hesitation he listed four items: meat and mongongo for strength, honey for sweetness, and wild orange fruits for refreshment.” (3, p.45)

“In addition to the mongongo nut, the !Kung have an astonishing inventory of 105 edible plants: 14 fruits and nuts, 15 berries, 18 species of edible gum, 41 edible roots and bulbs, and 17 leafy greens, beans, melons, and other foods. The abundance and variety of plant foods makes it possible for the Ju to feed themselves by an average of about 20 hours of subsistence work per adult per week, a far lower figure than the 40 hour work week we have come to accept in the industrialized countries.” (3, p. 40)

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

“Ungulates (hoofed mammals) are the main game animals of the Ju. Most prominent are the kudu, wildebeest, and gemsbok. Giraffe, eland, roan antelope, and hartebeest are also present. The nonmigratory warthog, steenbok, and duiker are extremely plentiful and are the most frequently killed of the ungulates.” (3, 27)

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:

“The hunting weaponry consists of major tools and minor ones. The major ones are the bow and arrow, spear, knife, springhare hook, and rope snares. The minor tools include the digging stick and fire-making equipment. In addition, the knife, ropes, and carrying yoke are used in butchery and in carrying the meat back to camp. Guns are almost entirely absent in Dobe !Kung hunting. Though some men had hunted with guns borrowed from the Herero, only one man out of 151 Ju owned a gun and used it for hunting while I was there.

The Ju!’hoansi have four types of hunting techniques. First is the mobile hunt, with bow and poisoned arrows, for plains game such as kudu and gemsbok and wildebeest. This is the kind of hunting most outsiders associate with the !Kung and other hunting peoples. It may surprise some that the other hunting techniques produce many more kills than the classic bow-and-arrow hunt.

Hunting with dogs is the second kind of hunt. Warthog, steenbok, duiker, and hares are taken this way. Well-trained hunting dogs bring small game to bay, and the hunter finishes it off with a spear.

I was surprised to find that the Ju do much of their hunting *underground*, pursuing burrowing animals into their lairs. Ant bear, warthog, and porcupine are taken this way. The latter two are hunted above ground as well. The nocturnal springhare sleeps in narrow burrows during the day. Ju hunters have developed a special tool, a 13-foot-long pole with an iron hook at the end, for probing springhare burrows and impaling the animals underground. The burrow is then excavated with a digging stick to retrieve the kill.

The fourth technique is snaring, employed particularly by older hunters whose mobility is limited. A man surveys an area of bush for fresh tracks, then he lays down an unobtrusive line of brush to accustom the animals to cross at certain gaps. The snares are made of rope from local fiber plants with a delicate wooden trigger attached to a bent-over sapling. When the hare, guinea fowl, or small antelope steps in the snare, the noose tightens and the sapling springs up, leaving the quarry dangling. Snaring does not produce a large quantity of meat. In July 1964 at Dobe, 18 animals were killed, 11 of them by snares. These 11 however, provided only 20 percent of the meat of the camp.” (3, pp.48-49)

2.4 Food storage:

“Three other kinds of structures are built in !Kung villages: tree storage areas, storage platforms, and meat-drying racks. For the first, a nest of branches and thatch is built at chest height in the crotch of a convenient tree. Men store their arrow poison out of reach of children, dried strips of *biltong* out of reach of dogs, and other valuables out of sight of the inquisitive eyes of neighbors.

The storage platform, built on four poles, serves the same function, with the additional advantage of casting a pool of shade for conversation. The drying rack is built if a large kill provides more meat than can be locally consumed.” (3, p. 35-36)

2.5 Sexual division of production:

“Meat contributes about 30 percent of the calories to the diet and hunting was the major occupation of the men, up to about 1970.” (3, p.48)

Men hunt, and both men and women gather. (3)

2.6 Land tenure:

“At the center of each camp is a core of related older people –usually siblings or cousins- who are generally acknowledged the owners – *k’ausi* of the waterhole. Around each waterhole is a bloc of land – the *n’ore* – which contains food resources and other waterpoints and which is the basic subsistence area for the resident group.” (3, p.61).

2.7 Ceramics:

The Ju traded ostrich eggshell beads with the Gobas for pottery. (3, p.218)

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

“Distribution is done with great care, according to a set of rules, arranging and rearranging the pieces for up to an hour so that each recipient will get the right proportion. Successful distributions are remembered with pleasure for weeks afterwards, while improper meat distributions can be the cause of bitter wrangling among close relatives.” (3, p.48)

“Men circulate arrows widely in the *hxaro* trade network. A man will say to another, “Give me an arrow, and if I kill something with it I will give the meat to you.” Weeks or months later, when he kills an antelope, he shares the carcass with his trading partner if the latter happens to be in his camp. If the arrow-giver is elsewhere, the hunter saves a portion of the dried meat for him. This trading of arrows strengthens the bonds between men and is especially used between such kin categories as brothers-in-law. Women may own arrows too, trade them with men, and become owners of meat.” (3, p 53)

2.9 Food taboos:

There don’t appear to be food taboos. The !Kung don’t eat snakes though, and will kill them on sight; men and women are equally proficient at killing snakes. (3)

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

No watercraft at all

“More striking was the fact that none of the Ju were aware of the Atlantic Ocean, which was less than 800 kilometers (500 miles) due west of Dobe. I asked them if they knew of a body of water that was so large that if you stood on one side you couldn’t see the other. After much discussion they pointed north to the Okavango River, rather than west to the Atlantic” (3, p. 151)

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

“They were all short, the men about five foot two, the women well under five feet.” (3, p. 4)

“We note that height increases steadily and in a narrow range until adulthood, when the boys approach the adult mean height of a little more than 160cm, and the girls approach the adult female height of somewhat less than 150cm.” (6, p. 57)

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

“The !Kung are closer to the extreme in weight: Only a few populations (the Efe and Agta) are lighter. Combining these measures into body mass index shows that the !Kung have the lowest body mass index among the hunter-gatherers overall: The average body mass index for adult females (including pregnant and lactating women) is below 18.5, a level that Jenkie calls “a recognized indicator of chronic energy deficiency”. Jenkie further notes that Dobe !Kung women, along with Agta (Philippines) and Australian Aborigine women, stand out as having the lowest body mass indices of the hunter-gatherer women. The !Kung men (mean body mass index 19.1) are the lowest of the hunter-gatherer men, who otherwise range from 19.2 to 24.5.” (6, p. 59)

Table 2 Average adolescent characteristics of the JHS as compared to short-statured Americans, who are defined as those in the 3rd percentile in height

	JHS boys	JHS girls	Short-statured US boys	Short-statured US girls
Spurt take-off velocity, cm/year	2.2	1.9	3.0	3.3
Age at spurt take-off, year	13.5	11.5	12.8	10.6

Peak height velocity, cm/year	6.3	5.7	9.0	7.6
Menarche age, year		16.6		13.8
Adult weight, kg	50.6	42.2	70.5	58.2
Adult height, cm	165.5	149.5	164	152
Adult BMI, Kg/m ²	19.9	19.5	23.0	21.7

Source: 7, p. 530

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f):

“From the age of weaning, approximately age 3 to 5, to the age of sexual maturity for girls (menarche), approximately age 15 to 17, children’s work consists of play.” (6, p. 28)

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):

“Finally the couple conceives a child. The woman is likely to be between 19 and 21 by the time this occurs, and the man is likely to be somewhere between 24 and 30, average age 26.” (3, p.36)

“The young woman will be, on average, 21.4 at the birth of her first child, 24.9 at the birth of the second, and 27.5 at the birth of the third.” (6, p.37)

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

Average age of giving birth data is available for the first three children, however naming conventions exist for many more than that, suggesting that three children may be the average !Kung completed family size, in addition to husband and wife and extraneous relatives living in the camp. (3, 6)

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

“The young woman will be, on average, 21.4 at the birth of her first child, 24.9 at the birth of the second, and 27.5 at the birth of the third.” (6, p.37)

This indicates an inter-birth-interval of between approximately 31 and 42 months

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

“Traditionally, girls were married at ages 12 to 16, boys at 18 to 25. In certain regions such as southern Nyae Nyae, according to informants, the girl’s age at marriage was even younger: 10, 9, or even 8 years of age! When combined with the practice of long nursing and late weaning, one might see the amazing situation, in the words of one informant, of “a girl going from her mother’s breast to her husband’s bed in one day.” However sexual consummation of the marriage would be delayed for a number of years after the actual ceremony.” (3,p 79)

“By the 1960s and 1970s, the age of marriage had increased somewhat. Marriage of the very young had ceased altogether – the youngest age of marriage we recorded for girls was 14 – and the girls tended to marry between 15 and 18. Boys were further delayed in finding spouses, and their marriage age had increased to 22-30.” (3, 80)

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

“The fact that close to half of all first marriages fail among the Ju|’hoansi is eloquent testimony to the independence of Ju women from both parents and husbands. In some cases girls have been known to attempt suicide rather than allow a marriage to be consummated. (We know of no successful suicide attempts, and in all cases the marriage was called off.)” (3, 81)

“Only about 10 percent of marriages that last five years or longer end in divorce. When divorce does occur, the initiative comes from the wife far more frequently than from the husband. Divorces are characterized by a high degree of cordiality at least compared to Western norms. Whatever the cause of their split, ex-husband and wife may continue to joke and may even live in adjacent huts with their new spouses.” (3, 81)

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:

“In a sample of 131 married men in 1968, 122 (93 percent) were living monogamously, 7 (5 percent) were living polygamously (6 with 2 wives, 1 with 3), and 2 men (2 percent) were living in a polyandrous union, sharing 1 woman... Although polygamy is allowed and men desire it, it is the wives who in general oppose this form of union. Polyandry is even less common and is considered an irregular union.

Polygyny (marriage of 1 man to 2 or more women) is uncommon. Of the 7 cases in our sample, only 4 were producing children. In 3 others the co-wife was an older woman in a secondary marriage. ... Three of the 7 cases were sororal polygyny while in 4, the co-wives were unrelated.

When looking at the reasons why some men marry two women and most do not, and interesting correlation emerges. All 7 polygynous men are healers, and 5 of the 7 have reputations as being among the strongest and most effective healers in the Dobe area. The ability to heal is shared by about 45 percent of all Ju men. Therefore, if the ability to heal is a sign of power among the Ju|’hoansi, then taking two wives may be one of the very few status symbols associated with it.

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?:

“If the girl’s side is agreeable, the betrothal will be sealed with the giving of *kamasi* - a kind of gift specifically exchanged between parents of prospective brides and grooms.” (3, p. 78)

“The marked age difference between spouses was another reason given for bride service: a girl of 12 or 14 was simply too young to leave her parents, therefore the husband had to “move in” with his in-laws.” (3, p. 79)

4.9 Inheritance patterns:

“Before settling down, the Ju/’hoansi were for the most part without property and could not wield the threat of disinheritance to encourage compliance. When an adult daughter of an elder with cows was recently asked how cattle ownership affects the quality of care, she responded by saying “It hasn’t changed things. We took care of our elders then and we will still take care of them”. However, this mother of six children also indicated that at her passing, her eldest child (female) would inherit her cattle and that she alone among her siblings anticipated receiving her mother’s property, because she saw herself as the principal caregiver. When her eldest daughter was asked to confirm this she allowed that she might decide to share her inheritance with her siblings.” (3, p.95)

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

“The marriage ceremony does act out a ritual of marriage-by-capture and, as we noted, it conceals a real source of generational and gender conflict beneath the surface.” (3, p. 90)

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

“Homosexuality is not common, but both gay and lesbian forms do occur. N#tisa described a number of same sex sexual experiences with childhood playmates. A few adult men and women have experimented with same-sex sexual partners, with male homosexuality being the more common. Of the two women and six men reported to have had homosexual experiences, all were married, indicating that all were bisexual. Ju/’hoan nonparticipants in these activities expressed attitudes of curiosity and bemusement toward them rather than embarrassment or hostility.” (3, p. 89)

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

“Marriage institutions among Ju/’hoansi foragers can initially be understood in relation to their basic subsistence adaptation and the flexible organization of band level society. Extensive exogamy dominates the system to foster a multiplicity of affinal ties among numerous groups. These arrangements allow local camps to share resources with many other linked groups and to reconstitute their membership to match fluctuations in food supplies and other resources. People who have numerous and diversely located in-laws have more opportunities to receive support and change locations and camp membership in an uncertain environment.” (4)

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?

Apparently the Ju/’hoansi do not practice partible paternity:

“In closing, I would like to make two points. The first is that foraging societies vary greatly (Kelly, 1995). From the Ju/’hoansi point of view, Ache practices of having 10 marriages before the age of 30, partible paternity, and vicious club fights (Hill & Hurtado, 1996) would inspire days of discussion. In evaluating Hadza life, Ju/’hoansi might be envious of the ample supply of large game and the idea that children can forage to feed themselves, whereas lack of attachment to land and unstructured meat sharing might seem odd.” (5, p. 429)

“The !Kung have several beliefs about behavior that they believe will likely terminate a pregnancy, such as having sex with a man other than the father or cooking food at someone else’s fire during the pregnancy. ... The reasons for not wanting a particular pregnancy include extramarital conception when the woman wants to stay married to her husband” (6, p.23)

4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)

No evidence to suggest that the !Kung have any unusual belief of the mother’s role in procreation (i.e. they don’t think she’s the sperm receptacle, nor do they think she can do it on her own)

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?

No evidence of this

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape

“A number of forms of sexual behavior that are common in our society are rare or absent among the Ju/’hoansi: oral and anal sex, coitus interruptus, bondage, and sadomasochistic practices do not appear to be part of the Ju/’hoan repertoire. Similarly, rape seemed to be extremely uncommon among the Ju/’hoansi. However with the rise of alcohol consumption in the 1990s, sexual assault was become more common.” (3, p.89)

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)

“In the Ju/’hoan mother’s view of things, an ideal son-in-law is unrelated or distantly related man whose name relation to the girl’s is *!kun/!a*, the most cordial of joking relations. Whenever possible the husband is drawn from this pool of fictive kin, though other joking kin are also eligible.

Besides the proper kinship-name connection, the parents of a girl look for several other qualities in a son-in-law. He should be a good hunter, he should *not* have a reputation as a fighter, and he should come from a congenial family of people who like to do *hxaro*, the Ju|'hoan form of traditional exchange. The last criterion is tested before the marriage as the parents of the prospective bride and groom exchange a series of *kamasi* gifts to reinforce their relationship. If either side does not keep up the gift exchange, the deal may be called off and a new betrothal sought.” (3, 78-79)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

“Arranged marriages do put a young woman at a disadvantage as her parents and her husband make arrangements about her future. But the young woman can make her needs known by vetoing the marriage, an option not offered women in many tribal and peasant societies. During marriage both men and women work around the “home”, with men doing more subsistence work and tool-making and women doing more housework and child care. No evidence of exploitation here.

The marriage ceremony does act out a ritual of marriage-by-capture and, as we noted, it conceals a real source of generational and gender conflict beneath the surface. However, the many forms of sexual oppression that women experience in other societies, such as rape, wife battering, purdah, enforced chastity, and sexual double standards are rare or absent in Ju|'hoan society. In their sexual life both men and women appear to enjoy sex and to seek and expect to achieve orgasm [*tain*, the same word used to describe the indescribably delicious taste of wild honey (3, p.89)], and both may seek lovers outside a primary relationship. And both men and women experience sexual jealousy and may act out their anger on spouses or rivals. ... We see a picture of relative equality between the sexes, with no one having the upper hand.” (2, p.90)

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring

“The question of marital fidelity and extramarital affairs is one that has fascinated several observers, but the data are contradictory. In many Ju marriages the partners are strictly faithful to one another, while in a large minority there is evidence of extramarital affairs. For example, at one waterhole with about 50 married couples between the ages of 20 and 50, we recorded 16 couples in which one or another was having an affair. Both husbands and wives take lovers; there is no double standard among the Ju|'hoansi. In confiding to Marjorie Shostak, Ju women spoke warmly of their lovers and the rare and precious moments they spent with them. Both partners, however, had to be discreet. If an outraged husband or wife discovered the liaison, a major fight could break out. Women, if anything, expressed more sexual jealousy than men, and if they caught wind of an affair, they have been known to attack their rivals or their husbands, or both.” (3, p. 89)

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

“I know of only one case in which the mother died in childbirth and the child survived, raised by her maternal grandmother on cow’s milk.” (6, 24)

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females

“!Kung tell us that the tallest women are considered unattractive, but this designation was applied to only a few women, and women do not seem to have any difficulty finding mates at any time during their reproductive years, no matter what their height or assessment of beauty is. Sexual selection can operate on males more easily than females, as essentially all females are in sexual unions throughout their reproductive years, using their reproductive opportunities to the full, but males quiet often fail to form a sexual union with a reproductive woman, at least at some period of time.” (6, p. 50)

4.22 Evidence for couvades

No evidence for couvades.

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)

No distinctions for potential fathers found

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? / Joking relationships?

The principle of alternating generations relates to another principle of kinship: Joking and avoidance. All Ju kin relations are either joking (*K”ai*, “to joke” or “to play”) or avoidance (*kwa*, “to fear” or “respect”). And all of ego’s kin fall into one or another of the two categories.

For a woman, here is how the kin universe is divided:

<i>Joking Kin</i>	<i>Refers to</i>	<i>Avoidance Kin</i>	<i>Refers to</i>
<i>!kwi</i>	OZ	<i>ba</i>	F
<i>tsin</i> (female)	YZ	<i>tai</i>	M
<i>!kun!a</i>	FF,MF	<i>!hai</i>	S
<i>tun</i>	FM, MM	<i>≠hai</i>	D
<i>!kuma</i>	SS,DS	<i>!ko</i>	OB
<i>tuma</i>	DS,DD	<i>tsin</i> (male)	YB
		<i>tsu</i>	FB,MB
		<i>//ga</i>	FZ,MZ

And for a man, the universe of kin divides as follows:

<i>Joking Kin</i>	<i>Refers to</i>	<i>Avoidance Kin</i>	<i>Refers to</i>
<i>!ko</i>	OB	<i>ba</i>	F
<i>tsin</i> (male)	YB	<i>tai</i>	M
<i>!kun!a</i>	FF,MF	<i>!hai</i>	S
<i>tun</i>	FM, MM	<i>≠hai</i>	D
<i>!kuma</i>	SS,DS	<i>!kwi</i>	OZ
<i>tuma</i>	DS,DD	<i>tsin</i> (female)	YZ
		<i>tsu</i>	FB,MB
		<i>//ga</i>	FZ,MZ

Source: 3, p.67

“A person’s behavior is very different toward joking kin compared with avoidance kin. With a joking relative one acts in a relaxed fashion and speaks on familiar terms. The fact that *!kun!a* and *tun* fall into this category highlights the affectionate relationship that exists between grandparents and grandchildren, a quality that is found in many cultures, including our own. But unlike our own, the Ju|’hoansi take the kin terms for immediate relatives and extend them widely. The terms *!kun!a* and *tun* will be applied to dozens of people, and the feelings of affection are also widely extended. People in the *!kun!a* and *tun* category who are unrelated are not only treated with affection but, if they are of appropriate age, they may be prime candidates for marriage.

Toward an avoidance relative one must show respect and reserve, and one will often use the second person plural as a form of address (the Ju|’hoansi make the same distinctions between familiar and formal that in French are represented by *tu* and *vous*). The fact that one’s parents (and children) and one’s parents’ siblings fall into the avoidance category is indicative of the authority that parents exercise over their children. People in the avoidance relation may *not* marry, even if they are unrelated. In extreme cases, such as mother-in-law/son-in-law avoidance (see below), the two parties in theory may not even speak directly but must use a third party as intermediary. Many of these relationships, however, can be warm and friendly as long as proper reserve is shown in public.

Among joking relatives, too, there is a considerable range of behavior. Toward your own grandparent you can be affectionate, but you may not engage in overt sexual joking. With an unrelated *!kun!a* or *tun* of the opposite sex you can engage in bawdy joking of the most overt kind, called *za*.

Finally, it is worth noting that the principle of alternate generations implies that if you avoid person “A” you will generally joke with is or her parents and children, and if you joke with person “A” chances are you will avoid his or her parents and children. All of a person’s kin will fall into one or the other category. There are no neutrals.

The same principles apply to “affines”, relations through marriage, which we now consider. The affinal terms are as follows:

Affinal Terms			
	<i>Short Form</i>	<i>Kin Term</i>	<i>Joking or Avoidance</i>
<i>Woman Speaking</i>			
Husband	H	<i>!kwa</i>	J
Husband’s Father	HF	<i>≠tum</i>	A
Husband’s Mother	HM	<i>/otsu</i>	A
Husband’s Brother	HB	<i>tun!ga</i>	J
Husband’s Sister	HZ	<i>/otsu</i>	A
Brother’s Wife	BW	<i>/otsu</i>	A
Sister’s Husband	ZH	<i>tun!ga</i>	J
<i>Man Speaking</i>			
Wife	W	<i>tsiu</i>	J
Wife’s Father	WF	<i>≠tum</i>	A
Wife’s Mother	WM	<i>/otsu</i>	A
Wife’s Brother	WB	<i>tun!ga</i>	A
Wife’s Sister	WZ	<i>tun</i>	J
Brother’s Wife	BW	<i>tun</i>	J
Sister’s Husband	ZH	<i>tun!ga</i>	A
<i>Man or Woman Speaking</i>			
Son’s wife’s father	SWF	<i>n!unba</i>	J
Daughter’s husband’s father	DHF		
Son’s wife’s mother	SWM	<i>n!unba</i>	J
Daughter’s Husband’s mother	DHM		

(3, p67-69)

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations

“...even though the !Kung group as a whole is classified as patrilineal...” (6, p. 37)

For Name Inheritance: see 4.28

4.26 Incest avoidance rules?

“In addition to obvious incest taboos against marrying a father, brother, son, uncle, or nephew, a girl may not marry a first or second cousin. Additionally, she may not marry a boy with her father’s name or her brother’s name, and a boy in turn may not marry someone with his mother’s or sister’s name. Secondary prohibitions refer to anyone standing in an avoidance kinship relation to ego, including the kin terms *tsuma*, //ga, //gama, !ko, *tsin*, and so on.” (3, p.78)

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?

“The Ju|’hoansi marriage ceremony involves the mock forcible carrying of the girl from her parents’ hut to a specially built marriage hut, and the anointing of bride and groom with special oils and aromatic powders. Unlike our Western fairy tales in which the couple live happily ever after, !Kung marriages start on a stormy note and continue in that vein for weeks or months after. In fact, the “normal” Ju marriage has many aspects of marriage-by-capture, and ancient and controversial form of marriage in which a groom steals a bride.” (3, p.80)

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?

“Names are inherited from ancestors according to a fairly strict set of rules. Every child must be named for somebody. A first-born son is supposed to be named after his father’s father, and the first born daughter after her father’s mother. Second-born children are supposed to be named after the mother’s father and mother’s mother, and additional children are to be named after father’s brothers and sisters and mother’s brothers and sisters, in that order. More distantly related kin, and affines, may also provide names to a family. Parents may *never* name a child after themselves.

“All Ju|’hoan names are sex-linked. A man and a woman may never have the same name. Further, the Ju have no surnames. The result of this naming is that each man’s name may be inherited and shared by up to 25 other men, and each woman’s name by up to 26 other women.” (3, p. 69)

“Since the Ju|’hoansi have no surnames, there is a real problem sorting out one ≠Toma from another. The Ju get around this by using nicknames extensively, usually highlighting, or spoofing, some characteristic or quirk of their owners: ≠Toma short, Bo tall, Debe big belly, N!ai short face, are some examples. The leader of the Dobe camp is ≠Toma//gwe - ≠Toma sourplum, referring to his liking for the fruit but also nicely capturing his acidic personality. East of Dobe, many men and women have nicknames given to them by Herero and Tswana [neighboring peoples], nicknames such as Kasupe, Kashitambo, Kopela Maswe, and others.” (3, p. 70)

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)

“Marriage institutions among Ju|’hoansi foragers can initially be understood in relation to their basic subsistence adaptation and the flexible organization of band level society. Extensive exogamy dominates the system to foster a multiplicity of affinal ties among numerous groups. These arrangements allow local camps to share resources with many other linked groups and to reconstitute their membership to match fluctuations in food supplies and other resources. People who have numerous and diversely located in-laws have more opportunities to receive support and change locations and camp membership in an uncertain environment.” (4)

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?

“Traditionally the search for a marriage partner for a girl or boy usually begins soon after a child is born. All first marriages are arranged by the parents and may involve a decade or more of gift exchange before the children are actually wed. Typically, a boy’s mother would approach a girl’s mother and propose a marriage. If the girl’s side is agreeable, the betrothal will be sealed with the giving of *kamasi* - a kind of gift specifically exchanged between parents of prospective brides and grooms.” (3, 77-78)

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

“This apparent struggle at the time of marriage is partly customary, but another part of it reveals a genuine underlying conflict. All first marriages are arranged by parents, and the girls have little say in the matter. If the choice is unpopular, the girls will show their displeasure by kicking and screaming, a way of asserting their independent voice in the decision making against the alliance of parents and potential husband. If they protest long and hard enough, the marriage will be called off.” (3,81)

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:

The !Kung do not participate in warfare, violence is highly individualized, there are no recorded instances of large groups of !Kung attacking other !Kung or their neighbors. Though they had a pre-contact reputation for fierceness, this seems to be limited to territorial defense. (3).

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:

Code Number	Situation
K1	In a general brawl over a martial dispute, three men wound and kill another east of /Xai/xai (1930s)
K2	By general agreement, the senior of the three killers in K1 is himself killed in retaliation (1930s)
K3	The notorious /Twi kills a man in a spear fight (/Du/du area, 1940)
K4	The notorious /Twi kills a second man, an event that later leads to the killing of /Twi himself (Du/da area 1940s)
K5	In the course of being fatally attacked, /Twi manages to kill a third man and wound a woman (/Du/da area 1940s)
K6	The killer /Twi is ambushed and wounded and then killed by the collective action of a large number of people (/Du/da area 1940s)
K7	In a sneak attack one man kills another over the latter's wife. Wife first runs away with the killer, but becomes frightened and returns alone (≠To//gona, 1940s)
K8	A young man kills his father's brother in a spear fight, the closest killer-victim kin connection in the sample (/Du/da area, 1930s)
K9	A man accuses another of adultery. In the ensuing fight, the accused adulterer is wounded, but succeeds in killing the husband. (Bate 1930s)
K10	In anger over her adultery, a man stabs and kills his wife with a poisoned arrow and flees the area (/Xai/xai, 1920s)
K11	≠Gau from Tjum!kui kills a /Gausha man with a spear to initiate a long sequence of feuding (Nyae Nyae area, 1930s)
K12	≠Gau's enemies attack him in retaliation, but ≠Gau kills a second man in the attempt (Nyae Nyae area, 1930s)
K13	A relative of ≠Gau's is killed in an earlier fight that is related to K11 and K12 (Nyae Nyae area, 1920s)
K14	≠Gau's enemies attack him a second time at a place called Zou/toma, and ≠Gau kills a third man; two others are killed the same day; K15 and K16 (Nyae Nyae area 1930s)
K15	The attackers kill a woman bystander of ≠Gau's group in the arrow fight at Zou/toma (1930s)
K16	The attackers fail to kill ≠Gau himself at Zou/toma, but they do kill another man of his group. (1930s)
K17	A young man not of the /Gausha group kills ≠Gau in a sneak attack, finally eliminating the unpopular man (1940s)
K18	The younger brother of ≠Gau is attacked by another man in an argument, but in the ensuing fight, the man's wife is killed. ≠Gau's brother goes to jail in South-West Africa for his crime (1950s)
K19	Returning home from jail ≠Gau's younger brother is met on the road and killed by relatives of the victim in K18 (near South-West Africa Farms, 1950s)
K20	A Black settler was having an affair with a !Kung man's wife. Catching them <i>in flagrante</i> , the husband shoots and kills the man. The killer is later jailed in Maun, Botswana (!Kubi, 1946)
K21	A young man kills an older man with a club in a general brawl. The killer is later jailed in Maun (1952)
K22	In a general brawl a young man and his father kill a /Xai/xai man. Later both are taken to jail in Maun (1955; the last case of a !Kung homicide in the Dobe are until the 1970s)

Another general feature is that deadly fighting is almost exclusively a male occupation. All 25 of the killers in the 22 cases were male, as well as 19 of 22 victims. ... The main weapons used are poisoned arrows, employing the same lethal poison used to kill game. ... the popularity of poisoned arrows puzzled me. Why, I wondered, didn't the men fight with unpoisoned arrows and thus reduce the risk of death? To this question, one informant offered an instructive response: "We shoot poisoned arrows, because our hearts are hot and we really want to kill somebody with them." (3, pp. 116-117)

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:

"When homicide occurs it is likely to have been triggered by an argument between men over a woman." (3, 85)
Also, see 4.15 above.

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):

"Starting in the 1920s and especially since the 1950s, the Ju|'hoansi have shared the Dobe area with the Herero and Tswana pastoralists. These were tribal peoples, speaking Bantu languages, whose lives were not so very different from that of the Ju. The Herero and Tswana grew crops, kept livestock, and made iron tools. However, their social systems, like that of the Ju|'hoansi, were based on kinship, and neither people had developed markets, monarchs, or elaborate craft specialization.

The Tswana lived in chiefdoms with the beginnings of internal stratification, and the Ju|'hoansi were immediately accorded a position at the bottom of the social scale, but in the Dobe area the San were not enslaved or enslaved; nor were they propelled into the cash economy.

Though subordinate, the San were not simply servants of the Blacks. In the early days, Tswana and Ju men hunted side by side, each with bows and arrows, and in recent years Tswana and Herero women have been observed gathering wild plants alongside Ju women in time of drought." (3, p.141)

"The Hereros are the largest group of non-!Kung in the Dobe area. They are superb pastoralists, and their cattle herds number in the thousands. They also practice agriculture. They live in dispersed hamlets of two to six houses built around a cattle kraal. ... Work on Herero cattle posts provides a major source of employment for the Ju. ... In addition to these immigrants, there are small numbers of two other Bantu-speaking peoples in the Dobe area: the Mbukushu and the Be Yei. Both live in the nearby Okavango swamps and are known collectively by the !Kung as *Goba*, a term generally applied to all non-Herero, non-Tswana Blacks. ... The Herero and Tswana immigrants have built homesteads, deepened and fenced off the waterholes, hired Ju men as laborers, and in some cases have begun to court and marry Ju women." (3, 141-143)

4.18 Cannibalism?

No cases of cannibalism among the !Kung

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:

See 5.2 Below

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

“The Northern Kalahari is a semidesert, and water scarcity is a major problem. The Ju rely on a hierarchy of water sources ranked in order of abundance. First are the permanent water holes found in the main river bottoms where the bedrock is exposed. Most of these waterholes are natural, but all have been improved and maintained either by the San themselves or, more recently, by the Blacks. Second are the seasonal waters that exist for one to six months a year: these are found in the melapo between the dunes, where local drainage patterns produce a depression. These vary from small depressions 15 feet in diameter and ankle deep, holding water for a few weeks after heavy rains, to great ponds up to 300 feet long, holding water for months or even year-round in years of high rainfall. Third in importance are the small quantities of water found in the hollow interiors of mongongo and other trees. And finally, there are several species of water-bearing root, which may be dug up and used in emergencies. With these sources the Ju plan their annual round, spending the winter season close to permanent waters and the summer months ranging widely at the secondary and lesser water sources.” (3, p. 28)

“Mobility is the essence of the Ju adaptation. This factor strongly influences settlement pattern. Ju villages are easily established and moved frequently. Habitations are built in a few hours and a few days, and camp sites are rarely occupied for more than a few months before being abandoned. In all, five types of villages and camps can be usefully distinguished.

- A. Dry season villages- These sites, occupied for three to six months from May or June to September or October, are fairly large, often containing 8 or 15 huts and 20 to 50 people. They are always located near permanent water sources and, because their accessibility (to outsiders) and their long duration, are by far the most thoroughly studied of all the Ju|’hoan village types. Dry season huts tend to be well constructed; the site is cleared with care, and large middens of garbage accumulate before the site is abandoned. As a result, the archeological visibility of the dry season camps is highest of all the settlement types.
- B. Rainy season villages- These are located near major seasonal water and food sources. They are highly variable in size (from 3 to 20 huts) and are usually occupied for periods of three weeks to three months. The site is casually cleared, and the huts are hastily constructed, though thickly thatched in order to provide shelter from the rains. When these are abandoned, the saplings used in hut construction may be moved to the next locale. A group may occupy as many as six sites in the course of a single rainy season.
- C. Spring and fall camps – these are called camps rather than villages; because of the dry weather no huts are built and they are rarely occupied for more than two or three weeks. Under certain circumstances similar short term camps may also be established in summer when the group is moving from one foraging area to another, or in the winter when a group is taking advantage of a still-available seasonal water source.
- D. Overnight Stops – these are what the name implies. Only a fire is built, and the site is abandoned the next morning. Overnight stops occur in all seasons.
- E. Cattle post Villages – these new-style villages have become increasingly common since 1970. They involve solid, carefully constructed huts, usually built on sites close to an Herero or Tswana village. The size of these villages varies from 1 to 20 huts, but common to all is a crescent shaped (not circular) layout around a central cattle kraal, with hut mouths facing the cattle compound rather than each other. This shift in layout sums up a key symbolic shift in social orientation. Whereas the older camps were circular so that the ju could look at each other, the cattle-post Ju now look to the livestock for their survival. Another prominent feature of these villages is their long duration; some are still occupied 18 to 20 years after being built.” (3, pp. 32-33)

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):

“The inhabitants of these parts are a much finer race of Bushmen than we had generally met with. Freedom and the enjoyment of their own game for food and the skins for clothing are the main causes. They acknowledge no chief and are in the habit of defending themselves against oppressors and intruders either from Lake Ngami or the Namaqua region: in former times they have often combined to resist marauding parties sent out by the Batwana and other tribes. (Chapman, 1868 [1971] Vol. 1: 165)” (3, p.21)

5.4 Post marital residence:

“The marked age difference between spouses was another reason given for bride service: a girl of 12 or 14 was simply too young to leave her parents, therefore the husband had to “move in” with his in-laws.” (3, 79)

“Couples generally live with either the wife’s family (especially the parents if they are alive) or the husband’s family. Most often each party prefers to live with his or her own relatives, as they feel most comfortable there. The earliest phase of the childbearing stage of life is likely to be spent in the women’s village, where a woman has her mother and other kin (especially sisters) to draw on for information and for concrete help with her tasks. So more than half of the reproductive period of a couple’s life is likely to be spent living with the women’s parents. And if the man’s parents are dead by the time the third child is born (which is likely, since the husband is likely to be about 35, and his parents are likely to be in their 60s by the birth of the third child), or if there are other advantages of staying with the wife’s family, the couple may just decide to live permanently in the wife’s family’s village, even though the !Kung group as a whole is classified as patrilineal and patrilocal.” (6, p. 37)

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

“Despite the !Kung imagery of the *t'si* as wilderness, and in spite of the real dangers that lurk in the *t'si* it is extremely interesting and significant that the traditional Ju did not attempt to fortify or stockade their villages in any way. They sleep in the open, protected only by their sleeping fires, which keep the carnivores at bay, and by their mutual trust of and peaceful relations with their human neighbors.” (3, p. 35)

“Distance, isolation, and the reputation for fierceness of the Ju!hoansi themselves probably account in equal measure for the profound ignorance of the Nyae Nyae – Dobe areas prior to the present century. Here and there intriguing glimpses are found. The explorer and trader James Chapman, who went toward the Dobe area in the 1860s but never reached it, characterized the Ju!hoansi-!Kung as “a fierce and independent people who possess no cattle” (Chapman 1868, II:13). Written of the southern Ju!hoan speakers of the Ghanzi area (known as the MaKowkow), Chapman presents this very positive image of the mid-nineteenth century !Kung, noting that the !Kung’s military prowess kept invaders at bay:

The inhabitants of these parts are a much finer race of Bushmen than we had generally met with. Freedom and the enjoyment of their own game for food and the skins for clothing are the main causes. They acknowledge no chief and are in the habit of defending themselves against oppressors and intruders either from Lake Ngami or the Namaqua region: in former times they have often combined to resist marauding parties sent out by the Batwana and other tribes. Their minds are free from apprehension of human plunderers, and the life they lead is a comparatively fearless. The population is numerous, and they are more attached to each other than in other parts (Chapman, 1868 [1971] Vol. 1: 165).” (3, pp. 20-21)

5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex):

The village children play together during the days while the men go into the bush to hunt and the women go off to gather. (3)

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

See 4.24

5.8 Village and house organization:

“Choosing a site is not a great problem for the Ju!hoansi. They look for good shade trees in an area that has not been too recently occupied. They do not return again and again to the same spot, so there is not much opportunity for a treat residue of artifacts to build up. They live lightly on the land.

The village site itself can be seen as consisting of five concentric circles, each with a different function (Figure 3-3). In the center lies the village’s public space, a cleared “plaza” from 5 to 25 meters (15 to 75 feet) in diameter where children play and people may gather, and where in the evening healing dances are held. Around the central area is the most important part of the village, the ring of huts – *chu tsi*- and hearths – *da tsi*. Each woman builds her hut with a space of three to five meters from those of her neighbors. Directly in front of the hut mouth is the family fire, at which all the food is cooked, where people socialize in the evening, and around which the family sleeps at night. The space immediately around the hut and fire is carefully cleared of all grass and low shrubs so that people can move about easily day or night without fear of poisonous snakes or scorpions.

Most villages exhibit a symbolic order, with the most senior household situated on the side of the village from which its ancestors were said to have come and with its married children’s huts strung out to the right and left. Other senior households and in-law segments usually situate themselves opposite the most senior couple, with their offspring strung out to their right and left, and thus a circle is constituted.

The next ring, about five meters deep immediately behind the huts, is the zone of ash heaps and garbage dumps. Every 10 days or so women clean out their hearths and dump the ashes and nutshells behind their huts. In an six-month camp, middens up to half a meter (20 inches) in height will accumulate and the fireplace in turn may be scooped out so that it gradually sinks a foot below grade.

The Third ring, about 25 meters (80 feet) deep, is the zone where cooking pits or earth ovens are dug. Whenever a large animal is killed, the head is cooked separately by digging a two-foot-deep pit, filling it with burning wood, placing the head on top of the fire, then adding more embers and wood, and covering it with sand. After two hours of cooking the meat is served. Butchery of large animals and emptying and cleaning of entrails is also carried out here.

The last ring in the cultural space is the area of defecation, *z/o*. Depending on the size of the camp, this zone can be from 100 to 300 meters (350-1000 feet) in depth. !Kung have no latrines or privies, and they distribute themselves widely when carrying out their toilet. The abundant Kalahari dung beetles that roll into balls and quickly carry away and bury the human and animal feces help to keep the *z/o* relatively clean and odor-free.

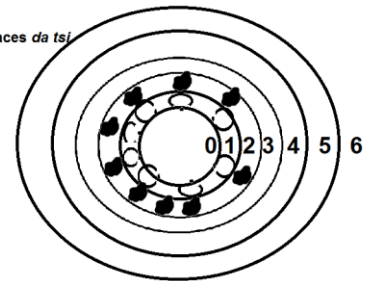
Beyond this outer perimeter, paths radiate outward into the *t'si* itself, the wild lands of subsistence into which the foragers venture.

Despite the !Kung imagery of the *t'si* as wilderness, and in spite of the real dangers that lurk in the *t'si* it is extremely interesting and significant that the traditional Ju did not attempt to fortify or stockade their villages in any way. They sleep in the open, protected only by their sleeping fires, which keep the carnivores at bay, and by their mutual trust of and peaceful relations with their human neighbors.” (3, p. 33-35)

Figure 3-3. Idealized plan of a Ju!hoan village (*chu/o*).

Key

- 0 Central Plaza *chu/o*
- 1 Circle of huts and fireplaces *da tsi*
- 2 Ash Dumps
- 3 Cooking Pits
- 4 Empty Area
- 5 Zone of defecation *z/o*
- 6 The Bush *t'si*



5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):

"A !Kung rainy season hut can be constructed in a day. A dry season hut, to last for several months, takes three or four days to build. First, 10 to 12 saplings are cut, and each is dug vertically in a circle with an opening for the mouth. The tops are tied together to form a dome, and the frame is strengthened horizontally with pliable branches. Then bundles of grass are cut and transported back to the site, where handfuls of thatch are carefully woven into the frame to form the walls. In the rainy season the top of the hut is heavily thatched to protect against the elements. In the dry season the dome of the hut is left open to catch the warming sun. People do not live in their huts, which are only 2 to 2.5 meters (6 to 8 feet) wide and less than 2 meters (6.5 feet) high. They use them as a place to store their belongings, as a windbreak and a place for an afternoon nap, and as a symbolic element to structure the living space. Since they are composed of organic materials, huts quickly become infested with bugs and are not particularly pleasant places to be in.

Three other kinds of structures are built in !Kung villages: tree storage areas, storage platforms, and meat-drying racks. For the first, a nest of branches and thatch is built at chest height in the crotch of a convenient tree. Men store their arrow poison out of reach of children, dried strips of *biltong* out of reach of dogs, and other valuables out of sight of the inquisitive eyes of neighbors.

The storage platform, built on four poles, serves the same function, with the additional advantage of casting a pool of shade for conversation. The drying rack is built if a large kill provides more meat than can be locally consumed.

In recent years the Ju|'hoansi have been abandoning their beehive-shaped grass huts in favor of the more substantial Tswana-style house with a vertical pole and mud walls, a mud floor, and a separate thatched roof. These huts take weeks or months to build and when one is completed its owner is not likely to want to leave it soon. Many of these new-style huts are occupied continuously for years and mark the dramatic transition to sedentary life." (3, pp 35-36)

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

"Directly in front of the hut mouth is the family fire, at which all the food is cooked, where people socialize in the evening, and around which the family sleeps at night." (3, p.34)

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:

"The basic traditional Ju|'hoan living group is the camp, a noncorporate, bilaterally organized group of people who live in a single settlement and who move together for at least part of the year. The camp is a flexible but not random assortment of individuals. At the center of each camp is a core of related older people –usually siblings or cousins- who are generally acknowledged the owners – *k'ausi* of the waterhole. Around each waterhole is a bloc of land – the *n/ore* – which contains food resources and other waterpoints and which is the basic subsistence area for the resident group." (3, p.61).

5.12 Trade:

"Men circulate arrows widely in the *hxaro* trade network. A man will say to another, "Give me an arrow, and if I kill something with it I will give the meat to you." Weeks or months later, when he kills an antelope, he shares the carcass with his trading partner if the latter happens to be in his camp. If the arrow-giver is elsewhere, the hunter saves a portion of the dried meat for him. This trading of arrows strengthens the bonds between men and is especially used between such kin categories as brothers-in-law. Women may own arrows too, trade them with men, and become owners of meat." (3, p 53)

"In tracing the earliest history of the place, /Kunta [one of Lee's informants] saw the original owners as Ju|'hoansi, not Blacks or any other ethnic group. In the beginning, asserted /Kunta, only Ju|'hoansi lived here; there were no Gobas. Ju people would come from Nyae Nyae and from the north, to do *hxaro* [traditional system of delayed reciprocal exchange] here. It was a waterhole that always held water. People from the South (Nyae Nyae) would bring /*do* (ostrich eggshell beads). People from the North brought /*an* (glass beads). In /Kunta's words, "*Hxaro* brought them together."

A point of emphasis in our interviews was the question of whether the Gobas made trips to the interior to trade or to make their presence felt. /Kunta was emphatic: "No, [they didn't come to us] we went to them. We say pots on their fires and wanted them, so they gave them to us.

"And what did you give them in return?" [Lee]

"We gave Gobas /*do* in exchange for pots."

The interior Ju|'hoansi's proximity to Iron Age people on their periphery and the use of iron as a marker of Iron Age overlordship has been a particular point of emphasis for the revisionists. I was anxious to hear /Kunta and N!ae's views of the pre-colonial use of iron and its source.

"Did your ancestors have !*ga* (iron)?"

"Are you joking? We didn't know !*ga*. If we needed arrows we used *≠dwa* (giraffe) or *n/n* (eland) bones.

"Who gave the Ju|'hoansi the iron?"

"We visited north and east and saw this wondrous stuff for arrows and knives; we asked Gobas for it and got some. It was very valuable; when other saw it their hearts were sad because they did not have it; they wanted it so badly they would even fight other Ju for it. Parties went north to seek it; Gobas gave it to them in exchange for steenbok and duiker skins and other things." (3, pp.218- 219)

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

The Ju|'hoansi have no social hierarchies, egalitarianism is strictly and mercilessly enforced.

"When a young man kills much meat he comes to think of himself as a chief or a big man, and he thinks of the rest of us as his servants or inferiors. We can't accept this. We refuse one who boasts, for someday his pride will make him kill somebody. So we always speak of his meat as worthless. This way we cool his heart and make him gentle."

Insulting the meat is one of the central practices of the Ju|’hoansi that serves to maintain egalitarianism. Even though some men are much better hunters than others, their behavior is molded by the group to minimize the tendency toward self-praise and to channel their energies into socially beneficial activities. As a result, the existence of differences in hunting prowess does not lead to a system of Big Men in which a few talented individuals tower over the others in terms of prestige.” (3, p. 52)

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6 Time allocation to RCR:

“Whatever the nature of their gods and ghosts, the Ju do not spend their time in philosophical discourse in the abstract. They are more concerned with the concrete matters of life and death, health and illness in their daily lives, and at this level they have evolved an extraordinary effective method of social healing based on the principle of *n/um*.” (3, p.130)

“The healing dances at which these performances take place are the main ritual activity of the Dobe Ju|’hoansi. They occur from once a month to several times a week, depending on the season, the size of the camp, and other factors. The presence of sickness is not the only reason for dancing.” (3, p. 131)

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

“The Ju|’hoansi are far from defenceless in the face of these malevolent spirits. They have many spells, herbs, magic formulas, and practices for restoring health or good fortune. And if these fail, the Ju have the powerful tool of *n/um*, the spiritual medicine or energy given by gods to men and women. Armed with *n/um*, specially trained healers are able to enter trances and heal the sick. They go to the *//gangwasi* and cajole, plead, argue, and, if necessary, do battle with them to make them give up their grip and leave the living in peace.” (3, p.127)

6.2 Stimulants:

“In all, the Ju planted 10 different Crops, including gourds, marijuana, sugarcane and beans, but by far the most important crops- those planted by 50 or more families- were maize, melons, sorghum, and tobacco. Surprisingly, tobacco was the most frequently planted. It is also the most difficult of the four to grow, requiring deep shade and daily watering. The fact that the Ju|’hoansi devoted so much of their farming effort to a nonfood crop suggests that the motive of increasing their food supply was not uppermost in their minds.” (3, p.157)

“The source of this power, the women claim, is the *!gwah* plant, a short stiff, unidentified shrub. The roots are chopped up and boiled, and the tea drunk. ... I suspect that ingesting the infusion has a psychological rather than a physiochemical effect on the initiates.” (3, p. 136)

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

“When the first menstrual blood appears, the girl typically tells her mother or another close kinswoman. The girl is immediately secluded in a hut, and the women spread the word that they have a new adult in the group. Men may plan to go hunting the next day to bring in a fat animal to provide meat for a feast to celebrate the ceremony of first menstruation. Adults send messengers to nearby villages to invite residents to come and help celebrate the creation of a new woman. During the few days of menstruation, the girl is secluded so that sunshine doesn’t touch her. When she needs to urinate, she is supposed to be carried on the back of a woman of the bush so that her feet don’t touch the ground. When the menstrual flow is finished, her skin is rubbed with fat by her mother and older women, and she is brought out of the hut with her grown-up *kaross* (leather cape) draped protectively over her head. She sits quietly at the fireside while the women enthusiastically hit ax-heads together, bare their breasts and rumps, and sing and dance in celebration of her maturation.” (6, p. 32)

“When the young man kills his first large animal, male and female, of each of the main species that the !Kung eat (kudu, eland, wildebeest), there is a ceremony and a celebration that involves tattooing the young man’s face so that anyone who glances at him can see that he is an experienced hunter. In some ways, this event is parallel to the menarche ceremony for young women,” (6, p. 36)

6.4 Other rituals:

Healing Dances. See 6.1, 6.6, 6.7

6.5 Myths (Creation):

“The Ju|’hoansi have not one origin myth but several. In one version, in the beginning, people and animals were not distinct but all lived together in a single village led by the elephant - K”au and his wife Chulko. A large body of myths revolve around the cast of characters inhabiting this village, including jackal, dung beetle, python, kori bustard, and many others. In many of the stories a central character is the praying mantis, a trickster god who is always getting into scrapes and who usually gets caught and punished. The fact that the Ju|’hoan word for mantis is *//gangwa* has led some observers to conclude mistakenly that the San worship the mantis. In fact, the heavenly *//gangwa* is only remotely connected to the mantis.

The Ju|’hoansi have two major deities, a high god called *gangwan!an!a* (big big god) and by other names, who is sometimes connected with the elephant K”au in the myths; and *//gangwa matse* (small *//gangwa*), the trickster god. The Ju|’hoansi volunteered the information that the English word for small *//gangwa* was Satan. How they made that connection, I do not know. (footnote: “there are many puzzling aspects of the High God/Low God dichotomy. In some myths there is only one god, leading me to wonder if the split isn’t of recent origin.)

There are varying opinions about the nature of these two deities. In some myths, the high god is portrayed as good and the lesser god as evil. In others the rules are reversed. Some Ju regard big *//gangwa* as a creator, remote and inaccessible, and see small *//gangwa* as the destroyer, the main source of death. Others insist that it is the high god who is both the creator and the killer.” (3, p. 129)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

“The Men’s Giraffe Dance: ... The sacred dance fire is lit after sundown, and the women singers arrange themselves in a circle around it. Around the women, the men dance, beating a circular path in the sand several inches deep. There is a strict division of labor in the dance. The women sing and tend the fire, and the men dance and enter trances [reverse this for the Women’s Drum Dance]. Occasionally a woman will dance with the men for a few turns, and very occasionally a woman healer will enter a trance. However, the men insist that it is the women who are crucial to the success of a trance. Without their strong sustained singing, the *n/um* cannot boil and the men cannot heal.”

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

Both men and women participate in RCR as healers, though it is more common for men.

“*N/um* is a substance that lies in the pit of the stomach of men and women who are *n/um k’ausi* – medicine owners – and become active during a healing dance.” (3, p. 131)

Men have the Giraffe Dance and women have the Drum Dance, both are about equally popular with the Women’s dance growing more popular in recent times. (3, 135)

6.8 Missionary effect:

“!Kung, like the Bushmen as a whole, are traditional tribal religionists and very closed to Christianity. ... Today the African Evangelical Fellowship, the Dutch Reformed Church, as well as the Lutherans are reaching out in evangelism to the Bushmen. Bushmen are nomadic, and thus remain rather elusive and difficult to locate. Even so, reports indicate perhaps 10% of the !Kung are Christians.

Attitude to Christianity: Indifferent

Attitude to Religious Change: Somewhat Resistant” (8)

6.9 RCR revival:

!Kung RCR has been resistant to repression, so there has not been a revival.

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

“Whatever its ultimate source, the Ju do agree that the main agency that brings misfortune is the *//gangwasi*. If someone has lived a long life and died peacefully, they may simply say “*n/ama*” – heaven ate her or him. But in most serious illness or accidents, *//gangwasi* are involved.

The healers in trance see the *//gangwasi* in a variety of forms. To some they look like real people. You can touch them and feel their flesh. To others, they appear like smoke, transparent and ephemeral. One healer described them as having only one leg, standing in midair. Some *//gangwasi* speak to the healers and give detail of why they are there; most remain silent.”(3, p.129)

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

“What drives the dead to injure the living? This was a question I asked many Ju. Soe said they didn’t know why; others said it was in the nature of the *//gangwasi* to do so. There were a number of ways of protitiating the dead so that their spirits would not come back. Ensuring that they have a namesake in the name relationship is one such method, but it doesn’t always work. Even spirits with namesakes have been known to bother the living” (3, p. 129)

6.12 Is there teknonymy?

There doesn’t appear to be any among the !Kung

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.)

“The system developed by the Ju’hoansi to make sense of their world involves forces beyond the natural order. Their universe is inhabited by a high god, a lesser god, and a host of minor animal spirits that bring luck and misfortune, success and failure. But the main actors in this world are the *//gangwasi*, the ghosts of recently deceased Ju’hoansi. The *//gangwasi*, not long before the beloved parents, kin, and friends of the living, hover near the Ju villages, and when serious illness or misfortune strikes, it is almost always the *//gangwasi* who cause it.”(3, p. 125)

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint:

No evidence of body painting among the !Kung

7.2 Piercings:

One of the first !Kung that Richard Lee met had a sardine can key hanging from his ear (assuming that it is pierced) (3, p. 4)

7.3 Haircut:

“Both sexes wore their densely curled hair close cropped.” (3, p. 4)

7.4 Scarification:

“and as I observed them more closely I saw that their high foreheads and cheek bones were etched with geometric lines of tattooing that showed up blue under their golden skins.” (3, p. 4)

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):

“Both sexes were naked above the waist. The women were handsomely adorned with necklaces, arm bands, and hair ornaments of beads made from ostrich eggshells.” (3, p. 4)

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

There does not appear to be any differences in dress between day to day and ceremonial attire

7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

Pictures depict women wearing more beads and clothing than men generally do. (3, pictures)

7.8 Missionary effect:

No real missionary effect on adornment, they are unreceptive to missionary influence as a whole.

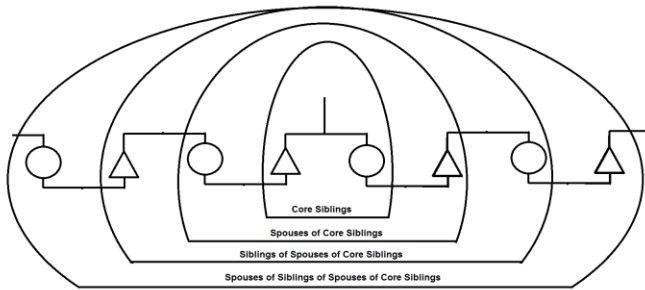
7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

Nothing yet.

8. Kinship systems

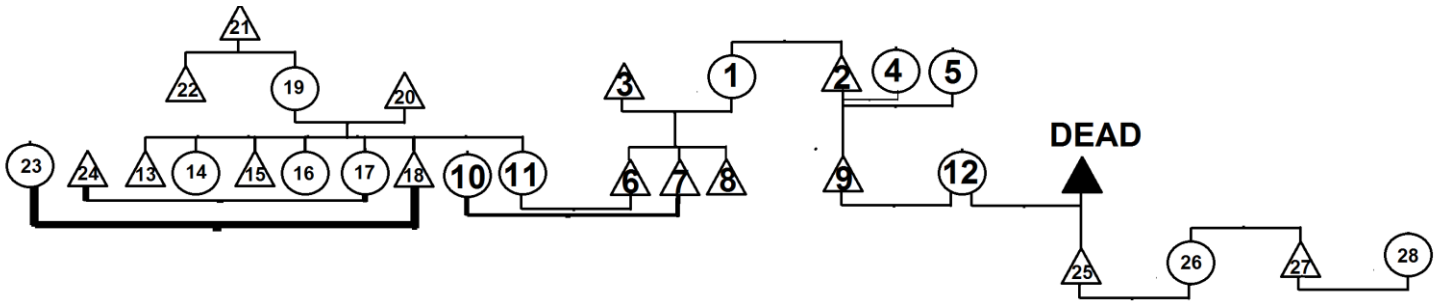
8.1 Sibling classification system:

Richard Lee’s Figure 5-1. *Groups are formed through chains of siblings and their spouses and their siblings and their spouses.*



(Left) Richard Lee’s Figure 5-1. *Groups are formed through chains of siblings and their spouses and their siblings and their spouses.*

(Below) Richard Lee’s Figure 5-2. *Evolution of the main Dobe Camp to 1964.* The figure shows the interrelatedness of members of a camp that lived together in the Dobe area when Richard Lee visited the camp in 1964. All members depicted lived in the camp at the time Lee was there, though not all members originally lived in the camp together. Numbers show the relative order in which each member came to live in the camp.



Kinship I : “Let us begin by introducing the kin terms for the immediate family. We will present the English-language equivalent first, then the anthropological short form, and then the Ju|’hoan kin term.

Relation	Anthropological Short Form	!Kung Kin Term
Father	F	<i>ba</i>
Mother	M	<i>tai</i>
Son	S	<i>!ha</i>
Daughter	D	<i>≠hai</i>
Older Brother	OB	<i>!ko</i>
Older Sister	OZ	<i>!kwi</i>

Younger Brother	YB	<i>tsin</i>
Younger Sister	YZ	<i>tsin</i>

Source: (3, p. 64)

Kinship I : “Let us consider next the terms used to apply to grandparents and grandchildren.

Relation	Anthropological Short Form	!Kung Kin Term
Father’s father	FF	<i>!kun!a</i>
Mother’s Father	MF	<i>!kun!a</i>
Father’s Mother	FM	<i>tun, mama</i>
Mother’s Mother	MM	<i>tun, mama</i>
Son’s Son	SS	<i>!kuma</i>
Daughter’s Son	DS	<i>!kuma</i>
Son’s Daughter	SD	<i>tuma</i>
Daughter’s Daughter	DD	<i>tuma</i>

Source: (3, p. 64)

Kinship I : “Next we consider the terms for the relationships we call in English aunt, uncle, cousin, niece, and nephew. I will give you these terms now, but remember that these will have to be modified later when we introduce Kinship II, the name relationship.

Relation	Anthropological Short Form	!Kung Kin Term
Father’s brother/Mother’s Brother	FB/MB	<i>tsu</i>
Father’s Sister/Mother’s Sister	FZ/MZ	<i>//ga</i>
Father’s Brother’s Son/Mother’s Brother’s Son	FBS/MBS	<i>!kun!a or !kuma</i>
Father’s Sister’s Son/Mother’s Sister’s Son	FZS/MZS	<i>!kun!a or !kuma</i>
Father’s Brother’s Daughter/Mother’s Brother’s Daughter	FBD/MBD	<i>tun or tuma</i>
Father’s Sister’s Daughter/Mother’s Sister’s Daughter	FZD/MZD	<i>tun or tuma</i>
Brother’s Son/Sister’s Son	BS/ZS	<i>tsuma (man speaking)</i> <i>//gama (woman speaking)</i>
Brother’s Daughter/Sister’s Daughter	BD/ZD	<i>tsuma (man speaking)</i> <i>//gama (woman speaking)</i>

Source: (3, p. 65)

Kinship I : “Careful study of these tables will reveal one important principle of !Kung kinship: the principle of alternating generations. For ego’s own generation and for the second up and down, ego will generally use the *!kun!a-tun* pair of terms. But for the first generation up and down, ego will use the *tsu-//ga* pair of terms. To put it another way

ego's own generation	!kun!a
ego's grandparent's generation	!kun!a
ego's grandchild's generation	!kun!a
ego's parental generation	tsu, //ga
ego's children's generation	tsu, //ga

Source: (3, p. 65)

8.2 Sororate, levirate:

Sometimes when an older woman's husband will die, she will marry her sister's husband. (3, p. 82) Otherwise nothing like a sororate or levirate.

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

"Summing up the presentation of Ju'hoan kinship, so far one can see that it makes a logical, internally consistent whole.

Kinship analysts classify the Ju'hoan system as an "Eskimo" type of kinship, in that it has terms that separate the nuclear family from collateral relatives. Fathers are distinguished from father's brothers, mothers from mother's sisters, siblings from cousins, own children from nephews and nieces, and so on. If this system has a familiar ring, it's not surprising. North American English kin terminology (and that of most European languages) is also of the Eskimo type. The Ju'hoansi make many of the same distinctions as we do." (3, p 69)

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

Numbered references

1. Ethnologue.com "Ju'hoan" <http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=ktz>
2. Ethnologue.com "Language Map of Botswana" <http://www.ethnologue.com/show_map.asp?name=BW&seq=10>
3. Lee, Richard B. *The Dobe Ju'hoansi*. Third ed. [Belmont, CA]: Wadsworth Thomson Learning, 2003. Print.
4. Ju'hoansi Marriage Patterns. University of Manitoba.
<http://www.umanitoba.ca/faculties/arts/anthropology/tutor/case_studies/san/marriage.html>
5. Weissner, Polly. "Hunting, healing, and *hxaro* exchange A long-term perspective on !Kung (Ju'hoansi) large-game hunting". *Evolution and Human Behavior*. Vol. 23. 2002. Pp. 407-436.
<http://neko.bio.utk.edu/~sergey/nimibios/coalitions.weissner_02.pdf >
6. Howell, Nancy. *Life Histories of the Dobe !Kung: Food, Fatness, and Well-being over the Life Span*. Berkeley: University of California, 2010. Print.
7. Eideh, Hasan; Jonsson Bjorn; Hochberg, Ze'ev. "Growth of the Kalahari Desert's Bushman – the Ju'hoansi San. *Acta Paediatrica*. May 2011. Pp. 528-532 < <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1651-2227.2011.02573.x/pdf>>
8. Chart of !Kung (Bushman) Peoples and Languages <<http://orvillejenkins.com/profiles/kungchart.html>>
9. "The !Kung Bushmen". <<http://orvillejenkins.com/profiles/kung.html>>