

MONOGRAPHIEN ZUR VÖLKERKUNDE  
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- VI -

**THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS  
OF AVOIDANCES AND TABOOS  
AMONG THE ZULU**

**O. F. RAUM**



1973

WALTER DE GRUYTER • BERLIN • NEW YORK

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University College  
Fort Hare, C.P.  
South Africa  
June, 1968

O.F. Raum



VII

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Table of Contents</i>	VII		
<i>Abbreviations</i>	XIII		
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	XV		
<i>Preface</i>	1		
INTRODUCTION	2		
A. Linguistic Analysis	2		
1. ukuZila	2		
2. ukuHlonipha	4		
B. The Problem of Definition	6		
C. A Classificatory Device	8		
D. The Tables	10		
E. The Architectonics of Restraints	36		
1. Regimen of Restraints	36		
2. Conjunction of Regimens	36		
F. Characteristics of Avoidances and Taboos	38		
G. The System of Taboos	40		
<i>Chapter One: Hlonipha of Speech</i>	42		
I. Survey of Zulu Names	42		
A. Individual Names	42		
B. Group Names	43		
C. Kinship Terms	44		
D. Names of Rank or Office	45		
II. Name Avoidances in the Family of Orientation	45		
A. Father	45		
B. Mother	46		
C. Children	46		
D. Siblings	47		
1. Personal Names	47		
2. Kinship Terms and their Extended Use	47		
3. Youth Name: eloBusha	48		
4. Group Names among Siblings	49		
III. Name Avoidances in the Family of Procreation	49		
A. Wife (Husband speaking)	49		
B. Husband (Wife speaking)	50		
IV. Collaterals among Consanguineous Kin	53		
A. The Parents' Collaterals	53		
1. The Father's brother	53		
2. Father's sister	53		
3. Mother's brother	53		
4. Mother's sister	53		
B. Ego's Consanguineous Collaterals	54		
1. Parallel Cousins	54		
2. Cross-cousins	54		
C. Contemporary Collateral Affines	54		
1. Brother's wife	54		
a. male speaking (levirate in view)	54		
b. female speaking	55		
c. Brother's wife's sister	55		
2. Sister's husband	55		
a. male speaking	55		
b. female speaking	55		
3. Wife's brother	55		
4. Wife's sister	55		
5. Husband's brother	56		
6. Husband's sister	56		
V. Name Avoidances among In-laws	57		
A. First Ascending Generation: Husband speaking	57		
1. Wife's father	57		
2. Wife's mother	57		
B. First Ascending Generation: Wife speaking	58		
1. Husband's mother	58		
2. Husband's father	58		
C. Collaterals of Parents-in-law	60		
1. HFBr and HFSi	60		
2. HMBr and HMSi	60		
3. WiFBr and WiFSi	60		
4. WiMBr and WiMSi	60		
D. Children-in-law	60		
1. Son's wife	60		
2. Daughter's husband	60		
VI. Alternate Generations	61		
A. Ego's Cognates: Grandparents	61		
1. Father's father	61		
2. Father's mother	61		
3. Mother's father	61		
4. Mother's mother	61		
B. Ego's Affines	62		
5. WiFF and WiFM, also Wi's Great-grandfather and Wi's Great-grandmother	62		
6. HFF and HFM, also HMF and HMM	62		
7. HFFF and Other Old People	62		
C. Second Descending Generation	63		
VII. Name Avoidances in the Royal Family	63		
A. Name Avoidances in the Family of Orientation	63		
1. Father	63		
2. Mother	64		
3. Children	64		
B. The Family of Procreation: Husband (King) and his Wives	64		
1. Royal Wives speaking	64		
2. Husband (King) speaking	65		
C. Affinal Relations in the Royal Family	66		
1. HBr (i.e. the King's Br)	66		
2. HF	66		
3. HM	66		
4. WiFa	66		
5. WiM	66		
D. King and Commoners in Name Avoidances	67		
1. Commoners speaking	67		
2. King speaking	67		

VIII

VIII. The Ritual Use of Names	68	D. Speech Restraints	101
A. Naming Ritual Concerning Individuals	68	E. Food Restrictions	102
1. Spitting	68	IV. The Avoidance Customs among In-laws	104
2. Asseverations	68	A. Daughter-in-law	104
3. Legal Oaths	69	1. Introduction	104
4. Calling Names	70	2. The Bride and her HF	104
5. Personal Names in Maleficent Ritual	70	a. Reserved area	104
B. Family Trees, Genealogies and Praises	71	b. Sexual restraints	105
1. Genealogies	71	c. Speech	106
2. Order of Descent	72	d. Food/work	106
3. Female Forebears	73	3. Daughter-in-law Avoidances towards	
4. Family Trees	74	M-in-l	107
5. Praises	75	a. Reserved area	107
C. The Religious Significance of a Substitute		b. Speech	108
Kinship Term	75	c. Food	108
IX. Analysis of Speech Avoidances	77	B. The Avoidances of a Son-in-law	108
A. Linguistic	77	1. So-in-l and M-in-l	108
1. Tribal and Female Hlonipha Language	77	a. Reserved area	108
2. Name Avoidances and Special Vocabularies	78	b. Sexual restraints	108
3. The Morphology of Avoidance Words	78	c. Speech	108
B. The Sociological Function of Naming Usage	79	d. Food	108
1. Theories	79	2. So-in-l and F-in-l	109
2. The Function of the Personal Name	80	V. The Avoidances between King and Commoners	110
3. The Group Names	81	1. The King's Social Position	110
4. Kinship Terms	81	2. Reserved Area	111
5. Rank Terms	82	3. Sexual Restraints	112
6. Other Aspects of Naming	82	4. Speech and Gestures	112
7. Inversion	82	5. Food/work	113
8. Selection of Names	83	6. Case Study	113
9. The Intensity of Naming Avoidances	83	VI. Hlonipha of Outsider or Stranger	114
10. The Degree of Consciousness	84	1. Reserved Area	114
		2. Sexual Restraints	115
		3. Speech and Gestures	116
		4. Food	116
<i>Chapter Two: Hlonipha of Action</i>		VII. Hlonipha Relationship Grandparents-Grand-children	116
I. Parents and Children	85	1. Reserved Areas	116
A. Sociological Setting	85	2. Sexual Restraints	116
1. The Sociological Setting between F and Chn	85	3. Food	117
2. The Relations between M and Chn	85	VIII. Relationship Juniors-Seniors	119
B. Respectful Restraints in Parent-Child Relationship	86	A. Basic Relationship	119
1. Reserved area	86	B. Modifications and Extensions	120
2. Sexual restraints	86	1. Reserved Area of hut	120
3. Speech and gestures	86	2. Use of spoon	120
4. Food	87	3. Use of mat	120
C. Sanctions	89	4. Eating of reserved food	121
1. Educational Sanctions	89	C. Relationship between Junior and Senior Generation in General	121
2. Magical Sanctions	89	1. Reserved Areas	121
3. Ordinary, Critical and Supplementary Avoidances	90	2. Sexual restraints	121
II. Hlonipha between Brs and Sis: Siblings	91	3. Speech	122
A. General	91	4. Food	122
B. Brothers	92	IX. The Avoiding of Ancestors	123
C. Brothers and Sisters	94	A. The Zulu and their Ancestors	123
III. Hlonipha Relations between Husband and Wife	98	B. Respectful Restraints towards Ancestors	125
A. Introduction	98	1. Reserved areas	125
B. Reserved Areas	99	2. Sexual restraints	125
C. Sexual Restraints	100		

3. Speech	125	4. The Hut Posts	151
4. Food	126	5. Floor and Sweepings	152
C. Avoidances in Case of Dreams and Sickness	126	6. Furniture and Utensils	153
X. Respectful Restraints towards Atmospheric Phenomena	127	C. The Hut Sections	154
A. Storm, Hail	127	1. The Hut Halves	154
1. Reserved area	127	2. The Apse or Back Part of Hut	157
2. Sexual restraints	128	D. Graves	159
3. Speech and gestures	128	Historical data	159
4. Food and work	128	E. Case Studies	164
5. Lightning	128	F. The Differential Respect towards Different Huts	169
B. Avoidances towards Celestial Bodies and the Seasons	129	1. The Great Hut	169
1. The moon	129	2. Residence	170
2. Eclipse of the sun	130	3. Family Hut	171
C. Seasonal and Agricultural Restraints	130	4. The Treatment Hut	171
1. Summer restraints	130	G. Case Studies of Zulu Kraals	172
2. Agricultural restraints	131	1. General	172
3. Restraints concerning certain crops	131	2. Hl and Za at Splitting and Moving Homesteads	189
XI. Hlonipha of Action	132	3. Summary	212
A. Reciprocity	132	<i>Chapter Four: Occupational Taboo Regimens</i>	214
1. Introduction	132	I. The Work of Smiths and their Taboo Regimen	214
2. Parents-Children	133	A. Introduction	214
a. Reserved area	133	1. Reserved areas	214
b. Speech	133	2. Sexual restraints	214
c. Food	133	3. Speech	215
3. Husband-Wife	133	4. Food/work	215
a. Reserved areas	133	B. Case Study	216
b. Sexual restraints	134	II. The Taboo Regimen of Doctors	217
c. Speech	134	A. Introduction	217
d. Food	134	B. Case Studies	218
4. The Restraint Conduct of Parents-in-law towards Children-in-law	135	C. General Survey	222
a. HF and Da-in-l	135	1. Reserved areas	222
b. WiM and DaH	136	2. Sexual restraints	222
5. Respectful Restraints of Older towards Younger Generations	136	3. Speech	222
a. Reserved area	136	4. Food/work	222
b. Sexual restraints	137	III. The Taboos of Diviners	223
c. Speech	137	A. Case Studies	223
d. Food	137	1. Nopendulo	223
6. Respectful Restraints of Chief towards Commoners	137	2. The whistling diviner	225
a. Reserved area	137	3. Case	226
b. Sexual restraints	137	4. Case	227
c. Speech	137	B. General Survey	227
d. Food	138	1. Diviners are Classified according to the Methods they Employ	227
B. Positive Expressions of Restraints, of the Avoidance Ideal	138	2. The Taboo Regimen of an Apprentice Diviner is Elaborate	228
C. Hlonipha of Action - A Language of Respect Expressions	141	a. Reserved areas	228
<i>Chapter Three: The Spatial Expressions of Avoidance</i>	144	b. Sexual restraints	229
A. The Kraal	144	c. Food/work	229
B. The Hut	147	3. The Diviner in Action	230
1. The Building of the Hut	147	a. Reserved areas	230
2. Doorway, Threshold and Door	148	b. Sexual restraints	230
3. Fire place, Hearthstones and Hut Fire	150	c. Speech	230
		d. Food/work	231

4. Companionship Taboos	231	H. The Army at the Front	262
a. Reserved areas	231	I. The Taboo Regimen of the Killer	263
b. Sexual restraints	231	K. The Return of the Army	264
c. Speech	232	L. Case Studies	265
d. Food/work	232	VII. The Chief and his Officials	267
C. Summary	232	A. The Chief's Installation	267
IV. The Weather-maker's Taboo Regimen	233	B. The King's Body-attendant (iNceku)	270
A. Case Study: Laduma Madela	233	C. Officials and Headman	270
1. Madela's Home and Work	233	VIII. Women's Occupations	272
2. The Capture of iMpundulu, the Lightning Bird	234	A. Cooking	272
B. The Weather-makers in General	235	B. Beer-making	272
1. The Training of the Heavenherd	235	C. Potmaking	274
2. The Taboo Regimen of a Heaven Doctor	236		
a. Reserved areas	236	<i>Chapter Five: Restraints in Diachronic Situations</i>	276
b. Sexual restraints	237	I. From Childhood to Adulthood	276
c. Speech	237	A. Ear piercing and Circumcision	276
d. Food/work	237	1. Ear Piercing	276
C. The Lightning Doctor's Practice	237	2. Circumcision	277
1. ukuBethela, the Making Fast of a Homestead against Lightning	237	B. The Puberty Rite (ukuThomba) of Boys	277
2. Behaviour of Lightning Doctor in a Storm	238	1. Introduction	277
a. Reserved areas	238	2. Reserved Areas	278
b. Sexual restraints	239	3. Sexual Restraints	278
c. Speech	239	4. Speech	278
D. Companionship Taboos	239	5. Food	279
a. Reserved areas	240	C. The Puberty Rite of Girls (ukuThomba)	279
b. Sexual restraints	240	1. General	279
c. Speech	240	2. A Review of the Literature	281
d. Food/work	240	a. Reserved areas	281
E. When Lightning Strikes	240	b. Sexual restraints	281
F. Hail and its Taboo Regimen	242	c. Speech	281
1. The Psychological Concomitants	242	d. Food/work	282
2. Lightning and Taboo Regimen	243	3. Companionship Taboos	282
G. The Taboos of Rain-making	243	a. Reserved areas	282
V. The Taboo Regimen during Hunting	246	b. Sexual restraints	282
A. Individual, Neighbourhood and Group Hunting	246	c. Speech	282
B. Taboo Regimens	248	4. The Coming Out (ukwEmula)	283
a. Reserved areas	248	D. Restraints in Love-making	284
b. Sexual restraints	248	1. Individual Reports	284
c. Speech	249	2. General Survey	285
d. Food	250	3. Case Studies	288
C. Royal Hunt	251	II. The Uniting of Two Families in Marriage	290
D. Honey Taking	252	A. Marriage Negotiations	290
VI. Taboos in the Zulu Military Organization	253	B. The Wedding Ceremony	292
A. Introduction	253	1. Introduction	292
B. Joining Up	253	2. The Bride's Journey to her new Home	292
C. Taboo Regimen at the Barracks	255	3. The Day of the Dances (First Day)	294
1. Reserved areas	255	4. The Day of Aggregation (Consummation)	296
2. Sexual restraints	255	5. The Day of Presentation (Third Day)	297
3. Speech	255	C. Behaviour Patterns at Wedding related to HI and Za	298
4. Food	256	III. A Woman's Life at her Husband's Home	300
D. Call to Arms	256	A. Release Rites Incorporating Bride into Husband's Family	300
E. The Killing of the Bull, the Strengthening of the Army	258	B. Woman's Menstrual Period (iFindo, ukuPhothela, ukuQuaka)	303
F. The Sprinkling of the Army	259	C. Pregnancy	304
G. Companionship Taboos	260	1. Reserved Areas	304
a. Reserved areas	261	2. Sexual Restraints	305
b. Sexual restraints	261		
c. Speech	261		

3. Speech	305	4. SM at Royal Kraal Nobamba	363
4. Work/Food	305	5. Chief Phumanyova Zulu and his Council	364
D. Birth	306	6. SM Distribution at kwaHlumehlupeka	364
IV. Death and Burial as Paradigm of Taboo Regimens	308	E. Sour Milk Consumption at Court: a Historical Reconstruction	367
A. Funeral Ceremonies	309	1. The Problem of Historical Method	367
1. The Burial	309	2. The General Rule	368
2. Getting Down to the New Situation	310	3. Historical Evidence and Sketch Maps	371
3. Washing the Hoes and the Spears (iHlambo, isiPheku, isiDlo)	310	4. Commoners' Evidence	373
4. The Bringing Home (ukuBuyisa), also Great Washing (iHlambo eliKhulu)	311	5. The Evidence of Nobility	374
5. The Remarriage of the Widows	312	II. The Taboos in Sacrifice	377
B. The Mourning Taboo Regimen	313	A. The Ritual Situation in Sacrifice	377
1. The Isolation of the Mourners	313	1. Introduction	377
2. Sex Restraints	314	2. First Day	378
3. Speech and Expressive Behaviour	314	3. Second Day	381
4. Food and Work Prohibitions	315	4. Fourth Day	383
5. Companionship Taboos in Mourning	316	B. The Taboo Regimen of the Patriarch	384
C. Case Studies	316	1. The Family Head's Taboo Regimen	384
1. Report on the Mourning for a FBr	316	2. Companionship Taboos	385
2. Modifications in the Case of Chn's death	318	3. Zulu Explanations	385
3. Mourning for Women	320	4. Is Sacrifice Gift, Communion or Share?	386
4. Mourning for Royalty	322	C. Animal Parts round which Taboos Centre	388
5. Tribal Modifications	327	1. The Bones	388
D. Analysis	330	2. The Stomach Contents	388
1. Individual Fear	330	3. Gall-bladder and Bile	389
2. Gloom or Contagion of Death	330	4. Cowdung	391
3. Structural Duplications	331	D. Case Studies: Sacrifice	393
4. Kindred's Actions	332	1. Langalishona Dhludhla	393
5. Taboo Regimen as Index of Social Position	333	2. Princess Magogo	394
6. Different Taboo Patterns for 'Minors'	334	3. Sacrifice at the King's Grave	395
7. Rules of Mourning	335	4. Sacrifice at the Making of the Hoop of Power	396
<i>Chapter Six: Restraints in the Three Communion</i>	336	5. Eating of Meat at Chief Manyala Biyela's Kraal emahlayizeni	398
I. The Sour Milk Avoidances	336	E. Snuff	400
A. The Milk Order	336	1. The Tobacco Farmer	400
1. The Assignment of the Milch Cows	336	2. Diviners	400
2. The Milking	338	3. HI of Snuff Consumption	401
3. The Preparation of the Curds	339	III. The Taboo Regimen at the First Fruits	402
4. The Consumption of Sour Milk	340	A. Historical Survey	402
5. Commensality	341	1. Introduction	402
6. Detailed Description	342	2. Official Reports	402
7. An Unconfirmed Hypothesis	344	3. Colenso's Report	404
B. Eating SM with Strangers	345	4. Shooter	404
1. SM at the MF's Homestead	345	5. Leslie	405
2. The SM Bond	346	6. The Abandonment of the First Fruits	405
3. The Recognition of Good and Bad	347	B. Lugg's Account and Terminology	406
4. The Bride's SM Taboo	348	1. The Licking of the Hoe	406
5. The Eating of SM at Affines'	350	2. Entering the New Year	406
C. SM Consumption and Incest	351	3. The Great Royal Ceremony	406
1. SM Commensality defines Forbidden Degrees	351	4. A Note on Terminology	407
2. Comparison of Incest Indices	353	C. The Main Features	408
3. SM Avoidances in Family Alliances	354	1. The Small Royal Rite	408
4. SM as Symbol of Virility	356	2. The Great Royal Rite	409
D. Case Studies: Milk Distribution Avoidances	359	D. The Taboo Regimen	411
1. Msenteli Zulu, Dakwakusutha	359	1. Companionship Taboos	411
2. Chief Manyala Biyela at emahlayizeni	361	2. The King's Taboos	412
3. Milk Distribution at (412)'s kraal	362	E. Zulu Explanations	414
		F. Sociological Analysis	416

G. Release Rites	417	C. Pure and Impure	473
H. The First Fruits as Remembered by (286)	418	1. uSuku: Sexual Stain	473
IV. The Essence of ukuZila	419	2. Ngcolile: Unclean	474
A. Differences between Hl and Za	419	3. The Zulu Ideal of Purity	477
B. Characteristics of Taboos	421	a. Cleansing Rites	478
1. Purpose	421	b. Ritual Fitness	478
2. Isolation	422	III. The Individual Factor	481
3. Companionship	422	A. The Self-Imposition of Restraints	481
C. Taboos Connected with the Creation of Life	423	B. Authorities Imposing Taboo Regimens	483
D. Taboo Regimens Connected with the Maintenance of Life	425	1. Kraalhead	483
<i>Chapter Seven: The Conceptual Background</i>	430	2. Doctors	484
I. The Techniques of Administering Restraints	430	3. Chief or King	485
A. The General Lack of Sanctions	430	C. Changes in Restraints	487
B. Magical Sanctions	431	1. Fashion	487
1. Their Nature	432	2. Education	487
2. The Emergence of Magical Sanctions	433	3. Public and Private Standards	487
a. The Guarding of the Kraalhead's (the Father's) Symbols	433	4. Class Standards	488
b. Magical Sanctions Securing the Wi's Functions	434	5. Culture Contact	489
c. Royalty Symbols	435	D. Power of Individuals to Alter Restraints	489
3. Symbolical Gestures or Actions	437	E. Release Rites from Single Restraints and Regimens of Restraints	491
4. The Presence of Fear in Hl and Za Situations	440	1. Introduction	491
C. Educational Sanctions	444	2. Puberty	492
1. Their Nature	444	3. Wedding	492
2. Teaching of Avoidances	445	4. Mourning	493
3. Cultural Orientations	448	IV. Restraints and their Inversion	494
a. True Man	448	A. Contrasted Behaviour of Correlated Statuses	494
b. Shame	450	1. Family	494
c. Disgrace	451	2. Chief and Commoners	495
4. Taboo Breakers	453	3. Diachronic and Occupational Roles	496
D. Settlement of Avoidance and Abstention Breaches by Composition	455	B. Inversion with Ritual Function	496
1. Settlement within Kindred	455	C. Contrasted Behaviour Patterns and their Cultural Function	501
2. Settlement before Court	458	<i>Chapter Eight: Conclusions</i>	503
II. Zulu Categories	460	I. Semantics	503
A. Misfortune: Good and Bad Luck	460	II. The Essentials of Hlonipha	505
1. umMnyama-Gloom	460	III. The Essentials of Zila	519
2. Untoward Events	463	<i>Footnotes: Chapters I - VII</i>	533
3. Good and Bad Luck	465	<i>Appendices</i>	540
B. The Social Definition of Moral Responsibility	467	I. List of Informants	540
1. inSila (Body Dirt, Family Unity)	467	II. Bibliography	547
2. iGazi: Blood	471		

## ABBREVIATIONS

1. *Terminological*

acc.....	according
Ans.....	answer
Br.....	Brother, also Br-in-1, BrWi, eBr, senBr, BrSo, BrDa
Ch.....	child, Chn ..... children
clan/n.....	clan name (isiBongo)
co-Wi.....	co-wife; co-Wis=plural
court/n.....	courtesy name
Da.....	daughter, also Das, Da-in-1, DaH, eDa, senDa
e.....	in front of kinship term: elder, e.g. eBr, FeSi
F.....	father, also FF, FBr, FSi, F-in-1, FM, FeBr, FeSi
GF.....	grandfather; GM ... grandmother; GPs ... grandparents
Gr 1-3:.....	group name (clan/court/regim/n)
H.....	husband, also HF, HM, HSi, HBr
Hl.....	Hlonipha (respectful restraints)
In 1-4.....	individual names (pers/n, youth/n, tek/n, praise/n)
in-1.....	in-law, also M-in-1, F-in-1, Da-in-1
jun.....	junior, e.g. in junSi, junBr
k/t.....	kinship term
M.....	Mother, also M-in-1, MF, MM, MBr, MSi
n.....	name; N.N.... nomen nominandum, so-and-so
PAR.....	Pietermaritzburg Archives
pers/n.....	personal name
princWi....	principal wife
Q.....	question
RA.....	Reserved Areas
regim/n...	regimental name
r/r.....	release rite
r/t.....	rank term
SAC.....	sacrifice
sen.....	senior, e.g. in senBr, senFBr
Si.....	sister, also SiH, eSi, senSi
SM.....	sour milk
So.....	son, SoWi, So-in-1, SoSo, SoDa
spec.....	special; esp..... especially
tek/n.....	teknonymy name or pater's name
umTh.....	umThetho, customary law, law
U.....	umNumzane, kraalhead
Wi.....	wife, also Wis, WiM, WiF, WiBr, WiSi, eWi, junWi, senWi
yo.....	in front of kinship term: younger, e.g. yoBr, yoSi
Za.....	Zila, taboo

The majority of Zulu informants are indicated by numbers; see List of Informants: Appendix, pp. 533ff.

2. *Authors and Works*, especially in Tables I-XIII and in Ch. I.

A:	Asmus (1938)
Aa:	Braatvedt (1927)
B:	Bird (1888)
C:	Callaway (1866)
Cc:	Callaway (1868)
Ccc:	Callaway (1871)

Col: Colenso (1905)  
 D: Kidd  
 DV: Doke-Vilakazi  
 F: Faye (1923)  
 Fl-I: Küick  
 Fl-II: Carbutt  
 G: Gluckman (1950)  
 Gr: Grout (1862)  
 Gib: Gibson (1911)  
 Isa: Isaacs (1836)  
 K: Krige (1936)  
 L: Leslie (1875)  
 Ll: Ludlow (1882)  
 LHS: Samuelson, L.H. (1912)  
 N: Gardiner (1836)  
 O: Kohler (1938)  
 Oo: Kohler (1941)  
 Ow: Owen (1926)  
 R: van Warmelo (1938)  
 RCS: Samuelson, R.C. (1923)  
 S: Samuelson, R.C. Dictionary  
 Sh: Shooter (1857)  
 T: Bryant (1905)  
 Tt: Bryant (1929)  
 Ttt: Bryant (1949)  
 V: Lugg (1929)  
 vW: van Warmelo (1931)  
 W: Wanger: (1917)  
 Y: Tyler (1891)  
 UMP: Umpumulo students and teachers  
 Film: Norwegian Mission Society Film

3. For comparative purposes Zulu nouns and verbs have been given capitals to indicate the stems. These are the stems in the Doke-Vilakazi Dictionary. The notes on the Method of Entry there should be consulted.

PREFACE

The study of avoidances and taboos is not merely of academic interest. These sociological phenomena are of eminent practical importance. Among members of the 'Zulu Society' which flourished in the thirties and forties, and which represented 'educated' Zulu opinion, there was a decided inclination to preserve and revive avoidance customs. *Hlonipha*, as they are called, are an expression of the pyramid of respect upon which the Zulu ethos is raised. They link in each instance an inferior to a superior status in traditional forms of expressing deference, the link not being without some reciprocity. This system of restraints is felt by many Zulu to be an essential and peculiar quality of Zulu culture and its preservation vital to tribal cohesion in a period of change.

It is not the educated Zulu alone who is interested in the system of avoidances and interdicts. When Mr. M. D. Mkize submitted on my behalf the Tables of Taboos to two chiefs for their comment, they asked him: "Is this what you teach at school?" Mr. Mkize had to reply in the negative, whereupon the chiefs said: "What a pity. Old people are dying with all our precious national customs. You should abandon teaching and go about collecting this stuff. We will propose that all chiefs subscribe to a fund from which you will be paid for your efforts."

Who dares deny that with the vanishing of Zulu culture the world would be the poorer? Mdlayoshi Buthelezi put this point in a positive way: "*Hlonipha* customs give dignity to the Zulu people. In my homestead the observance of respectful restraints results in harmonious relations between me, the family head, and my wives, between me and my brothers, between parents and children. Nor is *Hlonipha* one-sided, since I as head must respect my wives and children in turn. If I did not, they would remind me by word of mouth. If I would not listen, they would remove themselves from my presence as a reminder that I should control my anger. If this would have no effect they would run away from my establishment altogether." Mdlayoshi sums up his view: "A non-Zulu is recognized by not observing *Hlonipha* (respectful restraints); in our eyes he lacks dignity (*isiThunzi*): he is an undignified person! "

A word about the methods used in collecting my material. Having in 1940 thought about the most suitable way of classifying avoidances and taboos, I drew up the framework of the Tables and filled them in using the literature on the Zulu and field work in Mapumulo District. The material obtained was checked and enlarged in discussions with teachers and students at the Umpumulo Training College. In this stage about 100 individuals were consulted or contributed to the lists. Both students and teachers hailed from all over Zululand and Natal and at that stage no check was kept on the provenance of particular instances. In 1952/3, 1955/6, 1956/7 I spent three months each summer, or a total of nine months, in Zululand in the districts of Eshowe, Mahlabatini, Nongoma, and Nkandla supported by grants from the National Council for Social Research. The list of informants attached gives particulars about my contacts.

The method of presentation necessarily reflects the approach used. While the original survey established the wide range of Hl and Za phenomena in the situations in which they were obligatory, subsequent field work revealed that the whole gamut of Hl and Za observances is never found implemented in any one family, in any particular individual. Each Zulu, and each lineage makes a selection which is determined by historical, cultural and economic circumstances and individual predilections. To express this fact it was found advisable to present a general description of the Hl and Za syndromes and contrast them with case studies which show how in a particular situation the general principles are being applied. Moreover the Tables reveal at a glance that a number of significant features in Hl and Za custom have so far been neglected because of the anthropological tradition of listing and analysing avoidances and taboos as single, disconnected restraints.

It was therefore considered prudent to present both Hl and Za customs in their relational or institutional setting. This procedure tends to make this account rather full; this was considered justified because of the general dearth of satisfactory descriptive accounts.

## INTRODUCTION

### A. LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

Before commencing the sociological examination of *ukuHlonipha* and *ukuZila* customs it seems appropriate to investigate the connotation of these two terms in Zulu. In doing so we shall be following two methodological leads: (i) Cassirer reminded us of the old discovery that every language by its structural peculiarities directs the mind of the persons who use it in such a manner that their experience of reality necessarily differs from the experience of people who use a different language. It thus behoves us to find out how the contents of *ukuHlonipha* and *ukuZila* mould the world view of the Zulu. (ii) Evans-Pritchard (1937) has shown the methodological value of seeing such universal phenomena as the title of his book indicates reflected in the cultural idiom of a particular tribe. If we wish to emulate the standard he set in his classical treatise we have to find out what significance the Zulu attach to their avoidances and taboos.

#### 1. *ukuZila*

The meaning of the verb *ukuZila* is restricted in the first dictionary of a Nguni language (Döhne: 1857) to 'abstaining from food'. This limited meaning is also recorded by Kohler (1939: 92). We may here be dealing with a dialectical peculiarity, for Döhne was influenced by Lala (Central Natal) speech, and Kohler records the usage of the Bhaca of Southern Natal. Also Malcolm (personal communication) says: "My experience has connected *Zila* only with food." Colenso and Bryant in their dictionaries, however, include in the meaning of *ukuZila* not only abstentions from food but also abstaining from work and sleep and from the use of words on particular occasions, such as hail, new moon or the death of a headman! Doke-Vilakazi confirm this wider connotation and add a further meaning: 'to show respect by avoidance(!)'

The causative form of the verb *ukuZilisa* means 'to cause to abstain', or as one of my informants rendered it 'to accompany someone in the observance of a taboo'. To express the idea of 'to prohibit' the Zulu do not employ a derivative of *ukuZila*, but the verbs *ukuAlela*, *ukuNqabela*, *ukuNqumisela* and *ukuVimbela*. These verbs are also used in ritual circumstances, e. g., in interdicting the consumption of crops before the First Fruits, when one might expect a derivative of *Zila*. A time of observing abstentions, such as a period of fasting is an *inZilo*. Special signs, e. g., the shaven head, clothes indicating a taboo period, such as mourning, are also covered by this term. *uzilile* is anything avoided, that which must not be touched or spoken to. The verbal relative *okuZilwayo* (that which is avoided) also occurs \*1\*.

It may be concluded that *ukuZila* (and its derivatives) refers to abstentions observed in certain circumstances as prescribed by custom. It is difficult from the dictionary entries to discover what the underlying motives are. In Zulu *ukuZila* never denotes the abstentions, totemic in nature, which characterize clans in other tribes. The reference is always to events in general such as may happen to members of any human group. The ordinary mourning *zila* will naturally be observed by all the members of a lineage. At the death of a king, the mourning abstentions may be imposed upon a tribe or the whole nation \*2\*.

An etymological excursus will throw some further light on *ukuZila*. Bryant (1905) notes that *zila* is probably related to *ukuthi zile*, 'to be black, or awe-inspiring'. Days of abstinence or prohibitions appointed at the new moon, after hail, on the death of a chief are called *uSuku oluMnyama* (a black day, day of dark, feared thing) or *uSuku lwenZilo* or *lokuZila* (the day of abstaining). Wanger translates *uSuku oluMnyama* with 'sacred' or 'taboo day' and *isiGodlo esiMnyama* with 'sacred or tabooed enclosure' (in the royal village). The taboo day is awe-inspiring or fearsome on account of dark, mystical powers associated with it, and the enclosure on account of the capital punishment which follows upon its violation \*3\*.

The Zulu have indeed a large number of expressions similar to *isiZilo*, viz., *umMnyama*, *umHlola*, *isiSila*, *umSizi*, *umSwazi*. All these terms refer to concrete things, such as black colour, physical dirt, or a dark object. In their figurative use the terms express blurred vision, darkness of mind or depression, as well as bad luck or misfortune, moral defilement and ritual impurity. This quality of misfortune or defilement appears to be transmissible.

Comparative Bantu reveals that *ukuZila* is known in all Nguni languages. Kropf interprets Xhosa *ukuZila* as 'to abstain from food, especially by menstruating women and mourners'. MacLean (p. 94), restricts the connotation to the taboos of separation relating to women 'in their changes'. Neither Cook (1931), in discussing the taboos of the Bomvana, nor Hunter (1936) those of the Pondo, mentions the word, although it exists in both languages. The Swazi *tila* has a connotation hardly different from Zulu *zila* and the same is true of Thonga *yila*, of which an intransitive use is on record: menstrual blood is said to be *yila* (Junod: 910). *Zila* is well known to the Transvaal Ndebele (Fourie: 162 - 179). Among the Ndebele of Rhodesia the verb *ukuZila* and the noun *izilo* are found. The abstentions implied refer to food, to work (during mourning, on special days), to sleep (at certain places, for certain people), to certain cattle (e.g., in worship), to certain actions (e.g., sitting on a grindstone, beating a person with a reed, eating from a pot, lying across a footpath) (Davies and Quinche). Read (1956) does not note it for the Nyasaland Ngoni.

The linguistic equivalent of the Nguni *Zila* in the Sotho Languages is *ila* (Pedi). The verb has various derivatives, such as the Passive, the Neuter and the Causative (*ila-Tše* : to avoid, to have an aversion to; *xo-Ilelwa*: it is taboo, prohibited; *iLêxa*: to be averse to; *iDisa* : to make avoid). Clans, which here observe distinguishing abstentions, are called by names describing these. Even an individual who fancies a peculiar abstention, or avoids an otherwise general behaviour, receives a name in which *ila* forms a constituent. Thus an unbeliever is called *mo-Ila-Modimo*, lit. an avoider of God. The noun *seIla* denotes (i) a taboo period, in which work must not be done, e.g., after hail, or in which festivals and dances are prohibited, e.g., in April; and (ii) the avoided totem, i.e., species of animal or natural object, which is revered by its associated kinship group (Kriel; Schapera: 19).

Although the Venda are linguistically and culturally quite distinct from the Sotho, the word *ila* occurs also in their language. It designates (i) what is forbidden on magical grounds since a breach would evoke a supernatural punishment; (ii) what may not be eaten by any member of a clan on non-rational grounds, and (iii) what is contrary to general custom. Many clan/ns are nothing but phrases describing the differentiating avoidance, e.g., *Vha-ila-thoni*: People-who-avoid-the-Porcupine (van Warmelo: 1937; Stayt: 186, 190, 297).

The provenance of the root extends to S.W.A. where it assumes the form *zera* in Herero. The meaning includes (i) 'irrational' custom, as that a man must not sweep huts, and (ii) rules of an ethical nature, such as: relatives must not be killed. The patrilineal kinship groups (*oruzo*) can be distinguished by their food taboos and other exclusive prohibitions. The origin myths of these groups are accounts of how the founder reserved a particular piece of meat to himself (and thus to his descendants) for purposes of magic. The graves of ancestors are *zera*, but also the *omumborombonga* tree revered for the first ancestor of the Herero whose name and grave are unknown. The Herero kneels before it, bows and says: 'Tate mkurume u zera.' i.e., The ancient father is unapproachable, prohibited (sacred?). He dare not rest in its shade even when other trees have no shade to offer. Here, apparently, *zera* is associated with what may be called religious awe. Parents of twins are considered *zera*: they are placed in a hut outside the village and treated with the greatest respect. A Herero child receives two names, the first in a rite at a sacred fire, which is *zera* and kept secret, and the other which is generally used and refers to an event at the bearer's birth or characterizes him. One use of the word *zera* exemplifies the right of the chief to break a taboo, when necessary. A 'step-brother' of Maherero, who had been adopted by chief Tyamula into his clan, was called *Kavezeri*, i.e., It-is-not-prohibited, scil., to adopt children. (Irle: 77, 87, 216; Lebzelter: 184; Luttig: 73, 76, 97). *Otjizero* is the site of the sacred fire where sacrifices to the ancestors are offered (Viehe: 121).

The root *ila* can be traced outside South Africa to the Tswa in P.E.A., who use *yila* for 'to abstain' (Persson). In the Congo the word occurs as *kijila* (prohibition) or *kizila* (fetish) among the Luba-speaking peoples and the Musuko, where the meaning is said to be restricted to food taboos (Verhulpen: 170ff). The Vili in the French Congo know *kizila* (forbidden thing) (Dennett: 52). For the Congo languages in general the term *chegilla* was already noted by Merolla in the 17th century (Diniz: 198).

In East Africa food and firewood abstentions linked with clans are widely known. They are designated *mugiro* by the Sukuma and *muziro* (pl. *imiziro*) by the Lacustrine Bantu, e.g., the Kiziba, Rundi, Ruanda and Wanga (Bantu Kavirondo) (Stuhlmann: 137; Johannsen: 87). The

Ganda (Roscoe: 133) clans distinguish between a 'spiritual totem' (= ancestral name), *muziro*, and a second less known totem, *kiziro*. Both are held 'sacred' and never destroyed. The Nyoro clan totem is *umu-zimu* (ancestor), which may not be eaten by the clan members if it is an animal. As such it is named *umuziru* (Mecklenburg: 49; Roscoe: VII). At the coast of the Indian Ocean the Shambala know *ku-zila*, to abstain (Langheinrich). Krapf noted in 1882 two forms *kuzira* and *kuzia* with rather wide connotations: to abstain, hate, avoid, despise, bear a grudge. The Bonde language has *kuzila*, to abhor, and *kudiza*, to abstain. Even in the north-western province of Bantu speech the root is found: the Duala in the Cameroons use the verb *ia* or *ii* for to abstain, to avoid, and the Yaunde *kili*, to forbid, and *ki*, to abstain. The presence of the root *z(y)ila* has thus been proved for the whole Bantu area with approximately the same meaning. Meinhof accordingly arrives at the Urbantu word *yla* (Meinhof: 1910).

In East African languages *mwiko* usually denotes things prohibited to kinship groups or clans. The Nyanwezi talk of *mgambo gwa mwiko*, 'matters of clan food taboo' (Blohm: I, 92), but it is also a prohibition on a commoner to touch the king's sign of sovereignty (ibid. 161). The Sandawe know the word *meko*, religious prohibition (Dempwolff), which is akin to Swahili *mwiko*, kinship avoidance. The Shambala clan has its *miko*, religious rule and prohibition (Wohlrab: 24). Sometimes words derived from both forms *yla* and *mwiko* are present in one and the same language. Nigmann notes Hehe *mwiko*, totem, totemic prohibition, and *msiro* or *mudzilo*. Among the Tumbuka-Kamanga *lusilo* is ritual uncleanness after touching a corpse, *wa-mzilo* are persons under taboo; things that cannot be done are *vya-mzilo* or *vya-mwiko* (Cullen Young: 94). Krapf puts Swahili *kuzira* to *kuweka mwiko*, to avoid a certain food. Richter (p. 640) records the term *mwiko* or *mudzilo* (clan totem) for the tribes of the Northern shores of Lake Nyasa. The connection with clan abstentions is, however, not absolute. The Nyakyusa employ *mwiko* for prohibition with a mystical sanction and possibly for an utterly prohibited action without such sanction (Wilson), and the connotation is not confined to clan prohibitions. When the Shambala say *nizabana mwiko*, this means: 'I have broken the law', and the Haya, a Hima people on the Western shore of Lake Victoria, render the same phrase as *kuchwa omuku* (a very strong expression).

There exists a second Bantu root with the meaning to avoid, viz., the *orunda* of the Western Bantu. It can be traced with the same meaning as far south as the Ila of Rhodesia, where *kotunda* occurs (Smith and Dale: I, 139). Among a people so centrally situated as the Lamba we find all three words represented. Naturally their meanings have become differentiated: *ukuTonda* means social prohibition, *umu-Shiliko* is taboo or religious sanction, and *umBiko* an omen of disasters (Doke: 1920: 210-7). Dammann (1968) discusses the etymology of these roots.

To sum up: (a) *ukuZila* is used for certain definite abstentions observed in circumstances prescribed by custom, such as mourning, menstruation, hail, new moon, death of a chief, and also in certain rites. (b) The term is also used to designate the totemic prohibitions imposed on all members of a kinship group or clan; this use of the word is unknown or extinct among the Zulu and other Nguni. (c) *ukuZila* is also employed to express somebody's individual aversions. This usage is only of limited interest to the sociologist, but should not be overlooked. Döhne already noted it and its etiology: physiological or psychic motive. An alternative, and perhaps commoner term for this meaning, is however *ukuDuba* which is also used for habitual abstention from food which disagrees with the eater. *ukuDikila* means to abstain from food because of anger, and fastidiousness which expresses itself in refusing food is known as *ubuQha* (Colenso: 1905). (d) It may be a modern tendency to generalize the meaning of *ukuZila* as when a war time Zulu speaker broadcast 'Don't talk about ships and shipping!' by using *ukuZila*. The dictionary evidence collected above shows that in Native usage the term is properly applied only to certain concrete situations which are limited in number.

## 2. *ukuHlonipha*

Doke-Vilakazi note a meaning of *ukuZila*, viz., 'To show respect by avoidance' which normally falls within the connotation of the second term we wish to investigate, *ukuHlonipha*. The tendency of African languages to restrict meanings of words to discrete instances which seem to have hidden logical interconnection, must be taken account of here. Döhne asserts that *Hlonipha*

covers avoidances which are observed by women exclusively in their conduct towards close relatives. Kohler limits the connotation to avoidances between in-laws. More common is the one-sided stress laid on the linguistic side of *Hlonipha* which is often defined as the avoidance of the name (or the principal syllable of that name) of the revered person \*4\*.

But *hlonipha* is not restricted to women, nor is it a mere linguistic phenomenon. *Hlonipha* as respect avoidance is observed, as will be demonstrated, in many relations of superordination and subordination, by men and children, chiefs and commoners, nor is it restricted to avoidances but often covers 'positive' actions, from gestures to benefactions. The term has abstract aspects, its meaning shading from to obey, e.g., one's parents, to sense of decency, (in a phrase like *akusikho ukuHlonipha uma owesifazane ehlezi ngokuBhenyeka*: there is no sense of decency when a woman sits with her knees up), and to approved custom in general. The aim of education may be described as *ukuHlonipha* (respectful attitude).

The term *hlonipha* although obviously not so generally recorded as *ukuzila*, is yet found in many African languages. Kropf was one of the first to note that Xhosa *hlonipha* is not restricted to women. MacLean (p. 95) stresses the in-law avoidances, and Soga points out that under *Hlonipha* women must treat with respect the personal belongings of their husbands. Hunter (p. 151, 379 and index under 'avoidances') uses the word in two senses, (a) to show respect and (b) to avoid. A typical instance of the blurred boundary between these two meanings is given: If a woman is in labour, the HM must keep in the background since the Ch avoids (H1) its GM. In other words, the child cannot make its appearance and returns to the womb. According to Cook (p. 38) *Hlonipha* among the Bõmvana means: to be bashful, to avoid out of respect. Under the term are subsumed the avoidances of the young towards the old, of women in the husband's home, and of in-laws and initiates. Swazi *hlonipha* is said to differ little from *tila*, the main distinction being that a breach of *tila* avoidances only is visited by 'ritual punishment' (Kuper, H., personal communication). The Rhodesian Ndebele *ugu-Hlonipha* covers various forms of tribal etiquette (Davis and Quinche), and a phrase like *awuHloniphi wena* means: You don't respect, you have bad manners. The Transvaal Ndebele subsume the in-law avoidances under the term (Fourie). Among the Ngoni of Nyasaland the term *hlonipa* is generally used for to respect, honour (Read, *passim*).

The term *hlonipha* occurs in Thonga (Junod: II, 574-7) as well as in Sotho (Kriel). A general meaning, to respect, to honour, can be distinguished from the more particular one of avoidances based on reverential fear (Laydevant). In Southern Sotho the term appears as *liThlong*.

If we summarize our analysis by saying that *hlonipha* expresses 'to respect by means of avoidances', this is confirmed by the etymology of the word. In Xhosa Döhne lists *inHloni* bashfulness, shyness, feeling of shame or confusion. Kropf notes an obsolete *ukuHlona*, 'to be afraid of reverentially'. He refers to the word *inThloni* with the concrete meaning of hedgehog and the figurative one of shame and bashfulness. In Xhosa the phrase 'he was pricked by the hedgehog' is an equivalent for 'he is ashamed'. In Transvaal Ndebele a similar association exists. The root *hloni* with the class prefix *in-* denotes hedgehog, with the prefix *ama-* it denotes shame, shyness. Popular etymology connects the words by asserting that the hedgehog is called *inHloni* because it hides its head as a young wife hides her head under the kaross before her father-in-law. The same connection was pointed out by one of my Zulu informants (R. Goba). "The animal called *inHloni* has the habit of casting its head on its chest and looking round shyly. As a Zulu girl may not look her lover in the face, nor a bride her in-laws, they are said to feel *izinHloni*, bashfulness." Doke-Vilakazi give *izinHloni* bashfulness and *amaHloni* shame. For hedgehog *inHloli* is noted: the second 'l' seems to be due to 'lallation'.

The same association exists outside the Nguni area. The Venda call bashfulness *thoni* and secure it magically by a medicine from the quill of a hedgehog! One clan, the *Va-ila-thoni*, is forbidden to eat the hedgehog, and its symbol on the divining bowl is a number of quills. van Warmelo mentions *Thoni* only in its concrete meaning of hedgehog. *Hloni*, *thoni* and *tloni* are evidently the same word as Cewa *intloni* filial piety, Ila *insoni* and Kamba *nthoni* for shame, shyness. This term characterizes the relations between in-laws and is expressed in avoidances. Among the Kamba and even more so among their neighbours the Masai, the porcupine is a generally avoided animal (Lindblom, Merker). As in other East African tribes the term *esoni*

means shame among the Nyakyusa. For 'to respect, avoid as a parent-in-law or child-in-law', they use the expression *ukuTila* (= *zila*), although the custom itself shows strong resemblances to Zulu *hlonipha* (Wilson, private communication). The Urbantu term is *koni*.

Our etymological quest led to the discovery that a certain class of avoidances is linked in Native thought with the feeling of bashfulness, perhaps even awe, that the symbol of this emotion is not infrequently the hedgehog or porcupine, and that the avoidances are felt to express respect.

## B. THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION

Some at least of the phenomena we wish to investigate fall under the notion of 'taboo'. Etymologically the word 'taboo' is derived from Polynesian and Australasian languages in which it occurs in a variety of forms: *tabu*, *tapu*, *tambuh*, etc. The root *ta* has the meaning of 'to mark', *pu* is an intensifying particle. There are close antecedents of the word in Sanskrit and Semitic languages. Littmann (p. 135) shows that the Polynesian languages obtained the word from India, where it originally meant a priestly ban and later any object which might not be touched (scil. , by non-priests).

We must distinguish between indigenous meanings of 'taboo' and the connotations developed in European languages. The local meanings are most diverse. Codrington (p. 215) says: "Taboo is a prohibition with a curse expressed or implied." This neat distinction between genus (prohibition) and proprium (curse) is not always found. According to Fortune (p. 82, 254) 'taboo' to the Dobuans may mean 'a charm of the (prohibited) black art - owned privately and inherited matrilineally -, i. e. , a curse efficacious in causing disease or disfigurement.' But this Melanesian tribe knows also the meaning of taboo as 'prohibition' in general (ibid. p. 222).

The many indigenous meanings of *tapu* range from: 'thread, knot used as a taboo sign' to 'the whole system of religion' (Tregear, under *tapu*). Elsdon Best notes a peculiar interpretation (p. 224): "Natives have an instinctive fear, that a (European) doctor will interfere with their state of *tapu*, that the life principle will be endangered by his strange methods." He illustrates this with a woman, who by clinging to European ways lost her *tapu*, her personal integrity. This makes Maori *tapu* equivalent to 'vital principle', 'personality' and thus to *mana*. We conclude that taboo, like *mana* and *manitou*, is a concept from the abstract thought of primitive man and thus liable to be misunderstood by the white man unlike *tattoo* which as a visible process is hardly subject to misinterpretations (F. R. Lehmann).

The popular meanings of the term taboo in European languages are less varied than the native. Lowie (1925: 78) noted: "Our word taboo . . . is far from designating all the ramifications and shades of meaning inclustered about its prototype." Grammatically the word may be used as an adjective, a noun and a verb without differentiating index. The adjective 'taboo' is used to denote the condition or state of a person, object or action which must be abstained from. It then means 'forbidden' or even *sacer* in the double sense of 'holy' and 'untouchable' and is mainly used predicatively. (In Bantu languages such an adjective does not occur). As a verb 'to taboo' means to 'prohibit strictly' through social pressure rather than legal enforcement. The past participle 'tabooed' is used attributively, e. g. , in 'tabooed king' = the king under prohibitions. The noun 'taboo' generally means little more than 'prohibition', although the baneful influence thought to be associated with the violation of such a prohibition is sometimes implied, e. g. , in the sentence *taboo* flows out of the king' (Howells).

The discussion of taboo in Social Anthropology, Psycho-analysis and Psychiatry turns on the differentiating quality which distinguishes a taboo from an ordinary prohibition. There is considerable divergence of opinion as to what constitutes this difference. Some authors maintain that the essential quality of the taboo prohibition is its strictness, its categorical nature (Durkheim: 1939: 301). Few anthropologists accept this criterion, presumably because degree of severity is difficult to define without agreement on the measure. Some authors opine that taboos are prohibitions with a peculiar kind of sanction. Marett (1933) describes this sanction as a 'conditional curse' and Westermarck (I, 60 and II, 63) limits taboo to 'conditional curse used commonly only for the prevention of theft or the protection of property'. A third group of investigators finds the distinguishing quality of taboo in the manner in

which the punishment follows upon the breach of the prohibition. Webster and Seagle (p. 118) call it automatic, Westermarck (I, 233) mechanical, Hobhouse (p. 420) direct, Redfield stresses immediacy. In this connection it is often pointed out that no judicial or executive agency, whether human or divine, is assumed to be involved (Preuss: 80). Some experts push this view further and assert that we cannot talk of taboo unless the sanction is characterized as super-natural, mystic or magico-religious in nature (Notes and Queries, Wilson, M; Meyer Fortes 1945; Sumner, II, 1097; Hoebel).

A fourth group of anthropologists sees the differentia distinguishing taboos from prohibition in a psychic concomitant, the feeling of awe, of fear, of eeriness (Mensch, Howells) which accompanies its observance and even more so its violation. Freud calls taboo "the externalized uneasiness of conscience". This 'uneasiness' is the result of the violation of "a prohibition from without imposed upon the realization of powerful drives of a sexual nature", (Drever). The limitation of 'taboo' to prohibitions in the sexual sphere and to individual psychic mechanisms makes the psycho-analytical concept unsuitable for sociological discussions. Mead accordingly advises us to disregard it.

A fifth characteristic ascribed to taboos is the contagiousness of the condition produced through the observance of an interdict or else by its violation. Westermarck (II, 63) points out that the conditional curse cleaves to a protected object like a materia magica or a miasma which is transmitted to the taboo breaker. His death or execution is frequently a consequence (Hobhouse: 90, referring to Achan in the O. T.). Conversely a taboo breach makes necessary certain ritual processes to remove the contagion from the offender, viz., confession, atonement or purification (= washing away contagion) (cf. Boas, quoted by Hartland: 164). Connected with the last three qualities is the lack of plausibility which is occasionally pointed out as an outstanding feature of taboos. To Frazer (1922: vol. II) taboos were instances of faulty logic and thus a kind of negative magic. Preuss describes taboos as irrational prohibitions and Hoebel as irrelevant.

Radcliffe-Brown, trying to break away from this tangle, defined taboo as 'a ritual prohibition' (1952). Although negative in nature, avoidances and abstentions clearly share certain characteristics with positive ritual phenomena, e.g., (a) formalized or stereotyped behaviour including repetition; (b) certain psychic effects, e.g., sense of rightness, correctness of acts, removal of indecision and doubt; (c) association with religious beliefs, e.g., in a direct or immediate response to the ritual act, without necessarily implying the intervention of a spirit or deity; and (d) support in public opinion and even legal strictures (Maciver: 338). The essential fact, according to Radcliffe-Brown, however is not the resemblance of taboos to other ritual acts but their association "with a belief that an infraction will result in an undesirable change in the ritual status of the transgressor". This seems a decisive step away from the definition by sanction, although because of the ambiguity of the term 'status' it might be desirable to amend the definition somewhat and define taboo as a prohibition whose violation leads to 'ritual unfitness'. Such a definition is certainly to be preferred to Margaret Mead's who says (1934): "Taboo is a prohibition against participation in any situation which is inherently dangerous." The point is that some taboos enable a person to face a ritual danger and that not all situations in which taboos are observed involve dangers. There is, however, one drawback in Radcliffe-Brown's definition and that is that it has not been arrived at inductively.

The fact that we were forced to discard definitions of taboo that are based on the sanction differentia makes it necessary for us to investigate similar phenomena in order to discover in which manner the large category of behaviour patterns which may roughly be described as restrictions on behaviour can be differentiated into sociologically useful sub-groups. Undoubtedly taboos proper have morphologically and functionally a close resemblance to avoidances and it is proposed to discuss them under a common heading as RESTRAINTS. Omissions of expected actions must be added, not only because often a conditional curse is attached to them, but because, what seems more important, omissions have a decided effect on the ritual fitness of the person concerned and because verbally and conceptually they are assimilated in native languages to taboos and avoidances. In a great number of ritual situations a type of behaviour occurs which is best described as holding back: it is the formalized non-performance of an expected action in a ritual situation and requires for its removal the presentation of a gift. The rules of the sexual division of labour must also be surveyed for, although the normal dispensation of work

seems merely to channelize energies in certain fields, some of the rules become critical of male or female status in certain situations and then acquire the character of avoidances or even taboos. A fourth group comprises the instinctive shrinking away from an action, an object or person which expresses itself in shyness, abhorrence, and in extreme cases in self-deprivations. These too, Zulu linguistic usage, as we have seen, identifies with taboo and avoidances, and they seem to provide, if a guess may be ventured at this stage, the reservoir from which some of the institutionalized restraints seem ultimately to be derived. The common feature of all these restrictions on behaviour seems to be that they involve some limitation of a person's freedom of action or a reduction in his sphere of control. The differentiating factor seems to be the extent to which the behaviour items have become formalized and institutionalized. Instinctive shrinking, in this respect, seems to be at the bottom of the scale, whereas taboos and avoidances can be placed at its top.

### C. A CLASSIFICATORY DEVICE

To investigate the sociological function of *ukuHlonipha* (avoidances) and *ukuZi'la* (abstentions) we must be clear about their range of application in Zulu social organization and institutionalized activities. Can previous investigators assist us in finding a basis for the classification of these phenomena? The classification of taboos itself is difficult. Lehmann (1930: 207) says: "Die Tabu zu klassifizieren ist eine schwierige, wenn nicht unmögliche Aufgabe. Die konkrete Wirklichkeit, die in der Überfülle der Tabus zum Ausdruck kommt, spottet aller Schematisierung." A discussion of typical classifications seems nevertheless useful.

Frazer uses one and the same classification of 'taboos' in *The Perils of the Soul*, *The Golden Bough*, vol. II, and *The Golden Bough* (abridged) viz., tabooed acts, tabooed persons, tabooed things and tabooed words. Although this classification seems to have a wide range, it is by no means exhaustive. Under tabooed acts we expect the taboo on sexual intercourse, but Frazer does not list it. The sub-divisions are of unequal weight, e.g., under acts he mentions; intercourse with strangers, eating and drinking, showing face and quitting house! The tabooed persons include: chiefs, mourners, women, warriors and manslayers, hunters and fishers. There is no reason why strangers should not be listed under this heading too. The classification would gain in clarity if there were a distinction between the actions which a tabooed person may not perform and those which may not be done with reference to him. The distinction between persons and things is necessarily artificial, for many objects listed, (iron, weapons, blood, head, hair and nails, spittle, food, knots and rings) are really parts of the human body or intimate personal property. And there is no reason why the taboo on food left over should be classed with tabooed things rather than with acts, e.g. eating. It is doubtful whether a special class of tabooed words is necessary. They might most suitably be placed under tabooed acts, like the uttering of certain types of names. The most fundamental criticism is, of course, that although the classification is offered as a basis for a comparative study, Frazer omits to show what functions taboos perform in any one culture and their interdependence within it.

Junod's classification penetrates more deeply into the nature of taboo (II, 574 ff). He enumerates sympathetic taboos, physiological taboos, cosmic taboos, taboos of prevision, social taboos and religious taboos. Junod must have felt the difficulty of marking off taboos from other prohibitions, for sympathetic taboos are defined as instinctive avoidances. Physiological taboos occur mostly with reference to involuntary occurrences, e.g., feminine taboos and growth stages; they are realistically divided into defilement taboos and transitional taboos. But such an all-embracing heading as social taboos (including exogamy and taboos observed towards persons in authority) cannot be placed on the same footing with taboos of prevision, which mainly comprise prohibitions against too early preparations for happy events. The dividing line between cosmic taboos (actions which Nature herself forbids) and religious taboos seems hard to delineate. On the other hand, since religious taboos refer mainly to the ancestors as hierarchically superior, they are difficult to separate from social taboos.

Smith and Dale (I, 348) divide the taboos of the Ila into three groups: Physiological taboos which regulate the relations between the sexes; Occupational taboos (mainly referring to work

that brings the worker in contact with death); and personal taboos imposed on an individual for a period or for life. Although this list is by no means exhaustive, even measured by the instances quoted in the body of the book, the classification contains pregnant bases of division, viz., taboos which characterize the relations between certain persons, and those which define the work of certain persons, and suggests that many taboos are 'mechanisms' which are imposed on individuals and removed after a time.

N. W. T. in the British Encyclopedia (11th ed.) offers the following classification for t a b o o s p r o p e r:- (a) Natural or direct (taboos), the result of *mana* (mysterious power) inherent in a person or thing; (b) communicated or indirect, equally the result of *mana* but either acquired or imposed by a priest, chief or other person; (c) intermediate, where both factors are present, as in the appropriation of a wife by her husband. It is obvious that such a classification applies only in areas where the *mana* concept exists. The author further restricts the usefulness of this classification by excluding (a) prohibitions where sanction is 'created' by a god or spirit which he prefers to call r e l i g i o u s i n t e r d i c t i o n (since there is no automatic reaction nor contagion); and (b) prohibitions whose sanction is undesired magical results which he describes as "s i m p l y r i t u a l p r o h i b i t i o n s".

The reason for the inadequacy of these attempts must be sought in the failure of the authors to combine somehow prohibited actions and persons to whom such actions are prohibited. A unilinear listing of taboos even under the most meticulous and exhaustive arrangement of headings fails in this purpose. What is required is a cross-classification with two bases, viz., a classification of actions (prohibited, avoided, abstained from) and a classification of the persons upon whom these restraints are imposed. It may be argued that such a cross-classification excludes a third possibility, viz., that of classifying restraints according to motives and sanctions, whether religious or otherwise. But the comparative unimportance of sanctions in Zulu thought indicates (as we shall see) that this basis of classification will be ineffective. Moreover, the comprehensiveness of the cross-classification proposed makes it likely that few, if any, restraints will be omitted.

Concerning actions prohibited or avoided, the following headings seem to be sufficiently exhaustive: (a) A v o i d a n c e s o f c o n t a c t g e n e r a l l y: This section comprises prohibitions on sight and touch, i. e., on seeing or touching certain objects or persons, as well as prohibitions on the use of property, including localities belonging to or associated with certain persons. It seems best to include in the same section those elaborate arrangements made to isolate a person altogether. (b) P r o h i b i t i o n s o n S e x: these range from the general avoiding of persons of the opposite sex to prohibitions of sexual intercourse; they appear particularized in the rules prohibiting incest and endogamy. (c) P r o h i b i t i o n s o f S p e e c h: these include all avoidances of expressive behaviour from complete silence and the suppression of certain gestures to the prohibition of certain words, such as personal names and complete sets of vocabulary. (d) P r o h i b i t i o n s o f W o r k a n d F o o d: these vary from interdicts on all types of work on certain occasions to critical rules in division of labour on the basis of sex and age; and range from complete fasting to abstention from prescribed dishes or drinks. Together they cover food-producing and food-consuming activities.

It is realized that Prohibitions of Sex, Speech (expressive behaviour), and Food (production and consumption) are in a way only refinements or applications of the fundamental avoidance of contact through touch and sight (Crawley: 1927: I, 107-11). Durkheim (1939: 302) derives taboos from interdicts on contact which he calls 'the original taboo'. The absorption of food is, according to him, an exceptionally intimate contact, and one comes into relation with a thing by merely regarding it: a look is a means of contact. The word is another way of entering into touch with persons and things; an interdict concerning it interrupts the contact. There is an even deeper sense in which contact and conduct are associated. The word tact, used in all modern languages to denote restrained action based on a consideration of persons and circumstances is ultimately derived from contact (Kluge: 609).

With regard to the second basis of classification, viz., the persons under restraint, the distinction made in Zulu between *Hlonipha* (avoidance, respect taboo, respectful restraint) and *Zila* (abstention, interdict, taboo proper) suggests two groupings. The former refers to persons of inferior status observing avoidances out of respect to their superiors, e. g., children towards parents, wives towards husbands, married persons to parents-in-law, subjects towards chief,

the living towards the dead members of the kinship group. In the second group of persons covered by *Zila* customs, such relationship between two persons is not apparent, the restraints seem to be centred on the person concerned alone, at least at first sight. Two sub-divisions can be made: Persons who pass through physiological states (menstruation, pregnancy, confinement), through growth stages (puberty, wedding, funeral), and those who deal with death (man-slayers, murderers, executioners) form one division. The other is formed by ritual officiants (chief), the 'professional' men (diviner, weather maker, herbalists, hunters and warriors) and all engaged in occupations (smiths, potters, fishers, etc.).

How this double classification resulted in a comprehensive collection of Restraints becomes evident in

#### D. THE TABLES

##### To Table I

#### Sanctions or Conditional Curses attached to Avoidances and Taboos (Hl & Za)

The letters are the same as those at the head of the five columns:

(a) Contact; (b) Sex; (c) Speech/Gestures; (d) Food/Work; (e) Miscellaneous.

The sanctions are listed with the same number as the corresponding restraint in the Tables.

#### SANCTIONS

- (a) 2. You'll get a blow on your face; will be scolded, sent out (107)
- 5. You'll be beaten, or killed (in case of grown-up So)
- 7. The birds from overseas will carry you from home; your body, limbs will grow badly; you'll be punished, beaten, whipped, killed (103). It expresses desire that you wish your F to die
- 9. lest you be punished with death, be executed
- 13. lest you harm your child; lest you cause its wounds to heal slowly
- 15. lest you are troubled with bad dreams
  
- (b) 2. lest your F or M die
- 4. lest you be forced to marry a person of low standing; you'll be disgraced
- 7. your Chn will copy you; they will spread reports of your doing to other Chn; you are committing 'incest' by so doing.
- 8. lest you bring misfortune on your absent Ch.
  
- (c) 2. lest you drive the ancestors away
- 3. lest wild animals will devour you
- 4. lest your Chn will not respect you
- 9. You'll not live long; "The stick will remind you!" You will be expelled from home
- 13. Both Hl rules violated by Shaka re his F: He was judged to be boastful rather than morally depraved
- 14. You will become a confirmed liar
- 15. You remain a child, you'll not grow tall. You will be beaten or driven away
- 16. You will be beaten
- 18. You will be thrashed
- 21. You'll fall and break your neck; you will end your own life
  
- (d) 5. The food sticks in your stomach undigested; you will develop 'stitch' in your side; the people who will eat remainder will have a pain
- 8. Your F will punish you; you express a wish to see your F dead; the ancestors will be angry with you.

TABLE I

Status Restrains	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Intercourse avoided Incest/ Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special words avoided Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special foods Food-producing activities	e. Miscellaneous
CHILD in general	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Walk about on F's side of hut (but move about on knees there).</li> <li>2. Remain in hut where parents are discussing 'affairs'.</li> <li>3. Hang about door without business.</li> <li>4. Go near your F when he is eating.</li> <li>5. Pass door of hut in which your F/FBr is eating.</li> <li>6. Enter apse when food is there.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Marry your classificatory Father or Mother</li> <li>2. See 'nakedness' of your F/M</li> </ol>	<p>Do not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Speak when your parents are in hut; Shut indoors/Use vulgar words</li> <li>2. Shut doors/Be noisy/Play about when parents are talking</li> <li>3. Speak/Cough/Cry in the evening</li> <li>4. Argue with your parents/Grumble</li> <li>5. Urge parents to do anything they don't want to do</li> <li>6. Use your F's (or M's) personal name</li> </ol>	<p>Do not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Eat food unless you asked for it</li> <li>2. Ask for food from anyone but your M/Si (and don't even ask them, for they know meal times)</li> <li>3. Eat before your parents or while they eat (infants excepted)</li> <li>4. Drink beer before F when sent to fetch it (except Tasting)</li> <li>5. Leave spoon standing in porridge</li> <li>6. Eat without washing hands</li> </ol>	<p>Do not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Eat food unless you asked for it</li> <li>2. Ask for food from anyone but your M/Si (and don't even ask them, for they know meal times)</li> <li>3. Eat before your parents or while they eat (infants excepted)</li> <li>4. Drink beer before F when sent to fetch it (except Tasting)</li> <li>5. Leave spoon standing in porridge</li> <li>6. Eat without washing hands</li> </ol>
SON	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Use your F's belongings (e.g., headrest, mat, sticks, weapons, clothes, eating utensils, esp. spoon).</li> <li>8. Strike (even playfully)/kill your F.</li> <li>9. Urinate above kraalhead's hut. Defecate where F (and M) do (T 542). Strangers avoid privies too.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Use love-charms before your F kills a bull for you (Col. Dict)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Talk in your F's presence unless addressed</li> <li>8. Chatter/Swear' in parents' presence, esp. when they are eating</li> <li>9. Reply in unseemly manner when called</li> <li>10. Use we or ʔa (but baba)</li> <li>11. Approach your F directly concerning your marriage (but use go-between)</li> <li>12. Beat back when being punished</li> <li>13. Jump over/Cast shadow over F</li> <li>14. Assume your M's duty by following your Si to her lover</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Use spoon, esp. when eating with F.</li> <li>8. Eat food left-over by F. (when given permission to eat it, eat it from your palm, not from F's pot) (This applies esp. to eSo and holds even when he is grown up)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Use spoon, esp. when eating with F.</li> <li>8. Eat food left-over by F. (when given permission to eat it, eat it from your palm, not from F's pot) (This applies esp. to eSo and holds even when he is grown up)</li> </ol>
DAUGHTER	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>10. Gaze at your parents when they are talking.</li> <li>11. Gaze at your F when he is eating.</li> <li>12. Look into your F's eyes.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Have a child in your F's kraal (illegitimately) (K 106)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>15. Pass in front of/Pour water over F</li> <li>16. Use bad language in parents' presence</li> <li>17. Laugh/Giggle at grown-ups talking to you</li> <li>18. Fight/Play in parents' presence</li> <li>19. Receive gifts with one hand only</li> <li>20. Spit in presence of F/M (esp. when eating)</li> <li>21. Stand when parents are sitting</li> </ol>	<p>(With daughters the same avoidances as above apply but they are less significant)</p>	<p>(With daughters the same avoidances as above apply but they are less significant)</p>
PARENT	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>13. (both parents) 'Look' at your child, when it is passing through a developmental rite, esp. if you are ritually 'unclean'.</li> <li>14. (mother): Attend your daughter's wedding (Aa; K 142a; Tt 544).</li> <li>15. (widow): Abandon your Chn (Ccc 161; K 287).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Expose your 'sex' to your child</li> <li>6. Have relations with your Ch</li> <li>7. Have intercourse/sex talk in presence of your child</li> <li>8. Have intercourse when your child is passing through passage rites or is absent from home e.g., at work; or is performing a ritual rite</li> <li>9. (Women): Bear Chn anymore when your eSo has 'enlisted' or your eSoWi begins to bear Chn</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>22. Speak about sex matters in presence of your child</li> <li>23. Quarrel with your So after his marriage/Enter your So's hut in anger.</li> <li>24. Beat your Da for whom lobola h. b. paid</li> <li>25. 'Worry' your Chn</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. Eat portions of food reserved for Chn (B:i:131)</li> <li>10. Eat sour milk in kraal of your son (B:i:43)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. Eat portions of food reserved for Chn (B:i:131)</li> <li>10. Eat sour milk in kraal of your son (B:i:43)</li> </ol>

To Table II

SANCTIONS

- (a) 2. You'll be killed. You show disrespect. (If you touch HF's mat, people will say you sleep with him!)
- (b) 4. You'll be sent home in disgrace; the bride-price will have to be returned. You will be degraded in the ranking of Wis. Your place will be taken by a new Wi. You will be made a drudge. Your co-Wis will despise you (Shooter: 86; Callaway: 1866: 265, 352).
- 6. You will be killed.
- 9. You are committing a mean act; you are indulging in a dirty habit. Your paramour is full of (mystical) disease; it will show itself as misfortune in war.
- 11. Your body and mind will be weakened. Your 'answers' in the assembly will be 'poor'.
- (c) 1. Your Ch will be still-born. You anger your H's ancestors; you will be fined one cow for killing the Ch in your womb.
- 3. The ancestors of your H will be angry and cast troubles on the home.
- 7. You'll become a habitual faller (an epileptic). You'll provoke a big quarrel with H; "his eyes will be darkened!"
- 10. Ill-luck will befall your homestead.
- (d) 1. (Eland): you will become barren. You'll bear a monster. Your H will lose his power of procreation; (Tail of beast): You'll become a woman of loose ways; (liver): You'll lose your memory; (reed buck): You'll bear Chn with blue eyes.
- 2. You'll have difficulties in labour. You will be passing faeces during labour.
- 7. You will be injured, easily killed in a fight.
- 9. Your Wi will accuse you in public of disrespecting her.

TABLE II

Kind of Taboo Status Restrictions	a. Contact; Isolation Reserved Property/Locality; avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other sex/Intercourse avoided Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special words avoided Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work	e. Miscell- aneous
WIFE	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Use your H's belongings (axe, stick, spoon, headrest, mat).</li> <li>Touch his kaross (Sh 83; 0-81)</li> <li>Touch cattle/Enter pen/Milk/Do any work with cattle.</li> <li>Walk together with H (but behind) (when fetching wood/visiting neighbors).</li> <li>Look into your H's eyes.</li> <li>Go over to man's side unless called.</li> <li>Enter man's meeting place in Kraal (but go round it from (left)).</li> <li>SIGN: Top-knot/married woman's dress.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sleep on H's side of hut unless invited.</li> <li>Have sex intercourse on certain occasions (menstruation, late pregnancy, after childbirth, before child is weaned).</li> <li>Accept your H after he has touched/killed python, Ayena, crocodile.</li> <li>Commit adultery.</li> <li>Refuse conjugal rights.</li> <li>Step over a man, your H's legs.</li> <li>See/Touch your H's sex organs.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Use your H's personal name</li> <li>Answer Back/Try to have last word.</li> <li>Shout in H's kraal (even when calling your Child).</li> <li>Disobey your H/Punish Ch in his home.</li> <li>Approach your H directly if you have a complaint or request (but use a go-between: Hw).</li> <li>Stand in presence of your H, esp. if a chief (but kneel) (N 203; Ow 84).</li> <li>Jump over H's stick/Step over his legs</li> <li>Wash in (F's or) H's kraal (but outside).</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Eat eland, pig, reed buck, tail or head of beast, liver (A 157)</li> <li>Kill a beast/Eat meat when H is away</li> <li>Eat food left over by H (unless permitted).</li> <li>Eat at same time as H (but be present when he eats).</li> <li>Mix strengthening medicines of your H.</li> <li>Do work customarily allotted to men (herd, milk cattle/slaughter/dress skins/cook beef/clear bush for new field/cut poles for hut or fence/build hut/carve vessels/make baskets/do metal work/carry arms/take part in fighting (K 184/5) (modern); Grow maize for cattle/Plough with cattle.</li> </ol>	Do Not
HUSBAND	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>See your W's hair (under top-knot).</li> <li>Neglect to give your W four things:             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a special hut to live in</li> <li>a garden plot to provide subsistence for her and her Chn</li> <li>a cow to be milked for her + Chn</li> <li>medical treatment if she is sick (i.e. procure/pay a doctor)</li> </ol>             NB: The plot sh. b. allotted to her before witnesses to avoid complaints.           </li> <li>Dispose of certain cattle without your W's consent (e.g., milch cow, cattle assigned to her House) even for purchase of an additional W (Sh 84).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Refuse to marry girl who has ritually offered herself (K 125).</li> <li>Commit adultery</li> <li>Desert/Maltreat your W (Tit: 602).</li> <li>Indulge in sex intercourse on the ff. occasions: - W's menstrual period/W's confinement/Death in W's family</li> <li>Deviate from order in which you visit/invite your wives.</li> <li>Sleep (regularly) on same bed as your W.</li> <li>Step over a woman.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Move about/Behave in 'undignified' manner at Wedding.</li> <li>Scold your W in front of children.</li> <li>'Disrespect your W if she respects you' (vague summary of reciprocal obligation).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Eat food reserved for W (herbs, wild vegetables, certain parts of beast) (unless there is no other food).</li> <li>Drink beer in beer hut (except to taste it) (but in residence/family hut).</li> <li>Refuse to eat the food prepared by W whose turn it is</li> <li>Do any work customarily allotted to women (Cooking/Brewing beer/Sweeping huts/Washing utensils/fetching fire wood or water/hoe in fields/sow seeds/wood or reap crops/grind grain/make pots/act as carrier/hatch huts).</li> <li>* (Even your sticks sh. b. carried by your W).</li> </ol>	

To Table III

SANCTIONS

- (a) 3. You will be killed; You risk a fight (Krige: 373).  
10. Your people (the bride's) have to pay a 'fine'.  
13. The HF would have to pay a 'fine' to his SoWi's people (Mbatha).  
17. People will comment: She has done something 'unusual'; She may be made to pay a 'fine' (as the result of a settlement between the two families).
- (b) 1. A man-eating monster will devour you; a lion, hyena will chase or catch you.  
3. You will be sent to the white people; You will be imprisoned for a long time; Your F's cattle will be taken away as fine; You and the girl will be killed; You will not have legitimate Chn.  
7. It will be looked upon as adultery.  
9. People will comment on your 'strange' behaviour; your marriage will break up.
- (c) 2. You will be rebuked by your elders: 'Go beget a Ch and call it by this name!' (Bryant: 1949: 208).  
5. It will result in a fight; the offender will be killed.  
8. He indicates by such an action that he will take over your F's place.  
11, 15, In each case the sanction was a fine, in Mbatha's evidence, described as a goat or an  
16, 17 equivalent in money (10/-).
- (d) 1. lest the enemy stab you  
2. You will be fined (in beads and brass ware) by the girls' Queen; Your wishes regarding your lover will be disregarded (Callaway, 1866: 254).  
4. (Boys): You receive a gashing wound in fighting; (Girls): You will be 'opened' (i. e. , deflowered); (Men): Your brains will be spread in similar fashion by the enemy's sticks.  
5. You are disobedient; you'll get a thrashing.  
11. It will be interpreted as if you are sleeping with HF.
- (e) 1. You will be killed in fighting (Wanger).

Table III

Status Taboo	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Intercourse avoided Incest/Adultery avoided	Speech Silence/Special Words avoided Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special foods avoided Food-producing activities avoided	e. Miscell-aneous
AGE GROUP Junior	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Approach your elders unless called or to deliver message (LHS 93).</li> <li>Enter senior warriors' kraal/seniors' meeting place.</li> <li>Touch your senior's headring/Kill your senior.</li> <li>Hit back when your senior assaults you (Sh 138; K 111).</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Stay out late at night</li> <li>Indulge yourself sexually (hlobonga) before puberty rite (O: 35)</li> <li>Beget Chin while yet uncircumcised</li> <li>Marry before senior siblings</li> <li>Marry/Put on top-knot before your age-mates/segment h. b. given permission (K 119).</li> <li>Marry your Br's widow unless you are already married.</li> <li>(Married man): Have external intercourse with girl (Ttt)</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Speak to your seniors unless invited (LHS 93). Interrupt your elders/Reply to senior when he is scolding you</li> <li>Use your senior's pers/n (K 96).</li> <li>Say of them 'they have died' (but use cover term).</li> <li>Dance before/in front of your seniors.</li> <li>Point at your seniors in dance/law case Girls: 6. Make love without senior girls permission, esp. the Queen (K 124).</li> <li>Address your juniors haughtily.</li> <li>Allow a yoBr to hold spear at your F's grave, to start digging F's grave (LHS 135)</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Eat parts of beast reserved for men (ribs, hump, jaw). NB (At King's kraal any part may be eaten, since only men eat there).</li> <li>Eat much/Eat sitting/Eat before your seniors (LHS 94). (Girls: Eat only after Queen)</li> <li>Drink beer with your seniors.</li> <li>Spread your food out (W)</li> <li>(boy): MILK cow into your mouth</li> <li>(men): Eat parts reserved for boys</li> <li>Eat flesh of bull killed by unmarried regiment at First Fruits (K 254) (Ttr: 512)</li> <li>(women): Eat of meat of consumption at Wedding: it is reserved for bride's girl attendants</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Use fire except from Gt Hut for So's puberty (K 90)</li> <li>Hold First Fruits except wity permission of senior family branch (V 359)</li> <li>Drink nor pass water at Strengthening of Army Killing of bull (Sh. 26; K 271)</li> </ol>
In-laws Da-in-1	<p>(Bride) 9. Show breasts/Appear without fillet before your parents-in-law (O: 91; K 30).</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Look your in-laws in face/Touch their belongings</li> <li>Enter your P-in-1's hut (but put beer down at door)</li> <li>Smear male side of HF's hut till r/r (K 154/5). (Father-in-law); 13. Enter hut in which your SoWi resides/Enter female side of her hut.</li> </ol> <p>(Son-in-law): 14. Touch your M-in-1, not even to assist or avert danger from her (A).</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>'Meet' your WIM/Sis-in-1 in a hut or on path (but go out/hide yourself) (Sh 46).</li> <li>Come upon your M-in-1 unannounced. (Mother-in-law);</li> <li>Visit at your DaH's place without covering face, nor with breasts exposed (L: 141)</li> <li>Sit down in DaH's place/Enter his side of hut.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Have sex intercourse with an in-law (Br-in-1), but sleep in SI-in-1's residence when your H is away.</li> <li>Have sex intercourse with in-laws (SI-in-1). Sleep in same hut as your female in-laws.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Talk at all to your HF (use go-between).</li> <li>Use pers/n of in-laws and root of it</li> <li>Talk loudly to HF.</li> <li>Joke with in-laws (excepting HSI and HM when used to her).</li> <li>Point at in-laws</li> <li>Approach close to your HF (but move about on knees) (A 213).</li> <li>Run after/Punish child in HF's home (It is HF's = F's right to punish)</li> <li>(HM): Use SoWi's pers/n in public</li> <li>Approach your sweetheart's F directly to open marriage talks (but use go-between).</li> <li>Talk loudly with your in-laws nor at close quarters (but keep a respectful distance).</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Eat food in presence of parents-in-law/Chew food in the kraal</li> <li>Eat SM in HF's kraal until r/r (hut) until r/r (K 30)</li> <li>Eat food left over by HF</li> <li>Eat food standing in HF's home</li> <li>Approach your sweetheart's F directly to open marriage talks (but use go-between)</li> <li>Talk loudly with your in-laws nor at close quarters (but keep a respectful distance)</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Carry fire-wood/water through HF's Kraal</li> </ol>

To Table IV

SANCTIONS

- (a)
  - 1. On pain of execution (in Shaka's time Shooter: 156, Bird I: 203; Krige 238) you as well as your family (102)
  - 4. You'll incur the king's displeasure
  - 7. The royal cattle will grow thin and die
  - 8. and 12: On pain of execution (Shooter 157).
- (b)
  - 3. You will be executed
  - 8. Your royal power is lost, since you act like a commoner (van Warmelo, 1938: 100)
- (c)
  - 2. You will be beaten, fined; you will have to offer king a peace offering (if you are a kraalhead); You will be executed
  - 4. Your tribe will be attacked and defeated (Krige: 234)
  - 6. You will be executed. (Manyala Biyela): Such a person will get a bad reputation; he will not be punished nowadays (Krige: 246)
  - 9. Lest you are accused of wishing to overthrow the king
- (d)
  - 1. You will be executed (Krige: 229, 249). "Even if you 'stole' your own food before the First Fruits, and it was found out, you would be killed!"
  - 2. Lest you faint when taking beer with the chief
  - 3. You will be flogged, or executed

TABLE IV

Status Restraints	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality and Touch and Slight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other: Sex/intercourse avoided Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special Words avoided Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special foods avoided Food-producing activities avoided	e. Miscell-aneous
SUBJECT	<p>Do not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Approach King with weapons</li> <li>2. Come too near King (K 239)</li> <li>3. Look at King (L 70)</li> <li>4. Touch King (kill king)</li> <li>5. Wear royal dress/weapons</li> <li>6. Claim royal bride-price for Da</li> <li>7. Walk through royal cattle</li> <li>8. Steal royal cattle/cattle at all</li> <li>9. Dispose of royal property, e.g. land</li> <li>10. Desert chief (Commit treason) (N 44/6; K 224; Sh 103)</li> <li>11. Abandon corpse of your chief</li> <li>12. Appropriate royal animals (lion, leopard, buffalo, gnu, rhino) (K 22)</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Marry prior to King's per-mission</li> <li>2. Assume signs of married status (headdress, top-knot) without royal order (N 100, Sh 47, L: 62)</li> <li>3. 'Meet' the King's maidens or wives on road</li> <li>4. Enter women's section (e-raglio) in chief's kraal</li> <li>5. Gaze at King's women</li> <li>6. Make advances to King's ladies (RCS 214)</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Approach King in silence (but sing his praises)/Sing his praises in his absence</li> <li>2. Laugh in private section of royal Kraal/Cough, spit, sneeze while King is eating (Isa II 247; Ow 88)</li> <li>3. Talk loudly to chief/Argue with him grumble at his order/Disobey king</li> <li>4. Use pers/n of chief, his F's, GF's nor use words that resemble them</li> <li>5. Say that king 'was born', 'died' (but use cover terms)</li> <li>6. Speak evil of king (N'95); Use bad language about him/Talk disre-spectfully about authorities</li> <li>7. Call a person by his pers/n in ear-shot of king (R: 147)</li> <li>8. Appeal to royal court in person (but use go-between) (K 231)</li> <li>9. Step over king's legs (G 103; K 257)</li> <li>10. Stand in royal presence (but approach him: men crawling, women on knees)</li> <li>11. Turn your back on leaving king's presence (K 239)</li> <li>12. Greet commoner with royal salute</li> <li>13. Receive royal message in pres-ence of your dependants (Sh 132)</li> <li>14. Continue dancing when chief enters your kraal</li> <li>15. Point at anyone.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Harvest crops/eat them before King's First Fruits (Isa 1 46, II 241; N 96)</li> <li>2. Use royal medicines (V 365)</li> <li>3. Eat food left over by king (K 236)</li> <li>4. Drink water from royal waterhole</li> <li>5. Pass food received from king to others</li> <li>6. Stand while eating meat before king (but grovel, pick up meat with teeth, not hands) (Isa I 348/K 238)</li> <li>7. Stop eating/drinking before king.</li> <li>8. Take 'unclean' food to king (but wash hands after urinating on road) (K 202)</li> <li>9. Plant crops/herbs reserved for king (hunter): Eat of royal animals (King's cook): Talk about King's meals (body servant): Sleep when king is sleeping (101).</li> <li>11. Allow anyone to approach where king's food is stored or cooked</li> <li>12. Prepare meat for king when he is in mourning (117)</li> <li>13. Trade in ivory (B 1:262)</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>12. Eat in company, incl. Brs (but alone)</li> <li>13. Stint your subjects in food/drink</li> <li>14. Use all captured cattle for yourself (but share with soldiers) (L 148)</li> <li>15. Use cattle of barracks without noti-fication to officer in charge</li> <li>16. Accept bribes/private invitations</li> </ol>
CHIEF	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>13. Bathe in river like commoners (but in private pool in pen) (V 366, RCS 245)</li> <li>14. Share a room with subject</li> <li>15. Have a person executed if he reaches you/your F's grave in escape from executioner (LHS 158)</li> <li>16. Use utensils made by non-specialists</li> <li>17. Make laws/Declare war/Allot land/Order execution without council's consent (K 267)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Make advances to Da of commoner unless you con-templated marriage.</li> <li>8. Marry woman who is a twin, nor your Br's widow (R: 100)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>15. Speak too much/laugh with subjects/show surprise before them</li> <li>16. Give judgment (in appeal case)/speak to stranger except through go-between (K 232; de Villiers 176)</li> </ol>		

To Table V

SANCTIONS

- (a)
  - 1. You will be chased out of kraal
  - 4. There is SM there which stranger may not eat!
  - 5. You will contract disease from which he died: You'll become familiar of a wizard (Grout, 148; Bird I: 31)
  - 5. You will become unfit to be a warrior; Your crop will be blighted; You'll convey the disease to your chief or Chn (Isaacs; II, 123, 184, 260)
  
- (b)
  - 1. Your ancestors' anger will be aroused; You will be called a criminal, an adulterer; your offspring will be monsters; you will be denounced as a wizard (Bird, I, 114); You 'dirty' the homestead; the king dislikes it.
  
- (d)
  - 1. Inter alia: Nothing happens!
  - 3. E. g. , locust: lest a general famine comes.

TABLE V

Status Restrains	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Intercourse avoided Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special words avoided Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special foods avoided Food-producing activities	e. Miscella- neous
CLAN MEMBER and STRANGER	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Enter stranger's kraal carrying your weapons (but leave them at gate (LHS 94))</li> <li>2. Receive strangers as visitors when someone in family is sick (N 197) or when you are in mourning (at least until after sunset) or when superior present (B 1: 202)</li> <li>3. Call on stranger in visitor's hut unless you h. given him a present (L:35)</li> <li>4. Enter aspe of a strange hut or strange pen (esp. when a beast is being skinned/slaughtered there)</li> <li>5. Touch corpse of a stranger</li> <li>6. Abandon corpse of kinsman</li> <li>7. Allow stranger to sleep in any other hut than So's residence (for if none available in kraalhead's)</li> <li>8. Leave hut put at your disposal</li> <li>9. Allow stranger of despised tribe, e. g., Thonga, to enter your kraal (L)</li> <li>10. (U and UBrS): Carry sticks in presence of visitors</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Marry a person with your clan/n (unless this name h. b. changed by chief), nor with clan name of your M, your FM's family circle; nor marry your MBrChn, FSChn, MSiChn (F 102)</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Talk to a stranger when you are in mourning (except with 'condolers')</li> <li>2. Say anything after saluting kraal-head until he addresses you (unless you are the kraalhead's superior) (L 204)</li> <li>3. Approach/Enter your host's hut in upright posture (but bent)</li> <li>4. Enter your host's hut upright (but crawling) (LHS 94)</li> <li>5. Speak to a stranger (unless through a go-between)</li> <li>6. Stand for long after entering your host's hut</li> <li>7. (When passing stranger): Carry your sticks pointing up (but level at your side)</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. (Stranger): Eat sour milk in a Strange Kraal, incl. that of un-related neighbour, i. e. a kraal into which you may possibly marry (Gr. 135)</li> <li>2. Eat food cooked by unknown person esp. when in mourning.</li> <li>3. Eat fish, hartebeest, zebra, hyena crocodile, serpent, monkey, rhino, guu, eland, hippo, elephant (Sh. 213), snakes, locust</li> <li>4. (host): Offer beer to visitor without 'tasting' it first</li> <li>5. Give food to stranger of inferior rank (Sh 115)</li> <li>6. Give (SAC) meat to stranger on same mat which your kraal's menfolk use (K 293)</li> <li>7. Stint your guests in food or drink</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p>

To Table VI

SANCTIONS

- (a) 9. Your private parts will swell! (Wanger); You'll have a miscarriage.  
16. You will wet your bed continually (boy); You will get an untimely menstruation (girl looking at moon).  
16. Lest crab bite you. You will change from a boy into a girl, because "crab cuts off penis!" Girls will become silly! (Mbatha)  
17. You'll fall sick (Isaacs II, 64)  
23. On pain of death (Bird I: 83f)
- (b) 1. You will have no Chn at all  
2. You will follow the first H into the grave  
3. You, the second H, will also die  
4. Your first H will worry you in dreams (Callaway: 1868: 161)
- (c) 2. You drive the ancestors away  
6. Lest you pierce or injure it  
8. You get a disease of the foot  
10. You will get a sore arm  
14. If you mourn, lightning will strike again.  
15. Lest lightning strike you. (The doctor's work mut be Hl'd)  
17. The rain will stop; You'll be fined or killed (L. Samuelson, 159)
- (d) 2. The spirits depart with the meat; (a woman does take the spirits away on marrying: Gluckman: 1940: 269); meat may be used to bewitch homestead  
6. A theft will occur in your kraal, or a death.  
7. You bring down misfortune upon the man who 'doctored' the meat, since one of the guests may use the 'dirt' of the meat and undo the doctor! (Kohler, 1941: 31). Lest the fat belonging to the kraal and containing its 'spirit' be carried away (ibid, 33)  
8. Lest you get a stomach pain  
15. Your crops will be blighted
- (e) 2. Lest the father die  
3. The H will swell and die (Mbatha); an indecent act will be committed (i. e. , burying two people together) (Krige, 64; Schoeman, P. J. )  
7. Lest it hails, and mats become rotten  
9. Lest you are struck by lightning  
10. The rain will be driven away (Willoughby 136-7)  
12. Your sore gets worse and festers; the snake living in the water will enter your body and cause a rash (Kohler, 1941: 40); You will walk at night (Ludlow)

TABLE VI

Status Restrains	a. Contact/Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Intercourse, also Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special words or ges- tures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special foods avoided Food-producing activities avoided	e. Miscellaneous
LIVING in relation to DEAD members of family	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Approach/Sleep in apse when meat h. b. placed there at SAC (Chn and old women excepted) (A 66)</li> <li>2. Look back on midnight SAC at antheap (Bride); Look at snake (ancestral) (but veil yourself, reverence it like HF) (K 285)</li> <li>3. Use private possessions of deceased unless he was childless (B F: 115)</li> <li>4. Walk over grave of kralhead in pen SIGN: Thorns (repeated 1687)</li> <li>5. Plough field in which ancestor lies</li> <li>6. Kill cattle in pen except for ancestor (D 281)</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. (Man): Marry your Br's widow unless you are married and spec. fortified</li> <li>2. Marry a woman not appropriate acc. to levirate</li> <li>3. Allow first child of levirate union to live if first H of M was killed in war (Woman): Marry your deceased HB; if it involves leaving Kraal where your Chin are (Ccc 161)</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Talk during midnight SAC at ant-heap (A 73)</li> <li>2. Talk aloud/be noisy when SAC meat h. blessed in apse (A 66)</li> <li>3. Mention deceased in praise/prayers before Bring Home (K 69)</li> <li>4. Mention women's names in prayer</li> <li>5. Call lizard (in which feet of ancestor appears) by its name (Ccc 217)</li> <li>6. Point at spirit snake, nor place stick pin down near it (K 286)</li> <li>7. Step on/Stand over new grave</li> <li>8. Set your stick on ground near King's grave/Point at burial hills of clan founders</li> <li>9. Point at growing crops</li> <li>10. Go into fields with stick</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Eat meat/Drink beer unless share has been set aside for ancestors (K: 296) (Ccc 78)</li> <li>2. Throw meat of SAC out of Kraal</li> <li>3. Pour gall on unmarried girls (G)</li> <li>4. Drop blood/stomach contents on ground, nor let bones lie about (but burn them) (K: 293/6)</li> <li>5. Use skin of SAC beast (but hang it over fence posts to decay)</li> <li>6. Plant tobacco inside Kraal</li> <li>7. Steal any tobacco (K: 153)</li> <li>8. Omit ritual washing of SAC meat</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Make fire when returning after SAC at antheap</li> <li>2. Allow both twins to live</li> <li>3. Bury a pregnant woman with foetus (but separate them)</li> <li>4. Kill turkey-buzzard or hawk or snake (ancestral) (Gr: 134)</li> <li>5. Wash your feet in Kraal (Isa: 1, 139)</li> <li>6. Cross a river on horseback</li> </ol>
MAN in relation to Superhuman: Growth Lightning, Hail, Moon	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. Walk through field fertilized with human remains (esp. pregnant woman)</li> <li>9. Urinate there (A 129; K: 194; W)</li> <li>10. Walk in middle of road during a storm (it is reserved to lightning) (A 145)</li> <li>11. Keep door of hut closed during storm</li> <li>12. Leave hut without a fire in stove (but kindle one to reverence bolt)</li> <li>13. Look at white or shiny object in storm e.g. copper vessel, cow milk, but cover them (K: 318) / Look at white cow (Nursing mother): Shut near door in storm (but sit at back with face covered) (A: 145)</li> <li>15. Look back at tree struck by bolt where child is strengthened (Carbunt: 10)</li> <li>16. Look at moon/Play with crab</li> <li>17. Touch a Whale (LHS)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Have sex intercourse after a bad dream</li> <li>6. Have sex intercourse when a doctor is treating you/sit on woman's mat</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>11. Talk at all/loudly in storm (K: 311)</li> <li>12. Sharpen knives on stone in storm</li> <li>13. Mention the words 'sky' (A 164)</li> <li>14. Mourn for a person struck by lightning</li> <li>15. Carry or hold lightning charms or pegs point upwards (W)</li> <li>16. Point at sky or crops (LHS 168)</li> <li>17. Drive pegs in ground on hill-top, nor tie knots in grass there</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. Eat of crops from fields fertilized with human remains</li> <li>9. Eat/Drink during storm or when a person h. struck by lightning</li> <li>10. Eat sour MILK during storm</li> <li>11. Cook any food then (Sh 217, Gr: 134)</li> <li>12. Eat animals struck by lightning (reserved to heaven herd) unless 'doctored' (D 124)</li> <li>13. Eat SM if your Kraal h. b. struck</li> <li>14. Drink/louch water in storm</li> <li>15. Use tree struck by bolt as fuel</li> <li>16. Eat SM/Do any Work/Dispose of cattle after hail (Gr: 135)</li> <li>17. Do any business on day after new moon</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Cut grass (for mats or blankets or for medicine) if only half-grown</li> <li>8. Cook in gardens after hail</li> <li>9. Throw water out of hut</li> <li>10. Burn clothes of deceased in summer (but bury them)</li> <li>11. Sell cattle (when home-stand has been struck) (D 124)</li> </ol>
Dreamer Unfortunate person Sick person	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>18. Leave kraal/Look outside</li> <li>19. Receive visitors (unless 'well known' or belonging to nobility)</li> <li>20. Attend feasts (K 287; D: 124)</li> <li>21. Touch a sick person (B: 31)</li> <li>22. Wear ornaments, wash or shave while chief is sick</li> <li>23. (pregnant woman): Approach chief (B F: 83)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>17. Eat much/Eat in company when you have bad dreams</li> <li>18. Eat SM/Drink beer if you had bad luck, e.g., if you were wounded by wild pig/rock-rabbit</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>17. Eat much/Eat in company when you have bad dreams</li> <li>18. Eat SM/Drink beer if you had bad luck, e.g., if you were wounded by wild pig/rock-rabbit</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>12. Cross water when you have a sore (Co. 40)</li> <li>13. Go hunting when you dream of death of relative (Y: 107)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>12. Cross water when you have a sore (Co. 40)</li> <li>13. Go hunting when you dream of death of relative (Y: 107)</li> </ol>

To Table VII

SANCTIONS

- (a) 6. Lest you die this very day  
10. You become a termagant when married  
11. You will get a bladder complaint. Any man walking behind you will be unlucky in his undertaking (Asmus: 115)
- (b) 2. You become foolish, lose your sense, laugh sillily at nothing  
5. You will always fall when you must run  
6. An illegitimate Ch will be born; you will be attacked by the girl's age-mates; You will contract a disease; You will be fined (Kohler, 1938: 45,71)  
7. A lunatic will be born  
9. The Ms of the kraal will spit at you, swear at you and beat you; your age-mates will insult and beat you; you will be called a whore (Krige: 106)  
10. You will hurt your lover during intercourse; he will scold and pull you by those hairs; you will never get married; your confinement will be painful (Kohler 1938: 37)  
11. You will be beaten  
14. Your Ch will have trouble with his wound; his ear will turn septic
- (c) 9. You will not have any Chn when married
- (d) 1. (S o u r m i l k): the cattle will be harmed; misfortune will fall on a clan member who eats of the same milk  
2. (f l o w e r l i p): You will get a lip resembling that of cow  
9. Lest you suffer for it!  
11. (k i d n e y): You will bear a Ch without hair; (elephant): You will give birth to an elephant  
12. (w a g t a i l): lest you become adulterous; (b r a i n o f g u i n e a f o w l): lest your Ch be narrow-headed; (b u s h w a r b l e r): your Ch will have scraggy legs; (r o c k r a b b i t): Your child will have long front teeth (Krige: 63)  
14. Your Da will remain barren
- (e) 1. Your legs will get burned; you will become unfit for war; you indicate that you will usurp the kraalhead's position; your teeth will decay; your Da will not beat Chn, i.e. will not have any children.

TABLE VII

Role Taboo Protective	a. Contact/Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Sex Intercourse avoided Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Spec. words avoided Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special foods avoided Food-producing work avoided	e. Miscellaneous
<p>PUB-ESCENT</p> <p>Boy</p>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Leave isolation hut during developmental rites (but see in-apse) SIGH; palm eat on hut (K 82/6; 91/7; O: 10; Floss II 181)</li> <li>2. Be seen in isolation hut by any person but your age-mates, but not if they are laughing.</li> <li>3. Wear any special dress at puberty SAC</li> <li>4. Wear old dress after r/r from puberty aboos (K 94) (K 97)</li> <li>5. Violate isolation during formation of Regiment (K 111)</li> <li>6. Enter pen (at first emission) till r/r</li> <li>7. Herd cattle on a frequented pasture then</li> <li>8. Look at newborn/Touch dead man's things/Wash King at First Fruits</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Be isolated during puberty rite in your M's hut/Touch her clothes/Go near M (K 91-9).</li> <li>2. Look at women/watch girls bathing 'Be seen' by women.</li> <li>3. Talk to other sex/Touch anything belonging to women.</li> <li>4. Sit with outstretched legs like women/Allow a woman to cross your legs.</li> <li>5. Make love to woman older than yourself</li> <li>6. Have complete intercourse with your betrothed (K 98)</li> <li>7. Sleep in same hut with your SI/Cover yourself with her blanket/Have external intercourse with your SI/Commit incest</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Speak to anybody during isolation at ear piercing (1689).</li> <li>2. Speak aloud/unnecessarily during isolation (K 91) (but whisper until release rite).</li> <li>3. Whistle, yell, make noise, play in isolation hut.</li> <li>4. Move about when talking to your seniors.</li> <li>5. Stand at strengthening at puberty rite (but kneel).</li> <li>6. Peep through door/window of isolation hut.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Eat 'soft' foods, esp. sour milk at ear piercing, puberty, enlisting foods', e.g. boiled maize (K 86)</li> <li>2. Eat fowl, pork, groundnuts, lip of beast, mutton, sugary food, cooked maize from water pot.</li> <li>3. Drink water before sunset.</li> <li>4. Eat food cooked by woman of child-bearing age.</li> <li>5. Eat same food as your father.</li> <li>6. Eat much (K 93)/Eat in company.</li> <li>7. Eat in daytime/Eat untreated food.</li> <li>8. Eat first fruits before you have given release gift to lover.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sit close to a fire (K 111)</li> </ol>
<p>Girl</p>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Leave isolation hut (ear-piercing/puberty) unless surrounded by age-mates + well covered</li> <li>8. Be seen by boys</li> <li>9. Wear ordinary dress (but special dress and grass girdle or naked behind screen/under blanket) (O: 12/3)</li> <li>10. Look around in hut but 'brood' behind screen</li> <li>11. Walk in middle of path (but at edge)</li> <li>12. Use your Br's clothes (except overcoat)</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. Talk to members of opposite sex.</li> <li>9. Allow complete intercourse to lover</li> <li>10. Have external intercourse with lover unless you removed your pubic hair with your fingers - not scissors (O 37)</li> <li>11. Indulge frequently in external intercourse between puberty and betrothal</li> <li>12. Allow anyone to see you when going to lover's homestead (O 39).</li> <li>13. Have more than one lover.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Speak much/aloud in isolation hut/Laugh/Be noisy/Frisk about in hut (K 101).</li> <li>8. Answer if spoken to/Greet anyone during isolation.</li> <li>9. Talk to your Br during first menstruation</li> <li>10. Report your first menstruation to your M directly (but use go-between) (K 100).</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. Drink water used by woman for sprinkling grain when grinding.</li> <li>10. Eat anything on first day.</li> <li>11. Eat sour milk, eggs, meat, in particular kidneys, calf foot-eland, sheep, pig.</li> <li>12. Eat wagtail, cuckoo, brain of guinea fowl, bush-warbler rock-rabbit</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Cross a broad river (T 124) (under uDwa)</li> </ol>
<p>Companions</p>	<p>(Parents): 13. Enter CH's isolation hut (P may enter Da's hut on 3rd day but not see her)</p> <p>14. Touch pubescent's belongings/Use screen, mats, abandoned clothes (burn them!) (Women of kraal); 15. Enter pen where boy is being strengthened at puberty (Age-mates); 16. Enjoy greater liberties than your pubescent mate in isolation. ('Unclean' visitors); 17. Visit kraal during developmental rites.</p>	<p>(Parents): 14. Have sex intercourse on evening of or during isolation of your child</p> <p>15. See your child whose ears h. b. pierced, whose puberty is being celebrated, nor officiate at rite if you are 'unclean' (Age-mates of pubescent); 16. Speak to other sex (girls): till you h. fetched firewood, i. e. for two days).</p>	<p>11. Speak bluntly about your son's first emission (but use covering phrase) (K 88)</p> <p>12. (Wife): Tell your H about your Da's menarche (but use HM as go-between)</p> <p>13. Speak about premature menarche of your Da (but hold puberty rite at normal time) (K 100n).</p>	<p>(Teacher): 13. Eat at all (but fast) to make lessons effective (Father); 14. Omit to slaughter a beast for, while pregnant (Age-mates); 15. Eat food which is avoided by your mate in isolation hut (i. e. sour milk and other 'soft' foods).</p>	

To Table VIII

SANCTIONS

- (a) 1. The cattle will give little milk; they will go dry; a disease will attack them.  
2. Lest the groundnuts rot in the ground.  
9. You will be unable to forget your home.  
15. You will step over foot prints of wizard or magically maleficent animal, with the result that you will miscarry; you will become barren (Asmus: 128).
- (b) 4. Your H will contract a disease (cough, shortness of breath: iQakelo or iPamba) (Bryant 1949: 620).  
5. (bridegroom): You will lose 'dignity', if you show yourself in first part of wedding.  
6. Your Ch will have a peculiar skin; You will be scolded by the midwives; You will have difficulty in childbirth; the Ch's way out will be blocked.  
7. You become pregnant too soon again. Your relatives will scold, curse you; strike you, spit at you. Your child will become stupid; the embryo will poison the milk for the not yet weaned predecessor; the ancestors will be angry and make you barren (Krige: 73; Kohler 1939: 101).  
8. You will be accused in public by your Wi for making her pregnant; You will be troubled with a permanent cough (TB?); You will have numerous accidents; You will cast a shadow over the first child's life (Krige: 73; Kohler 1939: 101; Schoeman, P. J. ).
- (c) 6. Lest strangers convey a disease to the expected Child.  
8. Lest your Ch be a fool, a cripple, an albino.  
10. Lest Child in womb stands up and is born feet first.
- (d) 1. Lest your cow goes dry, gives little milk.  
2. Lest your H become unpopular in assembly of men; He will be wounded in war.  
6. "Nothing in particular happens if these taboos are broken!"  
9. The following characteristics will be transferred to the Ch: (guinea fowl): long flat head; (hare): long ears; (rock rabbit): long front teeth; (bush warbler): scraggy legs; (reed buck): blue eyes; (swallow): inability to build a house.  
17. Lest Ch resembles you, a stranger, and not his parents.
- (e) 2. Lest at birth the Ch only peeps out and returns to womb.  
6. Lest you be carried away by the water.

TABLE VIII

Role Taboo Protective	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Intercourse avoided Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special Words avoided Gestures avoided.	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special foods avoided Food-producing activities avoided.	e. Miscellaneous
WOMAN menstruating  as bride	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Enter pen/Walk through herd of cattle 2. Snear floor of hut with dung (K 188).</li> <li>2. Cross groundnut/tobacco field (T)</li> <li>3. Leave isolation hut (= love hut) when on hloboaga visit to your betrothed</li> <li>4. Be seen when arriving for or leaving after each visit (O 48; K 134)</li> <li>5. Approach groom's kraal for wedding unless well hidden in bridal party.</li> <li>6. Expose yourself during wedding (but remain hidden except for spin, dances)</li> <li>7. Leave isolation hut during killing of beasts after consumption.</li> <li>8. Be seen for 5 days after wedding (K 154).</li> <li>9. Look back on leaving your F's home</li> <li>10. Walk about in H's kraal after wedding (but use path of avoidance behind hut).</li> <li>11. Walk about 'bare-headed' in H's kraal.</li> <li>12. Touch things belonging to F-in-1 SIGN: Top-Knot.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Walk between two men.</li> <li>2. Have relations with H.</li> <li>3. Select a lover more than once.</li> <li>4. Have full intercourse until wedding draws to end. (You may have external intercourse only until you wear 'kilt') (Tt, 540)</li> <li>5. Leave M's hut/Be seen outside it until (hidden by age-mates (at wedding).</li> </ol> <p>N. B. Groom may be isolated (K 137n)</p>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Speak during first visit to your lover's kraal nor during wedding.</li> <li>2. Talk to/look at man (incl. groom) during wedding (As 539)</li> <li>3. Ask for anything/make fun/take part in conversation during (O, 9)</li> <li>4. Mention in-laws' clan name.</li> <li>5. Use certain words, e.g. root of H's name after betrothal.</li> <li>6. (Groom): Move about/Mix with people at Wedding</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Eat sour milk for 7 days /Take milk in tea.</li> <li>2. Cook for your husband /Serve food.</li> <li>3. (Girl about to marry): Eat sweet reed nor parched maize</li> <li>4. (Bride): Eat any food/Drink water from groom's kraal at Wedding (but from your own hut).</li> <li>5. Eat of Beast of Virginity (O: 71).</li> <li>6. Eat meat, stir milk, nor fowl, roasted maize, agateed, thick porridge at groom's kraal after r/r (K 150, 194, 383; O: 49, 90, 95).</li> <li>7. Work for one month prior to, and some weeks after Wedding (O: 50; Tt 539).</li> <li>8. (Groom): Eat First Fruits unless you give betrothed a gift.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Have a fire in hut which you share with your H (K: 155).</li> </ol>
pregnant	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>13. Walk far from kraal during last months.</li> <li>14. Continue to show breasts or abdomen (K 62) (they're covered in special rite: SIGN: Apron)</li> <li>15. Walk through magically fertilized or flowering matzeifeld</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. Have intercourse with H from 5th/7th/8th month</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Be talkative or noisy/Use bad language/Talk to strangers.</li> <li>8. Laugh at idiot, albino, deformed</li> <li>9. See hut of a child you'll get/Make clothes for unborn child.</li> <li>10. Stand when eating</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. Eat meat of animal suggesting deformities (rain of guinea fowl, hare, rock rabbit, reed buck, antelope fat, bush warbler swallow)(K: 63)</li> <li>10. Eat sour milk, herbs, beer dregs boiled with maize</li> <li>(11. Let your H know that you enjoy your food.)</li> <li>12. Work before the birth of your child.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Peep out of hut door (K 63)</li> <li>3. Cross a big river.</li> </ol>
puerperal	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>16. Leave isolation hut with child before r/r.</li> <li>17. Be seen for 5 days even if you have to work outside (Sh 68, 396; K 68).</li> <li>18. SIGN: Grass belt/hair not shaved.</li> <li>19. Enter pen/Walk through herd/Attend meetings.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Have intercourse with H for 3-5 months/till child is weaned/Conceive in this period (KCS: 347; O: 101). (Coitus interruptus allowed also external intercourse).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>11. Speak loudly during birth.</li> <li>12. Call on ancestors in birth.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>13. Eat sour milk in confinement, even if child is born at your Father's (K 66; O: 99).</li> <li>14. Eat 'hant' (vats/food left-over by H).</li> <li>15. Eat ordinary food from usual vessel (but special food from special vessel).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Have a fire in hut in which child is born (K 69)</li> <li>5. Give your child the colostrum but Sour Milk (Stuart).</li> </ol>
Companions (husband unless otherwise stated)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>20. Enter Wl's side of hut/Step on her mat (A 204).</li> <li>21. Touch belongings of young M/See Child before r/r.</li> <li>22. Leave kraal when Wl is sick (N 219).</li> <li>23. (Groom's family): Look out of hut doors when bridal party arrives (L: 116).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. Have relations with menstruating, pregnant Wl, Wl in confinement/after abortion/when sucking Ch, nor when Wl's child has died till r/r.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>13. Speak much with menstruating Wl.</li> <li>14. Speak loudly/Use bad language when Wl is pregnant.</li> <li>15. (Midwives): Speak loudly when attending woman in childbirth.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>16. (H's family): Eat of Beast of Virginity.</li> <li>17. Lift lid off pot containing pregnant woman's daily medicine</li> <li>18. (Visitors): Eat food of woman in confinement.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. Enter river when your Wl is pregnant (K 64)</li> <li>7. Fight in war until your first child is born (D 306).</li> </ol>

To Table IX

SANCTIONS

- (a) 1. Lest cattle die.  
6. You will cause disease in your family; the gardens will perish.
- (b) 2. Lest you become pregnant during mourning; You will be considered as having killed your H.  
5. (general): Lest misfortune befall kraal; Lest your (widow's) disgrace be 'published' by (new) kraalhead; Lest your lover be fined.  
6. Lest you become mad.
- (c) 1. Lest you will be unable to stop talking. you will become mad (Krige: 163).
- (d) 3. Lest you be thirsty ever after (You might drink water with a pebble in it).  
7. Lest death be spread by it (the food) (Braatvedt).
- (e) 1. Lest your bowels swell like those of the slain man; His spirit will not be able to escape; You'll become mad (Ludlow 186; Bryant 1905: under qungo; Bryant 1949: 506).

TABLE IX

Role Taboo Protective	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property avoided Reserved Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Avoidance of other sex Avoidance of sex intercourse Avoidance of incest Adultery	c. Speech Silence Avoidance of spec. words Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting Special foods avoided Food-producing work avoided	e. Miscellaneous
MOURNER	<p>Do Not</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Leave Kraal before 'washing' to go to war, to attend meetings, to hunt, to dance, to carouse, to visit your Da (A 59; K 163)</li> <li>2. Receive visitors/strangers (LHS 133) (at least not before sunset) (Isa I 51, II 190).</li> <li>3. Sit in company except with 'comforter' (but retire to apse or pen) (N 189).</li> <li>4. SIGN: uncut hair (chin may be shaved).</li> <li>5. Walk through cattle (A 59).</li> <li>6. (Widow): Wear any ornaments/Wash nor anoint yourself. /Put up your top-knot (but wear hair loose) (LHS 133).</li> <li>7. Put fat on your skin or clothes.</li> <li>8. SIGN: Grass head band (K 165).</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Have sex intercourse in general: till after release rite.</li> <li>2. (Widows): for 1-3 years.</li> <li>3. (Parents of dead child) till hut and Mother are 'cleansed' (A 207; K 163)</li> <li>4. (Kraalhead-widower): Marry additional wife.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Speak, sing, make any noise, weep (except for 'lament') (LHS 133; K 163-6; A)</li> <li>2. Quarrel with, scold anyone.</li> <li>3. Hold a wedding in your Kraal.</li> <li>4/5. Greet strangers/Talk bluntly about death (but use cover term).</li> <li>6. Mention name of deceased, even in prayers, before Bringing Home.</li> <li>7. Look 'bright' (but glum).</li> <li>8. Gesticulate (but fold arms).</li> <li>9. Point at cattle/Step over yokes.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Eat any food on day of death, or touch any food (N 191; K 163).</li> <li>2. Do any cooking or milking</li> <li>3. Drink water (beer is allowed).</li> <li>4. Eat Sour Milk, 'soft' foods/Eat much.</li> <li>5. Eat ordinary foods (but roots) (N 191).</li> <li>6. Eat food unless medicated.</li> <li>7. Eat food unless was fond of; Send food to other Kraals</li> <li>8. (Widows): Eat in company (but alone).</li> <li>9. Do unnecessary work, esp. in the fields/Plant groundnuts/Give seed away from Kraal for one year</li> <li>Purchase anything (L 26; K 163-7).</li> </ol>	Do Not
Companions: (Visitors come to condote)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. Cast glances about Kraal in mourning (but bend heads low or cover heads) (LHS 134; K: 166).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Have intercourse with widow</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>10. Come noisily up to, talk in Kraal.</li> <li>11. Enter into conversation (but exchange only standard phrases).</li> <li>12. Say farewell on leaving (LHS 134).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>10. (Commoner): Prepare 'soft' food to visit your homestead.</li> </ol>	
WARRIOR also Man slayer	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>10. Mix with other people/Remain with your regiment (K 271, 276).</li> <li>11. Return to your kraal (but live in open country until release rite).</li> <li>12. SIGN: wild asparagus in hair; wears loin cloth of man he killed; also monkey-rope round neck.</li> <li>13. Walk through cultivated fields.</li> <li>14. Use new mats/blankets (but old ones).</li> <li>15. Attend rites of passage.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. Have intercourse with your wife till after release rite (T 485; 725; K 277).</li> <li>7. Show your wounds to a woman.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>13. Carry killing spear horizonally (= normal position) but with blade pointing down.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>11. Eat anything before release rite.</li> <li>12. Eat Sour Milk before release rite.</li> <li>13. Eat (ever again) Sour Milk of cow whose calf is hornless.</li> <li>14. Eat (ever again) of first fruits.</li> <li>15. Drink (ever again) of first beer of season until specially fortified first (T 549 ukukuqanga, Ttt 506).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Leave dead enemy disembowelled on the battle field (K 276)</li> </ol>
Executioner	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>16. (Executioners of royal body-servants who were buried with dead king: were cast out into wilds).</li> <li>17. Use sticks with which wizards, criminals were killed (B I: 248; N 95) Use personal property of executed (B I: 234).</li> </ol>				

To Table X

SANCTIONS

- (a) 15. You will be fined (two head of cattle).
- 16. You will fall sick; you will be punished/neglected by the ancestors.
  
- (b) 1. The ancestors will not favour you.
- 4. Lest his medicines be spoiled; his medicines 'will sleep together' and bring misfortune.

TABLE X

Role Taboo Productive	a. Contact; Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Intercourse/Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special Words avoided Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special foods avoided Food-producing work avoided	e. Miscellaneous
<p><b>DIVINER</b> Novice</p>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Remain at home/Sleep there (but in veil).</li> <li>2. Keep company with your family (K 303).</li> <li>3. 'Be seen' when 'cleansing' yourself/vomiting medicines at dawn (Oo: 26).</li> <li>4. Dress in customary manner (but ochre paint on naked body) (A 86-94).</li> <li>5. Touch your own body/Wash yourself (B I 108; Sh 191; Oo: 25; Cc 193; Döhne 253).</li> <li>6. Own any cattle (but slaughter all) (D 158).</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Have anything to do with women/Have intercourse at all (K 304).</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Talk much during training (Oo: 29).</li> <li>2. Talk about your wanderings (Oo: 16).</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Eat ordinary food (Cc 193).</li> <li>2. Eat pork or mutton (A 78).</li> <li>3. Eat any other meat than ribs at your initiation as diviner (Oo: 27).</li> <li>4. Eat sour milk.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Go near fire when being inoculated.</li> </ol>
<p><b>Officiating</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Remain in company when meditating after arrival of clients (but retire to hills or shut yourself up in own hut).</li> <li>8. Leave hut/See any callers incl. kinsmen, (but excepting attendants) when mixing medicines/waiting for a revelation/calling on ancestors.</li> <li>9. Sleep outside hut.</li> <li>10. SIGN: Sheepskin strips crosswise over chest. Painted with clay on return from wanderings.</li> <li>11. Let pots, drugs lie about (but hide them).</li> <li>12. Wash yourself/Anoint your body (Cc 262).</li> <li>13. Lose touch with ancestors (but use daily prayer, SAC once a year to keep in touch).</li> <li>14. Dance to a song not revealed to you.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Have intercourse with Wi when officiating.</li> <li>3. Sleep with your Wi after having 'smelt out' a witch (A 98).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Talk before solving problem/Chatter during divination.</li> <li>4. Use harsh, scolding voice towards clients.</li> <li>5. Make jokes/Laugh/Raise a laugh.</li> <li>6. Speak loudly to divining bones.</li> <li>7. Speak evil about ancestors.</li> <li>8. Greet people/Shake hands with them.</li> <li>9. Use ordinary speech in announcing result (but use song or go-between).</li> <li>10. Fidget/Use easily interpreted gestures during divination (but be collected)</li> <li>11. Stand when drinking water in hut.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Eat anything when waiting for a revelation (You may drink water).</li> <li>5. Eat between meals even when not officiating.</li> <li>6. Eat sour milk, cowpeas, mutton, fowl, groundnuts, pork.</li> <li>7. Eat 'cooked' or 'unmedicated' food, nor cold food or left-overs (but herbs, fruits, game).</li> <li>8. Eat of animal slaughtered by unknown person.</li> <li>9. Eat food other than that prepared by attendant/Eat food prepared by your Wi.</li> </ol>	
<p><b>Companions</b></p>	<p>(Wife): 15. Enter diviner's hut</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>16. Touch diviner's belongings, his special 'tools', bag, dress when he is on call (Sons): 17. Play with boys from distant Kraals. (Host): 18. Allow anyone to enter homestead when diviner is at work there (L: 50) (unless diviner permits it).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Have intercourse with woman in diviner's Kraal. Commit adultery with diviner's Wi esp. if she is in charge of his food</li> </ol>	<p>(Family): 12. Talk too much or loudly</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>13. Tramp about in diviner's hut.</li> <li>(Clients): 14. Speak to diviner when he meditates (but cheer his guesses).</li> <li>15. Approach diviner in person (when you are sick/worried/troubled by 'spirits') (but use go-between) (Oo: \$15).</li> <li>16. Speak to newly graduated diviner before you have presented him with a gift (Oo: 25).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>10. Eat/touch special food of diviner, esp. left-overs (except small children, immature girls who may eat them).</li> </ol>	

To Table XI

SANCTIONS

- (a) 7. Lest you be struck by lightning (Braatvedt).  
9. You will call down upon yourself the 'wrath of Heaven'.
- (b) 3. Your power will fail; you'll become insane; it will cause a worse storm.
- (c) 9. You will call down an evil.  
10. The weathermaker will be unable to control the storm; he may be struck by lightning.  
13. The ancestors dislike it.
- (d) 12. It attracts lightning (SM).  
13. You will be made to vomit.  
17. You will be struck by lightning.
- (e) 1. Lest the teacher die and the novice's kraal is overcome by misfortunes.  
5. Lest the medicines lose their power of healing.

TABLE XI

Role Taboo Productive	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property avoided Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Avoidance of other sex Intercourse Avoidance of incest/Adultery	c. Speech Silence/Spec. Wo(r)-s avoided Spec. Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting: Special foods avoided Food-producing activities avoided	e. Miscellaneous
WEATHER-MAKER Novice	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Live among people (but retire to hills to a shelter, not at branches)</li> <li>2. Wear clothes (but go naked) (A 141).</li> <li>3. Sleep at home/See anybody before 1/r.</li> <li>4. Live among people (but in cave, on mountain, in special shelter or room).</li> <li>5. Receive visitors/Be seen by anyone.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1). Look at girls/women (but turn eyes away).</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Talk to girls of a strange Kraal.</li> <li>2. Talk loudly.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Eat 'cooked food' (but herbs, animals killed by lightning, or by yourself)/Eat sour milk/Take snud/Drink beer in party (but by yourself).</li> </ol>	Do Not
Officiating	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. Wear ordinary but special dress.</li> <li>7. Remain in hut during storm (even when from home you must face storm).</li> <li>8. Leave your magic sticks, shield, spear in hut during storm (they must be put outside hut even in your absence) (A 143).</li> <li>9. Kill python or lizard with spear (but use stick) (K 312).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Talk with women.</li> <li>3. Have intercourse with wife when preparing lighting pegs, nor on day when they are 'thanked' for protection in storm (K 314-20).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Talk to people, nor whistle in hut.</li> <li>4. Crack whip in Kraal (some heaven gestures to ward storm on).</li> <li>5. Mention the word 'sky' in spell.</li> <li>6. Think of anything but of how to move the storm.</li> <li>7. Smile/Laugh while it thunders (but frown like the sky) (K 311).</li> <li>8. Stand when eating.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Eat food at all if you wish to know what weather will be like.</li> <li>3. Eat food except prepared by chief wife.</li> <li>4. Eat first fruits unless medicated.</li> <li>5. Eat meat until beast h. b. ripped open and intestines removed.</li> <li>6. Eat of foetus found in slaughtered cow.</li> <li>7. Eat sour milk of cow that h. b. 'covered' or whose calf has not yet lost n vel string, nor from calabash with cork blown out.</li> <li>8. Eat food incompletely cooked (K 314).</li> <li>9. Drink out of cup that is not full.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Leave assegal used to anoint novice in his homestead (but take it back to master's Kraal) (K 313)</li> </ol>
Companions i. e. Heavenherd family	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>10. Enter master's hut, esp. in storm.</li> <li>11. Touch heavenherd's possessions/body.</li> <li>12. Handle his clothes (except wife or attendant in charge).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. Mention 'sky', 'thunder', 'lightning' (any time) (K 311).</li> <li>10. Call heavenherd by his name</li> <li>11. Talk with heavenherd/be noisy when he is addressing the sky.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>10. Gather green umripe crops in storm.</li> <li>11. Work on day heavenherd is eating medicated fruits (Ccc 407).</li> <li>12. Eat sour milk on thundery day</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Pass firebrand behind master's back (K 314).</li> <li>3. Look at shiny things</li> <li>4. Throw water out of hut</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Give medicines away without charge</li> <li>6. Leave your herbs lying about.</li> </ol>
HERBALIST	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>13. Keep company with many herbs can only be learned in 'lonely places')</li> <li>14. Allow anyone to see herbs in special hut.</li> <li>15. Allow anyone to touch you when mixing herbs.</li> <li>16. Touch your own back when giving out medicines.</li> <li>17. Touch any child.</li> <li>18. Handle medicines without head-cover.</li> <li>19. SIGN: Hat of baboon skin.</li> <li>20. Live in Kraal without outer fence.</li> <li>21. Work with your medicine horns in daylight (but only in the dark).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Allow a woman to enter medicine hut, nor may her shadow fall on herbs (a male herbalist sweeps out his own medicine hut).</li> <li>5. Have intercourse with your wife when preparing medicines.</li> </ol> <p>NB: "Many cures require that he should have relations with the patient" (if female, act. as payment) (Rev. Th. Landmann)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>12. Talk at all when searching for herbs (except possibly with master).</li> <li>13. Speak or Whistle when mixing herbs</li> <li>14. Call herbs by common name (K 89).</li> <li>15. Tell people what herbs you use.</li> <li>16. Behave like an ordinary person (but jump about, spit, point your medicine horn).</li> <li>17. Accept thanks for medicines given.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>13. Eat at all when preparing medicines.</li> <li>14. Eat pork for some days after mixing medicines.</li> <li>15. Eat food unless medicated.</li> <li>16. Eat any meat except parts reserved for you from inwards.</li> <li>17. Throw water out of hut</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Give medicines away without charge</li> <li>6. Leave your herbs lying about.</li> </ol>

To Table XII

SANCTIONS

- (a) 2. Lest you lose 'dignity'.
- 14. Lest you be killed/executed, i. e. , "sent home" for being too weak to attend tribal ceremonies.
- 16. Lest you be fined.
  
- (b) 2. Ancestors will give you up!
  
- (c) 7. You will be charged before the kraalhead and 'fined'.
  
- (d) 10. Lest you as chief become undesirably fierce (Krige: 257).
- 15. Lest you suffer immediate death (Lugg, 1929: 356).
- 16. Lest the chief be harmed when he comes into contact with you.  
Lest you die (Grout 161); Lest you be killed (Carbutt).

TABLE XII

Role/Tahoo Productive	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other Sex/Intercourse Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special Words avoided Gestures avoided (Sp)	d. Food/Work Fasting/Special food avoided Food-producing work avoided	e. Miscellaneous
PATRIARCH of Kraal	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Leave Great Hut when preparing Sacrifice (K 291).</li> <li>2. See visitors during preparations (except attendant and chief calling).</li> <li>3. Wear ordinary clothes (but special dress)</li> <li>4. SIGN: Skin cloak (T: 513 is!Phukub).</li> <li>5. Touch unlucky persons or animals. Look at 'bad' sights (widow, woman with miscarriage, cow that aborted).</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sleep in any of your wives' huts (but in a men's hut) on eve of SAC or of your child's developmental rite (K: 83, 94, 290).</li> <li>2. Have intercourse at time of SAC</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Speak about your intention of brewing of beer).</li> <li>2. Talk much/Utter obscenities.</li> <li>3. Be clumsy/Cause beast to bellow (opposite also recorded).</li> <li>4. Stand when beast is about to fall.</li> <li>5. Stand in hut when goat/sheep is sacrificed there).</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Eat blood of slaughtered beast, nor drink of beer offered to ancestors.</li> <li>2. Eat pork or part of beast, esp. inwards, not reserved to you.</li> <li>3. Eat food prepared by a woman/Allow any beef (SAC meat) to be cooked by women.</li> <li>4. Feast alone (The being alone will wipe you out!) (Col: is!Salu)</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sleep in hut containing a fire; (i.e. a woman's hut).</li> </ol>
Companions (family, neighbours)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. Touch patriarch when officiating.</li> <li>7. Touch his belongings, esp. skin cloak, medicines.</li> <li>8. Enter pen in which patriarch (or person delegated) praises ancestors, stabs the beast. (For ritual reasons or old age patriarch often remains outside pen) (K: 95, 294).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. Speak till all meat is eaten (Ccc: 59).</li> <li>7. Speak/Be noisy when patriarch addresses or thanks the ancestors after meat is eaten (Gr: 140-3; Ccc: 182)</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Eat of slaughtered beast before U permits it.</li> <li>6. Eat of spec. parts offered to ancestors in roof of hut.</li> <li>7. Eat prior to Kraalhead, esp. morning meal imVuka (T: 685).</li> <li>8. Milk before Kraalhead's cows are milked (K: 46).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. Eat of slaughtered beast before U permits it.</li> <li>10. Eat meat of bull killed for 'strengthening' of army (K: 236, 255, 257).</li> <li>11. Drink beer/Eat any food prepared by women (K: 236, 255, 257).</li> <li>12. Eat of first fruits unless tribe is present.</li> <li>13. Eat cowpeas.</li> <li>14. Throw away water.</li> </ol>	
CHIEF as tribal priest	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. Leave isolation hut/Enter other hut esp. at First Fruits when 'strengthened' with Black Treatment till after ritual bath (Sh: 106, K: 255/258).</li> <li>10. Allow ritual objects to be seen (but keep them in isolation hut or apse of Great Hut) viz., Hoop of Power, fire-sticks, hearth stones, spear, axe, hoe, sherds, divinatory pot, penis box (V: 358, 379; K: 243).</li> <li>11. SIGN: Variegated body paint/Two 'costumes'.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Come into contact with adolescents.</li> <li>4. Have intercourse during war, First Fruits.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. Talk loudly to people during rite.</li> <li>9. Use ancestral praises set apart for First Fruits on other occasions (V: 360).</li> <li>10. Approach 'Lords of Heaven' directly for rain (but use ancestors as go-betweens) (Ccc: 92, K: 247).</li> <li>11. Sleep/Lie down during Weeding (First Fruits) ceremony (V: 368-60) (but stand in pen for whole night).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. Eat food on ritual occasions (but fast at least at intervals).</li> <li>10. Eat meat of bull killed for 'strengthening' of army (K: 236, 255, 257).</li> <li>11. Drink beer/Eat any food prepared by women (K: 236, 255, 257).</li> <li>12. Eat of first fruits unless tribe is present.</li> <li>13. Eat cowpeas.</li> <li>14. Throw away water.</li> </ol>	
Companions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>11. SIGN: Variegated body paint/Two 'costumes'.</li> <li>12. Allow anyone to see them (V: 364).</li> <li>13. Touch King's body in dances.</li> <li>14. Absent yourself from First Fruits (Kück 137).</li> <li>15. Enter King's isolation hut (except his M/and attendants).</li> <li>16. Carry arms/Fight at tribal assemblies (V: 361; LHS: 148).</li> </ol>	<p>(Chief's wives): 5. Leave hut/Loiter about outside during his strengthening treatment.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>12. Speak directly with king during rites (but use go-between, his 'mouth').</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>15. Eat medicines used to 'strengthen' the King, esp. 'black' medicines.</li> <li>16. Eat crops before King's permission or without attending the First Fruits</li> <li>17. Hoe/Plant/Gather crops before the appropriate Royal Rites (V: 360, Kück 137; K: 191, 252).</li> </ol>	

To Table XIII

SANCTIONS

- (a) 1. Lest luck desert you in the hunt.  
3. Lest you become too lazy to run.  
10. Lest the hunters return empty-handed; lest game be scared away; Misfortunes will befall the party; they may lose their way.  
11. Their weapons will break.  
18. You will be killed.
- (b) 1. Lest you become "weak"; your strength and enthusiasm will vanish.  
4. Your eyes will become dim and you will be slain in battle.
- (c) 1. The animals will vanish, flee.
- (d) 4. You'll be unable to kill another buck again.  
10. You will shake like yam leaves, as if you had the palsy (Bryant: 1905: 121: iDumbi; Wanger: Collector no, 927).  
(Hot food): Your head will be bashed in; (marrow): lest you lose courage and your cattle (Isaacs: II, 250). N. B. Marrow is prerogative of king, of kraalhead.

TABLE XIII

Role Taboo Productive	a. Contact: Isolation Reserved Property/Locality avoided Touch and Sight avoided (RA)	b. Sex Other: Sex/Intercourse avoided Incest/Adultery avoided	c. Speech Silence/Special words avoided	d. Food/Work Fasting: Special foods avoided Food-prohibitive activities	e. Miscellaneous
HUNTER	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Be seen when going alone on hunt</li> <li>2. Wear ordinary clothes (but spec. dress).</li> <li>3. Sit with old men/young women</li> <li>4. Walk through a group of people.</li> <li>5. Move out of formation of hunters.</li> <li>6. Look at 'evil' sights.</li> <li>7. Use weapons for non-hunting purposes (e.g., play with them on hunt).</li> <li>8. Touch animals killed by others and secured by taboo mark (D 319; K 206; Angas)</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Have sex intercourse before hunt</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Speak to anyone before starting</li> <li>2. Talk at all during hunt</li> <li>3. Talk much at meeting place (but singing is allowed).</li> <li>4. Boast beforehand.</li> <li>5. Use bad language.</li> <li>6. Raise false alarm.</li> <li>7. Carry weapons in unusual way.</li> <li>8. Let gun carriers walk at wings.</li> </ol>	<p>Do Not:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Eat sour milk before start.</li> <li>2. Eat anything/Breakfast before hunt.</li> <li>3. Eat meat, pancreas, cowpeas on day of hunt.</li> <li>4. Eat of first buck killed by you</li> <li>5. Eat head/tail of buck killed by another hunter.</li> <li>6. Throw water out of hut.</li> <li>7. Drink beer before hunt</li> </ol>	
companions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. (Wife): Leave Kraal/Walk outside hut.</li> <li>10. (Friends): Use hunter's possessions</li> <li>11. Scatter/Step over his weapons</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. Thatch huts, cut grass, sweep huts.</li> <li>9. Laugh, be noisy, quarrel.</li> <li>10. Use bad language/Be disobedient.</li> <li>11. 'Swear' in kraal whose U is on hunt.</li> <li>12. (Messenger): Speak at all (LHS 187) (He carries branch as SIGN).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. Thatch huts, cut grass, sweep huts.</li> <li>9. Laugh, be noisy, quarrel.</li> <li>10. Use bad language/Be disobedient.</li> <li>11. 'Swear' in kraal whose U is on hunt.</li> <li>12. (Messenger): Speak at all (LHS 187) (He carries branch as SIGN).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. Cook meat (but only bones without flesh) so that hunters have luck.</li> </ol>	
WARRIOR	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>12. Keep company with junior/other regiment.</li> <li>13. Pay/Receive visits.</li> <li>14. Leave weapons lying about/Use them on hunt.</li> <li>15. Approach king when just returned from campaign, embassy, spying (Vijn: 150)</li> <li>16. Go to war without calling ancestors (K).</li> <li>17. Wear ordinary dress (but spec. outfit).</li> <li>18. Touch things carelessly, e.g. King's possessions</li> <li>19. Child on return from raid before r/r a Child on return from raid before r/r (L: 194).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Come near a woman at all.</li> <li>3. Deflower your sweetheart (K 111).</li> <li>4. Have intercourse after strengthening of army (D 306)</li> <li>5. Look at chief's wives</li> <li>6. (Officers): Be married at all/Have your wives and children live at military kraal at all (N 123, 143)</li> <li>7. (Warriors): Marry before king gives permission (Vijn: 109).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>13. Talk (much) while in training (but appeal to ancestors, sing war songs).</li> <li>14. Laugh, not even at funny things.</li> <li>15. Quarrel or Weep (I).</li> <li>16. Use ordinary words for certain things (but spec. vocabulary).</li> <li>17. Be dull or dejected.</li> <li>18. Stand feet sit on toes with knees bent).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. Take food from hostile kraal without breaking food vessels</li> <li>10. Eat sour milk, beesings, colocasia, marrow, fish, birds, 'hot' foods</li> <li>'soft' foods: hippo, fat meat, weakening foods (e.g. mbDakwe) (but eat 'hot' foods, e.g., meat, beer, cooked meals)</li> <li>11. Eat at all before 'strengthening' (K 265-8-9, 274, 86, 111; A 288; R: 18-36).</li> <li>12. Eat meat with knife and fork (but stuff piece in mouth-then tear!).</li> <li>13. Drink water during First Fruits (i.e. when eating meat).</li> <li>14. Throw water out of hut door.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Flag your child</li> </ol>
Companions: warrior's wife + M-in-l especially	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>20. Enter barracks/Loiter near them when taking food there (return at once) (K 271).</li> <li>21. Wear ornaments in wartime (but paint your face, wear rabbit tail/berries round neck).</li> <li>22. Use warrior's possessions.</li> <li>23. SIGN (for hut from which warrior has come forth): wild asparagus (K 271-7).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>19. Weep, lament when warrior leaves home (even his WIM).</li> <li>20. Quarrel/Be noisy in his absence (but behave circumspcctly) (K 277)</li> <li>21. Tease/Annoy a warrior.</li> </ol>			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Light fire but vacillate by warrior (K 278).</li> </ol>

## E. THE ARCHITECTONICS OF RESTRAINTS

### 1. *Regimen of Restraints*

One of the first inferences we can draw from the Tables is that restraints do not occur in isolation. Many ethnographic works contain lists of apparently disconnected taboos. No wonder the theoretical elaborations built upon such disjointed evidence have remained faulty: they could see in restraints only signs of some intellectual aberration, the morbid expression of perverted wishes, or signs of the mystical quality of primitive philosophy. The Tables show quite unmistakably that restraints are observed in association. They suggest indeed that restraints form regular and recurring combinations. Thus when we examine the restraints which anyone of the listed persons has to observe in a particular situation, we see that they extend over the whole gamut of possibilities, i.e., from the prohibitions of contact to those of sex, expressive behaviour and food and work. The totality of restraints a person has to observe in a particular situation will be called *regimen of restraints*. It stands to reason that the demands on a person who is required to adjust his entire behaviour potential to a particular regimen are far-reaching and exacting. The contrast, for instance, in the behaviour of a woman pursuing her everyday activities and one isolated in the confinement hut with restraints imposed on her all along the line, shows the type of adjustment which every Zulu has to make on many occasions.

Each regimen of restraints has a configuration of its own. The avoidances asked of children and adolescents towards their seniors stress expressive behaviour and food restrictions. The avoidances which mark the conduct of an exemplary wife towards her husband show a preponderance of sexual and speech restraints; the observances of a commoner in relation to his chief show both elaboration and numerical increase in the expressive behaviour category which may justify us in giving them a special name, viz., *etiquette*. From such a bias each regimen gets a particular feeling tone, an over-all character which makes it possible to infer the situation a person is in by the peculiar restraints he observes. On the other hand the regimens show a definite patterning. For instance, in all regimens of avoidances (characterizing the conduct of persons of inferior status towards their superiors) there occur interdicts on standing before the superior, on jumping over his legs, on pointing or gazing at him, on speaking loudly or vulgarly in his presence. These particular interdicts are (more or less) absent in the *Zila* types of regimen. We can thus speak of patterns of restraint and point out that certain patterns are repeated in several situations and thus transferred. Transfers of patterns of prohibition do not only occur from status relationship to status relationship. The pattern of the regimens which a woman has to observe in 'feminine situations' is remarkably similar: whether she is in her changes, has given birth to a child or laments the death of her husband, she avoids the pen, the male side of the hut, the cattle of her H, the eating of game, and invariably she has to observe the SM (sour milk) taboo. 'The feminine pattern' is thus transferred along most of the diachronic stages through which a woman passes.

### 2. *Conjuncture of Regimens*

Before dealing in detail with the pattern of restraints, two other striking features of their architectonics must be pointed out. Our Tables artificially separate the regimens which a certain person may have to observe at one and the same time. As a social personality any human being combines in himself a number of 'statuses' based on his sex, age, political rank, and occupation. His physiological condition at a particular moment may impose on him restraints other than those demanded towards his superior. His occupational activities involve him in a third set of prohibitions. It is suggested that the grand total of regimens of restraints observed by an individual at any particular moment and with reference to all possible demands upon him be called *conjuncture of regimens*.

To illustrate this concept. A man who visits his Wi's people has to observe the regimen of taboos towards his M-in-1. At the same time, should the chief arrive at the kraal, he would have to observe the avoidances appropriate to his status as commoner. And if a death occurred in his Wi's family, he would in addition be subject to the mourning regimen. The complete con-

juncture of regimens to which a chief may be subject may be made up of the restraint regimen of husband, clan member, family priest, mediator between tribe and supernatural powers. Likewise every Zulu woman observes in conjunction a number of restraint regimens. They are closely interwoven into a complex conjuncture which cannot be mastered without adequate educational and ritual preparation. Yet the conjuncture of regimens is by no means fixed in its complexity. It undergoes continuous change. The severity of the restraint regimen of bride and Da-in-1 is gradually softened until, when a woman is very old, very little is left of either regimen. While this process of attrition goes on these two fundamental regimens combine intermittently with minor regimens to which a woman is subject, e.g., as cook, potmaker, brewer, or when menstruating, when she is with child, or in confinement, or when she suckles a baby.

The Zulu, as a rule, are not aware of patterns, although they know about regimens. Such an intelligent informant as Mnyayiza Zulu (141) accepted the idea of patterning, but failed to point them out on his own. His interest was mainly directed to pointing out exceptions! The personal name of the superior status is avoided by the inferior status in the following relationships: Wi-H, Chn-Parents, Commoner-Chief, Living-Dead kin. In the last two cases modifications were noted: in ritual situations the name of the superior may be used, e.g., the chief's name in an oath, the ancestor's name in prayer, after the Bringing Home. Standing over is reprehensible in the inferior before the superior status, e.g., Son - Father, Wi - H; Subject - Chief. Food left over by a superior must not be eaten by the inferior, e.g., So - F; Wi - H (especially in the royal family); Ego - Parent-in-law; Commoner - Chief. The prohibition to touch the body of a person of superior status is observed by Ch towards F (only a baby is exempt!), Wi towards H (a woman may comb her H's hair if directed to do so), Ego and parents-in-law, commoner and chief. A woman might remove an insect from her H which might hurt him, but in doing so she would have to announce her intention. Modern couples, Mnyayiza added, no longer observe this restraint but touch each other indiscriminately. When a bride is habituated in a kraal she may touch her M-in-1. Similar rules apply to personal belongings. The inferior may not touch those of his superior: Chn (especially half-grown boys) = F; Wi = H; Ego = Parents-in-law; Commoners = Chief. Modifications are noted with regard to Wis. One Wi is appointed to keep the H's residence clean and in order: she may also handle his clothes; a bride may touch her HM's belongings where circumstances demand it. More irregularities occur with the SM taboo. A bride avoids the SM of her H's kraal only for a time; a H, however, that of his in-laws permanently. Chn may have avoided their F's SM in the past altogether; today they are given it to make them strong, (but they still cannot eat it without his express permission.) Commoners may eat the king's SM, but not the milk from his personal milch cow. Mnyayiza's modification of the patterns of restraint strongly suggests that they are structurally motivated. A Wi may not eat her H's left-overs - this is so strong a prohibition that it is classed with both H1 and Za - yet it does no harm to her Chn. Among them it is the eSo, the heir, who must on no account eat them (Za), although his younger siblings do. This state of affairs suggests that the mystical sanctions attached in these two instances are ancillary rather than essential features of the restraint.

An important fact to note with reference to the transfer of avoidance patterns is that the transferred clusters consist of restraints which in Polynesia are classed as taboo proper. The following comparisons are culled from Lehmann (1930). The reservation of an area is illustrated in Hawaii, where no commoner could enter the king's courtyard or use the royal mat or wear royal clothes (p. 119). On the other hand a criminal reaching the chief before the executioner could do his work was considered free (p. 128). As to sex regulations the Maori *ariki* had the power to interdict intercourse to his kinsmen (p. 87). The Tonga engagement places the promiscuous girl under the exclusive right of her intended (p. 167). There, too, men may not sleep on their wives' mats (p. 161). The most startling restraint analogies occur in speech and expressive behaviour. Among the Tonga and in Hawaii nobody was permitted to pass over the chief's head (p. 102, 119). Standing before or 'over' the king was avoided, a commoner threw himself on the ground and withdrew. The pointing with fingers at a tortoise (ritual food) is tabooed to women (p. 179). In Samoa stepping over the king's legs is punishable with death (p. 110). In Hawaii a commoner's shadow must not fall on the king (p. 117); the king's name is avoided because of his sacred nature (p. 122, 157). When the king talks everybody else must be silent (p. 105). Special court languages exist (p. 126). Zulu food avoidances are duplicated in Polynesian taboos. The food controller taboos foods in short supply; the first eating of crops is

reserved to an officiant (p.75). Commoners may not be present when the Tonga chief eats or drinks, nor may they eat and drink in his presence (p.102 ff). Men and women avoid eating together (p.161). Body-servants may eat their royal master's left-overs, commoners would die of them (p.110). Certain animals of the chase are reserved for the Hawaiian king (p.131), special parts of the tortoise for the priest (p. 154). Women in Tonga must not touch the men's fishing nets (p. 179).

## F. CHARACTERISTICS OF AVOIDANCES AND TABOOS

In the light of the information incorporated in the Tables, it is now possible to set out in a preliminary analysis the characteristics of two kinds of restraints: Za and Hl.

The restraints subsumed under Hl fall exclusively on persons in dyadic relationships, i.e., such as can be paired off. In such relationships a bio-social basis is clearly evident. Children and parents are joined by the fact of the succession of generations, husband and wife by that of marriage, spouses and in-laws by a combination of marriage and the succession of generations; subjects and chiefs are linked by the bio-social fact of leadership-and-group organization which man shares with the higher animals; clan-members and strangers by the fact of kinship and the living and dead members of a family by the fact of death.

Using our linguistic material we had preliminarily defined Hl avoidances as those restraints which are imposed upon a person of inferior status in his conduct towards his superiors. The more precise analysis made possible by the Tables shows that this definition is too narrow, since the superior status is in every instance seen to observe certain avoidances towards his subordinate partner as well. Such reciprocity is a special characteristic of *s t a t u s* restraints. It is not found in the Za situations. It must, however, be admitted that the number of avoidances is much greater for the subordinate and we shall see that the punishment for many breaches of the Hl norms lies in the hands of the superordinate status. Hl avoidances can thus be described as *status* restraints.

From the point of view of our analysis, a status can be defined as one of two poles in a pattern of reciprocal conduct. This definition comes close to Linton's (1936: 113): 'The functioning of societies depends upon the presence of patterns of reciprocal behaviour between individuals or groups. . . The polar positions in such patterns of reciprocal behaviour are. . . known as *s t a t u s e s*. A *s t a t u s*, in the abstract, is a position in a particular pattern. It is thus quite correct to speak of each individual as having many statuses, since each individual participate in the expression of many patterns. However, unless the term is qualified in some way, the status of any individual means the sum total of all the statuses which he occupies.'

The *j u r a l* concept of *s t a t u s* as an 'ensemble of rights and duties centred in a person' does not take account of living social relationships of the person concerned in which the anthropologist is mainly interested. The generally accepted *s o c i o l o g i c a l* definition of status, on the other hand, is too comprehensive to be useful for our analysis. For it sees in status 'the position of an individual as determined by his relations to all members of the group to which he belongs and from which he derives his amount of influence' (Maciver: 166-8; Park and Burgess: 36).

The polar statuses we have distinguished are positions in reciprocal relationships derived from universal bio-social facts. The name *status* restraints which we used tentatively for Hl avoidances is therefore justified and is to be preferred to the expression 'respect taboos' (Firth).

Besides indicating status, avoidances possess another quality, viz., the re-iterated manifestation of definite attitudes. In all dyadic social relationships, the person of lower status continually repeats expressions of deferential restraint. His superior is by custom obliged to reassure his subordinate partner by iterative manifestation of a corresponding restraint on his part. The continual 're-documentation of attitudes' (Evans-Pritchard: 1934: no. 194) which is brought about in the social relationships noted in Tables I-VI cannot fail to determine the Zulu ethos. Certainly Zulu ethos excludes, at least in theory, the neglect of a subordinate by his superior. It follows that the observance of Hl restraints is expected only as long as the correl-

ative relationship to which they owe their being continues to exist. If a man gets divorced he no longer performs the avoidances toward his *Wi* which characterized his status vis-à-vis her as *H*. When a chief is deposed, some commoners may continue to reverence him by avoiding certain actions in his presence, but there is no obligation on them to do so, and their conduct would arouse suspicion in the new chief that they withhold recognition of him.

Turning to the restraints under the *Za* concept it is obvious that the social situation in which they occur is completely different from those of avoidances. Taboos are at first sight not observed with reference to other persons; the typical *Za* regimen is not reciprocal. Rather, persons under *Za* are subject to isolation including confinement in reserved areas and restrictions on contact with others. In addition they must show in their dress distinct signs denoting the special condition they are in. *Za* restraints can thus not be re-iterated documentations of the attitude of one person towards another to whom he is linked in a special relationship. They rather accentuate and characterize irregularly occurring critical situations, and consequently cannot be continuous as are *Hi* regimens.

It is possible to sub-divide the situations in which *Za* regimens occur into three groups; viz., those occurring at diachronic stages (puberty, wedding, confinement, death and, in an attenuate form, menstruation), those which involve the performance of occupational tasks (diviner, hunter, weather-maker, leech); and thirdly, situations in which a ritual leader is required (at a sacrifice, at the First Fruits and, as we shall see, at the consumption of milk). Expressed in simple terms the diachronic *Za* regimens require the person concerned to live in a manner different from the normal. Whether this is done to protect the person against magical dangers threatening him during 'the passage', or whether society has to be protected against the dangers emanating from him is of secondary importance. Considering the physiological occasions for diachronic regimens it is arguable that the institution of isolating a person in a transition stage preceded the elaboration of magical danger theories to explain the isolation\*5\*.

The occupational and leadership taboos listed in Tables X-XIII likewise appear to serve a purpose. The occupational regimens seem to endow the persons concerned with the special skills, and in leadership regimens with the ritual power needed in performing their tasks. They might therefore be called productive taboos in distinction from the protective taboos of the diachronic stages. However, the Zulu do not invariably associate with these regimens the notion that they are undertaken to ensure the success of the tasks. Nothing more may be involved than a recognition that everyday behaviour is incompatible with occupational and leadership tasks. The differentiation between protective and productive implications of taboo regimens reflects the frequent differentiation of magical practices into protective and productive (Firth: 1938: 154). The purposive nature of taboo regimens might be considered proved by the fact that whenever the purpose implied has been realized a release rite is solemnized. But again, all that may be meant is to indicate that the diachronic stage is passed, that the occupational task has been completed and the leadership function performed.

Taboo regimens differ from avoidance regimens in one further respect, that of number. In the reciprocal regimens of status avoidances, the subordinate status has to observe the greater number of restraints and those of greater stringency. In the case of *Za* regimens it seems significant that the more important the occupational or leadership role, the more vital the status passage, the closer becomes the network of taboo controls. The food taboos of an expectant mother are more numerous than those of a menstruating woman, and they increase in number and severity if it is a first pregnancy or when the confinement is near (Table VIII). The weather-maker observes an astonishing variety and multiplicity of sometimes trivial conditions to make his defence against lightning effective (Table XI). The regulations concerning the chief at the First Fruits are so elaborate that they severely limit his freedom of action otherwise so pronounced. The multiplicity, intricacy and triviality of taboo regimens appear thus to be a device to supply a putative cause whenever trouble occurs (110).

The characteristics of taboo regimens so far discussed make *Za* restraints appear to be self-centred. But a social referent is present. It is the social group whose limits are outlined by the taboos which the *Za* observer's family, his occupational associates, or his followers have to observe with him, and which are best named companionship taboos. A woman's confinement regimen involves her husband, the mortuary taboos for a kraalhead a whole lineage. The hunter's company subject themselves to a joint taboo regimen; the chief's abstentions before the

First Fruits are also imposed upon his whole tribe. In addition the more vital a diachronic passage - e. g. , puberty anticipates the hiving off of an individual from his family of orientation, marriage the establishment of his family of procreation, - the more significant an occupational or leadership role, the more liable become the companions. It is instructive in this connection to compare the few companionship taboos of the victorious warrior with the great number observed by the companions of diviner, weather-maker and chief as tribal priest. By making a whole group of companions responsible in a taboo regimen situation as many incentives are supplied for the meticulous observance of the prohibitions. This in turn cannot but help to intensify the belief in the efficacy of taboos and to increase the solidarity of the groups concerned.

To sum up: Avoidances (Hl) are restraints observed in bi-polar bio-social relations; they function as mechanisms through which the statuses involved re-affirm their social distance and appropriate mutual attitudes in recurrent contact situations. Taboos (Za) are restraints observed in diachronic, occupational and leadership ritual; they impose isolation, an attitude of contemplation and behaviour restrictions upon the individual concerned and involve defined groups of companions in these matters. In diachronic regimens the situations are biologically determined. In occupational regimens the situations arise from economic necessities. Leadership regimens emerge in situations requiring the organization of social groups. In all three cases a strong tendency to rhythmical repetition can be observed.

#### G. THE SYSTEM OF TABOOS

The Tables reveal that avoidances and taboos form in their totality a coherent system of behaviour controls. Against the use of the term 'system of taboos' Lehmann (1930: 256-7) has advanced the objection that it may lead to the erroneous view that taboos being so closely interconnected can only exist together or must otherwise collapse in their entirety. Such a view was held in the middle of the 19th century by some missionaries to the Polynesians and led to false expectations and measures. For they hoped that with the breakdown of one of the most outstanding taboos all other prohibitions would become meaningless to the people and they would therefore abandon them. An historical event, the sweeping abolition of taboos in Hawaii in 1819, a generation before the whites arrived, seemed to support such a conclusion. Redfield (p. 128) has recalled that to most Hawaiians the event was catastrophic. One day the royal ladies ate the forbidden fruit in public, then the king joined them. The people felt that the taboos were permanently broken and the old gods overturned, and the high priest himself destroyed the temple.

But trends inherent in Hawaii culture had produced tensions, to wit, the inconsistency between the high position and power of some women and the lowly position of women in general, and the encroachments on the taboo order in the conflicts between individuals and leading families for power. Thus Kroeber could conclude that the sudden abandonment of taboos was the result of a "kind of social staleness". The Hawaiians were tired of their religion and this implies that they did not necessarily discard all taboos because one was ostentatiously broken. Moreover, influences from the advancing Western civilization had already affected Hawaii culture. For 40 years the island had received weapons, cloth and other goods of the white man. Trade and mission activities in Oceania had their repercussions in Hawaii society. Hawaiians had heard of the overthrow of traditional religion in Tahiti. A strain had been placed on the social and political system which had to be met by changes. Redfield comes thus to the conclusion that the abandoning of taboos was a reform on the margin of expanding white civilization. These two explanations give a more correct interpretation of the occurrence than the mechanistic one of the early missionaries, without jettisoning the significant discovery that avoidances and taboos represent a structured functional whole.

Certainly the Zulu system of restraints has developed a pronounced tendency towards formal cohesion and uniformity. On the one hand we see the regimens of restraints repeat themselves in patterns and form characteristic differences between regimens of avoidances and regimens of taboos, both of which emerge with distinct configurations. The formal tendency is seen particularly clearly in a number of sanctions which threaten nothing but the compulsive and automatic repetition of the act of violation, a nightmarish exaggeration of the forbidden behaviour.

A person indulging in sexual intercourse during mourning, for instance, becomes lecherous. The girl who giggles during a sacrifice will laugh unrestrainedly ever after. The violation of the taboos obligatory after lightning has struck a kraal results in renewed bolts of heaven setting up, as it were, a closed circuit of violations and punishments. Corresponding to this is that the ritual cancellation of a restraint frequently consists in its provocative violation; in fact it may consist in the doubling and intensification of the breach. For instance, when the widows of Chief Mathole Buthelezi were released from the sour milk taboo, they went outside the kraal to eat sour milk in the veld with one spoon, and from one pot, an unheard of accumulation - as we shall see - of breaches of the sour milk regimen. In this sense one is justified in speaking of a tendency in Zulu thought and custom to systematize restraints.

The acknowledgment of such a tendency must not lead us to assume that the Zulu system forms a Procrustean bed of behaviour norms which like Bagehot's 'cake of custom' cannot easily be broken. It will rather be shown that individuals frequently omit generally accepted restraints and are capable of 'inventing' their own critical prohibitions and avoidances. Thus Zulu restraints do not form a mail-shirt like order in which the existence of one link ensures the functioning of all others.

## CHAPTER ONE: HLONIPHA OF SPEECH

### I. SURVEY OF ZULU NAMES

In order to understand the principles underlying respect behaviour it is desirable to discuss the linguistic before the overt behaviour. The correct use of names is part of respect behaviour. In Zulu we distinguish the following kinds of names: individual names (In), group names (Gr), kinship terms (k/t) and rank terms (r/t).

#### A. INDIVIDUAL NAMES

Each Zulu has a number of names from childhood on.

1. The most important individual name is the *iGama*. (The synonym *uBizo* is not used in Zululand except by teachers). The *iGama* is the true, great or personal name. It is given to a newborn child by its F, hence it is known as *iGama-lika-Yise*, or by its GF (FF). The name is often chosen after consultation with lineage (extended family) members and bestowed on the child before witnesses. There is no special naming ceremony. Sometimes the name incorporates the first word uttered by the F when the birth is announced to him by the midwives (who often use obscene words in doing so).

Since the name is given at birth, it is also known as *eLokuZalwa* (birth name) and because it is used at the child's home, as *elas'eKhaya* (home name). Occasionally the pers/n has genealogical significance, as when an ancestral name is repeated, e.g., the eSo of Dumisweni Buthelezi is Xoko after a GGF. More frequently the pers/n refers to an event during the pregnancy of the M or at the birth of the child, e.g., to a famine, death, hut building, a natural phenomenon, quarrel, law case, epidemic, visit of an important person, or incident in the child's life history. E.g., Princess Magogo as a child suffered from retention of urine. A Zulu doctor advised that an *iGogo* (klipspringer) be killed for her. She was cured and henceforth called Magogo. The general Bantu practice of giving repelling names to a child whose elder siblings have died, so that it does not attract the attention of evil spirits (Meinhof: 1912: 47) is not very noticeable among the Zulu. An informant who could not give one instance of a repellent name goes by the name of Manyala (=disgrace) himself! A M may give a pers/n to her child, but normally women hesitate to do so: they 'fear for the safety of the child'. The real reason is they have no right to bestow a pers/n on a descendant of their H's. The pers/n is used by everyone of the child's social environment before his puberty and by parents and grandparents even afterwards, when he acquires a variety of other names.

2. Another individual name is the *isiDlaliso*, the pet or play name bestowed by a mother or by other relatives upon a child. The chief, too, may give such a name to the child of an important official, and even to a councillor. Such an *iGama-le-nKosi* has a tendency to stick. An *iGama-loku-Fekethisa* is a derisory name given to a person with mental or physical peculiarities, e.g. Mabata: Mr. Flatfoot, sometimes by himself or as a nick-name (*isiFeqo*). Children invent such a name for a dotard or a decrepit person, when it is known as *iGama-loku-Guga*.

3. A third individual name is the *eLoBusha* or *iGama-loBusha*, the youth, love or engagement name, or less suitably: the puberty name. It is also known as *iGama-lobuNsiszwa* for a boy, and *iGama-lobunTombi* for a girl. (This name is listed as *eLobu-Fana* in Krige. But the Zulu term *umFana* implies 'male child'; only in Natal and further south does it mean youth, young man.) The youth name may be chosen by a person's age-mates to commemorate a striking occurrence during his puberty ceremony or a peculiarity of its bearer. More frequently a young man chooses the love name for his sweetheart as part of the preliminaries to marriage, and assumes

his own youth/n when he has brought together the bride-price cattle. According to Krige all a youth's age-mates and his juniors must call him by this name. It would be considered abusive if they used any other in address or reference. (394) adds that it is the name used reciprocally among youthful collateral affines.

4. Among individual names must also be classed the congeries of names which goes to make up a persons 'praises'. A Ch may be given an individual honour name (*isiBongo*) by its parents to commemorate an event in its early years or one of its outstanding characteristics. (Krige gives *umGanunameva* where *umGanu* refers to a valuable fruit-tree.) Girls, too, qualify for honour names and use them in ritual situations, e.g., when provoking the rain goddess in the *ukuBhina* rite. Chn occasionally assume such a name themselves in anticipation of their achievements when grown up!

The crystallization point of a person's 'praises' is the *izAngelo*, the praises given a Ch by its M (Samuelson: *iziThokozo*, praises of pet Chn, by old women.) They often refer to the woman's history at her H's homestead. Mpande's *izAngelo* was Sohekazi, Mathole Buthelezi's, Sonomo, an alternative being Sondiye. Such Chn's praises may become the core of the praise name in the lineage formed by their descendants. They are ritually used by the womenfolk, e.g., when Ms and GMs or sisters thank a Ch for gifts, or when they praise him for a brave deed. Old women in appealing to the ancestors may remember the *izAngelo* of a deceased person and address him by it. Since women are debarred from using the 'agnatic' praises or epopee, the children's praises form a useful alternative.

At the establishment of a regiment additional honour names are given to young men for special feats. They are combined in the *isiGiyo* or dance name. The bearer shouts it during dancing displays at an army review or wedding. The recital in public of dance-names was strictly regulated. Only names acquired in a military camp could be uttered. Strict precedence had to be observed. Fame, seniority and aplomb of the bearers decided the order in which they could perform the leap dance during which their honour name was applauded by the onlookers (Stuart: 1925: 93-101).

Chiefs, and especially kings, acquire a multiplicity of honour names. They are combined with praise names into the famous 'Praises'. These incorporate attributes of the chief concerned, allusions to 'events not always agreeable' and to 'notable actions, not always laudable'. As the praise names of commoners form their memoirs, those of chiefs and kings sum up chapters of dynastic history. Today many allusions in them are no longer intelligible. They should not be recited in the absence of their 'owner'.

Linguistically not verse, the praises are the most important category of poetry the Zulu know besides love-songs and lullabys. They are framed in short sentences, the language is 'intensely idiomatic' and puns abound. When recited stress is laid on the penultimate syllables and intervals between phrases are prolonged. The king's bard, or praiser, is clad in a leopard skin and his head is ornamented with gall-bladders. He wields shield and stick and works himself up into a high pitch of elation. The chief's praises are recited on the occasion of a victory, on the arrival of important visitors, at great tribal meetings, and when the chief distributes bounties. I heard the royal praises recited when one of King Solomon's sons arrived at a commoner's kraal to attend a wedding \*6\*.

## B. GROUP NAMES

Group names can be used either collectively or individually, i.e., they may refer to either a group or an individual member of that group.

1. The most important group name is the *isiBongo* (clan/n), also called *isizalo*. It refers to an exogamous, patrilineal kinship group. The clan/n was usually the pers/n of the clan's founder or of his homestead (Bryant: 1929: 15). The constituent lineages are often no longer able to trace their descent from this ancestor. The founder's pers/n may then be the only genealogical link. The *isiBongo* may, of course, have been adopted for reasons of prestige or as a claim to relationship advanced for political reasons.

Kohler reminds us that the proper bearer of the clan/n is the head of the homestead. His patrilineal ancestors bore this name, his agnatic descendants will transmit it to poster-

ity. Males share this name with their agnates. A woman, in many respects, has no clan/n. When asked she gives her F's, even when married. (Under the influence of modern registration practices women tend to give their H's clan/n). Children are not known by their clan/n but by their pers/n.

The clan/n is more than a 'name'. Persons with the same clan/n are considered kin to the extent that they may not marry one another under incest rules. Special rules of hospitality apply to them. The clan/n does not necessarily indicate rank. There are non-royalty *Zulu* for instance.

2. The clan name is supplemented by the *isiThakazelo*, the courtesy name \*7\*.

Court/ns have a documentary significance within the kinship structure. They record otherwise forgotten links or support claims to relationship which are fictional. They act as records of the processes of fission and fusion. Some court/ns are the pers/ns of an ancient forbear, a clan celebrity, a culture hero, e.g., Sibewu of the Miya clan. Other court/ns refer to an ancestor who broke away from a larger kinship grouping and founded a new lineage, clan-segment or sub-clan. Certain court/ns appear as alternatives to the clan/n, when they refer to two or more sons of one father.

If a court/n is common to two clans with different *iziBongo*, it imposes a taboo on inter-marriage, e.g., on Miya and a group of Dhlamini who share the court/n of Mzizi. This also happens if the clan/n of the one group is the court/n of another, e.g. the Magwenyane may not intermarry with the Bhengu, since the former have Bhengu as court/n. However, where different court/ns distinguish the segments of one and the same clan, the court/ns 'break the relationship' and intermarriage between the segments becomes possible. Examples are the Ngcobo Nyuswa, Ngcobo Mafunze and Ngcobo Ngongoma, also the Dlamini Mzizi and Dlamini Sibalukhulu and the Zulu Didi and Zulu Vebi. Court/ns then assume the full functions of a clan/n.

A special place is taken by the court/n of *Ndabezitha*. It is claimed by the Zulu clan as a mark of distinction, by the Buthelezi, who also employ Shenge as court/n, by the Mbatha (emBateni) who have Shandu as second court/n, by the Qoqo (kwaQoqo), by the eGazini (whereas the emGazini have Ntshangase as court/n like the Biyela, who are derived from emGazini stock), by the Khumalo (who besides Ndabezitha have Ndaba by itself and Ntungwa as court/ns) and by the Mabaso (who likewise have Ndaba as second court/n). Ndaba is claimed as *isiThakazelo* also by the Sibiya, the Nwecwe and the Mangazi.

3. The third group name is the regimental name (*iButho*). It is (or was) given to all members of an age-class on being organized into a military unit by king or chief. It often referred to an incident at the camp and thus 'timed' the regiment. Because of the destruction of the Zulu military system after the 1879 war and the assumption by rival sovereign chiefs of the right to create regiments and name them, old Zulu do not always know their national regim/n. They then know a factional one. Nubile girls and women were also grouped in age-classes and in the past were given a regim/n of their own.

### C. KINSHIP TERMS

Kinship terms are either (a) *d e s c r i p t i v e*, when they have only a single referent, e.g. husband, or (b) *c l a s s i f i c a t o r y*, when they refer to a lineal relative in the first instance and to certain collateral relatives as well. Persons thus bracketed together often occupy analogous positions in the kinship structure.

Kinship terms may be combined with pers/ns to form address names on the principle of teknonymy. Such names may be either *i n p r o s p e c t*, when they refer to a person's family of orientation, e.g., F of N.N. = personal name of his child, or *i n r e t r o s p e c t*, i.e., they refer to the bearer's family of procreation as in Da of N.N. = F's pers/n. Kinship terms may also be coupled with group names, e.g., M of-clan/n or M of-court/n. This use is restricted to the names of women.

#### D. NAMES OF RANK OR OFFICE

A fourth group of names, used in address and reference, comprises the names of rank or office. Examples are *umNuzane* (head of homestead), *inKosi* (chief, king, lit. master), and *umNtwana* (prince, princess). To these may be added a term like *inKosi yoHlanga*, a hereditary chief, as distinct from an *inKosi yoZalo*, a lineage head. *inKosikazi* may be classed with r/ts and also *inKehli*, i. e. chief wife and betrothed girl respectively. (451) mentions *uMana* for *umNawe nKosana*, i. e. the So following the heir, and *iBusa nKosana*, the third So in rank, two terms which are known in large kraals only.

### II. NAME AVOIDANCES IN THE FAMILY OF ORIENTATION

#### A. FATHER

A child may not use his F's pers/n. In general the avoidance is not extended to the root. Some informants, e. g. , Mgoqo Magubane (178), assert that the Chn avoid it. For *umGoqo* (crosspiece) they say\* *umValo*. His Sos would be fined for breaking this Hl rule. The F is not supposed to be called by name, for he is the greatest person in the kraal. His Chn ought to avoid the root, e. g. , Chief Manyala Biyela's Chn and subjects use\* *iChilo* instead of *amaNyala* (disgrace). The avoidance of the F's pers/n applies in situations when he is being addressed or called by a Ch or when it replies to him.

The F's pers/n is nowadays freely given, when required by whites. The Biyela Wis were loath to give it even then. Occasionally its semi-ritual use occurs. (185): "My Sos and Das sometimes walk round the homestead and shout their F's pers/n. They do so when they are pleased or proud of some action of his, also when angry with outsiders and as a sort of challenge to them." If her Sos used their F's pers/n when they have fallen out with him, a 'case' would result before the extended family and they would be fined. The F's pers/n is used in ritual situations, e. g. , in an oath during his life time, but preferably so after his death, and then also in invocations and prayers.

Zulu informants explain that the avoidance of the F's pers/n expresses respect for the older generation rather than that it is an acknowledgment of paternity. It is the name avoidance p a r excellence.

In reference the F's group names (Gr: 1:2:3) are said to be used by his Chn, i. e. when the father has to be identified. On solemn occasions, e. g. when a Ch thanks his F for a gift, or when apologizing to him, it uses the clan/n. (The Wis of Beshu Biyela were adamant that even in such a situation they could not use their Fs' respective group name). (360) suggests that Chn do not use the F's group names in address, because these are the proper terms for his Wis to use! (453): "A young Ch cannot call his F with his clan/n, only when he is grown up, i. e. , long after his enrolment and marriage and he has Chn of his own and is considered by his F to be 'mature'. This applies to Sos. Das have to say *Baba* even after their marriage."

Sos and Das generally address their F with the k/t *Baba* which means p a t e r rather than g e n i t o r. The same term with the prefix u- is used in reference. If a Ch wishes to call his F out of a group this term with the personal pronoun added is employed, or he is pointed at or a third person is sent to fetch him. *uYihlo* is used in the 2nd person and in reference only, thus never with a personal pronoun. *uYise* is correspondingly used in the 3rd person. Both these terms cannot be used in the wide classificatory sense as is the case with *uBaba*. (An exception to this rule is the heir of the Third House in a large homestead who is called *uYise*. He takes over certain of the F's ritual and jural functions on the latter's death). To express the idea of genitor descriptive expressions are resorted to, e. g. , *uBaba mPela* (real, actual father) or *umZala-ii* (sire, begetter).

The classificatory use of *uBaba* is extensive. (360) and (365) assert that the extended use of *Baba* is an innovation! According to (328) and S: 567 a Zulu calls the following persons *Baba*: his F, FBr and FSi(!), also all the older members of the family (of first ascending generation upward being understood). (329) generalizes: "We call all the equals of our F *Baba*, no matter who!" On being challenged he concedes that the MBr is *uMalume*, the FSiH *umKhwenyane* or

*umLingane*, the FSi may be called *uDade wabo-kwaBaba* or *mNtwana omkhulu*. But the MSiH is again *Baba*, since he calls his WiSiCh *mNtanami*. (452): "Among in-laws the HFSi is called *Baba*, since she is identified with HF. " *Baba* is thus used for a number of females who can be identified with F or HF and also for males among the M's collaterals. In (452)'s kraal even a FFSiDa is called *Baba*, since she is Ego's F's cousin! Classificatory extension of *Baba* does thus not always imply potential transfer of functions! Princess Magogo: "*Baba* can be used as a term of endearment towards Chn. A M may call her son *Baba* from the time he is born to when he is grown up. The same use can be made of the term *Mame* with reference to a Da. Thus employed the terms mean something like: 'my boy', 'my girl!'" *Baba* is a polite term for all (elderly) persons in authority. (360): "*Baba* can be applied to the master of a communal hunt, who in turn addresses the hunters as *baNngane bami* (my friends)." Whenever on my walks I greeted an elderly man with *umNumzane*, he would reply *Baba*.

## B. MOTHER

The mother is addressed and referred to by her Chn with the k/t *Mame* (vW) which means mater, not genetrix. If the physical M is meant the descriptive phrase *uMame imPela* (real mother) or more commonly: *uMama owangiZalayo*, 'mother who has borne me' is used. There seems to be some latitude in the avoidance of the M's pers/n, for instance, in some Dladla and Mtinkulu lineages Das are said to use the M's pers/n (148). This laxity seems to reveal the ritual insignificance of a M's pers/n. An old informant could not recall it for some time, and excused himself by saying: "It is so long, long ago" (scil. , that I used it). A M's or any related woman's pers/n is, however, occasionally used in individual prayers, for instance when the spirit causing a 'diviner's illness' is that of a M. Hence the hesitation of the informant just quoted may have been due, not to lapse of memory, but to a ritual avoidance.

The root of the M's pers/n is rarely, if ever, avoided. An exception is Mnukeni Ndaba (174): His M's pers/n being Ganile, he uses the verbal form \**ukwAne la* for the common *ukuGanile* (to be betrothed). As in the case of *uBaba* the term for M has special forms for the 2nd person (*uNyoko*) and 3rd person (*uNina*) (vW). These words do not combine with personal pronouns as do other k/ts (S:567).

*uMame* can, like *uBaba*, be used in a classificatory sense. (328): A Zulu calls his real M *Mame*, also his F's other wives and all other women of the parental generation who are consanguineous kin (*umDeni*, *aboZala*, *abaseKhaya*). Thus the MSi is *Mame*, but not the FSi. (329): "We call all the equals of our mother *Mame*, e. g. , the F's Wis, FBrWis, and the MSi too for she calls me *mNtanami*. But the FSi is not *Mame*, although she addresses her BrChn as *abaNtanami*. As there are many Ms in a polygynous homestead, the combination Ma+clan name makes possible identification in reference (*Ma* is short for *Mame*). One informant asserted that this form is an innovation! Even a H may call his Wi *Mame*: he does so as a joke or when he is pleased with her, and when she has many Chn.

## C. CHILDREN

A F calls and refers to his Chn by their personal names, irrespective of whether they are firstborn or junior, boys or girls. The Chn's pers/ns are also used by their Ms and other members of the parental generation (FBrS, FSis, MSis and MBrS), as well as by the grandparents on both sides. The pers/n of the Ch is sometimes superseded in general use by the pet or play name or by an individual honour name.

Parents sometimes, though rarely, use the clan/n or court/n of the child, i. e. , the F's group names, e. g. , when praising it for a good deed, or asking for a favour. One informant states that he requests his son, 'Give me my food, Ntombela!', Ntombela being their clan/n. It is more common in solemn address and in reference to the parents to use the k/ts, *umNtwana* (S), *umNtanami* for a small child, and *inDodanayami*, my So, and *inDodakaziyami*, my Da, for adolescents (vW). Such usage would be indicated during the puberty rite, when thanking the Ch for a gift, when sending him on an important message, even when conversing