

prevailing in the tribe. Where cross cousins marriage is allowed we find that the term used for cross cousin is the same as the term for a wife or has the same root as the word used to indicate giving birth. Thus the Zulu-Xosa word for a cross cousin is "mzala" which is a word derived from the term "ukuzala" meaning to give birth. Among the Suto-Chuana the word is "motsoala" which is derived from Mho tsoala" to give birth. It must be pointed out, however that while the Suto-Chuana still permit cross cousin marriage, it has fallen into disuse among the Zulu-Xosa, although even here we still find the free and easy relationship between cross cousins which is frowned upon when exhibited by brothers and sisters towards one another or between parallel cousins. Finally we find great respect shown towards one's relatives by marriage, especially in the case of the wife's mother and the husband's father. Very often the respect is carried to the point of strict avoidance, which extends even to the use of the name. A Zulu woman, for example, is not allowed to use either the name of her husband's father, or of his father's father, nor may she use other words in which the syllables of their names occur. This results very often in the use of quite a different vocabulary on the part of the woman. This custom is known as "ukuhlonipa" which means to respect. Similarly the woman "hlonipas" the names of her father-in-law's brother also those of her husband's elder brothers and of all the wives of her father-in-law.

ZULU KINSHIP SYSTEM. Relatives among the Zulus are of two kinds, namely

A) Blood Relatives and B) Relatives by marriage, and different kinship terms are used for the two sets of relatives. Again with regard to the blood relatives we find that there are no separate terms for either descendants or ascendants beyond the third generation. Relatives beyond the third generation are remembered but are not distinguished by means of separate terms.

Thus we have the following scheme for blood relatives:-

3rd Ascending Generation. There is one term, Ugogo applied to the great grand parents on both sides, and to all their brothers and sisters.

2nd Ascending Generation. There is one term applied to both men and women--Ukulu. This term is applied to the father's father, to the mother's father, and to the brothers of these. Ubabamkulu may be used instead for these men. Ukulu is used also for the father's mother, the mother's mother and their sisters, and for the father's father's sisters and the mother's mother's brothers. For the women the word Umakulu may be used instead.

1st Aseending Generation. My father is Ubaba, and the term may be applied to my father's brothers, to the husbands of my mother's sisters, and to the sons of my father's father's brothers. But more usually a distinction is made and those men are called Ubab'omkulu if they are older, Ubab'omncane if they are younger than my father.

My mother is Umama or Uma, and so also are her sisters, and the wives of my father's brothers, and the daughters of my mother's mother's sisters.

My father's sister is Ubaba (father), and her husband is also Ubaba.

My mother's brother is Umalume, (male mother) and his wife is also Umalume.

Comtemporary Generation. The children of my father, of my father's brothers, and of my mother's sisters, in fact of all those whom I call Ubaba or Umama, are my brothers, Umfowetu, and my sisters, Udadewetu.

The children of my mother's brother (Umalume), both male and female are Umzalawami. Marriage between these is prohibited among the Zulus, although it is permissible and in fact favoured among the Basuto and the Bechuana.

The children of my father's sisters, both male and female, are Umzalawami.

These also are not allowed to intermarry.

1st Descending Generation. The term applied to children is Umtwana. This term is applied to his own children by a man, and to the children of his brothers, older or younger; and by a woman to her own children and the children of her sisters. Umntanami thus means "my child". But to distinguish sex the term Umfanawami or Indodanayami is used for a boy, Intombazanayami or Indodakaziyami is used for a girl.

A man may call his sister's child by a descriptive term Umntakadadewetu, 'child of my sister'. It is interesting to note that both Sato and Chuana

have special terms for sisters' children, Mochana and Setlogolo respectively. The eldest son or heir is called Inkosana or Indlalifa. The first-born in the family is called Izibulo or Qwamazibulo, while the youngest is called Omamagcino. Towards all these distinct behaviour patterns are observed.

2nd Descending Generation. The children of any Indodana or Indodakazi are called Umntanomntanami (child of my child) or Umzululwami.

(3rd) Descending Generation. The children of the Umntanomntanami are called Umzulukuluwami.

It now remains for us to state the position regarding Relatives by Marriage

The grandparents of a wife or a husband become the grandparents of the spouse in each case. The father of a man's wife is his Umkhwe, and the mother of a man's wife is his Umkhwekazi. The parents of a woman's husband are ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ called by one or other of the following terms, Unyokoza, Uninazala.

A wife calls her husband Umyeniwami, and her husband's brother and sister are also Umyeni. Her sister's husband is Umkhwenana. A husband calls his wife Umkami or Umfaziwami, while his wife's brothers and sisters are Umlamuwami. My sister's husband and his brothers and sisters are Umkhwenawetu.

As already pointed out, there is no cross cousin marriage among the Zulus, and their kinship system is tending to become a descriptive one with a man's family distinguished from those even of his brothers. This is in striking contrast to the Basuto and Bechuana systems which are less descriptive. The Xosa kinship system is practically the same as the Zulu, except that the Xosa use the term Tata instead of Baba for father, Unyanai instead of Indodana for son. Except for these verbal differences the scheme is the same.

The "Houses" in a Zulu Kraal~~al~~ or family establishment were generally arranged in a circular way, and among these houses in a complete household could be distinguished four distinct types, (i) the Indhlunkulu, i.e. the Great or Principal House in which lived the Great Wife whose eldest son became the heir of the whole "household". (ii) the Qadi i.e. the Left House in which lived the Left Hand Wife, (iii) the Kohlo i.e. the Right House in which lived the Right Hand ~~Wife~~. To each of ~~xxxx~~ these houses might be added several junior houses known as affiliated houses. Every time a new wife was brought into the establishment, her status had to be declared, and it was publicly made known to what house she was affiliated, and what rank ~~xxxx~~ her house occupied. (iv) A fourth type of house was that of the man who was not a blood relative, but had for some reason or other abandoned his own natural kraalhead and attached himself to another. Although he came under the power of the kraalhead in all kraal or common purposes, his house fell outside the general scheme of things.

As a rule the first wife that a man married became his Great Wife and all others married later either became affiliated to her house, or formed part of the Left or Right Hand System of Houses as the case might be. Normally the ordinary man had only one wife or one system of houses, and it was mainly in the case of Chiefs or wealthy people that a full establishment was found. Chiefs, however, did not marry their Chief Wife until late in life. The "lobola" for the Chief Wife of a Chief was provided by the tribe, and the eldest son of this wife succeeded the Chief. The fact that the Chief Wife was married so late invariably caused a series of regencies in Bantu society. During the minority of the Chief's Heir, one of the Chief's brothers acted as Chief, and not infrequently he usurped the position of the real Heir with the result that the tribe was divided into two sections, some following the true Chief and others the Usurper.

Succession and Inheritance. The rules of succession and inheritance depended upon the "house System" as explained above. All the property of the kraalhead

was divided into two kinds, namely Kraal Property and House Property.

Kraal Property denotes all the property in a kraal, being the absolute property of the kraalhead. It does not include property specially apportioned or gifted to any of the houses of the kraal, nor the property of an inmate of the kraal not related to or belonging to the family of the kraalhead.

House Property denotes the family and property rights and status which commence with, attach to, and arise out of the marriage of each woman.

Now heirship to property is of two kinds, either to Kraal Property or to House Property. The Heir to kraal property **is** the eldest son of the Indhlunkulu, i.e. the Graat House, or the person entitled to assume such position. Besides being heir to Kraal Property, the eldest son of the Great House, (the General Heir as he is often called) is liable for his father's debts and in all respects succeeds to the status as well as to the property of his father. He becomes the Kraalhead and is charged with the general oversight of the whole establishment. The Heir to House Property is the eldest son of the House to which the property has been assigned, and he is in turn liable for the debts incurred by the deceased kraalhead on behalf of his House.

Among the general principles of succession and inheritance among the Bantu may be mentioned the fact that succession devolves upon males only. Females being perpetual minors never succeed. This does not mean that they are left destitute, for the heir is charged with the maintenance and tutelage of the female members of his House. Again the law of primogeniture is followed, but the heir succeeds to all property in trust for the family as a whole. Out of this property he has to provide his younger brothers with "lobola" for their marriages, while they in turn have to bring all their earnings into the family holdings. Females are a source of property, for when they are married, lobola is paid for them. Thus the heir is generally said to succeed to the females of his House, including theirin both his mother and his sisters. This does not mean that he virtually marries any of these, for that would be incestuous. But it means that if any of them should get married, he would be entitled to the lobola paid for them.

System of Land Tenure. All land belongs to the Chief, but he holds it on behalf of the tribe and cannot alienate it to anyone who does not become his subject. But he alone has the ultimate power of allotting land to his subjects. As a rule a Chief divides his land into several ~~large~~ districts each under a separate Headman who has the duty of allotting the land to the various people under his charge. The Land is allotted free of charge to members of the tribe who, however, are not allowed to sell or mortgage it in any way. The holder of the land has the use of it for kraal and garden purposes, and as long as he has not abandoned it, the holder's title to it is secure. His rights descend to his heirs. But it is well to remember that neither the holder of the land nor the Chief has the absolute ownership of it. The Chief holds or owns it in trust for his people; individuals only have the Use of it while they remain subject to the chief.. A certain amount of tribute is paid to the chief by each land-holder either in the form of labour on the chief's fields or a portion of the produce of his land. Uncultivated land was regarded as common property and was used for grazing purposes. Sometimes the land-holder left a part of his land uncultivated and so made a private grazing ground for himself.

Bantu Religion. Both the Zulu and the Xosa believe in ancestor worship. This form of religion is directly connected with their family life, which as we have seen before is at the centre of their whole social organisation. The members of the family are regarded as living in two separate worlds, the world of the living and the world of the dead. At all times there was a close connection between these two worlds. No important step was taken in this world without being referred to the departed ancestors. The latter ~~manifested~~ revealed themselves to the living by means of disease and disaster, in dreams, through omens and by divination. Sacrifices were offered to these ancestors at different times, e.g. at marriage or in times of drought, and a large variety of "altars" were used for this purpose, e.g. a sacred tree, a shrine over a grave, or a sacred grove where the ancestors of the chief are buried, etc.

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