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Title

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Journal

Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies, 3(1)

ISSN

0041-5715

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Publication Date

1972

DOI

10.5070/F731016384

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OUTLINING SOUTHERN AFRICAN HISTORY:

A Re-evaluation

A.D. 100-1500

by

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Southern African history over the period of the first fifteen hundred years A.D. is often treated as if its entire content was the expansion of Bantu-speaking peoples over territories previously inhabited only by hunter-gatherers. Partly this treatment is due to the present paucity of archeological evidence for sites other than those occupied by Bantu-speakers during those centuries; partly it results from a lingering tendency of historians to fall back on a simplistic migrational theory of history when they deal with preliterate eras. To begin the process of defining the fuller complexities of human interaction that in the long run will give shape and movement to the depiction of early southern African history, we recently initiated an investigation of the linguistic evidence for events in the eastern half of southern Africa. The results of this investigation show that a greater complexity of peoples than simply Bantu-speaking farmers and Khoisan hunters were involved in the shaping of later societies, and suggest that to view southern African history in terms of the spread of peoples is a less adequate approach than to view southern African history in terms of the spread of new ideas and values and, at the same time, the spread of new languages associated with those ideas and values.

From the aspect of evidence, the crucial first step was to establish an outline history of the spread of Bantu languages through the eastern half of southern Africa, a process which began just about two thousand years ago and eventuated in the almost entire replacement of the earlier

Languages of the region by Bantu speech. It has been widely recognized that the Bantu languages of the region fall into two groups, one consisting of the greatly varying Shona dialects spoken between the Limpopo and the Zambezi rivers and the other including the remaining languages, Sotho, Nguni, Tsonga, Chopi, and Venda. Venda's position was often seen, however, as uncertain in this dual division. Our concern was to give systematic historical ordering to this potentially historical insight. For this purpose we constructed a specially modified 90-word core vocabulary list and collected it for at least one dialect of each of the six Bantu languages spoken in the eastern half of southern Africa.¹ The calculated percentage of cognation between each pair of dialects collected is shown on the following chart:

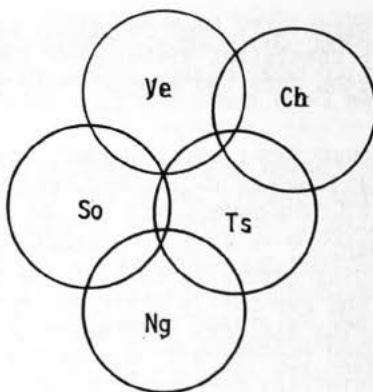
Nguni ²					
54	Sotho ³				
55	57	Tsonga			
44	59	54	Venda		
44	46	57	52	Chopi	
35	37	41	55	38	Shona

The usefulness of such a chart in investigating language relationship, at least at relatively shallow time-depths, has been cogently argued elsewhere.⁴ But, in addition, several crosschecks were possible on the validity of findings indicated by this particular chart. One was the internal consistency of the percentage distributions on the chart, with the single exception of the Venda-Shona count. Another was the correspondence of the chart's results with those which can be obtained from a wider comparison of vocabulary in the languages. And still another check was the corroboration the chart provides for earlier views of the relationships involved, even down to suggesting the anomalous position of Venda.

Except for Venda's especially high cognation with Shona, what the chart shows is a consistent division of the south-east African Bantu languages into two groups: (1) Shona, and (2) Southeast-Bantu.

The grouping we have chosen to call Southeast-Bantu--consisting of Chopi, Tsonga, Nguni, Sotho, and Venda--shows the classic cognation pattern that results from an earlier dialect network relationship.⁵ A dialect network is produced when a language begins gradually to differentiate into different dialects and eventually different languages, all the while the developing dialects continuing to be spoken through a contiguous territory.⁶ As long as some degree of mutual intelligibility continues to exist between the gradually diverging dialects, immediately adjacent dialects in the network will tend to influence the changes which occur in each other. For instance, two adjacent dialects might influence each other's retention of one of two synonymous terms used in the ancestral language, whereas two neighboring dialects on the other side of the dialect network might instead retain the other synonym as their word for the item. Thus, even though all the languages of a group equally have their source in a particular ancestral language, they will share differing percentages of cognates in later times, and the pattern of these percentages will reflect their location relative to each other during the period when mutual intelligibility still generally obtained among them. The high range of percentages within the pattern would indicate adjacent dialects; the next lower range would indicate dialects separated by one dialect from each other; and still lower percentages would indicate wider degrees of separation during the dialect network period.

In the instance of the Southeast-Bantu, there are just two percentage ranges, one centering around the mid- or high fifty percents indicating the ancestral dialects in direct contact, and the other around the mid-forty percents indicating those which were one dialect separated from each other. The relative locations of the dialects of proto-Southeast-Bantu which gave rise to the various present-day Southeast-Bantu languages can therefore be mapped as follows:



MAP # 1

There remains the problem of Venda's peculiarly high cognation with Shona. The solution that Venda was a connecting link in a wider dialect network including both Shona and Southeast-Bantu is unlikely because dialect networks tend not to connect at single points. Venda in every other indicator fits within the Southeast network, and Shona stands off as distinct. Shona, to belong, would be expected also to show high cognation with another one or two of the Southeast-Bantu languages, and this it does not. The conclusive argument, however, for Venda derivation from proto-Southeast comes from consideration of common innovations. Of the nouns in the 90-word core vocabulary list used here, Venda shares ten unique word-innovations with other Southeast-Bantu languages and only two apparent innovations with Shona. The other several words which Venda shares with Shona, but not with Southeast languages, are all common retentions of earlier Bantu words or, in one case, a clear Shona loanword in Venda.

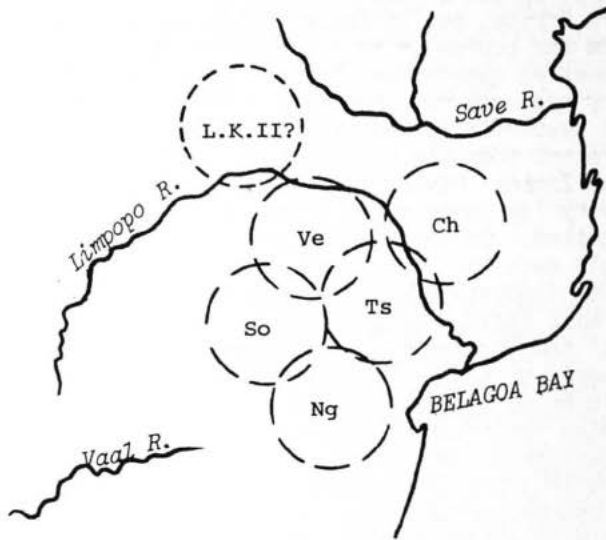
The Shona connection must thus be seen as one of powerful or extended Shona influence on the history of one Southeast-Bantu people, those who spoke early forms of the Venda language. The role of Shona settlement in Venda-speaking lands south of the Limpopo seems evident in archeology and for more recent periods is clearly attested in Venda traditions. The proper comparison might perhaps be to the Danes and Anglo-Saxon England. English is a West Germanic language, yet cognate-counting of core vocabulary gives a peculiarly high cognate-count between standard English and

North Germanic. A major reason is simply the Danish influence on English vocabulary which came about because of the extensive Danish settlement in England.⁷

The determination that Shona and Southeast-Bantu form separate subgroups linguistically indicates that there were two centers of spread of Bantu speech to wider areas of southeastern Africa, but it leaves aside the question of how early in the course of that spread the two focusses of Bantu-speaking population had developed. On this matter the evidence suggests that the distinction between the groups that gave rise to the Shona and Southeast-Bantu has been present from the beginning of Bantu settlement south of the Zambezi River. The evidence consists of the fact that very few innovations common to just the two groups can be suggested. In the 90-word core vocabulary lists, only a single such word can be proposed, *-jebe "ear," but even it is an innovation only in meaning: the same root appears in East African Bantu languages with meanings such as "earlobe" and "ornament placed in earlobe." Mere proximity in early stages of Bantu settlement in southern Africa would be more than adequate to account for a single shared meaning shift out of ninety words. In general, what Southeast-Bantu and Shona share in language, they share also with other Bantu languages north of the Zambezi; and so any common period in their linguistic histories would have to be attributed to historical events outside southeastern Africa.

From later language distributions, it is apparent that earliest Shona-speaking populations would have developed in what is today Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), while the proto-Southeast-Bantu would have evolved generally to the south of the Shona-speakers. The proto-Shona region can be located only in that general fashion, but the greater differentiation of the Southeast languages allows a more detailed argument for their earlier location. Very broadly, one can place the proto-Southeast-Bantu network of dialects somewhere in the northern Transvaal regions. The northeast Transvaal, as the present center of diversity among Southeast languages, appears more likely than anywhere else as the center of original Southeast-speaking populations. Venda is spoken on the northwest of the region, Sotho along the west, Nguni to the South, and Tsonga along the east; and--as can be seen from Map #1 and is also suggested in Tsonga traditions--Chopi dialects too must once have reached toward the northeast corner of the region and have been spoken adjoining Venda.

Thus the late proto-Southeast Bantu dialects and communities, given their relative positioning from Map #1, may have had something like the following actual locations on the map of southern Africa:



MAP #2

A notable inference from the cognate chart is that differentiation within proto-Southeast Bantu must have begun within a relatively short time of the initial settlement of Bantu-speakers south of the Zambezi. The maximal differentiation in a dialect network is evidenced in the minimal cognate-sharing percentages between dialects in the network, and the minimal range of the mid-forties in Southeast-Bantu is not very much greater than the high-thirties percentage range for the difference between Shona and Southeast-Bantu as a whole. As we have seen, the high-thirties range derives from events north of the Zambezi; the mid-forties range, on the other hand, signals developments beginning to take place several hundred miles south in the Transvaal. Thus the initial spread of Bantu-speakers south of the Zambezi as far as the northern Transvaal, and

the development of two centers of spread of Bantu speech and ideas in the north and south respectively of that span of country, must have been accomplished within a very short time, perhaps only two or three centuries.

Some possible correlations between these linguistic findings and archeology can already be suggested despite relative insufficiency of present archeological knowledge. The primary correlation of the widespread "Dimple-base/Channelware"⁸ co-tradition with Bantu-speakers is now generally accepted. By the second or third century A.D. derivatives of this co-tradition, and thus the Bantu-speaking communities which made them, had begun to appear south of the Zambezi. The establishment of Bantu immigrants south of the river had its beginnings, then, in the first few centuries of the first millenium.

The better known of these "Dimple-base/Channelware" assemblages in southern Africa are coming to be considered by some archeologists as falling into two groupings, the same division required by linguistic evidence. One grouping includes Ziwa and Gokomere cultures of early and mid-first millenium Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), which lead sequentially down to more recent cultures clearly attributable to Shona-speakers.⁹ The other grouping covers Bambandyanalo culture of northern Transvaal, Uitkomst of the western Transvaal, and Leopard's Kopje II of southwestern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).¹⁰

This second grouping would of course be attributable to Southeast-Bantu speakers. Uitkomst culture from its distribution is rightly to be identified with early Sotho-speakers of the Southeast language group.¹¹ Bambandyanalo was probably the work of early Venda-speakers. The Leopard's Kopje II occurrences could indicate extension of some Southeast-Bantu people north of the Limpopo River into southwestern Rhodesia (see the reference to L.K.II on Map #2), but these would have been absorbed in later times into the Shona-speaking world since the region was Shona-speaking by the nineteenth century when Ndebele conquered it. The Palabora finds in the northeastern Transvaal, which date to the period between 500 and 1000 A.D., remain little known as yet, but they seem likely from their location south of the Limpopo to be the material remains of early Southeast-Bantu peoples. None of these are yet attested as early as Ziwa or Gokomere, but the differences between their various earliest known manifestations were already significant enough to require that any postulated common ancestral tradition be dated a number of centuries earlier, presumably in the first

few centuries A.D. Bantu peoples must therefore be seen as spreading as far as the northern Transvaal within a very short time of initial settlement across the Zambezi, just as the linguistic evidence proposes.

As rapid an expansion as that required by the archeological and linguistic evidence would hardly be likely to have transferred any great number of people. The Bantu-speaking settlements may at first have been composed mostly of settlers from across the Zambezi, but such settlers would have been able to constitute themselves only into scattered communities among the great majority of indigenous people of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds carrying on their traditional lives all the while. From this perspective, the succeeding periods of southern African history appear as times of territorial consolidation and only rather gradual spread of Bantu speech to peoples living around and among Bantu communities.

II

For the evidence of the social history of accommodation and acculturation which expressed itself in these linguistic events, the historian must turn to other kinds of word evidence. The course we took was to study just a small sample of cultural vocabulary, because our intent was merely to point directions for the more detailed historical enquiries which must follow on this effort. Economic events seemed likely to provide a major part of the explanation for the eventual predominance of Bantu speech; thus vocabularies of herding and cultivation were investigated. In addition, a large selection of wild animal vocabulary in each language was studied in the prospect that it would provide loanwords indicating other levels or directions of interaction between peoples.

The very earliest Bantu settlers south of the Zambezi seem likely from linguistic evidence to have given only the most minor attention to stock-raising and instead emphasized cultivation, in particular grain cultivation. That conclusion is dictated by a comparative listing of innovations versus retention of older Bantu words in subsistence vocabulary of southeastern African languages. In the listing, word-retentions from stages of Bantu linguistic history preceding the southern African settlement were found to be clustered primarily in cultivating

vocabulary, while word-innovations concentrated even more strongly in herding vocabulary (Table 1). Only goat-keeping, for which there are four probable word-retentions,¹² can clearly be attributed to the earliest Bantu-speaking immigrants. The retained term translatable as "to herd" was a term with the generalized meaning "to feed" and would not necessarily imply any more notable a set of activities than the tending of goats might entail. Neither cattle- or sheep-keeping nor milking seems re-quired by the evidence. Cattle were surely known to the original Bantu settlers south of the river, because an earlier Bantu term **-gombe* was apparently brought with them. But the widespread replacement even of this generic term for cow by new forms and the lack of reconstructibility of any other words dealing specifically with cattle imply that the animal was either relatively unfamiliar or relatively unimportant. The utilization of the term for "to squeeze, to wring" to express "to milk," while it suggests observation of the process, does not require its practice among the earliest southern African Bantu communities themselves; and the later innovation of new terms within southern African Bantu for milk itself and for "to milk" would seem to confirm the conclusion of an original lack of milking as a significant subsistence practice.

Since in later times livestock-raising was usually a very important activity and milking of cattle was generally practiced among Bantu-speakers in southeastern Africa, the question arises of how this shifted balance in subsistence practices came about; and the answer seems to lie in the interactions of early Bantu-speakers with the peoples around them.

The early Shona-speaking communities between the Zambezi and the Limpopo can be seen even from our very preliminary evidence to have been living as neighbors to both Central-Khoisan¹³ and Central Sudanic-speaking groups.¹⁴ Whether these Central-Khoisan were hunter-gatherers only or were an early Khoi herding people cannot be decided from present meager data, but several of the Central-Khoisan loanwords in Shona are the kind infrequently borrowed except in situations of very intensive interaction of peoples (Table 2). At the least, former Khoisan-speakers were a major component in the developing Shona population. More interesting from the point of view of economic history is the possibility of herding loanwords in Shona with apparent Central Sudanic sources (Table 3); and it seems

probable as well that further investigation will turn up additional instances of Central Sudanic cultural influence: cf. the last entry in Table 3. An overview which accounts for this evidence as it now appears would see the early Shona-speaking communities as growing and spreading through the progressive acculturation of the former majority population element of the region, Central-Khoisan-speaking hunters--all the while an equally gradual incorporation of less numerous Central Sudanic peoples bringing about a broadening of the Shona subsistence base to include important attention to stock-raising activities. The Khoisan-speakers would of course be identifiable with late Wilton archeological remains. Might the Central Sudanic presence be correlatable with the as yet unattributed "Bambata" ware of the region?

The proto-Southeast-Bantu evolving to the south of the early Shona similarly appear from linguistic evidence to have started out as emphasizeers of grain-cultivation residing within a context including other peoples more pastoral in their pursuits. No Central Sudanic influence has yet been noted, but a heavy Khoi impact is apparent (Table 4). The Khoi words adopted into early Southeast-Bantu include the generic terms for cow and milk, the last sort of words to be borrowed except in instances of relative novelty of the item named. It must be concluded that the great importance of cattle-keeping among many of the Southeast-Bantu, along with the specific adoption of cattle-milking, derives directly from the Khoi brought in the proto-Southeast-Bantu orbit. Moreover, the kinds of non-economic vocabulary borrowed make it the most probable solution that former Khoi were the major demographic element in the developing proto-Southeast-Bantu population. Among those loanwords appear even core vocabulary items. The retention of a few Khoi loans in just two or three neighboring dialects of proto-Southeast-Bantu, rather than in all five, could indicate that the impact of the Khoi possibly continued into a relatively late part of the proto-Southeast era, as proto-Southeast-Bantu was differentiating into its daughter languages.

In the immediately subsequent eras, however, interactions with Khoi-speakers probably came to an end for all but the early Sotho-speaking descendants of the proto-Southeast-Bantu. The smallness of our sample prohibits the drawing of detailed inferences, but the Khoi loanwords noted, which are unique to Sotho (Table 5), are significant mainly as they reveal evidence for the fact of Sotho-Khoi

interactions as far back as the proto-Sotho period and are pointers to the highly probable presence of numerous other such loanwords, as yet undetected because unlooked for. That South Sotho still were neighbors of Khoi-speaking !Kora centuries later than the proto-Sotho period places attention on the question of whether or not a continuing factor in the development of Sotho-speaking populations may have been interaction between Bantu and neighboring Khoi. The essential task in defining such a social history will be close study of the varying distributions of Khoi loanwords through the several major Sotho dialects.

For Venda over the period since its differentiation out of proto-Southeast-Bantu, no case can yet be made for its having been influenced by non-Bantu speech. Imbedded between peoples of the earlier proto-Southeast dialect network on three sides and by Shona-speakers on the fourth side, Venda-speakers may well have faced social pressure primarily from their Bantu neighbors. In particular the number of possible word-borrowings from Shona and of Shona-influenced retentions of earlier Bantu words in Venda point to the special importance of people from north of the Limpopo River in the evolution of Venda-speaking communities. An especially high cognate count between North Sotho and Venda suggests that Sotho people from the south may similarly have influenced Venda history, though perhaps not so strongly.

For the Chopi and Tsonga little can be said for now of their history for the eras between their differentiation out of proto-Southeast-Bantu and the last five hundred years, when oral tradition and documentary evidence begin to be useful. A cursory investigation of Malagasy for possible evidence of Tsonga-Malagasy contact yielded no result; but Chopi vocabulary deserves investigation with that same possibility in mind, as do, of course, Shona vocabularies. The early Tsonga- and Chopi-speakers, spreading into the lands behind the east coast of southern Africa, may possibly have been settling among Khoisan-speaking groups; it is a proposition worthy of study, but not one solved by us.

The proto-Nguni, on the other hand, quite clearly developed through incorporation of a large, in all likelihood, majority element of local peoples into the focal Bantu-speaking settlements. The sheer number of new terms appearing even in core vocabulary necessitate this conclusion. As well, alone of the early Southeast-Bantu speeches,

proto-Nguni maintained the clicks of words it borrowed from non-Bantu languages spoken about it. The identity of the non-Bantu peoples brought into proto-Nguni society remains to be studied. They seem likely, however, to have been Khoisan-speaking; cf. proto-Nguni **-ngce* "vulture," identifiable with terms for vulture widespread in Khoisan languages.¹⁵ On the other hand, few if any of the earliest such words in Nguni can be attributed to a Khoi source, and thus the pre-Bantu inhabitants of the proto-Nguni homeland in Natal seem not to have been Khoi.

As Nguni-speaking communities spread more widely over the past 1000 years, a process which can be followed, probably in large part, in the oral traditions of Natal and the eastern Cape regions, the accompanying process of incorporation of non-Bantu peoples continued to be reflected in these peoples' bringing of many of the words of their former languages into their adopted Nguni speech. The difference in these later eras came along the far south Nguni borderlands, where Nguni-speakers began to encounter Khoi-speaking societies. Thus the southern Nguni dialect, called today Xhosa, came to have a notable component of Khoi words, in distinction to the northern Nguni dialects in which no such special Khoi element appears. While some of these Khoi loanwords may have been borrowed as late as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the "Ntindi" and !Gona Khoi chiefdoms were being incorporated into Xhosa society, the number and occurrence of these words would fit better with the assumption that the adoption of many of them by Xhosa belongs to early eras of southern Nguni spread, when non-Bantu speakers were still the majority population element in the eastern Cape, that is, during parts of the first half of the present millenium.

III

We have postulated an original dual division of Bantu settlers south of the Zambezi into Shona and Southeast groupings, and we have suggested identifications of the developing populations of Bantu-speakers with particular manifestations of the "Dimple-base/Channelware" co-tradition. The viewing of southern African history in terms of great Bantu migrations proves untenable. There was an initial relatively rapid scattering out of Bantu communities as far as the northern Transvaal in the first few centuries A.D., but succeeding centuries have been characterized on

the whole by gradual spread and growth of Bantu-speaking populations through incorporation of formerly non-Bantu peoples. The view of the Bantu as conquerors, who killed or drove out earlier peoples, must similarly be rejected. Successive eras of word-borrowing into Bantu from non-Bantu languages show that Bantu-speakers often as not began as a minority element settled among a majority of non-Bantu-speaking people. The notable social impact of Khoi and Central Sudanic groups on the formation of Bantu-speaking societies may have stemmed in part from their ability, as food-producers, to compete economically with Bantu cultivators. In the case of the proto-Nguni, on the other hand, it is not at all apparent that the Bantu-speakers encountered anyone other than food-collecting peoples; yet these peoples all the same had an enormous impact, so linguistic evidence seems to indicate, on the Bantu society into which they were drawn.

Archeology, where available, shows the cultures associated with Bantu speech as forming the lines of continuity to the present. Still, as we have seen, Bantu expansion did not overwhelm earlier populations time and again. Rather, Bantu-speaking communities time and again emerged as the focal points of reorganization of social and political relations within different local southern African areas. The burden of the historian becomes to understand why this should have been so. Did Bantu chiefship, with its religious overtones, appear as a more potent institution than, for instance, Khoi chiefship, which seems to have lacked such attributes? Perhaps in the early eras no more was involved than that Bantu-speakers, as more intensive farmers, appeared to be more effective masters of the environment than the Khoi herders and possibly even the Central Sudanic mixed farmers. Or perhaps the Bantu gained an advantage from their larger permanent settlements set down among peoples of seasonally shifting abode, like the San and Khoi, or of homestead residence patterns, as were possibly found among Central Sudanic-speakers--did the Bantu, in other words, hold the same sort of advantage over their neighbors that a town has over the countryside around it? It is a problem all the more interesting when we realize that the original Bantu settlers south across the Zambezi probably contributed only a small part of the total ancestry of modern Bantu-speaking peoples in south-eastern Africa. Behind the surface events of language spread lies an enormous complexity of social change and adjustment that we have not yet begun to understand.

PART 2 --

Shona innovations

<i>handira</i>	"bull"
<i>tsiru</i>	"heifer"
<i>murru</i>	"calf" (earlier B meaning uncertain, but probably not "calf"; therefore best considered innovation)
<i>hwai</i>	"sheep"
<i>hondowe</i>	"ram"
<i>hundudzi</i>	"ram"
<i>bemhe</i>	"sheep's tail"
<i>hotoro</i>	"billygoat"
<i>cikweme</i>	"billygoat"
<i>nhongo</i>	"goat wether" (also Venda)
<i>gutukutu</i>	"young she-goat"
<i>zamu</i>	"udder" (also Venda)
<i>-sunur-</i>	"to castrate"
<i>sadza</i>	"porridge"

("to pound" and "sorghum" may be innovations, but more evidence is needed for determination)

Innovations shared by Shona and SE Bantu

*-gay- "to grind"

Shona retentions from earlier Eastern Bantu vocabulary

*-gombe	"cow"
<i>mbudzi</i>	"goat"
<i>šeše</i>	"young female of small stock"
-kam-	"to milk"
-ris-	"to herd"
<i>danga</i>	"corral, pen"
<i>munda</i>	"field"
-rim-	"to cultivate"
-sakar-	"to weed"
<i>mhunga</i>	"bulrush millet" (Ern Bantu "rice")
-pur-	"to thresh"
-pepet-	"to winnow"
<i>duri</i>	"mortar"
<i>mutsi</i>	"pestle"
<i>upfa</i>	"flour"
<i>nyemba</i>	sp. bean
<i>dumbe</i>	"cocoyam"

Shona limited sharings with Ila-Tonga or Cewa

<i>pwizi</i>	"sheep" (original meaning not clear)
<i>mukaka</i>	"milk"
<i>bota</i>	"gruel"
<i>gora</i>	"calf-pen"

TABLE 1

PART 1 --

proto-SE Bantu
innovations

*-koma	"cow"
*-tole	"calf, heifer"
*-gɿ	"sheep"
*-paka	"young female of small stock"
*-cambi	"herd"
*-pɿ	"milk"
*-ceng-	"to milk"
*-teen-	"to castrate" (ptB "to cut")

Innovations of more
limited SE Bantu
distribution

*namana	"calf" (Sotho, Venda)
*-kunzɿ	"bull" (Nguni, Tsonga)

SE Bantu retentions from
earlier Eastern Bantu
vocabulary

*-gombe	"cow" (rare)
*-burɿ	"goat"
*-pongo	"billygoat"
*-pamba	"wether"
*-pulu	Uncertain meaning (Cewa "ram"; Sotho "steer"; Shona "calf")
*-pakul-	"to castrate"
*-kam-	"to squeeze, wring; hence, to milk"
*-lic-	"to herd; to feed"
*-tanga	"pen, fold"
*-lim-	"to cultivate"
*-cakul-	"to weed"
*-bele	grain sp.
*-pila	grain sp.
*-puul-	"to thresh"
*-pepet-	"to winnow"
*-kɿl-	"to grind"
*-tuli	"mortar"
*-incɿ	"pestle"
*-kɿma	"porridge"
*-cua	"porridge"
*-tu	"gruel" (ErnB "flour")
*-culɿ	"broth"
*-to	"broth"
*-pa	"flour"
*-lumbe	tuber sp.

TABLE 2

SHONA	Central Khoisan <u>attestation</u>	<u>Comments</u>
<i>zamu</i> "udder, breast"	proto-Cent.Khsn. * <i>sam-</i>	
<i>gomo</i> (* <i>-komo</i>) "mountain"	Nama <i>!hom-i</i> , etc.; widespread Khoisan	
<i>gore</i> (* <i>-kore</i>) "year"	proto-Cent.Khsn. * <i>kuli-</i> ; widespread Khoisan	
<i>gora</i> (* <i>-kora</i>) "wild cat"	Nama <i>!nore-p</i>	
<i>hwai</i> (* <i>-kuai</i>) "sheep"	Nama <i>ku-</i> , etc.; widespread Cent.Khsn.	Both from 3rd source?

TABLE 3

SHONA	Central Sudanic <u>attestation</u>
<i>hondowe</i> (* <i>-kondogwe</i>) "ram"	* <i>(k)ondri</i> stem (see Ehret, "Sheep"); plus Moru-Madi * <i>-ago</i> "male" as suffix to animal names (Cf. <i>ti</i> "cow," <i>ti-ago</i> "bull") Moru <i>ts^wets^we</i> , etc.
<i>usvisvi</i> "pool"	
<i>gava</i> (* <i>-kaba</i>) "jackal"	Moru-Madi * <i>-oba</i> (for <i>k-</i> as prefix see Ehret, "Sheep")
<i>hove</i> (* <i>-kobe</i>) "fish"	proto-Cent.Sud. * <i>-bi</i> (<i>kV-</i> as prefix: see preceding item)
<i>širi</i> (* <i>-kiri</i>) "bird"	proto-Cent.Sud. * <i>-ri</i> (<i>kV-</i> as prefix: see preceding item)
<i>mwari</i> "God"	Moru-Madi * <i>-ware</i>

NOTES: References in second column of items 1, 3, 4, and 5 are to C. Ehret, "Sheep and Central Sudanic Peoples in Southern Africa," *Journal of African History*, IX (1968).

TABLE 4

proto-SOUTHEAST BANTU	Khoi <u>attestation</u>	<u>Comments</u>
*-komo "cow"	proto-Khoi *koma-	
*-pi "milk"	proto-Khoi *pi- (proto-Cent.Khsn. root)	
*-gy "sheep"	Nama ku-; widespread Central Khoisan	Both from 3rd source? Root also found in Southwest Bantu
*-tamu "neck"	Nama tom-i "throat" (proto-Cent.Khsn. root)	
*-kabu "monkey"	Nama /kopa-p	
*-kwa "large knife"	proto-Khoi *kɔa-	Khoi nasal inter- preted as n in 2nd variant
Ch Ts So Ve	*-kwana "black"	proto-Khoi *ʔnu

NOTES: Ch, Chopi; Ts, Tsonga; So, Sotho; Ve, Venda.

TABLE 5

SOTHO	Khoi <u>attestation</u>	<u>Comments</u>
kxama "hartebeest"	proto-Khoi *//xama- (proto-Cent.Khsn. root)	
phêlêu "ram"	Nama pera-p	
sewawawa "frog"	Nama //xoa-p (proto-Cent.Khsn. root)	Assumed reduplica- tion; N.Sotho form given here

Footnotes

1. Dialects of Ila-Tonga and Cewa languages spoken to the south side of the Zambezi River have been neglected here because the major distribution of their languages is to the north of the river. The 90-word list consisted of the Swadesh 100-word list with the deletion of the items this, that, who, what, not, swim, lie, yellow, hot, and round.
2. The figures given for Nguni are the averages of the respective percentages for Xhosa and Swati.
3. Percentages shown are for South Sotho. North Sotho figures are roughly the same except for the Venda-North Sotho cognation, which is four percentage points higher, enough above the range to suggest a Sotho impact on Venda somewhat like that of the Shona-speakers on Venda.
4. William E. Welmers, "The Mande Languages," *Georgetown University Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics*, No. 11 (1958), pp. 9-24, among others.
5. Cf. Morris Swadesh, "The Mesh Principle in Comparative Linguistics," *Anthropological Linguistics*, vol. 1, No. 2 (1959), pp. 7-14, among others.
6. Shona still forms a dialect network today, although that aspect has not been considered here.
7. Another possible part of the explanation is that English derives from a dialect of West Germanic spoken near to North Germanic at the period when Germanic still formed a dialect network on the continent.
8. "Dimple-base/Channelware" is no longer accepted archeological terminology because of its descriptive inadequacy. But its common replacement, "Early Iron Age," we find even less acceptable because it prejudges history. Surely there are other early eastern or central African Iron Age cultures still to be discovered which did not belong to this co-tradition. In the second place, the traditions belonging to the so-called "Early Iron Age" co-tradition may well have had their common origin in a pre-ironworking era; thus the name

- may not be an even technologically accurate description. We have elected to use Dimple-base/Channelware as the lesser of two evils, but we strongly urge a development of a name specifically and unambiguously applicable to this co-tradition.
9. A. J. E. Jaffey, "A Reappraisal of the History of the Rhodesian Iron Age up to the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of African History*, VII (1966), pp. 189-195.
 10. Cf. Brian Fagan, "The Later Iron Age in South Africa," p. 53, in Leonard Thompson (ed.), *African Societies in Southern Africa* (New York: Praeger, 1969).
 11. Cf. Fagan, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61, who is more tentative on this point than we are.
 12. Lacking a reconstructible generic term for "sheep," the reference of *-*pamba* to "castrated ram" has to be seen as secondary. In view of the demonstrable ease of transference of subgeneric terms from one kind of small stock to the other over the course of linguistic history, the original reference was probably to goat wether, thus presenting us with a fourth possible reconstructible term for goat.
 13. Identical with E. O. J. Westphal's "Hottentot" family, most recently described in Westphal, "Linguistic Research in S.W.A. and Angola," pp. 134-135 in *Die Ethnischen Gruppen in Südwestafrika* (1965). The name "Hottentot" must of course be avoided because of its connotations. Central Khoisan, the older name for this Khoisan language group, has thus been used for lack of a better name.
 14. This proposed Central Sudanic people appears as just one of a number of Central-Sudanic speaking groups, the others of which are attested in loanword sets limited to various Bantu languages in Zambia and Malawi. An article on the evidence for the existence, and for very rough locating, of these communities is presently under preparation. The phonological and morphological bases of the attribution of the various loanword sets will be argued there.
 15. Cf. /Xam *!koi* and /Nu//en *!gwe* of Bleek's Southern Khoisan group, !Kx *!rwe* of Bleek's Northern Khoisan (Westphal's Bushman A) group, and Nharo *k"ei* of the Central Khoisan group--all meaning "vulture."

Somali

