Transformations in Southern African History: Proposals for a Sweeping Overview of Change and Development, 6000 BC to the Present

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The longue durée of southern African history—from the seventh millennium BC to the present—has been characterized, it can be argued, by recurrent episodes of intense cultural and economic transformation, followed in each instance by longer periods of less fundamental change that built on and modified the social and economic patterns that took shape during the transformative period. Each such transformation was accomplished within a period of a few centuries and has involved, in order of significance, (1) the replacement of one dominant form of domestic production by another, or the superseding of one kind of relations of production by another; (2) the establishment of new forms of social and political organization; and (3) the widespread adoption of the languages spoken by those particular communities which became the focal points of the transformation. In the often much longer periods that followed the transformative episodes, change in the scale or complexity of residential units, in political life, and in exchange relations generally took place, but principally through modification rather than replacement of the ideas and practices established in the era of transformation.

The Microlithic Transformation, 7000-6000 BC

The first great changeover of which it is possible at present to gain some understanding can be called the Microlithic Transformation. In the portions of Africa south of the Limpopo, this development dates to approximately the seventh millennium BC—equivalent to the sixth millennium BC in radiocarbon dating. The archaeological term widely applied to the cultures that produced the toolkits characteristic of the era is "Wilton." The Wilton tool industries apparently spread within a relatively short time, probably within a few hundred years, across most areas, replacing earlier stone tool traditions such as the Albany tradition of the Cape and contemporary traditions in the Orange River

basin.[1] Among the probable new technological introductions of the Wilton era were the bow and arrow and the use of arrow poisons. Another, but not exactly "microlithic," introduction was the making of bored, doughnut-shaped stones that were used as weights on digging sticks to increase their efficiency.

"Microlithic" denotes the appearance of fully microlithic stone toolkits in the archaeological record of the time. But the switch to the use principally of very small stone points and segments (microliths) by southern Africans was merely the technological accompaniment of a fundamental shift in the ways of life, from an emphasis on big game hunting to an eclectic sort of hunting and gathering. Whereas the Albany hunters, for instance, killed many large grazing animals, the peoples of Wilton background killed a much greater proportion of small mammals and also ate many other kinds of creatures, such as birds, grubs and the like. They also appear to have greatly increased the variety of wild plants used for food. The making of digging stick weights shows, for example, that they began to exploit root and tuber foods, possibly for the first time. It would be more accurate therefore to call their accomplishment the eclectic hunting and gathering transformation. But as that description is a bit of a mouthful, we will continue to call it the Microlithic Transformation, after its most visible technological remains in the material record.

Eclectic approaches commonly exploit more fully the varieties of natural produce than can big game hunting, and so its practitioners can produce considerably more food from the same unit of land. It can be proposed that some sort of crisis of food and population may have been developing by the seventh and sixth millennia BC in southern Africa and that the spread of the Wilton tradition was a response to such a crisis. One possibility is that human population growth, although very slow in comparison with modern-day growth rates, might finally have begun to reach the maximum density supportable by adaptations like those represented by the Albany tradition. Alternatively, climatic change may have worsened conditions for big game animals and so cut into the animal populations upon which the people of those times depended for food. The climate seems to have

[1] A now somewhat out-of-date summary is provided in R.R. Inskeep, *The Peopling of Southern Africa* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978); his chart on p. 79 remains especially useful.

become somewhat drier in many parts of tropical Africa at around the sixth millennium BC, but it is not clear what effect such changes would have had in southern Africa, for drier climate often means the spread of grassland and open bush suitable for big game.

A third possibility, one that does not exclude the other two, is that immigration into southern Africa occurred in numbers sufficient to shift the balance of human and game populations decisively against the viability of big game hunting. This hypothesis has a particular appeal because it seems clear that the microlithic tradition entered southern Africa from lands to the north of the Limpopo, where it had already existed for thousands of years. Only a small minority of immigrant hunter-gatherers would have been enough to upset the population balance that made the previous way of life possible, especially if the factors of slow population growth and climatic shift were simultaneously at work in the situation. The incoming people would therefore have helped to create the crisis, but at the same time they would be also the bearers of a solution to it, namely a way of food collecting that produced considerably more sustenance from the same amount of land. Hence, a rapid spreading out of the "Microlithic" frontier could be expected, with the bearers of the new tradition forming the focal points of reorganization of economy and society.

The forces behind the transformation remain speculative propositions in the current state of our knowledge of population densities in those far off times. But they are propositions that make plausible sense of the relative rapidity and thoroughness of the transformation of material life that did take place. The idea that the bearers of the new orientation became the focal points of social realignment is in keeping also with the still hazy indications of the linguistic evidence.

The spread of the Wilton tool industries is in all probability to be associated with the spread of Khoisan languages. Everywhere in southern Africa there appears to be a substratum of Khoisan underlying the usage of the current languages of the region, and wherever the former languages of the late makers of Wilton and Wilton-derived toolkits are known, they turn out to have belonged to the Khoisan family. Leaving aside the considerable nonsense that has been written or spoken about their relationships or non-relationships, it is clear that the Southern African Khoisan tongues form a related group of languages comprised of three primary branches, as was

adequately demonstrated as long ago as the 1920s.[2] These three divisions are rather distantly related to each other, requiring a history of Khoisan divergence within southern Africa of surely more than four or five thousand years, but hardly much more than six or seven thousand years ago, or else their rather obvious interrelationships would be much harder to see.

In addition, the growing body of published Khoisan vocabularies now provides us with the evidence for applying glottochronological methods for estimating the date of the proto-Southern Khoisan divergence into three initial daughter languages. The lowest cognation percentages among the extant languages of the three Southern Khoisan subgroups center around 6-9% for the standard 100-word list of basic vocabulary. This figure projects a date of about the seventh millennium BC for the beginning of the divergence of the proto-Southern Khoisan language into daughter languages (see Cognation Table at the end of this article for sample vocabularies of languages from each of the three subgroups). The initial spreading out of the descendant forms of proto-Southern Khoisan thus matches closely indeed with the dating of the first spread of microlithic tools and of eclectic hunting and gathering across southern Africa, a correlation strongly supporting the identification of Khoisan speaking peoples as the instigators of the Microlithic Transformation. But the continuities in the physical anthropology of southern African peoples before and after this transformation suggests that the changeover was set in motion by a relatively small number of incoming people or by people little different genetically from those already present.

The ability of the economy to support a greater density of human populations after the Microlithic Transformation did not necessarily lead to a growth of social or residential scale. In fact, probably just the opposite took place. Big game hunting requires a considerably larger hunting territory than eclectic food collecting. It also tends to require a larger cooperative group to be successful in its pursuits, since a goodly number of men are needed to flush out, surround, and bring down large game and to carry the meat back to camp. The hunters of the microlithic era, on the other hand, had tools and techniques, such as traps and arrow poisons, that allowed an

[2] D.F. Bleek, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), depends on much poorly recorded and even erroneous data, but a core of material validly supporting this position is contained in it.

individual hunter to be successful on his own. If he went in a group with others, it was with a small group and for companionship. The typical social and economic unit of pre-microlithic times is likely to have been a band of as much as a hundred or more men, women, and children, whereas the typical Khoisan band of recent times and probably throughout the microlithic era had perhaps twenty to forty members and only rarely more. In addition, the plant collecting activities of women would have taken on a much greater importance to the society.

The small size of the social unit after the Microlithic Transformation vitiated the need for any elaborate or formal institutions of decision-making (what one might call, in a later, more complex world, political institutions) or of social loyalty. It is quite conceivable, for instance, that hereditary band-chiefs might have existed in the earlier societies when big game hunting was the rule. Among some of the Central and Northern Khoisan hunter-gatherers today there are band headmen who inherit their mostly symbolic role from their fathers, and this role might be an attenuated latter-day preservation of such an institution. It is also conceivable that clan or lineage institutions may have been necessary encouragements to social cohesion in bands as large as those probable among big game hunters. But if there were such, they disappeared entirely with the Microlithic Transformation. The small bands of the Late Stone Age Khoisan were tied together only by bonds of close consanguinity, marriage, and friendship.

After the Microlithic Transformation, southern Africans must have become considerably nearer to sedentary people than before. Having more mouths to feed and needing more territory to feed each mouth, big game hunters like the Albany people would have had to circulate through a very large hunting territory over the course of a year. The typical band of people after the transformation had a territory probably several times smaller and could have afforded to spend much more of the year in one place, especially a place where rich vegetable food sources were available.

The Microlithic Age of Southern Africa, 5000-500 BC

For the next approximately four thousand years after the Microlithic Transformation, southern African society and economy continued to

have a history. We know as yet unfortunately little about this history, and there is much about the details and even broad outlines of social change that we may never be able to know. But there is much more that will be learned as our archaeological and linguistic knowledge grows.

A few notable developments can already be discerned. The middle Orange River basin appears to have entered a period of exceptionally dry climate and near depopulation during parts of the last few millennia BC. It then was repopulated by peoples speaking languages of the Southern branch of Khoisan some time during or before the first millennium BC. It is these communities, and their descendants, who were responsible for the last great era of rock painting, the fruits of which are found so widely in the Drakensberg, Lesotho, and other parts of the southern Orange River watershed.[3] It was probably also during the millennia immediately following the Microlithic Transformation that the idea of building tidal dams to catch fish took hold along the eastern and southern shores of southern Africa. Evidence such as this of continuing development in food collecting techniques suggests that in some areas population growth, even if ever so slight, continued to play a role in economic change. But no transformation in the overall directions of historical development seems to have taken place.

The Agricultural Transformation Begins: The Herding Frontier, 500 BC to AD 100

Then, at some as yet unlocated point in the second half of the last millennium BC, a second great transformation in the directions of southern African history was set in motion-what may be called the Agricultural Transformation. It came in two stages.

In the first stage, during approximately the last three or four centuries BC, the practice of raising livestock, at first sheep and subsequently cattle, was taken up by certain hunter-gatherer communities of Khoisan and Wilton background living in the central

[3] Attention should be drawn to the outstanding advances made by J.D. Lewis-Williams of the University of the Witwatersrand in understanding the social and cultural roots of this art; cf. his seminal piece "Ethnography and Iconography: Aspects of Southern San Thought and Art," *Man* (N.S.) 15: 467-82.

northern edges of southern Africa, probably in northern or eastern Botswana. Livestock-raising proved quickly to be not just another supplementary activity to the food-collecting economy, however. Animals have much shorter generations than humans, and, protected by people, their populations grow much more rapidly than those of their keepers. In a short time, more grazing land is needed for the animals, thereby setting off the territorial expansion of their owners, providing such lands are available and accessible. In southern Africa of the later first millennium BC, good grazing lands would have lain open in nearly every direction except toward the southern Kalahari. By no later than the first century AD, communities of herders had established themselves hundreds of miles farther south in the coastal areas of the eastern Cape and, by not later than the fourth century, had spread west from there as far as the Cape of Good Hope itself. Other communities of herders had pressed into northern Namibia during the first half of the first millennium AD, presumably deriving their raising of sheep from the westward spread of the ideas and practices of animal husbandry along the north side of the Kalahari region.[4]

The spread of livestock-raising was not just a diffusion of ideas and practices; it involved a significant expansion of people. The origins of Khoikhoi and Kwadi, the languages associated in later times with the resulting mixed herding and hunting economy, can be traced back to eastern and northern Botswana and contain herding vocabulary indicative of their involvement with the initial adoption of livestock raising. The proto-Khoikhoi and proto-Kwadi can be understood as new societies that emerged out of the processes of social change set in

[4] Where the Khoikhoi and Kwadi obtained their livestock is another matter, on which the archaeological evidence is as yet silent; but the linguistic evidence indicates that the animals came from pastoral peoples of East Africa, whose farthest southern outliers may possibly have reached as far as southern Zambia or northeastern Botswana. Their language, contra the proposals in C. Ehret, "The First Spread of Food Production to Southern Africa," in C. Ehret and M. Posnansky (eds.), *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982): 158-81. These peoples are most likely to have spoken an Eastern Sudanic, rather than Central Sudanic language. This correction is made in Ehret, *An African Classical Age: Eastern and Southern Africa in World History, 1000 BC to AD 400* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998) based on new findings on the historical comparative reconstruction of the Nilo-Saharan family of languages, to which both the Central and Eastern Sudanic language groups belong. For now the proposed Eastern Sudanic communities have been treated here as a peripheral contributors to the southern African developments of that era and left out of the discussions in the text of the article.

motion by the adoption of domestic animals and which were enabled by this changeover to expand into distant new areas.[5]

Significant parallels can be drawn between the succession of effects that spread the first stage of the Agricultural Transformation and those hypothesized for the Microlithic Transformation. The major difference is that here the factor triggering expansion can be given probable identification, namely, the more rapid growth of animal population. The bands that adopted livestock would soon have required grazing lands in addition to those provided by their original hunting territories. Because the expanding herding bands also continued to hunt and to collect wild produce, their expansion into the lands of people still living entirely by hunting and gathering immediately cut into the wild resources available to those other communities. Their expansion created a food crisis. But at the same time the intruding herders brought with them a solution to the crisis, for their herding and collecting combined could support several times as many people in the same area of land as could hunting and gathering alone. As a result hunter-gatherers would have had to attach themselves to the herding bands and through clientship begin to acquire their own animals and so in time be assimilated into the newly dominant kind of society. Khoikhoi and Kwadi expansion therefore would have comprised both movement into new areas and a progressive and a piecemeal melding of other peoples into their communities.

As probably also with the Microlithic Transformation, the spread of the first stage of the agricultural transformation led to population growth. Far more people could be fed by the mixed herding and collecting economy, and so the methods, such as infanticide or long weaning periods, which hunter-gatherers of earlier historical periods often had to fall back on if they were to restrain their population growth, could be done without. But in contrast to the developments of the microlithic era, the size of residential and social units also grew, and the need for more formal means of decision-making and social cohesion began to be felt. The solutions to these problems that emerged in Khoikhoi society are known; of the Kwadi we know virtually nothing, however.

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[5] C. Ehret, "The First Spread of Food Production to Southern Africa," in C. Ehret and M. Posnansky (eds.): 158-81.

Among the early Khoikhoi, social loyalties began to be cemented by the development of an institutionalized form of kinship. The informal recognition of a close relationship by blood and marriage in the small hunting band was transformed in the larger herding band into lineage institutions, with the claim of descent from a common male ancestor several generations back forming the glue that held the unit together. As a band grew over-large for its territories, it could split. The newly separated bands would continue to apply the same kinship principles, but could now also see themselves as belonging to a wider group of bands. In the evolving new conceptions, their respective lineages would be segments of a deeper-level kin group, a clan, and would thus share a still more distant common founding ancestor.

In the political sphere a form of chiefship emerged. The position of band headman, known among some of the northerly Khoisan hunters, is the likely basis for the new position. The growth in the size of the unit of people living together and in the quantity of movable wealth—in the form of livestock unevenly distributed among them—would have created a new need for some sort of generally accepted apparatus of dispute solving. The older band headmanship would have been a ready-made position capable of taking on such a new and more influential role in the society. When bands split, the band that was recognized as the one from which the others derived came to be the senior band, and its chief the senior chief of the clan. An even more complex variety of this kind of organization arose among some of Khoikhoi in the present millennium. In the southwestern and southern Cape, groups of clans that recognized still more distant historical connections looked, in theory if not usually in daily affairs, to the senior chief of a senior clan as the paramount leader of what was, in effect, a small kingdom.

The Second Stage of Agricultural Transformation: The Cultivators, 100 BC to AD 300

The second stage of the Agricultural Transformation followed closely, and in fact partially overlapped with, the first stage. Beginning around the turn of the millennium and covering roughly the first three centuries AD, it was characterized by the establishment of a fully agricultural way of life, with both a major cultivating and a lesser

herding component and with only subsidiary reliance on gathered and hunted foods, across the eastern third of southern Africa. Like the first stage of the Agricultural Transformation, the second was marked by the establishment of radically different social and political institutions and by the spread of the languages of those peoples whose ways of life stood at the focal point of transformation. This second stage is relatively well-known archaeologically and is commonly thought of in the historical literature as the inception of the Early Iron Age in southern Africa. The appearance of iron technology at this point is indeed a useful marker in the material record of the time, but is only one element in a more complex picture of transformation.

The spread of the second stage of the agricultural revolution in southern Africa is closely tied to the spread of Bantu languages and associated cultural phenomena. Two major distinctive sets of archaeological cultures belong to the very earliest Iron Age in the southern portion of the continent. The Lydenburg tradition in a variety of forms is found in much of the Transvaal and in Natal, while the Matola tradition is known from southern Mozambique westward into the eastern Transvaal. Two sets of Bantu languages can also be traced back to these times in southern Africa. The proto-Shona language can now, for several reasons, be identified as the language of the makers of the Lydenburg traditions, and it seems probable that proto-Southeast Bantu, from which modem Nguni, Sotho, Tsonga, Venda, and Nyambane languages derive, should have been spoken in approximately the areas from which the Matola finds come.[6] A third early tradition, Gokomere, is known from farther north, in Zimbabwe, but the Bantu language spoken by its makers is likely now to be extinct.

As immigrants into southern Africa, the very earliest proto-Shona and proto-Southeast Bantu would have been relatively few in numbers in their respective areas of settlement. They brought with them many ideas and practices radically different from those prevalent before. In the beginning they probably all resided in villages, a previously unknown pattern of residence. They had hereditary chiefs

[6] T.N. Huffman, "The Origins of Leopard's Kopje: An Eleventh Century Difaquane," *Arnoldia* 8.23 (1978): 1-23; C. Ehret, et. al., "Outlining Southern African History: A Re-evaluation, AD 100-1500," *Ufahamu* 3.1 (1972): 9-27; C. Ehret and M. Kinsman, "Shona Dialect Classification and its Implications for Iron Age History in Southern Africa," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 14 (1981): 401-443.

who had both political roles, not unlike those which Khoikhoi chiefs took on, and roles in the major communal ceremonies, such as those at harvest time, which were not paralleled in Khoikhoi society. The Bantu chiefs' authority probably extended usually no farther than their own local villages. New and strikingly different religious ideas were part and parcel of the cultural baggage of the immigrants, in particular a belief in the preeminent role of the ancestors and a different explanation of the age-old problem of evil, according to which individual malice (in the form of "witchcraft") was a prime factor.

Residing in villages, cultivating close to their homes, and engaging in some hunting and gathering close by, the proto-Shona and proto-Southeast Bantu would at first have formed only a modest threat to the way of life of the hunter-gatherers among whom they settled. But after a few decades, as their numbers increased, as new villages were founded, and as fields were cleared farther from existing villages, they would have begun gradually to encroach on their neighbors' resources. In some areas the process would have been greatly accelerated by a contemporaneous Khoikhoi expansion into some of the same lands. Significant loanwords from Khoikhoi or a closely related language turn up in both proto-Shona and proto-Southeast Bantu, attesting the presence of Khoikhoi-like people in parts of the Transvaal and the Limpopo River watershed. The loans in Southeast Bantu show specifically that these were cattle and sheep-raising Khoikhoi.[7] Unlike the Bantu village folk, the Khoikhoi herders, who still relied to a very great extent on hunting and gathering, would have competed directly with the food collectors for many of the same resources and so would have accelerated the declining viability of a fully independent food-collecting way of life.

In the end, however, it was Bantu languages and cultural values and practices, and not Khoikhoi, which predominated in the eastern third of southern Africa. A variety of explanations can be suggested. One idea that has attained some currency holds that Bantu chiefship was in some way a "stronger" institution than Khoikhoi chiefship. But in the Early Iron Age the differences would have been slight; both kinds of chiefship were probably still always legitimized through their

[7] Ehret, et. al., "Outlining"; Ehret and Kinsman, "Shona Dialect Classification"; Ehret, "First Spread."

ties to localized kin groups.[8] The local kin and community ties of chiefship were probably, in the economic circumstances of the times, more a restraint than a stimulus to chiefly power and influence. A second kind of difference, which would have been of greater practical effect in spreading the second stage of the agricultural transformation at the expense of the first stage, was its greater potential productivity of cultivation per unit of land. Able thus to support a denser population than the mixed herding and hunting economy, cultivation would have allowed a greater rate of natural increase in Bantu-speaking societies and encouraged the kinds of cultural attitudes that reinforce population growth.

But there may have been an even more important advantage of immediate and continuing effect. A Bantu village would have been a manufacturing center for the areas around it. The most important manufactures, new to southern Africa, would have been iron and iron tools. The villagers also made pottery, and it is clear from the archaeological record that this pottery was traded to neighboring hunter-gatherer bands. We suspect that a variety of other products, more perishable and so more difficult to find in the archaeology, such as wooden stools and containers, baskets, and calabash containers, were also produced and exchanged by the village societies.

The people all about the village had only raw materials to offer in return. Hunters had hides and ostrich egg shell to trade, while Khoikhoi would have been able to offer leather and domestic animals as well in exchange for the products of the village. The village would therefore have tended to the focal point of interethnic relations, a magnet to the countryside around it much in the manner of a Medieval European town. The hunters and herders had to come to the village to obtain the things they wanted or had developed the need for, and the Bantu tongue of the village would have become the language of interethnic contact. If and when village expansion encroached on lands of the neighboring communities, the habits of previous contact and

[8] The kin basis of Khoikhoi chiefship has been analyzed by a variety of scholars; the reconstruction of early Bantu chiefship as a clan-based role follows from comparison of the institution as it appears wherever large-scale political organization has not developed among the Eastern Bantu, e.g., among most of the Luyia-speaking groups, among the Nsenga, among certain central Tanzanians such as the Rangi, etc. A more systematic reconstruction of the proposed form of early Eastern Bantu chiefship and its changes in structure in different parts of eastern and southern Africa in the early first millennium AD appears in C. Ehret, *An African Classical Age.*

language use already favored an accommodation in which Bantu ethnicity would prevail.[9]

Agricultural Ways of Life Take Hold, 300-900

By AD 300, the agricultural transformation in its two forms had taken hold through much of the eastern half of southern Africa and along the far south and the northwest of the subcontinent. History did not thereafter grind to a halt, however. The cultivating frontier moved southward a bit, with peoples who made the Shixini variety of the Lydenburg tradition spreading from Natal as far as the present-day Ciskei region by the seventh or eighth century, if not earlier.[10] The herding frontier of the Khoikhoi also spread in a couple of areas—along the Atlantic coast a short distance north of the Cape of Good Hope by the fourth or fifth century and eastward toward the Transkei perhaps as early. The latter expansion, counter to the spread of Shixini people, is known so far only from the linguistic evidence.[11]

In some areas a merging of herding and cultivating economies eventually began to appear, notably in parts of the Transvaal among Lydenburg peoples and apparently among some of the early Southeast Bantu. Chiefs are likely to have been the first conduits of the merger, since political marriages cementing relations between Bantu and Khoikhoi would have brought cattle to Bantu chiefs in exchange for their daughters. (As the Bantu had initially few cattle to offer, such marriages would not normally have gone the other way around.) Then, as the married daughters took their cultivating skills into their affinal society and passed their skills down to their daughters, the distinctions in domestic economy would have begun to break down on the side of the herders as well, reinforcing the other pressures accumulating the Khoikhoi to the Bantu.

Unlike the Microlithic Transformation, the agricultural transformation did not spread all across southern Africa. Requiring usually more than 600 mm. of rain a year and much better suited to

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[9] For an earlier suggestion of this idea, see Ehret, et. al., "Outlining."

[10] M. Hall and J.C. Vogel, "Some Recent Radiocarbon Dates from Southern Africa," *Journal of African History* 21 (1980): 443; R. Defficond, *Prehistoric Man in the Ciskei and Transkei* (Cape Town: Struik, 1977).

[11] Ehret, "First Spread."

some soils than to others, the kinds of cultivation practiced in the Early Iron Age—and thus the Bantu languages associated with them—were generally restricted to areas in the eastern third of the sub-continent. Moreover, the crops brought by Bantu-speaking cultivators sprouted in hot rain seasons; they could not take hold in the winter rainfall environments of the southern and western Cape. Mixed herding and collecting was able to exploit drier environments successfully, and so the more, limited versions of the Agricultural Transformation, associated in the southern Cape with Khoikhoi and in Namibia possibly with Kwadi, were able to take hold in areas with rainfall as low sometimes as 200 mm. a year. But in large areas, the southern Africans remained still largely untouched by fundamental change in values and livelihood. In the southern and central Kalahari region, in much of Namibia, and in the interior of the Cape, the ways of life established in the much earlier Microlithic Transformation were able to persist. Khoisan hunter-gatherers also remained a major factor in the southern high veld and on both sides of the great escarpment.

A Transformation in Political Economy: The "Later Iron Age," 900-1200

The third sweeping transformation in southern African history took place between approximately 900 and 1200. In archeological usage it has been called the Later Iron Age. But there is no indication that changes in iron technology had anything to do with the transformation. The most striking superficial marker of the extent of cultural transformation appears in the ceramic record. All across the eastern half of southern Africa, the pottery styles that had evolved out of those of the original agricultural transformation dropped from use, to be replaced by new or greatly modified styles. In Zimbabwe varieties of what has sometimes been called the Kutama tradition spread in stages northward, appearing first in about the tenth century in far southern parts of the country, and by the thirteenth century reaching the northern edges of the Zimbabwe plateau. Kutama pottery appears to derive from some late version of the Lydenburg wares of the Transvaal.[12] In Natal and the Transkei and all across the Transvaal, other new pottery types, often not yet fully defined and adequately

[12] Huffman, "Origins."

compared to one another, also took hold. Similar changes in ceramics are probable in central southern Mozambique,[13] but the archaeological knowledge of those areas is as yet insufficient.

It was a period of economic transformation as well. Wherever the new cultures took hold, cattle-keeping emerged as a major domestic occupation, and the raising of large herds of cattle became commonplace among southern African cultivators. The shift was most striking in Zimbabwe and Natal where the Early Iron Age villagers had kept very few cattle. In the Transvaal, where the transformation appears to have first begun, cattle may have been of increasing importance among cultivators for centuries before 900, and the changeover may not have been so strongly marked or so abrupt. The transformation also extended fully mixed agriculture into areas apparently new to such an economy—into parts of eastern Botswana and the southern high veld where hunting peoples and herders with mixed herding and collecting economies previously predominated.

After the Later Iron Age transformation had run its course, the various pottery traditions newly implanted then continued generally in use and evolved into the kinds of pottery made by recent peoples: Shona in language in Zimbabwe; Sotho-speaking in the high veld, eastern Botswana and much of the Transvaal; and Nguni below the great escarpment to the cast. In the cases of Zimbabwe and the Natal-Transkei regions, studies of linguistic evidence indicate that the patterns of successive dialect divergence and the degree of overall divergence within both Shona and Nguni groups accord well with the patterns and timing of spread of the cultural and economic transformations revealed in the archaeological record. What little can yet be said about the time depth of Sotho dialect divergence also puts the initial Sotho expansions roughly within the same period 900-1200.[14] Hence the establishment of the major modem Bantu speech communities across the eastern half of southern Africa seems in its broad outlines to have been largely a consequence of the Later Iron Age period of transformation.

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[13] See suggestions of Ehret and Kinsman, "Shona Dialect Classification."

[14] See Ehret and Kinsman, "Shona Dialect Classification," for Shona; Nguni patterns are proposed in the doctoral dissertation of Carolan Postma Ownby, UCLA; unpublished materials of G.Y. Okihiro, L. Fliegelman, and C. Ehret put the maximum Sotho divergence at somewhere in the broad range of about a thousand years ago.

The tendency in some archaeological scholarship in southern Africa in the 1970s and 1980s was to smooth over the differences between Early and Later Iron Age populations, to see changes as due to shifts in economy and not to shifts in ethnicity. But the language evidence is quite clear: new Bantu languages came to be spoken nearly everywhere in southeastern Africa—in Zimbabwe, in Natal and the Transkei, and in most of the interior High Veld regions—in each case during a period of time failing somewhere in the range of 1000 AD, give or take a century of two. Most certainly, changes took place in economic orientations and in the balance between different productive activities, and often in the kinds of lands exploited by food-producing communities. But these changes, time and again, or so the linguistic evidence requires, were accompanied by, or were the accompaniment of, shifts in people's cultural self identifications.

What set off so sweeping a transformation? The outstanding recurrent feature in the archaeology is the growing, and sometimes even abruptly increased, number of cattle remains in many sites in many areas. What makes this an arresting correlation is the evidence that the shift to large-scale cattle-raising seems to have had an earlier, more gradual evolution in some parts of the Transvaal, where the accompanying cultural transformation seems first to have taken shape. The addition of extensive cattle raising by the Early Iron Age cultivators would indeed have increased their abilities to cope with the open grasslands of the high veld and to make successful use of the drier lands of western Transvaal and eastern Botswana, marginal to people relying on cultivation alone. In Natal and southwards from there toward the eastern Cape, possession of cattle would also have increased the flexibility of fanning adaptations and opened up more environments to agricultural expansion. Again the more rapid growth of cattle than human population could have helped encourage expansion.

But why should the nearly universal result be the cultural and linguistic assimilation of the cultivators already established in different areas into the societies of the expanding mixed agriculturists? Both assimilators and assimilated would have had similar background in the production of manufactured goods and would have produced a very similar array of items. Both had similarly productive subsistence systems. In fact, in favored areas the assimilated groups could have

supported, if anything, denser populations with their economies than their culturally successful competitors and successors.

One striking difference in the social and political order, directly linked to cattle keeping, appears, however, to have favored the expanding groups. In the dominant Sotho, Nguni, and Shona communities of recent centuries, chiefs were no longer hereditary leaders of small, local village-based clans, as can be reconstructed for the earliest Iron Age Bantu-speaking peoples, but belonged to chiefly or royal lineages separate from the clans and lineages to which the great majority of their societies belonged. Chiefs, and in time kings, also stood at the center of redistributive networks, and the major item whose redistribution they controlled was cattle. What can be proposed to have taken place with the growth of cattle keeping was growth in chiefly power and prerogatives.

The chiefs of the early Eastern Bantu communities, such as those settling in southeastern Africa at the beginning of the Iron Age, appear to have had a few more options for exerting their influence than did Khoikhoi chiefs. Their centrality to community ritual has already been pointed out. More to the point, however, is a piece of linguistic evidence on the economic significance of the chiefly role. The very ancient Bantu use of the metaphor "owner" (*mu-ene) for their chiefs suggests that such leaders were seen as acting, at least symbolically, for the community as whole in matters of property. Chiefs would have been the spokespersons in inter-community negotiations; they would have been the intermediaries on behalf of the community in trade relations with outsiders. In instances of war with neighbors, they would have been the redistributors of captured goods, such as cattle, among their people. They also, through their roles as the final mediators of disputes and as enunciators of court judgments, would have been the collectors of penalties levied on behalf of the community. All these factors would recurrently have worked to replenish and sustain a chief's position as first in wealth in his society.

In addition, it is probably during this period that patrilineal reckoning of descent fully took hold among southern African Bantu-speaking communities. The matrilineal patterns reconstructed for the earliest Bantu settlers south of the Zambezi dropped from use. In part, this changeover may have something to do with the growing importance of cattle, which were owned and controlled by men, in the social and economic relations of the time. The patrilineal ordering of

kinship relations that evolved among the early Khoikhoi may have had an influence, too, in furthering this kind of development.

Once cattle became available in quantity, some ex-clan chiefs more successfully than others would have been able to take advantage of their positions as the focus of community acquisition and disposal of property to further increase their personal herds. With very large herds, chiefs would have been able to reward and attract followers with gifts of cattle. Contracting numerous marriage alliances, they would further have been able to cement their influential position, just as chiefs and kings of later times in southern Africa have sought to do. They would have therefore gained the means of expanding their power and influence well beyond the limits of the small communities their ancestors had led. Very large chiefdoms and even small kingdoms could thereby arise for the first time in southern Africa-the old chiefly prerogatives of formerly limited practical effect having been transformed into the basis of rule because of greater chiefly access to a new form of property.

The hypothesized process would not necessarily end at that point. Many wives would mean many chiefs' sons, more of whom would be likely to aspire to rule than could succeed their fathers. Hence a not unlikely secondary effect would be the movement of ambitious sons into new areas with their followers and cohorts, setting up new chiefdoms over the peoples already living there, and this process could repeat itself for several generations until the environmental limits of successful large-scale cattle raising were reached. In the expansion of rule into areas beyond the original small kin territories and over other kin groups, chiefship would become detached from its earlier kin basis, and chiefly and royal families would become the movable social units they often form in subsequent history.

In recent centuries the movement of ruling families has sometimes, but not always, brought cultural and linguistic shift. But by those times the principles of power were a cultural second nature already among rulers and ruled alike. In the Later Iron Age transformation, however, the kind of powers taken on by chiefs, and the kinds of relations through which individuals rose to prominence, were new to most southern Africans. If events at all approximated those hypothesized here, a fundamental transformation in people's perceptions of how the world worked would have had to come about.

And if so, it would not be surprising that the outward cultural paraphernalia, e.g., the pottery styles and languages, of the enforcers of the new perceptions had spread with them.

The Aftermath of the Later Iron Age Transformation, 1200-1650

The centuries following the Later Iron Age transformation were a period of varied kinds of growth and change in politics and economic relations. The areas of Nguni speech spread farther south below the escarpment partly through the splitting off of scions of chiefly families with their followers to set up new chiefdoms and small kingdoms. By the fourteenth century the forefront of the southern Nguni advance was beginning to incorporate former Cape Khoikhoi communities, as well as the remaining Early Iron Age Bantu people, living south of the Umzimvubu and Umzimkulu river areas.[15] A late stage of Nguni spread into areas marginal to African crops carried the social and cultural transformation of the Later Iron Age as far as the Suurveld by the mid-eighteenth century.

On the high veld and in eastern Botswana a drawn-out process of reorganization of political allegiances, again focused on the movement of chiefly families, seems to have been underway during the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries.[16] In parts of the southern high veld, such movements, involving other members of Sotho societies than just chiefs, spread the Sotho version of the Later Iron Age cultivating and herding economy into areas probably inhabited previously only by Southern Khoisan hunter-gatherers.

New patterns of residence arose as well. The Nguni expansion was accompanied by the spread of a preference for living in hamlets of few related families in place of the earlier habits of living in villages. In many Sotho-speaking areas, on the other hand, towns of up to a few thousand inhabitants eventually made their appearance. The determinants of these changes are as yet uncertain, but in both cases the principles of economy and rule argued to have been established between 900 and 1200 continued to be followed.

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[15] C. Ownby, *Early Nguni History: The Linguistic Evidence and its Correlation with Archaeology and Oral Tradition* (Doctoral dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1985).

[16] M. Legassick, "The Sotho-Tswana Peoples Before 1800" in L. Thompson (ed.), *African Societies in Southern Africa* (New York: Praeger, 1969).

Most arresting of all was the emergence of quite large and sometimes quite wealthy and powerful kingdoms between the Limpopo and the Zambezi, and the development within these kingdoms of an unprecedented monumental architecture in stone, indicative of the powers of the kings to mobilize labor. The beginnings of these developments appear at Mapungubwe on the south side of the Limpopo in the mid and later twelfth century, then shift northward in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to Great Zimbabwe, where a major kingdom seems to have had its capital. The peak of architectural development came at Great Zimbabwe itself, although large structures continued to be built in some of its successor kingdoms for another three centuries. In the fifteenth century two new kingdoms, of the Mutapa in northern Zimbabwe and of Torwa in the southwest, replaced the single Zimbabwean kingdom of the preceding two centuries. These various polities added a new level of political complexity to southern African history by attaching lesser kingdoms and chiefdoms as tributaries. Some of the lesser and sometimes independent kingdoms, such as Manyika and Kiteve, were themselves far larger and stronger than any of the contemporary polities south of the Limpopo. Finally, in the later seventeenth century, both Torwa and Mutapa gave place to another kingdom, that of the Rozwi, which was to dominate the Zimbabwe plateau down to the nineteenth century.

The rise of large kingdoms seems connected to something else new to southern Africa-long distance international trade. East African merchants seeking gold and ivory first arrived at the Mozambique coast at about the ninth or tenth century, when the Later Iron Age transformation was just beginning in the interior, but the effects of this trade did not start to be felt inland until two or three centuries later. The archaeological finds of imported goods, such as glass beads and Asian ceramics, at places like Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe, and the later written testimonies make the importance of the trade connection clear. The trade, it can be proposed, created a large and greatly expansible new body of moveable, redistributable wealth, the access to which could be controlled by kings and the redistribution of which could greatly enhance royal power and influence. Yet the same fundamental principles as those established at the inception of the Later Iron Age were still in place. The scale of political organization had grown, but the redistributive economic basis of royal authority remained in effect. And when wealth obtained in trade declined in

significance, cattle keeping could quickly regain its primary importance-which indeed may never have lost-in the maintenance of royal and chiefly power, as the example of the Rozwi kingdom in the eighteenth century shows.[17]

The coming of the Portuguese to the trade in the sixteenth century did not change the principles of statecraft. The Iberians, after a century of trying, were able to insinuate themselves into the internal affairs of one of the kingdoms, that of the Mutapa, to a greater extent than the East African Swahili traders of the pre-sixteenth century era had been able. But in the end, the Rozwi rulers neutralized any threat the Portuguese might have presented to the fundamental order of life in highland Zimbabwe.

The Later Iron Age transformation, like the agricultural transformation, by no means reached all of southern Africa. Its natural environment seems to have been the regions, generally speaking the eastern half of southern Africa, where both cultivation of African crops and the extensive raising of cattle were possible. The two activities together could support a sufficient population to allow larger-scale political organization than the village or neighborhood-level to develop; and the ownership of cattle in large numbers provided the means of exerting chiefly power over such a society. Through much of the western half of the subcontinent, the older Microlithic Transformation had never been superseded. In eastern Botswana the fringe areas of the Later Iron Age Transformation interpenetrated those where the microlithic adaptation remained viable, and an unusual partial transformation came into being by the seventeenth or eighteenth century, in which people of the microlithic background maintained their kind of livelihood, but owed a sort of tribute and were treated as a subordinate social stratum by the dominant Sotho-speaking communities.

At the far southern side of southern Africa and in parts of Namibia, the leading communities of the four or five centuries after 1200 still derived their social principles and their economic basis from the first stage of the Agricultural Transformation, which began in the latter first millennium BC. Some expansion of this way of life into new areas took place through the settlement of the Nama Khoikhoi just

[17] S.I. Mudenge, "The Role of Foreign Trade in the Rozvi Empire: A Reappraisal," *Journal of African History* 15 (1974): 357-371.

south of the mouth of the Orange River and their subsequent expansion by about the seventeenth century through central Namibia. In the eastern Cape the control of a key point of exchange in interregional trade networks apparently helped project one Khoikhoi chiefdom, Inqua, to a position of special prominence by the seventeenth century. But Inqua's dominant position over the chiefdoms west of it was still expressed in the idiom of kinship seniority, even if the proceeds of the trade provided a more practical basis for its power and influence.[18]

The Atlantic Transformation, 1650 to the present

Then, in the second half of the seventeenth century, came the start of the fourth great period of transformation in the directions of southern African history. It began with the establishment of new forms of production and new relations between people and land and work in the far southwest corner of the Cape. In the eighteenth century and even more in the nineteenth, the new kinds of social and economic relations spread widely and rapidly across the face of southern Africa. In the nineteenth century the beginnings of industrialization in those areas where the transformation was already in progress reinforced the advantages of the new order and helped accelerate the retreat of the Later Iron Age world.

It was not at all clear that the patterns of economy newly introduced by, or newly created within the wide sphere of, Dutch settlement at the Cape had an inevitable advantage in and of themselves. The disaster of epidemics, after all, opened the way to the eighteenth century expansion of the Cape frontiers, and the more numerous societies of the Southern Nguni were able effectively to shunt this expansion aside at the close of the century. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the set of notable political and economic reorganizations in Natal and far southern Mozambique, the so-called Mfecane, arose out of conflicts rooted in the values and in the valuations of material life established in the preceding era of transformation. Out of the Mfecane came a great reorganization of the political and social allegiances of the Nguni peoples living in Natal,

[18] G. Hazinck, "Interaction between Xhosa and Khoi: Emphasis on the Period 1620-1750," in L. Thompson, *African Societies*; R. Elphick, *Kraal and Castle: Khoikkoi and the Founding of White South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977) chapter 3.

and the repercussions of these developments extended into Southwestern Zimbabwe and southern Mozambique.

But the effects of the new Atlantic Transformation soon conjoined with those of the "Mfecane." In the interior basin of the Orange River, the effects on the raids of the Griqua—a people whose origins in part traced back to the early Dutch settlements at the Cape and who took up many of the material introductions of the Atlantic world, such as guns and horses—were compounded by a spillover in the 1820s of the Mfecane onto the High Veld. The new kingdoms that emerged out of this period of turmoil were often far larger than the many chiefdoms and small kingdoms previously in existence. In some cases something quite new, a sense of nationality, began to evolve from these developments. But by mid-nineteenth century, the Mfecane states too were becoming part of the new transformation.

Once again in this modern, Atlantic era of transformation—as in the earlier Merolithic, Agricultural, and Later Iron Age transformations—new and different forms of social and political organization, new beliefs and values, and new languages spread at the same time as fundamental change in the relations of production. The ongoing shift of most southern Africans to urban centers is likely to be an irreversible consequence of the transformation of residence patterns. And because of the fundamental change in methods of production that has come about, purchase has once and for all replaced production for personal use as the main source of the things people need to carry on life.

Like the Microlithic Transformation, but unlike the Agricultural and Later Iron Age transformations, the fourth period has shown the capacity to spread its effects across the whole of southern Africa. It is a transformation still very much in process. It may have yet a century or two to go before it has run its full course. The shape of the world that will emerge out of it and the fundamental principles by which that world will be organized are still in doubt, and unlike the previous transformations, its outcome depends on events outside of southern Africa as well as inside it. But whatever its specific outcome, it will be a far different world from any that preceded it in the earlier eras of southern African history.

SAMPLE KHOISAN 100-WORD LISTS (proposed cognates shown in boldface)

	!XOO	JU|'HOAN	NAMA
1. I	n̄	mí	tita
2. you (sing.)	**āh('a)**	**à ; há** (hortative)	sats (m.); sas (f.)
3. we	**'ɪsɪ̀**	è (excl.); m (incl.)	**si**-khum, etc.
4. who	**èh**	**hè, yè**	taripa
5. what	èh	hatcé	tare. tae
6. this	tV'V	hè, kè, kèhè	ne-
7. that	**tV'V**	**to'à**	nau
8. one	ǂ'ûã	n|è'é	|kui
9. two	ǂnûm	tsàn, tsàqn	|kam
10. three	||âe	n!àni	!nona
11. many	||áli ; |xaV, xaBV	ǂhái (v.)	ǂkui-
12. all	kõo ka'ã	wàqnsi ; wècè(si) ; **hòàràkà**	**hoa-**
13. full	**l'õla**	g!à'ín; ||'àbù; ||'ábé	**loa**-sa ; ||ã-sa
14. big	|xaV, pl. |xaBV; ||áli	n!a'àn (v. s. subj.); !àè (v. pl. subj.)	kai
15. long	l'ám ; l'ãá (pl.)	gǂà'ɪ́n (v.)	kaxu
16. small	l'ûi ; q'án-tâ (pl.)	tzèmà, tzè (v.)	ǂkari
17. round	'ǂnú'm	g!kà (v.)	!kupu
18. good	qáî	jàn	!kãi
19. dry	||úa (v)	l'ò (v.)	ǂna-sa
20. new	||quV	zé ; zàqí (v.)	la-sa
21. white	|nú-ŋa	!à'ú (v.)	!uri
22. red	**làh-ŋa**	g!ààn (v.)	**lapa**
23. yellow	gǂqhúi ; ǂnàhi ; ||gá'u	ó g||oqnìgú (v.)	!huni
24. ash	ǂgòa	toq	tsao-p

	!XOO	JUI'HOAN	NAMA
25. smoke	ts'kx'âje	córà ; g!oh ; !'hom	lan-i (*lkxan-)
26. fire	ǂà'ā	dà'á ; ǁxòè	lae-s
27. to burn	⊙'ái ; ⊙'áa (tr.)	kù'ú	tāu ; kxau
28. hot	⊙'ái ; ǁâo ; kûbi	khúí	lkam-
29. sun	ǁ**'ân**	lám ; khà-ǁ**'án**	sore-s
30. moon	!qhàn	n!úí	ǁxā-p
31. star	ǁōna	ǂuhn	lkamiro-p
32. fish		ǁ**'áú**	ǁ**lau-p**
33. to swim		djxà	tsā
34. cold	ǁâ'ū (n.)	ǂà'ú (v.)	!xai
35. wet	!qhàa ; ts'kx'àn-i/ -âa	dcì ; lòm	lā ; ǁama
36. water	!qhàa	g!ú	ǁkam-i
37. rain	!kx'ôe	g!à ; nlòqí	lapi-p
38. cloud	!qhàa glqhūā	g!à!kúí	lnanu-p
39. night	lʉe	g!ú, g!uh	tsuxu-p
40. black	ǂá'ŋa	**nǂù**	**ǂnu**
41. mountain	**!ùhm**	**n!óm** ; lxúnı́	**!hom** ; lui-p
42. stone	lnūle	n!óm	lui-p
43. earth	ǂkx'ûm	kxà, kxàlḿó	!hu-p
44. sand	ǂkx'ûm	kxà	ǁxae-p
45. louse	⊙néõ	nǂàq ; **kxúrı́**	**uri-p** (*kxuri-)
46. to fly	dzāhī	n!om	ǁana
47. bird	lgūh'u	tzàmà	ani-p
48. feather	glqhūā	!kúí	!am-s
49. hair (of head)	**glqhùā**, **lqhùā**	!kúí	**lu-p**
50. root	glkx'ābu	ǁàrì ; g!anì	!noma-p

	!XOO	JU|'HOAN	NAMA
51. foot	ǂnùū ; ǁq'ólo ; ùā	**ǁkáı́**	**ǂai-p**
52. bone	ǂàā	!'ú	ǂko-p
53. knee	gǁxúū ǀnàn	g!xòà	ǁkoa-p
54. to go	sâa	ú	!ku ; 'i
55. to come	**sīi, sî i**	**tsı́**; gǀàè	ha
56. path	ǂ́olo ; dùba	n!àmà ; ǂhà	tao-p
57. green	ǁnèhba	lauhn (v.)	!am
58. grass	**ǁkx'ǎā**	**ǁ'àı̂**-sì	ǃā
59. leaf	ǀgāna	n!ù'úbú ; dòàqrà	ǂkais
60. tree	dàna ; 'ʘnàje	!aı̀n	hai-s
61. egg	ǂgúā	n!ù	!upu-s
62. bark	gúle (dry); tsāhbi	nǁoq'òrò	soro-p
63. skin	ǂcā'no	nǀó	kxo-p
64. meat	ʘàje, ʘàā	!há	ǁkan-i
65. fat	sàa	nǀáı́	ǁnui-p
66. person	tâa	jù	kxoe-p
67. woman	tâa qáe ; ǀàā (pl.)	dshàú	tara-s
68. man	tâa àa; ǁxàā (pl.)	!'hoàn	ao-p
69. to give	!qháā	ǃ'àn ; ǂ́òànà ; xáró	ma
70. hand	ǀkx'àa	g!áu	!om-s
71. nail	ǁgà'm ; **ǁqûle**	ù'úrú	**ǁkoro-p**
72. tail	ǀàū	!xúı́	ǂare-p
73. horn	**ǁāē**	!hú	**ǁnā-p**
74. head	**ǀnàn**	**nǀái**	tana-s
75. eye	ǃ'ûī	gǀà'á	mū-s
76. to see	ǀnāā	ho ; sé	mū
77. to know	ǀgûmā	!'hàn	ǂan
78. to hear	**táā**	**tsà'á**	ǁnāu

	!XOO	JUI'HOAN	NAMA
79. ear	ǂnùhã	l'húí	ǂkai-s
80. nose	ǁnùhŋa	tzún ; **ǂu ì hn**	**ǂkui-s**
81. tongue	'lnèn	dharì	nam-s (*dam-)
82. to say	té'ẽ ; tám	kò ; nǁá, nǁàè	mũ
83. mouth	ǂûe	**kxám** ; tzí	**am-s** (*kxam-)
84. name	làũ	!ú	lon-s
85. to eat	'ãã	'm	ǂũ
86. to bite	sí 'i	n!áí	nã
87. to drink	**kx'ãhã**	tchì	**a** (*kxa)
88. tooth	ǁqhàã	nǁah ; tzàù	ǁkũ-p
89. neck	ǂkx'àõ	!ài n	!ao-p
90. belly	!hũma	g!ú	!nã-p
91. breast	gǂqhèẽ	kù	sam-s
92. heart	lq'àn	!ká ; ǂáó	ǂkao-p
93. liver	ǁnàm	tchín	ãi-s (*kxãi-)
94. blood	lnàa	l'áng ; jaq 'à	lau-p
95. to stand	ǁhûũ ; ǁnʉhã	n!ún (sing. subj.); gǁà (pl. subj.)	mã
96. to sit	tshûu ; !ãã (pl.)	nlang (sing. subj.); g!hòó (pl. subj.)	ǂnõa
97. to lie	**tûu**	**cú** (sing. subj.); g‡á (pl. subj.)	ǁkoe
98. to sleep	⊙ân	tzá ; ǂ'hám	ǁom
99. to die	l'âa	!áí (sing. subj.); !àò (pl. subj.)	ǁo
100. to kill	qâl	!hún (sing. ubj.); !'óán (pl. subj.)	!kam