SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN PRECOLONIAL NAMIBIA: A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS*

by

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The following points should be borne in mind in relation to the subject matter of this paper:

1. Namibia is presently under the illegal colonial regime of South Africa. This means that little work has been done to develop an historiography of Namibia independent from that of South Africa.

2. Prior to South African colonial rule, Namibia was part of the German colonial empire (German South West Africa); hence material written during and about the late 19th and early 20th centuries is in German. A few of these books have been translated, most notably, South-West Africa Under German Rule 1894-1914, by Helmut Bley and Let Us Die Fighting by Horst Dreschler.

3. For the precolonial era, one book (Vedder: Southwest Africa in Early Times, 1938) has been cited more than any other. Even if all the author's observations are accurate, the book was written nearly fifty years ago by a member of the European clergy thus his interpretation and point of view are in need of revision. Travelers' accounts, a few anthropological and ethnographic studies, relating for the most part to the hunting and gathering populations, and a small body of linguistic work complete the literature. Obviously little effort has been made toward an historical approach which would utilize material from all available disciplines and which would be produced in English.

4. There has been material, in English, since the time of Michael Scott (A Time to Speak, 1958), which gives a view of Namibia under the Germans and the South Africans and of the crimes against the Namibian

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people. Unfortunately, and in spite of the best intentions, this material often casts Namibians as victims, people who have been able to exert no control over their destiny.

Since 1966, when the South West Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO) decided to take military action against the South African oppressors, Namibians have reasserted their right to control their country. This action has caused much attention to be focused on the German colonial period up to the present but little attention has been paid to the possibilities for exploring precolonial Namibian history.

Thus, the first task of an historian interested in Namibia is to develop an approach oriented specifically to the Namibian people, which allows for the identification of the different language (ethnic) groups, to see where the people migrated from, who their neighbors were, how they interacted with each other, how they produced their subsistence, whether or not they produced a surplus, whether that surplus was traded and with whom and what their social structures were. The reasons for adopting a Namibian oriented historical approach are three-fold: first, the effort provides the present-day Namibian people with a basis for writing their own history. Secondly, the endeavor facilitates the development of an education based on what Namibians understand about themselves and their country. Thirdly, this knowledge is a Namibian sense of belonging in the world community, both in precolonial times as well as today. This may sound patronizing in expression, but the intention is well meant. One way the academic community can act in solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination is to provide some of the educational tools which have hitherto been withheld.

In those societies where writing was not developed, comparative and historical linguistics provide a means for investigating the past, at least in outline form. How linguistic inferences, discernible from languages spoken in Namibia, Botswana and southern Angola, can be used to outline Namibian history and thus enrich the historiography of the region, forms the focus of this paper.

Identification of Language Groups

Namibia is a land mass of 318,261 square miles, about twice the size of California, with a population of just over one million people, of whom one-eighth are Europeans. The major African ethnic groups in Namibia today were represented in precolonial Namibia. In the 1870s, the Herero, Nama and Damara occupied the central plateau areas: the Herero to the

north, the Nama to the south and the Damara in the center. Some of the Damara lived interspersed with the Herero and Nama groups; others lived independently in the Erongo Mountains and other remote areas. According to Vedder, the Herero had migrated to the Kaokoveld area in the northwest at one time. Later they retreated further south and east, across the country from the coast to Gobabis. He also states that some Herero remained in the Lake Ngami area of present-day Botswana.[1]

In the foreword to Frank Vivelo's book about the Herero in Botswana, Gordon D. Gibson says,

> *Some of the Tjimba were Herero who had lost their cattle through wars, famines, or pestilence and had reverted to a hunting and gathering mode of life. Many of these have now reacquired cattle and consider themselves Herero again. But other Tjimba recently found living in a remote mountainous region of the Kaokoveld appear to be the decendants of a people who never kept domestic animals for food, who contrast physically with the Herero, but who nevertheless speak a dialect of the Herero language* (MacCalman and Grobklaar, 1965). *It is my guess that these latter Tjimba will be found to be related to the Kwisi or Bergdama [Damara]*[2]

Various hunting and gathering societies occupied the Namib Desert along the coast and areas to the northeast and east on the border with present-day Botswana. These peoples were also interspersed with other groups through the area of present-day Namibia, southern Angola and Botswana.

The Ovambo are divided into subgroups among whom the Kwanyama and Ndonga are representative. They live in the middle Kunene River region and extend south into Namibia. They were in the habit of crossing the river frequently until the South African government closed the border with Angola after the First World War. The Ovambo were also the group least affected by the German colonial period as they fought fiercely to keep the colonizers out of their territory. In any case, the Germans already had their hands full with trying to control the Nama and Herero.[3]

To the east of the Ovambo groups are six others occupying the Okavango River area and the Caprivi Strip: namely the Kwangari, Bunya, Chokwe, Sambiu, Djiribu and Mbukushu. In Sanguali, the southwest corner of East Caprivi, are the Yeyi people; to the east of them are the Subia.

Linguistically speaking, the Herero, Ovambo groups, Okavango River people and those described as residing in the Caprivi Strip are Bantu speakers and fall into the Bantu sub-branch of the Benue-Congo branch of the Niger-Congo family. Also living in the Caprivi and most other parts of Namibia were (and are) a number of hunting and gathering societies, such as the !Kung, whose languages belong variously to the Northern and Central branches of the Khoisan language family. The Nama, along with the Damara, are also speakers of languages which belong to the Northern and Central branches of the Khoisan family.

Southwest Bantu - Luyana

Of the Bantu speaking communities, the Herero, Ovambo groups, Okavango River peoples, such as the Kwangari, and several peoples of the Huile Highlands (south central Angola), typified by the Nyaneka, belong to an easily recognizable Southwest Bantu language group. A further language, Luyana, must be included with Southwest in a wider language grouping (Luyana-Southwest). Yeyi is perhaps an additional more distant member of this group, but owing to an inadequacy of information material, it is not included in this study. Luyana, the language of the pre-19th century Lozi Kingdom, is spoken in the flood plain region of the Zambezi along the northeast edge of the Caprivi.

Lozi is actually a dialect of Sotho, which was introduced during the rule of the Makololos in the mid-19th century. Since this introduction of Lozi is recent it does not figure in the linguistic history.

The Ila-Tonga (Subia) people are also not included, as they are located further east in the middle eastern Zambezi and thus are not directly germane to this study.

All of the material used for the following analysis is taken from published sources. Because of the unevenness of the available sources, this study is indeed preliminary. Field collection of additional linguistic data and its correlation with the available archaeological evidence and with the ongoing work of archaeologists and other scholars will be necessary to complement the outline of Namibian history presented here.

Kwanyama was chosen to represent the Ovambo groups; Herero for that group; and Kwangari to represent the Okavango River peoples. Nyaneka, which is spoken in the Huile Highlands of south central Angola,[4] was included to tie in the Namibian language groups with other Southwest Bantu speakers, and Luyana represents the other half of Luyana-Southwest. The chart below represents percentages of cognation between the various languages. These were obtained from a lexicostatistical analysis

of a basic vocabulary list of ninety-five words. How these cognate percentages reveal the split off of the Southwest groups from the Luyana group is shown below and in Appendix I.

Kwanyama				
74	Nyaneka			
67	65	Herero		
66	64	69	Kwangari	
59	60	64	65	Luyana

The lower the cognation percentage, the more ancient the split must be. Here the lowest range (59-65%), between Luyana and all the others, represents the first split. The next range, from 65-69%, marks the Southwest group proper. The Southwest subgroup is divided into three branches: Herero, Kwangari and Kunene River languages (represented by Kwanyama and Nyaneka). The division between Ovambo languages (represented by Kwanyama) and the remainder of Kunene River (represented by Nyaneka) has a cognation percentage of 74, making this the most recent diversion.

By general reckoning, mid-low seventy percent range represents a divergence of about 1000 years; while a percentage in the low to mid-fifties represents somewhere on the order of 2000 years separation. Thus, it appears, the initial split of Luyana-Southwest lies somewhere around mid-first millenium A.D. The second divergence of Southwest into the three subgroups (Herero, Kwangari, Kunene River) would seem to have taken place in the second half of the first millenium; while diversion of the Kunene River group and the emergence of the Ovambo took place in the early centuries of the present millenium (refer to Appendix II).

The Luyana-Southwest homeland (point of origin) is presumed to be in the Barotseland region of the Zambezi because Luyana speakers still reside there and the Southwest languages have been related to Luyana. Application of the least-moves hypothesis indicates a progressive spread south and west from the homeland, into Caprivi, across the Kavango and westward to the lower reaches of the Kunene during the last centuries of the first millenium which would put the Ovambo near their present location early in the present millenium.

In addition to the 95-word list, a larger list (approximately 184 words) was collected for Kwanyama, Nyaneka, Herero and Kwangari in order to attempt the reconstruction of the phonological system of Southwest Bantu.

Kenneth Baucom's 1974 article, "The Wambo Languages of South West Africa and Angola"[5] has proved helpful in analyzing the Bantu languages in the Angola-Namibia border area. He has

divided them into five clusters: Wambo, Kavango, Hoanib, Ngala and Umbundu, which he calls the Kunene-Kubango group of Bantu languages, noting that they are classified by Guthrie[6] in Zone R. The bulk of Baucom's article is devoted to a more detailed analysis of the phonological system of the Wambo languages in particular. Using his classification, the sample languages used for this study fall into the following groups: Kwanyama represents the Wambo cluster, Kwangari the Kavango, Herero the Hoanib and Nyaneka the Ngala. What is different between his analysis and this study is that here the Wambo and Ngala are considered to be one group at the time of their divergence from Kavango (Kwangari) and Hoanib (Herero). Furthermore, the connection of the Kunene-Kubango group with Luyana needed to be accounted for. Finally, studies by Ehret[7] and Papstein[8] indicate that Umbundu is quite distinct, not belonging with the other four groups.

The following examples reveal the phonetic comparisons of representative words from Kwanyama, Nyaneka, Herero and Kwangari follow:

1. In Herero and Kwangari, 'l' regularly becomes 'r', thus indicating 'l' is reconstructable for proto-Southwest Bantu but 'r' is not. Baucom's research appears to bear this out insofar as he does not reconstruct 'r' for proto-Wambo (Kwanyama, Ndonga, etc.).

Take three examples to represent sixteen other such comparisons:

	nose	tongue	knee
Herero	e uru	eraka	ongoro
Kwangari	ezuru	eraka	ngoro
Nyaneka	eyulu	elaka	ongolo
Kwanyama	ejulu	elaka	ongolo

2. 't' is reconstructable for proto-Southwest but its voiced counterpart, 'd', is not apparent from the data collected for this paper; however, Baucom reconstructs 'd' for proto-Wambo.[9] In this case additional data collection would be necessary in order to verify the presence of both 't' and 'd' in proto-Southwest. It may be that 'd' is not properly separate but part of 'nd'.

3. Five vowels are reconstructable for proto-Southwest: *a, *i, *e, *u, and *o. Baucom states that, "It would appear that proto-Wambo indicates a stage when the seven vowels of earlier Bantu had been reduced to five with a corresponding

increase in the consonant inventory."[10] It seems likely that additional collection of lexical items will confirm the reconstruction of five vowels for proto-Southwest Bantu as well.

The value of this kind of reconstruction to historians is that, when a proto-language is reconstructed, a society who spoke the language is, by implication, also known to exist. The reconstructable vocabulary of the proto-language reveals information concerning what kind of activities people engaged in. For example, the collection of words for iron and metal-working in several of the Southwest Bantu languages would indicate an existence of a people who had knowledge of this activity between 500-700 A.D. in the proto-Southwest homeland.

Identification of Non-Bantu Populations

Archaeological evidence suggests that the western and eastern streams of Early Iron Age culture came into contact with each other in the Upper Zambezi area around 500 A.D.[11] The Southwest Bantu groups are considered to be in the western stream, to which cattle are also attributed. That there were earlier Central Sudanic and Bantu-speaking peoples in the middle Zambezi area has been proposed by Christopher Ehret in his article entitled, "Patterns of Bantu and Central Sudanic Settlement in Central and Southern Africa."[12] Central Sudanic peoples are credited with being food-producing peoples. The evidence for this presence consists of apparent Central Sudanic loanwords in Bantu and Khoisan languages. He does not postulate any direct loanwords into Luyana-Southwest, but he does suggest that there may be a few loanwords into Southwest coming first through Central Khoisan languages.

Also from linguistic evidence, Ehret has proposed tracing the origin of the proto-Khoikhoi and the Kwadi to the northern and northeastern region of Botswana, and has postulated that the Khoikhoi expansion took place from that area before the turn of the eras.[13]

> *The probable candidates for bringing animal husbandry to southern Angola and Namibia were [not Khoikhoi but] instead another Khwe people, speaking a language ancestral to that of the recent Kwadi pastoralists of coastal southern Angola. The Kwadi, raisers of small stock, had a language that appears to share several fundamental sound shifts with, and so belongs to, the Hietsho subgroup of Khwe. The proto-Kwadi, it may be proposed, participated in the same developments of the northeastern Botswana regions which produced the Khoikhoi adoption of livestock, but they expanded westward 2000 years ago even as the ancestors of the*

Khoikhoi advanced southward. The modern Kwadi would be the last remnants, persisting in declining numbers in marginal grazing lands, of once wider-spread herding populations elsewhere generally absorbed into the Southwest Bantu societies, in the process contributing to the physical makeup of Southwest Bantu populations and to the ideas and practices of livestock keeping. On this view the Damara, who also keep small stock and physically generally resemble the Kwadi, would be descendants of a southern offshoot of the proto-Kwadi expansion. Their adoption of the Nama language would be a reflection of the more recent Nama predominance in Namibia. The Mirabib site of central western Namibia with its evidence of fourth-century sheepherding (Sandelowsky, 1974; Sandelowsky, et al, 1979), *would be the remains of the southern proto-Kwadi settlement, whereas Kapako, an Early Iron Age Site of the later first millenium in far northern Namibia* (Sandelowsky, 1973), *is a candidate for a settlement of the early Southwest Bantu who succeeded the proto-Kwadi farther north.*[14]

These proposals become important when looking at the chronology of settlement in Namibia and interactions between the various groups.

Little archaeology has been done in the Namibia area; however, the Kapako evidence was cited by Phillipson along with information concerning another site not far north of the Kunene.

By the seventh or eight century A.D. a substantial Iron Age settlement had been established at Feti la Choya, only 300 kilometres north of the Kunene (Fagan, 1965a). *Iron was apparently present, but details neither of the site, discovered by Gladwyn Childs, nor of the associated pottery have been published. It is therefore not possible to tell whether this site belongs to the Early Iron Age Industrial Complex. Slightly more information is available concerning a site investigated by Beatrice Sandelowsky* (1973) *at Kapako in the extreme north of Namibia, close to the western end of the Caprivi Strip. Traces of iron-working, together with pottery provisionally described as resembling that from Kapwirimbwe, are dated to the ninth century A.D.* (Sutoon, 1972: 7, 14). *This would appear to indicate the presence in that region of the western stream of the Early Iron Age, at least during the closing centuries of the first millenium.*[15]

Vedder proposes a series of moves of various subunits of the Herero, which places them at various times in the Lake Ngami (northern Botswana) area, in the Kaokoveld of northwestern Namibia and finally in the area of present-day Windoek. However, he says that one group, the Mbanderu, remained with the Bechuana in what is now Botswana. He also places Maherero's grandfather at Lake Ngami in the first decades of the nineteenth century.[16] (Maherero was the paramount chief of the Herero during their revolt against German colonialism.) Wilmsen[17] refers to oral testimonies that Herero had lived in Ngamiland in the early 19th century. And, he notes that many old Herero say that their parents knew the routes to take when escaping the Germans in 1904.

The loanword evidence indicating interactions between the Herero and Khoisan speakers is as follows:

Herero

ekara 'fat', derived from a Khoikhoi root seen in a !Kora word K_x'aira 'melted fat';

ongava 'rhinoceros', derived from a Khoikhoi root */naba with the same meaning;

ongeama 'lion', derived from a Central Khoisan root 'xam, which is present among the Khwe languages from Grootfontein to the Okavango.

Linguistic evidence relating to the keeping of cattle includes words for: types of horns, ceremonies to do with cattle, different kinds and ages of bulls, calves, cows, oxen and dung. Other evidence of Herero economic practice comes from Vedder and a missionary account. Vedder attests to the importance of cattle to the Herero when he talks about bards among the Herero who used to sing about two things: the deeds of great men and the qualities and colors of outstanding oxen.[18] Another indication of the standing of cattle-keeping among the Herero is that, according to the missionary Beiderbecke, the Herero did not have a word for 'bread' until the missionaries arrived,[19] indicating they were not cultivators.

Early evidence of the influence of Khwe-speakers on Southwest Bantu speakers is represented by the proto-Southwest Bantu *-gu/*-gui 'sheep' being derived from Kwadi guu-, proto-Khoikhoi *gu-, 'sheep'[20] This borrowing is also seen in Southeast Bantu languages. As Southwest speakers moved westward

they were absorbing Khoisan-speaking peoples. Many gaps appear in the historical record but later influences are more numerous.

People who stayed in the Kavango area, such as the Kwangari and the Gciriku (spelled Djiriku by Baucom), when the other Southwest groups moved further west, acquired clicks from hunting and gathering peoples who lived in the area. Westphal lists, among dialects of the Okavango dialect group (corresponding to Baucom's Kavango classification) a language Gciriku where "-c- represents a dental click."[21] Westphal also says that the symbol 'c' represents a dental click in Kwangari. One example would be the Kwangari word kacuru 'tortoise', derived from 'guru 'tortoiseshell', which is used by Khwe speakers in the northern Kalahari and in Namibia. Taking this linguistic evidence into account, it seems quite likely that the Kapako site discovered by Sandelowsky, et al, is an early Southwest Bantu habitation.

The Kwanyana/English dictionary by Tobias and Turvey[22] provides an extensive list of cultivating, seed and crop terms indicating that these people relied heavily on agriculture. The vocabulary also includes terms of social stratification, such as chief, counsellor or elder, pauper, slave, rich man and subject; more than twenty words relating to marital status and marriage; a word for circumcise and one for age-mate; a knowledge and probable practice of witchcraft, an active communication with a spirit world (including ancestral spirits); various items of clothing and jewelry, plus words for flute, drum and dance. Miscellaneous words, such as those for numbers, directions, scar, scarification shells, market, enemy and fort complete the lists. This wealth of data permits the following projection about the lifestyle of these people.

Evidently the Kwanyama produced a surplus judging from the vocabulary accounted with wealth and social strata. Hence words for rich man, pauper and slave. Material goods included clothing and jewelry -- from the listing of various kinds of bracelets, finger and leg rings and especially the number of words for beads -- possible manufacture of or trade for these items is indicated. Collection of a metal-working or trading terminology would confirm this; however, Ruth First[23] and others have mentioned the long history of copper-working among the Ovambo. Excavations by Edwin Wilmsen (among others)[24] in the northwestern portion of Botswana indicate that there has been extensive pottery-making and trade for various items, including tubular glass beads generally attributed to East African origin, for centuries (approximately 1000 A.D. to the beginning of the German colonial period). Wilmsen's conclusion, after looking at the recent excavations at Tsoldilo and /ai/ai is that:

Ngamiland has been part of the wider world throughout its history. Iron Age peoples from farther north must have been implicated in the transmission of metal and cattle during the past. There can be little doubt that Europeans have been in close touch with ancestors of all resident ethnic groups from their very first excursions into the region and that they recorded evidence of long standing interactions among these groups. The fact that all currently known Iron Age sites in Ngamiland, as well as all known sites of more recent age, are found at locations that are presently (or have been recently) occupied by both foragers and herders suggests that the parameters of settlement -- both ecological and social -- have remained relatively constant during the past 1000 years. There are no occupied places in Ngamiland today that have not had representatives of both groups in residence during this century. The most reasonable hypothesis is that foragers and herders have interacted in this region at least since approximately 1000 A.D. in ways that are analogous to those of the present. The entire spectrum of interaction -- conflict to cooperation -- may be expected to have characterized those relations, just as they do today.[25]

As indicated by the Kwanyama vocabulary, the Ovambo ethnic groups were agriculturalists who kept livestock. It has been observed by missionaries and travelers that Khwe-speaking hunting and gathering people were employed as bodyguards for the chiefs and Damara were often taken as servants or slaves. All the Ovambo groups had a knowledge of iron and one of Ruth First's informants said the Tsumeb mine was worked by the Ondanga [Ndonga] before white people came.[26] The latter is a copper mine and copper arm and leg rings were commonly worn by the Ovambo women.

In addition, the Kwanyama vocabulary items mentioned indicate that marriage was important as was the spirit world and communication with that world. These are just a few of the projections which can be made from adequate examination of culture vocabulary.

This, truly, being mainly concerned with Namibia does not address itself to the Nyaneka in detail, since these have moved into Southern Angola. They are considered here only in relation to the lexicostatistical part of the discussion. But, it is important to note that there is also a Khoisan influence in this language, i.e. Nyaneka ndandani 'root' which is derived from *'daN 'root, bottom or seat', found in a number of the more northern Khoisan language groups.

The Kwangari people practiced their mixed-farming economy in far northeastern Namibia, in the Okavango River area. Except for Westphal's grammar and a linguistic study by Ernst Dammann,[27] little has been written about this area. Nevertheless, a few traveler's accounts indicate that the area east from Grootfontein to Lake Ngami was hunted extensively for ivory, ostrich feathers and wild animal skins in the days preceding the German colonial period up to recent times. The latter statement is borne out by the accounts of Andersen,[28] Galton[29] and Tabler.[30] Tabler lists 333 adult male foreigners who traveled, traded and settled in Namibia and Ngamiland between 1738 and 1880.

Non-Bantu Population

The Damara are hunters, who keep small stock, when they live independently of the Nama or other groups. They call themselves Nu-khoin, the black people, and speak Nama. But, Vedder collected twelve words from Damara living in the Otavi Highlands that were not Nama. Later, B. Struck[31] contended that these words were of a Sudanic origin; unfortunately this cannot be verified as the words are not available for analysis. Vedder also states that the Damara do not speak Nama well unless educated to it. Ehret has given a reasonable explanation of the Damara and their descent from a proto-Kwadi population, as pointed out above. Nama is a daughter language of the Khoikhoi branch of Khwe which came into Namibia, perhaps as late as the 17th century along with the people of the same name (Appendix III). The Damara people could only have taken up the Nama language at that point. If Ehret's suggestion is correct, the Damara would formerly have spoken a dialect of Kwadi.

The six ethnic groups which comprise the Nama nation are Khoikhoi-speaking groups of nomadic cattle keepers who migrated into Namibia from south of the Orange River during the 17th century.[32]

In addition to cattle- and sheep-raising, the Nama men hunted and the women gathered veld food. According to Elphick, the Nama were involved in an "'ecological cycle' from pastoralism to hunting and back to pastoralism,"[33] which took place depending on whether or not a Nama clan had lost its livestock (either from natural causes or from raiding by other groups). According to Vedder, the Nama were organized under a system of hereditary chiefship; and had domestic servants who were either Damara, hunter-gatherers or captured Herero.[34]

During the 18th century Nama hunting trips extended as far north as Lake Ngami and as far as Tsumeb in Ovamboland. Judging from such factors as place names, e.g., Tsumeb, the adoption of

the Nama language, by the Damara and the Khoisan hunting groups, (such as the Hi !Kung, who speak versions of Nama), it is apparent that the Nama expansion into central and northern Namibia was extensive. The presence of other livestock-raising societies -- the various Herero groups -- can be seen as stemming from the northward advance of the Nama. This resulted in interaction and competition of Nama and Herero groups for grazing lands. When the collection of linguistics data for Southwest Bantu is more complete, additional loanwords from Khoisan languages could be discovered.

Khwe-speaking hunter/gatherers were living throughout present-day Namibia in the early centuries A.D., but the expansion of livestock-raisers, agricultural groups and European settlers, caused many of these groups to be absorbed. Hunter/gatherers who already occupied the marginal subsistence areas, such as the Namib and Kalahari Deserts, remained more evident because they were not absorbed. From hunting and gathering as a way of life, these Khwe-speakers were pressed into service as bodyguards and servants for Ovambo leaders and other groups. This was a function of changes in the environmental conditions becoming too severe for them to follow a hunting and gathering lifestyle. The languages they speak were derived from Central Khoisan before the southward expansion of the cattleherding Khoi groups. When living independently, their social structure describes extended family units where the highest known authority is the head of the family.

Summary and Conclusions

Linguistic evidence, both from inherited features and from inferences from borrowed features, in conjunction with the available archaeology provide a broad outline of the phases of Namibian history as follows:

1. The economic system of the Damara people comes from a proto-Kwadi population, who kept small stock (Appendix III). As these people spread through the Caprivi, across the Okavango and the northern reaches of Namibia and down to the Mirabib, they introduced their economic system to the Khwe-speaking hunting and gathering peoples already in these areas. The present-day Kwadi in southern Angola are descendants of these people. (Ca 400 A.D.)

2. With the split between the Luyana and the Southwest groups and the spread of the latter across the regions earlier traversed by the Kwadi, the Southwest languages were introduced. With them came knowledge of a more complex food-producing economic system, including the keeping of cattle and cultivating crops. (500-1000 A.D.).

3. The divergence of the three Southwest Bantu groups (Kwangari, Herero and Kunene River) and their development of different economic emphases, e.g. the Herero adoption of stock-raising as their primary means of subsistence occurred. From the archaeological evidence it is apparent that, 1) these groups had knowledge of iron-working (Kapako site), 2) there was considerable interaction between the various linguistic groups residing in the Lake Ngami/northeastern Namibia region, and 3) they came into contact with peoples from outside the area who came to graze cattle, hunt or exchange goods. (1000 A.D. onwards).

4. With the northward migration of Nama speakers in the 17th century A.D. came an intensive cattle-raising economy. Many hunting and gathering groups and the Damara, who were previously established as livestock raisers, adopted the Nama language.

5. The Herero moved northeast across northern Namibia and then back to the east. The Nama were hunting in the same northern areas. Because the economic systems of these two groups were so similar they began to compete for grazing lands (late 18th century).

These interactions, as described here, set the stage for the 19th century events. The first accounts of these events came from European hunters, travelers and traders. Later the missionaries followed suit with more descriptions and interpretations of the events.

Then enter the Germans. The precolonial era came to a violent end, and colonialism took sway.

APPENDIX I

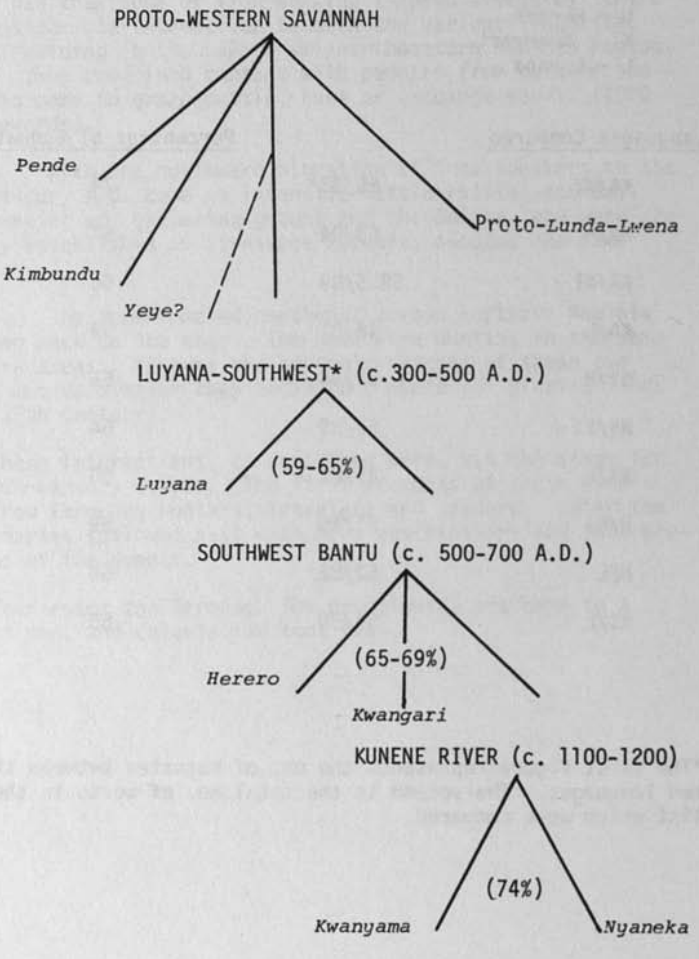
LANGUAGE CHART

Key: KA = Kwanyama
NY = Nyaneka
H = Herero
KI = Kwangari
L - Luyana

Languages Compared		Percentage of Cognation
KA/NY	69/93*	74
KA/H	63/94	67
KA/KI	58.5/89	66
KA/L	48/81	59
NY/H	61/94	65
NY/KI	57/89	64
NY/L	49/81	60
H/KI	61/89	69
H/L	52/81	64
KI/L	53/89	65

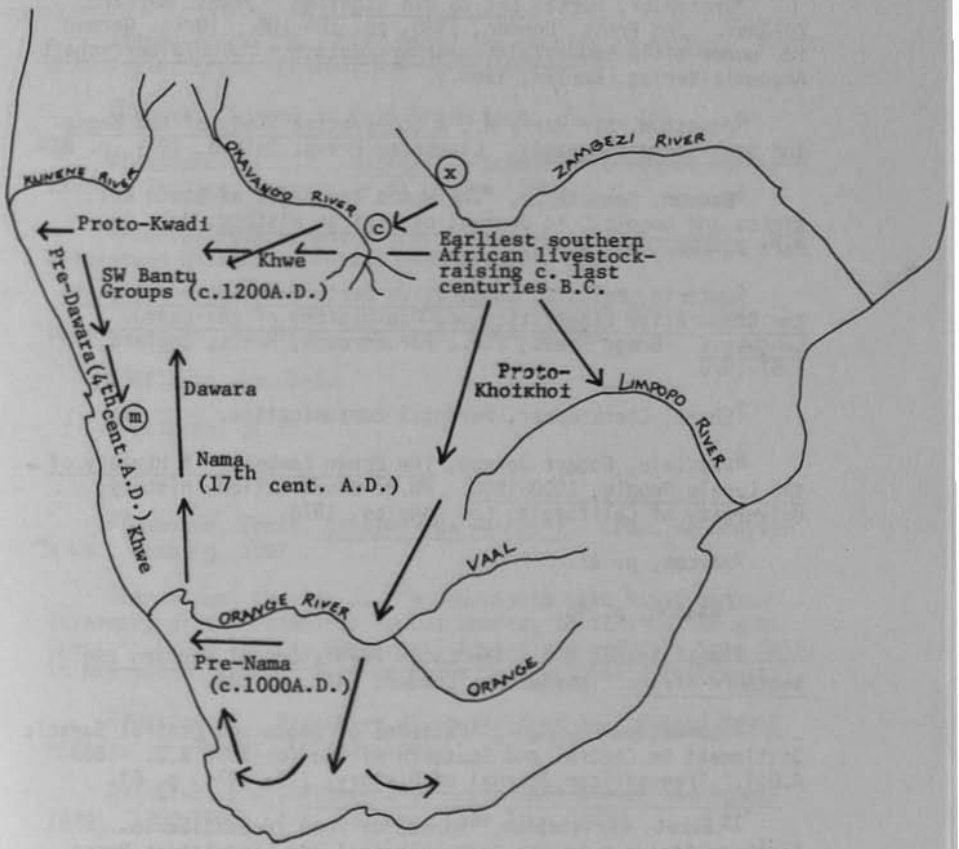
*The first figure represents the no. of cognates between the two languages. The second is the total no. of words in the list which were compared.

APPENDIX II



* From Luyana-Southwest back in time, see Papstein, footnote 8.

APPENDIX III



x = Proto Southwest Bantu Homeland

c = Caprivi Arch. site, 9th cent.A.D.

m = Mirabib Arch. site, 400 A.D.

FOOTNOTES

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