Slavery
in the Great Lakes Region of East Africa

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Violence, Marginality, Scorn & Honour
Language evidence of slavery
to the eighteenth century

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Introduction

How did words for slaves, captives, dependants, and enslavement used by Bantu-speaking communities in the Great Lakes region of East Africa change and endure in the centuries before 1800? Which of the earlier kinds of violence and ideologies of hierarchy underpinned enslavement and commercial slavery in the nineteenth century? This essay will explore these questions by focusing on two types of language evidence: new words with relatively new meanings for forms of slavery, and new meanings related to slavery that Great Lakes Bantu-speakers attached to words whose earlier meanings had no clear connection to the commercialised forms of marginality that were so prominent in the nineteenth century (see Appendix).[1] The shifts in meanings revealed in the analysis of these words' semantic variability open up ideas about honour, scorn and hierarchy that distinguish the elite from the common people, the insider from the outsider, and shed light on notions of authority and legal practices that enforced those divides. The shifts in meaning also touch on theories of gender and generation that assigned significant weight to types of work as defining features of individuals and appropriately distinct capacities of different generations. Approaching a history of slaveries in Africa in this manner sidesteps stubborn, recent and highly politicised dichotomies between malignant and benign, open and closed, forms of slavery because it analyses the inventions and extensions of meaning in specific historical contexts. The antiquity of thinking about forms of social marginalisation and experiences of violence must first be assessed as significant historical conclusions in their own right, before exploring how they might have shaped more recent meanings of slavery and enslavement.[2]

The slaveries mentioned in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century documentary records have very different historical depths, with the great majority reaching no further than the eighteenth century. They empha-

sised degrees of immobility and social marginalisation in a commercial context. The common concern with fixing slaves inside or outside a particular social nexus, an exclusionist impulse in Great Lakes and coastal East African cultural habits, is much older than the eighteenth century and is linked to broader historical processes than a study of terms for slavery alone can reveal.[3] Not every form of social violence with deep historical roots turned into the forms and conditions of 'enslavement' familiar from the long nineteenth century. Their histories unfolded in other, sometimes older, contexts. However, within the narrow compass of the slaveries described in the recent, documentary record, the master's concern to define the nature of the 'social death' imposed on slaves comes across clearly. The language evidence in these sources speaks to these claims of the dominant far more than it reveals a slave's concern to define the nature of her humanity inside and against a master's social responsibility.[4] The etymologies of words for slavery and enslavement in the Great Lakes region reveal a consistent obsession with claiming a slave's marginality, but they also reveal much about the differing historical contexts that generated slaves and the contexts in which the enslaved could work against the sometimes greatly exaggerated rumours of their social deaths.

Those contexts included an agricultural intensification in the region which unfolded around bananas in wetter zones nearer to Lake Victoria, and around cattle and grain in the drier zones to the west of the lake. Larger-scale environmental and climatic shifts, well under way by the opening of the second millennium CE, conditioned these agricultural changes.[5] Intensified farming and herding created new pressures on land and labour, pressures that supported the growth of centralised political cultures after the sixteenth century, strong militarisms from the seventeenth century, and eventually the growth of commodification, late in the eighteenth century. These more recent developments shaped the social histories of slavery and enslavement outlined in this essay. Widespread social and political hierarchies, especially after the sixteenth century, knitted together by various forms of reciprocity and coercion, constituted the specific contexts for socially marginal persons to think about and pursue their aspirations.[6] The outlines of agrarian change and the development of centralised political cultures have been developed elsewhere and will only be alluded to in this essay. Other threads – like the social and technological study of violence – have yet to receive careful historical treatment for early periods and have received virtually no study for the eras before the sixteenth century C.E.[7] The outlines of these stories can only be touched on here. Still, the genealogies of the regional and local meanings given to words for what we might gloss as 'slavery' and enslavement, presented in this essay, constitute a first step in that larger project on the social and intellectual history of violence, vulnerability, and authority in Greater Eastern Africa.[8]

We can know rather more about the nature and sources of slavery, enslavement and inequality in the Great Lakes region than one might

surmise, given the slight volume of work focused solely on this complex topic.[9] Studies of the nineteenth century consistently touch on what Europeans perceived as slavery – and some take considerable pains to translate local vocabulary related to these perceptions – but we have very little sustained scholarly inquiry into the intellectual, social, and military genealogies of domination and dependence in the region before the eighteenth century.[10] We know very little about how Africans between the Great Lakes understood commercial slavery and enslavement, and how they managed the combined mercantile and military transformations for which the nineteenth century is infamous. Scholars – including African intellectuals writing throughout the colonial period – often claim that eighteenth-century militarism and its associated dislocations made enslavement common. But this insistence only serves as the baseline against which to measure the gradual commodification of economic life, including the buying and selling of persons and firearms, which engulfed the region after the 1840s. It does little to disentangle the many different sources of slavehood, most pressingly, the older from the newer. This state of affairs is perfectly understandable, given the other attractions the region and its histories have offered to intellectuals, local or otherwise. It is also understandable, given the fact that historical sources on the topic are notoriously recalcitrant for eras before the eighteenth century.

People between the Great Lakes shared a common discourse on the nature of hierarchy and dependence that sustained arguments about who could and could not belong to the different categories in the hierarchies. For much of the time period this essay covers, I cannot hope to reconstruct even a single instance of such arguing, but some of the semantic results of the arguments emerge as different shades of meaning attached to the words people commonly used to name different parts of the hierarchies. Tracing differences in meaning and examining the conditions under which they emerged suggest some of the contents of the arguments and struggles people had over what it meant to belong in the categories they valued and over how to move between them or how to avoid such movement.[11] Against these temporally deep and spatially broad currents of still recognisably distinct and, sometimes, frankly disjointed social and intellectual histories, we can begin to make greater sense of the more familiar nineteenth- and twentieth-century notions of equality and inequality. These are the questions that guide this essay even though I cannot hope to take up each one in wholly satisfying detail.

An earlier work argued that a host of social, intellectual, economic, agricultural and environmental changes informed the development of ideologies of patriarchal descent and inheritance, ideologies which could be used to exclude certain persons.[12] Changing ideologies of kinship between the Great Lakes shaped the contours of slavery, dependence and vulnerability before the eighteenth century because Great Lakes Bantu-speakers used kinship ideologies to promote some aspects of marginality and set others aside.[13] This approach to kinship highlights the insight of Igor Kopytoff and Suzanne Miers that a continuum of social integration was central to the nature of 'slavery' in Africa, though neither insists on a single static form for that continuum nor downplays issues of struggle and power.[14] The marginality that made dependants vulnerable – and the vulnerability that marginalised people – were created in a variety of ways between the Great Lakes. People could be taken as war prisoners, kidnapped, sold (by relatives, patrons, to pay fines and debts), bought, inherited, and ejected from their communities by legal decision, as a gift to a chief or king or other social superior, or due to illness.[15] The sexually transmitted diseases that afflicted men and women in the region, with the advent of caravanning in the 1840s, may have disproportionately driven women into isolated, vulnerable positions.[16] The prevalence of one or another of these means to create slaves 'from within' changed dramatically over time.

Comparative linguistic evidence is well suited to tracing continuities and ruptures in a social formulation like 'slavery'. This is because the spatial distribution of words and the shapes of the semantic fields they mark reflect both inherited forms whose meaning had force and value across many generations and the innovation of new words or meanings with the emergence of novel conditions for masters and the enslaved. Moreover, studying sequences of change in the densities of terminologies for modes of marginalisation and dependence takes us into the realm of semantic history. When combined with what we know about other aspects of the social history of the Great Lakes region, historical linguistic evidence thus offers a compelling picture of violence and vulnerability which enables their impact on commercial slavery and enslavement in the region to begin to emerge. This history's most distinctive features include (i) the great antiquity of plunder and pillage; (ii) the emergence before the eighteenth century of generic and gendered social categories for 'the slave'; (iii) the florescence of different words for new and more commodified sorts of slaves, after the eighteenth century; (iv) the centrality of fear to the performance of honour; and (v) the entanglement of fear and honour with notions of scorn and struggles over the capacity to speak that lie at the heart of owners' efforts to define 'the slave'.

Linguistic Evidence and a Poetic of Labelling[17]

'There are always more meanings than words', the linguist Raimo Anttila has said, but language surprises us with 'its ability to adapt to such a semantic challenge'.[18] With the radical changes in the conditions of hierarchy and service that unfolded in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, Great Lakes Bantu languages were put to the test of their semantic creativity. '*Toute époque a ses idées propres, il faut aussi qu'elle ait les mots propres à ces idées,*' as Victor Hugo observed about the tendency for synonyms to proliferate around issues of great importance to a community.[19] The

people who lived through those tumultuous centuries created a rich vocabulary concerning slavery and enslavement.

Scholars of semantics have long noted that high numbers of synonyms for particular things, actions and ideas reflect a high level of interest in those things, actions and ideas held by members of the speech community.[20] More or fewer synonyms for slavery in different subgroups of Great Lakes Bantu languages reveal the shifting importance of slavery over time and by region. Subgroups or individual languages with many terms for slavery needed them in order to make sense of eras in which recruiting outsiders was important to them.[21] Subgroups of related languages – or individual languages – with fewer or no terms for 'slavery' reflect eras in which slavery was of little or at least of lesser importance.

Despite the temptation to assume a monolithic, primordial slavery undergirding the Great Lakes region's investments in social hierarchy, we should begin instead to excavate its historical development in this manner. What speakers did with these words in the very distant past, we cannot know exactly. But the shades of meaning people made them express – and the sheer mass of terminology – speak volumes to us now about the past worlds they struggled to understand and manipulate through speech.[22] These sorts of lives – isolated, dependent, and vulnerable – are very old between the Lakes as, indeed, they are very old the world over.[23] The words people used to speak about them tell us a lot about how they gave those lives meaning, and the meanings they gave them took surprisingly similar forms across a very broad swath of Bantu-speaking Africa.

Pillage, Plunder, Prisoners and Captives

Inventing this vocabulary drew on earlier semantic resources in a number of ways. Some labellers drew on polysemy – the capacity for a single word to signify a broad range of meanings depending on the context – to craft new terms for long-standing social realities that were later connected with slavery. For example, the verb *-kuboha 'to tie up, fasten' often underwent a natural extension of meaning to include 'to imprison, to capture'. The verb is distributed widely but discontinuously across Bantu-speaking Eastern Africa, suggesting that people fashioned this meaning extension nearly three millennia ago, when the Proto-Mashariki speech community existed.[24] In the Lakes region – as well as in other parts of the vast region in which daughter speech communities of Proto Mashariki lived – the innovators exploited the semantic vagueness of 'to tie up, to fasten' by including the meaning 'to imprison' within the signifying field of *-kubóha. Among other meanings linked to physical restraint, speakers made a noun in order to refer to a 'prisoner' or a 'captive'. Capturing people and the physical coercion involved therefore seems to have been a long-standing part of the social reality of Bantu-speaking communities, even if confinement is far more difficult to perceive for periods before the eighteenth century, from the available evidence. But in late precolonial and colonial documents, people do not use this noun to refer to those then

considered a 'slave'. Though capture may have been the first step into slavery for some, this word for 'captive' or 'prisoner' only rarely and recently worked as a synonym for slavery (Appendix nos. 14.2, 14.6, and probably 14.4). Immobility and confinement helped define slavery in the nineteenth century,[25] but persons other than slaves were also immobile.

The sheer number of verbs and nouns describing capture and pillage reveals that these were widespread and perhaps long-standing activities between the Great Lakes (Appendix nos. 1, 7, 8, 12.1, 12.2, 13, 14.1-14.6). Many of the nouns in this list were derived from verbs for these actions, verbs which may be reconstructed as parts of the lexicon in speech communities ancestral to Great Lakes Bantu. The distribution of cognate vocabulary for coercive 'captivity' occurs in contemporary languages descended from this group, whose ancestral speech community, it has been argued elsewhere, existed between 2500 and 3500 years ago.[26] These durable verbs named violent raiding for forms of property, including persons, but the fuller significance and meaning of these ancient practices cannot be understood solely through the lens of slaveries, however important raiding for people was to the trajectories of violence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[27] They must be considered in light of the growth of contemporaneous categories of dependence and of the semantic histories of words for forms of dependence, a task this essay can only begin to address.

Creating Generic, Gendered Slaves as Outsiders

Two terms for a generic and gendered status of dependence (Appendix nos. 10 and 18) – #mwiru and #muzaana – emerged sometime after the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, when the North Nyanzan and Rutaran speech communities had begun to diverge into their daughter languages. In the nineteenth century, these terms often named the broadest, most inclusive category of male and female slaves, respectively. In the second half of the twentieth century, the terms either dropped from use or took on different generic meanings, most often related to material poverty. From the fourteenth century, locals saw the #mwiru and the #muzaana as social outsiders, newcomers, even refugees.

A few widely separated attestations for #mwiru include the non-gender-specific meaning 'peasant' or 'farmer' – a relict distribution of this less dependency-oriented referent that might reflect the earliest contexts for the invention of the noun. At the turn of the first millennium CE, archaeological, linguistic and ecological evidence all suggest that grain farmers and livestock-keepers formed communities much larger and much more widespread than previously, and moved into the drier zones between Lake Victoria and the eastern massifs of the Kivu Rift.[28] Specialised pastoralism and grain farming divided the micro-environments within this zone, revolutionising patron-client relations over the following several hundred years and ushering in a new set of social and ethnic hierarchies built around these occupational specialisations, which foregrounded

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competitive firstcomer-newcomer distinctions. This may well have been the period when the binaries Bahima-Bairu and Batuutsi-Bahutu emerged. At this point, #bairu most likely were newcomers whose sedentary farming lifestyle required permanent settlement, a permanence that intruded on cyclical pastoralist usage of their lands and exposed them and their fields to the risks of an uncertain climate. Small or localised effects of climatic uncertainty drew farmers and herders into mutually beneficial social networks. But large-scale or pronounced oscillations in the timing and intensity of rainfall could create enormous asymmetries of economic advantage in those ties. It seems likely that these material realities underlay, in part, the growth of these occupational-cum-ethnic groups.[29]

The gendered meanings 'male dependant, client or servant' (all of which were clearly very common in the nineteenth century) are the most widespread meanings for #mwiru. They show a clear block distribution across the entire territory, from Unyamwezi to Bunyole, in which the term existed until the colonial period. This uniformity suggests strongly that these meanings emerged no earlier than 1200, by which time new dialect clusters had begun to form in North Nyanzan and Rutaran speech communities, signalling the beginning of their breaking up. These meanings may have been first used much more recently than that, however, given that they did not displace the older meaning 'farmer'. This vast period since 1200 includes the development of centralised political power in the core of this territory, and it seems likely that the intensification of social hierarchy that accompanied and constituted such centralisation drew on these forms of subordinated masculinity.[30]

The root #-zaana consistently refers to a female servant or slave and thus appears to have been gendered from the beginning of its existence. Unlike the meaning 'farmer' for *mwiru, a more widespread relict distribution of additional meaning cannot be expressed by #muzaana. Everywhere the term is in evidence, it is best glossed by the English meanings 'female servant, female slave'. Its block distribution and uniformly gendered meanings suggest strongly that the term was probably developed no earlier than the sixteenth century. That was when the breakup of Rutara, which was the centre of this word's distribution, was complete. Thus, #muzaana may have emerged in the same period that #mwiru took on meanings of dependence, clientship or servitude and marked a gendered contrast to it. And this was the period in which the leaders of politically centralised states such as Bunyoro and the ranked nodes of authority visible in the archaeological and oral historical records for places like Mubende, Munsa, Ntusi, Kibengo and Kisengwe may have begun the practice of exchanging persons, especially females, who lacked social standing.[31]

The etymology of this term is unclear. People may have derived it from a verb #-kuijaaana meaning 'to come with', an associative form of #-kuija 'to come'.[32] But the outcomes of the substantive form are irregular in many of the Rutaran languages, in Rwenzori and in Rwanda. This suggests that the word was invented in one or more places and spread

rapidly from there, as gifts and persons moved around.[33] Though the absence of a clear etymology makes it difficult to date the invention and dispersal of this term, the meanings it has carried over the last century tell us that the #muzaana was someone who entered a community as the extension of another person, either the giver, the captor or a master of some sort. A #muzaana's identity was a function of her captor's or her master's. It could therefore have worked as part of an ideological claim that foregrounded a newcomer, outsider, even refugee standing for female slaves at the same time that it highlighted the composite strength of a high-status person's standing.

Another name for slave – common in nineteenth-century accounts from the region – was also generic but was not gendered. The etymology of this term, *muja [Appendix no. 11], is also exceedingly difficult to sort out. The term may have been an innovation from a verb that no longer exists, but looked like #-dįa.[34] It may simply be a stand-alone substantive innovation, not tied to any verbal form.[35] In any case, *muja is very broadly distributed in Western Lakes languages. The *muja was a 'dependant, servant, slave, or refugee' and was also familiar to people who spoke Bemba, Luba and Ila in Central Africa, and the Sabaki languages of the Indian Ocean coastal region.[36] At first glance, this vast distribution might suggest a great antiquity for this form of slavery. But at the coast, in Proto Sabaki, the noun meant 'newcomer or refugee' and its gendered form, *-mujakazi, meant 'female slave'. Only meanings connected explicitly to slavery, including the exclusively female form referred to by *-mujakazi, turn up in Forest and West Highlands languages. And the distribution is a block, connecting the interior speech communities with the coast. These facts strongly suggest a history where these terms spread to inland speech communities from the Sabaki-speaking communities living in the coastal lands between the Sabaki and Rufiji rivers. The regular sound correspondences between attestations of this word in each of the speech communities in the interior is best accounted for by arguing that the term was in use before those intermediate language groups began to break up. Given that these roots have been reconstructed for the Proto Sabaki lexicon, they could have moved repeatedly into the interior any time over the last fourteen centuries or so since Proto-Sabaki was spoken.[37] The *muja and specifically the *mujakazi may well have been the earliest sorts of 'newcomers' (in Sabaki-speaking societies) or 'refugees' (in the interior) to enter the coastwise trade and Sabaki-speaking society as female dependants, perhaps well before the famous caravan phase was under way in the early nineteenth century.

The notion of the newcomer is the most widespread one that Lakes people used to name a slave. Firstcomers claimed that a newcomer was a social infant, without the rights and responsibilities of an adult insider. But the idea that newcomers could expect lower social standing than others in a community is a long-standing commonplace in ideologies of hierarchy between the Great Lakes and at the Indian Ocean coast. It did

not first come into existence around the experiences of slavery; the reverse is more likely to have been true. Political hierarchies that relied on an ideology of firstcomer standing rested on notions of the newcomer for their force. When people argued that slaves were newcomers – an argument suggested by the range of meanings carried by terms such as *-muja*, *-mwiru*, and *-muzaana* – they put established principles of acceptable status and authority to work in marginalising slaves. They also drew on forms of social control beyond the taxonomies of hierarchy in order to define a slave. The distinctive power and sting of such marginalisation revolved around notions of honour and of the force of scornful speech.

Scorn and Honour: New Names for Slaves from the 1700s to 1850s

The ubiquitous metaphor of the slave-as-newcomer (or 'refugee') between the Great Lakes was supplemented by a metaphor that connected slaves with scorn and disdain. In the Lakes region, many different nouns that signified 'slave' in the nineteenth century were derived from verbs that meant 'to scorn, disdain or backbite' (Appendix nos. 2 and 5).[38] One of these terms, '*mugaya*' worked virtually as an ethnic slur in southeast Lake Victoria. Kerewe-speakers claim that Jita- and Kwaya-speaking raiders hurled this term at Luo-speakers who were most often the objects of their raids. This metaphorical extension from 'a scorned person' to 'a slave' to a generically enslaveable people played on the social reality between the Great Lakes that a person's capacity to act with social consequence flowed in no small part from their capacity to speak with force, authority and respect in whatever settings were appropriate to their standing. Powerful speech was authoritative speech if its audience conferred legitimacy on the speech through approbation or respectful assent. It was also powerful if a speaker could marshal the necessary persons to support and defend him/her should s/he be attacked by another powerful speaker. By using this metaphor, people argued that the scornable slave could not do this because her outsider status meant she had no social network that could counter her enemy's scorn; she was too vulnerable to such talk. She might even have been 'seen' by others as the embodiment of scorn itself.[39] In this way Great Lakes Bantu-speaking societies could 'add' a newcomer to their community while simultaneously restraining that person from becoming an insider.[40] It is not yet possible to argue this with the conviction of an exhaustive comparative search in regional oral and ethnographic sources, but these metaphorical extensions occurred in discrete parts of the region and flowed from different verbal forms. The distribution of the 'slave-as-newcomer' metaphor – expressed in the terms #muzaana, #muja and #mujakazi – takes the shape of a continuous, discrete block. The notion that slaves could be scorned and backbitten was far more widespread and could be expressed using any of several terms for varying aspects of this condition. A slave between the Great Lakes was fixed as an outsider, with no family or friends to speak of upon arrival in a new community.

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In the late nineteenth century, in Buganda, the noun *nvuma* named a 'female chattel slave'. It was derived from a widespread verb, *kuvuma*, meaning 'to speak ill of, to scorn'. Such a person had little prospect of bettering their circumstances, according to historian Michael Twaddle.[41] Other substantive derivations, *ikivumé* in Kinyarwanda, for example, clearly point out that a person burdened by scorn and disdain was not a supportable person; she or he could not be part of society. The importance of reputation and the rumour and gossip that made or broke reputations were very much at issue in defining slavehood in nineteenth-century Buganda and in Rwanda. If clients and patrons enjoyed a measure of reciprocal obligation, slaves were tainted by bad talk and their backtalk could be ignored. That was both a sign of their weak position and a cause of that weakness.

With *ikivume* and *nvumu*, a speaker could raise ontological questions about the labelled person's status as an articulate, sentient being. People made these words for slaves by using the class 7 or class 9 noun prefix which put them into noun classes largely populated with inanimate things, some sorts of animals and insects, and strange, unusual people.[42] Whoever uttered these names, then, raised issues of a slave's outsider standing; they claimed that slaves were, in effect, not 'normal' people. They claimed that a slave did not have to be listened to. Obviously, in actual speech, the word could work either as part of a strategy to contest that status or to insist on it.[43] But the general absence of such a semantic poetics from the earlier, generic names for outsiders or dependants perhaps reflects a time before the intensification of marginalising slaves, a time before their value lay in being a 'liquid' form of social capital whose gendered labour might or might not have immediate utility but whose persons their 'masters' could easily dispose of.[44] When it became far more common for her exchange value to constitute at least part of what made a slave valuable to her labellers, this dehumanising naming strategy grew more prominent. The more recent commodification of people intensified discursive efforts to keep slaves from social incorporation.

Social incorporation is a cold abstraction with a vast number of potential glosses. One of the richest revolved around notions of honour and how it is produced and circulated. Honour is important, its historians tell us, because it is a subjective desire that requires public recognition in order to come into existence.[45] For this reason, getting at historical contexts for changing practices and understandings of honour is fraught with difficulties. If honour is interactional at heart, as some of its finest students have reminded us,[46] how can the socially 'flat' evidence of historical linguistics open this up? Between the Great Lakes, the derivational processes of one of the most common terms for 'honour, respect, dignity, pomp, majesty, authority' and so forth tells us much [Roots 16.1, 16.2, 16.3, and 16.4]. The term is *ekitiibwa* (in North Nyanza), *ekitiinwa* or *kutiina* (in Rutara), and *kutiinya* (in West Highlands). Each speech community derived these different forms from the same underlying verb,

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kutüa, which means 'to fear'.[47] Different derivational processes suggest that different speech communities connected fear and honour at separate times, in separate historical circumstances, and by drawing on different phenomenological claims.[48]

Following Orlando Patterson's work on slavery and social death, the historian John Iliffe has argued that masters in Africa 'did commonly deny honour to their slaves'.[49] For Great Lakes Bantu-speakers, the subjectivity of the fear that produced and constituted the recognition of honour differed from other, embodied and potentially mortal fears. They used different terms to name the latter sort of fears, terms not connected to questions of honour and respect. For example, very early in the twentieth century, the sorts of fear that drove the body to tremble were called *ensisi*, in Luganda, whereas the sort of fear that underpinned honour was called *entüsa*, in Luganda. Luganda-speakers made that noun from the verb *okutüsa*, a causative of the verb *kutya*, a transitive form meaning 'to fear, hold in reverence'. Some centuries earlier, before North Nyanza had broken up into its constituent daughter languages, Ganda- and Soga-speakers drew on the transitivity of the verb *kutya*, added a passive suffix (-*bwa*) and derived the noun *ekitübwa* [Appendix nos. 16.1 and 16.2] which carries many closely related meanings in English concerning honour: prestige, pomp, majesty, authority, dignity, respect and so on. With a poetic efficiency, this derivation described fear and honour as two sides of a coin. But the passive formulation makes clear that fear was a principal manifestation of honour. It also reveals that, whereas fear was an action, at least as early as the later nineteenth century, honour was thing-like, an attribute of action, an aspiration which had to have a concrete form as well as a subjective home. And, once acquired, honour had the capacity to transform its possessor into a special sort of person, the *ekitübwa*, whose name belonged in an entirely different class of nouns.

Though a full exploration lies beyond the scope of this essay, connections between honour and the fear that generated it and that drove people to seek it, clearly shaped and constituted gendered aspirations for manhood and womanhood, in important social ways, around notions of and strategies for gaining honour.[50] West Highlands-speakers named the practice of seclusion for young wives with the same verb (°-*tĩnya*) that they used to describe the fear and honour of the respected person (°-*tĩnywa*).[51] Though it might seem paradoxical, the absence of the secluded woman from public life was a clear statement about the standing of her marriage, the capacity for her sisters and other members of her natal lineage to support her, not to mention a time of relaxation and pleasure for her. These forms of seeking and keeping honour took shape vertically, across and in relation to different stations in a regional social hierarchy, from the small-scale hierarchy of the homestead to the larger public space of a royal court or ritual.[52] And people shaped them horizontally, within particular social groups such as young men and women, wives, hunters, etc. Forms of honour were highly motivating and multivalent framing factors for social action, including the social action of owners toward slaves and of slaves toward owners and each other.[53]

If the subjective desire for honour required public recognition in order to be transformed into a social force, then it seems likely that scorn – as the public refusal of a person's honour – was an important part of an owner's or a community's effort to create and maintain social hierarchy in gendered ways.[54] The logics of competition and aspiration for honour among the elite relied on productive and reproductive labour to underwrite them – the symbolic capital embodied by a chief's following also took the form of gifts and tribute, including women – but the poetics of the semantic histories of some of the terms – such as the *muja and the *muzaana – that Great Lakes Bantu-speakers used to talk about the social hierarchies they formed foreground sources of honour other than productive labour.

It seems quite likely that the logic of scorn lay at the heart of denials of honour, at least to the extent that masters and others successfully used scorn to publicly refuse a slave's own sense of her honour.[55] It seems equally likely that owners could use this equation with meaner results as state-sponsored violence grew in the eighteenth century, and as the volume and velocity of the coastwise trade increased in the nineteenth century. Both of these trajectories led to larger groups of slaves living further from their original homes than had been the case previously, when territorial alienation was probably rare or of limited scope. None of this, however, speaks to a slave's own sense of refusing such conditions of her standing and, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is preferable to assume that the well-documented techniques of slave resistance – in other historical settings – were in play between the Great Lakes during these centuries of intensified violence. At this point, however, these speculations await careful work in the rich oral traditions from the region's monarchies.

A slave's honour must be reckoned as something different from the honour of a client if only because her negotiating leverage did not normally include changing masters, whereas clients famously – and according to their own calculus – could seek other patrons.[56] However, the central 'paradox of slavery', in which an owner exerted dominance – and a slave might accept that dominance – only in exchange for respecting particular concessions to her created openings a slave might exploit in improving her circumstances according to her own, albeit severely limited, calculus.[57] Historians of this dimension of slavery tell us that the particular form these concessions took resulted from struggles between owners and slaves, especially struggles over labour and property.[58]

Work, War and Exchange:
Genealogies for the Worlding of Slavery and Enslavement in the Nineteenth Century
Between the Great Lakes, before the 1870s, only a few of the labels analysed in this essay were derived from the forms of work their bearers carried out. Their distributions suggest strongly that work-related

terminology for marking people's status emerged largely in the wake of the growth of waged labour, early in the twentieth century.[59] The exception to this claim must surely be the forms of indentured labour associated with livestock-keeping, most clearly conveyed through the history of the label °-*simba* which meant in Proto West Nyanza 'someone who looks after someone else's cattle', conveying a general sense of being a dependent male (Appendix nos. 15.1 and 15.2).[60] The term is widely distributed from the Great Lakes region to the Swahili coast, but across this broad region it was used to name very different features of work and lower social standing. In the Lakes region, the meanings 'herder' or 'hired shepherd' were derived from a far more widespread verb #-*sumba* 'to look after, care for', a meaning that also supported semantic extensions to include 'youth; groom' in Kaskazi languages.[61] These meaning chains refer elegantly to the overlapping realities for young men of the salience of elders' control over resources that could drive the young men into service in pursuit of the material wealth they might need in order to marry or to escape from bad economic circumstances. In North Rutara societies, a °-*musumba* was someone who might be at one and the same time a 'herder', a 'slave' or a 'bondservant'. In West Highlands societies, the term could refer to a 'client', a 'slave', or a 'servant'. In the absence of corroborating evidence from comparative oral traditions, the narrow distribution of this particular polysemy makes dating its creation impossible, but it was clearly in play across the twentieth century.

When James Augustus Grant described the sort of person reckoned most valuable as a slave in Unyanyembe in 1861, his observations constituted a short-hand for the stereotypes of slavery in Africa that fired the moral imaginations of missionaries and colonials. It also captured something of the intensified associations between labour and slavery and an implicit equation of female reproductive power with slavery.

> Slaves from the northern kingdoms of Uganda, &c., were considered the most valuable, just in the same way as many persons consider a country girl the best servant. They were held to be more trustworthy than men from the coast, made excellent servants, and were famous at killing or capturing wild animals. The most esteemed women were of the Wahumah tribe from Karague; they resembled the Abyssinians.[62]

Grant's characterisations of skill and phenotype emphasised gendered divisions of labour, referred obliquely to racialised categories, and suggested the importance of sexuality to the consumption of slaves south of Lake Victoria.

In another passage, Grant also described a slave hierarchy in Buzinza, with a gang of male slaves in irons working as rice gleaners – thrashing the grain heads with their feet and toes and winnowing the thrashed grain by throwing it up into the wind – while women used small hand knives to reap the ripe heads of rice in Buzinza.[63] Yet a little further on in his account, Grant opined that 'the slaves of the Wezees' [Banyamwezi]

enjoyed a status very different from slaves at Zanzibar being 'very well dressed, and treated with great kindness, never doing but what they choose'.[64] Though Grant lumps all slaves together under that seemingly straightforward rubric, it is clear enough that the 'very well dressed' persons who could do what they wanted belonged to a social standing in which privation and constraint were not defining features.[65]

The semantic distance between military captive and slave was not often bridged in Great Lakes Bantu languages; they were rarely synonyms.[66] Though plundering property, including people, is a practice with deep roots in this region and beyond, it is important to notice that virtually none of the large nineteenth-century lexicon for forms of slavery was derived from verbs which described plunder and pillage. In the few instances where this particular semantic extension from 'captive' to 'slave' did occur (Appendix nos. 1, 14.2, 14.4, 14.6), we find echoes of the claim that 'acts of disruption and bodily alienation … are at the beginning of every slave's story'.[67] Even though captivity, among all the other circumstances that produced enslavement, clearly became prominent in the Lakes region only in the eighteenth century, it is still surprising that such alienation was suppressed by the general refusal to name slaves with nouns derived from verbs for acts of capture, raiding, or pillage and plunder.

Labellers used metonymy to locate slavery alongside familiar forms of social life. In the later 1950s, the word °-*muhuuku* (Nkore and Kiga) or °-*mupfüku* (Hunde) meant 'servant, bondsman or slave'. The phonological structure of these two words corresponds regularly. Hunde-speakers pronounce the consonant /p/ as a voiced labial fricative /pf/ when it is surrounded by the vowel /u/. Nkore and Kiga-speakers pronounce /p/ as an /h/ in the same vowel environment. Given these regularities, it is unlikely that the word and its meanings were transferred between these three languages. Yet, the distribution has a block shape that overruns the boundaries of established subgroups of Great Lakes Bantu. According to lexicostatistical analyses and a set of shared innovations, Hunde belongs in the Forest group, while Nkore and Kiga belong in the Rutara group.[68] So the phonological and distributional evidence combine to suggest that the term was invented separately in Hunde and in Nkore and Kiga. These linguistic neighbours experienced similar circumstances and drew on similar parts of speech in reacting to and interpreting those circumstances. The source for this noun appears to have been a verb, °-*kupuuka* 'to get thinner, lose weight; to fail'. The poetics of naming a slave or a servant by using a verb for physical privation took place between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, when the three languages had clearly diverged. The very chain of meanings that the word had accumulated by the twentieth century included unwaged work and seemed to fold slavehood into servitude.

The semantics of labelling slave statuses, service relationships and social hierarchy in Great Lakes Bantu languages can be seen in the light of Kopytoff and Miers' sense of institutionalised marginality in African

slaveries.[69] In the Lakes region, many people created and sustained a distinction between slaves produced by warfare and those who slipped from clientship to pawnship into slavehood, a continuum echoed by the meanings attached to the word °-*muhuuku*/°-*mupfúku*. Military captives had far fewer options[70] to mitigate their vulnerability compared with slaves who had been pawns or even former clients who could at least hope to draw various members of their lineage or clan or their former village or workgroup, and so on, into the work of redeeming them. In the course of the nineteenth century, as the circuits in which slaves might move came more often to include disappearance to the coast, a new sense of urgency must have entered such negotiations. One side of the distinction between captive and pawn appears in the common practice of stretching the semantic field around some old and widespread terms for domestic or noble servitude (Appendix 4.1, 4.2, 4.3) – which often, though not exclusively, were recruited into forms of pawnship – to include notions of unwaged domestic work in the twentieth century.

This essay has taken seriously the scholarly commonplace of locating in the nineteenth century the beginnings of the commodification of social relationships as a feature of the intensification of coastwise trade. And terms related to purchasing slaves lend strong support to the timing of this transition, even if they also support a claim for considerable variation in its local and regional lexical forms and, hence, historical experiences. Ganda, Masaaβa, Hanga, North Rutara and West Highlands-speakers each separately derived a word naming a slave gotten by purchase or exchange from a verb #-*gùla* which means 'to buy' (Appendix nos. 6.1, 6.2, 6.3). The derivation tells us nothing about what sorts of people – captives, pawns, criminals, 'witches' and so on – might have become purchased people or moved through purchase.

Regional and local differences in the derivational processes people used to create these labels reveal some of the contexts that shaped these innovations. West Highlands-speakers added an associative suffix and thereby underscored the importance of exchange at the heart of the purchase (Appendix no. 6.1). When they invented their noun for a purchased slave (Appendix no. 6.2), North Rutara-speakers added a passive infix in order to mark a purchased slave's lack of agency. Ganda-speakers used phrases, and a simple agentive noun, that emphasised the act of buying and the agency of the buyer (Appendix no. 6.3). Hanga-speakers simply added the appropriate noun class marker to the stem, without the agentive. Masaaβa-speakers used the passive infix, like Nyoro, Nkore and Kiga-speakers. For all this diversity in perception and in deriving these names, they all share the notion that some sort of involuntary transfer created the enslaved person. This most commonly referred to the act of purchasing an enslaved person, but was not restricted to this meaning. That fact suggests that the invention of words for 'purchased slave' drew on older patterns of exchanging people, even if the context for that innovation was the violently commodifying world of the nineteenth

century in which commercial exchange involved less permanent connections between buyers and sellers.

Language evidence suggests that roots for these transitions run deeper than the nineteenth century. The most interesting example comes from thinking about the historical semantics of the verb #-*gùla*, 'to buy'. In one of the few large-scale studies of innovations in Savannah Bantu, Christopher Ehret argues that this root is an inherited feature in Great Lakes – having undergone a semantic shift during the earlier East Savanna era.[71] The innovation lay in East Savannah-speaking people having begun to use the verb to mean 'to buy' instead of 'to sell', its purportedly older meaning for Proto Bantu-speakers. The strength of Ehret's claim rests entirely on distributional evidence: the new meaning attached to #-*gùla* occurs in select, non-contiguous branches of Eastern Savanna Bantu, while the older meaning occurs in select, non-contiguous branches of Forest Bantu. Assuming Ehret is correct, what contexts might explain this semantic shift, an apparent reversal of perspective from donor to recipient?

The practice of using one verbal form to refer to 'buying' and another to refer to 'selling' emerged in social settings where new financial arrangements – perhaps based on currency forms – and impersonal forms of exchange (even if carried out in markets) split up what had earlier been a single conceptual field of 'exchange'. This semantic splitting developed and spread in the contexts of newly commodified trade relations, where 'buying' and 'selling' were undertaken by respectively specialised producers and consumers and could mark the standing of debtor and creditor. This could be connected with the growth of complex networks of trade in rare goods, like kaolin or iron, or with trade in exotic goods, like glass beads, cloth and foreign metalwork, or with trade and exchange in foodstuffs, persons and firearms.[72] Abundant evidence exists for these specialisations by the eighteenth century, at the very latest, and we suspect them to be much older.[73] In each case, the argument that inventing a word for 'selling' also meant inventing a word for 'buying' implies that both came into existence from a single, unified concept involving things and social relationships, a conceptualisation that might be rather poetically glossed as 'to connect socially through the movement of things'. Though difficult to date from language evidence alone, the semantic shift does make sense in the light of any of the well-known periods in the history of commodification in Africa.[74]

Consider this somewhat tortured suggestion in the light of Christopher Ehret's argument concerning the semantic history of Eastern Savannah's #-*gùla*, 'to buy'. The larger claim for the antiquity of commodified people, people who were 'bought and sold', is supported by the semantic history of another root, °-*suumba* or °-*somba* 'slave'. This term might just be a deverbative of the verb, °-*cúmba*, 'to buy' (Appendix no. 15.2), replaced in Eastern Savannah times by #-*gùla*. Transfers of persons – outside of pawning and marriage – between households or institutional settings such as shrines may well be extremely ancient; certainly they are at least as old

as the sorts of violence and ill-health that could produce exchangeable, socially dislocated, persons.

The linguistic evidence discussed so far could be read as confirming the observation, made by the historian John Iliffe, that 'the assimilative capacity of tropical African societies created a hierarchy among slaves'.[75] But they were actually plural hierarchies, depending on the period and region under consideration. And relations between the levels also differed according to the same contextual factors, even while some aspects of slave hierarchies appear to be quite ancient. Eighteenth-century militarisms increased the volume of displaced persons, even if the distance they had travelled seems comparatively small in relation to the growth of coastwise trade in the nineteenth century. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, statuses such as page and court slave included both pawned persons and 'placed' persons with noble standing or noble pretensions. Dynastic oral traditions and other historical tales take for granted such social distinctions – they recognise some court followers as menials and others as clients on a continuum – and do not confuse such persons with captives and criminals whose fate a royal court may decide.

Gender and hierarchies mutually constituted each other, as well. One of the most important ways in which this worked revolved around the forms of honour and respect which slaves at different levels of a hierarchy could hope to accumulate and use to improve the concessions they could win from superiors. For female dependants and slaves, this was most often – and over the longer term – tied to their reproductive powers. The core meaning of the *muzaana* as an auxiliary, infantilised person captures the ambiguous nature of this power. It reminds us of the fuzzy, changing relationships between hegemonic notions – fantasies, really, shaped in key ways by gender, generation, and status – of social hierarchy and the everyday realities of social life in a hierarchical world.

Conclusions and Future Research

The linguistic evidence reviewed here confirms the commonplaces of enslavement. Over the last millennium, between the Great Lakes, people became slaves by capture, by purchase and by debt-pawning.[76] By itself, language evidence is a dangerous foundation for offering calendar dates, but the evidence presented here can be read inside already well-established chronologies for regional social history to suggest that violent capture and pillage have long histories, reaching well into the first millennium CE.[77] It is quite likely that pawning has been around just as long, but it seems clearly to have grown in prominence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the rise of politically centralised states with territorial ambitions, and increasing levels of pressure and insecurity in highly specialised food systems.[78] One of the more important responsibilities of leaders in these states lay in providing refuge at court to struggling

followers and their families. Transfers of persons through markets seem a more recent development, probably no older than the eighteenth century, but gaining in velocity and volume throughout the nineteenth century.[79]

Different labels for slaves often referred to the different realities they faced, as historians have determined for the Mrima coast, Unguja and Buganda in the second half of the nineteenth century.[80] Some of those who were initially labelled in the fashions just discussed, could find themselves living later in life under a different designation altogether. The connections between newcomers and persons lacking the social capital to sustain responses to scornful and backbiting talk are clear enough. They describe a slave's extremely vulnerable condition, having been removed from her or his community and made a stranger elsewhere. But the connection under- scores the reality of a common conceptual framework – the framework of social hierarchy – inside which different sorts of people could strategically work their way up the ladder from enslaved newcomer or refugee to affiliated insider.

People could achieve this social integration if they could initiate and sever patron-client relationships according to their own calculus, within the precepts of the system. The latitude to give service, support or children to one another formed a fundament of social life between the Great Lakes. Persons who entered a community as an outsider, as a slave, had the least capacity to prosecute such ties. Yet, as Jonathon Glassman has shown us for central coastal towns such as Bagamoyo, Pangani, and Sadani, such slaves could use the patriarchal and paternalist logics of mutual obligation to create roles for themselves as patrons of others still more recently arrived. Women possessed skills and capacities which put them at an advantage over men in negotiating modes of obligated social ties. The loss of mobility in the social system – a mobility most often realised through their successful movement through socially sanctioned phases in a life course – faced by women who had been stolen in raids and removed from their affinal and sanguineous networks of support limited their capacity to move through generational phases in a socially recognised fashion. The chance to use brideprice, motherhood and formal marriage arrangements to create a new place, a relational standing for themselves – just as has been documented so compellingly for southern Tanzania by Marcia Wright – was their most effective tool to combat the marginalisation and indignity of recent transfer.[81]

The labels discussed in this essay are remarkable for another reason. Many of them are unique to different parts of the Great Lakes region rather than constituting local extensions of much farther-flung networks of notions of slaving.[82] More than any other argument presented here, this distinctive quality of the language evidence points to regional social historical forces as central to shaping the development of slavehoods and slaving between the Great Lakes. However, other forms of semantic extension point to the antiquity of the practice of capture and raiding or the antiquity of discourses of the socially marginal person as a newcomer.

These data for the early history of slavery and enslavement between the Great Lakes only touch the surface of these issues.[83] And their treatment in this essay might give the misleading impression that a historian can use the well-known features of nineteenth-century slavery as transhistorical criteria for isolating earlier forms.[84] Nothing could be further from the truth, and this is why future studies must develop further the interests of states, the various forms and scales of violence, and numerous aspects of vulnerability and dependence. These contextual factors shaped the experience of slavery in earlier centuries very differently from the way commodification did in the nineteenth century. Just considering state interests will require a full accounting of the nature and significance of building archly patriarchal ideologies designed to control male access to fertile women, extending the monarch's claims to have absolute control over the power to take life, and providing nobles and military personnel (sometimes the same persons) with new sources of 'followers'.[85] As the late historian Gerald Hartwig argued more than 25 years ago for Bukerebe, slavery came along 'when a centralised system of government was introduced and a stratified society developed'.[86] But we know now that social stratification had been con-figured and reconfigured many times over before anything resembling political centralisation appeared in the Great Lakes region. In that sense, the roots of inequality and dependence run deep in the region. Yet the genealogies of slavery, inequality and dependence are highly diverse there.[87] Exploring their particular forms and interrelations in the region's larger states – by re-reading dynastic and other oral traditions – should reveal much of interest.

Paul Lovejoy, a leading historian of slavery in Africa and of commerce in slaves in and out of Africa, has argued famously that slavery in Africa was transformed in a complex dynamic by overseas demand during the centuries of the transatlantic slave trade. For Lovejoy, this transformation involved slavery becoming central to production in particular African societies, especially as enslavement became integrated into a slave system and markets for slaves shaped local situations in discernible and powerful ways.[88] Histories of slavery in the Great Lakes region cannot easily be fitted into Paul Lovejoy's transformation thesis. For one thing, dependency and hierarchy and militarism – which together were key elements of the engines of the transformation – are each and together older than the market and the cultural forces driving coastwise demand for slaves, a mode of demand to which he attributes new and harsher forms of enslavement.[89] On the other hand, the importance of militarism to eighteenth-century state-building between the Great Lakes seems likely to have increased internal dislocations of dependent persons but not as a function of markets. Markets for slaves grew, and supplies and demand increased in volume and velocity in the nineteenth century, when something like Lovejoy's trans-formation thesis can be seen in parts of East Africa, including Buganda.[90]

Another leading scholar of slavery in Africa, John Thornton, has characterised it as widespread in the continent after 1680.[91] But disen-tangling the many forms of slavery – from Lovejoy's violent alienations of labour to Miers' and Kopytoff's kin-incorporation continuum – and distinguishing the forces that shaped each particular form during this recent period from their deeper roots is fraught with teleological pitfalls. Some aspects of the coastwise trade in slaves, so well documented from late in the eighteenth century, may well have been the 'outgrowth of this internal slavery', and, thus, the opposite of the essentially external causation of Lovejoy and Thornton. But teleology may lurk in such an analytical approach, in the form of a transhistorical importance assigned to dislocation. We must take seriously how radically different were the conditions of a slave's vulnerability in the early sixteenth and the later eighteenth centuries. Then, in order for a modified form of Lovejoy's thesis, applicable in the region beginning perhaps as early as the seventeenth century and clearly in evidence by the second half of the seventeenth century, to help us understand the historical forces that nineteenth century, to help us understand the historical forces that 'ejected' persons into the coastwise trade, we will need to cast our net much wider than the fairly narrow category of 'the slave' in the long nineteenth century to include the broad, local notions of social differ-entiation within the region.

Deeper social histories of violence, vulnerability and authority will provide the historical contexts for thinking about dependence, marginality and slavery between the Great Lakes. Though this essay has offered meaningful generalisations about these broader pools of experience and their intellectual output, it is clear from the semantic histories of the names for slaves most commonly recorded in the 1860s and 1870s that isolating the slave from kinship systems and from social networks that might generate honour and respect was a key means to establish private, cor-porate and state ownership of a slave's labour and person. Thornton has argued that 'private ownership of labour...provided the African entre-preneur with secure and reproducing wealth.'[92] Establishing and maintain-ing a slave's solitude was central to the master's 'security'.

The most exciting aspect of future work in the history of slavery in the Lakes region will be the ways in which it opens up questions of the distinctive roots of African histories of individuality, of hierarchy and obligation, of honour and shame, and of a militarised commerce in property, including persons as property. Such histories will project out-ward from Africa a complex series of engagements, constructions and various contributions to cosmopolitan diasporic modernities well beyond the scope of this essay.[93] Details of these humanistic themes in African histories of slavery and enslavement will emerge more clearly in studies of the needs and aspirations of embodied individuals, of atomised collectivities, and of the shifting boundaries among them. The nature of slavery and freedom, inequality and hierarchy, is not fixed but in flux, and that means that we can only understand the futility of definitions if we begin by claiming them and then working to demolish them.

In the centuries before 1600, Great Lakes Bantu-speakers, like others around the globe, had no way to speak of 'freedom' as a condition of an atomised personal independence. The ideal – if not the idea – of individually embodied independence was untenable in a political economy of reciprocity, obligation, hierarchy, assumed inequalities, separate spheres of gendered activity and theories of composite corporeal power. As an ideal to be aspired to by state and society, this notion would have seemed absurd to people living between the Great Lakes before the seventeenth century. However, with the birth of organised state-sponsored violence in which large numbers of captives were moved fairly long distances from their networks of support and aspiration, 'freedom' might well have come to mean the absence of such depredations.[94] By the nineteenth century, captives, criminals, 'sorcerers' and outcasts of every stripe had to consider that their fate might take them even farther away from 'home' – to 'the coast', for example. This new reality, together with the increasingly frequent and non-centralised raiding, might have intensified the notions of 'freedom' as the absence of removal.

Even if a social hierarchy that required clear if debatable lines between insiders and outsiders has been developing for more than a millennium between the Lakes, it is not at all clear that it is helpful to use the term 'slave' to refer to those at the bottom of that hierarchy at any given point in time before the seventeenth century. In the centuries before states, agrarian societies did not possess mechanisms to enforce the creation of class relations over the long term. However, as the territorial boundaries between increasingly aggressive states took firmer shape, beginning in the seventeenth century and clearly in place in the eighteenth century, something like Claude Meillassoux's 'womb of iron' may have begun to grow as violence dislodged persons whose labour was central to continuing warfare.[95] In the second half of the eighteenth century, and throughout the course of the nineteenth century, Meillassoux's 'womb of gold' swelled and the exchange of commodified persons drove a calculus of individual male and royal female accumulation as a central feature of wealth that underwrote state aggrandisement.[96]

The language evidence discussed in this essay suggests that the intellectual tool kit of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Great Lakes Africans could not have confused notions of the individual as a free person embodying elements of stand-alone choice and will with notions of social justice and/or capacities to achieve satisfaction, health and peace. Indeed, people argued most passionately about who could occupy (or invent) which stations in a complex network of hierarchical positions tied together by obligations designed to provide flows of mutual aid and material support.[97] And they argued about the moral conditions that ensured that those obligations would remain reciprocal, a set of moral conditions whose roots ran equally to intellectual habits and to material circumstance.[98] They argued about these issues, in part, by appealing to other notions of cultural superiority and inferiority which had largely local and subregional

scope. In the mid-nineteenth century, well before Europeans 'arrived' in the region, Ganda and Nyoro, Rwanda and Shi opinions of their own and of each other's cultural power exemplified one form of this.[99] Hima and Iru or Tuutsi and Hutu attitudes toward each other's cultural, material and political power exemplified another.[100] All of them in common appealed to glorious past conquests, to notions of common descent and the exclusions made possible by that metaphor, and to steadfast rankings of these inalterable – because past – 'facts' and allegedly inherent 'traits'. Other oppositional binaries could be adduced. Participation and exclusion, articulation and silence, as couplets, formed key intellectual and substantive contexts for these arguments.

Their richness notwithstanding, these data cannot tell us how vulnerable people understood and talked about their own lives. We have no access to slave discourse through reconstructed lexical material. We can only glimpse some of the effects of this discourse on the development of the lexis by considering carefully the conceits and explicit judgments contained in semantic histories. Metaphor, metonymy and synonymy are not value-free tools; they reflect choices, and choices express the interests of the chooser. In order to suggest what interests might say about who did the choosing, we can draw on what we already know about historical shifts and continuities in the social logic of obligation and hierarchy between the Great Lakes to the eighteenth century. In this way, we can infer the nature of the interests that motivated different acts of metaphorical extension, metonymic joining and the maintenance of a rich environment of synonymy during different periods in the past. And we can suggest who might have offered those 'moves' and why they might have been accepted by the speaking and audible public and taken into speech so that they remained alive to turn up in the accounts – oral and written and mixtures of the two – generated in the nineteenth century, or to appear in the twentieth- and twenty-first-century work of the philologists and linguists of the region's tongues.

A Brief Note on Historical Linguistic Method

Historical linguistic work in the relevant Bantu languages in the Great Lakes region and in coastal Eastern Africa is highly advanced.[101] It involves the comparative study of words and meanings in historically related sub-groups of contemporary Bantu languages. By discovering words with similar meanings and regularly corresponding sounds, scholars can reconstruct their earlier forms.[102] The reconstructed vocabulary discussed in this essay and presented in the following Appendix, is inferred from the regularities in sound correspondence and in patterns of semantic range observed in a set of contemporary Bantu languages. It constitutes part of a 'proto' language ancestral to the contemporary languages. It reflects the historical persistence of a community of speakers using those

words and meanings. As people invented new terms or added new meanings to existing terms, increased linguistic difference is recognisable in distinctive sets of reconstructed words and meanings shared by different groups of contemporary languages. The denser the webs of reconstructed vocabulary and of contrasting meanings carried by different words in each proto language, the more such contrasts reveal about the normative values used by East Africans to make moral, phenomenological and political distinctions at different times in the past.[103]

Appendix: Reconstructed Vocabulary[104]

1. °-*bóhe* 1/2, 9 'captive, prisoner'; °-*bóha* 1/2, 14 'prisoner, captivity'; °-*bóhwa* 1/2 'prisoner, enslaved person'.

Nyoro, Nkore, Kiga, Haya, Ziba, Rwanda, Rundi, Ha; Nande, Kuria, Masaaßa, Hanga; Rundi, Nyoro, Nkore, Kiga, Nande.

Derived from the Proto Eastern Savannah verb #-*ßópa* 'to tie up, bind up'. The variety of forms suggests separate innovations, in the last five centuries, after the Proto Rutara- and Proto West Highlands- and Proto Central Luhyia-speech communities had broken up.

2. °-*vuma* 9, 1/2; °-*vumo* 1/2 'slave, chattel slave; royal employee'.

Ganda, Kerewe.

Derived from Proto Eastern Savannah #-*ßuma* 'talk bad about, scorn, curse'. Gwere attest *kivuma* 'item of tribute'. The association of a bad talk and social inferiority seems to date at least from Proto West Nyanza, but is probably much older. The specific meaning in Ganda could have emerged any time after the sixteenth century, by which time Proto North Nyanza had fully broken up.

4.1. °-*garagú* 1/2 'male servant, client (someone who has received gifts)'.

Shi, Haavu, Goyi; Rwanda, Rundi; Kiga.

One of three related forms with areal distributions. This one has Lake Kivu at its epicentre and its spread – likely from multiple centres – reflects the increasingly dense networks of obligation that accompanied the growth of royal power in Rwanda and Bushi during the eighteenth century. It probably derived from #-*gàla* 'to come back, go back' by reduplication.

4.2. °-*gàlágwa* 1/4 and 14 'royal's servant; service to a king'.

Kiga, Nyoro, Nkore, Haya.

During German colonial rule, the Haya noun named an uncivilised, poorly

educated person. This may point to the uncertain circumstances that sometimes produced royal pages or pawns. A passive infix suggests a separate innovation in this zone, perhaps conserving the importance of the absence of agency at the moment a person entered this social condition. A North Rutaran innovation, from between the sixteenth century (when glottochronology suggests this subgroup had begun to break up) and the very recent past.

4.3. °-*galagala* 1/2 'young male courtier, sometimes with specific responsibilities'.

Ganda; Kooki, Nyoro; Koonzo.

In the 1980s, the Koonzo noun named someone who worked as a domestic for no wages, a condition considered slave-like. This shows how notions of service changed from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries, as commodification and the thinning of networks of obligation created a deeper relief around the figure of the dependent individual. In the absence of detailed language evidence from Lugwere and Lusoga, it is dangerous to say much about the time depth of this innovation. It has been most carefully described in Ganda settings, descriptions that dominate any sense of the range of meanings the term could name. At the very least, its distribution further underscores the close relationship between Ganda and Nyoro royalty.

5. °-*gaya* 1/2 'servile, enslavable people'.

Jita, Kwaya; Kerewe.

According to Kerewe-speakers, this is a slur hurled at Luo people who suffered raids for slaves in the later nineteenth century led by Suguti-speaking peoples. It is derived from a Proto Bantu verb *-*gaya* 'despise', retained in Great Lakes Bantu.

6.1. -*gurano*, -*guranyi* 1/2 'purchase slave; an endangerer, slaver'.

Rwanda, Rundi.

As with the next two entries, this term was derived from #-*gùla* 'to buy'. The extremely narrow distribution points to the later nineteenth century, when Rundi and Rwandan monarchies were distinct. Its apparent absence in the Ha dialects should be checked. If this holds up, this term and its relatives, below, strongly point to the novelty of the coastwise exchange of slaves.

6.2. -*gùrwa* 1/2 'bondman, slave; bought person'.

Nyoro, Nkore, Kiga; Masaaßa.

Only the Masaaßa attestations specify a purchase slave. North Rutarans made the term work as a generic.

6.3. -*gule*, -*gula* 1/2 'purchase slave'

Ganda; Hanga; Gusii.

In the 1930s, this had become a generic term for 'slave' in Hanga. Both Gusii and Ganda specify the meaning 'purchase slave'. This distribution is quite strange. At first glance it might suggest a considerable antiquity for the term, especially since the Gusii attestation displays the vowel-lowering characteristic of North Mara languages. But since this is still active in Kuria, it cannot be used as a diagnostic sound change. Instead, the distribution might reflect a series of innovations for purchase slaves that emerged along the Mara slaving route/zone.

7. °–*wáambi*, °–*hàmbè* 1/2 'captor, prisoner of war, captive'; °–*hambuzi* 1/2 'captor'.

Ganda; Northern and Southern Gisu; Hanga; Nyoro, Nkore.

An agentive noun derived from the Proto Eastern Savannah verb #-*pámba* 'tie down, immobilise' which supported a widespread and naturalistic semantic extension to acts of seizure and plunder. The equation of captivity with plunder and internal displacements of people is clear. The skewing suggests separate innovations of these nouns, perhaps in the context of Gandan and Luhyia military traditions, increasingly prominent in the eighteenth century. The tonal differences between North Nyanza and North Luhyia seem regular.

8. °–*aambuzi* 1/2 'robber; destroyer, brigand, pillager', °–*aamburo* 7/8 'authorisation to pillage'.

Rwanda, Rundi.

This agentive noun was derived from the verb (in Rundi and Rwanda [with a long V₁]) *kwambura* 'to undress; to take by force,' which is the reversive form of the verb °–*ambara* 'to dress'. The derivation shows clearly that robbing and pillaging involved some fundamental violations of the public, dressed body, at least in the central West Highlands area. Shi has *oomwaambali* 1/2 'subject, servant', very likely from KiNgwana: *mwambali* 'from far away'. If this was a cognate form, we should expect *oomwaambazi*.

9. –*huuku*, –*pfúku* 1/2 'slave, servant, bondsman'.

Nkore, Kiga; Hunde.

The term *omunyagahuku* also appears in Hunde. It carries the following, literal meaning: *omu-nya-gahuku*, 'one who has been taken over by crushing circumstances'. The Hunde attestation corresponds regularly, by spirantisation. This suggests a separate innovation in Nkore and Kiga, on the one hand, and in Hunde, on the other hand. Confer Hunde *ipfúka* 'to fail, be beaten'.[105] That, in turn, suggests broadly similar circumstances across the three speech communities, rather than some sort of stimulus diffusion. Etymology is uncertain, but perhaps a deverbative from the stem *-huka* 'get thinner, lose weight'. The derivation suggests links with hunger and vulnerability and perhaps refugees of famine.

10. –*irù* 1/2; 14 'dependant, servant, client, bondman, slave; servitude'.

Ganda, Gwere, Soga; Kerewe, Kiga, Nkore, Nyoro, Yóòza, Ziba; Nyole; Sumbwa, Nyamwezi

The glosses given to this term in the literature bear the traces of late precolonial- and colonial-era patrician efforts to promote their views on social hierarchies in the Great Lakes region. Royals and pastoralists had the most at stake in this regard. Early in the twentieth century, the noun in Haya stated this position explicitly: slave, farm labourer, servant; subject (original inhabitant, racially separate from *Muhiima*)'. It is therefore dangerous to rely solely on them as a guide to any earlier meanings the term might have carried. Nevertheless, for our purposes, it is clear enough that where the term referred to the status of client, this was the meaning that supported extensions into the realms of coerced work and the attempt to fix such persons at the bottom of a given social hierarchy. The Kiga meaning is 'peasant' and hints at an earlier period where formulating the occupation of the farmer as distinct from that of other, especially pastoralist activities had political and social traction. This seems plausible if only because Kigezi – where RuKiga is spoken – remained peripheral to the main currents of slaving, if not to those of precolonial state militarisms and colonial violence. By the 1970s, in South Rutara, the term meant 'poor person' and had lost connections with bonded labour. The operation of germination in Ganda and the distributional evidence strongly support a claim for Proto West Nyanza as the speech community in which this term first appeared. It is not hard to see a semantic history proceeding from the invention of a term for farmer as part of a politicisation of pastoralism and agriculture in general. This meaning quickly accumulated nuances associated with clientship, especially as clientship was embodied most commonly through the transfer of land and/or cattle, in the middle of the second millennium CE. Applying notions of coerced labour and political subjugation came last, as subordination became a vehicle to differentiation in these terms. Etymology is uncertain. One possibility is a verb #-*ida* (reflexive) 'come back, return', often replaced by #-*garuka* in Great Lakes Bantu, and thus shows the sort of relict distribution expected from a fairly old term. The semantic connection would seem to have been that dependants and clients should be dependable, reliable supporters.

11. –*ja* 1/2; 14 'dependant, servant, slave. Newcomer, refugee'.

In Great Lakes Bantu: Shi, Hunde, Haavu, Fuliru, Tembo, Goyi; Rwanda, Rundi, Ha, Vinza; Zu, Shashi

Beyond Great Lakes Bantu: Sumbwa, Nyamwezi (Tabora dialect); Luba-Katanga, Luba-Sanga; Nyika; Bemba, Nsenga; Ila; Lenje; Guha; Tabwa; Mambwe; Bisa; Lala-Lamba; Fipa; Pimbwe; Wungu. Proto Sabaki.

Peta (Johnston 1919, Vol. 1, 259) has *ntsākazi* 'female slave'; *Mang'anja* (Johnston 1919, Vol. 1, 243) has *mdzakazi*, in the same meaning. This is one of the very few terms for slavery in Great Lakes Bantu with a very broad, nearly block distribution that closely marks the territory of long-distance trade routes of any sort, let alone those which reached into and beyond the lands of both the Luba state and the Indian Ocean caravanning routes. Only a few from Swahili (*-tumwa*?) and one or two reaching westwards (*-peka*?) have similarly vast distributions. In the Lakes

region, it is concentrated in Forest and West Highlands, though it does turn up in two of the Mara languages (a branch of East Nyanza). It is often gendered female with the addition of #-*kazi* 'woman', with the male form unmarked. Shi attests the reverse. The etymology is unclear. Meeussen gives *-*dįa* [L] or *-*ja* 'slave'.[106] Nurse and Hinnebusch reconstruct Proto Sabaki *-*muja* 'newcomer'.[107]

12.1. °-*kwatwa* 1/2, 9/10; 'captive, prisoner'.

Nyoro, Nkore, Kerewe.

In the later 1980s, the verbal form in Hangaza meant 'to marry by abduction'. Together with the following entry, these two areal forms are deverbatives of the stem *-*kúát-* 'seize' (C.S. #1172 in Guthrie 1967–71, Vol. 3, 304) which is itself very likely derived from *Proto Bantu* (Meeussen 1980, 29) *-*gu-* 'fall' and showing Dahl's Law with the addition of the contactive suffix *-*at-*. *Rundi* (Rodegem 1970, 133) has *kugwata* 'to fall on and seize firmly, to seize, take, hold and squeeze'. This noun was made from a passive form of that verb. The gaps in the distribution support a claim that the noun was innovated in the Proto Rutara era, between 700 and 900 years ago by glottochronological dating. A more recent set of separate innovations cannot be ruled out, given the easy derivational process involved and the absence of distinctive sound changes.

12.2. °-*kwâsi* 1/2 'captor, catcher'.

Rundi; Ganda; Nyoro, Nkore, Kiga.

This noun was made from the foregoing stem by adding the agentive suffix *-*i*. It is not hard to see the block distribution as a reflection of repeated raiding between the four different language zones.

13. °-*fáté* 9/10; -*fatwa* 1/2 'captive, defendant; prisoner of war'.

Rwanda; Rundi, Ha.

This noun was made from the widespread stem *-*pát-* 'hold' (C.S. #1453 in Guthrie 1967–71, Vol. 4, 43). The restricted distribution, as well as the formal skewing, suggests the innovation developed no earlier than the eighteenth century, after Rwandan and Rundi polities had taken shape and begun to exert pressure on linguistic standardisation.

14.1. #-*nyagi* 1/2; 14 'captor, pillager; thief, robber; pillaging'.

Ganda; Haya, Nyoro, Nkore; Nande; Shi; Rundi, Rwanda, Ha.

Hanga has –*nyewa* 'to abuse'. The skewing suggests multiple, separate innovations either by internal derivations or by loaning. Together with the block distribution, the evidence points to an areal feature developed since the breakup of North Nyanza, Rutara, and Rwenzori. This was no longer ago than the oldest of these groups: North Nyanza at about 800 CE. Or not more recently than the breakup of the youngest of these groups: Rwenzori at about 1400 CE. Both dates come from

glottochronology. The following narrowly distributed and broadly synonymous forms reveal a social world awash with plundered things and people. These nouns were made from the Proto Savannah verb #-*nyag-* 'pillage; repossess'.

14.2. °-*nyage* 1/2 'plunder slaves; captive (from a raid)'.

Ganda.

14.3. °-*nyagwa* 1/2 'captive'.

Nyoro, Nkore.

14.4. -*nyagáno* 1/2 'female captive; war captive'.

Haya; Rwanda.

14.5. °-*nyago* 3/4 'plunder, booty'.

Ganda; Nyoro, Nkore.

14.6. °-*nyewa*, °-*nyewo* 14 'bondage, captivity'; °-*nyegawa*, °-*nyewa* 1/2 'captive, slave'.

Nande.

The skewing of these substantives strongly suggests these are recent innovations, perhaps loanwords, in Nande.

15.1. °-*sumba* 'youth, unmarried man; groom, fiancé'.

Ha; Samia, Hanga; Sumbwa, Sukuma; Nyilamba; Swahili.

The distribution suggests this meaning – essentially 'dependent male' – was the source for the following term, although it is entirely possible, even likely, that the two semantic fields – 'herder' and 'dependent male' – emerged and grew together. Generational politics often meant that young men who desired to marry with bridewealth had to indenture themselves to richer families. And the term held a rich metaphor of low status: anyone who entered such labour relations acted like a young unmarried man. Jan Vansina has suggested (personal communication, 15 February 2005) a derivation from #-*cumb-* 'accumulate, be on top, surpass', showing links with compositional wealth in people. But another possibility exists and it may be connected to the foregoing. The term may be a deverbative of C.S. 414 *-*cúmb-* (-*cúúmb-*) 'buy'.[108] This verb was replaced in Eastern Savannah by #-*gúl-* 'buy'. For this proposed derivation to hold, the noun must be a retention from Proto-Savannah. In that era, that verbal meaning that touched on exchange could have informed the meaning of the noun – young unmarried man – in the context of the movement of men into matrifocal groups.

15.2

. °-*shúmba*, °-*shūmba* 1/2 'herdsman, hired shepherd'; °-*suumba*, °-*somba* 1/2 'slave, bondservant'.

Nyoro, Nkore, Kiga, Yóòza, Haya, Ziba; Haavu, Hunde; Rwanda, Rundi; Gusii, Samia, Hanga.

In Ha the noun means 'adopted child'. In Rundi, the word also means 'client, valet, or serf'. In Hangaza *inshumba* 9 names a sort of cattle loan. In Gikuyu *gĩthũmbi; i-* 7/8 is 'one who works for food instead of pay (e.g. a poor or disabled woman who helps in harvesting a crop and is given the rejects as her reward)'. In the 1970s, Gusii, Samia, and Hanga terms meant 'slave, bondservant', perhaps capturing the essence of life as a herdsman in archly pastoralist settings.

16.1 #-*tĩĩ* (itr.) 'to fear'; #-*mutĩ* 1/2 'coward, timid person, fearful person'; #-*butĩ* 14 'fear, timidity, dread'.

Ganda, Gusii, Wanga, Masaba.

Ila, Totela, Bua, Yeyi, Mvita, Amu, Tikuu, Cewa, Teve, Subia, Mpongwe, Manyang' (Upper Cross River), Munshi (South Benue Basin).

Widespread in Bantoid and the source for much semantic innovation that connects notions of 'fear' to recognition of 'honour' in a much narrower set of speech communities. In Rutara, the substantive °-*tiini*, is derived from the associative form of the verb, °-*tiina*.

16.2. #-*tĩĩbwa* 7/8 'fear, respect, honour'.

North Nyanza: Ganda, Soga, Gwere.

A deverbative innovation in North Nyanza from a passive form of the verb *-tĩĩ* (itr.) 'to fear'.

16.3. #-*tĩĩnwa* 7/8 'honour'.

Rutara: Nyoro, Nkore, Kiga, Haya, Ziba, Kerewe, Zinza, Kyamtwara.

A deverbative innovation in Rutara from a passive form of the associative verb *-tiina* 'to fear each other, be afraid, fear'.

16.4. #-*tĩĩnya* 'to generate fear in; make afraid, cause to fear and respect'.

West Highlands: Rundi, Rwanda, Goyi.

A causative associative form of the verb *-tĩĩ* 'to fear'. Rutara used the causative associative form to derive the substantives #-*tiini* 14, 1 'fear; coward' and the verb *-tiina* 'be afraid'.

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17. -*tumwa* 'slave, male servant; messenger'.

Kuria; Regi; Bukusu; Luvale.

The meaning 'slave' seems likely to be a loan transfer from Swahili and Sabaki during the era of the caravan trade, even if the stem is much older and far more widespread. The derivation from the widespread verb #-*tumwa* (passive) 'be sent, be employed or used' is so common that firm conclusions are difficult in the absence of distinctive sound change. Bukusu attests both a Swahili form, which retains the initial /t/, and a North Luhyia form, in which the stem-initial /t/ has shifted to /r/ suggesting strongly that the meaning and not the stem was transferred from Swahili-speaking caravaners to Bukusu-speakers.

18. -*zaana* 1/2; -*zanakazi* 1/2 'servant; female slave, slave; slavery; maidservant, domestic, prostitute'.

Ganda; Kerewe, Zinza, Haya, Ziba, Nyoro, Nkore, Kiga; Nande, Koonzo; Rwanda.

A widespread, block distribution reflects recent innovation and subsequent direct diffusion of this term. It is nearly always gendered female and thus reflects the strong preference for female slaves both for local use and for the coastwise trade. The etymology is unclear, but the range of meanings carried by the term suggests that the *muzaana* was someone who came into a community setting as the extension of another person, presumably the captor or master, thereby subsuming the *muzaana*'s identity into that of her captor's. Meeussen gives *-jij-* [L] 'to come',[109] surface forms of which take different shapes in Great Lakes languages.

Notes

1   In a linguist's parlance, both of these forms of evidence are 'innovations'. In the first instance, a new word and meaning are created together. In the second instance, people attach a new meaning to an existing word. In reality these two operations are not always as discrete as my description might imply. New words and meanings often come into existence through simple derivational operations – for example, making a verb into a noun – which any competent speaker of a language can manage. In this example, both the noun – a new word – and its new meaning are the inventions.

2   To the extent that these legacies inform talk of power, standing, and political culture in the very recent past – as in the commonplace opposition of freedom to slavery – they disrupt a conventional temporality in which slavery is understood to have been vanquished in and through the uneven victories of colonial and postcolonial practices of embodied, individual freedom. And they raise the possibility of understanding epochal

breaks like 'emancipation' and 'independence' as radical redefinitions of the terms on which we understand vulnerability, violence and authority, even though they clearly marked the death of a particular political economy of slavery, in the first instance, and of a political culture of disenfranchisement, in the second instance; cf. Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question, Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2005), pp.237-8.

3 See David Schoenbrun, *A Green Place, A Good Place, Agrarian Change, Gender, and Social Identity in the Great Lakes Region to the 15th Century* (Portsmouth, NH, 1998), pp.100ff; Jeff Fleisher, 'Behind the Sultan of Kilwa's "rebellious conduct"', in Andrew M. Reid and Paul J. Lane (eds), *African Historical Archaeologies* (New York, 2004), pp.101–10.

4 For more on these issues, see Jonathon Glassman, 'No words of their own', *Slavery and Abolition*, 16, 1 (1995), pp.131–45.

5 Peter Robertshaw and David Taylor, 'Climate change and the rise of political complexity in Western Uganda', *Journal of African History*, 41, 1 (2000), pp.1–28.

6 For discussions of these structures see Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, pp.144ff, 176ff, 223ff; Jean-Pierre Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa, Two Thousand Years of History* (New York, 2003), pp.170–83; Holly Elisabeth Hanson, *Landed Obligation, The Practice of Power in Buganda* (Portsmouth, NH, 2003), pp.36–52; David Newbury, *Kings and Clans, Ijwi Island and the Lake Kivu Rift, 1780–1840* (Madison, WI, 1991), p.201ff; Jan Vansina, *Le Rwanda ancien, le royaume Nyiginya* (Paris, 2000), pp.98–127. Though Richard Reid claims that slaves inside such hierarchies in Buganda 'appear on the whole to have been resigned to their status' (*Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda* (Oxford, 2002), p.127) he nonetheless presents evidence which could be read against the grain to show how slaves used the social logics of these hierarchies to pursue their own aspirations; then see *ibid.*, pp.113ff. See also Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp.94–104, for a sense of how slave raiding destabilised the networks of reciprocal obligation in late-nineteenth-century Buganda; and Gerald W. Hartwig, 'The Victoria Nyanza as a trade route in the nineteenth century,' *Journal of African History*, 11, 4 (1970), pp.535–52.

7 But see suggestions in Bethwell A. Ogot (ed.), *War and Society in Africa* (London, 1972); and essays by Godfrey N. Uzoigwe, Warren Weinstein, and Dent Ocaya-Lakidi in Ali A. Mazrui (ed.), *The Warrior Tradition in Modern Africa* (Leiden, 1977); Robert S. Smith, *Warfare & Diplomacy in Pre-Colonial West Africa*, 2nd edn (London, 1989); John K. Thornton, *Warfare in Atlantic Africa, 1500–1800* (London, 1999); Wim van Binsbergen, '"Then give him to the crocodiles", violence, state formation, and cultural discontinuity in west central Zambia, 1600–2000', in Wim van Binsbergen (ed.), *The Dynamics of Power and the Rule of Law* (Leiden, 2003), pp.197–219; Jean Bazin and Emmanuel Terray (eds), *Guerres de lignages et guerres d'états en Afrique* (Paris, 1982); Jack Goody, *Technology, Tradition, and the State in Africa* (Cambridge, 1971), Chapters 2 and 3; Joseph Smalldone, *Warfare in the Sokoto Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1975); Emmanuel Terray, 'Contribution à une etude de l'armée asante', *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 16, 1–2 (1976), pp.297–356; Stephen P. Reyna, *Wars Without End, The Political Economy of a Precolonial African State* (Hanover, NH, 1990).

8 The historical linguistic strands of this evidentiary appear in David Schoenbrun, *Comparative Vocabularies for Slavery, Vulnerability, Violence, and Social Standing in Great Lakes Bantu: Etymologies, Semantics, and Distributions* (Köln, in preparation).

9 With the publication of this volume, we have the first book-length study devoted to slavery in the Great Lakes region since early colonial days. For early academic treatments of the topic, see Michael Wright, *Buganda in the Heroic Age* (Nairobi, 1971), especially Chapter 6; John Rowe, 'Revolution in Buganda, 1856–1900, Part One: The Reign of Kabaka Mukabya Mutesa, 1856–1884' (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1966), pp.2–44; Randall Packard, *Chiefship and Cosmology* (Bloomington, IN, 1981); Newbury, *Kings and Clans*.

10 On a short list, Christopher Wrigley, *Kingship and State* (Cambridge, 1996), p.224 and Chapter 11; Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp.94–104; Chrétien, *Great Lakes of Africa*, pp.170–3. Partly for thematic reasons and perhaps as a result of Michael Twaddle's influence, only Richard Reid has carried out a sustained study of slavery (and, then, only for Buganda most compellingly for the later nineteenth century). See his *Political*

Power, Chapter 6. Gerald Hartwig's considerable *oeuvre* on Bukerebe in East African history consistently brings slavery threads into his analysis; see his 'Changing forms of servitude among the Kerebe of Tanzania,' in Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff (eds), *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison, WI, 1977), pp.261–85. The encyclopedic thesis of H. Médard, 'Croissances et crises de la royauté du Buganda au XIXe siècle' (Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris I, 2001), contains surprisingly little systematic consideration of slavery. By far the most sustained and integrated engagement with violence and militarism in the region appears in Jan Vansina's *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda: The Nyiginya Kingdom* (Madison, WI, 2004), pp.44–54, 68–79, 95–8.

11 See Schoenbrun, *Comparative Vocabularies*, Introduction.

12 David Schoenbrun, 'Gendered histories between the Great Lakes: varieties and limits,' *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 29, 3 (1996), pp.461–92. The hurly burly of this dynamic is absent from the historical record until the denser, dynastic traditions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Before then, kinship ideologies and the aspirations of their users must be reconstructed by historical inference from the shapes of more recent examples.

13 Sandra E. Greene, *Gender, Ethnicity and Social Change on the Upper Slave Coast: A History of the Anlo-Ewe* (Portsmouth, NH, 1996).

14 It is important not to overplay the importance of lineage politics in social history because the apparent logic of genealogies which shape much political struggle between lineages tends to smuggle a functionalism into analysing them that belies the shifting nature of the overlapping networks of social obligation created by any number of social relationships other than those created by genealogical and generational issues. See Igor Kopytoff and Suzanne Miers, 'African "slavery" as an institution of marginality', in Miers and Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa*, pp.3–81; Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp.28–36; and more recently, Wyatt MacGaffey, 'Changing representations in Central African history', *Journal of African History*, 46, 2 (2005), pp.195–201.

15 Israel Katoke, *The Karagwe Kingdom: A History of the Abanyambo of North-West Tanzania* (Nairobi, 1975), p.75ff; Hartwig, 'Changing forms', pp.269–70, 283–4; see also P.M. Larson, *History and Memory in the Age of Enslavement* (Portsmouth, NH, 2000), pp.6–23.

16 Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, p.180; Shane Doyle, 'An Environmental History of the Kingdom of Bunyoro in Western Uganda, from c. 1860 to 1940', (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1998).

17 The historical constitution and interrelationships between the various branches of Great Lakes Bantu, and of various other proto-language communities ancestral to Great Lakes Bantu form the basic analytical grid against which the historical reality of these language data may be argued. Detailed arguments concerning the integrity of these different classifications are not repeated here and may be found in the following sources: David Schoenbrun, 'Great Lakes Bantu: classification and settlement chronology', *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika*, 15 (1994), pp.91–152; Christopher Ehret, 'Subclassifying Bantu: the evidence of stem morpheme innovation', in J-M. Hombert and Larry M. Hyman (eds), *Bantu Historical Linguistics: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives* (Stanford, CA, 1999), pp.43–147; Derek Nurse, 'Towards an historical classification of East African Bantu languages', in Hombert and Hyman, *Bantu Historical Linguistics*, pp. 1–41; Catherine Cymone Fourshey, *Agriculture, Ecology, Kinship and Gender, A Social and Economic History of Tanzania's Corridor 500 BC to 1900 AD* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2002).

18 Raimo Anttila, *Historical and Comparative Linguistics* (Amsterdam, 1989), p.136.

19 From Hugo's 'Préface de Cromwell,' quoted in Stephen Ullman, *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning* (New York, 1979), p.149.

20 Ullman, *Semantics*, pp.145–55. These few concepts do not exhaust the tools available to the historian in search of semantic histories; among many others, see Anttila, *Historical and Comparative Linguistics*, p.144, for a schematic sense of other processes of semantic change, such as folk etymology, loan translation and allomorphic alternation.

21 It might be noted that this logic renders the successful recruiters best positioned to leave a legacy, linguistic or otherwise, some of which historians then use as their evidence. And, given that the 'enslaved' were defined by an ideology of social isolation, it seems

22 Only a fraction of the language evidence is discussed here. Many names for slaves were phrases in which the identity of the slave subject was glossed by an adverbial compound. Thus, in Kerewe, a person who had become enslaved by being convicted of witchcraft was named *omuzana w'ilogo* (if a female) or *omwiru w'ilogo* (if male). See Hartwig, 'Changing forms', p.284.

23 Joseph Miller, personal communication, April 2004.

24 Proto-Mashariki is the speech community ancestral to such widely separated but demonstrably historically related eastern Bantu languages as Kiswahili, Gikuyu, Luganda, Nyakyusa, Chiyao, Kisukuma, Ruhehe, Chaga, Langi, Fipa, Chinyanja, Makua, Shona and Sotho. It has two clear clusters, in each of which the languages are more closely related to each other, roughly divided by the Ruvuma River. See Christopher Ehret, 'Bantu expansions, re-envisioning a central problem in early African history', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 34, 1 (2001), pp.5–40.

25 Among many others, see Reid, *Political Power*, p.113. Negative evidence is a notoriously unstable foundation for an argument, but I have looked widely in the sources. If this semantic boundary was breached, it was probably not done so with great regularity nor did speech communities welcome it.

26 Schoenbrun, 'Great Lakes Bantu', pp.105–7.

27 See, for example, David William Cohen's description of a Ganda plundering expedition in Busoga in his *Womunafu's Bunafu: A Study of Authority in a Nineteenth Century African Community* (Princeton, NJ, 1977), pp.73–80. I am now involved in exploring the various roots of violence – including capturing people – in Savannah Bantu-speaking societies. The language evidence for this study will appear in Schoenbrun, *Comparative Vocabularies*.

28 Andrew Reid and David Schoenbrun, 'The emergence of social formations and inequality in the Great Lakes Region,' *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 13,1 (1994), pp.51–60; Peter Robertshaw and David Taylor, 'Climate change and the rise of political complexity in Western Uganda,' *Journal of African History*, 41 (2000), pp.1–28; Peter Robertshaw, 'The age and function of earthworks sites in Western Uganda', *Uganda Journal*, 47 (2001), pp.20–33.

29 Renee Tantala, 'The Early History of Kitara in Western Uganda, Process Models of Religious and Political Change' (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1989), pp.477–87; Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, pp.153–6, 219–26; Vansina, *Le Rwanda Ancien*, pp.34–44; Chrétien, *Great Lakes of Africa*, pp.142–7.

30 The etymology of this term does not explain why a gendered contrast developed with another term, *#muzaana*. Did these new meanings for *#mwiru* refer to new sorts of work or service that a male dependant or servant might provide for his patron? Did performing these sorts of labour form integral aspects of or preconditions for masculine forms of political action? Is this gendered aspect of these meanings a residual effect of a regional preference for male dependants – as objects of raiding and as auxiliaries in future raids – during the eighteenth century's ubiquitous militarism? Careful work in dynastic traditions that tell of war booty and patronage might produce some new leads; cf. Vansina, *Antecedents*, pp.73–90.

31 The practice is recorded from Bukerebe, Buganda, Rwanda and many of the Haya states. See Peter Robertshaw, 'Women, labour, and state formation in Western Uganda', in E. A. Baucus and L. J. Lucero (eds), *Complex Polities in the Ancient Tropical World* (Washington, DC, 1999), pp.55–8, 62; Vansina, *Antecedents*, pp.32, 232 fn 93. For an argument that combines agrarian change, militarism and the rise of sexually transmitted disease in creating sexual asymmetries in Ganda demographic health, see Wrigley, *Kingship and State*, pp.234–41.

32 But regular sound correspondences tell us that the reflex should be something like *#-mwija*.

33 Rather than having been innovated once, in Proto Rutara, and retained as cognate terms – which would show regular sound correspondences among them – in each daughter language.

34 This form would produce all the attested forms regularly. Indeed, A. E. Meeussen gives *-dia* 1 'slave', see his *Bantu Lexical Reconstructions* (Tervuren, 1980), p.9.

35 As, indeed, Nurse and Hinnebusch suggest with their Proto-Sabaki (Indian Ocean coastal) form, **-muja* 'newcomer' and *mujakazi* 'female slave'. See Derek Nurse and Thomas Hinnebusch, *Swahili and Sabaki: A Linguistic History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993), p.616.

36 Thanks to Steven Feierman, personal communication, for suggesting 'refugee' as a more apt gloss, though I have not recorded such a gloss in the available sources.

37 Nurse and Hinnebusch, *Swahili and Sabaki*, pp.22–3; Thomas Spear, 'Early Swahili history reconsidered', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 33, 2 (2000), pp.279–83; Randall Pouwels, 'Eastern Africa and the Indian Ocean to 1800: reviewing relations in historical perspective', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 35, 2/3 (2002), pp.395–6, and citations therein to documents from the ninth century CE that refer to an export slave trade from the East African coast to other parts of the greater Indian Ocean world.

38 The metaphor occurs elsewhere, too. See Harry Johnston, *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, Vol. 1 (Oxford, 1919), p.513, where Bisia and Soko languages spoken in the Ituri region of the Democratic Republic of Congo derived a noun for 'slave', *motuke* and *motuki*, respectively, from the Proto Bantu verb **-túka* 'to abuse'. In a personal communication, Joseph Miller noted that these metaphors reflect the situationality of social status and underscore the different aspects of the lives of people subject to particular forms of personal, physical and verbal manipulation.

39 See Reid, *Political Power*, pp.121–3. But, the difficulty of 'hearing' a slave's 'voice' in the sort of linguistic evidence discussed here should not be taken to mean that slaves uttered nothing or that no one heard their words.

40 A conundrum put well in Miers and Kopytoff, quoting Joseph Miller, 'African "slavery"', pp.15–16.

41 Michael Twaddle, 'Slaves and peasants in Buganda', in Léonie Archer (ed.), *Slavery and Other Forms of Unfree Labour* (London, 1988), p.121.

42 In Bantu languages, nouns may be classed together according to the prefix they take to mark singular and plural forms. Linguists refer to each pair of classes as a gender. The semantic coherence of noun classes varies greatly between languages. See Francis Katamba, 'Bantu nominal morphology,' in Derek Nurse and Gérard Philippson (eds), *The Bantu Languages* (London, 2003), pp.103–20.

43 Future work might focus on language and practice applied to slaves' bodies. How were they labelled? Were they handled any differently in life or after the departure of the life force? For example, the Luganda term *omusale* refers to a person who has had a bodily part cut off, as in the phrase 'omusale w'amatu' which means 'one whose ears have been cut off'. See John D. Murphy, *Luganda-English Dictionary* (Washington, DC, 1972), p.378. The noun was created from the verb *okusala* 'to cut' but the term probably emerged in the contexts of the violence of making war and the violence of punishing criminal transgression.

44 Joseph Miller, personal communication.

45 John Iliffe, *Honour in African History* (Cambridge, 2005), p.4ff; Frank Henderson Stewart, *Honour* (Chicago, 1994), p.12ff.

46 Unni Wikan, 'Shame and honour, a contestable pair', *Man*, New Series 19 (1984), p.635.

47 In one case, people derived the substantive from a passive form of the verb; in another setting, people derived the substantive from a causative form of the verb. It takes little imagination to see subtle differences in the cognition of the relationship between fear and honour in these two derivational moves. Complete distributional and semantic evidence for these terms appears in Schoenbrun, *Comparative Vocabularies*, Chapter 4.

48 A preliminary survey of the distributions of these different derivational paths suggests

that the connections between fear and honour were most pronounced in societies with well-developed vertical differences in power and standing, most often where state forms had emerged. See Iliffe, *Honour*, pp.161–8. Further research should help explore the mutual influences of social stratification, state structures, and cultures of honour, scorn and vendetta. What is more, Rutara derives the noun from a passive reciprocal form of the verb, thus underscoring the dialogic basis for commuting honour from fear. It takes two or more to accomplish this transformation. North Nyanza derives the noun from a simple passive perhaps as a result of a more unidirectional transaction in which the feared are due honour as a matter of course. These observations, while stimulating, must be deepened with ethnographic and oral historical examples of the processes in action.

49   Iliffe, *Honour*, p.119.

50   Iliffe, *Honour*, p.3; Rhiannon Stephens, 'Historical linguistic approaches to a history of motherhood in West Nyanza, 500–1500 CE,' Seminar Paper, Northwestern University, pp.14-24; Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, pp.151–6.

51   A class 9/10 noun – *intunyi* – has an even wider distribution (Rwanda and Haavu) and carries glosses describing a woman who does not like having sex with men. Considering that the great majority of informants for these dictionaries were men, one wonders what other meanings the word carried, especially for women.

52   Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, pp.255–8; Newbury, *Kings and Clans*, pp.200–26; Vansina, *Antecedents*, pp.54–8.

53   Many Great Lakes Bantu languages distinguished acts of praising someone's practical knowledge *in absentia* from acts of conferring respect upon someone in person. See Pauline Fraas, *A Nande-English and English-Nande Dictionary* (Washington, DC, 1961), p.88. And I have said nothing about the capacity of things to generate and attract honour. The famous, mobile medicine horns – *jjembe* – used by healers, warriors, other leaders and malicious persons in North Nyanza society would be fine examples to study through these lenses.

54   Pierre Bourdieu, [Philip Sherrard, trans.] 'The sentiment of honour in Kabyle society', in John G. Peristiany (ed.), *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society* (London, 1965), pp.197–8. In a stimulating essay on grace, Julian Pitt-Rivers opens up an intriguing path towards understanding what might be called an 'excess' in the pursuit of honour; it points to the unique and extraordinary things a person does beyond what is expected. If the pursuit of honour is banal in its ubiquity, the achievement of honour might rely in part on an individual's capacity for the extraordinary, the graceful. Such a connection is clearly in evidence in notions of the material substance which exists inside the bodies of extraordinary persons – witches, successful politicians – and which embodies the unusual, the extraordinary, as a function of a discursive autopsy on a person's achievements. See Pitt-Rivers, 'Postscript: the place of grace in anthropology', in John G. Peristiany and Julian Pitt-Rivers (eds), *Honor and Grace in Anthropology* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.217, 220.

55   It will be important to scour the dynastic sources for evidence that enslaved war captives used flight and even suicide to refuse their condition; see Iliffe, *Honour*, p.131; Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, pp.109–113, on the fugitive slave community of Makorora on the Mrima in 1873.

56   Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, pp.183–4; Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp.61ff; Jean-Pierre Chrétien, 'Exchanges and hierarchies in the East African Interlacustrine kingdoms', *Research in Economic Anthropology* 4 (1981), pp.19–30.

57   Iliffe, *Honour*, p.137.

58   Dylan Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2003), Introduction; Frederick Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (New Haven, CT, 1977), *passim*; Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, pp.79–114; Reid, *Political Power*, pp.98–112, 124–30.

59   The vocabulary for forms of labour grows dramatically in number at the same time.

60   For some detail on this condition in twentieth-century Nkore, see Steinhart's chapter in this volume.

61   This term refers to an areal cluster of intercommunicating speech communities in

existence before Proto Great Lakes and after Proto Mashariki.

62   James Augustus Grant, *A Walk Across Africa or Domestic Scenes from my Nile Journal* (Edinburgh and London, 1864), p.48.

63   *Ibid.*, p.61. Cohen, 'Food production', pp.13ff, emphasised the 'reorganization of work and labor' that must have driven and been driven by food systems specialised for trade and tribute.

64   Grant, *A Walk Across Africa*, p.78.

65   For examples from the Mrima and Zanzibar, see Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, pp.85–96; Laura Fair, 'Dressing up: clothing, class and gender in post-abolition Zanzibar', *Journal of African History*, 39, 1 (1998), pp.67–74. And Grant's descriptions suggest that one's origin and standing rather than one's involvement in commerce were central to defining 'slavehood' in the eyes of the master.

66   The gloss 'slave' often covers a term for 'seized' or 'captured' person where warfare and enslavement have been widespread. Among many other possible examples, see Frederick Lamp, *The Art of the Baga: A Drama of Cultural Reinvention* (New York and Munich, 1996), p.44. Thanks to Edda Fields for bringing this to my attention. Of course, trickery, naiveté, and debt also framed this 'alienation'.

67   Wendy James, referring to Claude Meillassoux. See James, 'Perceptions from an African slaving frontier', in Archer, *Slavery and Other Forms of Unfree Labour*, p.139.

68   Schoenbrun, 'Great Lakes Bantu', pp.114, 116–17, 144, 149–51; Derek Nurse and Henry R. T. Muzale, 'Tense and aspect in Great Lakes Bantu languages', in Jean-Marie Hombert and Larry Hyman (eds), *Bantu Historical Linguistics: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives* (Stanford, CA, 1999), pp.518–21.

69   Miers and Kopytoff, 'African "slavery"', pp.14–20.

70   Unless they were of noble status, in which case they might either be ransomed or take up powerful positions in exile, as was often the case in Rwanda and its neighbouring monarchies. See Vansina, *Antecedents*.

71   Ehret, 'Subclassifying Bantu', p.80.

72   Vansina, *Paths*, pp.93-4; Kairn Klieman, '*Pygmies Were our Compass': Bantu and Batwa in the History of West Central Africa, early times to c. 1900 C.E.* (Portsmouth, NH, 2003), pp.173–83; Pierre de Maret, 'L'évolution monétaire du Shaba Central entre le 7e et le 18e siècle', *African Economic History*, 10 (1981), pp.117–49.

73   David William Cohen, 'Food production and food exchange in the precolonial Lakes Plateau Region', in Robert I. Rotberg (ed.), *Imperialism, Colonialism, and Hunger in East and Central Africa* (Lexington, MA, 1983), p.10; David Newbury, 'Lake Kivu regional trade in the nineteenth century', *Journal des Africanistes*, 50, 2 (1980), pp.6–30; Michael G. Kenny, 'Pre-colonial trade in Eastern Lake Victoria', *Azania*, 14 (1979), pp.97–107; Gerald Hartwig, *The Art of Survival in East Africa: The Kerebe and Long-Distance Trade, 1800-1895* (New York, 1976), pp.62–83; Ephraim Kamuhangire, 'The pre-colonial economic and social history of East Africa, with special reference to south-western Uganda salt lakes region', *Hadith*, 5 (1976), pp.67–91; Kathryn Barrett-Gaines, 'Katwe Salt in the African Great Lakes Regional Economy, 1750s–1950s,' (PhD Dissertation, Stanford University, 2001) pp.43–8; Frederick Peter Batala-Nayenga, 'An Economic History of the Lacustrine States of Busoga, Uganda, 1750–1930,' (PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1976).

74   Among very many, see Jane I. Guyer, *Marginal Gains: Monetary Transaction in Atlantic Africa* (Chicago, 2004), pp.27–50; Jane I. Guyer and Samuel M. Eno Belinga, 'Wealth in people as wealth in knowledge: accumulation and composition in Equatorial Africa', *Journal of African History*, 36, 1 (1995), pp.91–129.

75   Iliffe, *Honour*, p.136.

76   This essay has not considered evidence relating to enslavement by formal legal action or debt-pawning. However, legal precepts in Lakes societies almost certainly guided the fates of pawns and of political or social adversaries.

77   Twaddle, 'Slaves and peasants in Buganda', p.122.

78   Including royal exactions in the form of food, even if these adventures were 'conceived to fail' in order for rulers to dispose of a difficult adversary; see Cohen, 'Food

production', pp.2–3 and 5–6; and for violent resistance to such exactions, see Kenny, 'Pre-colonial trade', pp.97–107.

79 L. J. Wood and C. Ehret, 'The origins and diffusions of the market institution in East Africa', *Journal of African Studies*, 7 (1980), pp.1–17.

80 Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, Chapter 3; Cooper, *Plantation Slavery*, *passim*; Twaddle, 'Slaves and peasants in Buganda', pp.118–29; Reid, *Political Power*, pp.124–30.

81 Marcia Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women* (New York, 1993), Introduction.

82 Reid, *Political Power*, pp.124–30, 132.

83 Wrigley, *Kingship and State*, pp.215–20; Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp.94–8; Hartwig, 'Changing forms', pp.265–7, 272–82.

84 But we can take elements of nineteenth-century slavery and trace them back to various notional points of origin.

85 Vansina, *Antecedents*, pp.67–125, does so for Rwanda. See also Hermann Rehse, *Land und Leute* (Stuttgart, 1910), Chapter 11, page 9, who makes it clear that female pawns were common in royal courts and that male slaves married women of their master's choosing, while female slaves married sons of the master's other slaves, if they were not taken as concubines by the male master. In short, the picture painted for the turn of the twentieth century is a familiar tableau of paternalist images with sometimes hard to see pieces – for example the casual remark (p.15 of Chapter 11) that male slaves could make formal legal complaints against their masters – of a mutually obligated system. See also the new work begun by Rhiannon Stephens, 'Motherhood in interlacustrine Africa, ca. 500-ca. 1500 CE, Infertility, adoption, gender and marriage,' Unpublished Seminar Paper, Northwestern University, 2003.

86 Hartwig, 'Changing forms', p.282.

87 Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp.94–104; Reid, *Political Power*, pp.222–6; Vansina, *Le Rwanda*, pp.227–46.

88 Paul Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery* (Cambridge, 2000), p.xxi.

89 *Ibid.*, p.19.

90 Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp.75–87; Reid, *Political Power*, pp.177–90; Vansina, *Antecedents*, pp.180ff.

91 John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World: 1400–1800*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1998), p.74.

92 *Ibid.*, 85.

93 David Schoenbrun, 'Conjuring contemporary Africa, healing between the Great Lakes', Paper presented to First Annual Body/Antibody Collective, Falls River, MA, 2 November 2003, pp.52ff; MacGaffey, 'Changing representations', pp.189–208; Jeremy Prestholdt, 'On the global repercussions of East African consumerism', *American Historical Review*, 109, 3 (2004), pp.779–81.

94 Or freedom is the absence of slavery; see Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison, WI, 1990), pp.226ff; Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, Chapter 9.

95 Claude Meillassoux (Alide Dasnois, trans.), *The Anthropology of Slavery: The Womb of Iron and Gold* (Chicago, 1991), pp.144–56.

96 Vansina, *Antecedents*, Chapters 4 and 5; Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp.94–104; Reid, *Political Power*, pp.251-7.

97 Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, *passim*; Mikael Karlström, 'Modernity and its aspirants: moral community and developmental eutopianism', *Current Anthropology*, 45, 5 (2005), pp.595–619.

98 Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp.25–57.

99 Reid, *Political Power*, pp.115, 117; David Newbury, '"Bunyabungo": the Western Rwandan frontier, 1750–1850', in Igor Kopytoff (ed.), *The Internal African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies* (Bloomington, IN, 1987), pp.164–92.

100 It is extremely difficult to capture the nuances of early conceptualisations of the individual using oral testimony collected over the last eighty years or more because the atomised person that constitutes the legal and practical ground of a wage-labour system and, later, of various modes of parliamentary democracy has become hegemonic. For

the complexity of such a transformation, see Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, pp.169–93, 233–41; and Vansina, *Antecedents*, pp.134–9.

101 David Schoenbrun, *The Historical Reconstruction of Great Lakes Bantu Cultural Vocabulary: Etymologies and Distributions* (Köln, 1997); C. Ehret, *An African Classical Age* (Charlottesville, VA, 1998); Nurse and Hinnebusch, *Swahili and Sabaki*.

102 Raimo Anttila, *Historical and Comparative Linguistics* (Amsterdam, 1989).

103 Wyatt MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa* (Chicago, 1986), p.9.

104 This table presents only the bare essentials of the evidence. The first paragraph includes: a proposed lexical reconstruction, its grammatical standing, (numbers mark a noun's standing in a noun class), and an English gloss or glosses. Lexical reconstructions appear as stems, fronted by a dash and one of three possible symbols: the ° tags a word with an uncertain or regional distribution, suggesting a loanspread; the # tags a word that is an ancestral form in a given proto language other than Proto Bantu; the * tags a Proto Bantu item. A second paragraph includes the names of the languages with attestations of the proposed lexical reconstruction, listed serially. A third paragraph includes comments on derivation, etymology, and a proposed proto language for the reconstruction. Complete information on sources and a full treatment of these roots and of a far greater number of allied semantic materials will appear in Schoenbrun, *Comparative Vocabularies*.

105 Shigeki Kaji, *Vocabulaire Hunde* (Tokyo, 1992), p.142.

106 Albert E. Meeussen, *Bantu Lexical Reconstructions* (Tervuren, 1980), p.9.

107 Nurse and Hinnebusch, *Swahili and Sabaki*, p.616.

108 M. Guthrie, *Comparative Bantu* (Fairnborough, 1967–71), Vol. 3, p.121.

109 Meeussen, *Bantu Lexical Reconstructions*, p.8.