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SUMMARY

The paper discusses all retrievable consonant changes from Proto-Bantu, as reconstructed in Guthrie's 'Comparative Bantu' to Northern Sotho (Pedi-dialect) in terms of the features glottalness, laterality, nasality, place, posture, stricture and voicing. All changes are expressed in terms of the multivalued feature expression proposed by K. Williamson in her 1977 paper.

RESUME

L'auteur compare les changements consonantiques que l'on doit supposer pour expliquer les différences entre les consonnes du proto-bantou (tel qu'il a été reconstruit dans le livre 'Comparative Bantu' de M. Guthrie) et celles du sotho-Nord (dialecte pedi). Ces changements consonantiques sont traités selon les sept traits suivants: glottalisation, latéralité, nasalité, place d'articulation, degré de vibration, degré de rétrécissement et sonorisation. De plus, les mécanismes de change sont envisagés selon le système de traits multivalents tel qu'il a été proposé par K. Williamson en 1977.

An Early Nineteenth Century Chadic Wordlist: Kallaghee¹

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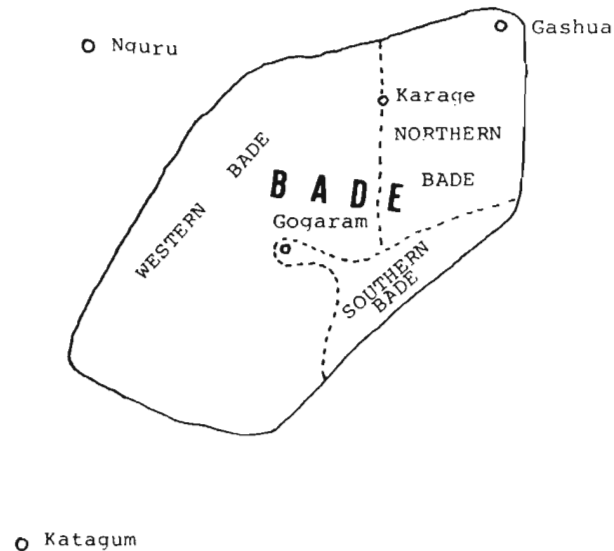
The only Chadic language for which we have any documentation from before the nineteenth century is Hausa, this consisting of two short word lists: a list of 20 words collected in Paris in 1696 (John Lavers in personal communication -- I have not seen this list) and a list of sixteen nouns collected in Copenhagen in 1773 (see Hair (1967:32-33) for details). In the nineteenth century, Hausa word lists of varying sizes began appearing (including two Hausa lists in Bowdich (1819), the work discussed in this paper), until, in the works of J.F. Schön and the Hausa lists in Koelle (1854), Hausa became in the mid-nineteenth century perhaps the single best documented language south of the Sahara. However, the earliest fairly extensive documentation of a Chadic language is a list of 709 items of "Affadéh", a Kotoko dialect, collected by V.J. Seetzen and published in 1810 and 1816 (see Sölken (1967) for details and extended commentary on this material). Next, a list of some 80 items from Mandara is found in Denham, et al. (1826), republished the same year in Klaproth (1826). The only other Chadic language for which there appears to be any documentation at all before the mid-nineteenth century, when Clarke (1848) and Koelle (1854) appeared, is a list of the numerals 1-10 in a language identified as *Kallaghee*, published in Bowdich (1819)².

Hair (1966:215) correctly identifies this language as Bade. Following are the list from Bowdich and the pronunciations in modern Bade:³

	<u>Kallaghee</u>	<u>Modern Bade</u>
1.	Gadee	gàdí
2.	Sillil	sầr̄ér̄.

	<u>Kallaghee</u>	<u>Modern Bade</u>
3.	Quan	kwán
4.	Foolloo	fáńú
5.	Vydee	vãńí
6.	Zoodoo	êzdù
7.	Etkassa	gátkásà
8.	Shiddowka	tlédákwà
9.	Woollaä	wúliyà or wúfiyà
10.	Woma	gúmã

The source of the name Kallaghee is not far to seek. It is the village name *Karage* [káarágè]. Below is a rough map of the modern Bade area. Nguru, a non-Bade city about 60 km. west of Gashua, is included to indicate scale and relative location in Nigeria:



In the chapter "Geography" in Bowdich (1819:207), where Kallaghee is mentioned, Bowdich was attempting to give some notion of the geography of sections of Africa little known or totally unexplored by Europeans at the time. Working in Kumasi, he collected accounts from travelers, judging distances by number of days travel between points of reference (allotting about 15 miles (24 km.) per day (p. 162); below I will argue that this must have been a gross underestimate, at least in the open savannah). He judged latitude and longitude principally by position and distance relative to the Niger River (which he usually refers to as the *Quolla*). However, since he believed the Niger to flow directly east, eventually reaching the Nile, the effect was that all his locations were much too far north and too far west. For example, he says (p. 198), "I have the impression that the city of Houssa will be found to lay (*sic*) about E.N.E. of Timbuctoo ...". He uses *Houssa* and *Mallowa* as virtual synonyms (cf. p. 197: "I shall place the numbers of Casina [Katsina] ... to the right of those of Houssa or Mallowa ...")⁴; if Mallowa (= Houssa) is the town of Mallaoua in present-day Niger Republic, it is situated about 100 km. SE of Zinder, whereas Bowdich situates it at 13° N, 9°30' E, which is approximately on the present Niger-Mali border at about the latitude of Agadez!

As for the location of Kallaghee, all Bowdich has to say is the following (p. 207):

"The third route was through the Fillanee country, (doubtless the Fullan of Ben Ali) which had been frequently at war with Mallowa, to the kingdom of Kallaghee, 14 journies from the Quolla, the Gambaroo being passed the tenth."

The "third route" here refers to one of three trade routes from a town or region called *Gamhadi*, described as being "two journies from the northern bank of the Quolla" (p. 207). Though I have not been able to identify Gamhadi with any specific present-day location, it must have been in the area of Birnin Kebbi. The route to Kallaghee was the southernmost of these three routes, the first being said only to go "northwest to Houssa" (p. 207),

the second to *Katinnee* (probably *Katsina*?). "Fillanee country" undoubtedly refers to the areas conquered only recently at that time in the jihad of Usman dan Fodiyo, and indeed a line straight east through the heart of this area and south of *Katsina* would arrive at *Karage*. The predicted distances cast considerable doubt on Bowdich's method of predicting distance, however. *Karage* is approximately 900 km. on a line due east from the Niger. Using Bowdich's estimate of 24 km. per journey, this would take about 37 days rather than the 14 which he states. *Gambaroo* must refer to the Maradi River, which runs from the south to the north just west of *Katsina*.⁵ This is about 360 km. west of *Karage*, a trip of 15 days at 24 km/day rather than the four days which Bowdich states. There are at least four possible explanations for these discrepancies: the information on travel time given to Bowdich was inaccurate; Bowdich's estimate of 24 km/day is far too low; the bodies of water used as landmarks are misidentified; or *Kallaghee* is not *Karage*, but rather some town or place much further west. The latter two suggestions can be dismissed. Considering the order of magnitude of difference in size between the Niger River and any other river in northern Nigeria or Niger Republic, the Niger simply could not be misidentified. As for the location of *Kallaghee*, while it is conceivable that *Kallaghee* is not the village name *Karage*, the word list is undeniably *Bade*. The *Bade* area probably has undergone some eastward retrenchment since 1819, but the *Bade* language area has never extended even as far west as *Hadejiya* or *Nguru*, let alone far enough west to account for the distance discrepancies noted. I will, therefore continue to assume that *Kallaghee* = *Karage* in the absence of any other likely source for the name.

While the reports of days travel may have been somewhat inaccurate, the main source of error is surely in Bowdich's estimate of 24 km/day. There is no reason why someone traveling by horse or camel through open country where water and forage were plentiful could not make 50 or more kilometers a day. This fact, combined with some likely inaccuracy in reported travel time,

could account for the gross underestimate of distance based on Bowdich's figures. John Lavers (personal communication), citing J. Rennell (a reference I was unable to consult) indicates that "17 miles/day was the average in the desert. Within the Sudan, it is unlikely to have been greater." However, Dupuis (1824: Part II, p. xix) states that, "The allowance of sixteen British miles ... from my own experience, is equivalent to a day's journey, where the country is intersected by forest or thicket; or where the surface is interrupted by hills and mountains" [my emphasis -- RGS]. He indicates (p. xxi) that in north Africa, following familiar routes, 24-25 miles was the daily average, i.e. 40-42 km.

In Schuh (to appear), I present extensive evidence for dividing *Bade* into three major dialect areas: Western *Bade* (WB), Northern *Bade* (NB), and Southern *Bade* (SB) (see map above for relative locations). The research on which Schuh is based is a dialect survey analyzing the geographical distribution of 30 grammatical differences, 9 phonological changes, and 22 lexical differences. With respect to the distribution of these features, *Karage*, which lies on the WB/NB boundary, proved to be the strangest village in the entire *Bade* area. The speech of this village comprises an apparent random mix of features characteristic of the various major dialects, i.e. though the speech of *Karage* is internally consistent from speaker to speaker, the village itself cannot be placed clearly in any dialect area solely on the basis of counting shared characteristics with some other dialect area.

Consider a couple of examples: *Karage* has undergone a sound change *ɣ > l which is otherwise found only in NB (cf. *Karage* əzgəlɔn, NB əzgəl, WB əzgəřɛn, Ngizim zəgɛɣ 'foot'); on the other hand, *Karage* has the morphological feature *nunation*. Nunation is a suffix -(ə)n on the citation form of common nouns (see Schuh 1975a, 1977) otherwise found only in WB (cf. example 'foot' just cited). *Karage* is the only village where these two features are found together. Another unique mixture of NB and WB features found in *Karage* is reduction of the negative morpheme

to -m̄, a WB feature⁶ (other dialects have ɓáí, pái, or báí) but loss of a special reduplicated negative perfective form, a loss characteristic only of NB (Karage nán jà-m̄, NB nán jà ɓai. WB ná jàajà-m 'I didn't go'; cf. né(n) jú 'I went' in all dialects). (Below I will argue that Karage is originally a NB village, but the WB influence in this village is extremely pervasive.)

What does Bowdich tell us about Bade past and present, including the NB vs. WB issue in Karage? The first issue is who Bowdich's source was. He says little about this for any of his lists and nothing for the Bade list. However, it is possible that the informant was a native speaker passing through Kumasi; unlike Hausa and Kanuri which were (and still are, of course) politically and commercially important and spoken by many non-natives, the likelihood is small that a non-native Bade would learn enough of the language simply passing through the relatively small Bade area to recite the numbers 1-10 with the accuracy attested in the Bowdich list (see below). Kanuri and/or Hausa were surely useable contact languages in Bade country, so there would have been little point for a passing traveler to learn any Bade except perhaps for personal amusement. John Lavers points out further evidence that the informant was probably a native of the area rather than a passing traveler, viz. other accounts of travelers passing through the area fail to mention Kallaghee (indeed, Dupuis (1824: Part II, p. xxiii) severely questions the veracity of Bowdich's accounts, citing as one example the fact that "Kallaghee ... [is] totally unknown at Coomassy"). Bowdich's informant also named other less familiar towns in the area. Let us assume, then, that the informant was a native speaker so that the pronunciation which Bowdich was attempting to record was authentic Bade.

Certain features of Bowdich's transcription can easily be interpreted as the use of peculiarities of English spelling for phonetic purposes: oo = [u], ee = [i], qu = [kʷ], doubled medial consonants indicate short vowels in preceding open syllables. Certain "mistakes"

must be due to mishearing or mistranscription. Use of sh for [ʃ] in '8' is not surprising nor is use of d for [d̪] in '1' and '5', but ll for [d̪] in '4' is strange since the informant could obviously pronounce [d̪] (witness '1' and '5'). This must therefore be Bowdich's error. I have no explanation for omission of initial g in '7' and '10', though in the latter case the phonetic [gʷ] before round vowel could have been close enough to [w] for Bowdich to mishear it.

These problems aside, even from this tiny list, a number of interesting facts emerge. I will direct my attention to three of these. First is the medial ll of '2' and '9'. I should point out that I did not work extensively on the Karage dialect, and the only numbers I collected from an actual Karage speaker were '2' and '5'. All the other numbers except '9' are identical in all dialects, so it is assumed that they are the same in Karage as well. The word '9' is pronounced wúliyà in Gashua Bade (a variety of NB) but wúfiyà in NB villages near Karage (it is reconstructable as *wúfiyà -- cf. Duwai wàafiya). I do not know the pronunciation of modern Karage '9', but the remarks below will indicate that in 1819 it was probably [wúfiyà]. I mentioned above that in NB and Karage, there was a sound change *ɣ > l. This sound change left some unexplained residue of ɣ, however. In particular, the word '2' is still pronounced sáɣân (never *sélân) by most NB speakers. In WB, there has been a sound change *ɣ > f. This sound change must be considerably later than the *ɣ > l change. The *ɣ > f change in WB appears to have still been in progress even as late as the mid-nineteenth century, as the Bade list in Koelle (1854) indicates (Schuh 1975 b). Bowdich's list confirms the lateness of this change. The medial ll in Sillil '2' must be Bowdich's transcription for ɣ⁷. Judging from Bowdich's other lists, he was quite consistent in transcribing [f] as r or rr, e.g. (from p. 505) Hausa Tarra '9' ([táɣà]), Kanuri Tooloor '7' ([túlùf]). Both Bowdich and Koelle (as well as many of my native English-speaking Hausa students, I might add) shared the perception that ɣ sounds more like [l] than "r", whether English ɹ or the trilled ʀ of various familiar

European languages (see Schuh (1975 b) and Newman (1980) for remarks on Koelle's transcription of r and ř). Since no Bade dialect has $*\text{s}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\acute{\text{e}}\text{n}$, we can only conclude that this word was pronounced $[\text{s}\acute{\text{e}}\text{ř}\acute{\text{e}}\text{n}]$ in Karage 1819. The modern Karage pronunciation $\text{s}\acute{\text{e}}\text{ř}\acute{\text{e}}\text{n}$ must therefore be a relatively recent development, occurring perhaps only in the past 100 years under influence of WB. Turning to Woollaä '9', this may have been pronounced $\text{w}\acute{\text{u}}\text{l}\acute{\text{i}}\text{y}\acute{\text{a}}$, where original $*\text{ř}$ had already become l , or it could have been $\text{w}\acute{\text{u}}\text{ř}\text{i}\text{y}\acute{\text{a}}$. Only the modern Karage pronunciation can tell us. We do know, however, that it was *not* $\text{w}\acute{\text{u}}\text{ř}\text{i}\text{y}\acute{\text{a}}$ since if this were the case, we know Bowdich would have written $\text{r}(\text{ř})$.

The changes affecting $*\text{ř}$ are also our key to determining how Karage should be grouped dialectally. Karage has undergone the $*\text{ř} > \text{l}$ change in all the same words as NB; Bowdich's list indicates that in 1819 Karage retained ř unaffected in the same words where NB does, '2' being a certain example and '9' a likely one. Introduction of ř in Karage $\text{s}\acute{\text{e}}\text{ř}\acute{\text{e}}\text{n}$ '2' must be a very recent development from WB influence. Karage must thus be an original NB village which has been inundated by WB.⁸

The second fact to be noted is the final ee of Vydee 'five'.⁹ In NB this word is pronounced $\text{v}\acute{\text{a}}\text{a}\text{đ}$; in SB and WB it is $\text{v}\acute{\text{a}}\text{đ}$ from a regular sound change adding $-\text{i}$ to words originally ending in obstruents in those dialects. It is also $\text{v}\acute{\text{a}}\text{đ}$ in modern Karage speech. Assuming that Karage is originally NB speaking, this word gives evidence that WB was already influencing Karage speech in 1819.

Finally, consider the word Zoodoo '6'. This word is pronounced $\acute{\text{e}}\text{z}\text{d}\acute{\text{u}}$ in all modern Bade dialects. This comes from $*\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{đ}\acute{\text{u}}$ (cf. Ngizim $\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{đ}\acute{\text{u}}$), which must have been the pronunciation that Bowdich heard. The change $*\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{đ}\acute{\text{u}} > \acute{\text{e}}\text{z}\text{d}\acute{\text{u}}$ is a result of a regular sound change which I call *Prothesis* in Schuh (1978). In this change, a word initial sequence $*\text{C}_1\acute{\text{e}}\text{C}_2\text{V} \dots > \acute{\text{e}}\text{C}_1\text{C}_2\text{V} \dots$ if C_1 and C_2 did not form an impermissible sequence. While this sound change has now gone to completion in most of Bade (including Karage), it is still continuing in the sense that it is extending to environ-

ments where C_1 and C_2 originally formed impermissible sequences, especially where $\text{C}_1 = /g/$ (see Schuh (1978, to appear) for details). Moreover, in the Gashua area of NB, there is variation between $\text{C}_1\acute{\text{e}}\text{C}_2\text{V} \dots$ and $\acute{\text{e}}\text{C}_1\text{C}_2\text{V} \dots$ for most words. The word '6' in Bowdich gives evidence that in 1819, Prothesis had not begun, or, more likely, that it was incipient but allowed some variation in application as in modern Gashua Bade.

This early word list is thus not without linguistic interest, even though it consists of only ten words. One only wishes that a single common noun had been included to indicate whether or not nutation, the most obvious and easily observable characteristic of WB, had already been adopted at this time in Karage. Even without this evidence from modern data, we can be quite sure that Karage is a NB village which has an unusually heavy WB admixture, with the addition of final $-\text{i}$ to '5' showing that WB influence had begun before 1819.

Bowdich's data and manner of collection suggest a reason for the unusually high degree of dialect mixture in Karage. For Karage to be worthy of mention by Bowdich's informants, it must have been a fairly noteworthy stopover point for travelers (indeed he refers to it as the "*kingdom of Kallaghee*" [my italics]). Along an east-west axis, Karage is in about the center of the Bade area, and considering the fairly small size of this area, one day's travel would have brought travelers from outside Bade country to Karage, and the next day's travel would have taken them back out. It is quite possible, then, that Karage was *the main* commercial center, at least for non-Bade travelers, in the entire Bade area. The market and other attractions of this town would thus have drawn Bades from all over, creating a much more cosmopolitan dialect atmosphere than in the average Bade town or village, the modern result being the idiosyncratic character of the town's dialect today. Unfortunately, I was unable to visit the town of Karage, and I collected nothing of its oral history. It is certainly no longer a large commercial center, though there is probably a local market there. While the speculations above are based on

a list of ten words and the name which Bowdich gave to the language, they indicate that a visit to Karage and discussion with knowledgeable inhabitants about its history could be worthwhile.

FOOTNOTES

- 1) Research on Bade was conducted during 1973-75 while I was a Research Fellow in the Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Abdullahi Bayero College (now Bayero University), Kano. Research for the present paper was made possible through NSF Grant no. BNS 79-10366. My thanks to the many Bade speakers who helped me complete the dialect survey which was crucial for this paper, especially Ndaneri Karage and Yusufu Karage. I would like also to thank Paul Newman and John Lavers for corrections to an earlier version of this paper.
- 2) I have relied on Hair (1966, 1967) for a list of early sources. It is unlikely that Hair would have missed any published works with significant linguistic data, so I am fairly confident in saying that only Hausa, Kotoko (Affadéh), Mandara, and Bade (Kallaghee) materials date from as early as the first quarter of the nineteenth century in the Chadic family.
- 3) This list is given twice in Bowdich, once in the text on pp. 207-208, and once in the appendix, p. 505. 'Two' is spelled Sillil in the former, Silill in the latter. The "correct" version must be Sillil, the double ll serving to show a preceding short vowel (see below). A final doubled consonant would serve no obvious orthographic purpose. In the transcription of modern Bade ´ = high tone, ` = low tone, tɬ = IPA [ɬ] (voiceless lateral fricative), ʃ = trilled or flapped "r", and ʀ = retroflex lateral tap.
- 4) The identification of the name "Houssa" is problematic. Bowdich unambiguously uses it as the name of a city as do many other sources from the period. However, Dupuis (1824: Part II, p. xxiii) says of Bowdich, "Haoussa ... he represents as a city with two lakes ... but [it] should have been represented as a mighty empire or district whose capital city is Kassina ...". Wilks and Ferguson (1970) discuss the identification of "Housa" at length, but they end up concentrating on identifying a city "Awsa" (following Barth's spelling) southeast of Timbuktu, which could not be Bowdich's Haoussa. They do not seem to make a firm identification of

"Haoussa" or "Housa" with any particular city in the area of concern here. Hallett (1964: 300-303) lists the various references and identifications of this term and concludes that it must have been the name of some large city in Hausaland, specifically *not* Katsina, which may have been destroyed during the Fulani jihad. John Lavers (personal communication) questions whether Mallowa can be positively identified with present-day Mallaoua. In any case, it is in the right geographical area to be so identified.

- 5) John Lavers (personal communication) says, "Gambaru was the name applied to that portion of the Komadugu Yobe that passed near Birni Gazargamu, just as today the upper stretches of the river are known as Kogin Kano, etc. By extension the name was applied to the whole river, an error already appearing on maps early in 18c." However, Bowdich's Gamberoo must have lain considerably to the west of Kallaghee -- too far west to be part of the Komadugu Yobe system.
- 6) In Karage, -m̄ is always pronounced as a syllabic nasal. In much of WB it is not syllabic.
- 7) The final l should be n - no dialect of Bade has final l in this word. This could be mistranscription on Bowdich's part or even a printing error, cf. fn. 3.
- 8) The village's name is probably another example of *ɣ > ʃ in Karage. The modern pronunciation of the name in the village itself is [káaʃágé], whereas Bowdich's Kallaghee indicates that it was ɣ at that time (no modern speakers from anywhere say *kalage to my knowledge). Unfortunately, I did not make an accurate transcription of this village name for NB speakers, but one would predict káaʃágé.
- 9) Bowdich's y in the first syllable probably indicates a diphthong [ay]. His informant undoubtedly had a slight rising offglide at the end of the first syllable in anticipation of [i] in the second syllable.

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Humanized Animal and Bird Figures
in Tsonga Songtexts

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The Tsonga of Mozambique and the Northern Transvaal possess a remarkably extensive body of mythology and folklore, consisting of proverbs, riddles, tales, and songtexts. I made a study of aspects of this heritage, during a two-year stay with the Tsonga, under a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Animal and bird figures are particularly prominent in Tsonga songtexts, clearly dividing into two groups: (i) humanized; and (ii) non-humanized. In the group of songtexts where animals and birds are strongly humanized, we note the following:

- (a) The figures are imbued with human emotional and behavioral qualities.
- (b) These qualities are sometimes derived from observed fauna behavior, such as the cunning of the jackal, or the tendency of the *dronno* bird to steal and conceal objects.
- (c) The Tsonga concept of the fauna in question is sometimes of a totemic nature.
- (d) Songtexts containing humanized animal and bird figures are frequently associated with a children's game.
- (e) There is generally a group of proverbs associated with such a songtext, corroborating its central message.
- (f) The song often occurs within a long Tsonga folktale.
- (g) Within that tale, it often serves a magical overcoming function.
- (h) The humanized cunning hero abounds in Tsonga folklore. The Tsonga are largely a classless society. It is noteworthy that in those African societies where myth-tellers serve a ruler, accounting for the latter's supernatural origin and his privileged existence, the cunning hero folktale has largely disappeared.