"THE SOCIAL AND LITERARY ASPECTS OF ZULU PERSONAL NAMES"

BY

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(Pietermaritzburg, 1986)

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Zulu, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg; 1986

Unless specifically stated to
the contrary in the text, this
thesis is my own original work.

ABSTRACT

This work, on the "Social and Literary Aspects of Zulu Personal Names", may be divided into three sections:

Firstly, A Comparative Analysis where both the concept and use of Zulu names are compared to those of other societies, particularly the black societies of Africa. Emphasis is given to use of names in witchcraft, name-avoidance, and the underlying reasons for name-giving in such societies.

Secondly, Zulu Personal Names: a series of interviews provide data on:

a) the social reasons for the giving of personal names (a major part of this thesis);

b) various forms of name-avoidance, including use of kinship terms, clan names, and personal praises (and for the latter, a fifteen page analysis of the content and style of originally-collected praises);

c) An analysis of an original collection of dog- and ox-names, with reference to comparative material.

Thirdly, The Literary Aspect of Zulu Personal Names:

a) An analysis of the concept "praise" - from personal names to the praise-poems of the Zulu kings;

b) An analysis of the literary concepts expressed in Zulu personal names, suggesting that 'the oral literary tradition is alive in every name-giving parent';

c) An analysis of the use of names, of various kinds, in both Zulu and Southern-Bantu praise-poetry.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following people for their help and support during the writing of this thesis:

John Aitchison, for compiling and running the ZUPENA computer programme;

Pat Blacquière, for typing all drafts, and the final copy of this thesis, as well as running an APPLE programme;

Professor Trevor Cope, my supervisor, for his valuable insights, his constructive criticism, and his patience;

my colleague, Msawakhe Hlengwa, for his useful advice and comments;

the Human Sciences Research Council, for financial assistance;

Mrs Gertrude Mofokeng, who has contributed both material and insight;

and her daughter, Phillipa Mofokeng, an outstanding field-worker;

The University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, for allowing access to staff on campus for research purposes;

my wife Jewel, for proof-reading, and help with the bibliography;

and various other people who have been thanked in the body of the thesis.

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CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

1.1 The background to this study.

1.2 Methods of research.

1.3 Names from Africa : the comparative aspect.

1.1 The background to this study.

Between 1973 and 1975, I worked for the Municipal Bantu Administration in Durban (later the Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration Board). During this time my contact with, and interest in, Zulu names, led to an Honours dissertation in 1976 with the title A Study of Zulu Names, with special reference to the structural aspect. Although that study had some general notes on various kinds of names, and although I had collected some sociological material, the bulk of the study was linguistic, concentrating particularly on structural differences between (a) personal names and other nouns in Zulu; and (b) male and female names.[1] The following extract from the introductory chapter of that dissertation may be useful here:

> "As should be clear from the many examples of names given above, the igama lasekhaya is almost invariably a reflection of the child's background, i.e. traditional or modern, rural or urban, pagan or Christian. The values to which the parents subscribe and to which they wish their children to subscribe, are also well reflected in names. It is unfortunately not within the scope of this work to investigate this matter, but it should prove a fascinating study for a sociologist."

That was written in 1976, and as no sociologist turned up, and my interest in Zulu names increased rather than lessened, it seemed inevitable that the Master's dissertation should take up where the Honours had left off.

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1. Later published separately in African Studies, 1979, under the titles "Linguistic Difference between Nouns and Names in Zulu" and "Male and Female Names in Zulu".

Between 1976 and 1980, I kept a large notebook in which I jotted down anything of interest connected with Zulu names : interesting names, stories and anecdotes from various people, newspaper clipppings, the names of dogs, horses and oxen.

In 1980 the Onomastics Society of Southern Africa (now the Names Society) opened a branch in Natal, and I found when I joined that I was the only member working on any aspect of Zulu names. It seemed the time to focus the rather haphazard notes into something which could be made available to other scholars, and accordingly in early 1981 I embarked on a research programme which would provide quantifiable data on the following questions:

1) the use of the various different kinds of Zulu names;
2) the relationship between names and social values; and
3) the reason why individual names are given.

The sociological value of such a study has been underlined by various scholars. Evans-Pritchard (1948:166) has pointed out that:

> "The study of names and titles of address has some importance because, as will be seen from the notes recorded below, they symbolize a man's social position in relation to the people around him, so that, by the use of one or the other of them, the status of the speaker to the person addressed is readily recognized."

Madubuike (1976:14) adds an extra element when he says:

> "(Names) have a deep social significance and many names studied collectively express a world view, the Weltanschaung of the people."

These are of course sociological reflections. I was greatly encouraged by the work on names and forms of address done by a linguist, Prof. Johan Combrink of the Afrikaans Department at Stellenbosch. His paper on the vocative in Afrikaans[1] showed clearly the relationships between grammar and social values, and he made it even more clear to me that the study of names (as in this dissertation) is not a sociological matter only, nor that of linguistics only, but falls under the hybrid discipline : socio-linguistics.

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1. Unpublished; given as a seminar at University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, in 1981.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR M.A. RESEARCH: ADRIAN KOOPMAN sheet no. ...
ZULU DEPARTMENT UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

SURNAME OF FAMILY.....House No.....

NAMES OF FAMILY HEAD.....Age.....Home Area.....

Occupation.....Church.....

NAMES OF WIFE.....Age.....Home Area.....

Wife's Maiden Clan Name.....

CHILDREN'S NAMES

(Unyaka wokuzalwa, igama lesilungu, igama lasekhaya, laqanjwa ngubani? Izizathu zokuqamba)

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Family Izithakazelo..... ....

Family's knowledge of izithakazelo..... ....

. ...

Modes of address in familyparents to children, parents to each other, children to each other..... ...

....

. ...

Izithopho, izifenqo.....

Dogs', cats' names. .....

Illustration 1. Questionnaire. (Earlier Version)

Many people having asked me the meaning of a Zulu name, have greeted the answer with exclamations like "How expressive!"; "What a striking thought!"; or perhaps "How poetic!". When Ruth Finnegan, in Oral Literature in Africa confirms such comments by referring to the key role names play in African oral literature, it seemed clear to me that a chapter on the literary aspects of Zulu names should be added to the chapters on sociological aspects.

This dissertation is structured as follows:

Chapter One: Introduction, and Zulu names within an African context.

Chapter Two: Zulu names and other forms of address: the different kinds of Zulu names and where, when and how they are used.

Chapter Three: The reasons underlying Zulu personal names (amagama): how and why they are given.

Chapter Four: The Literary aspect: the literary qualities of Zulu names, and the use of names in Zulu literature.

1.2 Methods of Research.

1.2.1 Primary source material: interview.

1.2.2 Secondary source material: the literature.

1.2.1 Primary sources

1.2.1.1 Structure of questionnaire

A questionnaire was designed, to be taken to Zulu parents. This was later modified slightly. (See illustration no. 1)

The questionnaire consisted of:

1) A sheet number for later filing and easy reference.

2) The family surname (or clan-name). This was to relate the clan-name to the clan-praises, and also to see if there were any relationships between the childrens' personal names and the clan-name.

3) House-number: or any other way of recontacting the informant at a later date if necessary.

4) Names of family-head: to see if any relationship between his names and those of his sons.

del 66

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR M.A. RESEARCH ADRIAN KOOPMAN ZULU DEPARTMENT
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL E-names by INITIAL.

SURNAME OF FAMILY..... MAHLANZE ..... House No. 212

Names of Family Head. Ambrose Matsheni Age* 1935 Home Area Highflats.
Names of Wife..... Esther Baduvile ..... Age*..... Home Area.....

Wife's Clan Name..... MaZaca ..... Educational/Financial status of
Family Head Printer at Interpak

informant: mother
church: Methodist.

CHILDREN'S NAMES

Date of Birth, Igama lesilungu, Igama lasekhaya, laqanjwa ngubani?
Izizathu zokuqamba: wife – wanquma ukuthi ufirstborn izoba umfana

1. 1960 Sifiso Wilfred – wife

2. 1963 Siphiwe Hamilton – H wanquma ukuthi nathola omunye umfana usiphiwe ngothixo.

all 3 boys are chiefs (wife)

3. 1965 Nokhwenke Hannah H obvious (mother)

4. 1967 Harriet Ntombifikile – only used when many boys

5. 1969 Nqobile Wilgrave W umuzi wobaba (wife) umuzi kayise – umuzi kaNgobese – ukuthokuba nenye

6. 1972 Sbu Muzikayise Wilson W sobaba (wife) umuzi kayise – umuzi kaNgobese – ukuthokuba nenye

7. 1974 Mthunzi David (Bonke bazophumula emthunzini wakhi ngoba ulast born) from Bible

Family Izithakazelo. Mnuthu Mbhele Ncwane;

Knowledge of Izithakazelo by a) husband, b) wife, c)children. all know well, parents are important that the boys know

Dogs'n and cats' names. have cat – it has no names.

Izithopho. "Doctor Nonoka" (not both names) "Ukupuya Umoya" – Siphiwe Kuibera

Modes of address in family: children to parents; parents to children;
parents to each other. parents to kids uxekhaya, other names used in church and in school; kids to parents children are xekhaya, ma to pa "baba kaSifiso", when being very respectful used ukubonga or izithakazelo, pa to ma "esther";

Illustration 2. Completed questionnaire. Interview by A. Koopman.

5) Names of wife: to see if any relationship between her names and those of her daughters.

6) Their ages to establish if there are any changes taking place in the giving of names, i.e. to see if there are any detectable differences between the way today's parents name their children and the way the previous generation did.

7) Their home area: to see if any regional differences could be found.

8) The occupation of the head of the house, as this proved to be a useful way of establishing social status, income, education, etc., to be related to the children's names.

9) Their church: to see if religion played any role in the naming of their children.

10) The wife's maiden clan-name: to see if any link between this and the names of her children.

11) The major part of the questionnaire, asking for:

(a) the child's year of birth (significant gaps between children are frequently reflected in the name);

(b) the European name, to see what effect on, or relationship with, the Zulu name it had;

(c) the all-important Zulu name;

(d) who gave it? and

(e) why?

This was an open-ended question, allowing the informants to volunteer any information they liked. Often quite long stories lay behind the child's name, and such stories had to spill onto the back of the questionnaire.

12) The clan izithakazelo (praises): mainly to update my previous collection (See Appendix 3 of Honours dissertation), but also to see how well these are still known these days in the urban areas.

13) The family's knowledge of izithakazelo: did everyone know?, or only the father?, or only the parents?, or only the males? If the children knew them, who had taught them?

14) Modes of address in the family: parents to the children; parents to each other, children to each other. I originally asked for children to parents, but discovered no variations on Ma(ma) and Baba.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR M.A. RESEARCH: ADRIAN KOOPMAN sheet no. 38.
ZULU DEPARTMENT UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

SURNAME OF FAMILY. Ndlovu .....House No 3310..

NAMES OF FAMILY HEAD Zondiwe Alfred ..Age 34.Home Area. Edendale....

Occupation. Mechanic .....Church. Ethiopia .....

NAMES OF WIFE. Phumelele Nesta ....Age 30..Home Area. Durban.....

Wife's Maiden Clan Name. Ma Celekhulu

CHILDREN'S NAMES

(Unyaka wokuzalwa, igama lesilungu, igama lasekhaya, laqanjwa ngubani? Izizathu zokuqamba)

1965 Maizi ← Raphael

Waqanjwa uyise ngoba efisa ukuba kuthi lapho esekhulile abe ngumsizi wakhe.

1966 Nkosinathi Wellington

Waqanjwa uyise wathi inkosi imbo ngoba sebephunde bathola umfana wathi inkosi imbo.

3. 1969 Nomkhosi Mildret

Waqanjwa umina ngoba wenza idili wahlaba umkhosi

4. 1972 Nkile Margaret

Waqanjwa umina wathi intombi iphinde yafika.

5. 1970 Nomusa Rita

Waqanjwa uyise ngoba umina wayenomusa esakhulelwe.

Family Izithakazelo. Ndlovu, Gatsheni, Boya benyathi →

Family's knowledge of izithakazelo.....

.....

Modes of address in familyparents to children, parents to each other, ~~children to each other~~. "Baba uthi," "Maka Maizi" umama uthi," "Baba ka Maizi"

.....

Izithopho, izifengqo.....

Dogs', cats' names. .....

Illustration 3. Completed questionnaire. Interview by Philippa Mofokeng.

15) Izithopho, izifenqo: any nick-names, praise-names, giya-names, football names, etc. in the family.

16) Dogs' and cats' names, or the names of any other pet.

A fair amount of the information turned out to be useless: it was for instance impossible to discover any links between the children's names, and the parents' district of origin, or the mother's maiden-clan. Specific churches were irrelevant; it was only relevant whether they were church-goers or not.

The bulk of this dissertation concerns the material collected under number (11) above, the names of the children and the reasons for them.

1.2.1.2 Places of research

My first research was conducted at Sobantu Village, a small township within the urban area of Pietermaritzburg with the advantage of being only 3 kilometres from my home (using the short cut through the Municipal rubbish dump). This turned out to be an inconvenient place to conduct research, however, because

firstly, a permit was needed from the Drakensberg Administration Board; I had to 'book in' at the Superintendent's office each time; had to produce my permit when asked; and had to be out of the area by 4.00pm each day; and

secondly, the residents were extremely suspicious of me as a white (clearly regarding me as a tax, rent, police or other inspector) and because of these suspicions, an interview of about half-an-hour needed at least 10 minutes of explanations before I could begin with the questions. This was not only tedious and boring, but a great waste of time.

I then had the idea of shifting my place of operations to the University campus, reasoning that the University had a large number of Zulu employees (domestics in the residence, building and grounds staff, farm workers at the University farm Ukulinga), and that most of these would be married with children. This turned out to be far more successful. For example, the interviews with the grounds staff: Mr Monty Robertson, Grounds Superintendent, kindly allowed me to address his staff en masse at a pay-day gathering. This had the dual effect of firstly allaying all suspicion as I was introduced by Mr Robertson (a fair proportion of the Staff knew me by sight anyway), and secondly of allowing me to make

91	23	d	Toto squishy 211	mother: child was soft and spongy to the touch (ideophone)	PHYSICAL
92	23	Qd	Gamelihle 40 (nickname)	father: because in the birth of a child he became with honour, position, 'a nice name' [redacted]	PROGRESS
DLA 93	23	S	Fano 'Boy' 34	father: endearment from umfana - happy to get boy	HAPPY MALE
DLA 94	23	S	Mabefu Fatty 56	father: of very fat child ('ngoba ekhuluphele kakhulu eyisibefubefu')	PHYSICAL
95	24	S	Mandla (strength)	father: because mother had great strength during pregnancy	BIRTH
96	24	S	Bongani (grateful)	father: grateful to God for giving him another boy	GRATEFUL GOD MALE
97	24	d	Busisiwe 19 (being blessed)	mother: grateful to God for blessing of daughter	GRATEFUL GOD FEMALE
98	25	d	Thokozile 203 (being happy)	mother: happy at getting dtr who will help in housework	HAPPY FEMALE
99	25	d	Bayile stupid 20	father: 'back again with another girl.	FEMALE
100	25	d	Lindiwe 53 (waited)	father: because mother has already born two girls he was already expecting a third. Saying so through annoyance that is she going to go on bearing girls forever?	FEMALE
101	26	S	Sidumo 231 (commotion)	mother: gave birth prematurely through shock because on the way to JHB there was fighting (isidumo) around her	BIRTH
102	26	S	Mboneni 69 Thembelihle 194	[redacted] a) father: because it was not known that he would ever be seen ([redacted]); b) mother: she had hope that this child would be born even though everyone had said she was barren. (Born after long wait; not same mother as first child)	FATHER BARREN
103	27	♀	Mbalenhle 66 (beautiful-flower)	mother: child was lovely (~~in colour~~) when born	PHYSICAL
104	27	S	Sibongiseni 158 (be grateful for me)	father: let everyone make him happy/grateful that he has a son	HAPPY MALE
105	28	S	Thulasizwe 205 (be quiet so we can hear)	father: 'be quiet Ximba people so that we can hear what Charlie is saying' (?)	—
106	28	S	Phasizwe 142 (support the nation)	father: 'sesiliphasile izwe maXimba' (supported - refernce to growing size of small clan)	CLAN
107	28	S	Bhekizizwe 7 (look to the nations)	father: 'we have looked to the nations to see what they say' (cf. 1st name)	—
108	28	S	Zakhele 218 (new built for ourselves)	father: had built his own house in the location	PROGRESS
109	28	d	Nelisile 104 (being satisfied)	mother: now enough children because her desire to get a daughter has been fulfilled at last	FEMALE NUMBER
110	29	d	Thokozile 203 (being happy)	mother: was happy to get a girl	HAPPY FEMALE
111	29	d	Mbalenhle 66 (beautiful-flower)	mother: the child was beautiful at birth and loved by all	PHYSICAL
112	30	S	Bongani 12 (be grateful)	father: because he had waited a long time without getting a child and was grateful to get one, saying 'be grateful people of Gabuza the Lord has answered our prayers'	GRATEFUL GOD BARREN CLAN
113	30	d	Nonhlanhla 124 (Miss Luck)	mother and father: because again they had waited six years for this child, but they were lucky in having the Lord give them another child.	BARREN LUCK GOD.
114	31	S	Mlindeni 94 (wait for him)	father: let the in-laws wait for this child until he has finished paying lobolo because he hasn't finished yet	CLAN LOBOLO
115	31	S	Siphamandla 169 (give us strength)	father: having waited for six years for this child they eventually asked the Lord to give the mother strength	BARREN GOD
116	31	d	Bonisiwe 16 (being revealed)	named by the father before the child had been born because she had been revealed to him in a dream.	[redacted] FATHER.

Illustration 4. Combined information : a sample sheet.

only one explanation of my study, my intentions and needs. I was then able to wander around the campus at will, interviewing this man weeding here, and that man watering there, without the need for any tedious pour-parlers.

After I had completed ± 75 interviews in this manner, I felt it was time to start analysis, and was glad to hand over the interviewing to Phillipa Mofokeng, the daughter of my domestic, Mrs G.Mofokeng. She carried out this interviewing in a most able and intelligent manner, and any problems which arose could be discussed with her mother, who knew most of the families involved. This interviewing was carried out at Imbali, a black township just outside the borough of Pietermaritzburg. Phillipa's pay was taken from my H.S.R.C. grant.

In this manner, a total of 133 families were interviewed. Examples of questionnaires completed by myself, and by Phillipa, are shown in illustrations no. 2 and 3 respectively.

1.2.1.3 Analysis of results.

The information on the questionnaires was sorted as follows:

1) Control data (status of family, home area, church, etc) were checked interview by interview to see if there were any relevant links. Most of this information turned out to be irrelevant, and it was only in the odd case that a father who was a preacher showed this in the name he gave his children, or a man originally from Umbumbulu reflected his Mkhize (Umbumbulu) ancestry in the name of his sons.

2) All information on izithakazelo, personal praises, and animal praises were extracted and filed for later research. Some of this material will be used to illustrate various points in this dissertation.

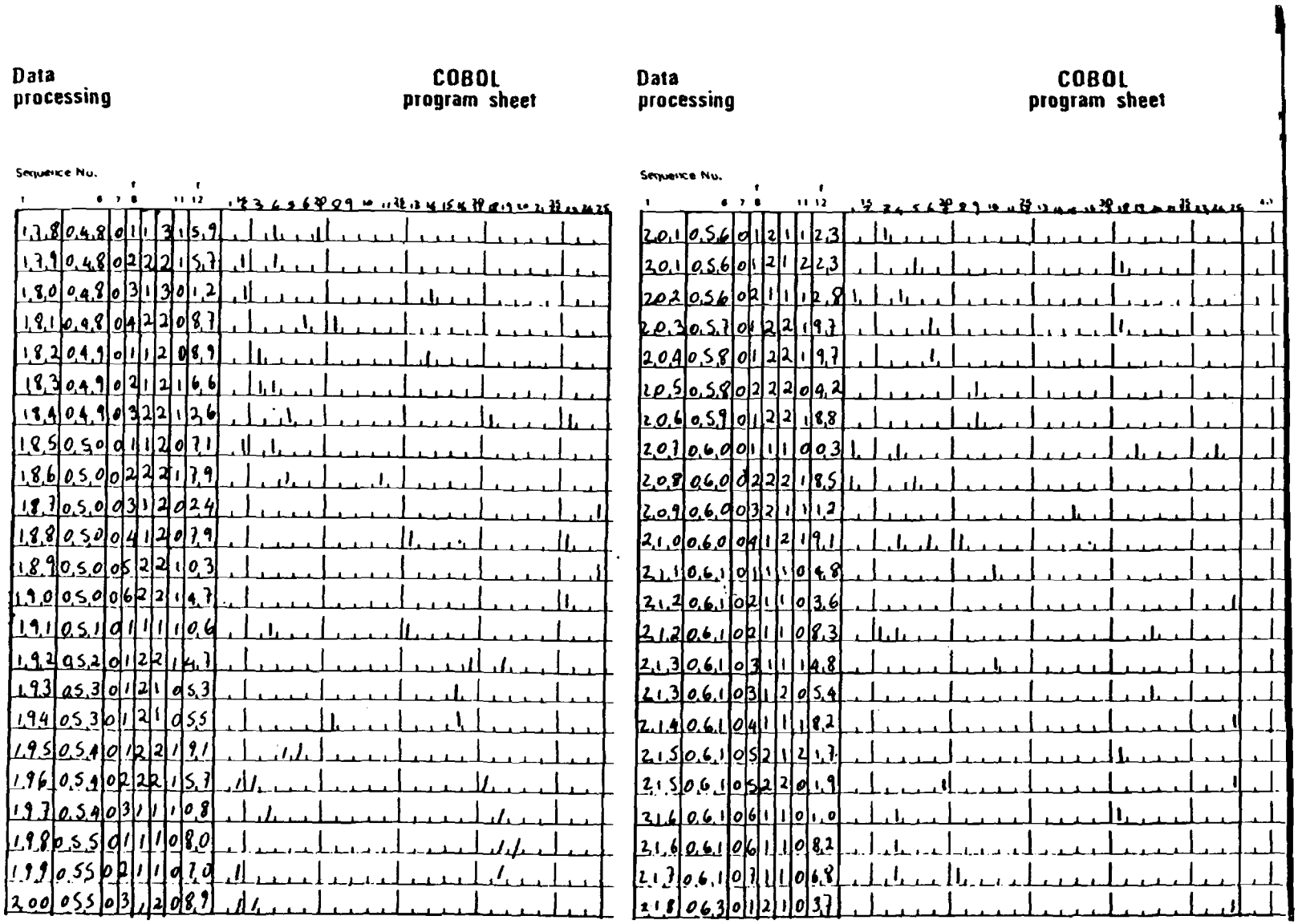
3) The remaining information, on the children's names, was entered into one list, giving the following information for each child:[1]

1) Name reference number - for reference and filing.
2) Sheet reference number - to refer to family if later necessary.
3) Sex of child - I first used 'm' for male and 'f' for female but found these confused with 'm' for mother and 'f' for father.

---

1. See illustration 4.

Illustration 5. Cobol Program sheets.



Data processing

COBOL program sheet

Sequence No.

Data processing

COBOL program sheet

Sequence No.

Sex was registered as 's' for son and 'd' for daughter.

4) The Zulu name.

5) Its meaning in English.

6) The giver of the name.

7) Why the name was given (a shortened form of the original, often lengthy, reason).

Once this was done, I contemplated the lengthy document for some time, and eventually categorized the reasons into twenty-five sub-categories, later compressed into six sub-categories. These were then ready for analysis, and I am grateful to Arie Blacquière, Head of the Language and Reading Laboratories at the University in Pietermaritzburg, for suggesting that this would be an ideal task for a computer. I am even more grateful to John Aitchison, for firstly agreeing to Mr Blacquière's suggestion, and secondly, for agreeing to write a program for me. A S.P.S.S.[1] type program was used, and this required that the information in the combined list be reduced to numbers. This was done in the following way, and I shall take as an example Bhekokwakhe, the first son and fourth child of the 37th family to be interviewed:

38 slots on a Cobol computer card were available to each name, and these were allocated as follows:

slots 1, 2, 3: the entry number. Bhekokwakhe was the 139th name in the combined list and he is recorded as 139 here.

slots 4, 5, 6: the sheet (family, interview number). This was the 37th family interviewed, and he is recorded as 037.

slots 7, 8: indicate first child, second, third, etc. He is entered as 04.

slot 9: sex of child: 1 for male, 2 for female.

slot 10: name-giver: 1 for father, 2 for mother, 3 for grand-mother, 4 for grandfather, 5 for other. As it was his mother who named him, he is recorded as 2.

slots 11, 12, 13: indicate a name-reference number. An alphabetical list was made of all names recorded in the survey, and Bhekokwakhe was number 8.

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1. Statistical Package for Social Sciences.

ZULU PERSONAL NAMES 03/03/82 PAGE 6

FILE ZUPENA (CREATION DATE = 03/03/82) ZULU PERSONAL NAMES

* * * * * * * * * * * CROSSTABULATION * * * * * * * * * * *

NAMEGIVE GIVER OF NAME
BY IDEAS (TABULATING 11)

* PAGE 1 OF 3

		IDEAS											
	COUNT	HAPPY	GRATEFUL	GOD	MALE	FEMALE	TRUST	BLESSED	NUMBER	LOVE	FRICTION	COMFORT	ROW TOTAL
NAMEGIVE													
FATHER	1	17	18	26	55	24	10	3	27	6	10	2	192 50.1
MOTHER	2	13	21	32	13	39	17	7	19	5	6	7	156 40.7
GRANDMOTHER	3	0	1	0	6	0	0	1	1	1	2	0	21 5.5
GRANDFATHER	4	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	7 1.8
OTHER	5	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	7 1.8
	COLUMN TOTAL	32 8.4	40 10.4	60 15.7	78 20.4	65 17.0	27 7.0	11 2.9	47 12.3	13 3.4	21 5.5	9 2.3	383 100.0

PERCENTS AND TOTALS BASED ON RESPONDENTS

(CONTINUED)

Illustration 6. ZUPENA Printout: Crosstabulation : name-giver against the 25 categories of names (only 11 shown). Unannotated.

slots 14 - 38: for the twenty-five categories of name reasons. His mother had named him Bhekokwakhe ('Look to his own') as he was the first boy and should look after his inheritance. The reasons therefore fell under slot 17 ('Male' - maleness of child specifically referred to) and slot 32 ('Clan' - the name refers to the position of the child within the clan.) Bhekokwakhe has thus, for statistical purposes, been changed into the following identity:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
1	3	9	0	3	7	0	4	1	2	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

Once the task of changing 15 pages of combined data (as in illustration 4) into 11 Cobol program sheets (see illustration 5) was completed (a task requiring great concentration, yet surprisingly completed in one day), it was necessary to find someone to punch the computer cards, and here I am grateful to Professor Nick Phillips of the University's Computer Science Department for persuading his son Steven to do this. (His very reasonable fee also came from the H.S.R.C. grant). It was then up to John Aitchison to use these cards to answer such questions as

- what percentage of fathers name their sons?
- mothers, their daughters?
- do fathers name first sons more frequently than subsequent sons?
- what percentage of fathers name their sons for reasons connected with maleness? pride? clan?
- what percentage of mothers name their daughters for reasons connected with happiness? the physical birth? appearance of the baby?
- are boys or girls more likely to receive names connected with love? God? trust?

These and many other questions were answeredwith reams of statistical analysis and breakdown, and it was for a computer novice like myself exciting to see questions that I could have answered myself only after a year of long evenings, beinganswerdwithin seconds. I learnt some

---

1. The computer identification name for the program was ZUPENA (ZUlu PErsonal NAmes).

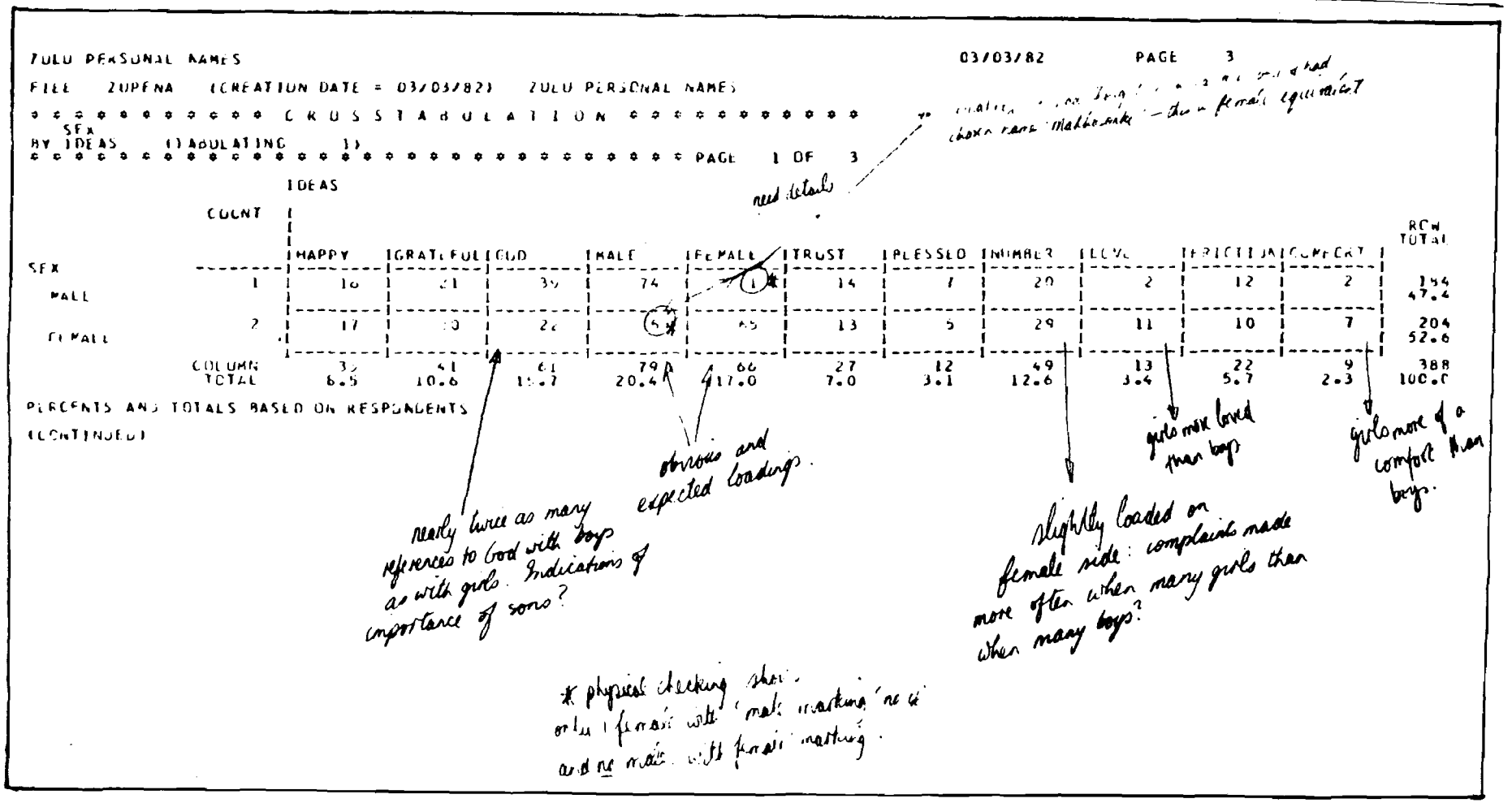


Illustration 7: ZUPENA Printout: Crosstabulation : sex of child against 25 categories. Annotated.

computer terminology, the most common on the earlier print-outs being /...PROGRAM RUNNING.....PROGRAM ABORTED...../. Examples of the print-outs, which are discussed in detail in Chapter 3, are shown in illustrations 6 and 7.

The one thing that the SPSS program could not do was provide me with a print-out of the reasons as given in the combined list, and here I am indebted to Pat Blacquière for nobly offering to operate the Language Laboratory's Apple computer, with its ability to record a great amount of information which could then be recalled under various headings or combinations of headings. I thus had available at a moment's notice all those names falling under 'female', with the various reasons, or for a more detailed approach, all names combining 'female' with 'God', or 'female' with 'lobola'. This was invaluable to me when I was writing the detail of Chapter 3. An example of the Apple printout is shown in illustration 8.

1.2.2 Secondary Source Material : the literature.

There has been very little written on the subject of Zulu names, Nonetheless, I undertook a detailed search of the literature to see if I could find anything of relevance. I divide for convenience the secondary sources into the following three categories:

1.2.2.1 Ruth Finnegan's Oral Literature in Africa : the references to works on personal names in various parts of Africa, and the 'spin-offs' from these.

1.2.2.2 Consultation of Social Science and Humanities Indexes.

1.2.2.3 The indexes of a number of books on Southern African anthropology.

1.2.2.1 Finnegan's Oral Literature.

Besides the useful material in the book itself, footnotes in Finnegan provided me with a number of references that might otherwise have been difficult to trace. Although these are all quoted to support her contention that names play a role in oral literature, they are all written by anthropologists and are socio-anthropological in tone and content. Useful articles were:[1]

---

1. Exact references in bibliography.

KOOPMAN 3/15/82

MALE

&MALE

---

1 JABULANI: GF HAPPY THAT LAST SON'S FIRST CHILD A BOY

MALE

---

14 VUSUMUZI: M: 1ST SON

MALE CLAN

---

21 THABANI: F: DELIGHTED IN GETTING ANOTHER BOY

HAPPY MALE

---

40 MFANA: F: A BOY AFTER THREE GIRLS

MALE

---

44 MUZIKAWUKHO: GM: REASON? PROBABLY BECAUSE ONLY ONE SON

MALE

---

46 NOMAKHOSI: F: HAD THOUGHT THAT CHILD WAS GOING TO BE BOY, AND HAD ALREADY CHOSEN NAME 'MAKHOSONKE' - THIS IS FEMALE EQUIVALENT

MALE

---

71 NHLANHLA: F: FELT LUCKY TO GET A SON

LUCK MALE

---

95 BHEKINKOSI: GF TOLD SON (CHILD'S F) TO LOOK TO THE CLAN CHIEFS AND AMADLOZI AND THANK THEM THAT HE HAS STARTED WITH A SON

MALE CLAN

---

79 NKOSINATHI: F: GOD IS WITH US IN GIVING US ANOTHER BOY

BLESSING MALE

---

80 VUSUMUZI: F: FIRST BOY

MALE CLAN

---

81 MANDLA: F: GOD HAS GIVEN US STRENGTH IN GIVING US MORE BOYS

TWIN MALE

---

82 SIBUSISO: F: GOD HAS GIVEN BLESSING IN GIVING US MORE BOYS

TWIN BLESSING MALE

Illustration 8. APPLE Printout : all names in the category 'male'. Note that one name is female.

Beattie: 'Nyoro personal names'

Ennis: 'Women's names among the Ovimbundu of Angola'

Evans-Pritchard: 'Nuer modes of Address'

Gulliver: 'Bell-Oxen and Ox-names among the Jie'

Middleton: 'The Social Significance of Lugbara Personal Names'

Nsimbi: 'Baganda Traditional Personal Names'

Wieschoff: 'The Social Significance of Names among the Ibo of Nigeria'

Consultation of these led to a number of other articles, although of lesser use, such as:

Evans-Pritchard: 'Customs and Beliefs Relating to Twins among the Nilotic Nuer'

Hunt: 'Some notes on the Naming of Dogs in Chikaranga'

and on the same theme, the curiously titled

'The Attitudinal and Autobiographic in Gbeya Dog Names' by Samarin. Much of the material in these articles is discussed in 1.3. The Comparative Aspect.

1.2.2.2 Various Indexes.

The British Humanities Index gave references to a number of philosophical articles in Analysis and Mind, such as Keating's "Blackburn on the intersubstitutability of proper names", Holland's "Carnap on Frege on indirect reference" and Noonan's "Count nouns and mass nouns". I found these very heavy going and of no practical use. The BHI, like the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, also gave references to a number of frivolous articles like "Rose is a rose is a Rosie"; "Yes, you're really one in a million!"; and "Ms-taken identity : on brides keeping maiden names". These mainly appear in magazines like Seventeen, McCalls and Illustrated Ebony. Juliet's "What's in a name? that which we call a rose

By any other name would smell as sweet."[1]

has inspired numbers of writers on personal names, as the following list shows:

---

1. Romeo and Juliet, Act II, Scene ii. There is an interesting contrast between the African idea that the name is the person (discussed below in 1.3.1) and Juliet's statement that

"What's Montague? It is nor hand nor foot,
Nor arm, nor face, nor any other part
belonging to a man."

David Sheppard: 'What's in a name?" New Society, 1966.

L. Clayton: 'What's in a name?' Essence, 1978.

F.Spielberg: 'What's in a name?' Today's Education, 1978.

S.Walker: 'What's in a name?' Illustrated Ebony, 1977.

Variations on the theme are:

R. Harris: 'What's in a nickname?' Illustrated Ebony, 1979.

B. Rhoden: 'What's in a (nick)name?' Illustrated Ebony, 1976.

A.Marshall: 'Smelling as sweet' New Statesman, 1977

J.Latham's analysis of the Glasgow telephone directory appears under the title 'What's in a name? Or why Macs are rife.' (New Society, 1975) Most of these articles were light-hearted and amusing, as opposed to the heavy philosophical arguments referred to above, but like the philosophy articles, were of no practical use. The only really useful material from the indexes was the reference to two books: Chuks-Orji's Names from Africa and Madubuike's A Handbook of African Names. Both books are basically lists of African names with meanings, compiled in order that American negroes may select more 'ethnic' names for their children in order to reflect the feeling that 'black is beautiful'. There is very little analysis or discussion in these books (particularly in Chuks-Orji), but the very extensive lists of names provided a great deal of useful comparative material, and relevant quotes from both will be found throughout this dissertation.

1.2.2.3 Southern African Ethnological/Anthropological works.

All the works on the Southern Bantu that I could find were consulted to see if they had any statements to make on names. These ranged from the standard, well-known works like Krige's The Social System of the Zulus, to rather obscure works like Dunning's wonderfully titled Two Hundred and Sixty-four Zulu proverbs, idioms, etc., and the Cries of Thirty-Seven Birds. Some of these, like Bryant's The Zulu People and Berglund's Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism, contain much relevant material on Zulu names. Others, like Faye's Zulu References and Samuelson's Zululand, its Traditions, Legends, Customs and Folklore had little or nothing on Zulu names.

Works with useful comparative material were Junod's The Life of a Southern African Tribe, Mönnig's The Pedi (particularly informative), and Stayt's The Bavenda. Works from further afield providing illuminating comments on names in Africa were Bartlett's Psychology and Primitive Culture, Parrinder's West African Psychology, and Skinner's Peoples and Cultures of Africa.

For reading on names and literature, besides Finnegan's invaluable work, I relied heavily on the O.U.P. African Literature series, including Cope's Izibongo : Zulu Praise Poems, Damane and Saunder's Lithoko : Sotho Praise Poems, Hodwa and Fortune's Shona Praise Poetry, Kunene's Heroic Poetry of the Basotho and Schapera's The Praise-Poetry of Tswana Chiefs. Articles by Elizabeth Gunner, both published and unpublished, on various aspects of praise-poetry among the Zulu were also useful.

In summing up this section on the literature, it is fair to say that comparatively little has been published on Zulu names, and certainly by far the bulk of material in this dissertation has been gathered from oral rather than written sources.

1.3 The Comparative Aspect

1.3.1 The Concept of the Name.
1.3.2 Varieties of Names.
1.3.3 Ceremonial Aspects.

Introduction

Rain is always needed in Africa, and often it doesn't come. When it does, there is great joy, for rain is life. One of the main points in this dissertation is that in Africa, personal names reflect social values, and issues of importance to society. We expect, therefore, to find the importance of rain reflected in names, and the following quotations are intended to show how wide-spread this practice is.

Chuks-Orji, on African names generally, says:

> "Some African names indicate an event, natural or otherwise, that took place around the time of the child's birth.

> Thus an Ngoni male child might be named Mvula 'Rain' because such a precipitation occurred around the time he was born."
>
> (1972:76)

Among the list of names given by Chuks-Orji in his book, I found the following:

(m = male; f = female)

Masika (f) : 'born during rainy season' (Swahili)

Nafula (f) : 'born during rainy season' (Abaluhya, Uganda)

Nomvula (f) : 'rain' (Xhosa)

Mvula (m) : 'rain' (Ngoni)

Madubuike also provides an extensive list of names from all over Africa, and in his list, I found the following:

Mirumbi (m) : 'born when it was raining' (Waputsi, Rwanda)

Roble (m) : 'he who brings rain' (born during rainy season) (Somalia)

Roblai - the feminine equivalent of above.

Wafula (m) ' rain', 'born during rainy season' (Abaluhya)

Nafula (f)
Mamvura (f) : 'rains' (Zezuru)

Mönnig, writing about the Pedi, echoes Chuks-Orji:

> "Names are frequently chosen from events occurring on the day of the child's birth. If it rained on that day, the child may be called Mapula or Modupe from pula (rain) or modupe - a soft rain."
>
> (1967:103)

Junod (1927:39) gives the example Mpfulen (in the rain) from the Thonga, and Beattie (1957:99), writing of the Nyoro of Uganda, mentions the name Nyenjura (born in time of rain).

Bhengu (1975!53), quotes from Nkem Nkwankwo's novel Danda (pg 73):

> "'What name would I use' said Danda, 'It is hard to know.
> Some people call me Danda, others Rain.'"

Zulu is by no means left out of this practice. The girl's name Nomvula is quite common; the boys' names Mvula and Mvuleni less so. A hidden reference to rain was found in the name Selina, which I had thought to be a European name like Serafina or Bettina, but which, the mother assured me, was an igama lasekhaya from the phrase selina kakhulu (it is now raining a lot), this being the case when the baby was born.

Rain can be found in clan-names and clan-praises as well. Mkhize (drizzle) is an obvious example. The Mzolo clan (< amazolo 'dew') were renowned rain-makers :

> "They acquired considerable fame as rain-doctors; but this renown was largely due to the pluvial miracles wrought by a member of the tribe named Gasa."
>
> (Bryant; 1929:358)

Long before I read this in Bryant I knew the Mzolo izithakazelo (praises) as:

Wena kaGasa,	You of Gasa,
Mnisi wemvula!	The bringer of rain!

I have brought together these children of the rain not only to illustrate how something important to a people is reflected in the names of their children, but also to show how universal the practice is, and how well Zulu fits into the African context. I now wish to extend this context, under the following headings:

1.3.1 The concept of the name;

1.3.2 Varieties of names; and

1.3.3 Ceremonial aspects.

1.3.1 The Concept of the Name

Let us return a moment to Juliet's soliloquy, quoted above in 1.2.2.

> "'Tis but thy name that is my enemy; -
> Thou art thyself though, not a Montague.
> What's Montague? It is nor hand, nor foot,
> Nor arm, nor face, nor any other part
> Belonging to a man. O, be some other name!
> What's in a name? that which we call a rose,
> By any other name would smell as sweet;
> So Romeo would, were he not Romeo call'd
> Retain the dear perfection which he owes
> Without that title:- Romeo, doff thy name;
> And for that name, which is no part of thee,
> Take all myself."

Juliet's point, that a name is not part of a person, is a typical European attitude. Romeo would still be the same person if he had a different name. To Western thought generally, a name is not part of a person, not part of a personality - the name is a label, a useful tag for addressing that person, but no more than that. Ziff, in his article About Proper Names,

describes Kripke as "concerned with 'fixing the reference' of a name" (1977:324). This seems to me to indicate in a nutshell the basic difference between European and African concepts of proper names: the European concept is that the name refers to a person; the African concept is that the name is the person.

Parrinder, writing on West Africa, states:

> "A further very important part of the personality is the name . ....No name is a mere name. There are public and private names, and the names of seniors must often not be used by juniors in addressing them. This is because the name expresses the individual character of a man. It is not a mere handle, but shares in the spiritual reality of man's being..... .....In baptisms and the use of Christian names, one finds the difference between a foreign, imposed name, and the one which belongs to the person in his very self. Asked whether such-and-such is his child's Christian name, the father will answer with a direct yes; but asked as to his native name, he will reply with the more profound 'it is he'.
>
> (1951:24)

Chuks-Orji, on African names generally, has an interesting point, not only on the link between names and identity, but on names and existence:

> "Indeed it is not until a child has been named that he is considered a person; and a name is not given until it has been agreed that the child has come to stay .....(if) the child dies before his real-life name is given, he is regarded as not having been born at all, or having been still-born."
>
> (1972:82)

Getting closer to home, Mönnig says of the Pedi of the Transvaal, that:

> "The Pedi consider the name of a person to be much more than a mere appendage by which a person is addressed. It is an integrated part of the person, a reflection of his personality and of his whole being, and is coloured with his spirit."
>
> (1967:105)

Kidd, talking about the Zulus at the turn of the century, clearly noticed the same kind of thing when he says:

> "A native will often try to put you off when you enquire about the meaning of a name by saying, 'A name is a name and nothing more'. Yet it is frequently a great deal more."
>
> (1904:241)

The close relationship between the name of a person and his spirit is clearly seen when witchcraft is discussed. The following is a conver-

sation between Berglund and a Zulu diviner:

> "Our discussion continued in terms of the name of the person who was to be harmed.
> B: ... 'Everywhere I am told that umthakathi mentions the name of the person who is to be killed. Why does umthakathi mention the name?'
> 'It is the name of that person'.
> B: ... 'Is it important that the name should be mentioned?'
> 'It is very important. It is the important thing in ubu-thakathi. If a man can hide his name from people, then he can hide from much evil. Umthakathi can kill a man if he lacks vileness (body-dirt) and hair, but has the name. So the name is very important.'
> B: ... 'Why is the name so important?'
> 'The name is that person. They are the same, the name and the person. It is the word whereby that person is known. That is the name. So the person and the name are one. Um-thakathi kills a man by combining the words of death with the name. He throws (ukuphonsa) these at the man and they kill him.'
>
> (1975:287)

Juliet said Montague was 'nor hand, nor foot, nor arm', but in the following quote from Kidd, the name sounds very like a hand or arm:

> "...if a man cannot get possession of some portion of a person's body where with to bewitch him, he can at least use the name to take hold of the person by."
>
> (1904:241)

Mönnig confirms the point made by Berglund and Kidd:

> "A person's name, so intimately linked with him is, therefore, also dangerous for him for through it he can be bewitched. We have already seen that witchcraft can be performed from a distance, by merely mentioning the name of the victim and the harm which it is intended should befall the person. For this reason, a person is hardly ever addressed by his name."
>
> (1967:105)

Soga, on the Xhosa, adds some interesting details on the dignity of man, and the effects of witchcraft:

> "It is taboo to shout out a man's name when calling him either during the day or the night. The objection is on the score partly that it is derogatory to the dignity of a man to shout out his name. To do this, they hold, is to ncipisa them - "make them small" (in the estimation of others). Likewise to shout a child's name at night is disapproved of.
> "The idea underlying this taboo, in both the cases mentioned, is due to the belief in sympathetic magic. Shouting out the name of an individual enables the sorcerer (umtakati) to become familiar with it, and some night when he desires

> to work evil on the person named he will shout out the name, with the consequence that he who has been called will wake up in the morning with constricted vocal cords, and be unable to articulate clearly."
>
> (1931:356/7)

With the above in mind, it is not difficult to see why I received the Zulu name 'Mantindane' when I was working in the Bantu Administration, asking every-one what his name was, who gave it to him, what it meant, and so on. 'Mantindane' means 'the familiar of a witch'.

The writings of the scholars quoted above make clear the relationship between the name and the individual, and the use of the name in witchcraft. Clearly the name in Africa has a different function to the name in European-Western cultures: in Africa the name is not used for address, or even for reference. This leads us to two further points:

(a) name-avoidance (e.g. ukuhlonipha in Zulu;) and

(b) the need for alternative forms of address.

The second issue is a big one, covering as it does all the various forms of address and different kinds of names used in Africa in place of the 'true' personal name. I will discuss these separately in the next section, 1.3.2., not including Zulu; Chapter Two discusses alternative forms in Zulu separately, and in detail. But I will discuss 'avoidance' here, letting Mönnig make the link:

> "(Because of witchcraft) a person is hardly ever addressed by his name. Each name has a corresponding praise-name (sereto), which is commonly known and always used when speaking to or about a person. Thus, all people with the name Sekwati will be addressed as Phaahle, Kgoloko as Ngwato, Morewane as Bauba, and so on."
>
> (1967:105)

This practice seems to be half-way between the Zulu custom of using izithakazelo when addressing men, and the hlonipha language of the women, both of which constitute name avoidance. Krige, on the hlonipha custom of the Zulus, states:

> "A woman may not use the name (this does not affect the isibongo or sib name) of the above-mentioned relatives-in-law[1] nor any word containing the radical of such a name. Another

---

1. her father-in-law and all his brothers, the elder ones among her brothers-in-law, her mother-in-law, all other wives of her father-in-law, and her husband.

> word must be used instead, and so the speech of the women differs considerably from that of the men. There is a very large number of fixed and different hlonipha words, and by certain universally accepted rules of transmutation any word in the language may be changed so as to lose all identity with the respected name."
>
> (1965:30)

Bryant points out that:

> "Among the Zulus, this hlonipha custom affects mainly the married women; although, as exceptional cases, the men, or indeed the whole clan, may hlonipha the name of a renowned chief or ancestor, as, for instance, the Zulus, a few generations ago, hlonipha'd the words, iMpande (root) and iNdlela (path), calling them, respectively, iNgxabo and iNyatuko, owing to certain then great personages being named uMpande and uNdlela."
>
> (1949:220)

Bryant goes on to give examples of Krige's 'universally accepted rules of transmutation':

> "Any common word containing the same root as that of any such name, would be avoided by her in speech, and another word substituted for it. Thus, if one of the above persons were named uMuti (Mr Tree), not only would this (the ordinary) word for 'a tree' be disused, and the hlonipha word, umCakantshi, substituted for it, but, further, every other word containing within its root the particle, ti, would be similarly avoided; thus for ukuTiba would be used ukuPunga; for umTakati, umKunkuli; for ukuTi, ukuNki, and so on."
>
> (1949:221)

As Bryant points out, this requires women to know more words than men, and makes women's speech at times different from men's.

Avoidance of personal names is still very much the case among Zulus today. Although most of my research was conducted in an urban area (subject, one would have thought, to more change in custom), the vast majority of husband's and wives did not use each others personal names. Those few who did were invariably the much younger and very well educated people, and even these only used personal names until the birth of their first child; thereafter using the terms 'mother of .....' and 'father of .....'. Older people, asked if they addressed their spouses by their personal names, were surprised. The most common response was 'How could that be possible, that my wife (husband) address me by my personal name?"

Even so, it must be acknowledged that the personal name is becoming

used more and more. The very fact that the younger educated couples use it (even if only up to their first child) is an indication of change, change brought about firstly, as pressure from black consciousness writers decry the use of the otherwise alternative European name; secondly, on analogy with the increasing use of the personal name among Europeans; and thirdly, as the belief in, and therefore threat of witchcraft, recedes.

1.3.2. Varieties of Names

Given the need for avoiding the personal name, as described above, it seems clear that in such societies alternative names of one kind or another must exist, for the purpose of address or third-person reference when the use of the 'true' name[1] is proscribed. This is the case, and there appears to be a remarkable variety of different kinds of names among the peoples of Africa. So various are these names that the only real common factor among African peoples with regard to names, is simply that they all have a variety of names.

In this section I intend to examine all those peoples I have information on, and compare them in turn with the Zulu position. I do not intend to describe the Zulu system in detail here, for that is the specific purpose of the next Chapter, but some basic knowledge is necessary for comparative purposes.

The average Zulu has three names:

1) the igama lasekhaya: Zulu personal name
2) the igama lesilungu: European 'baptismal' name
3) the isibongo: the clan-name (used as a surname)

To these on occasion may be added additional Zulu or European names, regimental or other group names, and self-chosen praises. Bryant, on the variety of names applicable to a Zulu, writes:

> "From all of which it may be seen that the Zulu man was more than amply supplied with names, and well able to hold up his head without shame before his Congo brethren. 'The natives of the Lower Congo,' says Ward, 'are frequently the

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1. Evans-Pritchard uses the term.

> possessors of six names: the clan-name, the surname, the Christian name, the native baptismal name, the Fua-Kongo (apparently a regimental name), and the Kitoko (Z. isiTopo, or fancy name), bestowed upon young men by the young girls of their village."
>
> (1949:437)

I have chosen this extract to introduce the comparison of Zulu names to other kinds of names because it introduces a number of problems related to nomenclature.

For instance, Bryant doesn't explain (or perhaps Ward didn't) what the difference is between 'clan-name' and 'surname'. As I understand it, both within the European and Zulu contexts, these are one and the same thing. Names like MacDonald, Buchanan and Stewart are clan-names, but certainly are also what we would call surnames. Any Zulu familiar with the term 'surname' would describe Mkhize, Dlamini, Cele, Nxumalo, etc. as such, while there is also no doubt that these are the names of clans. But then perhaps among the Kongo people there are clan names equivalent to MacDonald and Mkhize, and surnames equivalent to Smith and van der Merwe? Let us look briefly at the kinds of surnames found in Europe, and see how many are likely among the people of Africa, and whether such names can be found among the Zulu. The following are possible origins of surnames:[1]

1) occupation: here we find many English surnames: Smith, Cooper, Tanner, Wright (or more specifically, Wainwright), Thatcher, Fletcher (arrow-maker), etc. This is certainly not the case in Zulu (Sipho Mzingeli? Vusumuzi Mfundisi?), and most unlikely among the Kongo. There is no mention of such a (sur-)name among any of the African peoples referred to in the literature.

2) place of origin: typical of Afrikaans/Dutch surnames: van der Merwe (from the lakes), van den Bosch (forest), van den Berg, van der Molen, etc. Now this is a possibility for what Ward calls a surname. Among the Zulus frequently one amplifies one's clan-name by adding one's home

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1. It must be remembered that 'surname' means literally (< French surnom) 'additional name', i.e. a second, usually descriptive name added to the personal name in order to distinguish between one Peter and another; between Eric the Red and Eric the Bold; between Sipho of the Cele clan and Sipho of the Dlamini clan.

area. Thus ngingowakwaMkhize waseMbumbulu (I am Mkhize from Umbumbulu) or nginguDlamini wakwaNogqaza (I am a Howick Dlamini). But it is difficult to see this as a surname in its modern sense - a child giving his name to a teacher as Sibusiso waseThekwini? Could B.W. Vilakazi become B.W. waseGroutville? But perhaps this is the case among the Kongo. Chuks-Orji says of the various names of the Yoruba (of which more details below) that "the third name is the orile, a name indicative of the child's kinship group's origin." Later he says "it is possible therefore to designate an individual very clearly by stating his full name, that is his oruko + oriki + orile." This certainly sounds like a place of origin becoming as fully established a surname as van der Merwe.

3) Descriptive: the concept of Eric the Red leads to surnames such as Short, Long, White, Black, Armstrong, etc. There is no parallel to this among the Zulus, and I doubt if this is what Ward means by surname among the Kongo. Again, there is no evidence of such a name among other African people.

4) Son of the father: this is perhaps the most common way of forming a surname in Europe:

English	-	Donaldson
Scottish	-	MacDonald
Irish	-	O'Neill
Welsh	-	Bevan ab Evan
Swedish	-	Svenson, Jonssen
Russian	-	Ivan Petrovitch, Piotr Ivanovitch
Arabic	-	Ibrahim bin Adem
Hebrew	-	David ben Gurion

This is also a very common practice in Africa, and most scholars mention it. This is also a regular practice in Zulu: nginguDumisani kaBhekuyise (I am Dumisani, son of Bhekuyise); married men and women frequently address each other as wena ka....(you of .....). In Ngubane's novel Uvalo Lwezinhlonzi the clan names of the characters are never mentioned, but instead each character is introduced as 'Zulumacansi kaBhekokwakhe', 'intombi kaMemunce', etc. This is perhaps the most likely possibility for Ward's 'surname' as opposed to 'clan-name', but we cannot be sure. I am myself reluctant to regard such a name in Zulu as a surname, and have preferred to follow Evans-Pritchard and others in calling it a patronym.

But this is not yet the end of confusion of nomenclature in Bryant's quote from Ward. The next problem is the distinction between 'Christian name' and 'native baptismal name'. The very term 'Christian name' is misleading, and has given me a lot of trouble in this writing and elsewhere. In the Zulu context, it could be interpreted in three possible ways:

1) as a first name, on analogy with English: 'fill in your surname, and your Christian name(s)". Thus Sibusiso could be the Christian name in the pair Sibusiso Nyembezi, Alpheus in Alpheus Zulu, or both Mandlenkosi and Petros in the trio Mandlenkosi Petros Cele.

2) as the European/Western/White name, again on analogy with English. English people have Christian names like John and Mary, Gary and Glenda. Zulus have Zulu names like Sibongile and Sipho, and Christian names like John and Mary, etc. Sometimes these are unusual, from the European point of view, like Wellington and Serafina.

3) as Christian names in the Biblical sense : names from the Church. In this sense John and Mary, Matthew and Mark, Ezriah and Solomon, are all Christian names, but Hamilton, Grant, and Pepsi-Cola are not. The problems are clear, and some curious questions arise. Most people would say that Sandra and Gary are Christian names, even though they have nothing to do with Christ, God, the Church or the Bible. But Bonginkosi (Praise the Lord) and Msawenkosi (the Grace of the Lord) are Zulu and therefore 'pagan'. Is this not an anomaly? And where does Ward's 'native baptismal name' fit in? Is it a vernacular name like Bonginkosi and Msawenkosi, with religious overtones (a 'native' name)? Perhaps it is a Bantuized form of a Biblical name, like uYoshuya from Joshuah? Beattie adds confusion to confusion, when he writes of the Uganda Nyoro that:

> "Nowadays, most Banyoro are christened at some time during infancy or childhood, and they then receive a second 'Christian' name, usually a Bantuized from of the name of some Biblical character.....(e.g.)....Yeremiya, Yosefu ... The modern practice is then to put the Christian name first, using the traditional Nyoro personal name rather like a surname."
>
> (1957: 99)

The first half of this statement is perfectly clear[1] and parallels exactly the Zulu position of Zulu name at birth and Biblical name at baptism. The

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1. Although I note the absurdity of the term 'to Christen' in this context.

confusion arises from 'using the traditional Nyoro personal name rather like a surname'? In terms of current nomenclature, this leads us to the position that a Christian name is a first name is a personal name is a surname, and nothing could be less clear than that.

In discussing Zulu names, I have preferred to use the Zulu terminology igama lesiZulu[1] (Zulu name); igama lesilungu[2] (European name) and isibongo (clan-name). Despite the confusion in nomenclature, it is clear from the literature that the Zulu position of two names, one from within the culture, and one from the foreign culture, is a common one in Africa. Scholars, particularly black scholars, are becoming increasingly against the use of European names as a sign of European domination. Nsimbi writes:

> "There are many good traditions and customs which the African ought to keep and be proud of. At present many African tribes are losing much of this inheritance in an attempt to adopt Western culture wholesale.....In my opinion the use of African traditional names ought to be preserved....."
>
> (1950:204)

Kenneth Baird, in a commentary in Chuks-Orji's Names from Africa, is particularly emphatic:

> "The name changes of these well-known Afro-American public figures, as of many others less well known, constitute in effect a conscious rejection of European names which are being perceived increasingly by Afro-Americans as but another form of psychological control imposed by an alien and most often hostile dominant society. At the same time, the careful consideration reflected in the apt description of self-fulfilling prophecy conveyed by the chosen names is clear evidence of the bearer's intent to be identified by names which signify their spiritual liberation and declare their proper personal and group identity."
>
> (1972:86)

The whole concept of the adoption of the external trappings of a culture as being symbolic of subservience to that culture is discussed at length in Bhengu's Chasing Gods Not Our Own. In a section called 'Imitations and Adaptations', he covers the following issues:

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1. Also known as igama lasekhaya (home name).
2. Also known as igama lasedolobheni.

Especially singled out for attention here are, among others, Julius Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda, and Houphouet-Boigny, for 'Frenchifying' his name from the original uFwe Bwanyi. Bhengu also complains about Europeans who don't take the trouble to spell African names properly. Bhengu's point is a good one - South African newspapers, for example, consistently misspell Zulu names.[1] It is unfortunate that his acknowledgements include his "friend Chief Mngosuthu (sic) Gatsha Buthelezi".

Bhengu's main points are clear, and it is under the influence of such opinions and writings that there is a definite trend in Zulu society to use more and more the igama lesiZulu at the expense of the igama lesilungu.

Over the last few pages I have discussed problems with terminology, and trends towards traditionalism, thus digressing somewhat from my stated intention of comparing the three kinds of Zulu names with the variety of kinds of names found among other peoples. I have already mentioned the 'six names of the Lower Congo', and we have seen how similar the Nyoro practice is with Zulu (except the use of the personal name 'rather like a surname'). Evans-Pritchard states of the Nuer that "a child is often given a second personal name by his maternal grandfathers"), which happens occasionally in Zulu society. Like the Zulu, "every Nuer child inherits a cot paak, the honorific, or praise-name of his clan", i.e. the isithakazelo. Unlike the Zulu, however, "in practice it is hardly ever used and then mostly on ceremonial occasions and by women." "A boy also takes a cot thak, ox-name, and he may later take a different name when he acquires a new ox which he prefers". As this is a chosen (rather than a conferred name), and is used only among the peer group, especially when dancing or fighting, it seems clear that this is the equivalent of the Zulu isithopho, or giya-name - the self-conferred praise-name.

> "Nuer maidens also take ox-names, in their case from the bulls calved by the cows they milk, and they address one another by these names .... Married women take cow-names from their favourite cows in the family herd, and they use these cow-names among themselves."
>
> (1948:169)

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1. In one article that I read in a local paper, on a Zulu play, fifteen out of seventeen names were misspelt.

Gulliver says also, of the Jie:

> "Ox-name (ekero emong). According to the colour of its hide, shape of its horns and other features, an ox gives a name to its owner .... Throughout the years a man has several ox-names in succession as his favourites change. Such a name is used in addition to a man's personal name, nicknames and grandfather's names or attributes ..... Such names have a usage equivalent to Christian names....."
>
> 1952:73)

Quite a bit further afield are the Todas of South India, of who Emeneau writes (1938:207) that the vast majority of personal names are taken from the buffalo/dairy culture: names of the sacred and non-sacred buffaloes, and all the contents of the dairies, like milk, buckets, tools and bells. Clearly the Todas, like the Jie and the Nuer, are reflecting the importance of a certain aspect of their culture in their personal names, a point I made earlier when talking about rain. What is surprising is the lack of such names in Zulu society. Rural Zulu society is distinctly cattle orientated: cattle are used for ilobolo, reflect wealth and status, and both men and women compose praises for their favourite bulls, oxen and cows. The Zulu lexicon reflects the importance of cattle with well over two hundred different words for different cattle depending on age, colour, shape of horns, etc. And yet there are no 'ox-names' or 'cow-names'. The only references to cattle in the names I have collected, are when a father sees a daughter as a means of regaining ilobolo and names her Zibuyile (they, the cattle, have come back); or when a father has only sons and sees that all his cattle will be swallowed up in their ilobolo, and so names his third or fourth son Nkomokazikho (there are no cows).

The Yoruba naming system makes interesting comparison with Zulu. Chuks-Orji provides the details (1972:80):

> "The complete appellation conferred on a Yoruba child in his naming ceremony usually consists in fact of three names. The first name is the oruko, or 'personal' name. This name might be either an oruko-amun-torun-wa (name the child is 'born with'), or an abiso name (name relating to the circumstances existing in the family at the time of his birth)."

The concept of a child being 'born with a name' is not found in Zulu society, but is very common among other African people, and many scholars give examples. Such names are stock-names if the child is born in breech position, is deformed, is a twin (older or younger have definite names), is the first (or 2nd, or 3rd) child after a twin, is the

first child after a miscarriage, etc. The abiso name, however, would be like any Zulu igama chosen to reflect 'the circumstances existing in the family at the time of his birth'.

Chuks-Orji goes on:

> "The second name is the oriki, or 'praise name', an attributive name which expresses what the child is, or is hoped to become."

This would not be a different or additional name in Zulu, but rather a different reason for choosing the igama.

> "The third name is the orile, a name indicative of the child's kinship group's origin.....
> .....It is possible therefore to designate an individual very clearly by stating his full name, that is, his oruko + oriki + orile."

While this is a different system from Zulu, there are clear similarities, and a Zulu who had received a circumstance-type igama from his mother, an attributive-type igama from his father, had not received an igama lesilungu, would with his two Zulu personal names and his origin-indicating isibongo, feel quite at home in Nigeria.

A feature of name-giving which seems very common through Africa is that personal names change throughout one's life. Junod says of the Thonga:

> "All these birth-names are abandoned later on, generally at the circumcision school, or at the age of puberty, in the clans where the custom of circumcising has disappeared; boys and girls then choose new names."
>
> (1927:40)

This concept of 'being given' an identity, and then later 'choosing' one, seems to me to be central to the relationship between name and praise, and therefore to the relationship between identity and literature. Junod goes on:

> "Men and women who undergo initiation adopt a new name. So do those subjected to the treatment for possession; these take the name of their pretended possessor when he has made himself known."

Which is an interesting way of maintaining links with the ancestral spirits.

Mönnig details a similar system among the Pedi:

> "The child will now receive its first baby-hood name ... What the baby-hood name will be is, in reality, of very little importance. The name is significant only in so far as it is that by which the child is introduced into the family group."
>
> (1967:103)

When the child is three or four years old, it is given a new name, at a

> "ceremony called rela maina - giving the names - (which) is a group ceremony, where all the children of the appropriate age of a particular lineage group ... communally and publicly receive new names with which they are introduced and initiated into the status of members of the corporate patrilineal group."

Mönnig sees name-changing as marking 'rites of passage', and certainly the Pedi seem to change their names regularly:

> "At the major changes in life, a person is given a new name: at birth, or on entry into the patrilineal group, or on initiation into the tribe..."

Incidentally, name-changing is also a feature of Eskimo society, according to Freuchen:

> "The Eskimos commonly have several names, of which one is the calling name. Often the calling name is changed in order to mark a great event or turning point in the person's life."
>
> (1961:107)

Zulus may on occasion receive additional names, but these are not a change of the former : once a person has been given an igama, this remains with him to the end of his life (and, indeed, beyond).

Another very interesting feature of personal names in many African societies, although not found in Zulu, is that of spirit deception. The general idea here is that if a number of children are still-born, or die at a very early age, they have been taken by the ancestral spirits. Mönnig explains the concept of spirit deception:

> "Families who have had misfortune with previous children will treat a new child in a peculiar manner. Parents who have lost a few children will name a new-born daughter Mosa - son - while a son will be called Ngwanenyana - small daughter. They will also be clothed and treated as if they belong to the opposite sex. Mothers who have had a number of still-born children, will give a child an unpleasant name. These children are treated as if they are unwanted. Their hair is dressed differently from other children, and they are mostly avoided. This is done to confuse the ancestral spirits into thinking that the parents do not care for them, and that taking them away will not further punish the parents."
>
> (1967:103)

The concept of giving a boy's name to a daughter and vice-versa is echoed by Junod, on the Thonga:

> "The son of the Mabota chief was named Nhwanin, a girl's name, in order to deceive the malevolent powers which had killed his brothers and sisters."
>
> (1927:40)

Molema (1963:128) confirms the practice for the Southern Sotho. The giving of ugly names is a wide-spread practice throughout Africa. Chuks-Orji:

> "And this love of children is universally to be observed in the names the children bear. Thus even the quite uncomplimentary name Chotsani 'take it away' (Yao, Malawi) is not in fact an expression of rejection but rather an attempt by the family to conceal or disguise its joy so that the divinities or the ancestors will not take back the precious infant."
>
> (1972:82)

> "The first name given may be quite uncomplimentary, for instance 'I am dead' or 'I am ugly'; in this way it is hoped to avoid the jealousy of the ancestors who might wish to take back to themselves a child who is born especially healthy or goodlooking."
>
> (1972:76)

Madubuike (1976:119) gives the names Sen (rubbish heap) and Buguma (not wanted) from the Senegal Wolof, and Parrinder, writing of the Bambara, introduces an additional concept of shame:

> "A child born after a baby who has died often receives shameful names, either to make it ashamed of leaving its parents so soon, or else to deceive the spirit of disease so that it will not prey upon such a worthless child. It may be called 'Shameless', 'Throw it away', 'Nothing'."
>
> (1951:120)

The Zulus have, even today, a belief in the powers and anger of the amadlozi, and, even today, lose a lot of children, either because they are still-born, or die very early. And yet I have not found one case of an ugly or shameful name, or one inappropriate to the sex of the child. Rather are children born after other still-births or early deaths named Duduzile (having comforted) or Sithembiso (promise). There seems to be a different attitude towards the relationship between child-death and the amadlozi.

The comparative material given above in 1.3.1 and 1.3.2 should be sufficient to show both similarities and differences between Zulu and other African peoples. Further comparative material, on different reasons for giving names, will be introduced at the beginning of Chapter 3.

1.3.3 Ceremonial Aspects

This section covers:

1.3.3.1 Ceremonies

1.3.3.2 The name-giver

1.3.3.3 When the name is given.

1.3.3.1 Ceremonies

Either very few scholars have recorded name-giving ceremonies among the people they are describing, or very few societies actually hold ceremonies. The only two references I have are from Mönnig on the Pedi, and from Chuks-Orji on the Yoruba. Both are worth quoting in full, Mönnig's because he discusses the relationship between the ceremony, the child, and the ancestral spirits, and Chuks-Orji because it is such a delightful ceremony in its own right.

Mönnig:

> "Three people, standing next to one another at the head of the two lines of children officiate in the ceremony. In the centre of the group stands a senior male member of the kgoro, who is honoured for his bravery and industry. On his right is a woman who is well versed in the various praise-poems associated with each name. In her hands she holds a calabash of beer. To the left of the central figure stands the person after whom the child is named, or his representative if the person after whom the child is being named is no longer living. This officiator, who holds the liver of the slaughtered beast in his hands, naturally changes with the naming of each child. As each child in turn steps forward to be named, the person on the left will inform the central figure of its name. The woman on the right then takes a mouthful of beer and sprays it over the head of the child. The person on the left then bites into the liver and then bites the child on the forehead. The central figure will then pronounce the child's name, and the woman will recite the appropriate praise-poem."

After some remarks about the significance of various aspects, Mönnig goes on to say:

> "The whole ceremony has in it an element of sacrifice to the ancestral spirits and also has the function of introducing the children to the communal forefathers of the patrilineal group. The children are initiated into the whole group, including those members who live in the world of the ancestral spirits."

Chuks- Orji's description of the Yoruba name-giving ceremony is of little comparative value from the Zulu viewpoint, but I find the ceremony

itself so interesting, even charming, that I would like to share it:

> "The naming ceremony is held at the parents' house either early in the morning or in the early afternoon. Present are the child's grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, in-laws, and members of the community. Each person brings a gift which is left at the door of the house upon entering. The gift might be an article of clothing for the child or an item of use to the parents or the household in connection with the coming of the child. Female relatives and friends give their gifts to the child's mother, and males their gifts to the father. The room in which the ceremony is to be held is prepared for the occasion with festive decorations. In the center of the room are placed vessels containing water, red pepper, salt, oil, honey, liquor, and kola nuts. The mother enters from another room with the baby. She hands the child to an elderly person, usually a woman, and the naming ceremony is about to begin.
>
> The baby is handed over to the elder who is to perform the rituals of the naming ceremony. Water is sprinkled toward the ceiling and some applied to the baby. If the child cries when the water touches him this is regarded with approval and satisfaction as an indication that the child has come to stay, since only living things can produce noise of their own accord. At this point the officiating elder whispers the child's name into its ear and then, dipping the tip of his finger into the water and with it touching the child's forehead, he announces the child's name to the assemblage. Now, turning to the vessels in the center of the room, the elder puts a little bit of pepper in the baby's mouth to symbolize that the baby will be resolute and have command over the forces of nature. Water is next put into the child's mouth, symbolizing a wish for his purity of body and spirit and hence his freedom from disease. Then a little salt is put into his mouth, symbolizing the flavor of wisdom with which it is wished that he be divinely fed. Oil is next touched to his lips symbolizing the wish that he enjoy power and health like that of royalty. Honey, then liquor, are touched to his lips, the one signifying the happiness and the other the prosperity that are to be his. Finally the child is given a taste of kola nut, symbolic of the wish for his good fortune. Each one of the items, after having been first given to the baby to taste, is passed around for those present to taste.
>
> The ritual over, the festivities begin. There is feasting and dancing lasting into the early hours of the next day. At times during these proceedings musicians sing songs of praise to the child, its parents, its relatives and friends. In these acts, a new member is being welcomed into the Yoruba community, a human being in his own right and known by his own name."
>
> (1972:79/80)

1.3.3.2 The name-giver

The various peoples of Africa differ on who customarily gives the name. In some societies the father has this right, in others the mother, or perhaps a grandmother or aunt. In some societies there is no one person who customarily chooses the name : anyone in the family may name a new-born child.

Middleton says of the Lugbara, the "giving of a personal name ... is the prerogative of the new-born child's mother" (1961:34). According to Mönnig, this is also true of the Pedi, but the mother's decision must be ratified:

> "The child will now receive its first babyhood name. The name is usually chosen by the mother, but will finally have to be decided on by the family of the father, and particularly by his eldest sister. This is indicative of her position of influence over her brother's children, and, if it is a daughter, of her having a claim on this girl as a future bride for her son."
> (1967:103)

According to Gulliver, among the Jie a child's personal name is given by an old woman, the child's father's mother if possible. But perhaps the most common situation is as Beattie describes of the Nyoro:

> "The personal name may be given by either parent or even by a grandparent or other relative, but if the father is known (!) and present he generally has the last word."
> (1957:99)

Binns says almost exactly the same of the Zulus:

> "Prior to this the little fellow had received his name. This had taken place within a few weeks of his birth and though his mother may have given him a pet name, as most mothers do, the final decision rested with his Father."
> (1974:160)

Bryant has much the same to say:

> "For, in the rule, both father and mother gave their child a name. But the father had the first right; so the mother held her name in petto until later on."
> (1949:630)

I found in my own research that name-giving was fairly evenly split between the mother and the father, with the father giving 50% of the names I collected, and the mother 41%. The remaining 9% were split between the grandmother (5%), the grandfather (2%), and various other relatives, including uncles, aunts, and older children in the family (2%). There were very

few families where either the mother or the father gave all the names, in fact it was the norm that if the father named the first child, the mother would name the next (or vice-versa). Quite frequently I came across children with two names - one given by the mother and the other by the father. It is also common for the father to give a child a name which will be used by himself, and by the child's peers, and for the mother to give the child a name which only she will use, and then only in intimate moments, i.e. not within the broader family context. It was my impression during this study that very little importance is attached to who actually gives the name, and at no stage did I come across any conflict over the choosing of a name.

1.3.3.3 When given

Some African societies have strictly formalized times for naming children. Beattie says of the Nyoro that children are named 'strictly four months (after the birth) in the case of a boy, three in the case of a girl'. It appears that the numbers three and four are symbolic of femininity and masculinity respectively. The same symbolism exists among the Lugbara, but they do not wait as long. Middleton says that the name is given 'as soon as the umbilical cord has disappeared from the child's body, but in fact it is given four days after the birth in the case of a boy, and three in that of a girl.' His footnote states that 'four is the number associated in Lugbara thought with men, and three with women.'

Chuks-Orji gives formal times for the Yoruba'

> "The Yoruba name a male child on the ninth day, and a female child on the seventh day after birth. Twins are named on the eighth day after birth, as are Christian and Muslim children."
>
> (1972:79)

Most other writers either do not mention when names are given, or just use the phrase 'shortly after birth'. This is the case with those writing on the Zulus as well, as for example Bryant's 'Every Zulu babe, male or female, received soon after birth a personal-name'. My own research has not produced anything more definite : Zulu children are still being named 'soon after birth', usually within the first two days, and seldom later than a week after birth. As Zulu names become more and more standardized, as European names are, and lose their meanings, so is it becoming possible for the name to be chosen before the child's birth, and I came across a fair sample of the younger parents who said things like 'We had decided to call the child Mduduzi if a boy, and Duduzile if a girl.'

CHAPTER TWO : ZULU NAMES AND OTHER FORMS OF ADDRESS

2. In 1.3.2 in the previous chapter (pg 19), while discussing the variety of different kinds of names in Africa, I stated that the average Zulu has three names: the Zulu personal name (igama lasekhaya), the European 'baptismal' name (igama lesilungu), and the clan-name (isibongo). It is the intention of this chapter to

(a) enlarge on these three kinds of names;

(b) describe descriptive and kinship terms by which people are normally addressed, which are often linked to the names of other people;

(c) describe other kinds of names, including names of infancy, pet-names, 'fancy'-names, giya-names, football-names, nick-names, clan-praise-names, and others; and

(d) briefly describe some features of the Zulu names of dogs and oxen.

The main emphasis in this chapter will be names in their social context, keeping in mind the multi-faceted question 'Who calls whom what when?'

Varieties of Address

2.1 Perhaps the best way to introduce the variety of forms of address in Zulu is by way of an illustration, and for this purpose I shall describe one day in the life of the imaginary character Mduduzi Cleopas Mkhize. These are the three names reflected on official documents: his marriage certificate, school reports, driver's licence, etc. In other words, these three names constitute an official identity in the South African social context.

'Mduduzi' is his igama lasekhaya, the Zulu personal name. It means 'The Comforter' and it was given to him by his mother after an uncomfortably long period of childlessness.

'Cleopas' is his igama lesilungu, the European or 'Baptismal' name, given to him by the local Catholic priest when he was about six.

'Mkhize' is his isibongo, or clan-name, functioning within the Western context as a sur-name. The Mkhize clan consider themselves today as Zulus, but originally the Mkhizes were part of the Embo-Dlamini

or Tekela group, whereas the Zulu clan was part of the Ntungwa-Nguni group. The Mkhize origin still can be seen in part of the Mkhize clan-praises (izithakazelo) : 'Wena waseMbo' ('You of the eMbo people').

At home, Mkhize's children will call him nothing but 'Baba' (father),[1] and his wife is likely to call him this as well. She is even more likely to call him 'Baba kaJabulani' (Jabulani's father, referring to his eldest son). If both Mkhize and his wife are young, well-educated, and fairly progressive in their ideas, she might use his baptismal name Cleopas, or even, although this would be on very rare occasions, his name Mduduzi. In my field survey in the urban area only 5% of wives indicated that they ever addressed their husbands by their Zulu names; none said that this was a regular form of address. In the rural areas, the percentage of those wives even occasionally using this name would certainly be less.

As he leaves for work, his neighbour may shout out 'Sawubona Mkhize!', for the use of the clan-name without preliminary title is perfectly respectable. Indeed, his wife will use it if anxious to please, or if there is company. At work, junior colleagues may call him 'Mnumzane Mkhize (Mister Mkhize) or just plain 'Mnumzane' (Sir). Some may call him 'Baba' as a form of respect. Senior colleagues will call him Mkhize. The majority of Whites at his work, whether older or younger than him, are likely to call him Cleopas. Some older or more forgetful Whites may call him 'Moses', this being the name of his predecessor. Others, more thoughtless than forgetful, may call him 'Jim'.[2] Others may, if he is elderly, call him 'Keshla' (< ikhehla: 'old man') or 'Madala' ('old one').

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1. There are no variants, as in English: Father, Dad, Daddy, Pop, Poppa, Pops, Pater, Pa, etc.

2. "Jimfish , N.prop. An offensive mode of reference to a black man, now prob. rare. cf U.S. Jim Crow" - Branford (1978:102).
I have also heard 'John' being arbitrarily used to address people whose Zulu name (and even the European name) is 'too difficult' to pronounce or to remember. I recall one day in the Bantu Administration offices a minister (I cannot remember which church) bringing in a young Zulu to be registered as a gardener. The boy had no baptismal name, but had two Zulu names: Msawenkosi (the mercy of the Lord) and Nkosinathi (the Lord is with us). I remember thinking how suitable these names were, and translating them to the Reverend and asking him which one he had been using, as the boy had no European name. And I remember too, that he had the grace to blush when he said he had been calling the youngster 'John'.

Other Zulus of approximately the same age may call him 'Nala' if they were born around 1950, this being a name for boys born at that time, and equivalent to the use of a regimental name in those times when the Zulu kings still conscripted every able-bodied youth into a regiment. Another colleague, who was at school with him, will address him as 'Mathandazintombi' ('he who likes the girls'), the name that his peers gave him when he was about sixteen.

Mkhize leaves work and goes to football practice. On the bus a stranger bumps him and says 'Xolo, mfowethu' ('sorry, brother'). At football practice, his friends may address him by name or clan-name, but most will call him 'Tiger-Ace', the name he gave himself as a 'football-praise'. (In rural areas, the equivalent of this is a fighting-praise (izibongo zokulwa), or a dancing-praise (izibongo zokugiya)). These are used in newspaper reports in conjunction with personal names and clan-names, so that one reads references to footballers such as Sipho 'Lightning' Mchunu, or Selby 'One-Chance-Only' Mokoena. Boxers, too, may take such names, as with the well-known boxer of the sixties, Elijah J. 'One-Hundred-Percent' 'Tap-Tap' Makhathini. Should Mkhize make a spectacular shot at goal, his delighted friends will shout out his clan-praises:

Khabazela!	Khabazela!
Wena kaMavovo!	You of Mavovo!
Gubhela!	Gubhela!
Wena waseMbo!	You of the eMbo people!
Wena owakhula silibele!	You who grew while we remained small!

On Mkhize's arrival at home, he remembers that he is entertaining his parents to dinner, and indeed, his father greets him at the door a moment later with 'Yebo, Mfana wami' (Yes, my boy) and his mother with 'Mntanami' (my child). She then spends the rest of the evening addressing him quietly as 'Siponono' (little treasure), the pet-name (isangelo, isidlaliso) she gave him when he was still very young, and which no-one but herself uses.

It is useful to sum up, in the form of a table, the various ways in which Mkhize has been addressed in one day by different people.

	address	kind of address
1.	Baba	kinship term
2.	Baba kaJabulani	kinship term + son's name
3.	Cleopas	European name
4.	Mkhize	clan-name
5.	Mnz. Mkhize (also Mr Mkhize)	title + clan-name
6.	Mnumzane	title
7.	Madala	descriptive
8.	Khehla (Jim, Moses)	descriptive
9.	Nala	age-group name
10.	Mathandazintombi	personal praise-name
11.	Mfowethu	kinship term
12.	Tiger-Ace	football-name
13.	Khabazela	izithakazelo (clan-praises; honorifics)
14.	Wena kaMavovo	
15.	Gubhela	
16.	Wena waseMbo	
17.	Wena owakhula silibele	
18.	Mfana	kinship term
19.	Mntanami	kinship term
20.	Siponono	mother's pet name

table 1: varieties of address: one individual.

It is worth noting here that although Mkhize has been addressed in twenty different ways in one day, not once has he been addressed by his personal name. It must be stressed that this is by no means unusual. It has been made clear to me by a number of informants, most of whom have read through my 'one day in the life of Mkhize', that not only one day, but one week or even a month may pass without one's personal name being used as a form of address. The reasons for this are clear, and have already been detailed in Chapter One, the name not being a lable or tag, but part of a person's identity, to such an extent that it may be used for witchcraft. In the relatively small number

of cases in my sample where personal names were used between husband and wife, in each case the couple were young, educated, and urban-born and raised. I see this as a trend based on the three factors of (a) a pride in ethnic roots which rejects the otherwise acceptable tag of the European name; (b) a lessening of belief in the power of witch-craft; and (c) the pressure of contemporary Western society which uses the personal name freely.[1]

One particularly interesting example in my sample where the Zulu personal name was freely used between husband and wife, despite their relatively uneducated status, their age, and their rural background, was a family where husband and wife bore the similar names Makhosini (husband: 'among the chiefs') and Nomakhosi (wife: 'Miss chiefs'). As my research assistant Phillipa Mofokeng recorded it: "father calls mother 'MaGwala' sometimes, and she calls him 'father' sometimes, but usually they call each other by their personal names, because these resemble each other (so much) they consider themselves twins." Twins in Zulu society are normally given similar names, and the feelings among twins of togetherness is such that it normally transcends the usual respectful name avoidance.

I would now like to look in detail at the various other modes of address used instead of the personal names, and I cover these under the separate subheadings of:

2.2 Descriptives
2.3 Kinship terms
2.4 Kinship terms with names
2.5 Personal Names
2.6 Clan-names and Clan-praises
2.7 Personal praises
2.8 Names of dogs and oxen.

Two points should be made here:

Firstly: the last category does not deal with forms of address to persons, but I have felt it relevant to a chapter concerned with different kinds of Zulu names. The choices were (a) leaving animal

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1. I am aware of the apparent contradictions between (a) and (c), but this is not a contradiction: (b) and (c) work together to suggest the personal name as a form of address; (a) merely says 'why should this be a European name instead of a Zulu name?'.

names to an appendix; (b) relegating these names to a separate study; or (c) including them, however briefly described, in this chapter;

secondly, the ordering of the categories mentioned above: Some of the forms of address used in Zulu are very general. 'Baba', for instance may be used to address nearly any male: although usually used to address someone older than the speaker, the term can also be used to a peer, and even jocularly, to young boys. 'Mathandazin-tombi', on the other hand, is the praise-name of one individual, and only that individual may be addressed by it.[1] My ordering of the various forms of address is from the general, or universal, to the specific, or individual; from descriptive terms like 'ikhehla' which may be applied to any mature man, to the praise-poems of chiefs and kings, than which nothing could be more individual.

2.2 DESCRIPTIVES

By 'descriptives' I mean any form of address which is neither a name or a praise, nor a term indicating a kinship relationship. Such words almost invariably refer to age and sex. For males, ranging from the young to the old, are umfana (boy), insizwa (youth), indoda (man) and ikhehla (older man). For females, intombi and intombazane (girl) and isalukazi (old woman). The semantic equivalent of indoda is umfazi (woman) but this is not used as a term of address. Umnumzane (mister, Sir), and inkosikazi (lady, Madam) indicate status as well as sex.

Kinship terms may be used even when no kinship exists, in which case the term indicates status and age relationships only. Thus politely to an older man: 'Sawubona baba' (greetings, father); or 'Sawubona gogo' (granny) to an elderly woman. To any woman old enough to be a mother (whether one or not), the term 'mama' (mother) may be used, so generally that the gap in descriptive terminology between intombi and isalukazi is not missed. To strangers of the same age the terms umfowethu (brother)

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1. Although one must acknowledge that more than one individual may, through coincidence, share the same praise-name.

and udade(wethu) (sister) may be used. Modern equivalents of these are bhuti (< Afrik. 'boetie'[1] and sisi (< Eng.). In Johannesburg slang, the Afrikaans 'broer' becomes 'bra', and a typical Soweto shebeen greeting might be 'hoesit my bra?'. Casey 'Kid' Motsisi, the renowned Drum journalist, in a story called 'Confessions of an Illicit Boozer', gives as two of his characters "the evergreen saxomaniac Bra Zakes Nkosi" and "the bouncing Sis Fatty '39 Steps'" (Mutloatse, 1980:65).

Also included under 'descriptives' are those words which do actually describe the person being addressed. Commonest amongst these is intshebe (beard), frequently used as a form of address to a bearded man, even to a stranger.[2] Variations on this are Madevu (Whiskers) and the jocular Mahlekehlatini ('he who laughs in the bush') for a very heavily-bearded person. 'Madala' and 'Mafutha', respectively 'old one' and 'fat one' are used by Whites of Blacks. A bespectacled person may be addressed as 'Mehlomane' (Four-eyes), and I have on more than one occasion heard a tall, lanky person addressed as 'Nondwayiza' which means simply 'tall, long-legged person'.

2.3 KINSHIP TERMS

It is not my intention here to describe the full range of Zulu kinship terminology. Bryant devotes three pages to this subject (1949:429-431) and Krige's Appendix 1 (1965:365-369) is even more comprehensive.

It would be interesting to know whether some of the more esoteric kinship terms are ever used as a form of address, or whether they are only there to explain relationships. Take ukoko ka'malokazana wami (son's wife's father's father's father - Krige, 1965:367). Should the august gentleman bearing this relationship to you still be alive, would you address him thus: 'Sakubona koko ka'malokazane wami'? I would think not. More

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1. It is interesting to note that Branford, in addition to noting bhuti as 'a frequent mode of address to African men by other Africans', gives boetie as 'a courteous mode of address or reference to servants at schools or universities (esp. E.Cape) by children, staff and students, poss. to avoid the term 'boy''(1978:40).

2. Even in formal situations: my two Zulu honours students over 1982 addressed me as 'Ntshebe' as frequently as they used 'Mr Koopman' or 'Mnumzane'.

likely would be 'Sakubona baba'. It would be interesting to update the kinship terms given in Krige and Bryant to see how many are still in common use, and how many are used now (if ever) as a form of address rather than reference.

In this section on kinship terms I am interested only in those which I have found used as forms of address as an alternative to the use of the personal name.

Baba and mama, as indicated above in 2.2 may commonly be used to address those people who are notone's mother and father; they are also the only possible way of addressing one's parents. I have come across no alternative to this. For a child to use the parent's personal name, even in the most Westernized urban household, would be unthinkable. These words are also used frequently by husband and wife when addressing each other. In my survey, 15% of women commonly called their husbands 'baba', and 10% used this term to the exclusion of all else. The 10% of husbands calling their wives 'mama' curiously all used this term exclusively. Although these terms used amongst spouses do not indicate a true kin relationship, I understand them to refer to mother and father of the parents' children, with the '...of so-and-so' understood.

In my survey I found that parents used both the Zulu and the European name when addressing children (more usually the Zulu name, as the other is for 'outside' use), but at least half the time kinship terms like mfana wami (my boy) and mntanami (my child). Ntombi yami (my girl) is seldom heard, and I came across no cases of ndodana/ndodakazi yami (my son/daughter). Older children commonly address their younger brothers and sisters by their Zulu names, while younger children address their elder brothers and sisters by mfowethu/bhuti (brother) and dadewethu/sisi (sister). Dadewethu is usually abbreviated to either dade or wethu, although curiously, I have never heard mfowethu abbreviated to either mfo or wethu.

Uncles, aunts, grandfathers and grandmothers, are all addressed by the appropriate kinship term by the children.

2.4 KINSHIP TERMS COUPLED WITH NAMES.

Such forms of address include:

2.4.1 Patronyms

2.4.2 Teknonyms

2.4.3 MA- + maiden surname

2.4.1 Patronyms: the addressing of a person as 'son of so-and-so', 'daughter of so-and-so'. 'So-and-so' is always the person's father (Greek: patronymikos: 'of the father, a name'). Bryant describes the practice among the Zulus:

> "...after marriage, a woman was referred to, conversationally by the father and mother of her husband simply by her father's name (not by her own); thus 'U-pi uNdwandwe?' - where is Ndwandwe? (i.e. the daughter of Ndwandwe). By her husband, and his married brothers, and their wives, and by the public in general of an equally adult age, she was referred to with the prefix o-ka (she-of), placed before her father's name; thus 'u-pi o-ka-Ndwandwe?' - where is she-of-Ndwandwe?" (1949:209)

This is not the case for women only. In Ngubane's novel Uvalo Lwezinhlonzi, a book which examines the breakdown of rural traditions in favour of newer urban practices, the main character is continually referred to by the name of his father, thus Wena kaNomadinane (You-of-Nomadinane). His wife is referred to by the other characters as well as by the author as intombi kaMemunce (Memunce's daughter). The character Zulumacansi introduces himself to his prospective father-in-law as Ngingu-Zulumacansi kaBhekokwakhe waseButhunqe bukaMagayi (I am Zulumacansi of Bhekokwakhe from Buthunqe under chief Magayi). For the rest of the novel his father-in-law addresses him as Wena kaBhekokwakhe. Nowhere, incidentally, in Ngubane's novel is the difference between rural and urban life better shown than his depiction of the annoyance of the rural characters who find themselves addressed by all and sundry by their personal names when on a visit to Benoni.

As regards this practice today Mr Hlengwa tells me that it is still common among those who spend their lives in rural districts. He has never heard a new bride referred to by her father's name only, but only

when prefixed with oka- or wena ka-. This kind of patronym is also used today by young men who have grown up among rural traditions. The practice is not used in townships or locations in urban areas, and I came across only one example in my survey.

Evans-Pritchard notes the same practice among the Nuer:

> "A man who is getting on in years is very often addressed as gat, 'son of', followed by the name of his father, and this is the correct mode of address for young men to their seniors if they do not use gwa, 'father'."
>
> (1948:170)

2.4.2 Teknonyms: the addressing of a person as 'father/mother of so-and-so', usually in reference to their oldest child. I first came across the term in Evans-Pritchard:

> "The teknonymous usage, the naming of the man after his eldest child - gwan (father of) so-and-so - is not so common as the corresponding use of patronymics whereby a man is named after his father ...
> ...The parallel usage -man (mother of) so-and-so is the normal way of addressing and speaking about a married woman. The eldest child's name is generally used, whether a boy or a girl, but occasionally a second child's name is used if the second is a boy and the first is a girl."
>
> (1948:170)

Evans-Pritchard's description fits the Zulu position exactly, excepting that in Zulu this usage is much more common than patronymy. Zulus too use the eldest child's name but may use the second child's name if the eldest is a girl and the second a boy. Frequently if the eldest is a girl and the second child a boy, the husband will address his wife as 'Mama ka (daughter's name)' while she addressed him Baba ka (son's name)'. The importance of being the father of a son is clear. On rare occasions the name of a third-born is used, where this is a son with two older sisters. In my survey, 36% of wives were addressed by their husbands as 'Mama ka ...', and in 28% of the households this was the only form of address.

Note that 'baba ka ...' and 'mama ka ...' are the address forms, and 'uyise ka ...' and 'unina ka ...' are the reference forms, thus 'Nang' uyise kaJabulani eza. Sakubona baba kaJabulani.' (Here is Jabulani's father coming. Greetings, Jabulani's father).

In a number of more Westernized households, the husband and wife

used each other's personal names (both the Zulu and the European) until the birth of the first child, thereafter using teknonyms, and seldom, if ever, using the personal name again.

Mönnig says of the Pedi that:

> "Although a new mother does not officially receive a new name, she is known as 'mother of so-and-so' which is significant of her new status."
>
> (1967:105)

Mönnig does not mention this form of address being used of fathers, and it is not clear whether this is a simple omission, or whether teknonyms are only for women among the Pedi.

2.4.3 MA- + maiden clan-name.

Married women are commonly addressed by their maiden clan-name, prefixed with ma-. Thus if Duduzile Mkhize marries into the Dlamini clan, she will become Duduzile Dlamini, or Mrs D. Dlamini, but her husband and in-laws will commonly refer to her as uMaMkhize, and address her as such as well. Ma- may also be prefixed to the iz ithakazelo of the maiden isibongo, so that MaMkhize could also be referred to as MaKhabazelo or MaMavovo, MaMthethwa as MaNyambose, MaNgema as MaMngadi.

Ma- may also be prefixed to the personal name of the father of a married woman, replacing oka-/ka- in the examples of patronymy above, so that in Bryant's example, okaNdwandwe could become MaNdwandwe; in Ngubane's example, intombi kaMemunce could become uMaMemunce.

This is still a regular form of address, although it is regarded as being somewhat old-fashioned among the younger generation. In my survey, 38% of wives were addressed as 'MaBani' (bani = so-and-so). This is by a slight margin a more common way of addressing a wife than the next most popular 'mother of child' (36%). I noted during my survey that wives whose husbands addressed them as 'MaBani' commonly addressed their husbands as 'Baba' or by the clan-name, not as 'father of child'.

Before I go on to 2.5 'Personal Names', I would like to summarize the ways in which husbands and wives addressed each other in my survey, to give an idea of the relative popularity of different forms of address. The best way to do this is in the form of a table:

wife to husband		husband to wife	
'baba ka..(name of eldest child)'	54.5%	38%	Ma- + maiden isibongo
		36%	'mama ka...(name of eldest child)'
'baba'	15%		
igama lesilungu	8.5%	10%	'mama'
isibongo	8.5%	6%	igama lasekhaya
isithakazelo	8.5%	6%	igama lesilungu
igama lasekhaya	5%	4%	other

table 2: Varieties of address: husbands and wives.

There are some interesting points to note about this table:

1) 70% of husbands have their role as father in the family emphasized as opposed to 46% of wives seen as mothers.

2) 38% of wives have their (maiden) clan referred to as opposed to 17% of husbands.

3) Note in each case the relatively minor use of personal names: 13,5% for husbands and 12% for wives.

4) The 4% 'other' for wives includes the use of nkosikazi (there were no examples of wives calling their husbands ndoda or mnumzane); one example of the wife's father's name being used; and one variation on mama - mamo, using the inflection of children's pet-names.

2.5 PERSONAL NAMES

These we may divide into four basic categories:

2.5.1 igama lasekhaya - the Zulu personal name

2.5.2 igama lesilungu - the European personal name

2.5.3 isidlaliso/isangelo/isifekethiso - shortened forms, nick-names, pet-names.

2.5.4 amagama amabutho - regimental names.

2.5.1 igama lasekhaya

Very little needs to be said here about the Zulu personal name, for the simple reason that this kind of name is the subject of the whole dissertation and most of the important aspects are discussed elsewhere : the comparative aspect in Chapter 1; the reasons underlying the names in Chapter 3; the literary aspects in Chapter 4. The structural aspects are discussed in my earlier work. The following points, however, can be made here:

1) As pointed out above in 1.3.1 (pages 15 and 16), the Zulu personal name is different from all other names in that 'the name is the person'. All other names: European personal names, praises, clan-names, nick-names, etc., are tags or labels, convenient for address, but the igama is part of a person, as much a part as the physical body. For this reason the name is subject to respect and avoidance, leading to practices like ukuhlonipha, and fears of witchcraft through control of the name. It is the very respect for the name that leads to such a rich variety of alternative forms of address in Zulu society.

2) The Zulu name is the link through time. When a man dies, he is remembered by his Zulu name, not by any other. The name of a chief or a hero will become part of the izithakazelo of the clan.

3) The Zulu name is the form used in teknonyms and patronyms, not the European name, surname or praises of the child or father referred to in such addresses.

4) One may only be addressed by one's personal names by the following:

a) parents, with alternatives 'umfana wami', 'mntanami'.

b) other elder kin: grandparents, aunts and uncles.

c) elder brothers and sisters.

d) peers.

The main rule is similar to that which governs the use of the personal name in Western society, and it is linked to age and status : one does not use the personal name of some-one older or of higher status. If a young teacher has a class of adults, the teacher will not address his pupils by their personal names as they are all older; they will not use his because he is the teacher, they the students.

5) A person may have two Zulu names, usually one given by the mother, the other by the father. In such cases, both names are subject to respect, avoidance, remembrance, etc.

2.5.2 Igama lesilungu - the European name, also igama lasedolobheni, town name. I have already discussed above (page 22) the problems of terminology regarding these names, and although the term 'European' is in some ways unsuitable,[1] it is preferable to the term 'Christian name' and it is at least a translation of the commonest Zulu reference to this name : esilungu. 'White' name would also be a translation, but I have tried to avoid politically loaded terms like 'white' and 'black'.

This name is given to the child later in life than the Zulu name, either when he is baptised in Church, or later when he starts school, or even later still, when he enters the town for employment. The name is considered a tag, or label, meant to be used when the bearer is operating within a European-type situation such as school, church, domestic employment, etc. No significance is attached to the name, and it is therefore not subject to respectful avoidance, possible misuse for witchcraft, etc.

It is not important who gives the name. Mothers and fathers may give this name (with a far greater preponderance of mothers - the impression I received from my survey was that fathers 'couldn't care less about this unimportant name'). The name is often chosen by a preacher, less often by a teacher, but I have come across numerous examples where this name has been given by: a nurse at the hospital where the child was born; a neighbour; a European employer of either the mother or the father of the child; the child's elder brothers and sisters; and, rarely, by the child himself.

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1. A very large proportion of these names are Hebraic in origin, others are from America.

Very little thought goes into the choice of such a name, and if the parent is asked 'Why did you choose such-and-such a (European) name for your child?', if the answer is not 'We didn't, she was named by the priest (neighbour, nurse, etc)' it is likely to be 'we saw it in a book/heard it somewhere, and quite liked it'. The only apparent planning or thought that goes into this name is found in the common practice of giving all the children European names that begin with the same letter.

Most of these names have religious origins, which may be either Biblical (Abednigo, Jotham, Meshack, Zachariah, Ezekiel, Aaron, Ruth, Rebecca, Leah), or from the names of the saints (Cecilia, Maria, Tryphina, Philemon, Pius, Claudia, Siegrieda, Sebastian, Stanislaus).

Names common among white English-speakers may be found (Edward, Michael, John, Margaret, Elizabeth, Cynthia), but these are often rather old-fashioned (Egbert, Percy, Gilbert, Wilberforce, Humphrey), or for girls, the Victorian 'morality' names (Prudence, Faith, Constance, Hope). Girls may have names which have never been part of a Western naming pattern: Beauty, Dolly, Gladness, Goodness.

Boys frequently have names which are European surnames, either from local European families (Robertson, Harris, Errington and Reynolds) or, more commonly, from famous historical characters (Churchill, Wordsworth, Wellington, Lincoln, Washington).

Other names are random elements from European culture (Pepsicola, Justice, Superose, Vitalis, Insurance). The Natal Witness of 11/1/83 reported that Paraffin Gumede had been eaten by a crocodile.

The following are unusual European names collected during the survey:

(a) Girls

Edistah; Queeneth; Mosli (the mother 'heard this name somewhere and liked it'); Protasiya (said to be from the Bible); Again (for a second daughter - normally the Zulu name Ntombifuthi (another girl) would be used to express this sentiment); Sweet-rose and Glen-rose as variants of the popular Rose; Purity (to join her Victorian cousins Constance, Prudence, etc.); Priza; Precious (and her sister Gladness); two Pinky's, and the interesting variation Pinky-Pearl; Gasta.[1]

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1. A list of nurses who had passed their Diploma in General Nursing, in the Echo supplement to The Natal Witness of 13/1/83, contained the following girls' names, none of which I have come across before: Praxedis, Elviera, Alphonsina, Adelheid (The original German form of Adelaide), Ancietta, Imeldis, and Magnificent.

(b) Boys

Guybon (no information available); Bigboy and Braveman (in the same family); Dixon (the father had 'heard the name somewhere and liked it'); Richman (and his sister Happiness); Goodman (from a different family); Armstrong (he was 'ready' for his European name at the time Neil Armstrong landed on the moon); Shepherd (which presumably is Biblical in origin); Dickson; two Penwell's; Wilgrave; Hamilton and Hamson (in the same family); Henderson (whose father had chosen a name beginning with 'H' to go with his own Highlys); and Meshack and Abednigo (to join their father Shadrack).

In one family there were no Zulu names (father urban-born policeman, married to urban-born Afrikaans-speaking Sotho), and the children were named as follows:

s: Baba (< Afrik. 'baby'), Handsome

d: Pinky Mavis (the grandmother said the child was pinkish at birth)

d: Poppy Margaret (the grandmother said the child was large-eyed like a doll at birth. Afrik.: 'poppie')

I have stated above that the average Zulu has a Zulu name and a European name. This is not necessarily always the case : some may have two Zulu names and no European name, or two European names in addition to the Zulu name. To illustrate this, I have analysed the variations in an arbitrarily chosen list of people: the list of graduates of the University of Zululand in 1980. The following table shows the proportions of the variations:

One Zulu, one European	69,2%
One European	8,3
Two European, one Zulu	7,8
Two European	6,7
Two Zulu one European	3,5
One Zulu	1,8
Two Zulu	1,6
Other (e.g. ZZZ, EEE, EEEZ)	1,1
	100%

It is likely that most of the 15% shown as having no Zulu name will in fact have one, but are choosing not to use it, for reasons already given.

I have stated above (page 25) that there is a definite trend in Zulu society to use more and more the Zulu name than the European one. It seems to me that there is also a definite trend not to give a European name, but rather to give a second Zulu name, although I have no quantifiable data to support this statement.

2.5.3 Izidlaliso, Izifekethiso, Isifenqo : Pet-names.

It is perhaps easiest to describe these names by detailing the verbs from which the nouns are derived. The definitions are from Doke and Vilakazi's Zulu-English Dictionary (1958).

isidlaliso < dlalisa (2. amuse, play with)

isifekethiso <fekethisa (3. play with, cause to sport, amuse, make a joke, say in fun)

isifenqo < fenqa (talk in sport, say in fun, make derisive remarks use nicknames).

I have heard all three of these words used to describe the pet-name used by either parent when playing with a very young child, or by the mother only when the child is a little older. The use of these names as described by my informants ties in with the meanings of the verbs from which they are derived, as given by Doke and Vilakazi, but there is some confusion with D. & V.'s definitions of the nouns themselves:

isidlaliso: 'source of amusement (such as a game, nursery jingle)' (no mention of a name).

isifenqo: 'nick-name, praise-name'

isifekethiso: 'nick-name, baby-name'.

It is this last - 'baby-name' - which comes closest to the kind of name that I have heard described by these three terms. It is unfortunate that I only became aware of this kind of name when I had already completed my survey. I have, therefore, no statistical data on these names, and a paucity of examples. It seems that these names fall into two categories' (a) those which are given as separate names, i.,e. in addition to the igama lasekhaya; and (b) those which are variations of the igama lasekhaya.

(a) Separate names: I have very few examples of these, but the example given to me by M.A. Hlengwa seems typical. His brother, who was given the name Sibusiso ('Blessing') at birth, was in the first few years of life a very sickly child who seemed likely not to survive. In his fourth or fifth year, however, he had recovered enough, or had lasted long enough, for his mother to consider him a permanent part of the family, and she gave him the pet-name Zuzwa ('the gained one'). This name was originally used only by the mother as an endearment when playing with the small child, but now the name is used by the whole family. To the Hlengwas, he is Zuzwa; to the outside world, Sibusiso, which is the name on all records, documents, etc.

It would appear from the limited information I have, that (i) such names may be given by either father or mother, but most commonly it is the mother who gives it;
(ii) such names may be given to mark a point in the child's life (as in the example above), or it may be given for no reason whatsoever;
(iii) the name is commonly used only by the mother, and then usually only in intimate moments, such as when playing with the child, or as the example above, the name may become the property of the whole family. I gather that such a name never goes beyond the family.

(b) Variations on existing names: the commonest kinds of pet-names are those which are shortened forms of the igama lasekhaya. There are recognized short forms, such as Dudu < Duduzile, Jabu < Jabulile/Jabulisiwe, Thoko < Thokozile, Ntombi < Ntombikayise/Ntombenhle/Ntombifuthi or any other name with ntombi- as first element, Mandla < Mandlenkosi, Vusi < Vusumuzi, etc. When these shortened forms are used by a child's brothers and sisters, or friends, I would not call them a different name, or different kind of name, anymore than I would say Margie and Margaret are different names, or that Fred and Freddie are different to Frederick. They are simply abbreviations of the longer original names, as Jabu and Vusi are simply abbreviations of the longer forms. But there is a special form of these abbreviations which is only used by a parent as an endearment, in intimate moments such as dandling a baby on the knee, and these must be regarded as pet-names distinct from the original name. Or at least it must be acknowledged that there is a distinctive 'pet-form' of the personal name.

In these special forms, the abbreviation, always of two syllables, takes on a special tonal pattern of low-high, with the final rather than the penultimate syllable long. A sister using the abbreviation Jabu will pronounce it thus (Já:bù), but a parent playing with the young child will say (Jàbú:). The effect is that of a monosyllabic verb in the perfect tense with final length : to imagine uzé[1] with final length is to get the flavour of Zulu pet-name intonation. Frequently this intonation is accompanied by a change of the final vowel of the abbreviation to -o. Thus Jabulisiwe > Jabu > Jàbó: and Ntombizonke > Ntombi > Ntòmbó:. As with the endearment intonation, this form of name is only for parents, and then only for intimate, loving moments with the child. M.A. Hlengwa tells me that it is not uncommon for a teacher of very young children to address a child - whatever that child's name, as Mfànó: < mfana, and Ntòmbó: < Ntombi. These would only be used if the teacher was particularly pleased with the child. These terms, used in the classroom, cannot of course be regarded as names, but rather as 'pet-forms' of umfana wami and intombi yami. I am also informed that this intonation may be applied to words like 'Yebo' and 'Hello', thus when chucking a young baby under the chin : Hèllló:.

It is not clear whether these tonally-distinct abbreviations should be regarded as different kinds of names (as the European is so clearly different to the Zulu name), or whether they should be regarded as variations on the existing Zulu name. Before going further in discussion on this point, it would be useful to look at the way such abbreviations are used in one family, and the following is a detailed analysis of name-usage patterns in the Mofokeng family who have helped so much in this study.

	names of child	how addressed by mother and older brothers and sisters[2]
1.	Thandiwe Iris	Iris
2.	Nomusa Elizabeth	Musa
3.	Vusumuzi Patrick	Vusi
4.	Ntombifikile Queeneth Mosediso	Nanó

1. As in Uzé lapha izolo (he came here yesterday).
2. Young brothers and sisters use 'dade/sisi' or 'umfowethu/bhuti'.

5.	Nkosinathi Nelson	Neli
6.	Ntombinkulu Philippa	Ntombi
7.	Bongekile Diana	Bongi
8.	Zanele Ruth	Zanele

Note that only the eldest and youngest are addressed by their names in the form given, one by the European name (Iris) and the other by the Zulu name (Zanele). Four others are addressed by abbreviations of their Zulu names, (Musa, Vusi, Ntombi, and Bongi). One is addressed by the abbreviation of his European name (Neli), and one has a new name (Nano). It has been hesitantly suggested to me that this is derived from umntwana (child). For each of the abbreviations the mother used to use the tones and final length characteristic of pet-forms when the child was young, but no longer does as the children have grown up. (At the time of writing, the youngest goes into her final year of school.) The children have always used the abbreviations without endearment-tones.

It is difficult to know where to draw the line between (a) different names and variations of the same name; and (b) different kinds of names. Ntombikayise and Vusumuzi are clearly different names, but equally clearly each are igama lasekhaya. On the other hand Ntombikayise, Ntombi and Ntòmbó: are all variations of the same name, but I have suggested above that Ntombi and Ntòmbó: are different to Ntombikayise because they are pet-forms. Classification and categorization is complicated by vagaries of tonology, morphology and usage. It could be argued from a formal point of view that Zuzwa, in the Hlengwa family example above, is not a pet-name, as it has none of the formal features of a pet-name; it is merely a second Zulu name. Others, arguing from a sociological point of view, will point out that second Zulu names are almost invariably given at the time of birth, are subject to respect, and are regarded as official, none of which apply to Zuzwa as a pet name. It is not clear whether Ntombi is closer to Ntombifuthi or Ntómbò:.

Perhaps the best solution is to adopt a sliding-scale of names which lie either at the extremes of igama lasekhaya and isi dlaliso et al, or somewhere in between. A name which is given at birth, is not abbreviated in normal use, is accepted officially, is subject to respect, and is used by

all those entitled to use the personal names, is an igama lasekhaya. The other end of the sliding scale would be represented by a name which fulfils all the criteria for pet names offered by the discussion above : i.e., given sometime after the birth, by the mother, being a different name, having the tones and morphology of the pet-name, and being used only by parents in situations of loving intimacy. In the table given above of the forms of address in the Mofokeng family, I would regard, among the actual usages rather than the given names, Zanele as being at the igama extreme of a sliding scale; Nànó: as being at the other; and all the others being somewhere in between.

2.5.4 Amagama Amabutho - Regimental Names.

These are of historical interest only. As Bryant has pointed out (1949:434), every Zulu male was at the age of 18 to 20 years conscripted into a regiment, and thereafter took the name of the regiment as his own. Obviously this is no longer the case, and it is only the older people who may still be referred to by the name of the regiment they were part of in the earlier decades of the century. It is not part of this study to detail regimental names. Full lists of these are given in Krige (1965:404) and Faye (1923:44), and these two lists are combined, augmented with material from Doke and Vilakazi's Dictionary (1958), and discussed structurally in Appendix 4 of my earlier study (1976:106-113). According to Krige (1965: 407) the last Zulu regiment formed was in 1925, the members being born in approximately 1906. Such members would be today approximately 76 years old. Regimental names, however, whether regarded synchronically or diachronically, belong to a group rather than to an individual and as such provide a link between personal names and izibongo and izithakazelo.

2.6 Izibongo and Izithakazelo

2.6.1 Isibongo : clan-name, surname.

Although the isibongo is used within the Western context as a surname, I prefer to follow Bryant (1949:422) in regarding it as a clan-name. It is

the name of a group, membership of which depends on common ancestry, and the name of the group is usually, although not always, the personal name of that original common ancestor. Bryant has an amusing discussion of alternative terms proposed by various scholars, including 'kin', 'sib', 'sept' and 'gens', but argues successfully for the retention of the term 'clan'. He does not mention the analogy with the Scottish clans, although there are a number of important similarities, among which we can note the following:

1) the members of individual Scottish and Zulu clans share a common ancestor;

2) clans have a feeling of unity - to a Zulu a fellow clan member is a brother or sister, and as such has a right to demand help when necessary. Marriage between clan members is not permitted;[1]

3) both Scottish and Zulu clans have a hereditary chief, descended from the original founder;

4) the clan-name is used as a *surname; and*

5) among both the Zulus and the Scots, the clans combine into a larger, recognisable, unit which is not a nation : one can be a MacGregor, a Scot, and a Briton, in the same way as one can be a Cele, a Zulu (even if not a member of the Zulu clan), and a South African. I must obviously ignore for the purposes of this comparison the concept of an independent KwaZulu.

The concept among Zulus of clan members sharing a common ancestry is clearly seen in the common way in which Zulus ask for a stranger's clan-name: ungowakwabani? ('You are of the house of who?' - i.e.: 'to which progenitor do you claim relationship?) to which the reply is ngingowakwa-Dlamini, ngingowakwaZulu, etc. ('I am of the house of Dlamini, Zulu, etc.). Bryant states:

> "So we see that Nguni clan-names took as a rule either a personal form (with the prefix aba-kwa-, they of So-and-so), or a locative one (with the prefix, aba-s-e, they of at Such-and-such, a place). ... A few Nguni clans (and tribes) had simply 'collective' names (neither 'personal' nor 'locative'). The prefix

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1. Although this last is not a feature of the Scottish clan system, as far as I am aware.

> here was usually ama- or aba-; thus: the amaMbata (the Mbatas), the abaTembu (the Tembus). How or why this came about can no longer be discovered."
>
> (1949:424-425)

The form owakwa- ('of-the-house-of') is used, as I have stated above, in asking of a clan-name, but not in address. In direct address the clan-name is used on its own, thus: Sakubona Gumede, not Sakubona (wena) wakwaGumede. The locative form described by Bryant above I have found used in address only with clan-praises (izithakazelo). One can, for example, address a member of the Ngubane clan as Ngubane, Bomvu (the isithakazelo), or Wena wasemaBomvini; or a member of the Khumalo clan as Khumalo, Mntungwa, or Wena wasemaMthungweni.

Bryant talks about sub-clans, a section of a clan breaking off and taking a new clan-name. In such cases (and they are numerous), although there are now two groups with different clan-names, the common origin is still acknowledged, and intermarriage is still forbidden. The common origin of such 'sub-clans' and their 'parent-clans' can always be seen in the sharing of common clan-praises. Among the Xhosa, where a surname (ifani) may change every three or four generations, as a family head sees fit (he then taking the personal name of his grandfather or great-grandfather), the only way in which common ancestry can be traced is by the isiduko, the equivalent of the Zulu isithakazelo.[1]

Use of the clan-name as a form of address.

Among adult men, the clan-name, often together with a clan-praise, is the commonest form of address. It is used without titles like 'Mister' or 'Mnumzane', except when both speakers are operating within a European context, as title plus surname is a totally European context. Within the home, the wife may use her husband's clan-name, and in my survey I found 8,5% of wives doing this, with just over 3% using it exclusively. The oldest member of the clan present is the only one to be addressed by his clan name, for most women I interviewed stressed that it would be impolite to address the husband by his clan-name if his father or any of his elder brothers were present. Most women regarded the use of the clan-name at home as

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1. For a more detailed comparison of the Zulu and Xhosa clan-name systems, see Koopman (1976:9-11)

being more formal than the use of teknonyms. Children do not use the clan-names of their elders, and as we have seen above, men use the maiden clan-names of women only if prefixed with ma-.

2.6.2 Isithakazelo : clan-praise, honorific.

Each clan-name has attached to it at least one, and usually several izithakazelo, or clan-praises. These are the names of various of the chiefs of the clan during its history. Not all the chiefs' names are necessarily included in the izithakazelo, and the personal praises of chiefs and other heroes may also pass into the clan-praises. If a sub-clan breaks away and takes a new clan-name, the original clan-name will certainly become one, if not the main, isithakazelo of the new clan.

There is no way of predicting which names from a clan's genealogy will be included in its izithakazelo, and izithakazelo will differ, both in order and in name, from person to person within the clan. Take for example the following four versions of the Zulu clan izithakazelo, given by four individuals of the Zulu clan during the research:

1) Ndabezitha, Mageba, Sithuli, Malandela.
2) Mageba, Mpangazitha, Ntombela.
3) abakaMageba, abakaPhunga, Ndabezitha, Sithuli, Mlandakazi.
4) Ntombela, Mageba, Wena kaNdaba.

Now compare these to the Zulu genealogy, from Malandela to Dinuzulu:

Malandela → Zulu → Phunga → Mageba → Ndaba → Jama → Senzangakhona → Mpande → Cetshwayo → Dinuzulu.

I have never come across any of the Zulu kings' names after Ndaba used as izithakazelo. Mageba is regularly used as isithakazelo, and note it is the only common isithakazelo among the four informants quoted above. Ndaba is curiously only found in the form Wena kaNdaba ('you-of-Ndaba'), and it is interesting to note that the Zulu people (in the wider sense, i.e. not only the Zulu clan) often refer to themselves as abantu bakaNdaba ('the people of Ndaba'). It is in this sense that B.W. Vilakazi uses it in his poem 'Ithongo lokwazi' :

"Ngafumanisa abantu bakaNdaba
BenganGezihlabathi zamanz' olwandle."

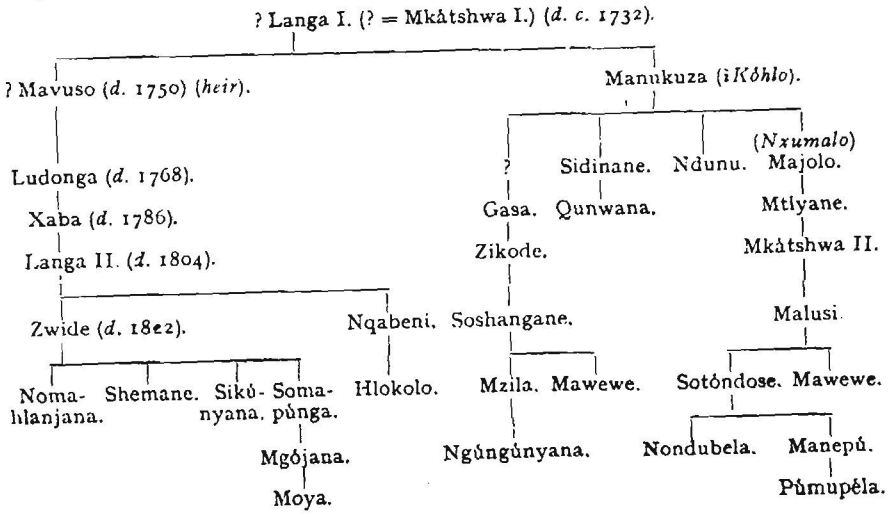
("I came across the people of Ndaba
They being as numerous as the sands of the waters
of the sea.")

(1935:39)

Ndabezitha and Sithuli are common izithakazelo for the Zulu clan, but no-one can explain their derivation.[1] Bryant states (1929:37) that "of all the Zulu sub-clans the aba-kwa-Ntombela was first-born", but this does not explain why Ntombela is an isithakazelo of the Zulu clan, instead of the other way round. His statement that "among the iziTakazelo of the Ntombelas we find the name Mpangazitha, and ... the Mbatas claim descent from a certain Mpangazitha, son of Mageba" helps throw light on the izithakazelo of informant (2) above.

The relationship between clan izithakazelo and the histories of the various clans is certainly complicated, and merits a great deal more study. It is certainly not the part of this study to investigate these relationships in depth, and I can do no more than indicate the kinds of problems involved, to which end I add only one more example: the izithakazelo of the Nxumalo clan.

Before Shaka's time, the Ndwandwe clan under Zwide was one of the most powerful clans in what is now Zululand, whereas today the clan-name is hardly known. On the other hand, one of the sub-clans, the aba-kwa-Nxumalo (Bryant, 1928:161) has become a very large clan today, and Nxumalo is a very common clan-name, with the isithakazelo Ndwandwe. Compare the genealogy of the Ndwandwes as given by Bryant (1929:161), with the izithakazelo of modern Nxumalos:



1. Although Bryant suggests (1929:34) that Sithuli was Ndaba's wife and mother of Jama.

Modern izithakazelo, given by three Nxumalos, and one Ndwandwe:

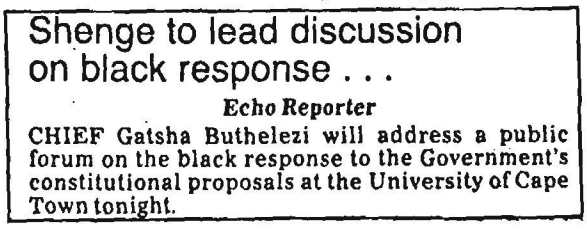
1) Ndwandwe: Nxumalo, Zwide, Wena kaLanga, Mkatshwa.
2) Nxumalo: Ndwandwe, Mkatshwa, Zwide.
3) Nxumalo: Zwide, Mkatshwa, Ndandwe, Langa, abakhatshwe ngezinde nangezimfushane, Nina abase Gude.
4) Nxumalo: Ndwandwe, Mkatshwa, Wena okaSotondose, Wena ka-Sidinane enidinwa ngabafo nabafokazana, Wena Zwide kaLanga, kuthi Nkomo ingenankonyane, kwasinda izingane zikaNdwandwe.

The first three informants are clearly from the indlunkulu branch of the Ndwandwe clan, while the fourth informant shows his ikhohlo origin by including Sidinane and Sotondose among his izithakazelo, although he includes Zwide kaLanga as well. This fourth informant provides a clue to the paucity of Ndwandwes today, by suggesting in the last praises that the Ndwandwes have dwindled through not having had enough children: Kuthi Nkomo ingenankonyane, kwasinda izingane zikaNdwandwe ('one says Cow, it not having a calf,it has weighed heavily on the children of Ndwandwe'), to which this informant added by way of explanation 'you call it a cow because you milk it, but a cow without a calf has no milk'. Note in the izithakazelo quoted above, that Nxumalo is used as izithakazelo of Ndwandwe and vice versa. Such pairings are common in Zulu, and we can note the following: Dlamini/Nkosi, Gumede/Khuzwayo, both with the common izithakazelo Phakathwayo and Khondlo; Khumalo/Mabaso, with Mthungwa as common isithakazelo, Mngadi/Ngema with Madlokovu in common; Mthembu/Mvelase; Hadebe/Mthimkhulu, with Bhungane in common; and Xulu/Makhathini with Gxabashe as common isithakazelo. These pairings are so close to one another that the isibongo and isithakazelo are frequently interchangeable; thus a man whose documents show him to be of the Ngema clan, will give his isibongo as Ngema one day, and Mngadi the next, but he will say that Madlokovu is isithakazelo only, not isibongo. This practice of interchangeable izibongo is a great problem to Europeans who do not understand how, say, Mthembu and Mvelase can be one and the same surname.

Use of izithakazelo:

Izithakazelo are used singly wherever an isibongo would be used. They are perhaps as common a form of address among adult men as the

isibongo, and by wives of husbands I found in my research exactly the same percentage (8,5%) usage as clan-names. They have a greater connotation of praise or flattery than izibongo (hence the term 'honorifics'), and this is particularly the case if they are used in combination. Thus in my description of 'one day in the life of Mr Mkhize' at the beginning of this Chapter, I suggested that his friends would greet his successful attempt at goal with a string of his clan-praises. Such strings are also used when thanking some-one, greeting a very superior superior, greeting a friend after a long absence, in address when attempting to wheedle something out of some-one, etc. This is usually a term of address, rather than of reference, but for very important persons, it becomes a term of reference as well, as the following newspaper clipping shows:



Shenge to lead discussion on black response . . .

Echo Reporter

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi will address a public forum on the black response to the Government's constitutional proposals at the University of Cape Town tonight.

'Shenge' is the isithakazelo of the Buthelezi clan.

The izithakazelo, being the names of the clan's ancestors, must be used when addressing the ancestral spirits (ukuthetha amadlozi), and these are recited in full at such formal occasions as weddings, funerals, ukubuyisa ceremonies, and the like.

2.7 PERSONAL PRAISES : (izithopho)

I have used the term izithopho to refer to the personal praises of individuals, although most of the persons questioned during the survey did not know the term, and referred to personal praises as izibongo (praises, generally), specifying, where necessary izibongo zokulwa (fighting praises), izibongo zokugiya, (dancing praises), izibongo zebhola (football praises), etc. For the purposes of description, however, we need a term which will encompass all these different izibongo, and at the same time to distinguish them from izibongo (clan-names) and izibongo zamakhosi (chiefly praises). Bryant provided the term isithopho:

> "But not even yet have we reached the end of the Zulu name-scheme. ... the Zulu man dearly loved both praise and ad-

> miration, and so, to the preceding, 'praise-names' and other such now became added.
> When now at length the babe ... had grown into a brave and handsome youth, he was wont to flatter him, or more commonly, be flattered by his companions, with some brand-new 'fancy-name' (isitopo), usually one of adulation, by which name, among his set, he henceforth was generally called, instead of by his birth-name..."
>
> (1949:434)

Bryant gives as examples "uNojiyelwa-kuLala (He-who-is-hindered-from-lying-down-comfortably - owing to the wound he received in honourable combat), or uNovandzi (Agile-legs - owing to his skill in kicking his legs about when performing the ukuGiya[1] dance)."

The use of these personal praises in place of the igama is still common in Zulu society, although in the urban areas, giya- and fighting-praises have largely been replaced by football and boxing-praises. Courting-praises are common to both the rural and urban societies. Such praises may be self-conferred, more commonly are given by one's peers, and may sometimes be given by a father, uncle or grandfather. An individual may have several different praises from different sources, and such praises may consist of only one word, as Mzwilili ('Canary' - because he was always singing), or of a phrase, as in Mthunzi wokuphumula amatshitshi ('Shade where young maidens rest' - of a very tall youth liked by the girls).

Division or categorization of personal praises into groups like izibongo zokulwa, izibongo zokushela and izibongo zokugiya does not imply that such praises are only used during such activities, but rather these sub-divisions indicate the activities referred to in the praise. Thus uSoka-lezintombi (lover of girls) is a praise referring to courting, rather than fighting, dancing or playing football, but this does not mean that the name will only be used when the bearer is out courting; it is a name for general use at any time. I have divided the praises collected into the following groups:

2.7.1 Courting praises (ezokushela) : one's love of girls (and vice-versa); ability to win girls; fussiness in courting, and the opposite, etc.

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1. Dancing by an individual, usually simulating fighting, in order to display one's speed and agility to one's peers.

2.7.2 Dancing praises (ezokugiya) : agility, speed, special mannerisms.

2.7.3 Fighting parises (ezokulwa) : these may refer to one's ability at formalised stick-fighting contests, or to general ability and willingness to defend oneself. I have not included boxing-names.

2.7.4 Descriptive praises : referring to one's height, skin-colour, striking eyes, etc. Some of these may overlap with courting praises if the height, skin-colour, etc. is deemed to be attractive to girls.

2.7.5 Football praises (ezobhola) : not necessarily always referring to ability on the soccer field, but always related in some way to football.

2.7.6 Boxing-praises.

2.7.7 Other.

2.7.2 Courting Praises

The majority of these refer to the delight that the bearer takes in girls, and the praises usually imply a large number of girl-friends (whether simultaneously or not, is not clear). This may be quite simply expressed, as in uMantombazane (amantombazane - girls, with class 1(a) name-forming prefix, u-, thus 'Mr Girls'). Also simply expressed is uSokalezintombi (lover of girls). Isoka is a word with no direct translation in English, but as it is a central concept in courting, and is therefore basic to courting praises, the word needs to be explained. An isoka is any young man out courting, therefore a 'lover', but the word implies a successful lover. Isokal lies somewhere between 'lover-boy', 'gay young blade', 'Don Juan', and 'Romeo'. An isoka has (or believes he has) qualities which attract him to girls, as indicated in the following praises:

1. UNqwaze lwensizwa, isoka lezintimbi, umamalisa ulimi-intombi imamatheke. ('The tall, robust, young man, lover of the girls, he softens his tongue - and the girl smiles').

2. iBhunu! Umhlophe wensizwa, ilanga elixhopha abesifazane. ('Whiteman! (Boer), White young man, the sun which dazzles the women-folk'), indicating a youth with a very light skin.

Notice the construction of the first parts of each praise, typical of these personal praises : UNqwaza lwensizwa (lit.: 'tall person of a young man') and UMhlophe wensizwa (lit.: 'White thing of a young man') rather

than the more usual syntax of insizwa engunqwaza (young man who is a tall person) and insizwa emhlophe (white young man).

Often the attractiveness of the young man means that he can have his pick of the girls, and goes from one to the other. This is expressed in the following six praises:

1. uNogwaja ozikhundlakhundla: (lit.: 'Mr-Rabbit-who-is-holes-holes'). This was explained as 'just as a rabbit can find a hole anywhere, so I can get any girl I want'. The next praise adds speed to this:
2. uNtinini! uNogwaja ozikhundlakhundla : uNtinini, I was told, means 'fast runner' (like a rabbit).
3. uNcwincwi ephuza kwezokude iziziba : ('Honey-sucker which drinks at distant pools'). Presumably the bearer of this name feels that if you have many girlfriends they should be kept at a distance.
4. UGandaganda eMasondosondo abanye : (lit.: 'tractor-which-is-wheels-wheels-others'). This was explained as 'just as a tractor can ride over everything, so could he get any girl he wanted'.
5. uMasokawoshi : the precise flavour of this is difficult to render in translation, but it is roughly 'As for lovers? Oh my!' or 'Has he girlfriends? - Say no more!'
6. uBhasikidi ('Basket'), from the expression nongenabhasikidi angaya emakethe ('even he without a basket can go to market'), which is a well-known humorous way of saying nongenankomo yokulobola angashela izintombi ('even he without (even) a cow to lobola can still court girls'). As uBhasikidi said to me, having cows prevents one having fun, as one tends to become serious about marriage (having the means), instead of courting many different girls.

In a different vein, but none the less expressing the quality of ubusoka is Mduze. This name, said the bearer, is derived from eduze (nearby, close), and he was given the name because of his habit of saying 'come closer, baby' to all his girlfriends. Not all courting praise depict a young man who likes many girls. Consider the following:

uGalela besikiza; ikhekhe elidliwa izinjinga, ngoba izichaka ziyalibalekela ('Mr-Strike-a-blow (where) others (merely) feint; Cake which is eaten by the rich because the poor run away from it').

This praise refers to a young man who is serious about his one girlfriend (Strike-a-blow) where others play around (feint). He is fussy, too, about his girlfriends, not just accepting any girl, as the rich are fussy about their food.

2.7.2 Dancing Praises.

Dancing praises refer to any special mannerisms during ukugiya, agility of foot movements, and speed of movement. Dancing praises therefore have a lot in common with football praises, where speed and agile footwork are the main focus of praise. Agile footwork is referred to in the praise uZindlelazimazombe ('Mr Zigzag Paths'), and the image of a hoe turning over the clods is also used, as in the two praises: uGeja likaMamphendu ('Hoe of Mrs Turn-Over' < phendula: to turn over) and uMagejageja, which is untranslatable, but is formed from noun class 1(a) prefix u-, the name-forming morpheme -ma- (usually meaning 'characteristic' or 'habitual', and the reduplicated stem -geja (hoe) indicating 'many-hoes'.

Speed is suggested in uHushamoya ('Mr Rustle-of-the-wind'), as also, very amusingly, in uMendokanesi (Mr-Marriage-of-the-Nurse'). This is the giya-name of Bongani Mthethwa, a student of mine in 1976, and now a lecturer in the Department of Music at Zululand University. He explained the name by saying that nurses are very popular as wives in Zulu society, as not only do they earn relatively good salaries, but they are also educated in home-care, child-rearing, and so on. So as soon as they graduate, they are snapped up in marriage, and Bongani added: 'You know, I dance nearly as fast as that'.

Khuzuhlanya ('Stop the Madman') suggests frenetic dancing.

The following praise suggests a particular mannerism:

Qhude elintamo ende ebona ngale kwentaba ('Rooster with a long neck when he looks over there at the mountain'), which was explained as the young man in question having the habit, while giya-ing, of sticking his head right back as if looking at a mountain. Anyone who has watched any ukugiya will recognise the posture.

I found one dancing praise which didn't refer to the dancing, but rather to the accoutrements: uMvemve ongcokazi ('Red-and-white-speckled wagtail') because the shield he carried was from the hide of an ingcokazi ('red-and-white-speckled beast').

2.7.3 Fighting Praises.

These praises refer to skill and ability in formal stick-fighting competitions, general ability and willingness to fight or to defend oneself, and the general qualities of ubuqhawe: manliness, fearlessness, enthusiasm, courage, etc. I have also included under this heading some praises which were clearly not self-conferred, as they refer to the opposite of the qualities enumerated above : timidity, cowardice, one who runs away rather than facing an opponent.

An aggressive attitude as well as a clear ability to use one's stick is reflected in the following relatively lengthy praise: uNtandakubukwa! Wayebukisa ngezinye izinsizwa izishaye ngenduku zibe ngozi ngozi zibhaleke amakhanda, kwaze kwathiwa ngumabhala ngozipho! ('Mr-Likes-to-be-looked at! He who shows off in front of other young men and hits them with a stick (until) they become wounded (lit.: 'wound-wound') with scratches on the head, until it is said it is scratches from a finger-nail'). These are clearly the praises of a youth who enjoys fighting. The love of another for fighting is expressed at a great deal less length in the succinct uMpimpiyane < reduplicated impi (a fight, battle) + the meaningless name-forming suffix -yane. Another praise which was explained to me as indicating one who liked to fight is uBantu bayaziginqa embuba ('people roll around in a confined space') : there was no escaping this one when he wanted to fight - you felt you were in a confined space when he was around and in a fighting mood. The same kind of feelings apparently would be felt by those meeting up with uMehlabovu okubheka maqede ushaywe uvalo ('Red (i.e. angry) Eyes which as soon as looked at, you are struck with fear').

Fighting ability is suggested in the following names: uQathimpi (qatha: to crunch something hard, with impi (battle, fight). The suggestion here is that either he was one to break up a fight, or one who delivered crunching blows in battle.

uNdlovu! uMagawula umuthi omkhulu ngoba omncane uyaziwela ('Elephant! Mr Chop-down a big tree, because a small one falls by itself'). This refers to a youth who would only bother with worthy opponents. Another youth to be feared can be seen in the praise Balekani magwala nali iqhawe! ('Run away, cowards, here is a hero'). According to the informant, this praise

was conferred on him one day when he stabbed a cow so that it instantly fell dead on the ground.

Other praises suggest steadfastness in the face of a threat: uNgqulu-zana beyiqhubisa ('Mr Starer-out (until) they carry it (the fight) on'), i.e. one who has courage to see a fight through. uNsimbi kayigobi ('The Iron doesn't bend'), speaks for itself. uManqwamana nenja kwafa ikate ('He who meets face to face with a dog and there dies a cat'), I am told, refers to someone who always meets his opponents at close quarters. Possibly in the same vein as the last three, but more obscure, is uMpisikazi-mudli ('(Even) the hyenas cannot eat him'). A fighter with great self-control is described in uSosha elizikhuzayo (soldier who commands himself)[1] and one who carries the fight on to the bitter end is referred to in uHeshe! Inyon' edl' amachwane ingashiy' into ('Hawk! Bird that eats chicks and doesn't leave anything').

Stick-throwing, rather than stick-fighting, is referred to in the praise uJikijela abhuxeke isigodo esimaholo ('He who throws and sticks into the ground (even) a rough-barked pole').

Praises referring to ability at fighting are not always flattering. Consider the following:

uGadluthithiza nje, awuliboni yini ikhanda, ufuze ekhaya bonyoko (lonyoko?) yini? Wagadlela enxenye mfokoMaNene. ('Mr-Strike-merely-a-confused-blow, do you not see it, the head, that you should resemble (those) at the home of your mothers (i.e. womenfolk)? He struck a blow on one side (i.e. he missed), this fellow of MaNene (i.e. of his mother)'). The insulting implication is that he fights like a girl. The same kind of fighting ability is referred to in the one word praise uNdidiza (< didizela : to act confusedly). I mentioned above the praise Balekani magwala nali iqhawe ('Run away cowards, here is a hero') and this is obviously to such a fellow as the one bearing the praise uMaqaba ngejubane ngoba kusinda ezakwaGwala which translates roughly as 'Depender on speed, because those who escape are cowards' (lit.: 'there escapes those (youths) of the house of Coward'). The next praise describes one who, while not quite going so far as to run away, is clearly less than enthusiastic in his fighting.

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1. Although this could also mean 'Nobody tells me what to do'.

The significance of the last three words is obscure:

uGadla unogadliso okwevaka, udakane lwani lolu, alukhishwanga inyoni entabeni ('Striker of the blow of a coward, what kind of listless person is this, he not being taken out (produced) by a bird on the mountain').

Clearly these critical praises[1] are not self-conferred, and are likely to be disliked by the bearer, yet they will continue to be used.

2.7.4 Descriptive Praises

These are praises which either (commonly) describe the appearance of the bearer (e.g. height, skin colour, flashing eyes, etc.), or (less commonly), describe his personality.

I have already quoted Mthunzi wokuphumula amatshitshi ('Shade where young maidens rest') as an example of a praise referring to height. Others include: uMuntomude akaliboni izulu ('tall person, he doesn't see the sky'), presumably because his 'head is in the clouds'. Similar is Yinde lenyoni ayiboni kaZulu ('It is tall, this bird, and doesn't see the sky'). The following three also refer to height:

uJojo ('Long, pointed object');

lSukile lensizwa ('he has got up, this young man'); and

uPhondo lwendod' ende ebamba izulu ('Horn of a tall man who grasps the sky'). The next praise uses the idea of 'grasping the sky', but adds a reference to skin colour as well:

uZulu omnyama obamba izulu ('dark-skinned Zulu who grasps the sky'). Note the play on words: uZulu/izulu. References to dark skin are common:

uNdod' emnyama ('dark-skinned man');

uNsizwa emnyama ekhanya ngamazinyo ('dark-skinned youth who shines by the teeth') of a man who smiled a lot, contrasting his black skin with shining white teeth. The next praise refers to dark skin metaphorically:

uZululiyaduma ('the sky thunders'), for, in the words of the informant 'when the sky starts to thunder, the clouds become black, and then there

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1. This is not a contradiction. Cope has pointed out (1968:31) that izibongo zamakhosi (chiefly praises) may contain criticism, yet are still izibongo.

appears lightning, and they liken him to the clouds'. The name suggests a temper to me, but this was not mentioned.

Most names referring to skin colour refer to dark skin, but I have already referred above (2.7.1, page 62) to the white-skinned youth who dazzled the girls.

uSteelwool is a praise which was given to a young man with a thick beard covering his face.

I have said that descriptive praises may refer to character, and I have given examples of those referring to assertiveness or tenacity under 2.7.3 (Fighting praises) above. I have come across one, however, referring to a milder character:

uJuba ('dove'), because 'he is merciful like a dove'.

Characteristic habits may also be described, as the praise uEnglishman for a teacher who refused to use Zulu while he was teaching, and Impangele ekhala igijima ('guinea-fowl which sings as it runs') for a man who habitually sang as he went around.

2.7.5 Football Praises

Football praises usually (but not always) refer to ability, and performance on the field. With emphasis on speed, and agile footwork, such praises are not unlike giya-praises. These praises are usually in Zulu. Other football praises make no reference to actual play, and these praises are usually in English (football names rather than football praises, perhaps, although it is hard to draw a line between the two). Examples of the former are:

Shaluza wemfana (shaluza: be continuously on the move, flash past; wemfana: 'hey there, boy!')

Shelela ('slip out of the way and come back').

uMshini-ozishintshayo ('machine that changes them (feet) about'), because he plays with great determination, continually changing his feet. This idea is expanded in the next praise:

Automatic! uMshini-ozishintshayo! uMadolo enkonyane! ('Automatic! Machine that changes them about! Knees of the calf!') It is not clear what is meant by the last two words. Perhaps he is as agile as a young gambolling

calf.

uKhozi olumaphiko olucosha ichwane ngokuphazima kweso ('Winged hawk that snatches up a chick in the blink of an eye'). This praise was conferred on him by his fellow policemen in reference to his speed at tackling another player and taking the ball away from him.

The following praises were given to me by Ndela Ntshangase, a student at Natal University, Pietermaritzburg. They fall into two parts: (a) those given to him by his grandfather, referring to his general ability and agility, and these are used both on and off the soccer field; and (b) those given to him by his football friends, with specific reference to his play, and these are used only in a football context.

(a) S' hozi sezulu esethe singabonakala sabangwa ngabakhulu ('Lightning-bolt of the sky, which, as soon as it is seen, draws the attention of the great ones'). The image of the lightning-bolt indicates speed and power, and the image of the great rushing to it (as izinyanga zezulu ('heaven-herds') would rush towards a lightning bolt[1]) underlines his importance.

(b) uMandiza ondizele phezu kwezihlwele zahlokoma, ngobungcweti bobuhlakanipha bakhe ('Flyer who flies above the crowds to their applause, on account of the expertness of his technique'). The image of a bird here is like that of the 'winged hawk' mentioned above. It also ties in well with the image of the 'lightning-bolt of the sky'. In both images he is above other people i.e. superior.

Less obvious praises referring to football ability, and note that the language changes, are:

Doctor Moroka: 'Moroka' refers to the well-known team 'Moroka Swallows', and 'Doctor' is in the sense of inyanga, i.e. 'some-one who has power (even) over the Moroka (Swallows)'.

Dinga-baby-put-it-in-the-way: the man's name is Dinga; it is not clear whether he should put his foot in the way of the opponent, or the ball in the way of the goal.

Dirty Wizard and Four-Man-Power speak for themselves.

uKhansela ('Councillor') is a reference to a councillor in Sobantu village who some years back was renowned for his football ability.

uMgedeza ('incessant talker') - apparently this was his habit while

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1. See Krige, 1965:310 et seq.

playing.

Active Man refers to the bearer as a football trainer, rather than player.

Alleluia Amen! is clearly a praise, although perhaps not in the sense that I have been using the term. It suggests an air of triumph and finality as the ball goes into the goal.

Run Away was 'explained' by the informant as 'he got this name because he encourages the other boys because here is the ball when they have sent it close to the goals'. (?)

uSikhindi-beSuthu ('Mr Shorts-the-Sothos'): he belonged to an amateur football team, all of whom used to wear shorts both off the field as well as on. He always liked to win, but especially and markedly so if the team was playing against Sothos. This is an interesting praise because in the one compound we have a group identification - uSikhindi, and an individual identification - beSuthu.

The remaining three football praises are obscure:

uStaan-Op!; uRees, uS'Kara Moshi. These praises were not collected from the bearers themselves, and no further information was available.

2.7.6 Boxing Praises

Boxing praises are all of a kind, and are like the football praises (given above) Dirty Wizard, Run-Away, Action Man. They are usually two-word compounds, and are always in English.[1] The only boxing-praise I came across during field-research was Goat-in-a-gate, which referred to the bearer's manner of jumping around the ring. The Echo of 17.1.83 provided the following thee in one article: 'Sugarboy' Malinga, 'Walk Tall' Mzimela, and 'Happy Boy' Mgxaji. I am indebted to Rob Haswell of the University of Natal for the following list:

Jerome 'Green Cobra' Gumede, and his brother
Peter 'Four-Man-Power' Gumede[2]

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1. I must acknowledge that this statement is based on a limited collection - I have not come across a Zulu boxing-praise, but this does not necessarily mean they do not exist - in fact, I would expect there to be such praises.

2. cf the football praise quoted above.

Alvin 'Golden Boy' Mthembu
David 'Baby-Lux' Khambule
'Windmill' Seleke
'Schoolboy' Nhlapho
Peter 'Terror' Mathebula
Jacob 'Baby-Jake' Madlala.

2.7.7 Other Praises

Under this section I cover (a) men's praises which do not fit into any of the previous six categories; (b) izibongo zabelungu (Europeans' praises); and (c) izibongo zabesifazane (women's praises).

(a) These are either comprehensible, but do not fit into any of the previous categories, or are obscure. Of the former, examples are: uZond'abamzondayo, thand' abamthandayo ('Hates those who hate him, likes those who like him'), in other words a praise expressing the philosophy of 'do unto others what they do unto you'.
uManyathel' umhlaba sengathi owakhe; uManyany' umbala ashaye inximfi ('he-who-treads the earth as if it is his; He-who-has-aversion to a mark and goes "nx"'). This praise clearly can be divided into two. The first half is clear, and had it not been for second half, I would have included it under 2.7.3 (Fighting Praises) as a praise referring to assertiveness of spirit. The second half refers to a person of very clean habits, even fussily so, who is continually removing small specks of dirt from person and clothing, and going "nx" in annoyance. Going by the sense of these two halves only, one would say they were given separately, and/or by different persons. But there is a striking similarity between the two halves, a balance and symmetry, that cannot be accidental. Consider the syllables: 5-3-3-3 in each half, the first word: u + MA + trisyllabic verb beginning with nya-, and the second word: noun in object position, cl.3 (um-), with disyllabic stem with both vowels /a/. The syntactic, morphological and phonological parallels make it clear that either the complete praise was composed at one time, or that the second half was composed specifically to form a parallel with the first.

The next is clearly the praise of an older man, not a youth: uMkhaba womfazi omitha amawele ('large stomach of a woman pregnant with twins'). This reference to a large paunch was extended by the informant who said that when this man was drinking with his friends, they would tease him by saying "Mkhabó!" every time a new round of drinks was placed on the table. This is obviously a variant of the same kind of derivation as Ntombó from Ntombifikile, described on page 52 above.
Short Division isibalo sabantwana (isibalo sabantwana : arithmetical problem of young children . This is a basketball praise, which was explained as follows 'because he was short, and became even more short when playing (basket) ball and scoring a goal'. The 'becoming even shorter' refers to basketball player squatting slightly before rising to put the ball in the net.
Charlie Chaplin, because he liked to make other people laugh.

The following praises are obscure, and I have not been able to find an explanation for them:
uDonga likaMadilika ('Madilika's wall');
uTurpentine -even the bearer could not explain why he had been given this praise;
uSwidobhaliwe ('Sweet which is written on')- This refers to the popular round flat sweets with mottos written on;
uMdlinti - this was given to the bearer because 'he always sat keeping quiet', but I have not been able to find out what 'Mdlinti' means.

The remaining two are based on the izithakazelo of the bearer, but remain none the less obscure:
uKhetha oyithandayo ('Choose that which you want') because 'a boy was born at Nyandamkhonto's kraal'. Nyandamkhonto is one of the izithakazelo of the Mchunu clan, to which this man belonged.
Wadla sinqoza sikaNkomose ('He ate the 'isinqoza' (untranslatable) of Nkomose'), Nkomose being isithakazelo of Magubane, this man's clan-name.

(b) Praises of Europeans

Whites working among Zulus for any length of time will usually be given a Zulu name, although these are used almost exclusively as

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(b) Praises of Europeans

Whites working among Zulus for any length of time will usually be given a Zulu name, although these are used almost exclusively as

terms of reference, rather than address : I have come across very few cases where the umlungu was addressed by his Zulu name. The following are examples I collected from the Bantu Administration Offices in Durban, and are descriptive of both personality and appearance:

Of personality:

uZithulele ('Mr Keeps-quiet-to-himself')
uMaqalaza ('Mr Keeps-glancing-around')
uPelepele ('Mr Chilis' - of his hot temper)
uMsimbithi ('Mr Iron-wood Tree' of his strong, steadfast character)

Of appearance:

uZinti ('Mr Sticks' - he had very thin legs)
uMakhanda ('Mr Heads' - he had a large head)
uKhalempongo ('Mr Rams's Nose')
uBusobendlazi ('Mr Face-of-the-mouse-bird' - he had a very fat, round face.

This was his second Zulu name : when he first started working there, after spending four years in a German prisoner-of-war camp, he was known as
uBusobendlala ('face-of-famine'). Note that only the last syllable changes.
uThekwane ('Mr Hamerkop' - of the shape of his head)

Other names include:

uGudlulwandle ('Mr Skirt-the-sea' - from his habit of riding his bicycle on the beach every morning)
uMphethiza ('Mr To-and-fro' - from his manner of walking up and down his office when discussing a problem)
uNawefuthi ('Mr And-you-too' from his car registration : NU 2).

It is seldom that more than one name is given, or that it is extended into a praise-phrase. In my particular case, the name uMantindane ('witches' familiar' - see above, page 16) was changed to uLwandle ('sea'), the explanation being that while no-one understood why I was doing research into Zulu names, they were suspicious and thus named me uMantindane. When the finished work (my Honours Dissertation) was produced, however, people were delighted that I had been serious about the research and had been interested in an aspect of Zulu culture. The name uLwandle was explained as 'just as the rivers flow into the

sea and stay there, so have our names flowed into you (and stay there)'. This name was later expanded into uLwandle owam' esithumbanjeni wamangaz' amadoda ('Sea who dug just outside the doorstep and amazed the men') - no-one digs outside a doorstep, because no-one ever expects to find anything there.

Another example of an extended praise was given to me by one of my (white) students:[1]

uSicholo semamba nkunzi - Crest of a bull-mamba
Mandindindi - Mr Lazy-Person
Inde lentaka idl' amakhwezikhwezi phezulu - He is tall, this bird, he eats the bright shining things (i.e. stars) above.

Compare this last to the praise uPhondo lwendod' ende ebamba izulu quoted above on page 67.

(c) Women's Praises

This is an area into which much research needs to be done. All the praises given in the previous twelve pages have been the praises of men. During my survey, whenever I asked if any members of a household had praises, I was always given those of the men. If I asked if women had praises as well, I was almost always answered with "Oh yes (uttered in a rather doubtful tone), but no-one in this family". Other informants assure me that girls have basketball and tennis praises just as young men have football and boxing praises, but no-one has been able to give me any examples. Besides such vague assurances, the only clue I have to the existence of such praises among women comes from the Echo of 27.1.83, where I noted that one of the Girl Guiders present at an award-winning ceremony was Mrs Mavis 'Drinkable Milo' Ndaba.

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1. These praises are a mixture of Xhosa and Zulu - the student is from the Kokstad area.

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2.8 NAMES OF DOGS AND OXEN

As I have stated above (page 38), although these are not the names of persons, some discussion is relevant in a work on Zulu nomenclature, and this is the only realistic place other than in an appendix, in which to discuss them. A full, detailed analysis of such names belongs to a separate study, so I propose merely to sketch out the features of:

2.8.1 Dog names; and

2.8.2 Ox names.

Domestic animals other than dogs and oxen either do not have names,[1] or these are taken direct from English, as in uJinja for a cat (see footnote below), uButtercup for a cow, or uPrince for a horse. Dog and ox-names, however, have certain interesting and characteristic features.

2.8.1 Dog names

Weischhof has pointed out of Ibo personal names that there are

> "those names with which either the father or the mother intend to admonishingly address other persons.... These names serve a special social function in that they are intended to minimize social friction."
>
> (1941:220)

Weischhoff states, however, that these names are not common among the Ibo. The same position holds for Zulu personal names: it is possible for a child to be given a name by one parent that reflects on the other, or refers to some kind of friction within the family, but these names are extremely rare. Zulu, like many other Bantu societies, prefers rather to bestow such names on dogs. Hunt states of the vaKaranga that:

> "When any person conceives that he or she has a grievance against another, it is apparently the practice to bestow a

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1. In my survey I was surprised to discover that out of some forty cat-owners interviewed, only three had a name for their cats: one uJinja (Ginger) and two uPhusi's.

> name on a dog which will act as a perpetual reminder to the guilty party of his fault."
>
> (1952:67)[1]

Samarin, of the Gbeya, has noted that:

> "The dogs of the Gbeya ... can be looked upon as screens upon which the Gbeya project their attitudes towards many different aspects of their life. Such projection is accomplished by giving to the dogs names that verbalize complaints, ridicule, humour, and so on. They are short, even telegraphic, 'texts' about life in general or about one's particular place in it."
>
> (1965:57)

Later he states that:

> "It seems clear that dogs have names, not to facilitate communication between the master and the dog, but for the sake of the human community. Except for those few instances where a name describes some characteristic of the dog itself, the names are used to remind the community of a particular incident or situation."
>
> (pg 58)

This last statement may be used as a perfect description of the Zulu situation, subject to a little expansion:

Among the Zulus, except for those few instances where a name describes some characteristic of the dog itself, and the fairly common instances where the dog's name is taken from the European culture,[2] the names are used to remind the community of a particular incident or situation. Let us look at these in turn.

Characteristics of the dog itself.

Such names look at the dog's behaviour rather than its appearance. Examples are:

uDeda ('get out of the way') because 'ideda ezinye izinga ibamba

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1. Of all the comparative material read, Hunt's stands out as the most remarkably paternalistic. He states for example that Karanga dog names "May be of interest as showing the tortuous mind of the African". On the practice of giving dogs names which act as reminders of some offence, he states "Of the mentality which finds satisfaction in such obscure revenges, perhaps the less said the better". Of a man who gave his dog the name 'I am alone' because he had no sons, Hunt says this is "a typical African whine". It is curious to see such sentiments published, even in 1952.

2. Mainly an urban phenomenon.

inyamazane' ('it gets out of the way of the other dogs (when) catching buck'), i.e. it is faster than the other dogs and gets ahead of them.

uShiyabekhala ('leave them crying') - the dog was a notorious sheep-killer; 'them' refers to the owners of the dead sheep.

uNdlayivalwa ('the house is not shut up'), and doesn't need to be, with this ferocious guard-dog.

uVimba ('lock up, shut up'). Another ferocious dog, who 'when he has broken loose, it is shouted of him 'Vimbani uVimba! ('lock up Lock-Up')'.

uQobo ('the real thing') - when the father heard this dog bark for the first time, he said 'Uqobolwenja' ('a genuine dog').

uThandendlini ('likes it in the house'). The same inclination of the dog to stay inside gives rise to the next name:

uPhumaphela ('get out, now!', 'get out, then!'). The dog's owner explained that when the dog was young, it played in the mud outside and then kept coming in dirtying things. The continual call to the dog to 'get out, now' became its name. Now that the dog was older and more sedate, it was allowed in the house, but the name had stuck. Noting that the name was now used to call the dog (as opposed to its original intention), I asked the owner what term he would use now if he wished the dog to get out, and he replied, very simply - "we say 'Voetsek!'".

Borrowed from the European.

The following are examples collected during the survey: uShiba, uRex, uSmash and uDanger (both ferocious dogs), uTiger (usually rendered as uThayikeni), uSayitsheni (Sergeant), uSpecial, Sosha (soldier), uNayiloni (nylon), uBozo, and, very commonly, uSipoti, which may derive either from 'Spot' or 'Sport' - it is impossible to tell which, as either will be pronounced as uSipoti'. uBobbybear is clearly European in origin, but the meaning or reference is obscure. The informant said that the dog had been named by a white person. Of seventy-two dog names collected (mainly from the urban areas), nineteen were European-derived (i.e. 26%).

Reference to incident or situation.

By far the most common of these are references to a situation of con-

flict, of those the majority refer to conflict with neighbours, and at least half of these imply that the neighbours are abathakathi ('wizards, witches'). Zulus agree that the names are 'used to remind the community of a situation'. Most informants volunteered the information that the purpose of naming a dog uBayangizonda (they hate me), uBangihlebani (what are they whispering about me?) or uBahlangene[1] (they are gathered together (against me)) is so that the name can be shouted out loudly when the neighbours are in earshot, thus letting them know what you think about them.

Examples of this category are the following:

uZondabathakathi ('he hates the wizards')

uBathini ('what do they say (about me)?)

uBafazi ('women'), because ' abanye abafazi bayathetha' ('other women have been gossiping')

uBathabangiboni ('they say: "no one can see me"') - if there is a large number of people, and there are bad feelings amongst them, the trouble-makers say 'they can't find me in the crowd'. This name, when shouted out, lets them know they are wrong.

The next name is similar in its intention:

uBangithintile '(they have touched me'), i.e. I know about them'.

uThandezabanye '(likes that of the others'). This name was explained as 'lenja ithanda izinkulumo zabanye ngoba ngingekho'. ('This dog likes the speech of others because I am not here'). In other words, the owner is notifying other people that he knows they talk behind his back.

An interesting name is one taken from English, which yet fits into this category:

uReason, explained as 'sifuna isizathu njengoba abantu besizonda' ('we want a reason why people hate us').

A common dog's name is uBahlangene[2] ('they are gathered together'). I was interested in the variation of reasons:

1) Relationships within the house had been strained and the husband and wife had split up. They had, however, come together again, and their

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1. The concord -ba- in these names refers either to omakhelwane (neighbours), or to abathakathi (wizards).
2. Five examples among seventy-two dogs' names.

subsequent new dog carries a reminder of this.

2) 'Inja mayihlanganise abathakathi ibabulale' ('let the dog gather together the wizards and kill them').

3) 'The neighbours are gathered together against us', in direct opposition to the next reason:

4) 'This dog is a reminder of how well we used to get on with our neighbours before we moved'.

This name, given to my own dog (a Dalmatian), is interesting in that it combines physical appearance with 'reminder of situation'. The name was given by a Zulu employee of the University Club in Pietermaritzburg, who explained as follows: 'As this is a University Club, both black and white people gather together in perfect harmony to talk and drink, just as the black spots are gathered together in perfect harmony on the white skin of your (Dalmatian) dog'.

2.8.2 Ox-names

Ox-names are remarkable for two reasons:

firstly, there is a relatively common stock of names shared by most Zulus, and variations of this common stock are rare; and

secondly, the common stock is for the most part Afrikaans-derived, as opposed to, say, dog-names, cow-names, and horse-names, which are derived from English.

'Man' is the common element of the following: uBlesimani (c.f. uBlesiboku below), uLasimani ('last man'?), uDayimani ('daai man', but possibly 'diamond'), uGwayimani ('kwaaiman'), uVelemani ('vet' or 'vuil'), uGopumani (Koopman?), uPhaphamani (?, but possibly < Zulu: ukuphaphama - to wake up), uAkelmani (?), uSayimani (saaiman?), and uSoyisimani (sooisman?).

The following have 'berg' as common element : uKolibehe (Coleberg?) also recorded as uSkolibehe, uBhulobehe (Blouberg), uTilbehe (?), uBondbehe (Bontberg), uTafulibehe (Tafelberg), and uDilibehe (Drieberg?).

The following pair appear to be based on 'voet' : uLe:futhi (luivoet?), and uVelefuthi ('vet', 'vuil-voet', c.f. uVelemani above)

'Bees' is found in uVelebisi (c.f. uVelemani and uVelefuthi above),

and uVitibisi ('Witbees').

Miscellaneous names are uFethiboyi ('fat boy'), uBokfela ('bokvel'), uBlesiboku ('blesbok'), uKhafalande ('kaffir lande'), and uHhoyinande ('goeie naand').

By far the most common ox-names (outnumbering the others by about three to one) are the following five:
uLentusi (possible 'lentils', but more likely from 'lent oes' - 'spring harvest'),
uJalidube (origin unknown),
uSohlande (with variants uSohlanti, uKholande, and uSikhohlande. Last-named suggests 'Scotland' as a possible origin, contracted into the more common form uSohlande).
uLenkasi (the less common variation uRenkasi suggests 'rinkals' as an origin).
uJam(u)ludi (origin unknown.) This is certainly the most used and most wide-spread of the ox-names. I have also come across three cows, two dogs and one man named uJamuludi. All informants are clear that the word is borrowed, but no-one seems sure where from although one informant suggested hesitantly that it is derived from Afrikaans 'Jan Roodt' ('Red John' - a nickname for a red ox). The word always seems surrounded by a faint aura of amusement.

The following are examples of the rarer Zulu names for oxen. They are individual names, i.e. not part of a common stock: uZwabesho ('listen while they speak'), uSiyempini ('we are going to war'), uBayangizonda ('they hate me' - a typical dog's name), uBhemugwayi ('smoke tobacco'), uSihokhwane ('yellow-billed kite'), uQedumona ('end envy'), uSinwayinwayi ('tantalising thing'), uSunduzisono ('push away sin'), uDudulamakhansela ('push away the councillors'), and the rather curious uThengethilomu ('buy at the tea-room').

CHAPTER THREE

THE AETIOLOGY OF ZULU PERSONAL NAMES

3.1 Introduction

This Chapter may be regarded as the other side of the sociological coin: Chapter Two looked at different kinds of Zulu names and other forms of address, and their use in Zulu society; this Chapter looks at the various reasons underlying Zulu personal names (amagama asekhaya), and relates these names to such aspects of Zulu society as: the relative importance of the father and the mother in the Zulu family; the relative importance of sons and daughters; a belief in God; the importance of the clan and the amadlozi (ancestral spirits) of the family and clan; ilobolo; and relationships between members of the immediate family and either neighbours or extended kin. Personal names may also depend on the number, sexes, and ages of other members of the family, and this is also investigated.

Chapter One(1.3 pages 12-33) gave some comparative notes on names in Africa, relevant to the different kinds of names and name-usage in Zulu discussed in Chapter Two. I deliberately omitted from Chapter One comparative data on the aetiology of African names, as I felt such material would be more relevant in Chapter Three. This chapter accordingly starts with a review of that data which I have been able to collect on the reasons underlying personal names. Further comparative material will be integrated into the subsequent analysis of Zulu personal names.

3.2 Comparative Material : A Review of Reasons

3.2.1 Beattie on the Nyoro
3.2.2 Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer
3.2.3 Gulliver on the Jie
3.2.4 Junod on the Thongas
3.2.5 Middleton on the Lugbara
3.2.6 Molema on the Sotho
3.2.7 Mönnig on the Pedi
3.2.8 Chuks-Orji on various African peoples.

3.2.1 Beattie (1957), writing of the Nyoro people, states that personal names may be given i) as a 'family' name handed down from generation to generation (as we (whites) often do with the 'middle' name); ii) to commemorate a deceased relative or friend;[1] iii) to mark some physical feature of the child; iv) to mark some circumstance related to the birth, and v) a special name for twins or children after twins. These first five categories are less common than category vi), names which express 'the state of mind' of the parent or parents who give the name. Beattie acknowledges that these may be positive, or have cheerful implications, but says that they usually refer to one of

(a) constant imminence of sorrow and death;

(b) the experience or anticipation of poverty and misfortune;

(c) the supposed spite and hatred of one's neighbours.

It is of interest that this last category (i.e. vi.c) is manifested in Zulu dog names, rather than personal names. Beattie's article gives a number of clear examples of each category; he has also some useful comments on the 'psychology' of name-giving.

3.2.2 Evans-Pritchard (1948), writing of the Nuer people, states that personal names as a rule refer to events which took place at or before the time of birth, or to the place of birth. He adds that "a man generally knows the circumstances which led to his being given the name he bears".[2] (1948:167) As with the Nyoro, Evans-Pritchard notes that:

> "Personal names sometimes recur in lineal descent. I have only met one man called after his father, and in this case the child was probably named after his father's death. Occasionally a man is called after his paternal grandfather or great-grandfather so that his ancestor's name may be remembered in daily speech."
> (1948:167)

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1. c.f. Emeneau (1938:205), writing of the Todas: "A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family ... by giving the child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate."

2. This is not usually the case among the Zulus.

Evans-Pritchard also notes that twins, and children born of the same mother after twins, have stereotyped names.

3.2.3 Gulliver (1952), on the Jie, has very little to say on personal names as such, but he does state that a boy's personal name must be that of one of his grandparents. "It need not be a grandparent's personal name, however, but can be a nickname or ox-name ..." (1952:74)

3.2.4 Junod (1927), says of the Thongas that there are four principal ways of choosing the personal name. These are:

1) The giving of the name of a chief.

2) The giving of the name of one of the ancestors "because it is a good thing to remember them". Here a name will be proposed, and 'the bones consulted' to see whether the proposed name will be propitious. If not, other ancestral names will be proposed until the oracle indicates its approval.

3) A privilege given to a family friend, or passing traveller, to "name himself in the child", i.e. he gives his own name to the child, thus establishing a special relationship between himself and the child.

4) After the circumstances of the birth. Most of Junod's examples, curiously enough, suggest that children are born anywhere but at home: Marumbin (in the ruins), Mpfulen (in the rain), Nkuwen (under the fig-tree), Nkanyen (under the terebinth), or Ndelelen (on the road).[1]

Junod notes, in passing, that Thonga personal names are the same for the two sexes, the only two names which cannot be used for either sex being Nhwanin ('girl') and Nwandjise ('boy').[2]

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1. cf Bryant (1949:630) on the Zulus: "...or had she given birth while on a journey, she might call her uNozindlela (the-path-mother); but had it ... been a boy, then she would have called him uNdleleni (he-of-on-the-way)".
   cf also Madubuike on Abaluyha:
   Nangila (f) - Born while parents were on the road.
   Wangila (m) - On the road; the child was born on the road.
   Madubuike on Zezuru: Nanzira (m) - ways or paths.
   Madubuike on Xhosa: Ndlela (m) - on the way. (174)

2. cf the Zulu names uNtombi (girl) and uMfana (boy).

3.2.5 Middleton (1961), writing on Lugbara personal names, divides these into four main categories:

1) 'Moral' attributes or behaviour of parents, which include: quarrelling and friction in family and clan; reputation of members of family as lazy, immoral, or witches; reputation as 'good' people; illegitimate children; family the butt of ridicule; and mother reputed to be barren.

2) Associated with death : previous children died; another's death at time of birth; death expected.

3) 'Non-moral' attributes or behaviour of parents. (Middleton does not explain what he means by this, nor does he give any examples.)

4) Attributes of the child : description of child; occasion of birth; place of birth.

3.2.6 Molema (1920) has very little to say about Sotho personal names:

> "Names of children were taken from the events that were taking place about the time of their birth. Thus children born, say, during the South African War might be called Leburu (Boer), Ntoa (War), Maksone (Maxim), Kganelo (Siege), and so forth."
>
> (1920:128)

This rather limited statement seems to suggest that Sotho personal names refer only to the circumstances of the child's birth. This seems to me, in the face of the comparative evidence, to be somewhat limited, and I would suggest a study should, or could, be made of Sotho personal names.

3.2.7 Mönnig (1967), writing of the Transvaal Pedi, points out (as we have seen above, Chapter One, page 28) that the Pedi personal name changes after three/four years. The earlier 'baby' names seem to fit one kind of pattern, the later names another. Early childhood names may be chosen from events occurring on the day of the child's birth, and he gives as an example Mapula (rain) if there was rain on that particulr day. (cf Chapter One: page 13)

Interesting examples of names referring to circumstances of child's birth are 'Korea' and 'Sputnik'.[1] Mönnig adds that children may be named

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1. For the latter, cf the 'Christian' name of one of my informants, born in 1969: 'Armstrong', a name which refers to Neil Armstrong 'owaya enyangeni' (who went to the moon). (cf page 49)

after famous people or visitors, and may also be named for outstanding physical characteristics. Children born after the parents had remained childless for many years, or sons born after many daughters may "be called Ngwanangwakho - child of the house."

Of the later, and more permanent name, Mönnig says:

> "Names are never chosen without proper reason as defined by custom and new names (my emphasis) are not invented. Everyone is named after particular relatives."
>
> (1967:105)

There then follows an intricate (the word is Mönnig's) description of how this choice should be made, a description which begins "It is expected that an eldest son should name his first son after his father and his first daughter after his mother" and ends "In the polygamous society of the Pedi, the choice of the right name is often a difficult one and is usually decided by the family council after a lengthy debate." (1967:105)

Mönnig's description of the 'intricate' naming system of the Pedi is, however, not nearly as intricate as that Madubuike gives of the Gikuyu:

> "The Gikuyu have a very rigid system of naming. As soon as a child is born it gets a name. It is named after a member from the paternal side or a member from the maternal side. The name a child gets is often a function of its birth position in the family. For instance, the first son is named after the father's father. The second son takes the name of the grandfather from the maternal side. The first girl is named after the grandmother (paternal side). The second girl is named after the mother's mother. The third boy is named after the oldest brother of the father, that is the paternal uncle. The fourth boy is named after the oldest maternal uncle. The third girl is named after the oldest paternal aunt, and the fourth girl in the family takes the name of the oldest maternal aunt. This continues until all the names from the immediate families of the mother and father have been exhausted. In this case the custom permits the Gikuyu to turn to the nearest family of relatives to fish for names for their children."
>
> (1976:95)

3.2.8 Chuks-Orji writes about the personal names of a number of different African peoples, but specifically referring to the Yoruba, says:

> "In keeping with the Yoruba saying ...'we consider the state of our affairs before we name our child', the abiso name is framed to refer to family circumstances prevailing at the time of the child's birth."
>
> (1972:81)

Later, in reference to the Ibo people, Chuks-Orji states:

> "The choice of names is based on judgement and observations concerning the child, such as its health or birthmarks on its body, or some remarkable characteristic. Another factor in the choice of name could be the opinion of the diviner who might associate the child with a particular divinity.
> An Ibo child may also be named after the market day on which he was born."
>
> 1972:82)

Chuks-Orji, besides Ibo examples, gives examples of 'market-day' names taken from the Fante, Aken and Ewe of Ghana, as well as the Mwera and Swahili of Kenya. He also gives examples of names referring to the day of the week on which the child was born, as well as names referring to specific months or festivals.

Not mentioned in his introduction, but included in his lists of names, are names referring to twins, children after twins, and 'birth-order' names, taken from the Twi, Ewe, Ga, Yoruba, Fante, Zaramo, Luganda, Swahili, Benir and Akan peoples. Some of these examples will be given later in 3.3.5 when the concept 'Number' is discussed as relevant to the Zulus.

3.3 Reasons for Zulu names.

As indicated in Chapter One, page 6, Zulu personal names were collected from 133 families and one of the parents[1] was asked why a particular name had been given. When these reasons were collated, I had a choice as to whether I should categorise them in the smaller, finer range, and then combine into the major categories as suggested by the scholars whose work is reviewed above, or whether I should attempt to start with the wider categories, and then break these down into subsections. It was clearly easier to start with the narrower categories, and then attempt to combine these later. As my earlier work was done in this manner, and as my computer programme results were obtained in this manner, I shall give my description of the Zulu reasons for name-giving in terms of the narrower categories first, and then suggest a broad categorisation. (See 3.4 below.)

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1. Only because never in my research did I find a mother and father present at the same time in a house-hold.

I would now like to treat these categories separately, in detail.

3.3.1 Male

In this category, the reason given by the parents refers to a son. It may seem somewhat obvious to state that this category of names contains boys' names only, but in fact this is not absolutely the case. The girl's name Nomakhosi ('Miss Chiefs') was explained to me as follows: the father had thought that this child, following three sons, was also going to be a boy, and had chosen the name Makhosonke ('all chiefs') for his expected fourth son, and when this child turned out to be a daughter, he 'feminised' the name. It seems to me that the name Nomakhosi, then refers to 'maleness' even though it is a girl's name.

With this exception, however, this category belongs exclusively to boys' names, and this category, together with the next one ('Female') constitute the only two categories which are exclusive as to sex.

The category 'Male' combines readily with other categories, but I would like to start with examples of names falling under this heading only. The most common of these are names based on umfana (boy). So: Mfana, Fanyana (small boy), Mfanufikile (a boy has come), and shortened forms like Fana and Fanó (an isifekethiso).

Other examples are:
Muzikawukho ('there is no (real) family') for only one boy after three girls.[1]
Bhekinkosi ('look to the chief'): the child's grandfather told his son (i.e. the child's father) to look to the clan chiefs and amadlozi and thank them that he has started with a son.

In combinations with other categories, we find 'Male' occurring frequently with 'Clan': the commonest here, always for a first son, is Vusumuzi.[2] Reasons given for this name by various parents ranged from "because this is the first boy and that's what first boys are called" to fairly complex statements like this one from the grandmother of the child: "I married in KwaZulu at

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1. umuzi (lit.: 'kraal', 'homestead') is used in boys names to mean 'family'. cf. Vusumuzi ('wakens the family') for a first-born son. A son is seen as a means by which the family will be extended through time, according to the Zulu system of patri-lineal descent.

2. See footnote above.

the time of the Bambatha rebellion and since that time all the males in my family have died without sons except this last son of mine who now has his own son, my grandson, to vus'umuzi." This name could also probably be seen as a kind of injunction, laying on the son an obligation to have more himself when he marries.

Closely related to Vusumuzi is Mlungisi ('the fixer-up'). The father explained that this was his heir, who would lungis' umuzi ('make the family come right'). Also closely related in concept is Mzovukayo ('a house which has woken up'): the father explained that he had only one brother, who had no sons.

Others related to 'Clan' are Bhekokwakhe ('look after his') where the father explained that this son being the heir, he should look after his inheritance - 'inheritance' here including his duties as guardian of those left behind after his father's death; Zwelibuyile ('country has returned'): the father explained that this name meant he had a boy to increase the size of the clan; Bantu, derived from Bantu bakithi thokozani sithole insizwa ('people from our place - be happy (for) we have a boy').

The category 'male' also combines with 'number', as in the following examples:

Makhosonke ('all chiefs'): a common name for the last of three or more boys;

Sizwe ('country', 'nation'): the paternal grandmother had pointed out that the family concerned had had so many boys they were almost like a nation in themselves;

Mzwandile ('the house (umuzi) has increased') for a fourth son;

Mbizeni < ngimbizeni? ('what shall I call him?'): the father said he had had so many sons that he had run out of names;

Mbuso ('reign'): 'now I am like a king, ruling over so many men'.

Muzikayise ('the father's house'): the father expressed pride in five sons.

Sakhiso: the father said he needed to find a plot of land (isakhiso) in order to build an ilawu (bachelor's hut) for all his sons.

'Number' need not necessarily only refer to many sons, but well-spaced sons, or sons mixed with daughters. Thus:

Mzomuhle ('lovely house') because here is a son to go with the daughters;

Funani < ngifunani manje ('what (more) do I want now?'), having this (second) son to go with two daughters.

I came across one case where 'male', 'God' and 'injunction' were combined in the name:
Mlekeleli ('the helper'): the father explained that he had chosen this name because (i) God had helped them by giving them a son, and (ii) he wished his son to grow up according to his name, being helpful to others.

3.3.2 Female.

Names that refer to 'Female' only without bringing in another category such as 'Number' or 'Lobolo' are mainly derived from Zulu nouns meaning 'girl', 'women', 'daughter', etc. Examples are:
Ntombifikile ('a girl has arrived'). This name often occurs as Fikile ('... has arrived');
Makhosazane ('daughters') (usually, but not always, for a second or third daughter.) An interesting reason behind one Makhosazane was when a grandfather named his granddaughter Makhosazane because he had had a daugher from one of his own wives at the same time as his son had a daughter.
Sizakele ('being assisted'): the mother felt encouraged that she had started with a girl. In the same vein, perhaps, but more specific, was the mother who named her daughter Thokozile ('being happy') because she now had a daughter who would help her in the housework.

The category 'Female' combines readily with the category 'Number', and although the Male/Number combination is usually positive, Female/Number combinations usually reflect exasperation or resignation:
Ntombiziningi ('the girls are many'): the mother said she was tired of seeing so many girls;
Buyile ('returned') for a second daughter;
Ntombizodwa ('only girls');
Zandile ('they (girls) have increased');
Phumula ('rest'): the father said he wanted a rest after fathering all these girls;
Silindele ('we expected (it)'): the father was resigned: "I just knew it would be another girl";
Lindiwe ('expected'): the father explained that because the mother has already born two girls he was already expecting a third. Was she going to go on

bearing girls forever?

These names reflecting negative attitudes are usually given by a father. Names referring to more than one daughter need not always be negative in attitude. The following were given by both mothers and fathers:
Zandile ('they have increased') because amongst the family concerned there had been no girls, but now they were on the increase amongst them.
Thulisile ('having quietened'): after 3 sons, the mother said "God has quietened my anxiety of not having a daughter."
Nelisiwe ('having been satisfied'): the mother was satisfied with the second daughter "to balance (sic) the four sons".
Nelisile ('being satisfied'): the mother felt that she now had enough children because her desire to get a daughter had been satisfied at last.
Nkosingiphile ('God has given me') ... another daughter.
Lungile ('being all right'): the mother said that it was all right even though she only had girls (this was their fourth daughter, with no sons).
Zinhle ('they are beautiful'): the father said this of his three daughters (although the same father gave the name Phumula ('rest' - mentioned above) to his fourth daughter). Such pride can often be related to the wider family, as in the father who named his daughter
Badumile ('they are famous') in reference to his own fathers, all of whom had had beautiful daughters, like his own.

The category 'Male' often combines with the category 'Clan', showing, as mentioned above, the importance of sons in a patrilineal society. The female equivalent of this is the combination Female/Lobolo, showing the importance of a daughter in her potential for later providing a link with another clan via ilobolo cattle. The verb ukubuya ('to return') is commonly an element of these names:
Buyiswa ('being returned'): the father explained that the cattle he had taken out of the family for the mother were now (potentially) returned in the daughter.
Zibuyile ('they (cattle) are returning')
Mabuyi (lit.: 'Miss Returner')

I have said above that the categories 'Male' and 'Female' are the two most common categories. I have attempted to describe only those names which seem to me, either in the name itself or in the reason underlying it, to em-

phasise the sex of the child. Obviously other categories such as 'Happy', 'Luck', or 'Proud' also refer either to sons, or daughters, but in such cases it seems to me that the particular emotion comes first, and the sex of the child is a secondary issue. In the following categories I will indicate whether the name is a boy's name or a girl's.

3.3.3 God.

Again, a very large category, and if 'God', 'Trust', 'Blessed' and 'Grateful' are added together (for it is apparent that these are all related to one central concept) then these names account for 21,2% of all the names collected. Names in this category may either contain the work inkosi ('Lord'), or refer to God obliquely. Some examples with inkosi:

Nkosinathi (s:[1] 'God is with us'): the mother had thought that they would never get another son, but after the birth saw that the Lord was with them.

Bhekinkosi (s: 'Look to the Lord'): the mother explained that after previous children were stillborn, they looked to the Lord to see that this one lived. It is not clear whether this name commemorates the Lord's diligence in seeing that the child lived for the first week or so (when the child would have been named), or whether the name is an injunction to the Lord to keep ensuring the child's life.

Nkosingiphile (d: 'The Lord has given me').

Msawenkosi (s: 'The Grace of God'): the mother refers to the mercy of God in that the child was born at home rather than at the hospital and yet there had been no problems. In another family, the same name was given and it was explained that the name meant 'Thanks be to God for getting us children'.

Bonginkosi(s: 'Praise the Lord'): the mother explained that she had not been so well during her pregnancy, and so had thanked God for a successful birth.

Nkosinamandla (s: 'The Lord has strength'): this child survived after two

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1. For the remaining categories it will be necessary to distinguish between boys' and girls' names. I use 's' and 'd' for 'son' and 'daughter', rather than 'm' and 'f' for 'male' and 'female' as 'm' and 'f' could also refer to 'mother' and 'father'. ('♂' and '♀' do not appear on this typewriter.)

stillbirths. The father said 'clearly the Lord has strength in giving a child which lives'.

Examples of names which refer to God which do not use inkosi are:
Mbongeni (s: 'praise ye Him'): the parents were grateful that they were having so many children.
Mandla (s: 'strength'): the father said that God had given him strength by giving him a boy.
Sithembiso (s: 'promise'): the mother explained that the Bible said the Lord would promise anything asked in his name.
Simphiwe (s: 'we were given him (by God)'). The same idea lies behind the very common boy's name Sipho ('gift').
Nomusa (d: '(God) has mercy').
Thandazile (d: 'having prayed'): the mother was so ill during pregnancy that she prayed to God for recovery.
Celukuphila (d: 'ask for health'): the father asked the Lord to give her health.
Sibongile (d: 'we are grateful (to God)').

The category 'God' combines readily with most other categories, but as mentioned above, most often with 'Blessed', 'Grateful' and 'Trust'. More examples will be given when these categories are described.

3.3.4 Number.

According to the literature, various African peoples have specific names to indicate 'first child', 'second daughter', 'first child after twins', 'first child of second wife',[1] etc. Chuks-Orji gives the following boys' names from Akan:
Manu (2nd born). Anane (4th born), Anum (5th born), Msrah (6th born) Nsoah (7th), Awotwe (8th), Nkrumah (9th), Badu (10th), Adeben (12th), Adusah (13th), Agyeman (14th).

One wonders how regularly Akan families have thirteen or fourteen sons that these become regular names. And what happened to num-

1. Chuks-Orji (1972:5 and 34) gives the following from Ewe: Afafa (girl's name) and Adika (boy's name), both of which mean 'first child of second husband'.

bers one, three, and eleven? Perhaps these are the Akan words for the numerals, as is clearly the case with the three Swahili girls' names given by Chuks-Orji:

Mosi (first-born)	cf. Zulu:	-nye (the one)
Pili (second daughter)		-bili (two)
Tatu (third daughter)		-thathu (three)

Zulu does not have names which refer to number in so specific a number. Rather does this category contain names which refer to children being many, or more specifically, there being many boys or girls. I have also put into this category names which refer to children being well spaced (one being born regularly every 3 years, for example), or to boys and girls being well mixed. (The configurations boy-girl-boy-girl, or boy-girl-girl-boy, have, for example been commented on favourably in a name, which, for obvious reasons, is given to the last born.

Let me start with examples referring to the number of children regardless of sex:

It is rare to find names that refer to number without simultaneously referring to the sex of the child. An exception is Zanele (d: 'they are enough'):[1] the mother referred to the eighth child here. Usually the zi- concord in the name Zanele refers to izintombi (girls), but in this case I was assured that zi- stood for izingane (children).

Sifiso (s: 'desire/wish'): of a fifth child (d,s,d,s,s) the mother had said that she wished with this child that she would stop giving birth, for five were enough.[2]

Thulani (s: 'be ye quiet'): the name was given by the father in address to the amadlozi, saying "be quiet, we have enough children now" (s,d,d,s,s). (They were successful in their wish.)

Names referring to number need not always be negative, for in another case, a fifth child (out of an eventual total of seven), received the name:

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1. Zanele as a name usually refers to a number of children, (and again usually girls), but one curious example in my research was Zanele given to a first child (a daughter): the father had given this name as an 'Injunction' to the mother, saying "two will be enough" - she followed the injunction by only having one more (but with two names: Gugu ('treasure') and Zandile ('they have increased').
2. If this was an 'injunction', either to the ancestors or to herself, it was successful, for this child was the last.

Mbongeni (s: 'be grateful for him'): both parents said that they were grateful to have so many children.

Mzwandile (s: 'the family has grown') by a father of a fifth child (s,d,s,d,s).[1]

'Number' is usually specific as to sex, and I have given examples under 3.3.2 'Male' and 3.3.3. 'Female'. I add some more, first those referring to daughters, and then those referring to sons:

Daughters:

Ntombizodwa (d: 'only girls'): the father names his fourth daughter. (The first son, and last child, who followed, was named Vusumuzi).

Ntombifuthi (d: 'another girl'): father referred to a second girl.

Sibongile (d: 'we are grateful'): the mother explained this name by saying we are grateful for the child, but there are now enough daughters, the family has only one 'eater-of-the-inheritance' (s,d,d,d).

Lungile Thabile (d: 'being all right', 'being happy'): the mother, in giving these two names to her fourth daughter, said that it was all right with her to only have daughters ; she was still perfectly happy. (The fifth and last child, however, a daughter, was named Zanele ('they are enough')).

Male names often use the noun umuzi ('family'):

Mzwandile (s: 'the family has increased'): the father gave this name to his fourth son (s,s,s,d,s), and then named his next child (the fifth son):

Muzikayise (s: 'his father's family') presumably a reference to his own father, i.e. the boy's grandfather.

Muzikawupheli (s:'the family doesn't end'): here the mother referred to her fifth child and third son. The name might have been a little premature, or possibly prophetic, for the couple eventually had nine children (4 daughters, 5 sons).

Makhosonke (s: 'all chiefs'): the father referred to his third child, emphasising that they were all boys.

In the category 'number', I have also included names that refer to the regular spacing of children, and the mixing of sons and daughters:

Nomusa (d: '(The Lord) has mercy'): the father said that the Lord was merciful in giving them children at regular, well-spaced intervals.

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1. The 6th and last child, a daughter, was named by the father Bongekile ('being grateful').

Jabulile (d: 'being happy'): the mother was happy at giving birth regularly, and at mixing boys with girls.
Nonkululeko (d: 'freedom'): the mother said that with the birth of this child she felt free as her dearest wish of two daughters and one son had come true.
Nelisiwe (d: 'being satisfied'): the mother was satisfied in having this second daughter to balance her four sons: no more children were needed. (Quoted above in 3.3.2)
Funani (s: 'want what?'): the father said he had a son again, (s.d.d.s), and so what more did he want now, having boys and girls.
Nhlanhla (s: 'luck'): the father said he felt lucky in getting the children according to his desires (s,d,s). The family went on to become (s,d,s,d,s).
Simangele (d: 'we are surprised'): the father was surprised at another child after only one year.

3.3.5 Gratitude.

As mentioned above, names in this category express the parents' gratitude, usually, but not always, to God, for a successful birth, another child, or some other occurrence. These names are almost invariably based on the verb uku-bonga ('to thank', 'to express gratitude')- The most common girl's name in my sample falls into this category: Sibongile (d: 'we are grateful', 'we give thanks'), and it may be illuminating to look at the reasons given for a number of these Sibongiles:

1) the father said he was grateful for a child.
2) the mother said they were grateful for a child.
3) the mother had had a number of stillborn daughters, and was grateful that this one lived.
4) the father was happy to get another child.
5) the mother was grateful to get a daughter after a son.
6) the mother thanked God for daughters who would bring cattle.
7) the mother had nearly died during the birth, father had expressed in the name his gratitude for survival of mother and child.
8) the father was grateful because the previous child was stillborn, and this one was not.

The other variation on ukubonga for girls is Bongekile ('being able to express gratitude').

Examples of names for boys in this category are:

Bongani ('be ye grateful')
Sibongiseni ('make us grateful')
Mbongeni ('thank Him')
Mbongiseni ('make him grateful')

It is my opinion that names in this category are given without much thought: they are 'popular' names in the sense that certain Western names are. Certainly the explanations given to me were brief and curtailed, without the stories and anecdotes that I often found with explanations of other names. Only in one case did a father suggest that he had given some thought to the name Bongani he had waited a long time without getting a child, and people had said that his wife was barren, so they were grateful to get one, saying "Be ye grateful, the people of Caluza (his clan), for the Lord has answered our prayers." This name seems to fit into the categories 'Grateful', 'Barren', 'Clan', and 'God'.

3.3.6 Clan.

This name refers to the position of the child, not within the immediate family, but within the extended family. For sons, the name usually refers to the boy's potential to inherit the family and carry it forward in time -- to continue the genealogy, i.e. the vertical relationship. For daughters, the name refers to the potential for marrying outside the clan, i.e. the horizontal relationship. For this reason, girls' names fall rather under the category 'lobolo'.

The category 'clan' combines most readily with the category 'Male', and a number of examples have already been given under that heading, including the popular name for a first son Vusumuzi (see footnote on page 89). I shall try to find examples not already given in 3.3.1, and shall start with those that refer to the addition of a son to a small, but growing, clan: Phasizwe ('support the clan'): the father had said Sesiliphasile izwe Maximba ('we have supported the clan, Ximba people'), a reference to the adding of a male to the small AmaXimba clan.

Ntokozo ('happiness'): the father was happy to get boys who would increase the Phetha clan.

Zwelibuyile ('the clan returns'): a boy to increase the relevant clan.

Sikhosiphi (< sikhona silaphi - lit.: 'we are here, being where?'): the father wished to say "even though we now have a second son, we Sosibos are still not many."

And one for girls: Zandile ('they have increased'): father said that there had been few daughters amongst his section of the Hadebe clan, but now they were on the increase.

Under this category, we find names which refer to the amadlozi ('clan spirits'), particularly to that of the child's grandfather. These names do not necessarily refer to the position of the child within the clan hierarchy, but as they refer to the amadlozi, they should come under this heading.

Phumlani (s: 'let-ye-all-rest'): the mother requested of the Mshengu clan amadlozi that they all rest, saying this to put them at ease after all their anxiety over the birth.

Slightly different is:

Thulani (s: 'be-ye-quite'), where the spirits are seen as the cause of all the children (this being fifth child), and the father asks them to desist.

Thandiwe (d: 'loved one'): the grandmother of the child said in this name that the child's mother was loved by the ancestral spirits.

Mbongeni (s: 'be ye grateful to him'): the father expressed thanks to his own father, now deceased and therefore an idlozi, for giving him children so quickly.

Mkhumbuleni (s: 'remember ye him'): the father said they should remember the child's grandfather because this child is like him. In like vein is:

Mbuyiseni (s: 'bring ye him back'): the father said the child looked so much like his (deceased) grandfather that they immediately held an ukubuyisa ceremony to bring back the grandfather's spirit.[1]

Mxolisi (s: 'the apologiser'): the parents had had some difficulty in getting a child. In this name the father apologises to his own father (deceased)

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1. ukubuyisa ceremony: a ceremony held usually a year after the decease of a family head (and sometimes others) to bring the spirit back to the homestead. For details see Krige (1965:169).

for the delay.

Other names which hint at various kinds of relationships within the clan are:

Thulani (s: 'be ye quiet'): the father says to his own family: "Be quiet now! You have been complaining that I took a girl from far away, but now we have given you and the clan a son!".

Badumi (d: < Badumile: 'They are famous'): the father, in giving his daughter this name, points out that his own fathers, within the wider family, were renowned for their beautiful daughters.

Benele (s: 'they are enough/satisfied'): in this name, the paternal grandfather points out that all his sons now have wives and children.

All my other examples under 'Clan' refer to the first-born son and his position within the lineage, and many of these have already been given under 3.3.1 'Male'.

3.3.7 Injunction.

Here the name is given to be followed. The injunction is usually to the child (but not necessarily always), and then too, usually to a male child (but, again, not necessarily always). Often the name is based on the verb bheka ('look to', 'have regard for'). Thus:

Bhekinkosi ('look to the Lord') (cf. Thembinkosi (' trust in the Lord').

Bhekuyise ('have regard for your (lit. 'his') father').

Bhekabafowabo ('have regard for your (lit. 'their') brothers').

Bhekamandlovu ('look to the Ndlovu clan').

Other examples of injunctions to sons are:

Mlamuli ('the mediator'): the mother said in a family with so much friction at least one person should grow up as a peace-maker.

Lindokuhle ('await the good'): mother: "when he is grown up we will expect good things from him."

Mandla ('strength'): the mother wanted him to grow up strong.

Muzikayise ('his father's family'): the father wanted this first-born son to remember that he had to look after the family when he was grown.

Sibonelo ('example'): mother: "may he be an example to others when he gets older."

Zibuse ('self-government'): the father pointed out that this being a boy, he should grow up ruling.
Zwelihle ('beautiful country'): the father told me "this is a beautiful country, there where I was born, there where I married, and here where we have our son - I hope he also grows up thinking so."

A rare example of an injunction to a girl:
Nomusa ('with grace') as an indication of how the mother wished her daughter to grow up.

Injunctions to others, already mentioned under other headings, include one to the family to remember grandfather (Mkhumbuleni), and one to God to give a daughter health (Ce lukuphila)

3.3.8 Happiness.

By far the majority of Zulu names express some kind of happiness or joy in the child : the names are mostly positive, very seldom negative. I intend to enlarge upon this in the conclusion to this chapter. This particular category includes those names, which specifically contain an element such as jabula or thokoza ('be happy'), or those in which the parents specifically underlined their joy when giving the reasons behind the names. The two commonest names here are Jabulani ('be ye happy') for boys, and Thokozile ('being happy') for girls. These two names not only display the common -ani and -ile suffixes for boys and girls, respectively, but also the curiosity that in Zulu the verb jabula is usually used for male names while thokoza is used for female names. So although the suffix -ani usually indicates a male name, Thokozani ('be ye happy') is female. On the other hand, if jabula is to be used as an element of girls' names it must have the characteristic feminine ending -ile or -iwe, thus Jabulile ('being happy'), or, more commonly, Jabulisiwe ('having been made happy').

Other examples:
Nhlanhla ('luck'): the mother expressed her opinion that all children made the parents happy, no matter what sex, or how many or few one had. The female equivalent of this is Nonhlanhla, and in one of my examples, the mother underlined her delight in getting a daughter. Another mother combined delight and personal philosophy and said she had named her daughter Thoko-

zile ('being happy'), because the birth of a child is "like a closed book - when you open it, there is always something wonderful inside, and we are always happy to see it."
Thabani (s: 'be ye happy') ... and the female equivalents
Thabasile ('having caused joy') and Thabile ('being happy').
Ntokozo (s: 'joy') : the father was happy to get a son.

Sometimes the joy is expressed in izidlaliso,[1] very commonly in the name Thoko <Thokozile, but also in Thinó <thina sonke siyajabula ('all of us are joyful'), and Fanó < umfana ('boy'): here the father said he had expressly named his son Fanó to express his joy at a son.

I have already given, under another heading, the name Bantu< Bantu bakithi thokozani sithole insizwa ('People of our place, be happy (for) we have a son').

Sometimes the happiness is carefully detailed, as in one Vusumuzi, where the father said he was particularly happy to get a son, as it meant that even if he died tomorrow, the 'family had now awoken' and he could go to his death peacefully having fulfilled his duty.

3.3.9 Trust.

In these names the parents refer to a hope being fulfilled, to a wish come true, to trust being justified. The trust is usually in God, but not always, and the majority of names are based either on the verb themba ('to hope', 'trust'), or on the related noun ithemba ('a hope'). Examples are:
Thembi (d:< thembekile 'having trusted'): the father had trusted that the daughter would resemble her mother. In another, Thembi, the mother had trusted that she would start with a girl.
Themba (s:'hope'): the father hoped that God would look after their children.
Bhekithemba (s:'Look to hope'): the father said that they had been very slow in getting a child but had always trusted that they would in the end.
Thembisile (d: 'having promised'): the mother gave the name because when she was pregnant the father had promised that he would lobola her, and

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1. See 2.5.3. page 50 et seq.

he did so. In another case Thembisile refers to a promise to the mother by the father that having made her pregnant he would marry her and he did. A male equivalent of these is:
Sithembiso ('a promise'): according to the mother, the Bible said that the Lord would promise anything asked in his name.
Thembalihle (d: 'the hope is good'): the mother had hoped she would get a child; and more specifically:
Nomathemba (d: 'hopes'): the mother had trusted she would get a daughter.
In another example:
Themba (s: 'hope'): the mother hoped for a son.
Sithembile (d: 'we have trusted'): the mother and father had decided after many stillbirths that the first child born alive would be named Sithembile or Themba as a measure of their faith. (cf.1.3.3.3, page 33: 'When given')
Thenjwa (s:'(God) being trusted'): the father trusted in God that the children would be well.
Thembelihle (d: 'good hope'): the mother trusted that this child would live.
Thembekile (d: 'being trustworthy'): mother referred to father's completed promise to lobola her.

It seems clear that faith, hope and trust are only reflected in names when these are fulfilled. I came across no names referring to broken promises, unjustified faith, or false hopes. This would help justify the claim that Zulu names are in the vast majority positive, looking always, if possible, at the good aspects of the child's birth.

3.3.10 Appearance.

These names, for some reason far more commonly given to girls than boys, refer to the physical appearance of the child at birth. This reference may be to size, colour, movements, or fancied resemblances to other relatives. Rarely, the name refers to some early behaviour pattern, e.g. remarkable quietness or continued coughing. Examples of girls' names are:
Ntombinkulu ('big girl')
Salukazi ('old woman'): the mother said the child was wrinkled like an elderly woman when born.
Bhotshwana ('little pot'): grandmother: "black as a little cooking-pot".

Tofo ('spongy'): soft and spongy to the mother's touch.
Mabefu ('wheezy'(?)) < umbefu ('asthmatic breathing')
Mbalenhle ('lovely flower'): pretty as a flower when born, thought the mother.
Nobuhle ('beauty').[1]
Mamuhle ('beauty').[1.2.]
Ntombikayise ('girl of her father'): he thought she resembled him.
Lungile ('all right'): the mother said that at birth this was a very good child, not at all fretful, but quiet. Of boys, there are not many names under this heading:
Makhehlana ('little old men'): the grandmother said that this child was on his knees when born like very old men(?).
Mbuyiseni ('bring ye him back') was mentioned above under 'Clan' for a child that looked like his grandfather when born.
Fanyana ('small boy').

3.3.11 Friction.

Names in this category refer to some kind of friction in the family, either between husband or wife, or between the husband-wife partnership and others, e.g. in-laws or neighbours. Before giving examples of these in Zulu, it may be useful to look at other societies. Beattie (1957) provides useful material on the Nyoro, and I give some of his examples:

> "Bakweba: 'they forgot'. Some people, that is, are very ready to forget the malicious things they did to or said about the parents. But the parents have not forgotten, and they show it by giving their child this name.
> Bendaki: 'what is it that they want?' that is, 'what makes people annoy us and persecute us so?'.
> Balyesima: 'they will be pleased.' Neighbours who hate one or both of the parents will be pleased if the child dies.

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1. Nobuhle: the common feminising morpheme -no- + the abstract noun ubuhle (beauty).
   Mamuhle: the less common feminising morpheme -ma- + the statement mu-hle ('she is beautiful').
2. A curious sideline on beauty was the name Dolly: the parents insisted that they had given this as a Zulu name (uDoli(?)), and that they had considered her to be as beautiful as a doll. And what does one make of the 'Zulu' name Pinky, because she was very beautiful?

> Bagamba: 'they talk'. Abantu bagamba bingi, people talk a lot, but most of what they say (about others, especially the naming parent) is untrue, and it is better to ignore it.
> Banoba: 'they hate'. There are people who hate the parents, and this name shows that the parents know it."
>
> (1957:103)

Beattie explains such names by relating them to a belief in witchcraft, and says that:

> "...imputations of sorcery are not lightly made ... A victim may, however, indicate more subtly his suspicion that somebody ... is working against him, and the Nyoro system of personal nomenclature provides one way of doing this. Thus a man can intimate to those who hate him and who may be and probably are working him ill that he knows who they are."[1]
>
> (1957:106)

Middleton makes the same point of similar names amongst the Lugbara:

> "A number of names refer to disputes with neighbours. There is here a similar underlying psychological mechanism as in the choosing of names I have just discussed (names which reflect adversely upon the mother). By drawing attention to the fact that neighbours abuse and malign them, the neighbours are shown to be at fault."
>
> (1961:41)

Beattie adds to his suggestion above that:

> "The use of these names, and of the other personal names we have discussed, may perhaps be more simply understood ... as a means of expressing and making articulate the tensions and anxieties which make up a large part of daily life ...
> ...Thus by giving one's child one of the 'death-names' which we have discussed above one does not hide from death or pretend that it does not exist; one, as it were, goes right out to meet it. And to acknowledge and face up to a problem, even in symbolic and poetical terms, is often an important step towards coping with it."
>
> (1957:106)

Middleton again, supports Beattie's contention that names can be an 'articulation of tension':

> "Some of the tension in a wife's position is expressed in the names she gives her children. She chooses the name and her husband cannot change it later. She is privileged to express some of her antagonism ... towards her husband's lineage in this manner."
>
> (1961:40)

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1. cf also Madubuike: "Such names serve useful social functions. They tend to minimize frictions in the family and in the society as the adversary tends to see in the name an accusation and a verdict against his ill intentions." (1976:38)

Gunner has noticed the same among the Zulu, although not in personal names, but in women's praise poetry:

> "A second kind of allusive language commonly found in women's praise poetry is different only in intention. The composer alludes metaphorically to a person or group of people by whom she considers herself to have been ill-treated or maligned. The allusive reference becomes first a means of stating the grievance and in some cases a means of attack. It may also serve as a means of righting the relation through a public airing of it."
>
> (1979:241)

Such causes of friction are seldom expressed in Zulu personal names, probably because the two vehicles of womens' praises, and the names of dogs (see above, 2.8.1 pages 75-79), exist to serve this purpose. The few examples I found include the following:

Ntombizethu (d: 'our girls'): the child had been born out of wedlock and the father had run away. The mother's parents had then named the child 'our girl' in order to shame the father and his family.[1]

Mpumeli (d: < Uphumelaphi: 'where does she come from?): the in-laws did not like the child's mother and gave the child a name: 'what does she think she is doing amongst us?'. The mother answered this in the name of her next child:

Funani (d: 'want what?'), i.e. 'what do you want of me?'.

In one case at least, the question-and-answer referred to one child. The father, suspecting his wife of being unfaithful, called his son Muntukabani ('person of whom?), to which the mother replied, somewhat ambiguously, I thought, by naming the boy Mfanakayise ('son of his father').

An interesting similarity is given by Wieschhoff, on the Ibo:

> "Attention may be drawn to the fact that the meaning of the two names selected for a child have not necessarily any connection, but in a few cases may refer to the same circumstances although expressing different points of view. As an example of this we may cite Cimaokwu and Ifeyilima. ... In naming his child, the husband of the wife who was suspected of adultery laconically stated, 'Ci knows the truth'; while the wife, though claiming to be innocent, felt relieved of further accusations and expressed this feeling by saying, 'What is like a child!' since, as stated before, with the birth of the child the previous adultery became

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1. Normally a child 'belongs' to the family of the father.

> unimportant and the case was considered closed. In discussing this name with my informant, he denied that it was shameful to bring such situations before the public, that to the contrary, in doing so the adultery was forgotten not only by the marital partners but by the general public as well."
> (1941:221)

Unfaithfulness is also referred to in the name Thulebona ('wait and see'). In this case the child was named by the father's sister, because when the father was working in Johannesburg, she had seen a strange man come out of the family house while her brother was absent, and after that a child was born.[1]

Delisile ('having satisfied'): the mother had been left by the father during her pregnancy, but she had been patient in order to show him up. This stratagem apparently worked, for the father named the next child Sithembiso ('promise') having promised to behave himself and not go away again.

In another case where the second name was given in answer to the first, the husband had named the first child Phindemuva (s: 'go back') as he and his wife had been staying with the wife's family and he had decided they should go back to his own family. They did so, but the wife was not happy, and named her next child, a girl, Khonzeni ('respect what?'), saying 'why should she be respectful there?'.

Thulani ('be ye quiet') is a common name in this category, and I have four examples in my limited selection, all referring to some domestic friction. Related to Thulani is Kahleni ('take it easy', 'cool it'), given by a father to his son after he (the father) had been fighting with others. This was his first son. Clearly the warning to the 'others' was not effective, for six years later he named his third son Phuzungazi ('be slow to know me') as another warning that he was a man to be reckoned with.

An entire history of the parents' difficulties may be reflected in the names of the children. An example is the following family: 1st child was named Zwelihle (s:' beautiful clan/country') (already quoted above) by the father. The parents were living with the father's parents at the time, and while this was all right when they only had one child, by the time the second child was born, the father's parents told him it was time to move and find their

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1. cf. Ewe: Dormekpor (m): 'wait and see' (Madubuike: 112)

own house. The mother felt aggrieved at this and named the second son Mhlabunzima ('the world is hard'). The father noted that this name was at variance with the philosophy of the name he had given the first son, but felt that his wife was justified in their choice. Six years later, when they had setled in their own house and were no longer quarrelling with the father's family, twins were born, and the father named them
Nokuthula (d: 'peace') and
Khethukuthula (s: 'choose peace').
In another case the name revealed friction that involved an entire area. The father had named his first son Delani ('be ye satisfied'), and explained as follows: he, as a Dlamini, had inherited a position of 'headmanship' (ubunduna) in the esiNadini area outside Pietermaritzburg, an area where the Zondi clan had traditionally held the chieftaincy (ubukhosi). The Zondi clan had recently deprived the Dlaminis of their traditonal headmanship, and a great deal of fighting had taken place. With the birth of this son, the father had assured his own Dlamini clan that they 'should be satisfied' - the headmanship was still to be theirs, as he now had a son to carry on the struggle. At the same time the name notified the Zondi clan of his intention to keep fighting. A newspaper report I read three months after collecting this name gave the toll of dead in this affair as six.

3.3.12 Birth.

I have included in this category all names referring either to the birth itself, or to the mother's pregnancy. Sometimes the name refers to a successful birth after difficulties:
Nomusa (d: < inkosi inomusa 'the Lord has mercy'): here the mother thanked the Lord for a successful birth after she had been extremely ill during the last stages of pregnancy.
Bongekile (d: 'being grateful'): again, the mother was grateful to God, having nearly died while giving birth.

Similar in meaning, with the same underlying ideas, were the names Bongani (s: 'be ye grateful'), Sibongile (d: 'we are grateful') and Bonginkosi (s: 'praise the Lord'). all given after difficult births.
Nomthandazo (d: 'prayer'): the mother had been very ill just before the birth,

but had prayed (successfully) to God to get better.
The name Thandazile (d: 'having prayed') is similar.
Mandla (s: 'strength'): the father commented on the strength shown by the mother during a difficult labour.
Siduma (s: 'commotion'): mother commented that she had given birth prematurely because on her way to Johannesburg she had been involved in a fight.
Muzikawupheli (s: 'the family will (never) end'): here the mother expressed her surprise that although she continually has difficulties in giving birth, she nevertheless continues to do so.

Cases where the name refers to the pregnancy include the following:
Nomusa (d: 'with grace'): the father said that the mother had been 'full of grace' during her pregnancy.
Nokuthula (d: 'with quietness'): the father said that the mother had been very quiet during her pregnancy. Another father also noticed this, but had asked his wife why she was so quiet. He named his daughter Thuleleni ('why have you been (so) quite?)

It seems clear to me that this category should be combined with 'Barren', 'Stillbirth', and perhaps 'Comfort' to make the wider category 'Circumstances of the Mother'.

3.3.13 Lobolo.

This category relates to the category 'Clan' (3.3.6), in that the names relate the position of the child within the wider family. These particular names refer to the value of a daughter in that she has a potential for returning the ilobolo transferred for the mother back to the father's family.[1] Such names commonly are based on the verb buya ('return'), and are normally given by the father:

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1. Note that I do not talk of a 'bride-price': ilobolo refers rather to goods (whether money or cattle) which are transferred from the groom's family to that of the bride as a sign of allegiance between two families, and therefore two clans (for no-one may marry within his or her own clan). Within the urban context, cattle are seldom used for ilobolo, but the metaphor is still cattle, and in names containing the concord zi-, this may be taken as referring to izinkomo. For an interesting, and entertaining examination of the value of the lobolo custom in contemporary society, see Jordan Ngubane's Uvalo Lwesinhlonzi. (1972)

Buyile ('having returned').
Zibuyile ('they have returned') (several examples).
Buyiswa ('(they) are being returned').
Mabuyi ('Miss Returner'(?)).

Other examples are:
Gugu Zandile ('little treasure' 'they have increased'): the father said this girl was his little treasure and that his cattle would now increase. An interesting new light on the expression 'little treasure'.
Thokozani ('be ye happy'): in this name, the father expressed his happiness at getting daughters (this was their second), as the cattle with which he had lobola-ed the mother would now return two-fold.

Closely related in its underlying idea is:
Nonhlanhla ('luck'): the father, in naming this his third daughter, felt lucky at the thought of the potential cattle.

Names referring to lobolo may also refer to God, as in:
Nondumiso Zibuyile ('Renown' 'they have returned'): the father, in giving these two names to his daughter, said that it was the renown of the Lord for giving a girl who has brought the cattle back to the family. In another case, it was the mother who gave the name
Sibongile ('we are thankful') in thanks to God for 'cattle-bearing' daughters.

Mothers do not usually give names referring to lobolo. When they do, it is usually not a reference to the lobolo-potential of a daughter, as to her own, usually tardy, lobolo from her husband. Thus:
Sithembiso (s: 'promise'): the mother said her husband had fulfilled his promise of completing the lobolo before the birth.
Thembisile (d: 'having promised'): for the same reason.
Thembekile (d: 'being trustworthy'): for the same reason again.

These names, strictly speaking, belong under the category 'Trust' (3.3.9).

Usually names referring to the lobola-potential of daughters are in no doubt, but I found one unusual name: Vuthelwaphi ('she will ripen where?): the father explained that the child had been born before marriage, and that in such cases, unless the father lobola's and then marries the mother, the child is considered as belonging to the mother's family, and any lobolo which may accrue will belong to them. He had not made up his mind at the time whether he wished to marry the mother, and so was not sure 'where she would ripen', i.e. 'bear fruit in lobolo'.

Boys' names referring to ilobolo are rare, and invariably refer to the lack of potential cattle in a boys-only family. Not uncommon for a third or fourth son with no sisters is Nkomokazikho ('there are no cattle'). One interesting variation on this theme was Bhodlani ('(there) bellows what?') The father had had only sons (this was his sixth),[1] and so was asking 'what is there bellowing in my cattle-kraal?'. Answer: nothing.

3.3.14 Stillbirth.

This is really an 'overlay' category, because all of the few examples belong to at least one other category such as 'Comfort', 'God' or 'Grateful'. These are obviously not names given to a stillborn child, but to the child that follows. The names themselves do not mention stillbirth, but I have made this a separate category for those names where the parents have explained their choice because a previous child (or frequently, previous children), were stillborn. The examples should make this clear.

Sibongile (d: 'we are grateful'): the mother explained that all her sons had lived, but all her daughters had been stillborn. She was grateful that this one had lived.

Duduzile (d: 'having comforted'): two children before this had died at birth; the mother took comfort in this one. (Three examples, all with the same reason).

Buyisile (d: 'having returned'): the mother said that the Lord had returned this child in the place of the previous stillborn daughter.

Bhekinkosi (s: 'look to the Lord'): after two previous stillbirths, the parents looked to the Lord to see that this one lived. Also with reference to God is:

Nkosinamandla (s: 'the Lord has strength'): after two previous stillbirths, the parents felt that the Lord had the strength to give them a third child which had survived.

Sithembile (d: 'we have hoped/trusted'): after many stillbirths, the parents had decided that if this one lived, it would be named Sithembile (if a daughter)

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1. His seventh and last was called Mbizeni ('what shall I call him?'), saying that he had run out of boys' names.

or Themba ('hope') (if a son), as a measure of their trust. (See above, 'Trust' - 3.3.9)

3.3.15 Love.

Names in this category, usually given by the mother, indicate a strong feeling of love for the new-born child. This is a small category (1,9%), but I do not wish to suggest that few parents feel love for their children. Indeed, as I have suggested above (see comments under 'Happy'), most Zulu names express general feelings of the parents' love for their children. This category includes names which refer particularly to that love, or names where the parents have particularly emphasised their love when giving the reasons for the name.

Most names in this category are based on the verb thanda ('to love'), or its derivatives, and most are girls' names:

Thandiwe ('loved one') - a common name.

Thandi (< Thandiwe) : an aunt had given this name to a third born child because the mother had complained that she did not want another child. The aunt had said 'Nonsense - this one will be loved'. (An injunction to the mother?)

Nolithando (construction unclear - possible Xhosa) : a grandmother had given this to her illegitimate grand-daughter, saying to the mother 'It does not matter if you are not married, I love the child already'.

Thandeka ('loveable).

Thandekile ('being loveable').

Gugu ('treasure') : the mother named this child because the father loved the child greatly, and was always swift to pick it up when it cried.

Gugulethu ('our treasure') : the parents explained that this name meant that they loved the child greatly.

The only example I have of a boy's name under this heading is Sithando ('love'), where the mother explained that she loved this boy greatly because even at birth he looked like his father.

3.3.16 Twins

The birth of twins is widely regarded in Africa as something special



In some societies twins are (or used to be) killed at birth; in others only one twin is killed; in others yet again twins are revered, and grow up with all the privileges of the priestly caste. In all societies, to my knowledge, the special social position of twins is reflected in the name. Here again, as with the categories 'Clan' and 'Friction', comparative material is of interest. I start with a fairly lengthy quote from Evans-Pritchard, on the Nuer, as he not only has revealing material about 'inevitable' names for twins, but has useful statements to make about the position of twins in society:

> "Another manner in which a connection between birds and twins is recognized is in the stereotyped names given to twins. They bear these names for life. They may be called Buth (Nyabuth), the one who precedes, and Duoth (Nyaduoth), the one who follows. I was told that sometimes they would be called Gwong (guinea-fowl) and Ngec (francolin), or simply Dit (Nyadit), (bird). Children born of the same mother, after she has given birth to twins, also have fixed names, the one immediately succeeding the twins being called Bol (Nyibuol), or maybe Bicok, 'because he follows in the footsteps of the twins'. The child who follows Bol is called Tot (Nyatot) among the Lou Nuer, and Cuiil among the Jikany Nuer.
>
> Names of all kinds are social documents, which fix a person's position in the social structure and define his relations to other members of society. Twins are a peculiar social group in which two persons form a single social unit. This is recognized in the manner by which they are named, the names fixing their positions one to the other within the group and their undifferentiated position in relation to other members of the family. Twins are sometimes distinguished by sex which is recognized by the female prefix nya, and are always distinguished by the fact that the birth of one precedes the birth of the other, a priority which is likewise indicated in their names. Their peculiar position as a social unit in the family is marked by the stereotyped names given to the children who follow them."
>
> (1939:236/237)

Nsimbi, on the Baganda, enlarges on the concept of 'inevitable' names for twins by giving the names for children following twins:

> "As an example (of inevitable names), twins are automatically named as follows:
>
> | First born: | Second born: |
> |---|---|
> | Waswa (male) | Kato (male) |
> | Babirye (female) | Nakato (female) |
>
> A child followed by twins is soon named Kigongo thus adding another name to his or her previous name. Children following twins are named in the following order:

Kiza, Kamya, Kagwa, Kityo, and Kotike (or Kiterera)."
(1950:210)

In the same vein, Madubuike on the Yoruba:

> "Some children are 'born with a name'. This is the case with twins called Ibeji. The first twin is called Taiwo, a name applicable to children of both sexes. The second twin is called Kehinde. Children born immediately after twins are also 'born with' names. Idowu refers to the first child born after twins, while Alaba is the name of the child who is born after Idowu is."
>
> (1976:86)

Madubuike gives similar examples for twins and post-twin children born amongst the Ga and Ewe peoples (1976:113), and Chuks-Orji (1972) gives names from the Yoruba, Luganda, Ga, Zaramo, Fante, Ewe and Twi peoples, which mean, interalia: 'the elder of twins', 'the younger of twins', 'a twin', 'one who produces twins', 'first child after twins', 'second child after twins', and '(any) child after twins'. All of these have male and female equivalents.

In some societies, the parents of twins receive new names; thus Schapera on the Herero:

> "...the parents are known jointly as epaha (twin); after some days ... it is only then that the twins receive their names at the altar in the usual way ... The parents now drop the name of epaha, and the father receives the new name of omupandje and the mother that of onjambari, i.e. 'one who suckles two children'."
>
> (1926:121)

While on Schapera, an interesting historical note about the Zulus, which is no longer applicable:

> "The child that is killed is given no name, nor is the surviving child given a name until it is about sixteen years old, but it may not be circumcised until it has its name given to it."
>
> (1926:127)

In contemporary Zulu society, twins are still regarded as special, but do not receive 'automatic' or 'inevitable' names as is the case with the societies referred to in the above quotes. Rather do the names of twins follow the pattern suggested by Schapera, writing on the BaHurutse clan of the Tswanas:

> "Among the BaHurutse of the Marico district, one of the oldest of the Bechuana tribes, there are nowadays no special ceremonies connected with twins, although it is customary to call the younger by the diminutive form of the name of the elder. This fact may possibly account for the frequent occurrence of similar names in Bantu folk-lore, such as Masilo and Masiloane in Basuto lore, and it is a point that would well repay

investigation."

(1926:123)

(cf. the Zulu story of the twins Demaza and Demazane.)

Examples of twins' names in Zulu are: Nokuthula (d: 'peace') and Khethukuthula (s: 'choose peace'); and Siphesihle (d: 'beautiful gift') and Ziphezinhle (d: 'beautiful gifts'). In this last case the twins were given a second Zulu name each: Dumazile ('having disappointed') and Simangele ('we are surprised'). The mother explained that she was simultaneously pleased and surprised at the birth of twins, but disappointed that one of them at least wasn't a boy.

Twins' names in Zulu are apparently not always given as a matching pair. In one family twin sons were named Mandla ('strength') and Sibusiso ('blessing'). The parents said God had blessed them and given them strength by giving them two boys simultaneously. In another family, twin daughters were named Nonhlanhla ('luck') and Sindisile ('recovered' (from the birth)).

Of seventeen pairs of twins, the names of which I was given by an informant at Edendale Hospital, twelve pairs showed 'twinship' in the names:

1. Nhlanhla (s: 'luck') and Nonhlanhla (d: 'Miss Luck');
2. Siphiwe (s: 'we are given') and Sibusiso (s: 'a blessing');
3. Bongumusa (s: 'praise (His) mercy') and Bongisisa (s: 'praise (Him) mightily');
4. Nonhlanhla (d) and Nhlanhla (s) (see no. 1, above);
5. Mthobisi (s: 'the humbler') and Thobile (d: 'being humble');
6. Langelihle (d: 'the beautiful day') and Langalenjabulo (s: ' day of joy');
7. Mzwenhlanhla (s: 'house of luck') and Nonhlanhla (d: 'Miss Luck');
8. Phumlani (s: 'rest-ye') and Phumla (d: 'rest');
9. Bongekile (d: 'being grateful') and Sibongeleni (s: 'be ye grateful for us');
10. Samkelisiwe (d: 'we have been given') and Sindiswe (d: 'we have recovered');
11. Thabó (s: 'delight') and Thabile (d: 'delighted');
12. Bongiwe (d: 'being grateful') and Sibongile (d: 'we are grateful').

The remaining five pairs of twins showed no special characteristics in their names. Although there are obvious tendencies for twins' names to be linked, either in meaning or structurally, it is clear that Zulu does not have 'automa-

tic' or 'inevitable' names for twins, nor are there special names for children after twins. There is a word for such a child - imfusi[1] but very few of the people I spoke to knew this word.

3.3.17 Blessing.

There are really only two names in this category: Sibusiso ('a blessing') for boys, and Busisiwe ('having been blessed') for girls.[2] Both names are very common. Some parents specifically mentioned that at the birth of the child they felt blessed by God, others just said 'children are a blessing'. In such cases, God is almost always implied. Clearly this is a sub-category of the category 'God'. Curiously enough, the Xhosa word for 'blessing' - ithamsanqa is very commonly used for Zulu boys' names: uThamsanqa.

3.3.18 Barrenness.

This category contains names given to first children born after a long period of waiting, during which time the mother is accused of being barren, usually by neighbours or in-laws, and very seldom by her husband. The name usually indicates relief from the mother's tension, and occasionally triumph. Mönnig, referring to the Pedi, has pointed out that:

> "Barrenness is, perhaps, the most feared condition in the life of a woman, and affects not only herself, but also her family group which, against the prestations of her husband and his group, gave her to bear children for the husband's group."
>
> (1967:98)

Mönnig does not give any examples of names given to a long-awaited child, but Madubuike gives an Igbo example:

> "Nwaiwu (m) 'born out of threats' - other women in the family taunted the woman with her inability to give birth to a ... child, thereby reminding her that her married life was insecure."
>
> (1976:39)

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1. Doke and Vilakazi (1958:221). They state that the word is derived from the verb fusa, but it is not clear which of the three meanings given for fusa are connected with imfusi: 1) to fumigate or smoke; 2) to discolour; 3) to mark with a blow. Perhaps the child born after twins is 'marked' in some way, but with a blow?
2. cf Ngozi (f): 'Blessing' - an Igbo name quoted by Madubuike. (1976:45)

Ennis gives the following example of a 'proverb-name' from Ovimbundu:

> "Esenje < proverb: 'Esenje liwa ka li mòlì ofule; onyima yiwa ka yi mòli omòlà' (A stone good not it sees á pounding of maize; a back good not it sees a child.) Here is a ledge of rock that would make an excellent place to pound meal and it has never been used! Here is a back just right for carrying a baby and it has none! This is the lament of a childless woman, and a general comment on the way affairs turn out."
>
> (1945:3)

Examples from Zulu are:

Sindisiwe (d: 'being saved'): the father and mother saved from the prospect of eternal childlessness after eight years of it.

Thembelihle (d: 'lovely hope'): the mother had hoped for a child even though everyone had said she was barren.

Bongani (d: 'be ye grateful'): the father said he had waited a long time for a child and was grateful to get one, so saying 'be ye grateful, people of Gabuza, for the Lord has answered our prayers'.

Siphamandla (s: 'give us strength'): father's name. Having waited six years for a child, they eventually asked the Lord to give them strength.

Mduduzi (s: 'comforter'): mother had waited eight years for a child and had been very anxious about her possible barrenness, so this son was a great comfort to her.

Phumzile (d: < Ungiphumuzile: 'she has made me rest'): the mother explained that this child gave her rest from her anxiety. She had waited many years for a child and her husband's family had been talking about her. Only now did she feel she had really arrived in her husband's family.

Names in the category 'barren' may be given to other than first children, as in a second child named Thulile (d: 'having been quiet'): people had previously said of the mother that she was barren, but they were quiet now as she had produced a second child. I also include in this category names given to second, third or fourth(etc) children born after a long interval. In such cases the mother has previously proved that she is not barren, but the parents suspect something may have gone wrong since. Examples are:

Jabulani (s: 'be ye happy'): the mother already had one child but didn't think she would ever have another, so was very happy to have this one.

(Not a particularly patient mother, comparatively speaking: this child was born only three years after the previous one.)
Nkosinathi (s: 'the Lord is with us'): this was actually the seventh child, so there was no question of the mother's fertility, but very much a 'laat-lammetjie', and the parents thought they would never get the long-awaited second son.

3.3.19 Luck

These names refer to the parents feeling lucky in some way or another in the birth of the child. Obviously a large number are based on the noun inhlanhla ('luck'), and indeed the commonest names in this category are Nhlanhla for boys and Nonhlanhla for girls. Examples of reasons lying behind these two names, and examples of other 'lucky' names are:
Nonhlanhla: the father had just died, but the mother felt lucky that everyone rallied around to help; employers provided money, etc. An excellent example of the positivism expressed in Zulu names.
Another Nonhlanhla meant that the mother felt lucky to get the daughter she had so long desired, and in another case, both parents felt lucky that their children were all so healthy.

In my examples of Nhlanhla, one reflects a feeling of luck at getting a son, another at getting a son first, and another at getting children all of the desired sex (son, daughter, son, in this case.)
Mkhanyiselwa (s: 'the shone-up-for one', 'one for whom things shine'), the mother, who had given the name, explained that when the child was born they had been given a long-awaited building site, and it occurred to her (lit: 'it shone in her mind') that this child brought its own luck.

In one example the luck referred to was another's:
Muziwenhlanhla (s: 'house of luck'): the father referred to his elder brother's luck and success in life, and how this reflected credit on the whole family.

3.3.20 Progress.

These names reflect the parents' feeling that with the birth of a child they have progressed in life. As Mönnig has pointed out of the Pedi:

> "The rites connected with birth centre around the mother and child. The mother is invested with a new status and the child is accorded the status of a new member of the group. The father does take part in some of the rites, but it is obvious that his status and role remain unchanged, although his prestige is considerably enhanced."
>
> (1967:98)

Here are some examples from Zulu:

Qhubekile (d: 'having progressed'): the father thought that he and his wife had progressed in life by having a child.

Zwelibanzi (s: 'the country is wide'): the mother gave the name when the child was born after a move from Matatiele to Pietermaritzburg. She saw the rural-to-urban move as progress.

Gamelihle (d: 'nice name'): because after the birth of his child, the father saw himself as being with more honour and position: i.e., he had a 'nice name' in the community.

Zakhele (s: ' having built for yourself'): the father had just built a house in the location, and the child's birth marked this stage of the family's progress.

Badumile (d: 'they are well-known'): both parents were proud of the progress they had made in life: although only married for a very short time, they already had many friends and were well known in the township.

Nontuthuko (d: 'progress'): the mother felt that by having a daughter after two sons, they had progressed and would 'now be able to get cattle'.

Sakhile (s: 'we have built'): the mother explained that they have now indeed 'built on a firm foundation', and that with three children they would never get divorced.

My last example under 'Progress' is from a father who clearly sees progress as inevitable:

Nomvelo (d: no- + imvelo, 'nature'): the father explained: 'you take a girl from another (clan), you marry her, a child is born - that's nature'.

3.3.21 Comfort.

These names are usually given by a mother whose child brings comfort or relief to the mother after a period of pain or tension; for example, after a difficult birth or pregnancy; after one or more stillbirths; after a long period of childlessness during which time she was accused of being barren.

Most examples are based on the verb duduza ('to comfort'), and most common in this category are:
Mduduzi ('the comforter') for boys, and
Duduzile ('having comforted') for girls.

Examples:
Mduduzi given by the mother who explained that having no husband (she never married), this boy was a comfort to her, and would be even more so when he grew up. (In which optimistic hope the mother was justified, and indeed, needed to be, for by the time Mduduzi was grown up, there were another five 'fatherless' younger brothers and sisters to help care for).
Thulisile (d: 'having quietened'): the mother explained that God had quietened her anxiety about never having a daughter.
Duduzile (d: 'having comforted'): the father said that there had been two previous stillbirths, but they had taken comfort from the fact that this one lived. Duduzile as a name so often follows stillbirths that it is the closest I have seen Zulu come in having an 'automatic' or 'inevitable' name.
Mduduzi (s: 'the comforter'): born after eight years of childlessness.
Dudu (d: a common contraction of Duduzile): the mother saw that a daughter would be of comfort to her because of her husband's habit of staying away from home a lot (from choice, not because he was a migrant worker).

3.3.22 Circumstances of the Father

If 'Barren', 'Stillbirth', 'Birth' and 'Comfort' all relate mainly to the circumstances of the mother at the time of the birth, these names refer to circumstances relating to the father. Such circumstances are widely different, and the examples must speak for themselves:
Mdingi (s: 'needy one'): the father himself had needed money at the child's birth, but had none.
Tshani (s: 'grass'): the father explained that just before the child's birth, he had got lost in some long grass.
Mboneni (s: 'see ye him'): the mother gave this name, as she was not sure after the birth if the father would ever be seen again.
Bonisiwe (d: 'having been revealed'): the father said that his daughter had been revealed to him in a dream shortly before her birth.

Thembekile (d: 'trustworthy', 'honest'): here the father said he referred to his own youth as a trustworthy and honest person.
Mthetho (s: 'law'): the father had been working for a chief magistrate known as inkosiyomthetho ('chief of law') who had died just before the child was born.
Senzesihle (s: 'a good deed'): the father said this name came from the proverb isenzo esihle sigcina ngokuhle ('a good deed ends with good'); the name referred to the fact that everyone knew he was treating his wife well, and had nearly completed the ilobolo.[1]
Khethani (s: 'choose ye'): the father had been induna of a farm when a sheep was lost. He was accused and found guilty of theft, and the magistrate had told him to choose between jail or a fine. The incident was still vivid in his mind some days later when his son was born.
Mbidli (s: 'bulky one'): the father said that when he himself was young he was 'big in manly terms' - a regular imibidlimashoba (Doke and Vilakazi (1958:36) define the word as 'fat, heavy person with prominent buttocks').

3.3.23 Pride.

These names, usually given by a father to his children, express his pride in his children:
Gabisile (d: 'having prided oneself over (the child)'): the two examples were both from fathers proud of their beautiful daughters.
Muzikayise (s: 'his father's house'): here the father expressed pride in five sons: he said 'this is truly a father's house - a man's house'.
Nondumiso (d: no- + indumiso - 'fame'): the father said he would be famous the world over for the beauty of his daughters.
Zinhle (d: 'they (his daughters) are beautiful').
Badumile (d: 'they are famous'): the father said his own father was famous for his beautiful daughters; so would he be.

3.3.24 Other.

These are names that either do not fit into any of the other categories,

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1. Lobolo payments are usually not completed until some years after the marriage.

or else basically belong to one of the other categories, but have something unusual or extra about them. Twenty-eight of these names, i.e. exactly half the total of names under this category, have already been discussed under other categories, where their unusual features have been individually pointed out. Thus Vuthelwaphi and Bhodlani under 3.3.23 'Lobolo', and Vusindaba and Delani under 3.3.11 'Friction'.

The remaining twenty-eight can be 'disposed of' as follows: Five were names where the informant didn't know why his or her (absent) spouse had given the name. The following six, although not 'Barren', 'Birth', 'Still-birth' or 'Comfort', can be included in a wider 'Circumstances of the Mother':
Thandiwe (d: 'loved'): the mother felt loved by her in-laws and transferred the feeling to her daughter's name.
Mholi (s: 'leader'): the father gave the name because the mother had prayed for strength while pregnant, and being successful, people had said that she was bearing a leader of the Zionists.
Mlungisi (s: 'arranger'): the mother had arranged their wedding. (This is unusual.)
Thembisile (d: 'having promised'): mother, because when she was pregnant he had 'promised her a wedding ring' (i.e., had promised to marry her), and had done so.
Phakamani (s: 'get-ye-up' (and go!)): while the child was being born, some drunks in the road outside saw that a child was being born at home, so loitered around (I'm not clear why). The mother shouted at them to go.
Nonkululeko (d: no- + inkululeko - 'freedom'): the father told the mother that after a son, a daughter, another son, and now this second daughter, she was free to rest.[1]

The other names will have to speak for themselves:
Nomvelo has already been discussed under 3.3.20. 'Progress'.
Nomonde (d: 'perseverance' - Xhosa): the grandmother said that this was a suitable name for her illegitimate grandchild.(?)
Thulasizwe (s: 'be quiet so that we might hear'): the mother explained that the father had given this name to mean 'be quiet ye Ximba people so that we can hear what Charlie is saying'. She could offer no more information.

---

1. But she didn't. She had another son after this, and then rested.

Perhaps 'Charlie' was 'Mtshali'. (?)
The same father named his third son Bhekizizwe ('look to the nations') to see what they have to say. It was not clear what the urgent information was that the father needed.
Nomkhosi (d: no- + umkhosi - 'a celebration'): when the child was born, the mother held a grand celebration.
Thobile (d: 'being humbled'): the father said the birth of his daughter made him feel humble.
Qalinga (s: meaning?): the father said he had bounced the child on his knees. I cannot trace the word Qalinga nor anything even remotely close to it.
Gugi (d: < uyagugisa: 'she enriches').
Nhlayenza (s: meaning?): the father said 'sometimes something just happens'.
Sigomfana (s: 'shimiyane', 'strong, illegal drink'): the father explained that it was time to go and drink isigomfane.
Kethani (s: 'choose-ye'): the father explained that this was his first wife, and that she could choose where she wanted to live. (?)
Mantoza (d): the mother said the name didn't mean anything - she had chosen it because she liked the sound. It is significant that this is the only case in my entire research where a parent said that a name was meaningless.
Khingi (s: <Eng. King (: the father explained that he 'just wanted to call his son Khingi'. He insisted that this was the boy's igama lasekhaya.
Selina (d: < seliyana: 'now it is raining'): the grandmother gave the name because at the time of birth it had been raining heavily. At first I thought this was an igama lesilungu.
Maria (d): the mother insisted that this was the Zulu igama lasekhaya and that it meant her daughter was a good child.
Dumazile (d: 'having disappointed'): the grandmother gave the name to indicate her disappointment in her daughter's illegitimate child.
Zuza (s: 'obtain'): the grandmother said the mother had obtained what she wanted.

3.4 Combinations of Categories.

In 3.3. above (page 86) I said I would discuss the narrower categories first, and then later suggest a broader categorization. Indeed, I have been suggesting combinations and link-ups right through my discussion on the

twenty-four categories. My suggestions for broader categorization are as follows:

1. The combination of 'Male', 'Female', 'Number', and 'Twin' into a new category called 'Family Structure'.
2. The combination of 'God', 'Gratitude', 'Trust' and 'Blessed' into a wider 'God'.
3. The combination of 'Birth', 'Stillbirth', 'Barrenness', and 'Comfort' into a new category, 'Circumstances of Mother'.
4. The combination of the new 'Circumstances of Mother', 'Circumstances of Father', 'Friction' and 'Progress' into a new 'Circumstances of the Parents'.
5. The combination of 'Love', 'Luck', 'Pride', and 'Happiness' to form the new 'Attitude of parent towards Child'.
6. The combination of the new 'Attitude of parent towards Child', 'Injunction', and 'Appearance' into a new 'Relationship between child and parent'.
7. The combining of 'Lobolo' and 'Clan' into a wider 'Clan'.
8. 'Other' to remain 'Other'.

The new picture thus suggested for the 'aetiology of amagama' is perhaps best shown as a table. I include percentage distributions:

Original Categories				Combined Categories	
Male	11,9%				
Female	10			Family Structure	31,2%
Number	7,4				
Twins	1,9				
Birth	3,2	Mother's circs.	8,3		
Stillbirth	2,1	Father's circs.	1,2	Parent's Circs.	14,4
Barrenness	1,6	Friction	3,3		
Comfort	1,3	Progress	1,5		
God	9,2				
Gratitude	6,2			God	21,2
Trust	4				
Blessing	1,8				

Original Categories			Combined Categories	
Lobolo	2,9	}	Clan	8,1
Clan	5,3			
Injunction	5,3	}	Relationship between Parent and Child	18,5
Appearance	3,9			
Love	1,9			
Luck	1,5			
Pride	,9			
Happiness	5			
Other	6,6		Other	6,6
				100%

Table 6: Combination of aetiological categories

If 'Family Structure', 'Parents' circumstances', and 'Relationship between parent and child' are all added together, then it can be seen that 64,1%, or $^{2}/_{3}$, of Zulu personal names refer to the immediate family situation. The addition of 8,1% relating to clan, i.e. the extended family, leads one to the unmistakable conclusion that the majority of Zulu personal names are concerned with family matters.

It must be remembered that there is blurring around the edges of these categories, as often a name falls into more than one of the basic twenty-four which have now been combined into these larger or wider categories. But if this is acknowledged I still think the picture given above is a reasonably accurate one for Zulu.

3.5 Relationship between categories, sex of child, and giver of name

3.5.1 Relationship between categories and the sex of the child:

The following figures were received from a cross tabulation run of the S.P.S.S. 'Zupena' programme, and relate the basic twenty-four categories to the sex of the child:

Girls	Boys	Categories
5,2	4,6	Happiness
6,1	6,1	Gratitude
6,7	11,3	God
1,5	21,4	Male
19,7	0,3	Female
3,9	4.0	Trust
1,5	2,0	Blessing
8,8	5,8	Number
3,3	0,6	Love
3,0	3,5	Friction
2,1	0,6	Comfort
1,5	0,3	Pride
1,2	1,7	Luck
3,6	2,6	Birth
5,8	2,0	Appearance
3,0	0,9	Twins
1,5	1,7	Barrenness
4,2	1,4	Lobolo
1,8	8,4	Clan
1,8	8,4	Injunction
0,9	3,2	Stillbirth
0,3	2,0	Father's Circs.
1,8	1,2	Progress
7,0	6,1	Other

Table 7: Figures relating categories to sex of child.

I will discuss these in turn, using the percentage figures. 'Happiness' and 'Gratitude' have comparatively balanced figures for boys' and girls' names (4,6/5,2 and 6,1/6,1), and are therefore unmarked for sex. 'God', on the other hand, has nearly twice as many boys' names as girls' names. The only reasons I can think of for this imbalance are that: 1) names referring to God are an indication of especial joy or thanks for a child, and the greater proportion for boys is a reflection of the greater importance of male children (which importance is clearly borne out by the figures for other categories); and 2) as I have pointed out in an earlier work (1976:59), the noun inkosi (as umfana and umuzi) is a male marker, exclusive to male names. Common boys' names like Msawenkosi, Thembinkosi and Bonginkosi are thus automatically marked for both 'male' and 'God'. The female equivalents - Nomusa, Thembisile and Bongile - may well be marked female with no- and -ile, but are not automatically marked for 'God'.

The categories 'Male' and 'Female' show the expected loading in favour of male and female children respectively. I was interested in the five girls under 'Male', but could only find one (Nomakhosi, already discussed under 3.3.1) - the others are either well hidden in my primary data, or are errors incurred during data transfers (e.g. during the words-to-numbers change). The one boy reflected under 'Female' is also either lost or an error.

'Trust' and 'Blessing' show balanced proportions (4,0/3,9 and 2,0/1,5), while 'Number' has a slightly higher proportion for females:3,8/8,8 - half as much again. It seems to me that more names are given in exasperation for the umpteenth girl than for the umpteenth boy: again a reflection of the importance of boys.

'Love' is definitely balanced in favour of the girls, as is 'Comfort' (0,6/3,3 and 0,6/2,1). Girls, then, bring out feelings of love and affection more so than boys; and are more often seen as a comfort.

'Friction' is evenly balanced. Figures for 'Pride' are low, but suggest that fathers express pride more readily in girls than boys. It is significant that all the names marked for 'Pride' reflect the father's pride in the girl's beauty- Here I would suggest the father's confidence in the future reflected glory in the attention paid to a beautiful daughter, and the certainty of future lobolo payments.

'Luck' and 'Birth' are reasonably balanced. 'Appearance' shows imbalance in favour of girls (2,0/5,8) and one must conclude that names re-

ferring to the physical appearance of a child at birth are more likely for girls than boys, although why this should be is not at all clear.

Even less clear are the figures for 'Twins': 0,9/3,0, but these figures were obtained from the computer programme before I had received additional data from the Edendale Hospital birth register. More reliable results may be obtained from analysis of this data. Obviously for Zulu, lacking 'automatic' names for twins,' a personal name will only be marked for 'Twin' if the name matches the name of the other twin. In my second pair of twins, the names Mthenjwa (s: 'hoped for') and Fikelephi (d: 'arrived from where'[1]) are not matched, and are therefore not marked for 'twin', whereas Nhlanhla (s) and Nonhlanhla (d) clearly are. The following is an analysis of the seventeen pairs of twins from Edendale Hospital:

	marked for 'twin' 1st-born-2nd				unmarked for 'twin' 1st-born-2nd			
same sex	S	S	3	5	S	S	2	4
	D	D	2		D	D	2	
different sex	S	D	4	7	S	D	1	1
	D	S	3					

There is obviously insufficient data here to make any firm statements, but there is a suggestion that twins of opposite rather than the same sex, are more likely to receive names marked for 'twin'. This is also the general feeling I get from various statements by informants on the topic.

'Barrenness' shows balanced figures.

'Lobolo', as is to be expected, is heavily weighted in favour of girls: 1,4/4,2. In the same way, one would expect the patrilineal Zulu people to weight 'Clan' more heavily in the favour of boys, and indeed this is the case, with boys outnumbering girls 5 to 1: 8,4/1,8.

Less clear is the 8,4/1,8 weighting of 'Injunction' in favour of boys, and as an explanation, I cannot do better than quote Wieschhoff on the Ibo:

> "Other names denote a certain concern for the child's future ... It is significant, however, that this type of name has been recorded only for males and not for females, indicating that in

1. i.e. 'Where has she suddenly sprung from?'

> the patrilineal society of the Ibo with its special emphasis upon descent, the life of the male is regarded as more important than that of the female and consequently the future of the boy is uppermost in the minds of his parents and is so expressed in the names which he is given."
>
> (1941:219)

There seems no reason why this should not be the case for Zulu.

'Stillbirth' seems to be weighted in favour of boys (3,2/0,9), and again, this is not clear. On the other hand, one might expect names referring to the father's circumstances to be more commonly given to boys than girls, and although the total figures are small (1/1), the proportions are suggestively supportive.

'Progress' and 'Other' are balanced.

Although no longer reflected as a category, in this work the Zupena programme gives comparative figures for izidlaliso : 5 for male and 8 for female. This is interesting, for one of the conclusions I reached in my Honours dissertation was that izidlaliso were female markers: i.e. only female names were contracted. On looking back at my Honours material and comparing it to my present data, I see that six years ago I was mistaken, and what I had considered to be boys' names derived from ideophones (e.g. Ndo and Vu) were in fact izidlaliso (Ndo < Ndoda, and Vu from Vusumuzi). At the time I had not come across the special izidlaliso with final -o and final length. (mfanó, ntombó.)

3.5.2 Relationship between categories and the giver of the names.

Again, the figures below were provided from a Zupena cross tabulation run:

Mother	Father	Categories
5	5	Happiness
8,1	5,3	Gratitude
12,4	7,6	God
5	16,1	Male
15,1	7	Female
6,6	2,9	Trust
2,7	0,9	Blessing
7,3	7,9	Number
1,9	1,8	Love

Mother	Father	Categories
2,3	2,9	Friction
2,7	0,6	Comfort
0	1,8	Pride
1,5	1,8	Luck
4,6	2,3	Birth
4,2	2,9	Appearance
1,2	2,6	Twins
2,3	1,5	Barrenness
1,9	3,2	Lobolo
1,9	6,7	Clan
1,9	6,7	Injunction
2,7	2,1	Stillbirth
0	2,3	Father's Circs.
2,3	1,2	Progress
6,2	6,7	Other
99,8	99,9	

table 8: Figures relating categories to name givers.

Data fed into the computer included 5 categories of name giver: mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, and other, but I have left the last three out as between them they only account for 9,1% of the names and the percentages for each category are insignificant.

The balanced categories are 'Happiness', 'Love', 'Luck', 'Barrenness', 'Stillbirth', 'Progress' and 'Other'.

Categories weighted in favour of the Father are 'Male' (16,1/5), which could be expected; 'Number' (7,9/7,3 - actual figures 27/19) very slightly in the fathers' favour, suggesting perhaps that fathers, who tend to be the breadwinners, worry more about the number of mouths to feed than mothers do. This is also a reflection of the weighting of (s/d = 20/29) in the relationship between 'sex of child' and 'number'. The two taken together show clearly that fathers are more likely to grumble about the number of daughters, than mothers about the number of either daughters or sons. I still find this curious in the light of the preponderance of fathers giving 'lobolo' names to daughters.

'Friction' has a slight leaning towards fathers (2,9/2,3), and 'Pride' (although there are so few examples) is entirely a category for fathers.

For some curious reason, more fathers than mothers seem to name Twins (2,6/1,2), but as with 'Pride', perhaps the paucity of examples renders the statistic less useful. Unfortunately, I do not have the name-givers for the more extensive Edendale data.

Fathers are also more lobolo-minded than mothers (3,2/1,9), and are certainly more concerned about clan-related matters (6,7/1,9). It also appears to be the father rather than the mother who cares how the sons should grow up, for 'Injunction' also has a leaning in favour of the father (6,7/1,9).

'Father's Circumstances' is, as we may expect, a category exclusively for fathers.

Categories that lean more in the mother's favour are 'Gratitude', with half as much again (5,3/8,1), 'God' (7,6/12,4), 'Female' (7/15,1), which may be expected, and 'Trust' (2,9/6,6), which may not, unless this is linked to 'Barrenness'. Mothers also feel more 'Blessing' (0,9/2,7) and more 'Comfort' (0,6/2,7). There is also a natural leaning towards mothers in the category 'Birth', and consequently in the category 'Appearance' (2,9/4,2).

These statistics generally support the roles played by the father and the mother in the family context.

3.5.3 Relationship between sex of child and giver of name.

Statistics for this relationship were not available from the Zupena programme, so the figures given below have been taken from the Combined Information sheets (as shown in illustration 4, opposite page 6). The first figure is the number of names; the second this figure as a percentage:

	Father	Mother	Granma	Grampa	Other	Total
Sons	112 61,5	49 26,9	10 5,5	6 3,3,	5 2,7	182 99,9
Daughters	84 40	107 51	16 7,6	1 0,5	2 1,0	210 100,1
Sons & Daughters	196 50	156 39,8	26 6,6	7 1,8	7 1,8	392 100

Table 9: Relationship between sex of child and giver of name.

Fathers show a strong tendency to name sons while mothers tend to name daughters:

	f	m	
s	61,5	26,9	%
d	40	51	

with fathers naming half as many sons again as daughters, and mothers naming twice as many daughters as sons. Of the other members of the family, the grandmother is the most active (6,6% of total names, as opposed to 3,6% for grandfather and all other kin combined). Although this is a small percentage, it is still clear that the grandmother tends to name more granddaughters than grandsons. It is of interest to note that most of the granddaughters named by grandmothers were illegitimate.

It is surprising to note that more fathers name children than mothers (50%/39,8%). Notwithstanding the more dominant role of the father in the family, in this country the father is statistically likely to be absent when the child is born and during the naming period. But then this study was carried out mainly in the urban areas of Pietermaritzburg. Data from primarily rural areas would probably show the mother playing the dominant role in name giving. Certainly the proportion of fathers giving names as opposed to mothers ties in with the modes of address between husbands and wives (discussed on page 45) where I noted "70% of husbands have their role as father in the family emphasized as opposed to 46% of wives seen as mothers."

3.6 Conclusions about names in the social context.

In the introduction to this thesis (page 2), I quoted Evans-Pritchard as saying:

> "The study of names and titles of address has some importance because, as will be seen from the notes recorded below, they symbolize a man's social position in relation to the people round him ..."
>
> (1948:166)

In an earlier work he says:

> "Names of all kinds are social documents, which fix a person's position in the social structure and define his relations to other members of society."
>
> (1939:237)

Both these statements are true of the Zulu personal name. The name reflects

the position of the individual both within the immediate and the wider family. Zulu names show relationships between brothers and sisters, between parents and children. They reflect the importance of the clan and the importance of male children in a patrilineal society. They refer to the institution of lobola as well as to misfortunes like barrenness and stillbirth. Names may exhort children to appropriate social behaviour. Zulu personal names are without doubt 'social documents'.

The aetiology of Zulu personal names has much in common with that of other African personal names, as reviewed in the introduction to this chapter. But some differences must be pointed out:

1) There is no evidence that Zulus name children after other relatives, whether living or dead, as is the case with the Nyoro, the Thonga, the Pedi and the Gikuyu.

2) There are no inevitable names, such as with other societies for children born in certain months, on certain market days, twins, children after twins, breech-births, etc. The closest Zulu comes to this is with common names like Vusumuzi for the first son, or Mduduzi/Duduzile for the child after a stillbirth, but these are by no means inevitable.

3) There are no 'macabre' names with reference to illness, approaching death, or other misfortunes either past or future, nor any names intended to convince any jealous ancestor that the child is unwanted.

4) There are few names referring to friction within the family. Those few examples I had were regarded by the majority of informants as 'unpleasant' names, which should not have been given to the child. Parents who gave such names were regarded as insensitive and unloving. Tensions and frictions in Zulu society are not meant to be hidden, however. That is what dogs are for.

5) Names do not change during a person's lifetime. A person may receive additional amagama - he may even receive two or more at birth - but these stay with him; they do not change at puberty or any other time.

References to God, either overtly or covertly, account for 21,2% of the names collected, and although most of the literature has no mention of African names referring to God, Madubuike says of the Igbo that:

> "There are Igbo names which are rather recent in origin and reflect the influence of the Church on (the) Igbo nomenclature system."
>
> (1976:45)

A more up-to-date comparative survey of African 'nomenclature systems' would probably show this to be true of all African societies, and show also that Zulu, with its high percentage of 'God-names', is by no means unusual or unique in Africa.

The categorization and aetiology of personal names in this chapter has been based on statistics and data, but leaving aside statistics and data for one moment, I would say that the most characteristic features of Zulu personal names are a) joy in children, and b) a positive attitude towards life. Were it possible to choose one name to symbolise these features, I would choose my first example under 3.3.19: 'Luck':

> 'Nonhlanhla: the mother felt lucky because although the father had just died, everyone rallied around to help."

CHAPTER FOUR

NAMES IN A LITERARY CONTEXT

4 The overall title of this study is "The Social & Literary Aspects of Zulu Names So far, Chapters 1, 2 and 3 have only discussed the sociological aspects of Zulu names. In this Chapter I intend to cover the literary aspects of Zulu names, and I will do this under four main headings:

4.1 African names in their literary context: references to the literature and the work of scholars in other languages.

4.2 From Zulu personal names to Zulu praise poetry: a 'developmental' study of the processes whereby personal names become "one of the most specialized and complex forms of poetry to be found in Africa". (Finnegan, 1970:121)

4.3 The literary aspects of Zulu personal names: the poetic and narrative qualities of Zulu personal names, both in isolation and in combination with the names of other members of a particular family.

4.4 The use of names in Zulu praise-poetry

4.1.1 The contribution of anthropologists and sociologists.

Very few scholars have made specific studies of the personal or other names in African societies. Of those few, whose work has been quoted or referred to in the previous three chapters, most have been anthropologists, and their work has had a predictable and understandable bias towards the anthropological or sociological aspects of African names. I have already twice quoted Evans-Pritchard on how "names ... symbolize a man's social position in relation to the people around him." Other scholars have made similar remarks:

Beattie, on the Nyoro of Uganda:

> "As it will be one of my aims to suggest a few tentative lines of connection between Nyoro personal nomenclature and Nyoro cultural and social life ..." (1957:99)

Samarin, on Gbeya dog names:

> "This study of a brief collection of such names can therefore serve as a supplement to traditional straightforward ethnographic accounts of the peoples of the Central African Republic." (1965:57)

Quotes are not needed from the works of Middleton and Wieschhoff; the titles on their own make the point clear: "The Social Significance of Lugbara Personal Names" and "The Social Significance of Names among the Ibo of Nigeria",[1] respectively.

However, although one does not expect analysis of literary aspects from scholars who have clearly announced their sociological intentions, here and there it is possible sometimes to find comments that show that their authors are aware (albeit usually peripherally) of literary aspects. So Gulliver, on Ox-names among the Jie, says:

> "But the most common method (of forming an ox-name) is to make a name from some apt simile"
>
> (1952:74),

and then gives a number of names containing the elements 'is like the ...' or 'is like that of ...'

Beattie says of Nyoro names that:

> "Nyoro personal names ... are allusive, and their understanding demands some knowledge of the web of thought, imagery and metaphor which gives poetry and vitality to the Nyoro language."
>
> (1957:100)

He enlarges on one particular aspect when he says of certain personal names referrring to a recent death in the family:

> "So, as often in Western myth and literature (my emphasis), death is represented as an active agent with quasi-human qualities, as an enemy and a destroyer. It angers and confounds the living, and marks down its victims in advance, as a huntsman may mark down a deer in the herd before he shoots. It pleases itself as to when it will strike, and it is always there."
>
> (1957:102)

Later on, on the same page, after a number of examples:

> "These names still further elaborate the notion of death as in some sense a 'person' ... One of my informants expressed this (largely poetic and metaphorical) notion very clearly when he said to me: 'If people did not have children death would have nothing to kill, or at least he would have

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1. Slated by Madubuike in his Preface: "H.A. Wieschhoff's 'Social Significance of Names Among the Ibo of Nigeria', a study done with the help of an Igbo student ... is a sketchy and superficial article on a rather wide and deep subject." (1976:2) I found Wieschhoff useful and illuminating. On the other hand, I agree with Madubuike that 'a scanty literature exists on the subject of African names'.

to kill old people only.'"

Beattie uses the words 'poetic and metaphorical' again on page 105:

> "Western popular thought, too, recognizes that death is a consequence of something else, and yet conceives of it poetically and metaphorically as though it were an autonomous agent."

So rare, however, are flashes of insight like Beattie's above, that it is not clear whether the anthropologists and sociologists were not aware of the literary qualities of African names, or whether they did not consider this aspect worth investigating, or even commenting on. For statements on the literary values of names, one must turn to the scholars of oral literature.

4.1.2 The contributions by scholars of oral literature.

Noss has written that:

> "In any literary tradition, names may be a device for telling the reader something about the character bearing the name. This is particularly true of the African traditions of praise names and praise singing. In Gbaya tales, three categories of name and usage may be observed: a) proper name, b) descriptive name, and c) praise name."
>
> (1972:79)

Finnegan, in her classical work Oral Literature in Africa, is worth quoting at length:

> "I shall end this miscellaneous list of minor literary usages with a brief account of the significance of names. This is a subject of greater literary interest than might at first appear. In fact it would be true to say that names often play an indispensable part in oral literature in Africa. Such names as ... (a number of examples) ... can add a depth even to ordinary talk or a richly figurative intensity to poetry that can be achieved in no more economical way.
> There have been many different interpretations of these names. They have ranged from the psychological functions of names, in providing assurance or 'working out' tension, to their connection with the structure of society, their social function in minimizing friction, or their usefulness either in expressing the self-image of their owner or in providing a means of indirect comment when a direct one is not feasible. As usual, there is some truth in most of these approaches.
> One of the most striking aspects is the way names can be used as a succinct and oblique way of commenting on their owners or on others. Junod gives some good examples of this kind of use of nicknames among the Tonga ... (examples) ... Names can also be used in oblique comment. Thus the Karanga subtly give names to their dogs as an elliptical way of chiding another ... (see 2.8.1, pgs 75-79).
> ...Names are also often used to express ideas, aspirations, sorrows, or philosophical comments. Grief and an awareness of the ills of life are frequent themes ... (examples from Thonga and Orimbundu)...
> ...Names contribute to the literary flavour of formal or informal conversation adding a depth or a succinctness through their meanings, overtones or metaphors. They can also play a directly literary role.

It seems clear that although names by which the deceased was known during his lifetime may be used in the dirge, new 'dirge-names' will be specially created after his death. Mzolo has remarked of ukubuyisa ceremonies among the Zulu that:

> "In the words (the nearest of kin) has to say, he will remark 'we are bringing you back, so-and-so'; thereafter he will start reciting the dead man's personal praises and end up with praises of the clan."
>
> (1975:122)

The personal praises referred to here are those composed during the deceased's lifetime; no new names are created after death. The only occasions when praises are composed for a man after his decease would be by a professional imbongi in the case of a king, or chief.

4.1.2.2 On drum names, Finnegan has the following to say:

> "Personal drum names are usually long and elaborate. In the Benue-Cross River area of Nigeria, for instance, they are compounded of references to a man's father's lineage, events in his personal life, and his own personal name."
>
> (1970:487)

This sounds as if it follows the prescription for the composing of a praise-poem: the references to lineage, and events in the man's personal life, but composition would be the only point in common, Zulu not having a drum language, nor using izibongo to call to a man, in the way that the drum names are used to identify the recipient of a drum message from afar.

4.1.2.3 Proverb names. Finnegan closes a section on the function of proverbs in society with the following:

> "As well as these obvious and common ways in which proverbs overlap with other kinds of verbal art, they also appear in certain specialized forms. Their use in the form of 'proverb names' is one. Among the Ovimbundu, to give one example, the woman's name Simbovala is a shortened form of the proverb 'while you mark out a field, Death marks you out in life' - in life you are in the midst of death."
>
> (1970:392)

A number of examples of proverb names are given by Ennis (from the Ovimbundu), Beattie (from the Nyoro), and Nsimbi (from the Baganda). The examples given by Ennis and Nsimbi show that among the Ovimbundu and Baganda proverb-names are taken from the first word(s) of the proverb, as in the following examples:
Ovimbundu:

Sukuohembi : Suku ohembi; wa tu kemba (God is a liar; he us lied life. God lied to us about life). This name is used when other children have died.

Vatukemba : Va tu kemba; Suku wa tu kemba omuyenyo (They us lie (to); God us lied life). This is the feminine equivalent of Sukuohembi.

(from Ennis, 1945:3,4)

Baganda:

Nyonyintono (male name) from the proverb Nyonyintono yekemba byoya (a small bird, to appear big, must clothe itself in many feathers).

Ganya (female name) from Ganya ba ng'alabye obugyo (when a wife begins to disrespect her husband it shows that she has found another place where she intends to go and live.)

(from Nsimbi, 1950:205)

Beattie's Nyoro examples show that the name need not necessarily be derived from the first word or words of a proverb, but from any key word:

Bitamazaire from nkaito z'ebigogo bitamazire 'the sandals which were made of banana fibre were inadequate'. Thus a creature so vulnerable as a small child cannot be expected to survive for long.

Bikanga from ebintu bikanga eka 'property, wealth, has refused the home' - poverty has come to the family.

(from Beattie, 1957:101,103)

It seems clear from the work of these three scholars that proverb-names are very common among these three peoples,[1] and they do not seem to be uncommon elsewhere. It is curious then, that Zulu, with a very highly developed set of proverbs (well quoted by Finnegan as examples in her section on the literary merits of the proverb), that there are no proverb-names in Zulu, no names taken from the initial word or key word of a well-known proverb. Unless my exception proves the rule: I have one name in my collection: Senzesihle ('Good Deed') of which the mother said this referred to isenzo esihle isgcina ngokuhle ('a good deed ends in good'). It may be possible that other Zulu proverb-names exist which I have not yet come across. Certainly, even if this is the case, they are rare in Zulu.

4.1.3 Southern Bantu oral literature studies

It is when we come to scholars 'closer to home', i.e. those writing on the oral

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1. Nṣimbi: "Proverbial names and nicknames number thousands. Most Baganda proverbs have a name in them." (1950:205)

literature of the Southern Bantu, that we find specific statements on the role of the name. So Hodwa and Fortune, writing on Shona Praise Poetry, say that:

> "One of the most pleasing forms of love poetry, and, indeed, of praise poetry as a whole, arises out of the rhythmic use of praise names and their expansions, accompanied by variations in the imagery."
> (1979:39)

Kunene, in the introduction to his work on Sotho heroic poetry, states:

> "Chapter 2 talks about the importance of the name among the Basotho, and this leads to the ... naming of a warrior to commemorate events in which he acquitted himself with honour ... (and then) in Chapter 3, to a classification ... of the names composed for the hero."
> (1971:xv)

Kunene coined the term 'eulogue' for a praise-name or 'praise phrase', and he sees the eulogues as the most basic part of Sotho praise-poems, regarding these (as do Hodwa and Fortune in the quote above) in much the same way as Scheub refers to the 'expansible image' in the performance of folktales.

Cope, on Zulu praise poems, states:

> "However, a clan name is the personal name of its founder, and personal names are essentially praise names. Zulu (the sky), Qwabe (a musical bow), Mkhize (drizzle), Ndwandwe (a tall person), Vilakazi (a large, lazy person), Nyembezi (a tear-drop), Luthuli (dust), were the names of the founders of these clans, and these are as obviously praise-names as 'Shakespeare'."
> (1968:26)

This is echoed by Mzolo in his work on Zulu clan praises:

> "The Clan name itself is usually taken to be the name of the Clan's founder, or perhaps of some particularly famous member of it."
> (1975:5)

Gunner, too, in her work on Zulu praises, particularly the praise-poetry of women, underlines the importance of the name in a poem.

In all these works cited above, from Finnegan to Gunner, two things become clear : firstly, that it is the particular function of a name as a <u>praise</u> that is important, in other words not its function as a social indicator; secondly, the name seems to operate more as a constituent of oral poetry than of oral prose; in Zulu terms, it manifests itself more in <u>izibongo</u> than in <u>izinganekwane</u>.

4.2 <u>From Personal Names to Praise Poetry: Interrelationships and Progressions.</u>

The intention of this section is to look at the interrelationships between personal names and praises, both points of similarity and difference; the manner in which names may develop into praises; and the relationship between names,

praises, social values, and the oral tradition. 4.2 is divided into the following:

4.2.1 Composition

4.2.2 Praise Values

4.2.3 Points of similarity between names and praises

4.2.4 Names, Praises, Society, and the Oral Tradition.

4.2.1 Composition

Personal names are composed, or created, by the parents of the child (and sometimes by other kinsmen). The choice of a particular name depends on a variety of reasons which have been discussed in detail in Chapter 3. It must be emphasized that when a name is chosen, it fits into a well-known and widely-established structural format. I have pointed out in an earlier work on Zulu names that the number of structural possibilities for Zulu personal names is limited, and that further structural and morphological limits apply depending on whether it is a male or a female name. For example, no boy will be given a name incorporating the feminising morpheme -no-, and it is rare for a boy to be given a name incorporating a verb with the perfect suffix -ile.[1] Girls will not be given names with the structure (Verb + Object). Yet despite these structural limitations, Zulu personal names show a remarkable variety in content and meaning in comparison to names in our Western society. They also show a capacity to adapt to specific situations. In other words, if the situation of the family at the child's birth is such that none of the 'stock' names (Comfort, Number, First Boy, etc) are suitable, an original name may be created with specific reference to the specific circumstance. But the potential creative variety in personal names is still bound by structural convention, and the analogy with the creative processes involved in oral literature is too close to ignore: individual creation takes place within the parameters of accepted oral formulae.

As regards clan-names, I have already quoted Cope in that "a clan name is the personal name of its founder" and Mzolo, who qualifies this statement a

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1. And even when this does occur, it usually combines with a male marker like umfana or umuzi.

little with "The clan name is usually taken to be (my emphasis) the name of the Clan's founder ..." This may be usually the case, but Bryant, in his Olden Times has a number of stories which show that the clan name of a new clan need not necessarily be based on the name of its founder, but may be arbitrarily created according to some incident, and also that, on occasion, the name of the clan, based on its founder's name, may be changed to suit a particular incident. I give from a number of stories in Bryant, two to illustrate the point: the clan names Biyela and Shangase.

Biyela: King Ndaba of the Zulu clan, father of Senzangakhona, created a separate Gazini[1] clan out of his ikhohlo kraal in order to 'make right' a marriage which he had sanctified between two members of the Zulu clan. His eldest son Xoko, however, whom Ndaba had placed at the head of this new Gazini clan

> "resented this unprincipled trespass, and set up a fence of general prohibition around his portion of the family. Which, when his clansmen learned, they laughed to scorn and said, "A! kanti umuzi wako u-ya-wu-biyela?" (Oh! so you are putting (for us) a hedge around your family?); and henceforth they jocularly referred to these people as aba-kwa-Biyela (A. uku-biyela, to put a hedge or barrier around)."
>
> (1929:40)

Shangase: Chief Ngcobo of the Ngcobo clan suspected his younger brother Mkeshane of trickery and had him banished, but after some years, "regret filled his heart" and he had him called back:

> "The fugitive duly returned, the chief Ngcobo thus addressed him. 'Mkeshane', he said, 'and, prithee, where hast thou been these years?' 'Sire', quoth he, 'I have but been roaming'. 'Verily', rejoined Ngcobo, 'you have been roaming, you rover (impela wawu-shanga, Shangase)[2]' Whereupon he sent men to build for his brother a kraal, and from that time on it was no longer said, this is Mkeshane, but this is Shangase (the Rover). And so till this very day."
>
> (1929:480)

These two stories seem clear enough : from the Zulu clan comes the artificially created Gazini clan, whose 'founder' Xoko has the name of his clan changed to

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1. ('in the blood', or, more likely, 'from the Blood (Royal)', in reference to the origin of this new clan).
2. The name-forming suffix -se is no longer used in the formation of Zulu personal names, and it can only be found in clan names such as Mpungose, Nyawose, and Nyambose.

Biyela; from the Ngcobo clan comes a younger brother Mkeshane,[1] whose name is changed to Shangase which becomes the name of his own clan. I must emphasize that these are by no means isolated examples in Bryant's work, and it seems clear that this kind of clan name creation must have been reasonably common.

Neither Cope nor Mzolo in their respective works mention this possibility, and a useful study could be made of Zulu clan name origins.[2] Cope and Mzolo do not suggest an origin for clan izithakazelo, but from my own collection of these, read in conjunction with Bryant, it is clear that the majority of izithakazelo are the personal names of particularly famous people in the clan's history, usually chiefs or renowned warriors, and occasionally the name of the clan's founder if this is not the clan name itself. Obscurity surrounds the origin and creation of the extended praises that accompaoy izithakazelo, and neither my own informants nor the usually obliging Bryant have been able to shed much light on the origin of such praises as Mashiya-mahle engathi azoshumayela ('Nice eye-brows as if they are about to preach' - Ngcobo clan); Izindlubu zamila emthondweni ('the bean-plants grew in a place of urinating' - Hadebe clan): Boyabenyathi buyasonga busombulela ('Buffalo-hair coils and uncoils' - Ndlovu clan). It seems to me likely that these must have been the personal praises of one of the figures ranking high in clan history.

Of the creation of personal praises, Mzolo states:

"There are also praises of ordinary people in society. Every young man has his praises which he retains until he is an old man. When he dies his praises remain and it is by these that he is remembered and identified in the locality. These praises are an accumulation of his

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1. which name survives as one of the Shangase izithakazelo today.

2. Long overdue, indeed, is a study reconciling the work done by Bryant on clan names and izithakazelo at the turn of the century and before, with the clan names and izithakazelo as they exist today. New clans have since arisen, others disappeared, while yet others have changed their name. A particular problem for historians working in this field is the way in which the rendering of these names has changed. It requires a linguist to recognize Bryant's ebaThenjini and emaHlutshini as modern Thembu and Hlubi respectively, but even a Zulu linguist might balk if asked to reconcile Bryant's emaTolweni with its modern equivalent Mzolo. (uMzolo belongs to that group of nouns with singular in class 1 and plural in class 6, as in umZulu-amaZulu. Bryant gives the plural in its tekela form amaTolo, and this is given in locative form emaTolweni. In the same way Bryant renders the modern clan name Mbhele as emaBeleni.)

> praises, some of which are self-composed and others composed in the early days of childhood by his mother and later by any other person such as his age-mates (intanga). In his later life these praises cover the entire history of a person as a record of his achievement up to the time of his retirement from public social life."
>
> (1975:29)

As an illustration of the creative processes involved in personal praises, I will describe below the manner in which I was given my own praises while working in the Bantu Administration. These fall naturally into four stanzas:

1) reference to my interest in Zulu personal names;
2) mis-application of the Khumalo izithakazelo; and
3) and 4) two separate incidents.

1) Mantindane!
Lwandle!
Owamba esithumbanjeni wamangaza amadoda.

Witch's Familiar!
Ocean!
He who dug outside the hut door and surprised the men.

The first 'praise' is a critical one, reflecting the suspicion in which my interest in personal names was held. (See chapter 1, pg16 above, on 'Names and Witchcraft'. This name was created 'anonymously' by the Zulu staff generally. Later, when my research was co-ordinated and available in written form, and it was seen that my interest was purely academic, a clerk known for his ability in creating praises, was asked to 'rectify' the first name. 'Lwandle' was explained as 'just as the water of the rivers flow into the sea and stay there, so has our knowledge flowed into you'. The extension is explained as 'no-one expects anyone to dig outside the hut-door and find anything, anymore than we expected you to find anything of interest in Zulu names'. The two halves of the stanza (Stalemate-Retraction, or possibly Criticism-Apology) were composed nearly two years apart, yet the stanza has a definite structural unity.

2. Khumalo!
Mntungwa! or Wena wasemaNtungweni!
Mabaso!
Mzilikazi kaMashobana!
Owabaleka nezinkomo zikaShaka.
Wena owadl' umuntu wamnyenga ngendaba!

Khumalo!
Mntungwa or You of the Ntungwa people!
Mabaso!
Mzilikazi the son of Mashobana!
He who ran away with Shaka's cattle.
You who conquer a person through bluff!

These izithakazelo of the Khumalo clan were assigned to me in error by an elderly, semi-deaf Khumalo who confused the Koo-ma/Khu-ma sounds in the pair Koopman/Khumalo, and their use soon became near-universal in the KwaMashu community. In the same way was my predecessor in the Zulu Department in Pietermaritzburg, Mr Bang, addressed as 'Ngcolosi' and 'Dlabazane', the izithakazelo of the clan Bhengu. I know a Mr Lambert who is often addressed by the izithakazelo of the clan Lembede.

These, of course, are not specifically composed praises, but rather existing praises conferred on me. This is not unusual; Cope gives many examples of kings and chiefs inheriting praises from their forefather, or adopting the praises of those they have captured; young boys often adopt the praises of their heroes. In this particular case, clan praises have become personal praises.

3. Msinsi!
Msinsi ongambiwa!
Machithinjuluko emgodini ngokungazi!
Owazama ukuseng' inkuku, ingasengwa;
Owazama ukuthola amaqanda enkonyeni, engatholakali.

Erythrina tree!
Which is not dug up!
Waster-of-sweat in a hole through ignorance!
Who tried to milk a chicken, it not being milkable!
Who tried to find eggs under a cow, they not being available.

The erythrina tree is easily propagated from cuttings; it is very difficult to dig up, with its long tap root. These praises were conferred by two rural-born policemen (who knew this) upon myself and two urban-born policemen (who didn't) after we had tried to dig up such a tree. The following stanza, composed by the same two policemen, follows an incident where a fern-gathering expedition

into the bush resulted in the arrest of a 'gavine'-still operator:

4. Oway' ehlathini,
Wathi uzokukh' amakhambi;
Wabuya nomfazi.

(You) who went to the bush,
And said you would gather ferns;
You came back with a wife (lit.: 'woman').

Although these praises can by no means be regarded as an exhaustive statement on the composition and origin of personal praises, I regard them as fairly typical in their various allusions, various composers, composition over time (about $4\frac{1}{2}$ years in this case); and various kinds of stanza : critical, borrowed, narrative. There is also the humorous element which I find typical of personal praises, an element not characteristic of the praise-poems of kings and chiefs.

4.2.2 Praise values

The term 'praise' is a difficult one to elucidate in the Zulu context. Part of the difficulty lies in the Zulu verb itself: ukubonga, with meanings ranging from 'to extol or laud in verse', i.e. to function as an imbongi, with all that that implies in the way of skill, artistry, performance, etc., to 'thank', as in the simple Zulu ngiyabonga ('thank you'). In between these extremes lie the meanings of 'praise (or speak to) the ancestors', and 'shout out one's own praises'. The derived noun isibongo runs the gamut of this variety: in the singular it means 'clan name' (the modern equivalent being the Western 'surname'); in the plural, 'praises', and these may be the two lines of praise created for one's favourite dog, to the highly developed and polished praise poems of the great kings. Cope, commenting on an early draft of this chapter, stated: "Of course dictionary definitions are only approximate, and, cross-culturally, even off the mark, e.g. insila - 'body-dirt' (whereas it is more like the 'essence' of a person." He suggests that bonga could mean 'to record achievements in literary style', "where achievements like gluttony or murder are not necessarily praiseworthy, but they are nevertheless the subject of ukubonga."

Both Cope (1968:21-27) and Finnegan (1970:111-146) have much to say on

the subject of praise poetry and praising, but neither make absolutely clear what constitutes 'praise'. Finnegan states:

> "These praise poems have been described as intermediary between epic and ode, a combination of exclamatory narrative and laudatory apostrophizing. A certain amount of narrative is involved ..."[1]

Finnegan restricts herself in her chapter "Panegyric" to a discussion of praise poetry. Cope, in his discussion of praises, includes the personal praises of the individual while giya-ing, but then includes clan names, as "a clan name is the personal name of its founder, and personal names are essentially praise names"[2], where, certainly in the modern context, I would disagree. Both Cope and Finnegan remark on the apparent anomaly that praises may be critical (either overtly or covertly-by-omission), and both relate this to the function of the praise poem as a form of social control. Ultimately both Cope and Finnegan rely on a wide selection of examples to define the boundaries of praise.

It seems to me that a useful way of regarding the concept 'praise' in the Zulu context is to regard a praise as any form of address or reference (whether of one word, or extended at length) which seeks to go beyond the basic identity of the individual, and which seeks to further the status of the individual (whether in relationship to society, or to the speaker), in a positive way. The emphasized sections of this 'definition' seem to me to be important. A praise is not concerned with basic identity: if a man is addressed by his clan name, this is not a praise - it is an identification; if a child is addressed by name by teacher or parent, this implies nothing more than the existence of that particular name as applied to that particular child - there is nothing 'extra' about it, it is not particularly 'positive', but rather a neutral statement of fact : that child is Jabulani; that man is a Dlamini.

But praises do more than this : they extend a basic identity, and do it in such a way as to enhance the status of the person so addressed : a chief's

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1. 1970:121

2. 1968:26. Cope has pointed out in a further comment on the draft of this chapter that "I was trying to link isibongo and izibongo etymologically. Today, I agree, the link is lost, and Zulu speakers do not see the clan name as the singular and origin of izibongo."

izibongo reinforce his chiefly position in society; a young man's personal praises emphasise the values of his peer group (courage, agility, skill in dancing, 'sex-appeal', etc.); the use of a man's izithakazelo acknowledges the history and traditions of the clan to which he belongs. That there is a difference between clan names and izithakazelo in this regard has been my own personal experience : the use of a surname has been responded to with nothing more than basic acknowledgement, whereas use of izithakazelo, particularly if more than one is used, or if they are used in combination with praise-phrases, has almost invariably elicited comments such as Hawu! Uyangazi ngempela! ('Oh! You know me indeed!', implying a deeper, more profound, identity), or perhaps Ungishaya khona lapha! ('You hit me right here!', pointing to the heart). It is clear that izithakazelo constitute 'praise', and clear likewise that personal praises, clan praises, and praise poems all contain this element. But clan names and personal names do not; rather are these the basic elements which can be extended to praise.

4.2.3 Points of similarity between Names and Praises

In illustrating how personal names may be extended, I shall be covering a number of other points, which, without indicating a development from amagama to izibongo, at least illustrate a number of similarities between the two, making it clear that both personal names and praises of various kinds have their roots in the same oral tradition.

4.2.3.1 Expansion/Extension

In the feature of izibongo which Cope has named noun-verb parallelism, a praise name is derived from a verb, as in the examples which Cope gives from Senzangakhona's praise poem:

> "uMashwabada ('a devourer', from shwabada, to devour) and uMlunguzi ('a peerer', from lunguza, to peep or peer, which also gives Dingane's praise name of uMalunguza, the peerer), ..."
>
> (1968:50)

Such praise names may be used on their own in a praise poem, or may be expanded, as in Senzangakhona's praise poem:

> "UMashwabada kaMaqanda noNsele,
> Owashwabadel' izindlubu zakwamfowabo,
> Washwabadel' izindlubu zikaMudli namakhasi.

UMlunguzi wezingoje,
Owalunguz' ingoje yomfowabo,
Owalunguz' ingoje kaZwalele.

Devourer of Maqanda and Nsele,
Who devoured the ground-nuts of his brother,
He devoured the ground-nuts of Mudli, shells and all.
Peerer over precipices,
Who peered into the cave of his brother,
Who peered into the cave of Zwalele."[1]

In such constructions, the initial praise (e.g. uMashwabada) is the subject of a subsequent relative clause or further predicate.

Zulu male names commonly are derived from verbs in like manner: uMduduzi[2] ('the comforter', from duduza, to comfort); uMxolisi ('the apologiser, from xolisa, to apologize; uMdumazi[2] ('the disappointer' from dumaza); uMlamuli ('the mediator' from lamula) to mention just a few. In such cases the expansion of the name is not overtly expressed, as in izibongo, but it underlies the reason for giving the name : it is clear from explanations received from the parents that uMduduzi is uMduduzi oduduzayo, the comforter who comforts the mother after, say, a still birth. After friction in the family, the son may be seen as uMxolisi oxolisayo, the apologiser who apologises; of uMlamuli ozolamula, the mediator who will mediate in the quarrel. In such names derived from verbs, the expansion is covert, rather than overt : it is in the mind of the hearer rather than in his ear.

4.2.3.2 Personifications and Secondary-prefix derivations.

Cope points out that one of the commonest forms of imagery in Zulu izibongo is that of personification, whereby the initial vowel of a word or a phrase is replaced by the prefix u- of the personal class 1(a). The progression from simile to personification may be charted morphologically:

simile: uShaka unjengengonyama ehamba ebusuku
(Shaka is like a lion which goes about at night)

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1. Cope, 1968:76
2. Note the female equivalents, using the conventional perfect stem of the verb: Duduzile, Dumazile.

metaphor: uShaka uyingonyama } ehamba ebusuku
uShaka, ingonyama }
(Shaka is the lion } which goes about at night)
(Shaka, the lion }

personification: uNgonyama ehamba ebusuku
(Lion[1] which goes about at night)

This kind of personification commonly derives from the names of animals: the kingly titles UNgonyama, UNgwenyama and UNdlovu derive from ingonyama (lion), ingwe emnyama (black leopard) and indlovu (elephant). Shaka is USilwane-helele < (fierce animal) < isilwane (animal), UVemvane (butterfly), UHele (hawk), UNdlondlo (horned viper), UJojo (finch), Uklebe (hawk), to pick out only those which have been placed into class 1(a), the class for 'special persons'.

Such personifications may also be of various objects, thus Senzangakhona is the gate-post of the kraal; Shaka an axe (sharper than the others), a spear (red even on the handle); Macingwane an antheap (light-coloured among the dark-coloured). (Cope, 1968:39)

Personification need not necessarily involve transfer of the noun to class 1(a). For example, Shaka's praises include:

Ilanga eliphahl' elinye ngemisebe
(Sun that eclipsed another with its rays) and
Inkom' ekhal' eMthonjaneni
(Beast that lowed at Mthonjaneni)

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1. Or as some scholars express it: "Mr Lion". Similarly in Sotho praise poems, the class 9 noun tau (lion) may become class 1(a) Motau (Mr Lion, or He-the-Lion). One may say that this has been formalized in Southern Sotho in the sense that the various clans have different animals as a totem, thus the chief of that clan, and even individuals of that clan, will be known as the personification of that animal. Thus kwena is a crocodile; the people of the clan are the BaKwena, and one individual or the chief, is MoKwena ('he-the-crocodile'). LeKgothoane, in his 'Praises of Animals in Northern Sotho' illustrates the same concept, but curiously enough, in reverse: in the praises of the leopard, he includes the praises of "the chiefs of the Batlôkwa, because the leopard is their totem" (p.195); the praises of the crocodile include the praise names Modiane a Tau, and Mmamolemana, which are the "Serêto (praises) of the chief Momoxale of the Kwena ba Moxôpa tribe ..." (p.201)

Dingiswayo is praised as:

Impunz' evuke nomkhont' emawunzini
(Duiker that got up with a spear in its back)

Personifications may be of a whole phrase, in which case the head-noun, despite being moved to class 1(a) continues to control grammatical agreements according to its original noun class. Thus in the praise ULanga limi lodwa ezulwini (Sun who stands alone in the sky), the class 5 noun ilanga is followed by the class 5 concords li- and lo-. In the praises of the Ndlovu clan, the class 14 noun uboya (fur) is personified in the isithakazelo uBoyabenyathi (He who is Buffalo fur), but the grammatical agreements in the extended praise are still class 14 agreements: uBoyabenyathi buyasonga bumsombuluka.

In an earlier work, I pointed out that not only is this kind of shifting from another class to class 1(a) possible for personal names, but that "such names in Zulu are characterised by the use of the Noun class 1(a) prefix as a secondary prefix". (1976:24) Such names may be of simple stems: uMahashi < amahhashi (horses); uNdoda < indoda (man), uBantu[1] < abantu (people), uMantombazane < amantombazane (girls). These names may include the class 1(a) formatives -no-, -so and -ma: uSomfana < umfana (boy); uNontombi and uNomvula from intombi (girl) and imvula (rain). The similarity between names and praises in this section is the ease and frequency with which a noun transfers to class 1(a). Outside names and praises, I have only found two cases where this occurs: uSihlalo (Chairman < isihlalo, chair), and uSikhwana (Treasurer < isikhwama, purse).

4.2.3.3 Compounding

The personifications of whole phrases in praise poetry finds its equivalent in personal names in those names with compound stems. As we consider the praise Ulanga limi lodwa ezulwini to be u (i)Langa-limi-lodwa-ezulwini , i.e. a syntactic unit subordinating to the personifying class 1(a) prefix u-, so also are phrases

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1. Probably the best-known bearer of this name in contemporary South Africa is Steve Bantu Biko.

(and larger syntactic units) embedded in the stems of compound names like uVusumuzi, uBhekinkosi, uNtombikayise:

u (u) vusa umuzi - son (he) revives the family
u (u)bheka inkosi - son (he) has regard for the Lord
u (i)ntombi kayise - daughter girl of her father

The relationship between the extended personifications of the praise poems and personal names with compounded stems is described in detail in Section 2.2.2 Analysis of Compound Names in my previous work,[1] where I identified the following different kinds of compound names, those with stems consisting of:

Subject + Predicate	e.g.	uNkosiyapha : the Lord gives
		uSibongile : we are grateful
Predicate + Locative	e.g.	uHlomendlini : be armed in the house
Predicate + Descriptive	e.g.	uGcingokubusa : end up by reigning
Predicate + Object	e.g.	uThembinkosi : Trust in God
Predicate + Dep.Pred.	e.g.	uVukayibambe : wake up and catch it
Substantive + Qualificative	e.g.	uNtombenkulu : big girl
		uNtombikayise : girl of her father

Note that compound names have final elision of the first element (vus'umuzi, not vusa 'muzi), reflecting the natural elision of speech, which is, of course, heightened in the accelerated delivery of praise poetry.

Two distinctions may be noted here between compound names and extended personifications of praise poetry:

firstly, that only certain syntactic structures are possible for the stems of compound names (as described above in summary), i.e. the potentials are limited, whereas the range of possibilities for praise phrases appears limited only by the limitations of Zulu syntax;

secondly, that compound names have stems consisting of two elements only,[2] whereas the extended personifications of praise poetry commonly extends to four,

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1. 1976: 37-45

2. In a corpus of over two thousand names I have found only three exceptions to this rule: uBhekumuziwakhe (u)-bheka umuzi wakhe (he looks after his family), uBhekintoyakhe (u)bheka into yakhe (he looks after his thing), and (although I find it difficult to believe), one of my students said that the personal name of one of his schoolfriends was uBhekabakoninamalumekayise-mkhulu (Have regard for the maternal uncles of your grandfather).

five or more elements, as in the Ndlovu clan-praise Wena kaNkomo-isidl'-ekhaya-ngokuswel'-umalusi (You son of Mr Cow-now-eating-at-home-through-lack-of-a-herdboy).

Despite these differences it is clear that compound names and extended personifications are intrinsically the same, and if one accepts that there is some truth in the linguistic principle that the simplest form is the most basic or primary then it may be argued that the extended personifications of praises and praise-poetry are a development of the compounding and nominalising phenomenon of personal names.

I have noted the similarities and relationships between compound names and extended personifications, but as the praise poems themselves show, compounding is a regular, and indeed common, way of forming specific praise names. I cull the following examples from Cope:

SHAKA: uNodumehlezi < u + -NO + (u)duma ehlezi (he (who) is famous (even when) seated).

uLusibagojela < usiba + (lu) gojela (feather that disappears).

uHlabahlungu < (u)hlaba + ihlungu (he stabs the grass), but translated by Malcolm[1] as 'painful stabber' (uhlaba kabuhlungu).

uMnguningubanda < uMnguni ngubande (Mnguni is a piece of umthombothi wood); which praise name Malcolm renders as 'Long shield of the Mngunis'.

SENZANGAKHONA: uQangabhodiya < (u)qanga + umbodiya (he who jests at the carrying-skin) (Malcolm: 'tall one').

uNombangakubuya < u + No + (m) + banga + ukubuya (as Malcolm gives it: 'he-who-aims-to-return', with Cope's footnote: "a praise-name".

DINGISWAYO: uMafavuke < u + -Ma- + fa + avuke (he who dies and then awakes).

MACINGWANE: uVulanxavale < uvula + nxa + avale (Malcolm: 'he (who) opens when he closes').

PHAKATHWAYO: uSodlabehlezi < u + So + (u)dla + behlezi (he who eats (prospers) while they (others) sit).

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1. Daniel Malcolm translated the Stuart collection of izibongo which appears in Cope's Izibongo.

The points mentioned above (4.2.3.1 to 4.2.3.3) cover the grammatical similarities between names and praise-poetry. Before going on to 4.2.3.4 Male Qualities and 4.2.3.4 Positive Aspects, we may also note other minor points of similarity:

Names and izibongo relate to a person through time: these are the forms of reference to one deceased, where other forms of address (kinship terms, patronymics, clan names, etc.) are not longer applied. But note that a name is subject to hlonipha (respectful avoidance by women) whereas praises are not. Gunner has illuminating comments to make on women's praise poetry in this regard:

> "Once a complaint has been made in a praise poem it remains long after the incident is past, acquiring its own artistic objectivity and serving as an expression of its owner's identity: in this way life is turned into art."
>
> (1979:240)

On the relationship of amagama and izibongo to identity:

> "The poems ... display ... at the same time the sharp-eyed concern with individual identity that characterizes all Zulu praise poetry."
>
> (1979:240)

On the allusive qualities of both names and praises:

> "Allusion is also a typical feature of all these poems. The allusion usually recalls an unspecified event in the life of the poem's owner known possibly to no-one except the owner ... The poems are statements of individual identity and therefore some private allusions are permissible."
>
> (1979:240)

4.2.3.4 The emphasis on the male qualities.

Cope has included in his representative selection the izibongo of Shaka's aunt Mnkabayi and his mother Nandi; Gunner has written on the praises of women, both as composers and as those praised. There is no doubt that women may both praise and be praised. There is also no doubt, however, that the major emphasis of izibongo, both in composition and application, is on the male. Thus Finnegan:

> "... these (laudatory) epithets are usually bestowed on kings, leaders and outstanding warriors."
>
> (1970:128)

and Cope:

> "anyone can shout out praises to a man (my emphasis) engaged in a fight or performing an exhibition."
>
> (1968:27)

Other writers on the subject of Southern Bantu praise poetry have indicated that these are normally composed for, and bestowed on, heroes, warriors, kings and chiefs. Kunene perhaps puts this most clearly in his introductory chapter 1 'The Manhood of the Man', where he emphasises the relationship between 'heroic poetry' and manliness:

> "The heroic poems of the Basotho have, as their subject matter, mainly the heroic deeds of warriors and of kings. Their chief purpose is to praise - to extol the virtues of manly prowess, of courage, of valour, and of fighting skills."
>
> (1971:1)

In the light of this clear emphasis, it is perhaps hardly surprising (to return to the praises of women), that Mnkabayi's praises start with "USoqili!" ('Father of guile'), and Cope comments in a footnote "Mnkabayi is addressed as a man in the praise name Soqili, as the prefix USO- indicates a man"(pg 172).

In drawing this further connection between personal names and praise poetry, I refer to my statement in the conclusion to Chapter Three (3.6., pg 133.):

> "Zulu names show the importance ... of the male child in a patrilineal society ..."

This was made clear especially in the categories 'Male', 'God', 'Clan' and 'Injunction'.

Clearly, in showing how both names and praises emphasise the male qualities, one must stress that names are given at birth to a child who still has to manifest these qualities, whereas praises are earned much later by one who has displayed his manliness, but the connection is nevertheless clearly seen by Kunene:

> "In such a situation each man is, by definition, a warrior. This, among the Basotho, was reflected in the manner in which the birth of a boy was announced to his father ... (the midwife sends a woman to belabour the father with a stick) ...
> "Another method of reporting the birth of a boy is recorded by Segoete. As soon as the midwives announced the birth, the women around the home would break into ululations accompanied by the phrase Ho hlaba le pele, 'It is the foremost one (i.e. spear) that stabs'. Segoete further

states that in the second month of a boy's life, during the Ukuruetsol ceremony, the young boys who were invited brought sticks, spears and shields, and they staged mock-fights, imitating warriors. 'That is an indication', Segoete says, 'that this child is one who will handle the spear and the shield, a fighting person,a man'. Thus it was that the Basotho referred to a boy, even while yet a suckling babe, as

...pholo 'a letlaka,
Kabelw 'a manong...

...ox abandoned to the vultures,
One appointed to the eagles...,

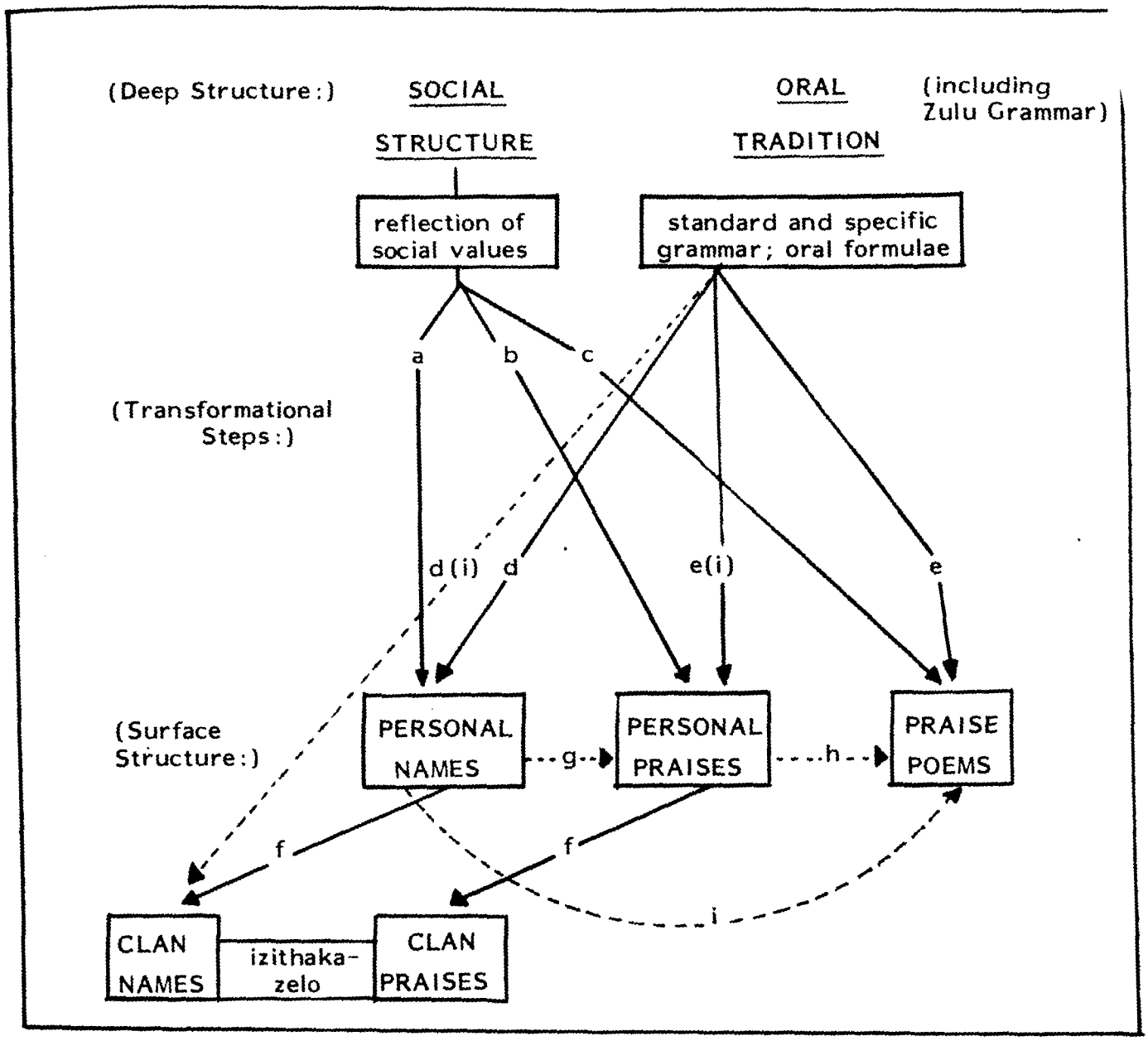
for he might die on the battle fields and his unburied corpse be devoured by the birds and beasts of prey."

(1971:4-5)

4.2.3.5 The 'Positive Aspect': I have attempted above to define 'praise' in the Zulu (and other Southern Bantu) context as 'that which seeks to further the status of the individual in a positive way'. Praises, as Finnegan, Cope and others have pointed out, may include criticism, but this is usually covertly expressed (by omission?), and even when included, is intended to be useful (functional?) criticism. Certainly in praises, the negative aspects of a man's character are played down, the positive stressed. That this is the case for Zulu personal names as well I have already pointed out in my conclusions for Chapter Three: "...the most characteristic features of Zulu personal names are (a) a joy in children, and (b) a positive attitude towards life."

4.2.4 Names, Praises, Society, and the Oral Tradition.

So far, this section (4.2) has attempted to show two things: firstly, the distinctions between personal names, clan names, clan praises, personal praises and praise poems; secondly, the points of similarity between them and their interrelationships. The diagram that follows is intended to show these interrelationships graphically, as well as fitting both names and praises into a social structure and an oral tradition. The diagram uses the Transformational-Generative Grammar levels of 'Deep Structure' and 'Surface Structure', linked by 'Transformational Steps'.



The Relationship between clan-names; clan-praises; Personal names; personal praises and praise poems.

Notes and key to Diagram

Social Structure:

'Social Structure' and 'social values' includes both the traditional rural structures and values (see Krige, 1965 and Bryant, 1967), and the modern urban structures and values (e.g. Christianity, incidences of illegitimacy, township life, employment in Western culture, football and boxing).

(a) Those social values expressed particularly in the personal names, all of which are detailed in Chapter Three, such as ilobolo, the importance of the male in a patrilineal society, the role of God in a modern Christian society, the importance of the clan, family strucutre.
(b) The social status of the individual among his peers; emphasis on qualities of manliness, courage, skill, agility, wit, looks; references to performance in various fields. (See Chapter 2: 2.7.1 to 2.7.7, pgs 60 to 71.)
(c) The expression of heroic, chiefly, or kingly qualities; historical and critical values.

Oral Tradition

This includes a basic or standard knowledge of Zulu grammar, the specific grammar appropriate to names and praises (such as male and female markers, secondary prefix derivation, and compounding procedures), and oral formulae such as traditional metaphors, parallelisms, extensions, and linkings.
(d) Knowledge of rules governing name-structure : male and female markers - see Koopman (1976:49-63) on morphological, semantic and syntactic marking; secondary-prefix derivation; compounding procedures for personal names rather than other nouns - see Koopman (1976:39-45) and Koopman (1983:'The difference between Zulu Compound Names and Compound Nouns' : in press) and Koopman (1984: 'Zulu Compound Nouns').
(d(i)) Such knowledge when clan-names are/were created afresh: as with forming morpheme -se in clan names like Mpungose, Nyawose, Shangase, Nyambose and Mdlalose; all, presumably, originally personal names, but now no longer possible; (ii) the earlier use of -no- in creating male names (D & V, 1958:582; "iii) ... prefixed to v.stems, used for names of men ..."), but now no longer used, but for earlier examples see Bryant (1959:index), (iii) the far greater use of -so- in forming male names, still used now, but rare; and (iv) little or

no reference to God or Christianity in the formation of early Zulu personal names.

(e) All oral formulae relating to praise poetry: common similes and metaphor; personifications; parallelisms and linkings; stanzaic structures. (See Cope, 1968: 38-63)

(e(i)) Oral formulae relating to personal praises : these are the same as (e) above, but (with the limited information available), I would say (a) there is more humour in personal praises; (b) they are certainly composed by amateurs rather than by professional bards (izimbongi); and (c) there are certain stylistic features which I have never come across in praise poems, such as 'umhlophe wensizwa' and 'unqwaza wensizwa' (pg62), 'ozikhundlakhundla' and 'eMasondosondo' (also pg63), and the use of English as in 'uAutomatic! uMshini-ozishintshayo!' (pg68). Clearly more work needs to be done on personal praises: whether these have an identifiable form of their own as opposed to traditional praise poetry, or whether these differences are modern /urban manifestations.

(f) This process, as with (d(i)) looks at a change of usage through time. Both social values (stick-fighting versus boxing, uku-giya vs football) as well as grammatical changes (the obsolescence of the name-forming morpheme -se) must be taken into account. It is clear, diachronically, that personal names and clan names, personal praises and clan praises, are the same. 'Passage-of-time' must look at the questions: (i) are newly-created clan names and clan izithakazelo still possible? and (ii) if so, do they use the archaic forms referred to in (d(i)) above? I would argue that the arrows marked (f) on the diagram above should be regarded as of historical importance only. Note on the diagram that izithakazelo link clan names and clan praises: I have used the term izithakazelo to refer to both the personal names and the personal praises of those members of the clan who have been remembered in their clan izithakazelo.

(g) The effect personal names have on personal praises and on expanded praise poems. My data is extremely limited - I cannot even be sure there is a connection between names and praises. The postscript below, which suggests that there is, gives one example only. Informants suggest that there are more examples, but have failed to come up with any.

(h) The clear way in which personal praises are compounded, expanded, and polished (usually by professionals) to become praise poetry.

(i) The role names play in the praise poems (see 4.4 Names in Oral Literature)

Postscript to 4.2 (From personal names to praise poetry)

An interesting example of the relationship between names, clan praises and praise poetry was given to me by my colleague M A Hlengwa. His daughter has the two amagama asekhaya: uBongeka and uBuhle; the main Hlengwa isithakazelo is Mashasha. Mr Hlengwa's sister-in-law, when playing with the child, often addresses her as "Buyabongeka ubuhle baMashasha" ('the beauty of the Mashasha people is gratifying'). This is often written as a message on gifts, birthday cards, etc. Notice how the natural alliteration in the two names Buhle and Bongeka is reinforced with the subject concord and possessive concord for ubuhle: "Buyabongeka ubuhle baMashasha". The combining of names and isithakazelo, the development of the name Bongeka, the alliteration, even the occasions of use: these all point to an isangelo in embryo, in the sense in which Gunner uses the word - the praise poems of infancy - in her "Songs of Experience". It would be useful to find more examples to see if this is a regular phenomenon.

4.3 The Literary Aspects of Zulu personal names.

Zulu personal names reveal different literary aspects when they are examined (a) in isolation; and (b) in combination. It is useful to treat these separately.

4.3.1 Names in Isolation may express

- 4.3.1.1 Allusiveness
- 4.3.1.2 Certain kinds of Imagery
- 4.3.1.3 Certain structural formalities
- 4.3.1.4 Certain prosodies.

4.3.2 Names in Combination may express

- 4.3.2.1 Alliteration and Assonance
- 4.3.2.2 Parallelisms of various kinds
- 4.3.2.3 Theme
- 4.3.2.4 Story ('narrative sequence')

4.3.1.1 Allusiveness

Allusiveness is that aspect of literature, particularly of poetry, when a word or phrase contains more than just the literal meaning, but in addition conveys an indirect reference to something else, or suggests further associations. To

take just one example, the line

'Nogogo betekula phansi kwemilovu' ('the grannies joking in the shade') in Vilakazi's poem "Ngizw' Ingoma" ('I Hear a Song') contains far more than the literal meaning. The line alludes to an extract from the izibongo zikaShaka (Shaka's praises):

UTeku lwabafazi bakwaNomgabhi,	The joke of the women of Nomgabhi,
Betekula behlezi emlovini,	Joking as they sat in the shade,
Bathi uShaka kakabusa, kakuba inkosi,	Saying Shaka will not rule, cannot become year,
Kodwa ngonyak' ozayo uzonethekezeka.	Whereas next year he would prosper.

And this extract itself alludes further to the treatment that Shaka received at the hands of the women of the Langeni clan when exiled there in his youth with his mother Nandi. All of this then, through allusion - indirect reference - is contained in the three words of the poem.

In this section I suggest that Zulu names have also allusiveness, in addition to their literal meanings. This idea of allusive meaning as opposed to literal meaning may be illustrated by a comparison with English/Western/European personal names. The literal meaning of Zulu personal names has been discussed at length in Chapter Three; the meanings of European[1] personal names are hardly known at all, but as the following 'short-list'[2] shows, there are meanings

Gmc = Germanic ON = Old Norse W = Welsh Gk = Greek I = Irish Heb = Hebrew	Eric (Gmc/ON)	'sole ruler'
	Gerald (Gmc)	'spear-wielding'
	Harold (Gmc)	'army-rule'
	Jennifer (W)	'white wave'/'white phantom'

1. Not used in the South African sense of 'white person' (as opposed to black), but as 'from Europe' : these are names of Old English, Old Norse, Celtic, Germanic, Greek and Latin origins.
2. Culled at random from pgs 1629-1639 of Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, ed. A.M. Macdonald, Edinburgh, 1974.

Alexander (Gk)	'defender of men'
Andrew (Gk)	'manly'
Charles (Gmc)	'manly'
Barry (I)	'spear'
Timothy (Gk)	'honoured of God'
Samuel (Heb)	'heard by God'/'name of God'
Rosalind (Gk)	'horse-snake'
Christopher (Gk)	'carrying Christ'
Dorothy (Gk)	'gift of God' (cf the Zulu name uSipho)

The major difference between Zulu personal names and the names given above is that in Zulu the meanings are still known - they have not become lost - and they still have a reference to circumstance : the relationship between meaning of name and reason for giving the name is still known. This is not to say that Western/European names are given without reason. Not so! But the reasons are usually such as 'We happened to like the name', 'she's named after my auntie Maud', etc.

Certain Zulu personal names have become very popular, and in a way, 'standardized', and the allusions are known to all. For example, the names Mduduzi ('comforter') and Duduzile ('having comforted') are widely known to refer to previous grief or misfortune in the family. It is easy to deduce that Ntombizodwa ('only girls') and Ntombizonke ('all girls') have a number of elder sisters; and that Vusumuzi ('revive the family') has no elder brothers. The allusive quality of other names is more obscure: only immediate members of the family would know that the name Tshani ('grass') refers to the father having been lost in long grass shortly before the birth of his son. Again, with the name Zwelibanzi ('the country is wide') everyone would understand the meaning, but only those who knew that this son was born shortly after the family had moved from Matatiele to Pietermaritzburg would understand the allusion. There is a certain ironic quality in the allusiveness of the name Thulebona ('be silent while seeing'). The father's sister had given the child this name because when the father was absent, working in Johannesburg, she had seen another man coming out of the mother's hut, and shortly afterwards a child was born. So indeed the aunt had 'kept silent while seeing', but had afterwards suggested this name, thus speaking out clearly, but only to insiders. The name Sakhiso ('building plot') was given by a father to refer to the third son in a row. Where less original fathers might have chosen

the common names Mfanafuthi ('another boy'), Makhosonke ('all chiefs'), or Mzikawupheli ('the family will not die out'), this father's reasoning went as follows: 'I now have enough sons to require the building of a separate bachelors' hut (ilawu), but for that I will need an additional building plot (isakhiso). In this name the underlying reason (reference to third son) is common enough, but the allusion is obscure.

I would never have picked up the allusions in the last-mentioned names had I not been given them by the various informants, but I have been regularly impressed by the way in which mother-tongue Zulu speakers are able to capture the allusive quality even of names which they have never heard before. Mrs G Mofokeng and Mr M A Hlengwa have been my most regular informants. I confonted Mrs Mofokeng with the name Zwelibuyile ('the clan/country has come back'), which she had never heard before, and she 'knew' (correctly), without knowing the family, that this name referred to the first son of a man with few brothers. (There is a better chance of increasing the numbers of a clan with a male child, as a female will marry into another clan). The girl's name Mabuyi can be loosely translated as 'Miss Returner', a reference to the way in which girls can bring back cattle to their fathers via ukulobola. Mr Hlengwa had never heard this name before, but, again 'knew' (instinctively? intuitively?) that this was the name of a second or third daughter. When they were asked how they 'knew', they weren't able to explain: 'everyone knows that ...', 'that's just the way it is', 'those are the names for those circumstances'. And yet they had not heard the names before. In an early draft of this chapter, I had written

> "...it seems to me ,,,(that) names, like praises, come from a deep-rooted and universally known oral tradition, so that even if a particular name has never been heard before, intuition and guess-work, moulded by allusion out of oral tradition, lead the hearer to the correct conclusions regarding the circumstances of that name-bearer's birth."

And it is worthwhile quoting in full Professor Cope's comments on that statement:

> "'native speaker intuition' is cultural as well as linguistic, just as language is cultural as well as linguistic. Remember Lees? - postman, postbox, letterbox, letterhead, etc. I thoughtat the time that it was not only linguistic intuition but cultural too - the post system and letters are part of Western culture, as the lobola system and cattle are part of Zulu culture. In izibongo the concord i- is understood to refer to impi, and the concord zi- to cattle - cultural intuition, or, as you say ...[illegible]... known cultural tradition (which may seem like intuition to outsiders. (Actually, I don't (like) this 'intuition' - I think it is knowledge, deep rooted/seated (as you say), ingrained, unconscious, knowledge, of linguistic and cultural patterns and systems.)"

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1. Professor Cope is referring to an article by Lees on 'English Nominalisations' which I used in an earlier work.

It is all too easy in a study such as this one to become blasé, and feel that if you have the meaning, you have the allusion as well, particularly in the case of a well known name. Pit-falls may arise where an often-used name is used with an unusual reference. I found two examples of this in one family:

the first son had the name Bhekinkosi ('have regard for the Lord') which normally alludes to the parents' desire that their child live a God-fearing life, but in this case the child had been named by the grandfather, telling his son (the child's father) to 'look to the clan chief' as representative of the clan amadlozi ('spirits'), and thank him for the son. With this interpretation one might expect the second son's name Nkosingiphile to be rendered as 'the chief (representing the amadlozi) has given me (another son)', but in fact the name was given by the mother according to the usual 'God has given me (this gift of a son)'. These two sons were followed by a first daughter, given the name Makhosazane ('girls'), a name which usually refers to the third or fourth daughter in a family with no sons. In this case the girl was named by the grandfather: both he and his son had got daughters at about the same time.

I have recorded the name Thulani ('be quiet') several times, and usually the allusion is to friction within the family. In one case however, the name was given as an admonition to the ancestors, asking them to stop giving children.

In my survey of names from the Pietermaritzburg district, I recorded the name Nkomokazikho ('there are no cattle') three times, each time in reference to a third or fourth son in a family without daughters to bring in ilobolo. But the first time I came across this name, some twelve years ago, the allusion had nothing to do with ilobolo: the name was a reference to drought.

4.3.1.2 Certain kinds of Imagery.

Most standard textworks on literature accept four basic kinds of imagery:

i) Simile: 'Shaka is like a lion'

ii) Metaphor: 'Shaka, the lion of the Zulus'

iii) Personification: 'The sun smiled lazily'

iv) Symbolism: 'The pen is mightier than the sword.'

I want to discuss these in reverse order, in order to discard those which I see as irrelevant to Zulu personal names.

Symbolism

I understand this term to refer to a word or phrase that represents a total idea, belief, or creed, as for example the pen as a symbol of writing/journalism/literature; the sword as representation of war/battle/might; the cross as symbol of Christianity; the swastika as symbol of German Fascism. Certain ideas have occurred to me that link Zulu names with symbolism, but I feel I must reject them:

(a) the allusive quality of Zulu names. Is the common name for the first-born son (Vusumuzi - 'wake up the family') a symbol of rejuvenative power? of patrilineal descent? of the importance of male children? of abhorrence of family extinction? Are Zulu names, taken generally, symbolic of a concept of family unity? of family structure? I cannot say that I see these as symbols in the literary sense.

(b) Are the names (i) Nelson Mandela, (ii) Steve Ba ntu Biko, and (iii) Gatsha Mangosuthu Buthelezi: symbols of (i) African Nationalism and the A.N.C., (ii) African Martyrdom, and (iii) African Moderation? Certainly the names are used as symbols: as emotionally chanted evocative portrayals of beliefs, these names are as symbolic as the cross of Christ. Yet I do not believe it is the name as such - rather it is the symbolism of the person and his circumstances; the name itself is irrelevant.

Personification

Here again I find myself in trouble. In a sense, all Zulu names, indeed all personal names, are personifications in that they refer to persons. If the Zulu noun amandla ('strength') is moved into class 1(a) uMandla ('Mr Strength'), this is surely a personification. So surely are uKhehla < ikhehla ('an old man') and uGugu < igugu ('a pet, treasure, jewel'). And yet I cannot see these in the same light as 'the smiling sun', 'the laughing brook' and 'the warm heart of the open savannah'. There is personification, of a kind, of a very basic kind, but it is not linked to the literary concept of the term.

I therefore restrict myself to the 'imagery of comparison': Similes and Metaphor.

Similes

This is a common form of imagery in praise poetry, but rare for personal names. To be a simile, a name must include the nominal inflections njenga- (just like) or nganga- (as big as), or must be compounds incorporating the verb fana (resemble). Given the very common structure of male names (Verb + Object) e.g. Bonginkosi, Bhekuyise, Vusumuzi, etc.) one might expect names like Fanuyise ('resembles his father') or uFanumalume ('resembles his uncle'), but I have never come across one. I have however, come across one boy named uNjengabantu ('just as people'), and a few examples of the name uNjengoyise (just like his father), but no female equivalents like uNjengonina (just like her mother). If one considers the class 1(a) noun/name-forming morpheme -ma- to have the meaning of 'characteristically' or 'habitually' then names like the following should be included as examples of simile:

girls: uMangcobo (as a personal name) ('like an Ngcobo')
uMantusi ('like an Ntusi')
uMantombi ('like a girl')

boys: uMavelajahe ('characteristically goes in a hurry')
uMahambehlala ('characteristically on the move')

There is an interesting hidden simile in the name uMbuyiseni (s: 'bring-ye-him- back'), where the father said the child looked so like his deceased grandfather that they immediately held an ukubuyisa ceremony to bring his spirit back.

Metaphor s

Personal names referring to the physical characteristics of the child at birth are frequently metaphorical, and I give the following examples from the data collected.

uSalukazi (d: 'old woman'): mother said the child when born was a wrinkled as an old woman.

uBotshwana < ibhodwe (d: 'little cooking pot'): the grandmother said the child was as black as a little pot.
uMakhehlana (s: 'little old men'): the grandmother said the child was on its knees when born just like a very old man. These first three names are all from the same family.
uTofo (d: 'squashy thing'): the mother remarks on the softness of the child at birth.
uMbalenhle (d: 'beautiful flower') in reference to child's beauty. (More than one example).

A simple metaphorical reference to the beauty of a daughter is found in the name uNobuhle ('beauty', with the no-inflection).

Metaphors found in praise poetry are frequently based on animals and I have collected the following pair of names:
uMamba (s: 'mamba') because his grandfather said his eyes were as sharp as a mamba's when he was born.[1]
uChakide (s: 'meerkat, mongoose'): his father gave him this name because he looked very clever when he was born.[2]

I collected the following names between 1973 and 1975 as part of the data for my Honours dissertation, but as at that stage I was not asking for the reason behind the name, I can only guess at their being metaphorical in intent: uGoso ('dance-leader'), uNkukhu ('chicken'), uMandla ('strength'),[3] uMabhlane ('clerk' - although this may be an 'Injunction'), uMbokodo ('grinding-stone'), uMbube ('lion'), uXhegu ('aged man'), and, again, the very common uSipho ('gift'). These are all boys' names; for girls I have found (in the same original collection): uDolwane ('little knee'), uQhikiza ('grown girl'), and the very common uGugu

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1. When I met the possessor of this name in 1975, then aged 22, his eyes were still sharp and piercing.
2. UChakide is the well-known trickster of Zulu izinganekwane ('folk-tales').
3. A common name, though usually a shortened form of uMandlenkosi ('the strength of the Lord').

('treasure') - often in the fuller form uGugulethu ('our treasure').

4.3.1.3 Certain Structural Formalities

In an earlier article, entitled 'The LInguistic Difference between Nouns and Names in Zulu', I concluded by saying:

> "This short account of the linguistic difference between nouns and names tries to show that the uniqueness of the Zulu name is reflected in its structure, be it simple or compound in its stem."
>
> (1979(a):80)

It is not my intention to expand on these structural differences here - it should suffice to say these are markedly characteristic of the Zulu personal name, and include inter alia secondary prefix usage

particular use of cl.1(a) formatives -ma-, -no- & -so-

use of simple verb stems

greater variety of syntactic elements compounded

different rules of compounding.

My point under this heading is that just as Zulu names are part of the Zulu language, but with structural differences, so is the literature of a certain language part of, or expressed in, that language, but with structural differences which mark a particular genre. To take at random from particular genres:

The novel has the structural feature of plot interwoven with story, tension, climax, etc.

The drama includes the elements exposition, development, climax and dénouement.

Written poetry includes verse and stanza, triplet and couplet, other line-and-rhyme-linked structures such as the quatrain or sonnet, these often requiring further structural refinements like a change of mood or attitude in the middle of the third line of an Omar Khayyam quatrain, or between the octet and sextet of certain sonnets. Such structural markers are true of oral literature as well as written. Oosthuizen, Cope and Canonici (to name just three) have written on the structure of the Zulu izinganekwane and have identified features such as function and sequence, external and internal links. Canonici talks of primary and secondary functions and sequences, and of embedded functions and sequences. Cope, in his work on Zulu izibongo, or oral praise poems, not only identifies structural features common to written poetry such as stanza, triplet, couplet;

but features peculiar to izibongo, such as parallelisms and linkings of various kinds. He has distinguished between different stanzaic structures, defining the 'Shakan stanza' for instance as having the constituents 'statement', 'extension', 'development' and 'conclusion'.

I am reluctant to say that the structural peculiarities of Zulu personal names are literary features. I am also aware that I am comparing different kinds of structures: the linguistic structures of Zulu names, and those of different literary genres, which are surely (?) more than linguistic. I do, however, feel it is reasonable to say that as Zulu names are set apart from other Zulu nouns by structural differences, so are the literary forms of a language set apart from the other forms of that language by structural differences.[1]

4.3.1.4 Prosodies

As structural features may only be considered as literary if they are peculiar to their genre, so prosodic features (features of length, stress and tone) may only be considered as such if they can be found only in specific forms of oral literature (for these are primarily oral features). Thus Cope is justified in including in his literary discussion of izibongo a section on 'method of delivery' (1968:28-31), where he includes high pitch, volume, speed, the elimination of 'normal downdrift intonation', and exaggerated final cadence. So also Finnegan:

> "Any discussion of the formal structure of praise poems must include some reference to prosody. This is a difficult topic but it seems that there is some kind of dynamic stress which, in addition to other stylistic features mentioned below, is one of the main characteristics which distinguish this art form as 'poetry'."
>
> (1970:129)

The prosodic feature peculiar to Zulu personal names has already been discussed in Chapter Two under 2.5.3 'Izidlaliso, Izifekethiso, Izifenqo'. In these usually shortened forms of names, the standard penultimate length of the name is replaced by final length with an exaggerated high tone. Thus Thó"kózì:lé >

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1. Stressing, of course, 'not necessarily only by structural differences'.

Thó:kò > Thòkó:. The closest phonological equivalent would be the tone patterns of Zulu 3rd position demonstratives, like làphàyá:.

Note of this feature that:

1) The name is normally shortened to two syllables, for example Vusi < Vusumuzi, Jabu <Jabulisiwe, Thembi< Thembekile, 'Sbongi< Sibongile. Occasionally the name may be shortened to one syllable: Vu< Vusumuzi, Ndo < Ndoda.

2) Frequently the last syllable is changed to -i : Ntombó < Ntombi< Ntombikayise/Ntombiziningi/Ntombenhle/Ntombenkulu (Ntombizodwa and Ntombizonke > Zodwa and Zonke, and occasionally Zó:).

3) This particular tonal pattern is common with personal names, and may be regarded as a personal name phenomenon, but according to Hlengwa,[1] if one plays with a small child, one may add this final length/high tone to words like Halló, Yebó; or very young schoolchildren may be endearingly addressed as Mfanó: and Ntombó: irrespective of their actual names.

4.3.2 Names in Combination

'Names in Combination' may occasionally refer to the two or more Zulu names of an individual, but most of my examples refer to the names of more than one child in the family, and, at times, all the names in the family - children and parents.

4.3.2.1 Alliteration and Assonance

To illustrate how names within the family context may display alliteration and assonance, I give the names of six different families. Note the importance of the father-son and mother-daughter relationships. Note also the important role of the igama lesilungu either in supporting the alliteration and assonance of the amagama asekhaya, or in interweaving subtle threads of minor contrasting

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1. Personal communication

alliterations and assonances. (f = father m = mother
s = son d = daughter)

family 1 f: Melusi Ribion m : Zinhle Diana
s: Mmeli Robert d : Zandile Debbie
d : Zimbili Daisy

A straight-forward case of alliteration of all names - both the Zulu and the European, with son following father, and daughters following mother. The female names show in addition similar structures and underlying reasons: 'They-are-beautiful', 'They-have-increased', 'They-are-two'.

family 2 m : Nomusa Rachel
d : Nokulunga Rebecca
d : Nokululeko Rejoice

Only the female side of this family, with both Zulu and European names showing alliteration and assonance. The Zulu names all have also the cl. 1(a) formative -no- used between secondary and primary prefixes. There is also a semantic link between the Zulu names: 'Grace', 'Righteousness' and 'Freedom'.

family 3 three sons : Simo Jacob
Siphiwe Joseph
Sipho James

The alliteration and assonance here is linked to a strong biblical theme in both the Zulu and European names.

family 4 two sons : Nkosingiphile Denis
Nkosinothando Derek

Here the alliteration and assonance is reinforced by the repetition of (i)nkosi, by the number of syllables, by the stress and tone patterns, and by the underlying idea of the Zulu names.

family 5 f : Nhlakanipho Erick m : ... Jane
s : Msizi Ernest d : Nomusa June
s : Nhlanhla James
d : Nonkululeko Euvone
s : Mandla Eugene

This is a fairly complicated tapestry. The father is linked to the first and third sons by the igama lesilungu, but to his second son by the elasekhaya. Both

daughters are linked to each other by the Zulu name, but only the first daughter, together with the second son, is linked to the mother by the European name. The first and third son are linked to each other by alliteration of the Zulu name, and the last two children, daughter and son, by the assonance of the European name.

family 6

This family also shows an inter-weaving of assonance and alliteration. Both Zulu and European names have two distinct patterns, and none are related to the parents' names.

s:	Sifiso	Wilfred	
s:	Siphiwe	Hamilton	
s:	Makhosonke	Hamson	
d:	Ntombifikile	Harriet	
s:	Mziwandile	Wilgrave	
s:	Muzikayise	Wilson	
s:	Mthunzi		David - odd one out: this name given by grandfather; all others by father

The examples given above show alliteration and assonance with both the Zulu and the European names, but I have found this phenomenon to be far more common with the European names - the Zulu names tend to interrelate more in terms of parallelisms of structure or meaning. For example, in the following three families, the Zulu names were all unconnected:

family 7	family 9		
f: Jeremiah	d: Pretty	PR-T-	there is more than
m: Julia	s: Patrick	P-TR-	just initial alliteration of P in this sextet
s: Jerome	d: Patricia	P-TR-	
d: Josephina	s: Petros	P-TR-	
	d: Princess	PR-	
	s: Protas	PR-T-	

family 8

f: Leonard
m: Lorraine
s: Laurence
d: Lily

As hinted at in family 2 above, the alliteration or assonance

may be emphasised by a common theme.

Consider the following two families (10 and 11), one a family of girls, the other of boys:

family 10 m : ..... Josephina
d : Nonhlanhla Jane
d : Nokubonga Janet
d[1] : Nontokozo Joy (note semantic relationship between these two names)

The Zulu names are derived from the cl. 1(a) formative -no- and the nouns inhlanhla ('luck'), ukubonga ('gratitude') and intokozo ('joy').

family 11 f : Siphiwe Godfrey
m : Sibongile ...
s : Siyambonga Gordon
s : Sifiso Gerald
s : Senzo Glen
s : Sizwe Gladwell

The 'theme' of the Zulu names is suggested by the parents' names, and then continues with the sons' names, with the praise shifting subtly from God to the parents. All names of sons were given by the father, and I quote his reasons:

f: 'we have been given (a son, by God)'
m: 'we are grateful (to God, for this daughter)'
s: 'we praise Him' (for this son)'
s: 'desire' (the father had desired another son, and 'now indeed he gets one')
s: 'deed' (the father is amazed at the deed of the mother 'in bearing for him (so that) he will not be forgotten')
s: 'clan, nation' (the father 'praises himself, saying that he has only men: a whole nation; he could attack even an army and contain it (angayibamba) with his sons')

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1. It is interesting to note that there was a period of ten years between the second and third daughter.

I end this section on alliteration and assonance with an interesting example which reverses the initial letters of the Zulu and European names according to the sex of the child:

family 12	f:	Mzwakhe	David
named by grandfather	d:	Duduzile	Sharon
	d:	Dumsile	Sheila
	s:	Sibusiso	Duncan
	s:	Mzwandile	Desmond
	s:	Siyabonga	Den

Here the daughters' Zulu names (closely paralleled by more than just the initial d) and the father and sons' European names begin with d; the daughters' European names (sh) and the sons' Zulu names (si-) with s. The odd ones out were named by the grandfather, and show their own alliteration and parallelism: Mzwakhe < umuzi wakhe ('his family')
Mzwandile < umuzi wandile ('the family has grown')

4.3.2.2 Certain parallelisms

I have mentioned the term 'parallelism' several times in the previous section. As a feature of Zulu oral literature, it is well documented by both Nyembezi, on the subject of Zulu proverbs, and Cope on Zulu izibongo. Space does not permit more than one example of each:

proverb: wabika imbiba, wabika ibuzi — to be unreliable; to report one thing first, then another.
(he reported a field-mouse, he reported a field-rat)

from the izibongo zikaSenzangakhona ('the praises of Senzangakhona')

'owayelala wangangemifula,
owayevuka wangangezintaba' — he was very tall.
'he who when lying down was as big as rivers,
he who when erect was as big as mountains.'

These two examples show juxtaposition of phrases/lines which repeat an idea, while varying the wording. Morpheme repetition, as well as alliteration and assonance, are often features of parallelism. Such parallelisms are common in the names of twins, and emphasize their close relationship. The following are examples:

1) s: Nhlanhla } { the only difference is in the no-
d: Nonhlanhla } { inflection: 'luck'
2) s: Bongumusa: 'thank the grace (of God)'
s: Bongisisa: 'be extremely thankful'
3) s: Mthobisi: 'the humbler'
d: Thobile: 'being humble'
4) d: Langelihle: 'beautiful day'
s: Langalenjabulo: 'day of happiness'
5) s: Mzwenhlanhla: 'house of luck'
d: Nonhlanhla: 'luck' (with no-)
6) s: Phumlani: 'rest-ye' from the verb ukuphumula
d: Phumla 'rest'
7) d: Bongekile: 'expressing thanks'
s: Sibongeleni: 'be-ye-thankful-on-our-behalf'
8) d: Samukelisiwe: 'we have been saved' (amukela)
d: Sindisiwe: 'having been saved' (sindisa)
9) s: Thabó< thaba 'be happy'
d: Thabile: 'being happy'

In the next two families, the daughters' and sons' names are linked by parallelism:

1) d : Thembeni } { derived from the verb
d : Thembisile } { themba (hope, trust)
s : Bonginkosi } { verb + object structure, with inkosi
s : Bhekinkosi } { 'Praise the Lord' and 'Look to the Lord'.

2) s : Thulani } { both plural imperatives of disyllabic verbs.
s : Thabani } { Parallel reinforced by alliteration
d : Nonhlanhla } { both no- inflected nouns
d : Nomusa } { 'Miss Luck' and 'Miss Grace'.

The next family has apparent parallels in the noun isizwe (nation, clan), but this is not the case:

s : Thulasizwe < thula si-zwe ('be quiet that we might hear')
s : Phasizwe< phas(a) izwe ('support the country')
s : Bhekizizwe< bhek(a) izizwe ('look to the clans')

Perhaps the most striking example of parallelism in the names of a family is the following:

d : Jabhile
d : Jabulile
s : Jabulani
s : Jabhani

All four names are linked by alliteration and assonance with initial jab-. The two daughters' names are morphologically linked with the perfect suffix -ile; the two sons' names with the plural imperative suffix -ani. The first and last names are derived from the verb jabha (be disappointed); the two middle names are from jabula (be happy), giving a pleasing positive-negative symmetry to the quartet, emphasised by the 3-4-4-3 syllable distribution.

If one adds to these names the European names, it is clear that the names have been chosen to fit a carefully thought out pattern:

Jabhile Carol
Jabulile Cynthia
Jabulani Cyril
Jabhani Cecil

One is tempted, because of the perfect symmetry and careful thought behind these names, to suggest that these were the only reasons for giving the names, and that only one person was responsible for the naming, but this is not the case, as the following history shows:

Jabhile ('being disappointed'): named by the child's maternal grandmother to show her disappointment at her daughter having a child at home (izalele ekhaya), i.e. before marriage.

Jabulile ('being happy'): being now married, the mother indicates her happiness ngoba ethole ingane eseshadile (because she has had the child being now married).

Jabulani ('be-ye-happy'): the father said "Jabulani nina bakwaMathonsi ngoba nithole insizwa" ('be happy you people of Mathonsi (his clan) because you have got a young man').

Jabhani ('be-ye-disappointed'): the mother directed this to the other wives of the isithembu (polygamous household) because they had taken her husband away from her, but he had now come back to her with the birth of her second son. The gloating triumph in this name is clear. Clear also, is the 'story' aspect of names in combination. Note that this highly structured

and unified 'poem' of names has three authors! Indeed, if one were to look at these names as an eight-word poem, one would have to take note of three different rhyme schemes:

alliteration of both English & Zulu names	sex of child and morphology of Zulu name	syllabic structure and meaning of Zulu name
a	a	a
a	a	b
a	b	b
a	b	a

4.3.2.3 Theme

Under this heading I discuss families where the names have a common underlying attitude or subject. For example, when I discussed alliteration in 4.3.2.1 above, I gave the following names as an example:

d : Nonhlanhla ('luck')
d : Nokubonga ('gratitude')
d : Nontokozo ('joy')

These names all express the joy of having children. In the following family, where all the names were given by the mother, the theme could be something like 'the power of positive thinking'. The names exhibit parallelism in their structure (all boys' names derived from uninflected nouns, all girls' names from nouns inflected with no-), as well as a subtle pattern of alliteration:

s : Sipho ('gift')
s : Sibusiso ('blessing')
s : Mbuso ('reign')
s : Mandla ('strength')
d : Nontuthuko ('progress')
d : Nomusa ('grace')
d : Nokuthula ('peace')

In another case, the names of the children reflect the feelings of a man greedy for lobolo cattle, who has six sons and only one daughter. (One is reminded of the character Manamuza in Ngubane's novel Uvalo Lwezinhlonzi whose first daughter was his least favourite child, for she had married when he was still a commoner and thus brought him only eleven head of cattle, instead of waiting until he was an induna, for then, like her sisters who married later, she would have brought him fifteen head.) The relevant names here

are, fourth son: Swelokwakhe ('lacking his (inheritance)':there are no cows left); fifth son: Bhodlani ('what is bellowing (in my cattle kraal)?': nothing); daughter (fifth child): Vuthelwaphi ('where will she get ripe?': this child was born pre-wedlock with a second wife - the father was worried about his rights to lobolo cattle when she would be older (ripe).

In the next example, whether the mother was responsible for all the names, four out of six names reflect her worry about her standing amongst her neighbours in the esiNadini area. I give her reasons as I recorded them:

s : Mbongiseni ('be happy for us') 'be happy for us you people of esiNadini because we have got a boy child'

d : Sizakele ('encouraged') (not related to the general theme)

s : Delani ('be satisfied') 'let the people of esiNadini be satisfied with what they have - we have another son'

s : Mkhanyiselwa ('the illuminated one') (not related to the general theme)

d : Ncamsile ('having satisfied') 'I am satisfied that we have shown you people of esiNadini that we can get girls as well as boys.'

d : Phumzile ('having given rest') 'now we can rest, because with this daughter we are assured of our standing in the location.'

4.3.2.4 Story

This is the narrative element of names in combination. In a sense, all Zulu names 'tell a story' in that they all have underlying reasons, even if these reasons have become formalized or 'institutionalized' in the modern urban settings. But what I mean by 'story' in this context are those names in combination which narrate a sequence of events, thus allowing such literary subtelties as 'narrative', 'development' and 'climax' to be expressed. In Chapter 3, under 3.3.11 'Friction', I have introduced a family with the words "An entire history of the parents' difficulties may be reflected in the names of the children ...". It is worthwhile giving these names again: The first name may be seen as an introductory statement:

s : Zwelihle ('beautiful country') expressing the father's happiness and his sense of peace. The second name is a development which contrasts strongly with the first name:

s : Mhlabunzima ('the world is cruel'): this name reflects the shattering

of the family peace, the reversals of their fortunes. The name tells of the quarrel with the paternal in-laws, of the need to move, of a sense of aggrievement (rather than aggression). The names of the twins which followed reflect a resolution of the conflict:

d : Khethukuthula ('choose peace') and d : Nokuthula ('peace') tell of the family's return to the happy and peaceful conditions enjoyed at the time of the birth of the first child.

The idea of a story can be clearly seen in the following two names:

d : Ngenzeni ('what should I do?' or 'what have I done?'): I give the mother's reason as recorded: 'because her husband was troubling her greatly, being drunk and hitting her even though she was pregnant, so she sat asking herself (talking to herself) what she should do here on the earth'. The second name expresses a resolution of her difficulties. Although we are not overtly told that her husband has stopped drinking and violence, and that they now live in peace, the name itself is sufficient indication: d : Nonjabulo ('joy' with no- inflection).

Another example of a sequence of events being related in just two names, with the resolution being expressed metaphorically, is the following:

d : Nokuphiwa ('being given') from the mother because 'she got (the child) her husband then being troubled having lost his job and living by being given food and clothing by neighbours and relatives'. The metaphorical resolution is seen in the second name:

d : Nomalanga ('suns', with no-)[1] from the mother 'because matters were now shining brightly like the sun, he now working, the husband, and getting everything he wanted'.

In my next example, not only do the names tell a story (with intrigue, dialogue, and interaction between characters all being well expressed), but one of the names states that it is telling a story. The names express a pattern of statement, extension and resolution; finer detail is provided by each child

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1. For some reason, girls' names incorporating the noun ilanga (sun), and especially if incorporated with no-, do so with the plural amalanga. I have come across several Nomalanga's, but have as yet found no uNolanga.

having two Zulu names:

The name of the first child introduces the situation with the question Bangifiselani (d: 'what do they want from me?') from the mother 'because those of the husband's family (lit: abasemzini) hated her and wouldn't speak to her and she asked herself what do they want from me, not even speaking to me (even though) I am pregnant?'. The husband adds to this by giving the same child the name Thembeni ('hope for what?'), asking what is his wife hoping for because it seems she hates her husband. All the elements of intrigue and conflict are now present, and the husband's Thembeni adds an element of anticipation - what will happen next? In this case, we must wait two years for the birth of the second child before reading the next chapter, as it were: Funani (d: 'what do you want?') from the mother. This is an extension of the initial situation: matters have not changed. This name is answered, and the mother finds out that a son is wanted. (As recorded by my informant: 'in this name the mother asks how it is that her mother-in-law hates her, because she is bearing children for her, and she finds out the truth that a boy is needed'). Now the child's father, in reply to this question, and in an attempt to soothe the ruffled feelings of both his wife and his mother, gives this child a second name Thembile ('we still hope'), in other words, 'wait, we will still get a boy'. Again we must wait, this time for four years, before finding out whether the conflict will be resolved, the tension broken. The boy arrives, and the names are a literary delight: exuberance of the father, the quiet calm of the mother. The father's name for the boy: Ndabezekwayo ('a story which is (still) being told') is not an obvious comment on the arrival of a boy (cf. uMfanufikile, Vusumuzi); it is not a comment on their joy (cf Jabulani, Bonginkosi, etc.), it is not even a comment on peace at last. Yet the name says it all: Ndabezekwayo: the story of how MaCele bore a son for her ninazala is still being told amongst the members of the family. I said 'the quiet calm' of the mother, but there is triumph yet in her name for this son: Gunya ('authority, security'), and this is clear in her reasons, as recorded by my informant: the mother 'said she had authority/security now because she has brought a son'. The quiet assurance is expressed in the simplicity of the Zulu original, and note the force of that -ke[1]: Wathi unegunya-ke manje ngoba uze nensizwa.

1. The almost untranslatable enclitic -ke ('well','then') draws the penultimate stress of a word forward, allowing the speaker to linger, as it were, on the word.

All the elements of the story are here: tension and anticipation, climax, and resolution and happy ending. And it is an ending: note the firmness, the authority behind that last name. Interesting, however, in this 'story', is the co-authors' treatment of the climax: it is there, but covertly expressed - it lies in the hiatus between developmental tension and final resolution.

The narration of a sequence of events can also be seen in the two Zulu names of each of the following two individuals from different families. Nomaqhinqa Babhekile and Phuphelihle Nompumelelo:

1) Nomaqhinqa Babhekile (d): the first name was given by the mother, because when she was pregnant she and the father of the child agreed that he would speak to her parents about ilobolo before they noticed she was pregnant, and they made plans (amaqhinqa) to this effect; the second name was given by the child's paternal grandmother, who said people had been watching (babhekile) to see if they would get married, seeing that they had started with a child. (They were married after the birth of this first child.) The forward planning, and the anticipation of others shown in these two names should perhaps, ideally (and I speak in the role of a literary critic here), be followed by a name (of the next child) reflecting a resolution of the previous events. In fact the next child was a son named Mlindelwa ('the awaited one') for they were expecting a boy. The fact that the original conflict is not resolved may be due to the fact that the son was born five years after the daughter, during which time one may expect that the original situation had been forgotten.

2) Phuphelihle Nompumelelo (d): the first name ('beautiful dream') was given by the mother because before the birth the child's grandmother had dreamed of a young mother bringing a 'girl-child' (mntwana wentombazane). The sequence of events - the dream leading to its realization - is captured by the father in his name for the child Nompumelelo ('success') referring to the dream coming true. (lafezeka iphupho - 'the dream accomplished itself')

I end this section on the literary values of names, and of names in combination in particular, by warning that this kind of inter-relationship between names is not common, or perhaps more accurately, is not the norm. Names, as I have said above, in effect all tell a story of some kind, but in most families these stories are individual and unrelated. The same applies to such features as assonance and alliteration, parallelisms and themes: these are not

the norms. I include such relationships between the names of the family to show that this is possible: there is a literary potential in a combination of names, which is exploited by some parents, and not by others.

4.4 The Use of Names in Zulu Praise-Poetry.

The role of the personal name in traditional poetry (izibongo, praise poetry) has been studied in detail by Kunene in his 1971 work Heroic Poetry of the Basotho. Kunene coined the term 'eulogue' which he explained in a footnote:

> "will be used generically to refer collectively to all types of eulogistic references used of the hero, whether they be praise names or associative references. The term 'eulogue' is used here as an extension and adaptation of eulogy: eulogism: eulogize, etc, to refer to a praise phrase whether comprising one word, a group of words, or a sentence." (1971:15)

It is clear that his terms of reference are wider than mine when I refer to 'the use of names in Zulu praise poetry', but nonetheless, his analysis and subsequent classification of these eulogues provides useful hints on possible similar analysis of Zulu izibongo. Kunene introduces his categorization with a detailed analysis of the dithoko (=izibongo) of Chief Maama. In 253 lines of poetry, "Maama is eulogized 75 times, 43 different eulogues being used." In other words 43 distinct and different references are made to one person. Allowing for Kunene's 'eulogue' being different to the Zulu igama, but at the same time acknowledging the connection between 'name', 'praise-name' and 'praise-phrase' as I detailed it in 4.2.6[1] above, the statistics must emphasize the importance, at least, of the name in praise poetry. I give just a few of Maama's eulogues as illustration:

'Forward-leaning One of Lekena'
'Vulture of Lerotholi'
'Black Thunderbolt of the house of Seeiso'
'Maama, the Setter-alight'
'Koekoyo'
'Devourer-of-the-children-of-the-white-man'
'Warthog of Mohato'

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1. 'The relationship between names and praises'.

'Crocodile of the son of Mokhachane'

'Elephant of Mabatla'

'Letsabisa's little Father'

Kunene divides these eulogues into six categories:

1) Those which describe him by physical characteristics and moral and emotional attributes;

2) Those which identify him with some animal or thing, or with a natural phenomenon;

3) Those which tell of his deeds;

4) Those which identify his regiment, and identify him with it;

5) Those which associate him with other people as relatives or companions-in-arms;

6) Those which associate him with his place of origin.

(1971:19,20)

Later in his work he combines categories 2) 'Metaphorical names', and 3) 'Narrative names', and says of these 'metaphorical-narrative allusions':

> "From this it is clear that most of what we have called narrative names are, in one sense, much more than that; in another, much less. In them historical fact is camouflaged in figurative language, and the result is poetry, not history."
>
> (1971:36)

In a later chapter, his six basic categories are combined into 3 broader divisions:

> "1) Naming eulogues, i.e. those which are coined as aliases for the hero, each one being inspired by its own set of circumstances as the poet sees them, and
> 2) Eulogues of associative reference, in which the hero is not named, but is rather praised for his association, either in blood or marriage relationship, or comradeship-in-arms, with other people.
> This latter category will obviously include genealogical references as well."
>
> (1971:35)

Before going on to examine the usefulness or otherwise of Kunene's categorization, I would also like to look at what Schapera has to say in his Praise-Poems of Tswana Chiefs about the use of names:

> "One other feature of vocabulary needs special mention ...(the) referring to a single person by several different kinds of name (apart from the animal and other metaphors already noted). In addition to his proper names, for instance a chief may be called by the name of his totem ... [examples] by the name of his age-set ...[examples], by the name of

> his tribe ... [examples], by a nickname (e.g. Rraditsebe, Big-ears), or by a special and distinctive praise-name (e.g. Rramalebanya, Wise One; Jabane, Scourge). I shall refer more fully below to the role of totemism and age-sets as sources of honorifics, and confine myself here to proper names and praise-names."
>
> (1965:23)

Schapera goes on a little later to enlarge on what he means by 'praise-names':

> "Praise-names are described by Lestrade as 'laudatory epithets' referring to some quality for which the person is remarkable, or some deed of prowess or cunning which he has performed. Some are simple derivatives from verbs (e.g. Phamodi, Snatcher; Tatedi, Follower; Kgalemi, Rebuker); others are formed with the aid of the prefix Rra- (father), which here indicates 'possessor' of some quality (e.g. Rramathibedi, Obstructer; Rramaeletsa, Coveter), or of the prefix Mma- (e.g. Mmasempitseng, 'Mrs Call-me-not'); others are simple compounds of verbs and nouns (e.g. Kilamolelo, Fire-hater; Lejabatho, Man-eater; Mfetolabatho, Transformer of people); and a few are phrases (e.g. Motlotlomedi aditshaba, Exalted one of the tribes)."
>
> (1965:24)

Both Kunene and Schapera are writing about the same thing: the use of names in praise poetry. But two points must be made clear if I am to use them as comparative illustrations, or to benefit from their work:
firstly, both extend the concept 'praise name' to include metaphorical references, praise-phrases, teknonyms and other kinship references, and the like; secondly, both are concerned only with those names and praises which identify or refer to the subject of the praise-poem - they are not concerned about any other names which might appear.

As regards the first point, it would be possible for me to analyse Zulu praise poetry on the lines of Kunene and Schapera, although certain aspects of their analysis are not relevant to Zulu study: the use of teknonyms, for example, does not occur in Zulu izibongo, nor does Zulu use the totem system. But it is not the intention of this work to do detailed analyses of Zulu izibongo: Cope has already indicated the main kinds of references made in izibongo, although he has no statistical counts of individual poems such as Kunene's of Chief Maama. Rather, to refer to the second point, am I interested in the use of names generally in Zulu izibongo, whether these are of the subject of the poem, or, which is a far more frequent occurence, they are the names of those who come into contact with the protagonist, his supporters, or even his victims. Damane and Saunders (1974) come close to seeing the value of names in their own right, adding to the poem simply by being there what Finnegan has described as 'a richly figurative intensity', when they quote the following praises

of Lerotholi Mojela:

> "The Crocodile, the otter of Tsakholo, the child of the mighty chief,
> The crocodile, the otter of your family, Seeiso,
> Of the family of Nkoebe and Maama,
> Of the family of Thaabe and Sekhobe,
> Of the family of Peete and Mohachane,
> Of the family of Moholobela and Theko,
> Of the family of Masopha and Lepolesa,
> Of the family of Sempe and Mohlakana!"
>
> (1974:28)

In comment on this extract, and other similar extracts, Damane and Saunders say:

> "In building up these associations the poet is deepening his audience's awareness of itself as a historically continuous community, with a powerful attachment to its land, and with a proud tradition that is embodied, above all, in its chief, the heir and descendant of the great rulers of the past. The names of his relatives and comrades are clustered around his as if to support and strengthen him. Resplendent in his own glory, he can yet receive added lustre from theirs."
>
> (1974:29)

But then, as Cope has pointed out (1968:35), these references to events, peoples and places are frequently very obscure as most of the allusions have been forgotten. How much emphasis can we put on the historical and kinship links of such names? Perhaps Schapera, of all the scholars of Southern-Bantu praise poetry, comes closest to the point I wish to make:

> "... many informants were pleased to find difficult or archaic words and expressions in the texts; these, they said, show how rich the language is ... This reinforces the point I have been trying to make, that to many Tswana the beauty of the poems lies more in their vocabulary than in their rhythm or sentiment."
>
> (1965:23)

But then again, Schapera talks of 'vocabulary' - I wish to say beauty may reside in the sonorous listing of names, whether these are linked to the person being praised by 'historical continuity' or 'comradeship-in-arms' or whatever. Consider the following extract from the praises of Shaka, and their similarity to the praises of Lerotholi Mojela quoted above:

> "185 Wadl' uNomahlanjana ezalwa nguZwid' eMapheleni,
> Wadl' uMpepha ezalwa nguZwid' eMapheleni,
> Wadl' uNombengula ezalwa nguZwid' eMapheleni,
> Wadl' uDayingubo ezalwa nguZwid' eMapheleni,
> Wadl' uSonsukwana ezalwa nguZwid' eMapheleni,
> 190 Wadl' inkosikazi okaLubongo,
> Wadl' uMtimona ezalwa nguGaqa eMapheleni,
> Wadl' uMpondo-phumela-kwazinde eMapheleni,
> Wadl' uNdengezi-mashumi eMapheleni,
> Wadl' uSikloloba-singamabele kwabakaZwide,

195 Wadl' uSihla-mthini-munye kwabakaZwide,
Wadl' uNqwangube ezalwa uLundiyane,
Kwakungowakithi esephendul' isihlangu."
(quoted in Cope: 1968:101)

With the exception of line 190 ('he devoured the wife of Lubongo') and line 197 ('He belonged to our side, having turned round his shield.'), all the other lines are of the form "he devoured (name) born of so-and-so'. There are subtle changes in the repetition: ezalwa nguZwide eMapheleni in lines 185-189 become kwabakaZwide in lines 194-195; Mtimona is born of Gawa, not Zwide; not every line ends with eMapheleni ('of the Maphela regiment'). But it is clear that the framework remains basically the same; it is the names which change from line to line, and it would be idle to pretend that they do not contribute greatly to the flavour, the excitement, and the beauty of this stanza. I do not argue that only the names are important - the repeated skeleton is also essential: consider the effect of removing this:

Wadla uNomahlanja noMpepha noNombengula,
NoDayingubo noSonsukwana nenkosikazi okaLubongo,
NoMtimona noMpondo-phumela-kwezinde,
NoNdengezi-mashumi noSikholoba-zingamabele ... etc.

I do not say a skilled imbongi would not be able to make something of this, but such a list of names without any supporting framework is not characteristic of Zulu izibongo and could never be as impressive as the original. On the other hand, consider the effect of removing the names, and it will become clear that it is this very individual naming, the powerful piling on of one name after the other, each one referring to a substantial individual (not the same vague, shadowy, half-figure) that illustrates the enormity of Shaka's victory at this battle. Well may the poet continue with the line "As for Zwide, you have made him into a homeless criminal."

In a later extract, we have a similar situation, without the same attention to the carefully maintained parallelism of the framework:

"219 He ate up Bhungane son of Mthimkulu of the Hlubi clan,
He devoured Matiwane son of Masumpa of the Ngwane clan,
He overcame Sihlangu-vuthuk'-udaka of the Ngwane clan,
He overcame Khwelemthini like the birds,
He overcame Mqabuka like a hidden hill-side,
224 He overcame Ngiyekeni like a child."
(Cope: 1968:102)

In another extract, only the first word of each line: Lwagasela ('he attacked') is common to each line; the rest of the stanza consists of the names of his vic-

Clearly this detail is too much for the audience, or more likely, the imbongi cannot remember any more names, for the detail is followed by:

"32 Wadl' ubani obezalwa ubani,
Angithand' ukumusho,
Uma ngimusho kungadum' isililo;[1]
Wadl' ubani obezalwa ubani,
Angithand' ukumusho,
Uma ngimusho kungadum' isililo;
...
Wadl' ubani obezalwa ubani,
Angithand' ukumusho,
55 Uma ngimusho kungadum' isililo."

(Cope:1968:205/6)

Cope says in a footnote, of this extract, that "These repetitions express the magnitude of the calamity, for the victims were such famous men." Does this suggest that the eleven victims previously named, with their fathers, were less important men? Hardly, for in the middle of the list of names the imbongi inserts the line 'Ezikhulwini akwaZulu' ('Amongst the important men of Zululand'). Did the poet not mind the 'outburst of wailing' from the relatives of those named? It seems to me that he would have carried on naming if he could.

In the praises of Zihlandlo, the framework of the recitation of names is as follows:

He (Zihlandlo) destroyed (name A) son of (name B),
The protective medicines were eaten by (name C):

"34 Wadl' uShishi kaPhinda ngasemaPhephetheni;
Wadl' uZiphundulu ezalwa nguMatomela,
Amakhubal' adliwa nguNzombane;
Wadl' uShoshenge,
Amakhubal' adliwa khon' amaBomvini;
Wadl' uNguza kaNgonyama,
40 Amakhubal' az' adliwa nguBhidla;
Wadl' uBhodeyana kaDlomo,
Amakhubal' adliwa nguMazongwe;
Wadla uMashukumbele kwabakaGcwabe,
Amakhubal' adliwa nguZelize adliwa nguNsele;
45 Wadl' uLudonga kwabakaMashukumbele,

---

1. "He devoured So-and-So, son of So-and-So,
I don't like to mention his name,
If I named him there would be an outburst of wailing;"
repeated eight times.

Amakhubal' adliwa nguMsengi kwabakaSambela;
Wadla uSibalili kwabakaMashukumbele,
Amakhubal' az' adliwa nguZembe kwabakhe;
Wadl' uNtethi kwabakaGcwabe,
Amakhubal' az' adliwa nguZinkwindi;
Wadla uNomagwayi waseMazolweni."

(Cope:1968:159)

In the praises of Somtsewu kaSonzica (Sir Theophilus Shepstone), thirteen men are named, and further identified by their fathers' names, as being those chosen by Shepstone for position of leadership. The roll-call is introduced by:

"Our white man of the town of Pietermaritzburg,
...
Who washed his hands and they dried on certain men,
They dried on (whose choice fell on) ..."

The names of the first seven men fall into the pattern

"Whose choice fell upon (name) of (father's name);"

the names of the next six fall into the pattern

"And on (name) who was begotten by (father's name)."

The full rendering is as follows:

"8 uMhlophe wakithi waseThawin' eMgungundlovu,
Owafika nemikhumb' emibili;
Ohlamb' izandla zomel' emadodeni:
Zomela kuNgoza kaLudaba,
Zomela kuMfulathelwa kaLudaba,
Zomela kuTetelegu umntakaNobanda,
Zomela kuNomsimekwana umntakaMcoseli,
Zomela kuMzimba umntakaDibinyika,
Zomela kuMahlanya kaMabhoyi,
Zomela koZashuke umntakaMbeswa,
KoMazinyana obezalwa nguSombuzi,
NakoManyosi obezalwa nguSigobe,
NakoJojo obezalwa uSotshokoyi,
NakoMahoyiza obezalwa nguMlandu,
NakoSobhuza obezalwa nguMyoli,
NakoManxele obezalwa nguMzila."

(Cope:1968:195/197)

Two points must be made about this extract from Shepstone's praises, both of which seem to me to emphasize the role of the name per se in Zulu izibongo:

firstly: the structure of the stanza: if Cope is consistent in his representation of Stuart's recording, and if Stuart is accurate in recording what he heard (and we must assume this, or no detailed comment can be made on these transcriptions), then this list of names constitutes one whole stanza, for Cope uses /,/ to indicate the minor cadence marking the end of a line, and /./ to indicate the full, exaggerated, final cadence marking the end of a stanza. Thirteen line

stanzas are unusual - so unusual as to suspect that the original imbongi was hard pushed to maintain this as one stanza (for such a stanza would require great breathcontrol[1]). It must have been a specific intention to keep this list of names within one structural unit. Supporting evidence for this supposition comes from the manner in which the imbongi has linked two slightly-differing name-supporting frameworks - between lines 11-17 and 18-23. Pure repetition over thirteen lines is likely to become monotonous, and one sees why a skilled imbongi would avoid this. But his very variation gives him the opportunity for a natural break between stanzas at the transition point. But note that this imbongi has made a gradual transition: he does not go straight from 'Zomela ku-(name)' to 'nako-(name)', but effects a smooth change-over:

lines 11-16: Zomela ku-(name)
line 17: Zomela ko-(name)
transition point
line 18: ko-(name)
lines 19-23: nako-(name)

The intention of the poet to encompass these twenty-six personal names within one stanzaic unit cannot be doubted; what is less clear is my interpretation of the intention. My argument again is the literary values of the personal names in their own right, and the perception of this by the imbongi: these names are not used as supportive or illustrative material for some other point; they do not depict links of kinship or comradeship as suggested by Kunene and Schapera - they are there because within an appropriate framework such a rendering of names constitutes literary art.

secondly: the relationship between these names and the person being praised: I see this extract as illustrating the role of names as an end-point in a continuum between extremes of name-representation in Southern-Bantu oral poetry. There are two levels of consideration here: the relationship between name and subject-of-poem.

(a) name and structure: in the previous section on the relationship between personal names and praise poetry I dwelt at some lengths on such aspects as 'personification', 'extended images' and the like, the point being then

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1. One has to either hear the recitation to appreciate this, or, even better, to attempt the recitation oneself.

Isidlangudlangu esinjengendlebe yendlovu,
Ongangencumbe yamabel' engadliwa,
Ongangembiza yamashongololo.
UyiSilo! UyiNgwe! UyiNgonyama!
UyiNdlondlo! UyiNdlovu!
Ungangezintab' ezinde oMpehlela noMaqhwakazi,
Wen' omnyama,
Wena wakhula belibele.
Sidlukula-dlwedlwe!
Siyadla sidlondlobele,
Sibek' isihlang' emadolweni.
Isixhololo esingamatsh' ombela;
UKleb' engimbon' ukwehla kwezikaNzwakele,
Kwathi kwezikaKhushwayo waqhamalala.
UShaka ufunyanis' izilwane zizibili,
Zihlangene phakathi kweNsuze noThukela,
Izilwane uThondolozi noSihayo,
Wafika waphons' lhawu zahlukana.
Owadl' izinkomo zempathiso,
Okunamini lokhu usaphathekile.
Inung' egwaze amacukubada,
Phakathi kukaMagaye noNzawu.
Obhobos' isikhal' emaMpondweni,
Isikhala nanamuhla lokhu sisakhamisile;
Wadl' ezomdubu zikaFaku wamaMpondo,
Wadla nezikaNgubowencuge emaMpondweni,
Wadl' ezikaNcokazi emaMpondweni,
Wadl' ezikaNcasana kwaMajola,
Wadl' ezikaMacingwane eNgonyameni;
Waye wadla nezikaBhungane wamakhulukhulu,
Waye wadla nezabeSuthu abakhwintshayo,
Waye wadla nezama Dlodlongwanyana,
Abaphoth' imiyeko.

Izulu eladum' ese maMpondweni,
Phezu kwikaFaku umntakaNgqungqushe,
Lazithath' izihlangu zamaMpondo;
Ubani lwaye lwem' eSikhaleni seNyoka,
Waye wabuya kwabaBomvana.
Nkwenkwez' ende kaMjokwane;
Imi ngomsila,
Iye yabambela phezul' ezulwini,
Kwaphum' amakhwez' amabili phezul' ezulwini,
Amakhwez' aphum' abikelana;
USomakloba akhangelene,
Nelakwa Ntombazi nelakwaNandi.
Nkosi umubi ngoba kawukhethi,
Ngoba nabakwonyokolume uyababulala,
Ngoba wadl' uBhebhe umntakaNcumela ngakwonyokolume;
Izihlangu zona zodwa Dlungwana kaNdaba zenanene,
NezikaGwaqaza nesikaNdlaludaka eNtonteleni.
Ntonga yethusi kaMjokwane;
Eshay' amanzi kwavel' udaka wavela.
INkosi yehla ngogoma Mdayi,
Ebelungehli muntu,
Ebelwehl' amaphiva namashongololo,
Abanini lugoma ngibasolile.
Owayithethela phezulu kuMandla noZimema,
Ubusika nehlobo bahlukana,
Umkhubulo bawushiy' izinqindi,
Imbewu yadliwa zinyoni,
KwakaTayi futh' amanxiwa.
Owadl' izimfe zimbili,
Enye kuwuZihlandlo enye kuwuGcwabe,
Kwaphum' ikhasi selilinye;
Owadl' uMatshengele waseKhulumbeni,

Weza noGwayi wakwoMazindela,
Weza noMphangela wakwoNongqobo,
Weza noPhalaza kwaKhanyile.
Ibele likaMjokwane elikheth' izihlambo,
Likheth' uJiyeza ngakubangoma.
Ujoj' obethwe Zimpohlo,
Ziyohlobonga ngaye kubatshazwayo.
UMthent' ohlab' usamila kaMjokwane;
UMnguningubande nakwesendlovu,
Uze noMangcengeza kaKhali emaMbatheni,
Uze noMatiwana kaMasumpa emaNgwaneni,
Uze noMakhedama ngaseLangeni ekhaya konina.
USilwane-vukel'-abantu ekweneni;
Wadl' uSigawuzana emaMbatheni.
Isiziba esiseMavivane,
Eseminzis' umuntu eth' uyageza,
Waze washona nangesicoco.
Ntonga emnyama kaMjokwane;
Ize noZwide kwabakwaNdwandwe,
Ize noNomahlanjana kaZwide,
Ize noSikhunyana kaZwide.
UHlazana lwanyongo yenyamazane;
Wadl' uNdimindwane wabakwaMsweli kwaXulu,
Wadl' uMdladlama wasemaMbhedwini,
Weza noMphezeni ngakwaNxumalo.
USivutha sanginqe!
UKleb' owehle phezulu,
Waye wanqamula kuMadungela,
Wadl' ezazisengwa yindiki yakwaMavela,
Kwath' ezikaSihayo zamlandela;
UQwabe wadla ngokumsibekela,
Isibekelo kwoNyabase.
Ithol' elinsizwa lakokaMbengi,
Ekade liwagingq' amanye,
Ngob' edl' izinkomo ezinemvungamvunga,
Ngob' edl' izinkomo ezisoDlodlweni.
USiphuphuma eslmadel' imiyalo;
Ivila elidl' amabel ezikhuthali.
Ocaba ngemikhonto amakhos' ecaba ngamazembe;
Wamemez' impi kuMenziwa ethi mayikhweb' amabele.
IMfoloz' emnyama kaSithayi noBhiyane inkethabaweli,
Ingawelwa ngonethole,
Ongenathole angakhokh' umntwana,
Inxe engenamntwana angakhokh' igeja.
Isinyama esilele kuNdaba,
Siyavuka sidl' amadoda,
Ngesakwaphumuz' abant' imilomo.
Odl' izinkomo engantuli mazembe,
Amazemb' uzakuwantula ngonyak' ozophenduka.
Inyon' ebizwe ngamakhwel' aseNgome,
Nanamuhla lokhu ukhalo lukaDladlama lusamangele,
Lusamangele ngoba lungasawabon' amaqoq kwaMajola,
Selubon' amaqoq' akwaMalandela.
Obhiyaz kuMbhiyaza wakwaMachanca phezulu,
Wabaleka wabangazeka wazishiy' izinkomo,
Zaze zeqelwa abaseNtonteleni.
Uyisinise ngokhalo lwabantabakaTayi,
Izwe laphenduk' umbhedazane,
Izinkomo nabantu zamlandela.

Extract chosen at random from the praises of Shaka (lines 303 to 426) to illustrate the distribution of different kinds of names, and the frequency of occurrence.

Shaka's personal names and praises and the names of those related to hi

Place-names.

Clan-names and izithakazelo.

Personal names of those not related to Shaka.

to show how names may develop into praise poetry. The point of the Shepstone extract specifically (and, indeed, of the previous extracts) is to show how these names are not developed, not extended into the praise poetry structure as such - they do not undergo metamorphosis, but are included as separate entities within a structure designed to contain them as they stand:

(b) name and subject-of-poem: Kunene, Schapera and Cope (in a limited way) have made studies on different kinds of names appertaining to the subject as indicated above. These names have been given, inter alia, as the subject's personal (and alternative personal) names, his praise names, (see (a) above), and the names of those related to him by kin (teknonyms, patronyms, etc.). The extracts I have quoted above have included none of these. The continuum or sliding-scale I mentioned above could be expressed as follows:

SUBJECT OF POEM (the person being honoured by the izibongo)

his personal name or names

the extension of these into praises, and other praise names, including metaphorical references

the personal names of other linked to him by blood (or comradeship); e.g. his father's name, other lineage references, teknonyms.

the names of others unrelated to him, but serving to illustrate his deeds; e.g. the names of Shaka's victims.

In this last example, from Shepstone's praises, it is difficult even to see how the recitation reflects on Shepstone's glory: the honour seems to go to those names.

The examples I have given here are all extreme examples: lists or 'registers' of names occupying or filling whole stanzas. But such names occur frequently and regularly as isolated individual names, as the illustration opposite shows, where I have marked in orange pen such names as they occur in lines 303 to 426 of the praises of Shaka (an extract chosen at random). It seems that the regular occurrence of such names is a feature of Zulu izibongo, as opposed to the praises of the Sotho and Tswana, where names are almost invariably linked to the subject of the poem - either being his own (praise-) names, or the names of those 'linked to him by kinship or comradeship-in-arms.'

I end this section on the role of personal names with a second illustration, again chosen at random, this time from the praises of Cetshwayo. The regular distribution of names and praises relating to Cetshwayo, and the personal names of people not related to Cetshwayo, is clear. There is a higher incidence of place-names than is the case with the Shakan extract, but I doubt if this is significant. It is curious that this extract has no clan-names or izithakazelo.

Umsindo wobuNtilingwe,
Obangwe **baseNtengweni benabakwaKhinya,**
Bathi baxokozelela indlondlo yakokaTshana;
Ndlondloni le engasawabhul' amaphiko,
Izindlondlo ziwabhul' amaphiko.
Thambekeka wena waliwayo,
Uze wewus' iNtambanana nangezinyembezi;
Abafazi **bakwaNgxangaza** bazakulala esibayeni njengamathole,
Amathol' azakulalaphi na?
Uye wadabula **kuMlaba** obezalwa **nguKhwani,**
Wafika wamnika inyanda yemikhonto,
Wathi 'MntakaNdaba uz' ubahlabe nasemehlweni'.
Inyath' empondo zimakhenkenene,
Babethi kayiyikuwuwel' **uMhlathuze,**
Bethi bayivimbele ngamaphand' emkhonto.
Washikizel' iMashikizel' omnyama,
Edondolozela ngenhlendla yakhe,
Impi yakh' eyakuyibuthis' eNdlwayini,
Wafik' izinkomo zaseNdlwayini,
Wazihlaba kanye namathol' azo;
Kwathiwa 'Ziyeke lezo mntakaNdaba,
NgezikaNyokokhulu ngezikaLangazana'.
Washikizel' uMashikizel' omnyama,
Edondolozela ngenhlendla yakhe,
Eyoshona ngesikhala sikaMpehlela noMaqhwakazi,
Eya **ngoNohadu** obezalwa **nguMsweli,**
Uyawukhok' umnyatheliso,
Iqabi lakwabo lezinkabi elimpunga;
Uya **ngoMphepha** obezalwa **nguNdengezi,**
Uyalikhok' iqabi lakwabo elimnyama lezinkabi;
Uya **ngoGawozi** obezalwa **nguSilwana,**
Uyawukhok' umnyatheliso,
Iqabi lakwabo elinkone lezinkabi.
Washikizel' uMashikizel' omnyama,
Edondolozela ngenhlendla yakhe,
Eyoshona ngesikhala samahlath' amabili,
IShowe kanye neDlinza,
Eya **ngoSikhonyana** obezalwa **nguNgqungqulu,**
Uyakhok' umnyatheliso,
Iqabi lakwabo elixub' imibala.
Igwalagwala likaMenzi elisuk' eNtumeni,
Kwaye kwabhej' iNdulinde kwabhej' uThukela;
Isiguqa sikaNdaba abasifulele ngamashoba,
Sathi sivuka sadl' uZulu.
Abantu baseNtengweni ngiyabesaba ngibasolile,
Bazibukul' itshe,
Itshe linemamba,
Imamba yath' ukuvuka yangen' ehlathini,
Yamaphula **uBusobengwe** ka**Nongalaza.**
UMthunduluka ovuthw' eNdulinde,
IziGqoza ziyawulabalabela:
Udl' **uNomsimekwana** obezalwa **nguBikwayo,**
Wamshaya phansi koludumayo eziqungweni,
Akwaba ndaba zalutho;
Wamudl' **uMashayayishukule** obezalwa **nguSiphingo,**
Wamshaya phansi eziqungweni koludumayo,
Akwaba ndaba zalutho;
Wamudl' **uSigombe** obezalwa **nguMtshana,**
Wamshaya phansi ezinkambeni koludumayo,
Akwaba ndaba zalutho;
Wamudl' **uFaku** obezalwa **nguMtshana,**
Ezinkambeni wamshaya phansi koludumayo,
Akwaba ndaba zalutho;
Wamudl' **uBambelele** obezalwa **nguSotobe,**
Ngasezinkambeni wamshaya phansi koludumayo,
Akwaba ndaba zalutho.
Wayivimb' imibhobho yamaphoyisa;
UHlamvana bhul' umlilo,
Ububaswe **nguMantshonga** **benoNgqelebana,**
Ozitho zimagwegwe ngob' egwegw' iziGqoza.
UWaba lenkomo zakwaMshweshwe,
Udunusel' uNdi noKhahlamba.
UMzingeli kaShaka benoDingane,
Uz' uzingel' ubuy' ubuye nganeno mntakaNdaba,
Ngaphesheya kukhon' aba**Mhlophe;**
Uze wesab' imiland' emidala,
Eyayenziwa ngab' oyihlo.
UHlathi limnyama,
Limnyama konke nemizi yalo;
USakha-lukhalweni,
Lapha kuhlangana khon' imifula.
UBhukudis' abantu bengathand' ukubhukuda,
Ngob' ebhukudis' amadod' emadala,
Ngob' ebhukudis' **uNongalaza** ezalwa **nguNondela,**
Wabhukudis' **uThemane** ezalwa **nguNohaye,**
Wabhukudis' **uMgebisa** obezalwa **nguJokwe,**
Wabhukudis' **uMatshekana** obezalwa **nguMaqhoboza.**
UMamba yeVuna uMaqhamusela,
Eth' ukuvuka yadl' abakayise:
Wadl' iNdlov' enesihlonti kwabakayise,
Amakhubal' adliwa nguye kwabakaMpande;
Wadl' **uShonkweni** obezalwa nguMpande,
Amakhubal' adliwa nguye kwabakaMpande;
Wadl' **uMantantashiya** obezalwa nguMpande,
Amakhubal' adliwa nguye kwabakaMpande;
Wadl' **uSomklawana** obezalwa nguMpande,
Amakhubal' adliwa nguCetshwayo kwabakaMpande;
Wadl' **uDabulesinye** obezalwa nguMpande,
Amakhubal' adliwa nguCetshwayo kwabakaMpande.
Indaba yenziwe **nguManqina** obezalwa **nguNkontshela,**
Uyen' othath' izinkomo zaseMangweni,
Waye wazithela ndawonye nezaseMkhweyantaba,
Ngob' ethath' **uNxaba kaMkhono.**
Isiziba sikaHamu benoZiwedu,
Esibhukudisa izihlangu zaseMkhweyantaba,
Ilanga liyawushona.
UJinindi omnyama,
Ongabubende bezingwe nobezingonyama;
UGaqa libomvu **lawaBathonyile;**
UNonzilakudla kwamagwala,
Amagwal' adl' ububende.
Yaphel' imibhobho yamaphoyisa,
Yaphuk' ubumoklomoklo,
Yaphulwa yijah' elidala.
Yebo thambeka mntakaNdaba,
Wen' ongasilambalala;
Ngimfunyen' egeza kwelamadwala,
Ubenzipho zimhlophe njengengonyama.

Illustration of name distribution in the praises of Cetshwayo.

Cetshwayo's names and praises, and the names of those related to him.

Place-names.

Names of other people.

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