UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL

PIETERMARITZBURG

THE USE OF PERSONAL NAMES IN RESPECT OF THE LIVING-DEAD WITHIN TRADITIONAL POLYGYNOUS FAMILIES IN KWAMAMBULU, KRANSKOP.

EVANGELINE BONISIWE NGIDI

THE USE OF PERSONAL NAMES IN RESPECT OF THE LIVING-DEAD WITHIN
TRADITIONAL POLYGYNOUS FAMILIES IN KWAMAMBULU, KRANSKOP.

By

Evangeline Bonisiwe Ngidi

(BA Hons, MA (UNP), HDE (TUT)

Submitted in fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the

School of Arts

College of Humanities

University of KwaZulu Natal

Pietermaritzburg.

Supervisor: Prof A. Koopman   December 2012

DECLARATION

I, Evangeline Bonisiwe Ngidi, student number 942405624, declare that this thesis is my own work except where otherwise indicated. It has not been submitted in part or as a whole for a degree at any University.

....

Signature   Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to extend my words of appreciation and my gratefulness to the following people who supported me through this endeavour.

- ❖ My supervisor, **Prof. A. Koopman**, for his criticisms, valuable insights and enduring support in making this thesis what it is.
- ❖ My late grandmother **Fikisiwe Thembeni Ngidi (MaChamane)** who was a mother, a best friend, an inspiration to me and contributed a great deal in the collection of the data involved in this study. Unfortunately she could not see the completion.
- ❖ My lovely daughter **Thokola Zungu** for her steadfast love and wonderful support which kept me going throughout this study.
- ❖ My little sister **Buhle**, cousin **Sphelele**, my mother **Jabu** and the **Ngidi** family for their enduring support.
- ❖ My friends at the Durban University of Technology (ML Sultan Campus) and my colleagues at UKZN School Arts – Pietermaritzburg and Howard College Campuses.
- ❖ My research assistants for their dedication in collecting the data involved in this study.

ABSTRACT

The thesis underpinning this dissertation is based on the Zulu people's belief in the living-dead and the fact that the latter control the lives of their living descendants. The living descendants use names to express their dissatisfaction with one another. The families perform rituals to appease the living-dead. The living-dead are perceived as guardian angels who are closer to God. They are believed to be able to reward good behavior and reprimand those who are not behaving in an acceptable manner. Names, as Bhengu (1975:52) states, connect people to their living-dead. It is therefore important that this relationship with the living-dead is maintained. Friction is always going to be a problem in polygynous families. Avoiding confrontation is important to people who want to appease their living-dead, who control their lives. Personal names act as a deterrent to angering the living-dead. In a situation where getting even is not an option, opting for a name to voice your disapproval is the easy way out. Names become communication channels between members of the family and the community at large.

This study is done from an ethnographic perspective with an attempt to fully describe a variety of aspects of a cultural group to enhance understanding of the people being studied. Spradley (1980:3) states that "The essential core of ethnography is the concern with the meaning of actions and events to the people we seek to understand". This understanding may be seen as the basis of the method; through ethnographic study, the researcher comes to comprehend, through detailed observation, the existences of peoples and their cultures.

KEYWORDS:

POLYGYNY, POLYANDRY

LIVING-DEAD

RITUALS

- Zulu names will be written in bold.
- All Zulu words will be italicized.

The word "African" can be used to refer to a person from the African continent irrespective of their skin colour. Secondly, in a South African context it can be used to refer to black people exclusively. Thirdly, in this thesis it refers specifically to Black people from the sub-Saharan countries.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE RESEARCH SITE

CHAPTER 3
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE MEANING AND FUNCTION OF
PERSONAL NAMES

CHAPTER 4

VENERATION OF THE LIVING-DEAD

CHAPTER 5
ARTICULATION OF CONFLICT IN ZULU PERSONAL NAMES

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The articulation of discontent through the use of language and the choice of personal names that reflect the translation of ideas and feelings of the name-giver are evident in the Zulu naming process. The choice of words used in the naming process accommodates those events that are prescribed by the society and are culturally permissible. Zulu people consider their state of affairs, and their well-being, before giving names to their children. Through names language meets culture (daily living routines) and religion (beliefs regulating people's lives). Names reflect how people relate to each other, and detail the grievances and issues they have against each other. There are usually stories behind names, and through these stories one learns about the power that the living-dead have over their living relatives.

When giving names, parents look at their relationships with the immediate or extended family and the community at large. They consider their status in the community and their relationship with God or the Creator. Through names an outsider can easily detect the kind of relationship the family members have with each other. If there are constant bickering and arguments within the family, this is reflected in the names given to children

born around or during the time of the event that is the source of argument. This becomes more pronounced in traditional polygynous families because women "officially" share their husband and squabbles are not hard to come by in such settings. In present-day KwaMambulu (the research area, background information in Chapter 2) most men are still traditionalists and practice polygyny, which means that the husband takes a second and a third wife with full knowledge (and, in rare cases, with the full support) of his first wife. Most women know that getting involved in a polygynous relationship is a challenge, as sometimes the relationship with the co-wives becomes sour because of jealousy and the love they each have for their husband. However, they still prefer it to monogamous marriage. They argue that a monogamous marriage does not mean that a man's sexual appetite is tamed and view it better (may be naively so) that they know the woman with whom they share their husband than their husband having outside sexual partners who are unknown to them.

The living-dead are (to a Zulu person) intermediaries between the living and the dead, and as such they command respect. The term "living-dead" was originally used by Mbiti (1970:10) to describe ancestors in Africa. It has since been adopted fairly generally by scholars and representatives of African traditional religion. Amanze (2003:44) gives a background to the term: "to

many African people the dead people are not dead at all. Death is only a transitional state to a spiritual life free from material hindrances. The deceased are at once dead and alive, and because of their paradoxical nature.They are known as the living-dead".

Triebel (2002:188) mentions that in Africa the living-dead are part of the reality of life. Their existence and reality is not questioned, and they are still seen to influence those on earth, either in good or bad ways. The ancestors are therefore still in some way part of the community of the living and, as such, 'living-dead' is an apt term.

The respect people have for their living-dead forces them to always be on their best behaviour. The living-dead are watchdogs of peace within the family, which means people cannot voice their anger by just shouting at each other just because they are angry with each other; as such behaviour might anger the living-dead. Angering the living-dead may cause them to stop watching over the family members, which may then lead to calamities befalling family members, such as unexplained illnesses. If a family members fall sick, they may go to the conventional Western medical doctor who will then say there is nothing wrong with them. The person may continue to feel sick until he/she decides to consult a diviner (*isangoma*) who will communicate

with the living-dead on behalf of the 'patient'. The living-dead then shed light on the problem, and advise the *isangoma* on the kind of herbs to use to cure that particular ailment. Sometimes people will consult an *inyanga* (a herbalist) who after throwing bones will be able to discern what is wrong with the person.

Names in isiZulu are thought-out and carefully planned. While a woman is pregnant, the family members have enough time to view their situations and then choose a suitable name for the child. Names commemorating the living-dead are used in some families, as in the name a child may be named **Nhlanhla** (luck) because that name belonged to his/her grandfather. The following are some of the categories of names that are usually found in KwaMambulu.

Historical events	**Nomkhumbi** (mother of ships)
Political events	**Ntandoyeningi** (democracy)
God related names	**Thembelenkosini** (trusting in God), **Velemseni** (a gift from the grace), **Cebolenkosi** (God's plan)
Educated parents	**Nomfundo** (mother of education) **Nokwazi** (mother of knowledge),

	Lwazi (knowledge)
Gratefulness	Nokubonga (mother of gratefulness), Sibongiseni (be thankful with us)
Order of the children	Ntombintathu (three girls), Zimbili (two girls). Ntombifuthi (another girl), Mfanafuthi (another boy)
Happiness	Ntokozo (joy), Nonjabulo (mother of joy)
Appearance	Buhlebethu (our beauty), Sibahlesonke (we are all beautiful)
Trust	Thembekile (the faithful one), Sethembene (we trust each other), Nokwethemba (the mother of trust)
Love	Noluthando (mother of love), Thandanani (love each other)
Progress	Thuthukani (develop yourselves), Nqubeko (progress)
Comfort	Nduduzo (comfort), Duduzile (she has given us

	comfort), **Mduduzi** (comforter)
Pride	**Baqhenyile** (they are proud)
Ilobolo	**Zibuyile** (they have returned)
Clan names	**Zamahlomuka** (the girls of the Hlomuka clan), **Hlabangane** (Mtshali clan praise name) **Bhekamabomvu** (the Ngubane clan praise name)
Disappointment	**Zehlile** (their cheeks have dropped), **Bajabhile** (they were disappointed)
Enough children	**Anele** (they are enough), **Kwanele** (it is enough), **Sanele** (we are enough)
Appreciating the gift	**Simphiwe** (he has been given to us) , **Baphiwe** (they have been given), **Aphiwe** (they have been given)
Days	**Nomgqibelo** (mother of Saturdays), **Nomasonto** (mother of Sundays)

This study looks at the names of children within polygynous families because the stories behind them are usually

6

interesting, but most importantly, because they clearly reflect the relationship between the living and the living-dead. This relationship has to be maintained at all costs in order to have peace within the homestead. These names are used in order to avoid confrontation between people who have disagreements, as for example in the name, **Yekezakhe** (not worried about her own affairs). This name was given to a boy whose mother felt that her co-wife was more concerned about what was happening in the mother's household. Names within polygynous families make an indirect commentary or reaction about socio-cultural deeds in a society at the time of birth of the name-bearer, as in the name **Fikelephi** (what kind of a place did she arrive at?). This name was given to a girl whose mother was worried about the kind of unhealthy environment her little girl had been born into. The names criticize, admonish, praise or explain a course of action by a member or family members and are used as strategic alternatives to confrontational discourse, as in the name, **Hlushwayini** (why have you made this your business?). This name was given to a girl whose mother was tired of her in-laws giving her advice on how to do things, so she was sarcastically asking them why her decisions bother them because in any event she is the one who is going to live with the consequences.

Obeng (2001:49) comments thus on names within polygynous families:

> African names are reactions to potentially difficult communicative situations and therefore involve indirectness . . . names within polygynous families have the capacity to express the thought of the members of society, especially, the thoughts of the parents of the child, more forcefully and louder than plain or direct speech because they 'respond' to specific, potentially difficult, social or political issues common in the society and the response is 'permanent' for as long as the individual lives.

Names form an integral part of the Zulu culture. Each person has a name. That name becomes that person. It is believed the sorcerers use people's names to bewitch them. The sorcerers may use people's names at night while using *umuthi* (herbs) that will cause them to get sick. As a result it is believed that there are many man-made illnesses where sorcerers use people's names to bewitch them, as Berglund (1976:287) expatiates in the following interview:

> Our discussion continued in terms of the name of the person who was to be harmed.

8

Berglund: '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.'

Berglund: 'Is it important that the name should be mentioned?'

'It is very important. It is the important thing in *ubuthakathi*. 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.

Berglund: 'Why is the name so important?'

The name is the 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. *Umthakathi* kills a man by combining the words of death with the name. He throws (*ukuphonsa*) these at the man and they kill him.'

Names are used to let out anger, frustration to let people know if they have done something wrong. Names sometimes refer to the 'state of mind' of the parents. Koopman (2002a:39) says:

Names referring to the 'state of mind' of the parents in the central reaches of Africa are frequently negative. Such names refer to the constant imminence of sorrow, death, poverty or misfortune. In societies which see frequent stillbirth, or loss of a child in its early years, as the

9

jealousy of neighbours, co-wives, or ancestral spirits, it is not uncommon for the child to be given a name which means 'who wants him?', 'turn your back on him' or 'cast him out'. Such names are meant to mislead the 'jealous powers' into thinking that it will be no harm to the parents to take the child away, as it is unwanted anyway. A variation of this thinking is seen when a far greater proportion of boy children are lost in birth or in their early days.

1.2 Aim of the study

The research is aimed at bringing relevance of the veneration of the living-dead in Zulu culture by dismissing assumptions that people usually make concerning Zulu personal names, for example, by just focusing on the literal meaning which ends up giving them a wrong idea concerning the name. People tend to pay more attention to the lexical meaning which may be deceiving as it says nothing about the name giver and the reason he/she might have had before bestowing that name. The study also gives insight into the Zulu 'traditional' polygynous families, and is able to dismiss any myths that exist concerning polygynous families. Lastly, it looks at how names bestowed on the children within polygynous families reflect living conditions within such

10

setups. In these communities, people use names to air their concerns as in the name **Zibeleni**? (why are you ignoring me or the situation?).

Roberts (1979) mentions research which shows that people in African communal societies are extremely sensitive not only to ridicule but even to the mildest criticism. This influences people to adhere to approved patterns of behaviour. Roberts (1979:40) maintains:

> In any small closely knit community where people find themselves in continuing face-to-face relations, the threat of exposure to ridicule and disgust, provoking feelings of shame and remorse must represent an important mechanism of control . . . Almost all these means of maintaining order, particularly those which derive their force from the actor's perception of how other people may react, operate through human communication in the course of everyday life. Through talk, values and norms may be expressly stated, and consequences of departure from them spelled out.

1.3 Background to the study

When I was growing up I was always intrigued and fascinated by the stories that my grandmother used to tell about her in-laws'

11

names, which were sometimes provocative, as in the name **Bhekamafa** (having your eye on everyone's inheritance) and very explicit, as in the name **Buzakunyoko** (literally translated, this name would mean ask your mother).These names have a literal translation, as shown in the examples provided, and an underlying reason depending on the circumstances under which it was given (the analysis of these reasons forms the major part of this thesis).

My late grandmother **Fikisiwe Thembeni Ngidi** was of the Chamane clan in KwaMambulu. She married **Mphenyi Ngidi** when she was only 16 years old. They had 7 children; the late **Mvuseni**, the late **Mzikayifani** Emmanuel, **Jabulile Thembekile** (my mother), **Mzwandile** Samuel, the late **Dumisani Mthandeni**, **Sibongile** Patience and **Nkosinathi Dumisani.** My grandmother told me a very fascinating story regarding the naming of my third uncle Dumisani Mthandeni; that her mother-in-law **Mandoni Ngidi (MaGumede)** renamed him **Dunusel' umkhumbane** (showing your butt to the Mkhumbane area). It was mainly because her husband **Hloshana Ngidi** had abandoned her and lived at uMkhumbane until his death without his family knowing about it, years after he was buried. He (**Hloshana**) had told everybody in his family that he would leave for good because his wife did not respect him and was always shouting at him or insulting him for no reason. Because **Mandoni** was way past her child bearing age, she decided

12

to bestow such a name on her grandchild. That obviously did not sit well with my grandmother, who preferred the names that my uncle already bore. Thereafter, there was tension between my grandmother and her mother-in-law, both women thinking they had a right to name my uncle. My grandmother would call him **Mthandeni** (love him) and her mother-in-law would call him **Dunusela** (short for **Dunusel' umkhumbane**).

These days as more and more people are moving to the cities, and are living amongst people of different social and cultural backgrounds, the younger generation will soon not know these names, let alone their meanings. Most of these names will soon be forgotten and the naming process will lose its value, and Zulu names will just be labels.

1.4 Data Sources

In collecting data, I used mainly the information I obtained from my informants through field research. I had two research assistants who are members of the families being interviewed. They were given questionnaires with a list of questions relevant to the research. We then sat down and discussed our different tasks. This worked very well since everybody knew what they were supposed to do and it gave direction and purpose to the research.

1.4.1 Primary Data

1.4.1.1 Interviews

The names that I used were from the Ngidi clan of KwaMambulu, Kranskop, under Chief Khomba Ngubane. Kranskop is a small town that is situated on the edge of the uThukela River valley in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. It was founded in 1894 as Hopetown, but following confusion with another town of the same name in the Great Karoo, Northern Cape, the name was changed. Kranskop was chosen and it is named after two cliff-faces that rise 1,175 metres above the uThukela Valley near the town. The name is an Afrikaans word meaning "cliff head". The Kranskop rock formation has major significance in local Zulu legend and folklore. It is called "Ntunjambili". Stories exists of a forbidden cave, and the hill opening to allow shelter from cannibals only for it to close on those it had lured. (www.countryroads.co.za/contents/kranskop.html)

On arriving at the research area, we talked about a lot of things surrounding the issue of names, as in people's names and their well-being now; and whether people follow their names. This helped me learn more about their lifestyles, beliefs and values.

I went there in a form of a visit and was warmly welcomed by the people who knew my parents well and I explained to them the reason for my visit. I wanted to explore daily routines from an ethnographic approach. I wanted to meet them and to collect personal names and write them down so that everybody can read about them and the wonderful place they live in. They were impressed; I guess it was also because I was coming from 'eNyuvesi' (University). I moved from one homestead to the next, and was helped by my research assistant who happened to be my cousin. I collected about 300 names.

Eventually, I did not use questionnaires because most people preferred talking to me rather than writing and also because older people are not well educated and cannot articulate themselves fully in writing. Interviewing people is useful because you can ask follow up questions while the interviewee is still on a certain point, if and when you need clarity.

1.4.2 Secondary data

My secondary data is mainly sources from published and unpublished material, as in the name research essays, theses, dissertations, books and journal articles.

1.5 Literature Review

The review will first provide insight on the importance of African personal names. It will then look at how personal names reflect social behaviour patterns in Zulu communities. Next, the review will give a brief discussion of how some personal names reflect the shifts in the Zulu naming system in the new political dispensation.

The study of personal names by Van Langendonck (1983, 1987) sheds valuable light on the use of semantic-pragmatic theory in the characterisation of personal names. Van Langendonck (1990) observes that, "personal names constitute the most diversified category of proper names. Proper nouns and pronouns are referential means par excellence, more than common nouns". He maintains that primary names are those that fulfill the three functions of personal names; "address (talk to), identification (talk about) and a wide possibility of subcategorisation as to gender and expressivity (especially combinability with diminutive and augmentative morphemes)" (van Langendonck 2001:204). He further points out:

> ... personal names tend to display a rich derivational functions of a classificatory and expressive (emotive) nature. The semantic and formal diversification ultimately derives from the fact that personal names constitute the unmarked subcategory of proper names since they refer to humans. The feature 'human' has been said to be the unmarked one vis-a-vis other features. From an experiential-cognitive viewpoint, indeed, it is obvious that human beings interact most with other human beings. This fact engenders the extensive use of personal names and the proliferation and subclasses (pp).

In his Masters dissertation Koopman (1986) gives a comparative analysis where he compares the concept and the use of Zulu names to those of other societies, particularly the Black societies of Africa. This is one of the earliest studies to investigate why parents named their children and that the answers given show clearly the links between naming and social dynamics. His category of "friction names" is similar to the discussion of names in chapter 5 of this thesis.

In his book Koopman (2002) gives a detailed account of different types of names namely anthroponymy comprising reasons for giving names, nicknames and personal praises. Secondly, he discusses surnames, clan names and clan praises. Thirdly, he discusses the standardisation of spelling, semantics and historico-cultural

background of Zulu place names. He also looks at school names, names of homesteads and shop names.

In his article Koopman (2009) discusses the uniqueness in the Zulu anthroponymic system. He speaks mainly of the fact that there are some names that are not chosen from the existing Zulu anthroponymicon, e.g. a name like **Sipho** is found in almost every village whereas names like **Qinisela** (persevere) is unique and very rare to find.

In her Master of Arts dissertation, Lombard (2008) discusses the use, functions, and meaningfulness of traditional personal names and naming practices in Niitsitapi (Blackfoot Indian) culture. The study indicates that Niitsitapi personal names appear to play a major role in capturing and conveying various aspects of traditional Niitsitapi sociocultural knowledge. Niitsitapi personal names thus appear to form an integral part of Niitsitapi oral tradition, and also seem to play a powerful role in establishing and maintaining Niitsitapi conceptualisations of individuals, as well as social and cultural identity. Lombard is of the opinion that, in addition to their nominative function, names contain as well as communicate sociocultural meaning, based on their associations with a wide range of non-linguistic factors which form part of the sociocultural environment within which they are used.

In his D.Litt thesis, Makondo (2009) discusses names amongst the Shona people, and describes them as an occurrence of language use for specific purposes. Makondo's study covers the period 1890-2006 and explores how matics, semiotics, semantics, among others, can be used to glean the intended and implied meaning(s) of various first names. The study recognises current dominant given name categories and establishes eleven broad factors behind the use of given names. It goes on to identify twenty-four broad based theme-oriented categories, envisaged naming trends and name categories. The study indicates the nature of names Shona people prefer and their favoured address forms are noted. The study reckons that Shona first names came as a result of unparallel anthroponomastic and linguistic innovation displayed by the Shona people.

In his D.Litt thesis, Pfukwa (2007) collected, described and explored onomastic patterns and processes that influenced war names. He indicates that war names play a vital role not only in concealing the old identity of the guerrilla but also in creating new identities, which were used as weapons for challenging the enemy and contesting space. Onomastic erasure and resuscitation are proposed as partial explanation for the creation of some war names.

In her PhD thesis Turner (2003) discusses different oral strategies employed by Zulu speaking people in the expression of conflict and criticism in their social discourse. These oral discourses, viz. *izibongo* and naming practices, are analysed to ascertain the socially acceptable ways in which Zulus articulate their frustrations and discontent in various social settings. These are commonly used in rural communities, but they also echo in urban social settings. Hostility and ill-feelings are thus channelled through the sanctioned form of these various oral expressions either as a means of merely airing one's dissatisfaction or as a means of seeking personal redress.

Names are sometimes used as guidelines and describe some of the words and symbols used that are essential in typical naming ceremonies. Agbontaen-Eghafona (2007) discusses the importance of indigenous names in Southern Nigerian society in understanding the values of the people.

Zulu people sometimes use family genealogies in bestowing names on their children, as discussed by Suzman (2002). People give names according to their different social statuses as in the name, names given by the family of a nurse married to a teacher, as in the name **Nomfundo** (mother of education) or names given by the family of a poor woman with no husband.

According to Shabalala (1999), homestead names reflect social dynamics in the Mabengela community. In her thesis, Shabalala pays particular attention to the reasons for name-giving. Her study goes on to look at the unique way in which these names reflect social behaviour patterns within the society in which they are found.

In his Honours dissertation, Gamble (1996) discusses two studies that were conducted on the academic records of 4497 first and second grade black South African school children. The period covered is from 1989-1994. The first study was a hierarchical multiple regression analysis which found no significant relationship between the popularity of a given name and the academic achievement of first grade black South African school children. The second study he conducted was an analysis of variance between the discrepancy means of random pairs of pupils in any one classroom and the discrepancy means of pairs of pupils with the same name in the same classroom. His main finding was that individual teachers in some classrooms are positively stereotyping pupils with the same name.

In her Honours dissertation, Khumalo (2000) argues that names with enclitics like *-phi*? (where), as in the name **Sholiphi**? (which one are you talking about?) and *-ni*? (what) as in the

name **Bathini**? (what are they saying?) are no longer favourable amongst the Zulu people.

In her article, Zondi (2012) looks at polygamous marriages as trap set by men to keep women in their lives. Women in these marriages feel trapped and voiceless, they accept polygamy although they find it oppressive. These women feel that getting married change them into objects of procreation. When a woman cannot bear a son, she becomes an object of ridicule within the clan. These women use names to voice their feelings and to share their experiences with the society.

1.6 Methodology

This study has used a qualitative approach to research which generally involves the researcher in contact with participants in their natural setting to answer questions related to how the participants make sense of their lives. Sanders (1999:45) mentions that qualitative researchers may observe the participant and conduct formal and informal interviews to further an understanding of what is going on in the setting from the point of view of those involved in the study. Ethnographic research shares these qualitative traits, but ethnographers more specifically seek understanding of what participants do to

create the culture in which they live, and how the culture develops over time.

1.6 Ethnomethodology

1.6.1 Process of interviewing

In my interviews, I used questionnaires with the younger generation, but this did not help since most of them did not have enough information. I could not use the questionnaires with the older people because most of them could neither read nor write. The interviews on the other hand, worked well because they provided me with a chance to give follow up questions where necessary.

Sanders (1999:47) says that ethnography, as a method of research, forces the researcher to enter the world of the people being investigated. It involves the people researched in asking their own questions and structuring their own answers. In this way, answers are not manipulated by the prepared formal questions. The environment in which research is done is as natural as possible and is not threatening to the subjects. Ethnomethodology is a field work method. Field work is about investigating situations and relationships that constitute people's daily lives.

Mouton (1988:1) says that field work is also called 'naturalistic research' – research that takes place within the natural setting of the social actor. He suggests that qualitative researchers prefer to use unstructured or informal interviews, i.e. interviews which employ a set of themes and topics in order to form questions in the course of conversation.

According to Agnew and Pyke (1982), ethnomethodology is 'a go-and-see' method, the 'eyeball' technique, which is the core of the field work method. They further argue that "the essence of this science sieve is the observation, description and interpretation of events as they occur in nature or naturally ... This method requires no manipulation, no controlled experimentation, but rather, the careful observation of episodes as they take place in their usual surroundings" (p. 45).

1.6.2 Conducting unstructured interviews

Information was verified by cross-checking the responses with other interviewees. The exercise was aimed at 'understanding' rather than 'explanation' as Schurink (1988:137) says about the researchers who make use of unstructured interviewing. They are concerned with understanding rather than explanation; with naturalistic observation rather than controlled measurement and with the subjective exploration of reality from the perspective

of an insider, as opposed to the outsider perspective that is predominant in the qualitative approach.

The advantage of this method is the construction of reality from the perspective of the insider. It also allows the exploration of other avenues of research that emerge out of the conversation. Another advantage is that the insider brings forward questions and insights which might not be captured by a structured interview.

The disadvantages of this method are that: a) it can be time-consuming, and b) the researcher may collect vast amounts of data which are not relevant to his/her subject of choice. This makes the ordering of facts very tedious and makes interpretation difficult. This method requires that, in many cases, the interviewer be somehow an 'insider' in order to capture the cultural and linguistic nuances. Schurink (1988:140) says that in an unstructured interview, the interviewer limits his own contribution to the interview to an absolute minimum. His role is to introduce the general theme on which information is required, motivate the subject to participate spontaneously, stimulate him through probing, and steer him back tactfully to the research topic when he digresses.

1.6.3   The Asking of unstructured questions

25

Our interviews were more like a conversation with no time frame. At first I thought I was going to spend an hour at each homestead but most of the time I would spend 3 to 4 hours with one person. The conversations were always interesting and the stories fascinating. Agar (1980:90) proposes that one uses what he calls 'Whyte's typology' of informality. This method is ethnographical in the sense that it allows spontaneity and the meaningful participation by the researcher as well as the interviewee. He further suggests that the researcher needs to encourage the informant to keep talking, by word or gesture. Next comes a simple reflection back of the informant's last statement. Then the researcher asks some specific questions about the last statement, inviting elaboration in a specific direction. And so it continues, through the probes on earlier material up to an interviewer-requested change in the topic of the interview.

The interview is conducted like a natural conversation. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983:112-113) make this distinction between ethnographers and survey interviewers and says:

> The main difference between the way in which ethnographers and survey interviewers ask questions is not, as is sometimes suggested, that one form of interview is 'structured'

and the other 'unstructured'. All interviews, like any other kind of social interaction, are structured by both the researcher and the informant. The important distinction is made between standardized and reflective interviewing.

They further argue that ethnographers do not decide, beforehand, the questions they want to ask, though they may enter the interview with a list of issues to be covered. Nor do ethnographers restrict themselves to a single mode of questioning. On different occasions, or at different points in the same interview, my approach may be non-directive or directive, depending on the function that the questioning is intended to serve. In my case, I can say that most of the times my approach was non-directive. The only time to refer to my list of questions was between interviews.

1.6.4   The Participant Observation Research Method

I have drawn from the method proposed by Agnew and Pyke (1982:49). They suggest that the participant observers are researchers who are directly involved in the socio-cultural life and activities of the group or community within which the

investigation is undertaken. While social activities are happening and researchers take part, the researchers gain firsthand experience of participating. Simultaneously, the researchers strive in their observation to be as objective as possible. They suggest that, "the researchers try not to make value judgements like 'good' or 'bad', 'right' or 'wrong', 'beautiful' or 'ugly' ".

They also warn the researcher against having misleading opinions, beliefs or attitudes about that particular community. They further say that the ethnographer must participate overtly in people's daily lives, for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, collecting whatever data is available to throw light on the issues with which he or she is concerned.

There are different views presented by different scholars on the method of participant observation. The view proposed by Hammersley and Atkinson (1983:97-98) is also supported by Lewis (1976:24-26). According to Lewis, the participant observers must immerse themselves in the community, and must know their language. Dziva (1997:224) is concerned about the depth of intrusion that researchers make in communities they are investigating. He is also concerned about keeping a critical distance and acting together with the communities in all that

they do. Lewis (1976:24) advises that researchers must follow what is going on around them and must record with accuracy and subtlety. The recording must not disturb the flow and volunteering of information. Some authorities say a researcher should immerse him or herself in the community they are investigating.

The rationale behind this study is a critical examination of names given to children within polygynous families. As an insider, my general observation is that many polygynous homesteads function better than most people think because these names act as channels through which people can voice their own opinions freely and without a fear of confrontation, which can lead to angering the living-dead.

1.7 Number of people interviewed

Interviews were conducted in thirty (30) main homesteads. Each homestead might have had 3 or more smaller homesteads belonging to sons; which means I ended up interviewing approximately 100 homesteads

1.8 Challenges in the interviewing process

One of the challenges I was faced with was the fact that in KwaMambulu a woman wearing trousers is unheard of, and so I had to change my dress code and dress like a traditional woman. Secondly, most families wanted me to stay longer at their homes; unfortunately, I had a time limit and had to do other things. Thirdly, the stories behind the names were sometimes too long and too complicated for my comprehension and I had to ask a lot of questions in order to understand them. Lastly, the language they use is full of *ukuhlonipha* terms (words used in place of certain names and other words that sound like these names to show respect to the in-laws), so on top of the crash course in the *hlonipha* vocabulary I took from my grandmother, I had to ask my assistants to teach me some words on our way to the next homestead.

1.9 Culture

Due to the complexity of culture as a concept, different scholars have come up with different definitions.

Bate (1995:220) defines culture "as something shared by a group of people and learned by an individual from the society. It is made out of patterns which guide behaviour and which are transmitted in tradition that is open and adaptive and culture is designed for living."   If there is no consensus on the

meaning of culture it would be difficult to see how one concept or definition of culture could satisfy all those who speak about it from the variety of disciplines they represent. For that reason each definition has its own limitations.

According to Cowan, Dembour and Wilson (2001:41):

> Culture is now understood as historically produced rather than static; unbounded rather than bounded and integrated; contested rather than consensual, incorporated within structures of power such as the construction of hegemony; rooted in practices; symbols, habits, patterns of practical mastery and practical rationality within cultural categories of meaning rather than any simple dichotomy between ideas and behaviour; and negotiated and constructed through human action rather than super-organic forces.

Shorter (1988:4) acknowledges the classic definition given by E. B. Taylor, that culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". However, in this fundamentally descriptive definition, human society becomes the human criterion of culture. He defines culture as that which human beings learn or

acquire as members of society. He argues that culture is made up of learned aspects, as opposed to inherited aspects of human thinking and behaviour.

Giddens (1995:31) defines culture as a phenomenon "that which consists of values the members of a given group hold, the norms they follow, and the material goods they create." For Giddens, "culture refers to the whole way of life of the members of a society"
It includes how they dress, their marriage customs and family life, their patterns of work, religious ceremonies and leisure pursuits.

1.10 Language and Culture

This study recognises the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Whorf 1956:57); a linguistic relativity principle which theorises that thought and behaviour are determined and partially influenced by language. It is founded on two main ideas: the first is a theory of determinism that states that the language you speak determines the way you will interpret the world around you. The second states that language influences your thoughts about the real world. Language and culture are interdependent entities. 'Culture' for African people is deeply embedded in the

language they speak, which means that culture is part of language.

Downs (1971:30-31) says, "the ability to symbolise, to make one thing stand for something else, is what makes man unique. With the use of symbols, and especially human language, which can be seen as a systematic arrangement of sounds and meaning", culture is also transmitted to future generations. Language makes it possible to teach other people the results of experiences they might never undergo themselves.

Tengan, cited in Saarelma-Maunumaa (2003:36), states:

> In some respect, language and culture do exist as separate structured entities and should be identified as such, while in other respects, language becomes embedded in culture acting as the link between cultural practices and the mental creativity of human society. In theory, the descriptive meaning of language and culture and the functional relationship that is being established between them will always be different depending on which aspects of human behaviour and mental creativity are under consideration.

According to Langacker (1994:26), language and culture are neither separate nor identical entities, but they overlap extensively, and both are facets of cognition. Landar (1966:130)

states that language is a set of habits concerning sign behaviour, whereas culture is the total set of man's habits. In the research site, the language used in name giving is reflective of the cultural and religious beliefs of the parents who gave the names.

1.11 Acculturation

Acculturation is influenced by a number of factors, one of which is the fact that many people are moving to the urban areas where they live in multilingual and multi-cultural communities. When culture changes, so does the language, which then leads to onomastic change.

Hoebel, cited in Saarelma-Maunumaa (2003:24), defines acculturation as follows:

> The acculturating society alters its culture in the direction of adjustment and (greater or lesser) conformity to cultural ideology and patterns of dominant society.

Herbert, cited in Saarelma-Maunumaa (2003:24), argues:

> Some cultures are also found to be more 'open' than others, i.e. they adopt new ideas more easily. These cultures are

34

structurally more flexible in the sense that they allow more alternatives in their cultural system".

Acculturation is always a complex process as Service, cited in Saarelma-Maunumaa (2003) mentions; it predicts the evolution of society. The actual evolution of the culture of particular societies is an adaptive process whereby society solves problems with respect to the natural and to the human environment. The environments are so diverse, the problems so numerous, and the solutions potentially so various that no single determinant can be equally powerful for all cases. In Zulu culture, acculturation is evident in the embrace of Western culture and changes in the naming process. Some Zulu people are moving away from names with negative meaning, despite the fact that those names were given to them with an intention to protect them (this will be discussed fully in chapter 5).

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE RESEARCH SITE

In this Chapter, I give background information on the research site, KwaMambulu. This is placed with a wider context by

comparing various social and cultural practices found in KwaMambulu with those of other societies in Africa, and even further afield. The naming of people is a fascinating subject that varies so much around the world and tells so much about a country or society. All over the world names mean something. Behind the concept of onomastics lies an utterly absorbing subject that tells us so much about history, geography, tradition and culture. It is for this reason that this study provides the background information about the research site and the beliefs that KwaMambulu people have. It is important to understand the context within which the names are found (discussed in Chapter 5). Most of these names refer to the concepts discussed here. The discussion of these key concepts in the study is done with the aim of clarifying an already established relationship between culture and religion. The study looks at the way Zulu people view death and the rituals associated with. The language they speak reflects all this. In the names they bestow on their children, one learns about the culture, religion and language of the Zulu people.

2.1 Way of life in KwaMambulu

In KwaMambulu things are done in a specific way that befits the rural community and the expectations thereof. Each and every person knows what their role and contribution in the community is. The way they dress, the food they eat, say a lot about the kind of people they are. They are a traditional society and live their lives as such. They are a monolingual society with some understanding of English. The society is half Christian and half Nazareth Baptist (Shembe religion). They live in autonymous homesteads (*imizi*) surrounded by fields and grazing land. Each homestead consists of a number of houses (usually rondavels), belonging to different co-wives and their children. The main hut at the top of the homestead belongs to the grandmother and is perceived as the sanctuary for the living-dead. Women plough the fields for subsistence farming.

2.2 Dress code

The women have to wear appropriate clothing whether they are married or not. Unmarried women wear clothes that show off their breasts – breasts are not, in the African culture, viewed as an erogenous zone. Women can also wear short traditional skirts: *izigege, onomndindi, omabubane,* that show off half of their thighs. This is to show possible future husbands that they are still virgins eligible for marriage.

In a community as rural as the one in KwaMambulu, women still know their place. There are women that are well educated and can provide for themselves, however, they still believe in respecting their husbands, taking orders from them and respecting them, unlike their surburban counterparts. There are still very many chores that are strictly for women, like fetching water and wood, and cooking for the household. The women kneel down when giving things to their husbands, be it food, water or traditional beer. There are two groups of women; the first are the women who belong to the indigenous religious group of the Nazareth Baptist Church, or *abakwaShembe* (the followers of Isaiah Shembe). This group is very traditional, and most of them are in polygynous marriages. They wear traditional attire all the time. They always look obedient and appreciate their husbands even though they keep on taking more wives. To these women the words 'cheating' and 'divorce' do not exist; because polygyny has been a way of life for them from time immemorial. They do not know otherwise. They know no other life. "A man is a man" is what one of young wives told me. She argues that it is better this way (polygyny) because at least then you know who your rivals are, and you know where your husband is, when he is not with you. This, as opposed to monogamous marriages, where a man might stray without the knowledge of his wife, goes out, sleeps with a woman and comes back pretending nothing has happened. Women in those kinds of

marriages (she insisted) brag about being the only women in their husbands' lives, not knowing that their husbands are having affairs behind their backs. The most embarrassing thing about this is that the woman in question is often the last one to know. These traditional women prefer everything to be done with their knowledge. They might not have a say in the matter or who will be their husband's choice of a co-wife but at least they are consulted before the whole thing happens. It is not important to them that their opinions do not matter when it comes to giving their men advice against a woman who comes from a rival family, say a daughter of a sorcerer. It seems to me that they feel empowered that they have control over the situation, no matter how small that control might be.

The second group is made up of educated women who choose not to follow tradition; we are talking of teachers, nurses and the like here. All of them know how to dress appropriately; with dresses or skirts below their knees. The length of the skirt says a great deal about the character of the person wearing it. The back of a woman's leg is considered to be sacred; she cannot show that off to the world. She has to honour her husband and preserve his dignity in society. No man wants his wife to be known as some loose person who has no shame. Women are not allowed to wear vests or sleeveless tops. Their attire cannot be revealing or figure-hugging. They have to cover their heads with

scarves or berets. This is also because these women live in big communities with their in-laws and they cannot show their bodies to their in-laws. That would be inappropriate behaviour and it might anger the living-dead and there would be serious repercussions.

2.3 Food

In KwaMambulu, people prefer traditional food like samp (*isitambu nobhontshisi*), stiff maize porridge and spinach (*uphuthu nemifino*), and ground cooked dry maize (*umcaba*). Most of the food prepared is boiled and only seasoned with salt to taste. They seldom use cooking oil. This is not due to the fact that cooking oil causes heart diseases, as I had initially thought, but it is because most of their staple food does not really need cooking oil, and is just as good without it. Forming part of their staple diet is also sour milk, or maas (*amasi enkomo*). There are some taboos associated with certain kinds of foods. For instance, women are not allowed to eat eggs, chicken and fish because it is believed that if they did, they would be promiscuous, just like chickens and fish, because these animals are believed to be weak sexually, especially the chicken.

Omakoti (newly married women) are not allowed to eat maas when they are having their period. During this time of the month, women are avoided. They cannot have sex, they cannot go into the cattle kraal, and, as a result, cannot touch anything that comes out of there, including milk and maas. This is because the cattle kraal is closely linked to the living-dead; women avoid it in respect of the living-dead.

2.4 *Umemulo* or coming of age ceremony

Umemulo, or the coming of age ceremony, is always observed when a girl is ready to get married. Girls are always told to remain virgins and abstain from sex until they are married. Girls that have reached courtship or *ukweshela* age are courted by young men. This takes place at the rivers while women are collecting water, or when women are fetching wood, or at any traditional ceremonies taking place in the community. Once the woman accepts the young man's proposal, she gives him a bead necklace (*ucu*) to symbolize her undying love for him. The young man is allowed to come and visit the girl at her house. They can spend the night together, kiss, cuddle and caress. They can do anything to relieve themselves of sexual tension but penetration is totally forbidden until they get married. If a woman is a virgin by the time she gets married, the young man must pay eleven cows and only ten if she is no longer a virgin.

2.5 Death

Death is a highly respected event in the community. The mourning family has to use *umuthi* (herbs) to cleanse themselves of bad luck after the funeral. Three months after the person has died, a cleansing ceremony is performed: *ukuxokozela* if a woman has died or *ukujikijela* if a man has died, where men of that community go hunting before eating a slaughtered goat. A couple of months after this another ritual is performed in which a cow is slaughtered: *isihlangu* for a man or *isidwaba* for a woman. *Isihlangu* (a fighting shield) is to make sure that the man has some form of protection on his way to his living-dead. *Isidwaba* (pleated skirt made out of cow hide), to dress the women appropriately when she goes over to the living-dead, some of whom are her in-laws. After a year, then, a ritual of *ukubuyisa* (bringing back the spirit of the dead) is performed to bring the spirit of the dead person home to his family.

2.6 Respect for people in positions of authority

The chief is highly respected in this community. He is the leader and everybody looks up to him. He makes the rules. He is the one they contact if the negotiations with an *induna* fail.

42

The headman, or *induna* (the person who acts on behalf of the chief), is there to be the eyes and ears of the chief. He attends all the occasions the chief cannot. He can decide on some minor issues concerning the whole community. People report their disputes to the headman and if people are not satisfied with the decision, they can go to the chief for appeal, who in turn can overrule the headman's decision.

Iphoyisa lenkosi (the chief's police officer) acts as a chief and *induna's* watchdog. He is the first person an outsider comes in contact with when they come for a visit. He asks them questions about their place of origin and about the business they are coming to conduct in this area. When there is a traditional wedding, *iphoyisa lenkosi* is the one who officiates at the ceremony on behalf of the chief. He asks the bride if she loves her husband "*Uyabuza umthetho, uthi uyamthanda na?*" (The law is asking you; do you love him?) When a person dies *iphoyisa lenkosi* is the one who announces the death to the whole community *(ukuhlaba umkhosi)*. Very early on the day of the funeral *iphoyisa lenkosi* will stand on the hill and shout at the top of his voice, saying for instance, "*kwaNgidi eMbitane, yelekelelani, konakele*" (At the Ngidis in Mbitane, there is a crisis. Come and help out). Then people know that they need to go and dig the grave because somebody has passed away.

Respect in general is very important in African culture, like "*ukukhuleka*" (the shouting of praise names when entering a homestead). This shows that you recognise the importance of the man of the homestead. When people come to visit they get offered something to eat and drink. When a person is offering you something to eat or drink you take it with both hands, which is a sign of full appreciation. The person offering you food will eat with you or take a first sip from your drink to show you that it is not poisoned. It is also very common to find people drinking from one beerpot.

2.7 Linguistic features in Zulu Culture and Religion

African religion provides regulations for daily life through language. There are also plenty of hints and advice about getting on with fellow humans and the community at large in the form of sayings and proverbs; e.g., *kuhlonishwana kabili* (respect is a two way thing)

Izandla ziyagezana (hands wash each other – help those who help you)

Umuzi ngumuzi ngokuphanjukelwa (you must treat strangers well)

2.8 Marriage is an integral part of culture
2.8.1 The importance of paying *ilobolo*

44

Marriage is a sacred rite of passage that involves the whole community. The paying of *ilobolo* is the most important part of the marriage negotiating process, as it involves two families and the living-dead. *Ilobolo* used to be a sign of appreciation from the husband's part. He was thanking his parents-in-law for bringing up and looking after his new bride-to-be. However, nowadays things have changed, people have become greedy and seek material (usually financial) benefits from this age old tradition. The groom's family expects the bride to bring gifts for the whole family for *umabo* (distribution of gifts) during the traditional wedding ceremony, without considering the value of the money the husband's family has paid, and the unnecessary financial burden they put on the bride and her family. To illustrate this point, I shall create a certain scenario:

The groom pays R15000 to the family of the woman to be married, thinking of course that she is worth every penny. Her family gives her some of the money to buy things for the husband's family in the following manner: she buys a kist for R5000, caters for her husband-to-be's family when they come to her house to bring the gifts (*izibizo/ amatshali*) and gives them things to take home (food, blankets and beverages). For the actual wedding day she must buy *izingubo zokulala* (blankets), *amaphinifa* (aprons), *izambulela* (umbrellas), *izinkamba*

45

(claypots), *imicamelo* (pillows), *amacansi* (grass mats) for the whole family, which is usually between 50 and 100 people. On top of that she has to bring dinner sets as well as her new cooking utensils, and let us not forget the furniture (bedroom suite). She has to stay at her mother-in-law's house for the whole honeymoon period and when it is time for her to move to her new house, she has to leave everything behind, except for the kist. So all the money the husband paid as *ilobolo* goes back to his family in the end.

Most of the misconceptions about *ilobolo* come from the Western people who translate it as the 'bride price'. This leads to many thinking that African women have a price tag attached to them. Paying *ilobolo* has nothing to do with buying a wife.

Gelfand (1968:41) says that, "The payment is a token that the husband acknowledges the benefits he is receiving. It is also a compensation for her father for the loss of his daughter, who has gone with her husband, leaving her own kin to join his."

The reason why most men are questioning *ilobolo* all of a sudden is because people have been exposed to other cultures and have adopted them. Choosing a Western tradition is the easy way out of African traditions.

46

Levin (1991:20) says that marriage is an intimate relationship with another human being, and as such must be entered into with a full understanding of the common objectives, with an appreciation of the different requirements of the individual personalities involved, and with the desire to pool the resources of each for the benefit of the parties concerned.

2.8.2 Responsibilities that come with marriage.

Marriage is a 'business deal', it is an emotional and physical communication, it is the 'training ground' for children, it is the 'survival unit' for the population at large, and for mankind in general. Marriage is not just a wedding ceremony; it is a multifaceted relationship of persons with common goals, but often with very different personal needs.

Mbiti (1969:144) says:

> Marriage then, is a religious responsibility for everyone. It forms the focal point where departed, present and coming members of society meet. It is the point of hope and expectation for the unmarried and their relatives; once it has been reached and procreation takes place.

47

When a woman gets married, she marries the whole clan. From *ukukhonga* (lobola negotiations) to *umgcagco* (the wedding), things are done for the whole family and not solely for the couple. Hence, you would hear the groom saying '*ngivusa umuzi kababa*' (I am rebuilding my father's household), or '*ngifuna umuntu ozophekela umama*' (I want someone who will cook for my mother). The slaughtering of the goat to report the arrival of the bride is a sign that she is part of the family from then onwards.

I concur with Mbiti's reasoning here, because in most African societies people who fail to secure a partner to marry them are given nicknames, as in the name *Zendazamshiya* (everybody is getting married and you are left behind), *Mjendevu* (an old maid) or *Mpohlo* (an unmarried man). The husband and his family transfer goods or money to the wife's family, but the words used are quite distinct from buying and selling. The transaction does not give the husband unlimited rights over his wife, she may claim divorce for ill-treatment. In many African communities women are very independent.

2.8.3   Levirate and Sororate Marriages

In Africa there are both levirate and sororate marriage practices after the death of a spouse. They are valued and are

perceived to be important in continuing the family line in the case of levirate marriage and continuing family ties with the in-law in the case of sororate marriages.

2.8.3.1 Levirate marriage (*ukungena*)

In African communities, as well as in Zulu communities, death does not constitute an end to a marriage. The paying of *ilobolo* and the slaughtering of the goat to accept the wife into the family is an eternal binding bond between the surviving spouse and the in-laws' family. When a husband dies, his brother has to take over all his wives and bear the responsibilities of a husband, taking care of his late brother's wives and children. *Ukungena* is when the man moves into his late brother's house and becomes the husband to the widows. Radcliffe-Brown (1950:183) argues that, when the husband dies and an approved relative of his lives with the widow and the children, he begets more children for the dead man. This is the leviratic family. The pro-husband does not pay *ilobolo*. According to Krige & Comaroff (1981:4) marriage is, for a Zulu woman, a long-drawn-out process, whereby she is detached from her native *umndeni* and incorporated gradually into the family of her husband. According to Radcliffe-Brown and Farole (1950:185) Zulu marriage thus constitutes a long enduring union between the spouses, which extends to their kin, above all their agnatic lineages.

49

Parrinder (1954:97) says that marriage in Africa is a social affair, concerned as much with the contracting families as with the man and wife.

2.8.3.2 Sororate marriage *(ukuvus' amabele)*

When the wife dies, her husband can, and does, in many cases, marry his late wife's younger sister to take care of the children. It is believed that the children's aunt treats them better than a total stranger whom the man can marry on his own without the intervention of the family. Mbiti (1969:141) says:

> Fewer societies have sororate marriages, i.e. when a wife dies the husband marries one of her sisters . . . The 'sister' in this case must be understood in the wider usage of that term, within the kinship system. If the wife does not bear children, it is occasionally arranged that the husband takes her sister to be his wife whether or not the first is dead. In still fewer societies, two sisters are married to the same man. These are other meanings and practices of sororate marriages.

2.8.4 Polygamy

The term 'polygamy' is used in related ways in social anthropology and sociobiology. In social anthropology, polygamy is the practice of marriage to more than one spouse simultanously (as opposed to monogamy where each person has only one spouse at a time). In sociobiology, polygamy is used in a broad sense to mean any form of multiple mating. Polygamy/polygyny can be defined as a situation where a husband is shared by several wives and polyandry as a situation where a wife is shared by several husbands.

Harris (1988:311) argues that polygamy overlooks the fact that plural marriages create domestic situations that are behaviourally and mentally very different from those created by monogamous (one husband, one wife) marriages.

2.8.5   Forms of polygamy

Polygamy exists in three specific forms, including polygyny (one man having multiple wives), polyandry (one woman having multiple husbands), or group marriage – some combination of polygyny or polyandry. There has been evidence of all three types of polygamy existing, but polygyny is by far the most common.

2.8.5.1 Polyandry

Polyandry is a mating practice where a woman has more than one husband. In some African societies this kind of marriage is allowed, and it is a normal practice for women to have more than one husband. A notable example of polyandry occurs in Hindu culture in the Mahabharata, where the Pandavas are married to one common wife, called the Draupadi. Today it is almost exclusively observed in the Toda tribe of India, where it is sometimes the custom for several brothers to have one wife. In this context, the practice is intended to keep land from being split up amongst male heirs. Polyandry was traditionally practiced among nomadic Tibetans, where it meant two poor brothers shared a wife. www.islamonline.net/servlet/. It is important to note that in the research area this form of polygamy is unheard of. The man is the only person who is allowed to have more than one wife. A woman with more than one partner is regarded as promiscuous.

2.8.6   Polygyny: the forbidden fruit

Polygyny is the practice of having more than one wife with all the concerned spouses' full knowledge. This form of polygamy is most common in African countries and the only form of polygamy accepted in the study community.

Kidwai (nd:2) says that, polygamy was never forbidden, nor even curtailed or regulated by Jesus Christ or his immediate apostles.

> Polygamy prevailed among Christians for ages after Christ. That Christendom today claims to be monogamous is due not to Christianity but to social reformation. It had been an established institution from time immemorial. No religious or social system condemned it.

Kidwai further argues that there is a reason today to consider polygamy far better in every respect than adultery, either open or concealed. Even today it would be nothing but insane dogmatism to forbid it in many parts of the world.

A married man may be permitted to have relations with a woman who is not his wife, and not be held accountable, but a married woman caught having an affair could be condemned and called names.

The question some people ask is, is polygyny still safe in this HIV/AIDS age? This is the question that needs to be asked as AIDS is rife in the African continent. Mcetywa cited in Phiri & Tembo (2004:11) argues:

The AmaMpondo practice polygamous marriages. It could be mistaken to conclude that polygamy promotes the spread of HIV/AIDS because of the assumption that all such marriages are untrustworthy. Like any heterosexual marriage, traditional polygamous marriage is sacred, solemn and trustworthy. Tradition has laid down principles to protect such marriages from STDs and HIV/AIDS. Such rules are known by the whole society who monitors that they are followed. It is only when the rules are broken that such diseases can come in. Therefore, it is not the practice of polygamy that brings HIV/AIDS but the misuse of tradition that needs to be dealt with.

Dennis cited in Oliello (2005:76) is also of the same view that polygamy does not contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS. He says:

Polygamy is not dangerous, from an AIDS point of view if the man limits his sexual contacts to his wives while wives have no sexual activity outside marriage. This could count, at least partly, for the low incidence of HIV in predominantly Muslim countries such as Senegal and Mali.

The above argument may be somewhat unfounded, as there is no guarantee that the wives will be faithful to their husband. His absence from home might just push them into the hands of other men which is another disadvantage of polygynous marriage.

54

Trobisch (1971:31-32) argues that those who address polygyny as an antidote against adultery see only one part of the problem. For once an inclusive sex-partnership is accepted, the step towards adultery occurs because their husbands usually stay with one wife for a week at a time or with the favourite wife only for a long time. As a result, he is not able to satisfy all of them sexually.

The study has reservations about believing that parties in polygynous marriages can be faithful and trustworthy. I also do not have faith in the effectiveness of traditional laws and rules surrounding fidelity in marriage. Hellander (1958:21) affirms this by saying that "today, unfortunately, in the towns and to some extent in the country, the old stability of African marriage has vanished."

Polygynists have a great burden of meeting the needs of plural unions. The husband has difficulty to strive to provide an equitable distribution of his love. The relationship between a husband and his wives is always shaky as he sometimes does not have enough time to pay attention to each of them as it should be the case.

In most polygynous cultures, women are regarded as inferior to men and male dominance is the normal culture because the man is the head of the household. Parrinder (1958:35) says:

> It is indeed in the rights of women, and the respect for personality, that monogamy has one of its surest justifications. Where there are several wives there is bound to creep in an idea of the inferiority of women, who tend to be regarded as property, or as lower beings.

Kanyoro (2002:5) argues that polygyny is an institution that is oppressive to women and that thrives in a patriarchal culture which is based on the superiority of male persons. She further says that, "polygamy has tended to exploit women and children's labour because polygamy is justified as a means of enhancing productivity of property for the man. Polygamy also depicts women as weak and needing the constant protection."

Wasike (1992:107) also believes that polygyny is oppressive to women.

> The promotion and encouragement of polygamy were based on grounds that favoured men by boosting their personality and reducing that of women to subservient and inferior status. The whole system

supported and enhanced men's power and domination over women.

Polygyny is one form of marriage which brings to its members the greatest number of children. This is, however, an ancient tradition that puts a lot of emphasis on siring children as opposed to the love between man and woman.

2.8.7 Reasons African men give for being polygynists

Polygynists in the research site argue African men argue that the practice of polygyny has been in African society for centuries, and that it was not until the Christian missionaries came that it became taboo. Africans have practiced and valued polygamy from time immemorial. A man's wealth was, and still is in some cases, measured by the number of wives and children he has. Men prefer polygyny because it gives them sexual gratification and diversity in mates. In most African societies, it is taboo for a couple to engage in sexual intercourse during menstrual period and pregnancy, in which case polygyny provides a solution. In agricultural societies, human labour was, and still is, essential and polygyny provided more hands to work in the fields and produce more food. Thus, polygyny produced wealth and stability to the entire family. Women and children are safer in larger households where they are better protected from

aggressors. Pride is associated with a larger family, and shame and low self-esteem are associated with small families, which are often perceived as symbolizing poverty.

To most people's surprise, polygyny provides a form of birth control, in the sense that it would allow the spacing of children by virtue of the sexual taboos attached to sex during breastfeeding. Polygyny also ensures that most marriageable girls are married off. In most traditional African societies, there was and still is a custom of levirate marriages and widow inheritance. A brother's wife is passed on to his brother or cousin on the husband's death. This is designed to ensure that no widows or orphans are left without provision and family. Polygyny stays clear of hypocritical behaviour prevalent in western societies where many marriages fall apart because of infidelities. Mbiti (1969:139) says:

> Polygamy helps to prevent or reduce unfaithfulness and prostitution, especially on the part of the husband. This is particularly valuable in modern times when men generally go to live and work in the cities and towns, leaving their children in the rural area. If the husband has several wives, he can afford to take one at a time to live with him in the town while the other wife remains

behind to take care of the children and
family property in the country side.

This statement corresponds with life in most traditional African societies where men are given more sexual rights than women. According to Wasike cited in Ollielo (2005:79) nothing in a polygamous marriage is intended to benefit women. ". . . again the reasons that are used to justify polygamy in traditional Africa reveal a distorted relationship that has crippled both women and men in different ways."

Mbiti (1969:139) further points out that "Polygamy also raises the social status of the family concerned. It is instilled in the minds of the African people that a big family earns its head great respect in the eyes of the community. Often it is the rich families that are made up of polygamous marriages." If the first wife has no children, or if she has only daughters, it follows almost without exception that her husband will add another wife, partly to remedy the immediate concern of being without a male child, and partly to remove the shame and anxiety of apparent unproductivity. Each marriage is expected to ensure the continuation of the extended family and clan. There is a belief in some African societies that those who die are reborn in their children. Therefore it is important to have children in order to perpetuate the family line. Mbiti (1969:133) confirms this point when he says, "marriage and procreation in African communities

are a unit. Without procreation, marriage is incomplete." In the study area, having children is virtually important, a woman who cannot conceive is shunned and called names, like *inyumba* or *ubhonya* (the barren one).

Kisembo and Magesa (1977:73), in explaining the view of the people of East Africa regarding children, say:

> Very common in East Africa was the concept of nominal reincarnation, the custom of naming children after grandparents and even referring to them by regularly alternating kinship terms. The verbal practice was backed by the belief that a special relationship existed between grandparents and the grandchild and that grandparents acted as guardian spirit or protector of the child...It can be readily understood that childlessness placed a very heavy if not intolerable strain upon a marriage. Without the alternative of polygamy divorce would be practically inevitable.

Kisembo and Magesa (1977:68) argue that polygyny is seen to increase the labour force and assists in food production. Seen in this light, a large family community renders all the operations of rural life more efficiently. It also makes co-operation in communal work less demanding since there were more representatives of the family available to participate. In the

60

African traditional society, polygyny is seen to provide for unbroken continuation of the family, for both the husband and the children in the event of the death of one wife. Instead of loneliness, the husband would not experience difficulties because the other wife would be there for him, and also the children would not struggle much because their mother would be there. Mbiti (1969:143) explains this view when he says:

> When a family is made up of several wives with their households, it means that in time of need, there will always be someone around to help. This is a corporate existence, for example, when one wife dies, there are others to take care of her children. In case of sickness, other wives will fetch water from the river, cut firewood and cook.

Polygyny caters for the desire of having a larger family and the idea in nearly all traditional African societies is to have as many children as is physically possible. Children belong not only to the nuclear household, but also to the extended family and community as a whole. Another important issue is having male children. A man desires that his name and family line will be continued. Thus he feels that it is essential to have a male child. If he has no male child by his first wife, he would then take a second wife thinking that she would produce a male child.

Polygyny is also seen to provide for the loss of children through sickness and death.

Polygyny acts as a deterrent against divorce. Fafunwa cited in Bhengu (1975: 77) says:

> An African finds that there are more divorce cases in America, where people marry but one. In Africa, men have the privilege of marrying two or more wives, all depending on the husband's economic backstay. He also finds that American women are more jealous than their African counterparts when it comes to love affairs.

African traditionalists argue that people cannot accept the institution of marriage without at least recognizing the existence of polygyny. The fundamental character of polygamy in African society is borne by the fact that this form of African marriage is the base of the extended family, which is the backbone of African communal relations and living.

2.8.8   Polygyny is a world wide practice

According to the Ethnographic Atlas codebook (http://ecleti.ss.uci.edu/~drwhite/worldcul/Cdebook4EthnoAtlas.p

df) to take on more than one wife often requires considerable resources: this may put polygamy beyond the means of the vast majority of people within those societies. Such appears to be the case in many traditional Islamic societies, and in Imperial China. Within polygynous societies, multiple wives often become a status symbol denoting wealth and power. Similarly, within societies which formally prohibit polygamy, social opinion may look favorably on persons maintaining mistresses or engaging in serial monogamy.

2.8.8.1　Polygyny in Chinese culture

Since the Han Dynasty, technically, Chinese men could have only one wife. However throughout the thousands of years of Chinese history, it was common for rich Chinese men to have a wife and various concubines. Polygyny is a by-product of the tradition of emphasis on procreation and the continuity of the father's family name. According to the views expressed in one of the sources (see the website: http://www.exeas.org/resources/your-honor.html), before the establishment of the People's Republic of China, it was lawful to have a wife and multiple concubines within Chinese marriage. Emperors, government officials and rich merchants had up to hundreds of concubines after marrying their first wives.

63

2.8.9   The status of the wives in Zulu culture

In my observation at the research site the status of the wives differs greatly depending on the order in which they are married. If the woman is the first wife, she knows that she is the most important and that her first born son will be the heir, should her husband die. She knows that she is superior to the other wives. In former times, this did not cause as many problems as it does now. The women were always submitting to their husbands without questions; they were more concerned with pleasing their husband than being happy themselves. The superior status of the first wives sometimes got to their heads and they would start abusing their power and looking down upon the less superior wives. This caused havoc within the family and disturbs the social order.

Krige (1950:40) states:

> It seldom, however, happens that the *inGqadi* side inherits, because if the *inkosikazi* fails to give birth to the male, the husband usually remedies the deficiency by taking a new wife with the cattle belonging to the *indlunkulu* hut. This new wife then becomes the subordinate

wife to the *indlunkulu* side. She will be placed in the chief hut until she has borne a son, when she is given some other hut in the *indlunkulu* section of the kraal. Her own son is looked upon as the actual son of the chief wife.

Msimang (1991:29) points out:

Kumnandi ukuba iNkosikazi nokuba inqadi nokuba umakoti waseNdlunkulu, okubi ukuba yikhohlo lokhu lona kalidli lutho lomnumzane ngaphandle kokwendlu yalo.

It is nice to be the chief wife, and to be the second chief wife (third wife), and to be the wife of *indlunkulu* , what is bad is to be the second wife because she gets nothing from her husband's inheritance, except for what she already has when he dies.

The inequality with regards to the status of the wives is another factor which contributes to the escalation of conflict within polygynous families.

2.8.9.1   The importance of having a son

In African societies barrenness is, in most cases, regarded as the woman's fault. If no children come out of the marriage, the man has to take another wife. If none of these women give birth to a son, the husband will keep on taking more wives until he finds one who does. Mbiti (1970:143) says:

> In African societies, the birth of a child is a process which begins long before the child's arrival in this world and continues long thereafter. It is not just a single event which can be recorded on a particular date. Nature brings the child to the world, but society creates the child into a social being, a corporate person ... Children are buds of the society, and every birth is the arrival of 'spring' when life shoots out and the community thrives. The birth of a child is, therefore, the concern not only of the parents but of many relatives including the living and the departed.

Msimang (1991:27) says:

> *Naye umnumzane wethembele kakhulu emadodaneni akhe. Uma enecala nomakhelwane, uliqula namadodana akhe, abe izindlebe zakhe. Kanjalo nezikweletu zakhe zaziwa yiwo. Uma ezokwenza umsebenzi phakathi kwekhaya ubikela wona kuqala engakasitsheli isithembu.*

> The head of the homestead himself is
> dependant on his sons. When he has a
> dispute with the neighbours, he sorts it
> out with his sons, as they are his ears.
> Even his debts are known by them. When he
> is going to do a ritual at home, he
> informs them first, before telling his
> wives.

What Msimang is saying is reflective of what happens in Zulu society, particularly in the research area. Having a son gives a man a voice in society. He earns respect because of his sons. His sons are superior to his wives and he takes their advice seriously.

Mbiti (1969:25) has this to say about African marriages and the importance of having children:

> If a man has no children or only
> daughters, he finds another wife so that
> through her, children (or sons) may be
> born who would survive him and keep him
> (with the other living-dead of the family)
> in personal immortality. Procreation is
> the absolute way of ensuring that a person
> is not cut off from personal immortality.

The Zulu people believe that if a man dies without a son, the history of the family will vanish because the daughters will get married, leave their father's homestead and change their

surname. The implication is that if you have girls when you die, you will leave no history behind. This becomes a problem, especially for the wives who have no sons. They feel left out, and not as important as the ones who have sons, and there is usually no stopping jealousy and feelings of resentment among the wives.

2.8.9.2 The rights of women

There have been changes, also, in attitudes towards sexual morality and behaviour with the onset of second wave feminism: women are now more in control of their bodies, and are able to experience sex with more freedom than was previously socially acceptable for them. This sexual revolution was seen as positive (especially by sex-positive feminists), as it enabled women and men to experience sex in a free and equal manner. However, some feminists felt that the results of the sexual revolution were only beneficial to men. Some feel that the institution of marriage is oppressive to women. Those that hold this view opt for cohabitation or, more recently, to live independently, reverting to casual sex to fulfill their sexual needs.

For the feminist, polygamy was and still is an exploitation of women and their rights. The feeling is that polygamy was useful to our living-dead in former times, but today's society does

not really allow it. There is mass poverty in African societies, and not every man can afford to be polygamous. It goes without saying that some men still become polygynists knowing well that they cannot afford more wives. More people have been educated under western standards and values. Traditional African society was more community oriented and less selfish, whereas today, more and more people are concerned with having enough to eat and enough money to spend on themselves, which is very individualistic and selfish from an African point of view.

The polygynous system is more for the benefit of male sexual needs than those of women. It disregards what is important to women. If a woman is unhappy in this relationship, some people look at her as being demanding and disrespectful of her husband. Despite the divorce rates in monogamous marriages, it at least shows that people have a choice to choose what they want to do with their lives. They can marry, get divorced and remarry. They can repeat this cycle as many times as they want.

Because of the role women play in today's economy, holding high positions of power, most polygynists feel inadequate. The polygynist African male exercises his strong-hold on the not so well educated African woman because she is the only object he can do so towards. The polygynist feels powerless against economic power above him – often white male economic power.

69

Most educated people believe that having a nuclear family is the way to do things in this day and age, because everything is so expensive. They argue that one cannot afford to have a big family. They also limit family gatherings to a minimum to try and cut the costs. Nowadays, family members cannot come unannounced as they used to. The emphasis is on cutting costs and making sure that the family is as small as possible. This becomes evident in the names of the children with educated parents, e.g **Kwanele** (that is enough), **Aphelele** (enough girls or men).

Culture includes knowledge, beliefs, morals and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. Culture is linked to the language people speak, because culture and beliefs are communicated through language. Cultural changes have brought about the change in their society's thinking and have definitely affected their naming processes. Within culture come the institution of marriage and the misconceptions people have about *ilobolo* as a result of being exposed to Western culture. *Ilobolo* forms the integral part of the whole marriage process, from the negotiations to the actual wedding day. An African marriage is not only about two people getting married but rather about the whole family and the society. Within these societies, levirate marriages are highly recommended as they

deter the wife from looking for love and sexual gratification elsewhere after the death of her husband. Polygyny is also very important to an African man. It is a sign that he is affluent and that he can take good care of his family, as this kind of marriage is not for the weak and the faint-hearted. Polygyny is meant to limit the chances of extra-marital affairs and children born as bastards. It was also put in place to make sure that a man's name was never forgotten, because at least one of the many wives would bear him a son. From culture emanates the religion that guides an African person.

2.9 African religion and the philosophy behind it

The naming of a person in Africa is a spiritual event. Most African societies have a naming ceremony and they perceive the naming ceremony as sacred and religious. It is, therefore, part of their religion. They believe that the living-dead have everything to do with the things that happen in their lives; good things (as a reward for good behaviour) and bad things (as a punishment for misbehaviour).
Mbiti (1969:1) mentions:

> Africans are notoriously religious, and
> each people has its own religious system
> with a set of beliefs and practices.
> Religion   permeates   into   all   the

departments of life so fully that it is not easy or possible always to isolate it ... To ignore these traditional beliefs, attitudes and practices, can only lead to a lack of understanding of African behaviour and problems. Religion is the strongest element in traditional background, and exerts probably the greatest influence upon the thinking and living of the people concerned.

In describing philosophy, Mbiti (op cit) has this to say:

Philosophy of one kind or another is behind the thinking and acting of every people, and a study of traditional religions brings us into those areas of African life where, through word and action, we may be able to discern the philosophy behind ... African philosophy' refers to the understanding, attitude of mind, logic and perception behind the manner in which African peoples think, act or speak in different situations in life.

2.9.1 Witchcraft

In the data that was collected, there were a number of names suggesting that the belief in witchcraft is still rife in the KwaMambulu area, as in the name, **Felamandla** (he is bewitched because he is strong), **Bhekumuthi** (watching the use of umuthi), **Nyathelephi** (where did you put your foot?), **Fumbetheni** (what do

you have in your closed hand?).   It is also clear that people use personal names to perform such evil deeds. Parrinder (1954:125) says that witchcraft is nocturnal. The witch is supposed to go out only at night, and during the sleep of her body. She preys on other souls that are wandering while their bodies are asleep. Since people believe that dreams are activities of the soul, which travels to the places the dreamer thinks about and meets the people he sees in the dream, it is not hard to see that a great deal of witchcraft belief depends on dreams.

Evans-Pitchard cited in Bockie (1993:41) differentiates thus between witchcraft and sorcery:

> A witch performs no rite, utters no spell,
> and possesses no medicines. An act of
> witchcraft is a psychic act. They (the
> Azande) believe also that sorcerers do
> them ill by performing magic rites with
> bad medicines.

Bourdillon in Olupona (2000:176) says:

> Generally, witchcraft involves the reverse
> of normal values and behaviour. Witches
> are typically believed to act at night,
> instead of openly by the day as honest
> people do, and to operate with familiar
> animals of the night, such as hyenas and

owls. The special powers of the witches are often assumed to come from evil spirits that encourage the witches in their evil practices ... Witches are assumed to be able to protect themselves from revenge.

2.9.1.1　Social significance of witchcraft

Witchcraft divides the society and destroys families, so people who are suspected of practicing witchcraft are ostracized and treated as outlaws. It is important to try to find out why some are suspects and others not. Women are the most prone to suspicion of witchcraft.

Parrinder (1954:131) points out that the conflict between the wives and mother-in-law is prominent. Young wives denounce their husband's mother, or another wife in a polygynous household. The wife is often a stranger in the family, having been married from another village. If she has no children she may be suspected of jealousy. Even more, if her own children die, she may be accused of having killed them. Or she will accuse a barren woman, a co-wife, or a mother-in-law past the age of bearing, of jealousy and child murder by witchcraft.

2.9.1.2　Man-made diseases

There are names that show that people within the polygamous family suspect each other of practicing witchcraft. This usually comes after family members have become sick. The following are the most common diseases that people associate with the acts of witchcraft and examples of names given to suggest each disease family members might have.

Umeqo: Zulu people believe that a sorcerer (*umthakathi*) can put a poisonous medicine on the path where the person whose name has been mentioned, and to whom the *umuthi* is directed, will walk over this *umuthi*, and will get sick. This is called *umeqo*, from the verb *eqa* – to jump over. Thus, you may find people with names like **Nyathelephi** (where did you put your foot?).

Isibhobo (stitch / muscle pain): This is often felt as if some sharp object is piercing the body. It is often felt on the chest, under the breasts or under the shoulders. This can be fatal if not treated by a traditional healer in time. It is believed that this disease is caused by a sorcerer who stirs up his evil medicine (*umuthi wokuthakatha*) using a spear while calling out the name of the person s/he is bewitching. This disease affects the respiratory system, and, if not treated, the victim may die of suffocation. Thus, you may find people with names like **Bhekumuthi** (watching the use of witchcraft).

Amashwa (misfortunes / bad luck): The word *amashwa* may be used to refer to two scenarios in Zulu culture. The first scenario is a bad coincidental happening that might be a result of negligence on the part of the victim. For example, if you leave your bag or possession unattended and somebody steals them. This, a Zulu person would say, was *'ishwa nje'* (just bad luck) which could happen to anybody. The second scenario is a situation where a person experiences one misfortune after another. Unless it can be proven that these misfortunes are related to the angry living-dead, a Zulu person would conclude that he has been bewitched. A name like **Fumbetheni** (what are you holding in your hand?) may be given to a girl in families where this ailment is prevalent.

Amanzi amnyama (black water): This is the process where the sorcerer is stirring his evil medicine *okhambeni* (in a beer pot) with a spear to affect the family. This, it is believed, turns everything to 'black'. Most of the time, it causes the whole clan to die painful, unnatural deaths (e.g., some may get shot, stabbed or die in car accidents). In this instance, the first person to die will be the first born son of that family. It usually affects men, although there are known instances where women also get affected. In most cases this is after most the men of that clan have died. Thus the name **Phehlani** (continue to stir your evil medicine in the pot).

Ukuhayiza (hysteria): This, according to Bryant (1967:70-71) is a common disease among Zulu girls. It is believed that this disease is always attributed to the evil 'charm' of some malicious young man. Technically, the girl is said to have been 'thrown at' (*iphonsiwe*) by this young man, and the charm used is called 'ihabiya'. This causes the girl to cry uncontrollably, saying *'ngiyekeni ngiye kuye'* (leave me alone so I may go to him). She also runs away and sometimes hurts herself. She has to be under a 24 hour surveillance to make sure that she is safe. This disease results primarily from jealousy and selfishness. The young man harms the girl simply because she did not love him when he proposed love to her. If this disease is not cured, the girl can continue to suffer from it even as a married woman.

Isichitho (a charm to cause estrangement): Any person who does not like you can inflict this disease upon you, be it your rival, a jealous neighbour or a twisted individual who despises the fact that you were promoted to a senior position at work. The charm used makes the person disliked by people for no reason. By merely looking at the face of the person with such a disease, people begin to dislike and resent her. In a marriage, it can lead to divorce. The married couple often fights over

petty issues until they separate. The symptoms of 'isichitho' are lice found in <u>all</u> the hairy parts of the body.

2.10 Conclusion

Polygyny, according to feminists, objectifies women. The difference in status between the co-wives also causes these women to fight (verbally or physically) for their ultimate prize, which in this case is their husband. To the feminist, the paying of *ilobolo* for the bride gives the husband power over these women. They become his property because he "bought" them. Feminists argue that this causes women to lose their self respect and self esteem and end up devaluing themselves. The issue of sterile and fertile wives also worries the feminists because the former end up being ostracized and called names. The same applies for the first wife who cannot have a son; all the inheritance she is entitled to goes to the third wife if she has a son. This makes it seem like women are always at the mercy of their husbands.

Polygynists argue that having more than one wife acts as a deterrent against infidelities. Even in this kind of a marriage they think that it is right for a man to have multiple partners as long as it is within the confines of a marriage. They see polygyny as normal as monogamy. For men, however, polygyny is a

way to satisfy their sexual desires. It is a way of ensuring that their family line does not die because the men of the family will have many children. The discussion on *izinyanga* and *izangoma* was to illustrate how Zulu people rely on *izinyanga* and *izangoma* to heal man-made diseases. These ailments are common within polygynous homesteads; they are believed to be caused by jealousy and inequality in as far as the status of the wives is concerned. There is sometimes suspicion within the homestead that there is someone practicing witchcraft. Usually the co-wives suspect and accuse each other, then they consult *izinyanga* and *izangoma* to shed some light on the matter. They usually get an idea as to who the culprit is. But instead of fighting about it or confronting each other they use names they bestow on their children to vent their anger.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE MEANING AND FUNCTION OF PERSONAL NAMES

This chapter looks at primary meaning (referential and denotative) and secondary meaning (emotive and connotative). Names in their primary function refer to, denote and identify the name bearer. The secondary function is communicative and externalization of conflict, which is more relevant to this particular research, and so forms a bigger part of this dissertation. This chapter also looks at how choosing a particular name acts as a link to polygyny, family structure and the state of mind of the parents at the time of birth.

Names identify people and they link name-bearers to different identities, i.e. identities as projected (by name-bearers and name-givers) and identities as perceived (by the community). These names are used to project the family identity and affiliation they have in their social lives. Names are used to neutralize the conflict within polygynous families, hence they become conflict identifiers. The following table summarises the discussion in this chapter.

NAMES

MEANING			FUNCTION		LINKS
PRIMARY	SECONDARY		PRIMARY	SECONDARY	
lexical	pragmatic		denotes	externalizing	
referential	associative		refers	conflict	
inferential	connotative		identifies	sending messages	
			Singles out	(communicative	
				function)	

Marriage type, e.g. monogamy or
polygamy; family genealogy;
ukulobola

3.1 The meaning of names

3.1.1 Lexical Meaning

'Lexical meaning' is the basic meaning of the speech parts that constitutes the name; it is sometimes also called 'literal meaning' (Louwrens 1993). The lexical meaning of a name is concerned with the original meaning, before the word becomes a name: it is still regarded as a pure linguistic item that can be subjected to the rigours of linguistic analysis (Louwrens 1993). Below are examples:

Zulu name	Lexical meaning

Hlengiwe	The redeemed
Zizile	They (girls) have come
Nozipho	Mother of gifts
Smangele	We are surprised
Nontobeko	Mother of respect
Lindiwe	The awaited one
Skhumbuzo	Reminder
Slondiwe	We have been saved
Sinqobile	We have conquered
Khumbula	Remember

In their language of origin names have lexical meaning but when they move into other languages they become lexically opaque (Neethling 1995). Names like Ruby (a precious stone), Pearl (valuable jewel) or Regina (a queen) borne by isiZulu speaking women have become lexically opaque (to isiZulu speakers) which causes some people to think they are meaningless. Apart from lexical meaning, names have a referential and inferential meaning.

3.1.2 Referential and inferential meaning

Reference deals with the relationship between the linguistic elements, words, sentences and the non-linguistic world of experience (Palmer 1981:29). Raper (1983:68) notes that

reference is the most important function of a name. Yet, successful reference depends on hearers identifying the speaker's intended referent, on the basis of the referring expression used (Brown & Yule 1983:205). Let us look the following short imaginary dialogue to illustrate this point:

Four boys are seated on the bench under a tree

Mama: *Mkhipheni*!

Mkhipheni: *Mama*

Mama: *Woz' othatha nali elinye ibhentshi.* (come and take another bench)

Mkhipheni: (*ethatha ibhentshi*) *siyabonga mama.* (thank you mom)

This short dialogue shows that the name **Mkhipheni** identifies the referent (the boy by the name of Mkhipheni) out of the four boys. When Mama calls out the name there is no confusion as to who she is referring to.

Searle (1969:87) proposes that a necessary condition of a speaker's intention to refer to a particular object, or a person, in the utterance of an expression, is the speaker's ability to provide an 'identifying description' of that object. For the hearer to identify whatever the speaker is referring to, the speaker's utterance must either be, or be supplemented by, an identifying description.

With regards to the use of proper names in particular, Searle (1969:171) contends that when a name is uttered, both the speaker and hearer associate some identifying description, that is, a certain aspect of the name's descriptive backing, with it, so that the particular reference that was intended by the use of the name is successfully achieved.

The knowledge of socio-cultural issues helps inference. For instance, let us consider the boy's name **Bonabeganwa** (he sees others getting married). This boy's uncle (*ubab' omncane*) saw his brother marrying many wives and thought that he also could manage a polygynous family, while in fact he had no clue about what being a polygynist entails. The father of the boy gave him this name to mock his younger brother for trying to do something he could not afford. In Zulu culture, not every man is encouraged to be polygynous, but it is for those who have enough cattle to pay *ilobolo* for each wife and enough wealth to support all his wives and their children.

3.1.3 Pragmatic meaning

According to Raper (1987:81), pragmatic or associative meaning, consists of four different types of meaning, namely, connotative, affective or emotive, social or stylistic and

84

phonic associative. Connotative meaning includes things known about the entity referred to. Affective or emotive meaning is as a result of individual emotions (good or bad) a person may feel towards an entity.

Names possess associative meaning on top of their onomastic meaning, as Raper (1983:267) elaborates:

> Besides the etymological or lexical meaning, there is also what has been termed the pragmatic meaning of proper names. By this is meant the associations and connotations which become attached to the name via its referent. Thus, for example, Pretoria may "mean" the capital city of Transvaal, the administrative capital of the Republic, the site of the Voortrekker Monument, the place where one encounters the worst drivers in the world, or any of the countless number of possibilities depending on situation, context, and the background knowledge of the individual using the name.

Connotative meaning addresses the four elements of a naming system, viz. a name, a name-bearer, a name-giver, and the context within which the names are used. For example, in the name **Thangithini?** (what do you want me to say?) is a name given to a girl by the father within a polygynous homestead because he did not know how to intervene when his wives were always

85

fighting over petty issues. The following table gives more examples of such names:

Name	Name-bearer	Name-giver	Context
Hlebani (what are you gossiping about?)	a girl	The grandmother	The mother of this girl was always gossiping about people.
Magamakhe (in her own words)	a boy	The mother	Her co-wives were denying what they had said about her
Fihlwaphi (where are we going to hide her?)	a girl	The grandmother	There were suspicions of the use of witchcraft by co-wives.
Mthethokayizwani (rules are conflicting)	a boy	The father	His elder son was making his own rules within the homestead

Apart from having meaning, names function to identify people and convey messages to intended people and to externalize conflict within the families of name-bearers.

3.1.4   Underlying meaning and perception

The underlying meaning of a name informs the way in which people perceive the name and the name-bearer. This leads to

stereotypical perceptions of that name and stereotypical expectations on the name-bearer's lifestyle and achievements in life. Gamble (1996) gives a detailed discussion on stereotyping and describes a process of prejudging a person. He further mentions that this process is the basis of stereotyped prejudices. In some cases, the name-bearer is perceived negatively because a certain part of the name sounds negative. This can be seen in the following examples: **Sonosakhe** (his sin) and **Khalazome** (they will cry until they run out of tears). The noun *isono* (sin), in the first name and the verb *-khala* (cry), in the second name, conjure up negative feelings to people, as a result they perceive both names negatively. Coincidentally, in this case, the name-bearers happen to be a housebreaker and a bank-robber respectively. The context in which these names were bestowed is not taken into consideration when a perception is formed. The name *Sonosakhe* was given by the single mother whose husband deserted her when she was pregnant and she felt that it was sinful of him to do that. The name *Khalazome*, was given by the mother because her child was handsome. She was implying that when maidens see him they will cry because they will all wish he was their husband. In both instances, the names are perceived negatively by the community, but the intentions and the expectations of the name-givers are positive.

The underlying meaning of a name can be different from how the community perceives the name. I am making parallels between 'wishful names' and 'survival names'. Wishful names reflect the parents' choice of a name for their new-born child and the kind of life parents hope their children will lead. The following table provides examples:

Name	Hope
Nobuhle (mother of beauty)	That the name-bearer will be a beautiful person.
Nompumelelo (mother of success)	That the name-bearer will be successful in everything she does.
Nomfundo (mother of education)	That the name-bearer will be intelligent and well educated.

Even though it is believed that the name shapes the life of the name-bearer, this is not always the case. It should be noted that parents' wishes are not always realized. There are people with the name *Nompumelelo* who are not successful, and those with the name *Nobuhle* who are not beautiful.

On the other hand, survival names are aimed at confusing evil spirits and witches into thinking that the name-bearer is not

wanted (full discussion in Chapter 5). The table below reflects this point:

Name	Perception
Mzondeni (hate him)	That his parents do not love him and that they want everybody to hate him as well.
Mzibeni (ignore him)	That his parents do not pay attention to him and they want the community to do the same.
Mlahleni (desert him)	That his parents expect everybody to desert him.

The underlying meaning of a name informs the way in which the community perceives it. In the case of survival names, negative perceptions do not change the expectations of the parents and the hopes they have for their children to live better lives.

3.2 Function of names
3.2.1 Naming and Identity

On the primary function of names, Brennen (2000:144) defines identity as, "a relatively stable self-picture, which consists of the opinions, attitudes, habits and beliefs that last relatively unchanged over long periods of time".

Pfukwa (2007:121) says:

> Naming and renaming become an act of claiming and rewriting an identity. To name the self is a declaration of independence from wider social control and it is a choice in identity. Whether society accepts this self-chosen identity is quite another matter.

A person's name is a valuable clue to his/her nationality or mother tongue which is also part of his/her identity as in the name *Lufuno* 'love' (in Tshivenda); *Nombeko* 'mother of respect' (in isiXhosa); *Puleng* 'in the rain' (in SeSotho). At societal level, names can tell us much about gender (**Nobuhle** – mother of beauty), religion (**Sihlezinenkosi** – we live with the Lord), class (**Nomfundo** – mother of education – which reflects neutrality and sophistication).

The bestowal of a name is a symbolic contract between the society and the individual. From one side of the contract, by bestowing the name, the society confirms the individual's existence as well as acknowledging its responsibilities towards the name-bearer. The name differentiates the child from others;

90

thus, the society will be able to treat and deal with the child as someone with needs and feelings different from those of other people. Through the name, the individual becomes part of the history of the society, and, because of the name, his or her deeds will exist separately from the deeds of others.

On the secondary function of names, Dundes (1983) and Joseph (2004) say that identity is a reciprocal process that operates at two levels:

- How the individual or group projects or perceives itself.
- How the reader or recipient perceives the projected identity

The table below reflects both the projected and perceived identities:

Name	Projected identity (By the name and the namebearer)	Perceived identity (by the community)
Nkabenkulu (the great hitman)	A dangerous person who has to be feared in the community.	The community is scared of him.
Mqabuli (the Kisser)	The namebearer wanted to be perceived as someone	The name-bearer is ridiculed because he is ugly and mentally

	who can get any woman he wanted.	handicapped.
Nkalakatha (a streetwise person)	A fashionable and stylish young man.	Perceived as a loafer.
Mathufela (the pouting one)	Someone who is unkind.	He is perceived as cold and not easy to get along with.
Gigigi (throbbing sound of footprints)	Someone who is of great impact.	

Hearing a person's name for the first time may project humorous connotations. The phenomenon may be frequent when hearing names from other languages as in the Xhosa boys' names, **Philile** (we are alive) or **Thandekile** (the loved one). These might be humorous to an isiZulu speaking person because in the Zulu anthroponymicon *-ile* is a suffix for names given to girls. However, Brennen (2000) argues that, over time, such a name loses its ability to raise even a smile. "The urge to smile at the holder of the name because of the name fades and after repeated exposures the name is no longer processed semantically".

Projected connotations are closely linked with the expectations of the parents. By receiving a name, the individual implicitly accepts membership in the society and agrees to follow its rules

and customs, e.g a person by the name of **Gcinabazali** (taking care of the parents) is expected to look after his parents when they get older. **Sibani** (light) is expected to bring light to difficult situations that the family is faced with. A boy by the name of **Qedusizi** (putting an end to poverty) is believed to be the one who will give his family a better life when he grows up. Names may express a whole way of life as in the name **Hlalezwini** (staying in the Word), religious practices as in the name **Mnikelo** (an offering), social systems as in the name **Hlalisile** (staying with them), and cultural traditions as in the name **Nomsebenzi** (mother of ancestral rituals).

3.2.2 Naming and neccessity

Naming of an individual is a necessary step towards unifying the group. Without identity, a person as well as the group would have no substance and without names they would essentially be without identity.

It is necessary for each individual to have a name. The name is used to introduce the new born to his or her ancestors during the *imbeleko* ceremony. If a person dies there are rituals which must be performed for him or her to pass over to ancestorhood.

93

3.2.3 Cognitive content of a name

Jousse (2004) suggests that people who use the oral style have more practiced memories. In the research site, people use their cognitive powers to remember what a person might have done in the past and still refer to that incident in the naming of their children. They rely solely on their memory to name children about incidents which happened before they were born, as in the name **Qamndile** (the talkative one), a name given to a girl by her paternal grandmother because her mother was ostracised by her co-wives (before the girl was born) because the mother of the child could not conceive and they were always talking about her.

3.3 Names as links to sociological phenomena

This study sets out to prove that names, name-bearers and the community are closely linked. A name gives the name-bearer an identity and a position in the society. Names give the name-bearer a claim to what Mbiti (1969:219) calls "the traditional solidarity in which the individual says 'I am because we are,

and since we are, therefore I am'". The name-bearer becomes known by that which he/she is called.

Names deter confrontation within a family; they may, however, aggravate the friction by airing the conflict in public. The only advantage is that family members have retaliatory rights in as far as the naming is concerned. For instance, a girl was given a name of **Bukani** (what are you looking at?) by one co-wife because she felt that her co-wives were always looking at her with jealousy. One of the co-wives gave birth to a baby girl and she named her **Nginakenani** (why do you worry yourself about what I do?) as a response to the former name.

From the time a child is born, he/she is introduced to his/her living-dead by its personal name. The living-dead are informed of the arrival and are told to protect it from evil spirits and jealous people. After this ceremony of *imbeleko*, living-dead recognize this child because of its name. They act as guardian angels to protect this child. When a sorcerer wants to bewitch a person, the sorcerer calls out the name of that person. The name bearer is affected wherever he/she is because a name forms part of the identity.

Names function not only as markers of personal identity, but they also index sociological structure. In other words, personal names are associated with individual uniqueness as well as with

various different elements of the social and cultural environments in which they are embedded (Miller 1927; Neethling 2005).

There are perspectives that have emerged on the semantic functions of names. Names form part of dynamic linguistic systems used by real people in real space and time. They possess what has been variously termed 'onomastic meaning', 'connotative meaning' (Nicolaisen 1976), 'associative meaning' (Grant 2006) and 'descriptive backing' (Searle 1969). These expressions bring to light the fact that names are more meaningful in the context within which they are used. 'Context' refers to factors such as, but certainly not limited to, the time and place of the speech act; the identities and personal histories of the participants involved in the speech act; the relations between participants (as in the name gender, kinship, status); and the situation (social and cultural) in which a speech act occurs (Strawson 1950).

Personal names are not the only way to vent people's frustrations. Animal names like dog names can also be used to articulate discontent and to air concerns about a situation. In the research site the following dog names reflect this: *Bawuphethe* (they really have it), *Muthi* (dangerous medicine),

Jingane (monotony, persistence), *Basiphatheleni* (what are they bringing for us?).

Homestead names also function as message conveyers in Zulu society, Shabalala (1999:99) gives a detailed discussion of the way in which homestead names are used to reflect social dynamics in the Mabengela community (Nkandla district). She argues:

> From the study of Zulu homestead names in the Mabengela community and relevant field work, it was noticed that homestead names do not only refer to a particular homestead or distinguish it from others, but also reflect the social dynamics of the community of Mabengela. These names are given because of different circumstances affecting the family or the head of the family at a particular time. Homestead names are therefore never chosen without careful consideration of events surrounding the family, the clan or the society at large, they then are not just labels given at random.

3.3.1 Names and language links

There is a close relationship between the society and a language in which names are found. Names form an important part of a language, as Nicolaisen (1976:173) says ". . . the acquisition of a language, another human trait, has given him [man] the tool

97

with which to name", and Raper (1983:1) says that "language may be described as a social instrument used by members of society to communicate with one another" In case of names within polygynous families names are used as channels of communication.

Raper (1987:78) says that names are an integral part of a language, and a primary function of a language is to communicate. Machaba (2005:29) says:

> Although names are found in a language, they do not only function as linguistic items. The fact that naming is not simply a linguistic matter, but a social and a psychological matter, is demonstrated by various naming practices adopted by people from different cultural and religious backgrounds.

3.4 Conclusion

Names form part of the language in which they are found. Naming ceremonies form an integral part of the African people – which keeps the link between the family and the living-dead. This chapter presented the primary and secondary meaning of names. Names reflect family structure. They present different identities like those projected by name-bearers and the ones perceived by community.

The next chapter gives background information about the living-dead and how they function within the Zulu society in the research site.

CHAPTER 4

VENERATION OF THE LIVING-DEAD

According to Orobator (2008:107):

> ...an ancestor is a blood relative of a living community; this relationship could be of common parentage or shared ancestry. The rituals that are performed by family are important to appease the ancestors and must be performed by the member of the family concerned. These rituals are performed in the sacred places within the home and not just anywhere.

Nyamiti (2005:67) argues that, if the ancestors are forgotten or neglected by their descendants, they are said to "manifest their anger by sending to their descendants bodily or spiritual calamities".

4.1 Ancestor veneration, cult or worship?

Some scholars like Nyirongo (1997:87) and Anderson (1991:81) have argued that the term "veneration" is preferable to "worship" on the grounds that there is no evidence of an apotheosis of the ancestors. This study affirms this view. Khathide (2003:314) argues that although the notion that ancestral rituals are to be considered in the context of their social significance and therefore as a form of veneration rather than worship, there are some unresolved issues. Khathide refers to Triebel's (2002:192) assertion that this view does not take into account that the ancestors are feared.

This study supports Ro's (1988:7) assertion that "ancestor cult" is not an appropriate term to use in this context, mainly because of the pejorative connotations attached to the term.

4.2 The function of the ancestors as active family members and mediators

Bae (2007:32) believes that the relationship between the living-dead and family members is constituted through communication. The living-dead speak with the living through dreams, visions, nature and people. At times they appear to their family members in dreams. At times only their presence is felt. Often the

communication is facilitated by a mediator (diviner, priest, shaman), and in many traditions this position is a very powerful one, enabling the living to consult with the living-dead.

Bae (2007:26) sums it up thus:

> The role of the ancestors is closely linked to that of their identity. As being a living part of the community, and often its head or elder, they play a role as the representatives of the social law and tradition, and are construed to be indispensable to uphold the harmony and order within their societies. As seen in their identity, being linked to the Supreme Being, ancestors also play a role as intermediaries or mediators between God and their descendants.

4.3 Ancestral veneration is not a superstition

Jebadu (2006:4) mentions that the religious focus of ancestral practices is based on the universal belief of men in the continuation of life after the corporeal death, in the existence of the Absolute Being as the only source of life both for the living and for the dead, and in the continuous communion between

the living community in the world and the living-dead in the great beyond.

The primary reason for ancestral veneration in African context is not to seek a communication with the dead by magically conjuring up the souls of the dead in order to obtain information form them about the revelation of unknown causes or about the future course of events as practiced in necromancy. In African ancestor veneration, the dead are believed to continue to live and are still regarded as part of the family of the living. They are believed to be the guardians of the living as well as the mediators between God and the living community.

4.4 Ancestral veneration is a social function

Ancestral veneration is a family affair. This notion is supported by Idowu (1973:186) who states that ancestral veneration is essentially a means of communication and communion between the living members of the family and the living-dead. Ela (1995:33) points out that offerings made to ancestors are essentially a display of respect and a symbol of the perpetuation of the family line and should therefore be considered an expression of the command to children to love and respect their parents.

In an African perspective illness is an area where the physical and the spiritual meet. There is a fixed relationship between body and soul. Illnesses are usually treated with herbs and concoctions prepared by the *izinyanga* and *izangoma*. Illnesses are usually perceived to have been caused by either angry living-dead or an act of witchcraft. In both cases diviners are consulted. The diviners then tell the family members about the cause of the illness and what they are supposed to do to fix the situation.

Accidents are regarded as a reflection of the ancestors' anger towards their living family members due to neglect or unacceptable behaviour within the homestead. The difference between sicknesses induced by the living-dead and witchcraft is that the former puts pressure on the living kin only to frighten them, whereas sorcery is done with an intention to kill them. Firstly, sorcery is believed to have been caused by the living-dead when they fail to prevent sickness or misfortune befalling the family because they have been neglected, or are angry at an offence committed. Secondly, it is believed to be caused by witches and sorcerers. Any of these illnesses is viewed as a symbol of a disturbed relationship between the living family members and the living-dead. As Thorpe (1991:111) says, "pain in the African context is physical with a strong social

dimension, not predominantly physical and individualistic. Pain is felt when relationships are disturbed". Ela (1995:22) confirms the role of the living-dead in the African concept of health and illness by saying "the belief in the ancestors as representatives of fatherhood plays a primordial role in African medicine, given the African understanding of sickness".

Africans are almost always interested in knowing the cause of a particular illness. The technique of healing cannot be separated from the symbolic area from which they emerge. Africans emphasise the holistic approach to healing. Ela (1995) and Thorpe (1991) point out that when diagnosing, the healer extends the borders of the disrupted area to include the invisible, mystical level, which leads to a restoration of wholeness on a visible, physical level as well. I conducted an independent interview with a practicing *sangoma* early 2011, to get insight on the living-dead, the role they play in the lives of their living relatives' lives. The interview below corroborates and gives testament to everything discussed above.

Interview with MaZondi, *sangoma* from eMkhambathini, Pietermaritzburg

1. *Amadlozi azilawula kanjani izimpilo zenu emndenini?*

(How do the living-dead control your family lives?)

Isib. Akwenzisa lokho akufunayo – ayakwazi ukwenza impilo yakho

---

ingaqhubeki ngokushesha, kube nezinkinga.

Abantu abadala bayahlala kuwe ube namandiki namandawo. Aziveza ngokugula okungachazeki; izibhobo, ukudideka, nokuvele uwe. Kudingeka uthole umuntu owelaphayo akwenzele amagobongo. Uma udla amagobongo awuvunyelwe ukuya ocansini, ukuya ngezicathulo emsamo.

(For example, they make you do what they want you to do they can cause your life not to prosper as fast as you would want to, they cause problems. Ancestral spirits possess you. They reveal themselves through unexplainable illnesses, stitches, confusion and fits. You have to find the healer to perform a ritual for you. When you are taking medication you are not allowed to engage in sexual intercourse or to wear shoes to the ancestral area at the back of the house.

2. *Yikuphi okwenza uqiniseke ukuthi amadlozi akhulume into ethile?* (What makes you sure that the living-dead spoke something?)

Ubona ngokuthi ube nokugula okungelapheki ngezinto zokwelapha zesiZulu kuchaza ukuthi kumele uyofuna uzwe ukuthi amadlozi athini.

(You realise that when there is an illness that is not curable through traditional medicine which means that the family needs to consult an *inyanga* or *isangoma* to find out what the ancestors are trying to communicate).

3. *Uma kunokulwa emndenini kugcina sekwenzekeni ngokwamadlozi?* (When there is fighting in the family what happens?)

Amadlozi awawufuni umsindo. Ningagcina senihlukene, izinto zingahambi kahle. Uma uya kwabelaphayo bakutshele ukuthi konakelephi. Kumele nithelelane amanzi kube nezinto enizenzayo.

105

Kudingeka nilethe izilwane emsamo nixolise kwabalele.

(The living-dead do not appreciate fighting. The family may end up separating, leading to things not going well. When you consult *izinyanga* and *izangoma* they will tell you what is going on. Then you have to forgive each other. You have to bring animals for sacrifice to apologise to the living-dead).

4. *Kuyenzeka yini ukuthi amadlozi angalwemukeli uxolo?* (Does it ever happen that the living-dead do not accept the sacrifice?)

Kuyenzeka. Uma kuzoba khona ongakwenzi okumisiwe ngokomsamo. Uma kudingeka kukhishwe izilwane yibona bobabili abaxabene ngosuku olulodwa, bese kuba khona onqabayo nongenzi okubekiwe.
(It happens. When the family members do not do as instructed. When there is a need for both parties to offer animals on the same day, then one of them refuses to do as instructed).

5. *Kuyenzeka yini amadlozi akhiphe isidumbu?* (Do the living-dead sometimes kill people?)

Yebo, uma umsindo uwacasule kakhulu amadlozi. Uma bekunesimo obekumele nisigweme noma uma ningaxoli ngokuphelele. Idlozi alishayi umuntu owonile kodwa lishaya oseceleni.
(Yes, when fighting angered them. When there is something that could have been avoided or when you do not forgive each other sincerely. The living-dead do not punish the culprit but the innocent person).

6. *Imuphi umehluko oba khona ezehlakalweni ezejwayelekile nje nezenziwa amadlozi?* (What is the difference between normal accidents and those caused by the living-dead)?

Kuyavela uma umuntu elimala, amadlozi ayasho ukuthi lokhu kudalwe yini. Uma umuntu ebetshelwe into bese engayenzi noma labo abathembisa izinto isib. Ukuthi uzohlabela ingane imbuzi yomhlonyane, idlozi liyadinwa uma ungasakwenzi.

(It becomes clear when a person gets injured, the living-dead will always shed light as to the cause of the accident. When a person was told to do something and did not or those who promise to sacrifice for the ancestors and do not, as in the name, when a parent promised to slaughter a goat to announce the coming-of-age ceremony, the living-dead get angry when you do not do it).

7. *Izinto ezicasula amadlozi.* (Things that anger the living-dead).

Umsindo, ukulinunusela ngokudla bese ungahlabi, lapho lihleli khona alibafuni abantu abajabulisana ngokocansi. Imisindo yabantu abakhulumela phezulu noma umsakazo. Elinye alizifuni izicathulo, lifuna ushuqule, umboze amahlombe.

(Fighting, saying you will make a sacrifice and then not do it, where the living-dead live they do not want people who engage in sex. People who speak with loud voice and turning on the radio is strictly forbidden in the ancestral area. They do not like shoes, you have to cover your head -if you are a woman – and cover your shoulders.)

8. *Uma ungaliniki ukudla liyakubulala yini?*

(If you do not sacrifice for the living-dead can they kill you?)

Uma izizukulwane bezihlaba wena usukhetha ukungahlabi kuba nezinto ezimbi ezenzekayo.

(If your predecessors used to sacrifice and you choose to change

that, bad things might happen).

9. *Ukulwa kwabafazi bendoda eyodwa kwenzani edlozini?*

(What does fighting between co-wives do to the living-dead?)

Liyadinwa idlozi. Kumele indoda ibe nezinto ezenzayo, ibethule emsamo, ibahlanganise. Uma bethukana egcekeni kufanele bahlawule ngoba bahlambalaza idlozi. Kumele bageze umuzi, ngoba uma bengahlawuli kungavela umkhuhlane kubona noma ezinganeni zabo.

(The living-dead get angry. The husband has to do some rituals and introduce them to the living-dead, and use some *muthi* to make them get along with each other. If they shout at each other within the homestead they have to apologise because they are embarrassing the living-dead. The co-wives have to cleanse the homestead, because if they do not apologise there might be some misfortune taking place, their children might get sick.)

Socialisation is an important part of venerating and appeasing the living-dead. What the society prescribes is what each individual grows up to adopt and conform to. Ancestral rituals are events which take place within the society and individuals within that community observe these without question.

Turner (2003:89) argues:

Whatever the values and norms of a society are, they are passed on to its members from generation to generation as they mature. This maturation process, which takes place in all societal groups, is a matter of learning how to adjust one's behaviour and expectations in relation to other members of one's group. To a certain degree, this involves observing the patterns of behaviour of those around you, what is done and not done, what evokes pleasure or displeasure ... In part, it involves expressly being taught what is 'right' and what is 'wrong' in terms of values for that particular community.

4.5 Death

Sorcery and the use of witchcraft sometime result in death. Zulu people have a number of expressions they use to describe death. These expressions are reflective of the way they perceive the state in which dead are:

Akasekho > he is no more

Usishiyile > he left us

Ushonile > he went beneath

Ufile > he died

Uhambile > he left

109

Uye ekhaya > he went home

Udlulile > he passed on

Wendile > used if a twin dies,   from the verb *-enda* (to get married)

How African people view death, and what happens thereafter, is very crucial to the way they behave themselves, in and around the homestead, in the manner in which they conduct themselves when they have disagreements, and in chanelling their anger through the names they give to their children that show discontent. The fact that African people perceive their dead relatives to play a big role in their own lives keeps the living family members in line. Mbiti (1969:153) mentions:

> There is the real cessation of part of the person at death, so that he 'sleeps' but never to wake up again. Death is cruel, it 'stiffens', 'cuts down' or 'evaporates' a person, even if he continues to exist in the hereafter. This cruelty of death comes out in funeral dirges. African people feel privileged that they have people they know who can channel their grievances to the Almighty, however, they do not perceive the process of passing away as an achievement in itself. At the time it happens they see it as a loss, but later see it as an advantage.

It should be noted that though some African societies still bury their dead in and around the homesteads, including Zulu society, nowadays people have a choice of using the graveyards for burial and they also have a choice to cremate them.

4.5.1 The burial rites

In most African societies there is a big emphasis placed on how the person is buried. It is believed that, for instance, if a person disappears and dies without his family's knowledge and does not get a proper burial, his soul lingers on the earth and he is always seen at night, troubling passersby. Burial is the most common method of dealing with the corpse. Mbiti (1969:154) states that "some societies bury the body inside the house where the person was living at the time of death; others bury it in the compound where the homestead is situated; others bury the body behind the compound; and some do at the place where the person was born." He further says that "people view death paradoxically: it is a separation but not annihilation, the dead person is suddenly cut off from the human society and yet the corporate group clings to him." Certain rituals have to be performed for a person to be at peace and to cross over. Bockie (1993:106) says on the importance of performing the rituals:

Spiritually, the dead remains part of the old living community as well as the new community of the living-dead, until all the rites of adjustment to his departure are properly observed and completed. In the meantime, he remains a public charge to those closely related to him, a public charge in the sense that they adjust their way of life according to his present status namely, 'betweenness'. While on the one hand he belongs to both communities, the living and the dead, on the other hand, he belongs to neither. He is a member without identity.

4.5.2   The Destiny of the soul

African people believe strongly that their dead family members are not gone and that their spirit looks after them. Their families can feel their presence.

Diop, a Senegalese poet cited in Olupano (2000:54), observed that in Africa:

Those who are dead are never gone:
    They are there in the thickening shadow.
They are not under the earth:
    They are in the trees that rustle,
    They are in the woods that groan;
Those who are dead are never gone:
    They are in the breast of the woman,

112

They are in the child that is wailing
And the firebrand that flames.
The dead are not under the earth:
They are in the forest,
They are in the house
The dead are not dead.

The implication of this poem is that the living-dead do not leave their families. They always linger on to look after and guard their living relatives. Their bodies are buried underground but that is not the destiny of their souls. They are everywhere. 'They are in the breast of the woman/They are in the child that is wailing', there is a belief that when a family member dies his/her soul is reincarnated in newborn babies. 'They are in the house', the *ukubuyisa* ritual brings the dead back home after a year of mourning. The living-dead are aware of everything that is happening with their living relatives and they intervene where and when necessary, at their own discretion. Danquah cited in Olupona (2000:55) says of the Akan living-dead: "They act as friends at court to intervene between man and the Supreme Being, and to get prayers and petitions answered more quickly and effectively."

The living-dead may give instructions, or enquire about the family, or make requests to be given something, and may even threaten to punish family members for not carrying out

particular instructions or for not caring sufficiently for the living-dead.

African people are always eager to please their living-dead and are keen to do their best for the living-dead so as to keep a good relationship between them. This relationship continues as long as someone who knew them is alive. According to Mbiti (1969) people who think that the hereafter is in another world or a distant place, bury food and weapons with the dead body to sustain and protect the person in the journey between the two worlds, or places. For the majority of peoples, however, the next world is, in fact, geographically 'here', being separated from this earth only by virtue of being invisible to human beings. As soon as the funeral rites are performed, the soul begins its journey. There are many African people who do not visualize any geographical separation between the two worlds. As soon as a person is physically dead he arrives 'there' in a spirit form. This means that a person is thought to be composed of physical and spiritual entities, and among some societies to these is added a 'shadow', and 'a breath' or 'a personality'.

Mbiti (1969) further states that there is no concrete evidence of the hereafter being pictured in terms of punishment or reward. For the majority of African peoples, the hereafter is

only a continuation of life more or less as it is in its human form. This means that personalities are retained, social and political statuses are maintained, sex distinction is continued, human activities are reproduced in the hereafter, the wealth or poverty of the individual remains unchanged, and in many ways, the hereafter is a carbon copy of the present life.

African people both acknowledge and deny the disruption of death. A person dies and yet he continues to live. The surviving relatives hold on to the deceased and they remember him.

4.6   Powers of the living-dead.

The living-dead also mediate between this world and the spirit world. They play a large part in most African cultures, are easily accessible, and generally considered to be benevolent. When alive these living-dead led lives judged to be honourable and well respected. They are well placed to give advice and warnings. They are, in many ways, as real to the people who talk to them, as the living. Tempels (1959) believes that the African worldview is centred on what he calls a 'vital force'. For him, Africans conceptualise 'being' as that which has force, and force is the nature of being. From this he derives that African behaviour is geared towards achieving, or improving, the life force in their favour. Similarly, Smith (1950:18) states:

> Muntu 'person', signifies the vital force endowed with intelligence and will; *bintu*, are what we call things in Bantu philosophy, forces not endowed with reason. Above all forces is God, who gives existence and increase to all others. After him come the first fathers, who are the founders of all clans, from the chain binding God and man. These occupy a rank so high that they are no longer considered human. Next to them come the "living-dead" of the tribe who are links in the chain, through which the vital force influences the living generation. The living in turn, form their hierarchy according to their vital power. The eldest of a clan is the link between the living-dead and their descendants.

According to Vecsey cited in Akijar (2000), the Baluba of Congo in central Africa believe in the existence of a 'power' from which life emanates. The Baluba conceive of this power as the source of vital force. All visible and invisible beings, as well as death, are caused by this power. Vecsey's findings depict that life among the Baluba is supported by this vital force. This vital force grows as a person ages in life, through to its climax at their deaths, although it can either diminish or increase depending upon the way in which one conducts himself herself within society. Vecsey cited in Akijar (2000:29) further writes:

> The deceased's vital force persists into the after life, but after death it can no longer increase itself as it can while the person is alive. It - the vital force, the dead person or the ancestor relies on the living to maintain its strength, and its eventual fate is almost certain diminishment over time. The dead person, then, consists of a vital force which has reached its peak of strength. It can influence the living, but it has become independent upon its name, since the living will maintain their ancestor's strength through offerings only as long as they remember the deceased's named identity.

It is a collective responsibility of every member of the family to maintain and strengthen the vital force. The life of an individual in African societies is a shared societal life. Each individual within the community is aware that she/he does not live for him/herself. For Africans, life without living within and with the community is meaningless.

4.6.1   The living-dead

Zulu people have different names through which they address their living-dead as indicated by the following names:

| *Amadlozi* | Living-dead |

117

Abaphansi	The ones beneath
Izidalwa	Mysterious creatures – they do not have their bodies, yet they are alive.
Izithutha	The not so clever ones –because if something angers them, there is usually very little one can do about their reaction.
Abalele	The ones who have gone to sleep
Abangasekho	The ones who have departed
Amathongo	Ancestral spirits
Asebethule	The ones who have gone quiet
Amakhosi	Kings (term used by sangomas)

The living-dead are the core of the African religion. They are the African people's guardian angels. They act as the go-betweens between the Supreme Being and their living family members. African people are always at the mercy of their living-dead. When something good happens to them, like finding a job, they thank their living-dead accordingly. When something bad happens, it is seen as a punishment from the living-dead, something they need to apologise for.

African people cannot neglect their living-dead as this may have serious repercussions for them and their families. Uka (1991:29)

118

argues that the living-dead are regarded as spirits in a sense that they are no longer visible.

Opoku cited in Olupona (2000: 55) believes that ancestral belief acts as a form of social control by which the conduct of individuals is regulated. The constant reminder of the good deeds of the living-dead acts as a spur for good conduct on the part of the living; and the belief that the dead can punish those who violate traditionally sanctioned mores acts as a deterrent. Ancestral beliefs, therefore, represent a powerful source of moral sanction, for they affirm the values upon which the society is based.

African people believe that death is only a transition. It is only a means of passing from the world of the living to the world of spirits. The people hold the view that when death occurs, the soul of a man who had lived well and to a ripe old age, and died a good death, will return to the Supreme Being and continue his existence in the abode of the living-dead.

An incident that reflects the danger of angering the living-dead is cited in Ngidi (2001:70). The incident is taken from Kubheka's book *Ulaka lwabaNguni* – the wrath of the Nguni people. Here, a young man named *Mphakamiseni* (lift him up) had forsaken his parents because they were illiterate. He changed his name to McPherson. He was a well known doctor who went to

University through his mother's hard work, but he could not associate himself with low life people (his parents). When he got married, he wanted children but could not have them. He was supposed to go home and ask for forgiveness from his mother (*ukushweleza*). Kubheka (1988:214) says:

> *UMphakamiseni wazizwa efikelwa yisibindi wezwa ukuthi uzonqoba futhi. Wayesengene kwesinye isikole manje, isikole okungesona esencwadi. Yinye kuphela impi okwakufanele ayinqobe manje, yimpi yolaka lwabaNguni, okwakuyimpi yolaka lukanina uBazothini ... umbhemu lona uma efuna ukushweleza ngesiZulu kumele makaphindele ezimpandeni zakhe angazami ukukha phezulu, kwakufanele aye ekhaya eMnambithi. Futhi ngoba wayeseke wakhuluma ngalolu daba kwakungasafanele achithe isikhathi, hleze izithutha zithukuthelele.*

> Mphakamiseni was courageous and saw his victory. It was a war he had to conquer. He entered a new school which was not about reading books. He had one last war to conquer, the war of the wrath of the Nguni people, which was the war of his mother's wrath ... If the young man wanted to apologise the Zulu way he had to go to his roots. He was supposed to go home to Mnambithi (Ladysmith). Because he had already spoken about it, he had a duty to do it then, otherwise the living-dead would be angry at him.

120

From the above incident it is clear that living-dead demand unquestioning respect from their living family members. Eiselen and Schapera (1950:87) summarise this better when they say:

> The good and moral man in Bantu society is the one who honours the ancestors by living as they have lived. Nevertheless most of what we consider to be evil is forbidden also in Bantu society, and what we hold to be good is also recommended by them. The Bantu would, in fact, have no difficulty in accepting most of the Biblical commandments, because among them, too, the danger of taking the name of a god in vain is generally acknowledged; reverence for parents and those in authority is commonly inculcated, men of probity are respected; brotherliness, courtesy, and hospitality are common virtues; A high respect for property prevails; mercy is highly esteemed and justice praised; murder, witchcraft, stealing, adultery, bearing false witness against one's neighbour, hatred and arrogance are all condemned; and there is such a sense of family responsibility that orphans and destitute people are provided for. But there is a fundamental difference between their approach, and ours, to the problem of moral goodness: the Bantu demand moral behaviour within the family and tribe rather than moral behaviour in general. And this is in complete harmony with their ancestor worship, for the common ancestor must, of necessity, resent

any action by one of his descendants
likely to harm another descendant and
incidentally to upset the social order
within the group.

4.6.2 Naming ceremonies

Some African societies have naming ceremonies that have to be
observed for the living-dead to recognize the giving of a name
as legitimate. The naming ceremony links the family and the
living-dead.

 Since Zulu people do not have a specific naming ceremony, a
child is given a name at birth that reflects the circumstances
of the child's birth. Krige (1950:73) says of the Zulu people
of South Africa:

> The Zulus have no specific ceremony when
> the child is named. The name may be given
> at any time, though this is usually done
> when the child is a few weeks old. The
> father or grandfather will state before a
> few people the name of the child. This is
> the *igamu* true or great name, the name by
> which this child will always be called by
> its parents and people of the parents
> generation, even after he has received a
> new puberty name. This is the name that
> nowadays is recognized by the Courts of
> Law, and appears on all official
> documents.

In Zulu society the naming ceremony is not observed, however, the naming process and introduction of the child to the living-dead is just as important.

Bhengu (1975:52) says:

> Generally Africans value their names. A traditional name is a religious mark of personal and human identification. It is a symbol of honour and respect for the physical environment in which human experience flourishes positively or negatively. The community uses names as instruments to build and mould the character of the younger, to fortify that of the adult, and to reward that of the elder.

Names act as links between the community and the family histories and stories of name-bearers that would not otherwise have been known and the owners of these stories would not have been keen to share them with outsiders.

For instance, a girl's name *Zibuyile* (the lobola cattle have returned) implies that the cattle that were used to pay *ilobolo* for the girl's mother will return to the father's kraal when the girl gets married. A person's name is intertwined with his being, dignity and respect. Should you use a person's name in a

bad way, such as saying bad things about him, you can get sued for defamation of character. This teaches people the importance of a personal name and the importance of treating it the way you would the name bearer, with dignity and respect.

4.6.3 Choosing a name as a link to sociological context

Names reflect the parents' status in the society, their state of mind, situation and circumstances at the time of birth. People have to view the world through the eyes of the name-giver, view things from his/her perspective, perceives the injustices reflected in that name as strongly as the name-giver does. Ubahakwe quoted in Onukawa 1998:73) states:

> An indigenous African name on the whole tells some story about the parents or the family of the bearers, and in a more general sense points to the values of the society in which the individual is born.

Conflict between co-wives can never be fully resolved but can only be managed. Ancestral veneration puts the living-dead on a pedestal, this helps to regulate the behaviour of family members. It keeps the family members in line. Sacrifices must be made to appease the living-dead because they are never gone. It pleases the living-dead if their living relatives show affectionate remembrance of them in a manner approved by the former.

CHAPTER 5

THE ARTICULATION OF CONFLICT IN ZULU PERSONAL NAMES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the sociological aspect of names. Wagner (1978:73) cited in Meiring (1997:22) says:

> The process of naming can be described as the transmission of knowledge, episodes and foresights ... stored in timeless propositions. These propositions can be used as a key to recovering the

motivational elements behind the name as a product of human mind.

African names serve a purpose of letting people who are not part of the clan know of the situation taking place within the family and the community at large. These names give people an opportunity to vent their anger, voice their dissatisfaction as in the names **Zibeleni** (why are you ignoring me?); disappointment as in **Bajabhile** (they are disappointed); discontented with the world, as in naming the child **Zwelinjani** (what kind of world do we live in?); suspicions about people practicing witchcraft by giving a child the name **Bhekumuthi** (watching the use of *muthi*).

The examples above indicate that names are effective channels of communication, as Obeng (2001:1) further elucidates:

> African names are important channels for speaking for and about African societies. They are used to achieve a number of goals, including showing human relationships and social roles, revealing Africans' quest for truth and meaning in life, showing the polarity – as in the name goodness and badness – in human behaviour, pointing to the name users (name-givers and name-bearers) hopes, dreams and aspirations, showing Africans'

126

perception of cosmic elements like the sun, moon, wind and rain and many others. African names may reflect the name-user's geographical environment, as well as their fears, religious beliefs and philosophies of life and death. Children's names may even provide insights into important cultural or socio-political events at the time of their birth.

Turner (2003) does an analysis of the strategies used by Zulu people, particularly in oral discourses (*izibongo* and naming practices) and the way they articulate their frustrations and discontent in various social settings. She looks at discourse analysis which she believes, "treats the social environment as a 'text' or rather a system of 'texts' which can be analysed". She describes the discourse as language usage in real contexts, and draws from Burr's (1995:48) definition "a kind of frame of reference, a conceptual backcloth against which our utterances can be interpreted". Turner (2003:5) further argues:

> The articulation of disputes or conflicts in social environments occurs in the context of condensed or extended family settings, in the context of the neighbourhood or in a combination of family and neighbourhood. As important as the function of conflict articulation is

the form that these oral expressions take amongst the Zulu.

Finnegan (1992:222) mentions the use of oral 'poetry' and song in Africa for the expression and resolution of hostilities between individuals or groups in social settings as well as in the political arena. She further states:

> ... expression in poetry takes the sting out of the communication and removes it from the 'real' social arena. And yet, of course, it does not – for the communication still takes place. It is a curious example of the conventions that surround various forms of communication in society, where, even if the covert 'content' remains the same, the form radically affects the way it is received – whether or not it is regarded as a confrontation, for example.

Similar to what Finnegan is referring to, Zulu names are sometimes regarded as a confrontation by the wrongdoer who may in some cases feel compelled to respond.

5.2 Confrontation within polygynous families

Umsindo (noise), shouting, confrontation or disagreement is greatly frowned upon in African societies. This kind of

behaviour causes problems within the homestead and deeply angers the living-dead. It must be kept in mind that they are dead but not gone. This is not just for co-wives but mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law as well. They have to try to get along for the sake of the prosperity of the family. If a verbal confrontation starts between a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law, the latter is usually sent to her father's house to fetch a goat or a cow that will be slaughtered to apologise to the living-dead.

African personal names may also involve indirectness and implicitness. They may be indirect reactions to problematic situations in lives of the name-bearers, their parents or their communities at large (Obeng 2001). What Obeng is saying here is that names are helpful tools of making the family and community know about the concerns and disappointments they may feel because of what the family members have done, as in the name **Dumazigugu** (being disappointed by the precious one). It is not always clear, as Obeng points out, that the indirection and ambiguity involved in African naming traditions may be due to the restrictions placed on 'free' speech and to the powerlessness of the name-givers. The use of this type of indirectness may be a defensive mechanism, a rapport strategy, or a form of creativity. Like users of other forms of indirectness, the name-givers can disclaim any negative intent and can even change the reason for bestowing the name.

Turner (1992:45) points out:

> In Zulu society, the use of names, especially personal names (of people and animals), is an extremely useful channel of expressing discontent or passing criticism at those in close proximity, and is a vital way in which censure or tension is publicly aired, either with the intention of making others aware of the problem, or for the ultimate purpose of restraining or correcting an undesirable situation/behaviour trait, as direct confrontation or criticism is not an acceptable or preferred form of behaviour.

In names, family members express the feelings of discontent, disappointment and vent their anger. Names may not be specific about the person they are directed to, however, they still serve the purpose of vocalizing what is on the inside.

Turner (1992:56) further argues:

> Names reflecting censure, disapproval and discontent serve an important social function in that they tend to minimize friction in the communal environment by enabling a person about whom defamatory allegations have been made to refute these accusations and attempt to clear his/her name in a subtle yet effective manner.

The main purpose of this chapter is to discuss the underlying reasons as to why people bestow the names they do on their children and how names reflect social dynamics in the families within which they are found. It will focus mainly in the sociological aspects of the study. Schaefer and Lamm (1992:5), talking about sociological perspective, say: "our major goal of this perspective is to identify underlying, recurring patterns of and influences on social behaviour." These names reflect social behaviours which are a result of a certain socialization patterns.

5.3 Choosing a personal name

There are many reasons why African people bestow the names they do on their children. Amongst other things, names may reflect circumstances surrounding the birth of a child, commemorate late living-dead, or tell how the child looked at birth. There is always a reason why a particular name is chosen for a particular person.

Junod (1927:53) argues that there are many ways of giving a child a name. "Everyone who has studied a Bantu tribe knows that in olden times, there were definite rules about naming a child and that the name itself was, in many cases, a kind of proverb. A mother will often give her child a name like

131

'*Vuloyi*' i.e. witchcraft, as a challenge to public opinion, showing that she defies the verdict of the witchdoctor".

It will not be true that living conditions are always unstable within polygamous families. There are a few reported cases where everything seems alright, either because the husband used '*umuthi*' to make his wives submit to him (*ukuhlanganisa abafazi*) or because the first wife chose the second wife and they end up being friends rather than rivals. However, nowadays, the latter is not as common as it used to be. The problem is usually prominent in traditional polygamous families, where a husband might have three wives from different social upbringings, for example. In such cases, the use of love potions is suspected, because each wife is fighting for her husband's attention and affection.

5.4 Names in Zulu society

There are names used official identities used in official documents like IDs, driver's licences, certificates, etc. and names used as unofficial identities used in unofficial settings, e.g., *igama lasekhaya* (the name used at home) which forms major part of this thesis is perceived by Zulu people as sacred and part of the name-bearer's identity. It may be used for witchcraft and is therefore subject to the name avoidance (*hlonipha*) rules. This name fixes a person within society,

through a number of social dynamics. *Igama lesilungu* (a Euro-Western name) is a name that was and still is used mainly at school , e.g. when I was at school my classmates would call me **Boni** (short form for my Zulu personal name **Bonisiwe**) but my school teachers would always address me as *Evangeline*. My friends would call me *Evangeline* in the classroom and when talking to teachers and they would address me as **Boni** outside the classroom, and I did the same to them.

Some parents give English semantic extensions to the Zulu names they bestow on their children with both names meaning the same thing, e.g., **Sbusiso** *Blessing*, *Gladness* **Jabulile**, **Sipho** *Gift*, **Moyomusha** *Freshness*. Euro-Western names are not considered as being a part of the person and are not subject to name avoidance (*hlonipha*) rules.

Isibongo (surname) is the last name which refers to the clan the bearer belongs to, e.g., **Zungu, Ngidi, Mtshali, Shange, Chamane, Gumede.**

Some examples of unofficial identities are *izithakazelo* (clan praise names) are used to appeal to the person being addressed. To call Mr Zungu 'Manzini" is to affirm his identity within the wider socio-historical context. So is being addressed as,

Gwabini! Geda! Hamashe! Nyamakayishi isha ngabaphephezeli! **Somadise** for a Zungu person.

It is common in the Zulu society for a married couple to address each other by their first child's name and teknonyms are not exclusively used by the couple but also by the extended family and the community at large, e.g., **Baba kaNgenzeni** (Ngenzeni's father), **Mama kaZibuyile** (Zibuyile's mother).

Patronyms have always been part of the Zulu culture and identity, e.g., **uSenzangakhona kaJama, uCetshwayo kaMpande** (Zulu Kings). In Zulu society, patronyms are also used to address married women as a term of endearment (by prefixing Ma - mother of to the woman's father's name), e.g., **UMaFakazi Ngidi** addressed as **uMaSkali** (daughter of **Skali**), MaHlongwa Ngidi addressed as **MaSthende** (daughter of **Sthende**). They are used also to address women whose fathers have English names, e.g. **MaNgubane Ngidi** addressed as **MaTomseni** (daughter of Thompson) which is phonologised into isiZulu as Tomseni.

Nicknames are baby names or pet names which reflect specific aspects of identity referred to: personality traits (**Mahlomeka** - Mr Don't think-before-he-acts), physical appearance (**Mudemude** -Mr Tall one), habits or skills in particular activities (**Mshin' ozishintshayo**- Mr Automatic machine gun) for someone who is good in soccer.

134

Many onomasticians argue that names are more meaningful in the context within which they are used. The data collected for the purposes of this study show that names are a means of communication which mostly benefits the name-giver. The name-giver gets the opportunity to express him/herself as in the name, giving a child a name like **Bangifunani** (what do they want from me?), is, in this instance, to the benefit of the mother who gave her daughter this name to act as a defence mechanism to her co-wives' bad treatment. In the context of a polygynous family, such a name might be a deterrent to an argument that could spiral out of control which could be detrimental to the harmonious living within the homestead.

Names outlive the name-givers in most cases. This poses a challenge in a situation where the grievance was addressed and people reconciled and yet the name still acts as a constant reminder of what once was. It is clear that the name was given when the name-givers had conflict when the child was born, however, the children are stuck with names which reflect the conflict they know very little about.

Polygynous context informs the conflict between family members. The society 'subconsciously' expects polygynous families to have conflict, to such an extent that if a man has two wives

that are not fighting, there is an assumption that, it is because he is using *umuthi* to cause them to behave. This assumption causes people within this context to think that their behaviour is always justified. The society condones any kind of exchanging unpleasant words because within a polygynous context the person who is perceived as the wrong-doer can always retaliate either by giving a name that is a direct response or a question on the prospective name. This way of communicating is effective in the sense that as long as there are children being born the 'wrong-doer' can defend him- or herself. This objectifies the name-bearer, the name given makes the name-bearer a tool to fight the enemy as in the name **Mdindeni** (beat him up), a shield for protection as in the name **Sphephelo** (the refuge) and a loudspeaker to announce foul play as in the name **Hletshiwe** (the one they gossip about). There is no consideration for the feelings of the name-bearers. When the name-bearer grows up it is up to him or her to decide either to keep, discard or shorten the name.

5.5 Categories of personal names

In this study the data have been divided into different categories. These categories reflect the dynamics within the living conditions within polygynous families in the study area.

These dynamics are about the social lives of family members and their relationships with each other.

5.5.1 Names that reflect love and hatred

There are names which reflect that in a polygynous setup there is always a thin line between love and hate.

Thandwangubani (who is going to love him?)

This boy was named by his mother. His father did not want anything to do with his pregnant mother. Names may thus be indirect reactions to problematic situations in lives of the name-bearers, their parents or their communities at large (Obeng 2001). What Obeng is saying here is that names are helpful tools of making the family and community knows about the concerns and disappointments they may feel because of what the family members have done. Take for example the name **Dumazigugu** (being disappointed by the precious one). Obeng points out that the indirection and ambiguity involved in African naming traditions may be due to the restrictions placed on 'free' speech and to the powerlessness of the name-givers and hence the need to have an 'escape route' should they be questioned by powerful elders and superiors. Use of this type of indirectness may be a defensive mechanism, a rapport strategy, or a form of creativity. Like users of other forms of indirectness, the name-

givers can disclaim any negative intent and can even change the reason for bestowing the name.

Further examples are as follows:

Zondani (what is you hate about me?)

The mother was asking her co-wives, who hated her for no apparent reason.

Hlanyukiwe (the deserted one)

While the mother was pregnant, everybody, including her husband, deserted her. She then gave this name to her daughter to let everybody know how she felt.

Bhekubala (watching nothing)

The mother was asking what the father was watching when he allowed her rivals to do whatever they wanted to her in his presence.

5.5.2　Names that reflect gossip

Having more women sharing a husband in one homestead may sometimes be asking too much of the husband. It sometimes becomes impossible to satisfy all of them at the same time. This becomes apparent when there is a disagreement between co-wives: the husband is always caught in the middle. He is always in a predicament because in his wives' eyes he can never be

138

completely impartial. The co-wives are always on the lookout as far as their husband's behaviour is concerned. There are usually allegations that he favours a certain wife over others. More often than not, other co-wives gang up on the favourite wife and scrutinize her behaviour and conduct. The following names are examples:

Bachazani (what do they mean?)

The mother who is the name-giver was asking her sisters-in-law about the bad things they always said about her behind her back.

Thangithini (what do you want me to say?)

The father who gave this name to the child did not know what to say when his wife was always complaining about her co-wives who were always gossiping about her.

Mhletshwa (the one they gossip about)

The co-wives were always gossiping about the mother of this child. He was given this name by his mother, with the hope that they will stop talking about her.

Hlushwayini (what is bothering you?)

The mother of this child wanted to know what was bothering her rivals when they made it their mission to destroy her by lying about her.

Ncengutshwala (begging for liquor)

One of the co-wives, who was a drunkard, always talked about the mother of this child, as long as people offered this co-wife liquor. The mother felt that she had to point that out.

Ndabiyesinda (a heavy/difficult issue)

It was difficult for the mother of this girl because everybody was gossiping about her and making up stories. She gave this name to her baby girl to let her feelings known.

Tshenwephi (where did you get that information from?)

There was a lot of gossip going on about the mother of this child and she wondered from where the people got their facts. The mother of this child is the one who gave her this name.

Khohlwayezakhe (s/he forgets his/her own affairs)

The mother's co-wives were not keen on talking about their affairs in public but were more than eager to privately discuss other people's affairs. She gave this name to her baby boy to stop them from talking about her.

Bahlekabonke (they are all smiling)

The mother of this child named him after she learnt the hard way that even when people hate you, and say bad stuff about you

140

behind your back, they still smile at you and pretend to be your friends.

5.5.3　Names that reflect jealousy

Jealousy seems to be the root of most if not all problems in polygamous marriages. Dwane (1975:235-236) notes that "men may not easily appreciate that it costs a woman to share her husband and the father of her children with several wives." For when wives of a polygamist compete with each other, "frequently, this is not a manifestation of petty jealousies but a loud reminder that there is something wrong that needs to be attended to."

It becomes much of a problem in a polygynous family where everything becomes a competition between family members. Kidwai (nd:5-7), argues that polygamy is not an ideal situation.

> We all agree that polygamy is not a first-class institution, because it disturbs the society by creating mutual jealousy between two wives of the same man. And this jealousy is due to the fact that one husband cannot be equitable between his two wives ... A Muslim is permitted to marry more than one wife, but on condition that all the wives should be equally treated, and no room should be left for

141

injustice or inequity, and no occasion given for mutual jealousy.

The following are names which refer to jealousy:

Bancamile (they have not succeeded)

For quite a while, the mother of this child could not fall pregnant; but her husband stood by her. Her in-laws then alleged that she could not fall pregnant because of a snake called '*umaMlambo*' (a magical love potion which causes barrenness to the keeper of the snake, but which makes the husband love her more). But at last she fell pregnant and it was proven that their allegations were wrong and gave this name to her daughter.

Vimbephi (where am I stopping you?)

The mother of this child gave her this name because her co-wives, were jealous of her because her husband loved her. She thought they too could get the same attention from the husband if he wanted to, because she never did anything to stop him from visiting them. It was his choice to spend more time with her.

Bajabhile (they were disappointed)

The co-wives were jealous because their husband loved the mother of this child more than he loved them. They started to say nasty

142

things about her, hoping that the husband would leave her, and much to their surprise he did not. She gave the girl this name to say they could not stop what was happening.

5.5.4 Names that reflect witchcraft

Quarrels and fights among the wives and children sometimes occur because of favours. The husband may neglect some wives because he favours others. This sometimes leads to accusation of witchcraft, as Mbiti (1969:200) says:

> Sometimes feelings of jealousy may lead to practicing witchcraft. If one of the co-wives feels slighted or mistreated, she may seek the service of a witchdoctor, who is believed to be able to cast a spell upon a co-wife, her children or even upon a husband. Witchcraft is one of the most feared and hated phenomena in many African societies; one which can lead to dissolution of a marriage.

Mothers, and sometimes fathers voice these in the naming process. These women may become jealous of each other and end up practicing witchcraft. They sometimes go to diviners (*izangoma*) who will confirm that indeed, there is something wrong within the family setup. It is up to the person who went to the diviner

143

to figure out who the culprit is as the diviner never gives out names, only clues.

Beattie (1957:106) comments thus on the Nyoro naming system:

> A victim may, however, indicate more subtly his opinion that somebody (and he may or may not suspect who that person is) is working against him, and the Nyoro system of personal nomenclature provides one way of doing this. . . And if his tormentors conclude that their victim has recognized them, and may, who knows, be planning retaliatory actions, they may think it is wise to leave him alone.

The following are examples of names in this category:

Buyelaphi (where do you come back to?)
This woman's older child was coming home after spending six months at a herbalist's home because she was ill and the mother wondered whether it was safe for her to return. She gave this name to her newborn daughter.

Mzonzima (a difficult home to live in)
This child was given this name by her paternal grandmother because where everybody was using *umuthi* or witchcraft to fight

144

their battles and settle their personal scores it is difficult to live in such an environment.

Khulelaphi (where are you going to grow up?)

There were sorcerers within the homestead, and because of this the mother of this child was worried about the welfare of her children and gave the child this name.

Bulewephi (where was she bewitched?)

The mother of the child alleged that her co-wives bewitched her while she was pregnant, but the husband doubted that his wives could do such a thing. In response, the mother asked sarcastically as to where she and her older child were bewitched by giving this name to her third daughter.

Fikelephi (where did she arrive at?)

The mother was happy that she had a daughter but was afraid of the sorcerers around the homestead. She gave this name which is a plea to her daughter as she wondered about the deadly circumstances she was born into.

Khawulani (you must stop)

The mother was tired of people bewitching her, so she was telling them to stop by giving this name to her last born boy.

145

Zotholani (what are you going to achieve?)

(a) The name was given by the father of the child who was angry at his wife because she was alleging that her co-wives were bewitching her and he did not believe that this was true.

(b) In another instance, the mother was asking her in-laws about what they were going to achieve by bewitching her and she gave this name to her daughter.

Nyathelephi (what did she step on?)

The name was given by a grandmother who wanted to know the origins of her grand-daughter's illness. The grandmother was of the opinion that, the girl born before Nyathelephi must have stumbled over *umuthi* and fallen ill.

Mzungezeni (surround him)

The father was asking his living-dead to surround (protect) his son so that the enemies could not see him.

Bhekamuphi (which one should I watch?)

In giving her son this name the mother was leveling the accusation at her co-wives of practicing witchcraft. She was not sure which one of them was the culprit and was not sure which one to guard against.

5.5.5 Names that reflect quarrels over inheritance

Fights over the inheritance start long before the husband dies. In Zulu culture, the first wife's (*iNdlunkulu*) first born son (*iNkosana*) is the one who inherits everything and takes over from his father as the head of the homestead. Like everything, culture has evolved. Nowadays, the fact that your mother married first and that you were born before everybody else does not mean that you have more rights than everybody else to your father's inheritance and that your half-brothers will go empty-handed. This is clearly indicated in the following examples:

Mbangiseni (what are you fighting with him for?)
Everybody knew that the mother of this child, as the first wife would give birth to the heir; as soon as that happened, her co-wives could not accept it and wanted their share. There were talks amongst co-wives who thought that their children should have a share in the husband's estate, even before this boy was born. When the mother gave birth to the boy, she gave him this name.

Nkosiyombango (king of disputes)
The mother of this boy felt that although there were disputes about who was going to inherit, this child was the rightful heir, and she gave him this name to reiterate her point.

147

Bhekamafa (pining over other people's inheritances)

One of the co-wives always wanted to get something when people died. The mother of this boy wanted the whole community to know about her co-wives' behaviour.

Gcinangokubusa (end up by living a good life)

The mother of this child felt that even though there were disputes about the fact that the child is the rightful one to inherit everything when the father dies, at the end, everybody will have no choice but to accept this, and he will end up by living a good life.

Gqibokwakhe (hiding her possessions)

The second wife was hiding what she had inherited from her family to try and extort belongings from her husband's family. The mother of this boy wanted to let everyone know that this co-wife comes from an affluent family but she wants to hide that. This name was given to this boy by his grandmother who wanted to point out that his mother was stingy and selfish.

Gcinokwakhe (keeping her own possessions)

The mother of this boy implied that she was going to keep her own things; as the second wife, she knew that she would not inherit anything from her husband.

148

Bangifa (fighting over inheritance)

This child was born immediately after his father had passed away – at which time when everybody was fighting over who was getting what from the inheritance. Her mother was the one who gave him the name.

Ngenzeleni (what have you done for me?)

The husband had never done anything for the mother of this child when he was alive; when he died, everything went to the heir (the first wife's son). She was furious and gave this girl the name.

5.5.6 Names that reflect that the husband cannot provide for everybody within the polygynous family.

Because of the number of wives each man takes, it is sometimes difficult for him to provide for everybody in the same way and keep everybody happy. The following are examples of names in this category:

Dlezakhe (eating his/her own)

This mother of this boy and her children survived only on her parents. Her husband never gave her anything; he was always

'eating' his own money with the wives he preferred. She gave him this name to point out the husband's bad behaviour.

Bongathini (what should I say in thanking you?)

The mother of this child gave her this name because she wanted to know what she should be thankful and grateful for since her husband could not provide for them.

Ngizomphani (what am I going to feed her?)

The mother of this child had no idea what to feed her child, since she had no job and her husband gave them nothing. She gave the child this name as an expression of her thoughts and concerns.

5.5.7 Names that reflect favouritism

It must be noted that there is a lot of favouritism that goes on within polygamous families. This is understandable, considering that the husband is faced with, for example, three different women who are equally beautiful and he must choose one over others. He cannot help but be confused at times.

Mzwangedwa (loneliness)

The mother of this child gave this name to him because she felt lonely all the time because she was not the favourite wife and her husband rarely visited her.

Zibelani (why are you ignoring me?)

The mother of this child felt ignored by her husband, and gave the name to her son to make her husband aware of the situation.

Ntombizaphi (where are these girls from?)

The mother of this girl wanted to know where her co-wives came from because they received better treatment from their husband and she gave this name to her baby-girl.

5.5.8 Names that reflect promiscuity

When the wives are given no attention while the husband is entertaining the newest member, or latest addition, to his "wife collection", the wives are left with no choice but to find attention elsewhere.

Buzakunyoko (ask your mother)

The father of this child suspected that his wife had been unfaithful to him and assumed that the child was not his. He gave him this name so that when his child grows up and wants to know his father and his real surname, he will be able to detect from the very name as to whom he can get the answers from.

151

5.5.9 Names that reflect lack of intimacy

It must be remembered that the husband takes turns in 'visiting' his wives. Therefore each wife will probably wait 3-4 days (depending on the number of wives the husband has) before getting intimate with her husband.

Sibangaliphi (which one (penis) are we fighting over?)
The mother of the child bestowed this name on her son because the co-wives were bitter towards each other when the man of the homestead had a 'temporary' erectile dysfunction.
The word 'penis' is not in the name itself but is implied by the use of *li-* (it) for *ipipi* (penis) which is a noun class 5 concord.

Nakwawubani (who is going to pay attention to me?)
As extra-marital affairs for married women are unheard of, the mother of this child wondered where she would get sexual attention from since her husband was not giving her any. She then gave this name to her son to make her concerns known.

Ngoneni (what have I done wrong?)
The mother of this girl wanted to know what she did wrong for her husband to reject her and not want to be intimate towards her.

152

Zokwenzani (what am I going to do?)

The mother of this girl was not sure about the steps to take in order to get her husband to pay attention to her sexual needs.

Veluyeke (just stop doing it if you don't want to)

(a) This boy got his name because his mother was not happy with the amount of attention she was getting from her husband.

(b) In another instance, the mother of the child was not satisfied with the 'sexual performances' of her husband.

5.5.10   Names that allege that the children are bastards

Because of the number of wives a man has and the fact that it takes time for him to be with each of his wives intimately, sometimes it becomes impossible for them to fall pregnant. In cases where the husband works in town and only comes home a couple of times a year, it raises concerns to find one of his wives pregnant. In this category, a mother may give a sarcastic name to the child to show the father that she is aware of the fact that he does not believe the child is his.

Muntukabani (whose child is this?)

The name was given by the mother in response to the father's allegations about her being unfaithful and him not being the father.

Fikanaye (arriving with him)

The name was given by the father after suspecting that his wife might have been already pregnant when they met.

Qhamukephi (where did she come from)

The father of this child was said to be away in Johannesburg working when the child was conceived, so the grandmother, who bestowed the name, wanted to know where she came from, implying that her daughter-in-law was unfaithful to her son.

Qapheleni (what are you watching?)

The grandmother who gave this name was asking her son (the father of the child) as to what he was watching if his wife allegedly could have had an affair right under his nose.

Bazothini (what are people going to say?)

The father gave this name to his daughter because he wanted to know what the people will say when they find out that the child was illegitimate.

5.5.11 Names that reflect conflict

Conflict within a polygamous family can be caused by anything. Sometimes it is caused by the rules laid down by the head of the homestead, and he may be biased in as far as the application of those rules is concerned. The harshness, leniency or fairness in the application of the rules depends on the wife he prefers.

Mthethokayizwani (rules are conflicting)

This boy was given this name by his father because everyone within the homestead was making his/her own rules and doing as they pleased because the wives had lost respect for their husband. He was not fair and that was where the big controversy started.

Bhekimthetho (making sure the rules are followed)

One of the wives appointed herself to the position of being her husband's assistant. She would tell her co-wives what to do and what not to do. The mother of this boy gave him the name to ridicule the co-wife concerned.

Phumasilwe (go out and fight me)

The co-wife was always saying to the mother of this child:

 "Phuma uze lana ngikushaye" (Come out here so I may hit you)

155

or *"Phumela phandle silwe"* ("Come outside so we may fight"), the mother then named her child uPhumasilwe.

Hlalempini (living in the war zone)

The father gave this name to his son because there was always fighting in his homestead; wives fighting each other and their children following suit. He then felt that the situation was unbearable and felt like he lived in the battle field.

Muziwenduku (house of fighting)

This name was given by a mother to a child whose father believed that in order for him (father) to solve problems; he had to hit his wives.

Fundakubona (learned from them)

The mother gave this name to her child to dispute allegations that she was the one always causing trouble and fights within the homestead. She claimed that she learnt from the same people making the allegations.

Moyomusha (fresh air)

The father gave the name to his baby girl after he got married to her mother because he was no longer happy with his elder wife, who was always fighting with him, so instead he wanted some fresh air.

5.5.12 Names that suggest that co-wives are using love potions on their husband.

The women who feel unloved and get no attention from their husbands feel obliged to use love potions to make their husbands fall in love with them all over again. Some might argue that these women should just leave the man instead of taking such drastic steps to force somebody to love them.

Ntandoni (what kind of a love potion is it?)
This name was given by the mother of this child as a result of the allegation that one of the co-wives was using a very strong love potion which caused her husband to reject his other wives.

Fumbetheni (what do you have in your hand?)
The mother of this child gave this name after suspecting that her co-wife was using a love potion on their husband

5.5.13   Names that reflect a pleading for protection

Sometimes the wives feel unprotected because the husband is always busy paying attention to the latest addition and seems not to care much about his older wives. The 'new broom, sweep clean' scenario.

157

Mzileni (avoid him)

The mother of this boy was hoping that if people avoided her son he would be safe.

Mhlengeni (save him)

The mother wanted people to save her son from vultures (co-wives) who were waiting on the sidelines to take him away.

Mmiseni (stand by him)

This woman felt that if people stood by her, or her son, they would both be safe.

Mvuseni (tip him off)

This was a plea from the mother to have people tell her husband how conniving and scheming his other wives were.

Mcingeni (look for him)

When her son was born, this woman's husband was nowhere to be found, which is why she asked people to look for him.

Myekeni (leave him alone)

The mother wanted her co-wives (who had girls only) to leave her son alone.

Mbuzeni (ask him)

This woman wanted people to ask her husband as to who was taking care of her and her children while he was gallivanting with his other wives.

Mboneni (see him for what he is)

This woman wanted people to see her husband for the irresponsible person he was by never taking care of his woman and her children.

Mcebiseni (advise him)

This woman thought that if anybody advised her husband on how to handle his polygamy, things would be better and they might lead a peaceful life.

Mhlonipheni (respect him)

This woman felt like nobody respected her, so she was appealing to people that, although they treat her like dirt, they must at least respect her son.

Mqiniseni (make him strong)

A plea to make this woman's son stronger, so that he can protect her, since her husband was not doing so.

Mhlaliseni (stay with him)

This woman was afraid to stay on her own, as her husband was working in the city. She felt unsafe in her own house. The plea was more about her than about her son.

Mkhonzeni (like him)

This woman felt that if people liked her son, they would then protect him from bad things.

5.5.14 Names that reflect the fact that the wife has accepted that she is not good enough for her husband.

Being in a competition on a daily basis causes some of these women to lose confidence in themselves and to have low self-esteem. They come to a point where they accept their predicament and just continue with their lives.

Zokwenzani (what am I going to do?)

The mother of this child did not know what to do with the fact that her husband thought she was not good enough.

Thembokwakhe (trusting her own)

160

The mother of this child had learnt to trust nobody and to be self-sufficient where her family was concerned.

Simethembeni (why do we trust him?)

The mother of this boy was blaming herself for trusting her husband who was never there for her.

Melwawubani (who is going to speak on my behalf?)

This woman felt that her husband did not support her in her ventures. She gave this name to her daughter with an expectation that the husband was going to change.

Nhlalayenza (it is my daily bread)

The mother of this boy was used to being treated as nothing that mattered.

Khohlwangifile (I'll die before I forget)

The mother of this child said her son's name was an indication of her rejection and the suffering she experienced while nobody was paying attention.

5.5.15 Survival names

Survival names do not suggest that the mother wants something bad to happen to her son; she just uses sarcasm to her advantage. She hopes that her co-wives will realize that she is aware of what they are doing and that they stop whatever they are suspected of having done or doing.

De Klerk and Bosch (1995: 70) say of the Xhosa people:

> According to Thipa (1984), Neethling (1988), Herbert et al (1990) and Suzman (1994), categories which influence name choice in Xhosa communities include 'derogatory protective' names (used as distracters to make the living-dead think the child is unwanted, owing to previous death or misfortune in the family).

In similar vein, Chuks-Orji (1972:82) says:

> As a general rule, African children are prized and treated as welcome guests in the home, favoured with much affection, and their coming to the family is regarded and celebrated as an occasion for communal jubilation. And this love of children is universally to be observed in the names the children bear. Thus even quite uncomplimentary names like *Chotsani,*

162

'take it away' (Yao Malawi) are 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 living-dead will not take back the precious infant.

Mzondeni (hate him)

The mother of this boy believed that everybody hated her and her children, but wanted that to stop and gave him this name.

Mbulaleni (kill him)

Co-wives had bewitched the mother of this boy and her elder son had been ill for a long time.

Mhlebeni (gossip about him)

This woman believed that her co-wives were always gossiping about her and did not want that for her children. She then gave this name to her younger son to sarcastically give them permission to continue gossiping about her.

Mzibeni (ignore him)

Her husband was neither paying attention to her nor spending time with her, so, the mother of this boy wanted to let the husband know that she is not happy.

Mdindeni (beat him up)

This woman's husband was abusing her for no particular reason. Obviously she did not want that for her son, but she had to let people know.

5.6 Conclusion

The Zulu people have different reasons for bestowing the kinds of names they do on their children. Behind every African name is a story, but whether the name-bearer is willing to share the story is a different matter altogether. Most people are not comfortable with disclosing their domestic squabbles to the whole community. Names discussed in this chapter are just a reflection of how tough life can be in some polygamous homesteads. These names, however, are of crucial importance as they deter confrontation which would lead to people yelling at each other and even fighting, which might end up irritating their living-dead – and every African person avoids this at all costs because the price you pay for irritating the living-dead is very high. People avoid anything that might lead to the irritation of their living-dead. They even avoid the names of their in-laws in fear of the unknown – nobody really knows for sure what happens when a bride calls her father-in-law's name, and nobody is willing to take the risk to find out. She might not live to tell the tale. If the elders say it should not be

done, it should not. That might also act as a deterrent to stop people from wanting to know what would happen to them and their families if they did the forbidden.

Suzman (1994:270) says:

> Name-giving provides an outlet for the regulation of social relations in the intense social interaction of small communities. It allows people to communicate their feelings indirectly, without overt confrontation and possible conflict.

The naming process becomes a constant reminder of a pre-existing war of words between parents. These names stir up a conflict that could have subsided in the next generation and the next. About 30% of the interviewed families are not on speaking terms with other members of the same family, over conflict they are not sure of. They grew up with the resentment, they inherited from their parents and they are passing that on to their children. The conflict outlives its own cause, and only dies when those who knew about it die. It then becomes difficult for the family to unite.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH

6.1 Veneration of the living-dead

It has been established throughout this study that family members have great respect for the living-dead. The reverence for the living-dead shapes the behaviour of family members. Family members rely on the living-dead for protection and provision. The maintenance of a healthy relationship between the two parties is crucial. This kind of a relationship also extends to individual members of the family.

Language	behaviour
Informs the way people think to the approval of the living-dead	avoiding conflict. for each member of the family which translates to the respect of the living-dead.

Respect	Polygyny
Venting through names	Accepted as normal male behaviour. It increases the family. It is perceived as something that raises a man's status in society.

relationship
has to be maintained through
acceptable behaviour and rituals.

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis proposed by this study has been proven right in the study area. The language people speak undoubtedly shapes their views of the world they live in as well as the circumstances underwhich they live. The respect the families in the research area have for the living-dead is informed by the language they speak. The rationale is that

making sacrifices to the living-dead maintains a good relationship which keeps the latter happy.

Veneration of the living-dead is undoubtedly not the totality of the Zulu worldview; however, it is, an integral part of their worldview. The main objective of the study was to bring out the relevance of veneration of the living-dead in Zulu culture in a Zulu social discourse. Veneration of the living-dead is intricately intertwined with traditional religion of the Zulu people. It controls most of their social, moral and political systems. The living-dead are the main source of power and Zulu people depend on them for their survival. The living-dead are appeased through the affectionate remembrance by their living relatives. As Bujo (1992:09) puts it:

> They are stronger than the living, on whom they exercise a decisive influence, since the living cannot hope to survive unless they render due honour to their dead and continue faithfully along the track laid down by them".

Anger or rage can be appeased through ritual offerings. The living-dead are entitled to constant communication with their living relatives, because Zulu people view life as a continuum and death as a change of state. This is founded on the Zulu belief that life is sacred and permanent.

Veneration of the living-dead is closely linked with unity which is associated with family life. This is because family members venerate the same ancestor. Unity is one of African cultural values – evident in the Zulu proverb, *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* (a person is, because of other people).

6.2 Names

Provocative names are still bestowed on children in the research area but most families have embraced the Shembe lifestyle by converting to the Nazareth Baptist Church which follows the teachings of its founder, Isaiah Shembe. This conversion does not require them to change their traditional belief system in as far as the living-dead are concerned.

Maintaining the relationship between the members of the community is a collective responsibility for every member of the family. The life of an individual in African societies is shared. Life would be meaningless if not lived within a community.

Community members cannot be merely bystanders or observers in their communities but have to partake in every activity. "To be human is to belong to the whole community, and to do so involves

participating in the beliefs, ceremonies, rituals and festivals of that community" (Mbiti 1969:03).

The study also established the co-operative existence between the family and the living-dead which play an important role in harmonising the situation within the homestead. Liampawe cited in Akijar (2000:41) says that "all the members, therefore, enjoy the same communion and communication with the ancestors, which reinforces the unity and cohesion of the ethnic group". The living-dead are the centre piece of African religion and daily life.

6.3 Polygyny

The aim of the study was to give an insight into Zulu 'traditional' polygynous families, and to get an insight on the living conditions. More importantly, the study was aimed at looking at how names bestowed on the children within polygynous families in respect of the living-dead reflect social behaviour patterns within such situations. Turner (2003) maintains that hostility and ill-feelings are channeled through various forms of oral expressions "either as a means of merely airing one's dissatisfaction or as a means of seeking personal redress". Zulu people bestow names is so they can have redress on the wrong they believe was done to them.

The study provided an in-depth discussion on polygyny. Those opposed to polygyny also mention the women's emotional instability that comes with being in such an 'unstable' situations. The traditional duty of a woman to be strong, to persevere, stand by her man and support him in whatever he decided it was convenient and more beneficial for him to do without questioning, is deteriorating. They do the things that only men used to do.

Polygyny has always been accepted because (for the man) it meant that he will have a big family with a lot of children who will carry on his name. There is nothing as important to a Zulu man as having children, especially sons.

In polygynous families sensitive issues stay within the confines of the homestead. In former times, the wife had a right to choose her co-wives to make sure that there will be peace and harmony within the homestead. It was believed that if the chief wife, in consultation with her subordinates (the second and third wife chose the fourth one), there would be no fights within the homestead.

Culture is evolving. Cultural evolution is perhaps the most dynamic discovery of African peoples in the twentieth century.

Their hopes are stirred up and set on the future. They work for progress, they wait for an immediate realization of their hopes, and they create new myths of the future. The second biggest discussion was provided on the role the living-dead play in the lives the living family members. It must be noted that even in in traditional societies found in the deep rural areas, culture is not static, it is undergoing change.

6.4 Shifts in culture traits
6.4.1 *Ilobolo*

It was also discovered that, although the community in the research area strives to keep things as cultural and traditional as they possibly can, there have been some unavoidable shifts. These come with people who marry into the area and introduce current ways of doing things. For instance, the whole process of *ilobolo* has been commercialized in our society by both the groom's and the bride's families. Everybody is concerned with what they are going to gain at the end, be it in monetary terms on the part of the bride's family, or in the form of gifts on the part of the groom's family. Most people nowadays prefer to spend their money buying things that are going to be useful to them as a couple rather than paying *ilobolo* and having *umabo* at the traditional wedding.

6.4.2 Polygyny

Some people consider polygyny to be only for the uneducated people. However, some prominent people who live in urban areas are polygamists. The late Jabu Khanyile, a traditional musician and one of the founder members of Bayethe, had two wives who seemed to get along until his death late 2006. Thereafter, the fight over inheritance started. It turned into a bad family feud, each wife looking out for her own interest.

In an interview for SOUL magazine, Oscar nominee, Leleti Khumalo (of Sarafina, Yesterday and Generations fame) says her marriage to the theatre tycoon and polygynist, Mbongeni Ngema, ended because she was not happy. There was always something that made her cry. As a second wife, people assumed that she got better treatment. However, she says there was no respect. After divorcing his first wife Ngema wanted to take another wife. Khumalo decided to leave him. She felt strongly about this issue. And she (2007:24) says:

> The worst part of my marriage was actually polygamy. I have since realized that polygamy is a problem and if I had the opportunity to, I would run a programme to advise young girls and warn them about the dangers of polygamy.

Khumalo believes that the biggest problem in polygamy is jealousy which becomes inevitable where two or more women are involved. According to Khumalo, men become greedy and only think about themselves and their "needs".

The institution of marriage has changed a lot recently. Most women, married or otherwise, do not like to share their man, as this shows that they are not good enough for their husbands. They do not want to be one of many. There has been a big emphasis put on the nuclear family. As some women are becoming more educated and empowered, it becomes clear to them that this kind of a lifestyle (polygyny) is not only risky but also emotional abuse. There has been a great deal of self-discovery of women due to gender and feminist influences.

6.4.3 Religion

Religion has also been affected by the rapid changes. African people have realized that they do not need to discard everything African in order for them to be good Christians. They have realized that there is nothing wrong with African things; in fact, these define who African people are. A significant number of African people in the research site have converted to the Shembe Nazareth Baptist Church because it accepts them the way they are. They wear their traditional attire without fear of

being judged, they sing in a traditional way; everything they do is African, and that makes them comfortable because they do not have to change to fit in with the rest.

The confrontation and the airing of discontent is an effective tool of getting people to change their behaviour. Roberts (1979:40) mentions that people in communal African societies are extremely sensitive not only to ridicule but even to the mildest criticism. This influences them to adhere to approved patterns of behaviour. He further maintains:

> In any small closely knit community where people find themselves in continuing face-to-face relations, the threat of exposure to ridicule and disgust, provoking feelings of shame and remorse, must represent an important mechanism of control . . . Almost all these means of maintaining order, particularly those which derive their force from the actor's perception of how other people may react, operate through human communication in the course of everyday life. Through talk, values and norms may be expressly stated, and consequences of departure from them spelled out.

In similar vein, Turner (2003:8) argues:

> . . .conflict can be constructive. But it
> can also be destructive. It is this
> potential for destructive conflict that
> Zulus seek to minimize in their oral
> practices. The articulation of the source
> of conflict may or may not result in
> actual solutions being arrived at. In some
> instances the expression in itself may be
> sufficient to release frustration and pent
> up emotions.

Names are personal and have full meaning. They bestow names with the hope that their children will follow those names.

For example, if a parent is grateful that God has given them a child, he might name him *Mdumiseni,* or Praise God; when they feel blessed they might name their child *Sibusisiswe,* or Blessed, or *Sibusiso,* or Blessing. They might feel lucky to have a child and name that child *Nhlanhla,* or Lucky.

6.5 Final remarks

When I was conducting field research and conducting interviews, my impression of the community I was working with came across as relaxed and committed to the greater good of the family and the community at large. The community is satisfied to keep things traditional with men working in far away times and the women looking after the homesteads and rearing children.

These people are deeply religious and staunchly believe in the living-dead. They view death as a mere passage into the next life. The living-dead are seen as a part of their relatives' daily lives. They are seen as omniscient and omnipotent. Rituals are performed to appease the livind-dead. When an event they do not understand takes place within their homestead, they consult a sangoma who then speaks to the living-dead on their behalf. They operate within a belief framework they understand and are committed to. The power the living-dead have over their living descendants is amazing. Each and every member of the family knows and fully understands the role they have to play in harmonising the situation within the homestead. It is these beliefs which force every member of the polygamous family to contain their anger and never fight within the homestead as that might anger the living-dead.

They use names to reflect social dynamics and to air their disatisfaction about. In this thesis I have given examples throughout of how they use the naming system to give unique names. To them names are not just labels to be chosen from the existing anthroponymicon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(This bibliography consists of both cited and consulted texts)

Abell, S. O. 1992.   *African names and their meaning.* New York:
    Vintage Books.

Abraham, L. 2002.   Naming in the South of the Save River (Districts of Magude and Guija). *Nomina Africana* 16 (1 & 2) 91-99.

Agar, M.H. 1980.   *The Professional Stranger: An Introduction to Ethnography.* New York: Academic Press.

Agnew, N.M. &
Pyke, S.W. 1982.   *The Science Game: Introduction to Research in the Behavioural Sciences 3rd ed.* Englewood Cliff, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.

Agbontaen-Eghafona,
K.A. 2007.   Factors in Personal Naming and Name Change in Post Colonial Southern Nigeria. *Nomina Africana* 21: 80-104.

Akijar, L. 2000.   *Is the interpretation of Christ as the ancestor of the church compatible with the Christian doctrine? A study of Christology and Ecclesiology of Charles Nyamiti.* Unpublished Master of Theology dissertation, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.

Akwanya, A.N. 1996.   *Semantics and Discourse: Theories of Meaning and Textual Analysis.* Lagos: Acena Publications.

Allen, I. L. 1990   *Unkind words.* New York: Bergin & Garvey.

Alford, R .D. 1988.   *Naming and Identity: a cross-cultural study of Personal Naming Practices.* New Haven: HRAF Press.

Algeo, J. 2006.   Is a Theory of Names possible? In Callary, Edward (ed). Surnames, Nickname, Placenames and epithets in America. *Essays in the Theory of Names.* Lewiston: The Edward Mellen Press. 1-11.

Alvarez-Altman,
G. 1981.   A Methodology to literary onomastics: An analytical guide for studying names in literature. *Literary Onomastics Studies.* Vol 8 220-224.

Amanze, J.N. 2003.   Christianity and Ancestral Veneration in Botswana. *Studies in World Christianity* 9(1): 43-59.

Anderson, A.H. 1991.   *Moya: The Holy Spirit in an African context.* Pretoria: UNISA.

Andrzejwski, B.W. 1985.   *Literature in African Languages: Theoretical issues and sample surveys.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Arbuckle, G.A. 1990.   *Earthing the Gospel: An inculturation Handbook for Pastoral Workers.* London: Geoffrey Chapman.

Arden, N. 1906.   *African spirits speak.* Rochester, Vermont: Destiny Books.

Asante, M. K. 1991.   *The Book of African Names.* Eritrea: Africa World Press, Inc.

Asante, M. K.

Auer, P. (ed) 1998.   *Code-switching in Conversation.* London and New York: Routledge.

Austin, J.L. 1962.   *How to do things with Words.* New York: Oxford Press University.

Ayandele, E. A. 1979.   *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914: A Political Analysis 4th ed.* London: Longman Group Ltd.

Aziz, A.K. 1987.   Proper names are non-connotative. *South African Journal of Linguistics* 5 (2): 1-16.

Babbie, E.   1998.   *The Practice of Social Research 8th edition.*   Belmont:Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Bae, C.P. 2007.   *Ancestor worship and the challenges it poses to the Christian Mission and Ministry.*   Unpublished   PhD dissertation. Pretoria: UNISA.

Bailey, C.A. 1996.   *A guide to field research.* California: Thousand Oakes.

Banda, C. 2005.   *The sufficiency of Christ in Africa: A Christological challenge from African Traditional Religions.* Unpublished Master of Theology dissertation. Pretoria: UNISA.

Bascom, W 1991.   *Divination: Communication between Gods and men in West Africa.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Basso, K. 1996.   *Wisdom sits in Places.* Albuquerque: University of Arizona Press.

Bate, S.C. 1995.   *Inculturation and Healing.* Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publication.

Beattie, J. H. M. 1957.   Nyoro Personal names. *Uganda Journal* 21: 99-106.

Beidelman, T.O. 1974.   Kaguru names and naming. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 30 (4): 281-293.

Bell, J. 1987.   *Doing your Research Project.*
                        Buckingham: Open University.

Bennett, T. 1998.   *Culture: A Reformer's Science.*
                        Australia: Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd.

Berger, B.M. 1995.   *An essay on culture.* Berkerley:
                        University of California Press.

Berglund, A-I 1976.   *Zulu thought-patterns and symbolism.*
                        London: C Hurst & Co Ltd.

Bhengu, S.M.E. 1975.   *Chasing Gods not our own.*
                        Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.

Blalock, H. M. &
Blalock, A. B. 1968.   *Methodology in Social Research.* New
                        York: McGraw-Hill.

Blalock, A.B. &
Blalock, H.M. 1982.   *Introduction to Social research (2nd
                        ed).* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey:
                        Prentice Hall   Inc.

Bless, C. & Higson-Smith, C. 1995. *Fundamentals of Social Research: Methods on African Perspective (2nd ed).* Kenwyn: Juta & Co Ltd.

Blum, M. L. & Foos, P. W. 1986. *Data gathering: Experimental Methods Plus.* New York: Harper & Row Publishers.

Boaz, F. 1966. *Race, Language and Culture.* New York: The Free Press.

Bockie, S, 1993. *Death and the invisible powers.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Bodley, J. H. 1994. *Cultural anthropology: Tribes, States, and the Global system.* Mountain View California: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Bouma, G. D. 1996. *The Research Process (3rd ed).* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

185

Bourdillon, M.F.C. 1993.   *Where are the living-dead? Changing cultures in Zimbabwe.* Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.

Brennen, T 1993.   The Difficulty with Recalling People's names: The Plausible Phonology Hypothesis. *Memory* 1: 409-431.

Brennen, T. 2000.   On the Meaning of Personal Names: A view From Cognitive Psychology. *Names* 48 (2): 139-146.

Breure, J. 1999.   *Ancestor: a challenge to the Oruuna Church in Namibia.* Unpublished Master of Theology dissertation. Pretoria: UNISA.

Brown, G. &
Yule G. 1983.   *Discourse Analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bryant, A.T. 1929.   *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal.* London: Longman's Green & Co.

Bryant, A. T. 1967. *The Zulu people as they were before the Whiteman came.* Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.

Bryman, A. 1988. *Quantity and Quality in social research.* London: Unwin Hyman.

Bulmer, M. 1982. *Social Research Ethics.* London: Macmillan.

Bujo, B 1992. *Theology and its social context.* New York: Mary Knoll.

Burr, V. 1995. *An introduction to Social Constructionism.* London: Routledge.

Cajete, G. 1994. *Look to the mountain. An ecology of indigenous education.* Durango: Kivati Press.

Canin, M. 1989. *The South African Book of Baby Names.* Guiness Goodwood: Cape Superlative Ltd.

187

Carroll, J.M. 1983. Toward a Functional Theory of Names and Naming. *Linguistics* 21: 341-371.

Carter, P. 1987. *The Road to Botany Bay.* London: Faber and Faber.

Castle, T. 1999. *Traditional Christian Names: choosing a name and knowing its meaning.* Sydney and Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton London.

Chamberlin, T.E. 2002. Hunting, Tracking and Reading. In BrockmeierJ.,Wang M. & Olson D. (eds). *Literacy, Narrative and Culture.* London: Curzon.

Chihota, D.T. 2003. *Funeral ritual among the Basuto: A study of the encounter between Christianity and Basuto traditional religion.* Unpublished Masters dissertation, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.

Chuks-Orji, O. 1972. *Names from Africa.* Chicago: Johnson.

Clarke, P. 1991.

Christianity in Africa. In Houlden, L. (ed.), *The World's Religions: Judaism and Christianity*. London: Routledge.

Cohen, G. 1990.

Why is it difficult to put names to faces? *British Journal of Psychology* 81: 287-297.

Comaroff, J. & Comaroff, J. L. 1992.

Ethnography and Historical Imagination. Boulder: Westview.

Cowan, J.K., Dembour, M. & Wilson, R.A. 2001.

Culture and Rights: Anthropological Perspectives. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Cross, C. 1990.

Africa and the people with no numbers: Thoughts on Outsider research, *Truth be in the field: Social Science Research in Southern Africa.* Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Crotty, M. 1998. *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the research process.* London: SAGE Publications.

Crystal, D. 1991. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics.* Washington: Blackwell.

Crystal, D. 1997. *The Cambridge encyclopedia of language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Culler, J. 1975. *Structuralist Poetics.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Bosch J. & De Klerk, V. 1995. Naming in two cultures: English and Xhosa practices. *Nomina Africana* 9 (1).

De Klerk, V. 1998. Nicknaming across cultures: Borrowing and other Linguistic tricks. *Nomina Africana* 12(1).

De Klerk, V. 2002.   Xhosa nicknames for Whites: A double-edged sword. *Nomina Africana* 16 (1&2): 146-165.

Derrida, J. 2000.   Difference. In Du Gay, P., Evans, J. and Redman, P. (eds). *Identity: a Reader.* London: Sage. 87-93

Dillard, J. L. 1976.   *Black Names, Contribution to the Sociology Language 13.* Fishman, J.A. (ed), Mouton: The Hague-Paris.

Downs, J. F. 1971.   *Cultures in crisis.* California: Glencoe Press Beverley Hills.

Dryden, C. 1999.   *Being married, doing gender: A critical analysis of gender relationships in marriage.* London and New York: Routledge.

Dundes, A. 1983.   Defining Identity through Folklore. In Jacobson-Widding, A. (ed). *Identity: Personal and Social Cultural.* Uppsala: Almquist and Wissel. 235-261

Duranti, A. 1997.   *Linguistic Anthropology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dwane, S. 1975.   Polygamy. In Verryn, T.D. (ed), *Church and Marriage in Modern Africa.* Groenkloof: The Ecumenical Research Unit.

Dziva, D. 1997.   *A critical examination of patterns of research in the academic study of Shona traditional religion with special reference to methodological consideration.* Unpublished Masters dissertation, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.

Eco, U. 1979.   *A Theory of Semiotics.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Edwards, J. 1985.   *Language, Society and Identity.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Egejuru, P. 1993.   *The Seed yams have been eaten.* Ibadan: Ibadan Press.

Eiselen, W. &

192

Schapera, I. 1950.   Kinship and Marriage among the Tswana in Radcliffe-Brown & Forde (eds), *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*. London: Oxford University Press, 140-165.

Ekpo, M.U. 1978.   Structure in Ibibio Names. *Names* 26 (3): 87-95.

Ekwensi, C. 1963.   *People of the city.* London: Heinemann

Ela, J. 1995.   *My faith as an African.* Maryknoll: Orbis Books

Ellis, S. 1996.   *Africa now.* USA: Heinemann.
Epstein, E.L. &
Kole, R. (eds) 1998.   *The Language of African Literature. A*smara: Africa World Press.

Evans-Pritchard,
E.E. 1948   The Nuer Modes of Address. *Uganda Journal* v 12.

Favret-Saada, J 1978.   *Deadly words: witchcraft in the Bocage.*   Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Field, M J 1960.   *Search for security: an ethno-psychiatric study of rural Ghana.*   London: Faber and Faber.

Filter, H. 1986.   *Pauline Dlamini: the servant of the two Kings.*   Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.

Finnegan, R. 1970.   *Oral literature in Africa.*   Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Finnegan, R. 1992.   *Oral poetry.*   Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fisher, I. 1983.   Jewish names through the ages. *Names* 1983. (ed). P Raper Pretoria: HRSC.

Friedl, J. 1976.   *Cultural Anthropology.*   New   York: Harpers College Press.

Ford, M.E,

Muira, I.C. &
Masters, I.C. 1984.   *Effect of Social Studies value on academic achievement and Social Competence: A reconsideration of children's first name characteristics.* Journal of Educational Psychology V 76 (6): 1149-1158.

Fortes, M. 1987.   *Religion, Morality and the Person: Essays on Tallensi religion.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fortes, M. 1989.   Some reflections on Ancestor Worship in Africa. *African Systems of Thoughts.* 122-142.

Fowler, R. 1973.   *A Dictionary of Modern Critical Terms.* London & New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Gall, M.D., Borg, W.R. &
Gall, J.P. 1996.   *Educational Research: An Introduction.* Washington: Longman.

Gamble, R. 1996. *Black South African given names stereotyping and first grade academic achievement.* Unpublished BSocSc (Hons.), Coleraine: University of Ulster.

Gardiner, A. 1940. *The Theory of Proper Names.* London: Oxford University Press.

Gary, A.L. 1978. *Rating repeated first names: a function of Halo on Fixed Response.* Journal of Social Psychology V 104: 307-318.

Gaskiyane, I. 2000. *Polygamy: A Cultural and Biblical Perspective.* London: Piquant.

Gelfand, M. 1966. *An African Religion: The Spirit of Nyajena case history of a Karanga People.* Cape Town: Juta & Company Ltd.

Gelfand, M. 1968. *African crucible: An ethico-religious study with special reference to the*

	Shona speaking people. Cape Town: Juta.
Gengenbach, H. 2000.	Naming the past in a "scattered' land: memory and the powers of the women's naming practices in southern Mozambique. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 33 (3): 523-542.
Giddens, A. 1995.	*Sociology.* Cambridge: Polity Press.
Gilmore, D.H. 1982.	Some notes on Community Nicknaming. *Man* 17: 686-700
Glasse, R.M. 1987.	Huli Names and Naming. *Ethnology* 26 (3): 201-208.
Gluckman, M 1960.	*Custom and Conflict in Africa.* Oxford: Blackwell.
Golele, N.C.P. 1993.	Names and Society: The rise of some African place names. *Nomina Africana* 7 (1 & 2): 85-92.

197

Gordon, W.T. 1996.   *Saussure for Beginners.* New York: Writers and Readers.

Gordon

Guggenbühl-Craig, A. 1977

        Marriage dead or alive. Dallas, Texas: Spring Publication Inc.

Grant, M. 2006   *Saint Peter.* London: Weiden & Nicolson.

Gregerson, E.A. 1977.   *Language in Africa: An Introductory Survey.* New York: Breach.

Grice, H.P. 1967.   *Logic and Conversation.* William James Lectures. Published in H.P. Grice 1989: 3-143.

Grice, H.P. 1975.   *Studies in the Way of Words.* Cambridge: Havard University Press.

Grundy, P. 2000.   *Doing Pragmatics.* London: Oxford University Press.

Gumede, M. A. 2000.   *Compliments and Caveats: An implicated view of Zulu naming as a Retaliatary Function in the emaQwabeni and eMathulini Areas of KwaZulu Natal.* Unpublished Master's dissertation, Durban: University of Natal.

Gwembe, E. 1996.   Living-dead in African Culture. In Makobane, M., Sithole, B. and Shiya, M. (eds), *The Church in the African Culture: Conference Papers 30-38.* Mazenod:Mazenod Press.

Gyekye, A. 1997.   *Tradition and modernity: Philosophical Reflections on the African experience.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hall D. &
Hall I. 1996.   *Practical social research- project work in the community.* Malaysia: Macmillan Press.

Hall, S. 1997. Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In Mongia, P. ed. *Contemporary PostColonial Theory*. London: Arnold. 110-121.

Hallgren, R. 1988. *The good things in life: a study of the traditional, religious culture of the Yoruba people.* Loberod: Plus Ultra.

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. 1983. *Ethnography: Principles and Practice.* London and New York: Routledge.

Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (ed) 1974. *The Bantu speaking peoples of Southern Africa.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Hanks, P. & Hodges, F. 1990. *Oxford Dictionary of First Names.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Haron, M. 1999.   Naming people: The Formation of the South African Muslim Identity. *Nomina Africana* 13: 19-23.

Harris, M. 1988.   *Culture, People, Nature: An introduction to General Anthropology (5th ed).* New York: Harper & Row Publishers Inc.

Hastings, A. 1974.   *African Christianity.* London: Goeffrey Chapman.

Hastings, A. 1989.   *African Catholicism: Essays in discovery.* London: S C M Press.

Hastings, A. 1994.   *The Church in Africa 1450-1950.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hellander, G. 1958.   *Must we introduce monogamy?: A study of polygamy as a mission problem in South Africa.* Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.

Herbert, R. K. (ed) 1992.   *Language and society in Africa.* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Hexham, I. 1987.   *Texts on Zulu Religion: Traditional Zulu ideas about God.* Lewiston / Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Hillman, E. 1975.   *Polygamy reconsidered: African Plural Marriages and Christian Churches.* Maryknoll: Orbis Books.

Holland, T.J. 2006.   The many faces of nicknames. In Callary, E. (ed). *Surnames, nicknames, placenames and epithets in America. Essays in the theory of names.* Lewiston: The Edward Mellen Press. 2006: 97–120.

Hollenwegger, W.J. 1993.   Foreword: Listening to Africa. In Olupona J.K. and Nyang, S.S. (eds), *Religious Plurality in Africa: Essays in honour of John S. Mbiti VIII–XIII.* Berlin: Mouton and Gruyter.

Horne, M.D. 1986.   Potential significance of first names: a review – *Psychological Reports* 59: 839–845.

Hymes, D. 1974.   *Foundations in sociolinguistics. An ethnographic approach.* Philadephia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hymes, D. 1981.   *In Vain I tried to tell you. Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics.* Philadephia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Idowu, E. B. 1973.   *African Traditional Religion: A definition.* New York: Orbis Press.

Ingraham, H. 1953.   *People's names: A cross-cultural reference guide to proper use of over 40 000 personal and familial names in over 100 cultures.* North Carolina & London: McFarland & Company Incorporated Jefferson.

Jamieson, G.H. 1996.   *Communication and Persuasion.* London: Croom Helm.

Jansen, N. 1991.   *Theoretical Approaches to Communication.* Johannesburg: Juta and Company.

Jebadu, A. 2006.   *African ancestral veneration and the possibility of its Incorporation to the Catholic Devotion.* Roma: Editrice Pontifica Universita Gregoriana.

Jenkins, E. 1993a.   The names of informal settlements. *Nomina Africana* 6 (2) 21-27.

Jenkins, E. 1993b.   Public participation in Recent and Future Name Changes. *Nomina Africana* 8 (2): 13-25.

Jenkins, E.R. ,Raper,P.E. &
Möller, L.A. 1996.   *Changing place names.* Durban: Indicator Press, University of Natal.

Jenkins, E. 2002.   Some features of South African Place Names Approved by the National Place Names Committee 1977-1999. *Nomina Africana* 16 (1&2).

204

Jenkins, R. 1998. *Virgil's experience Nature and History: Time, Names and places.* London: Clarendon Press.

Jili, P. 2000. *African identity and African Renaissance.* Unpublished Master's dissertation, Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal.

Joffe, P. 1995. Language Damage: Nazis and Naming. *Nomina Africana* 6 (2): 47-52.

Joseph, J. 2004. *Language and Identity.* London: Macmillan.

Jousse, M. 1990. (Translated by Sienaert E. and Whitaker R. (1925).) *The Oral Style.* USA: Garland.

Jousse, H. 2004. A new contribution to the history of pastoralism in West Africa. *Journal of African Archaeology* 2:187-201.

Jules-Rosette, B. 1979. *The new religions of Africa.* New Jersey:Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Junod, H.A. 1927.   *The life of a South African Tribe.* London: McMillan.

Kahakwa, S.B. 2003.   *A Haya interpretation of the Christian concept of God: How applicable is an invocation of the deity in a threefold form for indigenising and understanding the Christian Trinitarian model?* Unpublished PhD dissertation, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.

Kanana, A. S. 2000.   *Changing the Patriarchal attitude of Owavambo men: can the Bible help?* Unpublished Master's dissertation, Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal.

Kanyoro, M.R.A. 2002   *Introducing feminist cultural Hermeneutics.* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

206

Kart, J.J. 1977.   A Proper Theory of Names. *Philosophical Studies* 31 : 1-80.

Kasof, J. 1993   Sex Bias in the Naming of Stimulus Persons. *Psychological Bulletin* 113: 140-163.

Kennedy, G. 2003.   *Structure and Meaning in English: A Guide for Teachers.* Harlow: Pearson Longman.

Kgobe, D.M. 1985.   *The Classification and significance of Folksongs in Northern Sotho.* Unpublished B A (Hons) dissertation. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Khathide, G.A. 2003.   *Spirit in the First-Century Jewish World, Luke-Acts and in the African context: An analysis.* PhD Thesis. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

Khumalo, E. 2000.   *Factors affecting changes in Zulu Western and Zulu African personal naming patterns.* Unpublished Honours dissertation, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.

207

Kidwai, M. H. nd.   *Polygamy*. London: The Central Islamic Society.

Kiernan, J. 1995.   African traditional religions in South Africa, In Prozesky, M. and de Gruchy, J. (eds.), *Living Faiths in South Africa.* Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Phillip.

Kisembo, B. &
Magesa, L. 1977.   *African Christian marriage.* South Hampton: Camelot.

Kitayama, S &
Markus, H.R. 1994.   Culture and Self: How Cultures influence the way we view ourselves. In Matsumoto, D (ed), *People: Psychology from a cultural perspective* 17-37. San Francisco: Brooks/Cole.

Koopman, A. 1979 a.   The Linguistic difference between nouns and names in Zulu. *African Studies* 38 (1): 67-80.

Koopman, A. 1979b.   Male and female names in Zulu. *African studies* 38 (2):153-166.

Koopman, A. 1986.   *The Social and Literary aspects of Zulu personal names.* Unpublished Master's dissertation, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.

Koopman, A. 1987.   Zulu names and other modes of address. *Nomina Africana* 1 (1):136-164.

Koopman, A. 1989.   The aetiology of Zulu personal names. *Nomina Africana* 3 (2): 31-48.

Koopman, A. 2002a.   *Zulu names.* Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Koopman, A. 2002b.   Naming as a Marketing strategy in a Coastal Resort: The Case of St Lucia. *Nomina Africana* 16 (1&2): 42-56.

Koopman, A. 2009   Uniqueness in the Zulu Anthroponymicon system. *Onoma* 44.

Kraemer, J.E. 1975.   *The Dynamics of a Changing Music system in rural Rhodesia.* Unpublished PhD thesis. East Lensing, Michigan: University of Michigan.

Krige, E.J. 1950.   *The Social system of the Zulus.* Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.

Krige, E.J. &
Comaroff, J.L. 1981.   *African marriage in Southern Africa.* Cape Town: Juta & Company Ltd.

Kripke, S. 1980.   *Naming and Necessity.* Cambridge: Havard University Press.

Kroger, J. 2000.   *Identity Development: Adolescence Through Adulthood.* Newbury Park CA: Sage.

Kubheka, I. S. 1988.   *Ulaka lwabaNguni.* Pietermaritzburg: Reach Out Publishers.

Landar, H. 1966.   *Language and Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Langacker, R.W. 1994.   In language contact and language conflict. In *Continuity in Linguistic semantics.* Fuch (et al) (eds), New York: Harper & Row.

Lapointe, E. 1994.   *Inculturation*. Roma: St Augustine Seminary.

Lawson, E.D. &
Roeder, L.M. 1986.   Women's Full First Names, Short Names and Affectionate Names: a Semantic Differential Analysis. *Names* 34: 175–184.

Lawson, E.D. 1995.   *More names and naming: an Annotated Bibliography.* Westport: Greenwood Press.

Leech, G. 1983.   *Principles of Pragmatics.* London: Longman.

Leslie, P.L. &

Skipper, J.K. 1990.   Towards a Theory of Nicknames: A Case for Socio-Onomastics. *Names* 38 (4): 276-282.

Levin, B. 1991.   Building a Lexicon: The Contribution of Linguistic Theory. *International Journal of Lexicography* 4: 205-226.

Levinson, S. 1983.   *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levinson, S. 2000.   *Presumptive Meanings: The Theory of Generalised Conversational Implicature.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Lewis, I.M. 1976.   *Social Anthropology in Perspective: The Relevance of Social anthropology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leys, O. 1974.   Sociolinguistic Aspects of Namegiving Pattern. *Onoma* 18 (3): 3-4.

Loar, B. 1991.   Can we explain Intentionality? *Meaning in Mind, Fodor and his Critics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Lobner, S. 2002.   *Understanding Semantics*. London: Arnold.

Lombard, C.G. 2008.   *An ethnolinguistic study of Niitsitapi Personal names*. Unpublished M.A. dissertation. Pretoria: UNISA.

Louwrens, L. 1993.   Semantic Change in Loanwords. *South African Journal of African Languages*. 13 (1): 17-24.

Lubisi, P. M. 2002.   A glance into African Personal names. *Nomina Africana* 16 (1&2):118-124.

Lyons, J. 1995.   Linguistic Semantics: An Introduction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Machaba, M.A. 2005.   *Naming, Identity and the African Renaissance, in a South African*

context. Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal.

Madubuike, I. 1976. *A Handbook of African Names.* Colorado Springs: Three Continents Press.

Magesa, L. 1997. *African Religion: The Moral traditions of Abundant life.* Maryknoll New York: Orbis Book.

Magubane, P. 1998. *Vanishing Cultures of Southern Africa: changing customs in a changing world.* London: Struik.

Makondo, L. 2009. *An Investigation into Anthroponyms of the Shona Society.* Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Mapanje, J. &
White , L. (eds) 1983. *Oral Poetry from Africa.* London: Longman.

Marais, H.C. 1988.   *HSRC Research Methodology.* Pretoria: HSRC Press.

Masolo, D.A. 1994.   *African Philosophy in Search of Identity.* Bloomington and Edinburgh: University Presses, Bloomington and Edinburgh.

Mathangwane, J. &
Matsumoto, D. 1996.   *Culture and Psychology.* Brooks / Cole Publishing Company, San Francisco.

Mathangwane, J.T. &
Gardner, S.F. 1998.   Language attitudes as portrayed by the use of English and African names in Botswana. *Nomina Africana* 12(2): 74–87

Mbiti, J. S. 1969.   *African Religions and Philosophy (2nd ed).* Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers.

Mbiti, J. S. 1970.   *Concepts of God in Africa.* London: S P C K.

McDavid, J.W.&
Harari, H. 1974.   *Psychology and Social Behaviour.* New York: Harper & Row.

McDowell, J.H, 1981.   Towards a Semiotics of Nicknaming: The Kamsa Example. *Journal of American Folklore* 94 (371): 1-17.

McWeeney, K.
Young, A.
Hay, D. &
Ellis, E. 1987.   Putting names to faces. *British Journal of Psychology* 78: 143-149.

Mehrain, A. 1997.   Impressions Created by Given Names. *Names* 45:19-33.

Meiring, B. 1997.   Toponymic innovation and Social change. *Nomina Africana* 8 (1) 65-79.

Miller, N. 1927.   Some aspects of the name in culture-history. *The American Journal of Sociology* 32 94: 585-600.

Mitchell, R. C. 1977.   *African Primal Religions.* Illinois:
                            Argus Communication.

Monnig, H.O. 1967.   *The Pedi.* Pretoria: JL van Schaik.

Morris, C. 1938.   Foundations of the Theory of Signs in
                            Carnap R. *International Encyclopedia
                            of Unified Science,* 2 (1) Chicago:
                            The Chicago University Press.

Mouton, J. 1988 (ed).   *Basic Concepts in the Methodology of
                            Social Sciences.* Pretoria: HSRC.

Moyo, T. 1996.   Personal names and Naming practices
                            in Northern Malawi. *Nomina Africana*
                            10 (1 & 2): 10-19.

Msimang, C.T. 1975.   *Buzani kuMkabayi.* Pretoria: De Jager
                            -HAUM Publishers.

Msimang, C.T. 1991.   *Kusadliwa   ngoludala,   (2nd   ed).*
                            Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.

Mulambuzi, F. X. 1997.   *Beliefs   in   ancestral   spirits:
                            interpreting contemporary   attitudes*

217

	of the Baganda to the living-dead. Unpublished MA dissertation, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.
Musere, J. 1997.	Names within Polygamous families in Buganda. *Onoma* 33: 89-97.
Myers-Scotton, C. 1996.	*Social Motivation for code-switching: Evidence from Africa.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Neethling, S.J. 1994.	Xhosa nicknames. *South African Journal of African Languages*, 14 (2): 88-92
Neethling, S.J. 1995.	Names and Naming in Xhosa. *Name Studies* 1: 956-959
Neethling, S.J. 1996.	Exploring Xhosa surnames. *Nomina Africana* 10 (1&2): 30-42
Neethling, S.J. 2000.	An onomastic renaissance: African names to the fore. *South African*

Journal of African Languages 20
(3):207-216

Neethling, S.J. 2005. *Naming among the Xhosa of South Africa.* NewYork: Mellen Press.

Nelson, R. J. 1992. *Naming and Reference.* London: Routledge.

Neuman, W.L. 1997. *Social Research Methods. Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Nuessel, F. 1992. *The Study of Names. A guide to the principles and topic.* Westport: Greenwood Press.

Ngidi E.B. 1998. *Injulalwazi nosikompilo lwamaZulu njengoba luvezwa ebucikweni bomlomo.* Unpublished Honours dissertation, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.

Ngidi E.B. 2000 *Discussion of some social behaviour patterns reflected in Zulu personal*

219

	names given to children within polygamous families. Unpublished paper presented at the 11th International Names Conference, University of Port Elizabeth.
Ngidi, E.B. 2001.	*The influence of selected English Romantic poets in B.W. Vilakazi's poetry.* Unpublished Masters dissertation, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal
Ngubane, H. 1977.	*Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine.* London: Academic Press.
Ngubane, S. E. 2000.	*Reclaiming our names: shifts post-1994 in Zulu naming practices.* Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Durban: University of Natal.
Nicolaisen, W.F.J. 1974.	Names as verbal icons. *Names* 22:104-120.
Nicolaisen, W.F.J. 1976.	Words and names. *Onoma* 20 (1) 142-163.

220

Ntuli, D. B. Z. &
Ntuli C. S. Z.   1985.   *Amawisa*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter &
                              Shooter.

Ntuli, D. B. Z. &
Ntuli, C. S. Z.   1986.   *Izizenze*.   Pietermaritzburg:
                              Shuter & Shooter.

Ntuli D.B. 1992 a.   The Significance of Zulu Homestead
                              Names. *Nomina Africana* 6(1): 14-23.

Ntuli, D.B. 1992 b.   House naming among some South African
                              Communities. *Nomina Africana* (6) 2:
                              28-34.

Nwachuku, D. 1994.   Rituals and Symbols in the healing of
                              infertility   in   Africa: Pastoral
                              Counselling Response. In Lartey, S.,
                              Nwachuku, D. and Wa Kasongo, K.
                              (eds.)*, Church and Healing: Echoes
                              from Africa 68-88.* Frankfurt: Peter
                              Lang.

221

Nyamiti, C. 1984.   *Christ as our ancestor: Christology from an African perspective.* Gweru: Mumba Press.

Nyamiti, C. 1985.   The Mass as Divine and ancestral Encounter between the Living and the Dead. *African Christian Studies* 1(1):28-48.

Nyamiti, C. 1993.   African ancestral veneration and its relevance to the African church. *The Journal of African Christian Studies* 9 (3).

Nyamiti, C. 2005.   *Jesus Christ, the Ancestor of Humankind.* Nairobi: CUEA

Nyembezi S. &
Nxumalo O.E.H. 1992.   *Inqolobane Yesizwe.* Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter Pty Ltd.

Nyirongo, L. 1997.   *The Gods of Africa or the God of the Bible? The snares of African Traditional Religion in Biblical Perspective.* Potchefstroom: IRS.

222

Nurnberger, K. 2007. *The Living-dead and the Living God.* Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.

Obbo, C. 1991. *African Women: Their Struggles for Economic Independence.* London: Zed Press.

Obeng S.G. 2001. *African Anthroponymy: An Ethnopragmatic and morphological study of personal names in Akan and some African societies.* Muenchen: Lincom Europa.

Oduyoye, M.A. 1993. A critique of John S. Mbiti's view of love and marriage in Africa. In Olupona, J.K. and Nyang, S.S. (eds), *Religios Plurality in Africa: Essays in honour of John S. Mbiti* 365-431. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter & Co.

Offiong, D. A. 1991. *Witchcraft, Sorcery, Magic and Social order among the Ibibio of Nigeria.*

	Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Company.
Okpewho, I. 1983.	*Myth in Africa: A Study of its Aesthetic and Cultural relevance.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Okpewho, I. 1993.	*African Oral Literature: Backgrounds, Character and Continuity.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Olawole, F. 2005.	*News Journal Community Advisory Board.* Ibadan: Heinemann.
Ollielo, J. K. 2005.	*The Gospel and African culture: Polygamy as a challenge to the Anglican church of Tanzania – Diocese of Mara.* Unpublished Masters dissertation, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.

224

Olupona, J.K. 2000.   *African Spirituality: Forms, Meanings and Expression.* New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company.

Ong, W. 1977.   *Interfaces of the Word.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Onukawa, M.C. 1998.   An anthropolinguistic study of Igbo market-day nicknames. *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 11 (1); 73-83.

Opoku, K.S. 1993.   African Traditional Religion: An enduring Heritage. In Olupona, J.K and Nyang, S.S. (eds) *Religious Plurality in Africa: Essays in honour of John S. Mbiti* 67-82. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter & Co.

Orobator, A.E. 2008.   *Theology brewed in an African pot.* Nairobi: Paulines Publication.

Owen, D. 1985.   *What's in a name?* London: British Broadcasting Corporation.

225

Palmer, F.R. 1981.   *Semantics.*   New   York: Cambridge
                                  University Press.

Pamp, B. 1985.   Ten theses on Proper Names. *Names* 33
                                  (30: 111-118.

Parrinder, G. 1951.   *West   African   Psychology.*   London:
                                  Butterworth Press.

Parrinder, G. 1954.   *African Traditional Religion.* London:
                                  Hutchinson University Library.

Parrinder, G. 1958.   *The Bible and Polygamy: A study of
                                  Hebrew   and   Christian   Teaching.*
                                  London: S P C K.

Parrinder, G. 1969.   *Africa's   three   religions.*
                                  Southampton: The Camelot Press Ltd.

Peirce, C. 1931.   Pragmatism, *Essential Peirce* 2: 411;
                                  Cambridge: Havard University Press.

Pfukwa, C. 2007.   *The function and significance of war
                                  names   in   the   Zimbabwean   armed*

conflict (1966-1979). Unpublished
D.Litt dissertation. Pretoria: UNISA.

Phiri, G. &
Tembo, F. 2004   *Women of Mirrors*. Zambia: Kabulonga
                        Press.

Pobee, J. S. 1979.   *Towards an African theology.*
                        Abingdon/ Nashville: Library of
                        Congress Cataloging.

Pongweni, A.J.C. 1983. *What's in a name?* Gweru: Mambo Press.

Pongweni, A.J.C. 1996. *Shona Praise Poetry as Role
                        Negotiation: The Battles of the
                        Clans and the Sexes.* Gweru: Mambo
                        Press.

Pulman, S. G. 1983.   *Word meaning and belief.* London:
                        Croom   Helm.

Radcliffe-Brown,
A.R. 1950   *Method in Social Anthropology.* New
                        York: Routledge.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. &
Farole, D. 1950.   *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage.* London: Oxford University Press.

Rajuli, M.B. 2004.   *A theology of the Beast: A critical examination of the Ilobolo in the contemporaty South African church, an evangelical perspective.* Unpublished PhD dissertation, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.

Raper, P. 1983.   Research possibilities in Onomastics. *Names 1983.* Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council. 65-68

Raper, P. 1987.   Aspects of Onomastics Theory. *Nomina Africana* 1 (2): 78-91.

Ray, B.C. 1976.   *African Religions: Symbol, Ritual and Community.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Ro, Y.C. 1988.   *Ancestor worship: from the perspective of Korean Traditions.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Roberts, S. 1979.   *Order and Dispute.* New York: Penguin Books.

Room, A. 1979.   *Place-name changes since 1900: A world gazetteer.* Metuchen, New Jersey & London: The Scarecrow Press Inc.

Room, A. 1981.   *Naming names: Stories of Pseudonyms and name changes with who's who.* London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Room, A. 1982.   *Dictionary of Trade Name Origins.* London, Boston and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Room, A. 1983.   *Room's classical dictionary: the origins of names of characters in classical mythology.* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

Roth, C.F. 2002.

Goods, names and selves: rethinking the Tsimshian potlatch. *American Ethnologist* 29 (1): 123-150

Rubin, H.J. & Rubin, I.S. 1995.

Qualitative interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Rymes, B. 2000.

Names. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 9(1-2):163-166.

Saarelma-Maunumaa, M. 2003.

Edhina Ekogodho: Names as links. The Encounter between African and European Anthroponymic systems among the Ambo People in Namibia. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Sanders W.B. & Pinhey, T.K. 1983.

The conduct of Social Research. New York: CBS College Publishing.

Sanders, P. 1999.

Moshoeshoe, chief of the Sotho. London: Heineman.

230

Sanneh, L. 1983. *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact.* Maryknoll, New York: Orbis.

Sarakantos S. 1993. *Social Research.* Australia: MacMillan Education Australia Pty Ltd.

Schaefer, R.T & Lamm, R.P. 1992. *Sociology. (Fourth edition),* New York: McGraw-Hill Inc.

Schapera, I. 1937. *The Bantu speaking tribes of South Africa: an ethnological survey.* London: Maskew Miller.

Schapera, I. 1940. *A married life in an African tribe.* London: Faber and Faber Ltd.

Schapera, I. 1950. Apprenticeship at Kuruman. London: Chatto & Windus.

Schimmel, A. 1989. *Islamic names.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

231

Schurink, W.J. 1988.   Designing qualitative research. In De Vos (eds): *Research at grassroots: a primer for the caring professions.* Pretoria, JL Van Schaik.

Searle, J. 1958.   Proper Names. *Mind*. 67: 166-173.

Searle, J.R. 1969.   *Speech acts, An essay in the philosophy of language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shabalala, M.A. 1999.   *Homestead names as a reflection of social dynamics in Mabengele, Nkandla.* Unpublished Master's dissertation, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.

Shipman, M. 1997.   *The Limitations of Social research, (4th ed.)* London: Longman.

Shorter, A. 1975.   *African   Christian   Theology:*
                         Adaptation or Incarnation? London:
                         Geoffrey Chapman.

Shorter, A. 1978.   *African   Spirituality.*   London:
                         Geoffrey Chapman.

Shorter, A. 1988.   *Towards a theology of Inculturation.*
                         London: Geoffrey Chapman.

Simpson,G. E. 1978.   *Black Religions in the New World.* New
                         York: Columbia University Press.

Skhosana, P. B. 2002.   Names and naming practices amongst
                         Southern Ndebele Male Persons. *Nomina*
                         Africana 16 (1&2): 134-145.

Smith, W.E. 1950 (ed).   *African ideas of God: a symposium.*
                         London: Edinburgh House.

Sogolo, G. 1993.   *Foundations of African Philosophy: A*
                         definitive analysis of conceptual
                         issues in African thought. Ibadan:
                         Ibadan University Press.

Spradley. J. 1980.   *Participation Observation.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Stalnaker, R. 1978.   Pragmatic Presuppositions. In Munitz, M. (ed) *Semantics and Philosophy.* New York: New York University Press.

Stayt, H. A. 1968.   *The BaVenda.* London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.

Steele, K. M. &
Southwick, L. E. 1989.   First Names and First Impressions: A Fragile Relationship. *Sex Roles* 21: 517-523

Stewart, D. L. 1994.   *Songs of rural Zulu women.* Unpublished Master's dissertation. Durban: University of Natal.

Stewart, J. 1994.   *African names.* New York: Carol Publishing Group.

Stewart, J. 1996.   *1,001 African Names.* New York: Carol Publishing Company Group.

Stoller, P. &

Dakes, C. 1987. *In Sorcery's shadow: A Memoir of apprenticeship among the Songhay of Niger.* Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.

Strawson, P.F. 1950. Mind. *New Series* 59(235): 320-344.

Sumbwa, N. 1997. Some Zambian Names as Sources of Diversified Knowledge: The Barotse and other examples. *Nomina Africana* 11 (2) 47-66.

Suzman, S. M. 1994. Names as pointers: Zulu personal naming practices. *Language in Society* 23 (2): 253-272.

Suzman, S. M. 2002. Zulu names and Family Histories. *Nomina Africana* 16 (1&2): 100-117.

Tempels, P. 1959. *Bantu Philosophy.* Paris: Presence Africaine.

Thipa, H.M. 1983. By their names you shall know them. *Names* 1983 P.E. Raper (ed) Pretoria: HSRC.

235

Thipa, H.M. 1987.   What shall we name him? *Nomina Africana* 1 (2): 107-119.

Thorpe, S.A. 1991.   *African Traditional Religions: An introduction.* Pretoria: Sigma Press.

Tonkin, E. 1992.   *Narrating our Pasts: the Social Construction of Oral history.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Triebel, J. 2002.   Living together with the ancestors: ancestor veneration in Africa as a challenge for Missiology. *Missiology* 30(2): 187-197.

Trobisch, W. 1971.   *My Wife made me a Polygamist.* Illinois: Intervarsity Press.

Turner, N.S. 1992.   Zulu names as Echoes of Censure Discontent and Disapproval within the Domestic Environment. *Nomina Africana* 6 (2): 42-56.

Turner, N. S. 1997.	Onomastic Caricatures: names given to employers and co-workers by Black employees. *Nomina Africana* 11 (1): 50-66.

Turner, N.S. 2003.	*Oral strategies for conflict expression and articulation of criticism in Zulu social discourse.* Unpublished PhD dissertation. Durban: University of Durban-Westville.

Tylor, E. B.1974.	*Primitive Cultures: researches into development of mythology, philosophy, art and custom. Vol 1.* New York: Gordon Press.

Ubahakwe, E. 1981.	*Nigerian names 2, Igbo Names: their Structure and their Meaning.* Ibadan: Daystar Press.

Uka, E. M. 1991.	*Readings in African Traditional Religion: Structure, Meaning, Relavance, Future.* New York: Peter Long.

237

Uys, H. H. 1994. *African countries: Official names.* Pretoria: J L van Schaik.

Vail, L. & White, L. 1991. *Power and the Praise Poem.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

Van Langendonck, W. 1983. Socio-onomastic properties of bynames In Sinclair, A.J.L. (ed.) G.S. *Nienaber 'n Huldeblyk.* Bellville: UWC Press.

Van Langendonck, W. 1987. Word grammar & child grammar. *Perspectives on Child Language.* 109-132.

Van Langendonck, W. 1990. Proper names and Pronouns. *Nomina Africana* 3: 1-2.

Van Langendonck,

W. 2001.   Bynames within the personal name system. *Nomina Africana* 15 (1 & 2): 203-211.

Vansina, J. 1985.   *Oral Tradition as History.* London: James Currie.

Verstappen, P. 1980.   *The book of surnames: origins and oddities of popular names.* London: Pelham Books Ltd.

Viljoen S. 1990.   *Doing research in black communities: Truth be in the field.* Social Science Research in Southern Africa, Pretoria: UNISA.

Viney, N. 1986.   *A dictionary of toponyms.* London: Library Association Publishing Ltd.

Voss, A.E. 1989.   Symbolic names in South African English writing. *Nomina Africana* 3(2): 101-108

Vygotsky, L. 1978.   Interaction between learning and development. *Mind and Society.* 79-91.

Wainwright, A.T. 1983.   Bird names and Xhosa oral Poetry. *Names 1983* P.E.Raper (ed), Pretoria: HSRC.

Wagner, A.R. (1978).   Expectancies and the priming of STM. In S.H. Hulse, H. Fowler & W.K. Honig (eds), *Cognitive Processes in Animal Behaviour.* London:SPCK.

Wardhaugh, R. 1999.   *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (*2nd ed.*) Oxford: Blackwell.

Wasike, A.N. 1992.   *The Will to Arise*. New York: Orbis Books.

West, M. 1990.   Port Nollorth: Fieldwork in a South African Town, In West M. (ed) *Truth be in the field: Social Science Research in Southern Africa.* Pretoria: University of South Africa.

West, R. C. 1986.   *An atlas of Louisiana surnames of French and Spanish origin.* Louisiana

State University: Geoscience Publication.

Wieschoff, H. A. 1944. *Colonial Policies in Africa.* Philadephia: University of Pennsylvannia Press.

Whorf, B. L. 1956. An American Indian model of the Universe. In Carroll, J. B. (ed) 1956. *Language, thought and reality. the selected writings of Benjamin* Whorf. Cambridge: The MIT Press. 57-64.

Xaba, S. L. 1993. *The changes in naming in the urban and rural areas.* Unpublished Honours dissertation, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.

Young, R. 1996. *Intercultural Communication.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Yule, G. 1996. *The Study of Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zahan, D. 2000.   *Some Reflections on African Spirituality.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Zelinsky, W. 2006.   Slouching towards a theory of names: a tentative taxonomic fix. In Callary, E (ed) *Surnames, nicknames, placenames and epithets in America. Essays in the theory of names.* Lewiston: The Edward Mellen Press. 13-32.

Zondi, N.B. 2009.   *Bahlabelelelani – Why do they sing? Gender and in Contemporary Women's song.* Unpublished PhD thesis, Durban:University of KwaZulu Natal

Zondi, N.B 2010.   Reclaiming their voices in Polygamous Marriages: A case Study of songs and personal names in Zwelibomvu. *Nomina Africana* 24 (1)

Zungu, P.J. 1997.   Some aspects of Hlonipha in Zulu society. Language Matters 28:171-181

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Atmore, E. 2007.   "Clash of culture", *The Witness*, 17
                         Febrary, page 1.

Barbeau, N. 2002.   "Renaming streets", *The Mirror,* 4
                         September, page 3.

Burbidge, M. 2007.   "The big beef - Tony Yengeni
                         stabbing a bull has reignited the
                         debate   around   the   sacrificial
                         slaughtering of animals", *Mail &*

	Guardian, 26 January – 1 February, page 12.
Commey, P. 2002.	"African Union: what next?", *New African*, September, page 12.
Gardner, C. 2002.	"Renaming our streets", *The Natal Witness*, 25 September page 7.
Hlahla, P. 2003.	"City name debate hots up", *Pretoria News*, 7 August, page 1.
Khumalo, F. 2005.	"Give the dog a rotten name and hang him", *Sunday Times*, 31 July, page 14.
Masiba, P. 2007.	"Royal bedroom blues for a queen", *Sunday Sun,* 18 February, page 7.
Mkhize, K. 2005a.	"The meaning of Nelson Mandela", *Mirror*, 28 July, page 5.
Mkhize, K. 2005b.	"Diversity; the meaning behind the name", *Public Eye,* 30 July, page 8.

Mulaudzi, L. 2001.   "Watch the way you spell Venda names", *Sunday World,* 6 July, page 17.

Naidoo, T. 2007.   "Muslim youth press for gender equality", *Sunday Times,* 11 February, page 1.

Ncube, B. 2005.   "The life and times of Ziba Jiyane", *The Witness,* 11 August, page 6.

News 24, 2007.   "Till death do us part – inseparable after 54 years", *Sunday Sun,* 18 February, page 3.

News, 2007.   "Legal hand for China's second wives' club", *Sunday Times,* 18 February, page 25.

Pheko, M 2007.   "Men need to change to satisfy strong women", *Sunday Times,* 25 February, page 29.

Sapa, 2000.   "South Africans queue to change their names", *The Natal Witness,* 11 September, page 9.

Selepe, T 2003.   "In language and culture lies wisdom", *City Press.* 22 June, page 27.

Sibiya, A T 2007.   "Imagine a man having sex with another?", *Sunday Sun,* 18 February, page 18.

The Back Page, 2007.   "Britney seeks solace in sex since bust-up with husband", *Sunday Times*, 18 February, page 32.

Thekiso, T J 2002.   "Rename Free State", *Sowetan Sunday World,* 2 June, page 21.

Turner, J 2003.   "Name changing confusing", *The Citizen*, 10 June, page 4.

Xakaza, M M 2007.   "Insambatheka ngodaba lwemigcagco yezinkonkoni", *ECHO*, 11 January, page 9

246

MAGAZINE ARTICLES

Khumalo, J. 2007. "Let the revolution continue", *TRUE LOVE*, March, page 40.

Khumalo, L. 2007. "I survived a polygamous marriage", *SOUL*, March, page 24.

Lillah, R. 2007. "New name for a new life - goodbye drugged-up Jabu Pule, now he is a clean-living Jabu Mahlangu", *DRUM*, 1 February, page 12.

Malatjie, M. 2007. "I am a sorry womanizer, I made 14 women pregnant", *MOVE*, 14 February, page 22-23 .

Ndimande, T. 2007. "Going back to my roots", *TRUE LOVE*, March page 40.

News, 2007. "Kenya - where women have many wives", *DRUM*, 1 February, page 22.

Pato, T. 2007. "I want my son to know his ancestors' KB on being a yummy mummy and married to the boss", *TRUE LOVE*, March, page 50.

Township Talk, 2007. "Slaughtering is my culture – views on animal killers, *MOVE*, 14 February, page 7.

Vilakazi, P. B. 2007. "Who is Bongani Masondo?" *SOUL*, March, page 27.

Internet websites

http://www.amazoncastle.com/intralmedia

http://www.answeringchristianity.com/polygamy.htm

http://www.baronofdesert.typepad.com/baronblog/2006/02/polygamy-econom.html

http://www.beliefnet.com/story/66

http://www.context.org/ICLIB/IC10/Anapol.htm

http://www.countryroads.co.za/contents/kranskop.html

http://www.ecleti.ss.uci.edu/-drwhite/worldcul/cdebook4EthnoAtlas.pdf

http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/feminist-movement

http://www.en.wikipedia.org.wiki/Polygamy

http://www.en.wilkipedia.org/wiki/Polygamy

http://www.exeas.org/rsources/your-honor.html

http://www.feministmormonhousewives.org

http://www.feministissues.com/radical-feminism.html

http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/30/158.html

http://www.inform.umd.edu/EdRes/Topic/Diversity/Specific/Race/African

http://www.nathanielturner.com/iamanafrica.htm

http://www.newoman.org/analisis/articulo.phtml

http://www.islamfortoday.com/polygamy3.htm

http://www.islamonline.net/servlet/

http://www.rickiross.com/reference/polygamy/polygamy/polygamy6.html

http://www.tpmcafe.com/node/282685

APPENDIX

DIFFERENT TYPES OF NAMES COLLECTED (arranged in random linguistic and semantic categories)

Names derived from towns

Nomagoli (mother of Johannesburg)

Nomakhimbili (mother of Kimberley)

Nomabhayi (mother of Port Elizabeth)

Mdubane (Durban)

Mgababa (Mgababa)

Nomachweba (mother of ports)

Names about industrialization

Nobesuthu (mother of the Sotho people)

Nobelungu (mother of the White people)

Nomakula (mother of the Indian people)

Khalathi (Coloured)

Mshangane (Shangaan/ Tsonga person)

Mabhunu (Afrikaans people)

Nomabhomu (mother of bombs)

Nomaswazi (mother of the Swazi people)

Nomangisi (mother of the English speaking people)

Nicknames

Madombi (for someone with big cheeks)

Madunsu (for someone with big buttocks)

Maqinsiqinsi (for someone with big legs)

Mcimbithwana (for a very small baby)

Mapanyaza (for someone with big eyes)

Mapamupamu (for someone with big cheeks)

Dosha (a snuff container -for a small baby)

Nsunsumbana (a little thing)

Nyonencane (a small bird)

Sgujana (a small water container)

Thwaxa (small flat buttocks)

Thwishi (a tall person)

Sbhadazi (an adorable, chubby little baby)

Skhweqe (a fit, muscled child)

Kat' elimnyama (black cat)

Mdudla (a tall, fit child)

Mgqashiyo (a dancing baby)

Manunu (an adorable little baby)

Majumbu (big buttocks)

Sjumba (big buttocks)

Ngengelezi (a bald head)

Zwambu (a small tall girl)

Kokombana (a small cookie)

Zombocwana (a small baby)

Khophoco (big forehead)

Tondo/ Tonqo (a small someone who does not grow)

Ntiyane (a small bird)

Nana (an admirable baby)

Phucu (no hair)

Paklazo (big stomach)

Sentential names

Senzelwe Musa (we have been given grace)

Ntombezinhle Zomusa (good girls of grace)

Ziphezinhle Zombuso (good gifts of the Kingdom)

Thina Siphelele (we are enough)

Mndeni Phakamani (family must rise)

Senzokuhle Sanela (we have done good things and we are satisfied)

Sphiwe Mfanafuthi (we have been given another boy)

Sphumelele Halalisani (we have succeeded, congratulate us)

Sthembisiwe Khayelihle (we have been promised a good home)

Ndabezinhle Thandolwethu (good news of our love)

Zinhle Ntombizakhona (the girls of this house are beautiful)

Mbali Zamajobe (flowers of the Jobe clan)

Lindani Buhlebuyeza (wait the beauty is coming)

Names derived from the vowel-commencing verb -anda (to increase)

Ayanda (they are expanding)

Asanda (they are still expanding)

Zandile (the girls have increased in numbers)

Luyanda (the family line is expanding)

Andile (they have increased)

Bandile (they have increased)

Mawande (the family must increase)

Sisanda (we are still increasing)

Wandile (the family has expanded)

Kwanda (the increase)

Usanda (the family is still increasing)

Siyanda (we are increasing)

Sandile (we have increased)

Ziyanda (the number of girls / boys has increased)

Sandiso (the increment)

Alwande (the family line must increase)

Azande (the girls / boys must increase)

Zamukwanda (trying to make an increase)

Philasande (live so that we may increase)

Two syllable names

Nqaba (a cave)

Sazi (an expert)

Phila (live)

Mondli (a provider)

Menzi (the Creator)

Nsika (pillar)

Qhawe (hero)

Nzuzo (profit)

Three syllable names

Mlondi (a keeper)

Msizi (a helper)

Mhlengi (a saviour)

Manqoba (Mr conquerer)

Nqanawe (a strong ship)

Maqhinga (full of ideas)

Family is big enough

Anele (they are enough -girls)

Banele (they are enough -them)

Sanele (we are big enough)

Zanele (they are enough -girls)

Aphelele (they are enough in numbers)

Sphelele (we are enough in numbers)

Phelelani (it's time you became enough in numbers)

Sphelelisiwe (we have been made enough)

M commencing names

Mbongwa (the thanked one)

Mhletshwa (the one they gossip about)

Mhlekwa (the one they always laugh at)

Mlindwa (the one we have been waiting for)

Mkhanyisi (the one who brings light)

Mqondisi (the one who make things straight)

Mphenduleli (the one who speaks on my behalf)

Mphenyi (the detective)

Mkhululeni (free him)

Mchazeleni (explain to him)

Mtuseni (praise him)

Mxoleleni (forgive him)

Mchitheni (throw him away)

Mbuyiseni (bring him back)

Mqiniseni (make him strong)

Mphumuzeni (free him)

Mthokozeleni (be happy for him)

Mdumazeni (embarrass him)

Mzungezeni (surround him)

Mbangiseni (fight with him over his things)

Mzileni (avoid him)

Mbukeni (look at him)

Mkakeni (surround him)

Mhlaliseni (stay with him)

Mhlalisi (the bride's keeper)

Mzibeni (ignore him)

Mzondeni (hate him)

Mthandeni (like him)

Mnikwa (the given one)

Mnukwa (the one who is accused of witchcraft)

Mcanukelwa (the one who irritate people)

Mbukelwa (the one who is always left to do things on his own)

Mdindeni (beat him up)

Mtsheleni (tell him)

Mganiseni (arrange a marriage for her)

Mgabiselwa (the one they always show off to)

Mcingeni (look for him)

Mbulaleni (kill him)

Mboneni (look at him)

Mnikeni (give him)

Mkhonzeni (like him)

Mkhohliseni (deceive him)

Mbhekeni (watch him)

Mkhombiseni (show him)

Mkhetheni (choose him)

Mhlengeni (save him)

Mtshengiseni (show him)

Mfihlelwa (the one they hide things from)

Mfiselwa (the one they wish for)

Mmiseni (stand by him)

Mvikeleni (protect him)

Mbusiseni (bless him)

Mhlonishwa (the honourable one)

Mvuseni (wake him up)

Mkhanyiseni (bring him light)

Mbuzeni (ask him)

Mbizwa (the called one)

Mzumeni (catch him off guard)

Mkhethwa (the chosen one)

Mdingi (the needy one)

Mtholeni (find him)

Mtholephi (where did you find him)

Mphakamiseni (lift him up)

Myekeni (leave him alone)

Mphiwa (the given one)

Mbuyiselwa (the one who is brought back)

Mkhulunyelwa (the one who is spoken for)

Mqiniseni (make him strong)

Mlahleni (throw him away)

Mthethokayizwani (the rules are conflicting)

Mphindeni (do that to him again)

Mfaniseni (who does he look like)

Mthembeni (trust him)

Mhlekude (he is handsome in far away places)

Mhlonipheni (respect him)

Mcebiseni (advise him)

Mthobeleni (submit to him)

Mzameleni (try for him)

Mcabangiseni (help him to think)

Mthinteni (consult with him)

Mlandeni (fetch him)

Mfungelwa (the one sworn in)

Mfulathelwa (the one left behind)

Mntukatshelwa (the one who does not listen)

Mhlabunzima (the world is a difficult place)

Mzonzima (the homestead is a difficult place to live in)

Mlungeleni (be gentle to him)

Mgezeni (wash him/his name)

Mbhasobheni (watch him)

Mzamiseni (help him try)

Buzumthetho (ask the law/authorities)

Names ending with -ile

Qhoshile (she is gloating)

Hluphile (she is irritating)

Zamile (she has tried)

Bahlehlile (they have moved back)

Khohlwangifile (I will forget only when I am dead)

Jwayelile (they have gotten used to it)

Vumile (she has agreed)

Gijimile (she has run)

Baphindile (they have done it again)

Baguqile (they are kneeling down)

Bajikile (they have changed sides)

Lamlile (she has intervened)

Jabhile (she is disappointed)

Kwenzekile (it has happened)

Hlekisile (she has made us laugh)

Bancamile (the have given up)

Bacashile (they are hiding)

Ziyalile (you should not have done that)

Bakhathalile (they are tired)

Banyakazile (they have moved)

Babhensile (they are cheeky)

Khombisile (I have shown them)

Mthunzopholile (cool shadow)

Tshengisile (I have shown them)

Zungezile (we have moved in a circle)

Kholekile (she is believable)

Banothile (they are rich)

Simtholile (we have found her)

Bazwile (they have heard)

Bavelile (they have appeared)

Vikile (she has ducked)

Hlolile (she is doing something she should not)

Siwakhile (we have built our home)

Fuzile (she takes after someone)

Milile (she has developed)

Sibonile (we have realized)

Gcwalisile (she has fulfilled what she was meant to)

Bawelile (they have succeeded)

Bakhethile (they have chosen)

Bagcinile (they have done it for the last time)

Linganisile (thay have measured)

Phuthumile (she is in a hurry)

Khangezile (she is open handed)

Names ending with -ni (what)

Qhoshangani (what are you boasting about?)

Khonani (what is in here?)

Zodlani (what am I or are we going to eat?)

Shongani (why do you say that?)

Cabangeni (what did you think about?)

Khulumani (speak)

Ngoneni (what have I done wrong?)

Funani (what do you want?)

Philangani (what am I going to live with?)

Senzeni (what have we done wrong?)

Sakhiseni (make us live well)

Thangithini (what do you want me to say?)

Khonzeni (what do you like so much about him / her)

Buyenzeni (what happened when he came back?)

Zwabethini (what do you hear them say?)

Jaheni (what are you rushing?)

Ngenzeleni (what have you done for me?)

Hlebani (what are you gossiping about?)

Hlalempini (living in the war zone)

Khawulani (stop)

Nsukukazifani (days are not the same)

Kwenzakufani (deeds are different)

Mzikayifani (homesteads are different)

Phendulani (answer)

Hlokomani (celebrate)

Phakamani (lift yourselves up)

Khanyisani (give light)

Hlanganani (unite)

Sizwayini (what is going to help you?)

Hlushwayini (what is troubling you?)

Hlulwayini (what is defeating you?)

Phothani (what are you plaiting?)

Fikenani (what did you arrive with?)

Bazothini (what are they goin to say?)

Dumeleni (what makes you so famous?)

Qapheleni (what are you watching?)

Ngizomphani (what am I going to feed her?)

Simethembeni (what do we trust about him?)

Cebani (what are you planning?)

Celani (what are asking for?)

Zibelani (why are you ignoring me?)

267

Bonani (what did you see?)

Nakowubani (who is going to pay attention to me?)

Khalani (what are you crying about?)

Zamukwenzani (what are you trying to do?)

Hlaleleni (why are you still here)

Ntandoni (what kind of a love potion is this?)

Bafunani (what do they want?)

Thembeni (what are you trusting?)

Zotholani (what are you going to gain?)

Zokwenzani (what are you going to do?)

Zuzani (what are you going to gain?)

Sweleni (what do you need?)

Phiweni (what did you get given?)

Bongangani (what are you thankful about?)

Bongathini (what am I going to use to show I am thankful?)

Kholwangani (what is going o make you believe?)

Melwawubani (who is going to support me?)

Nginikani (what are you giving me?)

Khonjwenzeni (what does he do when he is pointed at?)

Qondeni (what are you intending to do?)

Khonangani (what causes you to be here?)

Songeleni (why did you swear?)

Vumeleni (why did agree to this?)

Zweni (what did you hear?)

Solani (what are you suspecting?)

Thandonjani (why do you like that particular life?)

Khonzangani (what are you sending your regards with?

Lindeni (what are you waiting for?)

Fungeleni (why did you swear?)

Gcinetheni (what did he end up saying?)

Bukani (what are you looking at?)

Bashongani (why do they say that?)

Ncengani (what are you pleading for?)

Thuleleni (why are you so quiet?)

Khangwayini (what is attracting you to him/her?)

Zwabethini (what do you hear them say?)

Kwenzakuni (what kind of doing is this?)

Lungeleni (why are you so kind?)

Sabani (what are you scared of?)

Fisani (what do you wish for?)

Ntombenjani (what kind of a maiden is this?)

Bantubazothini (what are people going to say?)

Fisukwenzani (what do you want to do?)

Kwenzeleni (what did you do it?)

Sibangani (what are we fighting about?)

Tshelwawubani (who told you?)

Setheni (what has he/she said?)

Names ending with -phi? (where or which)

Velephi (where did you come from)

Bizwephi (who invited you)

Sholiphi (which one are you referring to)

Shongaziphi (which ones are you talking about)

Thandephi (where is your future mother-in-law's house)

Phephelaphi (where are we going to be safe)

Fihlwaphi (where are we going to hide her)

Shiyaliphi (which one are you leaving out)

Buzaliphi (which one are you asking about)

Bulewephi (where are you bewitched)

Sakhephi (where are we living)

Hlalephi (where did you sit)

Qhamukephi (where did she come from)

Khokhaziphi (which one are you paying)

Tshenwephi (where did you get your information from)

Ntombizaphi (where are these girls from)

Vimbephi (where am I stopping you)

Khulelaphi (where are you growing up)

Khonzaphi (where are you passing your regards)

Khongaphi (where are you starting lobola negotiations)

Fikelephi (where did she arrive at)

Nyathelephi (where did you put your foot on)

Buyelaphi (where is she coming back to)

Buselaphi (where are you going to rule)

Sibangaliphi (which one are we fighting over)

Zothephi (you don't think she is humble, do you)

Zithathephi (where did you get that from)

Sakhamuphi (which one are you building)

Zobephi (where will you be)

Singaphi (on which side are we)

Hleziphi (where are we staying)

Bhekephi (in which direction are you looking)

Phethelaphi (where are you going to end up)

Hambephi (where did you go)

Thokozaphi (where are you having fun)

Bhekamuphi (which one should we watch)

Miscellenous

Buzumthetho (ask the authorities)

Buzakunyoko (ask your f***ing mother)

Gingizwi (swallow your words)

Bangizwe (fighting over land)

Nsikayezwe (pillar of the world)

Zwelinzima (the world is a difficult place)

Busizwe (the ruler of the world)

Nkosiyombango (king of disputes)

Nombango (mother of disputes)

Njengabantu (like everybody else)

Felamandla (he is dying for his power)

Moyomusha (fresh air)

Khalazome (cry until you run out of tears)

Bhekamafa (after other people's inheritance)

Bhekabakubo (looking after his own people)

Liyabuya (everything is going to be fine)

Ntombiyenhlanhla (lucky girl)

Statanyiswa (a VIP)

Bhekisisa (be careful)

Buzawazi (you are asking something you know the answer to)

Funindawo (looking for a place to stay)

Bhekizenzo (watch his moves)

Sethenjwa (the most trusted person)

Khuzimpi (a mediator)

Siyamdinga (we need him)

Nkosenye (another king)

Hlalempini (living in the war zone)

Velamuva (he appeared last)

Zamnikiza (the dogs are biting him)

Zilungisele (make things right yourself)

Gigaba (a happening)

Dalingcebo (creator of wealth)

Funizwe (looking for land)

Khohlwayisu (he has forgotten his plan)

Bonguyise (he is thanking his father)

Zimele (stand on your own)

Fihliwe (the hidden one)

Velani (you must appear)

Zethembe (believe in yourself)

Nqobizitha (conquer your enemies)

Nkulumo (speech)

Siphesonke (give to all of us-treat us equally)

Nkosiyomuzi (king of the homestead)

Qondisani (make everything straight)

Bhekamaqili (watching the tricksters)

Bhekizazi (watching the experts)

Badumele (they are embarrassed)

Hloniphizwe (respect the world)

Phakanyisiwe (the lifted one)

Bhekuzalo (looking after the extended family)

Bhekumndeni (looking after the immediate family)

Ziphathe (behave yourself)

Ndukuzempi (fighting sticks of war)

Simelweyinkosi (the Lord is defending us/ on our side)

Qinisela (be brave)

Bekezela (be patient)

Magqubu (Mr grudge)

Xoxwazishiywa (Mr not-tell-all-his-affairs)

Thanduyise (he loves his father)

Zenzamuhle (pretending to be good)

Ceboliyozakha (the plan will take care of itself)

Names with the possessive- akhe (his)

Falakhe (his inheritance)

Simosakhe (his circumstance)

Zamokwakhe (he is trying his own)

Khohlwayezakhe (he/she has forgotten his own affairs)

Thathokwakhe (he is taking his own)

Thathezakhe (he is taking his)

Gqibokwakhe (he is hiding his things)

Zibokwakhe (he is ignoring his)

Gcinokwakhe (he is keeping his)

Kwazikwakhe (his own knowledge)

Bhekokwakhe (he is watching his)

Kwenzakwakhe (his own doing)

Khethowakhe (he is choosing his own)

Phathokwakhe (he is handling his)

Qondokwakhe (he understands his)

Thembokwakhe (he trusts his)

Shokwakhe (he is saying his)

Phumowakhe (he is building his own homestead)

Thandowakhe (he loves his)

Busangokwakhe (he is a king of his own castle)

Fihlokwakhe (he is hiding his)

Hlomesakhe (he is protecting himself with his shield)

Sebenzeyakhe (he is working his own money)

Fundakwezakhe (he has realized things on his own)

Funokwakhe (he wants his)

Sonosakhe (his sin)

Names with 'umuzi' (home) as a stem

Mzikayifani (homesteads are different)

Mzwandile (the family has expanded)

Mzwendoda (a man's homestead)

Mzwenduna (a headman's homestead)

Mzovukayo (the family has been revived)

Mzwoxolo (a home of peace)

Mzwethu (our home)

Mzwenkosi (the house of the Lord)

Mzothulayo (a quiet home)

Mzonzima (a dangerous home)

Mzonjani (what kind if a home is this)

Mzomuhle (a nice home)

Mzwamandla (a house of power)

Mzokhona (the family is here)

Mzokhanyayo (a home that is full of light)

Mzwenhlanhla (a home of luck)

Mzwempi (a home of war)

Mzuvele (the family has appeared)

Mzobanzi (huge home)

Mzikawubongwa (the home that has not been thanked)

Mzikawukhalelwa (the home is not something you can cry over)

Mzikayise (his father's house)

Mzwakhe (his home)

Mzokhethiwe (the chosen home)

Mzokhulayo (the expanding family)

Mziweqili (a home of a trickster)

Mzikabani (whose home is this)