

**MADLALA-(BHENGU) IZITHAKAZELO AT
EBABANANGO, ENKANDLA, EPHATHANE,
EMTSHEZI AND EMFUNDWENI IN KWAZULU-
NATAL, SOUTH AFRICA.**

BY

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Kini nonke ngithi 'UKWANDA KWALIWA UMTHAKATHI'.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all Madlala-Bhengu families who encouraged and persuaded me to do this work on their behalf.

I am ashamed that this work would be of no help to some of Madlala members who do not understand this language. The reason for using English language in this work is beyond my power.

Even though, I say

Nime njalo!

DECLARATION

I, Nelisiwe Maureen, declare that this work is my own work, and mine only, and has not been submitted to any other institution, for the awarding of any degree.



N.M. Madlala

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1. Introduction

To start with, the three terms ‘praise names’, ‘family praises’, and ‘clan praises’ will be used interchangeably when referring to *izithakazelo* in this work.

Izithakazelo (praise names) is an oral tradition transmitted orally from one generation to the next, which has been practised by oral societies in their communities as a mode of expression for various purposes.

Izithakazelo (clan praises) are still used today as a mode of expression between ancestral spirits and living beings on various occasions such as *ukulobola* (bride-price negotiations), weddings, funerals and many more. Before the wedding day, the *imnumzane* (head of the family) must tell the *amadlozi* (ancestors) that ‘so-and-so’ is getting married to ‘so-and-so’ on ‘such-and-such’ a day, then he recites the family praises. This is to report the marriage to the *amadlozi* (ancestors) and to invite, them to be with them.

Izithakazelo (family praises) are also used for communication among living beings in different situations. This also happens on the wedding day when the bride’s father introduces his daughter to the bridegroom’s family. This is known as *ukuthetha ubulanda* (to tell the bridegroom’s family everything about the bride). When the *umkhongi* (go-between) comes to *lobola* (discuss the bride-price) he has to recite the family praises of the father of the girl to calm him before they begin to negotiate.

Currently, the practice of *ukuthakazela* (to praise) as an oral tradition seems to have lost much of its traditional strength and importance in Zulu society for various reasons, including urbanisation and conversion to Christianity.

It is common today to find a person who cannot recite his *izithakazelo* (praise names) at all or who can recite only a portion of *izithakazelo* (family praises) without knowing the history and the importance of *ukuthakazela* (to praise).

Izithakazelo can be recited variously by different people of the same family or clan. Sometimes there are diversities in one and the same *izithakazelo* (family praises).

Koopman (in Kamera, 1999:273) says that in order to understand *izithakazelo* (family praises) one needs to understand the concept of a clan.

Mzolo says:

A clan is a magnified family tracing its descent from the common ancestor (1997:04).

Izithakazelo (family praises) are significantly common feature among Zulus, and are the extensions of *isibongo* (the clan name).

Each and every clan has a clan name in order to identify itself from others. The *isibongo* (clan name) and *izithakazelo* (clan praises) are the names of certain members of that family or clan who are regarded as the *amadlozi* (ancestors) of that clan. *Izithakazelo* (clan praises) are types of praises not directed at a particular person but to the group of people of a certain clan name as a whole and they

are traditionally patrilineal in nature.

Izithakazelo (clan praises) are embedded in the social group and they are part of the identity of the social group who practice them.

2. Purpose Of The Study

As an African, I feel it is necessary to respond to the warning of the African sage Amadou Hampate Ba that,

With the death of every old man in Africa, a library disappears.

African family praises are examples of such 'libraries' which record the histories and genealogies of each family.

As a Madlala *umlobokazi* (daughter-in-law) I have investigated and recorded the family praises to lessen their attrition and loss. The oral tradition plays a cohesive role in the fabric of the Madlala clan, and needs to be recorded in writing, thus placing it on written record.

Globalisation, growing literacy and the urban drift contribute to the loss of the oral tradition, but this study assumes that the practice of *izithakazelo* (family praises) is still, to this day, filled with oral elements, and which must be preserved as such for posterity. Christianity and Western influence have not yet had sufficient impact to wipe out the practice completely. Alterations in some of the forms have not yet affected the core.

3. Scope Of The Study

The Madlala clan is a big clan comprising of different families who are found all over the country. Each family is so extensive that it would be impossible to look at all of their clan praises in a study of this size.

Consequently, this study will not examine all the *izithakazelo* (praise names) of all the Madlalas, but intends to concentrate on the Madlala-(Bhengu) *izithakazelo* (family praises) who are found in KwaZulu-Natal at Babanango, Nkandla, Ephathane, Empofana (Mooi River), Emtshezi (Estcourt) and Emfundweni at Dannhauser.

In this research project, the context, text and performance of Madlala-(Bhengu) *izithakazelo* (family praises) will be observed, described, analysed and interpreted. Madlala-(Bhengu) at the places other than those mentioned above will not be dealt with, although the information about Madlala-(Bhengu) from members who are not living at the above mentioned places will be welcomed.

All the Madlala's are related, so the study of one Madlala family, as is the case with this study would help others to understand their origin and shed light on other aspects concerning the clan such as their history and genealogy. This opens further field of study for other families within the extended Madlala clan.

4. Methodology And Methods

This study has been conducted qualitatively by analysis, description and interpretation of the data collected. The data has been collected from direct observation of the performance of the Madlala-(Bhengu) *izithakazelo* (family praises) and from interviews with the members of Madlala-(Bhengu) families.

The 'Snowball' technique was also used to select sources: I was guided by the families themselves to identify the most knowledgeable members of each group. This approach led me to those people who are believed by the family to have the most experience and understanding of the practice and performance of the Madlala-(Bhengu) *izithakazelo* (clan praises). The Madlala-(Bhengu) *izithakazelo* were translated into English to reach the widest possible reading audience. (For details of interviews, see Appendix 1.)

While the *umlobokazi\umakoti* (daughter-in-law) is a respected member of the Madlala-(Bhengu) clan, she cannot take advantage of her position, and must observe the tradition of *hlonipha* (to respect). For this reason, I found that involving my husband Samson as mediator during interviews was constructive and productive. An *umlobokazi* (daughter-in-law) operating independently of her husband would have created a certain disquiet and this would have affected the data collected. So all data was collected with the help of my husband, which proved to be a wise and positive choice.

An audio-micro-cassette recorder was used to record the conversation with Madlala-(Bhengu) family members. Photographs were taken during interviews. Audio recording have helped me to revisit the recorded *izithakazelo* (family praises) and conversation we have had, for analysis and interpretation.

Besides the audio-cassette recorder, I recorded information in a notebook during interviews to supplement the audio recordings, and to compensate the possible future of the audio-recording.

Various places were visited specially for interview purpose, places such as Babanango, Nkandla, Emtshezi (Estcourt), Empofana (Mooi River), Danhauser at Emfundweni, some selected houses of Madlala family members at Esikhawini, Empangeni as well as Ephathane at Empangeni.

I attended various ceremonial occasions at Madlala-(Bhengu) families such as *ukukhumula* ceremony (undressing of mourning dress) at Ephathane at KwaMbonambi in March 1999, a wedding ceremony at Pietermaritzburg in July 1999, burial ceremony at Mooi River, *umemulo* ceremony, *umhlomyana* ceremony, and anniversary ceremony also at uMtshezi (Estcourt). In all these ceremonies, performance of *izithakazelo* (family praises) took place and I observed, interviewed, and recorded the interview as already explained.

Information was also received telephonically. Telephone interviews were also used for follow-up and to clarify apparent contradictions in the data collected from different branches of the family.

4.1 Literature Survey

Izithakazelo (clan praises) specifically fall within the larger field of onomastics, which has been researched here and elsewhere in the world in extensive detail.

The study of *izithakazelo* (clan praises) specifically has received very little attention. Kamera (1999) and Mzolo (1977) have recorded some of the Madlala family praises but not in detail. *Tinanatelo* (Kamera 1999) helpfully demonstrates that *izithakazelo* (family praises) are not only practised by the

Zulus, but also other people like Swazis. Kamera recorded the *tinanatelo* (Swazi family praises) of different clans, currently performed in Swaziland. Many of these clans have historical connections with Zulu clans and families, having moved to Swaziland for a variety of good reasons during the *Mfecane*.

The studies of Mzolo (1977) Turner (1995) Ndawo (1939) Damane and Sanders (1974) Fortune (1976) Msimango (1991, 1975) were consulted. Turner in *Voices I* (1998) reminds us that names serve as useful labels to distinguish one particular person from another in the community or society at large.

Makhambeni (1989) in her book *Ihluzo* says that *izithakazelo* are the pillars of life, and are as old as mankind. Mzolo (1977) agrees with Makhambeni (1989) in that *izithakazelo* (praise names) are very old, and emphasises that the original composers of oral traditions are not known. He says that archaic expressions and allusions to events and situations only dimly understood, reflect ancient origins. This contrasts with Ndawo (1939) who says *iziduko* (clan praises) in isiXhosa are of recent origin. Ndawo's work (1939) helpfully points out that *ukuthakazela* (to praise) is a culture of the people which will not fade away. He says that everybody has his or her *isiduko* (Xhosa) and *isithakazelo* (clan praise).

Fortune (1976) points out that clan praises of one clan can not be used by another clan. Praises are addressed exclusively to the members of the clan to which they apply and to whom they belong. Rycroft and Ngcobo (1988) warn that the importance attached to *izithakazelo* (praise names) should not be underestimated. In my experience, even a young child of three years can recite his or her *izithakazelo* (family praises).

Illustration 1: Nkululeko Mthembu (Madlala) was able to recite part of Madlala-(Bhengu) *izithakazelo* at the age of two years.



Jousse's study (1990) details the operation of gestual expression. When *izithakazelo* (praise names) are recited, gesture and movement play an important role in the expression, in performance, memorising and traditioning processes. Ong (1982) affirms that all oral thought is formulated in patterns and that what cannot be recalled is wasted: One 'knows' only what one can recall. This idea reflects in some measure Jousse's Mnemonic Laws of Global Oral Style formulated in 1925, in which he demonstrates that people perform orally according to balanced formulas, based on the psycho-physiological genesis of rhythm. Groenewald (1990) work gives a very extensive and useful information on oral performance. Performing is basically a communicative act which functions as an instrument for sending and receiving of messages.

The bibliography provides a full overview of the literature consulted in the course of this study.

5. Theoretical Framework

This study is based on two theoretical frameworks, the Onomastic theory\Naming theory (Koopman, 1976) and the Laws of Global Oral Style. (Jousse 1990 and 1997).

5.1 Onomastic Theory

Onomastic theory is a naming theory. Naming is so important that there is nothing in this world without a name, regardless of whether it is concrete or abstract.

Turner says:

Undoubtedly, the practice of assigning names to people, things animals, and places is an important aspect among all nationalities for one reason or another, but in African societies, it assumes an extremely significant role (1998:236).

There are different categories of names. There are abstract names, proper names nicknames, place names, personal names and praise names, which are subject of this study. Personal names and place names (toponyms) are involved in this study, although the study does not address them directly.

Turner also says:

Among the Zulu people, not only do names serve as useful labels to distinguish one particular person from another in the community or society at large, they also reflect the occurrence of certain natural or historic events commensurate with the birth of the child (1995:101).

A name is that thing by which a person or a thing is known or called. Botha, *inter alia*, points out that names are gender based. e.g. *Umfanakayise* (father's son) but some are genderless e.g.

uNkosingiphile (God given) not gender-based. (Nomina Africana, 1989:24)

Koopman (1986) notes that the European concept is that the name refers to a person, while the African concept is that the name is the person. Names of all kinds are social documents which fix a person's position in the social structure and define his relations with other members of the social group. A personal name is a name referring to a particular person, while toponyms are place names, both refer to similar kinds of phenomena, but at different levels of abstraction. The topographic term serves the purpose of identifying the kind of thing. The place name refers to the place and its meaning in respect of the location.

Raper, *inter alia*, says that:

... understanding the nature of the naming of a topographic term in historical and real context, can provide a fuller appreciation of the nature of the place name and it can also give an insight into man-nature relationships (1989:84).

This is true of Zulu names since they reflect the position of the individual within the immediate family and the wider family. They show the relationship in the family and reflect the importance of the clan and patrilineal society.

The *izithakazelo* (praise names) always mentions the names of the important *amadlozi* (ancestors) of the clan at the beginning of the clan praises. The name of the clan founder is mentioned first, then the others follow. These names are related to the clan or family and are accompanied by a description of that person, his attributes, history as well as the place of the clan's origin. In this context, the Madlala- (Bhengu) *izithakazelo* (family praises) are recited by different family members as follows:

1.

*Madlala!**Bhengu!**Khuzwayo!*

2.

*Madlala!**Bhengu!**Khuzwayo!**Mpumusa!**Bangela!**Nothulisa!*

3.

*Madlala!**Bhengu!**Nyathi!**Khuzwayo!*

(As collected by Kamera 1999:74)

Most of the younger members of Madlala-(Bhengu) family such as Nkululeko and Nqobani who are between 7 and 12 years of age, recited the *izithakazelo* as in number 1. While the elderly people such as Aunt Gertrude, Aina, Lefia, William, Samson, MaMbatha, MaZikalala, Ndende, MaDlamini and Khetheyakhe recite as in number 2.

Description is given to these names.

1.

Nina beNyathi yesigenge
Ngokugengeleza.

You are the buffalo of the red ant
Who 'wide-opened'.

2.

Nina beNyathi yesigenge
Eyagengeleza abanye oNyathi

You of the buffalo of the red ant
Who 'wide-opened' other buffaloes.

The Anthropology of Geste and Rhythm: Marcel Jousse (1990 and 1997)

Jousse discovered the *Anthropology of Geste and Rhythm*, a set of laws which account for human memory and human expression of all kinds, regardless of time or place, culture, language, belief or psycho-physiological ability. Jousse identifies human 'ex-pression' as the 'replay' of human 'impression'. He demonstrates that the anthropos - the species 'man' - is 'in-pressed' by his experiences of life, which are played into him by the universe. He then identifies that people 'replay' or 'press out' their thoughts and feelings such as fear, joy, sadness in one way or another: people move according to the way that they feel and think. He talks of human 'impression' and 'expression'. In this explanation, Jousse identifies both 'impression' and expression' as 'geste', whether internal or external:

In the beginning was the gesture, an explosion makes the whole body start....if we do not always feel it, it is due to its being too subtle or our sensibility is not subtle enough (Jousse 1990:8).

He avers that all human expression is gestual expression performed in patterns created out of balance and rhythm, whether in movement, speech or writing. Jousse demonstrates that the anthropos expresses himself with his entire body, including his hands (for gesture and writing) and speech organs (for speech), in movement, and that this is the origin of human communication. Jousse terms expression using the body and hands as 'corporeal-manual', that using speech as 'laryngo-buccal' and that using writing as 'algebrised'. Very often the 'corporeal-manual' (body and hands) and 'laryngo-buccal' (speech) operate in support of each other, which is the case in the performance of the *izithakazelo*, as will be demonstrated in this study.

Jousse shows that human expression is deeply rooted in the psycho-physiological nature and structure of the anthropos. He identifies that all expression is balanced or bilaterised, following the structure of the human body: man has a multiple two-sided structure: from left to right, from front to back and from top to bottom, and each of these structures operate rhythmically from one to the other. This results in the movement of the body - including the movement of the hands and speech organs - operating in certain patterns and in a balanced way. The balance and rhythm of the expressions mirror externally the balance and rhythm of internal thoughts and feelings: what is embedded internally is expressed, in other terms, what is hidden in the psyche comes out in physical expression, of the whole body, the hands and the speech organs.

Jousse's understanding of human expression also accounts for the human capacity to record a great deal of information in memory. Jousse demonstrates that memory is supported by the laws of the Anthropology of Geste and Rhythm, because once the experience has been impressed in the being of the anthropos, it is memorised, and therefore known. This implies that all learning is informed by impression from experience: 'learning by doing', 'learning from immediate concrete sensory

experience' is effective learning, from which all abstraction develops: 'learning' and 'memory' are inseparable. The Four Mnemonic Laws of the Anthropology of *Geste* and Rhythm are Mimism, Rhythmism, Bilateralism and Formulism.

5.2 Mimism

Mimism is possessed only by the anthropos. The first activity after birth of the human being is mimism. Man imitates the world around him with the aim of learning something. So he 'receives', 'registers' and 'replays' – expresses – his impression.

Izithakazelo (family praises) are learnt orally by passing them on from generation to generation. *Izithakazelo* are learnt by observation of the performance and listening to the recitation of them by an *imbongi* (reciter). Through observation and listening one receives information, register it and replays or expresses it. When this is taking place, all senses and organs of expressions are involved and can manifest through the whole body, thus we talk of the laws of corporeal-manual expression and laryngo-buccal expression. Jousse notes that spoken language is always accompanied by gestures which make it easier to understand:

5.3 Rhythm

Jousse says:

Rhythm is the repetition of the same physiological phenomena at biologically equivalent intervals. When regularised, it becomes metre (1990:98).

All human expressions are expressed rhythmically. When an *imbongi* (reciter) is reciting, he pauses between words and schemas or he conveys the sense of division through his information or emphasis.

An *imbongi* (reciter) makes some stresses upon specific syllables with the intention of emphasizing what is important in the meaning of the *izithakazelo*.

Rhythm in *izithakazelo* is manifest in a number of ways, such as swaying of the body from side to side, up and down, forward and backwards. Rhythm and rhyme can be formed by repetition of some sort as in the following:

*...ina be Nyathi yesigenge
Eyagengeleza aba-ye o Nyathi.*

Rhythmism and Bilateralism interact with each other. There would be no rhythm without Bilateralism.

5.4 Bilateralism-Balance

As I have pointed out rhythm and balance are like twins. Human beings are two sided, there is the left and the right side, up and down, forward and backward. This is the very foundation of balancing that we find everywhere in the spontaneous expression of human beings. Man expresses himself bilaterally, the pitch of a voice can be high or low, soft or loud, depending on the context.

Jousse observed that there is a link between parallelism and bilateralism. The psycho-physiological law of parallelism operates by making two propositional gestures balance; each element is parallel to another, and that is what Jousse calls 'balancing'. He also notes that man's verbal expression will tend to be bilateral to balance symmetrically, following a physical and psychological need for equilibrium. Jousse mentions that the orally recorded accounts of cultural and social conventions are similarly bilaterally balanced in binary (2) and ternary (3) fashion.

An *imbongi* (reciter) pauses and restart and move either sideways, forward or backward, all of which form rhythmic schema. The tone rises high and low and all these form balance to *izithakazelo*.

5.5 Formulism

This is a natural progression of rhythm and balance. Formulas become structured through constant and repetitive use of rhymes, parallelisms and repetition. In this way, patterns are formed, which makes it easier for the *izithakazelo* (praise names) to be memorizable. Formulas are like patterns which indicate the right way of doing things.

In the following lines of Madlala (-Bhengu) *izithakazelo* there is a pattern which is formed at the beginning of each line.

AbakwaMbabala....

AbakwaNzipho Zinde....

AbakwaSothulase....

Those of buck-doe....

Those of long nails....

Those of Sothulase....

Eyagweha igijima

Word pairs: *Ukuba ayigwebhanga*

Who conquered as they ran

If they never conquered

Nina bakwa

Nina bakwa

You of

You of

AbakwaMadlala ngendlovu
Zonke izizwe zingakwazi ukudlala ngendlovu.

This study will demonstrate application of the *Anthropology of Geste and Rhythm* of Marcel Jousse to the Madlala-Bhengu praises. This application will explain how the mechanisms of expression; memory and learning operate in the structure of the *izithakazelo*, thus making the traditioning of the praises possible over many generations to form a reliable socio-cultural archive:

Jousse identifies the importance of 'gestual-visual' representation and record, particularly that of the 'characteristic global corporeal geste' - or the typical physical configuration of each individual, which expresses such distinguishing features as age, which is critical in a study such as this one which deals with the socio-cultural archive of a clan. Jousse also identifies the importance of the context in which the performance is done. For these reasons I have included photographs in this study, for example:

- 1.1 the photograph of Nkululeko (page 13) provides visual evidence of the age of children who can recite their *izithakazelo*.
- 1.2 the numerous and various group photographs record visually the family to which the *izithakazelo* refers including significant family members such as Mafede, the successor to Mantontokazi (page 48)
- 1.3 group photographs also indicate the relative ages and generations of the family members (pages 45, 46 and 48);
- 1.4 significant events (page 52);
- 1.5 photographs of the specific sites for the recitation of *izithakazelo* (page 31).

2. I have also used photographs of the interviewing process which capture the *geste* of the sources of the information that is recorded here (pages 26, 28, 29, 46, and 73). It is significant that much of the interviewing process took place while sources were going about their daily chores and rituals, such as cooking the family meal.

6. The *Izithakazelo* (Clan Praises)

Izithakazelo (praise names) are a type of praises relevant to a group of a certain clan. Praising is an old phenomena among human beings. *Izithakazelo* are the extensions of *isibongo* (address name or surname) and are names of the relevant family *amadlozi* (ancestors). Koopman (in Kamera 1999:273) says that to understand *izithakazelo* one must first of all understand the concept of the clan.

6.1 What is a Clan?

The clan is more than simply the sum total of all individuals bearing the same clan name (Koopman in Kamera 1999:274).

Fortune says:

A clan is a group of agnatically related kinsmen and kinswomen who trace their descent from a common founding father (1976:11).

Fortune continues to say that the clan as a lineage group is concerned with its perpetuity and transmission of its life. Clan praises also make reference to special qualities on which the members pride themselves. (1976:28)

Izithakazelo are characteristics of being wholly traditional:

Clan praises are addressed exclusively to the members of the clan to which they apply and to whom they belong (Fortune 1976:12).

Izithakazelo (clan praises) are the names of certain ancestors in that clan or family who are regarded as important. Fortune says:

The members most in mind are those of the past. They are now ancestral spirits ... their life, active and beneficent continues in lives. The clan praises are full of ancestral references. Names of forefathers of the clan and their sisters abound in the praises together with names of places where they are buried (1976:08).

Ndawo says:

Ngamagama abantu iziduko ezi naweendawo. Igama likayise liyagcinwa lise liba sisiduko sabo ngonapakade (1939:3)

(Family praises are names of people and places the name of the founder is retained and become the clan praises. My translation).

Msimang says:

Empeleni isithakazelo yigama likakhokho ohlotsheni lolo. Lokho kwenza ukuba isithakazelo sifane nesibongo. Phela naso yigama lomuntu. Awukho umehluko ongako phakathi kwesibongo nesithakazelo (1991:12).

(Truly the praise name is the name of a certain ancestor of that particular clan. In that respect praise name is like a surname. Indeed, it is the name of a person. There's no remarkable difference between the surname and the praise name. My translation).

Like all *izibongo* (praises), *izithakazelo* (clan praises) highlight the names of the important people in the family. *Izithakazelo* contain all information about that family such as their place of origin, succession history, attributes, contribution, and courage.

Cowardice is not mentioned in *izithakazelo*. In such praises mention is made of the clan's founder on the female side, namely sisters of the founding father and the sisters of successive founders of subclan. Their names are invoked to thank them for their continued support and to recall the values for which they stand in the minds of the present generations.

While documented studies propose that only a designated reciter may recite *izithakazelo*, my sources, MaMbatha and Gertrude, maintain that there is no special person to recite *izithakazelo* (clan praises). According to them, anyone can recite *izithakazelo* by himself especially if he owned a home whether he or she is married or not. If he or she needs to communicate with his or her ancestors, and in the event of those being no one to chant *izithakazelo* for him or her, he or she must do it for him or herself. So everybody in the family must be able to recite his or her own *izithakazelo* (clan praises) even as a child. (See photo of Nkululeko Mthembu (Madlala), page 13)

Illustration 2: Aunt Gertrude (left) and MaMbatha (right)



In many cases, a reciter is not a composer, but Damane and Sanders say:

Chanting is done by one who composed it. In the absence of an *imbongi* (reciter) the praises can be chanted by others who had heard and memorised them often with unintentional variations and omission but very rarely with deliberate additions (1974:24).

MaMbatha says that a married woman needs to pass through various stages of life before she is allowed to chant *izithakazelo* (clan praises) especially as she is not allowed, in terms of *hlonipha* laws, to mention some of the names in the family.

When a woman is married, she is assimilated into the *izithakazelo* of her new family, but this does not mean that her own *izithakazelo* should be discarded; instead they are mentioned, thus she will be referred to as *umasibanibani* (the daughter of).

Ndawo says:

Umntu oshiya amawabo weza wasinga kolunye uhlanga ngenkonzo ubeyagcine isiqulo sakowabo kube kuphela, ize ngobuzwe asal'eba seso sizwe akhonze kuso. Yiyo lento nebangela ukuba iziduko zoninzi zithi saa kwizizwe zamaphondo ngamaphondo. Ungafumana izibongo ezi zeziduko zidibana, phofu abantu aaba bona behlukene ngeziduko bengazalani (1939:2-3).

(The person who leaves her family to be married, retains her praise name only, but not her nationality. That is the reason of finding praise names of people scattered all over. You find praise names mixing with the praises of people one is not related to. My translation)

The rhythms of *izithakazelo* are less dependent on repetition, and contain numerous example of anti-thesis, which also operates in balanced pairs or trios. For example in Madlala-Bhengu *izithakazelo*, they say:

'Madlala ngendlovu'
Abanye bengabonaze badlala

Who plays with an elephant
When others never play with an elephant

Mention has been made by MaMbatha and Getrude that the women only recite the family praises inside the house, not, in the yard. When *izithakazelo* (praise names) are chanted everybody needs to prepare himself or herself before such an occasion can take place. Respect needs to be observed.

Although no special attire is required, one may not recite *izithakazelo* (clan praises) with bare shoulders and an uncovered head especially if the reciter is a woman, she needs to cover her head and shoulders with a piece of cloth or a small rug. During the singing of *izithakazelo* all people are expected to sit down and be quiet until the *imbongi* is finished. There is no response such as *Musho* as in the case of other praises especially royal praises.

In a polygamous family, the senior wife is the only wife who has a right to recite *izithakazelo* (praise names) to other houses, and only after she has already passed through various stages of life. Other wives are not allowed to sing *izithakazelo* while the senior wife is still alive, but that does not mean that they are exempted from knowing *izithakazelo* (family praises) of the family, because in the absence of the senior wife, they will be required to chant or recite *izithakazelo* (clan praises).

6.2 Performance of *Izithakazelo*

Illustration 3: MaMbatha (right) tells the history and genealogy of Madlala (Bhengu) family to the Researcher (left).



Illustration 4: MaMbatha Madlala performing Madlala-Bhengu *izithakazelo* (clan praises). Although she was sitting down, her body and hands were moving, even her face was telling the story.



6.3 Origin of *Izithakazelo*

It is very difficult to say when *izithakazelo* (family praises) were originated; there is very little agreement on this point among researchers. Makhambeni says that *izithakazelo* are the pillars of life, so they are old as mankind (1989:46) but Ndawo says:

Iziduko ezi asikhumbuli ukuba zase zikho kwasemvelini kaMveli ngakho yinto egwetshwe ngabantu bumini nje ukuba bafuna ukuzahlula kolunye usapho... azivelanga lomhla kwadalwa umntu nje ngoko uninzi lucinga... (1939:1).

(Clan praises are not as old as the creation of God, it seems as if they are a recent origin of the people with an aim of differentiating one from another. My translation)

So there is a contrast between Makhambeni and Ndawo. Fortune agrees with Makhambeni and Mzolo when Fortune says, "Fresh clan praises are no longer composed (1976:29). Mzolo says:

Archaic expressions and allusions to events and situations only dimly understood, reflect ancient origins (1977:74).

These two, Fortune and Mzolo agree with Makhambeni that *izithakazelo* (family praises) originated long ago.

Traditionally, in a Zulu home stead there must be a special house or *ixhiba* (Zulu cooking house) which is taken as an ancestor's house. *Ixhiba* is a domed house. This house is divided into two halves: the right side of the house is for males and the left hand side is for females. In this house people sit according to their sexes.

Every performance of *izithakazelo* (clan praises) begins in this house which usually stores *umqombothi* (Zulu beer) and in which *impepho* (incense) is burned. Sometimes there will be no *umqombothi* (Zulu beer), but the burning of *impepho* (incense) is compulsory. Before talking to the ancestors, *impepho* (incense) must always be burnt. The smell of *umqombothi* (Zulu beer) and *impepho* (incense) is very important in communicating with the ancestors. The Zulu beer, contained in a calabash known as *umancishana*, (small calabash meaning that one is not willing to give much) is placed together with the *impepho* in the *umsamo* (the upper part of the floor of the house).

Illustration 5a: Special house where *izithakazelo* (clan praises) are performed at kwaMadlala, Emfundweni at Dannhauser.



Illustration 5b: Ixhiba (a Zulu special house)



Movement of the reciter when reciting depends on the context in which *izithakazelo* are performed. For example, on happy occasions such as *lobola*, wedding, *umemulo* etc. the movement is lively, but in sad situations such as death and sickness, movement would be slower and more sombre. The recitation of *izithakazelo* (clan praises) is always accompanied by some sort of body movement, use of gestures including facial expressions. The body can move sideways, forward and backward while the hands are moving up and down toward and away the centre of the body. The facial expression depends on what the reciter is uttering.

6.4 Composers of *Izithakazelo* (Family Praises)

Izithakazelo (family praises) are composed by their more gifted retainers who have wide knowledge about that clan and have a superior memory. In most cases an *imbongi* (reciter) especially in the olden days was a composer and a performer, but today a non-composer can perform *izithakazelo* (clan praises). According to Rycroft and Ngcobo some members of the clan, such as kings and chiefs, had a hand in the shaping of their *izithakazelo* (clan praises). (1988:17)

6.5 *Imbongi* (Reciter) and Act of Reciting

According to Fortune there are two types of *izimbongi* (reciters): the royal *imbongi* (reciter) who recites the King's praises and the family *imbongi* (reciter) who recites the *izithakazelo* (family praises) of his clan. These two *izimbongi* (reciters) differ in that the *imbongi* of *izithakazelo* (clan praises) need not wear special attire when reciting, and need not know the person he is praising as in the case with the royal praises. As long as he or she has a talent for reciting; he or she may recite the *izithakazelo*.

In the olden days only men were permitted to recite *izithakazelo* (clan praises). It was very rare to find a women reciting *izithakazelo* (family praises) but today everybody recites his or her *izithakazelo*. If

there is no special person from the clan present to recite, anybody with a talent and interest can recite *izithakazelo* (family praises).

6.6 How *Izithakazelo* (Clan Praises) are Learnt

Izithakazelo (clan praises) is an oral tradition, and are constructed in terms of Jousse's Oral Style with the elements of Mimism, Rhythmism, Bilateralism and Formulism. *Izithakazelo* (clan praises) are learnt and memorized informally by observation, and imitation. In order to memorise, one needs to follow certain patterns which helps one to register everything one sees and hears. When an *imbongi* (reciter) is performing, the tone varies and lots of gestures form part of what the *imbongi* expresses. An *imbongi* (reciter) can perform fast or slow, his or her voice can be quiet or loud, and all these features inform the balance and rhythm which aids memorisation and imitation.

6.7 Use of *Izithakazelo* (Clan Praises)

Izithakazelo (praise names) are also used for communication. People express themselves through *izithakazelo* (praise names) in good or bad situations. *Izithakazelo* (clan praises) are used for thanking or appreciating something done or received. Ndawo says:

Ekunikweni into ngumntu, lisiko ukumbulela ngokutsho isiduko sake.

(When one is given something, it is customary to praise that person by saying his clan praises. 1939:40).

Kamera says:

The family praises of the person offering the gift or the service are recited by the admiring beneficiary in a solemnly slow and drawn out manner to indicate respect. (1999:12).

In my experience of Zulu customary behaviour, *izithakazelo* are used for social purposes such as to inform, report, invite, ask, address and calm. For example, in the case when my husband and I, and our children are about to leave his parents' home to go back to our home in town - before we leave - MaMbatha has to take us to a special house, burn the *impepho* and recite the Madlala (Bhengu) *izithakazelo*, informing the *amadlozi* (ancestors) that we have been visiting them, and now we are returning to our home or work. In this way she is simultaneously informing, reporting, asking, and inviting the ancestors to be with us on our way back home or to work.

Izithakazelo are also used to communicate with the ancestors - *amadlozi*. As already mentioned, *izithakazelo* (clan praises) are names of the *amadlozi* (ancestors). So when the names are mentioned, and the *impepho* is burnt, there would be a connection between them and the living beings, and the *amadlozi* will be able to listen and respond in a certain way. Communication with the *amadlozi* takes place during happy events such as *lobola*, wedding, *umemulo*, *umhlonyana* and *ukucela* (betrothal ceremony). During these ceremonies the performance of *izithakazelo* (praise names) takes place at the beginning and end of the ceremony. On a wedding day, the father or guardian of the bride, in handing over his daughter, will always say a few biographical words about his daughter, including the state of her health, whether she has a child or not, her level of education, her character and so on. This is what we call IsiZulu *ukuthemeleza* or *ukuthetha ubulanda*.

Illustration 6: Izithakazelo are performed on a wedding day during ukuthetha ubulanda ceremony.



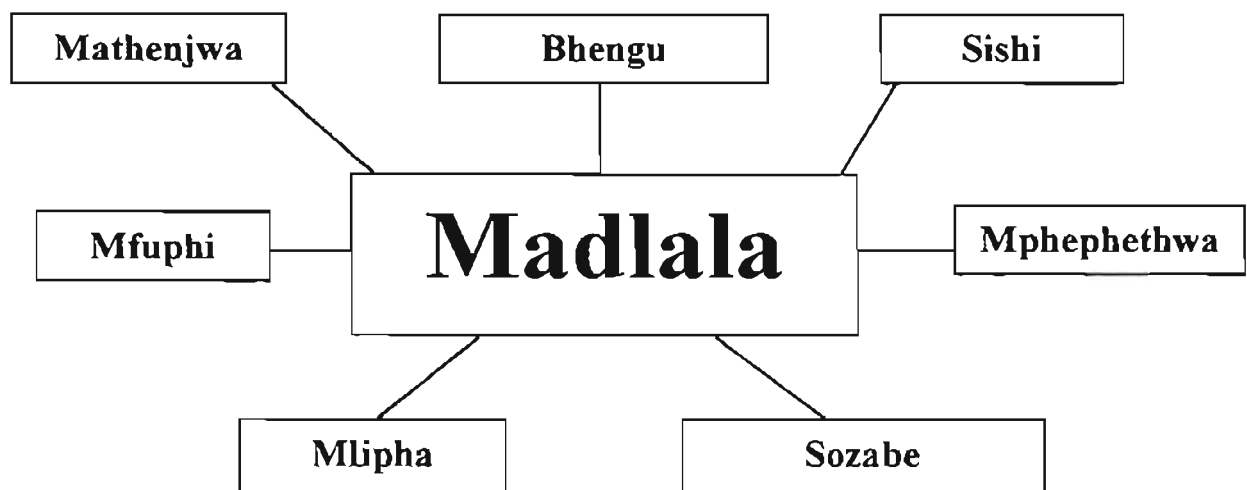
Izithakazelo are used as a means of identification between particular clans or families. They are also used as a salutation, as well as in friendly conversation such as saying 'Bhengu, Ndosi, Mphephethwa etc.' instead of calling someone by his or her name: it is more signified to call someone by their *izithakazelo* rather than by surname.

Izithakazelo are used for consoling or comforting a child or a husband. When a child is crying, a mother recites the child's *isithakazelo*. Females can also tease their husbands by using *izithakazelo* (clan praises)

Izithakazelo are also used during burial ceremony to talk to the deceased person, because there is a belief that dead are not dead but asleep. They are also used for rituals such as *ukubuyisa* ritual (bringing home ceremony) which is done after the death of a person. Only the spirit of the deceased is believed to be brought back home, not the body.

7. Madlala (Bhengu) Family Praises - *Izithakazelo*

The following is a diagrammatic presentation of Madlala *izithakazelo* (praise names) as collected from different sources. Although I have identified all the branches of the Madlala *izithakazelo* (praise names). In this study, I will analyse only Madlala (Bhengu) family praises. It is interesting to note that I was presented with different Madlala (Bhengu) family praises in different interviews. The relationship between the different branches of the family is represented below:



Version 1.

Madlala!
Bhengu!
Mpumuzi!
Bangela!
Nothulisa!
Msengana Omncane
Ngoba omkhul'uyaziwela
Wena wakophekophalala
Kophela amabele
Sidle inyama
Nina bakwaNothulisa
Nina bakwaNyathi yesigenge
Eyagengeleza abanye oNyathi
Jinqa ka MaNdlovu
Madlala!

English translation:

Madlala!
Bhengu!
Mpumuzi!
Bangela!
Nothulisa!
 Very little *msengana* tree
 Because the big one falls by itself
 You of *phekophalala*
 Corn will be finished
 We will eat meat
 You of Nothulisa
 You of buffalo of red ants
 Who wide opened other buffaloes
 Jinqa of MaNdlovu
Madlala!

Version 2.

Madlala!
Bhengu!
Mpumuzu!
Umsengana omncane
Kophela amabele
Sidle inyama
Abodondolozela ngozipho kwabesinyameni
Abakwanzipo zinde ngokuncwebana
AbaseMkhomazi abaphuma oPhatheni
AbakwaSothulase
AbakwaMbabala eyagweba igijima
Ukuba ayigwebanga, ngabe asikho
Esiphahleni sakwaLokothwayo
AbakwaSithole asisengwa ngabezizwe
Sisengwa ngabasekhaya
Abathinda kuvele isithokazana
AbakwaMadlala ngendlovu
Zonke izizwe zingakwazi ukudlala ngendlovu
Madlala!

Madlala!
 Bhengu!
 Mpumuzu!
 Very little cabbage tree
 Corn will get finished
 We shall eat meat
 They who walked with the aid of finger-nail among the Nyameni people
 They of long finger-nail who scratch one another
 They of Mkomaas area who came from Phatheni district
 They of Sothulase
 They of bush buck doe which thrust at as it ran

If it did not thrust, we would not exist
 At Phahleni of Lokothwayo
 They of the heifer which is not milked by the foreigners
 It is milked by the members of the family only
 They who void semen and a daughter is born
 They who play with the elephant
 When all the other tribes cannot do so
 Madlala!

Version 3.

Madlala!
Bhengu!
Mpumuzu!
Bangela!
Nothulisa!
Umsengana Omncane
Ngoba okhulu uyaziwela
Kophela amabele
Sidle inyama
Mahlokohloko azishishili
Avun' insimu asale eyililela
Abathunda nkundleni kuvele isakabuli
AbakwaMadlala ngendlovu
Ingabonaze yadlala muntu
Jinqa lamajinqa
Madlala!

Madlala!
 Bhengu!
 Mpumuzu!
 Bangela!
 Very little *msenge* tree

Because the big one falls by itself
 Corn will get finished
 We shall eat meat
 Group of weaver-birds
 Who void semen in the yard, the black tailed finch is born
 They who play with an elephant
 When no one did play with it
Jinqa of jinqa
 Madlala!

Version 4.

Madlala!
Bhengu!
Nyathi!
Khuzwayo!
Kuyamuphela
Amabele sidla inyama
KwaMantontokai ebaleni lezigege

Madlala!
 Bhengu!
 Nyathi!
 Khuzwayo!
 Corn will get finished
 At the yard of Mantothokazi at the royal kraal

Version 5.

Madlala!
Bhengu!
Mpumuzal
Khuzwayo!
Bangela!

Nothula!

Umsengan 'omncane

Ngoba omkhul'uyaziwela

Wena wakophekophalala

Kophela amabele

Sidle inyama

Mahlokohloko azishishili

Avun'insimu asal'eyililela

Abadondolozela ngoziphokwabasesinyameni

Abakwanzipho zinde ngokuncwebana

AbaseMkhomazi abaphuma oPhatheni

AbakwaSothulase

Abakwambabala eyagweba igijima

Ukuba ayigwebanga ngabe asikho

Esiphahleni sakwaLokothwayo

Abathunda nkundleni kuvele ithokazi

Abakwasithole asisengwa ngabezizwe

Sisengwa ngabasekhaya

Nina bakwaNothulisa

Nina bakwaNyathi yesigenge

Eyagengeleza abanye oNyathi

AbakwaMadlala ngendlovu

Zonke izizwe zingakwazi ukudlala ngendlovu

Jinqa lamajinqa

Jinqa kamaNdlovu

Madlala!

Madlala!

Bhengu!

Mpumuza!

Khuzwayo!

Bagela!

Nothula
 Very little *msenge* tree
 Because the big one falls by itself
 You of *phekophalala*
 Corn will be finished
 We'll eat meat
 The flock of weaver-birds
 Who reap the field and cried for it
 They who walked with the aid of the finger-nail among the Nyameni people
 They of long finger-nails who pinch one another
 They of Mkomas area, who came from Phatheni district
 They of Sothulase
 They of bush-buck doe which conquered as it run
 If it did not conquer, we won't be on either side of Lokothwayo
 Who voids semen and the heifer is born
 They of the heifer which is not milked by foreigners
 It is milked only by the members of the family
 You of Nothulisa
 You of buffalo of red ant
 Who wide opened other buffaloes
 You of Madlala who plays with an elephant
 All nations cannot play with an elephant
 Jinqa of jinqa
 Jinqa of Ndlovu
 Madlala!

7.1 A brief analysis of the versions

Aunt Lefia recites Madlala-(Bhengu) *izithakazelo* (clan praises) as in Version (1) above while Aunt Aina recites as in Version (2). William Madlala recites as in Version (3) while Khetheyakhe recites as in Version (4) and Aunt Gertrude as in Version (5), Version (6) is for MaMbatha Madlala.

Looking at all these versions, I noticed that they all start with '*Madlala-Bhengu*', but when it comes to the third name they differ. Some say *Mpumuzu, Khuzwayo, Nyathi, Bangela*. Some of the reciters leave out the name *Bangela* when reciting as in Version (2) and Version (4).

After mentioning the names some of them differ with each other, but what is noticeable is that they all have '*Umsengan' omncane ngoba omkhul' uyazivela*' and '*Kophela amabele sidle inyama*'.

They also differ with each other when it comes to '*Nina bakwa Nothulisa*'. Some say '*Abakwasothulase*', some do not mention it at all, like in Version 3 and 4. The name '*Mantontokazi*' is only mentioned in Version 4, others do not mention it. '*Mahlukohloko azishishili avuninsimu asale eyililela*' also appear in two versions of Madlala-Bhengu izithakazelo (family praises) i.e. Version 3 and 5.

Although Version 5 comprises of all other versions it is slightly different in that it includes some of the things which others do not have, such as:

Abakwanzipho zinde ngokuncwebana
Abadondozela ngozipho kwabasesinyameni
AbaseMkhomazi abaphuma ophatheni
AbakwaMabala eyagcweba igijima.....
AbakwaSithole asisengwa ngabesizwe....
sisengwa ngabasekhaya.

Another noticeable thing is that all of the reciters end by saying '*Madlala*'. Listening to the tape of MaMbatha reciting the Madlala-(Bhengu) *izithakazelo* (family praises), she does not recite it in the same way every time, sometimes she left out the name *Bangela* or included it in Madlala-(Bhengu)

izithakazelo (clan praise) and she interchanges the sentences. Look at the following:

Version 6.

Madlala!

Bhengu!

Khuzwayo!

Wena wakwaBangela

Wena wakwaSothulisa

Or *Nina bakwaSothulisa*

Nina bakwaMsengana omncane

Or *Wena wakwaMsengana omncane*

Ngoba omkhulu uyazivela

Kuyophela amabele

Or *Bese kuphela amabele*

Bese sidla inyama

Nina bakwaJinqa lamajinqa

Or *Jinqa lamajinqa*

NinaGenge yesiNyathi

Or *Genge yesiNyathi*

Ngokugengeleza.

Illustration 7: Some of Madlala (Bhengu) family members)



8. History of Madlala (Bhengu) Family

Documenting the history of 'oral' communities must accommodate the preference of such communities to record their history in terms of events; and not according to calendars and dates. So during the interview, the history of Madlala(Bhengu) family was associated with events. Where possible, I have suggested the dates that seem to correlate with the events that have been recounted. In the interview with Khetheyakhe of Ephathane Empangeni, and Ndenda Madlala of Sangoyana at Empangeni, it was mentioned that Madlala (Bhengu's) place of origin during the Shaka period was at Babanango in KwaZulu, a place between (present day) Melmoth and Nkandla then under the chieftainship Mantontokazi Madlala. From Babanango, they spread themselves as far as Nkandla, Dundee, Mtubatuba, Empangeni to the West South and as far as kwaMbonambi in the North.

Ndenda pointed out that during the time of Zulu *Mfecane*, the Madlala's decided to move away from KwaZulu (Zululand) and from Shaka's impis, and to preventing them from following them, they identified themselves with the Bhaca people, and adopted the custom of *ukuchaza* (facial scarification). This ritual has survived to the present time in a modified form. When a child is three months old, a cut is made on the fourth finger of his or her right hand finger, and the child is made to suck his or her own blood.

Before the Madlala's moved from KwaZulu to Umkomaas the Madlala clan was a big family of peaceful people with their King Mantontokazi, who today is regarded as the co-founder of the entire Madlala clan.

Aunt Aina Ndawonde of Mooi River pointed out that the Madlala clan preferred living in bushveld areas because they were pastoral farmers with lots of cattle and goats. They also kept numbers of other animals, both as livestock and as household pets.

Illustration 8: Third from left is Aina 'Gqazu' (Madlala) Ndawonde, followed by Lefia (Madlala) Mnculwane. Others are also Madlala aunts: from left is Emma Madlala, second is Harriet Dlamini, fifth is MaPhongwane Madlala and MaShabalala Madlala. Lefia is the older sister of Aina, upon whom she relied for verification of the praises and the history of the family during the interviews. Emma Madlala is the younger sister of Mafede (page 48).



Samson and William Madlala added, that from the time they opened their eyes everyday they were surrounded by different kinds of animals such as birds of different kinds like *indwa* (the stork bird) doves and fowls. There were also sheep, donkeys, horses, pigs, guinea pigs, dogs and cats.

According to William, most of these domesticated animals had names which indicates to me that these behaviours were influenced by Western or Colonial values. The donkeys' names were 'Tiki' (five cents) and 'Makhuhlu' (meaning is not known). The horses were 'Daina' and 'December', and one of the goats was 'Ncomi' (meaning is not known). One of the dogs was 'Mbimbi' and some of the cattle were 'Zondehleka' and 'Mehlamnyama'. These animals were treated like humans, for instance Ncomu's mother died when she was young, so the Madlala's had to provide him with milk and food. When an animal died, it was buried in a respectful manner.

Aunt Lefia pointed out that before the arrival of Western civilization they lived a traditional way of life. When the white man came with Christianity, some of Madlala families were partially converted to Christianity like Mafede, who after conversion during the second World War, was baptised and renamed as 'Saul' Madlala. He ended up as a minister of religion, building churches which were used as schools, and later he built two schools called Ogongolo and Malayideni schools.

He abandoned the customary performance of traditional rituals, of talking to the *amadlozi* (ancestors) and of believing in *izinyanga* (witch doctors). For example one of his children passed away and he did not do even one of the necessary rituals which should be performed after death such as *ukugeza amahalavu* (cleaning of the equipment such as digging spades), *ukukhuphula* (lifting the deceased up),

ukukhunnula (undressing the mourning dress or a piece of cloth). This created conflict at home between Mafede and members of Madlala-Bhengu family members who were still adhering to traditional practice. The behaviour pattern changed and two of his sons Mahlasela who was born in 1921 March 27 and Lucas, born in 1923 June, decided to leave home to work in Johannesburg in 1940, thus the names of Mahlasela's sons tell the story. e.g the *Muzothulelo* (The-Quiet-Homestead) shortened as *Muzilo* (This-Homestead). The fourth one is *Muzikabani* (Who's-Homestead?) the last one is *Nkosinathi* (God-is-with-us).

Mzothulelo explains that there was no one to say anything at home so it was quiet. *Muzikabani* is a questioning name, in which the members of Madlala-(Bhengu) were asking who the homestead belonged to, since the owner had left it. The last one is *Nkosinathi*. This name shows that other members in the family had accepted Christianity and they thank God that He was with them during difficult times while the owner left them alone.

Mafede's behaviour is traced back to the fact that on a certain Sunday one of his beloved dogs was found dead in a pit and he thought that that was a punishment from God because he was against believing in God.

Illustration 9: (Standing from left) William 'Zikhonke' Madlala, Jonono (Langa) Madlala, Muzikabani 'Fanzo' Madlala, and Hawu Madlala. (Seated from left) MaMbatha with Langalakhe Madlala, Zandile (MaThwala) Madlala, laughing is 'Nhlanhlo' Nonhlanhla Thombi Ndawonde, MaMkhize Madlala, Dumisile Madlala and the last one is Mafede Madlala, successor to Mantontokazi (indicated). This photo was



taken in 1961 at KwaHansi.

8.1 Why They Moved From Place To Place

According to most of Madlala-(Bhengu) family members such as Gertrude, Lefia, Aina and Winnie, the main reason for their movement was the Zulu *umfecane* which overran the whole of Zululand. They moved to uMkhomaas in the South Coast. As the family increased they spread as far as Umzumbe area in Port Shepstone, and settled themselves in a large unoccupied area which is known as *kwaMadlala*, since it is even today occupied by the Madlala clan, although today only the Madlala (Sozabe) are still living there.

Dr L.P. Mqadi of Kwa-Dlangezwa informed me that after the death of King Mantontokazi in the early 19th Century, there were bitter and bloody feuds among the Madlala sons, fighting for reign, as a result of which some of them were banned from the area and sought refuge in other places such as Ogongolo, Empofana (Mooi River), eMgongundlovu (Pietermaritzburg), Emtshezi (Estcourt), Danhauser. Some decided to return back to KwaZulu as the Zulu *Umfecane* had ended.

Only Sozabe, a son from *ikhohlw*a house (left hand house of *inxulum*a), decided to remain at kwaMadlala area at Umzumbe in Port Shepstone. As a result of Sozabe staying at Port Sheptone, there are Madlala shops and schools in that place: one of the schools and a shop are named after Sozabe, thus they are 'Sozabe General Dealer' and 'Sozabe High School'.

Most of the Sishi family moved to '*eMgungundlovu ondonga zibomvu*' (Pietermaritzburg) and occupied places surrounding the town.

According to uMaMbatha Madlala (lady from Mbatha family) Lefia, Aina, Getrude, the Madlala- (Bhengu) family moved to the place known as Ogongolo, which is between Weenen and Mooi River near Mntungwana mountain at the beginning of the 19th century.

There was a farm at Ogongolo known as *kwaNomagwetshana*, owned by a white man nicknamed 'Nonkolongo' (unfortunately the meaning of this name is unknown). They built an *inxuluma* (homestead) known as 'Entengweni', settled on that farm and worked as labourers to pay for living on that farm.

They did not like the style of living at *kwaNomagwetshana*, and when a township known as Bruntville emerged in Mooi River, they moved into it. Some moved to nearby places such as *kwaHlathikhulu*, Ntabamhlophe, Wembesi and Mpophomeni at Estcourt and Howick. The date of this movement is not known.

Samson, MaZikalala (a lady from Zikalala family) and MaMbatha, informed me that some Madlala- (Bhengu) members moved as far afield as the Danhauser area in 1960 because the house in Bruntville location became overcrowded and could not accommodate all of them. They settled on the farm of a white man known as *KwaHansi* (Hansi's farm). They were not working for living on that farm but they paid rent. The news spread like fire sparks, labourers and other white farmers tackled Hans for letting people pay rent instead of working on the farm. Samson said some of Madlala family members were convicted and put into jail. They were also chased away.

They moved to the Buffalo Flats at Emfundweni and also to Danhauser near Newcastle. They lived

peacefully, although with very little stock as some had died and disappeared during the move. Some were given to other people for safe-keeping until they were settled, only to find that they never got them back when they asked for them.

Madlala-(Mlipha) according to Pastor Tom Madlala at Eshowe moved to *Emnambithi* (Ladysmith) and occupied places around it.

Today, the Madlalas of the version of *izithakazelo* are found all over the country. As Aunt Gertrude said, it is common today to find the Madlala clan who speak the '*teketa*' or '*tekeza*' language: a reference to the fact that some of Madlalas mixed with the Swazis and other people of other races, thus in their praises they say:

'Wena owaget' icapatane netibuko'

You who washed at the mouth of the *Capatane* River.

This is the evidence of the mixture with the Swazi people.

Some of Madlalas have exchanged the marriage vows with people of other races. Protas Madlala (Sishi) of Sweetwaters in Pietermaritzburg is an example since he married Suzanne Leclerc, an American as well as Magxatshana of Madlala-(Bhengu) who married Miss Verderick, a white lady from Kimberley.

Illustration 10: Protas Madlala (Sishi) on his wedding day to Suzanne Leclerc



William Madlala relates that there were well-known *izimbongi* (reciters) in the Madlala-(Bhengu) family including *Ngulubana* who recited as early as the 18th century to the middle of the 19th century when he died, then Benjamin took over until 1997 when he died.

The Madlalas have never lived in isolation from other people, according to MaMbatha and MaZikalala. They have always lived with other clans; the Mthembu clan who were living at

Emngwenyeni area; the Dlamini, Mchunu, and Mbatha clans who were living in the Samzi area.

Illustration 11: (From left) Gogo Sikhakhane the neighbour and Funzwayini Juliet (MaMbatha) Madlala.



Illustration 12:

*From left Mazikalala Madlala
and Zandile (Mathwala) Madlala*



9. Analysis of Metaphoric Reference in Madlala-Bhengu *Izithakazelo* (Family Praises)

9.1 Metaphors

Madlala-(Bhengu) *izithakazelo* (family praises) are rich with metaphorical reference. All humans express meaning in terms of metaphors that is, the metaphor expresses and creates a world view that is peculiar and particular to the group.

In Zulu society, metaphor is apparent in the expression of human behaviour. A metaphor is the way we see the world. *Izithakazelo* (family praises) are socio-cultural archives since they keep the records of that family or clan. *Izithakazelo* record the identity and give an account of the family, their history, their achievements, the tragedies they have endured, their genealogy, their bravery, their character, and their other distinguishing features.

The employment of metaphor in *izithakazelo* (family praises) makes language difficult to understand, unless one is familiar with the metaphor and the world view that it expresses. The most common feature of the language in *izithakazelo* is its highly figurative and allusive nature: words and expressions used require extensive and intensive knowledge of their referred meanings if they are to be understood.

In the Madlala-(Bhengu) family praises, I find a great deal of metaphorical reference such as the following.

Msengana omncane

Ngoba omkhul' uyaziwela

Literally, *msenge* is a big tall tree with beautiful tough stem. *Msengana* is a diminutive of *msenge* which gives the idea that the tree with which they are talking about is a small tree. There is also a qualifying word *omncance* (little) which is used to emphasize the smallness of the *msenge* tree. Decay in a *msenge* tree is not easy to detect, because it rots from the inside. When it is rotten the trunk bends over and then the goats are able to eat it. In Zulu there is an idiom which says:

Goba msenge, udliwe zimbuzi

Bend msenge, and be eaten by goats

Metaphorically, this projects the idea that the Madlala-(Bhengu) referred to was not old, but young and physically good-looking, but should be treated with respect and circumspection: a warning to others that they tempered with a Madlala-(Bhengu)'s property at their peril, and that they might discover that he was not as 'good' as he appeared to be. Metaphorical abundance is evident in:

Kophela amabele

Sidle inyama

Amabele (corn) and *inyama* (meat) are metaphorically used to convey an idea of plenty or abundant food. The Madlala family owned large fields of corn and mealies and herds of cattle. The reference to corn and meat are also used to emphasize the wealth of the Madlala-(Bhengu) family. The Zulu beer is made out of corn and mealies. In Zulu society, the wealth of *umnumzane* (head of the family) is demonstrated by drinking Zulu beer and eating meat. When there is communication with *amadlozi*, it is compulsory that Zulu beer must be present and *impepho* must be burning. While the inclusion of meat in the ceremony is optional.

Cattle is also very important metaphor in Zulu society since they also symbolises the wealth of

umnumzane (head of the family): *lobolo* is paid in cattle and milk and meat are obtain from them. The references to cattle indicate that the Madlala-(Bhengu) family was a wealthy family. The reference to the heifer is also metaphorical:

*Abathunda nkundleni kurvele ithokazi
isithokazana
isakabuli!*

Who void semen, the heifer
blacktailed bird is born.

Isithokazana (heifer) is a female cow. In Zulu society a heifer symbolises multiplicity of wealth. In the Madlala-Bhengu family praises the reference to a heifer symbolises the fertility of the semen from which the heifer is born. It is very rare in this family to find someone who is barren: they all produce someone. *Ukuthunda* (to void semen or to urinate) has more than one meaning: literally it means 'to urinate' while on the other hand it means 'to void semen' from which the heifer is born. So in Madlala-(Bhengu) family praises the heifer symbolises fertility and wealth since the heifer will produce other cows which can be used for *lobola*, eating, and providing clothing material and used at various ceremonies.

The reference to the *indlovu* (elephant) is also metaphorical.

*AbakwaMadlala ngendlovu
Zonke izizwe zingakwazi ukudlala ngendlovu
They who play with an elephant
While all tribes cannot play with an elephant*

An elephant is a big animal which originally lived in a forest: all other animals are afraid of it.

Metaphorically this means that no matter how little they are, the Madlala-(Bhengu) family is not afraid to approach stronger and more powerful nations who are compared to the huge elephant. This is a reference to the courage and bravery of the Madlala-(Bhengu) family. Madlala-(Bhengu) are brave people who are not afraid to approach anybody, since they were able to attack tribes that were stronger than they were, and who were feared by other tribes.

Another metaphor is:

Amahloko hloko azishishili

Flock of weaver-birds

Ihloko hloko (singular) *amahloko hloko* (plural) is a species of beautiful bird. These birds always fly and work together. Madlala-(Bhengu) always work together as a family in everything they do. They share one idea and work as a family or a group, and they are very proud of themselves as a family. This leads to another metaphor which says:

Abakwanzipho zinde ngokuncwebana

They of long fingernail who scratch one another.

The Madlala-(Bhengu) family members share each other's opinions, and advise each other.

Imbabala (bush buck doe) is another metaphor. This is a metaphor for courage and victory because the Madlala-(Bhengu) conquered many other clans as they moved from place to place, until they settled at kwaLokothwayo, a name of one of the Madlala homestead. They are the conquerors of their places thus they say:

Abakwambabala eyagweba igijima

Ukuba ayigwebanga ngabe asikho

esiphahleni sakaLokothwayo

They of bush buck doe who conquered as they ran.

If they did not conquer, we will not be at the area of Lokothwayo.

Another metaphor is *isigenge* (species of red ants). *Isigenge* is an ill-tempered red ant which bites anything which interferes with its property. They are always busy and working together as a family. This metaphor projects the idea that although the Madlala-(Bhengu) family are peaceable people, they are very ill-tempered when their property is interfered with.

9.2 Linguistic analysis of the verbal text of the *izithakazelo* of The Madlala-(Bhengu) Clan

Mzolo says that praises are record of references relating to the past history of nation and chiefs, so they are expressed in the **past tense** form and never in the future tense form. He continues to say that the present tense form may be employed to refer to the chief's personal qualities, and the characteristics of the nation (1977:49).

This also applies to the Madlala-(Bhengu) family praises. Which are expressed in the **past tense**.

Avune insimu asale eyililela
AbaseMkhomazi abaphuma oPhatheni
AbakwaMbabala eyagweba igijima
Ukuba ayigwebanga ngabe asikho
Eyagengeleza abanye oNyathi'

Who reaped the field and cried for it
 Of Mkhomaas who came from Phatheni region
 Of the buffalo who conquered as it ran,
 If it did not conquer we would not be here
 Who wide opened other buffaloes.

Present tense:

AbakwaMadlala ngendlovu
Zonke izizwe zingakwazi ukudlala ngendlovu
AbakwaSithole asisengwa ngabezizwe
Sisengwa ngabasekhaya.

Of Madlala with an elephant
 All nations don't know how to play with an elephant
 Of the heifer which is not milked by the foreigners
 It is milked only by the family.

9.3 Vocatives

These are nouns without its initial vowel and there is a change of tone from high to low on the prefix of that noun. (Mzolo 1977:51)

Izithakazelo (praise names) starts with vocatives.

Madlala! (*uMadlala*)
Bhengu! (*uBhengu*)

9.4 Vowel Elision

Vowel elision according to Ziervogel are of three different kinds i.e. syntactical, compulsory and optional. (1991:20). Vowel elision in most cases depends on the pace of an *imbongi* when reciting.

Madlala-(Bhengu) *izithakazelo* (family praises) displays vowel elision as follows:

Umsengan' omncane
Ngoba omkhul' uyaziwela
Avun' insim' asal' eyililela

This type of vowel elision is not compulsory, but optional.

9.5 Pronouns

It is very common to find personal pronouns in *izithakazelo* (clan praises) such as pronouns of the second person *wena* (you) singular, and *nina* (you) plural. The extensive use of absolute pronouns in clan praises makes them more emphatic and directs them clearly to *amadlozi* (clan ancestors). (Mzolo 1977:90) This is evident in Madlala-(Bhengu) family praises.

Wena wakophekophalala
Nina bakwaNothulisa
Nina bakwaNyathi yesigenge.

9.6 Possessives

In clan praises there is a strong feeling of belonging to a group, and that is expressed by the use of possessives. The possessive formatives *ka-*, *kwa-* and *baka-* are prefixed to the noun without its initial vowel of a person or place. This is also evident in Madlala-(Bhengu) *izithakazelo* (family praises).

Abakwanzipho zinde ngokuncwebana
AbaseMkhomazi abaphuma oPhatheni,
AbakwaSothulase.

They of long finger-nail who pinch one another
 They of *Mkomaas* area who came from *Phatheni* district
 They of *Sothulase*.

Sometimes the infix of *-se-* is necessary when referring to the place of the family or clan. In Madlala *izithakazelo* there appears the statement that:

AbaseMkhomazi
 They of *Mkomaas* area

Izithakazelo also comprise names of people and their personal attributes. In Madlala *izithakazelo* the

names of the *amadlozi* (ancestors) of the clan are mentioned.

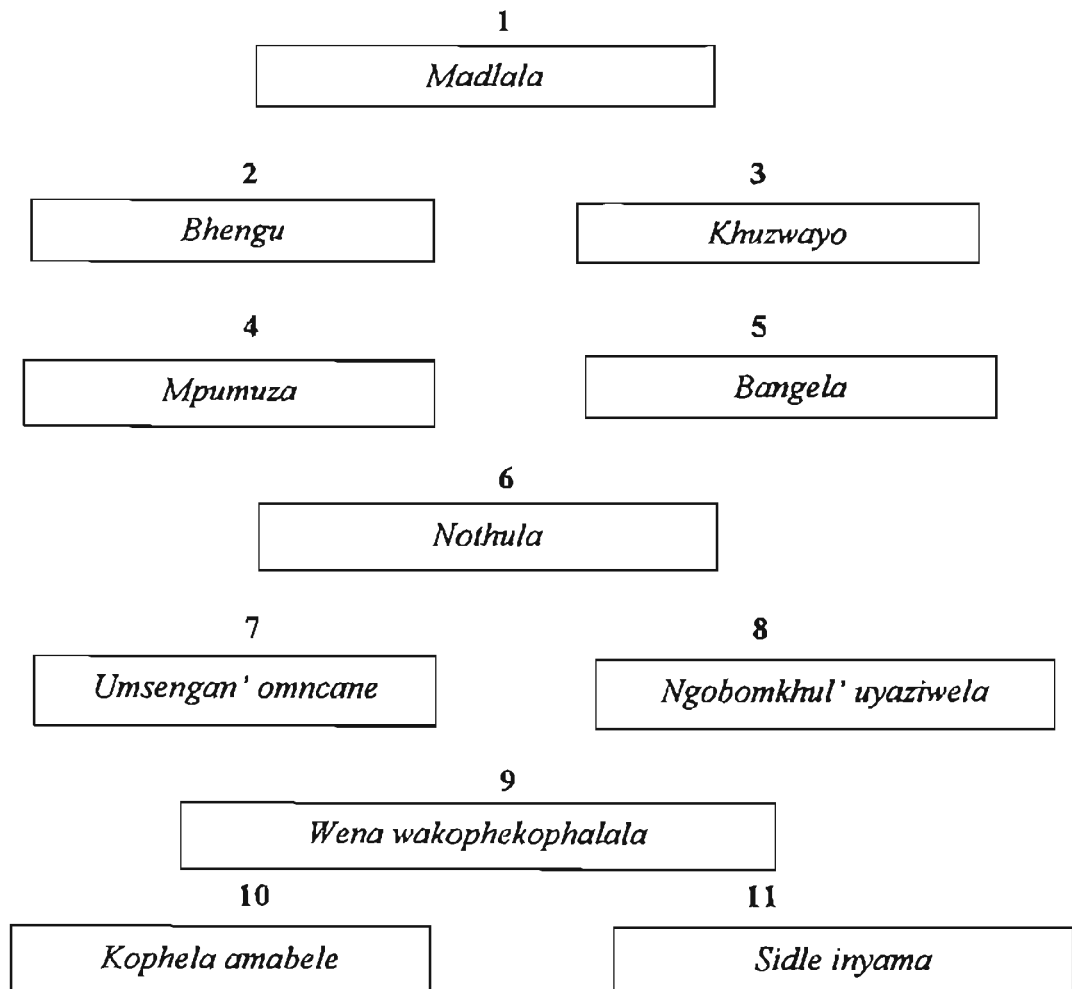
Khuzwayo

Nyathi

9.7 Rhythmic Schemas

As previously indicated, Jousse identified mnemonic expressive structures that make memorisation easier. He named these structures 'Rhythmic Schemas'. When the recitation and performance of *izithakazelo* is displayed in Rhythmic Schemas, the Balance and Formula and the incidence of Mnemotechnical Devices are apparent. The following displays the Balance and Formulism in the Madlala-(Bhengu) *izithakazelo*.

9.8 Madlala-(Bhengu) Izithakazelo Presented in Rhythmic Schemas



12

Mahloko hloko azishishili

13

Avun' insimu asale eyililela

14

*Abadondolozela ngozipho
kwabasesinyameni*

15

*Abakwanzipho zinde
ngokuncwebana*

16

AbaseMkhomazi abaphuma oPhatheni

17

AbakwaSothulise

18

AbakwaMbabala eyagweba igijima

19

Ukuba ayigwebanga ngabe asikho

20

Esiphahleni sakwaLokothwayo

21

Abathunda nkundleni kuvele ithokazi

22

AbakwaSithole asisengwa ngabezizwe

23

Sisengwa ngabasekhaya

24

Nina bakwaNothulisa

25

Nina bakwaNyathi yesigenge

26

Eyagengeleza abanye oNyathi

27

AbakwaMadlala gendlovu

28

*Zonke izizwe zingakwazi ukudlalalg
ngendlovu*

29

Jinqa lamajinqa

30

Jinqa kaMaNdlovu

Jousse termed each unit of recitation (presented in a 'box' a 'pitgama'. A pair of balanced pitgamas constitute a 'binary rhythmic schema', a trio of balanced pitgamas constitute a 'ternary rhythmic schema'. In this version of the Madlala-(Bhengu) *izithakazelo*, there are 30 units of recitation of which 22 are presented in 11 binary rhythmic schemes. The 8 units of recitation operate singly as pivots and introduce a semantic grouping (numbers 1, 16 and 20) or conclude a semantic grouping (numbers 6, 15, 25 and 30).

The positioning of the unit on the left or right side, or in the centre of the page is established during the observed performance of the *izithakazelo*. The movement of the body and hand dictates where the unit of recitation will be placed on the page: the centre of the page being representative of the spine of the reciter. This form of presentation highlights the balancing that generates the rhythm of the recitation. Out of the Balance and Rhythm there emerges Formula, a form of patterned expression that aids cohesion of the text, and supports learning and memory.

This form of representation is a reflection of the corporeal-manual aspect of the performed *izithakazelo*. Once documented on the page in this form, other performers can 'read' the correlation between utterance and the movement on the right or left of the body. From my observation, I confirmed that the majority of reciters perform the *izithakazelo* in the conformation recorded here.

10. Mnemotechnical Devices

Jousse discovered that memory and learning are further enhanced by Mnemotechnical Devices. Mnemotechnical devices are technique of repeating words, sounds or phrases, employed by a reciter to help him or her in 'registering' his or her performance. All repetitions, Jousse claimed had a 'clamping' effect: repeated words or phrases he termed 'clamp words', repeated vowel sounds, he termed 'clamp rhymes' or 'avocalisation', and repeated consonant sounds, he termed 'clamp sounds'. Other Mnemotechnical Devices included onomatopoeic effects count-downs, annominations, key words, all of which set up rhythmic patterns in the recitation. Jousse identifies the effect of those devices as follows:

There is as we know an inherent tendency in our organism to repeat automatically and rhythmically the gestures it has performed (1990:187).

On the other hand Mzolo identified two types of alliterations ('clamp-sounds' - Jousse), the natural and the artificial or deliberate alliteration. Natural alliteration happens spontaneously, it is unavoidable in Zulu (1977:95).

In Madlala (Bhengu) *izithakazelo* (family praises) there is fragment of an illustration of the repetition of vowel and consonant sounds, e.g.

Kophela a -ubele sihle inya -a

Abaom:olozela ngozipho kwabasesinya -eni

Corn will be finished, we will eat meat

They who walked with the aid of the finger-nail among the Nyameni people

In this short except from the Madlala Bhengu *izithakazelo*, the [e] sound is repeated 7 times, the [o]

is repeated 5 times, the [a] is repeated 5 times, the [i] is repeated 5 times, etc. These repetitions are interspersed creating a 'weaving' or '*textus*' of sound.

Repetition of consonants is also evident in Madlala (Bhengu) *izithakazelo* (clan praises), e.g.

AbakwaSithole asisengwa ngabezizwe

Sisengwa ngabasekhaya

They of the heifer which is not milked by foreigners it is
it is only milked by the members of the family

Abakwanziphozinde ngokuncwebana

Abadondolozela ngozipho kwabasesinyameni

They of long fingernails who pinch one another
They who walked with the aid of the fingernail among the Nyameni people

Once again the frequent repetition of the same consonant sounds creates a pattern of interwoven sounds within the text in such a way that memorisation is supported.

10.1 Initial Clamping

This means that at the beginning of each line, some words or phrase of two successive lines are repeated. Jousse reminds us that this is a technique used when we try to recall a text: if we can remember the first word of a line, the rest of the line follows automatically - as though first word 'triggered' the rest of the line. Where first word is repeated, the whole process is further enabled.

Maphumulo supports this when he says

Lapho sithola igama elisekugaleni komugqa iphindwa kolandelayo khona ekuqaleni kungase kube yilo lonke igama noma kube yigama eseliguquliwe laba ngolunye ucezu lwenkulumo (1993:35)

(That is where we find the word at the beginning of the sentence being repeated at the beginning of the following sentence. Sometimes its the whole word or part of speech. My translation).

Madlala (Bhengu) *izithakazelo* also displays this, e.g.

Nina bakwaNothulisa

Nina bakwaNyathi yesigenge

You of Nothulisa

You of buffalo of red ant

Abakwambabala ayagweba igijima
Abakwanziphozinde ngokuncwebana

They of bush buck doe which conquered as it ran

They of long finger-nails who pinch one another

10.2 Medial Clamping

This means that in the middle of each line some words or phrases of two successive lines are repeated, e.g.

abakwambabala eyagweba igijima

Ukuba ayigwebanga ngabe asikho

They of bush buck doe which conquered as it ran
If it did not conquer, we would not be here

10.3 Cross Clamping

This is also evident in Madlala (Bhengu) *izithakazelo* (praise names), e.g.

Nina bakwaNyathi yesigenge

Eyagengeleza abanye oNyathi

You of buffalo of red ant
Who wide opened other buffaloes

10.4 Oblique Clamping

This is also evident in Madlala (Bhengu) *izithakazelo* (praise names), e.g.

AbakwaSithole asisengwa ngabezizwe

Sisengwa ngabasekhaya

They of the heifer which is not milked by foreigners
It is only milked by the members of the family

AbakwaMadlala ngendlovu

Ingabonaze yadlala muntu

They who play with the elephant
While no one played with it

Abadondolozela ngezipho kwabasesinyameni

Abakwanzipho zinde ngokuncwebana

10.5 Final Clamping

Madlala - Bhengu *izithakazelo* (clan praises) also displays instances of final clamping, e.g.

AbakwaMadlala ngendlovu

Zonke izizwe zingakwazi ukudlala ngendlovu

They who play with an elephant
While all nations never played with an elephant

In Madlala (Bhengu) *izithakazelo* (family praises) there is also evidence of binary pairs as Marcel Jousse called them. Binary pairs are pairs of words which operates as pairs such as ‘mother-father’, ‘life-death’. Examples in Madlala - Bhengu *izithakazelo* include:

‘Msengan’ omncane

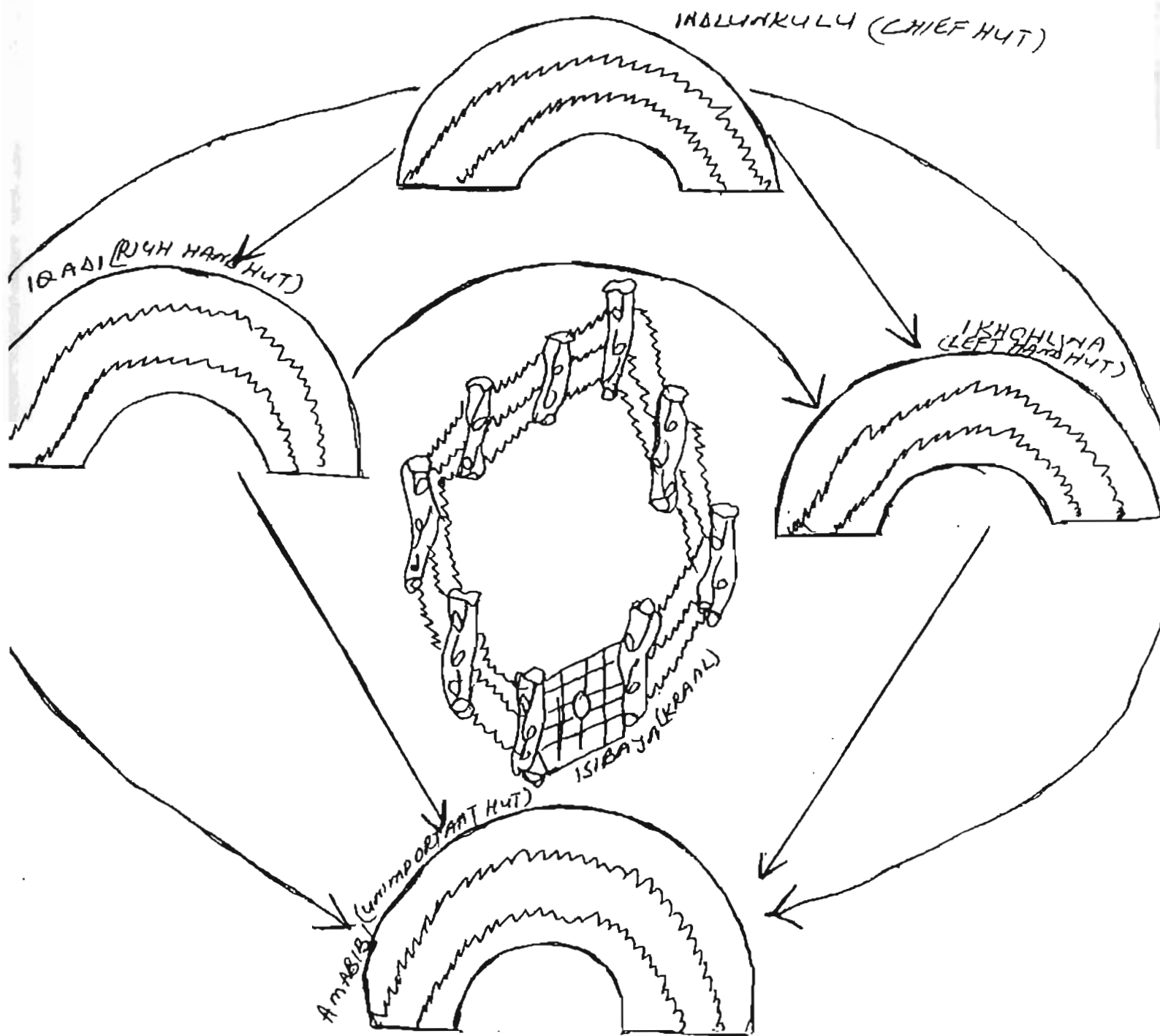
Ngoba omkhulu uyaziwela

Little msenge
Because the **big** one falls by itself

The Anthropology of Geste and Rhythm applied to Madlala-Bhengu *izithakazelo* demonstrate the structure of the recitative to enable learning and support memory, while simultaneously accounting for corporeal-manual laryngo-buccal Gestes.

11. Madlala’s Genealogy

According to the interviews conducted at Mooi River during August and September 1999 with the following Madlala (Bhengu) family members - Aina, Lefia and Getrude as well as Khetheyakhe of Phathane and Ndenda Madlala of Sangoyana, the Madlala clan was a big family who were living in *inxuluma* (many huts of a Zulu homestead). There was an *indlunkulu* (chief hut) an *iqadi* (hut on the right hand side of *inxuluma*) an *ikhohlwa* (hut on the left hand side of *inxuluma*) and *amabili* huts of unimportant wives. (See diagram on page following)



The most important wives were MaLushaba and MaDudwana married to Madlala, the King. These wives, and others gave birth to a number of children who formed the Madlala extended families. MaLushaba gave birth to a son Bhengu and MaDudwana gave birth to Sishi. Other wives from

amabibi huts gave birth to Mlipha, Mfuphi, Sozabe, Mathenjwa, Cindi and others. Bhengu fathered two sons, Khuzwayo, and Bhusho who is praised as

Bhusho obomvu
Usisu sikhulu
Uzimilele
Unodumel'enhla
Abanye bedumela ezansi

Red Bhusho
 Big stomach
 Self grow
 Famous in the highest level
 Others are famous at the lowest level

- Khuzwayo fathered Nyathi and Bukhosini.
- Nyathi fathered six children, Siphongo, Gwazimpi, Manquzu, Gwebu, Nzawu, and Mpishela.
- Gwazimpi fathered Nogisela, Matabungana and Zeblon.
- Manquzu fathered Mathole, Mango, and Nkonjane who was born from '*isincanakazana*' young wife of Sishi.
- Nzawu fathered Shingilizi and Sakaza.
- Mpishela fathered Titos, Philemon, Mpandlana, Tomu, Ntaliyane, Obed and Amos Philemon was also known as Mofu.

Mafede who was converted to Christianity at the beginning of the 19th century was then known as 'Saul' Mafede and was married to two wives, MaMkhize (from the Mkhize family) whose name was Evelyn, and MaKhanyile (from the Khanyile family) whose name was Elizabeth. Prior to his conversion, Mafede was praised as:

Bhojabhoja mntakaMsengana
Unogaxela kwesikamsasane
Umhlane unezipeledu

Unojamela izintaba
Umhlane unezipeledu

Cry Msengana child
 Observer of mountains
 Paths full of animal insides
 Hanged at Msasane
 Back full of nails

MaMkhize was praised as

Intombi kamakhala angena ubhozo

The lady of big nose which enter the big toe gave birth to four children.

The first born was Lefia, who was praised as *Goqozimeyili* (stirring of the train) second was Ntombemnyama Besta, the third was Mahlasela Michael who was praised as:

Mahlasela kuyasa
Ugogo unejubane ungakaze
Umbone ugogo enejubane
Kokoloshe phuma embizeni kwaMaMkhize

The one who attacks early in the morning
 Granny with incomparable speed
 Granny with 'Speed'
 Cockroach come out of the pot of MaMkhize

Illustration 13: Mahlasela Michael Madlala, the eldest son of the first wife of Mafede (page 47), the successor of Matontokazi, the founder of the Madlala-Bhengu clan.



Mahlasela was a leader of *ungomabusuku* (traditional music sung by men at night). The last born was Lucas who was praised as:

*Umbukuza wegula, bathi bewudla
bebe bewukhetha amaphela
J pass eleven*

Cream of the calabash
if they eat they sift the cockroaches
J pass eleven

Mahlasela was married to MaMbatha (from the Mbatha family) whose name is Funzwayini Juliet.

They were blessed with six children who are Mandlakayise William nicknamed as 'Zikhonki' from 'William the Conqueror'. This nickname was given to Mandlakayise by one of the school educators. The second one is Gwinyamathe Bhukumuzi Samson nicknamed 'British Empire'. This nickname was also from one of the school educators.

Illustration 14: Gwinyamathe
Bhekumuzi Samson Madlala



The third is Muzilo Wilson, the fourth is Joyce Sibongile, nicknamed as 'Nomadombolo' (The Dumbly).

Illustration 15: 'Nomadombolo' Joyce Sibongile Madlala watching and listening to the recitation and performance of Madlala (Bhengu) *izithakazelo* (family praises).



The fifth is Muzikabani Mfanuzile Thulasizwe Israel, teased as 'Fanzo' by his peer group and the last born is Nkosinathi Norman.

Lucas was married to maMthembu who gave birth to the twins, one of the twin is Caiphas, nicknamed as 'Mbomvu' (the red one) MaMthembu divorced with Lucas then Lucas was married to Andriana Zikalala (MaZikalala) who gave birth to Dumisile and Dumisani.

The second wife of Mafede, Elizabeth Khanyile (MaKhanyile) gave birth to four children, Winnie, Aina who is nicknamed as 'Gqazu', Micha who is praised as

'Nqanda face

Umnyama unonyezi'

Yaciya imfologo.

Beautiful face

Dark with moonlight

Sharp fork.

The last born is Ntomb'eziningi Gertrude, who has never married.

Illustration 16:

Ntomb'eziningi Gertrude

and Samson



Micha, usually known as 'Nqanda' is married to MaDladla and they have four children, who are Mkhululi, Mpunyu, Matshitshi and Zinkehli. Maroma gave birth to four sons, who are Benjamin, Nkilimane, Mdanyana and Mpishela. Sishi gave birth to a number of children including Dlobeni and Mahlokohloko.

Illustration 17: (Standing between children) Ntombemnyama Besta (Madlala) Dladla and Harriet Dlamini.



12. CONCLUSION

Izithakazelo (clan praises) are practised by the Zulu people of South Africa. *Izithakazelo* (family praises) are still practised even today, although in urban areas some people do not appreciate the practice of *ukuthakazela* (to praise).

Traditionally, *izithakazelo* (family praise) were performed only by adult males, but nowadays anyone can perform *izithakazelo* (clan praises). There is no age limit: the only qualification is the ability to recite the *izithakazelo*. The reason being that today most of young people own houses whether they are married or not. Another factor is that extended families are not common: young people do not live with their parents who can perform *ukuthakazela* (to praise) for them.

It is significant to note that this study revealed that the most knowledgeable and best reciters of the Madlala-(Bhengu) *izithakazelo* are currently women. There is an undeniable irony in the fact that the identity of the clan is the property of a group divided by society to be members.

Today we are preaching the gospel that people need to know their roots, and *izithakazelo* (clan praises) are another way of preserving the proud heritage of traditional knowledge and culture.

Izithakazelo can be used to communicate both with the *amadlozi* (ancestors) and living beings for certain purposes such as addressing, comforting, informing and invitation. When *izithakazelo* (clan praises) are performed they create satisfaction and a sense of belonging to the group.

This study has taught me that *izithakazelo* (family praises) is an oral tradition which can be recited even if there is no living audience in attendance, since the *amadlozi* (ancestors) also form part of the audience.

I also learnt that there is no stipulated time for the performance of *izithakazelo* (clan praises). They can be performed at anytime on any day, but they must always be performed in a special place.

Izithakazelo (clan praises) and *izihasho* (personal praises) can be used together when reciting. For example when MaMbatha is directing her communication to the late Mafede she usually says

Madlala!

Bhengu!

Nogaxela kwesikamsasane

(Meddle at *msasane*)

Bangela!

Nogaxela kwesikamsasane is not part of *izithakazelo* (family praises) but it is a *isihasho* (personal praise).

In conclusion, I would like to mention that this study does not claim that it recorded everything about this clan: it might happen that there is valuable knowledge which is not recorded when it comes to the history of Madlala-(Bhengu) that some of the information does not correspond with the knowledge of other Madlala family members: time warps realities and we all remember differently.

It is hoped that this study will prompt further investigation of the Madlala, and other, *izithakazelo*.

If *izithakazelo* are left to die, this would mean the loss and death of the clan's precious and valuable tradition which constitutes its identity. So knowledge and appreciation of *izithakazelo* (clan praises) need to be encouraged and not be neglected.

14. References

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APPENDIX 1

Interview Details

Name & Status	Date	Place	Age	Ceremony	Subject	Duration	Address	Telephone
Khetheyakhe Madlala	March 27 1999	Ephathane	49	<i>Ukukhumula</i>	History of Madlala	2 hours	-	(035) 880 9149
Ndenda Madlala	27 March 20 April 1999	Ephathane Babanango	67	<i>Ukukhumula</i>	History of Madlala & Performance	2 hours	-	-
MaDlamini Madlala	16 February 1999	Ephathane	70		Genealogy	2 hours	-	(035) 580 9149
Gertrude Madlala	27 July 1999	Pmaritzburg	62	Wedding	Recitation & History	1 hour	-	(0331) 420 060
Juliet Madlala	24 November 1999	Emfundweni	72	-	Recitation & History & Performance	2 ^{1/2} hours	Emfundweni School Danhauser	(0343) 6677801
Lefia Mnculwane	10 May 1999	Estcourt	86	<i>Umhloniyane</i>	Analysis & izithakazelo	1 hour	-	(033) 32161
Tom Madlala	08 June 1999	Eshowe	40	-	Recitation & Performance	30 min	Eshowe College	082 964 0766
William Madlala	13 November 1999	Emfundweni	56	Burial	History & Genealogy	1 hour	Emfundweni School Danhauser	-

Name & Status	Date	Place	Age	Ceremony	Subject	Duration	Address	Telephone
MaZikalala Madlala	10 December	Emfundweni	69	-	Recitation & History and Genealogy	1 hour	Emfundweni School Danhauser	-
Samson Madlala	24 September	Esikhawini	49	-	History	1 hour	Box 254 Kwa- Dlangezwa	(035) 796 1810
Dr L.P. Mqadi	20 February 1999	Kwa- Dlangezwa	49	-	History	1 hour	-	-
Nkululeko Madlala	10 December 1999	Emfundweni	12	-	Recitation & Performance	30 minutes	Emfundweni School Danhauser	(0343) 667 801
Nqobani Madlala	10 December 1999	Emfundweni	07	-	Recitation & Performance	30 minutes	Emfundweni School Danhauser	(0343) 667 801
Mishack Mnculwane	02 September 1999	Mooi River	62	<i>Umemulo</i>	History & Genealogy	2 hours	-	(033) 32161
Winnie Ndawonde	04 December 1999	Mooi River	86	Anniversary	History & Genealogy	2 hours	-	-
Funizwe Madlala	28 September 1999	Nkandla	80	Burial	History & Genealogy	2 hours	-	-
Aina Ndawonde	31 August 1999	Mooi River	84	<i>Umemulo</i>	Analysis of <i>izithakazelo</i>	1 hour	Box 42 Mooi River	(0332) 632 369

MALLALA FAMILY TREE

MALLALA

MANTOMTOM

LUSHABA

SISHI

DUSWATA

BHENGU

BISHO

SIPHONGO

BUKHOSI (1)

MANQUZU

GWESBU NO
MAZIBUBU

ABUNGAMA

ZEBLON

MATHOLE

MANGO

NEKOMIE

MAFESE

ELINA

MARONA
KOMATHWALA

NEULE

MAGALAZA

MAMKHLE

MAMKHILE

NDOMBENJANA

MANASELA

LUCAS

WINNIE

AINA

MICHA
NGATHA

NDOMBE
ZWIKA

GWINYAMATHE
SAMSON

MUZILO

NOMASOMBOLO

MUZIKABANI

NEOSUTATHI

MKHUWILI

MANJY

OTHER WIVES.

SOZABE MFLIPII MATHESONA ETC

NZAWU

MAISHELA

SHINGILIZA

SAKAZA

TITOS

MOFU

MAMALANA

TOMU

MAMFILE

IZWE

SEEDAT MBOUA

M-DANYANA

BENJAMIN

ZEBEDI

MACHATISANA

EMMA

MUSIE

SOME MAMONA BONILE BONKHO ANEDANA

HAWU

JOYCE

NEETION

TSHI

ZINKHALI

DORIS MASOKADELAMI KATHIE-YARHE SIANO NE

PLACES VISITED

