NAMING, IDENTITY AND THE AFRICAN RENAISANCE IN A SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

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DECLARATION

I, Mbali Aldromeda Machaba, declare that this entire dissertation, except where otherwise indicated is my own original research. It has not been submitted in part or as a whole, for a degree at any other University.

Signed: .....

Date: 17 MARCH 2005

M.A. Machaba

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ABSTRACT

Naming is a very important tool used among various African cultures to convey certain messages, either to an individual, family members or a community. Naming of various objects is linked with the socio-political factors of countries where anthroponyms and toponyms are found. It is for this reason that onomastics (the study of names) can never be isolated from studying the dynamics of various societies, the behaviour and the psychology of different individuals. While names can unite communities, they can also serve as a dividing tool in various communities. It is from names that one can learn the various cultures that have been present in a particular place, and have an understanding and the appreciation of the history of a place.

Onomastics is multidisciplinary in nature. It can be approached from different perspectives. These include linguistic, historical, sociological, philosophical, economical and other perspectives. Chapter two focuses on the linguistic and semantic aspects of names. It explores onomastic definitions and the comparison between the meaning of Euro-western and African names. In Chapter two an argument is presented on the morphological structure of Zulu and/or Xhosa names for boys and girls. In this Chapter the orthography of place names is also discussed. The importance of standardising names for purposes of having one name for one entity and asserting the country's history and heritage cannot be overemphasised.

As indicated above that onomastics can also be approached from a historic approach, Chapter 3 looks at the changing political scenario in South Africa that has had an impact on the culture of indigenous people, their identity and the existence of Euro-western names among them. The arrival of white people in South Africa contaminated the indigenous culture and the African belief systems. The traditional belief system of the indigenous people is discussed in Chapter three together with the advent of Christianity.

Chapter four looks at the sociological approach in onomastics. Names of any nature exist in a society. These names reflect the social dynamics of the societies where they are found. The society plays a major role in influencing the choice of names given to

individuals and entities. These names have different functions in societies. The different functions that names have in various communities are also discussed. In Chapter four the significance of anthroponyms and toponyms is discussed. Various types of names are also looked at. Political changes witnessed in the country play a major role in transforming the country whether economically, culturally or socially. The impact of political changes and the attitudes of South Africans towards name changes are discussed in Chapter five.

President Thabo Mbeki's call for an African renaissance came at the time when South Africa attained its independence. The adoption of African names was on the increase during this period. Chapter six looks at the link between changing naming patterns and the African renaissance. As an African renaissance calls for the rebirth of African culture and ways of living, xenophobic attitudes among Africans are examined. It is argued that Africa's rebirth is dependant on various issues including the respect and value that Africans give each other.

Onomastics, as mentioned above can be studied using different approaches, however the limitedness of this study prevents discussion on all approaches. Onomastics is a relatively new field in South Africa, however its multidisciplinary nature and the abundance of data, invites more studies to be conducted. Chapter seven makes recommendations on some of the onomastic studies that may be conducted in future.

CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 Rationale for study

Onomastics is a relatively new field of study in South Africa. The demise of the apartheid system in South Africa led to various socio-political changes in the country. Incorporated in these changes has been the recent name changes and renaming of entities.

A study of names is in part a study of a society where naming takes place. It is unlikely that a scholar studying names would learn nothing about the social dynamics of the place where the research in naming practices is undertaken. The main reason why I decided to embark on this study rather than any other study, was to better understand the society I live in, and to understand the social and political factors that influence the social behaviour of people at a given time. It is plausible that a study of this nature would have been irrelevant during the 1970s because name changing was not as dominant then as it is now and the notion of an African renaissance among Africans in South Africa was not as prevalent as it is at present. Present name changes in the country were necessitated by the change in government in 1994 and the democratisation of the country. Name changes (where Euro-western names are replaced with African names) would not have been possible during the 1970s as the government at the time was content with the names that were used.

My intention was to do research on a topic that would not only result in the gaining of a degree, but that would enrich me as a person and moreover as an African in South Africa in the 21st century.

1.2 Aims and objectives

The history of resistance against racism and cultural domination among indigenous South Africans is a long and complicated one. However, during the nineties, with the release from prison of the former President Nelson Mandela, the first democratic election in 1994 and Nelson Mandela's inauguration as South Africa's first 'black' president, major changes in the tone of resistance to white cultural domination occurred. Marking these changes has been the growth of debate around the concept of an African renaissance. The term was coined by Kwame Nkrumah in the context of the first African country to achieve independence, Ghana. In the recent South African context, especially as used by President Thabo Mbeki[1], the term has been energetically contested, modified and defended by a range of commentators on African identity. Central to the term is the notion of radical rebirth and reawakening. It is with questions of how this rebirth and reawakening have occurred - often in uneven and ambiguous ways - in relation to naming patterns and debates around naming patterns between 1994 and the present day that this study is concerned. The traditional onomastic systems of the indigenous people will be looked at in relation to the Euro-western influences that have transformed the indigenous people's naming systems.

A number of prominent people have since 1994 after the first South African democratic elections, chosen to either discard or change the Euro-western[2] names they have been publicly known by. *Sam Shilowa* for example, the former Secretary General of COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions), and incumbent Premier of Gauteng, is now known as *Mbazima Shilowa and Marks Maponyane,* the former Kaizer Chiefs and Orlando Pirates football player is now referred to as *Mafa Maponyane*. Apart from personal name changes, geographical name changes have been and are still taking place in South Africa. While the old Natal and Zululand were incorporated to form one province, i.e. KwaZulu-Natal, the Eastern Transvaal was replaced by Mpumalanga and Northern Transvaal was initially replaced by Northern Province which has been changed

[1]The president of South Africa.

[2] In this study, Euro-western names refers to names that derived from European languages. In a South African context these languages include Afrikaans and English.

to Limpopo Province. This study also investigates how political changes in the country had an effect on naming in South Africa.

Clearly, the Africanisation of names is not a new trend among African societies. Some Africans, in the quest to return to their roots, have recently been using their African names, while others are still using Euro-western names. In South Africa, it is important to note that the changing of names within the past eight years has increased when compared to the period between 1980-1990. It is not assumed that people are substituting their Euro-western names with African names, or that name changing is entirely determined by what has become known as the notion of an African renaissance in South Africa. Rather than assuming clear-cut patterns, this study explores the complexities raised by various questions. These include: Are people changing Euro-western or African names? Why are they changing them? What symbol if any do people attach to names? In some cases we still find people like the Vice-President of this country, Jacob Zuma, referring to themselves with Euro-western names. What do these newly reclaimed identities signify to the people who possess them and to our country?

The main objective of this research is to investigate how naming, identity and political change are linked, the area of focus being South Africa. The research seeks to investigate the complex connections between the changing socio-political structures in South Africa and changes in the way people name entities and in this way create identities for themselves. Identity means a 'sense of self'. This sense of self is clearly seen in the way an individual and her environment are culturally coded in language, in other words, named. Alford (1988:15) says that names usually convey messages to the society at large, providing many facts about the identity of the named person.

Although as its primary objective this study explores personal and geographical names, it also considers broader linguistic changes in a rapidly transforming South Africa. Since names are found in a language, the study also explores the attitudes that people have towards various languages. Attitudes towards language and their ideological and cultural

implications are clearly evident in everyday cultural life. The popularisation of Nguni languages, and the distinct connotative impact of African languages, are evident in a television advertisement like the SASOL petrol which has popularised for many South Africans, the plural prefix '*ama*' in '*amaglug-glug*'. These sorts of linguistic patterns are symptomatic of the crucial cultural changes that have occurred during the 1990s and that have been powerfully registered in language.

1.3 Background to the research area

South Africa (see Appendix 1) is inhabited by people from different racial, cultural, political, religious and economic backgrounds. The majority of people in South Africa are indigenous people. In this study, the word 'African' refers to those who were previously referred to as 'blacks' in South Africa. The words Africans and indigenous people will be used interchangeably in this study. In this case, it excludes those who were previously designated as Indians and Coloureds, who are now according to the New South African Constitution designated as Africans. South Africa has for years been dominated by the governance of white people, and indigenous people had no say in how the country should be governed. Indigenous people were not allowed to vote during the colonial and apartheid periods. They also were not allowed to own property and to live in areas that were designated for white people. Van Vuuren, Wiehahn, Lombard and Rhoodie (1985:35) say:

> Important characteristics of the system are separate areas for the different population groups, the control of the influx of Blacks from their areas to the so-called White areas and control over the movement of Blacks in the White areas.

Although Africans were prevented by law from living freely in what they considered their country, they never stopped fighting against the injustices of the white controlled government. Van Vuuren et.al. (1985:397) say:

> A dramatic turn of events occurred in 1958 when the more youthful Africanists in the ANC broke away to form the Pan African Congress (PAC), producing a very militant and confrontationist leadership among blacks for the first time. These developments culminated in what was South Africa's first state of overt and violent political action from Blacks. In the late fifties

> there were stoning of buses and beerhalls and limited marches or demonstrations in the major cities,...

As a result of the violent actions many indigenous people were tortured, jailed and murdered. Others however, ran for cover to neighbouring countries and further afield. Those in exile were looking forward to coming home to their country one day. Those inside the country engaged in various strategies to fight against the unjust laws of the white minority government. This led to various uprisings including the 1976 Soweto uprising where the scholars in Soweto stood up against the use of Afrikaans as the language of instruction in schools. Many scholars were killed by the state's police and soldiers on the 16th June 1976 during the Soweto uprisings.

After lengthy discussions between the apartheid government and various African political parties (ANC, PAC, SACP and other liberationist organisations) that had been unbanned, Nelson Mandela was released from prison on the 8th February 1990. He had been in prison for 27 years. Muthien, Khosa and Magubane (2000:8) say:

> The historic settlement and compromise reached at the multi-party negotiations not only pulled back the country from the brink of civil war, but produced innovative forms of power sharing and limits to majoritarian rule.

Nelson Mandela's release was acknowledged by various people in Africa and abroad. His release led to various negotiations between the National Party government and other liberationist organizations which resulted in far-reaching political and economic changes in South Africa. Magubane (2000:23) says:

> At Groote Schuur (a house that Cecil Rhodes built) F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela sat at the same table and talked about a new constitutional order for the country, something that was hardly expected to occur then. It was as if the ideology and infrastructure that strangled people's minds for nine decades had collapsed overnight.

Following various negotiations and discussions, on the 27th of April 1994 millions of South Africans (the majority for the first time) stood at the polls queuing to elect their democratic government.

South Africa comprises more than 44 million people. These people live in the nine Provinces of the country. These Provinces are: Gauteng, Western Cape, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, Limpopo, North West, Free State and Northern Cape. According to the Statistics South Africa web site[3], the estimated population of South Africa in October 2001 was 44.8 million people.

1.4 Methodology

There are various methods that researchers can employ when conducting research. These methods are chosen taking into account the nature of the investigation and the nature of data that needs to be analysed. The research methods include a positivist, a descriptive, a constructionist, and an interpretive method. The latter method was used in this study. Terre-Blanche and Durrheim (1999:123) in defining the interpretive method say:

> ...The interpretive method is characterised by a particular onthology, epistemology and methodology. Researchers working in this tradition assume that people's subjective experiences are real and should be taken seriously (onthology), that we can understand others' experiences by interacting with them and listening to what they tell us (epistemology), and that qualitative research techniques are best suited to this task.

Recent name changes in South Africa are compounded with people's subjective experiences that have brought South Africa to be where it is today. Various social and political changes in Africa and South Africa specifically have undoubtedly led to the name changing that is witnessed nowadays. Recent name changes in South Africa are characterised by various political and social factors prevailing in the country at present. To have an understanding of these changes, particularly in South Africa a researcher needs to interact and listen to people living in the country. These are the people who are in one way or the other affected by political and social factors that are prevailing, and who have changed or want to change their given names. Terre-Blanche and Durrheim say that qualitative research techniques are best suited to interpretive methodology. Sarakantos (1993:46) defines a qualitative method as a:

> ...naturalistic enquiry, which studies real world situations as they unfold. Qualitative method involves personal contact and insight,

[3] http://www.statsa.gov.za/SpecialProjects/Census2001/Left.asp

> with the researcher getting close to the people, situation and phenomenon under study.

In this study both the qualitative and the quantitative methods or techniques were used. Quantitative techniques are said to concentrate more on measurements and statistical analyses of variables instead of observations, interviews and fieldwork, often associated with qualitative research. The "triangulation method" was preferred as best suited for this study. Van Maanen (1979:135) says: "Triangulation is best defined by Denzin (1978:291) as the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon." Hammersley (1993:10) says:

> Qualitative methodology and quantitative methodology are not mutually exclusive. Differences between the two approaches are located in the overall form, focus and emphasis of the study.

The reason why a triangulation methodology was used was because a statistical analysis of data was necessary to draw conclusions about name changing patterns that are witnessed among Africans in South Africa at present. This statistical analyses will reveal whether the name changes in the country are significant or not.

"Interpretive research relies on first hand accounts ..." [Terre-Blanche and Durrheim (1999:124)]. It is for this reason that fieldwork was used as the main source of data collection. Shabalala (1999:10) says: "Field research takes place in a 'field' that is in a natural setting, a setting that is not established for the purpose of conducting research." The main objective of conducting field research was to collect names of people born before and those born after 1994. The reason for choosing these periods was to see if there are changes in the naming patterns among indigenous people and to see if there is any link between the demise of apartheid leading to affirmation of African identity and the changing in naming patterns witnessed nowadays. It was also the objective of this study to investigate attitudes that people have towards Euro-western and/ or African names.

1.5 Sample

Sample in this study refers to the units of analysis, i.e. indigenous people in South Africa who are native speakers of indigenous languages that have been accorded an official status according to the South African Constitution (Act no.108 of 1996). Although the Khoisan people in South Africa are undoubtedly indigenous people, they are not included in the sample mainly because they are not affected by name changing to the extent that other Africans in South Africa are. The target population 'Africans' in this study are studied as individuals rather than as groups. Thus the study is not looking at whether Sothos, Tsongas, Vendas or Swazis are changing their names, but at any individual who is changing her name. The data presented as a result does not represent groups of people but Africans. The study is also not looking at whether it is males or females who change their names. For this reason, a comparison on which groups are having their names changed is not addressed in this study.

For the researcher to draw concrete conclusions on the target population her sample must be representative of the population that is being studied. A question that could be posed is what does 'representative' mean, i.e. how small or how big is the sample supposed to be? Providing an answer to this question, Terre-Blanche and Durrheim (ibid) say:

> To achieve representativeness, researchers draw random samples. A second concern is the size of the sample, a very small random sample may be quite unrepresentative and the same is true for a large non-random sample.

Alford (1988:9) says:

> The initial step in any cross-cultural study is the selection of a sample of societies. An ideal sample should: (1) be large enough to reflect adequately worldwide cultural variability; (2) be small enough to be manageable; (3) select societies that are distinct and distant enough to minimize the effects of cultural diffusion between them; (4) use probabilistic selection to eliminate selector bias; (5) select societies about which there is adequate ethnographic information.

Since the main objective of this study is to investigate reasons for the changing naming patterns in South Africa among indigenous people in the new dispensation, the sample

needed to be representative of indigenous people in South Africa. The sample needed to be large enough to reflect the country's cultural diversity among the units of investigation and yet small enough to be manageable. Random sampling was used to ensure that the sample was both representative and manageable. The sample consisted of official indigenous language speakers of South Africa, i.e. baPedi, baSotho, amaZulu, amaXhosa, amaSwati, amaNdebele, vaTsonga, vhaVenda and baTswana. Working with a large calculated sample can be unrepresentative, while working with a very large random sample can be both challenging and time consuming. How then does a researcher draw conclusive conclusions on a random sample? In this case, sample was analysed and conclusive conclusions were drawn when the data kept yielding the same results regardless of the increase in the number of units of investigation.

To eliminate selector bias, the research was conducted among various African communities in South Africa. This included urban and rural communities, literate and illiterate communities and poverty stricken and well-to-do communities comprising indigenous people.

Questionnaires were administered to various speakers of official indigenous languages to ensure that the investigation is representative of the indigenous people of South Africa. During the course of administering questionnaires, it was discovered that Gauteng was the province which was most representative of indigenous people from various ethnic groups. The reason for this is because: "About 37.7% of the country's GDP is generated in Gauteng" [Burger (2000:16)], and as a result people move from various provinces to Gauteng in search of better working opportunities. Burger (2000:16) says: "Gauteng is the mostly densely populated province in South Africa, it is the smallest province (17 010 km^2), but houses more than seven million of the country's people." Some of the questionnaires were administered at the University of Natal on the Pietermaritzburg campus, as students in this institution come from various cultural groups. To draw concrete conclusions on recent name changes and new naming practices in South Africa, sampling to redundancy was used. Terre-Blanche and Durrheim (1999:45) say:

> This involves not defining one's sample size in advance, but

> interviewing more and more people until the same themes and issues come up over and over again. The sample has achieved redundancy in the sense that no new information can be gained from increasing the sample size.

Since random sampling was used, the research was not restricted to one area, and this made it easy to administer questionnaires in various places and get varied responses.

1.6 Data sources

Data can be defined as the material that the researcher uses to test her hypothesis and to draw conclusions from the investigations. It should be pointed out, however, that in interpretive research data does not represent bits of information that is waiting to be extracted from the context to draw conclusions. Instead, in interpretive research, data is defined by the context where the investigation takes place. Thus "...the meaning of whatever the researcher is investigating depends on the particular situation the individual is in." [Terre-Blanche and Durrheim (1999:46)]. It is for this reason that if the study was conducted during a different period, it probably would have produced different results.

Data was collected among Africans in various provinces in South Africa aged between 13 and 80 years. Various sources were used to collect data analysed in this study. These sources included questionnaires, interviews, school records, church records, hospital records, government gazettes, tape recorder, camera, published and unpublished documents and books. There are various reasons for choosing these sources. The initial plan was to get records from the Department of Home Affairs as it has records of South African citizens. Due to various challenges that were encountered in this Department, a new plan had to be devised. This plan entailed collecting school records and hospital records which undoubtedly had the information that was needed. The grade R, Grade 1 and hospital records had names of children born after 1994. These records were used to check the number of children who are given Euro-western names. On the other hand, other school records and church records that were used had names of people born before 1994, others dating back to the 1970s. These were used to determine the number of

people who were given Euro-western names before 1994. The records were later used to compare and contrast changing naming patterns in South Africa. Government gazettes that were used consisted of records of official name changes among South Africans. They were used to identify the number of indigenous people who are changing their names officially.

The main purpose of the questionnaires was to establish attitudes that people have towards African names and also towards Euro-western names. Questionnaires were used because some respondents could freely express themselves when they write as writing gives them time to think without any interruption. Another reason was that questionnaires are easy to administer when classifying and coding responses. It is less challenging to code questionnaires as compared to trying to code interviews as tape recorded interviews need to be transcribed before they can be coded. Questionnaires were given to respondents and they had to complete the questionnaires and return them. In the majority of cases questionnaires had to be completed and returned at the same time. However, in situations where this was not possible, questionnaires had to be collected by the research assistants at a given time. No questionnaires were posted to respondents. The reason for this was that since the study was conducted in various provinces, the respondents in most cases were not familiar with the researcher or research assistants, and as a result they had to submit questionnaires as soon as they had completed them as there was no designated place where they could hand them in if not directly to the researcher or research assistants. The questionnaire was only in English but could be translated by the researcher or research assistants when necessary. The respondents were content with the language used in the questionnaire and none complained or raised questions as to why there was no Venda, Xhosa or Sotho questionnaire. This was an indication that respondents had no negative attitudes towards using English to express their aspirations, desires, dissatisfactions and attitudes towards Euro-western names.

Interviews were also used to collect data. The interviews were conducted by the researcher. In some cases, because of various reasons, respondents were not willing to

complete questionnaires, and as a result interviews were used. As this study was conducted in both rural and urban areas, some people were illiterate and thus unable to complete the questionnaire. It is usually not possible to write down all responses that the interviewee provides especially if the interviewer has to make follow-up questions and write responses at the same time. A tape recorder was used to record interviews, after seeking the respondent's consent. The tape recorded interviews were later transcribed. Tape recorded interviews were minimized as they are time consuming when coding data. Although notes were taken during the interviews, the tape recorder was used in comparing the notes and the actual interview to ensure that all the responses were recorded. Shabalala (1999:13) says: "Using a tape recorder was very advantageous because I knew I could replay the cassette for as long as I wanted, and get some points that might have been missed during the interview."

1.7 Challenges encountered when collecting data

Conducting field research yields different results. No fieldwork is the same. Fieldwork poses its own challenges and excitement, as a given group of people respond in different ways to investigations being conducted. Although there are a number of books that give advice on conducting fieldwork, these books are based on a particular researcher's experiences. Although the advice is of utmost importance, it bears noting that they may not always be used in every society and/or community as people behave differently towards a certain kind of investigation and towards the researcher. Various things like the researcher's gender, race, appearance, or whether the research is conducted in an urban or rural area affect the responses and the behaviour that the researcher may encounter when conducting research. A researcher should have some basic knowledge of the social dynamics of the place where the research would be conducted. Without the knowledge of a place, the researcher would not be able to accurately predict the reaction of the respondents to the needs and the objectives of the research.

The purpose of this subheading is to highlight some of the problems that were encountered when collecting data, moreover to prepare various researchers for challenges

they might face when collecting data. Shabalala (1999:17) on collecting data in a rural area says:

> The majority of informants were illiterate. This made it hard for them to understand why research on homestead names was conducted. To them, there was nothing important that one could do with homestead names. Their confusion led to them asking numerous questions like:... "what are you going to do with what we have told you?".

These problems, however, can be encountered even when collecting data in urban and well established areas, where most people are literate. Conducting social science research is challenging because a researcher depends on a specific target population for the collection of data and if those people are not co-operative and also question the objectives of the study, data collection can be challenging and exhausting. In most instances researchers find themselves having to explain the objectives of the research and not collecting the data needed. Although it is important to outline the objectives of the research to respondents, this does not guarantee that they would complete questionnaires or avail themselves for interviews. It does happen that after a lengthy explanation of the research and its objective, respondents do not see the need to participate. Some respondents refused to complete the questionnaires when it was clear that they would not get any financial reward.

In some instances, research assistants were accused of working for the government and wanting to take people's names to use them for government purposes. Regardless of the fact that people's names are recorded in the national records at the Department of Home Affairs, some respondents refused to fill in questionnaires or allow themselves to be interviewed because they felt that their names were going to be sent all over the world. This was regardless of being informed that their names were only going to be used to quantify the changes in naming patterns.

In some cases, people thought that by allowing themselves to be interviewed they were going to be offered employment and when they realised that that was not possible,

refrained from participating in the research.

Various researchers including Neethling (2000), Koopman (1986), Shabalala (1999), Sumbwa (1997), Herbert and Bogatsu (1990), Thipa (1984), Moyo (1996), Asante (1996) and Turner (1992) among others, in various ways attest that names among African people are significant, profound, important and not given at random. Among some South Africans, however, a name is just a name and nothing more. It is for this reason that they find it not just odd but time wasting for someone to do research on names and naming patterns. These people, as a result do not want to respond to research questions because they fear that their names are going to be used for political and other reasons, and not for the research, because they are of the opinion that nothing could be done with a name. However, they could not state what the political reasons could be. One respondent said: "Tell the government that we want jobs, we are hungry, we want to send our children to school not to complete these papers of yours." Another respondent misinterpreted the study as the census (intended to count people for national records) and said: "*Kanti sizobalwa kuze kube nini? Sibalelwani nje ngoba asinikwa nomsebenzi nokudla.*" (Till when are we going to be counted, why are we counted because we are not even given work and food?). From these statements, it is clear that among some South Africans, research is associated with the government.

Having the experience of conducting research in a rural area, I assumed that people in urban areas would have a better idea of what research entails and as a result would be willing to offer information needed for the research. However, this was not the case. Some personnel in government institutions where names of various African citizens of the country are kept, were not willing to assist and as a result kept on sending the research assistants from pillar to post. After moving from one person to the other the last person in charge would state that she is unable to offer the information needed. This was not just time wasting, as researchers kept on going to the same place, but it was also emotionally draining. It was the feeling of the researcher and the research assistants that people should have made it clear from the onset that they were not willing, or that the law

would not allow them to provide the information. This would have helped and information would have been sought from other places, instead of consuming time in one place and eventually not getting the information needed.

There seems to be various negative attitudes towards research from people, educated or uneducated, from rural or urban areas and an in depth study needs to be conducted to study and highlight the source and various causes of these attitudes. Whether people are from rural or urban areas, it is not easy to ascertain attitudes that they will have towards a given study. For example, much as some rural respondents may resist being investigated, other rural respondents may be interested and willing. This also applies to units of investigation in urban areas.

1.7.1 The questionnaire

The questionnaire was specifically compiled to have a respondent's responses recorded so that they could be sorted and coded at a later stage. The advantage of using questionnaires is that they can be administered to more than five people at the same time, whereas it would not have been possible to interview more than five people at the same time. Another advantage is that questionnaires are less time consuming for the researcher when compared with interviews. The questionnaire (see Appendix 2) was prepared in English. The reasons why the questionnaire was used have been highlighted above. The main objective of this sub heading is to discuss some shortcomings in the way the questionnaire was formulated and challenges encountered by the respondents in completing questionnaires.

After the questionnaire was designed, it was checked to see if questions were addressed in a manner in which they could be easily understood by the respondents and that they were specific enough for a particular response. However, it was discovered in the field that question number 5 was not clear enough as some respondents were not sure of what name it referred to. The question said 'Have you changed your name recently?' Some respondents thought it referred to the name in number 2, whereas it referred to any name.

Question 5 thus should have been phrased as 'Have you changed any of your names recently?', in this manner it would have been referring to any given name. The question was also not specific enough as it did not ask if the name had been changed formally or informally. As a result, an explanation was necessary before the questionnaire was completed. The completion of the questionnaire was not a major obstacle as all questionnaires were completed in the presence of the researcher or the research assistant.

1.7.2 Tape recorder

Tape recorders are crucial when collecting data. After collecting data using a tape recorder, interviews should be transcribed in order to be able to analyse the data collected using the preferred method of data analysis. Transcribing tapes however can be time consuming. After the interviews, cassettes were labelled and kept in a safe place for transcribing when the interviews were completed. In some cases, it happened that the notes that were taken during the interviews were not kept together with the recorded cassettes. This caused challenges as in some cases the interviewees' voices were not audible enough, because they were speaking softly or because they were using a dialect different to that of the research team.

1.7.3 Government gazette

Various challenges were faced when collecting data in the government gazettes. The initial challenge was that government gazettes contain other information in addition to information on name changes. As a result, one had to consult many gazettes. In some instances in a gazette with 800 pages, only 5 pages were relevant to the research as they contained information on name changes. Another challenge was to try and identify which of the provided names were African and which were of people who are not Africans. Although it was possible to see indigenous names because the surnames are normally identifiable as those of indigenous people of South Africa, it can be argued that this was not hundred percent reliable. For example, if a Xhosa speaking person had names like Richard Peter Spelman and wanted to change Richard to Richmond, would this person be

classified as an African[4] or not? It should be stated in this study that people with such names were not considered as Africans although in some cases (which are very rare), these people might have been Africans. Because of the indecision on the identity of these people, they were excluded from the data. The purpose for this was to avoid miscalculations on percentages of Africans changing their names, and excluding them was one way of ensuring that there was no miscalculation.

1.8 Literature review

Although name changing in South Africa has been witnessed for decades, there has not been extensive research on the subject. Research has been conducted on naming systems of various African societies. These include research conducted by Koopman on the naming systems of the Zulu people since the 1970s; Neethling (1988-2000), De Klerk and Bosch (1995) researched the naming systems of the Xhosa people, Alford's (1988) research on naming practices of various African societies including the Dogon, the Lozi, the Somalians, etc., Herbert and Bogatsu's (1990) research on Nothern Sotho and Tswanas naming patterns, etc. In recent years, the subject of name changing has attracted major media attention. There is a view among some that recent name changing is linked to the changes in the political situation in South Africa. To others, name changing in South Africa is seen as a form of identity affirmation among Africans whose identities have evolved with time. This is because of the belief that African people's identity has been corrupted by among other things the arrival of white people and the insistence on the use of Euro-western names.

Although onomastics is still a relatively new field among researchers and academics, the act of naming among human beings is as old as human history. Regardless of this field being relatively new, various research has been conducted in naming and naming practices particularly in South Africa.

[4] In this study, African refers to the indigenous people of South Africa. Reasons for this are discussed in Chapter 3.

There is vast material available from various anthropological researchers on the social practices of various indigenous people of South Africa. Included in these material are cultural patterns of the indigenous people. Culture is not static and cannot be practised in a vacuum. It is for this reason that the cultural practices of indigenous people in South Africa have undergone various changes. There seems to be a shift, for example, on religious thought patterns of early anthropologists (those who wrote in the beginning of the 20th century till late 1970) compared to the thought patterns of recent writers (writing during the 1980s to the present) on African religion and culture. Various books on the social life of Africans in South Africa were helpful in this regard. Literature on the social life of Africans and South Africa was used to compare, contrast and analyse the changing cultural and religious practices among South Africans today. Religious practices had to be looked at because religion had and still has an influence on naming of patterns of indigenous people in South Africa. Identities of various peoples are embedded in their changing cultural practices. It is for this reason that cultural and religious practices of Africans in South Africa from around the beginning of the 20th century to the present were investigated. Early writing by Junod H.P (1938), Junod H.A (1912-1967), Krige (1950), Stayt (1968), Hammond-Tooke (1973-1993), Bhengu (1975), were critically examined and were compared with the thoughts of recent writers which include Campbell (1988)., Dlomu (1994)., Durrheim (2001), Magubane (1998)., Vilakazi (1998), and others.

Naming does not happen in a vacuum, it happens in a society. It is for this reason that naming cannot be separated from the society where it takes place. There are various factors that affect the societies we live in and thus have an effect on the naming of various objects. These include religious, political, social and economic factors. Some religions specify the names that people should use. For example, when a person joins the Islamic religion, she adopts an Islamic name. Political factors to some extent do affect the choice of various names among various people at a given time. For example, during the apartheid era in South Africa, some people were required to have two names, one of which should be a Euro-western name. Although there was no law that stipulated that

indigenous people should have a Euro-western name, in various instances people were required to have Euro-western names. According to various sources, people were not baptised in the Roman Catholic Church without a Christian or Euro-western name. At baptism people were given new Euro-western names, usually those of Roman Catholic Saints. It should be borne in mind that during the late 19th century for example, home births were common, and as a result newborn children did not have birth certificates, and as a result a baptismal certificate served as a birth certificate. Some of the government officials took it upon themselves not to register people who did not have Euro-western names. As a result people coming to register and to get their legal documents were given new Euro-western names often chosen by the person who registered them. Nowadays, with the political changes in South Africa and the popularity of African names, various people including those of Euro-western origin are giving their children African names. Economic factors also play a role in the naming of individuals. During the advent of colonialism, people who had Euro-western names were more likely to be those who either worked for white people or went to mission schools. Nowadays, prominent people and those who have access to the media make up a larger number of those who change their names, compared to those who do not have access to the media and information.

The renaissance concept is an old notion in the world's history. An African renaissance was perpetuated by Web Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah (in the context of Ghana as the first African country to gain independence) and other African leaders. However, this notion is relatively new in the South African context. There are various publications on renaissance and the notion of an African renaissance in particular. As the notion of Africa renaissance in South Africa is relatively new, there are not many publications on this subject. This study benefited from the book by Makgoba (1999) on African renaissance as it contains various articles on the subject from different authors who are from various disciplines and schools of thought. Supportive material was also acquired from the book by Nuttal and Michael (2000), which had an article by Accone, on African renaissance. Although various authors agree that renaissance means rebirth, rediscovering, renewal and revival of African culture particularly in Africa, there seems to be debates as to how

this concept could be addressed. While some argue that the concept of an African renaissance has been perpetuated by the South African President recently in South Africa, and is South Africa's way of asserting dominance over the other African countries, others argue that the notion of an African renaissance is one of the positive ways that will address poverty in African countries. This would ensure that Africans are not always dependent on Euro-western countries for addressing their hardships.

Various other sources of information were also used in this study. These include unpublished dissertations, articles from journals, newspaper and magazine articles and also information from the electronic media, i.e. internet and television.

Dissertations were sought from various academic institutions. Through the University of Natal's inter-library loan service, I was able to get dissertations from various institutions. Certain dissertations contained valuable information on the research that has been conducted and from there it was easier to evaluate research gaps that needed to be filled. For example, Ngubane (2000) conducted a study on name changing among Zulus in South Africa. From Ngubane's study I was able to identify more areas of research that needed exploration. These include the fact that the change in the political situation has affected various Africans in South Africa apart from the Zulu speaking people. Ngubane only investigated anthroponymical changes, which left the area of toponymical changes that evoke various feelings among South Africans, uninvestigated. Apart from evaluating research gaps that needed more investigation, dissertations were consulted to get various information on old and recent studies that have been conducted. For example Koopman (1986) investigated the naming patterns of the Zulu people. It is not every author who publishes her research. The information in dissertations consists mostly of research conducted for the purposes of completing degrees. Some people, once they have completed their degrees (which is their ultimate goal), do not see the need to publish their research. These researches are valuable and could be used to identify further research.

The ***Nomina Africana Journal*** publishes articles on naming and naming patterns. The first volume of 1987 consisted of various articles on naming including Koopman's article

on Zulu names and other forms of address. This journal not only includes South African contributions but also includes articles from the neighbouring countries and countries further afield. These contributions are valuable in comparing and contrasting naming patterns in South Africa and those in other countries. For example the article by Mathangwane and Gardner published in 1998 was useful as it investigated attitudes portrayed by the use of English and African names in Botswana. However, findings of Mathangwane and Gardner regarding the English language and African names are different when compared to the South African situation. Various articles from the ***Nomina Africana Journal*** were consulted, these include articles by Neethling on Xhosa surnames (1996) and first names (1998), Sumbwa's (1997) article on Zambian names as sources of diversified knowledge; Ndimande's (1998) article on a semantic analysis of Zulu surnames, de Klerk's (1999) article on Beauty or Buhle? ?... on changing ones name; Golele's (1993) article on names and society; Meiring's (1997) article on Toponymic innovation and social change; Jenkins' (1997) article on names of informal settlements, Turner's (1992) article on Zulu names as echoes of censure, discontent and disapproval within the domestic environment; Möller's (1995) article on proposed name changes and Lubisi's (2002) article on a glance into African personal names.

While some of the ***Nomina Africana Journal*** articles were consulted to compare and contrast onomastic research that has been conducted to date, others were critically analysed. Naming of entities is not static, it is usually influenced by the changing social dynamics of places where names are found. It is for this reason that various onomastic research needs to be consulted to see the changing patterns in naming practices. Neethling's articles published in ***the South African Journal of African Languages*** were also consulted. Neethling's (2000) article titled 'An onomastic renaissance: African names to the fore' investigates the influence of African names on South African language communities and also looks at how African names which were formerly marginalised in South Africa, are now making their presence felt in all areas of social life. Neethling's article addresses the changing onomastic context of South Africa which is the main investigation in this study. However, Neethling's article is limited as it does not

specifically address anthroponymic and toponymic changes and does not seek to link recent onomastic changes with the concept of African renaissance. This study investigates onomastic changes witnessed in South Africa. It investigates anthroponyms and toponyms which are heavily influenced by the changing social and political dynamics of the country.

A study on identity and name change need not rely only on academic research. It should also be supported by research conducted by various sectors of the public. It is for this reason that different magazines were also consulted to investigate people's views on name changing, African renaissance and African culture in general. Magazines that were used include *Pace*, *Truelove*, *Fairlady* and *NewAfrican*. The latter magazine was frequently referred to as it dealt with political and social views on an African renaissance, African identity and other issues.

1.9 Conclusion

Field research is a very interesting method of acquiring research information. Apart from gathering the data necessary for the study that a person is engaged in, a person learns various social dynamics of areas where the research is conducted. In this research it was discovered that as much as the researcher has expectations of respondents, they also have various expectations from the researcher. The expectations of people in rural areas are different to those of people in urban areas. In various cases the researcher ends up addressing various questions from the respondents that are not crucial for the study. Although experience in conducting research is crucial, it does not guarantee easy access to the research area and the respondents, unless the person has done research in that area with those respondents. However, even if research has been conducted in the same area with the same respondents, change in the research topic could affect the respondents' willingness to participate. Successful research is determined by good research objectives and research material, the willingness of the respondents to participate and the social and economic factors that define the area where the research is conducted. As Shabalala (1999:155) mentions:

> The success and failure of fieldwork depend largely on the local

support of the community where the research is conducted. The researched are a major source of information without whom the research might be a failure.

CHAPTER 2

ONOMASTIC THEORY

2.1 What is onomastics?

Onomastics is defined as the scientific study of names. Names may include personal names, place names, birds' names, etc. Crystal (1985:314) defines onomastics as:

> A branch of semantics which studies the etymology of institutionalised ('proper') names, such as the names of people ('anthroponymy') and places ('toponymy').

In this study, Crystal's above definition of onomastics is seen as not convincing. The reason for this is because onomastics deals with linguistics and socio-linguistics, and as a result is a broader category which does not only deal with semantics. It goes beyond just looking at the etymology of anthroponyms and toponyms.

Ngubane (2000:17) on the other hand defines onomastics as:

> ...the study of names and involves a variety of complex naming techniques. Onomastics as a science has no ending but is open-ended, accommodating new thoughts and innovations through naming in any of the languages of the people of the earth.

Burchfield (1981:72) cited in Chauke (1992:5) defines onomastics as: "The scientific study of names as names, that is, of the human habit of naming things." Raper (1987a:78), defining onomastics, says:

> Onomastics has as its object the study of proper names. A proper name, like any other linguistic sign, consists of a sound sequence, which may be represented graphically, and has a 'sense' or 'meaning'. It also has the function of referring to, or designating, an extra-linguistic entity.

The above definition by Raper, is seen as only applicable to names as linguistic signs in that any linguistic sign consists of a sound sequence that may be represented graphically

and has a sense or meaning. Although names are words, it should be pointed out that they are more than linguistic signs used to refer or to identify an entity. Raper, in his definition, fails to give a clear distinction between a 'name' and a 'word'. Although both of these are used to refer or to designate objects, names however, link the bearer of the name and the society where the name is given. Words are used to refer to certain entities, e.g. the word 'boy' refers to any young human male. The name *Mfanafuthi* on the other hand refers to a boy with that name. Unlike words, names are social entities relevant to a particular society. It is in names that one can learn the dynamics of certain societies. It is for this reason that a scholar can never study names in isolation, without studying the society where they are given.

Although the above scholars attempt to define onomastics, in this study these definitions are seen as incomplete when defining onomastics. In this study, I define onomastics as:

> A branch of sociolinguistics that comprises naming, renaming and 'denaming' of entities. Onomastics as a study, goes beyond looking at the linguistic features of names, but also looks at the socio-cultural and psychological factors that influence the choice of a name given to an entity by the namer.

2.2 Proper names and common nouns

Almost all human languages consist of words, with the exception of some sign languages. It is usually from these words that names of any type are formed. According to the **Collins Shorter English Dictionary**[5], a word is one of the units of speech or writing that is the smallest meaningful element of a language, although linguists would analyse these further into morphemes. On the other hand, a name is a word or term by which a person or thing is commonly and distinctively known. Under this sub-heading proper names[6] and common nouns will be discussed.

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[5] Adams, D., Grandison A., McGinley D., Shearer T. and Knight L. (1995).

[6] According to the **Collins Shorter English Dictionary** (op cit.), "a proper name is the name of a person, place, or object, as for example *Iceland, Patrick*, or *Uranus*." Although a proper name is primarily a linguistic sign, in this study, it is defined as a general name given to an extra linguistic entity to distinctly identify it and has some meaning and/or connotations.

Grammatically, proper names (names) and common nouns (nouns) look similar, however, their function is different. The difference in proper names and common nouns lies in the fact that proper names identify individual entities, while proper nouns refer to the entire class/ category of things. The names *Lufuno* and *Matsamayinkani*[7] for example identify a person and a place with the name respectively, however, the nouns *vanhu* and *ndawu* refer to a group of things, i.e. people and places respectively. For a person to use a noun meaningfully, she has to understand it, unlike names that a person can use even if they do not understand them. Nicolaisen (1976:143) points out that a name must be known in order to be able to use it properly, whereas there is no compelling to understand it. This was often the case when some indigenous people bestowed Euro-western names on their children. Although they did not know the lexical meaning of 'John', that did not stop them from using the name or bestowing it on their children. The use of names without understanding their meaning does not apply to Euro-western names only, but also to African names, where names of ancestors have been used from one generation to another regardless of whether the meaning is known or unknown. Some names are semantically opaque as they cannot be reduced to a lexical meaning. It should be noted that some names originally had lexical meaning, which got lost when the common noun lost its 'common' status and became a proper name.

Although most names are said to have been derived from words, names are said to be older than words. "Of the two terms, 'name' is far the older" [Gardiner (1957:7)]. Loffler (1989:9) cited in Chauke (1992:3) says: "Names are historical witnesses, like very old buildings or old trees. Together with other historical data they may help to uncover a country's history." The reason for this is because as time goes by, languages undergo a process of transformation and may lose part of their vocabulary. The lost vocabulary can be identified in old names as names remain unchanged. Nicolaisen (1976:147) says:

> Words clearly have a much lower survival rate than names, a fact which increases the value of toponymic raw material to the scholar, the further back we go in history and prehistory. The power of survival names have must be due to the fact that, as we have seen, onomastic items function perfectly well without any lexical meaning whatsoever, a characteristic which permits them

[7]A personal name in tshiVenda meaning 'love' and a place name in xiTsonga meaning 'stay by force'.

> not only to survive the lexical material from which they have been created (Fletcher, Lorimer, Barker, etc) but to outlive the death of the very languages which coined them.

The majority of names are derived from the vocabulary of a specific language. Though names are derived from words and are identified as words, their meaning is usually different to that of words. For example, the Tsonga name *Xiluva* derived from the word *Xiluva* 'flower' refers to a person with that name and not a flower, the same applies to the name *Muzikayifani* (houses are not the same), derived from the noun *umuzi* and the negated verb *kayifani*. This Zulu name usually given to a male child, refers to a boy with that name, and not the houses that are not the same; thus when a person calls a child by this name, she usually makes no connection whatsoever with the boy and houses which are not the same. The same applies to the girl possessing the name *Xiluva*, she might have no characteristics or qualities of a flower, but that does not make her a lesser *Xiluva*. A word and a name that have the same sound may have a different sense. Nicolaisen (1976:144) says:

> Whether our name is patronymic like Jones, for instance, or an occupational name like Smith, or a descriptive nickname like Brown, or of local origin like Washington, it is unlikely to identify us as the son of John, a shoer of horses, a person with brown hair, or someone from Washington, England. In our society we have lived with inherited surnames for so long that we regard them at best as genealogical markers, or more probably as mere onomastic labels, even when to the etymologically uninitiated they are semantically quite transparent and betray their origin without much probing. The noun smith, the adjective brown, and the personal name John not infrequently cross our lips in ordinary daily discourse, and the map at least reveals the place-name Washington as existing in the counties of Durham and Sussex, England - and yet the connection is hardly ever made.

Gardiner (1957:7) makes a distinction between words and names when he says:

> When we speak of a 'word' our minds travel from the sound-sign to whatever it may mean; when we speak of a 'name' we imply that there exists something to which a certain sound-sign corresponds, something that was the *fons et origo* of the name, something that supplies its *raison d'être*.

Nicolaisen (op.cit:145) says that the distinction between words and names lies between meaning and function, i.e. words mean and names function. The function of a name is to uniquely identify an entity. Unlike names which can be used without knowing their meaning, words should be used in context and as a result the meaning of words is important to convey the intended message.

The importance of identifying entities by naming them is clearly seen in most societies. "All persons have names of their own, and Napoleon is the name of the great Corsican" [Gardiner (1957:48)]. There is no human being who does not have a name of her own. Naming is as old as human societies can be. Nicolaisen (1976:143) says:

> In fact naming is so intimately linked with the history of the human race and its mastery over the world by which it is surrounded, that ultimately the history of naming may be said to be the same as the history of human spirit or, putting it in a proverbial nutshell, man always has been, and still is a naming animal.

Alford (1988:1) says:

> Ethnographic research has failed to reveal a single society which does not bestow personal names on its members.

Names of any type (anthroponyms, oronyms, hydronyms, etc.) do not exist in isolation. There is a close relationship between the society and a language in which names are found, as names form an important part of a language: "...the acquisition of a language, another human trait, has given him [man] the tool with which to name" [Nicolaisen (1976:143)]. Language is defined as a powerful tool which various people from different societies use to communicate or convey their messages. "Language may be described as a social instrument used by members of society to communicate with one another." [Raper (1983a:1)]. Names are also very crucial in everyday communication.

Raper (1987b:17) says: "Names are an integral part of a language, and a primary function of a language is to communicate. It would therefore seem to be unreasonable to assume that names have no meaning at all." Names like any linguistic item are found in a language. Koopman (1979:153) points out that the name-forming process is a

derivational one as all names are derived from a primary source in a language. 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.

2.3 The meanings of names

There have been endless questions of whether names have meaning or not. These questions have troubled linguists and psychologists for a long time. While some argue that proper names are mere labels used to uniquely identify entities, others argue that proper names are more than labels. According to Mill, cited in Gardiner (1957:38) "a proper name is but an unmeaning mark which we connect in our minds with *the idea of the object*, in order that whenever the mark meets our eyes or occur to our thoughts, we may think of that individual object." The reason why some linguists concluded that proper names do not have meaning is because in some names, the meaning is not easily recognisable. Raper (1987b:17) says:

> There may be a number of reasons why the 'meaning' of a name is not readily discernible. The name, or part of the name, may be in an unknown language; the name may be so old that the word(s) from which it is derived are no longer in current use; the name may have been so greatly adapted (some say 'corrupted') that it is no longer recognizable.

Raper (1987a:78) says: "It has been variously stated that proper names have no meaning, that they have some meaning and that they are the most meaningful of all words". These debates have led and still lead to a variety of studies conducted on the meanings of proper names in various societies. Some conclusions have been made that proper names have lexical or linguistic meaning, connotative meaning, associative meaning, onomastic meaning, etc. Another question that has vexed onomasticians and linguists is what should be regarded as meaning. Can connotations of a place be regarded as meaning? Can people's feelings, attitudes and emotions towards a place be regarded as meaning?

Although in some societies proper names have no associative meaning[8], in other societies proper names have more than lexical meaning and they are meaningful and profound. Contrary to what Mills cited in Gardiner (1957:38) says, Turner (1992:43) 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.

Various researches have been conducted on the subject of the meanings of names, and these have led to various different conclusions and theories on names. It has been concluded from some research that proper names do have meaning. A name consists of a meaning, a sound sequence and also has the main function of referring to an entity. Sørensen (1963:13-14) has identified the meaning of a proper name as the designatum, the sound sequence as the designator, and the entity referred to as the denotatum. In Sørenson's terms, a personal name *uNtombinkulu* (big girl) can be categorised as follows:

Designator: class 1a Zulu noun[9], which consists of a class 1a prefix *u-* and a compound stem made up of a class 9 noun *-ntombi* and the adjective *-khulu*.

Designatum: The above name means a big girl. It might have been given to a young girl because she is a first born girl or because she is big in size, when she was born.

Denotatum: the name refers to any girl with the name.

Sørensen (loc cit) says:

> The extra linguistic entity or entities we refer to by means of a sign S, I call the *denotatum* or *denotata* of S. The *denotata* of "a mother" are the well-known entities of flesh and blood which have given birth to at least one child. "A mother" *denotes* (applies to, is used of) these entities. The denotatum of "Churchill", the extra linguistic entity denoted by "Churchill", is the flesh-and-blood entity Churchill, the person Churchill.

It can be seen from Sørensen's (ibid) theory that proper names may have more than one denotatum, for example, if *Ntombinkulu* refers to a female child and there are more than two people at a given place with the same name, then there is a need for another

[8]Nicolaisen (1976:161)

[9]In Zulu using Meinhof's class system.

denotatum to be used. It is for this reason that other names like surnames and nicknames are used to uniquely refer to a person.

Although Sørensen's theory is convincing and appropriate when analysing proper names, it is not preferred in this study because this study focuses on the social aspects of proper names rather than the linguistic sounds or sound sequences. Shabalala (1999) gives a detailed discussion of Sørensen's designator, denotatum and designatum.

Sørensen's theory also poses challenges where one has to analyse the designator. It is conceivable that some names, especially of geographical entities, are as old as human history can be traced, and as a result the designator is not easily discernable. This is challenging when one has to analyse those names as linguistic signs. It should be taken into account that some names are adopted from languages different to that of the community where the name is found. These names in most cases go through some phonological adaptations when they are adopted by the receiving language.

Raper (1987b:81) on various meanings of names, says:

> **Pragmatic** or **associative** meaning on the other hand, has a bearing on the extra-linguistic entity to which the name refers, i.e. the denotatum, and is accorded to the name via that entity. Since a number of associations are possible, it has been stated that proper names have more meaning than common nouns.

Raper (op.cit:79) says that the conceptual meaning is inherent in the name itself, i.e. in the designator or linguistic sign. He says that conceptual meaning includes the lexical meaning and the grammatical meaning, where the grammatical meaning refers to or includes functions such as gender, number, etc. According to Raper, the pragmatic or associative meaning, consists of four different types of meaning, namely, (1) connotative, (2) affective or emotive, (3) social or stylistic and (4) phonic associative. **Connotative** meaning usually includes things known about the entity referred to. For example, Sharpville, Soweto, etc. could be connoted with violence during the apartheid era. **Affective** or **emotive** meaning is as a result of individual emotions (good or bad) a person

may feel towards an entity. For example, *eSandlwana, eMbali,* the latter place names evoke unpleasant emotions to some people because of the people who died at *eSandlwana* when the Zulu people conquered the British in 1879, and the people who died at *eMbali* during political violence that erupted there in the 1980s. **Stylistic or social** meaning refers to the namers' attitudes at a given time. As generations come and go, there is a shift in the names that are given to individuals, for example, it is very rare nowadays to find a young person with the name Jumaima or Jutaita among indigenous people of South Africa. These shifts are as a result of social circumstances and also namer's attitudes towards names and naming practices which vary from time to time. People may give names to entities because those names to them have the quality of nobility, e.g. naming entities after the former president *Nelson Mandela,* or may choose a name because they associate it with modernity. The **phonic-associative** meaning is related to associations that the sound of the name bears. Some people give names because they like its sound. In some instances the sound may be associated with the word where the name was derived. "For example, if two words are homonymous, the meaning of one may be associated with the other" Raper (1987a:81). Although the latter statement by Raper can be true, it is not usually the case, as it can happen that the meaning of one word cannot be associated with the other. For example, the person's name *uSobantu* and the place name *eSobantu* do not have any association. Gardiner (1957:16) says:

> My John is tall, dark, and differs markedly in character and ability, not to speak of age, from my neighbour's small and fair-haired John. The two names *John* have, accordingly, a different sense, but the same sound. Is it not imperative then to say that the two names are homonyms? A homonym is a word that has a same sound as another, but a different sense[10].

Various onomastic theories have been discussed above. These theories have limitations when dealing with the meanings of names. Raper (loc.cit) mentions various types of meanings that are associated with names. Nevertheless, there are unanswered questions about these various meanings, for example, what happens if the pragmatic meaning is unknown to the speaker.

[10]Some people refer to these as 'homophones'.

According to Nicolaisen (ibid) there are three levels of meaning found in a given name. These levels are:

1. the **lexical level** which is the dictionary meaning of the word or word comprising the name, for example, the dictionary meaning of the Tsonga name *Tinyiko* is 'gifts'.
2. the **associative level** which include the reasons why the particular lexical items were used in the naming process (this is also the level of connotative names). For example, parents may choose to name their child *Lerato,* a seSotho name meaning 'love', because of the love they have for their newborn child or the love they share together which has resulted in the birth.
3. the **onomastic level** which deals with the meaning of a denotative name as a name, i.e., its application based on lexical and associative semantic elements but no longer dependent on them. For example, when one mentions the place name *Thohoyandou,* what immediately comes to the hearer's mind is neither the 'head of the elephant' (which is the translation of this tshiVenda name) nor "Thoho-ya-Ndou ...the great legendary hero of the VhaVenda. He is said to have ruled over a large country..." [Stayt (1968:13)], but what comes to a hearer's mind is a place in the Limpopo Province in South Africa. This then means that the name is no longer dependent on its lexical and associative semantic levels. In consideration of the latter, I disagree with Asante when he says:

> Those who see me and say "Molefi" are saying "keeper of the traditions." When I call my wife, whose name is "Kariamu, please come here." I am saying with great respect "one who reflects the Almighty, please come here. (1996:10)

Asante above gives the literal or lexical meaning of the African names that is usually lost when the word is used as a name, instead the name acquires an onomastic meaning. When a person speaks of a person's name, the first idea that comes into mind is the person rather than the lexical meaning of her name. Thus when a person speaks of *Mogale* what comes into mind is the person who is called by that name and not "the brave one."

It should be pointed out that the onomastic meaning of an anthroponym or toponym is rarely stable or static. It is usually dependent on the person's knowledge of that particular entity. While *Soweto* might mean a rough, unstable, crime loaded township in Gauteng, to others it might mean a place of historic importance where Africans resisted Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools during the 1970s. On senses of meanings, Van Niekerk (1995:41) says: "On the other hand, it will show that these senses are elusive; they change so rapidly and imperceptibly that one's idea of what a given word signifies may be markedly different from another person's."

Mncwabe (1993:10) says:

> The meaning of names can be divided into three levels viz. the lexical meaning or the designator, the associative level also the designatum, and the onomastic meaning or the denotative quality of a name.

The above statement by Mncwabe is not just misleading, but also entirely incorrect. Sørensen's theory and Nicolaisen's theory are different theories which should not be treated as echoing the same message. According to Sørensen, proper names as linguistic signs consist of a sound or sound sequence and he calls the sound sequence a designator. A sound sequence of a Zulu personal name *uNonhlanhla* is the sequence of sounds represented orthographically by the letters *u-n-o-nhl-a-nhl-a.* On the other hand, the lexical meaning of this name is 'luck'. The designator is thus different from the lexical meaning. The associative level does correlate with the designatum, Sørensen points out that the designatum refers to the underlying meaning which might be an associative meaning. Onomastic meaning and the denotatum, are also separate entities. Onomastic meaning refers to the knowledge a person has about a particular place or person, and may not necessarily be 'the combination of a designator and a designatum' as Sørensen says about the denotatum. The denotatum is the entity referred to and according to Sørensen has no meaning. Thus *uNonhlanhla* denotes a person with that name and the onomastic meaning of the latter name varies from person to person, it depends on people's knowledge of the person, which is not always the same. Sørensen (1963:15) says:

> The meaning of a sign S is often confused with the denotatum or

> denotata of S. Thus, the meaning of "Churchill" is sometimes said to be Churchill (that person) and the meaning of "milk" (that fluid). This is a signal example of confusion of what is linguistic with what is not. The meaning of a sign is an integral part of the sign. Meanings are what make sounds or sequences *linguistic* sound or sound sequences:...

Mncwabe (loc.cit) suffered precisely from the confusion mentioned by Sørensen above. The denotatum is an entity referred to and should not be confused with the meaning. The meaning of a sign is not the sign itself but an integral part of a sign.

It has been argued above that proper names as linguistic signs, consist of a sound sequence and have meaning. They are thus the most meaningful of all words because apart from carrying onomastic meaning, they also possess linguistic and associative meaning. Raper (1983b:267) says:

> 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[11], 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.

2.4 Problems encountered when soliciting meaning in proper names

Proper names can pose various challenges when a researcher tries to solicit the lexical meaning as some proper names are very old and the language from which they originated cannot be traced. Various studies have been conducted on the origins of various place names, and instead of these studies resulting in solutions, they often create even more confusion then there was. Cubbin (1992:36) states that there are two possibilities regarding the origin of the place name *eMpangeni* (in KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa). Raper (1987b:106) gives the following description of *eMpangeni*: "Town some 160 km north-east of Durban and 32 km west of Richards Bay. It was laid out in 1885,

[11]Presently, Gauteng

attained township status in 1931 and became a borough in 1960... The name is of Zulu origin, but has been explained in a variety of ways..." The first possibility given by Cubbin, is that the name might have been derived from Cetshwayo's royal homestead *eMangweni*, while the second possible and more probable explanation to him, is that it was derived from the *Mpangeni*[12] river. It is often the case that when dealing with the origin of names, the meaning must be known to be able to associate it with what led to the place being given such a name. When dealing with the meaning of the place name *eMpangeni*, Cubbin (op.cit:38) says:

> At the outset one should be aware that the original transfer of pronunciation from the Zulu word in common use some 150 years ago into originally unknowledgeable and insensitive ears of the first white people who arrived in the district, will make certainty of explanation of the change, speculative and perhaps well-nigh impossible, e.g. the change from the Zulu **Mpangeni** to the anglicised Empangeni.

When one looks at the above names *Mpangeni* and *eMpangeni*, there seems to be no clear evidence of the word *Mpangeni* being anglicised as a result of the white people having insensitive ears as Cubbin mentions. The difference that is noticeable in the above names is that the first name *Mpangeni*, although it has a locative suffix *–eni*, it does not have a locative prefix *e-*, whilst the name *eMpangeni* has both the locative prefix and the locative suffix. Raper (loc cit) says that the name *eMpangeni* is of Zulu origin. This indicates that there is no evidence for it being anglicised. Various theories have been made by various onomasticians with regard to the locative prefix and suffix. While Koopman (1983:299) says: "if a place name has a locative suffix, there must be a locative prefix; e.g. eThekwini can never be iThekwini. Van Huyssteen (1994:57) says that Koopman's statement is not altogether true as morphologically irregular and partially locativised[13] names such as iNtshongweni do exist. There appears to be no Zulu place name without an initial prefix, be it a locative prefix or a noun prefix, as is the case with *Mpangeni*.

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[12]Note the absence of a prefix in this name.

[13]She refers to this as -ini fossilisation

As mentioned earlier, names are derived from words. Cubbin (op.cit:38-39) relies on the information he got from Minnaar (1989:23) cited in Cubbin (loc.cit) that the origin of the place name *eMpangeni* comes from the verb *-phanga* which means 'to grab', 'rob' or 'plunder'. Minnaar cited in Cubbin gives ten possibilities of how the name might have been coined. Cubbin's analysis is not convincing as it is. It is not clearly stated why he came to such an analysis, apart from soliciting six incidences from those mentioned by Minnaar that he thinks are possibilities and concluding that:

> ...**phanga** which means to grab, rob or plunder, whether this involves attacks by crocodiles or humans, flood destruction of crops, division of cattle spoils or having property sequestrated by the **Nkosi**. Add to this the English genius to create their own words over the years from original Zulu e.g. **Ukula** (Brabys) for **oKhula** and this solution is indeed probable" Cubbin (1992:39-40).

Moyo (2001:2) gives his three possible versions regarding the origin of the place name *Empangeni*.[14] The first version is similar to Cubbin's (ibid) that the place derives its name from the verb *phanga*, which means 'to snatch'. The second version is that it derives its name from a tree named *impanga*, thus the name *eMpangeni* "is a mere corruption where the locative *e-* is prefixed to the word" [Moyo (2001:2)]. Moyo (ibid) says nothing about the locative suffix. The third and the last version is that the name *eMpangeni* is derived from the verb *banga*[15], which means 'to fight over inheritance among members of royal family or clan members [sic].' Moyo (2001:2) says that the noun derived from the verb *banga* is *umbango*, the place of rivalry. The latter version poses some questions because if the name was derived from the noun *umbango*, then it should have been *eMbangweni*. Uncertain about the origin of the name *eMpangeni*, Moyo (op.cit:3) recommends that "A longitudinal study, ...with varied, but perhaps older members of the society as respondents", be carried out to attest what exactly the origin of the place name *eMpangeni* is.

[14]The orthography of the name is Moyo's and not the author's.

[15]The verb *-banga* means to quarrel or to fight over something. Moyo (ibid) has combined the meaning of the word together with the reason that led to the name being coined.

It is not clear how a researcher comes to a convincing conclusion from where the place name originates. Does the researcher take the accounts given by the oldest members of the community as the correct accounts for the origin of the name, or does she take accounts that seem to be more common from various members of the community? How does a researcher confirm the reliability of the information she gets, especially if the name is older than the respondents themselves? Does the researcher identify the lexical meaning of the name and then conclude where the name was derived?

Although it is important in the study of names to get the meaning of the name, a researcher should know that this should not be the beginning and the end of an onomastic enquiry. It is questionable whether the lexical meaningfulness is necessary, as an attempt to find the meaning of a name is usually bound to reduce a name to the lexical item (word) it once was. Some place names pose challenges when they have to be analysed because they have been phonologically adapted from one language to the other. For example, *Mbashe*, a Xhosa name, has been adapted to English pronunciation and referred to as Bashee. Unless it is known that this name is originally a Xhosa name, a researcher may face challenges in identifying the meaning of this name. Raper (1987b:216) says, of the river name *Mbashe*:

> River rising in Drakensberg some 13 km north-east of East London. Popularly spelt Bashee, as in Bashee Bridge, etc. The name is Xhosa but it is uncertain whether it means 'dark river' or 'dangerous ravine', or whether it was named after a person called Mbashe. In 1554 the *Saint Benedict* was wrecked at the mouth of this river, and 322 survivors walked from there to Lorenco Marques, now Maputo.

Nicolaisen (1976:148), discussing phonological adaptation, says:

> The name in one language is a phonological adaptation of the name in the other language; by definition such a name becomes instantly meaningless and morphologically obscure in the receiving language (it may, of course, also have been without lexical meaning in a donor language). Phonological adaptation is the most common toponymic phenomenon in linguistic contact.

There are different levels of meanings found in names which should be taken into

cognisance. A name need not have a lexical meaning to be a name, it may have an onomastic or an associative meaning, and that does not make it less of a name, or take its referential function away from it. Van Niekerk (1995:41) says: "Meaning is a broad term that includes at least the following notions: sense, reference, connotation and level of usage." According to Nicolaisen (op.cit:152-153), some names "exist only as names and nothing but names. That they may have been once words in a language, is of no consequence. These names may be significant ingredients of the cultural, social, political, local history of a region,..." Sørensen (1963:66) says:

> The view that the meaning of proper names is infinite has arisen from confusing the meaning of signs with knowledge of denotata. Our knowledge of the denotatum or denotata of a sign S may be very great - and it may, in some cases, be extended indefinitely, as pointed out above - but whatever that knowledge is, it is never the meaning of S, nor is the meaning of S part of the knowledge.

Raper (1987a:79) explains the meaning of proper names in terms of the distinction between conceptual meaning and pragmatic meaning. It can be seen from Sørensen's quote above that he (Sørensen) overlooked the fact that there are various other meanings associated with names other than the linguistic or lexical meaning. Gardiner (1957:1) notices a similar flaw in Mill when he says:

> But Mill explicitly excludes from his understanding of the term 'meaning' any previous knowledge of the object denoted. In speaking of proper names as meaningless marks he makes 'meaning' synonymous with 'connotation', and by a connotative name he understands one which not only denotes something, but also connotes or implies some attributes of it.

2.5 Euro-western names and African names

Herbert and Bogatsu (1990:3) say:

> The criterion most often employed in distinguishing African and Western names is that of name meaningfulness. It is well known that African names "have meaning" and that speakers readily identify that meaning. Western names, on the other hand, are very largely devoid of meaning for modern speakers...,

In a similar vein, Mönnig (1967:105) says of the Pedi people:

> The Pedi consider the name of the person to be much more than a

> mere appendage by which a person is addressed. It is an integrated part of the person, a reflection of his personality and of his whole being, and is coloured with his spirit. This is why when a person receives a new status he also receives a new name to signify that he is now a new person, not only entitled but also able, to perform the new role which accompanies the new status.

De Klerk and Bosch (1995:69) say:

> What is noticeably absent in most cases is the reference to the meaning or etymology of the name, since in Western society naming is primarily a system of reference, not symbolisation, and for English speakers, proper names typically differ notably from other words in their lack of sense or meaning, in relation to the total linguistic system to which they belong.

In this varied research, it is concluded that African names of any entity are meaningful and significant. Various societies have different naming patterns. It is because of these various naming patterns that names in some societies are more meaningful than in other societies. In most Euro-western societies personal names are chosen by various people for different reasons. For example, Susan, Jennifer, etc., may be chosen because they are names of grandparents and relatives. A parent choosing the name need not know what lexical meaning the name Susan has, before giving it to her daughter. However, the name may be given to a daughter because of the associations that the parent has of the name. Nicolaisen (1976:154) is of a similar view when he says:

> Comparatively few parents in Europe or in European-derived societies name their children because they are aware of the lexical meaning of a name and deem it appropriate, and that despite many books of the "How to Name Your Baby" variety. It is doubtful whether there are many Margarets, Bridgets, and Williams around who were so named because they were thought to be "pearls", "high goddesses", or "helmets of resolution".

To most African people, Euro-western names have little or no lexical meaning. Egejuru (1993:1) says: "He had been given the name John at baptism, but everyone preferred to call him Jiwudu, his birth name. Except for the Christians who knew the story of John the Baptist, no one really knew the meaning." John the Baptist is the onomastic meaning and not the lexical meaning of John. The lexical meaning is different from the associative

meaning, which refers to the connotations that are linked to a particular name. The lexical meaning in most Euro-western names has been lost, so that these names usually carry associative meanings. Although to some Euro-western people, Euro-western names have meaning, to others these names are semantically opaque. The connotation of a name depends on one's knowledge of the person. 'Gabriel', for example, is associated with Angels. Usually a Christian parent will understand this link and give her child the name. It has been pointed out that lexical meaning refers to a dictionary meaning. For example, according to the **Concise Oxford Dictionary**[16] the meaning of 'Jonathan' is a typical citizen of the United States or a kind of red-skinned America apple. Some Euro-western names have neither lexical nor associative meaning. The reason for this is because some of these names are not derived from English but adopted from other languages that are no longer existing. As mentioned earlier, when a language dies or gets transformed, names either remain unchanged, or are phonologically adapted by the receiving language. Nicolaisen (ibid) says:

> Such names as *Cordelia* or *Cordoba* transcend individual languages. They are international, or rather interlinguistic, in their denotative lexical meaninglessness. Similarly, a Russian may understand the meaning of *Novgorod*, a Dane the meaning of Copenhagen (or *Kobenhavn*), a German the meaning of *Münster*, or a Spaniard the meaning of Santander - to an English speaker they are all equally opaque and without lexical meaning.

The names mentioned above possess onomastic meanings. Regardless of how one chooses to pronounce these names, their onomastic function remains unimpaired, this however would not apply to words, as different pronunciation of a word might yield to a different meaning. It is a known fact that these names had a lexical meaning before they assumed an onomastic meaning, which has now become primary.

Some Euro-western names given to Africans, like the ones mentioned above, only have an onomastic meaning, for example, a parent might name her child Shadrack even though she does not know the lexical and the associative meaning of the above name. To many Africans, Euro-western names do not have any lexical meaning, or any meaning at all

[16]Skyes J.B. (1976:583)

because they only acquire an onomastic meaning once they denote a person. Mathangwane and Gardner (1998:81-82) say:

> A strong negative attitude given by many respondents towards English names is that they are perceived not to have any meaning. Many of the respondents criticized English names as having no meaning at all which results in their being given randomly. While many of the respondents with English names simply responded that they did not know the meaning of their names, it was interesting to find that some have even invented their own meanings based on the phonological features of the name e.g. someone called *Analyza* gives the meaning as 'someone who analyses.'

Names that have meaning to most Africans are those that are directly translated from African languages to Euro-western languages. People of Euro-western origin hardly ever bestow these names on their children. These names include names such as Lucky, Goodenough, Precious, Happy, etc. These names are not of Euro-western origin, but have their origin in the African soil. These names might have originated because parents did not find meanings in most Euro-western names and wanted to give their children lexically meaningful names that are not of an African language. As mentioned earlier the circumstances prevailing in the society influence the choice of a name given to a child. During the times when these names (names directly translated from African languages) were given most schools required a scholar to have a Euro-western name. These names reflect the naming innovations among African people at a specific time. They also reflect the changing traditional African society, the mixture of Euro-western and African languages among African people and how African people used that mixture to create their own naming patterns. For purposes of convenience and distinction, in this study these names will be referred to as Afro-western names. Examples here would include "Happiness" for *Jabulile* (Zulu), "Gift" for *Sipho* (Zulu) and "Blessing" for *Mikateko* (Tsonga). These names on the surface look Euro-western but at a deeper level, they are pure African names translated into English. The latter names have all three levels of meanings mentioned by Nicolaisen (loc. cit), the lexical level, the associative level and the onomastic level.

African names, especially personal names, seem more lexically meaningful to both the name bearer and the name giver, when compared to Euro-western names. Fisher (1983:139) comparing Jewish names with Euro-western names says:

> The Israelites took naming of persons (and places too) much more seriously than we do. To them a name was not just a label provided for convenience in distinguishing one person from another. A name was an essential part of the person so named. The name was conceived as influencing its bearer. This was not a unique approach but one that prevailed among many Near Eastern peoples.

Like the Israelites, the names of African children are not randomly chosen for the purpose of identifying them. It is rare to find an African parent looking for a child's name in the 'How to name your child' dictionary. It is often the case that circumstances prevailing in the family and or in the community influence the choice of a name given to a newborn child. Wieschhoff (1941:212), discussing African names says:

> The following discussion of names and their meaning will, however, reveal that names are not merely considered as tags by means of which individuals may be distinguished, but are intimately associated with various events in life of the individual as well as those of the family and the larger social groups.

In similar vein, Musere (1996-1997:89) says:

> African personal names have several functions. ... They infer one as an inhabitant (or a descendant of an inhabitant) of a locality. Names also associate one with phenomena that are prevalent in one's area of habitation, and they also depict the past and present modes of production and living in an area. They commemorate major occurrences or traditions at the time of the birth of a child. Personal names commonly describe physical, physiological, or behavioral characteristics of a newborn. They display the mode of birth, the quantity of births in the family, and the progeny sequence of birth.

Golele (1993:85) says that names reflect the society or community in which they are found. They originate in different circumstances which may be social, economic, political or legal. By looking at the children's names in a particular family, one might learn the historical events of that particular family. For example, it is obvious for the speaker of a

language (from which the name is coined) when a girl is named '*Ntombifuthi*' (girl again) that there is another girl preceding her in that family. From the Tsonga name *Kurhula*, one might learn that there might have been uneasiness hence the name meaning 'to be quiet' was given to the child. From the Tswana name *Kgothatso*, meaning 'to comfort', a person can deduce that something unpleasant might have happened before the birth of a child, and thus the child given this name was a comforter to her parents.

2.6 Names for boys and girls

Some researchers studying naming patterns tend to distinguish male names from female names. Research has been conducted by some researchers on which names are given to a particular gender. The majority of the researchers I have come across deal with European names with the exception of Koopman (1979 & 1992:1) who specifically looked at *-So-* and *-No-* as gender markers in Zulu personal names. Koopman's theory will be critically looked at.

Koopman (1992:1) says:

> To continue with the discussion on Doke's concept of these formatives, let us look at two extracts from Doke & Vilakazi's *Zulu-English Dictionary*:
> ...'-no-: formative of nouns of cl.1a: (i) from verbs, indicating a continuity; e.g. *unohamba* (continuous travelling)...
> ...(ii) prefixed to nouns to indicate female, commonly in the names of women, e.g. *unomthebe* (queen termite), *uNomkhubulwane* (princess of Heaven), *uNomasonto*, etc. (iii) prefixed to v. stems, used for names of men, e.g. uNobamba, uNobanda'
> Meaning (i) of the entry for *-no-* does not concern us in this article, and as I have never in over fifteen years of specific research into Zulu personal names come across *-no-* being used for the names of men, I shall leave meaning (iii) out as well.

As a Zulu mother tongue speaker, I have not seen a dictionary of Zulu personal names which suggest which names should be used for which gender. Of the three meanings provided by Doke and Vilakazi (1958:582)[17] cited in Koopman (loc.cit), Koopman left out meaning (i) and meaning (iii) and based his discussion on meaning (ii) which

[17]Zulu-English Dictionary

indicates that *-no-* is prefixed "...to nouns to indicate a female, commonly in the names of women, e.g. *uNomthebe* (queen termite), *uNomkhubulwane* (princess of Heaven), *uNomasonto*, etc" [Doke and Vilakazi (1958:582) cited in Koopman (ibid)].

Contrary to Koopman (ibid), in this study it is conceived that *-no-* is not a prefix but a naming formative. Zulu prefixes change when a noun is changed from singular to plural. For example, *uNonhlanhla* (sing) > *oNonhlanhla* (plur). In this example *–no-* has not changed. Instead *–no-* has become part of the stem. However, the prefix *u-* has changed to *o-*.

No mention is made by Doke and Vilakazi (1958:582) of the naming formative *-no-* being expressly used for female names. What happens if a male child is given a name with this naming formative? Does the name make him less of a man? Koopman says that in his fifteen years of research into Zulu personal names he has never come across *-no-* being used for male names. Although this may be true, there is evidence that names with the naming formative *-no-* used for males, do exist among the Nguni people, as they once existed. Koopman (1992:4) says: "It must, however be acknowledged that *-no-* was once productive in the formation of the names of men, as a glance at the index of any Zulu historical work, such as Bryant (1929) will show." Koopman (1992:2) continues, saying:

> Secondly, is *-so-* always male and *-no-* always female? The answer to this question lies not in the distinction between class 1(a) and 3(a) but in the distinction between proper and common nouns, or more specifically, between the common noun (*ibizo*) and the personal name (*igama*)....in personal names *-no-* always has the meaning 'female' and *-so-* the meaning 'male'- that is to say, they are used as feminine and masculine markers in Zulu personal names.

The above statement by Koopman is not entirely true of Zulu personal names. A word in Zulu can be divided into various morphemes. Crystal (1985:198-199) defines a morpheme as:

> The minimal distinctive unit of grammar, and the central concern of morphology....words moreover could be quite complex in structure, and there was a need for a single concept to interrelate such concepts as root, prefix, compound, etc. The morpheme

> accordingly was seen primarily as the smallest functioning unit in the composition of words.

The morphemes (*-so-* and *-no-*) have neither masculine nor feminine meaning. Ngubane (2000:115) also provides meanings for the naming formatives *-no-* and *-so-* as he says: "The prefixes[18] *No-* and *So-* are abbreviations in Zulu of 'mother of' (*nina ka*), 'father of' (*yise ka*), respectively". It is assumed in this study that his statement might be based on Doke's absurd theory. Doke (1986:81) says: "The abbreviated noun forms[19] used are: (1) *-so-*, from the old Bantu form of *uyihlo* (thy father), used often in names of men; (2) *-no-*, from the old Bantu form of *unyoko* (thy mother), used often in names of women; ..." Looking at the linguistic (both phonological and morphological) features of *-no-* and *-so-*, it is not apparent how these prefixes became abbreviations of what Doke says above. Perhaps the better abbreviation for *uyihlo* and *unyoko* may be *-hlo* and *nyo* respectively, not *-so-* and *-no-*. If the old form of *-no-* was the old Bantu form of 'mother of', why were male names with *–no-* common among males during the 19th and beginning of the 20th century? Bryant (1929:706) gives male names with the naming formative *–no-*. Included in these are *Nodada, Nombanga* and *Nomxamama*. Personal names with the naming formatives *-no-* and *-so-* are doubtlessly older than Doke's theory. It is clear that Doke might have noticed from the Zulu people that *-no-* was often used with the names given to females, and *-so-* with names given to men and then concluded that *-no-* is an abbreviation for *unyoko*, and *-so-* is the abbreviation for *uyihlo*. It should be borne in mind that naming patterns are not static. While male names with *-no-* were once common, they are no longer as common as they once were. After careful consideration of Doke's theory it is without doubt that Koopman's above theory, that *-no-* is feminine meaning 'mother of', and *-so-*, masculine, meaning 'father of', is based on Doke's theory, and so is Ngubane's. Maphumulo (2000:5) gives a list of nicknames given to employers by employees because of their physical characteristics. It should be pointed out at the outset that the employers are male. Included in the list of names is the name

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[18] It has been pointed out earlier in this study that *-no-* and *-so-* are not prefixes, as the prefix of class 1a nouns, where all Zulu personal names fall is *u-*. Thus *-no-* and *-so-* are naming formatives.

[19] Note that Doke refers to *-no-* and *-so-* as abbreviated noun forms, and not prefixes as Koopman and Ngubane do.

uNogolantethe. Maphumulo (ibid) says: "This is a species of tall bird. This may refer to an employer who is tall. The employees would say '*yinde le nyoni*' (this bird is tall) referring to a tall employer."

As has been argued above that Doke's theory is questionable, it can also be argued that Neethling's (1996:34) statement is not entirely true. Writing about Xhosa surnames that originated from females, Neethling (ibid) says: "The distinction between male and female names is made on the same bases as that for the first name. The female marker *No-* and the passive markers *-wa/iwe* are characteristics of female names." Although nowadays these are said to be characteristics of female markers, including the perfect tense marker *–ile*, there are males who possess names that contain these markers, although they are not many. Names with these markers characterise both female and male names. For example, the *City Press* of 15 June 2003, mentioning a male with a name that has the perfect tense marker *–ile* reads: "Her brother Fikile, who insisted Komotolo....." Bryant (1929) cited in Koopman (1992) points out that there were male names with the naming formative *-no-*. Chucks-orji (1972:61) gives a list of male names which includes Xhosa names *Nolizwe* and *Nonceba*, this asserts what has been said by Bryant (1929) cited in Koopman (1992). As Neethling mentions, some Xhosa surnames were derived from names of ancestors (male or female), by virtue of the naming formative *-no-*, it is apparent that some of the surnames with the naming formative *-no-* might not have been taken from female names but from male names as these names exist. In Nguni culture which was influenced by a patriarchal system, surnames were rarely if ever derived from female names. Surnames were instead, derived from male names. If Neethling, as it seems, based his theory that some surnames were derived from female names, only on their morphological features, because they had the naming formative *-no-*, it is disputed in this study.

Each society has its own distinct naming patterns. These naming patterns also differ from family to family and from time to time. Naming patterns that were once used, might still be used or might be abandoned due to the namer's attitude at a given time. For example,

Bryant (1905:758) gives the following names with the naming formative *-no-*, *uNobetha* (Son of Zivalela and originator of the eGazini clan), *uNombhengula* (son of Zwide), *uNondaba* (former chief of the Wushe tribe) that were used to designate male persons. Apart from the latter names given by Bryant, there is evidence that even nowadays people still give male children names with the naming formative *-no-*. Rev Vilakazi writing for the *Sowetan Sunday World* of 21 October says: "When I visited Nofemela, I noticed he was of average height and slightly shorter than me." (2001:24).

Raper (1987a:79) refers to the meaning carried by names that refer to the namer's attitude at a given time as having **stylistic** or **social** meaning. The reasons that might have led to the decline of these names from being given to male children are not obvious. Though names might be frequently given to a particular sex, when given to a person (male or female), they uniquely designate the bearer of the name. The meaning of a name is thus not tampered with. Although some names, in this case, those with the naming formative *-no-* are nowadays frequently found among females, they may also be found among males, though not as frequent as with females.

Madubuike says: "Below are a few names often given to boys and girls as will be easily noted, there are mostly attributes of peace or love for females and more war-like or sterner qualities for male" (1994:116). The question in this context is: What happens if the name with the former attributes is given to a male child? The premise that certain names are not used for a particular gender because of the meanings they convey, e.g. *Nonhle* 'the beautiful one' or 'the handsome one' is never given to a male child, since flowers are frequently associated with females, is contested in this study. The reason why parents gave names that were of sterner quality to boys was because of the circumstances that were prevailing at a specific time. It was the parents' aspiration to have a strong male child who will protect the family in times of political instability or war, and by giving him such a name they were making their wishes known. The choice of a name is thus mostly dependent on the name-giver and the circumstances prevailing at a specific time and rarely on the morphology or various theories of names. One of the respondents I

interviewed named her male child *Xiluva*. Although this Tsonga name is usually given to girls because of its meaning, 'flower', the meaning does not prevent a name giver to bestow this name on her male child (See Appendix 3). The reason why she named her child *Xiluva* was because she saw the child as the 'flower of her eyes'. The reason why some people give names such as *Mduduzi* or *Gugu* to a female or a male child is because of the circumstances that prevail either in the community or the family and not because they take perverse pleasure in going against social norms as the names *Mduduzi* and *Gugu* are usually given to boys and girls respectively.

It has been argued above that *-no-* is neither a female name marker nor has a feminine meaning, although it is usually used with female names. Instead *-no-* is a naming formative used with class 1a prefix *u-* and a word category which can be a noun, a verb, etc. This naming formative can be used with Nguni personal names for both males and females. Kubheka (1984:234) referring to a male person says:

> Uthi pho umuntu usayobathola openyana bokuthenga ugwayi uma abangani bethu sebengoNomathekisi? Angisaboni kahle.
>
> *Do you think a person will ever get money to buy cigarettes if our friends are Nomathekisi? I do not think so.*

To bypass the controversy of which names are meant for boys and which are meant for girls, Junod (1912:38) says of the Tsonga names:

> The names of the Thonga[20] are the same for two sexes. There are only two of them which cannot be employed indiscriminately for girls and boys. *Nhwanin* is a girl's name as it means "girl" and *Nwandjise* a boy's name as it means "boy".

An enquiry was conducted among the Tsonga people, to establish which names are used for which gender. Almost all the respondents argue that there are names which by virtue of their meaning are mainly given to girls and those which are mainly given to boys. For example, *Khensani* 'be grateful'; *Mikateko*, 'blessing'; *Rirhandzu*, 'love'; *Tintswalo*, 'kindness'; *Xiluva* 'flower' etc. are said to be names which are given mostly to girls; on the other hand *Wisani*, 'rest'; *rhulani*, 'be peaceful'; *Kulani* 'grow'; etc., are names given

[20] In this study where the name Thonga is used, it refers to Tsonga.

mostly to boys. It was evident from the respondents that there are virtually no names which are said to be for boys only as there are girls with some of the names mentioned for boys above, and also boys possessing some of the names mentioned above as mainly for girls.

Stayt (1968:88-89) states that some names are considered more suitable for girls and vice versa, but most Venda names are given irrespective of gender. Stayt (loc.cit) says: "One finds in common use such names as Takalani (happiness), Mbulahene (kill me), Tshivenga (hated thing), Jombere (Joubert), Rhatshivhadela (block of wood)."

As mentioned earlier although names are adopted from words, once they are names, they are no longer the words they once were, and do not always carry the meaning they once carried as words. Determining what names should be used for what gender according to their structure, proves to be a fruitless exercise, as any name can be given to any child considering the circumstances that prevailed when that child was born. There are names which are used for both males and females e.g. *Mikateko* 'blessing', *Themba* 'hope', *Thato* 'love', etc. Names that can unquestionably be associated with a particular gender are those that contain a generic marker.

Personal names that consist of generic markers like *ntombi* meaning a full grown girl, are usually given to 'girls'; whereas, *mfana* meaning boy, is usually given to a 'boy', *sesi* for girl meaning sister and *buti* or *bhuti* for boys, meaning a brother, etc. From looking at the names with these markers, one need not ask whether the name bearer is a male or female. There is a selection of names for boys with these markers *mfana* or *buti*, which a parent can choose from when naming a child, e.g. *Mfanafuthi* (a boy again), *Butana* (young brother), *Mfanufikile* (a boy has arrived), *Mfanawethu* (our boy), etc., names for girls include *Ntombifuthi* (a girl again), *Ntombenhle* (a beautiful girl), *Ntombinkulu* (a big girl), *Ntombiningi* (many girls), *Sesana* (a small sister), etc.

2.7 The specific and the generic in place names

There are various toponyms in South Africa that consist of generic and specific markers. Euro-western names that have these features include: Table Mountain, Drakensberg, Sharpville, Port Elizabeth, etc. African names that comprise these markers include: *aManzimtoti, iNtabakayikhonjwa, Thaba Bosiu,* etc. In most African names, the lexical meaning of a name is usually accessible especially to the mother tongue speakers of the language from which the name derives. Though it may be easy to think of the circumstances that might have led to a particular personal name, it may not be the same with place names, especially those that are named after people. For example, a place may be named *Tirhani* a Tsonga name meaning 'work' not because people who stay in that place work hard but because *Tirhani* might have been the name of a prominent person who once lived there. There are different reasons that lead to places being given certain names. These reasons might be linked to the socio-political factors of the place where these names are found. However, as mentioned earlier, taking a glance at a list of place names, one may notice that some of the names are semantically opaque, others may be semantically transparent. A key determining factor for this is usually the period of time when a particular name might have been in existence. This is because of the influence that various languages have on names over a period of time.

Place names[21] can be divided into simple, complex and compound stems. In this sub-heading the focus will be on geographical names that have compound stems, as the majority of names with the generic and specific terms are compound names. According to Shabalala (1999:80), compound stems are those stems that consist of more than one lexical morpheme and there may also be affixes. Gardiner (1957:20) defines compound proper names as often containing an adjective or a common noun. Gardiner's definition is not supported in this study because compound names do not often have an adjective or a common noun, but they consist of various parts of speech, including verbs and relatives, particularly in South African indigenous languages. Compound stems that will be discussed here are those that consist of a generic term and a specific term. In this study, a

[21]In this study, this word will be used interchangeably with 'geographical names'

generic term refers to general words that refer to the whole class or group of entities, e.g. in Zulu *ntaba* 'mountain', *amanzi* 'water', Sotho *thaba* 'mountain'; in English: 'town', 'mountain', '-ville[22]', while a specific term refers to a definite entity. For example, while the word mountain refers to any mountain, Table Mountain refers to a mountain in Cape Town that is shaped like a table. There are various bilingual names in South Africa which comprise specific and generic terms in different languages. These include Mshenguville and Marabastad. Specific terms distinctly identify a particular entity, e.g. *mhlophe* 'white', *mtoti* 'tasty', *bosiu* 'night', etc[23]. Millward (1972) cited in Nicolaisen (1976:158) isolates six important universals with regard to topographical generics, namely:

1 A generic feature has identity only in relation to contrasting features around it.

2. The presence of water in the vicinity is implied in a disproportionate number of place name generics.

3. The total language or dialect of an area will contain a large number of vocabulary items denoting geographical features, but many of these vocabulary items will not appear in place names.

4. At a given period for a particular area, there will be a set of "favourite" place-name generics covering most of the topographical features named.

5. The distinction in meaning between or among generics can be defined by an apparently limited number of characteristics or features.

6. The topographical features named, and thus the generics used in any given area at any given point in time will depend rather heavily upon the culture of that area.

Of these six universals, the third, the fourth and the fifth are of interest in this context since they seem to characterise some South African place names.

What is mentioned in the third point is true in relation to South African languages, i.e. that a language of an area will contain a large number of vocabulary items denoting geographical features like *intaba, metsi, umfula, ulwandle*, but many of these vocabulary items will not appear in place names as generic terms. Although some of these vocabulary items do appear in place names, only a few do, for example we do not have

[22] French word for town.
[23] As in place names *iNtabamhlophe*, *aManzimtoti* and *Thaba Bosiu*.

many Zulu place names with the generic name *umfula*. English on the other hand has a number of vocabulary items denoting geographical features and many of these vocabulary items appear in English place names, e.g. Port, street, road, -ville, bay, town, mountain, river, etc. Examples here include Port Elizabeth, Sharpville, Cape Town, Table Mountain, Richard's Bay, etc. The English generic names are also evident in some names derived from South African indigenous languages, e.g. Shakaland, Mshenguville, etc.
As mentioned in point 4 by Millward cited in Nicolaisen (ibid), it is likely in some areas that at a given period, there would be a set of "favourite" place-name generics covering most of the topographical features named. This is often witnessed in KwaZulu-Natal, it seems the favourite place name generics in this province are *-manzi* and *-ntaba*. That is why we have *iNtabamhlophe*, *aManzimkhulu*, *aManzimtoti*, etc.

The meanings of place-name generics are usually distinguished from one another by their distinct features or characteristics. For example, *idamu* is distinguished from *ulwandle* by its size and characteristics. Nicolaisen (1976:59) citing Millward (1972:51) says:

> Obviously not every generic would participate in every contrast, but on the other hand, each "favourite" place-name generic is distinguished from other "favourite" by at least one of these features. "For example, a *brook* in Rhode Island is distinguished from a *river* by relative size, from a *pond* by its lack of isolation, from a *creek* by its fresh water and from a *neck* by its liquidity.

2.8 Orthography of place names

Various scholars have presented different orthographies of place names. As a result, there have been arguments among linguists on how place names should be written, particularly those in African languages. The arguments in Nguni languages are not primarily focused on the spelling of a particular place name but focused on the capitalisation of syllables that a name comprises. The name, however, still conveys the same meaning regardless of whether in the name *eMpangeni*, the capital letter is *M* or *E*. As have been noticed in other languages, for example English, names like Ladysmith, Johannesburg, are never written as *LadySmith or *ladySmith, *johannesBurg. The preferred orthography for indigenous names in South Africa should be standardised and made available to avoid the inconsistencies that have been witnessed in the writing of maps, road signs, etc.

There are different versions that various scholars suggest in the orthography of Zulu place names. The first one is that the first letter of a name should be capitalised, e.g. *Enkandla*, *Emadadeni*, etc. The second version is that the first consonant of the stem should be capitalised. For example, in the locative name *enkandla*, *in-* is a prefix (*i-* being a pre-prefix and *-n-* being a basic prefix, *i-* is substituted by the locative prefix *e-* when the noun becomes a place name), thus the name should be written as *enKandla*. The last version is that the first consonant after the locative prefix should be capitalised, e.g., *eNkandla*.

When discussing the orthography, one cannot overlook the fact that a name was once a 'common noun' before it became a 'name'. When place names are formed in Zulu, locative prefixes *e-*, *o-* meaning 'at' or 'in' or *kwa* meaning 'place of' are prefixed to a word class, usually a noun. When a locative prefix is prefixed, the initial vowel of a noun is elided. For example, from the noun *ingogo*, we get the place name *eNgogo*, the pre-prefix in the latter name is *i-* and the basic prefix *-n-*. Usually Zulu names that reflect personal names of class 1a and those of class 1, take the locative prefix *kwa-*; nouns belonging to class 11 take the locative prefix *o-* and all the other noun classes take the locative prefix *e-*. Locative prefixes *e-* and *o-* are sometimes used with locative suffixes, i.e., *-ini*, *-eni*, *-wini* or *-weni*.

Once a Zulu word class i.e., noun, verb, adjective, etc. assumes locative status, the prefix is *e-*, *o-* or *kwa-*, and the rest of the word is a stem. For example, in the word *eNgogo* the stem is *Ngogo*, *-N-* which was the basic prefix has now become part of the stem. In this study it is conceived that the initial letter of the stem of a name should be capitalised as is the case with personal names. With personal names, for example, from the noun *isipho* (gift), we get the name *uSipho*. The prefix of the noun *isipho* is the class 8 *isi-*, on the other hand the prefix of the name *uSipho* is *u-* not *isi-* as the name is no longer a class 8 word and belongs to another class, i.e. class 1a. From the name *uSipho*, *-S-* that is preceded by a prefix *u-* is usually capitalised. In my years of onomastic research, I have never come across the latter name written as **usiPho*, as *-pho-* is the stem of the word

and *isi-* a prefix. With place names, in the name *eMpangeni*, *-M-* should be capitalised and not *e-* (as *-M-* is the initial consonant of the stem), except if *e-* is at the beginning of a sentence, in which case both *E-* and *-M-* should be capitalised. This could also apply to names with complex stems.

In the Tsonga language, the locative prefixes *ka-* 'place of' and *e-* 'in' or 'at' are used when locatives are formed. Though there has been a use of a locative prefix *a-* among the Tsongas [see Bourquin (1922:17) and Junod (1967:17)], this prefix is said to be restricted to certain dialects. The standardised locative prefix is *e-*, *a-* on the other hand, is usually used when speaking only and not in writing. The locative prefix *ka-* is used with those nouns denoting a person, e.g. *ka Mhinga*, *ka Malamulele, ka Bungeni*, etc. On the other hand, the locative prefix *e-* is used with other word classes, e.g. *eGiyani* (*giyani* means to dance, plural), *ePfala-nomo* (*pfala* means to close and *nomo* means mouth), etc. In this instance also, the first consonant after the locative prefix is capitalised, not the locative prefix, unless it is at the beginning of the sentence. I have been informed by a Tsonga linguist that *eka-* is the correct locative prefix not *ka-*, nevertheless, when speaking, people tend to omit the *e-* and use *ka*, e.g. *U tsama ka Malamulele* (She stays at the place of Malamulele).

2.9 Conclusion

Onomastics, the study of names, can be classified as the study of societies and circumstances prevailing in them as reflected through names. Names as words are linguistic entities. These linguistic entities are shaped by the languages spoken in the societies where they are found. Unlike words, names do not only refer to or identify an entity, they convey various connotations about the bearer. Names as a result are very important in distinctly identifying various entities. They also distinguish various entities, for example, while the noun 'girl' refers to a female child, the Venda name '*Tshimangadzo*' (surprise), when given to a girl distinctly identifies the bearer from other girls.

Names can have various meanings that may vary from person to person. The meaning is

usually defined by the speaker's knowledge of the place or a person. For example, while Newcastle is a small town in KwaZulu-Natal, to others Newcastle denotes a place beyond South Africa's borders. Usually the meaning of words does not vary from speaker to speaker. For example a mountain always refers to "a natural upward projection of the earth's surface, higher and steeper than a hill."[24] Names, on the other hand, connote various meanings which vary from speaker to speaker. The meaning of the name usually changes and this depends on the speaker's knowledge of the entity.

[24] Collin's Shorter English dictionary.

CHAPTER 3

THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE ARRIVAL OF WHITE PEOPLE

3.1 Introduction

This Chapter looks at the origin of names of various groups of indigenous people of South Africa who are the main focus of this study. Various studies relating to the arrival of Euro-western people in South Africa especially missionaries have been conducted. It is imperative that in this study their influence on the indigenous culture and especially naming be discussed as it contributes tremendously to the changing naming patterns witnessed today. This Chapter also explores the religious life of the indigenous people of Southern Africa before the advent of Christianity. The influence of Christianity and education in the naming systems of the indigenous people is the main objective of this Chapter.

Though there are various religious cults among the indigenous people, the reason why more emphasis is on Christianity than Islam or African religions e.g. (Shembe), is because the former is the religion practised by the majority of indigenous people and also because it is the religion that played a vital role in shaping the various identities that Africans have today. Thabo Mbeki's[25] parliamentary speech of 8 May 1996, where he addressed parliament and said: 'I am an African' sparked a lot of media attention and debate about who an African really is. The word 'African' will be used exclusively in this study. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the word 'African', in this study only refers to those who were previously referred to as Blacks in South Africa. In this case, it excludes those who were previously designated as Indians and Coloureds, who are now according to the New South African Constitution catagorised as Africans.

[25]South African president 1999 to present.

The act of naming animate and inanimate objects has been influenced by various forces in South Africa. Included in those forces is the political and the social history of South Africa. Colonialism had a great impact on the naming system in many African countries, e.g. Ghana, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe, etc. South Africa is thus no exception. In a country like SA, one would be doing injustice to the study of name changing if one does not pay attention to the social and political history of the country, as naming patterns to a great extent are influenced by this history. Malinowski (1946:6) says: "The very essence of history is that it has a future as well as a past".

Various South African indigenous people - 'the Bantu', as they have been referred to by various anthropologists, will be looked at.

Werner (1919:3) says:

> The name Bantu was first introduced by Bleek (1827-1875) who may be called the father of African philology. It is simply one form of the word for 'people' which is used throughout the languages of this family.

Junod (1938:13) gives a detailed explanation of why indigenous people were referred to as the 'Bantu'. He says:

> *Abantu* is the Zulu word for "people" a word which can be found in all Bantu languages under the varying phonetical forms: Sotho, *batho*; Herero, *ovandu*; modern Chopi, *vanthu*, Shangaan-Tonga *vanhu*, etc. This word was adopted by Dr W.H.I. Bleek, the greatest scientist, who, at the suggestion of Sir George Grey, opened up a study of the South African linguistic science.

Highlighting the similarities in the languages of 'the Bantu', Moleah (1993:50-51) says:

> There are basic similarities in structure and vocabulary in Bantu languages. To illustrate this point let us examine randomly chosen words from flung Duala/Balondo language of the Cameroun, Luganda language of the Baganda of Uganda and Nguni/Sotho languages of South Africa. Person is Moto, Omuntu, Umuntu/Motho respectively; Child is Nwana, Omwana, Umtwana/Ngoana respectively; Goat is Mbori, Mbuzi, Mbuzi/Pudi respectively; Meat is Nyama, Nyama, Nyama/Nama respectively.

It can be seen from the above quotes that the name Bantu was fundamentally derived

from the languages that the people speak. The name is not defined according to race, physical type or similar cultural practices but is linguistically defined.

3.2 Traditional naming

To understand the influence of Euro-western naming among the African people, it is crucial to give a brief background of the traditional naming patterns of the indigenous people. Traditionally, every child was given a name usually a few weeks, sometimes months after she was born. The given name served various purposes apart from distinguishing the child from others. This name was very important as it was her personality, it was the child herself. She and her name were one and could not be easily separated from each other. It was with this name that she was known to the community and the ancestors of the family. It has been variously stated that it was also this name that witches would use together with some medicine if they wanted to cast a spell on her. This name became part of her until her death.

Traditionally, children were given one name at birth which was sometimes changed during the child's initiation into manhood or womanhood. The naming of infants in most African families was entirely dependent on the people who were assigned to name children. Names were not given by just anyone. People who were given the responsibility to bestow names, were accorded this role because of their importance either in the family or in the society. Some people believed that by giving names, they were shaping the identities of the children they were naming, and also identifying the entities they were naming, and that is why people who bestowed names had to be respected people within the family and/ or the community. The bestowal of names upon most indigenous people was strictly a responsibility for men, except among the Pedi and Tswana people, where women were allowed to name their children[26].

The reason why this assignment was given to men, lies entirely in the social history of indigenous people that was dominated by the patriarchal system. In most cultures men

[26]See chapter 4

were more respected than women, they had more status, and more power by virtue of being men. They acquired their status at birth, grew up with it, and died with it. Women, on the other hand, were subordinate to men. The women's voices were often recognised in issues that were usually designated for them, e.g. cooking, cleaning, etc. "The subordination of women was expressed in almost every aspect of the social order." [Rowlands (1973:5)]. In most cases the life of women was decided upon by men. For example, with amaZulu, if a woman wanted to get married, her fate was decided by her father and other male elders in the family. In most cases, mothers and their daughters were not involved in the marriage negotiations. In some cases even if the prospective bride did not want the husband that had been chosen for her, she had no say. If the father (responsible for making decisions on the bride price) felt that the prospective husband had enough cattle to pay *lobolo*, he would give his child to the man concerned. In contrast to the Zulu custom, among the Tswana the bride price was decided upon by the groom's family; if the bride's family was not satisfied because it was too little, there was nothing they could do. West (1976:121) says:

> A Tswana bride's family could protest if they considered the *bogadi* insufficient, but there was nothing they could do about it if the groom's family remained obdurate.

According to the Tswana people who married during the 1960s and 1970s the above statement by West is not entirely true. I was informed by a Tswana person that the bride price was negotiated between the families and they agreed on what the bride price should be.

3.3 The arrival of the Euro-western people

The social system of the indigenous people saw a dramatic change with the arrival of white people in South Africa. Traditional South Africans depended mostly on land for their existence and subsistence. There are various forms that characterise land ownership especially in South Africa. According to the web site:
http://www.groutvillelandreform.co.za there are those who during the years of apartheid had access to land and saw it as being owned to the exclusion of everybody else, and

those whose view of land was decided in part by the indigenous law concerning land, and in part by necessity. According to the former, anyone could only have access to that land with the permission of the land owner. Traditionally, before the laws of the white people were enacted among the indigenous people of South Africa, possession of land was not linked to payment for land. Instead, the Chief of a village distributed land to his subordinates and there were neither title deeds nor Permissions to Occupy (PTO) the land issued to the members of the clan. If for any reason a person was found to be unfit to reside in the village, he was asked by the Chief after consultation with his advisers to leave the village and if he left with his family the place he lived in was allocated to someone else. While ownership of land among Africans required no title deeds, laws passed by the ruling whites required that people should possess title deeds as proof of land ownership. The Permissions to Occupy land or title deeds were obtainable from the white authorities who ensured that the land they were giving to indigenous people was incomparable to that of white people in size and in productivity. According to the web site http://www.groutvillelandreform.co.za: "At the beginning, the law allowed the Mission Reserve to sell land to the converts for occupancy and cultivation, and this led to Africans becoming landowners at Groutville."

The disputes over land ownership have led some landless Africans to claiming that by virtue of being Africans they have a right to land ownership in South Africa. These claims are grounded by their belief that the land was 'stolen' from their forefathers by the white people. Hlophe (2001:9) says:

> Land ownership in South Africa is both a legal and a political matter. Overemphasis on the legal aspect to the disregard of the political dimension will result in instances like those in Kempton Park[27] last week. In the light of South Africa's history, land ownership should not simply be construed in terms of legality. The notion of a piece of paper called a "title deed" has never been a defining factor for land ownership by Africans. Historical and ancestral background have for centuries served as determinants of

[27] In Bredell near Kempton Park thousands of squatters invaded land and vowed to resist any attempts by authorities to remove them.

> land ownership. Thus the western-based notion of land ownership cannot serve as the main yardstick.

The conflict over land in South Africa seems to be in control when compared to the land conflict in the neighbouring country, Zimbabwe.

Land conflict in various African countries, is revived by the fact that white people own more land when compared with Africans. In South Africa, a vast amount of land was initially owned by Africans, however, through colonial Land Acts, it was unevenly redistributed in favour of the white minority.

According to the majority of anthropologists, the first white people who came to Africa[28] were missionaries, or explorers and then came the traders. When white people arrived in most African countries, they found people there, people who had a culture, people who lived a different way than the one they knew. Most indigenous people lived by farming. The historical myth that has been proclaimed and perpetuated by various Europeans, that Africans 'the Bantu' arrived simultaneously with Europeans in South Africa is disputed by various researchers. As a result "the south-ward moving stream of Bantu who encountered the northward-moving Europeans in the vicinity of the Great Fish River is a myth." [Tyrrell and Jurgens (1983:19)].

According to numerous anthropological researches conducted by various anthropologists, white people came to South Africa. They were neither born nor bred in South Africa. When they came there were Africans residing in South Africa. As a result they did not just inhabit empty land, or discover the African land, they found it with people living in it. According to Junod (1913:329) *banhu* in Thonga, *bantu* in Zulu meaning 'black people' were the first inhabitants of the country. West (1976:12) says:

> The Xhosa speaking people were among the first to come into contact with the white travellers, and later with colonial settlers. Earliest reports of meeting with local African people occur [sic] in

[28]Dunn (1931:3) says: In 1652 when the first Europeans settled in South Africa, there were three or four distinct races in occupation. Of these, the Bushman and the Hottentots were older inhabitants than the Bantu....

> the mid 16th century when survivors of the shipwreck made their way along the coast and met some of the inhabitants. Survivors of the wreck of the *Santo Alberto* in 1563 reported the presence of Xhosa-speaking people near Mthatha (Umtata river) River and, as Professor Monica Wilson points out in *The Oxford History of South Africa*, there is no evidence to suggest that they had only recently arrived. In a study of genealogies of chiefs going back more than 19 generations it is notable that none is remembered as having brought people into the area, and until further archaeological evidence becomes available, the reasonable assumption is that they had been there for centuries. Some shipwreck survivors became integrated among blacks. For example two clans on the Transkei[29] coast- the Lungu and the Mholo - are descended from survivors of an 18th century wreck. A girl from this group later married an Mpondo chief.

In similar vein, Marquard and Standing (1939:51) say:

> This European invasion of the Bantu country began on the eastern frontier of the old Cape Colony, where during the years from 1772 to 1836 the Boer cattle farmers spreading eastwards were dammed up against the barrier formed by the Xosa clans, which oozed westward as far as the Fish River.

Moleah (1993:53) asserting that white people came to South Africa says:

> The myth of simultaneous arrival into South Africa by both Europeans, from the south, and Africans, from the north, even if its fundamental absurdity of turning the Limpopo River into a pre-colonial boundary is allowed, is historically false....Evidence indicates a spread of filtering into the region by small groups of farmers shifting their fields of cultivation or seeking new pastures for their herds.

De Lange (1993:174) says:

> Contrary to what Afrikaner historians have long asserted, there were blacks in the Southern parts of Africa before the whites landed there in 1652. There were the Khoikhoi and San people on the Cape and several black tribes from the North had settled in other parts of Southern Africa. These groups have a history that goes far back but

[29]Now known as the Eastern Cape

> we know very little about it. The recorded history only starts with the encounter of whites.[30]

Being in a new environment with the 'Bantu', white people saw the need to learn how indigenous people lived, so that they would be able to understand the indigenous communities. Their intentions were not always known by the indigenous people. White people observed the indigenous culture and also introduced to the indigenous people the things they had brought with them from where they came, e.g. new techniques for farming, buttons, mirrors, etc. While observing the indigenous culture, they initiated changes by introducing a new way of living to the indigenous people. The arrival of white people consequently brought change to the religious, social, political and economic systems of indigenous people. Malinowski (1945:16) says:

> ....for the study of culture contact it is not admissible to forget that European agents constitute everywhere the main drive in change, that they are the determining factors as regards to initiative of change, that it is they who plan, take measures and import things to Africa; that they withhold; that they take away land, labor, and political independence; and that they themselves are in most of their actions determined by instructions, ideas, and forces which have their origin outside Africa.

3.4 Traditional belief systems

3.4.1 The Supreme Being

> The experience of God as beneficent is not only Muslim or Christian, but a living faith of Africans that has been reinforced by the "missionary" religions.[Oduyoye (2002)][31]

The worshipping of a Supreme Being among Africans, is an old practice that cannot be traced with accuracy. Before the arrival of white people in South Africa, Africans were already acknowledging the existence of a Supreme Being, to whom they owed their existence. Temple (1959:20) says: "According to the more recent historical research it

[30]The reason for this might be because they were the first ones who saw the need to record on paper indigenous people's way of living because at the time of their arrival Africans were 'illiterate' and not exposed to their form of writing.

[31] "The African experience of God through the eyes of an Akan woman" in http://www.aril.org/african.htm

seems to be established that the worship of the Supreme Being is at least as old as, if not older than magic."

Socially, there were a number of traditions that saw change with the settlement of whites in South Africa. Traditionally, indigenous people had their own religion which was seen by the majority of missionaries as heathen. All different groups of indigenous people in South Africa believed in a Supreme Being, whom they believed was always watching over them, and who was given names that were "descriptive of character and depict[ed] people's experience of God" [Idowu cited in Oduyoye (2002)]. According to Kruger (2002)[32], the Bushman religion is entirely different from the African religion that entered the borders of the present day South Africa about 1 700 years ago. The main features of this religion are the belief in a Supreme Being, the belief in a realm of spirits (including, particularly, ancestral spirits), and the idea that human life is essentially lived in communion with fellow-humans.

According to West (1976), the Lobedu[33] believed in a remote creator, *Khuzwane*, about whom little was known. With the Pedi people there was a fairly undefined belief in a creator, *Kgobe* who made the world and all living things upon it, and whose son, *Kgobeane*, was said to have actually created man. Both terms have fallen into disuse, and the general Sotho word for God, *Modimo* is used instead. The Pedi and the Tswana believed in a Supreme Being, *Modimo*, a creator too remote to be approached by ordinary men. The Venda people had a belief that there was a remote Supreme Being, *Raluvhimba*[34]; the Xhosa people believed in a Supreme Being whom they called *Thixo*. Fuze (1979:5) gives an interesting origin of a Xhosa name for a Supreme Being, he says:

> For when the first missionaries arrived among the Xhosa, they asked them whom they referred to as the Lord that created the heaven and the earth and the people and all else. Well, the Xhosa

[32] http://www.mg.co.za/mg/saarts/cult-religion1.htm

[33] West (1976:133) says that the Lobedu in some way stand between the Sotho and the Venda and they are not entirely typical of the North Sotho.

[34] According to Stayt (1968:230) "'luvhimba' means 'eagle', the bird that soars aloft; the VhaVenda have a very real idea of this great power travelling through the sky, using the stars and wind and rain as his instruments."

> having seen and heard other people, said it was *Tixo*, having heard about it from the hottentots. All of you know that the Xhosa get interested in foreign words, and then adopt them as their own. But as a matter of fact it was not fitting that the Father of all, who was known by all our people as uMvelinqangi (the first appearer), who created everything, the earth and the heaven should be named after an insect as small and repulsive as the mantis. But seeing that it was the first to be used, it is clear that in the course of time it will be found to be unsuitable and drop out of use, and thereafter our father who created us will be known by the name of Nkulunkulu or Somandla (Almighty), and the ignorance of the Xhosa be abandoned.

Soga (1931:150) is of the opinion that:

> The Xosa name for God is *u-Dali*, i.e. the Creator or Supreme Being, and it is from the same root as *um-Dali*, —the Creator. Other names by which he is known are *Tixo* and *Qamata*. Both of these latter are of alien origin. They are a legacy from the Hottentots or possibly the Bushmen. The term *Tixo*, strange to say, is that by which God is most generally known and spoken of by the Xosas. It has almost submerged the original Xosa term *Dali*... The widespread use of the term *Tixo* dates from the time of the first advent missionaries to the Ama-Xosa.

It is clear from the above quote by Soga that the Xhosa people started using the name *Tixo* when the missionaries arrived, as highlighted by Fuze above. However, the other name that Xhosa people use nowadays to refer to the Supreme Being is *uMdali* and not *uDali* as mentioned by Soga. The name *uMdali* is a derivative noun, derived from the verb *-dala* (create). Personal nouns formed from the verbs are formed by prefixing the noun prefix *um-* to the verb root and substituting the final vowel *-a* of the verb with *-i*.

Describing the Mantis, Moleah (1993:45) says:

> The most prominent in the mythology of the San is the Mantis, who is the embodiment of *Kaag*, the creator of all things. The Mantis is gifted with supernatural powers but with ordinary frailties as well. It is to the Mantis that prayers for food, success in hunting and gathering are directed. Ritual dances connected with initiation or relief for the sick are also directed to the Mantis.

Contrary to what is asserted by Fuze and Soga above, Kaschula (1997:17) says:

> The missionaries introduced an alternative Christian name for Qamata: Thixo. Among the Xhosas this is still the most widely used name for God, but many other names exist, such as uDali, the Creator, uMenzi, the one who Acts; and Nkosi yoHlanga, King of the Nation.

Kaschula, however, does not give reasons why the missionaries coined the name *Thixo*. Though the missionaries had some knowledge of the Xhosa language, it is inconceivable that when they came, they knew the language in such a way that they could coin their own Xhosa words. It should be borne in mind that the Xhosa name *Thixo* is very old, though the first time it was used cannot be dated with accuracy today. As some histories that are put forward by persons as accurate reflections of historical events or encounters are not usually based on facts, I am tempted to make an assumption here. If Fuze and Soga's claims are incorrect, Kaschula's is partly true. The probable assumption is that the missionaries might have heard the Hottentots referring to their Supreme Being as *Thixo*. Not knowing the difference between the Xhosa and the Hottentots, they then used the term to refer to the Xhosa's Supreme Being. It might not have been their intention to introduce a new name, but they thought they were still referring to the same being. The Xhosas on the other hand, as Fuze mentions, welcomed the term without any questions and used it to refer to their Supreme Being.

The Tsongas believed in *Xikwembu*. Magubane (1998:96) says:

> Traditionally many Tsonga believed in a Supreme Being, to whom the creation of man and earth was attributed. The belief of the Tsonga lies in ancestor worship. They believe man has a physical body (*mmiri*), and a spiritual body with two attributes *moya* and *ndzuti*. The *moya* associated with the spirit enters the body at birth, and on death is released to join the ancestors. The *ndzuti* is linked to the person's shadow and reflects human characteristics.

The Zulu people on the other hand, believed in a creator they called *uMvelingqangi* or *uNkulunkulu*. They believed that he created the world and all the people in it, he was a remote God not commonly addressed directly. The Ndebele people believed in a Supreme Being, *Mlimo*. According to Stayt (1968:233) the latter word is derived from the

root *ima*, meaning to be erect, to live. Tyrrell and Jurgens (1983:51) say:

> To the Zulu this monotheistic deity is *uNkulunkulu* or *uMvelinqangi*, to the Venda he is *Raluvhimba*, and to the Swazi *Mkulumnqande*. The Sotho people described their deity as *Modimo*, while the Xhosa term is *Umdali* or the Creator (from *ukudala*, to create, to form) and the Mpondo word is *Umanzi*[35] [sic] (derived from *ukwenza*, to make.) The last three terms particularly emphasise the impersonal nature of the deity, which is conceived of as a primal, distant and disinterested force, rather than as a personal and imminent being like the Christian God.

Hammond-Tooke (1974:431) says:

> The God of whom Christians speak is, for example, identified with the single Supreme Being Bantu people vaguely acknowledged before the missionaries came, and many non-Christians no longer think of him as distant and unapproachable (cf. Ashton 1952:116-117; Sheddick 1953:67).

Hammond-Tooke's statement is contested in this study because according to various writers the beliefs of Christians and the Supreme Being proponents are two different beliefs. The basic difference is found in the way these two entities are communicated to. While people pray, shout and also ask for blessings from the Christian God, this was never done with the Bantu Supreme Being. The Bantu communicated with the ancestors who then communicated with their deity. The claim by Hammond-Tooke (ibid), that the Bantu people 'vaguely' acknowledged the existence of a Supreme Being, is entirely incorrect. In fact, the Bantu strongly acknowledged that there was a Supreme Being, as they would never have assigned names to these Supreme Beings if they vaguely acknowledged them, or they were not sure whether they existed or not. They knew that this Supreme Being existed, and it is for this reason that they asked the ancestors to convey their messages to him. Nowadays, the fact that there are Buddhists, Jews, etc., does not mean that people 'vaguely' acknowledge the existence of God, but that different people have various belief systems. It is a norm that some people choose to believe and others choose not to believe. Contrary to Hammond-Tooke's statement, Marquard and Standing (1939:51) say:

[35]The accepted and commonly used spelling for this word is *Umenzi*.

> The Bantu did indeed believe, when they gave the matter any thought, that there was a Supreme Being, known by different names, such as Unkulunkulu, Tixo, and Mwari...Sometimes he was believed to appear in thunder and lightning and hail, and in times of drought they might appeal to him.

Molema (1920:166) asserts that the Bantu believed in a Supreme Being when he says:

> These various words have all been translated by the missionaries into '*God,*' showing that the description of a Supreme Being of the Bantu corresponded in all essential points with God.

Callaway (1970:5) says:

> Unkulunkulu gave men Amatongo, he gave them doctors for treating disease, and diviners; he gave them medicine to treat diseases occasioned by the Itongo. Unkulunkulu said, "If a man is ill, he being affected by the Itongo, you shall kill a bullock and laud the Itongo; the man will get well if he has been affected by the Itongo.

Supreme Being beliefs by the indigenous people should not be equated with the Euro-western God belief which came with the missionaries, though these may ultimately be the same entity. When Oduyoye (2002) says that "We experience the total dependence on God in AR (African Religion) in the prayers. God is the ultimate receiver of all prayers, so all libations begin with calling upon God" it is not entirely true regarding the traditional African belief system. As mentioned above, indigenous people never communicated directly with the Supreme Beings as they respected them. Instead they communicated with the ancestors whom they believed would communicate with these Supreme Beings. Ancestors were people they knew and people they once lived with and that is why they could communicate with them. Tyrrell and Jurgens (1983:48) say: "Traditional religion is not centred on God." Vilakazi (1998) states: 'In all my experience as a Zulu, living among Zulu... I cannot remember a single instance when I heard a prayer by a traditionalist offered to uMvelingqangi'." Schapera (1979:59) referring to *Modimo* points out that:

> He was vaguely associated with the phenomena of the weather, and punished innovations or departure from established usage by sending wind, hail, or heat, and withholding the rain; and death if not attributed to sorcery, was taken as an 'act of God.' He was

> however, considered too remote from the world of man to be directly approached in prayer, although at times the ancestral spirits might be implored to intercede with him.

Contrary to the African Supreme Being, who was remote and never communicated to, the missionaries came with the concept of the Euro-western God who is said to have sent his words through the Bible. Many people believed and still believe in the Bible. The Bible is supposed to teach and guide human beings on how to live their lives in a good way. The latter statements highlight the fact that the functioning of the African Supreme Being (who communicates with people through their ancestors) and that of the Euro-western God (who communicates directly to people through the Bible and people can communicate with him through prayers) is not the same. The Bible which was brought to the indigenous people was translated into their languages and then used to shape their lives to the lives of Christians. It is for the latter reason that though the Africans never communicated with their Supreme Beings, early converts communicated and even nowadays Christians still communicate with the 'Euro-western God', they pray to him and often go and praise him in various churches.

3.5 The missionaries and the Christian religion

When missionaries came to African countries they were not able to speak any of the indigenous languages. As they were unable to speak these languages, they learned the languages of the 'Bantu' through their initiatives and of course with the assistance of the indigenous people. Brownlee (1977:348) points out that:

> The Kafirs had no literature, the early missionaries had therefore first to acquire the language and master the clicks, and then to adapt our[36] alphabet to represent the strange sounds of the Kafir's language.

In similar vein, Marquard and Standing (1939:8) assert that:

> A fact of some importance is that Africans did not know the art of reading and writing until Europeans brought them.

Marquard and Standing (ibid) further say:

[36]Euro-western.

> ...had they [Africans] possessed these arts [reading and writing] they would at least have preserved their laws and customs in a more intelligent way, with some understanding of their object and not merely a blind attachment to tradition long after its meaning had been forgotten.

When an outsider (a person not inherently belonging to a particular community) decides to reside among people who are different from her, in many ways, she often is puzzled by the way those people she is residing with behave. From the above statement by Marquard and Standing, missionaries were either puzzled by the Africans' behaviour or they totally underestimated Africans' intelligence. According to Marquard and Standing, intelligence only refers to something that is recorded, in this case written. Although Africans did not possess the art of reading and writing, they had their own way of preserving their history and tradition, different to that known and practised by the Euro-western people. Early writers of African history and African life were able to get information about Africans, their history, their social life, their customs, etc., because of the skilful way Africans preserved their history, even though there was nothing that was written. It is not true that Africans had a "blind attachment to an object" long after its meaning had been forgotten. The laws and customs that Africans practised were very meaningful to them and contributed to the total functioning of their communities. The fact that these were practised indicates that they had a meaning and function in the life of the Africans. It is conceivable that to Marquard and Standing, the meaning of various traditions appeared to be long forgotten because these traditions were not written down. For various African people, things did not need to be written down to prevent their loss; their memories were competent to preserve all the information they needed to know for the respectable functioning of their society. The information was orally passed on from generation to generation.

The missionaries obviously played an ambiguous role in relation to African identity and languages. Most African countries are indebted to them as they were among the important people (if not the first) to record the African languages in print. "The early

missionaries not only reduced the language to writing, but also published translations of the Bible and other religious works." [Schapera (1979:17)]. Ntuli (1993:139) says:

> The development of Zulu literature owes much to the missionaries. They were the first to reduce the spoken language to writing. Of course their main objective was to propagate the Christian faith among the Zulus. Zulu books of the 19th century were essentially translations of the Scriptures.

In similar vein Marivate (1993:213) says:

> Two Swiss missionaries are on record as being the pioneers of early Tsonga orthography. They are the Revs. Paul Berthoud and Ernest Creux. After their arrival in Spelonken in 1875, they set about working on the Tsonga orthography until 1883, when they managed to produce the first publication in the Tsonga language entitled *Buku ya Tsikwembo*. It contained part of the book of Genesis, extracts from the Gospel according to Sts Matthews, Mark, Luke, John, as well as 53 hymns with words with no music.

It is evident from the above quotations that the main reason why missionaries reduced indigenous languages into writing was to teach the Bible and the scriptures. In other words as much as their efforts of putting indigenous languages in print assisted the development of these languages, their main aim was to ensure that indigenous people are able to read the scriptures. It is without doubt that the missionaries' efforts of studying African languages played and still play a major role in the lives of Africans. As African languages were not the missionaries' first languages, missionaries played a major role in providing orthography for most indigenous names. Although the Euro-western people were the first to put African languages in print, their pioneering of those languages has been questioned as in a number of instances the spelling of names used to refer to various entities were changed after Africans were exposed to literacy, as the missionaries were not always able to distinguish between the African and the Euro-western phonic sounds. African languages were very often incorrectly recorded by the missionaries, especially the toponyms. Boeyens and Cole (1995:2) say:

> A study of a historical context in which the name was recorded clearly demonstrates how a lack of knowledge of Setswana and the absence of a suitable or standardised orthography led to confusion about the correct rendering of a name and of its meaning. The corrupted spelling of Kaditshwene which still occurs in the

> common English names of two bird species, the Kurrichane buttonquail and the Kurrichane thrush, is just one example of the many unsuccessful attempts by early European explorers and writers to record the place-name.

The orthography of various names in South Africa has been improved or changed to reflect the correct pronunciation of indigenous names. When missionaries settled among the African people, there were place names that had been given to various entities. Some of these names were replaced with Euro-western names while others did not reflect the correct pronunciation of African names. The replacing of African names with Euro-western names has led to debates relating to the original names of entities in various provinces resulting in the changing of Euro-western names to African names.

Apart from reducing indigenous languages to print, the arrival of missionaries played a role in the reconstruction of indigenous people's identities. The missionaries had as their primary mission, the conversion of the indigenous people from the indigenous religion to Christianity. Serudu (1993:155) says:

> It goes without saying that at a juncture the primary aim of the mission was to enable members of their congregations to read the Bible and other religious writings. One should not, however, assume that the task of reducing the Northern Sotho language to writing was an easy one. The missionaries were faced with numerous hurdles. First and foremost they had to change the traditional way of life of the people to conform with their mission of Christianisation.

The new sanctions for the behaviour of Church members included the renaming of indigenous people who joined the Christian religion. The renaming resulted in indigenous people having Euro-western names that many did not understand the meaning of and did not know the reason behind them being given such names.

3.6 The transforming African

As some African people welcomed Christianity, changes were seen among the indigenous people. People lost their inherited sense of self and identified themselves as Christians, a new religion which was against their inherent behaviour. The changes were

not only seen in the way they behaved but also in their names. New identities of Africans who joined Christian Churches were constructed. When they were baptised, they were given new names regardless of whether they knew the meaning or not. Old testament names like John, Josiah, Maria, etc., for disciples and/ or prophets were a popular choice. Madubuike (1994:10) says:

> Of course, Christianity has from its very beginning, insisted that each convert should bear a new name, symbol of new life, following the baptismal ceremony. A typical example is that of Saul, enemy of the Christians, who later changed his way of life then joined the Christians, and symbolized his new life by answering Paul.

In similar vein, Mathangwane and Gardner (1998:78) also attribute the rise of Euro-western names to Christianity as they say:

> Many respondents gave the coming of Christianity and evangelism in the past centuries as having influenced the use of English names. This is supported by the large number of English names which are said to be biblical. The Roman Catholic Church, in particular, is said to have contributed to a number of English names in the society in that it gave English names to children at baptism and confirmation. According to Ramphele (1996), missionaries saw it as their duty to give Africans Christian names as part of the sacrament of baptism as African names were regarded as heathen and unacceptable to God. Examples of some of these names are *Aaron, Isaac, Zacharia, Stephen* and *Johannes*, etc.

Although some Africans liked the Christian names, others despised them. To some people, Christian names symbolised superiority. Most indigenous people with Christian names did not see that these names were mirrors of the Euro-western religion they had adopted and meant a change in their identity as Africans. To many people, Christian names were just names that were used to uniquely identify a Zacharia from a Petros; not to foster a new culture among them. However, to some people, these names were more than just labels. As some people could not pronounce these names and did not know their meanings, they did not want to be associated with them. Others did not see the need of having a Christian name because they had an African name. The resistance to Christian names by some indigenous people was a challenging struggle as people without Christian

names were forced by various circumstances to adopt these names. The present resistance to Euro-western names by South Africans is not a new trend among the South African people. As early as 1912 Junod observed the Africans resistance to Euro-western names. Junod (1912:474) says:

> When he was cured of his pretended possession, the spirit which made itself known called itself Mboza. This was a name of a man of his village, his own nephew, who had gone to Johannesburg and had died there. When he became a Christian and was baptised, Mboza kept his name. Most of the natives like to obtain another one on that occasion, the name of a disciple or a prophet.

The latter statement by Junod concur that resistance to Euro-western names is not a new trend among indigenous people of South Africa, however various research ascertain that it is not entirely true that Africans liked to obtain a new name at baptism. The latter statement is not entirely true because in the majority of cases it was not a case of liking or not, some indigenous people by accepting the Christian religion were obliged to have Christian names. People who were baptised in the Roman Catholic Church for example from the advent of Christianity to around the mid 20th century were obligated to have Christian names to assert their new identity as Christians. At baptism, some people were given new names by the baptiser which in the case of the Roman Catholic Church, were chosen from the register of names that consisted of names that the Roman Catholic followers had to choose from. As a result it is questionable whether initially, Africans possessed Euro-western names because they liked them as mentioned by Junod or because these were imposed on them. Current research reveals that some of the Euro-western names given to Africans as early as the advent of missionaries were imposed on some Africans to reflect their new identity.

Apart from reconstructing African people's identity, Christianity brought divisions among African people. Indigenous people were divided into two main groups, there were those who were for Christianity and there were those who were against it. There were however, those who were undecided whether to join Christianity or not. Brownlee (1977:349) distinguishes between the mission or civilized Kaffir and the red Kaffir, the

red Kaffir being those people who did not accept Christianity. Those who were Christians looked down upon those who were not and this led to both groups giving each other derogatory names. Brownlee (1977:348) says:

> The native Christians who first broke through their national customs had no pleasant time of it. They were despised and taunted as renegades to the customs of their forefathers, and were called *amagqoboka* 'converts', — that is 'the perforated.'

Those who were not Christians, pagans, as some anthropologists would call them, saw Christians as people who were lost and untrustworthy and bad. Molema (1920:223) says:

> In his *Africa in Transformation*, pp.104 and 105, the Rev. Dr. N. Maclean observes:-
> 'The statement which one meets most frequently is that the native Christian is a man less to be trusted than his heathen brother. He is a thief and a liar, and everything that is bad.'

Sir Harry H. Johnston cited in Molema (1920:224) sees the above statement by Rev. Maclean as an exploded myth, because according to him, mission-educated natives were not dishonest, they were more honest than pagans. Following Sir Johnston's claim, it is doubted that he as a missionary would ever want to criticise Christianity. According to Malinowski (1946:16), he (the missionary):

> ....is the initiator and center of the religious revolution now taking place in Africa. He would not be true to his vocation if he ever agreed to act on the principle that Christianity is as 'any other form of cult'.

The missionaries would not criticise Christianity, because if they criticised it, they would be against the very institution that sent them to Africa. The reason why some people (non-Christians) saw Christians as lazy was because according to them, they were no longer helping in the fields and other household chores that they used to do. Instead, they were sitting in churches listening to the missionaries and reading the Bible. These Christians were surviving on food cultivated by the non-Christians. According to those who were non-Christians, Christians were also untruthful because they deserted the indigenous cultures and beliefs, forgot about their ancestors and followed a new culture of Christianity not known to their ancestors and very new to them.

Among Christians, divisions were also observed although they were proclaiming the same God. Christians belonged to various denominations which had different sets of principles, e.g. some principles from the Roman Catholic Church were different from those of the Dutch Reformed Church.

3.7 Education and changing naming patterns

Apart from introducing Christianity, the white man also introduced formal education among the indigenous people. Africans had traditional methods that they used to educate their communities. These methods were different to those used by the white people. Milubi (1993:197) says:

> Tshivenda oral tradition or folklore has always been part and parcel of the educational system. The life and world views of the Vhavenda people were reflected through the narration of myths. Before the advent of missionaries, oral tradition was imparted to children in the form of fables, myths, legends, folk tales, riddles and proverbs.

Parents and especially grandmothers used educational folk tales to educate indigenous children about life. As young children reached certain stages in life they were also educated by older youth in groups of the ages they were in. Almost everyone took part in some form of education. Education was not discriminatory or dependent on wealth or social standing. Moalusi (1994:96) citing Keto (1990:25) says:

> It is an undeniable fact of history that the Europeans did not bring education to Africa... The one thing that Europeans brought and for which we may congratulate them, is a written culture which included "grouping children into classrooms for regular daily lessons emphasizing the importance of reading and writing, showing particular concerns over examination results and certificates"

The white man's religion went hand in hand with Euro-western education. Schapera (1979:58) says: "For many years they [the missionaries] alone were responsible for education in literacy, building schools and importing teachers....". Although African people knew their language, they only knew how to speak it, but not how to write it. As literacy was an unknown thing to them, they had to be trained and taught how to read the

scriptures and how to write. Molema (1920:220) says:

> ... the missionary begins by teaching the alphabet, and building on it. This training of the mind has another incidental advantage, and that is to open up another avenue for the gospel, for the man who would otherwise be solely dependent on his ears is thus enabled to read Scriptures himself. In this way a missionary school begins.

Education was introduced to the indigenous people. Grout (1970:221) says:

> The brightest spot in the mission, at this time, was the school, or seminary, for raising up teachers and preachers from among the natives who had professed the Christian faith.

Marquard and Standing (1939:8) say that a fact of some importance is that Africans did not know the art of reading and writing until the Europeans brought it. Like the white man's religion, education was not welcomed by everyone. Some people felt that education was encouraging laziness, as children were no longer going to the fields but going to school, while some felt that education was breeding a new generation that would not uphold the traditions and customs of the indigenous people as initially the teachings were those of Euro-western religion. Though not everyone was pleased with education, the missionaries tried all they could to convince especially the elders of the community that education was going to turn their children into people the elders would be proud of. Various people started sending their children to school. They often sent those who were lazy and not performing well in the fields and in some household chores. Some people, who were against education, after seeing the results of being educated, e.g. knowing how to read and write also joined in sending their children to school. Missionary schools can still be seen even today, for example Montebello High School in KwaZulu-Natal, Lemana College in Elim in the Limpopo Province[37], etc.

Although initially the missionaries were interested in bringing the Gospel to the African people that they saw as backward and barbaric, they did not just bring the Gospel, they also played a vital role in reconstructing the identities of the African people. People who worked for missions, even though they were not Christians, had to dress in Euro-western attire, as they were in their master's place. Although some African people wore Euro-

[37] Formerly the Northern Province.

western clothes, as was required by their employers, they did not wear Euro-western clothes when they were outside the white controlled territories. Brownlee (1977:355) says:

> There are exceptions, but as a rule my experience has been, that Heathen Kafirs who may have been for years in service in the Colony, and who may have worn European clothing while in service, invariably cast that clothing off when they return to their countrymen, and fall back to red clay.

When the African people were baptized, it was considered that they had repented from sins, and were no longer the 'sinners' they once were but the followers of the Christian gospel. This was not only reflected in their actions and the culture they adopted but was also reflected in their names. Madubuike (1994:10) says:

> The church grew in Africa and assumed more importance in the naming of babies. The missionaries prohibited the use of indigenous names, as they had done in Europe and encouraged the use only of names of saints and martyrs – Peter, Paul, Silas, Sebastian, Mary and others.

African people did not have Euro-western names before the white man came to Africa. It is obvious that these names came with the Euro-western people. These names did not only reflect a portion of the white man's culture among the Africans, they also identified Christians and educated Africans from the non-Christians and uneducated ones. When baptised, children were given Euro-western names regardless of whether they had African names or not. Christian names were regarded as the names that followers of Christianity should have. Early Christians in African communities were identified by Christian names. Madubuike (1994:11) says:

> The early Christian convert answered names from the Old testament: Isaac, Moses, Abrahim, Elijah, Nathaniel, Joshua, David, Jacob, Joseph, Benjamin, Jeremiah and so on..

Indigenous people did not only use their native names but also used new names bestowed on them usually at baptism by the missionaries. Missionaries were among the first to bestow Euro-western names on African people. These were names they could identify with, names they knew and had known perhaps for a long time, and also names that

according to them were not heathen and barbaric. According to *The Natal Witness* of 16th September 1994, the reason why Benny Alexander[38] replaced his old name with Khoisan X "...was because the name Alexander was given to his great-grandparents by colonialists because their Khoi name was regarded as heathen and barbaric. As for the 'X' he described it as an interim surname saying he will adopt a new one." (1994:3).

Although some Africans resisted Christianity and the adoption of Euro-western names, in some cases factors beyond their control compelled them to bestow Euro-western names on their children. A baptismal certificate was regarded as the passport to a person's life, without it, it was difficult to be acknowledged as resident of a place and as a living person. It served as a record as does the birth certificate and the identity document nowadays. During the early 1900 not all people were born in hospitals, and not all people had their birth registered immediately after birth as happens nowadays. People who were born at home did not have birth certificates. Children who were baptized in missions had a baptismal certificate. This certificate served as does a birth certificate nowadays. When a person wanted to be admitted to school, the baptismal certificate was required if the person did not have a birth certificate. The same applied when a person wanted a job. As a result, even those who were against Christianity joined the religion so that they could be in possession of a baptismal certificate.

A number of people joined Christianity to fulfil their own needs, and not because they had faith in the Christian God. They joined either to get a baptismal certificate, or to get some benefit from the Church. Kwame Nkrumah was no exception; Omari (1970:135) says:

> He became a 'devout' Catholic, because he could thereby further his education. He was helped by his Catholic friends to go to America; but he soon deserted his Catholic beginnings, and became a Protestant so he was able to go on to obtain his Bachelor's Degree in divinity at Lincoln University— but not because he wanted to be a minister.

[38]Benny Alexander was among the first people who went public about restoring or changing their names after the first South African democratic elections in 1994. He was then the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) general secretary.

I was informed by a Zulu speaking colleague that the reason why he has a Euro-western name is not because the preacher or the teacher gave it to him. It is also not because his parents liked it, but it is because his mother was compelled by the situation she found herself in during the late 1950s. His mother knew that if she did not give him a Euro-western name, he was bound to get one during the course of his life. Being baptised in the Zion Christian Church, he was not given a Euro-western name at baptism. Since some school teachers randomly gave pupils Euro-western names, the chances were that he could get it either at school or when he was looking for employment. His mother did not give him a Euro-western name by choice but circumstances forced her to bestow a Euro-western name on her child as she did not want other people to name her child, because that in some cases resulted in nicknames like Jim or Sixpence. Apart from people getting new names when they were baptised or when they went to school, they were at times given new names by their parents' employers. Noelene Barbeau reporting for the *Mirror Newspaper* of 7 July 2002, says:

> When asked about the unusual spelling of her name, the Scottsville resident replied: "My mum's employer decided on the name because of my birth date (December 16). 'Stellar' means a famous person; 'Stella' means a star in the sky. My Zulu name, Busisiwe, given to me by my grandmother, means 'the blessed one'."

There are various incidents resembling the one mentioned above which cannot be presented here because of the limited nature of the scope of this study. However, it can be seen from the above quote that some parents' employers played a major role in the naming of their employees' children, just like the baptiser and some school teachers did.

With the advent of missionaries the number of people with Euro-western names grew among African people, whether they had them by choice or they were compelled by situations beyond their control to have them. The fact remains, they had Euro-western names which in a way reconstructed their identities. Euro-western names were regarded by many people as superior to African names. It is for this reason that outside school some pupils did not want their parents or neighbours to call them by their African names in front of their classmates because they were ashamed of their African names. They did not want anyone except people close to them to know their African names. Some pupils

even denied their African names, when addressed by them.

In the mid 80s when I was still in school, one of my classmate's parent came looking for her son and told the teacher her son's African name. The teacher called the name and no one responded to it. She then decided to call the parent to come and check if her child was indeed in her class. The parent then came and pointed to her son. The son was so ashamed to have been called by his African name that he cried in front of the mother, the teacher and his classmates.

There are various reasons not known to many people, perhaps only known to missionaries and baptisers, that led them to bestowing Euro-western names on African people. Was it that they wanted the indigenous people's names to reflect their newly acclaimed religion? If that was the case, why didn't they give them African names that reflect a belief in God like *Nkosinathi* or *Musawenkosi* meaning 'God is with us' or 'God's grace' respectively, names which have been in existence for a long time. Mathangwane and Gardiner (1998:79) state that:

> While English names given for religious reasons are from the Bible, for example, Elijah, Joseph, Margaret, Samuel, Veronica, Psalm and so on, in African names the semantic link very clearly involved some communication with God. These included thanking God for the child or some other communication with God, e.g. Mpho 'gift'; Kelebogile 'I thank God'; Karabo 'answer' from God (when he at least gave them a baby boy); Batshephi 'believers' and many others.

The reason why indigenous people were given Euro-western names by the missionaries could be that they could not pronounce the African names or they did not want to pronounce them. Perhaps they associated indigenous names with sins and backwardness, and as a result, to reflect the Africans' change in identity, they had to have Euro-western names. According to research undertaken, the latter seems more probable. Other researchers however mention that the reason why missionaries bestowed Euro-western names upon African people was because they could not pronounce the African names.

What is also evident in the names that were bestowed on African people, is that not only

were these names, names that white people could pronounce, but some were bestowed to ridicule black people. Marquard and Standing (1939:113) say:

> Bantu names are often very confusing to the European and difficult to pronounce, so that both on the farms and in the towns they usually take a European name, by which they are known to their employers. Often they were unable to think of a name[39], so the employer gave them one. That is why so many Bantu men have names which are really nicknames, like 'August', 'September', 'April', 'Sixpence', or 'Kleinbooi'. Bantu workers are usually called by their first names unlike European workers who are called 'Mr Smith' or, by their surname, just Smith. The Bantu are beginning to resent this custom because it seems to imply that they are being looked down upon. In towns educated Europeans when talking to educated Bantu usually now call them by their Bantu names [names adopted from African languages] and add the prefix 'Mr.'

Tyrrell and Jurgens (1983:108) say

> Since the advent of Europeans, a whole range of names and random words has become available and been put into use. An additional incentive for adopting European names has been the use of derogatory terms such as Sammy and Sixpence by employers unwilling or unable to pronounce the African name.

It was no point of concern to the missionaries whether indigenous people valued their names or not, and what their names signified. Their concern was to ensure that with the adoption of a new way of living, their African names were also substituted with Euro-western names if not totally replaced by them. African names meant a lot to the people who possessed them and especially those who bestowed them because by virtue of bestowing them, they were shaping the personality of the child they were naming. Alford says that in most societies, the right to name a child is an important and significant prerogative. To name a child is to help shape that child's identity (1988:36). Bhengu (1975:52) says:

> Generally Africans value their names. A traditional African name is a religious mark of personal and human identification. It is a symbol of honour and respect for the physical environment in

[39] How can people be expected to think of a name which does not exist in their language and are not familiar with the language the name has to come from?

> which human experience flourishes positively or negatively. The community uses names as an instrument to build and mould the character of the younger, to fortify that of the adult, and to reward that of the elder. Through the name an individual is linked up with the ancestors and the spirit world. In this way an African name is a human form of identification that puts one in the uninterrupted continuity with his past and his gods.

Euro-western names were foreign to Africans, as most of them did not know what the names meant and some of them did not know the reason behind them (Africans) being given such names. These names brought mixed feelings to the African people. While to some people these names were meaningless and they did not want anything to do with them, to others, these names were favourable as the people who possessed them were aspiring to be like the white man. Bhengu (1975:54) says:

> Illiterate as Danda was, he sees the stupidity of adopting a meaningless name which is only 'sweet in the mouth' and which his mother will not be able to pronounce. Some Christians attempt forcing foreign names on their parents. In Munonye's book, *Obi*, Anna, in her religious zeal tries to force Chiaku, her mother-in-law, no longer to call her son Nnanna but Joseph.

Christian education produced a generation that looked down upon its own culture and moreover that looked down upon itself as Africans. It produced a generation that was day by day aspiring to be like the white man. Instead of being equal or having the same status as that of missionaries or white people, educated Africans were neither European nor African. It should be borne in mind that the education system that they went through was specifically created for them. It was inferior to that of a missionary child, as it was often the Euro-western people's goal to ensure that Africans were destined not to be like a white man. Moalusi and Frank (1994:12) cited in Moalusi (1994:99) say: "Education for Africans was designed under the pretext that the Africans needed education suitable for them...". Malinowski (1946:8) referring to educated Africans during the advent of missionaries, says: "The result is that we often produce educated Africans who have no place in either the tribal world or the European community." Some missionaries intensely refused to identify completely with Africans. They dominated and refused to treat Africans as they would treat other white people. They were always superior to the

indigenous people (including those who had adopted Christianity). Asserting the latter, Hunter in Locke (1946:198) says: "Moreover, European and Bantu almost always meet as master and servant. Even in contact with officials and missionaries the relationship is always that of governor and governed, or master and pupil".

Christianity produced people of a different culture than what the African people were used to. It produced no *sangoma*, no *Ngaka* and no *Gqirha;* but priests, teachers, messengers, in fact the list is endless. These were the new generation of people who were going to spread not only the Christian Gospel but also a culture of a white man to the indigenous people. These were the Africans who were going to ensure that they spread the gospel that was given to them, by giving their children Christian names and by criticising and challenging their forefather's customs. These were Africans who saw themselves not only as educated Christians, but also as superior to uneducated indigenous people. Hunter in Locke (1946:200) says:

> A Pondo believes that by becoming like a European he will acquire power like a European, and the fact that the most Europeanized usually get best-paid jobs as teachers, clerks, interpreters and ministers, fosters this belief. The European educated have prestige in the community. I have seen a chief's son swagger into the store ignoring everyone there except the local teacher with whom he shook hands politely.

In similar vein, Madubuike (1994:10) says:

> To answer to a white man's name was seen as one of the ways of becoming civilized, that is white. Thus, today one frequently meets an African who will not be content until you have told him what your white Christian name is.

The mentality that people with Euro-western names, who were considered civilized because of being educated, were better than those with only African names stayed with many African people, and even today many Africans are still suffering the consequences of the harm done by missionaries to their identities and self dignity.

Bhengu (1975:49) says "The ability to speak English, the language of the master, is

considered a status symbol, especially in the case of those who are not highly educated." Regardless of the democratic South African government trying to redress the status of the African languages (which were firstly marginalised by the colonial authorities, then by the apartheid government), these languages, nine years after the demise of apartheid still cannot compete with the Euro-western languages which seem to be dominant in every South African domain. Seven years after the introduction of the New South African Language Policy, where nine of the indigenous languages are official, many South Africans still consider speaking English a status symbol, and thus look down upon their own languages. Contrary to what Bhengu (loc.cit.) said, it is not only those who are not educated who consider English a status symbol, but also those who are highly educated. Mzi Mngadi writing for *The Natal Witness*, 23 March 1997, on '***What happened to black pride***' says:

> But here in South Africa, an African identity extinction is looming. Since the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, a number of African kids have left their township schools for white schools or those of the then-privileged. The black parents said they want their children to speak English fluently and get access to good educational facilities. It was a good motive. However, the problem is that such children tend to over-emphasize English. Some parents motivate their kids to use English even at home. This is having a negative impact because now there are black children who cannot express themselves in their mother tongue. (1997:3)

The abandoning of African languages by educated Africans, is not a new trend in South Africa. As far back as 1938, Junod (1938:42) said:

> Political influences to-day are against the development of the Bantu languages, and many educated Africans have a strong tendency to do away with them, because they understand that their only hope for recognition lies in a united Africa, and therefore they see in the various languages of the people an obstacle to unity.

With some Africans gracing the Euro-western languages, religion and way of doing things, African societies saw an increase in Tom, Mary, Abednigo, Julia and a decrease in *Muzonjani*, *Ntombinkulu* and *Funokwakhe*.

3.8 Influence of Euro-western languages on geographical names

It has been evident in South Africa that with the arrival of the missionaries, explorers, traders, etc., who later became settlers, not only personal names were influenced by the Euro-western languages but also names of geographical features were strongly affected. Most indigenous people had African names for entities around them. Although this was the case, some of those names were disregarded by the missionaries and replaced with Euro-western names. Others were adapted to the pronunciation of Euro-western languages and thus lost not only the original meaning but also the original language. Raper (1987b:14) says:

> When place-names from Bantu or African languages are given to places in a White area, the spelling of the name may be adapted to the pronunciation of the White language concerned. Thus we find *Kyalami* instead of *iKhayalami* ("my home"); *Silkaatsnek* from the Europeanized *Silkaats* which is *Moselekatse* in Sotho and *uMzilikazi* in Zulu.

The above statement by Raper is not entirely true because it is not only when place names from African languages are given to places in a white area that the adapted pronunciation is found but also in places where Africans reside. It was often the case that when the Euro-western people came across African names of various places, they adapted these names into their pronunciation, e.g., *Dagooza* instead of Shaka Zulu's homestead name *KwaDukuza*. Since the advent of colonialists, many names of entities in different places have either been misspelled, adapted to Euro-western languages, or changed altogether. Raper (op cit:1) says:

> Older names were altered, adapted, translated (wholly or in part) and supplanted. Hybrid forms with part of the name in one language and another part in a different language, came into being.

As a result of some place names initially being replaced with Euro-western names, many people are unaware that various places had African names before they were given Euro-western names. Some places had African names that were not recognised because African languages were not official, instead English and Afrikaans names were and still are used. These languages were the only official languages of South Africa. According to

Doman writing for the *Weekend Argus* of May 7th /8th, "many traditional place-names were simply ignored when some supposed pioneer came along and claimed a piece of bushveld for Queen and country or Volk and Vaderland" (1994:6). Nowadays, with the new democratic South Africa, the quest to change or replace Euro-western names with African names has been evident, though heavily criticised by various people. While many people claim that Durban will get a new name *eThekwini* and the new name for Pretoria is *Tshwane*, others argue that these places are not having their names changed. These names (*eThekwini* and *Tshwane*) have been used by indigenous people for a number of years. *eGoli, eThekwini, eTshwane, Mangaung, eKapa, eBisho,* etc., are names that have been used by indigenous people staying in these places, although the Afrikaans and English names were there. The decision that the African National Congress led government has taken in this instance is not to give these places new names but to replace the Euro-western names with the original indigenous names that have always been used by indigenous people. This move though, as expected, has not been supported by all residents of the country. While some people see it as a good move, others see it as an unnecessary revenge for colonialism[40] and apartheid, which should not be the foundation of a country that has just achieved democracy. According to *The Natal Witness* of 12th July (1994:6), like the old flag and anthem, existing place names are associated with the colonial past, but only a few of them have negative or offensive connotations while most have some degree of historical significance.

There have been arguments on whether to change Adderley and Wale Streets in Cape Town to Mandela Street and F.W De Klerk Streets respectively. This has sparked a lot of controversy from Cape Town residents, where some people call the changing of names 'a crazy and a communist plot' (*The Natal Witness*, 27th June, 2001:3).

It should be borne in mind that unlike the cities and towns mentioned above (which had indigenous names together with Euro-western names), Adderley and Wale Streets had no indigenous names before they were given these names. Some people argue that it is useless to name entities after political leaders e.g. the former Presidents Nelson Mandela

[40] *The Natal Witness*, 27 June 2001.

and F.W. De Klerk, as political leaders come and go, and also that changing a name is going to be very costly as all their business letterheads, business addresses, etc. would have to be changed. This would be costly because they do not have money to cover the unplanned expenses resulting from name changing. On the other hand, some people feel that it is about time that what they consider to be colonial names are changed. With the way name changing or innovation is being carried out, it looks as though there would be no city or town in South Africa without an entity named after the former President Nelson Mandela[41]. According to the *Natal Witness* of 2nd September, "The Pretoria City Council has decided to name at least one street after President Nelson Mandela" (1994:4). The naming of entities after democratically elected Presidents or the first African Presidents, is not a new trend in the African continent. The naming of public places after political leaders is very common in African countries. Omari (1970:85) says of Ghana:

> Streets and public buildings were named after Nkrumah at this time and later. There were the Kwame Nkrumah markets, the Kwame Nkrumah University, the Kwame Nkrumah Leadership Training Camps, the Kwame Nkrumah State farms, and so on...Nkrumaism was well on its way to becoming 'the ideology of Africa'.

Our neighbouring country Zimbabwe is also no exception. Apart from various streets in Harare named after various African leaders, others are named after Robert Mugabe, the President of Zimbabwe since 1980.

3.9 Traditional clothing versus Euro-western clothing

It was not only the naming system of indigenous people that saw transformation with the arrival of missionaries. Among those indigenous people who joined Christianity their dress codes was also transformed. Non-Christians were identified by wearing traditional attires like, *amabheshu* (for Zulu men), *xibelani* (for Tsonga women), *isidwaba* (for Zulu women), *isigege* (for young Zulu girls), etc., whereas Christians wore Euro-western

[41]What is striking in the entities named after the former President, is that the majority of them are either named after his school name and surname or after his surname alone; very few are named after his full names Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela or just after his African name Rolihlahla. It remains to be investigated whether the consequences of the latter are because Nelson is the most popular name or because somehow people unknowingly still use the Euro-western names that they want to change.

clothes. Just from the clothes that a person wore, one could tell who was assimilated to Christianity and who was not. People wearing *amabheshu* (Zulu men's traditional attire) were not allowed to enter the church. Even today, though people are said to be returning to their roots, the wearing of African traditional dress at work is not encouraged by some employers as it is seen as barbaric and moreover people wearing some traditional attire are considered not properly dressed. Several people (especially men wearing *amabheshu*) have been sent away to go and get dressed properly when appearing in public wearing what they refer to as their African form of clothing. Indigenous people were defined by the way they dressed during the early stages of missionaries. In the Zulu drama *Insumansuman,* Bhambada (The king of the Zondis) is accused by *UNdabazabantu*[42] that his (Bhambada's) people beat him. Zondi (1995:2) says:

> **UNd.** Ngisaphinda ngithi umthetho wakho yini lona owenziwa abantu bakho, nguwe lona othi abasishaye?
> *I am repeating and saying, is it your law that your people are practising, is it you who say they must beat us?*
> **UBhamb.** Abantu bami abakushayile?
> *Is it my people who beat you?*
> **UNd.** Abakho. **(ephendula ngolaka)**
> *They are yours.* ***(answering in anger)***
> **UBhamb.** Usho ukuthi bonke abantu laba abagcwele emahlathini abaseNgome, kubhalwephi lokho, **(abheke ngasephoyiseni)** bebebhince amabheshu anjani labo bantu?
> *Are you saying that all the people who fill the forests are from Ngome, where is that written,* ***(looking at the police)*** *what sort of traditional attire were those people wearing?*
> **Ipho.II.** Nkosi bebegqoke isikholwa.
> *King, they were dressed like Christians.*
> **UBhamb.** Pho, yini eyenza nithi abantu bami labo?
> *So what makes you say that they are my people?*

From the above quote, it can be seen that people who were dressed like Christians were no longer considered as part of the indigenous people but were part of the Euro-western nation. Bhambada could not identify with the people who beat *Ndabazabantu* because of what they were wearing. Although they were Africans, by virtue of what they were wearing they were not his people. Clothing in the introductory stages of Christianity and

[42]This name was given to the white men who were said to be the Government's messengers. This name means a person who makes people's business his own.

also nowadays played a major role in defining people according to religion, ethnicity and other creed. To traditional Africans, people who wore clothes were associated with immorality and were seen as no longer belonging to the traditional African society. Rowlands (1973:17) says:

> Thus the witness said that most of the girls who became pregnant amongst them were those who wore clothes. The wearing of clothes had been brought about by the introduction of Christianity.

3.10 The traditional King and the loss of power

Traditionally, the land and all its inhabitants belonged to the King of a particular group of the indigenous people. It was the King who assigned land to the indigenous people. Land was neither bought nor rented, it was accorded to people by virtue of being members of a particular community. I was not just caught by surprise but was embarrassed when conducting research in a rural area in Zululand. My embarrassment came when I asked the research assistants who should I talk to if I want to rent a place that I could reside in during the time when I was conducting research. At first the research assistants were shocked and asked me to repeat the question since they thought they might not have heard what I said. Unknowingly, with pleasure, I repeated the question, only to be embarrassed and have my ignorance exposed when told that the land belongs to the chief and thus no one can buy or rent it, but people who want to stay in the place should ask him for a place to stay.

There were laws created by the Kings or Chiefs with the help of some members of the community that people had to abide by. For example, during the reign of King Shaka in Zululand, it was known that if a witch was found she was killed. Marquard and Standing (1939:48) say:

> Death was the punishment for grave offences, including sorcery, though sometimes an offender was allowed to escape and leave the tribe. Minor crime could be punished by having a hand or an ear cut off, a form of punishment very common in England until a couple of hundred years ago. The Bantu had no prisons. Fines might also be imposed, payable in cattle...Families were liable for the wrongs done by their members.

All indigenous people had directives that structured their way of life, and they knew what should be done and what should not be done. They also knew the consequences of doing something that was unacceptable. The white people who settled in South Africa on the other hand, had their own laws that they believed were not barbaric, but were better and were going to make life easier for the indigenous people. Junod (1912:459-460) says:

> Having conquered the territory of South Africa, the White Governments have everywhere placed Native Commissioners to watch over their coloured subjects. This has put *an end to the tribal wars.* Natives are no longer allowed to indulge in their old fighting customs. They may avail themselves of a war between Europeans to square up old accounts with each other, as happened during the Anglo-Boer war, but they are forbidden to follow the war-path any more.

In similar vein, Schapera (1946:359) says:

> It [the government] refused also to tolerate ritual homicide, the punishment of sorcerers, and similar practices held to be "repugnant to the principles of natural justice and morality".

The killing of the witches had to come to a complete halt, as killing another human being was considered a sin by missionaries. Magubane (1998:94) says: "As white colonists imposed their rule on villages, the powers of chiefs declined." Power started shifting from the hands of the Kings and Chiefs to the hands of the Government which made numerous laws on how indigenous people should conduct themselves. Russel (1999:195) says:

> When the great powers decided to carve up Africa at the end of the last century, chiefs were widely dismissed out of hand. The British proved more canny than their French, Portuguese and Belgian counterparts. For the British the Chiefs were useful local partners, albeit of an unequal status. But any colonial officer would, of course, been shipped home in a trice if he had dared to suggest a parallel between the House of Commons in Westminister and a popular African custom of holding tribal assemblies under the central village tree, or a link between councils of elders and meetings of the cabinet.

Schapera (1946:359) says:

> The Europeans differed in their policies towards the Natives. The Administration not only introduced a new form of political control,

> but found it necessary, in the interests of good government, to abolish the powers of the Chiefs in regard to war, foreign policy, and certain aspects of criminal jurisdiction.

One of the laws introduced by Europeans was the payment of '*imali yekhanda*' (poll tax). This type of tax was a source of revenue for the colonial government, however it was seen as unfair because some people could not afford it. Young men were expected to pay '*imali yamakhanda*' and the imposing of this law led to the Bhambada[43] rebellion in 1906. Although indigenous people were not happy with these laws, they had only two things to do, either to resist the laws of the government they did not know, or adhere to the laws. The natives themselves had never seen the government and did not know what or who it was.

The lives of the African people saw a dramatic change and transformation that made it very difficult for African people to reclaim what they thought belonged to them, e.g. land. Africans suffered under the white man's laws that were sometimes intentionally designed to make life difficult, if not unbearable for them. Referring to incidents that took place during the colonial period, Moleah (1993:296) says:

> Among the most racist whites were the oldest British inhabitants, who had formed themselves into the Rand Pioneers Organization. The Rand Pioneers urged the administration to be tougher towards Africans. They also demanded corporal punishment, mandatory death sentences, public executions and wider powers for the police force. In their résumé of white grievances which they brought to the attention of the Native Affairs Commission, "they insisted that African travellers be restricted to third class compartments in trains, that Africans be refused permission to acquire land individually, that African man should be prevented from riding bicycles and from having sexual intercourse with white women, that hard labour be made harder, and that black and white convicts should on no account be handcuffed together.

Some of the indigenous people thinking that they would have a better life as they were promised by the British, assisted the British in the war where they conquered the

[43]The chief of the Zondi clan.

Afrikaner. However when the British conquered the Afrikaners, indigenous people's' lives were not any better. Moleah (1993:291) says:

> As we have already seen, Africans had assisted the British war effort in a variety of useful ways, anticipating some kind of millennium from an imperial victory. A great disappointment and a deep sense of betrayal awaited the Africans because: "The goal of British policy in Southern Africa - whatever the rhetoric of the war years - had little to do with granting Africans political rights, or with 'freedom and justice'"...though the war and the reconstruction which followed it were intended to transform the nature of the class structure of the territory by hastening the development of a capitalist state, which will be more fully capable of fulfilling the demands of the mining industry. Such demands of the mining industry entailed more intensified exploitation of African labour.... In the end Africans were the objects of this war - it resulted in their subjugation and greater exploitation.

They (Africans) were defeated in wars and lost most of their belongings to the white man. De Lange (1993:174) says:

> The whites moved inland where they met a number of other peoples. That resulted in Kaffir wars which lasted almost a century, from 1779 till 1877. The black tribes lost their land and in 1898 the whites completed their conquest of the African population.'

With the arrival of white people, the introduction of Christianity, education and new laws, the indigenous people lost their culture and dignity. During battles with the white people, indigenous people also lost their belongings. Land was seized and given to white people. What followed after the white man seized power from the indigenous people were years of severe oppression, hard work and struggle for freedom for the indigenous people of South Africa. By virtue of their skin colour, they were discriminated against and had no say in the running of the country that they once were free to live in as they desired. De Lange (1993:175) says:

> The domination of the whites was expressed in an avalanche of legislation that limited the rights of blacks. In 1910 South Africa became a self governing British dominion with the formation of the Union. In the period before 1948 when a government came to power on an openly segregationist platform, a number of discriminatory laws had already been adopted. In 1913, for

> example, the South African parliament limited black land ownership to the Reserves and in 1927 adopted the Immorality Act that prohibited extramarital intercourse between whites and blacks.

When the National Party came to the fore with the Afrikaner government, apartheid laws were enacted. Peterson (1975:18) says: "The South African Bureau of race relations, an Afrikaans society argued that apartheid was the only possible way to guarantee peace and safety for both blacks and whites." The apartheid system was a cruel exercise that stole the essence and the dignity of being an African from many indigenous people of South Africa. Burger (2000:31) says: "In most respects, apartheid was a continuation, in more systematic and brutal form, of the segregationist policies of previous governments." Although Africans were the majority, the land and almost all its resources belonged to the white man. Africans nevertheless resisted the apartheid system as they believed what they believed belonged to them was taken away. Van Vuuren et. al. (1985:35) says:

> Thus Non-white access to the general political process in 'White areas' was blocked. However, the conduct of the Blacks since the inauguration of Union in 1910 has, in a certain sense, been characterised by a national awareness in the sense that *Blacks consider themselves to be part of the South African political system and believe that, as such, they have certain rights.*

Indigenous people's struggle against oppression, and apartheid laws that discriminated against them was not easy. It took indigenous people about forty-six years to fight the minority Afrikaner government. In the struggle for freedom, lives were lost, people died and some people were physically impaired. Van Vuureen et.al. (op cit:43) says: "Politically, the trend of violent action stems from the exclusion of Blacks from the new constitutional dispensation for Whites, Coloureds and Indians." Some people were imprisoned and suffered brutal attacks in prison, while some died in prison. Others were able to live to tell the stories of the gruesome life they endured in prison. It is some of their stories that have shaped South Africa into what it is today. It is these stories that revealed to many South Africans the brutal life that some people lived under the apartheid government.

3.11 Culture contact and culture change

As mentioned earlier, the arrival of white people in South Africa led to the encounter with indigenous people who were already in the country. White people had a culture that was different to that of indigenous people. Tylor (1871:1) cited in Thipa (1989:40) defines culture as: "That complex whole which includes knowledge, art, morals, law, custom and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." When two different cultures meet, it is conceivable that there may be changes, assimilation or mixture of those different cultures.
Kwaa Prah cited in Makgoba, et.al (1999:X)]

> ...no human group has, from time immemorial, been hermetically sealed, culturally or otherwise. Diffusion, interpretation and mixing are the real substances of the historical conjuncture; people are formed by the existent culture they produce and reproduce.

Malinowski (1946:16) says:

> ...for the study of culture contact it is not admissible to forget that European agents constitute everywhere the main drive in change, that they are the determining factors as regards to initiative of change, that it is they who plan, take measures and import things to Africa; that they withhold; that they take away land, labor, and political independence; and that they themselves are in most of their actions determined by instructions, ideas, and forces which have their origin outside Africa

Culture change is a global matter. All cultures around the globe are bound to change in a certain period of time, though some are quick to accept the change, others resist the change and as a result are slow in changing. Becker (1974:137) says:

> If we accept the symbols of many-runged ladders as representing the various levels reached by Black South Africans in the process of adjustment to our Western way of life, then we must recognize the upper rings as representing those involved in the process of urbanization. Depending on a number of factors, not least of which is the geographical situation of township areas, it follows that the levels of urbanization vary from place to place.

Forces of cultural change may either be internal or external. 'Internal forces' refer to

forces that are within a particular society. These forces may involve a shift in a culture that is already in existence, and these shifts are then learned and accepted by the members of the society, and subsequently become part of that society's culture. Internal forces can also be caused by an inside amalgamation of cultural trends into something completely new. On the other hand, external forces refer to forces that may be brought to a particular society by people not belonging to that society, e.g. whites bringing foreign things to African societies. Referring to objects brought by the white people, Becker (1974:123) says:

> ...strange those *izindlu ezihambayo*, or ox-drawn 'walking house'; strange those weapons of 'smoke and thunder'; strange and exciting the piles of trinkets and baubles, house-hold utensils, liquid as fragrant as the gilded mimosa...

During the advent of missionaries the influence of external forces was common in various African countries. Locke (1946:7) says:

> Culture may develop complexity through certain internal development and variation, but by far the main source of cultural growth and development seems always to have been through the forces of external contact.

There is no society that remains static for a long period of time, as internal forces might play a role in effecting change in that society. The change in various African cultures is usually attributed to the arrival of Europeans, though some people disregard this and maintain that these cultures were going to change regardless of the arrival of whites. It should be pointed out that the arrival of whites contributed to the rapid change of African culture.

When cultures meet, it is usually expected that both cultures will not remain static. The arrival of white people in Africa did initiate change not just in South Africa but also in some African countries. The loss of some aspects of African culture is vastly attributed to the arrival of white people, who were either adventurers, missionaries, explorers, hunters, traders, etc. The lost aspects of African culture include the disrespect of taboos, the neglecting of ancestors, the neglecting of families for employment in the mines, etc. When defining 'taboo', Junod (1938:113) says: "My late father described taboo as 'any

object, act or person that implies a danger for the individual or for the community, and that must consequently be avoided, this object, act or person being under a kind of ban'." Most of the taboos that were associated with various indigenous people are either unknown to South Africans today or disrespected, because people associate these taboos with superstitions.

The arrival of Euro-western people in South Africa contributed to a large extent to the changes that affected Africans which are still seen in South Africa today. Malinowski (1946:6) says:

> The field of culture change is one in which it is impossible to keep apart the theoretical and practical issues involved. The practical man is interested in culture change, the administrator in political and legal adjustments, the missionary in the change of religion and morals, the settler and entrepreneur in the possibilities of labor, indigenous production and consumption.

Some researchers are of the view that when two cultures meet, the process of diffusion occurs (Monica Hunter cited in Malinowski), while others argue that what occurs is transculturation (Malinowski 1946:VII). Hunter in Locke (1946:201) argues that cultures mix in a somewhat mechanical manner. This "mixture" of cultures is contested by Malinowski (1946:20) as he argues that when the two cultures met, it is impossible to disentangle elements borrowed from African culture from those borrowed from European culture. What Malinowski (ibid) points out is conceivable. Take for example, Mandela Park, a squatter camp in Cape Town. The culture there is neither African nor Western, but a new culture has been formed from African and European cultures. For example, the architecture of the shacks there is neither that of a European house nor that of an African hut. The culture there is definitely not the culture that indigenous people practised, nor the one practised by Europeans, instead a new culture has been constructed. Monga (1999:84) citing Etounga-Manguelle (1990:31) says:

> African society today has piled very different strata of time on top of one another. Onto a very old layer concerned with the relationship between the sexes, kinship and religion have been superimposed an intermediate layer concerned with the teachings of the law, with Islam, writing, and the domination of men. To this

> layer a third, modern one is joined that concerns French, English, Portuguese, or Spanish colonization and raises the question of money, urban life, and education.

It is plausible that when two cultures meet, a new culture is formed. How does one then start to disentangle elements that are African when a new culture has been formed? The mixture between the culture of the Europeans and that of the indigenous people was not spontaneous, it was usually protected because Europeans were safe-guarding their own interests, including powers to dominate and use Africans for their own economic and social gains, as they saw themselves as being superior to the indigenous people. "Milner, who described himself as 'an Imperialist in and out' had as a basic premise that 'the British race' had a special mission to fulfil in the world - it had a calling, a mission to rule and to civilize." [Moleah (1993:291)]. During the colonial period Locke (1946:391) was of the opinion that: "Politically and socially [the Bantu] natives are a subordinate class". The change in the political scenario in South Africa attest that the 'Bantu' were and are not a subordinate class, however circumstances they lived in portrayed them as such. Referring to the colonial period, Malinowski (1946:26) says: "The European takes as much, in fact a great deal more, than he gives. But what he takes away are not cultural traits but land, wealth, and labour."; Locke (1946:193) says: "Much of this occurs through lack of any consideration for the native system, which in some cases could be reorganised to effective fulfilment of the European needs". In similar vein, Junod (1913:461) says:

> It is of no use, for us, White men, to curse the degenerate Native or to weep over the disappearance of the old restraints. Let us rather confess that we are in a great measure responsible for these results. We have interfered with the Bantu clan by taking away its independence; we have deprived it of one of its character building features, political responsibility....We have caused a loss and it is our duty to try and restore to the Native's mind that which we have unconsciously, perhaps inconsiderately, taken from it.
> We can never be contented with having obtained unpaid labourers to work our farms or paid miners to dig our gold. It is a question of dignity on our part that our interference in the affairs of the Natives should never result in a deterioration of their moral status.

The dominant culture in this case, the European culture, dominates almost all processes

of culture change. Malinowski's (ibid) transculturation is improbable in the South African context, as he conceives of it as a process where there are "no implications of one standard dominating all the phases of culture change, but a transition in which both sides are active, each contributing its quota, ..." (1946:VII). It is a known fact in South Africa that whites influenced almost all phases of culture change of the indigenous people. Indigenous people were passive in the process, though at times resistant. This study does not consider 'acculturation', as assimilation of cultural traits was often one sided. It was the indigenous people of South Africa who incorporated and/or adjusted to the Euro-western culture and not the other way round. The process in South Africa is consequently that of transformation or revolution. It was neither diffusion nor acculturation. "Revolutions, a senior military officer said, 'are made by revolutionaries [who] exploit the grievances of the poor for their own purposes'." [Isaacs (1990:33)]. Locke (1946:108) says:

> Here it has not been merely a matter of acculturation, of adding new items to a system of which the main fabric still preserved its form, but of revolutionizing ways of life and beliefs, and imposing new political and legal institutions. Moreover, these radical changes have often been forced upon people who in the initial stages have been unwilling to accept what has been given to them....

As mentioned earlier, in South Africa, Europeans were the main sources of cultural changes among the indigenous people. The distortion of family life, the disregarding of traditional religion, the various diseases, to mention just a few, are attributed to the arrival of whites. However, the introduction of schools and clinics to improve the lives of Africans are also attributed to the arrival of whites. The role played by white people in providing essential services for the indigenous people cannot be overlooked.

The debate about the value of the colonial experience has been around for a long time. As early as 1913, Junod (1913:540) argued that it would perhaps have been better if the Europeans remained in their place of origin. Junod (ibid) argued that to the Natives, the arrival of whites was a curse when he says:

> But the *curses* of civilisation far exceed its blessings for the South

> African Native: he has lost more through it than he has gained. Loss of political interest and responsibility, loss of hierarchic respect for the chiefs and for the elder brothers; loss of personal dignity; moreover we notice decrease of religious faith and respect for taboos.

It is because of the unhappiness of the arrival in whites that Vambe (1972:5) says:

> For just this once, she[44] emphasized, the Father Superior at the Mission might be told to mind his own business while the Africans, especially her family minded theirs. As far as she was concerned, her daughter and husband Martin, for husband he now was, had done no wrong whatever. God bless them, they had shown courage and true African independence of mind in the critical times when all sorts of white men were charging about the country, expecting and demanding blind obedience from black people who asked for nothing more than to be left alone to live their own lives and follow their God-given customs in peace.

Malinowski (1946:11), is of the opinion that the arrival of white people in South Africa was a blessing for the indigenous people as he believes that the Europeans' arrival saved the indigenous people from famine, provided them with better clothing, European religion, education and technology.

It should be pointed out that the development of South Africa as the country is attributed to the white people who while in power ensured economic stability. Regardless of the initial unhappiness of the Africans, Europeans are now in South Africa and have been here for centuries. South Africans are working with what they have at their disposal. It is because of the relationship between the indigenous people and the whites that the transition from the apartheid government to the democratic government did not result to war. The culture of African people has no doubt changed from what it used to be, in such a way that some indigenous people struggle to understand their heritage. Indigenous people have to accept and appreciate that there is no practical way they can live the life that their great-great grandparents lived.

[44] Madzidza whose daughter had fallen pregnant out of wedlock and her family was concerned that she had committed a sin as Christian religion did not approve of her act.

Indigenous people have been exposed not only to European cultures, but cultures that originate from various places such as Asia and as a result cultural complexity and variability has become the rule rather than the exception. Although Africans acknowledge their cultural heritage, they also have to acknowledge that the Euro-western culture and most Euro-western things have become part of their lives. The question that a researcher has to try and answer nowadays, is how do we use what is at our disposal to create a culture that people will be proud of, instead of trying to find what is European or African culture.

In the process of cultural transformation, naming systems of various indigenous people were also transformed. Though naming was regarded by indigenous people as an important and exclusive prerogative, only assigned to people who were considered responsible and mature enough to shape the future of the newborn through naming her, nowadays many South Africans do not consider it as an exclusive right. Any member of the family, sometimes even people who are not relatives can name the child. In the majority of cases, no naming ceremonies are observed. In traditional societies when a child was born, she was regarded as very vulnerable to evil forces and various diseases, thus the birth of a child was not announced hence it might attract people with various diseases that might affect the child or might expose the child to witches. Setiloane (1998:68) acknowledging that South Africans have lost some of their indigenous cultures says:

> While the other Bantu peoples, especially those of South Africa, may have lost the communal celebration of this event, it continues to be observed religiously among the Central Bantu peoples (the Tswana and the Sotho) whenever the child is born in the family. Such a new comer is considered a sojourner from 'the source of all living things', the Mosima and is the gift of the Badimo who make their abode with Modimo. Every birth is, therefore, a recalling of the first event of the emergence from the *hole in the ground.*

Although it has been asserted by various researchers [see Mathangwane and Gardner (1998)] that the Roman Catholic Church contributed to a number of Christian names, because when people were baptised they were given new Christian names as a symbol of

the new religion they have acquired, it has been noticed nowadays that people can now be baptised in the abovementioned church without any Euro-western or biblical name, i.e. with an African name/names only. This is just one of the many pieces of evidence of changes in cultural practices that is taking place among some religious institutions in South Africa.

Although traditionally the birth of a child was not publicly announced, nowadays the announcement of newborn children is encouraged and a majority of South Africans see nothing wrong with it. The *Sowetan* (undoubtedly widely read by indigenous groups of South Africans) even invites people to announce the births of their children in its newspaper, (see Appendix 4). This practice has nevertheless been adopted by some indigenous people in South Africa, and forms part of their culture. However, it should be pointed out that very few indigenous people announce the birth of their children in the newspaper. As mentioned above, cultures change with time. Nowadays very few indigenous women and their newborn babies, especially those who live in urban areas, are secluded from the community until the baby's navel 'umbilical cord' falls off. On various occasions, a day after giving birth, mothers can be seen either at work or roaming around town trying to find things for the newborn.

Culture change has been rapid in various countries and South Africa is no exception. Although "culture cannot be adopted and abandoned at will as it is learnt and internalised over time, and frequently imposed with specific social economic and environmental situation" [Harries (1992:13)], it is bound to transform in a certain period of time. While some cultures are severely targeted by these changes, new cultures are formed. Old cultures that had been in existence for some time and were often seen as being dominant, are also affected by these changes. Although some new cultures were not initially welcomed by everyone (as was the case with Euro-western religion and education), as time lapses people seem to accept them as a norm and old cultures die as new cultures are being practised.

It was by coincidence that I was in a church and the preacher mentioned issues of culture change. From what the preacher said, it was very clear that he was not pleased with the entertainment culture that is escalating in South Africa. He mentioned the opening of the Gateway Mall in Durban (South Africa) in September 2000 as an evil creature coming to take away God's people from his church. He was even more appalled that these 'ungodly' places even opened on Sundays. He could not have convincingly concluded his discussion without mentioning the other 'ungodly' place that he so wished would not materialise as he had heard through the grape vine that things were not doing well, i.e. the Casino at the Scottsville Racecourse. He even hoped the members of his church would not set their feet in the Casino. What he said was that if parents were to ask their children where they want to go on Sunday, either to Gateway Mall or to church, children would opt for Gateway, was the evidence of culture and behaviour change.

It is conceivable that the preacher might not be exposed to theories of culture change or might be of the opinion that, though societies are not stable, changes that often happen will not affect people's religious behaviour, in this case that of going to church on a Sunday. His attitude might also be attributed to the African traditionalists who, though seeing the effect of the invasion of white people, refused to acknowledge it and thought it was not going to affect them. If the societies' morals, law, custom, et cetera, are transformed, it is unlikely that some aspects of their culture especially religion and or religious behaviour will remain unchanged. The functionalist school of anthropology conceives that cultural elements endure because of their function in the society. Malinowski (1946:42) says:

> Culture... constitute a vast apparatus by which man is put in a position the better to cope with the concrete, specific problems which face him in his adaptation to his environment in the course of the satisfaction of his needs.

If a person sees some cultural elements as no longer functional in the environment she lives in, she abandons them and adopts those that can assist her to adapt to the environment. It is for this reason among others that culture transformation is continuously encountered.

3.12 Conclusion

The purpose of this Chapter apart from giving a brief background of the changes brought by the arrival of the white people in South Africa, was to offer a foundation of how indigenous people's identities have been transforming over time. The transformation though initially brought about by the presence of another culture amongst them, is not limited to that. It is also due to various social changes that could not be avoided. Some white people (through writing biased views about indigenous people) contributed tremendously to the distorted social organisation of the social life of the indigenous people of South Africa. Others however, through their efforts of learning indigenous languages of South Africa and teaching indigenous people the art of reading and writing, made a tremendous contribution to the intellectual life of indigenous people.

The naming patterns of various South African indigenous people were transformed when the Euro-western people settled among them. The advent of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa, contributed to indigenous people having Euro-western names instead of having one African name. With the arrival of white people, indigenous people had to have an indigenous name and a Euro-western name, if not a Euro-western name on its own. The influence of Christianity on the indigenous life was felt by all South African indigenous groups, although they resisted it. It is still largely followed by the majority of indigenous people when compared to other religions, although it has been adapted to various social changes that are taking place. For example, nowadays it is not a requirement in most Churches to give a child a Christian name at baptism. Children can now be baptised in their indigenous names.

Naming is an aspect of human culture. Culture is embedded within a society. Societies are the basic foundations of culture. It has been said above that culture change is inevitable. Various forces lead to culture change and in most cases those changes cannot be easily avoided. What can be noted in culture change in South Africa is the influence that layers of various cultures had on the indigenous culture and contributed in shaping South Africa to be what it is. It is not easy to disentangle what is African and what is not

African in the African society. Parts of the indigenous culture have been lost forever. As a result, what constitutes African culture today, encompasses various traits, morals, behaviours, art, etc. that originate in places beyond Africa.

CHAPTER 4

ANTHROPONYMIC AND TOPONYMIC SYSTEMS

4.1 Anthroponymic and toponymic systems

This Chapter looks at anthroponymic and toponymic systems. It covers the primary function of a name, the morphological structure of a name and various types of names. The initial discussion will be a general discussion that encompasses both anthroponyms and toponyms. After a general introductory discussion, anthroponymic and toponymic systems will be discussed separately as they are different in many ways.

Anthroponomy is a discipline that encompasses personal names. Every person born in whatever part of the world has one or more personal names used to identify her and it is her personal property. Kadmon (2000:3) says that a name is a "personal property; in many societies one does not lose it even when losing all other belongings..." One of the ways of establishing people's identity is through giving them names. The primary function of these names is to identify the bearers. Thomas and Wareing (1999:138) say:

> One of the most obvious linguistic means of establishing people's identities is through the giving and using of names. We are distinguished from other members of the group by our name, which sets us apart as an individual, as different from others even though we might share other attributes, like belonging to the same family or the same school class.

It should be borne in mind that people in the same group can share the same name, however, this does not mean that they share the same attributes. There are various ways of addressing people who share the same personal name. These ways will be discussed later in this Chapter. Apart from identifying people, personal names also perform secondary functions. These functions include minimizing tension among members of a particular community, reflecting people's religious backgrounds, reflecting the namer's aspirations, and describing the circumstances surrounding the birth of the name bearer.

Toponymy is a discipline that encompasses geographical names. Geographic names are names of natural or man-made features on earth. Apart from identifying various entities, toponyms may provide insight into the dominant culture, socio-political events and sometimes socio-economic factors of the place where they are found. Geographical names may also be used to mobilise people in order to develop a certain ideology. In this study 'geographical' or 'place names' will be used interchangeably. The primary function of toponyms is to identify the entity that is referred to, however these names also serve other functions that are discussed later in this Chapter.

As systems[49] in general are made up of different layers of elements, anthroponymic and toponymic systems also consist of different elements that are interrelated. Naming does not take place in a vacuum; it takes place within a particular *society*, where the *name* is given, not only to identify the bearer but also to foster the relationship between the *name-bearer* and the physical space around her. In traditional societies, the person who gives a name, i.e. the *name-giver* not only moulds the character of the name bearer but also accepts the child as the member of a family and of a community where naming takes place.

In the Honours onomastic class (University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg) in 2001 four elements were identified as the basic elements that are crucial for the anthroponymic system. However, these elements are also crucial for a toponymic system. These elements also consist of sub-elements, and some of the sub-elements will be looked at in this Chapter. The four basic elements in an anthroponymic system are: names, society, name-giver and the name-bearer. These elements consist of sub-elements, the name as one element of an anthroponymic and toponymic systems consisting of several sub-elements, which are: the name type, the name form or shape, the meaning of a name and the function of a name. These basic elements will be discussed under separate sub-headings.

[49] According to the **Collins Shorter English Dictionary** (1995:1200) a system is a group or combination of interrelated, interdependent, or interacting elements forming a collective entity.

4.2 The name form or shape

This sub-element refers to the morphology (grammatical structure) of a name in a given language. By looking at a name, one can learn the structure of the language the name is taken from. Essien (2000:103) says:

> Names are of such importance to the Ibibio that they are part and parcel of their language, not just mere labels like John, Kurt, Susan, Robertson[49], etc. which happen to be tagged onto some individuals for identity, but also a reflection of the grammatical structure of the language, in addition to their individual lexical meaning. Thus if one were to collect all the Ibibio names, one would have collected a significant part of the grammar of the language. It is, therefore, possible to learn basic Ibibio through a collection of names.

All personal names in Zulu are nouns that belong to class 1a, e.g. *uMabutho*, *uThokozani*, etc. They consist of the noun prefix *u-* and a stem. Names in African languages are made up of different parts of speech, e.g. verbs, nouns adjectives, relatives, etc., e.g.

Names derived from verbs[50]

Verb	**Personal name**
thulani! (keep quiet! [plur])	UThulani
tsaka (be happy)	UTsakani
rata (love)	Lerato

Names derived from nouns

Noun	**Personal name**
imbali (flower)	UMbali
vutlhari (wisdom)	Vutlhari
maru (clouds)	Maru

[49] It should be pointed out that the names that Essien refers to as just mere labels might be mere labels to him, as he may fail to assign meaning to them, but to the people who give these names, these names are more than just mere labels which happen to be tagged onto some individual for identity. They may serve a purpose in linking the family, in that among some families it is a tradition that a first born son be given a name like John which has been in the family for centuries; in various cases these names also have connotative meaning, they are not chosen at random as some people may believe.

[50] These names and those below are derived from Zulu, Tsonga and Sotho respectively.

Some languages employ noun prefixes while others do not. For example, all Zulu and Xhosa names employ the class 1a prefix *u-* while Tsonga names employ no vowel prefix.

Geographical names are derived from various parts of speech. The common parts of speech from which adverbs are derived are usually nouns and verbs.

Names derived from verbs

giya (dance)	eGiyani
akhani (build [plur])	eZakheni
rhula (quiet/peace)	eKurhuleni

Names derived from nouns

Gaut (Sotho = gold)	Gauteng
Sunduza (Zulu = push with force)	eMsunduzi
Ritavala (Tsonga = fish net)	Ritavi
Nyaka (Tsonga = search)	eNyakelani
Nama (Venda = meat)	Manamani
Tshivasa (Venda = Personal name)	HaTshivasa

There are various names derived from different parts of speech in Tsonga, Tswana, Pedi, Venda, etc. However the scope of this dissertation does not allow for extensive discussion on all these names.

4.3 Name giver

The name giver is anyone who gives a name to an entity. Regarding anthroponyms this includes parents, relatives, strangers, ministers, schoolteachers and self, however with regards to toponyms, name givers comprise residents, government departments, provincial governments, etc. Regarding anthroponyms, it is very rare to find people naming themselves at an early stage of their lives, nevertheless when people grow up they sometimes disregard the names they were given and assign themselves new names. The reason for the latter differs from person to person. In some instances some people

feel that the name they have been given by their parents is derogatory and as a result decide to name themselves. Toponyms on the other hand, because of their nature, their existence is subject to the changing social or political factors.

4.4 Gender in name giving

The term "gender" when applied to human beings has been given various definitions by different scholars and researchers alike. The common idea is that while sex is biologically determined, gender is a socially and culturally constructed phenomenon. There is, however a strong relationship between gender and sexuality. While Harding (1986) cited in Berge and Ve (2000:19) distinguished between three interrelated forms of gender, i.e. 'gender structure', 'gender symbolism' and 'individual gender', Johnson (1995) says:

> Although gender is a word with a long history of diverse usages, its sociological meaning refers to cultural ideas that construct images and expectations of females and males.... Gender is usually defined around ideas about male and female personality traits and behavioural tendencies that take the form of opposites.

Function and responsibility in various societies have in many instances been defined according to gender and sexuality. In order for the society to be functional, various responsibilities have been accorded to people according to their gender. There are those roles that were and still are regarded as being feminine, e.g. cooking, cleaning, etc. and those that were and in some instances still are ascribed as being masculine, e.g. making decisions for the household. The scope of this study does not, however, allow me to address issues of gender inequality in South Africa or Africa as such. In African thought, it is acceptable that men and women were made to be different in order to assist and complement each other.

Gender roles had an influence in the naming systems of South African people. In South Africa like in many other countries, roles of various people were and in some cases still are defined according to biological composition. Manicom (2001:134) says:

> Biology is a western construction for organising the social world and gender is based on an ideology of biological determinism, argues Oyewumi. This cultural logic is actually a 'bio-logic'

> (pg ix). She asserts that social categories like 'woman' are based on body-type and are elaborated in relation to and in opposition to another category: man, based on the presence or absence of certain organs which determines social position. Therefore biological determinism, or body-reasoning as she terms it, is inherent in western thought.

By virtue of most societies in South Africa being patriarchal societies, naming was the responsibility of men. In some cases, women were involved in the naming of the children, but their involvement was minimal when compared to that of men. Naming a child was considered a great responsibility as the namer did not just give a label that would be used to distinguish one child from another, but was shaping and moulding the identity of the newborn child with that of the community where the child was born. Traditionally, men, like women, were assigned some responsibility in the homestead. They had the final word in the naming of the child, except among the Northern Sotho and the Venda where women were given the responsibility to name the child. Women's passiveness in the naming of children was witnessed among the Zulu, the Xhosa and the Tsonga people to mention a few. The name giver was usually someone who was aware of various factors or conditions prevailing in the community or within the family in order to name the child appropriately.

In traditional societies, most places were named by men, as men were the ones who were travellers and needed to identify the places they were travelling to. Nevertheless, there are some entities that were named by women.

4.5 Naming practices in anthroponyms

In African cultures names are very significant as the giving of a name is influenced by various factors prevailing in a community. Different nations have various naming practices. Naming practices, however, have evolved with time in various African countries. In some cases, laws of a particular country influence the choice of a name given to a child. For example, in some countries names given to children are only those that are prescribed in that particular country. In cases such as the latter, circumstances prevailing in a particular community have little or nothing to do with the choice of the

name given to a newborn child. In some nations, naming cannot be separated from the society where the naming process takes place, i.e. social surroundings influence the choice of a particular name given to an entity, while in other nations naming has nothing to do with the events taking place in the particular society. De Klerk and Bosch (1995:69) say, of choosing a name among English people:

> Recent studies (Alford 1997; Dunkling 1991) reveal that English people choose names on the basis of a range of different factors, among which are the sound of a name (whether it is aesthetically pleasing and whether initials and diminutive forms are euphonious), fashion (e.g. the popularity of French names), respectability (a nebulous concept but usually linked to connotations and class associations of important bearers of the name) and originality. Personal taste, fictional, historical or religious links, family tradition (e.g. grandparents' names) or nationality may also play a role.

Unlike Euro-western names that are sometimes chosen because of how they sound, personal names in various African societies play an important role in preserving culture and tradition and also in linking the living with the dead. Murdock (1945) cited in Alford (1988:1) says that for some time personal names have been recognized to be cultural universals. Naming in most African[51] societies reflects the traditional beliefs, expectations and aspirations of the name giver.

There are various naming practices that have been noticed by onomasticians among various nations. While in some nations people are given names because the name giver likes the sound of the name [see De Klerk and Bosch (1995)], in other nations names are given not only because of the circumstances prevailing in that nation or community but also to serve as a link among members of that certain family. Among some nations and/or families, people are given names of respected elderly members of the community whether dead or alive. The giving of names after deceased relatives is very common among Africans. The reason behind this in some societies may be the belief that one of the ancestors has come back to the family. In order to ascertain which ancestor has come

[51]In this thesis 'African' designates the group of people who were regarded by most early anthropologists as 'the Bantu'

back, various names of ancestors are called, if the child cries other names are called until the child stops crying. The last name that would have been called when the child stopped crying would be given to her. Another reason for giving the name of the ancestor or elder member of the family (who was usually respected) is either to cultivate certain characteristics of the ancestor or the elder in the newborn or to show respect and preserve the memory of the person whose name the child is given. Lubisi (2001:2) mentions another reason when he says:

> The Nuer people seem to be following the same practice in that according to Evans-Pritchard (1948:167) personal names sometimes occur in lineal descent which is the case with monarchies. Interesting enough, even in Southern Africa the monarchies are following suit, e.g. the reigning Swazi king is Mwati [Mswati] 3 and in Lesotho is Letsie 2.

Although the practice of giving the name of a deceased member of the family may be dying among some nations, e.g. South Africans, it is still prevalent among other nations. Saarelma-Maunumaa (1999:35) says:

> The personal naming system of the Ovambos is based strongly on the idea of name sharing. In traditional Ovambo culture, the prevalent custom was to name the child after a person who was close or respected, typically a friend or a relative of the parents. Despite the strong influence of Christianity and Europeanisation on Ovambo name-giving, this tradition is still very much alive today.

Among other nations, children are given names of their grandparents. According to a source from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), among the BaLuba the first born son is given the name of the grandfather from the father's side, the first born daughter is given the name of the grandmother from the father's side. The second born son is given the name of his grandfather from the mother's side, while the second born daughter is given the name of his grandmother from the mother's side. This practice among the BaLuba of the DRC ensures that the names of the relatives do not shrink in the family and/or clan. Among the BaLuba the naming of a child is not influenced by the circumstances prevailing in the family or in the community. For example, according to a source, the name *Maloji* means 'gathering for witchcraft', the bearer of this name was not born when there was a gathering for witchcraft but his great grandfather was. Thus

regardless of whether there was gathering for witchcraft or not, he was given the name. Among most South Africans, names that were once used are no longer used; instead new names are coined generation by generation. As a result names like Mkabayi, Shaka, Ngungunyane, Moshoeshoe, Lobengula, etc. are no longer used nowadays.

While in some cases an individual may have only two given names, i.e. the personal name and the family name (surname), in some cases individuals have more than two names depending on the social and cultural factors prevailing in their societies, in some cases political factors also play a major role. At present, in South Africa, an individual has two or more names. These names consist of a surname (clan name), a home name (*igama lasekhaya*) and/or a school name (*igama lesikole*).

Hammond-Tooke (1974:216) citing (Ashton 1952:32) says:

> Often, in Christian families, a child is given a 'school' name at baptism, and even pagan families may give a child a European name in addition to a tribal one, either as an infant, or when he goes to school, to avoid difficulties with vernacular names. Ashton mentions that the South Sotho commonly take European names when seeking employment 'to avoid the derogatory modes of address so often used by Europeans, such as "Sixpence" or "Jim."

It is plausible that the pagan families that Hammond-Tooke mentions above had no difficulties with vernacular names as these were in their languages. The reasons why they gave their children Euro-western names was to prevent derogatory names like 'Sixpence' that were given to Africans and also to avoid the incorrect pronunciation that was rendered by some white people which in some cases changed not just the name itself but also its meaning.

As mentioned earlier, South Africans have at least a personal name and a surname. A surname indicates parenthood. For example, if a man denies a child, saying that it is not his, he denies such child his surname. The child will use her mother's surname. In that way, if an indigenous South African child has her father's surname as her surname, her father accepts being her parent. Alford (1988:32) says:

> ...assigning a name to a child is often equated with declaring or accepting parenthood of that child....naming tends to be a symbol of parenthood in societies where individuals have more than just given names (e.g., surnames or patronyms).

A home name is usually in the home language (usually mother tongue) of the child. Home names are ".... names derived via the linguistic mechanisms of the native language and bestowed within a traditional framework (or the modern correlate of that framework)" [Herbert and Bogatsu (1990:3)] and a school name usually in a Euro-western language. In traditional Zulu culture, when a child was born, the name was not bestowed on her during the time of birth but a few weeks later. She was expected to stay indoors with her mother for a specific period, usually ten days or more after which she was taken to her father for him to bestow a name on her. Bryant (1967:629) says that for the first few days after delivery, no male person entered the mother's hut. There were very strong reasons why a child and its mother were isolated. In traditional Zulu culture, it was a custom that the mother (*umdlezane*) and the newborn should be secluded from the society until a certain time after which it was believed that the baby was strong and not vulnerable to diseases. This was done to protect the child from diseases and from medicine that people (who may come to see the child) use for different reasons (with no intention of harming the child). It was said that these medicines might affect the child as it was still at a vulnerable stage. Hammond-Tooke (1974:214) says, of the Bantu speaking people of Southern Africa:

> Mother and infant remain secluded in the hut for a period varying between six and ten days, usually depending on the time it takes for the cord to drop off....Men, especially the husband, are almost always secluded lest they harm the child or are themselves polluted by the impurities which surround child birth.

In similar vein, Fuze (1979:38) says:

> A woman having given birth to a child is required to remain in her room for a number of days, until the navel cord drops off. If a female child, the mother stays without coming out of her room for six days, and if a boy, for seven. After that she burns the birth litter.

About the Tsongas, Junod (1912:40) says:

> From the day of the birth till the moment when the umbilical cord falls, seven days may lapse: this forms a special period called *busahana*, which is the period of confinement for both the mother and child. It will be concluded by a special ceremony of the child's first outing marked by the rite of the broken pot...The husband is not allowed to enter the hut under any pretext; this is not on account of his being unclean, quite the contrary.

Seclusion was also common among the Vendas, Stayt (1968:86) says:

> The mother is absolutely secluded until the cord drops off the child. The father is informed of the birth and of the child's sex, but may not see or touch it or its mother until after the seclusion period is over. Infringement of this tabu [taboo] would inevitably result in the husband being afflicted with a disease of the eyes.

While among some cultures the reason why the father was not allowed near the mother and the newborn was to protect the child from harm, in other cultures the seclusion was done to protect the father from various illnesses such as the one mentioned above. The practice of secluding a mother and a newborn is not exclusively African. It was witnessed even in Asian countries. For example:

> Being a paternal society the duty of utmost importance for a Korean wife was to give birth to a son. In the *Choson* Dynasty they regarded the birth of a son as a fulfilment of their filial obligation. Upon the birth of a child a straw rope, or *Kumjul* was hung across the gate to the house. These are to frighten away evil spirits and to warn people not to enter, as a child has recently been born. (Korean Museum, Seol).

During the period of seclusion, a child was given some medicine made of various herbs, which were specially made for cleansing it. At this time of seclusion, a Zulu child might be given a pet name by its mother but that name was not important. A ceremony (public or private) was usually held where the father[52] had to bestow the name on a child and welcome it to the community and that name was important. Hammond-Tooke (1974:215) says:

[52]In Zulu tradition, it was the father or the eldest male in the patrilineal side who was responsible for naming the child.

> The rites marking the end of the seclusion of the mother also mark the 'social birth' of the child - his recognition as a new member of the community, often symbolized by naming him at this stage.

In most societies, the right to name a child is an important and a significant prerogative. 'To name a child is to help shape that child's identity' (Alford 1988:36). The time of bestowal of names on children varies from society to society. In some societies, names are bestowed as soon as the child is born, while in other societies names are bestowed when a child is considered fully grown. "In Old Testament times a child of either sex was probably named the day he was born; in New Testament times a son was probably named at the time of his circumcision." [Fisher (1983:139)]. It also happens that in some societies, names are bestowed during important public ceremonies, while in other societies, names are bestowed without any ceremony. Alford (1988:2) says:

> The Dogon, an agricultural people living in the state of Mali in West Africa, provide each child with three given names, as well as a surname. After the birth of her child, a Dogon mother must remain in seclusion with her child for three weeks. At the end of this seclusion they both undergo a purification ritual. The child is then presented to the eldest male in its father's paternal group. The senior male kinsman has the absolute right to name the child, and he is free to choose any name he wishes. This name is then bestowed in an important and public ceremony, which marks the child's acceptance into its father's family.

Krige (1951:73) says:

> 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*[53] 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 recognised by the Courts of Law, and appears on all official documents.

Contrary to what Krige asserts above, traditionally, Zulu people did have a specific ceremony when the child was named. The name of the child was not

[53]The other Zulu word for *igamu* (name) is *igama*.

given at any time but was given at this special naming ceremony. Msimang (1982:5) says:

> Safika isikhathi sokuba uJama kaNdaba afeze isiko, abize abantwana azobabona, abethe amagama abo qede abakhunge.... Lwafika olungaliyo lwejadu, uZulu waphelela ngezinkani kwaNobamba.
>
> *The time for Jama, son of Ndaba to fulfil the custom came, to call the children so that he could see them, give them names and give them gifts...The day of the occasion came, the Zulus came in numbers to the Nobamba homestead.*

As Krige (loc.cit) mentions above, the name that was bestowed on the child during this ceremony was the name that the child would be addressed by and this was the name that nowadays would be regarded as the official name. Bryant (1967:432) says:

> Every Zulu babe, male or female, received soon after birth a 'personal-name' (*ĩGàmu*) from its father, for instance, *Jama*. While, within the family itself, a person, being there well known, would always be called simply by his own personal name, among the outside public that personal name would often be conjoined with the personal name of his father, thus *uJama kaNdaba* (Jama of-Ndaba)...This then might be called the full name of a Zulu man.

Mönnig (1967:104) says of the Pedi:

> On the afternoon of the day in which the seclusion of the mother and child is ended, a special feast called *ngwana o tšwa ntlong* - the child appears at the home - is usually held. This is the feast in which only the parents and the paternal relatives take part, and is the final initiation of the child into its father's group. It is a very joyous feast for which much meat and beer is prepared. The child is introduced to the group by his name. Towards the end of the feasting a special dance will be held in honour of the child, and also to set an example for its future conduct. If the child is a son, a dance is performed by the men, led by the most honoured of the male guests, who should be a man of bravery and industry....In the case of a girl, the women perform their particular dance, led by a woman with a hoe who is a noted worker.... This ceremony concludes the initiation of a child into the family, and thereby, in the case of the first child, also of the mother into her new status.

West (1976:59) says of the Swazi people:

> In the first three tenuous months of an infant's life it was regarded as an object rather than as a person. It was neither named nor mourned if it died and no man was allowed to handle it. It was only after this period that the infant was integrated into the living world as a person with a name.

Hammond-Tooke (1974:216) says that in Venda tradition, the baby may be named at the end of the seclusion period amidst quite an elaborate ceremony. Hammond-Tooke (1974:76) says of the Bhaca[54] people:

> Some time after birth children are given names, thereby becoming invested with social personality. The giving of a name is an important step marking the attainment of status but it is not accompanied by any special ceremony. Informants state that parents are reluctant to give flattering names to children, 'Children who are given good names do not live', and one comes across such names as Falinzima (Scarce-inheritance), Dingilizwe (One-who-has-no-country) and Mazubale (One-who-faints). Christians usually use a 'school name' as well as their Xhosa one and Wellingtons, Jacksons[55] and Johnsons as well as Ethels, Mays, and Doras, are met with everywhere.

Hammond-Tooke (1974:105) referring to the Bantu speaking people of Southern Africa says:

> The ceremonies at a birth are small family ceremonies aimed chiefly at the safety of the new infant. They always include some form of medication of the child and its mother.

It is conceivable that the ceremonies that Hammond-Tooke refers to above are those ceremonies where the child was named immediately after its birth. This was the practice among some Bantu speaking people of Southern Africa, as the naming of the child symbolised the acceptance of the child in the community. That was the reason why the ceremonies included the members of the community. It was on the grounds of the child's

[54]The Bhaca people are Nguni people and they owe their origin to Shaka's wars. Linguistically, they can be classified with the Xhosas as their language is more similar to Xhosa than to other Nguni languages due to the fact that they located themselves in the Transkei.

[55]What is striking about these names is that a Jackson or Johnson may not be a son of Jack or John but of any person, for example Falinzima.

safety that the ceremony was conducted at the time when the child was considered safe to meet people.

Contrary to the bestowal of names by the father in Zulu culture, Herbert and Bogatsu (1990:5) say that initial childhood names in Northern Sotho and Tswana are typically bestowed a short time after birth, with the name usually chosen by the mother although it "will finally have to be decided upon by the family of the father, and particularly by his elder sister". Mönnig (1967:103) is of the opinion that if the child is a girl, its father's elder sister may have a claim on her as a future bride for her own son. West (1976:134) says:

> The Lobedu provide an excellent example of one vital difference between the Sotho and Nguni in that they not only allowed but actively encouraged marriage between first cousins, particularly between a man and a daughter of his mother's brother which forged close ties between families. A sister, in fact had a legal right to one of her brother's daughters as a wife for her son.

Like the Dogon, traditionally Northern Sotho and Tswana people had a naming ceremony. Herbert and Bogatsu (1990:6) say:

> In addition to the giving of an infancy name, traditional N. Sotho society was characterized by a ceremony known as ***rela maina*** ('giving of names') in which young children were given family commemorative names drawing on the existing stock of names within the family. This ceremony marked the introduction of the children into the status of members of the corporate patrilineal group....These family commemorative names, however, were not the children's initial names; they were given to mark the acceptance of the child into the patrilineal group, an event which occurred anytime prior to tribal initiation.

Naming of entities was common to indigenous people of South Africa, though it was not done in the same manner. There were various traditional systems that needed to be followed by people living in a particular community. Although there are differences that have been mentioned above on how initially names were bestowed, it is evident that almost all the indigenous people of South Africa gave names to their children after the birth of the child. Name bestowal was sometimes done in small family gatherings rather

than in public gatherings. The private bestowal of names among some South African indigenous people shows that they regarded naming as a private rather than a public act.

Naming practices have evolved in South Africa in the past decades. The bestowal of names among almost all indigenous people is now a purely private occasion. Also nowadays, very few people wait for days or weeks before they bestow a name on a child. The bestowal of names some time after the birth of a child, though not common, is seen in the study conducted by de Klerk and Bosch (1995) as they point out:

> There were 92 newborn infants in the database. Mothers were generally interviewed within five days of the birth of their babies, and of the 14 English babies, only one had no name at that stage; 30 newborn babies (39% of all new-born Xhosa babies) were nameless at the time of the interview.

The findings of the latter researchers clearly show that though the practice of naming a child after its birth is still discernible among Africans, it is diminishing as only 39% of all newborn Xhosa babies were nameless at the time of the interview. There might be various reasons that led to the children not having names apart from the fact that the mothers were waiting for the special naming occasion. One of those may be that the child's parents are still deciding on the name as they have a long list of names to choose from. De Klerk and Bosch, however, point out that the reasons behind the late naming of a child vary, and in most cases it is not that the child is not named because the family wants to confirm whether it will live or not but because, as the informants pointed out 'The child will be named by the grandmother, therefore it does not have a name'; 'I am not responsible for naming the child'; They'll name the child at home.' 'I'll have to wait till I go home'.

Nowadays the mother and the child are seldom secluded from the community for a specific period. It is true that fathers are now encouraged to take part in the delivering of the child, either by being mere onlookers or by comforting the mother. Traditionally, a birth of an indigenous child was not announced, because it was thought that it was regarded as a sacred family event, but nowadays the birth of a child is public knowledge as people announce their newborn babies in various newspapers. Though this was

practised mostly by Euro-western people, and is still common amongst them, it has been evident that some indigenous South Africans have adopted the practice though it has not been researched why. It should be pointed out though, that there are very few Africans who have adopted this practice. Various indigenous parents nowadays have little or no knowledge about the seclusion of the child and its mother. Those who have knowledge about this traditional practise see no need to practice it, as it is seen as time wasting.[56] Among the Zulu people for example, the child and the mother were confined in a certain hut for about 10 days and a ceremony was conducted when this period ceased; among the Vendas, when the confinement of the mother and a child (inside the hut) ceased, the child was still confined to the homestead yard for a certain time as Stayt (1968:89) points out:

> It is, however, confined to the yard surrounding the hut for another month. The actual bringing out ceremony *u bvisa nwana* (to bring the child outside) occurs at the end of this month.

4.6 The personal name

Names have always been vital among human beings. Referring to xiTsonga names, Chauke (1992:10) says:

> Vatsari va dyondzo ya onomastiki va tshemba leswaku munhu i munhu hikokwalaho ka vito leri a thyiweke rona. Etindhawini tin'wana ta misava n'wana u tekiwa a rin'wana endzhaku ka ku thyiwa vito.
>
> *Onomastic scholars believe that a person is a person because of the name that she has been given. In other parts of the world, a child is regarded as a person after she has been given a name.*

As mentioned earlier, the primary function of a personal name is to identify, or to refer to a particular person possessing a particular name. Ingrahm (1953:XV) defines a personal name as:

> A personal name: Is the one that belongs to an individual, distinguishing him or her from the other members of the family. It may be a 'first name' or it may be the last name in a string if the naming culture puts family names first.

[56]Apart from the busy life style that young parents have adopted, the reason for not continuing with this tradition is that in most cases the mother has to go back to work and often has no time to sit in a secluded room for a specified time.

In South Africa, a personal name is usually regarded as the first name of an individual. It may also happen that an individual may have more than one personal name e.g. a Euro-western and an African name. In contrast to South African customs, in some countries, as Ingrahm mentions, the personal name is the last name in a string, as those societies put the family names first. An example of the latter society is the Korean society. When I visited South Korea recently[57], the number of people named Kim struck me. When reading The Korea Herald Newspaper (the only English newspaper I came across in Korea), I noticed that a number of people (both male and female) are named 'Kim.' On the first page of The Korea Herald of the 29th August 2001, three different people with the name Kim are referred to, i.e. President Kim Dae-jung, Kim Jin-pyo, the viceminister of Finance and Economy, and Culture-Tourism Minister Kim Han-gill. As a names scholar, I was puzzled as to why people of different sexes are given the same name, as this is not common in South Africa. I could not hold my curiosity and thus decided to ask some of the Koreans why most people are named Kim. I was informed that in fact 'Kim' is not a personal name but a family name (which in our case can be referred to as a surname). It was then clear to me that among the Koreans, unlike among the South Africans, family names come before the personal names. When I enquired by e-mail from a Korean source as to why almost everyone's surname was Kim, she said that a long time ago in Korea, only royal families and people who had political power could have surnames. According to the source the Koreans believed that Kim, Lee and Park as they were important people contributed to the establishment of Korea. The king later gave surnames to people as a prize when they did something good for the country and/or the king. At that time the king gave people surnames such as Kim, Lee, Park (as it was believed that they made the country) and some other names that were popular to be their surnames. This is the reason why there are still a lot of Kim, Lee and Park surnames in Korea. According to the ***Visit Korea 2001*** Travel Guide (2000:20):

> The majority of Koreans have one of a small set of family names: Kim (about 21% of all Koreans), Yi (or Lee or Rhee, 14%), Park (or Pak, 8%), Choi (or Choe), Jeong (or Chung)... A Korean name consists of a family name in almost every case one syllable, plus a given name usually of two syllables. The family name comes first.

[57]August 2001

I was not surprised when I read *The Natal Witness* of the 26th June 2002 and found that the only people that were interviewed when Korea lost to Germany on the 25th June 2002 during the 2002 Fifa World Cup Final had the surname 'Kim'. The newspaper reads:

> "I am sad, but I think our team did its best," said Kim Min-soo. ...I wished victory, but we had a good fight tonight," said President Kim Dae-jung. "The players and head coach Mr Guss Hiddink are our heroes." (2002:1)

The referential function of a personal name (i.e. to distinguish one person from the other) is essential especially in societies where one name is bestowed on various individuals and also in societies where there is a limited onomasticon. As societies grow, and more than one individual share the same name, the name itself becomes insufficient for reference and as a result a need arises for another reference. For example, if there are three people sharing the name *Thabo*, they can be distinguished by either their characteristics, e.g. *Thabo* the short one or *Thabo* the tall one, the type of job they do, e.g., *Thabo* the plumber or *Thabo* the policeman, etc., or they can also be distinguished by their surnames e.g., *Thabo Zulu* or *Thabo Shabalala*, etc. In some instances, it does happen that two people share the same personal name and surname. In these instances a person can be distinguished from the other by a middle name, e.g. *Thabo Patrick Shabalala* or *Thabo Wilfred Shabalala*. In this study, 'middle name', refers to Christian and/or school names. This name can either be African or Euro-western. Ingrahm (ibid) defines a Christian name as a name that:

> ...is hallowed by being borne by a Catholic or Orthodox or similar saint, not just any old 'first name'. No Christianity no Christian name. These may include names introduced to the country after the coming of Christianity."

A school name on the other hand is the name that some teachers used to give randomly to any pupil regardless of its meaning. Some school names were given to children by their parents because they knew that their children were supposed to have school names when they went to school. A school name was used to identify a child at school, resulting in pupils having more than one identity, i.e. the home identity and the school identity. The latter name was usually not of African origin. It is true that some Christian names were

used as school names because of their Euro-western origin, even if the parents were not Christians. However, not all Euro-western names are Christian names.

Personal names vary from one individual to the other. Some people have one official African personal name, while others have more than one. An official name is a name that is recognised by the government of a particular country, i.e. a name that appears in the birth certificate, driver's license, identity document, etc. of the name bearer. Usually official names are names that people receive at birth, as these are recorded on their birth certificates. These names identify the name bearer in all official documents. It is true that people do get other names as they grow older. Usually the names that people get when they grow older are nicknames and / or petnames. Some people prefer these names, while others hate them. These names are usually not official, thus are not used for official purposes. If nicknames are used often, they become a common identity of the name bearer, and this leads to some people making their nicknames official names by registering them in their official documents.

To many indigenous people, names are very important not because of their referential function, but because in most African societies there is a belief that 'a name is a person.' Some people believe that a name and a person are one entity and cannot be separated. It is for this reason that it is said that a name can be used by a witch to harm the name bearer. "Because a name may be used in working magic against its bearer, name secrecy is observed among various people in West Africa, ..." [Raper (1983b:2)]. The relationship between a person and her name is clearly spelt out by Mönnig (1967:105) when he says:

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

It seems the above quote by Mönnig does not hold much ground as it did decades ago. As societies we live in change, our norms and beliefs also change. Unlike in traditional societies, people nowadays are at liberty to change their names and retain their

personality. It is for this reason that a number of people do not believe that there was something which was once called 'black magic/science' and that a person can cause harm to someone without touching them, or even being in the same place with them. People freely address each other by their names, as they do not believe a name can cause harm to the name-bearer. In most African traditional societies, addressing an adult by name was considered very rude. It is for this reason that some children did not know their parents' names until when they were old. Some children when asked of their fathers' name replied that it was 'father' because that was the only form of address[58] they heard from members of the family. In South Africa nowadays, it seems that though some people assert that there are witches, they fail to explain how the witches use their powers to harm or kill their enemies, which make people doubt that there are witches and that they can cause harm to people if they want to by just calling their names. It is not the intention of this study to discuss the process of bewitching people, nevertheless the latter is mentioned firstly because it shows the traditional importance of a name and because the topic is still one for debate among South Africans, with the killings of those alleged to be witches especially in rural areas, which calls to questions our modern beliefs and tradition.

4.7 Choosing a personal name

> 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 "*Vuloyi*" *i.e.*, "witchcraft," as a challenge to public opinion, showing that she defies the verdict of the witch doctor. [Junod (1938:53)]

Choosing a personal name may nowadays be an effortless and unstructured act. Nowadays some people have the names they want to give to their children years before they even decide on having children, others refer to name dictionaries to find names for their child once the child's birth comes nearer. Though this is the case, it does happen in some instances that eventually a child is not given the name that was initially chosen, e.g. if an unexpected incident happens just before or just after the birth of a child, parents

[58] In some cases though children knew their parents' names they never mentioned them, because they knew that was being disrespectful and they were going to be punished for their act.

might want to name their child after that incident. For example, if the first chosen name for a girl was *Anele* (they are enough) and the mother experiences some complications while delivering the baby, if the child was delivered safely she may then name her *Philisiwe*[59] (she has been made to live).

Traditionally, the process of choosing a name varied from culture to culture. Junod (1912:37) mentions four principal ways of choosing a name among the Tsonga people:

> 1) Often the parents give their offspring *the name of a chief* as Musongi, Makasana, Muzila, etc. It flatters their vanity.
> 2) But frequently the parents like to recall a name of the old times (pfusha bito dja khale), the name of one of the ancestors, because it is a nice thing to remember them. They go so far as to consult the bones. A name is proposed and if the bones in falling do not give a favourable indication, another is tried till they feel sure that the die "has spoken".
> 3) Or it may be that somebody asks the favour of giving his name to the newborn child; a friend of the family may do so, but it is often also a traveller who happens to be in the village and to whom this privilege is accorded. He will "*name himself in the child*" (Kutitshula ka nwana). This fact will establish a special relation between this person and the child, a relation which bears some resemblance to that of a godfather to his godson....
> 4) A fourth way of naming newborn children is to choose a name having some connection with the circumstances of the birth.

Casalis E (1861:193) says:

> The custom of giving to the child the name of its grandfather, grandmother, or of some other respected relation, is as universal among the Bechuanas[60] as it is with us. When the choice is not determined in this manner, the name is generally commemorative. Thus a child born while his parents are travelling would be called *Monaheng*, In the Fields, or *Ntutu*, Baggage; a child who comes into the world during a time of affliction would be called *Likeleli*, Tears; or *Tlokosi*, Calamity. There are among the Basutos such names as the following: *Ralichaba, Lefela, Moeti, Ntsenyi, Kunung, Lepuy, Cheu, Mafika...*

[59]Depending on the namer's religious background, she might be referring to God or the ancestors as the ones who enabled her (the child) to live.

[60] Tswanas

Though names are chosen from various sources, the one source that is still prevalent among many South Africans is the circumstances that led to the birth of the child.

Regardless of how the name is chosen, it remains the property of the person who bears it, until such time that she decides to change it. Though in some societies giving a name of a father or an ancestor is regarded as very important in shaping the child's personality and also in keeping the names of the relatives (dead or alive within the family), in other societies this act is seen as a taboo. Chao-chih (2000:47) says:

> In Chinese society, one of the basic naming rules for children has been that no characters in the forefathers' names could be used – i.e., they are taboo (Sung (1981) calls the phenomenon *hui* 'avoidance').

In some societies 'bad' names are given to newborn babies not because the parents do not like the child, but to save the child from the harm of either the witches or the ancestors. This usually happens after there has been an early death of a previous newborn. Some societies believed that in some cases ancestors might decide to take a child back to their land for some reason. The parents thus give their child a bad name so that the ancestors will think that they do not value their precious gift and see no need of taking the child away because she is not valued. In some instances children had to be cross-dressed, especially if it was a male child, to disguise it from evil forces. 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 the quite uncomplimentary name *Chotsani* "take it away" (Yao Malawi) is not in fact an expression of rejection but rather an attempt by the family to conceal or disguise its joy so that the divinities or the ancestors will not take back the precious infant.

Coming closer to home, 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 ancestors think the child is unwanted, owing to previous death or misfortune in the family)...

While choosing a name can be an easy task for some people, for others this exercise is a very complicated. In some societies, a name giver has to choose a name that appears in a national book for names, i.e. a closed lexicon. Gardiner (1957:10) says: "In conclusion, mention may be made of the official catalogue of Christian names which enumerates the only ones that French law will allow to be selected for the children of France." In France there were norms that were followed when choosing a name for a child, people had to choose names that were preferred by the French law. As mentioned earlier, in some societies a name giver had to choose a name of a grandparent or an important member of the clan (living or dead) to ensure that the name remains in the clan. In South Africa Mönnig (1967:105) says of the Pedi:

> The choice of a name is an intricate one. It is expected that the eldest son should name his first son after his father and his first daughter after his mother. A second son is named after the wife's father and the second daughter after the wife's mother....Names are never chosen without proper reason as defined by custom and new names are not invented. Everyone is named after particular relatives.

It should be noted nowadays that the Pedi people instead of using old names to name children, they invent new names. In other cultures, naming was associated with the process of reincarnation. Hammond-Tooke (1974:216) says:

> The Venda believe the baby is the reincarnation of a dead relative and it is particularly important to choose the right name, lest by calling the child by the wrong one wrath of the offended ancestor be incurred and illness brought to the child. Often the child is called after some important event which occurred around the time of the birth or after some personal characteristics.

Still on Venda people, Stayt (1968:88) says:

> The *makhadzi* invokes the spirits and sometimes ties an heirloom around the child's neck. The heirloom is generally an elephant's tooth, a string of beads, or some other emblem belonging to the father's ancestors. While adjusting the heirloom she addresses the child by the name of one of its ancestors saying. '*Wo vuwa zwino ri ri dzule kha mwana uyu, ri mu vhidza nga dzina lau u mu*

> *vhulungu zwa-vhudi*' ('You are risen now, we ask you to come and live in this child, and we call him by your name'). If the *makhadzi* is younger than the father of the child she is not permitted to enter the hut, but must stand in the doorway and tell the old women the name that she has chosen.

Among the Venda people, Stayt (ibid) points out that when the name has been given, in cases where the child is ill or continues crying, despite the parents seeking the *mgoma's* advice, usually the *mgoma* divines the trouble to be due to the fact that the child's name is unfavourable to the ancestors and they (the ancestors) wish it to be changed. In cases like the latter, a new name is selected and it is hoped that by abandoning the old name, the cause of trouble will cease. Alford (1988:40) says:

> Among the Lozi, an agricultural people in central Africa, for example, names of ancestors are mentioned one by one, and the child cries when the "right" name is mentioned- indicating that the ancestor has returned. Similarly, among the Bemba, another agricultural society in central Africa, a shaman repeats the names of the ancestors, and the baby *stops* crying at the right one....the just mentioned name becomes the child's name, and the mother proclaims that 'such and such has returned to us'.

Apart from choosing a name according to the circumstances prevailing within the society or a particular family, some name givers (as mentioned on the previous page), were often compelled to choose a name that was available in the lexicon of a particular language in a certain society.

It has been noted above that choosing a personal name was the responsibility of men, except in Southern Sotho, Venda and Tswana cultures where women played a role in naming children. In Northern Sotho, the child's name was chosen by her mother although it was finally decided upon by the father's elder sister. In some cultures if the child were a girl, the mother would choose her name and if it were a boy the father would choose his name. Alford (1988:39) says:

> In the two cases where fathers give names to their sons and mothers give names to their daughters, the Mbuti and the Trukese, it might well be the case that the mother is regarded as more important in the formation of the daughter's identity, and the father

is regarded as more important in the formation of the son's identity.

In South Africa, choosing a name nowadays is usually the responsibility of both parents of the newborn child. Sometimes if a member of the family suggests a certain name for their child, they will decide whether to bestow it on their child or not, as nothing compels them to use that name. In most cases, if a name is suggested by the person who is respected and looked up to, it is likely that it would be given to the child. Nonetheless, if their linguistic background is not the same, i.e. the mother is Zulu speaking and the father is Sotho speaking, the mother may choose a Zulu name and the father a Sotho name. There are possibilities of arguments arising between the mother and the father, as to which name must be chosen and if the child is given more than one name, as to which one should be used. As it has always been in most cultures, name giving is sometimes viewed as a significant act of power. Nowadays though, in most cultures, it is not clearly defined whether power rests with the father or with the mother. According to a pilot study conducted in KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and Limpopo Provinces, mothers eventually win the battle because they spend more time with the child than the father does and by constantly calling the child by the name they prefer, the child learns to respond to it, and most people use it which makes it more familiar. Though there are many reasons that made the older generation assign the responsibility of giving a name particularly to men or paternal family, including patriarchal domination in a society, this helped in minimizing conflict regarding the choice of the name between spouses.

Whether the responsibility of choosing a name lies with the mother or the father, they are sometimes socially bound by their culture to choose certain names rather than others. In most indigenous languages, as mentioned in Chapter 2, though some names can be used for both sexes, a majority of people still believe that there are names that are mainly for boys and those that are mainly for girls.

4.8 The social significance of anthroponyms

Since time immemorial, for various reasons, people have been naming their infants. Personal names are of particular social importance among various African people, as

they, in some cases, contain great symbolic power among the members of the family or the community. Wieschhoff (1941:212) says of the Ibos of Nigeria:

> The importance which the Ibo of Southern Nigeria attach to personal names (*afa*) is well expressed in their proverb: "When a person is given a name his god (or spirits) accept (it), (agoa onye afa cia analo)." Any close religious connection between the spirits and the bearer of the name is, however, no longer traceable, although a few practices might be interpreted to that effect.

Beattie (1957:106) says of Nyoro[61] personal names:

> A victim may, however, indicate more subtly his suspicion 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. Thus a man can intimate to those who hate him and who may be and probably are working him ill that he knows who they are. And if his tormentors conclude that their victim has recognized them, and may, who knows, be planning retaliatory action, they may think it wiser to leave him alone.

Saarelma-Maunumaa (1996:22) says, about the Ovambo of Namibia:

> Among the Odonga, for example, a baby born in the morning was named *Angula* (boy) or *Nangula* (girl), and a baby born during the night was named *Uusiku* (boy) or *Nuusiku* (girl). Often these temporary names were indications of events that had occurred at the time of the birth, e.g. *Mvula* ('rain') or *Uukongo* ('hunting') (Närhi 1929:19-20). Sometimes they described the way the baby was born, as with *Sivite* ('backwards')...

The act of naming is human. It has been a practice among various people for thousands of years. "Practically all individuals may name an entity" [Neethling (2000:208)]. The act of naming in various societies is sociologically, psychologically, politically, economically and culturally bound. Usually the name is made up of the namer's mental state, emotions, norms and the culture of the people where the act of naming takes place. Almost all African names have lexical meanings clearly understood by the name giver and the name bearer. As the name conveys certain meanings or messages by the name giver to either

[61] "The Kingdom of Bunyoro lies in western Uganda, in the generally fertile country to the east of Lake Albert. The Banyoro (singular Munyoro) speak a Bantu language" [Beattie (1957:99)].

the name-bearer or the society where naming takes place, some name-bearers might like their names while others might despise them. Traditionally, in African societies, name-givers were assigned this responsibility because they were respected people in the community. Name giving was regarded as a great responsibility because by naming a child, the namer was not just giving a name or label to the child but was also moulding the character of the name bearer. It was rare for the name-bearer to change the name given to her, (except during a particular stage in life which was culturally confined[62] which forced the name bearer to do so), as this was regarded as disrespectful not only to the namer but also to the elders of the family. Whether or not people liked the meaning of their names, they had to stay with the given name because changing it might bring misfortune, as their action would be regarded as disrespecting the elders. In most African societies, people give names to convey certain messages whether good or bad. Tanaka (1980:89) says, about the San people:

> Some names derive from incidents occurring at the time of birth (*Daon//an* 'burnt melon'; *Daog!u* 'burnt hut'); others are simply names of items or everyday phrases (*/On =a* 'gemsbok horn';*!Tebechu* 'Tswana medicine'; *Tseuan!oaho* 'hold in one's palm'). Some names have no meaning[63] at all (*G/oyaho, !Kae!kan/u*).

Naming of people in some communities is seen by some name givers as a platform to indirectly convey messages to people where direct confrontation is not possible. Turner (1992:45) says:

> In Zulu society, the use of names especially personal names (of people and of animals) is an extremely useful channel of expressing discontent of 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.

[62] Culturally confined stages include initiation and marriage where in some cultures people had to change their names when reaching these stages.

[63] This study does not concur with Tanaka that some names have no meaning at all, as there are various levels of meanings in names discussed in Chapter 3.

4.9 Name changing in traditional societies

Although naming a child was the responsibility of a specified person in the family, this did not mean that the name given to the child was the one and the only name a child had from birth to death. Various people belonging to a particular peer group played a major role in assigning names to each other. Some people named themselves at later stages of their lives taking into consideration their roles in the community. Most people who named themselves were usually those who were members of various *amabutho*[64] who usually gave themselves praise names and some of those praise names became more common than the names they were given at birth. It should be borne in mind that people in traditional societies had neither birth certificates nor identity documents. This made it effortless to change names from time to time since they did not have to follow strict procedures prescribed by the now Department of Home Affairs in South Africa.

In traditional African societies, people were given different names at different stages of their lives. When a child was born, a name was bestowed on her by her parent(s), relatives or in some cases strangers. As she grew and reached puberty another name was bestowed on her in a ceremony where she was recognised as a woman. For some people, the name bestowed at puberty was used by everyone and the one bestowed at birth was no longer used, as it was considered a childhood name that was no longer important. Alford (1988:18) says:

> While in many societies individuals receive at or soon after birth and then retain these names throughout their lives, in many other societies, a person may receive a new name at initiation into adulthood, at marriage, or at other times.

Krige (1951:96) is of the opinion that the new name that the young Zulu boy is honoured with when he reaches puberty, is usually used by his peers and those younger than him; his parents, men and women older than him usually refer to him using the older name given to him at birth. Though Krige's claim may be true and may have been the norm among the Zulus, it was not universally the norm as some boys' names that were bestowed at puberty were not only used by their peers but also by their parents.

[64] In this particular case the word '*amabutho*' is used to refer to Zulu men who were chosen as warriors. These men were usually of the same age group.

Name changing in traditional cultures was influenced by the community where name changing occurred. If by the norms and standards of the community, a child should be given a new name at puberty, every child was given a new name at puberty. In traditional Xhosa culture, when a woman got married she was given a new name by her in-laws. Mabeqa (n.d) says:

> But for a girl the name that she inherits when she is born, is substituted by another one when she marries. Her in-laws and her husband will call her by this new name. It is customary that the daughter in-law be named by her in-laws. That signifies that she has reached another stage in life which is new to her.

Though this practice is still witnessed among Xhosa people, it certainly does not exist among other indigenous people like the Sotho, the Zulu, and the Ndebele people in strict terms as it does among the Xhosa society. Although there are no precise cultural norms of naming daughters-in-law among the latter groups, naming of daughters-in-laws in some cases is inevitable. Among other cultures where name changing during marriage is not a tradition, the daughter-in-law, however, does get a new name. Nevertheless, she seldom knows it as it is not used in her presence. It is usually exclusively used by the in-laws (especially those of her age, not the elders). In more cases than not, the name has a negative connotation. The new name that a Xhosa daughter-in-law is given by her in-laws, is the name that her in-laws publicly use to address her; her former name (given by her parents at birth) is no longer used, except in some cases by her family members. The choice of the marriage name depends on the feelings of the in-laws about their daughter-in-law, and the circumstances prevailing at that particular time. If they like her, they will give her a name that signifies their liking, and the same will apply, if they despise her. Pertaining to the positive attitudes of the in-laws toward their daughter-in-law, Mabeqa (1998:4) says:

> Nobandla is one such name. 'Ibandla' means a congregation. The congregation in the marriage context is the extended family. According to the people I interviewed this name refers to a newly-wed woman who is expected to look after the entire extended family.

From the above quotation, it can be seen that these names are not just used to identify a newly-wed with a new name from others, rather in-laws use these names to voice their

expectations. The name as a result shapes the daughter-in-law's behaviour as she aspires to conduct herself according to expectations. The bride given the name *uNobandla* is well aware of what is expected of her and has to do her best to make sure that she satisfies the expectations of her in-laws. It is not her duty to question or to complain about what they expect from her. As a bride she is supposed to accept her new name and behave accordingly.

Regarding the names which reflect the negative attitudes of the in-laws, Mabeqa (op.cit:7) says:

> The last name I want to mention is 'Nokuyiwaphi' which means - 'where are we going'? [sic] The in-laws may be wondering what will happen in this homestead because of the presence of this woman. They may also be predicting bad or shameful deeds from this woman, which will affect the entire family.

It is quite clear from the above name that the in-laws have misgivings about their daughter in-law. Whether the daughter in-law likes the name or not, this name becomes her new identity in her new family, and there is nothing she can do to change it. This name sends a message of how she is viewed by her in-laws. Among the Xhosas, men are not given new names when they get married as women do.

When Zulu boys joined the army, they were given new names to signify their newly acquired status. Among African people there was no official or unofficial name. A given name was official wherever it was used. Once a name had been bestowed, it was used until such time that a new name was bestowed. Junod (1912:38) says of the Tsonga people:

> All these birth-names are abandoned later on, generally at the circumcision school or at the age of puberty in the clans where the custom of circumcising has disappeared; boys and girls then choose new names. The men and women who undergo the initiation adopt a new name.

After a Pedi child was weaned, she was at a stage where she would be initiated into the community, this initiation was vital and was ritually recognised. Mönnig (1967:104) says:

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

4.10 Types of anthroponyms

Personal names can be subdivided into various categories, e.g. birth name, nickname, surname or clan name, patronym, teknonym, Christian or school name, etc. Some of these names are used in official situations e.g. birth name and surname, while others are used in unofficial situations e.g. nicknames and teknonyms. Personal names usually consist of individual names and group names. By individual name, we refer to a name that is given to a particular individual to identify him or her. By group name (often known as surname), we refer to a name that is shared by a particular group of people who belong to the same clan like *Shabalala*. Shabalala is a group name that is shared by all members of a particular family, e.g. *Mbali Shabalala, Khanyisile Shabalala, Mthokozisi Shabalala*, etc.

The use of personal names varies from society to society. In some societies some names are only used by adults while others can be used by anyone. In some Euro-western societies, a child can address her parent by first name, while this is regarded as disrespectful in most African societies. In some societies personal names are freely used in social interactions, while in other societies personal names are regarded as "intimate and private and must be kept secret" (Alford 1988:2). In societies where personal name avoidance is common, other forms of address, e.g. teknonyms, are used, e.g. *baba kaPhakade*, or *mama kaSiphiwe* (father of *Phakade* or mother of *Siphiwe* respectively). Teknonyms are common in African societies. Traditionally, in Zulu society it was seen as disrespectful for a wife to call her husband by his personal name. Though some wives call their husbands by personal names, especially those living in urban areas, others still regard the latter as disrespectful, especially those living in rural areas. In avoiding the husband's personal name, the wife uses either a teknonym, or a clan name.

Although patronyms are used in African societies, not everyone uses them. According to Ingrahm (1953:XV):

> A patronymic is a "father-name" that changes between generations. Only after it ceases to change with the actual father's name is it a real family name. In many cultures, the middle name between the personal name and the family name may still be a patronymic.

The use of patronyms is usually restricted to people of the same age group or people older than that age group. As part of respect, it is considered disrespectful in most African societies for an African child to address her father using a patronym. Like surnames, patronyms are also group names. Sons born of the same father (whether brothers or half brothers), share the same patronym. For example, a man may call himself *Senzo kaBhekifa* (Senzo of Bhekifa) and when addressed by an older man they will refer to him as *mfana kaBhekifa* (son of Bhekifa). Unlike surnames, patronyms are gender biased as they are mainly for men. I have never come across a man addressing himself using his mother's name (a matronym, if there is such term), e.g. *Sipho kaSebenzile* (Sipho of Sebenzile). In addressing their husbands, like children, women never used patronyms as they had to *hlonipha* (respect) their father-in-law's personal name.

4.10.1 Surname

Ingrahm (1953:XV) defines a surname as:

> ...AN "After - name." Only some times is it a family name. In many countries it is a title or an eke name[65]. It may also be an *honorific*, a kind of verbal medal, awarded to the individual. In many cultures having inherited family names that family name is not a surname, because the family name comes before the personal name or names. The two terms are not really interchangeable.

Though Ingrahm's definition of a surname applies to Euro-western and most African societies, it does not apply in some societies, e.g. Korean. There are various viewpoints pertaining to the global origin of surnames. Whether they originated in Italy and France (Neethling 1996:31), or they originated with the speakers of Sanskrit (Ndimande

[65] According to Ingrahm (ibid) an eke name is a name given to an individual in place of or in addition to the personal name. "Eke" means also.

1998:97), the fact to be considered is that surnames originated in places outside South Africa. Though indigenous people had clan names which are now somehow equated with surnames, clan names were not the indigenous people's surnames; they were names of clans they belonged to. In some instances the clan names became surnames, it is not all the surnames (especially among South Africans) that are attributed to clans. Some surnames may have originated from patronyms; it should be borne in mind that a patronym becomes a surname only after it ceases to change with the changing generation.

Some people argue that surnames are in fact sir-names (Junod 1912:476), meaning that they are male (sir) names, which means that they are patrilineal; on the other hand, others (see Neethling 1996:32) are of the opinion that surname comes from the French term *surnom* (nick-name), thus the 'sur' in surname originated from the Latin *super* which means 'in addition/above'. It can be convincingly argued that the majority of surnames among African people were taken from the personal names of the forefathers, however, it is also true that some African surnames were taken from various praise names, hence they are referred to as *isibongo, seboko, shibongo, xivongo*[66], etc. According to Maphumulo cited in Mathenjwa (1996:110), "[p]raise-names range from one word to a sentence and are even stanzaic in nature." Included in praise names are personal names of forefathers, events that a person praised has witnessed and also nicknames the person being praised has acquired. Egejuru (1993:1) says: "Osuju did not stop his people from calling his son what they felt was a very good name and, come to think of it, hadn't his own birth name been pushed into the background by his praise name Ezeji?" In some instances praise names are widely used in such a way that the personal name gets forgotten. It is for this reason that some surnames are derived from praise-names. Junod (1912:476) says:

> But, besides these, every man possesses his clan name, or sirname, viz., the name of the first of his known ancestors. Grown up men prefer being addressed by this name, which is *shibongo*, viz. the name by which they are 'glorified.'

[66]Derived from the Zulu, Sotho and Tsonga verbs *bonga,bok* and *vonga* respectively which means praise.

Xhosa surnames, though, are not referred to as *isibongo* but as *ifani*. Neethling (1996:34) says: "In Afrikaans, the preposition *van* has developed into a noun which refers to the category 'surname'. The Xhosa word for surname, *ifani*, obviously then derived from the Afrikaans term." It is conceivable that the term *ifani* among the Xhosa meaning *isibongo* in Zulu, is a result of the early contact between the white people and the Xhosas in the Cape, which led to Xhosa people adopting not just part of the Afrikaner's way of life, but also words from the Afrikaans vocabulary as mentioned by Fuze (1979:40). It is perhaps due to the Afrikaans influence, that during a certain time, a number of Afrikaans surnames appeared among the Xhosa. Some of these surnames still exist among the Xhosa people even today. I gathered from a Xhosa friend that her mother's surname was Swartbooi. Derogatory names like Swartbooi will be discussed later in this chapter.

Trying to find what constitutes a surname, when were surnames firstly used, and by who, might leave us wandering in the mist, because of the inaccuracy of facts as to when surnames were firstly used among the indigenous people. What is apparent is that there were vital reasons (including colonial administration, bureaucracy, keeping of registers, etc.) that led the white people to introduce surnames among the indigenous people, whether these were names of their clans, names of animals, praise names or names of their fathers.

4.10.1.1 The acquisition of surnames among the indigenous people of S.A.

It has been argued by Dorward (1995:V) cited in Neethling (1996:31) and Ndimande (1998:89) that the main reason for adopting a surname was to distinguish one person from another because there were various people with the same first name. In a similar vein Withycombe (1945:XXIII) says:

> To return to the 13th century, it is evident that such a limitation in the number of Christian names must have led to a considerable amount of confusion, and this had no doubt some influence on the fairly general adoption of surnames in the 13th and 14th centuries.

If, for instance, in a certain clan, there are two people with the same personal name, adopting a clan name as a surname is fruitless in distinguishing one person from the other. What seems fruitful, instead, is adopting the name of the father as a surname, to make it easy for the authorities to distinguish one person from the other, as people of the same clan may have different fathers. In fact the latter trend seems to be the probable one adopted by some indigenous people. According to a South African informant, in 1884 when his father went to apply for a special pass or special permit, he was asked the name of his father and that name from that day became his surname, even though he had a clan name. The latter shows how in some instances surnames were initially acquired. According to some sources, this practice was still witnessed even in the late 1940s when people went to apply for a dompas[67]. According to an informant from the Democratic Republic of Congo, in 1992 when he arrived in South Africa from the now Democratic Republic of Congo, he was asked what his surname was, and he mentioned that he did not have a surname. He was then asked his second name, knowing that he was usually referred to by his father's name to distinguish himself from other people with the same name as his, he told the official at the Department of Home Affairs that his name was Maloji kaKalala (Maloji son of Kalala) and from that day his surname was Kalala and his children too had to acquire this surname. This is an indication that some surnames for the indigenous people were at some stage personal names.

Many surnames in South Africa owe their root to a patronymic system. Male names dominated the acquisition of surnames among indigenous people in South Africa as Ndimande (1998:90) says:

> Patronymy e.g. Robertson...means taking the father's Christian name. The first bearer of the name was Robert, grandson of Duncan the Fat. The family acquired land in the central Highlands. They adopted the name [sic] because it was their father's forename.

[67] Before the identity document was introduced among black people in South Africa, black people were obliged to carry an identity book known as 'dompas' to identify them when they were in urban areas. See Appendix 8, a copy of the contents of a dompas, which differ from the identity document which is used nowadays.

The above statement by Ndimande is not entirely true, because although it may be argued that some people adopted Christian names as surnames, that does not mean that a patronymic means a father's Christian name. Instead, a patronymic is the father's name, it need not be of Christian origin, for example from a father's personal name, 'Duncan', a patronymic 'Peterson' can be formed. Among the indigenous people of South Africa, it is very rare to find people whose surnames were adopted from Christian names. It should be borne in mind that a Christian name is not just any Euro-western name but a name that is "...hallowed by being borne by a Catholic or Orthodox or similar saint..." (Ingrahm 1953:XV). It is pointed out, however, that Christian names and Euro-western are interchangeable. Some people refer to any Euro-western name as a Christian name. For example, a Muslim person may be given a form where she is expected to fill in her Christian name and surname. In this instance a Christian name is regarded as any first name/s. If Ndimande's claim above that 'patronymic means taking the father's Christian name' is factual, does this then mean that South Africans do not have patronymics? Euro-western names should not be confused with Christian names especially those that are seen among the Xhosa people, e.g., Speelman, Stuurman, Brown, Grootboom, etc. Surnames like Swaartboy, are arguably not Christian names, instead these were the names people got either from their employers or their parent's employers. Sometimes names like Swaartboy were given by Euro-western people to ridicule the name bearer and some were nicknames. It is true that most people given these names did not know what they meant, and they carried these derogatory names as part of their identities. When these names went through the process of onomastic shift, they became surnames, whether the descendants were 'swaart' (black) or were 'boys', it did not matter, and they were referred to as 'Swaartboy.' It should be pointed out that in some cases it is not easy to see that some Xhosa surnames are adopted from Euro-western languages because they undergo phonological adaptations into Xhosa. Neethling (1996:41) says: "The most interesting is probably those where the Afrikaans surnames have been transphonologised into Xhosa, i.e. *De Kock* > *Dikoko*, *Verwoerd* >*Velevutha*, and *Joubert* > *Dyubhele*."

It has been stated above that some surnames originated from praises while others originated from personal names of the forefathers of the surname bearers. Some surnames originated in ways different to those mentioned above. Nicolaisen (1976:144) says:

> Whether our surname is a patronymic like Jones, for instance, or an occupational name like Smith, or a descriptive nickname like Brown, or of local origin like Washington, it is unlikely to identify us as the son of John, a shoer of horses, a person with brown hair, or someone from Washington or England.

Ndimande (1998) gives five categories from where she claims Zulu surnames originated. These categories comprise surnames which she claims originated as labels; surnames that originated from natural phenomena; surnames derived from qualities of 'Ubuntu'; surnames originating from customs and surnames derived from clan-praises, while Neethling (1996) gives four categories from where Xhosa surnames originated. Withycombe (1945:XXIII) referring to European surnames says: "A large number of these [surnames] were patronymics, even more were place names indicating the residence or place of origin of the bearer, others were names of trades or callings, and yet others were nicknames, sometimes descriptive, sometimes derisive."

Included in Neethling's surname categories are ancestor surnames, locality surnames, occupation surnames and nickname surnames. According to Ndimande (1998) surnames like *Mkhize* and *Mzolo* originated from natural phenomena. Looking at the lexical meaning of the above surnames, it is presumed that *Mkhize* derived from the Zulu noun *umkhizo* meaning 'drizzle' and *Mzolo* supposedly derived from the Zulu noun *amazolo* 'dew'. These are natural phenomena. However, it is questionable how Ndimande came to the conclusion that *Mkhize* is a surname derived from a natural phenomenon. The process of onomastic shift was mentioned earlier in the study. It can be convincingly argued that in fact the surname *Mkhize* and/or *Mzolo* were people's personal names which were at a later stage adopted as surnames, e.g. *Zulu* 'rain, weather, heaven' (see Chapter 2) which can also be classified according to Ndimande's classifications as being derived from weather. It is apparent that Ndimande did not consider the process of onomastic shift in her study. It can be argued also that what Ndimande classified as surnames derived from 'labels' [sic], are in fact surnames derived from nicknames. Ndimande gives the aetiology of the surname Sikhakhana as "**Sikhakhana** (short skin petticoat). These people were identified as the people who wear short skin petticoats (*izikhakha/izidwaba*)" (Ndimande 1998:93). It is argued that the surname *Sikhakhane*

may not have originated from a 'label' but was a nickname given to people who were associated with these skirts, who later adopted it as their surname. Neethling (1996:36) puts it clearly in saying: "Many nicknames have developed into surnames. Ancestors have been described in terms of their physical appearance, gaits, personality traits, morals and clothes."

Though Nicolaisen (1976) points out that some people's surnames were derived from their occupation e.g. Baker and Smith, it is debatable whether the African people also adopted this trend. The time when surnames were initiated among Africans remains to be traced with accuracy, to see the Euro-western influence that might have been prevailing at the time. Unless the origin of surnames is dated with accuracy, there will always be controversies as to how the surnames of indigenous people of South Africa originated. There is no concrete evidence given by Neethling that can convince us that the surnames, *Nobhala, Mfundisi, Gqirhana, Jaji*, etc., originated because of people's occupation, and not from being personal names given to various individuals because of their parent's aspirations, that they wish their child to be a secretary, a teacher/preacher, small doctor or judge respectively. This leaves Neethling's claim open to criticism.

As mentioned earlier, most African people practised a patriarchal system, i.e. most of their surnames were the names of the male ancestors and not of female ancestors. As a result it might happen that names mentioned by Neethling (ibid), i.e. *Noholoza, Norawana, Nomganga*, etc., might in fact have been male names, not female names. It can be argued that originally, names that were adopted as surnames among South African people were those of the forefathers, this practice is still evidenced today as is seen that if a child is born, she adopts the surname of her father, unless if that particular child is born out of wedlock, she will adopt her mother's surname, which in many cases is the mother's father's surname. Male children were regarded as very important in most African societies because of the important inherited role that they play in maintaining the family name. It is for this reason that the birth of a female child was not as well celebrated as that of a male child, as female children were not considered full members of

the family as they would at some stage get married and change their names. Egejuru (1993:3) says:

> Ezeji felt that his son would be better off counting his own wealth in male children rather than in the vastness of his yam barn....Ezeji regularly told Jiwudu stories of men who became known through the fame of their children, to hammer into his son's head the importance of having male children. He often added as an after thought that he would also be pleased and honoured if he retained the title of Ezeji.

It can be argued that all South African surnames are patrilineal, because even though a child adopts its mother's surname, that surname belongs to the mother's father. There are no known traceable incidences where a mother of a child chooses her first name as a surname for her child, and as a result starts a new naming pattern. It is an established norm in our society that the child takes its father's surname or the mother's surname.

It has been argued in Chapter 2 that some researchers have tended to deduce the origin of names by looking at the phonological and/or morphological features of the name. Ndimande (1988) and Neethling (1996) are no exception. It was pointed out earlier that surnames were not part of the African naming pattern. The possibility of people looking at drizzle and naming themselves Mkhize is questionable. The names that they commonly used were names that had long been established like praise names, ancestor names, locality names and nicknames.

4.10.1.2 Totemism

Junod (1938:107) says:

> Totemism is the belief that there exists between a social group, a clan or a family, an intimate relationship with one given natural object, especially an animal, which is thus considered as the emblem of such a clan or family. It is probable that all Bantu clans went through a totemic period, but today this totemism has practically disappeared among the Southern Bantu, and one can only find traces of it in some manifestations of the life of the group.

Magubane (1998:10) says:

> Besides the differences in language, another important distinguishing feature of the Sotho-Tswana is the use of totems to trace patrilineal descent from a common putative ancestor (or totem). Generally speaking, the totem (or identifying emblem) is an animal that is never hunted or exploited in any way.

One of the ways one can establish the existence of totemism among the Southern Bantu is by looking at the surnames that people have. Some surnames among South Africans originated from the generic names of animals that people of a particular group saw as their symbol. The animals that people chose as their symbol were highly respected and thus their meat was never eaten. People saw themselves as having a relationship with the animal they chose as their symbol. Even nowadays, there are people from certain groups who would say that they do not eat such and such meat but when asked why, they have no idea, what they know is that it has been passed on from generation to generation that they must not eat such meat. Junod (1912:335 -336) says:

> If we cross the plain of the Sabi and reach Drakensberg, we find that all the Pedi tribes dwelling together with the Thonga in the Leydenburg and Zoutpansberg district, possess laudatory names which they also call *seboko*, the same word as shibongo; but most of these names are names of animals, and are called by the technical term *mutshupu*, totem: the animal is the emblem or totem of the group. The Pedi clans are totemic. This means that not only do they glorify themselves in comparing themselves with an animal and taking its name, but they think that there is a mysterious relation of life between it and their social groups.

Schapera (1979:35) in similar vein says:

> The Tswana are also divided into approximately 25 groups, each having a certain species of animal as its *serêtô, seanô, seila* or *sebôkô* (object of honour, veneration, avoidance or praise). These groups cut across the division into tribes. Some (e.g., those with the crocodile, elephant, ape, or lion as their totem) are represented in almost every tribe; on the other hand, every tribe also contains members of different totem groups (e.g., 18 such groups are the Ngwaketse)

As mentioned above, the totem is not killed by its people, even when there are occasions that require that meat be part of the feast, instead another animal is slaughtered. On the issue of totemism, Ndimande (loc.cit.:93) says:

> There is a relationship between the Zulu people and animals. Cattle represent the wealth of the family. Cattle are used to pay for lobola, a Zulu custom whereby the husband is responsible for paying lobola to the wife's family. According to the belief of the Zulu people the goat is an animal, which links the ancestors with the people. When it is slaughtered it is the only animal, which is originally recognised by the ancestors. It is from the functions and the cleverness of the animals that people were given surnames derived from *animals*.

Ndimande's definition of totemism above is nevertheless contrary to that asserted in this study (see Junod and Magubane in the previous page) in that cattle in traditional Zulu society were not totemic animals as they were in most cases slaughtered and eaten, i.e. there was no 'intimate' relationship between the Zulus and the cattle. Although Zulu people had a close relationship with the animals as they in many ways were very important for the functioning of the society, i.e. cattle were used during the *ukubuyisa* ceremony, it was from the cattle that people got milk for feeding their children, cow dung for smearing the floor, cow skin for covering the deceased and for making *amabheshu*, etc. However, it is not only for those reasons mentioned by Ndimande that people were given surnames derived from animals. Contrary to what Ndimande says above, that a goat links the ancestors with the people, in a number of instances it was the cattle that linked the ancestors with the members of the family. It was for this reason that only cattle had a cattle kraal inside the homestead where it is believed ancestors reside (see Shabalala 1999). Schapera (1979:38) says:

> Totem groups are patrilineal but not exogamous. There are special myths telling how each group acquired its totem, and people should not kill or eat their totem, or touch its skin; should they do so inadvertently, they must undergo a purification ceremony to avoid illnesses or other misfortune. It is also considered polite to address or greet a person by the name of his totem.

In a similar vein, Junod (1938:110) says:

> The totem cannot be killed. "In olden times if this happened by accident," said Office, "the man who killed it would have been taken to the border of the country and banished, without any possibility of his returning".

Contrary to what Ndimande (loc.cit) says, a totem (which usually was a respected animal symbol among the clan or family from where people got their surname) was never eaten. It is for this reason that most totems were wild animals like *indlovu, ingwenya, idube*[68]. It is doubted that people just chose surnames because of the functions and the cleverness of the animal. If that was the reason, there would be a lot of people bearing surnames like, *Nogwaja, Nkukhu, Mbuzi*, as these animals had various functions in the homestead and some because of their cleverness.

Ndimande (1998:94-96) says:

> **Ngwenya** (crocodile) < Surname derived from a crocodile [sic][69]. A person was given the name of Ngwenya because he found a stone in the head of the crocodile and it is believed that if one receives the stone one becomes clever for life. Even nowadays people who are clever and those who sell stolen goods in town are known as "*izingwenya*".**Khuzwayo** (express disapproval) (-khuza) < This surname express [sic] disapproval it was introduced after the person who was named *Khuzwayo* because of his bad behaviour. He was given constant warnings, and he also rejected any advice from other people and subsequently he was given the name *Khuzwayo*.

I was under the impression that Ndimande's discussion was about surnames that originated from natural phenomena and not names. Ndimande seems to contradict herself in the above quotation, and, unwittingly acknowledges what was said above that some names are derived from personal names and then undergo a process of onomastic shift. Ndimande (ibid) categorises the surname *Khuzwayo* as a surname that originated from customs, which in fact as she says above originated from a nickname. When one looks at the surname *Ngwenya* 'crocodile', it is clear that the surname might have been derived from the Zulu word *ingwenya* (crocodile) which was a totem for a particular clan, it may also be true that the surname might have been derived from a personal name *Ngwenya*. It is questionable how a researcher i.e. Ndimande in this case, comes to the conclusion that surnames with the lexical meaning '*Ngwenya*' are derived from natural phenomena, when

[68] From these nouns, surnames *Ndlovu, Ngwenya* and *Dube*, respectively are derived.
[69] Ngwenya is a surname derived from a noun that refers to a species of animals. A surname cannot be derived from an animal, i.e. a crocodile in this case.

such names are derived from various entities as mentioned above. It is also not clear what Ndimande means by 'natural phenomenon' in her article.

Recently, many Africans acknowledge that their surnames are their forefathers' personal names, and that they have adjusted their surnames by prefixing the possessive morpheme *ka-*, meaning 'of' to these surnames. It has been noticed though, that this trend is more common for males than females. Examples include, Thami kaPlaatjie, Noah kaMchunu, Sello Maake kaNcube, Mvusiwekhaya kaSicwetsha, etc. It has also been noticed that this trend applies not only to surnames in indigenous languages but also to surnames adopted from other languages, i.e. Euro-western surnames. The prefixing of *ka-* to the surname is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

The origin of many surnames cannot be traced with certainty because they have lost their lexical meaning. Raper (1983a:3) says: "Although surnames have become patronyms and nothing more in our society[70], they were, at the time of their bestowal, lexically meaningful." Ndimande (loc.cit) does not give us the sources from which she got the explanations of the categories she gives for various surnames. Some of the explanations like those given by Ndimande do not need extensive research by a names scholar to give their origin. As a schoolgirl in the 1980s, I once knew a classmate who could tell his versions of stories of where various names originated e.g. *Hadebe*. A person named *Debe* did something embarrassing and the person who was sitting next to him in shock exclaimed and said *'Ha, Debe!'* and that is how the surname *Hadebe* came to being. In the case of *Shabalala*, a drunkard named *Shaba* used to worry people when he was drunk and people would often send him to sleep and they would say: *'Shaba lala'* (Shaba sleep) and that is how the latter surname originated. If different people are contacted they will give different versions of how the surnames *Hadebe* and *Shabalala* originated.

[70] Raper's claim is incorrect, because it is the patronyms that have become surnames, and not the other way round.

4.10.2 Nicknames

Nicknames might be given to anybody, anywhere at anytime. Nicknames are often used in informal settings by people of the same age group. These names sometimes act as an identification of the individual and give a sense of solidarity among people of a certain group. In some instances, nicknames provide a friendly atmosphere for the people in a certain group. It is for this reason that people belonging to a certain group who do not have nicknames sometimes feel that they are not part of that group. In other instances (which is common) nicknames are given to individuals because of the unique characteristics that they possess. Withycombe (1945:XXV) says that nicknames originated because the adoption of surnames was not enough to prevent the ambiguity caused by the extensive use of a very few Christian names. What Withycombe (op cit) refers to is a coining of a new name to distinguish people who share the same name. The nicknames he refers to undoubtedly eventually became middle names. It is for this reason that the names he refers to are in this study not regarded as nicknames but as surnames. In some Euro-western societies nicknames and surnames were the same thing, often both known as bynames. The difference between the two is that surnames were nicknames that became hereditary. The complexity of nicknames prompts me to give a definition of a nickname as perceived in this study. In this study a nickname is defined as a name that is given to a particular individual or group because of that individual's or group's unique characteristics. Its function is not only to distinguish a person from other people with the same name, but also to describe certain distinct characteristics of the person. Though these names are given by people of various groups for identity purposes, as mentioned by Withycombe, these names are also coined to ridicule the bearers. According to Withycombe, nicknames are not coined for the purposes of group solidarity, but are used to uniquely identify a particular person from other people with the same name. This, however, means that there are various reasons that prompt individuals to give nicknames to others. While some nicknames are given for purposes of group identification, or to distinctly identify a person from others, other nicknames are derogatory and serve as criticism that the namers have towards a certain individual. It is for this reason that Kaul (1997:1) cited in Prabhakaran (1999:88) says that a nickname is the hardest stone that the devil can throw at a man. De Klerk (1998:2) says:

> In a country like South Africa which has been fraught by racial tension, and in which colonialism and apartheid have caused enormous damage to human relationships, especially across racial and linguistic groups, the likelihood that nicknames might act as a critical device becomes significantly higher.

The social history of this country played a major role in the coining of nicknames especially by the employees, naming their employers who in most of the cases were white people. Apart from that coinage, it has also been seen that subordinate people regardless of race and ethnicity always have reasons for naming their superiors. A number of former school pupils will often have a nickname that they (pupils) used to refer to a particular teacher. Factory workers on the other hand, may have a nickname that they have coined for their foreman. In the case of foremen, if he starts to annoy his subordinates, they usually give him a nickname. Maphumulo (2000:6) says:

> uMbokodwe (boulder): this is a nickname given to *induna* with abnormal big eyes [sic]. This nickname is both a metonymy and a metaphor. There is also a belief that he knows witchcraft hence the name Mbokodwe.

It is more common for the employees to name employers than vice versa. There are very rare cases where superiors give nicknames to their subordinates. There are various reasons that lead to employees naming their employers or superiors. The compelling reason is that there are qualities that they see the employer possessing. These may be good or bad qualities or characteristics. Some nicknames might look as if they do not convey any negative attitudes while they do. Finnegan (1976:471) says:

> One is the instance of an administrator nicknamed 'Pineapple' or 'The one of the Pineapple'. On the surface this was a flattering and an easily explained name. But it also had a deeper meaning. The reference was to a custom (said to be followed by another tribe) of burying someone they had killed and planting pineapples on the grave—nothing could be seen but the leaves, and their crimes were hidden. The administrator's name, then, really suggested one who shirked his duty and tried to bury matters brought to him for judgment—a fitting designation for a man who avoided responsibility and sought compromise.

One of the reasons for this is that in many cases employees outnumber employers, and the nickname is used effectively by the employees because they often all know it and this

makes the nickname popular amongst them. In some ways if it is a nickname that has negative connotations, it serves as criticism of their employer. On the other hand, employers do not in the majority of cases communicate directly with the employees and thus do not know in detail the characteristics of the employees from which they can coin nicknames. Even if an employer may coin a nickname it does not become as popular as that coined for the employer by the employees. The reason for this is because employees might have a negative attitude towards the employer and will not address their colleague by the nickname that the employer has coined and that results in the unpopularity of the nickname.

Nicknames are given in various spheres other than in industries and work places as mentioned above. Nicknames are usually additional names given to various people, over and above their personal names and surnames, because of their unique characteristics, whether good or bad. In some cases nicknames become more often used to refer to an individual than personal names and take preference, while in other cases, personal names remain the most preferred and widely used names. Some people like nicknames given to them while others hate them. Initially, some nicknames are not known by the bearers, only the name givers know these names. In some cases nickname bearers do know the nicknames given to them. Usually people like these names when they say something good about them or when they have coined the names themselves, and despise them when they connote bad meanings or convey negative messages about them. No person is exempted from receiving a nickname, whether she is a President of country, an accountant, a lawyer, a doctor, a sangoma, etc., nothing will exempt you from receiving a nickname if people want to coin one for you.

Nicknames are not only given to animate entities, they are also given to inanimate entities. Though Kaul in Prabhakaran maintains that "a nickname given to a person is the hardest stone a devil could throw at him/her" [Prabhakaran (1999:87)], it has been seen that the hardest stone that a devil can throw is giving an non-human entity a nickname which is derived from a name of a person. The reason for the latter is that a person whose

name has been used to name a non-human entity feels very degraded. Ntuli (1994:1) in his short story ***inhlamba*** from the collection of short stories **Isibhakabhaka** says:

> Athi ukuguqa ngedolo uMgogodla, anyakazise isikhwili sakhe kancane: "Lesi sikhwili sizolala sesinegazi ngiyakutshela."
> Axwaye uMaKheswa: "Kahle bo: igazi likabani?"
> "LikaSubatha. Ungithukile." Acinane manje.
> "Ukuthuke wathini bo?"
> Uqamba inja yakhe ngami. Sekukabili ngizwa ukuthi inja yakhe uyiqambe ngami wathi inguMgogodla.
>
> *Mgogodla knelt and shook his striking stick a little: "This striking stick will sleep covered with blood I am telling you."*
> *MaKheswa was wary: "Wait a minute: whose blood?"*
> *"Subatha's. He has cursed me" he gets angry now.*
> *"What did he say?"*
> *He named his dog with my name. It's been two times since I have heard that he named his dog with my name and said it is Mgogodla.*

The fact that people do not like non-human entities being named after them does not stop people from showing their creativity. Tony Yengeni, the former ANC Chief Whip, who reportedly got a 47% discount on a Mercedes Benz after the European Aeronautic Defence and Space Company was a successful bidder in the country's arms deal, was caught in a naming saga. When the controversies of the mega-billion Arms Deal were publicly known, not only did the ML320 Mercedes Benz receive a nickname, *Yengeni*, he also received a nickname *WaBenzi*. According to http://www.newint.org/issue139/wabenzi.htm the WaBenzi are those who have made it to the top. They are ruling in many countries in Africa. They are known by many names; but the one most often used describes their common aspiration; WaBenzi [plural] like to ride in motorcars made by the firm of Mercedes-Benz. It is not known whether the name WaBenzi was given to Tony Yengeni because he was associated with the power elites in Africa or purely because he was driving the ML320 Mercedes Benz. Tony Yengeni's peers undoubtedly did not give him this name for purposes of group solidarity, nor did his family give him the name to distinctly distinguish him from another Tony Yengeni in the family, but he was given this name by members of the South African community after hearing about the mega-billion arms deal saga in the print and electronic media. Within a

short period of time, the M Class Mercedes Benz was referred to as a Yengeni. He was referred to by some South Africans and painfully by some of his ANC colleagues as *WaBenzi*. No one gave the South African public a responsibility to name Yengeni but his actions/behaviour prompted the public to name him, and the media saw it as its responsibility to popularise the name. It is very true that Tony Yengeni did not like his new name. In his attempt to disown his new name, Yengeni traded in his Mercedes Benz for a Volvo. The front page of *Sunday Times* newspaper of 18 November 2001 reads:

> TONY Yengeni has sold the luxury 4x4 Mercedes at the centre of corruption claims linked to the controversial arms deal — and lashed out on a R330 000 Volvo convertible.
> The former ANC Chief Whip was spotted a week ago cruising Cape Town's Atlantic seaboard in a turbo-charged red sports car which he bought after trading in his state-of-the-art ML320 Mercedes. (2001:1)

Molefe (1999:36) says that: "There are nicknames that stay only when somebody still has a certain status in his/her profession. When the status changes the nickname disappears to make room for a new one." Contrary to the latter, some nicknames remain regardless of a new status that a bearer of a nickname has acquired. As a result, as mentioned above, some people have more than one nickname. Even though Tony Yengeni traded in the Mercedes Benz for a Volvo, his nickname *WaBenzi* remained, regardless of the fact that he was no longer driving a Mercedes Benz. The more Tony Yengeni despised his nickname, the more it became popular. Charles Mogale writing for the *Sowetan Sunday World* of 22 July, says:

> Last week, the papers were filled with adverts placed by the ANC's Tony Yengeni, in which he moaned about a zillion things, one of which was a reference to him as WaBenzi, in the aftermath of his Mercedes-Benz woes.
> Yengeni has a big surprise in store. The M-Class Mercedes-Benz is already being called a Yengeni. If he does not like this fact, he may as well start talking to his medical aid about paying for psychological counselling.
> He must take cure from one Roelf Botha, who was mocked for his penguin-like nose. Like him or not, the apartheid master salesman was so good-humoured he threw away his other names and goes full-blast by the name Pik.
> This does not mean that nicknames cannot be hurtful. (2001:24)

Tony Yengeni has a reason to be annoyed by the use of his forefather's name in every sphere of the South African community. Aggrey Klaaste writing for the *Sowetan Sunday World* newspaper of 22 July 2001 says: "He [Aggrey's uncle] was riding his sturdy, plain nag that looked like a mix between a horse and a pony. He said it had legs of iron and a back as strong as the chassis of the Mercedes-Benz. This is why he called his horse Yengeni." (2001:25). As mentioned earlier, in African societies, a name marks the acceptance of the newborn child in a community, it conveys certain meanings that the namer might want to convey to a particular community. It is for this reason that it has been variously stated that a name is the person because her soul, spirituality and name are closely related. As most African surnames like Yengeni are derived from personal names, they are equally important. Yengeni, however, as a public figure has to get used to the negative remarks that come with his position, i.e. being named by every Tom, Dick and Harry and using his surname any way they want to. Aggrey Klaaste (ibid) says:

> TONY Yengeni's name has become part of local folklore and has stimulated ordinary people's sense of mirth from the cities to the distant rural areas...I do not suppose Yengeni enjoys the fun being made of him and his splendid four-wheel-drive vehicle... Since his name has become part of our history I would suggest that he simply plays along with it.
> I would also suggest that he should not become too defensive. He should get into the spirit of the thing and get a Tony Yengeni number plate for his vehicle.

Name coiners often rejoice when the bearer does not like her nickname and it is for this reason that when the bearer fully accepts her nickname, the name disappears or becomes not as widely used as it was at its time of inception. Charles Mogale (ibid) says:

> Soon I was calling myself Charles "Five Rand[71]"Mogale, and it worked like a charm. It took the sting out of the mockery and the name-calling soon petered out. Gregory Makhudu, my school mate, somehow got himself nicknamed Gooseberry. It made him livid. He still gets mad with me today when I call him that. And, for as long as he fights it, it will stick with him.

As mentioned earlier, nicknames are used in informal settings, however, if a nickname

[71] A nickname given to him because he only gave his teacher R5 for English books when the other kids gave him the full book fee which was R30.

becomes more popular, and the bearer likes it, this name is then used in both formal and informal settings. In some cases it even replaces the official name.

Depending on the lifestyle of an individual, a person is likely to have more than one nickname in her lifetime. Mobile people (those who often move from one place to another) often find themselves acquiring nicknames wherever they settle. The reason for this is because a new community will often see the characteristics (whether good or bad) in a person and see some justification for giving that person a nickname. Molefe (1999:36) refers to these as temporary nicknames. Molefe (op cit:36) says:

> By temporary nicknames I mean those nicknames that are used for a relatively short period. For instance, being in a high school for only two years may influence the duration of the nickname. Being in an employment area for as little as a month may mean the nickname to be in use for only that period. A teacher who taught history at a high school was nicknamed '**uMadman**' (made out of an Irish surname O'Madigan). He taught for only two months and left the country. For sure he did not carry the nickname away with him.

Although temporary nicknames are used for a specific period of time, it is argued in this study that if a person leaves a certain place where she acquired a nickname she could lose or keep the nickname depending on circumstances. I have no doubt that if the pupils that *Madman* taught came across him in whatever part of the world they would identify him as *Madman*. The same thing happens when old school mates meet, they usually address each other by the nicknames they used at school though to some that opens old wounds. This then shows that a nickname is never temporary, it is permanent though it is sometimes rarely used because of the new location that the bearer finds herself in.

In nicknaming, any language is used to coin a name. The language that is used is highly dependent on the social, cultural and sometimes political factors that are prevalent in the society where the nickname is coined. In a country like South Africa, where there is a lot of cross-cultural communication involving different languages, various linguistic innovations are evident. Names like *uMatencent* (the person who always asks for ten cents) are evidence of linguistic innovations in South Africa. Some names are

phonologically adapted from a donor language to a receiving language. Once these names come into the receiving language, they adapt its phonological form and in some cases lose their original lexical meaning. These names initially are not intended as nicknames, as they arise because of misrendering or mispronunciation. Maphumulo's (2000) statement that:

> This [phonological resemblance] refers to the sound similarities between foreign surname and its Zulu version which later changes and become a nickname. Farm workers are unable to pronounce foreign surnames as a result they adapt them to suit the Zulu language.

This is disputed in this study. This study concurs with Molefe (loc. cit:20) that:

> It is important to note that in certain instances people modify, adapt or stylise real names by shortening or lengthening, or by false pronunciation, (deliberately or otherwise) but such names cannot qualify to be nicknames for the reason that they do not conform to the acceptable process of true post-naming.

Like any other name, nicknames are used to distinguish a person from other people. In distinguishing a particular person, a nickname might say something about what the person likes, e.g. *uMatencents* above, the physical appearance of a person, *uNgadlwana*[72] 'a person with a broken hand', the place where the person comes from, e.g. *uKhayeni* 'a person who comes from a rural area', the incidents that a person finds himself in, e.g. *uFive Rand* mentioned above, etc. Stayt (1968:89) says:

> Nicknames are common, and a man during his lifetime may acquire any number of different names, but the two to which he attaches most importance are that given to him by his father's family just after his birth and the one given to him after his initiation.

Soga (1931) says: "As a child grows up to boyhood or girlhood it often receives a nickname from its associates (*o-ntanga*), which sometimes submerges the original name". The reason for this is because some individuals do prefer the nicknames to the other names. For example, a man nicknamed *Bhubesi* 'lion' likes his nickname so much that he

[72]The literal meaning of this name is 'small hand' but people may give this name to someone who had a broken hand.

prefers it to his personal name. He often uses it, in fact his business card even bears the name Bhubesi and the picture of a lion, (see Appendix 7). Some people at a certain stage do change their personal names and replace them with nicknames. It is often the individuals who choose which names they want to be officially used.

4.11 Naming practices in toponyms

There are various reasons that lead to the naming of various geographic entities. These reasons vary from society to society and are also influenced by the incidents that happen in a particular society. Geographical entities are usually given different names to identify them. For example the names *eKapa*, Cape Town and Kaapstad refer to one entity. There are other geographical entities that have only one name, e.g. *Mamelodi* (a township in Pretoria). Toponyms are of great significance in various societies. As mentioned earlier, a system involves dynamic relations between its elements. In a toponymic system there is a close relationship between the geographical feature, the name and the society where the name is coined. These names, apart from identifying entities, also convey various messages about various places.

Man has always had a relationship with the space he finds himself in. As a naming species, man saw a need to identify the space he found himself in through naming. While some names are descriptive, e.g. *iSandlwana* (a Zulu name meaning 'it is like a small hut') a mountain in KwaZulu Natal, others convey various messages about what is found in the place or incidents that happened in that place. *Mafikeng* (a Tswana name meaning 'place of stones') derived from what was found in the place, and *Miluwani* (a Venda name meaning a place where *miluwa* fruit trees are found). According to an informant, although *miluwa* trees are no longer found in the place, the place is still called *Miluwani*. The name is thus a footprint informing us of how the name was coined. It should be noted that once the name has been coined, it does not refer to what is found in the place but to the place itself. As a result, the relationship between the place and the trees found in the place ceases. If people talk about *Miluwani* they refer to the place, not the miluwa fruit trees.

Social events in various societies have led to different names that are found in various provinces in South Africa. These social events shape the societies where these names are found and create a link between the place, people staying in it and the environment. Names are coined after various events that have happened, whether good or bad. These names as a result are sometimes a reminder of various incidents that took place in a particular society and shape the history of places where they were found. In some places because of generations that have passed, it does happen that the present generation does not know what led to the place being given a particular name. Included in the names that are coined because of incidents that happen in a place, are names like: *Nyakelani* (a Tsonga name meaning a place of searching). According to an informant this place in the Limpopo Province was given this name because there were a lot of single women staying in the place. The reason for this was that the houses were cheaper and as a result single women could afford them. Some married men used to have mistresses in the place. When the men were not at home, people used to tell the married women that they must go and search for their husbands where the single women lived. The place was then named *Nyakelani*. *Siyabuswa* (a Nguni name meaning 'we are being governed') is a name which was given to a township in Mpumalanga. According to an informant, the township was given this name because the people residing in the place were willing to be governed by the former government of KwaNdebele homeland as opposed to a nearby area, which did not want to be governed, by the former government.

In some instances, names are given to convey people's feelings or attitudes. For example, according to an informant, an informal settlement in Phalaborwa was erected near Lulekani. The settlement was demolished and people were told to leave the place. However people stayed in the place and erected other shacks and named the settlement *Matsamayinkani* (a Tsonga name, meaning 'stay by force'). A similar incident was evidenced near Hout Bay in Cape Town. Shacks were erected near Hout Bay. The government authorities destroyed them, however other shacks were built in that same place. The people residing there named the place, Im*izamo Yethu* (a Nguni name meaning 'our efforts'). Hout Bay is an exclusive suburb in Cape Town, the people residing at *Mizamoyethu* were sending a message that since they could not afford houses at Houtbay,

and they were making efforts to have places to stay at *eMizamoyethu*. These names convey messages about the place and the people living there and the attitudes and feelings they have towards the place.

Apart from conveying people's feelings, toponyms are given to boost business at a particular time. A name of a business on its own may invite or chase away customers. Some people gave their businesses Euro-western names during the apartheid era, as these names were more appealing to the general public. Nowadays many business people are giving African names to their businesses. Some of the main reasons for this are because of the African renaissance and also the black economic empowerment policies where businesses owned by black people are supported financially by the government to boost black businesses. During the apartheid era few indigenous people had thriving businesses. To address this lack of business opportunities, in promoting black economic empowerment, most government tenders are given to indigenous people, i.e. if they have experience to do the job that needs to be done. Some people (not indigenous) are giving their businesses African names as this influences some people to think that their business is owned by indigenous people. Barron (2003:24) writing for the *Sunday Times* of 26 October 2003 says:

> He (Vivian Reddy) opened his own business called Reddy's electrical. Very little business came his way, but then he had a brainwave. He changed the name of his business to Edison power. Suddenly people started phoning. Could they speak to Mr Edison, please? Sorry he's not in right now, Reddy would reply. Can I help you?
> I masqueraded behind that name and got work. It is ironic that today you get companies advertised as Dlamini electrical. You phone them and some guy with a Van der Merwe accent answers and says: "Sorry Mr Dlamini is not in..."

The time of naming a place varies from society to society. While some places are given names when they are established, others are given names a long time after they have been established. The given names may remain the names that the places are known by, or may be changed at a later stage. The change is usually influenced by various social and political developments.

4.12 The geographical name

Distinguishing one entity from another through naming has been part of human tradition for millennia. Naming of geographical entities is not a new trend among human beings. From time immemorial "important landmarks were identified, named and known..."[Khumalo and Gumede (2001:8)]. Traditionally, geographical names were used to identify landmarks. The names given to various entities were not only used to distinguish one entity from another but were also used to characterise the places being named and to communicate the feelings of the people living in or using the entity. Place names can be defined as names of geographical entities, these include names of countries, provinces, cities, towns, villages, dams, mountains, monuments, streets, seas, etc.

The primary function of a geographical name is to distinguish one place from another. It is common that in some countries there are different places with the same name or that in different countries there are various places with the same name. There are various reasons that led and still lead to the latter. The first reason might be that as people live in various places, they choose a certain name for a place which they see appropriate for that place because of its characteristics. It may happen that the name they have chosen (unknowingly) is a name that already is being used to refer to another entity in another country or place. On the other hand, people may choose to give a place a name that they know exists in other parts of the world, e.g. Newcastle, because they identify better with the name or they want to honour certain people from the places where the name originated. Mathenjwa (2002:6) says:

> This is true because during the stages of voyages of exploration, discovery and colonization, names from these people's places of origin were given to places elsewhere in the world. Many of these names were given to honour statesman, travellers, explorers, military leaders and other important leaders.

There are various reasons that may lead to the former choice of a name. The first may be that the namer's aspirations are that the place being named possesses similar qualities to the other entity with that name, or the namer may have seen some qualities that are similar to the other entity with the name. On the other hand, the namer may give such a name for purposes of ridiculing the initial bearer of a name. For example, contrary to

Jenkins's (1993:24)[73] assertion, Khumalo and Gumede (2001:11) claim that the name uMgungundlovu was used by the Afrikaners and not by the Africans to refer to Pietermaritzburg, when they say:

> The real Umgungundlovu... is at Makhosini at Babanango district. The so-called Umgungundlovu today was named to ridicule King Dingane and the Zulu nation after the battle of eNcome and Ophathe. The Boers burnt down the capital of Dingane. Thereafter they built a town, which was named after their heroes Pieter and Maritz [sic], and they named it Pietermaritzburg. They declared it the capital of KwaZulu. In short it was the new Umgungundlovu which was sarcasm [sic] to the real Umgungundlovu to the Zulu nation.

In South Africa, various geographical entities have more than one name. While some have a western and an African name, others have only western names or only African names. The reasons for this are that when settlers settled in some parts of South Africa, there were African names that residents of those places were using to refer to those places. It is not entirely true that the white people discovered places in South Africa and named them as if they were nameless before they discovered them. Some settlers ignored African names and gave new names[74] to the places, and in most cases, these new names were in western languages, and this led to some places having more than one name (one being of Euro-western origin and the other being of African origin). Jenkins (1993:24) says:

> Thomas Pringle, the 1820 British settler who is, ironically, remembered as the father of freedom of speech in this country, quite happily replaced local names wherever he went, even renaming places after himself. ...and he wrote in his Narrative of a Residence in South Africa (1834:116) of "the valley of Mancazana, now called "Glen Pringle".

As a result of actions like that of Thomas Pringle mentioned above, during the colonial and the apartheid eras, some places had a Euro-western and an African name, in other cases various western names and African names. Places that had dual western names include Cape Town/Kaapstad, Orange Free State/Oranje Vrystaat, Northern

[73]The Afrikaners replaced the name uMgungundlovu with Pietermaritzburg.

[74]This should not be confused with names that were transphonologised, e.g Umbogintwini, Congella instead of eZimbokodweni and KwaKhangela respectively.

Transvaal/Noord-Transvaal, etc. On the other hand, place names that had Euro-western and African names (though the latter names were not official) include Durban/*eThekwini*, Johannesburg/*eGoli*, Port Elizabeth/*eBhayi*, Cape Town/*eKapa*, etc. Unlike personal names, which were categorised as those that were used at home and those that were used at school, geographical entities are usually given one official name. The use of geographical names depended on a person's background and the situation/circumstance she found herself in. In most cases, if the speaker was Euro-western it was rare that she would refer to Johannesburg as *eGoli* when speaking to other Euro-western people. However, if the speaker was African she could use the name 'Durban' instead of '*eThekwini*'. It was also not rare to hear an African person saying: '*Ngizoya eDurban kusasa*' (I will go to Durban tomorrow). In the majority of cases, this was perceived as being done by educated people as those who were not educated used the name *eThekwini*. Nowadays Africans use either African or western names to refer to various geographical entities depending on the circumstances they are in regardless of whether they are educated or not.

During the colonial and the apartheid eras, though people were at liberty to use any place name they saw fit to use, some names enjoyed more status than others as they were regarded as official names while others were regarded as unofficial names, which brings us to the next sub-heading.

4.13 Endonyms and exonyms

In this study, an endonym refers to a name of a place that is in an official language of the country where the name is found, while an exonym is a name of a place that is in an unofficial language that may be spoken in that country. There are various political reasons that lead to some languages gaining more status than others in various countries, which make them official and others not, however this discussion is beyond the scope of this study. There is a very thin line between endonyms and exonyms. Some people like Mathenjwa (2002) tend to classify exonyms as foreign names, which is undoubtedly true in some countries, but not true in other countries. For example, the name Pietermaritzburg (in South Africa) is not of African origin, however is not an exonym as

English and Afrikaans have been and still are official languages of South Africa. Mathenjwa (2002:1-2) says:

> The new South African Geographical Names Council (SANGC) is mandated to give guidelines and procedures as to how people should reclaim their history, heritage and respect by removing the foreign names (exonyms) and replace them with the original geographical names (endonyms).

In the above quote, though English and Afrikaans geographical names are regarded as foreign names by Mathenjwa, they are undoubtedly endonyms in South Africa when considering the definition of endonyms given above, as English and Afrikaans were and still are official languages in South Africa. The geographical names that can be classified as exonyms are those that were taken from languages such as German, French, etc.

In South Africa, before the ANC (African National Congress) led government, there were only two official languages that were given official status by the NP (National Party) led government, i.e. English and Afrikaans. As this was the case, although there were various African names used to refer to entities within the borders of South Africa, such as *eGoli, eThekwini, eBhayi, eKapa,* etc., these names were exonyms as they were not taken from the then official languages, which were English and Afrikaans.

After the demise of the apartheid government in South Africa, names that were exonyms (taken from African languages) like the ones mentioned above became endonyms as the languages from where they were adapted became official languages in the country. These names have since been given equal if not more competing power than those that were in English and Afrikaans. It has been evident in South Africa that with the demise of apartheid, the democratically elected government did not just give the names that were exonyms (during the apartheid era) equal competing power with the English and Afrikaans names but it sought to make English and Afrikaans names a thing of the past. This has been noticed in cases where African and Euro-western names are not used side by side, instead, Euro-western names (especially those that were used during the colonial and the apartheid eras) are completely removed from official correspondence. The examples of this change include *Polokwane* for Pietersburg, *Makhado* for Louis

Trichardt, etc. People who listen to the television news would have noticed that the news presenters no longer refer to Pietersburg but to *Polokwane*, regardless of the fact that many residents opposed the renaming of the city.

The changing of names leads to enormous public confusion especially to those who are unaware of name changing and those who are not constant viewers of television news or newspapers, as they fail to understand the place that is being referred to when the new names are used. Though some Euro-western names are nowadays scarcely used in official correspondence, speakers of Euro-western languages still refer to the places using the names that are no longer recognised by the government. The speakers of African languages during the colonial and apartheid eras referred to entities using African names, which were not recognised by the government. The only difference between the latter is that unlike African languages which were exonyms during the apartheid era and thus were not used in official correspondence, English and Afrikaans names are still endonyms as these languages remain official languages in South Africa.

4.14 Choosing a geographical name

Place names are a very important source of our history. It is from these names that we see the language contact among people of different origins in various parts of the world. It is sometimes from these names that we can trace the history, and general attitudes of the people who once lived in those places. Place names are thus fundamental sources of communication in various societies.

There are various reasons that led and still lead people to name the places they live in and the geographic entities surrounding them. Before the arrival of white people in South Africa, some places were named after various objects which included the vegetation that was found in the area, the animals that were found in the area, people who lived in that place, incidents that happened in that particular area, etc. Mathenjwa (2002:4) says:

> If it were a mountain, they would consider the shape thereof [;] hence *Amabelentombi* (lady's breasts) in the Eastern Cape, *Isandlwana* (shaped like a hut) and *Amabedlana* (breastlets) in KwaZulu- Natal. The reason behind this is because the mountains

> look like the woman's breasts which is its [sic] physical feature. In the case of animals they would look at the animals that are found in or around that river. In this case we had rivers like *Umzimvubu* (home of the hippos), *Umzinyathi* (home of the buffalos), *Impofana* because there was a lot of *izimpofu* animals along that river, and *Umngeni* because there was a lot of *iminga* trees along it.

It should be borne in mind that once some of these places are named after various entities, they remain known by those names even though those entities are no longer seen in those places. For example, whether the water is still tasty at *eManzimtoti* or not, the place name remains *aManzimtoti*[75]. According to Khumalo (2001:10), the river was named *aManzimtoti* because:

> As king Shaka proceeded further down the south coast, he sampled the water of the river going through the now Adams Mission area. He found the water to be sweet. He is reputed to have asked his warriors: "Anjani yawa[76] Zulu?" (How is this ye Zulus?). They all replied with full-throated voices: Amtoti[77], Ndaba! (The water is sweet O son of Ndaba!).

There are different reasons why people choose one particular name rather than another. These reasons include: the physical appearance of a place or entity; the function or purpose of a place; being named after people whom the namers want to commemorate; in other cases being named after incidents or events that took place in a particular place.

4.15 The social significance of toponyms

Like personal names, toponyms have social significance for the people who name and those who live in the places that are named. It is for this reason that when the changing of names is echoed around various provinces, there is usually some reaction among people residing in places where name change is to take place.

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[75] At least for now.

[76] Khumalo (ibid) points out that the Thefuya Ngunis included the Qwabe and the Mthethwa group. It is conceivable that Shaka learnt the Thefuya language among the Mthethwas as he sought refuge from them when he escaped from his father's homestead. According to Khumalo , the Thefuya group used 'y' instead of 'l'; for example instead of saying: Anjni lawa?, they would say: Anjani yawa?

[77] Because of the hlonipha language among the Zulu people (where names of important people are respected, and words containing syllables of such names are not used) the worriors avoided the word 'amnandi' (tasty) because Shaka's mother's name, Nandi has the syllables found in the word 'amnandi'.

Although the name of the continent now known as 'Africa' may not have been known to Euro-western people who later settled in it, it may have been known by the people who were living there. However, the name cannot be traced with accuracy. It was the belief of early settlers in African countries that before they arrived in those countries, there was nothing of importance that needed to be recorded and as a result no history was recorded, which also meant that various entities in Africa were nameless and waiting for the white man to name them.

Africa had a past that existed before the Euro-western people settled on the land, sadly most of that past was not recorded in print. History in African countries did not start with the arrival of the white man, though the recorded history starts there. As mentioned above, geographical names are given for various reasons when compared to personal names. Like personal names, geographical names reflect the historical, cultural, social, political and economic factors of a given place. Place names are in various ways footprints that the society can look at to see where they come from. It is names like Potgietersrus, Verwoerdburg, Harrismith, that shape the history and the future of the country, because in these names one can tell that South Africa has a history where the white minority ruled the country and named entities after themselves regardless of how the oppressed majority felt. It is such names (Potgietersus, Verwoerdburg, etc) that are now being replaced by new names. The new names now shape the future of South Africa where apartheid is said to be a thing of the past. Without the sad history of South Africa and the former names, there would certainly be no name changing in South Africa.

Traditionally, when people were travelling they identified various landmarks by giving them names and those landmarks were known by those names. The names given to various landmarks served as identities of those places, and people used those names to refer to those places. The names given to entities also conveyed various messages. The names given to geographical entities vary according to who the name giver is and what message he wants the name to convey to the general public or community where the name is found. Some names were given to describe what the place looks like, while

others were given after the plants or animals found in the area or the people who were residing in those places.

Though the primary function of a geographical name is to distinguish one place from others, it has been seen that various places are also named to honour different people for their contribution to the societies that they live in. There were various entities that were named after people who made tremendous contributions during the colonial and the apartheid era in South Africa. There were other entities, though few, that were named after the 'black' South African leaders who were considered by their communities as important contributors either to the demise of apartheid or for the upliftment of their communities, e.g. *Mangosuthu* Technikon, which was named after the now Minister of Home Affairs, because of his position in the Zulu royal family and also because of the role he played in uplifting his people.

In various communities, there have been endless debates recently on whether or not to name places after people especially if those people are still living. Places named after people, especially political figures, usually turn into a foundation for criticisms and conflict. Regardless of how good a place and its function can be in the society, if it is named after a person who is not liked by some people, that place conveys bad feelings and attitudes towards people who do not like the person the place is named after. Some people could even resort not going to that place because it is named after a person they dislike, regardless of how beneficial the event or function held in that place may be. It is for this reason that there is a strong feeling that places naming after human beings should be critically examined if not dismissed altogether. Though there is a great need for acknowledging the contributions made by various people, naming places after them should be the last thought in the namer's mind, especially since names have been used as the main targets for political change. Experience has confirmed that human beings are not perfect, regardless of how good they have been and the contributions they have made to our society. A certain sector of the society is bound to find room to criticise those people and thus criticise the places bearing their names. On the topic of naming entities after prominent people, *The Natal Witness* of 17 December 1999 reads:

> As a general principle, this newspaper does not favour the naming of public facilities after prominent individuals, and especially not after politicians. All too often the name is divisive and frequently it becomes an embarrassment. Perhaps, if the person is no longer living, is beyond becoming embroiled in controversy, and his or her deeds have stood the test of history and won general respect, a case of commemorating the name in this way can be made.

Many places in South Africa in the new dispensation are still named after people who some people identify as colonists mainly because of their names which are of European origin or origin beyond the borders of Africa. These places include Louis Trichardt, Ladysmith, Pietermaritzburg, Johannesburg, etc. These names as mentioned earlier reflect the unique history of South Africa as a nation. They reflect the fact that in South Africa there once were colonists who colonised South Africa and who in some instances deliberately ignored indigenous place names and named various places after themselves. Place names reflect the authority, the power and the control that the colonists once exercised among the indigenous people. It should be noted, however, that some entities were named after the colonizers because it was they who established those places. South Africa is what it is socially, politically and economically because of various reasons and colonisation is part of those reasons. It is an undeniable fact that a country is what it is because of its past and its present.

The South African National Geographical Names Council (SANGNC) has ascribed as one of its primary roles the changing of place names that reflect what it views as effects of colonisation. There are many roles that are ascribed to the SANGNC, for instance the correction of the orthography of some place names that were incorrectly spelt by the colonists. It is said that one of the reasons why the SANGNC has as its mandate the changing of place names that it views as having colonial connotations, is because it wants to undo the injustices done by the colonisers to the indigenous people and also to acknowledge the indigenous names which were overlooked by the colonisers. It should be borne in mind that some of the places today bearing Euro-western names were non-existent prior to the arrival of the white people, as a result there might have been no indigenous names for those places before the white people settled in South Africa.

Though the issue of place name changing has been applauded by various residents of South Africa, it has also been criticised from left to right by some South African residents. While some call it 'a long awaited move' others refer to it as 'reverse apartheid'. Regardless of these criticisms, the SANGNC under the guidance of its chairman, Prof. Langalibalele Mathenjwa[78] is not turning back on its mandate to change some place names or to replace place names that have not been recognised by the previous South African National Party Government.

If place names, as mentioned earlier, are the reflection of a country's past and present, with the changing of some place names the SANGNC should consider its mandate because by changing all Euro-western place names, it might be denying South Africa and its coming generations part of its critical history. Jenkins (1993:24) says:

> A new generation of children in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, have not heard of the city of Salisbury, which used to be the capital of a now-forgotten country, Southern Rhodesia.

Place names have been seen to reflect not just the country where names are found, but also the present political situation of the country, and its past. It is true that during the 1980s in South Africa, one would have been dreaming if one ever came across a street named after the former president Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela. The same applies to our neighbouring country, Zimbabwe, where during the 1970s a person travelling in the country would never have come across Robert Mugabe Road in the center of Harare and also Robert Mugabe Way in Bulawayo. The downfall of colonialism led to the existence of these names.

People in the governments of various countries play a major role in the choice of names found in the country, which in the majority of cases reflect their ideology. Ramatlhodi[79] was quoted as saying:

> What we seek and hope to achieve, is to elevate the status of the African to that of their fellow compatriots. We are thus discharging

[78] No longer the chairman since 2003

[79] The premier of the then Northern Province and now Limpopo Province.

> our obligation under the constitution by freeing the languages that were shackled by colonialism and apartheid... This is nothing less than an act of self-affirmation. By this act, we are also saying to ourselves and to our compatriots, that none is superior and none inferior in this our common motherland.
> (http://www.sabcnews.com/politics/government/0,1009,28353,00.html)

Although Ramatlhodi above says that by changing place names they are sending a message that none is inferior and none is superior, the message that people on the ground are getting seems to be contrary to his assertion. Replacing all Afrikaans names with African names is interpreted as reverse racism by some Afrikaans speakers; see (http://www.sabcnews.com/politics/the_provinces/0,1009,28268,00.html). The reasons for the latter claims by communities where name changing is evident is that they are not consulted with regard to name changing. It seems the government decides on its own to change the names of places regardless of whether the people living in that place want the name changed or not.

> Meanwhile, the province's capital of Pietersburg will be renamed Polokwane. Premier Ngoako Ramatlhodi ...will announce the name change on Thursday[80]. The new name received fewer votes than that of Pietersburg, the ad-hoc committee chairperson, says Polokwane received 600 votes while Pietersburg received nearly 1500. The new name will be ratified by the city council tomorrow.
> (http://www.sabcnews.com/politics/government/0,1009,28176,00.html)

From the above it can be argued that there is an element of superiority and inferiority among different racial groups in the name changing process. Though the present ANC led government in South Africa is leading the country at the moment, its final fate is unknown. It will be no surprise if in future another government (not led by the ANC) was to rule the country, and all the names that are being replaced today were to be discarded. Should the government change in future, isn't the new government going to change place names all over again because they reflect the ANC led government? If that were to be the case, then is our past reflected in the place names, or is it distorted with every new government that leads the country?

[80] 14 February 2002.

It can be argued that the changing of place names seems crucial at this stage in South Africa. It is for this reason that people assigned to this should ensure that they do not propose a blanket name changing policy, but critically look at what place names they want to change and why, and the effect the changing of those names will have on the society as a whole. They should also consult with the residents of various places for names they want to change, because place names also reflect the aspirations of a particular community about the places they live in. In the bid to change place names, generalisations such as that no African in her right frame of mind will want to live in a place named after Verwoerd because of what Verwoerd did to the Africans, are made. Whether such generalisations are true or not remains to be investigated.

It was rare to have place names changed in traditional societies. What was common was that when a new name was given to a place the original remained and was used by those who wanted to use it. For example, when settlers renamed some places in the country, those places were referred to using both the original name and the new name.

4.16 Types of Toponyms

In a toponymical system name type can be divided according to whether the name is for the institution, river, dam, sea, village, town, city, etc. Various entities have one name which consists of a generic term and a specific name, e.g. Johannesburg, Drakensberg, iNtabakayikhonjwa, Sharpville, Cape Town, etc. The specific name refers to Johannes and Pietermaritz[81] for Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg respectively, whereas the generic term refers to general terms used to refer to entities like town, -ville, etc. This has been discussed in Chapter 2 in the sub-heading 2.7.

Not all types of toponyms have a generic term and specific name, some only consist of specific names. For example, Newcastle, Durban, etc. are name of towns that do not have generic markers like Greytown and Parktown. Usually geographic entities have one name. However, it is common to find the same entity being referred to by using various names, e.g. Cape Town is also referred to as *eKapa*/Kaapstad, Johannesburg is also

[81] Pietermaritz is a combination of the first name Pieter and the family name Maritz.

referred to as eGoli or Joburg, Durban is also referred to as *eThekwini, eMdubane, eDurbs*, etc. If various names are used to refer to the same entity, they may consist of one name translated into different languages or one name being shortened. These include *eKapa* (Nguni name) and Kaapstad (Afrikaans name), Johannesburg and the short form Joburg. In some cases two different names are used to refer to the same entity e.g. *eBhayi* (Xhosa name) used together with Port Elizabeth, and Durban used together with *eThekwini* (Zulu name). Unlike *eKapa* and Kaapstad, these names are not at all related to each other. In some instances homonyms are found. Homonyms are names with similar spelling. In this case the same name is used to refer to different types of toponyms e.g. *Mhlambanyatsi* which refers to a town in Mpumalanga that was formally known as Buffelspruit and a river in Mpumalanga formally known as Slabojet. While the name may mean the same thing, in some instances the name might have different connotations. In cases where the same name is used to refer to the same type of toponym e.g. *eMalahleni* municipalities, one in Mpumalanga and one in Eastern Cape[82], confusion arises. This situation may result in a person finding herself in *eMalahleni* in Mpumalanga while she was looking for *eMalahleni* in Eastern Cape. The South African Geographical Names Council is looking at standardising all geographical names where one official name would refer to one entity. The Handbook on geographical names (2002:4) reads: "Each individual feature or entity should have one official name."

4.17 Classification of geographical names

There are various reasons that lead to a place being given a particular name. Geographical names can be classified into various groups according to reasons for giving a particular place a name. For example some places are given names because of their appearance or because of the incidents that took place in that particular place. In this study, geographical names are classified into the following groups:

Description

Names in this category are those names that are chosen because of where the place is situated, the way it looks, for example Table Mountain in Cape Town was given this

[82] http://sagns.dac.gov.za/ApprovedNames2000_2003.htm

name because the mountain looks like a table, see Mathenjwa's (loc.cit) quote on the previous page. Names in this category usually do not say much about the place, they only describe where it is situated or how the place looks. Koopman (2002a:124) says:

> Certainly the most common type of place name is that with an underlying meaning which is a physical description of the place the name refers to. Some of these are immediately obvious, for example, **iNtabankulu** ('big mountain') for a big mountain.

Soweto, a popular township in Gauteng was given the name because it comprises a township in the south western areas. *So-* stands for South, *-we-* stands for western and *-to-* stands for township.

Aspirations

Some places are given names because of the aspirations that the namers have. There are various things that people from different places wish for or desire. These wishes are usually influenced by the namers' history, experiences and dreams. They may include aspirations for better houses, for resources like running water, success, peace, etc. A township in Cape Town was named *Gugulethu* an isiXhosa word meaning 'our pride'. According to an informant the reason why this township was given this name was because people who were moved to *Gugulethu* were from an underdeveloped area and when they moved to *Gugulethu*, they saw the township as their pride because it was better than the place they were coming from.

A township in East Rand (Gauteng) was named *Katlehong*, a seSotho name meaning 'progress'. The reason behind this was that when people were moved from *Dukathole* to *Katlehong* they were hoping for a better place and that is why they called the township *Katlehong*. According to http://www.school.za.krc/introduction.htm:

> In the beginning there were about 100-150 000 people living in Dukathole. In 1949 people who stayed in Dukathole received letters of Native Affairs [sic] informing them that they were to be moved to another location. They were told that a business company called NCP wanted to expand its business operations and thus there was a need for land.

Commemorating

While some places are named because of their physical appearance or their function or purpose in the society, others are named because the namer/s want to commemorate a certain person for her contribution to the society. The contributions that people make to various societies vary from social, religious, economical, cultural or political. It has been evident though that various places in South Africa are named after people who have contributed politically to the South African society. These include names like Ladysmith, Harrismith, Verwoerdburg, Harry Gwala stadium, Nelson Mandela drive, Peter Mokaba stadium, etc.

Features

Various places are named after what is found in the place. This may comprise people, animals, vegetation, etc. Soshanguve is a township in Pretoria. The township was given this name because the name is formed of initial syllables of various groups that stay in the place. *So-* represents baSotho, *-sha-* represents maShangaan, *-ngu-* represents baNguni and *–ve-* represents vhaVenda. A place in Mpumalanga Province in Wildevrede was named *KwaSimuyembiwa* because when people moved to the place, it was full of trees and they had to dig the trees to be able to get space for building their houses. A river in Nelspruit, Mpumalanga Province was named *Mgwenya* river because it had many crocodiles. According to an informant crocodiles were many in such a way that people would step on them thinking that they are stepping on stones. The Swazi word for crocodile is '*ingwenya*', however people named the river *Mgwenya* and not Ngwenya river.

Some places are named after various things that are found in the place, these may include vegetation, animals, groups of people etc. Examples in this category include *eMadadeni,* a township in Newcastle in KwaZulu Natal, according to the respondent, this place was given this name because there were ducks where the bus used to drop them during the 1970s, so people identified the place because of the ducks and they will say: *Sizokwehla lapha ngaseMadadeni* (We will get off near the ducks); *eGoli*, the Zulu name for Johannesburg (also known as *eJoni* in xiTsonga) is another example. The city was given

this name by the Zulu speakers as the place was well known because of gold (*igolide*) that was found there.

Initially, the main reason behind place naming was to uniquely identify a place because of its distinct features, which included what the place looked like, what was found in the place, the function or purpose of the place, etc. Recently, place names have been seen to be the echoes of political domination. Apart from identifying places, or giving some information about certain places, place names nowadays also reflect politically dominant groups in places where they are found. During the previous dispensation in South Africa, although there were 'official' names, e.g. *eMpangeni, eShowe*, etc., these names were not common in the country. However, after the demise of the apartheid system, African names are seen in various entities all over the country.

Incidents or events

A variety of entities in South Africa are named after incidents and/ or events that have happened in a particular place, regardless of whether those incidents were pleasant or not. Places in this category include: *Lindelani* and *Tshamisekani*. Golele (1993:90) says, of *Tshamisekani*:

> During the 1990 upheavals in Gazankulu people who were accused of witchcraft were harassed by the youth, and found themselves finding refuge in the same area. The place was named *Tshamisekani* ([plural] sit still), a warning that their activities would no longer be tolerated.

The former name is the name of a place where illegal immigrants in South Africa are kept when they are awaiting deporting. *Lindela* is a Zulu word, which means 'wait', hence the people wait there to be deported. A place in Mamelodi, Pretoria was named *Khalambazo* because people staying in that place used to fight each other using *imbazo*, a Zulu word for an 'axe'.

4.18 The effect of geographical name changes

Names (especially geographical names) are being targeted to reflect political changes in various African countries. When there is a change in government name changing is

usually evidenced. There are various reasons that prompt people to change names or to replace certain names with others. While it is argued that the reason why the government is changing names is to do away with the past and to look into the future, others argue that the future is always dependent on the past, thus changing names is a futile exercise. While people say that changing names of places that are known to many people is not just confusing but is also expensive and inconveniences many people who are used to the initial name of the place, it is said that those who are against the changing of Euro-western names to African names do not want the places to reflect Africanism. According to *The Natal Witness* of the 22 October 1994:

> State president Nelson Mandela has announced that he has changed the name of his official residence from Libertas to Mahlambandlovu. The name is a Shangaan word meaning 'dawn of a new era'. Referring to difficulty in pronouncing the word, Mandela said, "It is our task to learn one another's language. I can pronounce Apartheid and Gewetens, why can't you learn to pronounce Mahlambandlovu?"(1994:7).

Regardless of all these arguments pertaining to place name changes, many places have seen a change in their names and others are still undergoing the process of name changing. It is likely that those that have not been changed may be changed in the near future. Many African states have been affected by political changes that have led to name changing. It is evident that with the new people in power, names have been changing and as a result, one cannot overlook the fact that as political situations in various countries change, governments also change and also the names of geographical features.

Various motives influence people to choose certain geographical names, rather than others. Unlike when choosing a personal name, where a specific person is assigned to name the child, with the naming of geographical features, in some instances any member of the community may name an entity and that name becomes popular and becomes the name that will be used to refer to that entity. While in some cases community members may have a say in the naming of an entity, in other cases only official people may name the place. According to the *The Natal Witness* of the 9th July:

4.19 Conclusion

In this chapter, anthroponymic and toponymic systems have been discussed. Anthroponyms, i.e. human names, are very important in every society as they not only identify one person from another, but also serve various functions mentioned above. There are various factors that influence the giving of a name to a child. These factors include religion, (for example, a child born within the Muslim religion is likely to get an Islamic name), culture, practices in a society also play a major role in influencing the name given to the child, e.g. where the culture of name-sharing is practised, a child is bound to be given a name of a close friend or close relative, etc. It has been argued that apart from distinctly identifying a person these names also mirror the circumstances prevailing in the community where they are given. Traditionally, among African communities, personal names were given at a particular time and there was a specific occasion that signified the giving of a name. Nowadays however, names are given without adhering to any ceremonies or rituals. Also, in traditional settings names were given either by the father of the child or by the elders of the family, however, nowadays the number of mothers who give names to their children has increased. De Klerk and Bosch (1995:73) concur with the latter when they say: "....but in Xhosa families a greater number of children (both boys and girls) are named by the mother." Personal names, whether given during a ceremony or not, remain exceptionally important not just to the person possessing the name but also to the person who gives the name.

Apart from naming themselves, people have also been naming their surroundings. There is a strong association between anthroponyms and toponyms. Man as a namer cannot be separated from the environment where he finds himself. "Names reflect the society or community in which they are found" [Golele (1993:85)]. To acknowledge or commemorate various people, some people have been naming entities after prominent people, e.g. Peter Mokaba stadium, Glen Pringle, Nelson Mandela, Harrismith, Johannesburg, etc. Apart from bearing personal names (as a result of onomastic shift), toponyms are also derived from various factors, including the physical appearance of the place, the function of the place, incidents that happened in the place, etc. Unlike anthroponyms, which are names of individuals, toponyms are public entities, and as a

result reflect the various linguistic, cultural, and political factors prevailing in societies where they are found. Toponyms are very important to people as they reflect various attitudes towards the places.

Names, whether anthroponyms or toponyms are vital in every community. Though the primary functions of the names are to uniquely identify one entity, toponyms also play a major role in fostering unity and segregation among people of a place where names are found. For example, a place may be named Masakhane (lets build each other) to foster unity among members of the community, on the other hand, the change of the name Pretoria to Tshwane may cause divisions among members of the community. Anthroponyms play a major role in both linking the person with her soul and also linking the living with the dead. Both anthroponyms and toponyms in some instances can serve as echoes of censure among various people in a given society.

CHAPTER 5

ONOMASTIC RE-EMERGENCE AND NAME CHANGING IN SOUTH AFRICA

5.1 Introduction

This Chapter looks at the changing naming patterns witnessed in South Africa and the influence for the change. There are various factors that influence naming of both people and places. As Shabalala (1999:106) puts it: "Every community has its own social dynamics, caused by various factors including political, social, economic and legal factors." This Chapter compares and contrasts naming patterns that have been witnessed during the colonial and apartheid periods and after the demise of apartheid in South Africa. It also looks at reasons for the change in naming patterns. 'Naming patterns' in this study, refer to a regularly repeated practice of naming. The aim of this Chapter is not to look at the meaning of names that were given to entities and people during these two periods, but to look at which names are more prevalent today and to look at the reasons why. The names discussed in this Chapter were randomly collected from various places in South Africa (see Appendix 1: map of S.A). These names include names collected from school records, government gazettes, hospital records and questionnaires that were used to collect primary data. This Chapter focuses on the influence that political and social factors have on the naming patterns in South Africa, and will also highlight the naming patterns that have been witnessed in other African countries that have gained independence.

5.2 The influence of political events on name changing in Africa

In most African countries, various social changes were witnessed when colonialism was eradicated. Although it was hoped that the attainment of independence in various states would bring about positive changes to the Africans, this hope was not realised in all African countries. Various independent African states were left in the hands of Africans who sometimes found it difficult to deliver what they had promised to the majority of the people and who in some instances looted from their own countries and were forced to

step down from being leaders. "Mobutu Sese Seko from Zaire was overthrown in May 1997, ending one of the world's most corrupt and megalomaniacal regimes."[83] While some leaders did all they could to bring positive changes to their countries, others were mostly interested in their own material gain rather than that of the nation. Though in some states people failed to notice the changes that were brought about by the newly independent government, one change that is evident in almost all African states that gained independence is name changing. In trying to eradicate some of the injustices (human rights violations, oppression, discrimination, etc) introduced and perpetuated by colonialism, many people in African countries saw it not just necessary but imperative to change not just their names but also names of their countries and various institutions to symbolise their newly acclaimed independence. For instance, the former Tanganyika and Zanzibar[84] were merged to form one country that was given a new name, Tanzania. The former Gold Coast that was the first African country to gain independence was named Ghana. According to http://www.nicca.on.ca/ghana/history.aspx

> ...the name 'Ghana' was the title of the Soninke kingdom called Aoukar. The title means, "War chief". It was visiting Arabs and people from other parts of the Sudan who referred to the kingdom by the title of its kings; and by the ninth Century, Aoukar was popularly known as "Ghana". It is not certain how and when Ghana was founded.

The first African President of the former Belgian Congo, Joseph Kasavubu, changed the colonial name Belgian Congo to Republic of Congo. Kasavubu's successor Joseph-Desire Mobutu, did not only take presidency of the latter country by ousting Kasavubu in 1970[85] but also changed the country's various place names and the country's name to Zaire. Although Mobutu's initial aim in changing the country's name (Republic of Congo) was to Africanise the country's name, he ironically did the opposite. According to a Congolese source, the name Zaire was as a result of the misrendering by white people of the river name 'Nzadi'. The name Nzadi, was the name of the river which led people to the people called BaCongo (one of the main clans of the DRC). According to an informant, during the arrival of missionaries, discoverers, traders, etc., when white

[83] http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0198161.html
[84] See Appendix 1 for the location of some of these African countries.
[85] http://www.atlapedia.com/online/countries/DemRepCongo.htm

people crossed the Atlantic ocean and came to the Nzadi river, the first people that were met by the white people were the Congolese and that is why the place was named Congo, i.e. it was named after people who live in the place. These were the people that a certain white man met and asked what the name of the river was and they told him that it was Nzadi. According to a Congolese source, the white man misspelled the name and informed his counterparts where he was coming from, that he came across a river named Zaire and the river was no longer called Nzadi but Zaire. Mobutu Sese Seko, when he assumed the presidency of the Republic of Congo, changed the name 'Republic of Congo' to 'Zaire', the incorrect name of the river.

Shortly after he was elected the President, Mobutu introduced an Africanisation programme. Russel (1999:14) says:

> Mobutu introduced *authenticité* his far-reaching African programme. Officially the aim was to purge the colonial past by Zairenizing the state. In good revolutionary style *Monsieur* and *Madame* gave way to Citoyen and Citoyenne, the necktie to the loose African shirt, and the river Congo like the country was renamed Zaire. In practice it became clear to all but the most star-struck or self-interested Mobutuists that *authenticité* like everything Mobutu did was about making money and entrenching his position and cult.

In his Africanization programme, Mobutu declared that all personal names be Africanised. Young and Turner (1985:68) say:

> One symbolic accoutrement of the authenticity campaign, the 1972 elimination of Christian forenames, was treated by the Catholic Church as a particular affront. Mobutu's renunciation of "Joseph Desiré" was provoked by offensive articles in the Belgian Catholic daily *Libre Belgique*, which belittled the change of place-names and compared Mobutu to Caligula. The church hierarchy in Zaire expressed short-lived opposition to the name changes, but soon gave way before the regime's insistence that all were required to take on authentic names.

Mobutu also Africanised his name to set an example. He was no longer Joseph Desire Mobutu but was Mobutu Sese Seko Koko Ngbendu Wa za banga[86].

[86] Often referred to as Mobutu (land) Sese Seko (forever).

After Mobutu's long term in office, Laurent Kabila took over in 1997 and renamed the country the Democratic Republic of Congo. In this instance naming can be viewed as an act of power, i.e. both leaders Mobutu Sese Seko and Laurent Kabila changed names to ensure that their presence and power was felt. After much criticism and instability in the country, Laurent Kabila was allegedly assassinated by his bodyguard. After Laurent Kabila's death, his son Joseph Kabila, 'a 29 year old army officer', took over the presidency of the country in January 2001. Unlike his predecessors, Joseph Kabila has not yet changed the name of the country, perhaps due to important political issues that he had to address when he assumed presidency. The *Pretoria News* of the 18th December 2002 reads:

> After taking office with the aim of wanting "to work for peace", Kabila has been tireless in his travel and diplomatic efforts to relaunch a peace accord signed in Lusaka in 1999,....

Coming closer to home, our neighbouring countries in the demise of colonialism also changed their former names. Lourenço Marques was named Maputo when the Mozambiquans gained independence in 1975 from the Portuguese who had colonised the country. Samora Machel was elected the first democratic president. In 1980, when Zimbabwe gained independence, Rhodesia (named after Cecil John Rhodes, who ironically never lived in the country, as he spent most of his life in South Africa) was changed and the newly independent state was from then known as Zimbabwe (Houses of stones). President Robert Mugabe was elected first democratic president of Zimbabwe and after 22 years in office is still the President of Zimbabwe. After gaining its independence, the Zimbabwean government ensured that all the colonial names were removed from public places. The evidence of this is the street names in Zimbabwe that were renamed after various African leaders including Nkwame Nkrumah, Nelson Mandela, Joshua Nkomo, Samora Machel, among others. In Maputo today, streets named after some African leaders are also seen. These include Kenneth Kaunda Street, Mao Tse Tung Street, Julius Nyerere Street, Albert Luthuli Street, among others There are numerous African countries which had their colonial names discarded on their attainment of independence.

With the demise of apartheid in South Africa, as happened in the abovementioned countries, various social changes have been and are still being witnessed. South Africa has not been affected by much economic hardship as has been witnessed in countries like the DRC, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Unlike in many African countries, where the first democratically elected presidents insisted on holding office for a lifetime, President Nelson Mandela was one of the very few African leaders who only took one term of office and stepped down willingly. Socially, there have been various changes in South Africa, and one of those which is the main focus of this Chapter, has been the adoption of African personal and geographical names, and in some instances, adoption of parents' names as second names, especially adoption of fathers' names by men.

It has been witnessed that when political, social and economic factors change in various places, they impact on people's behaviour and way of life. The changing political and social factors in South Africa have had an impact on the way people view their surroundings and on their aspirations. This has led to the change in naming patterns and in some instances the adoption of African names. The recent name changing patterns in South Africa cannot be separated from the change in political and social factors in the country. Meiring (1994:65) says that because names reflect how people think and how they reflect the world around them, they will ultimately be targets for change. Neethling (2000:212-213) says:

> The change of political scene since 1994 (and to some extent a few years before that already) also saw a predictable change in the nature and prominence of onomastic data. All non-African language communities in South Africa had up till that time by and large been 'shielded' from big scale exposure to names with an African language origin because of the socio-political systems.

It is argued in this study that before the demise of apartheid non-African language communities in South Africa were not only shielded from big scale exposure to African names, but shielded themselves and in most cases ignored the existence of African names and African languages. African languages were seen as not important and the focus was on English and Afrikaans as they were the only official languages. The National Language Policy Framework (2003:8) reads:

> Since the first occupation of South Africa by the Dutch in 1652, through successive periods of British rule, the Union of South Africa, and subsequent the establishment of the Republic of South Africa and the apartheid regime, government language policy and the power elite failed to recognize South Africa's linguistic diversity. This situation was reversed only with the advent of democracy in 1994 and the constitutional provisions on official multilingualism.

With the demise of apartheid, African names emerged in various discourses. It should be borne in mind that unlike in the DRC, where during the reign of Mobutu Sese Seko people were compelled to Africanise their names, (as people who baptised children with any name not African faced charges), in South Africa people are not forced by the government to use African names as their personal names. The trend recently, however, has been the use of African names. There is no law or rule in South Africa that prohibits a person/ parent from giving a Euro-western name to her child. However, changing naming patterns and adoption of African names have been witnessed. There are various reasons that are attributed to the Africanisation of personal and geographical names in South Africa.

5.3 Name changing in South Africa after 1994

As mentioned in the previous Chapters, names, whether of people or places, are significant and profound. It is for this reason that a namer feels proud of the identity that she creates when she names an object or a person. By denying a name given to her, a child is not just denying the name but disgracing the person who gave the name. While personal name changing is a private issue which does not require people to justify to the nation why they changed their names, place name changing is a public issue that affects various people living in places that have been earmarked for name changing. It is for this reason that by removing the Euro-western names from public places in South Africa, the ANC government is viewed as sending a message to the former government and people who supported it that South Africa is now the ANC's territory and it does not want whatever identity that was created by the former government when naming places. As mentioned earlier, naming is an act of power. The government with the power vested in

it, has the authority to devise policies or procedures that could be followed when changing names when it has decided on changing geographical names. While the issue of what names should be changed is debatable, the act of changing names is not debatable.

Change is a painful, interesting and emotional event. Change evokes feelings of insecurity, fear of the unknown and with names it evokes fears of losing the identity that has already been created. The names of various places are not just mere labels that people use to identify places. Though some people might not be aware of the lexical or dictionary meaning of the place, they usually have emotional attachments to various places. It is for this reason that name changing evokes conflict among various people. Various name changes in South Africa have been proposed. After proposing the name changes of Adderley and Wale streets in Cape Town (see Appendix 9), in June 2001, Peter Marais[87] did not only have his proposal turned down but also lost his position as Mayor (Democratic Alliance chosen) of the Western Cape. Not only did he propose that the latter streets be named after the former presidents (Nelson Mandela and F.W. De Klerk), but he also proposed that some places be named after him, trying to ensure that his name lived on. *The Natal Witness* of June 27, 2001 reads:

> Cape Town Mayor Peter Marais' proposal to rename city streets is a crazy and a Communist plot, according to some of the public submissions on the issue. ...
> Members were kept entertained by some of the alternative suggestions, among them that a street be renamed after Evita Bezuidenhout, that Devil's Peak be renamed after President Thabo Mbeki, and that Cape Town's mental hospital Valkenberg be changed to Peter Maraisberg[88]. ...The *Mail & Guardian* reported earlier this month that these petitions were evidence of a fraudulent attempt to sway opinion in Marais' favour. (2001:3)

The University of Natal in 2002 was also caught up in the naming battle. According to the University of Natal's web site[89]: "The single most emotive issue among staff and students at the University of Natal is the name of the new institution." The merger of the University of Natal and the University of Durban-Westville resulting in the discarding of

[87] Cape Town Mayor, 2001.
[88] If one reads various newspaper reports, and follows Marais' various interviews, one notices the irony in the proposal to have a mental hospital named after himself.
[89] http://www.nu.ac.za/department/extra1.asp?id=4&dept=mergerund&PageTitle=Fina...

these institutions' names[90], compelled the University of Natal to reschedule its graduation ceremonies. The graduation ceremonies, which were supposed to take place in April 2004 were rescheduled to take place in December 2003 to enable various graduates who completed their degrees and diplomas in 2003 to have certificates with the 'University of Natal' name. It is certain that the rescheduling of graduation ceremonies would not have happened if the University of Natal's name change was not on the cards.

Name changing in South Africa is characterised by among other issues the racial distinctions that have been prevailing in the country for decades. It should be borne in mind that when the white people were governing the country, the dominant names were those derived from Euro-western languages; however with the demise of the apartheid system, African names are now replacing some of the Euro-western names. Nowadays, with the African government in place, name changing is viewed as blacks against whites rather than as an attempt to eradicate the injustices of the apartheid system and building a new rainbow nation. It is viewed as having little to do with painting the country in a manner that will be reflective of cultural diversity in the country that will create harmony among the diverse South African population. It is argued that some names are changed not because they have negative connotations or evoke negative feelings but because they are Euro-western. The Pretoria News (2003:11) reads:

> They [regional government and NGOs] want to eradicate everything that has any connotation with whites in the country. It reminds me of all the name changes that were so prevalent in Mozambique under the communist regime and East Germany after WW2 where everything was renamed after communist "heroes". To carry on with these name changes in this manner is a sure recipe for alienating all white people and will eventually lead to more polarization.

Regardless of various views on recent name changing in South Africa, names have been changed and continue to be changed.

[90] The new University's new name will be effective on the 1st January 2004.

5.4 Linguistic influences on naming

5.4.1 The use of the prefix ama-

According to Section 6 of the Constitution Act No.108 of 1996 there are eleven official languages in South Africa. These are isiNdebele, isiZulu, isiXhosa, siSwati, Sesotho, Sepedi, Setswana, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, English and Afrikaans. During the apartheid period, South Africa had only two official languages, i.e. English and Afrikaans. With the demise of apartheid and the reviewing of the South African Constitution, the language policy was reviewed and the result was the incorporation of nine African languages that were marginalized by the previous governments. As a result of some African languages being accorded official status, various social changes were witnessed in South Africa. These have encouraged interaction among various communities and also encouraged the re-emergence of African languages that were shielded in the old South African society. Onomastic creativity has been experienced in South Africa where new names incorporating African languages and the former official languages have been coined. As Neethling (2000:219) puts it: "Where different communities interact, it stands to reason that influence of some sort would take place, also at the level of naming." It is arguably true that linguistic creativity or innovation prevails in every community, especially because communities are not static; they often transform as cultural factors are exposed to new innovations.

The remarkable onomastic innovation that is witnessed in South Africa currently has been the Africanisation of English and Afrikaans names by prefixing the Nguni noun prefix of class 6 *ama-* and adopting the name into the Zulu phonology and duplicating its stem. Neethling (ibid) says:

> The Springboks endeared themselves to the South African rugby supporters by winning the World Cup in 1995. The competition was hosted by South Africa, and after the momentous victory when South Africa beat New Zealand in the final, the large African population of the country was caught up in the euphoria and 'Africanised' the name of the side to **amaBokoboko**.

Various other 'Africanised' names in various sporting codes in South Africa emerged, including those sporting codes that were previously dominated by white people. These

include *amaBokoboko* and *amaGlug-glug*, the South African rugby team and the South African under 23-soccer team respectively, (See Neethling (2000) for more examples). The practice of giving names with the prefix *ama-* to sporting codes has been common in South Africa. However it has been more common to African language speakers and mostly to the soccer sporting code and has been limited only to African languages. As a result we had *amaBhakabhaka, amaKhosi*, for Orlando Pirates and Kaiser Chiefs soccer teams respectively.

Although these names with the prefix *ama-* were given by Africans to sporting teams that were previously dominated by white people, especially when they were performing well, these names were also coined when the sportsmen were disappointing their followers. For example, when the South African cricket side was not performing according to the followers' expectations, *amaDaggadagga* was a new name coined for them, (see Appendix 14). It is also alleged that the name was given after certain team members (notably Herschelle Gibbs) confessed to smoking dagga. This name implied that they were taking dagga and this was the reason why they did not perform well. The onomastic creativity, however, has not only been limited to the sporting code. Wimpy, a famous food franchise in South Africa that specialises in burgers and chips among other delicacies, in promoting its burgers, coined a new name for their burgers and called them *amaBurgerburger* (see Appendix 11). These linguistic changes are symptomatic of the crucial cultural changes that have occurred during the nineties and that have been powerfully registered in language.

These interesting linguistic forms that have emerged in the broader South African community have existed among Nguni speakers for a long time, but were not exposed to the broader community because of the apartheid policies of marginalising African languages. In the eighties, *amafusegi* (Africanised version of voetsek[91]) became famous shoes among the African community, and it was almost every scholar's dream to possess a pair including myself. Regardless of the negative connotation of the name, *amafusegi*

[91] The word voetsek, according to Neethling (2000:211) is derived from the Afrikaans word 'voe(r)tsek'. This word of abuse initially was intended for telling a dog to go or reprimanding dogs. However, this word is sometimes used by people towards each other to express feelings of anger, annoyance, etc.

were very popular, at least in the community where I grew up (Madadeni, in KwaZulu-Natal). However when enquiring from a friend who grew up in the old Transkei, now Eastern Cape, she said in her community, *amafusegi* were not sought after, and she never wanted a pair because people used to laugh at those who were wearing them. These boot-like tackies could be worn at school because they were black, though some teachers were not keen on scholars wearing them, and as a result some scholars were reprimanded and told never to wear them at school. Neethling (op. cit:211) says: "In an Afrikaans newspaper article on Josiah Thugwane[92], our Olympic marathon gold medallist, mention is made of **amavoetseks** (cheap black tackies [running shoes])." As fashions come and go, *amafusegi* moved out of the way as the name suggested and gave way to *amathusenti*. *Amathusenti* were flat normal shoes that came in various colours and could not be worn at schools except if one had a black pair. The reason why these shoes were referred to as *amathusenti* was because they were designed with a round metal disk on top which was the size of an old two-cent coin.

5.5 The use of the possessive prefix ka-

There is a growing trend especially among African males that has been noticed during the dawn of the new era. This trend, however, is mainly common in the print media and perpetuated among other establishments. The trend is that of using the Nguni possessive prefix *ka-* to the surname. Examples include Sechaba Ka'Nkosi, Noah Sizwe kaMchunu (2001, PRO of Safa Natal Midlands), Sello Maake KaNcube (former soap actor), Themba kaMathe (*City Press* reporter), Mngaliso Mnyele kaMiya (*City Press* reader), Moto kaDolophi (*Sunday Sun* reader), among others. In the innovation of new naming patterns, the Nguni possessive prefix *ka-* has been used, and overused. The possessive prefix is used to refer to the possessor usually if the possessor is a person in singular form, e.g. *Imoto kaMthokozisi* (Mthokozisi's car). Doke (1986:119) says:

> Nouns of the singular of Class 1a take a different form of possessive concord when forming possessives. The possessive concord in this case is composed of the formative *–ka*... Prefixed to proper names, *ka-* indicates "the son of" thus *uNtengo kaJojo* is

[92] There seems to be confusion among non-mother tongue speakers of some African languages, where the sound of 'k' and 'g' are not easily distinguished. The correct spelling of this name is Thukwane. See http//www.anc.org.za/anc/newsbrief/1996/news0810.

> "Tengo, son of Jojo"; *kaJojo* is here evidently contracted from *indodana kaJojo* or *umntwana kaJojo*.

As mentioned in Chapter four, initially Africans did not have surnames. To distinguish sons who had the same names in a given community, elders used to address them as son of so and so. For example, *Themba* the son of *Mfanakayise* will be referred to as *Themba kaMfanakayise*. Though this form of address is no longer prevalent or formal[93] in South Africa, it still is in some African countries like Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). I was informed by a source from the latter country that in his community, they do not use surnames. He adopted a surname when he came to South Africa. His children also assumed their grandfather's name as their surname. The sons, instead of using their father's names as a form of address, adopted their grandfather's name and thereby caused an end to a long-standing culture in their family. However, the practice of using the father's name to address sons is still common in the DRC.

In an attempt to revive the old naming patterns and to reclaim their African identity, some South African men adopted the traditional form of address in an incorrect form, where they prefix the possessive prefix *ka-* to their clan-names (surnames) instead of their father's names. It is conceivable that most of them do not know how their surnames originated, and in almost all cases their surnames are not their father's names. Thus by saying *Themba kaKubheka*, a person is not using a traditional form of address but confusing his identity, because he is not a son of *Kubheka* as the surname might have been derived from other means than a person's name. Even if it was derived from a person's name like *Zulu* for instance, *Zulu* might not have been the father but the great-grandfather of that particular person.

As mentioned in Chapter four, some surnames possessed by Africans nowadays have been derived from Euro-western languages. These surnames are a result of cultural integration among Africans and Europeans but some of them are a result of devaluing African names, where Africans were given Afrikaans names and surnames and encouraged to assume new identities (see Appendix 12). Although the prefix *ka-* is purely

[93] Because of the acquisition of surnames among Africans in South Africa.

a Nguni prefix, it is now used in conjunction with other names originating from European languages. *Thami kaPlaatjie* (currently the secretary-general of the Pan-African Congress) is one interesting example, mainly because of his African ideals. *Plaatjie* is an Afrikaans diminutive of the word 'plaat'. It is likely that Plaatjie is not *Thami's* father's name.

When people start realising that they are overusing the possessive prefix *ka-*, it is possible that traditional forms of address among South African men might resurface. It is unknown whether these will be formally incorporated in the official register of names in South Africa. I am yet to come across a person having a name with the possessive prefix *ka-* in their identity document. The orthography of the surnames with *ka-* is not standardised. For example while some write it with the capital letter '*ka*', others write it with a small letter '*ka*'. In some instances the possessive prefix is separated from the possessor. Unlike in xiTsonga orthography where the possessive marker is not combined with the word, e.g. *Mova wa mina* (my car), in Zulu the possessive marker and the possessive noun/pronoun are written conjunctively, e.g. *Imoto yami,* thus son of Muziwakhe will be *kaMuziwakhe* and not *ka Muziwakhe.*

To avoid the inconsistencies of the possessive prefix *ka-*, some journalists are using the Zulu possessive prefix of class 1 and class 3, *wa-* (of), e.g. Mzilikazi waAfrika (*Sunday Times* reporter), Edward waMaahlamela, Gabanapuo wa Selomo (City Press reporter), Moyahabo waMabeba (Sowetan Sunday World reporter) or *waka-* (of) e.g. Wisani wa ka Ngobeni. The latter form, *wa ka* is also used in xiTsonga language and in some Nguni languages (*waka* or *wakwa*), meaning of such a family or surname. For example, in Zulu language when a person is asked "*ungowakwabani*? (What is your surname?)", the answer will be *ngingowakwaSikotoyi* (my surname is Sikotoyi).

5.6 Double-barrelled surnames

In this dissertation double-barrelled surname means a surname that comprises more than one surname. This surname is usually made up of the women's maiden surname and that

of her husband. In most cases the woman's maiden surname appears before her husband's.

Various social and cultural changes in various communities bring about changes in the languages used by those communities thereby causing endless debates on various cultural aspects (including language) among various scholars. Though some scholars argue that double-barrelled surnames are originally an African form of address, it is argued in this study these surnames are traditionally not African, however, as identities change, Africans have accepted this phenomenon.

In traditional societies, married women were addressed by their father's names by prefixing *N'wa-* for Tsonga and *Ma* for Sotho and Zulu, to the father's names. Grout (1970:193) says:

> The native has no *family*, or *surname*; though he is sometimes designated as the son of so-and-so. A man also not unfrequently designates his wife, that is, one of his wives, as the daughter of so-and-so, a practice which had its origin, doubtless, in polygamy; since the term *my wife*, or Mrs. so-and-so, would often be ambiguous where a man has half a dozen wives.

It is argued in this study that women traditionally were addressed by their father's names because that was their identity. They did not have to assume new identities when they got married. It was for this reason that in some instances, when a married African woman was unable to have children, that her sister was asked to bear children for her, mainly because the child had to come from the married woman's family. When a newly married woman was about to give birth to her first child, she was sent to her parents' home for them to look after her. It is thus argued in this study that this practice of addressing women as daughter of so-and-so did not originate from polygamous societies, it originated in the social life and philosophy of the African people. In other words, women were addressed by their fathers' names not because a man had half a dozen wives whom he could not address by his surname, but because that was who they were, i.e. daughters of their fathers, regardless of the fact that they were married. It should also be borne in mind that in African culture a wife was not addressed as 'mine or my' as might have been

the case in Grout's culture. In African culture, a wife belonged to the whole family. It was for this reason among many that she was told to go and build a homestead for her in-laws, not her husband's home or her own homestead. She was 'our' wife and not 'my' wife.

Nowadays the prefixes (*Ma, N'wa* and *Ma*) are prefixed to a women's surname which is usually her father's surname, for example, we find *MaZulu, N'wa Baloyi* and *MaMofokeng* for Zulu, Tsonga and Sotho respectively. In traditional societies, when marrying, women did not have to assume new identities. According to a source from DRC, this is still a practice in the DRC. With the advent of colonialism in South Africa, for various reasons women had to adopt their husband's surnames. By formally adopting their husbands' surnames, they were easily identifiable as wives of so-and-so which made things easier for the colonial Bantu administrators. However, they were and still are addressed by their father's surnames usually when addressed by elders and in-laws. They are referred to as *MaZulu*, etc.

Double-barrelled surnames are most prevalent among prominent women in the South African government. These include *Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, Manto Shabalala-Msimang, Sanki Mthembu-Mahanyele,* to mention a few. These names, however, are also dominant among women who are not politicians. These include *Khanyi Dlomo-Mkhize.* Like the Nguni possessive prefix *ka-*, double-barrel surnames are also used in conjunction with surnames derived from English or Afrikaans bringing new linguistic forms to the fore, e.g. *Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, Felicia Mabuza-Suttle.* Women adopting this linguistic form are reclaiming their roots by addressing themselves using their father's identities. By adopting their husband's names, however, they are not just changing the identities they want to maintain, but causing confusion about African forms of address.

In a country like South Africa, where various social changes have taken place, it is not easy to identify all African cultural practices because these have been fused with Euro-western cultural practices. Although changes can be adopted in various forms of address

among South Africans, it bears noting that some of these changes may never be formalised. Although people are now using various traditional forms of address, some of these forms of address were lost in the advent of colonialism and reviving and formalising them (to have the status they once had) is going to be very challenging and costly for Africans. Changing the Western forms of address that we are now familiar with to the old traditional forms of address, is not just going to be costly, but will be confusing, time consuming and emotionally trying.

5.7 Changing naming patterns in South Africa

5.7.1 Personal names

Change in personal naming patterns in South Africa among Africans was evidenced as early as the 1970s, if not even earlier, but with the demise of the apartheid system, there has been a rapid change in these naming patterns of Africans in South Africa. Ngubane (2000:137) says: "Many people, especially name givers, **have** decolonised their minds and now insist on indigenous names when they name their children." It should be pointed out that indigenous people have always been using African names. Clearly, Ngubane associates the changes in personal naming systems among Africans with the 'decolonisation' of the mind. This is contested in this study. For Africans to decolonise their minds, they need more than a mere change in naming practices from Euro-western names to African names. The colonisation period was a long and painful period for South Africans. Many aspects of African culture were lost forever during this period. While some can be revived, albeit with hard work from Africans themselves, other aspects of African culture are lost and will not be revived again. It is for this reason that in this study a mere change of a name on its own is not regarded as being true to the African identity. People need more than a name change to be Africans. This study thus concurs with Nghulele, writing for the *Sowetan* of 9th July 2001 when s/he says:

> There is more to being an African than bearing an African name. There are some people who look down upon blacks who enjoy masonja (mopane worms) but have the audacity to portray themselves as better 'Africans' by renaming themselves. One needs more than just an African name to qualify. (2001:4)

Though this study concurs with Nghulele, it should be pointed out that being African should not only be defined by what people eat. There is more to being an African than bearing an African name and eating African food. Apart from this, being an African involves among other things, African moral ethics e.g. *ubuntu* and respect; it also involves practising various African cultures in their pure form, e.g. stages followed when a child is born, when people get married, when there is death in the family, etc. As a result, a person of Chinese descent with an African name, who eats African food, but lives in China and practises Chinese culture cannot be identified as an African, though these attributes (African name and African food) to some extent do characterise Africans.

5.7.2 Data analysis: personal names

Data was collected, as mentioned earlier, among South Africans to evaluate the extent of personal name change and the reasons behind the change. For comparative purposes, personal names were collected from school records for pupils born before 1994. These records ranged from people born between 1975 and 1987. Most names of pupils born before 1994 that were collected were names of Grade 12 pupils, because the date of birth of most of these pupils dates back to the 1970s. More data was collected from the questionnaires because most people who were able to complete questionnaires ranged from people born in the 1920s to people born in the early eighties, and very few respondents were people born during the early nineties. Personal names were also collected from various clinics and hospitals for children born in the late 1990s and early 2000, to evaluate the change, if any, in the naming patterns in South Africa.

One thousand six hundred and thirty seven (1637) names of people born before 1994 were collected. Of these names four hundred and twelve (412) names were eliminated because in the school's register there was only one name of the pupil, as a result it was difficult to see if the pupils had other names except the ones that were on the school's attendance register. The reasons for this are mainly because of the way in which the class register is structured. For example, a class register from the Lebowa Government Service, Department of Education [1996, Standard 4 (Grade 6)] had a space for the surname and

the space for a Christian name[94], while the class register for the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, the Department of Education and Culture [2000, Standard 7 (Grade 9)] had one space for the surname and one for the name which made it practically impossible to write three names (if the learner had three names), as the space was only enough for the surname and one other name. This resulted in only one thousand two hundred and twenty five (1225) names being analysed. These were collected from a preliminary schedule of Senior Certificate entries. These entries had the pupil's full names and identity numbers or dates of birth in cases where identity numbers were not applicable.

Of the one thousand two hundred and twenty five names that were left, 75% (920) consisted of people who had a Euro-western and an African name, while 18% (220) consisted of people who had African name/s only and 7% (85) were people who had Euro-western names only.

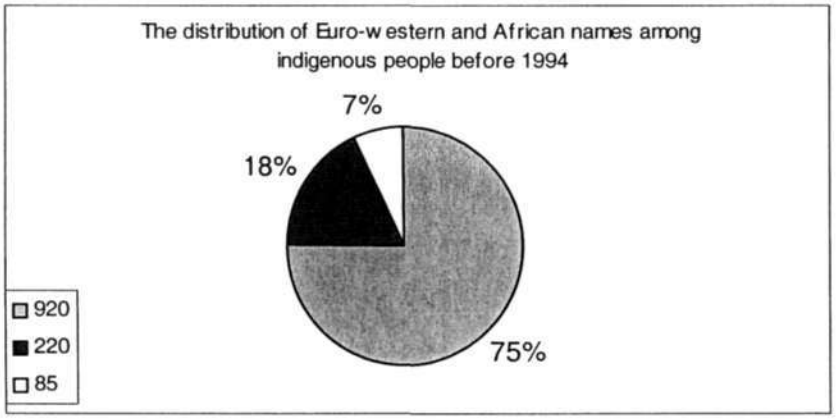

Figure1: *This chart shows the percentages of indigenous people who had Euro-western and African names (75%), Euro-western names only (7%) and African names only (18%) before 1994*

It is clear from these figures that many people born before the democratic South Africa had a Euro-western and an African name. It should also be noted – with a question- that some people born as early as the nineteen fifties (data from the questionnaires) had only an African name. This is evidence that some people were using African names long

[94] This compels the teachers to enter Euro-western names because they are the only names regarded as Christian names.

before South Africa gained its freedom, which also shows that not every person was compelled to use a Euro-western name. Mathangwane and Gardner (1998:78) say:

> According to many respondents, the use of English names in their families started in the 1930s and 1940s. When their grandfathers came back from the war, the tendency was to give their children English names. We can only assume that these must be names of people they met at war, made friends with or simply liked their names when they heard them at war e.g. Hitler and Mussolini are two of the "English" names which are said to have been introduced after the wars.

Although Mathangwane and Gardner conducted their study in Botswana, their findings can also be related to what was happening in South Africa. There were people who gave their children Euro-western names because they liked the way they sounded or liked the person who was the initial bearer of the name. For example, my mother named me Aldromeda because she had a classmate who had this name. She had never heard of this name before and to her it was an unusual name. Though she did not know what it meant, she gave me the name because she did not want me to have names that were common at the time like Prudence, Patience, Sarah, etc. As my mother predicted, in the few decades that I have lived, I have never come across a person with the name Aldromeda. It should be noted that although some people were given Euro-western names that their parents adored, others were given Euro-western names by people outside their families, who imposed the names on them.

One thousand four hundred and twenty eight (1428) names of children born after 1994 were collected from Limpopo, KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and Eastern Cape Provinces. These names were collected from various hospital records, schools' grade R records and from the questionnaires as respondents who have children had to provide the names and dates of birth of their children. Names that were collected from some school records are excluded in this number for the reasons mentioned above. Of the one thousand four hundred and twenty eight names, one thousand one hundred and seventy six children (82%) had African names only. On the other hand two hundred and fifty two children (18%) had Euro-western names and/or African names. Very few children born after 1994 had a Euro-western name/s only. These statistics show that some parents are still giving

their children Euro-western names. It bears noting in these statistics that the majority of parents have adopted a practice where they give their children only one African name instead of giving more than one African name. This may be because children now are not compelled to have a home name and a school name. They can use one given name at school and at home.

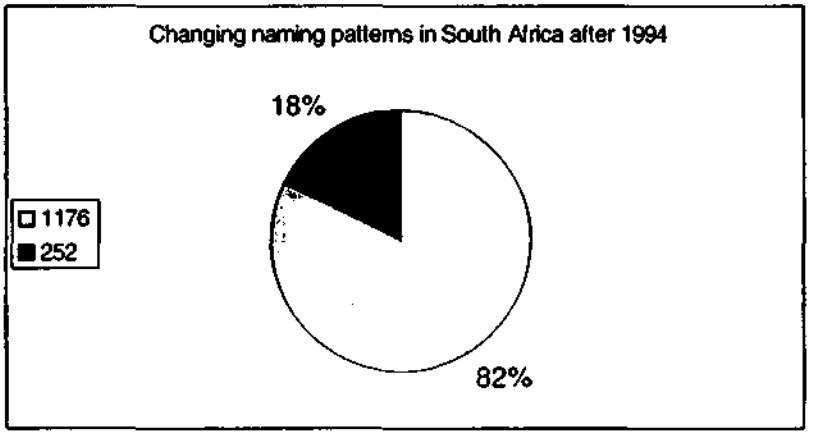

Figure 2: *The above chart shows the distribution of African names (82%) and Euro-western names (18%) among indigenous people after 1994.*

When looking at the statistics of the data of people born before 1994, and those born after 1994, it can be noticed that there is a dramatic decrease in Euro-western names given to Africans in South Africa. The sample reflects that 82% of the Africans born before 1994 in South Africa had a Euro-western name, while 18% had African names only. It is pointed out that these percentages only reflect the data collected. In the findings of this study, after the demise of apartheid, the percentages switched, i.e. 82% of people born after 1994 do not have Euro-western names, while 18% have Euro-western names. The data analysed above of children born before and after 1994 was used to see if Euro-western names are still favoured by Africans. Data containing reasons for the changing naming patterns was collected from questionnaires. The main purpose of the questionnaires was to elicit the reasons why there has been a change in the naming patterns among South Africans. It is for this reason that although the data was available, questionnaires were not used to see who had Euro-western names, but to solicit people's attitudes towards Euro-western names. Of the 508 questionnaires that were completed, 296 respondents were against Euro-western names, while 136 respondents were happy

with their Euro-western names. These statistics signify the changing naming patterns in South Africa. Of the 508 questionnaires, 76 respondents either did not have Euro-western names and/or did not want to comment on whether they would discard their Euro-western names or not. Various reasons were given for the reasons for discarding or not discarding Euro-western names. These are discussed below.

5.8 Reasons for not discarding Euro-western names

5.8.1 The cost of changing a name

The majority of respondents in this category did not want to discard their Euro-western names because of the costs that are linked with changing a name. Apart from financial costs, emotional instability may also surface. Various respondents argue that changing a name that they are used to and have been addressed by for a number of years, would cause confusion to people who know them by the old name. Responding to why she did not want to change her name, a respondent said: "...Because I am used to this name and most of my documents have this name". In similar vein another respondent[95] said: "It will mean that I have to change all my documents. This might cause difficulties". Another respondent citing reasons for not discarding her Euro-western name said: "I'll complicate things and waste my time."

As a result of the reasons cited above, some people have resorted to insisting that they be addressed by their African names instead of their Euro-western names. Although in such cases Euro-western names are not used, they are still in the people's official documents.

5.8.2 Meaning

The reason why some Africans cherish Euro-western names is because to them, these names have various associative meanings. Although the lexical meaning of the name might not be known by the name giver and/or the name bearer, associative meaning plays a vital role in fostering a relationship between a child and the name given to her. Citing

[95]It was mentioned in Chapter One that respondents were promised that their identities would be protected. In quoting the respondents' responses, in cases where a name is necessary, a surname or names other than the one necessary, will not be used.

reasons for honouring his Euro-western name, a respondent named Godfrey said: "It also has a good meaning in my life, which makes it more than a Euro-western name. I was born on Good Friday." Another respondent named Ernest said: "This name, my mother gave it to me when I got baptised. My mother gave me this name because she knew that I am an honest person and I honour it." It can be seen from the latter example that names in some cases do shape the behaviour and the way people view themselves. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the meaning of a name is not only bound to lexical meaning but to other levels of meaning. Another respondent who sees no reason for discarding names derived from languages that are not indigenous in South Africa says that she does not see the reason for changing her name, Valerie, because it means she is a blossom to her parents. Her parents gave her the name because that is what she was to them and by discarding it she would be disrespecting their feelings.

5.8.3 Namesake

In some instances names are given to infants because in each generation in the family, at least one person should have a particular name. For example, if a greatgrandmother of a particular family was named Christine, the name is given to at least one female child in the family to ensure that it is carried over from generation to generation. Regardless of the changing naming patterns in a particular community or the attitudes of younger generations towards certain names, the name is still used. This is sometimes referred to as name sharing or namesake. Another reason why an existing name in the family or community is given to an individual is to foster the qualities of the initial name bearer in the child. People who possess these names honour them not because of their cultural origin but because of linking them with the initial name bearer. In some instances, people who have namesakes honour these names and try and walk in the footsteps of the initial name bearer. Citing a reason why she would not discard her Euro-western name, a respondent said: "It was given to me as a token of luck. It belonged to a wise guy (intelligent) so it was given to me so I would sort of be like him."

5.8.4 Respect

Whether living or dead, name givers play an important role in the lives of some Africans and as a result the names they give are honoured and respected by the name bearers. According to a respondent, if he were to change or discard his name which his deceased mother bestowed on him, he would have to communicate with her because if he did not, this would be regarded as disrespect by her living and deceased relatives. According to the respondent, when he wanted to change his name during the early eighties, his mother told him that she did not send him to school to question why he was given a Euro-western name. This made it clear to him that his mother did not approve of him changing his name. His mother died before he changed his name. After his mother's death he concluded that it would be disrespectful to change his name since his mother had not approved of his intention. The respondent said although he did not want his Euro-western name, he would keep it until such time that he would be ready to communicate his desires with his deceased mother. A respondent responding as to why she honoured her Euro-western name said: "I guess my sister (who gave this name) might be offended if I were to discard it." Another respondent said: "...the person who gave me this name, I owe her my life and I really love this name. I was told that she was the one who really helped me to survive."

5.8.5 Other reasons

Some respondents are of the opinion that Euro-western names reflect our country. South Africa is a culturally diverse country. This diversity is reflected in people's names among other things. Although some people would like African names to be dominant in South Africa, it is a fact that cannot be disputed that South Africa is not for Africans only. It accommodates various people including Japanese, Chinese, Indians, Europeans, etc. It is for this reason that some people feel that Euro-western names are important in South Africa as they reflect the diverse cultural backgrounds that are found in South Africa. One of the respondents said: "Our country, RSA, is a rainbow nation. It may not have been our wish that it becomes a rainbow nation but the fact is that it is, so our names too will reflect the same concept." One of the respondents said that Euro-western names are

part of our history and they should not be discarded just because there is a new government.

Though surprising, it should be noted that some people nowadays still feel that Euro-western names are important because people should have them if they seek employment. A respondent said: "when we go looking for employment one needs to have an English name otherwise one cannot get employment".

While to some people names are profound and significant as they have meaning and reflect their qualities, culture and characteristics, to others names are just names and nothing more. It is for this reason that they do not see the need to change their names. "It does not do any harm to me as it is just a name" said a respondent. Another respondent said: "...what is important is me as a person..."

5.9 Reasons for discarding Euro-western names

While Euro-western names are appealing and meaningful to some respondents, to others these names are meaningless and are a symbol of colonialism, oppression and apartheid. As discussed above, there has been a change in the naming patterns among South Africans. Though this change was evident even in the seventies, recently it has escalated when compared to the period before the demise of apartheid. Although the primary function of various Euro-western names possessed by Africans in South Africans was to distinguish one person from the other, these names also served to instil a new culture of dominance by Euro-western people among Africans.

Interviews were conducted to ascertain the reasons behind the discarding of Euro-western names. There are various reasons that were provided by respondents relating to them discarding or wanting to discard their Euro-western names. These reasons vary from individual to individual, depending on what led to the bestowal of the Euro-western name. The reasons however, can be classified into different categories. These categories are discussed below.

5.9.1 Euro-western names are meaningless

Although Euro-western names have meaning to some Africans in South African as mentioned above in 5.8.2, to others, these names are meaningless. It is for this reason among others that most respondents want to discard their Euro-western names. When asked if she would discard her Euro-western name, a respondent said:

> Yes, it do not [sic] give any meaning, it was a mistake to have this name. We were forced by apartheid government to have these names, now white people should learn to call us by our African names.

Another respondent said: "Yes [name] does not have any meaning to me. In fact I don't even know what it means. So why keep a meaningless name?"

It can be seen from the above that according to the respondents mentioned above names are not just mere labels that they can use to identify themselves. The meaning of names is vital for them to identify themselves with those names.

5.9.2 African names reflect Africans' origin and culture

Names of people are found within a society. The society plays a major role in influencing the choice of names given to a particular person. As a result of the society's influence in naming, names of various people reflect their origin and culture. According to numerous respondents, the reason why they do not want to identify themselves with Euro-western names, is because these names do not reflect their culture as Africans. Instead they identify them as people who uphold Euro-western cultures and not African cultures. While one respondent says:

> ...I truly think that it is in fact a betrayal of our culture and our being human and our dignity and self-worth to be given and admitting European names.

Another says:

> ...working in a department [Department of Arts and Culture] which deals with cultural issues among others, has made one realise the importance of one's cultural identity. Therefore, I would prefer to uphold such cultural values, starting with my African name of course!

Disputing that name changing reflects African culture and origin, an *Echo* newspaper reader, in the *Echo* of 15 October 1998, wrote:

> I have no problem with people who wish to change to an African name. It is the association of the name with "being true to one's identity" that I have a problem with.
> I have a problem when it is presented as a statement about African culture and one's attitude to that culture.
> It gives an impression that those of us like myself who have not adopted this are not being true to our identity and do not see doing this as important.
> This is not true. (1998:5)

An argument is presented above that African names do not indicate that one is true to one's identity. It is argued that as identity means a sense of self, this sense of self has various definition and characteristics for different people. While to some people African names are not an indication of African identity, to others the departing point of being an African is speaking an African language and having an African name. A respondent says: "A defining factor of being an African is having an African name. Why should we bear Euro-western names, they do not define our culture and us as people."

5.9.3 Europeans do not have African names

It is conceivable that there are a number of Euro-western people in South Africa with African names. It is debatable whether their African names do appear in their identity documents or whether these names are used only in informal contexts. I have not seen an identity document of a Euro-western person in South African with an African name. However it is not disputed that these exist, especially nowadays because African names are becoming more and more popular. During the colonial periods when Africans were using Euro-western names, African names were not popular among the white population of the country. Some respondents say that the reason why they do not want Euro-western names is because Euro-western people do not have African names. Their question is that why should Africans adopt Euro-western names when Euro-western people are not adopting their names. According to a respondent, "...I do not see the point of bearing a Euro-western name when there's no Euro-western person with an African name. I believe in reclaiming and maintaining my roots and origin". Another respondent says: "...I do not see a reason to be called by Euro-western origin names, while most Europeans, if not

all, have no African name." A police officer, captain Motarafi Ntepe, cited in the *Sunday Sun*, 12 January 2003, says:

> I compromised for so long calling myself Veronica because my white colleagues could not pronounce Motarafi. But enough is enough now. If I can pronounce their names, then they should call me by the name which sounds sweet to my ears, Motarafi. I really relate to Motarafi [sic] than Veronica. (2003:13)

5.9.4 Slavery

The enslaving of various Africans in earlier years is the main cause of the African diaspora. Various Africans were transported from African countries to various European and American countries to work as slaves. In some instances when the new master who bought the slaves was given his 'commodities', to signify the ownership of the commodities he bought, he took it as one of his responsibilities to give them new names. In a documentary on SABC 1, on March 10, 2003, about ***The return of Sarah Baartman***, although almost all people agreed that Sarah or Saartjie[96] were not the real names of the woman who was taken to Europe to be exhibited for Europeans to see the 'animal-like human' as she was referred to by Europeans at that time, no one could come up with her real Khoi name. In some instances people who were slaves were given names derived from the month when they were brought to their masters. Thus a person who was brought in April might be named April. Some South Africans feel that Euro-western names are slave names because of their association with the Euro-westerners who oppressed and discriminated against Africans in South African. According to a respondent "Those names are taken as slavery names because they were given / preferred by the oppressors." Another respondent says: "...I do not like it. It does not have meaning. It is a slave name".

5.9.5 Symbol of colonialism and apartheid

History has played a vital role in shaping and reshaping South Africa to be what it is today. It is this history that some Africans in South African find hard to break away from

[96] In the documentary, while others said the name Saartjie was an endearment name, as an Afrikaans diminutive –tjie can be used to show endearment, others said the name might have been used to undermine who she was and reducing her into nothing of value. The name Sarah was thus preferred.

regardless of various initiatives by the government and private sectors to unify South Africans. Some Africans in South Africa, affected by the country's history, have found it hard to forgive, forget and move on, and as a result still show hatred towards not just Euro-western people but Euro-western names. A respondent says: "...I hate English/ western names. They somehow do not describe who I am and where I come from", while another referring to a Euro-western name says: "It is not my African name. I hate it..." It should be pointed out that history cannot be undone however painful the scars it left may be. However, people could learn from their history and start to build a future they would be proud of.

Euro-western names in South Africa came with the Europeans who came to the country. Before the arrival of Euro-western people, Euro-western names were unheard of in South Africa. The Europeans did not only bring Euro-western names but brought with them various laws with the main aim of discriminating against the indigenous people of the country. These laws limited the indigenous people and in some cases ensured that they were always servants and not masters. Education of the indigenous child was tailored in such a way that she never excelled above the standards set by the tailors of the education system. It was for this reason that Euro-western children received better education than that of Africans. The land was distributed according to the laws that came with Europeans that made sure that vast amounts of land were given to Europeans and indigenous people had little land. It is for these reasons, among others, that some South Africans resent Euro-western names. Responding to why she wanted to discard her Euro-western name, a respondent said: "I regard it as a colonial name, an identity based on oppression. I am not a conformist ..." Another respondent asked if she would discard her Euro-western name says: "Yes, because it is a symbol of colonialism."

5.9.6 Given by a stranger

While some respondents do not like Euro-western names because of their meaning or because they do not reflect their culture and origin, others despise these names because as name bearers they have no relationship with the person who gave them the Euro-western name. In various societies, names are given by members of the family, members of the

community or strangers who participated in the birth of the child. It is a belief in many African societies that a name giver moulds the character of the person she bestows the name on. It is for this reason that name givers in most African societies are carefully chosen. Most people are named when they are young, and at a later stage in life, however, a person may name or rename herself. In South Africa, various people were named by strangers, e.g. people who worked at Bantu Administration departments. One respondent citing a reason why she wanted to discard her Euro-western name, said:

> ...My grandmother named me Tshimangadzo[97], I didn't have an English name, but when I went to home affairs they named me Reginah with the reason that they believe a person must have an English name. I do not even know what it means.

5.10 Official personal name changing in South Africa

5.10.1 Procedure to have a name changed

From the data analysed above, it is evident that there is some animosity over the Euro-western name among many South Africans. Various reasons for this animosity were mentioned above. However, the government gazette where name changes are recorded do not reflect this strong desire for Euro-western name changes.

It bears noting that although any South African can apply to the Department of Home Affairs in any province in the country to have her names changed, not all South Africans are aware of this. As a result, what often happens is that various people discard their Euro-western names by never responding to them, or by asking people not to address them with such names. However, these names still exist in their official documents. Some South Africans who are aware of name changing procedures, argue that they do not want to change their names officially because it is expensive. To have a name changed, a person would have to pay R72[98] to the Home Affairs Department for the application to be processed. This price has increased by R12 when compared to the year 2002. The *Greytown Gazette* of 12 April 2002 reads:

> A number of price hikes have been announced by the Department of Home Affairs for the public service they render – these annual

[97] This happened in the early 1970s.
[98] Price given on the 24 February 2003. It should be pointed out that these prices may increase.

> increases came into operation on the 1st April ... Tired of your first name – it will cost you R60 to change it!

To apply for a name change, the applicant must be 21 years or older. If the applicant is not 21 years old, she must seek permission to change the name from her parent or guardian. This shows the importance of parents in the naming of a child. Some respondents argue that the name changing service should be offered free of charge to South Africans so that their names can reflect their origin and culture which the government is talking so much about. The main argument is that they did not have to pay to be given Euro-western names, but now that they want to discard their Euro-western names, they have to pay. Some respondents view this as the government's way of saying "keep your colonial identity if you do not have money to change it". In an interview, a respondent stated that although he has not changed his Euro-western name, he is not fond of it. The reason for this is because when his mother went to register his birth, some time in the 1960s, she was told that her son had many names (there were three long African names) and they did not have the time to write 'so many' names. As a result he was only registered as Dennis because that was the only name the Bantu administrators[99] saw fit for him. At a later stage when he wanted his African names to appear on his official documents (as these names were the only names that were used to refer to him at home), he was told that if he wanted to register both names, he had to pay twice the amount that was applicable at the time. He could not afford to pay the amount twice, and as a result he then decided to register his one African name, as it was cheaper than registering two. He is still not happy with his second African name not registered as it has a profound meaning to him and his family. His African name is *Mbuyiselwa* (the one brought back). According to him, the reason why he was given this name was because when he was born, his mother saw him as a replica of his brother born before him who died at a very young age. From him she saw her deceased child being brought back, and that is why she gave him this name. His second African name *Jabulani* (be happy) means that the family must be happy because a child has been brought back. As a result, his two African names are not just significant and meaningful, but they are related to each other. It is for this reason that he formally wanted to register both of them.

[99] It should be pointed out that Bantu administrators also included Africans.

Unlike in the seventies, where according to the informant, a person who wanted her name changed had to pay for all names they wanted to have on their official registration, nowadays an applicant who wants her names changed, has to pay R72, irrespective of the number of names they want changed. In addition to that, an applicant would have to pay a fee (which depends on the legal adviser/lawyer appointed) to have all her records that include certificates, degrees, assets, property, etc. recorded in her new names. As a result this could be a costly and emotional exercise especially for adults who have accumulated various documents using their Euro-western names.

5.10.2 Government gazettes

In order to ascertain changes in personal names among South Africans, government gazettes where official name changes are recorded, had to be consulted. These government gazettes contain information on who changes their names and what names they are changing, when the applicants were born and their postal or residential addresses. As random sampling was used, government gazettes were randomly chosen to ascertain which names people were changing. The government gazettes that were used and which are analysed in this study are the gazettes for January, April and May 1995. The reason why these gazettes were chosen is because they included people who changed names just after the 1994 democratic elections in South Africa. The reason for this was to see if there was an increase in the number of people officially changing Euro-western names, compared to people changing names after 1995. Another reason was to see if there exists a link between name changing and the notion of an African Renaissance. Some people have argued that with the demise of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa, Africans saw a need to change their names. Gazettes for February and December 2001 were also consulted. As mentioned earlier the main reason for choosing 1995 and 2001 gazettes, was to ascertain whether name changing was on the increase or decrease. It should be pointed out that the 2002 government gazettes would have been preferred as they were the latest. However, at the time of data collection, they were not sorted and bound, which is the reason why the 2001 gazettes were used.

When names are registered in the government gazettes, they are not registered as names

of Africans or so called 'coloureds', Indians or whites. It is however, not challenging to see which names belong to Africans. To identify Africans in the government gazettes, surnames were used. For example, people with surnames such as Moeketsie, Mabunda, Jileza, etc., are of African descent. In the government gazettes of 2nd February 2001, in the list of 200 people who had their names changed, 153 of them were Africans. From this list, it was obvious that there were a number of Africans in South Africans who were applying to the Department of Home Affairs to have their names changed. In the government gazettes of 1995 January, April and May combined, there were 141 African people who had their names changed.

In the majority of questionnaires, it was learned that most people wanted to discard their Euro-western names. The government gazettes however, painted a totally different picture. Though a number of people were applying to have their names changed, in most cases they were not changing their Euro-western names. Some people were applying to change their African names because of the meaning they had. Examples here include:

Original personal names	*New personal names*
Abram Bhatata	Abram Tsepiso
Mxosheni Andries	Mxolisi Andries
Joseph Madlebe	Joseph
Sikwela Madolo	Sikwela
Dlayani Stanley	July Stanley

It should be pointed out that only personal names are included. The reason for this is to protect people's identities. Although one may never know what led to the above names, these names convey negative connotative meanings. For example, the lexical meanings of these names are: *Bhatata* means 'sweetpotato', *Mxosheni* means 'chase him away', *Dlayani* means 'kill (plural)', *Madlebe* means 'ears', while *Madolo* means 'knees'. The latter names *Madlebe* and *Madolo* are sometimes used by Africans when cursing, for example when a person says: *madolo akho* or *madlebe akho* meaning 'your knees' or 'your ears' respectively, the person is not just referring to your body parts, but these

phrases are a curse when said in an African language as mentioned above, though when said in English they may not be perceived as such.

Some of the changes in names witnessed from the government gazettes, were grammatical or spelling changes. It does happen that when names are entered in official records they are entered incorrectly (see Appendix 5). Although this can be an innocent mistake, in some cases, especially during the times of Bantu administration, spelling African names correctly was not seen as a priority. Some Bantu administrators did not care to give enough attention to the African names, in some cases did not even care to record people's names correctly. Once the name was incorrectly recorded some Bantu Administrators refused to change the name to its correct spelling. Spelling people's names incorrectly is sometimes viewed as being insensitive towards the person's language and/ or culture. Livhuwani writing to the *Sowetan Sunday World* of 6 July 2001 says:

> Thank you very much for publishing my letter on crime last week, but my name was spelt incorrectly. I'm tired of the Venda language being taken for granted.
> Tshivenda is a beautiful language but because so few people speak it and it is not heard on TV, people tend to look down on it. ...
> My name was spelled Livuwani, instead of Livhuwani. I'm not the kind of person who allows others to spell my surname incorrectly. Respect our language, it is very important to us and we are very proud of it. (2001:17).

According to another respondent, his name was *Nondelakwabezizwe,* but when his mother went to register his birth, she was told that it was too long to be recorded in his birth certificate, and as a result it was shortened to *Ndela.* Another respondent says he had three names - two African names, and one name of Euro-western origin. His African names were also not recorded because they were going to take up space, only his Euro-western name was recorded. When his mother asked for at least one African name to be recorded, she was told that there was no time for that.

Examples of spelling changes from government gazettes in this category include:

Old personal name	*New personal name*
Monjadji Florence	Modjadji Florence
Winfrida Nomusa Nomndeni	Winniefriedah Nomusa
Mohabi Patrick	Nhlabi Patrick
Majalane Lukas	Majalane Lucas
Nondzwakazi	Nonzwakazi

It was also discovered that for various reasons, (perhaps some of them include those mentioned above), while some people have been acknowledging their names of Euro-western origin and officially recording them, others have been discarding African names altogether and adopting names of Euro-western origin. This is because the Euro-western names are names that they have been known by for decades and which were not recorded officially or they are discarding their African names because these names either only exist in official records and they are not addressed by them, or that they do not like the sound or the meaning of their African names. Names in this category include:

Old personal name	*New personal name*
Nelisiwe Doris	Doris
Patric Makolwane	Lucky Patrick
Mosotho Phillemon	Jacob William
Ntombekaya Gwashu	No-one Virginia
Nondumiso Victoria	Victoria
Nontsikelelo Sweetness	Noisland Sweetness

In some cases, people who only had their African names or Euro-western names recorded, saw the need to register the names (they are using) that were not initially recorded in their official records. In some cases, others have been replacing some Euro-western names (especially those who had only Euro-western names) with African names. It should be pointed out in this instance, that though people were changing their names, eventually they kept both Euro-western names and African names.

Old Personal name	*New Personal name*
Tshimangadzo Semeon	Tshimangadzo Semeon Lexicon
Sindiso	Sindiso Beauty
Nombuso	Nombuso Precious
George	George Mphallo
Henrietta Evelyn	Matlakala Evelyn
Simon	Simon Mkhulunyelwa
Mxolisi	Mxolisi Peaceman

Although in the government gazettes there is a small number of people who have had their Euro-western names discarded, compared to what was discovered in the questionnaires, it should be noted that there are people who have had their Euro-western names officially removed from their official documents. These people retained only their African names. Some retained African names that were originally registered, and in turn registered other African names (which they have been known by or just new names), while others adopted new African names. Examples in this category include:

Old Personal name	*New Personal name*
Bolenkie Josie	Koketso
Tlaishego Francina	Tlaishego Madise
Boy Mongezi	Mongezi
Jan Thabo	Thabo
Swaartbooi	Pumile
Phillip Vusumuzi	Vusumuzi

When people apply to the Department of Home Affairs to have their names changed, they apply to have either their personal names changed or their surnames changed. The reasons for changing the surnames are in most cases linked to social structure and dynamics of various families, for example, a child when discovering who her real father is, may decide to change her surname to take that of her real father or when a person discovers that they are known by a surname of someone who never supported or cared for

them, they may decide to change their surnames. In most cases surnames[100] are rarely changed (the change may apply to a number of Xhosa people who have Euro-western surnames) because of the political influence in a country at a particular time, but are changed because of family dynamics. It is for this reason that the emphasis here is on personal names rather than surnames. It should also be noted that some South Africans have surnames of Euro-western origin, (a large number of them being Xhosa people), it is also for this reason that studying surname changes would have been limited to a particular group of people, instead of focusing on various groups of indigenous people in South Africans as the main aim of this study.

5.11 Statistical analysis of names in government gazettes

From the government gazettes that were consulted for January, April and May 1995, in the list of 141 African people in South Africa who applied to the Department of Home Affairs to have their names changed in one way or the other, 92.2% (130) of the applicants retained their Euro-western names, while only 7.1% (10) had their names of Euro-western origin officially removed from their identity documents. As for the 0.7% (1), it is not clear whether the new name 'Mus'ab' is of African origin or not. When analysing the February and December 2001 government gazettes, it was discovered that of the total list of 153 Africans who applied to have their names changed, only 33% (51) had their names of Euro-western origin discarded while 77% (102) retained their Euro-western names.

In comparing name changes in 1995 with those in 2001 it can be noticed that although there is a slight increase (25.9%) of people who officially discarded their names of Euro-western origin in 2001, the increase is however minimal when compared to the 58.4% of questionnaire respondents who have, would like to, or prefer to have their Euro-western names discarded.

[100] Unlike changing personal names which are individual properties, surnames are family entities. By changing a surname, a person disassociates herself from her family, as a result changing a surname for political reasons will compel all members of the family to change their surnames.

It can be noted from the above that while some Africans in South Africa no longer want to answer to Euro-western names, others are still using Euro-western names. Madubuike (1994:10) says:

> Why do Africans answer to foreign names? The answer obviously lies in colonisation and the civilizing mission in Africa. ...To answer to a white man's name was seen as one of the ways of becoming civilized, that is white. Thus today one frequently meets an African who will not be content until you have told him what your white Christian name is.

Although Madubuike's argument is understandable, it is argued in this study that the reason why Africans in South Africa are still answering to Euro-western names, is because these names have meaning, although in various cases the lexical meaning has been lost. These names still carry associative meaning. Another reason for answering to Euro-western names, is the respect towards people who bestowed these names. Some people feel that discarding these names is associated with disrespecting their name givers. These names also have become part of some people's identity. Though some Euro-western names might have been given under unfavourable conditions, they remain the footprints of South Africa's history that cannot be destroyed by merely changing names.

In some cases, Africans were not named by their parents' employers, missionaries, or teachers but were named by their parents and discarding the names that their parents gave them, is disrespectful, especially if the parents are deceased.

5.12 Is a name a person?

The importance of a personal name among Africans has been identified in various cases. While some scholars agree that naming among Africans is significant and profound because of the fact that names are embedded within a particular culture and way of living of various societies, others argue that the importance of names is seen in the meaning that is linked to the circumstances surrounding the birth of the child. As a result of this importance of names, various claims and theories have been made pertaining to African names. Koopman (2002a:17) says:

> ...the very common Africanist concept of the name is illustrated in the following conversation recorded in Berglund's *Zulu Thought-Patterns and Symbolism,* where Berglund is talking to a Zulu **isangoma** ('diviner') about witchcraft practices:
> Our discussion continued in terms of the person who it was to be harmed.
> B:... 'Everywhere I am told that umthakathi mentions the name of the person who is to be killed. Why does umthakathi mention the name?'
> 'It is the name of the person'.
> B:....'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. So the name is very important.
> B:... 'Why is the name so important?'
> 'The name is that person. They are the same, the name and that 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'

In similar vein, Mönnig (1967:105) says:

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

It can be noted from the above theories that according to the above scholars, a name among Africans is a person, meaning that the name and the person cannot be separated. It bears noting however, that this link between a name and a person is associated with witchcraft by these scholars. As mentioned in Chapter two, cultures cannot be kept in cold storage and be preserved forever. There have been various changes in African culture and the way Africans view themselves. Apart from various changes in African culture that have taken place, the theory of bewitching people by just calling their names is contested in this study. According to various traditional healers and diviners that I interviewed, a person's name is very important. The name on its own, however, cannot be used to bewitch a person. A name can only be used to 'call' a person. For example, if a

young man loves a woman and a woman does not accept his proposal, the young man can 'call' the woman using her name and some form of medicine to come to his homestead. In this manner the young man is not bewitching the woman, but using medicine and her name to make her come to him. Various traditional healers and diviners argue that it is not possible to bewitch a person by just calling her name. To bewitch a person, i.e. to make her sick or die, one needs more than a name. It is thus argued in this study that a person's name on its own cannot be used to bewitch or send evil spirits to a person. The use of words of death and a name on its own can never kill a person. Even in 1975 when Berglund wrote his book, this practice would have been impractical. It is argued in this study that in a country like South Africa, where personal name changing is evidenced, the above theory of the name and person being the same is debatable.

While these European scholars (Koopman, Berglund and Mönnig) emphasise the importance of not addressing an old person by a name because it can be heard by evildoers and thus be used for evil purposes, among other researchers and individuals alike, the reason why old people are not addressed by their names is because of respect among Africans. Respect outweighs the need to hide a person's identity for fear of being bewitched. Mkhize in an article in the *Mail & Guardian*: 2002 archive, wrote:

> Three lead headlines involving names have coerced this letter: "Big Brother Gatsha, he's gonna watch ya" (February 22) – disgusting at the most; "The muzzling of Madiba" March 1 – endearing; "King of cockroaches" [King Goodwill Zwelithini], January 2001 – terrible!
> I note that it has become an acceptable habit for the M&G to "nothingify" what is of value to native Africans, in general, and of Zulu cultural decorum, in particular. However, I am inclined to give the newspaper the benefit of the doubt – it probably lacks informed sensitivity when it comes to these issues. ...
> African courtesy does not allow an elder to be called by his or her first name on a public platform. This is considered an act of belittling the subject.

Various traditional healers and diviners, however, argue that regardless of a person changing her name, a man can 'call' a woman using the name known to him. Even if the woman has changed her name, it is still possible to 'call' her. One of the diviners said

that if one wants to pray for someone, they pray for them using just the name asking God to protect that person. They do not need to mention the surname and the place where the person resides to pray for the person. The name on its own is enough. The same applies if a man wants to 'call' a woman. The witch on the other hand will need not just a name but the dirt or hair of the person she intends to bewitch. This dirt or hair will then be mixed with the medicine to bewitch the targeted person.

It should be borne in mind that various traditional practices that were observed among Africans in South Africa during the naming ceremonies, are no longer observed nowadays. Many people are no longer given names by their parents in the traditional cultural way. As a result of this, people do not need to follow any strict cultural procedures to change their names.

Although the name and a person are linked as argued by various traditional healers and diviners, these can be disassociated. For example if a person wants to change her name, she will no longer be linked to the name. The name and the person should not be viewed in terms of bewitching only, but should be viewed in a wider society where various events take place and shape the society. It is argued in this study that a name is a word by which a person is known at a particular point in time. It is only applicable for as long as they want to respond to that name.

5.13 Geographical name changes

As many a Girly and a Goodenough have become a Tshifhiwa and a Tinyiko, various places in South Africa have also had their names changed. Some places, however, are still in a process of changing their names. It should be pointed out that unlike changing personal names, changing geographical names is a long and a complicated task, as it involves not just an individual but also residents of the place targeted for a name change. After endless debates and arguments between the government (in this case led by the Free State Premier-elect, Mr Patrick Lekota) and residents of Bloemfontein on changing Bloemfontein to Mangaung, Bloemfontein remained Bloemfontein. Patrick Lekota, however, changed his Euro-western personal name. Changing his personal name was

easier because it did not involve the public. Koopman (2002a:3) quotes the *Cape Times* of 4 May 1994:

> BLOEMFONTEIN – The name of the Free State capital will soon change back to its original Mangaung, or 'place of cheetahs'.
> The region's premier-elect, Mr Patrick Lekota, said yesterday other place and street names that evoked painful memories would also change.

From the above quote and other newspaper headlines, it can be noticed that when the proposal to change Bloemfontein's name was made, the then Premier-elect was known as Mr Patrick Lekota. It was after the debate on changing Bloemfontein's name that Mr Patrick Lekota was known to the public as Mosioua Lekota. In discarding his Euro-western name, the now Minister of Defence led the name changing process by example.

Shabalala (1999:120) says: "The process of name changing might not be a positive one to all the people who are used to the old name. It might cause conflict between those in power and the subordinates." As mentioned earlier, geographical name changes have not been welcomed by all the residents of South Africa. Some see name changing as a 'kick in the teeth that the ANC led government does not want Afrikaans', while others see it as an unnecessary revenge for colonialism and apartheid. "But why make changes?" is a question often raised by various people. Responding to this question, Colin Gardner[101] in an article published in *The Natal Witness* 25 September 2002, in reference to street renaming in Pietermaritzburg, says:

> Many letters have expressed amazement and outrage. The idea, briefly, is that our white city should show that it is now a fully non-racial place. All the 20 proposed new names (for streets and buildings) are an acknowledgement of people – people of all ethnic groups – who worked in one way or another for the abolishing of apartheid.

It is obvious that by changing names, the government wants to establish its territory and make not just the country but also the whole world aware that South Africa is an African country with Africans languages which have been marginalised resulting in African names being shielded from the public discourse. In changing names, it is not just acknowledging African names that were downplayed by the apartheid government, but

[101] Colin Gardner is the speaker of the Msunduzi Municipal Council.

following the trend that has been pioneered by various African countries that achieved independence. It is worth pointing out that the trend to acknowledge names that were previously not acknowledged is not only prevalent in Africa, but in European countries as well. Ormeling (1984:60) says:

> The fact that topographers had "murdered" place names was a recurrent item in linguistic studies from 1750 onwards..., and local geographic or linguistic organizations tried to exert pressure on governments to gain some influence in toponymic matters....
> Later, members of minority groups, either individually or in movements, strived for recognition of their language rights, including the use of their own place names.

It has been reported in the media, both print and electronic, that some white South Africans feel that name changing is a revenge on them, although according to the government this is not the case. Griesel (a *Natal Witness* newspaper reader) writing in *The Natal Witness* of 25 September 2001, shortly after attending a symposium on 'Naming and Heritage in KwaZulu-Natal' hosted at the University of Natal, and listening to the keynote address of Prof Langalibalele Mathenjwa wrote:

> The *Witness* reporter's account (Witness, September 20) of the speech of the chairman of the SA Geographical Names Council, Professor Langa Mathenjwa, at the recent names symposium, is accurate and even conveyed some of the aggression and vitriol in his address. He succeeded in making me feel distinctly unwelcome in what I had always thought was my own country. Seemingly Mathenjwa is about to change just about every English and Afrikaans place name in the country.

When one talks about languages, one talks about people's culture, people's origin and people's pride. It is for this reason that the issue of languages is a very emotive issue. It evokes various feelings depending on the context where it is discussed. As names are found in languages, they also at some stage represent people's pride, culture and origin. Like languages, names evoke various feelings and the issue of name changing is no exception. This is seen in Griesel's statement above. Griesel saw South Africa as his 'own country'. It is this notion of 'my own country' that resulted in Africans in this country being oppressed, discriminated against and humiliated. It is, however, not surprising after the demise of apartheid that some white people in South Africa are

finding it hard to accept that South Africa has never been and is not their 'own country'. It does not belong only to them but to all South Africans who live in it; and work tirelessly towards making it a better place to live in, regardless of their gender, race, creed, religion, etc.

While some places in South Africa have been changed once, others have had their names changed more than once within the period of nine years of the democratic South Africa. This action has brought not just confusion to various residents and tourists, but has in some way painted a picture that the government does not really know what it is doing. Northern Transvaal for example was changed to Northern Province shortly after the democratic elections (1994) in South Africa. A year ago (2002) the place also saw a name change from Northern Province to Limpopo Province. This has not just put into question the reasons for name changes, but has also angered and frustrated residents in various places where name changes are witnessed. Turner writing for the *Citizen* of June 10, 2003 says:

> I have always thought running a country is far too important to be left to politicians. All they do is talk and forget the important issues. If a decision is eventually made all it does is confuse us. The confusion that now must reign in Limpopo is one case in point. Louis Trichardt is now to be known as Makhado. Makhado is now to be known as Dzanani and Dzanani will be known as Mphephu. I suppose next week Gauteng will become Mpumalanga, Mpumalanga will become KwaZulu-Natal, etc.

Another name that has been brought into question is the name Tshwane. Initially it was proposed that the capital city of South Africa be renamed Tshwane instead of bearing the former coloniser's name Pretoria, adopted from a person's name, Pretorius. There are various interpretations of what the name Tshwane is derived from. Ironically, the name Tshwane, according to some of the respondents was a name given to the same Pretorius by the people of the place because they could not pronounce his name. It is thus confusing that some people wanted to destroy the apartheid symbol but at the same time retained it in an African name. Giving another interpretation, Errol Musk (a former city Councillor of Pretoria) says: "Tshwane was a chief in this area 450 years ago. The date is uncertain as no meaningful records were kept." In 2001 after lengthy discussions and

debates, it was decided that:

> The new city of Tshwane includes Mamelodi, Winterveldt, Soshanguve, Atteridgeville, Mabopane, Garankuwa, Centurion, Crocodile River, Temba, Akasia, Eerterus, Dilopye, Pienaarsriver, Matebele, Lebelo and Crocodile. [*Sowetan*, 5 February 2001, page 8]

In August 2003, debates on changing Pretoria to Tshwane erupted again. The *Pretoria News* of 7 August 2003 reads:

> Businesses in Pretoria are joining forces to fight the move to change the name of Pretoria to Tshwane. ... "These names [Lynwood, Pretoria West, Atteridgeville, Montana-Wonderboom, Pretoria North and Garsfontein] are authentically local in character as is the name Pretoria," said Pretorius. He [Pretorius] said the ANC wanted to erase these historical associations and its reasons for doing so were "as nakedly self-interested as they are feeble".

Various local municipalities in South Africa have had their names changed. Most municipality structures now bear African names. These include Tshwane municipality in Pretoria, Msunduzi municipality in Pietermaritzburg, eThekwini municipality in Durban, etc. Pretoria has so far retained its name regardless of attempts to change it to Tshwane or Mandela City. According to the *Mail & Guardian*, June 18 to 24, 1999, the reason why Mandela City was a preferred name is that:

> ... the naming of a city is usually designed to bring honour to the individual. But in Mandela's case the effect is reversed. His worldwide reputation is such that adoption of his name will serve to rehabilitate a lovely city which has suffered sorely from the stench of apartheid, with which the name "Pretoria" is indelibly associated.

When changing geographical names it is debated as to whether to use political leaders' names or 'neutral' names, e.g. 'descriptive' names that are not associated with any political party. It bears noting that no names are neutral. People have various associations with names, whether those are descriptive names or names of people. Meiring (1994:75) says:

> The inherent qualities of names make them instrument of heated debates. No name is completely neutral in the collective memory of a society and its various networks, because the very essence of names is their descriptive backing, the things people or societies

> identify with when using the name. Even when a name is used to refer to a mere locality or entity, it can be paraphrased as *the place where I stay/ where I buy/ the place I know* which can be countered with *the place where I could not stay/ etc.* giving it in either case a personal context.

What some people fail to see is that naming, especially of geographic entities, is indeed a political game. It is for this reason that with a new government in place, name changing will be evidenced. Naming places and various geographic entities after political leaders is not supported in this study, regardless of the enormous contribution that those various individuals might have made to the country. During the 1950s when Afrikaners had the dominant culture, who would have thought that names such as Verwoerdburg, Voortrekker Street, Louis Trichard, Pietersburg, etc. would be changed? It is for this reason that names of dominant political leaders (ANC) will be at the centre of change should the political situation in South Africa change. While political leaders come and go, descriptive names remain because they will always describe the place as it is. Regardless of this view on naming places after people, various names of politicians have been proposed for street renaming in Pietermaritzburg. These include: Sikhumbuzo Ngwenya, Albert Luthuli, Jabu Ndlovu, Archie Gumede and others.

5.14 History repeats itself

Toponyms are loaded with not just cultural messages but also people's aspirations, attitudes and hopes. It is perhaps for this reason, among others, that "they constitute a very sensitive area in the South African history of land occupancy and settlement." [Dlomu (1994:13)]. Geographical name changes are not a new trend among South Africans, though some South Africans are quick to forget this. In this case history is repeating itself. Although it is true that when settlers arrived in South Africa, various places were nameless, it is also true that some places had names that were overlooked by the apartheid government.

When the group areas act was enacted, various places where Africans used to live were demolished and new places were built there.

In the process of building new places, the apartheid government saw it as its duty to give these places new names. The original names that were once used by Africans became a thing of the past. Instead those places had new names, which undoubtedly were appealing to and appeased the apartheid architects and reflected their language, culture and heritage. Sophiatown, popularly known as the cradle of African Jazz, and the place heartily remembered for the African culture of the 1950s, was demolished by the apartheid government and it was renamed Triomf, an Afrikaans name meaning Triumph. Apart from the name change, Africans living in the place suffered a double blow because not only had their place been given a new name that they did not identify with, but they also lost their homes. Vail (1989:105) says: "In Johannesburg, culturally mixed communities like Sophiatown were torn down and replaced by townships, like Soweto, that were built on an ethnic grid."

District Six in Cape Town was no exception. Residents of District Six were removed and the place was renamed Zonnebloem. A place once named Mkhumbane in Durban was renamed Cato Manor when African people were removed from the place by the apartheid government. Maharaj (1992:393) says:

> Cato Manor, an evocative name in Natal, has powerful connotations with the history of the dispossessed in South Africa, and represents "a living monument to the heartbreak and destruction wrecked by the Group Areas Act".... The area was originally owned by George Cato, the first mayor of Durban, and comprised of about 4500 hectares.

Marabastad in Pretoria was also demolished and made a suburb by the National Party led apartheid government.

From the few chosen examples of places that were renamed during the apartheid regime, it is obvious that name changing of geographic entities is not a new trend among South Africans. Instead, it has been one way of asserting dominance of a particular political or cultural group. Griesel (loc cit) says: "My forefathers did what everybody else in the world did: they named places in their own language." Although Griesel's statement is true in that his forefathers built places and named them, he however, does not

acknowledge that his forefathers in some cases also played a role in demolishing African peoples' residences to erect new towns and cities and in turn gave the places new names. In some instances white people ignored indigenous toponyms and imposed names in their languages. This study however, concurs with Griesel when he says: "If some of these names are offensive, by all means change them." It is a view of this study that replacing names of all geographical entities which are Euro-western with African names will not just be a waste of time and taxpayers' money, but an impractical exercise which has caused (see Limpopo Province and Tshwane above) and will still cause confusion among the residents of the country and the tourists.

Louis Trichardt, in the Limpopo Province, has been renamed Makhado, a name that once existed and still exists in Thohoyandou. The name of a village in Nyerere in Thohoyando was derived from a person's surname, i.e. Chief Makhado. People who know the village Makhado in Nyerere in Thohoyandou may be confused and think that the name still refers to the original entity, not the former Louis Trichardt. What may cause even more confusion is that both places (Makhado) are in the Limpopo Province. Mathenjwa (2002) says that colonialists gave names to places in South Africa which existed in their countries of origin, e.g. Newcastle, Dundee, etc. and these names should be replaced by other names. It is, however, ironical that in South Africa, some places especially in the same province are given the same name. The main aim of SAGNC is to standardise geographical names and ensure that there is only one name for one entity

McConnell, in *The Natal Witness* of 17 September 2002, page 9, says:

> Secondly, heaven help the foreign tourist who will have to try to pronounce or understand a street name such as Langalibalele Street. It will be difficult enough for a local non-Zulu speaking resident, let alone a foreigner.

It is inevitable that when visiting Korea, China or India, a tourist from South Africa will not see Zulu or Venda names, instead she would be greeted with Korean, Chinese and Indian names. It is for the same reason that when visiting England, people see English names. Whether tourists are able to pronounce the language or the name is not an issue as these names mirror the cultures of people living in a particular place. It should be noted

that for centuries, Africans in South Africa had to pronounce places like Amersfoort, Louis Trichardt, Libertas, etc. A person might ask - what prevents non-Zulu residents of South Africa from pronouncing Langalibalele? South Africa is a culturally diverse and multilingual country. The appreciation of other cultures and languages through learning them is one way of fostering nation unity. Name changing in South Africa is also sending a message to tourists, especially those whose forefathers played a role in naming entities in South Africa, that South Africa no longer belongs to the white minority. A Pietermaritzburg resident, questioning street name changes, asked why street names are being changed in Pietermaritzburg because they haven't changed in the UK. Colin Gardiner (loc. cit) answered by saying: "Because the UK has not had such a skewed history." It is because of the skewed past that South Africa had, that various names are changed. Compounding this has been the change in government in the country.

History has always had an interesting way of repeating itself, though in varying degrees. However, when repeating itself, it evokes various feelings in different people at various times. In a country as diverse as South Africa, geographical names, among other tools, can be used to segregate or unite a nation.

5.15 Should Euro-western toponyms be changed?

As questionnaires were used to ascertain whether Euro-western personal names should be discarded or not, they were also used to seek people's views on Euro-western geographical names. While a minority of respondents were adamant that Euro-western names in South Africa should be kept, as they are part and parcel of the country's history, the majority of respondents said that Euro-western names should be discarded and African names should be used to paint a picture that South Africa is an African country and not a European country.

While various geographic entities have been renamed in some provinces, Limpopo Province is the leader and the most talked about province on name changing at the moment. In other provinces there seems to be no active name changing taking place. It should be pointed out, however, that in some areas in the Limpopo Province, residents

have opposed the name changing of their cities or towns. Makgotho writing for the *Sowetan* newspaper of 23 September 2002 says:

> The greater Tzaneen Municipality in Limpopo has resolved to put on hold the controversial issue of renaming Tzaneen Mark Shope, saying the people of the town were not happy with the new name. The municipality said yesterday that the decision to put the matter off came after it had received input from the community and the traditional leadership rejecting the new name. (2002:5).

In some provinces the change of geographical names is more focused on towns and cities, while in other provinces the focus is on streets. According to the *Sowetan* (ibid):

> The Rustenburg municipality has announced that at least eight streets in the North West town will be renamed today. Council spokesman Disele Pjologoane said street names that had Afrikaans names would be renamed. After intensive consultation with the town's residents, Van Staden, Wolmarans, Smit, Malan, Van Zyl, Plein, Plicht and Boekenhout Streets have been renamed.
> It should be pointed out though that the rate at which name changing in South African provinces is going puts the whole process of name changing into question.

Pietermaritzburg, named after the colonists Piet Retief and Gert Maritz, has not yet proposed to have its name changed. It seems the most important and burning issue has been the battle to make the city the capital of KwaZulu-Natal. ULundi was the capital city of KwaZulu-Natal. The battle was won by the ANC resulting in Pietermaritzburg recently being declared the capital of KwaZulu-Natal. While the focus has not been on changing the city's name, name changing has been proposed for various streets in Pietermaritzburg. While name changing may not seem costly for the Msunduzi Municipal Council, according to people who own businesses in Pietermaritzburg, name changing is going to result in unnecessary costs for them. *The Mirror* (Pietermaritzburg's local newspaper) of 4 September 2002 reads:

> ...said that the ratepayer's money could be better spent somewhere. I will have to spend between R50 000 and R100 000 to change the sign outside the shop, the adverts on our motor vehicles and the address listed on our letterheads and business cards. .... "Quite frankly the idea is silly. Some of the street names have no apartheid meaning so why change them?..."

While other business owners were unhappy with the proposal to change street names in Pietermaritzburg, others for their own specific reasons welcomed the proposal. Citing one of the business owners in Berg Street, Barbeau writing for the the *Mirror* newspaper, 4 September 2003, (ibid) reads:

> ...a supplier of vehicle body parts who operates his business in Berg street, is happy with the proposed street renaming. "Berg street is an industrial and high-crime area. Many people are reluctant to visit our premises once they hear where we are situated, so a name change would be to our benefit."

Various geographic entities in South Africa have had some of their names changed. However, the change in some provinces e.g. Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal is very slow when compared to provinces like Limpopo and Gauteng. In my recent (April 2003) visit to Western Cape and Cape Town, I noticed that most geographical entities (whether streets, buildings, etc.) still bear Euro-western names. Name changing has either not taken place, or is moving very slowly. Perhaps the reason for this is partly because:

> A petition with about 250 names on it, mainly from addresses in the city bowl area, said the street names as they stand are an integral part of Cape Town's history and should not be tampered with. [Sapa, *The Natal Witness*, 27 June (2001:3)

Regardless of the slow change in some provinces, in other provinces name changing is going at a very fast pace. Cox writing for *The Star*newspaper of 7 February 2003, reads:

> Some of the greater Johannesburg's most familiar street names are soon to disappear.
> Jan Smuts Avenue, Hendrik Verwoerd Drive, Hendrik Potgieter Street, Louis Botha Avenue, Paul Kruger Street, Barry Hertzog Avenue and De La Rey Street are to become relics of the past.
> Some R2.3-million has been set aside, and the project is expected to be completed by the end of the year.
> The city has set up a committee to evaluate proposals and make decisions regarding the renaming of streets, public spaces, hospitals and parks. ...
> The new policy sets down several restrictions. Streets may not be named after a politician or councillor. They may not be named after a living person unless under exceptional circumstances. There can be no duplication with existing street names or well-known places in other countries. (2003:3)

Although there have been changes in various places, some residents of South Africa are either not aware of the changes or do not accept the new names. In a conversation with a white South African, when referring to Limpopo Province, the white person seemed to be unaware that the Northern Province has had its name changed to Limpopo Province. Since Limpopo is still a new name, I then referred to Northern Province, instead of referring to Limpopo, the white South African said "Ohh... you mean Northern Transvaal".

5.16 Democracy in place name changing in South Africa

South Africa is undoubtedly a democratic country, at least as far as the 1996 Constitution proclaims. Bhengu (1975:136) says:

> Austin Ranney in his book, *The Governing of Men*, defines democracy as: a form of government organized in accordance with the principle of popular sovereignty, political equality, popular consultation and majority rule.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No 108 of 1996), on page one, reads:

> ...We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the Supreme law of the Republic so as to –
> Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;
> Lay the foundation for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law;...

According to the Constitution the South African government aims to heal the divisions of the past by establishing a society based on democratic values. It is however criticised by some residents as they see the issue of name changing as undemocratic. Viljoen (2003:11) says:

> The attitude of the mayoral committee once more reveals the brazen hypocrisy of the ANC, which equals, if not surpasses, that of their predecessors. While the party oinks "democracy!" from lampposts and rooftops, its actions even more loudly squeal "autocracy". The party rules, eh? So much for the Charter and the Holy Constitution.

As mentioned earlier, there have been arguments on whether or not to change Adderley and Wale street in Cape Town and name them after the former Presidents, i.e. Nelson Mandela and F.W De Klerk. This has sparked various emotions from Cape Town residents, where some people call the changing of names 'a crazy and a communist plot' [*The Natal Witness*, 27th June, (2001:3)]. According to the *Sunday Times* newspaper of 1 July, 2001, Neville Nicholas, a Cape Town resident said:

> It is common knowledge that [Nelson] Mandela and [F.W] de Klerk did not see eye to eye with each other. What is going to happen where Mandela and de Klerk Streets meet? Are we going to name this conflict corner? (2001:17)

It should be borne in mind that unlike the cities and towns which had indigenous names together with the Euro-western names, e.g. *eThekwini* for Durban, or *Tshwane* for Pretoria, Adderley and Wale streets had no African names, thus if these names are changed, the process will be that of name changing rather than name replacing. In this study, name changing is referred to when a new name is given to a particular place, on the other hand, name replacing refers to acknowledging a name that has previously been used in a place and giving it an official status. While some people argue that it is useless to name entities after political leaders e.g. Mandela and de Klerk, as political leaders come and go, others argue that these people should be recognised for their contribution to the society, and one way of doing that is by naming some entities after them. With the way things are happening, it looks as though there will be no city or town without an entity named after the former President Nelson Mandela.

There is uncertainty as to who should propose name changing and whether the residents of various places should be consulted before the names of places they reside in are changed. Mathenjwa (2002:14) says:

> It should however be mentioned that much as the Council [South African Geographical names Council] has jurisdiction over all names of geographical features and entities in South Africa it has no power to propose new names as well as changes on existing ones. Its mandate is to recommend to the minister for the approval or rejection of suggested names. It is therefore important for the people of South Africa to know that they have a constitutional right to propose new names of places as well as changes on the existing

ones.

Though residents are encouraged to propose name changing if they want names of places they live in to be changed, it has been noticed that the government in some cases seems to have the final word on name changes. Mathenjwa (op cit) says: "Geographical names are the main features that can easily reflect the political picture of the country." This statement may perhaps be the reason why the government seems to have an upper hand in the name changing and renaming of various entities. Reporting on school name changes in the Western Cape, Zille[102] writing an article for the *City Press*, of 1 July 2001 says:

> My position has been misrepresented in the article headlined "Asmal, Zille clash over renaming of schools" (*City Press* June 24, 2001).
> It is true that I took issue with Minister Asmal's unilateral policy announcements on school names, because he has no right to make policy announcement on issues that have not been on the agenda of the Council of Education Ministers. ...
> I told him my personal preference was to avoid naming any institution after politicians – but that I would not want to impose my preference onto schools, and would therefore rather leave the naming rights to them.
> This is my main difference with Minister Asmal[103] - he wants the government to control everything. (2001:8)

In various parts of South Africa the issue of name changing and renaming has been received with different emotions by the residents. In some parts of the country residents have gone on various campaigns to show their resistance to the name changes. According to the SABC news on the 15 February 2002, at 10:30pm:

> More than 1000 members of the Afrikaner community in Polokwane, Northern Province chanted through the town's streets this afternoon to tell the world that they still want their town to be called Pietersburg. They say if the government insists on renaming it Polokwane, they may retaliate by refusing to pay their taxes and municipal rates.

In others, people have threatened those in power who they believe have the final word in place name changing. The *City Press* of 22 June 2003 reads:

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[102] Was the MEC for Education, Western Cape in 2001.
[103] See Professor Asmal's response to the above comment in Appendix 13.

> The mayor of the Makhado municipality in Limpopo is not intimidated by the threatening calls he received from people who are blaming him for the renaming of Louis Trichardt. Mayor Bryton Tlakula confirmed to City Press he received four calls from people who said: "You will pay for selling us out by renaming Louis Trichardt to Makhado." (2003:10)

Regardless of various efforts by the Afrikaner community in Pietersburg, Pietersburg was renamed *Polokwane*, a Sotho name meaning 'place of safety'. The threats that the Mayor of Makhado received did not deter him as the people who made these threats expected. Instead he is determined to make more name changes. Musetha writing for the *City Press* newspaper of 22 June 2003 further reads:

> However, Tlakula said he was not worried about the callers. "I do not even give them prominence. As a leader, I expected this to happen." ... there is no way the name is going to be reversed. "What is going to happen is that we are going to change the names of the streets."

Although it was reported on the SABC news, on the 11 February 2002 at 10:45pm that Koos Kemp, Action committee chairperson, says *Polokwane* received 600 votes while Pietersburg received nearly 1500, it is very clear as to whose voice is considered when it comes to name changing. According to the SABC news on the 11 February 2002 at 10:45pm: "Joe Maswanganyi, the Local Government MEC, announced two weeks ago that the towns' names must change to reflect the history of the black people". In similar vein, Mathenjwa (2002:10-11) says:

> Many people especially the indigenous people of this country have a right to air their views regarding things that are influencing them direct or indirect... Blacks are now the rulers; they are in government and they run the country, but at every turn, and wherever one goes, one is greeted by old symbols of the previous rulers. That has to change and soon.

In the SABC news on 14 February 2002, Ngoako Ramathlodi said:

> "Part of the task of the liberation struggle is to regain the humanity of the Africans, including their rights to call themselves by their own names." he says. "What we seek and hope to achieve, is to elevate the status of the African to that of their fellow compatriots. We are thus discharging our obligation under the Constitution by freeing the languages that were shackled by colonialism and

> apartheid... This is nothing less than an act of self-affirmation. By this act we are also saying to ourselves and our compatriots, that none is superior and none is inferior in this common motherland."

It is argued in this study that the status of Africans in South Africa compared to that of their compatriots cannot be elevated by a mere change of names. More social and economic changes need to be implemented to elevate the status of Africans in South Africa. Although according to Ramathlodi an act of self-affirmation implies that none is inferior and none is superior, the message that some people received in *Polokwane* was contrary to what he implies, as Johan Willemse of the Freedom Front was quoted in the SABC news of the 13 February 2002, as saying: "The ANC is kicking us in the mouth and says we do not want Afrikaans. We ask ourselves if this is the beginning of ethnic cleansing."

Name changing in South Africa has no doubt been an event of self-affirmation (as Ramatlodi) mentions above. The names have to reflect the African heritage, culture and languages regardless of how some South Africans feel. Just as the National Party government changed names of various places, the African National Congress Government is following suit. It is for this reason that it is argued in this study that name changing is more associated with power than with the needs of residents of various places. Meiring (1994:72) says:

> In the pursuit and maintenance of power, authority and legitimacy play an important part. People assert or defend the legitimacy of their points of view and manipulate an issue like a place name to create the perception of what Lasswell (1936:29) calls "the common destiny". Names are symbols and symbols are used to mobilize and develop a certain consciousness of the "common destiny" – whatever its content may be.

Democracy in the choice of names to be changed is in many cases only limited to the new names that can be used to replace old names, and not to whether or not geographical entities in South Africa should have their names changed. According to the South African government the latter is not negotiable. Makgatho writing for the *Sowetan* newspaper, 2 September 2003 says:

> The Geographic Names Committee has urged premiers to facilitate changing town names to avoid the continued use of foreign names. Its newly appointed chairman advocate Tommy Ntsewa, said yesterday the continued use of foreign names is disturbing ...He said there was no specific penalty that would be imposed on provinces that failed to effect name changes. Arts and Culture Minister Ben Ngubane would have to take up the matter with relevant premiers and their provincial governments.

5.17 Euro-western names vs the English language

The English language, the language of the colonisers in South Africa, has been embraced and acknowledged by many South Africans in Africa and in the diaspora. English has become a vital tool of communication when compared to indigenous languages in South Africa. Although South Africa has eleven official languages, English is still the number one language of communication and/ or lingua franca in South Africa. IsiZulu language, however, has the majority of first language speakers in South Africa and its speakers are growing beyond the borders of South Africa. According to the *Pretoria News* newspaper, 14 February 2003, Prof Ngubane[104], head of the isiZulu department at the University of Natal, said: "We have four post-graduate students teaching isiZulu at four universities in the United States and they have reported a great interest in the subject among local people there."(2003:7). According to Mutasa (2000:217), of the total South African population, there are 9.01% first language speakers of English in South Africa, while there are 21.96% first language speakers of Zulu.

According to the web site

http://www.statssa.gov.za/RelatedInverseSites/census96/HTML/press/Part002.html:

> The most common first home language was isiZulu, spoken by 23% of people, followed by isiXhosa, 18%. Some 14% of South Africans spoke Afrikaans as their first home language, and 9% English.

There exist negative attitudes among South Africans with regards to English names and/or Euro-western names. People are being ridiculed and rebuked when (according to some Africans in South Africa), they do not speak English with ease. Maphumulo writing

[104] It should be pointed out that although the Pretoria news says Prof Ngubane was the head of isiZulu Department, he was not; instead he was the Programme Director of Undergraduate Studies in the University of Natal (Durban).

for the *Sowetan* of 11 March 2002, says:

> Kwaito star Mandoza was a source of ridicule recently when he appeared on *People of the South*, an SABC Talk show hosted by Dali Tambo.
> Mandoza's sin? He could not relate his anecdotes properly in English. This was despite Tambo's attempts to make things simpler for the viewers by finishing Mandoza's sentence for him.... Like Mandoza and his fans, many black South Africans are under immense pressure to speak English impeccably.
> Sadly, eight years into our era of freedom we still find it hard to let go of the colonial thinking that "white is right".

However, people who have difficulties when they speak African languages are seldom ridiculed. As noted in this Chapter, in this country there exists a negative attitude towards Euro-western and/or English names among various indigenous people. The negative attitudes towards English names, however, do not reflect the use of the English language in South Africa. English is still considered the most powerful language (if not the main language) in South Africa although there are nine other official African languages and another language of European origin. Developing the other nine official languages to a status similar to that of English in South Africa, has proven to be a very challenging task to the government which is entrusted to promote the nine African languages. Mutasa (2000:221) says:

> The immediate goal of the department [Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology] was to recruit translators to serve in the health service where some doctors are not able to communicate with patients. Such idealism is quite valuable and plausible but the problem remains such practical realities as, among other things, the cost factor. According to the BBC cost may impede the development of multilingualism. Translating documents into ten languages is costly and cumbersome considering the fact that it costs about R10 million to translate documents to Afrikaans alone.

The numbers of African students doing African languages in higher education institutions around the country have dropped dramatically. The decrease in number of students doing African languages is as the result of the unpopularity of African languages in the past four years. African students themselves are ridiculing African languages. "African

languages are perishing. I[105] was shocked to learn that African languages in black schools from grade 1-3 are no longer compulsory." [*Sowetan Sunday World* newspaper, 17 February 2002, page 17]. In tertiary institutions, students prefer taking English as a course instead of an African language. I personally was laughed at numerous times when I informed people that I was doing isiZulu language as a major subject. Even now, many people still ridicule me when I mention that I taught isiZulu. Most African students I have come across and talked to, do not see what can be taught in isiZulu when people can speak the language. On the other hand, young children (3 –6 years old) who speak English better than they speak their mother tongues, are being praised by some African adults as being very clever. One begins to wonder where the intelligence is when a child cannot fluently express herself in her own mother tongue. Mutasa (ibid) citing Kwesi Prah (A former University of Western Cape Professor) says: "Children are now sent to English medium schools and in some families both parents communicate in their own indigenous language, but insist that the children be spoken to in English." In similar vein, Mange writing for the *Sowetan Sunday World*, 17 February 2002 citing reasons for children speaking English says: "According to one educator, pupils are struggling with their languages, suggesting that our children cannot express themselves comfortably in their mother tongue" (2002:17). It should be mentioned, however, that for a language to be popular, there should be goals that people feel they could pursue when learning a language and at the moment there seems to be no clear market where a person could excel if they did not have a good command of English. In various job interviews, it is a given status quo that the interview will be conducted in English. In numerous cases, candidates are not asked which language they would prefer the interview to be conducted in. Pride in African languages in South Africa is diminishing day by day. Mogale writing for the *Sowetan Sunday World* of July 1, 2001 says:

> People speak loads of twaddle in perfect, nasal English and we applaud them. Conversely, those who would rather have their say in African languages, even though they may have the mind of an Einstein are never heeded.
> In fact if Einstein had been a Motswana from Kgomo-kgomo speaking only his home language, he would have come and gone unnoticed. (2001:18)

[105] Mange T.

Mathangwane and Gardner (1998:76-80) say:

> In this article, however, we intend to add another important item to the above list and that is, names may also portray language attitudes a society has towards different languages used within the country.... ... the English language in Botswana is an official language, the language of instruction at school which, in itself, makes it the language of prestige. It therefore makes sense to imagine an English name being given because of the important status that the English language has in the country. This high status afforded to English names becomes even more obvious when we compare the number of people with at least one African name to the number of people with at least one English name.

Contrary to Botswana, where English names according to the study conducted by Mathangwane and Gardner in 1998 were more prevalent because English is the language of prestige, in South Africa though English is undoubtedly the language of prestige, English names are less favoured when compared with African names. Names in South Africa do not portray the attitudes people have towards various languages. It should be pointed out that in South Africa there are two major forces operating on the group psyche of Africans, i.e. the continental African power and the global power. The latter is represented by the English language and represents money, while the former is represented by 'African things' like African names that stand for cultural identity and a sense of truly belonging to one's roots. Balancing these two forces is challenging because while some Africans are shunning African languages and embracing African names, others are discarding Euro-western or English names and embracing the English language.

5.18 Name changing and the media

The media in South Africa has played a very interesting role in not just reporting on name changing in South Africa, but also leading some people to think that it can play a role in assisting people to change names of places where they live. Thekiso, writing an article in the *Sowetan Sunday World*, of 2 June 2002 wrote: "I am a *Sowetan Sunday World* reader who feels that the paper can help us change the name of my province. I hate the name Free State" [2002:21]. It is argued in this study that people copy what they see being presented by the media. Benny Alexander, the first person who went public about

changing his name, set a trend for various politicians and various people to have their colonial names changed. !Khoisan X's name change was reported on both electronic and print media all over South Africa. Though he said 'X' was an interim surname and he was going to adopt a new surname soon, it bears mentioning that the new surname is still unknown to the South African public. !Khoisan amongst various circles in South Africa is still known as !Khoisan X. The headline on the *Sunday Sun* newspaper of 12 January 2003, page 13 reads: "!Khoisan X – trendsetter!" The correspondent for the *Sunday Sun* newspaper says:

> Once upon a time there was a boy called Benny who could have been Benjamin, or Bernard, or Benithinenzantonimabhunu.[106] Nobody knew his full name, but it does not matter now.
> A descendant of the house of Alexander, Benny grew up to love and meddle in politics. He hobnobbed with the not-so-rich but famous, and often his mates would cheer: "One settler, one bullet." Many did not know the heart-felt shame brought on Benny Alexander because he carried a settler's name... until about ten years ago when he declared: "My name is not Benny. I am !Khoisan X."...
> He said he hoped others with names and surnames inherited from Africa's colonial past would follow his example, as black people had had "names imposed on them by external and vulgar circumstances beyond their control".

With the demise of apartheid, '!Khoisan' was very quick to change his name perhaps without having to dig into the past of his ancestors. The name San given "...to hunters by the Khoekhoen of the Cape"[107] is also an offensive name. According to some scholars, this name means "people with nothing"; others interpret it as meaning "people different from ourselves." The Khoikhoi (khoekhoen) name, on the other hand is said to have been given to the various groups of aboriginal people in South Africa who consisted of the Kwena people and the Qi people thereby distorting their original identity.

A number of attitudes towards name changes cited in this study have been taken from the media. Although the changes of various places are gazetted in the government gazettes, the emotions and attitudes of various residents of places are never recorded. It is with

[106] The lexical meaning of this name is 'what were you trying to do Afrikaners?'.
[107] http://www.khoisan.org

regards to the latter that the media has been very helpful. The feelings of various people toward name changing are recorded in various newspapers around the country. It is for this reason that the media has been a very crucial source in this study on name changing among South Africans.

5.19 Conclusion

The main aim of this Chapter was to compare and contrast the changing naming patterns in South Africa. From the data discussed above it can be seen that there has been a drastic change in naming patterns in South Africa. While before the advent of democracy in South Africa, a number of people had more than one name, one being of Euro-western origin, in the new democratic dispensation although most people still have more than one name, the names are usually of African origin. It is evident from the data analysed above that there have been dramatic changes in the naming patterns among South Africans. With the demise of apartheid, a number of Africans in South Africa saw Euro-western names as symbols of colonialism and of apartheid. Some people do not bother to ask how they came to get the Euro-western names they possess. Various African names have surfaced. Magubane (1998:95) referring to bringing up a Tsonga child says: "Once children can walk, the burden of bringing them up is shared between the mother and the older sisters."

From the data discussed above it has also been noticed that though minimal, there is an increase (between 1995 and 2001) in the number of people who formally change their names. In South Africa, while the majority of people are shunning Euro-western names, labelling them as colonial names, and names that were forced upon them which are symbols of oppression by the colonialists and later apartheid architects, they are embracing the English language, the language of the colonists which has been adopted by many as the language of communication.

CHAPTER 6

IDENTITY AND THE AFRICAN RENAISSANCE

Identity defines who the person is. A person's identity can comprise her name, her roots, her culture, her origin, the way she dresses, etc. As societies we live in are influenced by various changes, identities are not static. This Chapter is divided into two parts. The first part discusses the identity of South Africans and the second part focuses on the African renaissance in South Africa. It should be pointed out at the outset that the latter part on the African renaissance is not restricted to naming, as naming does not happen in a vacuum. The African renaissance covers governance, economics, politics, etc. For purposes of seeing the link between name changes and political changes in the country, part two looks at the role played by political events in shaping our country. These parts, though related, will be discussed separately and at the end of the Chapter the conclusion will draw on the relationship between African identity and the African Renaissance in naming.

6.1 Identity

The concept 'identity' means various things to different people. At the surface level the term means a sense of self. According to the **Collins Shorter Dictionary**, identity means the state of having unique characteristics, the individual characteristics by which a person or a thing is recognised. The latter definitions from the **Collins Shorter Dictionary** cannot be considered as absolute in defining identity but rather as a starting point. The reason for this is because identity is not only limited to individuals, a group of people can be said to have one identity. The other reason for this is because though identity comprises some of the elements mentioned in the above definition, the concept of identity comprises more than what the **Collins Shorter Dictionary** identifies. A question can be posed as to what constitutes or what is a sense of self when dealing with the identity of people? Is a sense of self made up of the languages they speak, the people they live with, the food they eat, the places they go to, the people they associate with? It should be borne in mind that identity is not found in a vacuum, but it is usually found in communities,

societies, nations and countries. Various communities have sets of values, customs, traditions, etc. that can be used to identify them. Some of these have been dealt with in the previous Chapters. For example, the Ngubane clan of KwaZulu-Natal usually cut the index finger of their children. It is by this physical mark that one can identify Ngubane descendants from other clans that perhaps use *ukugcaba* (to make incisions in skin) as part of physical identity. In more cases than not, the social organisation and the history of a particular country plays a major role in the construction of identities of people living in that country. A person may have different identities depending on where the person finds herself at a given time. For example, a white person may identify herself as an African because she identifies with the African landscape where she has been raised. The same person may identify herself as a European because that is where she draws her heritage and culture from. A person may have more than one sense of self i.e. may identify with various people who in return may not identify with each other. This suggests that no one person has one identity in the eyes of the society in which she lives. For example, a person may identify herself as being African, and later identify herself as being Zulu, compared to Xhosa or Sotho.

In South Africa, when Euro-western people arrived in the country, they were able to identify people who were different to them. The initial differentiating characteristic was the colour of their skin and their physique. In most cases, the Euro-western people who arrived in Africa had never seen people who looked the way Africans looked. Africans were darker in complexion (which led them to being labelled: 'blacks') when compared to Euro-western people, and they had curly short hair while the white people had silky and sometimes long hair. The way Africans were identified and classified was but a start of the separation and discrimination between two distinct persons/groups. This distinction led to various conflicts that are still witnessed around the world even today. One may argue that the initial cause of racial conflict witnessed nowadays was the fact that some Euro-western people saw themselves as being very different from Africans and as a result instead of identifying Africans as people like them, they identified them with other species of animals. It was for this reason that Saartjie Baartman[108] was paraded around

[108] A Khoisan woman who was the victim of the colonial era, who was taken to Britain in the early 1800s

Europe for everyone to see her unusual features. This type of species, however, was different from other species of animals in that it looked similar to human beings and could talk though the language was usually unknown to the Euro-western people. The white men at that time concluded and persuaded millions to believe that Africans were but another family of animals and entirely different from them. According to the *NewAfrican* magazine reporter, January 2003,

> Almost two centuries later, an honourable member of the parliament of France, Jean Dufour, sided with the truth and said: "Enslaved, exploited, shown as an animal, [Sarah] was dissected by scientists who wanted first and foremost to confirm their theory of the superiority of a race over the others. (2003:30).

Witz (2000:321) says:

> Theal [George Theal, colonial historiographer] did not see the 'Bantu' as a 'fully cultured' 'race' as 'they had no other clothing than skins of animals... They kept no sacred days and had no churches ... They could not understand each other's languages. It was, by implication the 'white race' that had all these 'attributes' (presumably all 'whites' dressed in 'proper' clothes, went to church and could understand each other perfectly well),...

Various events that followed after the invasion of the African soil led to conflict between Africans and Euro-western people. One event that comes to mind is the land conflict that is still debated even today. As travellers and explorers who had become settlers, the Euro-western people wanted land where they were going to settle and be at home. Initially Africans gave land to Euro-western people, however as Euro-westerns started to increase in number, in some instances they demanded land and in some cases resorted to war as one of the means of getting land. Gcumisa (1993:19) says:

> Babeqala ngokumisa amadlangala kaseyili, amatende phela. Okwakulandela lapho yindlwana yodaka. Uma zibuzwa izifiki lezi ukuthi imvume yokwakha izindlu ziyithathephi zithi amadlangala amatende ayanetha. Kwakuthi kungazelelwe bakhe izindlu zamatshe. Uma bona noNdabazabantu[109] bebuzwa ukuthi ilungelo lokuzinza balinikwe ngubani bakhohlise bathi izindlu lezo

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and made to parade in a cage where people had to pay to see her protruding buttocks and genitals.

[109] The name Ndabazabantu means a person who makes people's affairs his. This name was given to the Bantu Commissioner by the indigenous people because they felt the Bantu commissioner was poking his (usually male) nose into their affairs.

> zaziyosalela abantu bakaBaba uma bona abelungu sebehamba. Bake bahamba? Zake zabasalela?
>
> *They started by putting up tents. What followed after that was a small house of mud. When the newcomers were asked where they got the permission to build houses, they said the rain comes through the tents. When no one was expecting it, they built houses of stone. When they together with Ndabazabantu were asked who gave them the right to stay, they lied and said the houses will be left for Father's people when the white people leave. Did they ever leave? Were the houses left for them.?*

Murray, Williams and Everist (1998:16) say:

> In addition to its herds a family [of white people] might have had a wagon, a tent, a Bible and a couple of guns. As they became more settled a mud-walled cottage would have been built, but it would – often by choice – be days of hard travel away from the nearest European.

After residing in Africa and affirming that they were staying, the Euro-western people chose the land that they felt was of better quality. Africans were compelled to live nowhere else except in the places that were designated for them by Euro-western people. After conquering the Africans, the white men created homelands that divided Africans according to their ethnic groups. Vail (1989:3) says:

> The intellectual range of these interpretations of ethnicity has been wide. One viewpoint encountered frequently – especially within Africa itself – is that ethnicity is primarily the result of a history of 'divide-and-rule' tactics which colonial governments cannily employed. ...The element of truth in this explanation has made it superficially attractive, especially as the South African government today actively uses both approaches in its Bantustan policies and in its stress on the uniqueness of 'tribal' culture, patent efforts to promote political divisions among the country's African population.

In the seventeeth century, South Africans were divided according to the complexion of their skin (white and black) and then divided according to their ethnicity in the twentieth century. (i.e. Xhosas, Sothos and Tsongas). There was Zululand for the Zulus, the Transkei and Ciskei for the Xhosas, Gazaland for the Tsongas, Thohoyandou for the Vendas, etc. Peterson (1975:49) says:

> The bill setting up Bantustans called the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Bill was introduced to Parliament March 24, 1959. One of its chief provisions was... 8 National units were formed one for each of the following tribes, Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu.

This ethnic group distinction partly served the purpose that its architects hoped for, i.e. the conflict among the groups of Africans who no longer identified themselves as just Africans but as Zulus, Tsongas, Pedis, etc. According to Bickford-Smith (1992:20)

> An ethnic group is present when, firstly, a segment of a larger society is seen by others to differ according to culture, physical appearance or ancestry or a combination of these; secondly when some of the people so categorized see themselves in this way; and, thirdly, when they take part in "shared activities" built around these perceptions. By definition the existence of an ethnic group implies at least the existence of at least one other (see Yinger, 1986).

The separation of 'blacks' from 'whites' with the aim of "allowing all South Africans to develop freely in their own areas and thus ensure cooperation and good relationships" [Peterson (1975:14)], created chaos in the country. The indigenous people resisted the laws that promoted the separation of blacks from whites and other apartheid laws. In some cases this resistance resulted in violence between the 'white' ruled government and the indigenous people.

In some cases, various ethnic groups had conflict with each other as they strived for power and recognition. In doing so, they were embracing the policies of colonialism that divided them. Referring to Southern Africa, Vail (1989:4) says: "...it does not explain how, three decades after the departure of the colonialists, 'tribalism', or its close kin, 'regionalism', lives on as strongly as ever in independent African states,...

The conflict among Africans shifted focus from the minority government, because their plan of turning Africans against each other had worked. Sometimes instead of fighting oppression, discrimination and other unjust laws they were fighting each other. Vail (ibid) says:

> As members of various cultural groups left their isolated rural areas and interacted with each other in industrial or urban locales, they formed stereotypes of themselves and others, and these stereotypes effectively highlighted and strengthened culturally defined distinctions among peoples. The tendency of employers to prefer certain ethnic groups for certain types of work and their conscious manipulation of ethnic differences to keep the workforce disunited resulted in competition between ethnic groups being built into a hierarchically structured workforce. In this view, ethnicity was a recent phenomenon of the modern urban workplace in which boundaries and distinctions between people had been built up.

When Africans were busy fighting with each other and forming stereotypes of themselves and others, white people were looting South African resources. It is perhaps for this reason that Femi Akomolafe in the *New African*, of December 2002 responding to Stuart Lamb says:

> Stuart Lamb, a Briton who lives in Saudi Arabia, wrote to New African (September) asking, "Why are they [Africans] in Britain?" My simple answer is that those Africans who choose to live in Europe are just following their money.
> Is there anyone out there still in doubt that the wealth of Europe was generated from Africa, among other places? (2002:66)

There are various reasons why Europeans left their countries of origin and went to other countries. Included in the reasons is that some Europeans came to Africa for help as they were suffering from various diseases (Cecil John Rhodes is one such example), which were incurable in their places of origin due to various reasons which included the climatic conditions. [Moalusi (1994:100) and Chengalroyen and Pillay (1983:35)]. Others left their countries to "seek economic refuge in other countries" (Akomolafe 2002:66). On the other hand, many Africans are leaving Africa and going to Europe for studying and looking for better careers. The other reason that brought Europeans to Africa was that they were travellers and explorers moving from one place to another. In the *NewAfrican*, September 2002, Yahya Jammeh (the president of Gambia), is quoted as saying:

> When they came to impose their colonialism, they found us with governments, a better system of governance, Africa was more advanced than the West. And they are still here after 500 years, despite our mosquitoes and malaria. What for? For our gold and diamonds. How, despite their long presence in Africa, is the continent still backward while their countries develop?

> Stressing that he had nothing against the West, Jammeh said all he wanted was for Africa to be treated with respect because the West was "developed through African blood, sweat and tears – through Africa's resources", ...(2002:18-19)

The laws that white people in South Africa had created to govern the land they invaded ensured that Africans were deprived of the land socially, economically, financially and politically. Not only were Africans deprived of land, they were also deprived of access to better education. For example, various academic institutions were created in South Africa for the white minority and initially Africans were not admitted in these institutions. Peterson (1975:46) says:

> All South African Universities were segregated under legislation introduced by the Verwoerd government and approved by Parliament. The Extension Bill provided for the exclusion of nonwhites from the University of Cape Town and Witwatersrand University and the establishment of five colleges for nonwhites

Mamdani (1999:131) says:

> There were white universities with a tradition of institutional autonomy – particularly in the English-speaking ones – alongside state controlled black universities. ...The white universities were islands of privilege, in which intellectuals functioned like potted plants in greenhouses. They had intellectual freedom but lacked social accountability. In contrast, black universities coming out of apartheid were the intellectual counterparts of Bantustans.

The limitedness of resources like land, better education, better employment opportunities etc. shaped the identity of Africans. Some Africans believed that they were not good enough to undertake some responsibilities as these were reserved for the white minority.

In the quest to control South Africans, together with the creation of apartheid laws, townships were created exclusively for 'black' South Africans. In those townships, the indigenous people were easily contained and well monitored. De Lange (1993: 175) says:

> Following the victory of the National Party in 1948 and the formation of the first all-Afrikaner government, the most pivotal apartheid laws were enacted... In the following decades, more and more refined legislation imposed apartheid policy on South African society.

Peterson (1975:18) says:

> The election of 1948 was a crucial point in the evolution of race relations in South Africa. Although discrimination under various names had been practised almost from the day first white settlers landed, the vote of 1948 marked a new step towards a society separated by race. This new step had a new name – apartheid. The word was coined in 1944 by Dr Daniel F Malan.

It is conceivable that all these major events happening in South Africa played a major role in a deconstruction and reconstruction of identities of various indigenous people. As identity is linked to culture, when the forces of change affect one's culture, they also affect one's identity. Harries (1992:13) says:

> By approaching culture as a range (or repertoire) of resources that may be assembled, asserted, repressed and rejected or imposed in different situations, I take a view that identity is situational and fluid.

As identity is situational and fluid, people assume various identities at different times and situations in their lives. The indigenous people of South Africa have accepted various identities at different stages. These identities are both individually and socially bound and comprise their complexion as viewed by an outsider, their names, their ethnicity as defined according to their practices and languages they speak and their culture. Names, among various things that characterise a person, form part of a person's identity. In names, a scholar can identify the ethnic group the name bearer identifies with and in that way identify the dominant culture of the name bearer.

The identity of indigenous people in South Africa has transformed, from being 'blacks', to 'kaffirs' and to Africans. It should be pointed out however, that various scholars define the word 'African' in a South African context nowadays as embracing everyone living in South Africa and not just the "blacks".

New identities are always emerging as identities are not constant and cannot be defined only according to race. Social organisation and changes influence people's identities. With more career opportunities for indigenous people to explore, better education, participation in political and economic structure in the country, identities of indigenous

people are taking a form different to that during the apartheid era.

Names (surnames and personal names) also identify people. It is from the names, among other things, that one can distinguish and identify Africans from Europeans. It is true, however, that because of various social changes, names alone, cannot always be used to distinguish Africans from Euro-western people. Names, however, can still in most cases be used to identify the person's cultural heritage. For example, *Tlangelani Tlakula* is likely to be an African rather than a Euro-western person. It is for this reason that some Africans with Euro-western surnames change their Euro-western surnames to African surnames so that they can be regarded as more African. According to Trull in http://www.parascope.com/articles/slips/fs14_03.htm:

> For instance, "Peggy-Sue Khumalo"[110] was not the slaughter-happy[111] Miss South Africa's name at birth. A few months before the pageant, Peggy Priscilla Erasmus legally changed her name to Peggy Priscilla Khumalo, and promptly changed it again to Nonhlanhla Peggy-Sue Khumalo. A South African commentator observed that such name changes are fashionable in the post-apartheid era, "Erasmus being an Afrikaner oppressor name, whereas "Khumalo" is a liberated, guilt free Zulu name.

In a similar vein, http://www.geocities.com/southafrica2000/spirits.htm reads:

> The 21 year old Peggy-Sue Khumalo, hailed as an "African beauty" and plain Zulu girl" was elected Miss South Africa on August 25th,1996. Five days later it emerged that she was indeed Peggy Priscilla Erasmus, 24 years old, who had her names changed first to Peggy Priscilla Khumalo and subsequently to Nonhlanhla Peggy-Sue Khumalo, as was published in the Government Gazette on April 4th, 1996. She explained: "The spirits of my forefathers do not like the surname Erasmus. Since I have changed my surname to Khumalo, it is going very well with me. For example, I received more job offers".

From the above quotes it can be argued that identities in the form of names can be manipulated to serve people's interests at a particular time. Though the surname 'Erasmus' played a role in having Peggy-Sue admitted to Chelmsford (a coloured school

[110] Former Miss South Africa, crowned on the 25th August 1996.
[111] The reason why the former Miss South Africa is labelled 'slaughter-happy' is because after being crowned, she said she was going to slaughter a cow to thank her ancestors.

in Newcastle), it is evident now that in the new South Africa, the surname is not as important as it once was during the apartheid era. It is arguably true that had it not been for the surname Erasmus, Peggy-Sue would not have been admitted to Chelmsford as the school was strictly for a designated group of people, i.e. coloureds.

6.2 Social organisation

As mentioned above, race is not the only determining factor of the identity of Africans. The social organisation and the way of life in most African countries identify Africans. African identity in South Africa is not only shaped by policies and principles of colonialism and apartheid, it is also shaped by heritage and cultures that existed before the arrival of Europeans. Africans in South Africa had and still have unique characteristics that have always been used to identify who they are. These include their art, religion and culture (which includes music, paintings, beadwork, etc), and various forms of address.

Art

Africans are famous for their unique art that is uniquely African in the way that it is created and what it depicts. Overseas tourists have been witnessed buying various forms of African art to take home with them as a symbol of their visit to South Africa. African art is cherished, loved and preserved all over the world by various people. African art in South Africa symbolises the heritage and culture of the Africans in South Africa and is among the sources of their pride. It was perhaps for this reason among others, that on her visit to South Africa recently, Oprah Winfrey[112] was given a gift of a beaded necklace by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the royal Zulu house, obviously knew the symbolism of his gift to the popular Talk Show host. Murray et. al (1998:30) say:

> As in other societies, beads were used for decoration and as a symbol of status, but the Zulu people have also traditionally used them as means of communication, especially as love letters. The colours and the arrangement of the beads give the message.

Another form of expression among African art, is music. Music has been used by various

[112] Popular American Talk Show host.

people to express love, hope, anger, despair, etc. While entertaining, music also educates and sends various messages to various audiences. Among the indigenous people of South Africa, music was used to entertain at various gatherings, to soothe babies, when going to war, etc. Like African culture that is not static, African music has travelled a long way from the traditional forms including *isichathamiya, mbaqanga, maskandi*, gospel, to contemporary pop, gospel and *kwaito*. According to Stephens, (2000:256)

> Kwaito music is a contemporary black dance-music genre that has emerged over the past decade and become intensely popular in South Africa. ... Kwaito's appropriation of aspects of contemporary international music reflects the changes in black South Africa's accessibility to foreign media.

While drawing from some aspects of international music, *kwaito* music remains pure South African as messages that are echoed through it depict a South African style of music established since the 1990s. It is perhaps for this reason that during the opening of the World Cup Cricket 2003 in South Africa, various kwaito artists performed to showcase South Africa's rich heritage in music.

Humanity

Central to the African identity is the notion of *ubuntu*. Traditionally, Africans in South Africa relied on a communal rather than individual way of living. Although various changes have been seen among Africans in South Africa as a result of cultural transformation, the community spirit among some Africans is still witnessed. This is evidenced in various social gatherings, whether funerals or weddings, by numbers of people who come to these events, including strangers fulfilling the old saying that '*umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*' (a person is a person because of other people). Among Euro-western people, usually only close family and friends attend these occasions. It should be noted though, that due to various reasons, some occasions among the indigenous people which used to be communal occasions like the bestowal of names of children, are now usually limited to the family members rather than the community at large.

The notion of *ubuntu* is often equated with respect among Africans. Among most African

societies, the use of an adult's personal name is considered disrespectful. Responding to an article in the Mail & Guardian newspaper, the Minister of Home Affairs, said:

> When I read the front page headline "Big Brother Gatsha, he's gonna watch ya" I became very angry. I then wondered whether the M&G would sufficiently understand the reasons for my anger or could even fully understand them. ... No one ever refers to President Mandela by his first name. Throughout African culture it is deeply insulting to refer to anyone by his or her first name, let alone leaders or anyone older in age than oneself. ... We blacks are the majority in this country. During our oppression from colonial times and during the apartheid era, our culture was trampled on by white people to diminish us and to emphasise their superiority over us. There is no reason this disdain should continue in a free and liberated South Africa.
> http://archive.mg.co.za/nxt/gateway.dll/PrintEdition/MGP2002/3lv01098/4lv01437/5vl01468.h

To show respect to an elder, various forms of address have been and are still used among Africans. These forms of address include patronyms, teknonyms, and kinship terms. Patronymic forms of address usually use the name of the father of the person being addressed. Patronyms have been discussed in detail in Chapter 4. When using teknonyms, the name of the eldest child is used when addressing or calling the parents of the child. For example, a mother of a child will be referred to as *mama kaKhulekani* (mother of Khulekani) and the father will be referred to as *baba kaKhulekani* (father of Khulekani) among the Zulus. Koopman (2002a:28) says:

> The use of teknonyms is extremely common in Zulu society. As with the Nuer [people of Northern Kenya], and indeed many other societies in Africa, the name of the eldest child is used, but the name of the second child may also be used if the first is a girl and the second a boy.

From the above quote, it can be noted that names for boys are very important when using teknonyms. The reason for this is because of the patriarchal society where boys are usually seen as more important than girls (see Krige 1951; Bryant 1967; Msimang 1991 and Shabalala 1999). It should be pointed out that among the indigenous people teknonyms are used by adults when addressing each other and never used by children when addressing their parents. When addressing their parents, children usually use kinship terms like *ma* (Nguni), *mme* (Sotho), *mmamma* (Tsonga) or *baba* or *babayi*

(Nguni), *papa* (Tsonga). There are also various kinship terms used to refer to various members of the extended family.

6.3 African Renaissance

In this study, Africans are defined as the indigenous people of Africa and South Africa in particular. The definition thus excludes white people who live in Africa or South Africa. Although this is the case, the definition does not imply that white people in South Africa have no role to play in the African renaissance dream. It is arguably true that white people in Africa or South Africa in particular have a significant role to play in realising the African renaissance dream. It is also not all Africans who embrace and support the notion of an African renaissance. The term 'African' and the notion of an African renaissance are two separate concepts that are not causally linked. The fulfillment of an African renaissance dream is dependent on various people regardless of their race, ethnicity or cultural heritage. Hunt and Lascaris (1998:215) say:

> The African Renaissance Dream *is* a noble cause. It is in our economic self interest. It might even be essential to national cohesion. Because in a worst case scenario ethnic and cultural divisions have the potential to tear us apart. The African Renaissance Dream gives us an over-arching aim, a broader goal that will prevent petty ethnic or provincial interests dragging us down. Seen in this light, our survival as even a successful nation could depend on the African idea.

The African renaissance field is multidisciplinary in nature. It encompasses governance, politics, economics, religion, sociology, etc. The main focus of this Chapter is to establish the link between recent name changes in South Africa and the notion of an African renaissance. Since African renaissance and politics cannot be easily separated, politics that led to the distortion of the African identity and that have a bearing on the success or failure of Africa's renaissance will also be discussed.

The concept or the ideology of an African Renaissance is a very challenging and a tricky one. When one addresses this concept, one often encounters various questions that in many ways take away the attention from African Renaissance and shift the focus to issues

and events that have shaped and still shape Africa to be what it is today. One may come across two people whose ancestors are not of African origin, where one of them argues that she is African and another argues that she is not African. As these people share a certain level of sameness, one is often puzzled as to what makes one an African and the other not. It is conceivable that one cannot adequately address the notion of an African Renaissance without shedding light on who Africans are as perceived in this study. The distinction of who is African led to the breakaway of the PAC from the objectives and beliefs of the Freedom Charter in 1959 [De Lange (1993:176)]. The members of the PAC did not and still do not agree with the Charter's statement that "Africa belongs to all those who live in it, white and black".

While President Thabo Mbeki describes an African as anyone who lives in Africa, the PAC is adamant that Africans are the indigenous people of Africa who have been colonised and oppressed by the white people, and in their reaction resisted and protested against the oppression. The dreams of an African renaissance and the union of Africans are blurred if the term 'African' is not properly addressed.

In this study, Africans are defined "as people whose origin, cultures and history derive from the African continent" [Prah (1999:38)]. Falola (1996:5) says: "The very identity of Africa as a continent and of Africa as a people is formulated by criteria that draw from pre-colonial history and cultures". This study is thus opposed to Zakes Mda[113]'s definition:

> Africans are those who recognise and identify themselves as Africans, whether they are indigenous to Africa or are of ancestries that are aboriginal in other continents and came to Africa through diverse human migrations. [Accone (2000)]

One of the reasons why this definition is opposed in this study is because various people living in Africa nowadays, especially those whose ancestries are aboriginal in other countries refer to themselves as Africans when it is convenient for them to do so. People who do not share and identify with the history and culture of Africa cannot be classified as Africans regardless of their complexion. The complexion, though fundamental, is not

[113] Zakes Mda is a playwright, cultural commentator and novelist.

the determining factor of who an African is. Mda (ibid) further says that: "It is also those whose historical and cultural origins are from the African continent..." Although history and culture that originates in Africa, undoubtedly defines an African, Mda, however, does not say at what point that history and culture can be defined. For instance, can people who came to South Africa from continents outside Africa in the mid -1600s be classified as Africans? Sikhumbuzo Mngadi giving a blanket definition of an African, says: "South Africans are Africans, all of them, whether or not they see themselves as such", [Mngadi in an interview on *African Renaissance* (2000:112)]. His definition is challenged in this study. It is conceivable that in avoiding the facts and fights, Mngadi resorted to the above definition, as he further says: "We cannot be caught in these fights about what is and what is not African."(ibid)

As generations of people including Europeans, Indians and Chinese have lived in Africa, can we conceive of them as being Africans, if they attribute their origin to Africa? Surely, the African citizenship of these people can classify them as Africans, however to be an African, one needs more than citizenship to qualify. It should be noted that while some people are regarded as citizens of South Africa, they also possess passports that regard them as citizens of other countries of the world. Prah (1999:39) says: "I can in a lifetime become a Chinese or an Indian citizen, but I cannot historically and culturally become Chinese or Indian." It is solely through history and culture that we identify Africans from non-Africans. Thapelo Selepe[114], writing for the *City Press* of 22 June 2003 says:

> For instance, *dithoko, direto, izithakazelo* (totems and clan names) are the way of defining the identities of Africans, for example the Motaung, Rharhabe, Mshengu, etc. Do these notions and concepts have equivalents in other languages other than African? No, they do not exist because only a specific language can articulate a specific culture.

Prah (1999:40) on the issue of cultural identity of Africans, says:

> It is important to emphasize that the racial definition of African has little meaning or no value. Its scientific status is bankrupt. Racial definitions as substitutes for cultural realities have meanings only for Fascists. Racial definitions elevate biology over culture, when

[114] According to the *City Press* (ibid) he is a Chair of African languages at Potchefstroom University, Vaal Triangle campus.

> indeed, for humans, it is culture which makes us. It goes without saying that most Africans are black, but not all blacks have African cultural and historical roots.

One may argue that culture is not constant and not stagnant, and as a result Africans do not have a culture of their own. Though African culture has been fused and mixed with other cultures (see Chapter 3), it remains African, it is not similar to Western culture, i.e. what an African family living in a suburb with white people does, is different to what a white family does in its home.

Parr cited in Accone (2000:109) says: " 'African' means what is happening in Africa, and that an African identity can be acquired or earned by birthright or experience and commitment." This study does not conceive of African as meaning what is happening in Africa. Various practices that are not African are being practised on African soil, and their practice in Africa, does not automatically make them African. For instance, a 'China Town' in Johannesburg in Commissioner Street (Gauteng Province) cannot be conceived of as African, regardless of it being in African soil. On the other hand, Prah (1999:41) says that: "It is culture, history, attachment to these and consciousness of such identity, and not skin colour, which primarily defines an African." It is for this reason and definition that in this study we cannot conceive of people like Paul Kruger, Hendrik Verwoerd, and Cecil John Rhodes, among others, as Africans regardless of their commitment[115], service and 'disservice' to South Africa.

Though the term 'renaissance' can easily be defined as meaning rebirth, reawakening, etc., its objectives are confusing to various people. Does renaissance mean going back to the old days and doing things the same way our great ancestors did them? It is highly unlikely that the average South African living in contemporary South Africa can practise customs similar to what our ancestors practised. The space, time and the environment do not permit for some traditional practices to be practised in contemporary South Africa. This study concurs with Mda in his interview with Accone on *African Renaissance* (2000:117) when he says:

[115] See Prah (1999:39)

6.4 The African renaissance ideology

The call for Africa's rebirth or reawakening is not a new call. Prah (1999:43) says:

> The idea of a renewal, an awakening, a reawakening, a *resorgimento*, a renaissance for Africa is hardly new. Each generation of African leaders has attempted its own fashion to give it meaning....The 1868 Fanti Confederacy nationalists are generally regarded as the earliest representatives of this viewpoint in Africa.... It [African Renaissance) is suggested in different ways, by all the principal African nationalist thinkers of the nineteeth century, including Martin Delaney, Edward Blyden, Africanus Horton...In the twentieth century it includes Pixley Isaka Seme,...W.E.B. Du Bois... Kwame Nkrumah conceptualised it as the emergence of 'the African personality' and offered pan-Africanist solutions.

If the concept of the African renaissance is so old, why then is it often emerging instead of bearing fruits? The concept of African renaissance has been criticised, rebuked, and belittled by both non-Africans and Africans. The criticisms of the notion of an African renaissance are broad and validated by those who pioneer them. Due to the scope of this study, it is impossible to look at every argument that has been put forward by various organisations, institutions and individuals alike. The study focuses on Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of an African state to gain independence (Ghana) and the initial founder of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and xenophobic attitudes among Africans.

The reason why the focus is on Kwame Nkrumah and not other pioneers of Africa's rebirth like W.E.B Du Bois and others is because there seems to be some striking similarities and differences between the former leader of Ghana, the first country to gain independence in Africa, and the present leader of South Africa, the last African country to gain independence.

Although some scholars and people alike see the notion of an African renaissance as a fatal dream, it is a dream that could be realised. African renaissance calls for Africa's rebirth, rediscovery of African roots, reawakening of African culture, etc. The rediscovery of African roots and the reawakening of African culture in South Africa is seen in the way African names have surfaced to the public discourse. Not only are

African names used by Africans, they are now also used to unite the nation in various sporting codes as discussed in Chapter 4. Some Euro-western people are also giving their children African names. The close link between people's identities, the adoption of African names and political changes is clearly seen in a way the change in the political scenario in the country has led to the call for an African renaissance and the adoption of an African renaissance. The call for Africa's reawakening is a call for Africans to acknowledge and be proud of their roots and cultures including the acknowledgement and use of African names. Names are symbols. Symbols may be used to unite, divide and mobilise a certain ideology. African names are now playing a role in national cohesion.

The realisation of an African renaissance is influenced by various factors including the respect that Africans have for each other. Attention will also be paid to xenophobic attitudes among Africans mainly because South Africa has been viewed by a number of Africans as a land of milk and honey, or the land of hope and as a result many Africans from other African countries have left their countries for South Africa seeking refuge or looking for better living standards. Though some Africans will strongly deny this, numbers of Africans from Nigeria, Ghana, Democratic Republic of Congo to mention a few, roaming around the South African streets illegally and legally can attest to the perception that South Africa is a land of hope among some Africans. It is for this reason that in addressing Africa's rebirth one cannot overlook xenophobic attitudes among Africans. It should be pointed out that when people come to the country they arrive with their identity and their culture. The presence of people from various African countries does influence the South African culture and may also influence naming in South Africa.

Kwame Nkrumah was known as the father of African Renaissance in the twentieth century, and also up to this day. Recently, the President of South Africa (Thabo Mbeki) has also been acknowledged as one of the leaders of the African renaissance ideology. It is no doubt that by choosing Nkrumah as its leader, Ghana saw hope of the dawn of its new era, and no other leader would have led them to the era except him. When Ghana attained independence from its colonialists in 1957, Nkrumah organised all the African states and advocated hope for Africa's unity. His main mission was "the quest for African

unity and independence" [Omari (1970:123)]. Nkrumah's ideologies were admired by his followers resulting in him being labelled the Messiah, as Omari (1970:116) says:

> The *Evening News,* on October 23, 1961 gave a further revelation: ...When our history is recorded, the man Kwame Nkrumah will be written of as the liberator, the Messiah, the Christ of our day, whose great love for mankind wrought changes in Ghana, in Africa and in the world at large.

Like most leaders, Kwame Nkrumah was also despised by some Ghanaians. According to Rooney (1988:238):

> His foreign policy had alienated all his neighbours and had created an atmosphere of serious international tension; at home the shortcomings of the party, of the government, and of the security services had alienated most of the Ghanaian people.

Nkrumah worked very hard to achieve his objective of a united Africa free from colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, though during his lifetime, he was not adequately credited for his efforts. Omari (op cit:123) says:

> Nkrumah devoted much personal enthusiasm and energy and the government spent millions of pounds. Much assistance was offered to colonial nationalist movements, but it could not be said in the end that he reaped much in reward for all he had put into the cause.

Though Nkrumah was highly criticised especially by the Monrovia group (Ghanaians who were opposing him), and hardly acknowledged in his days, nowadays, he has been widely praised for his efforts. Push Commey writing for the *NewAfrican* of September 2002, says:

> Credit, too, was given to the founding fathers – especially Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, who was far ahead of his time. Amara Essy, the interim chairman of the AU Commission, said it better in his address: "When we mention Kwame Nkrumah, we have summed up in one name the appeal of all heroes and precursors who, from the embryonic stage of pan-Africanism to the doors of our present situation, have embodied our thirst for justice and dignity."(2002:12)

When Ghana attained its independence in 1957, Kwame Nkrumah called for African unity. Nkrumah noted that his country's freedom was meaningless unless it was linked with the total liberation of the African continent. According to Kotecha and Adams

(1981:344) Nkrumah's ideals behind African unity were:

> "...to promote understanding and collaboration among our States [African]...in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences" and also because they [Nkrumah and his followers] were desirous that all African and Malagasy States should henceforth unite so that the welfare and the well-being of their peoples can be assured.

Nkrumah's pioneering of Africa's independence led to the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on the 25th May 1963 in Addis Abbaba. The main objective behind the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963 was to attain political and economic emancipation of African states. Each member of the Union preserved its own individuality and structure. The Union did not interfere in internal affairs of states and respected the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each African state. Regardless of various efforts by Nkrumah to unite Africa, his dream did not materialise. Kotecha and Adams (op.cit:345) say: "Attempts were made since 1963 to dissolve the Organization". Thirty nine years after the establishment of the OAU, Thabo Mbeki's hopes for a better Africa led to the dissolvement of the OAU and the establishment of the AU on the 9th July 2002, in Durban. The OAU has been heavily criticised for its principles and policies of non-interference in internal matters of other states that are said to have caused chaos, human rights violation, hunger and desperation in various African states. Prah (1999:56) says:

> The affairs of African states are a concern of all other states (all for one and one for all situations), and regional bodies like the Economic Organisation of West African states (ECOWAS) and SADC[116] are increasingly assuming not only economic functions, but also, more significantly, military ones of a supra-national kind.

As a result of the policies of non-interference that are said to have only been good in paper, the OAU failed to prevent Heads of States from dictatorship, looting from their countries and from amending constitutions and extending their terms of office to infinity. According to the *Pretoria News*, 18th December 2002:

> Mobutu had to fight off uprisings in Shaba, the temporarily renamed Katanga province, in 1977 and 1978. A multi-party system was reinstated in 1990, but he stayed in control and

[116] Southern African Development Community.

> continued to finance his lavish lifestyle from public coffers. He survived a military uprising and a series of riots and looting in 1991, and again two years later, but sporadic outbursts of ethnic violence indicated that unrest was still in the air and it was no surprise when Mobutu was eventually toppled by Laurent Kabila in 1997, the culmination of Kabila's 30-year-opposition to the president-for-life. (Sapa, 2002:13)

Stealing by some Head of States from their countries was one of the causes of war in various African countries, which has left many Africans destitute. Apart from the above criticisms of the OAU, other criticisms exist, such as that the economic and social concerns of the Africans were not adequately addressed by the OAU. President Thabo Mbeki was quoted in http//www.sabcnews.com/features/au_summit/background.html/ saying:

> All Africa believes that our continent is poised to begin a new day. The millions of our people wait in anticipation for the further maturation of the African dream, building on what has been achieved since the Charter of the OAU was adopted in Addis Abbaba, Ethiopia in 1963.

However, instead of adjusting the policies and amending the principles of the OAU, subsequently building on what has been achieved by the OAU, African states, under the leadership of President Thabo Mbeki as the first chairman of the AU, saw it fit to change the name of the organisation. The new name would perhaps create a new identity for the organisation. It should be borne in mind that naming entities as mentioned earlier is an act of power and a form of exercising control over the entity being named. Although South Africa was nowhere to be seen when the OAU Charter was adopted, in its emergence from the legacy of apartheid it has played a major role in the establishment of the AU. The AU was the creation of new hope for Africans, and it is perhaps for this reason that the name change was necessary. Name changing is one of the effective tools in not just creating a new identity but in establishing one's territory. It is conceivable that in keeping the name Organisation of African Unity, President Mbeki would have been treading on Nkrumah's territory and following his ideologies, however in changing the name, the African Unity established its own identity and own territory.

In addressing the economic and social concerns of the Africans allegedly not addressed

by the OAU, the AU adopted the New Partnership for African Development (Nepad) as its main project in developing Africa and combating poverty in the African content. Olusegun Obasanjo (President of Nigeria) was quoted in the *NewAfrican*, September 2002, as saying: "The African Union and the Nepad are inextricably linked...one is the son of the other." (2002:12). Just like the OAU and the AU, Nepad had been criticised from left, right and centre. The striking argument with regard to Nepad, is that it is looking from establishments outside Africa for financial and institutional development. According to Dube writing for the the *NewAfrican* magazine, September 2002:

> Africa's socio-economic development must come from us. NEPAD will never work. You come up with a programme and depend on nothing but begging. I Yahya Jammeh[117] will not kneel down before any man and beg. I will only kneel down before God. Yes.... "I am not criticising Nepad" Jammeh said, "but the way it was conceived to be dependent on begging. Nobody will ever develop your country for you. What we want is an African Development Trust Fund where we put our resources and give loans to African countries to develop. But if you want to develop Africa by begging, you must train your knees so that you have strong knees and that is why they call it Kneepad. If you rely on Nepad, buy more pads for your knees because you will die on your knees and you will never get anything." (2002:18)

The question posed is how can Africa develop itself if it is still asking for assistance from the colonists who robbed it of its human and natural resources? It is argued that Africa needs Africans to organise and develop itself and fight poverty, the Aids pandemic, human rights abuse, etc. which are hindrances and drawbacks in Africa's growth. Bhengu (1975:156) says:

> What, however, is a major aspect of our finding is that some Africans have diagnosed their post-independence problems as arising from what has been called, for want of a better term, self-colonization. More important than economic dependence is the dependence of the mind. The economic and cultural dependence of African countries on Western societies is seen as a mere reflection of the fact that political independence did not give the Africans full control of their minds.

It is worth noting that all the members of the OAU were transferred to the AU. If the OAU failed to attain Africa's renaissance, what, if any hope, is the AU bringing? It is too

[117] President of Gambia, 2002.

early to suggest answers to this question, as the AU is just a year old. It is, however hoped that the difference between the AU and the OAU will be determined by the former's commitment and ability to building a better future for Africa's social and economic welfare which will lead to the long awaited Africa's emancipation.

As the leader of the first African country that gained independence, a lot was expected from Nkrumah. Omari (1970:117) says:

> Nkrumah according to O.B.Amankwah, was also supposed:
> ...to introduce a society in which the exploitation of man by man has been abolished for ever. A society in which the wealth and natural resources of the land belong to the people; a society in which there is no unemployment; a society in which there is no existence of economic crises; a society where the standard of living of every individual citizen is appreciably high; a society that recognizes the creative ability of her citizens and pays them according to their production and standard of work; a society where neither tribalism nor race discrimination exist.

President Mbeki is also not immune to criticisms either from the Euro-western countries or from Africa. Russel (1999:8) says:

> And so, it is hardly surprising that Mandela's successor Thabo Mbeki, faces scepticism in the west when he talks of an African Renaissance. As the Millennium dawned, the future looked depressingly familiar. Of Sub-Saharan Africa's four giants, only South Africa is stable and battling to realise the dreams of the anti-apartheid fight.

6.5 Xenophobia

The attaining of independence in various African countries meant the beginning of the country's cleansing of all the injustices that were brought about by the colonial system. Though this cleansing initially seemed easily achievable, history attests that it entailed a painful, agonising and depressing procedure. The post-colonial civil wars witnessed in African states have left many African countries poor and needy.

These wars, among other events, have played a major role in disintegrating Africans. This has led to various Africans seeking shelter in other countries including African countries.

As South Africa was built on the policies of segregation, where indigenous people were encouraged to see the difference in each other instead of seeing similarities, Africa was also built on this policy by the colonisers. [see Vail (1989:4)]. With the advent of colonialism borders were created to separate African countries from each other and this was "instrumental in creating the basis for conflict" [Prah (1999:59)]. Although borders were erected in other countries, in Africa their creation was pioneered not by Africans but by colonisers. According to Prah (ibid) Somali was divided by five borders, "...the Bari-speaking people between three borders...." As a result of the colonial division that was inherited by independent African states, Africans are unable to roam around Africa as they please. "While the creation of arbitrary borders was a paramount feature of the colonial legacy, there were a number of others" [Kearney (1999:32)].

While many migrant workers are leaving their African states in hope of better opportunities in South Africa, some South Africans are not pleased with the number of both legal and illegal immigrants that are not only roaming the South African streets but alleged to be taking jobs away from South Africans. In an interview by Accone (2000:109), *on African Renaissance,* Sikhumbuzo Mngadi says:

> In South Africa, 'other' Africans are 'dirty', 'too black', 'take away from black South Africans what is rightfully theirs', 'deal in drugs', 'are corrupt', the list is endless.

Rhoda Kadalie[118], in an interview with Accone (ibid:110) concurs with Mngadi when she says:

> With the opening of the borders after 1994 in particular, South Africa has had an influx of Africans from other countries. South Africans have reacted very negatively to this influx labelling them as 'outsiders', 'aliens', and 'foreigners' who are trying to rob us of opportunities and resources which should be prioritised for indigenous people of South Africa.

In a similar vein, Zakes Mda (op cit:111) says:

> The fact that these Africans from 'out there in Africa' are much darker in complexion than the 'normal' black South African reinforces black South Africans' notions/ complexes of superiority.

[118] Kadalie is an academic and a human rights and gender specialist.

It should be pointed out that it is not only the skin colour that evokes hatred of other Africans among South Africans. Although some Africans (outside South Africa) are darker than some in South Africa, some of them are lighter; in fact their complexion is similar to that of indigenous people of South Africa. Mda above, sadly, does not elaborate on what he means by 'normal black South African' as some South Africans are darker in complexion than other Africans outside South Africa. Facial features, however, can also act as a basis of differentiating South Africans from 'the other Africans'. There are often characteristics that South Africans use to differentiate themselves from other Africans, (see a cartoon from the *Sowetan* of 19 June 2001 in Appendix 8). Kadalie in Accone (2000:110) argues that, among other things, it is the emerging status of South Africa rather than the complexion of other Africans that reinforces South Africans' notions of superiority. As a result of the perceived superiority, South Africans are exploiting the immigrants for their (South Africans') prosperity. While some Zimbabweans are coming to South Africa with hopes of sustaining themselves, some South Africans are taking advantage of their hardship. It was reported that there are more than 10 000 Zimbabweans working on farms in Limpopo Province alone. The *Sowetan* newspaper of 9 January 2003, reads:

> There are more that 10 000 Zimbabweans working in South Africa at the moment. Many of these people are here illegally and are vulnerable to the most extreme forms of exploitation. (Sapa, 2003:4)

Simone (2000:429) says: "On a daily basis, between 400 and 500 foreign Africans queue at the Home Affairs office in Braamfontein to renew their temporary refugee status, Section 41 permits." Apart from refugees, there are also illegal immigrants who came to South Africa for various reasons including visiting associates and seeking better economic opportunities. It has often been reported that illegal immigrants because of their illegal status are being conned to work on various farms and institutions where they are abused. It is said that they are paid less than what they ought to be paid as they have no say and cannot report their abuse to the officials in fear of being deported back to their unstable countries. African immigrants also complain about the unfavourable way they are treated by South Africans and the South African authorities. Ahmed writing for the *City Press* of February 17, 2002 says:

> City Press this week discovered that the Home Affairs department is transporting illegal immigrants in police vans to their respective countries in contravention of human rights conventions. ... "We were taken in trucks like cattle, which violates our rights as humans," said Mulungu, a former teacher who is again residing in the country illegally. "We do not understand what is happening with the home affairs (officials). Do they hate us so much that they resort to piling us into trucks? I think they treat illegals in a cruel manner because they want us to hate the country and never come back. (2002:7)

Citing foreign workers' hardships, the reporter of *The Natal Witness* of January 18, 2003 says:

> Foreign street vendors in Pietermaritzburg have squared up against the city council, complaining about discrimination they feel security officers showed in the allocation of trading sites in the Church street mall. ... "This [unwitting] decision resulted in the loss of jobs for South Africans who work for us," he said, adding that after asking the licensing division about this, they were told to go back to their home countries. ... "We are now cut off from living because of discrimination, xenophobia, corruption and hatred. (2002:3)

Regardless of hardships the African immigrants face, they are determined not to leave South Africa. When I was in Gauteng, I encountered some illegal immigrants from Mozambique, selling belts, who told me that although they had been deported to Mozambique on various occasions, they continue to come back to South Africa. African immigrants always have to look over their shoulders for South Africans who accuse them of stealing their jobs and police staff who deport them to their countries of origin. According to the *Sowetan* newspaper, 12 November 2002:

> Xenophobia, the fear or extreme dislike of foreigners, is often perceived as discrimination that only affects adults....In South Africa children who are foreigners come with their parents - who seek asylum or jobs as migrants – or as unaccompanied minors. Xenophobia in South Africa created the impression that all foreigners are a threat rather than that they need protection or assistance, an attitude that has an effect on children's lives sometimes before they are born (2002:9)

Regardless of the African immigrants trying to prove their innocence, some South Africans are convinced that they are not bringing any good to the country. As a result,

they have been given derogatory names like *Makwerekwere*. It is assumed that this name was derived by South Africans from the languages that some Africans speak which to some South Africans sound like *kwerekwere*. However, Vail (1989:121) says:

> The terms which had a topographical connection were 'Korekore' and 'Zezuru'. Beach tells us that 'Korekore' gradually appeared from the north.... It generally meant people of the north and northwest.

The language and the culture that people from various countries bring to South Africa have influence on the culture and languages of indigenous people of South Africa. Some South Africans who like the sound and/or the meaning of names from various African countries are giving their children these names. It should also be pointed out that the indigenous culture has influence on the culture of other Africans coming to South Africa. In trying to identify with the South African culture, some immigrants are giving their children African names, while others are naming themselves with Zulu or Xhosa names. When I was looking for a removal company to relocate, I saw an advertisement in Sunnyside (Pretoria) for removal service. The contact person on the advertisement was Themba. Knowing that Themba is a Zulu name I called the person and spoke in isiZulu. The person replied in English saying that he did not know isiZulu. When enquiring where the person was from, he informed me that he was from Ghana.

Illegal immigrants are also blamed by South Africans for the escalating level of crime in South Africa. According to Padayachee writing for the *Sunday Times* newspaper, of April 14, 2002 says:

> Smith said the Nigerian led syndicates had turned SA into the 419 scam[119] capital of the world. "We have the best technologies in Africa. We are also seen as the super power on the continent so criminals from Ghana, Nigeria, Congo and Ivory Coast are using SA."

It is alleged that when some African immigrants arrive in South Africa, they fail to secure jobs and places to stay, and as a result they resort to crime as a means of keeping their

[119] According to the Sunday Times of 9 February, 2003, "...the 419 scam is an advance fee fraud in which foreign businessmen [businesswomen] are lured to South Africa by e-mail or fax with promises that they will receive millions of US dollars in return for paying hefty sums upfront."

lives going. The immigrants, on the other hand, argue that they are uplifting the South African economy by bringing various business opportunities to South Africa. One of the notable business opportunities witnessed in South Africa, is the Hair Salon industry which is led by people from Ghana. Though this industry is not as prevalent in KwaZulu-Natal as it is in Gauteng[120], it is growing day by day.

From various talk shows (on radio and on television), it is undoubted that there exists some bad animosity among Africans. A Nigerian born actor in an interview with *Pace* magazine of March 2002, when asked about how he feels about xenophobia in South Africa, said:

> I just ignore nasty comments about my origins. Prejudice is an ugly thing and I regard xenophobes as ignorant and narrow-minded because when a white person comes to live here that's okay. But if he is black, he is treated as a pariah. But despite the rampant xenophobia, I'm pleased that most people appreciate my work at Generations.

Unfortunately the root of the animosity among Africans is not adequately addressed. Instead, what is addressed is the attitudes that Africans have towards each other. In more cases than not, these talk shows do not come with concrete solutions that would take Africans to the realisation of their dream of total emancipation, but instead fingers are pointed from person to person. While immigrant workers accuse South Africans of being lazy, some South Africans are adamant that life would be better in South Africa if the number of African immigrants were decreased. Instead of protecting each other from the hardships that are attributed to white dominance and oppression, Africans are discriminating against each other. It is not obvious how Africa would gain its renaissance if there exists a lack of respect among Africans. The eyes of the world are on South Africa, since it has been nicknamed the 'Big Brother' among other African states. Among other reasons for this nickname as Kadalie in an interview with Accone (op cit:115) puts it, is:

> According to other African countries, South Africa emerged very

[120] Strolling along Esselen street in Pretoria, I saw a number of Hair Salons in almost every second shop I passed and most if not all were not owned by South Africans. Most employees also are not of South African origin.

> arrogantly from its undemocratic past. It imposed itself as a leader in the SADC... and the OAU, marched into conflict-ridden regions uninvited, and assumed it had answers.

It is worth noting that with their newly found freedom, South Africans have been quick to forget those who sheltered them when apartheid was rife, and yet quick to forgive[121] the colonisers who robbed them of their land, identity and dignity for centuries. Citing Africans' nature of forgiving, Zimbabwean president, Robert Mugabe in an interview with Baffour[122] in the *NewAfrican* magazine, of May 2002, says:

> This is our nature, we are a forgiving people. And although there had been conflict situations amongst us, those conflicts have not instilled into us the spirit of vengeance, of seeking retribution that you get on the part of whites. ...And perhaps we have not discovered the nature of the white man. But here in Zimbabwe we have now, we know what they are. It does not matter what the white man has done to the black man, he is always right, even when he is sitting on him in an oppressive way, he is always right. (2002:12)

Although there are various illegal immigrants in South Africa, the most exposed and condemned are Africans. It is rare to hear people speaking of illegal immigrants referring to Euro-western people, though they exist. A place called *Lindelani* (to wait, plur.) in Gauteng Province was established to keep illegal African immigrants while they are waiting to be deported to their countries. As stated by Akin on the previous page, when Euro-western immigrants come to live in South Africa, it is not a problem. In an interview with Accone (op.cit:111), Mda says:

> The fear/hatred of foreigners is directed only towards those foreigners who are black. Both black and white South Africans have never complained about those immigrants (illegal or not) who are white. White immigrants, mostly from Eastern Europe, have flocked into South Africa in recent years, some through illegal means.

The above is the fruits of colonisation of the mind of Africans by Euro-western people where Africans were encouraged to criticise each other and view the Euro-western people as always right. Euro-western people instead of being labelled as illegal immigrants are

[121] The TRC (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) is the evidence of this.
[122] Editor of the *NewAfrican* magazine.

sometimes said to be bringing necessary and much needed skills to South Africa.

6.6 African Renaissance and the media

The media (whether electronic or print) is among the very powerful tools to build or destroy institutions, organisations, individuals and also the African renaissance dream. While it sometimes builds, the media cannot be exempted for the role it plays in distorting and sometimes destroying identities of various institutions and individuals in societies.

The media has played a big role (both positive and negative) in shaping South Africa into what it is today. "Television currently forms a dense and compelling arena for viewers to define and explore their subjectivities and transforming political environment - ..." [Lewis (2000:157)]. The average South African relies on the media to better understand what is happening around her and in other parts of the world. It is for this reason among others that one rarely sees South African kids playing *inqathu, izingendo, izimabuli*[123].. Instead of playing the latter outdated indigenous games, South African children have become 'couch potatoes' watching television and/or surfing the internet. It is argued that the media more than parents, nowadays, plays a major role in shaping and constructing identities of young South Africans. More and more young people aspire to the images they see on television and thus create identities based on what the media offers to them.

The reawakening of Africa comprises many aspects of life. It is the responsibility of the media among other institutions, to further the dream of a united Africa by what it reports to the general public. It is conceivable that without the media taking one of the positive and critical leading roles in the notion of the renaissance, the rebirth of Africa will always be re-emerging in different approaches instead of producing fruits. According to the *City Press* of the 13th October 2002:

[123] *Inqathu* (*khadi* or *ugqaphu* for Tsonga and Xhosa words respectively) is a Zulu word for a game where a rope is held by two people and the third person stands in the middle and jumps while the rope is being tossed. *Izingendo* (*magava* in Tsonga) is a Zulu word for a game where a centre is either drawn or dug on the ground and stones are put inside the circle and a player throws one stone in the air and grabs the stones in the circle and throws the stone again and returns to the other stones in the circle leaving the required stone/s outside the circle. **Izimabuli** are marbles.

> South Africa's foreign minister this week criticised the media in her country for presenting Zimbabwe in a bad light after holding talks with the country's President Robert Mugabe, state radio said. ...Dlamini-Zuma told reporters after her meeting with Mugabe that the South African media was "very negative" and had "failed to paint a balanced picture of events both in Zimbabwe and South Africa". (Sapa, 2002:9)

Criticising the South African media of spying on his visit to South Africa, Zimbabwe's Minister of Information, Jonathan Moyo, was quoted by Munusamy in the *Sunday Times* of January 19, 2003, page 19 as saying:

> I have always had a nagging feeling that for all their propensity to liberal values and civilised norms, these people are dirty. In fact, they are filthy and recklessly uncouth". ... "If these people, in the name of South Africa believe they can lead an African Renaissance, then God help them because they are joking".

Though the Minister was strongly condemning the *Sunday Times* newspaper, his utterances were reported as a criticism not just of the media but also of South Africans in general and moreover the South African government. According to the *Sunday Times* newspaper correspondent (ibid:1),

> ...although Moyo and his government have since tried to explain that his attack was directed at the Sunday Times journalists, the government was convinced the comments pertaining to the African Renaissance were clearly aimed at Mbeki.

The above quote clearly asserts that South Africa being the 'new kid on the block' (*Mafikizolo*)[124] – as it was the last country to attain its independence- views itself as the sole leader or pioneer of the African Renaissance. It is for this reason that some South Africans associate statements that pertain to the concept of an African Renaissance as directed at President Thabo Mbeki as if the concept of an African Renaissance is his own making. Responding to the allegations of attacking the South African government, and President Mbeki in particular, Moyo was quoted in the above newspaper as saying:

> However, Professor Moyo said that it was strange that South African media and opposition parties were trying to connect the African Renaissance to President Thabo Mbeki only. "I did not talk about the South African Renaissance, but the African

[124] A Zulu term used to refer to newcomers.

Renaissance which belongs to all Africans. (2003:19)

It should be pointed out that the media has a right to report to the public issues and events that it sees as important and should be known by the public. However, in conducting its duties, the media should report facts and not distort information. The media can play a very active and responsive role in bringing about African unity and Africa's total emancipation.

In furthering the goals of African renaissance, the media has played a very vital role in conscientising the public about name changes in South Africa. It is through the media that various citizens of South Africa have become aware of the name changes that are taking place in the country. The media has provided a platform where people voice their views about the name changes in the country. It is also through the media that some indigenous people seeing others (including their role models) changing their names have also discarded their Euro-western names.

6.7 Conclusion

Identities are not permanent. People assume various identities at different times in their lives depending on where and among whom they find themselves. A person may have an individual identity and a social identity that is linked to her relation with the people around her. While individual identities can be defined according to people's names, social identities are complex. It is the complexity of the latter that has caused debates, confusion, and conflicts among various people. Undoubtedly every person has a social identity. Bickford-Smith (1992:20) says:

> Social identities do not have to evolve in a linear and predictable way. Once people are seen by themselves or others as, say, Coloureds, Zulu, English, Fisherman, or District Six residents, they do not necessarily take on such identities permanently. Some (or many) may reject identities they once accepted or identities imposed upon them. Others may take on new identities or identities they once rejected.

African renaissance calls for rebirth or reawakening of African culture. Embedded in African culture is African names. The arrival of Euro-western people in South Africa led

to the adoption of Euro-western languages and Euro-western names. While these names were appealing to some Africans, to others these names were symbols of oppression. The abandoning of Euro-western names nowadays is linked to the rebirth of African culture. Various people see a need to use their African names rather than Euro-western names because they want to reclaim their African roots. The close link between political changes and social changes cannot be overemphasised.

Since identities characterise who a person is, they play a major role in the notion of the concept of an African Renaissance As a result of the distortion of African's identities, the term 'African' is now used to identify or embrace even people whose ancestors' originate from countries beyond Africa. Unless it is clear to most people who Africans are, the dreams and hopes of Africa's renaissance are blurred. In addressing the rebirth of Africa, Africans are breaking the walls of colonialism and are rediscovering their roots and origin. In ensuring the rebirth of Africa, South Africans need to see each other beyond the tribal and ethnic definitions that were used to divide them for centuries. Harries (1990:13) says:

> A complementary task is to break down the categories of clan, class ethnicity, race, gender, age, community and nationality; to see them not as fixed givens, but either as totalising notions through which people have been historically ordered and classified according to the assumptions of post-enlightenment thinking, or as complex social artefacts produced by the strategies of differentiation through which people continually seek to situate themselves and others in time and space.

It is, among other reasons, because of the distortion and somehow loss of the African identity that the notion of an African Renaissance keeps emerging. Buthelezi in Mbeki, Buthelezi, Cleary, Kornrgay, & Landsberg (1998:14) says:

> We believe that we need to develop a process which moves the African experience towards the centre-stage of our society, after it was marginalised for so long by the pre-eminence acquired by Western cultures and traditions. ...We know for sure that one of its [African Renaissance] elements will be the valorisation of the African tradition and the regaining into our present the experience, wisdom and value of our past.

Political changes in South Africa played a major role in making people aware of the value of their past including the value of their African names. It is arguably true that the adoption of African names would not have been on a large scale had there been no changes in the political system in South Africa. The need to change names has been greatly influenced by the people in power. Prominent politicians in South Africa were among the first to popularise the discarding of Euro-western names and the adoption of African names. Most colonial names of geographic entities are changed because of their negative connotative meaning and also to reflect the aspirations of the dominant political group.

The adoption of African names is seen as a step towards the recognition of the importance of African culture and the value of being an African. Name changing is one of the many social changes that are provoked by the political changes in South Africa.

Africans need to identify the very principles that divided them and work with them to try and foster unity among themselves, which will result in a new African identity being created. The once unforgivable crime of being born black is now a thing of the past. Ka Plaatjie writing for the *NewAfrican*, December 2002, says:

> Even criminals dropping straight from the gallows have an undisputed claim to six feet of ground on which to rest their criminal remains, but under the cruel operation of the *Natives Land Act*, little children whose only crime is that God did not make them white, are sometimes denied that right in their ancestral home.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Summary of the findings

As conclusions have been offered for various chapters at the end of each chapter, the main aim of this chapter is to give a brief summary and recommendations for further study in onomastics.

Names can be seen as simple words used to identify people and various entities. Although names may look simple, they are very powerful. The importance of names is seen in the way names are used not only to identify a bearer but also to shape an individual's behaviour and to exercise authority over the entity being named

The main aim of this study was to investigate the changing naming patterns in South Africa, to examine the attitudes of various South Africans towards recent name changes and to explore the close link between name changing and political changes in South Africa. After research was conducted in various provinces in South Africa, it was discovered that there is a close relationship between identity, naming and political changes in the country. As political changes are witnessed in South Africa, various people see the need to reclaim their African identities and this is closely seen in the way they name themselves. It is argued that the name changes and the adoption of African names witnessed nowadays is a result of the political changes in South Africa. People's identities are shaped by history. The pre-colonial era shaped the identities of Africans. Their identities were reshaped during the colonial and the apartheid eras where various laws were enacted. Nowadays the identities of Africans are shaped by among other things, the notion of an African renaissance.

Various forces apart from political changes affect identities of various people. Some forces that affect people's identities, however, are not predictable. As identities are not

static, political changes in various societies do affect people's identities in various ways. People's identities are shaped by the societies they live in and by the events that happened and still happen in those societies. These events in various ways also affect people's names, as Meiring (1994) has observed that names will always be targeted for any change that happen in a society.

As societies transform, the messages conveyed by various personal and geographic names also change. Names send various messages to the people who hear the name. Koopman (2002a:6) says:

> I once recorded the case of the birth of a son, named by the father **uMuntukabani** ('person of whom') – a direct statement to his wife of his belief that the child was not his, to which the mother replied by naming the child, rather ambiguously in my opinion, **uMuntukayise** ('son of his father').

Like personal names, toponyms also send various messages to the public. While names like Kaffirskop and Kafferrivier for Knysna and Bloemfontein Magisterial areas[125] respectively were once notorious, these names are now a thing of the past[126]. The choice of various place names (apart from discarding names with offensive words like 'Kaffir') has changed, most of the names being used nowadays are those that are adopted from African languages, e.g. Bela Bela for Warmbaths in Limpopo Province, Gauteng for Transvaal etc. Like in geographical names, there has also been a major shift in personal names that are given to children nowadays. Apart from the sidelining of Euro-western names, African names given to children have also changed. The change is due to the changing societies that we live in. While names like *Mpiyakhe* (his fight), *Mhlasilwa* (when we were fighting) are no longer common nowadays mainly because of changing societal norms, names like *Nkululeko* (Freedom), *Tsakani* (be happy), etc. have surfaced. The dominance of African names in public discourses in South Africa is not only limited to Africans who give African names to their children. It has been evidenced that some Euro-western people in South Africa are finding African names appealing and give them

[125] As listed in the South African Place names by Magisterial Areas, January 1982.
[126] It should be noted, however, that the name Kafferskraal in Zeerust, Jacobsdal still exists as shown on the SABC 1 news on May 20, 2003.

to their children, albeit with wrong meanings. Jo-Anne Rathbone from Durban writing to the *Living and Loving* magazine of February 2002 says:

> As young white South Africans we have always tried to express our beliefs and hope in this land, which is built on reconciliation and freedom for all.
> Our faith is so strong that we decided to call our daughter Mikalya Lindiwe. Lindiwe[127] means 'joy' and we hope that she will be just that to everyone she encounters. [(2002:6)]

Some name-givers nowadays are very conscious of the names they give their children. For example, a number of parents interviewed said that they think of a name before a child is even born, while others name a child weeks after the child has been born. The reason why some parents name a child weeks after the child is born, is because they usually do not have the right name for their child when she is born. Some parents want to give their children names that sound good and names that do not convey any negative connotations. On the other hand, others still give names taking into consideration the circumstances prevailing during the birth of a child. Regardless of the hardship that parents go through trying to find a perfect name for their bundle of joy, in years to come their child for various reasons may decide to change the name that she was given by her parents. It was also noted that many parents nowadays give their children only one name, instead of two or more. One of the reasons for this is because there is no pressing need for them to give a child two names that will be used in two different places, e.g. a home name and a school name. Dyantyi (2001:118) says: "It's become *de rigeur* for children born after 1990 to have only one – ethnic – name."

Indigenous African cultures have always been dynamic and adjusted by external forces. Initially, Africans in South Africa adjusted to the period of colonialism when they were colonised by the British. Subsequent to this period, came the apartheid period during the late 1940s when the Afrikaners were voted into power. As a result of the political changes in South Africa during these periods some cultural practices for Africans were lost forever. Nevertheless, some aspects of African cultures, e.g. traditional dress, traditional foods, traditional decors and traditional art are resurfacing among Africans.

[127] Contrary to Jo-Anne's translation, Lindiwe is a Zulu word which means 'the one waited for'.

When Africans in South Africa gained independence, one of the main objectives was to revive the lost African culture through the African renaissance. It is argued in this study that there would be no African renaissance nowadays, had there been no colonialism in most African countries. The notion of rebirth and rediscovery among Africans, specifically South Africans, has had an impact on name changing that is witnessed nowadays. To rediscover themselves, their roots and their identities, various indigenous people of South Africa have resorted to using their African names instead of Euro-western names. Various respondents expressed that the reason why they do not want Euro-western names is because these names do not identify them as being Africans. Various respondents equate the rediscovery of African identity with names. As identities are not stable, it bears noting that the identity that various Africans are reclaiming nowadays might be changed in years to come. The change will be defined by various changes that take place in the country.

The rediscovery of African ways of living may not result in the total discarding of the colonial heritage. Some forms of the colonial heritage that have been adopted by the indigenous people have become part of their daily lives and cannot be discarded. Gyekye (1987: 25) says:

> Let it be noted however that postcoloniality is not necessarily a rejection of the entire corpus of a colonial heritage in view of the fact that there would undoubtedly be features or elements of that heritage which the formerly colonised people would themselves have considered worthwhile and conducive to the course of their cultural and intellectual development.

Although naming is seen as giving an identity to an entity, in South Africa it has been hailed by various residents opposing name changes as a way of scoring political points, a waste of time and money, an arrogance by the ANC government, etc (see *Pretoria News* of 7 August 2003). Naming is also one way of making history. This was also noted in an invitation to the public from the University of Natal and University of Durban-Westville inviting the public to suggest names for an institution resulting from the merger of the two institutions. The call made it clear that people must make history[128] and suggest a

[128] See appendix 14

new name.

Names can function positively and negatively among individuals and groups. It is for this reason that some names are more favoured than others. While some names are preferred at a particular period, the same names may not be popular at a different period. Names can also be used to unite, and to separate people. As some names are given for certain social or political groups, they separate the people who belong to that group from those who do not belong to the group. In some cases, although people may belong to the same social groups, i.e. being amaXhosa, the very same people may belong to different political groups, i.e. United Democratic Movement or African National Congress. By virtue of identifying with different political groups, these people who share the same social group may be rivals, based on their political identity.

With the demise of the apartheid system in South Africa, many Africans are finding African names more appealing than Euro-western names. It was discovered in this study that although various Africans with Euro-western names no longer want to be addressed by these names, they do not formally discard these names for various reasons which may include costs of changing the name and inconvenience that might arise as a result of the name change. Various Africans who apply to the Department of Home Affairs to have their names changed also do not discard their Euro-western names, but in some cases change the spelling of their names or discard their African names that are viewed as having negative connotations. It was also discovered that one of the main reasons (apart from joining Christianity) why indigenous people had Euro-western names, was to assist those who could not and did not want to pronounce African names. This is because not all indigenous people who had Euro-western names were Christians.

With regard to geographical names, it was discovered that names that are usually targeted for change are those that people identify with, like city names, town names, street names, etc. It was discovered that there are a number of duplicated names in various towns like Church Street, which however are not changed. Another striking name is Eeufees Street on the N1 off ramp ± 50km from Cape Town; also found on an off ramp a few kilometers

from Bloemfontein on the N1, also on the M14 off ramp ± 10km from Pretoria. Although this name has been duplicated, there have been no proposals to change it. The reason for this may be that most people have not noticed that it refers to different entities in different places.

7.2 Recommendations

The scope of this study was limited to changing naming patterns in the post apartheid era in South Africa. It is worth noting, however, that anthroponymic changes are not new in South Africa. During various interviews, some respondents highlighted the fact that during the apartheid periods various people especially those who belonged to minority groups, i.e. Tsongas and Vendas, changed their names because they did not want to be identified with their groups. Some people, regardless of their ethnic groups, did not respond to their African names and in most cases their African names were unknown to their peers because some Africans belittled their names. A comparative study on changes in societies leading to a change in naming is necessary to compare and contrast people's fears and attitudes at various times and their need to change their identities.

There has been a change in the meanings of various names given to people and entities nowadays. The change is fuelled by various factors including people's aspirations. It is because of the change in the meaning of names (given nowadays) apart from the notion of African renaissance that some people are changing their names because they feel that the meaning of their names is inappropriate or conveys negative attitudes. People's aspirations have changed with time, this in some way leads to a change in the meaning of names they give to their children. A diachronic study on various African names will be a valuable contribution to onomastics to highlight that various changes that take place in societies affect the choice of names given to various individuals.

Although not the main purpose of this study, it was discovered that there exists an interesting contrast in attitude towards Euro-western names, between the younger generation (born in the mid 80s) and the older generation born before the seventies. There are various reasons for this including changing times, aspirations, cultures and norms of

various societies. While the new generation discards Euro-western names, some people (old generation) do not see the need to discard their Euro-western names. Research on this subject will contribute enormously to the field of onomastics.

African names have taken the business industry by storm. Various businesses owned by both white South Africans and Africans in South Africa are given African names. There are various reasons for this. Various onomastic investigations are limited to personal names and in some way geographic names. An investigation conducted to investigate various reasons behind the flourishing African names in the business sector will not only contribute positively to the field of onomastics but to the marketing field as well.

7.3 Conclusion

William Shakespeare once wrote: "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet". It is clear that the meaning and the functions of names have changed since the days of William Shakespeare. From this study it is concluded that a place or a person by any other name is not the same to various people, though the name still denotes the same entity.

Names of any entities are very important, it is for this reason that they should be cherished, preserved and honoured to preserve the country's history. As societies continue to transform in one way or the other, name changing will be witnessed among various societies.

APPENDIX 1

Map of South Africa

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE: NAME CHANGING IN SOUTH AFRICA

I am doing a research on name changing in South Africa. Please assist me by filling the questionnaire below with the information needed. The information below will be treated as strictly confidential and will only be used for comparing and quantifying the changes. You will not be quoted in any document as an individual.

1. **Full names:**..... **Surname:**.....

2. **Name that you prefer:**.....

3. Why do you prefer the name in 2?.....

.....

4. **Who gave you your names?:**.....

5. Have you changed your name recently? (Y/N). .....

6. Which name did you change and why?.....

.....

7. **If you have a name of Euro-western origin, would you discard it when given a chance? (Y/ N). Why?**.....

.....

.....

.....

8. **Year of birth:**..... **Home language:**.....**Ethnicity:**.....

9. **Where do you live?**.....

10. Has the name of the place where you live been changed? (Y/N).....

11. If your answer above is yes, what is the new name?.....

12. **Do you think Euro-western names (of people and places) in South Africa should be replaced by African names? (Y/N). Why?**.....

.....

.....

13. Do you have children?.....

14. If your answer above is Yes, when were they born?.....

15. Do they have Euro-western names? (Y/ N). If no, why?.....

.....

.....

.....

The time you spent filling this questionnaire is highly appreciated!!

APPENDIX 3

Copy of a birth cirtificate

DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS
DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

PARTICULARS FROM THE POPULATION REGISTER I.R.O.:
BESONDERHEDE UIT DIE BEVOLKINGSREGISTER T.O.V.:

BIRTH/GEBOORTE

IDENTITEITSNR: / IDENTITY NO: 920619 5347 08 7

VAN : / SURNAME: TLAKULA

VOORNAME : / FIRST NAMES: XILUVA BRIGHTON

GEBOORTEDATUM / DATE OF BIRTH: 1992-06-19

GESLAG: / SEX : MALE

GEBOORTELAND : / COUNTRY OF BIRTH: SOUTH AFRICA

DATUM UITREIK: 1993-04-15

APPENDIX 4

Taken from the Sowetan newspaper classified section

cortege will
proceed to Dukuza Cemetery at
13h00. Transport will leave at 18
h00 on Friday 20/6/2003
MAY HER SOUL REST IN PEACE

Sowetan

Let everybody know about it in ...

ANNOUNCEMENTS

474-8709

APPENDIX 5

See the attached e-mail relating a mistake made by the Department of Home Affairs when registering a birth certificate, in the next two pages.

:h Africa - PhD

:awubona Mbali,

: am alumnus of the UN Durban campus and have just received Focus
iagazine
:his morning.
: found your doctoral research very interesting and relevant for us
\frican
South Africans. I would
.ike to thank you for embarking on it.

: would like to share a recent personal story with you which is related
:o
/ou theme.
Our newly born son who is just a month old now was given my surname,
Ramoupi, as his first
By my parents because he's the first male grand son of the family. And
:hey
felt that he should
carry that surname for all of us.
When he was born, in his birth certificate, Chunku, my wife, and I,
followed
the elders wish and
Instruction and wrote Ramoupi in the section that said First Name. The
following section said Middle Name,
Which we wrote and is Modimo'Ratile. Then the last section said Surname,
and
we wrote it, which is Ramoupi.

At the hospital where he was born, Vincent Palloti, here in Cape Town,
there's a consultant who do the Hom Affairs Department Certificates for
you
and you pay for the services. You do not have to go to the department
yourself; they do it for you and mail the certificates to you within 12
working days. It's easier and quicker. We preferred this service because
I
am leaving for US to do my PhD on the history of Robben Island this
coming
August. My family will come with me, so it is urgent to get this
document
done.

Then just last week, Chunku received our son's Birth Certificate from
the
Home Affairs Department, and guess what?
On the section which said we must write his First Name, they wrote
Modimo'Ratile and not Ramoupi as we requested when we filled in that
form.
Chunku called the consultant immediately and the consultant said that
they
noted that but thought we have made a mistake by writing Ramoupi, our
surname, in the section of First Name, because they saw that again we
have
written Ramoupi on the section that said Surname. Chunku asked the
consultant that 'is it not possible that if her surname was Thompson, it
could also be her first name?" And all the consultant could say was to
laugh
because this is exactly the point.
Chunku told the consultant that if she was not sure, she should have
just
called us and be clarified rather than just assuming because all our
contact
numbers are on the form, including our mobile phone numbers. The
consultant
said they'll rectify our son's certificate and that's precisely what we
want

form in the near future.
Sala Kahle,

Neo

Neo Lekgotla laga Ramoupi
Researcher
Robben Island Museum
Heritage Department
Research Unit
Robben Island 7400
South Africa
Tel +27 21 409 5245
Fax +27 21 411 1930
Toll Free 0800 22 8880
E-mail: ramoupin@robben-island.org.za
"The memory of what happened there must be preserved. Robben Island should
be developed as a museum where the people's history is preserved .... a place for archives ... It is too important to be turned into a mere tourist
resort."
Nelson Mandela
Voices from Robben Island

"None But Ourselves Can Free Our Minds."
ooo bob marley
redemption song

Please find our disclaimer at http://www.disclaimer.nu.ac.za

<<<<GWIASIG 0.07>>>>

APPENDIX 6

Dompass

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CAPE TOWN

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WARNING: It is an offence for any person who is not authorised or required thereto by law to make any entry in this book.

WAARSKUWING: Dit is 'n oortreding vir enige persoon wat nie by wet daartoe gemagtig of verplig is nie, om enige inskrywing in hierdie boek aan te bring.

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APPENDIX 7

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APPENDIX 8

Cartoon from the *Sowetan* newspaper of 19 June 2001, page 9.

APPENDIX 9

Corner of Adderley and Wale streets in Cape Town. Picture taken in April 2003

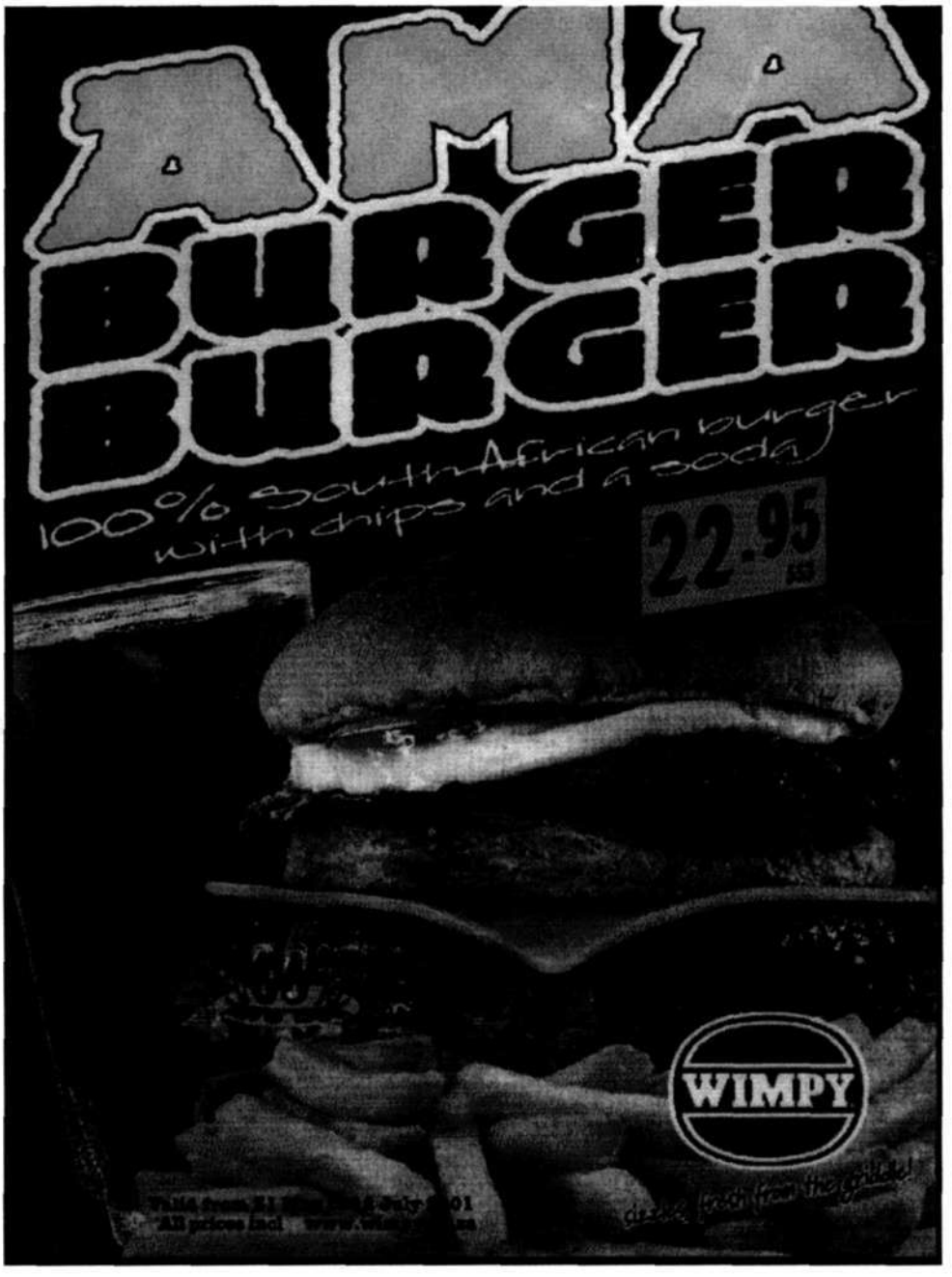
APPENDIX 10

Amadaggadagga

Taken from the *Sowetan* newspaper of 15 May 2001.

APPENDIX 11

Amaburgerburger : Taken from Wimpy in Scottsville (Pmb) in 2001



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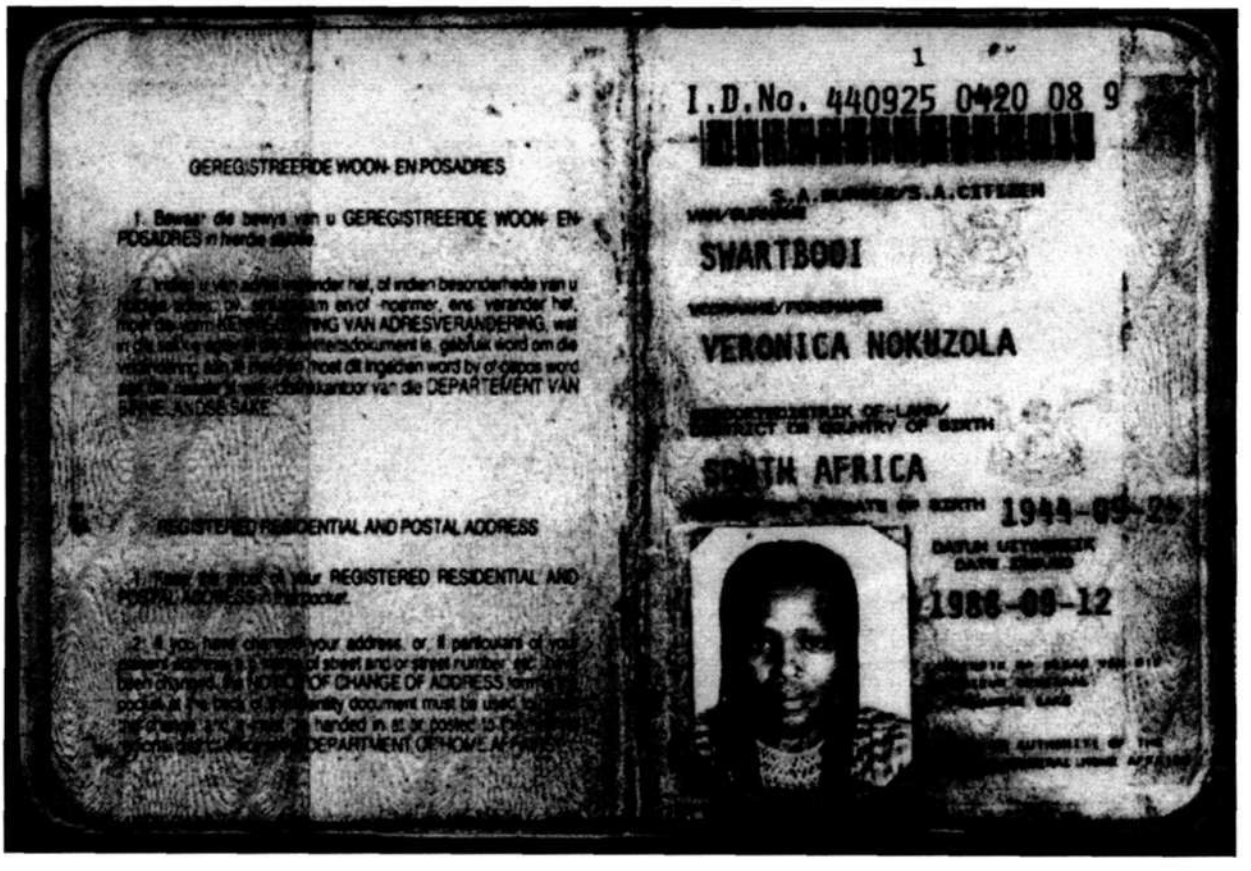

GEREGISTREERDE WOON- EN POSADRES

REGISTERED RESIDENTIAL AND POSTAL ADDRESS

1

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S.A. BURGER/S.A. CITIZEN

SWARTBOOI

VERONICA NOKUZOLA

SOUTH AFRICA

1944-09-25

1986-09-12

APPENDIX 13

Prof Asmal's response : From *City Press*, 8 July 2001, page 7.

measures.

It is unacceptable for the PAC to sell land that does not belong to them and it is also unacceptable for nit anyone including the people who are supposed to benefit from them.

The fears of the white farmers will be justified this time around.

give the governme what is right, the right time.

As I understood

Re-naming schools after struggle heroes our duty

THE MEC for education in the Western Cape, Helen Zille, seems to have a penchant for re-interpreting events (City Press, 1 July), this time regarding our discussion about school names at the council of education ministers' meeting.

That she seeks to take issue with me on a matter so obviously requiring attention seems to indicate she is having to kowtow to the sensitivities of the National Party members of her alliance.

Why else would she think it was anything but necessary to begin the process of changing offensive and politically divisive school names?

For the record I was simply repeating a national cabinet decision that all government departments should begin the process of reviewing the names of public places that cause offence, something which has clearly not yet been absorbed by the Western Cape government, or perhaps it has been conveniently ignored.

This is hardly a "unilateral policy announcement". It is incidentally a process I began as minister of water affairs and forestry regarding the renaming of certain dams.

What is more astonishing is that Ms Zille pulls an apartheid style *rooi gevaar* tactic out of her bag of pronouncements to suggest it would be wrong to name schools after violators of human rights such as communists.

This is an insult to those communists and democrats who committed their lives and often gave their lives in the struggle against racial oppression.

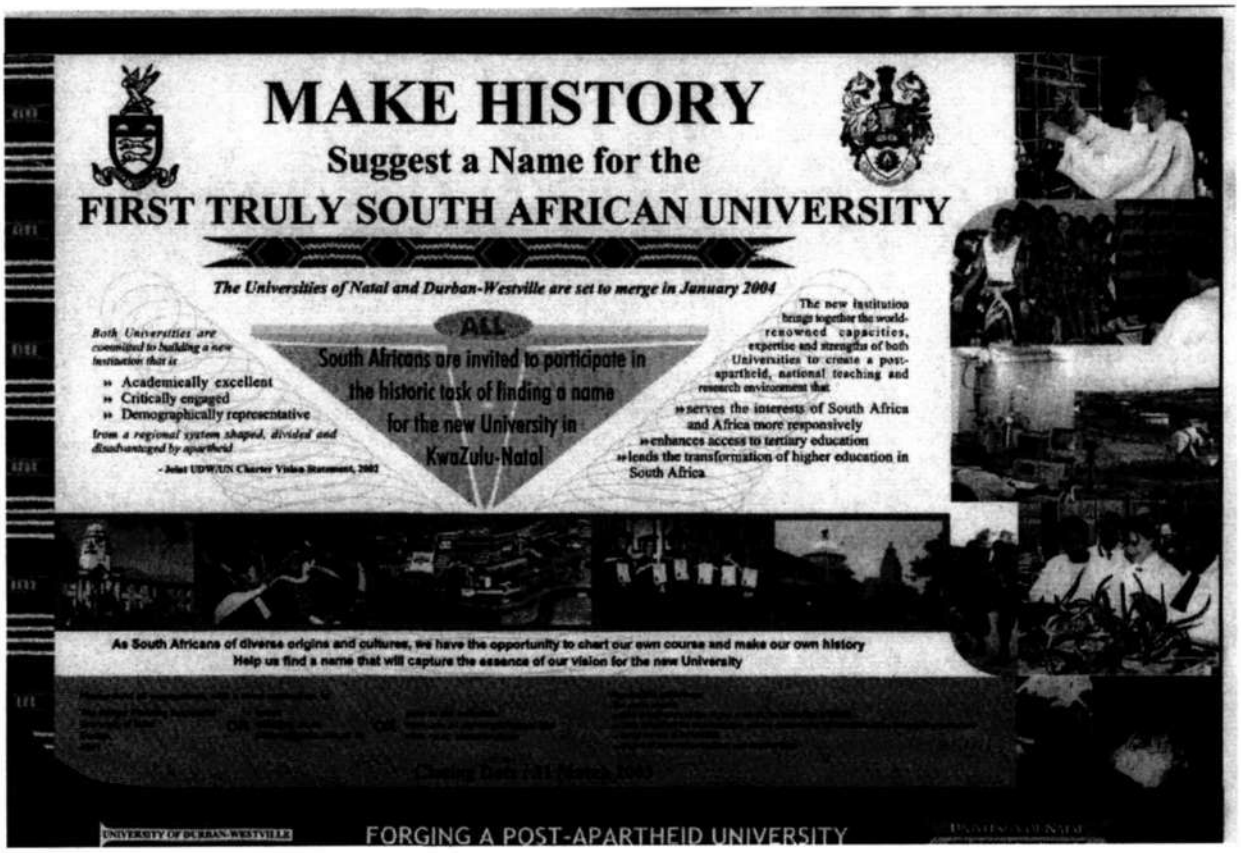
We need to honour our heroes in the struggle, people such as Moses Mabida, Joe Slovo, Moses Kotane, Ruth First and Yusuf Dadoo. In fact many schools, including those in Ms Zille's own province, have already renamed their schools after such heroes.

Ms Zille's comment that her province is developing its own protocol is yet another invention pulled out of her bag – not surprisingly sparked by my request that the process of renaming of schools begin. In trying to score political points for a bankrupt and untenable, soon to be disintegrating, alliance, she shows an alarming lack of sensitivity and respect for all those black children who are pupils at state schools bearing names such as HF Verwoerd, DF Malan and others who are responsible for bringing this country to its knees during decades of oppression of the parents and families of those students.

We have an obligation to our students and to our country to continue to deal with the symbols and reminders of our painful past. We would be derelict in our duty if we did not. – **PROFESSOR KADER ASMAL, MP and Education Minister**

WAKE-UP CALL an apartheid s pronouncemen violators of hun

APPENDIX 14


MAKE HISTORY
Suggest a Name for the
FIRST TRULY SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITY
The Universities of Natal and Durban-Westville are set to merge in January 2004
Both Universities are committed to building a new institution that is
» Academically excellent
» Critically engaged
» Demographically representative
from a regional system shaped, divided and disadvantaged by apartheid
- Joint UDW/UN Charter Vision Statement, 2002
ALL
South Africans are invited to participate in the historic task of finding a name for the new University in KwaZulu-Natal
The new institution brings together the world-renowned capacities, expertise and strengths of both Universities to create a post-apartheid, national teaching and research environment that
» serves the interests of South Africa and Africa more responsively
» enhances access to tertiary education
» leads the transformation of higher education in South Africa
As South Africans of diverse origins and cultures, we have the opportunity to chart our own course and make our own history
Help us find a name that will capture the essence of our vision for the new University
UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN-WESTVILLE
FORGING A POST-APARTHEID UNIVERSITY

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