



**UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE**

**FACULTY OF ARTS**

**DEPARTMENT OF XHOSA**

**THE USE OF PROVERBIAL NAMES AMONG THE XHOSA SOCIETY: SOCIO-  
CULTURAL APPROACH**

**UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CAPE**

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the Department of Xhosa, University of the Western Cape**

# DECLARATION

I declare to the best of my knowledge that **THE USE OF PROVERBIAL NAMES AMONG THE XHOSA SOCIETY: SOCIO-CULTURAL APPROACH**

is my own work, and has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university. All the sources I have used or quoted have been fully indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Signed.....Date.....

Phumzile Innocentia Simelane-Kalumba



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## ABSTRACT

IsiXhosa is one of the Nguni languages. It falls under the Bantu Languages and is spoken mainly by people living in the South Eastern and Western regions of South Africa. Traditionally, language symbols were frequently used by the Xhosa people to shape their culture as well as to instil values that were highly regarded in their society, such as *ubuntu* (humanity). Their oral traditions were passed on from generation to generation – through narratives, proverbs, idioms, riddles, songs and praise poems. The elders would name their children using phrases from oral expressions and by doing so, help in the preservation of societal norms and values. IsiXhosa names that are taken from all forms of oral literature are known as proverbial names.

During the colonisation of South Africa, the arrival of European settlers with different culture and values rapidly overhauled the Xhosa society and their customs. Given that certain, if not all oral traditions, including that of the traditional naming system, did not meet the approval of the new masters, a new naming system was imposed on the population. However, the end of the apartheid regime in the 1990's ushered in a new era of indigenous cultural revival and in particular a trend to revert back to traditional isiXhosa naming practices. Conversely, most proverbial names have overtime been detached from the original oral literature and do not necessarily convey the original meaning or message.

Therefore, this study undertakes to explore the meanings of isiXhosa proverbial names in relation to isiXhosa culture. It also provides a deeper insight into the origin and conceptualisation of isiXhosa names in relation to isiXhosa traditional oral literature, namely proverbs, idioms, riddles and poetry. A review of historic data related to the subject and a survey was conducted with adult isiXhosa speakers to ascertain whether the meanings of proverbial names are transparent to them. The study shows how naming practices played an important and defining part in the oral history of the Xhosa people. It also served as a system to record the events that happened around the time of birth. The comparison of results from the desk study and the respondents' interpretations revealed that the meanings of names from oral traditions are inseparable from a socio-cultural matrix.



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>CONTENTS</b>	<b><u>PAGES</u></b>
DECLARATION .....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
LIST OF FIGURES .....	viii
LIST OF TABLES .....	ix
KEY WORDS .....	x
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1 Thesis statement.....	1
1.2 Xhosa society: Historical overview .....	1
1.3 Rationale/background .....	5
1.4 Research aims .....	9
1.5 Research problem.....	9
1.6 Research hypothesis.....	11
1.7 Delimitation of study area.....	11
1.8 Ethics statement .....	12
1.9 Plan and structure of the thesis .....	13
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW .....	15
2.1 Introduction.....	15
2.2 Child-naming activity amongst the amaXhosa .....	15
2.3 Importance of meaning in African names.....	17
2.3.1 Socio-cultural significance of names .....	21
2.3.2 Historical significance of names .....	23
2.3.3 Symbolic significance of names .....	24
2.4 Conclusion .....	25
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY .....	27
3.1 Introduction.....	27
3.2 Research design .....	27
3.3 Methodology .....	29
3.3.1 Desk research (secondary data).....	29
3.3.2 Interviews and questionnaires (primary data).....	30
3.3.3 The purpose of the questionnaire .....	31

3.3.4	Questionnaire development.....	31
3.3.5	Survey sample.....	32
3.3.6	Theoretical framework.....	33
CHAPTER 4: FOLKLORE AND NAMING .....		35
4.1	Introduction.....	35
4.2	Definition of folklore .....	36
4.3	Components of folklore .....	37
4.3.1	Oral literature .....	37
4.3.2	Xhosa folktale ('myth', 'eventuation' and 'fabulation').....	37
4.3.3	Riddles ( <i>amaqhina</i> ).....	39
4.3.4	Songs ( <i>iingoma</i> ).....	41
4.3.5	Oral poetry ( <i>izibongo</i> ).....	44
4.3.6	Kinship group praises ( <i>Iziduko</i> ).....	47
4.3.7	Proverbs and idioms ( <i>amaqhalo nezaci</i> ).....	49
4.3.8	Proverbial names.....	49
CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF DESK RESEARCH.....		52
5.1	Introduction.....	52
5.2	Childbirth names: Passage into life.....	54
5.2.1	Named after the behaviour of the child.....	55
5.2.2	Blessing declarations names .....	60
5.2.3	Birth order names.....	62
5.2.4	Xhosa description of female beauty .....	64
5.2.5	Xhosa male beauty and gender roles.....	65
5.2.6	Music and dance in Xhosa culture .....	70
5.2.7	Naming after an event .....	72
5.2.8	Politically inspired names .....	74
5.3	Social names .....	77
5.3.1	Normative social names .....	79
5.3.2	Summative social names .....	82
5.3.3	Reflective social nicknames ( <i>iziteketiso</i> ) .....	88
5.3.4	Nicknames taken from body parts .....	91
5.3.5	Nicknames taken from certain behaviours .....	92
5.3.6	Names taken from animal metaphor .....	98
5.3.7	Nicknames given to Christian missionaries/preachers.....	103
5.4	Transitional names: Rites of passage.....	104
5.4.1	Name avoidance: <i>Intlonipho</i> custom.....	104

5.4.2	Name avoidance: Observed by <i>abakhwetha</i> (initiates) .....	106
5.4.3	Name avoidance: Observed by <i>uMtshakazi</i> (bride) .....	108
5.4.4	Bridal naming reflecting the new identity .....	110
5.4.5	Bridal names reinforcing the admired values of the homestead .....	113
5.4.6	Bridal names reinforcing social positions .....	115
5.4.7	Names reflecting the economic expectations of the in-laws .....	118
5.4.8	The communicative role of naming .....	119
5.5	Discussions and summary of desk study .....	121
<b>CHAPTER 6: SURVEY RESULTS AND ANALYSIS .....</b>		<b>123</b>
6.1	Introduction.....	123
6.2	Demographics .....	123
6.3	Experience.....	124
6.4	Knowledge .....	128
6.5	Overall attitudes towards proverbial names.....	139
6.5.1	Positive attitudes towards proverbial names .....	139
6.5.2	Negative attitudes towards proverbial names .....	139
6.5.3	The reasons for the disappearance of proverbial names .....	142
6.6	Summary of results .....	143
<b>CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....</b>		<b>145</b>
7.1	Introduction.....	145
7.2	Contribution to onomastic research .....	146
7.3	Conclusions drawn from the desk study .....	147
7.4	Conclusions drawn from the questionnaire survey.....	148
7.5	Recommendations.....	149
Bibliography .....		151
APPENDIX ONE: NEWSPAPER SNIPPET .....		159
APPENDIX TWO: FOLKLORE EXAMPLES.....		160
APPENDIX THREE: CONSENT FORM .....		167
APPENDIX FOUR: SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRES .....		173
APPENDIX FIVE: PARTICIPANTS DEMOGRAPHICS .....		177
APPENDIX SIX: ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE.....		178

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1. Map depicting Xhosa speaking persons across South Africa	2
Figure 4.1. The orator and her audience	38
Figure 5.1. A child being smeared with white clay ('ingceke')	53
Figure 5.2. Xhosa woman with a baby on her back	57
Figure 5.3. Picture of a cattle kraal	66
Figure 5.4. Xhosa women dancers	69
Figure 5.5. Xhosa woman cooking in the fireplace	79
Figure 5.6. Xhosa woman preparing umqombothi (traditional) beer	94
Figure 5.7. Initiates at their exclusive place	106
Figure 5.8. The bride observing intlonipho (respect) custom	107



## LIST OF TABLES

Table 5.1	Behaviour proverbial names	54
Table 5.2	Expectations/aspirations names	59
Table 5.3	Birth-order names	61
Table 5.4	Female gender role names	63
Table 5.5	Male gender role names	65
Table 5.6	Dance related names	70
Table 5.7	Named after a significant event	71
Table 5.8	Political-inspired names	74
Table 5.9	Warning names	78
Table 5.10	Summative Social names	82
Table 5.11	Reflective social names	88
Table 5.12	Names taken from the body parts	90
Table 5.13	Nicknames from human behaviours	92
Table 5.14	Names taken from animal Metaphors	98
Table 5.15	Biblical names	102
Table 5.16	Bridal names reflecting transition	111
Table 5.17	Bridal Names reflecting admired values	113
Table 5.18	Bridal Names used to reflect expected conduct	116
Table 5.19	Bridal Names used to reflect the expected economic return	117
Table 5.20	Bridal Names used to reflect attitudes and opinions of the name giver	119
Table 6.1	Proverbial names given by respondents and their expounded meanings	128

## **KEY WORDS**

IsiXhosa culture

Indigenous knowledge

Folklore

Oral literature

Names in cultural context

Proverbial names

Rites of passage

Naming system

isiXhosa names



# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

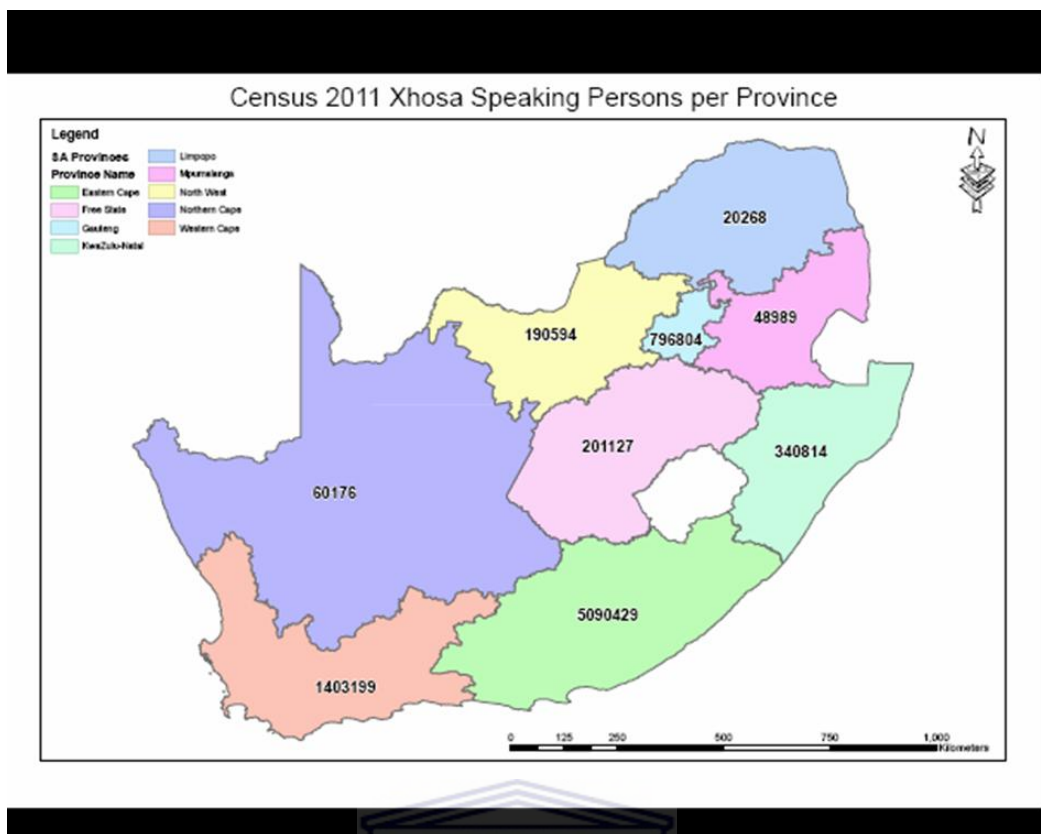
## 1.1 Thesis statement

The study investigated meanings embedded in isiXhosa proverbial names in order to uncover the role and influence of traditional culture in the naming process among isiXhosa speakers. The study provided a deeper insight into the origin and conceptualisation of isiXhosa names in relation to isiXhosa folklore, namely proverbs, idioms, riddles, songs and poetry. A historical landscape was provided to reveal the connection among language, culture and identity as reflected in the meanings of isiXhosa personal names.

## 1.2 Xhosa society: Historical overview

IsiXhosa-speaking people are part of the Nguni family, which consists of the amaXhosa, amaZulu, amaNdebele and amaSwati. The Nguni family is part of the south-eastern Bantu-languages-speaking people, which also include the Sotho family (seTswana, Southern seSotho and sePedi). IsiXhosa-speaking people number roughly eight million. They are the second largest ethnic group in South Africa after amaZulu (Statistics SA, 2011). IsiXhosa is spoken mainly in the Eastern and Western Cape provinces of South Africa and to a much lesser degree in the Free State, Gauteng, North West Province and other provinces of South Africa (see Figure 1.1 below).

The major members of the family of isiXhosa-speaking people include the Xhosa (Gcaleka and Rharhabe), Thembu, Xesibe, Bomvana, Mpondomise and Mpondo, and several other small ethnic groups that have been assimilated, to varying degrees, into Xhosa society over several centuries. Each of these is also a heterogeneous grouping of smaller populations (Opland, 1983: ix). Fig 1.1 below is a map depicting Xhosa-speaking persons across the provinces of South Africa.



**Figure 1.1.: Map depicting Xhosa-speaking persons across South Africa**  
 Source: Statistics SA, 2011.

The term ‘Xhosa’ was often used to designate territorial affiliation rather than common descent (Byrnes, 1996:46). Myburgh observes that among the Xhosa people, ancestry is very important because the ancestors are believed to have influence in the lives of the living. Therefore, different descent groups were responsible for preserving ancestral ties and for perpetuating the group through sacrifices to the ancestors, mutual assistance among the living and carefully arranged marriages with neighbouring clans or lineages (Myburgh, 1981). Over time, Xhosa society became extremely diverse, yet each member is able to tell which lineage he/she is descended from. Political power was often described as control over land (*izwe*) and water (*manzi*). A powerful chief might be praised in oral histories by the claim that he had power over the land (Aah! *Zwelinothile* or *Zwelibanzi* or *Zwelenkosi*). IsiXhosa oral histories, such as that of Peires, tell of installing a royal lineage amaTshawe (people of Tshawe), probably by the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. This royal family, the Tshawe, continued to dominate other Xhosa clans for more than a century (Peires, 1982:13).

Most Xhosa people lived by cattle herding, as detailed later in this work (cf 5.2.5). Cattle served as symbols of wealth as well as a means of bridal exchange and transportation. They were also central to the economy and crop cultivation (crops such as *umbona* [corn],



*amazimba* [sorghum], *amathanga* [pumpkin] and *icuba* [tobacco] thrived in years with adequate rainfall). Hunting game, woodworking and ironworking were important men's occupations (Byrnes, 1996).

Homesteads were normally built near the tops of the numerous ridges that overlook the rivers of the area, including the Mbashe River, the Fish River, the Keiskama River, the Buffalo River and the Great Kei River. Xhosa homesteads were organised around the clan groups, with descent traced through male forebears. The Xhosa family was a fluid and open community, bringing together a very large number who were members of the same clan. The most common terms *ikhaya* (home) and *umzi* (homestead) could designate the single household unit, the wider relations, the clan, the tribe and the nation. The basis of the family was marriage, which was understood as a contract made between the two families, not between individuals as with our Western counterparts, with polygamy being an acceptable practice (Myburgh, 1981).

Family included the father, the mother/s, their married sons with their wives and their unmarried children. The authority of the father was the strongest cohesive force. He arranged marriages for his children and helped with the payment of their dowry (Myburgh, 1981). The social rank of a woman was much lower than that of a man in this patrilineal society. Though much treasured, the woman did not enjoy the same amount of power and respect as the patriarch. These lineages, and the large clans formed by groups of related lineages, provided the centre of Xhosa social organisation (Myburgh, 1981).

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Xhosa people were also among the first Bantu groups to receive European settlers in Southern Africa, owing to the fact that they were habiting near the coast. Their early and sustained contact with educators and traders led the Xhosa to distinguish between the Westernised people (*Amagqobhoka*) who had accepted Western civilisation from the 'red people' (*Amaqaba*) who were a people with strong beliefs in traditional customs who identified with the traditional red ochre used to dye clothing and to decorate the body (see Appendix 2: Poetry: *Amaqaba*). The poem by Mgqwetho (1929) clearly shows the distinction between the subcultures of the Westernised and the traditionalists. The poem criticises the Westernised for their unwarranted pride in despising the traditionalists, who continue to wear ochre.

Being exposed to the Western influence meant that the traditional isiXhosa culture and customs were put under tremendous pressure, which was noticeable in every sphere by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. As South Africa underwent industrialisation and urbanisation, many rural Xhosa people migrated to cities such as Kimberley and Johannesburg where they offered cheap labour in the mines and other low-paying jobs. The increase in the demand for migrant labour brought about its own complications to the earlier forms of Xhosa homestead identities as men were absent from home for long periods. Cultural values were beginning to lose their power and were becoming less important as Westernisation was gaining ground in the minds of the patriarchs who were supposed to defend those values.

The 20<sup>th</sup> century was a time of tremendous turmoil in Xhosa traditional culture with the Western belief system and cultural values taking a greater hold over the traditional Xhosa beliefs. The amaXhosa believed in the existence of God, known as *Qamata*. They believed also that there was a certain prescribed manner of behaviour, as set out in their customs and traditions, whereby their ancestors were the go-betweens between the living and the dead. The prescribed social behaviours were to be strictly adhered to, or else punishment by the ancestors was to follow. Ngcingca-Ndolo (2008) supports the view that the Xhosa people would religiously follow their customs and traditions because it was believed that if there was any misfortune such as an illness in the family or failure to succeed in life, it was due to punishment from the ancestors. The Xhosa people's response to what they believed was ancestor involvement was recorded in folktales, myths, legends, proverbs and oral poetry. Jordan's (1940) *The wrath of the ancestors* was translated from the original novel called *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya*. The book has been viewed as being very rich in Xhosa culture. The book gives a general picture of the subject because one of the main themes is the explanations given for the occurrence of any mishap or tragedy experienced in the life of an individual or family. These are presented as manifestations of ancestors' anger resulting from certain rituals or customs that have not been adhered to. Pestilence, famine and childlessness were all feared to be ordinary plagues with which the ancestors punished the disobedient. This created fear or 'reverence', for lack of a better word, meaning that rituals had to be strictly observed (Jordan, 1940).

According to Neethling (1996:55), having been exposed to the influence of Westernisation in all its forms, the Xhosa people have been and still are in a state of 'transition'. The Western education system had a great impact on traditional naming practices, both the names of

persons and those of geographical features. Old naming traditions were almost eradicated as European naming practices were adopted.

Zeka (1992) protests this point: “*Yintoni ebubuhedeni ekuthini umntwana nguSandla, nguMandla, nguMpumelelo? Ize ibe yintoni ebubuKristu ekuthini umntwana nguBenson, nguBobejaan, nguCharles?*” (What makes the names *Sandla*, *Mandla* and *Mpumelelo* heathen? And what is so Christian about *Benson*, *Bobejaan* and *Charles*?). Zeka points out that the language of origin, not the meanings of names, was considered in classifying the name as a Christian/non-Christian name. English as the ‘master code’ was the language of the powerful colonial officials and European missionaries (Tisani, 1997).

Before a system for writing isiXhosa using the Latin alphabet was devised by Christian missionaries during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, isiXhosa was only an oral language (Kropf, 1899). Traditionally, language symbols were frequently used by Xhosa people to shape their culture as well as to instil values that were highly regarded in their society, such as *ubuntu* (humanity). Their oral traditions were passed on from generation to generation through proverbs, idioms or riddles, praise poems and names. Context and shared knowledge played a major role, so it was possible to leave much unsaid or indirectly implied. Elders would name the children using phrases from these expressions and by doing so helped in the preservation of societal norms and values. IsiXhosa names that are taken from oral literature are known as proverbial names. The study investigated the meanings embedded in isiXhosa proverbial names in order to uncover the role and influence of traditional culture in the naming process among isiXhosa speakers.

### **1.3 Rationale/background**

Guma (2001) notes that a study of names (onomastics) is of interest as ‘names’ are also a socio-cultural interpretation of historical events. Naming practices among the Xhosa people are important as they reflect the cultural values and traditions of their daily experiences. Mandende (2009) points out that in preliterate societies, personal names were used as a means of documenting important events. The amaXhosa have a strong oral tradition.

Oral tradition is cultural tradition transmitted orally from one generation to another (Finnegan, 1970). The messages or testimonies are verbally transmitted in speech or song and may take the form, for example, of folktales, sayings, ballads, songs or chants. Naming practices were part of the oral tradition, making it an integral part of isiXhosa cultural system.

Kimeyi (1989) in his research on the meaning of personal names found that, like oral literature, personal names were useful tools in ethnography, ethnology and ethno-history. If names from cultures that do not have written documents are studied, they can, like oral literature (myths, legends, folktales and proverbs), help the researcher to reconstruct a people's history, both culturally and historically. Hence, this study was conducted to gather the information contained in the personal names derived from oral literature.

Okpewho (1992) highlights the fact that in many traditional African societies, older people, especially men, were considered better qualified to use proverbs than other members of society were. It was assumed that their age and experience placed them in a better position to fully understand the implications of the wisdom contained in the proverbs. They could therefore impart this wisdom to younger members of society and to women (Mpungose, 2004).

Traditionally, at the end of the day's work, the Xhosa family would gather around the fire and the young children would wait anxiously as the elders slowly began telling stories with the opening line *Kwathi ke kaloku ngantsomi...* (It happened in a fantastic tale...), pausing halfway to fan the fire and then settling down again to continue. The stories told were arrayed with character names, proverbs, songs and poems. Usually it was *uMakhulu* (the grandmother) who was associated with story-telling. Riddling was associated with children as a form of entertainment, while putting forward and expounding of proverbs was associated with older people, especially men. As the elders were responsible for naming the children, they often chose a significant word or phrase within a proverb for a child's name. The description of the meaning of the name would be referenced to the meaning of the appropriate proverb.

According to Musere (1999), a proverbial name is formed when a distinctive word or morpheme (most commonly nouns) from a proverb is employed as a personal or other type of name. Finnegan (1970) observed that usually the first word of a proverb was used for personal names. Before the advent of written literature, oral literature was the core of the informal education system. This traditional educational system was rooted in the social, cultural and physical environment. Time was measured in events that were happening, not in minutes as it is now known (Mbiti, 1969). Therefore, the names of people were associated with common phenomena. Parents were traditionally a child's first teachers, being fully supported by the elders and the social system in place within the whole community. Features

of this oral education included all the facts of life, physically, emotionally and spiritually. The objectives of education were to produce an individual who would be fully conformed to the social structure and could be trusted with the responsibility of passing the same values on to the next generation. Individuals were over time taught to be aware of their status within the social hierarchy and also of the responsibilities that came with that status.

Education has been defined as the transmission of knowledge from one generation to another by means of direct instruction. Although education processes exist in all societies, it is only in the modern period that mass education takes the form of schooling, that is, instruction in formalised educational environments in which individuals spend several years of their lives (Giddens, 1989). Several researchers have argued that traditional oral education was practical and informal as the young observed the behaviour of the adults. There also existed opportunities for formal education during the rites of passage and through oral education in folklore.

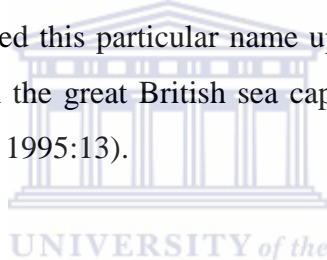
Every community raised its young according to its norms and values. However, there was a marked difference between the values and the customs of each homestead. According to Zeka (1992), from the day that the child was born, he/she would be drawn into the community, around the homestead on his/her mother's back and then later when the child was left in the care of older children. As a girl grew, prescriptions with regard to normative social behaviour were imparted. She would also learn by imitation and modelling her behaviour on that of those around her, as encapsulated in the proverb '*Amathole alandela oonina*' (The calves follow after their mothers). And the boy will also learn from the behaviour of men in the family as the English proverb puts it "like father, like son".

The end of oral traditions and verbal art is believed to be closely associated with the arrival of the European settlers in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when a new system of formal education based on reading and writing was introduced. Traditional names were being abandoned quickly as inferior as the system was being overhauled, including traditional culture, values and morals. Striving to fit in and be 'marketable' in the colonialist labour market, many were turning their backs on their African names. Culture too was changing very fast as new communication tools such as media were introduced on the scene.

Nelson Mandela (South African President 1995–2000), for example, notes that he has no idea why the name Nelson was bestowed on him (Mandela, 1995). How did he get the name? He tells us the following:

On the first day of school my teacher, Miss Mdingane, gave each of us an English name and said that henceforth that was the name we would answer to in school. This was the custom among Africans in those days and was undoubtedly due to the British bias of our education. The education I received was a British education, in which British ideas, British culture and British institutions were automatically assumed to be superior. There was no such thing as African culture. Africans of my generation — and even today — generally have both a Western and an African name.

Whites were either unable or unwilling to pronounce an African name, and considered it uncivilized to have one. That day, Miss Mdingane told me that my new name was Nelson. Why she -bestowed this particular name upon me I have no idea. Perhaps it had something to do with the great British sea captain Lord Nelson, but that would only be a guess (Mandela, 1995:13).



In their article entitled “Naming in two cultures: English and Xhosa practices”, Bosch and De Klerk (1995) state that among Xhosa parents, the meaning of personal names plays an important role, whereas English parents more readily choose names based on aesthetic appeal or personal whim. The above clearly shows that the meaning of the name is more important to Xhosa parents than the sound, length or appeal of the name.

Makgamatha (1998) argues that by the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, people were reclaiming their African names, labelling their European names as ‘the badge for slavery’. The revival of traditional naming practices calls for a deeper understanding of their origins as well as the contemporary use of such names. Therefore, this study was conducted in order to obtain a deeper cultural understanding of proverbial names.

In attempting to formulate the theory for this work, it was realised that there was a lack of focused literature on names taken from folklore, in other words proverbial names in general and specifically their reference to the socio-cultural aspects of Xhosa culture and customs. This suggested a need to conduct some preliminary studies to help develop the theory by

exploring some of the practical issues associated with this topic. Therefore, a study of folklore, oral traditions and anthropological and historical findings was undertaken.

#### **1.4 Research aims**

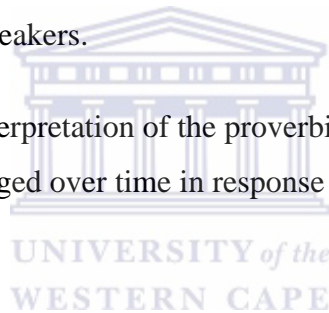
This study had the following aims:

- To investigate names linked to folklore, in other words oral literature, proverbs, idioms, poems and/or riddles.
- To establish the culture and customs from which such names were constructed.
- To investigate whether any proverbial names were still being employed among isiXhosa speakers.
- To establish whether the meanings of proverbial names were still transparent to contemporary isiXhosa speakers.
- To investigate how the interpretation of the proverbial names and their correlating proverbs might have changed over time in response to the changing culture.

#### **1.5 Research problem**

The literature review conducted by the researcher revealed that earlier studies of Xhosa names had not paid due attention to how the traditional Xhosa people used their oral literature such as narratives (*iintsomi*), riddles (*amaqhina*), proverbs and idioms (*amaqhalo nezaci*), praise poems (*izibongo*) and songs (*iingoma*) as a source of personal names. Mabeqa (2013) highlights the fact that research into Xhosa names should not be isolated from folklore, which is the umbrella under which they belong, as a component of oral literature, yet both folklorists and onomasticians seldom, if ever, make links between folklore and names.

This study represents a step towards providing a comprehensive, ethnographically oriented account of the uses, functions and meaningfulness of Xhosa personal names within their socio-cultural context, through an investigation of the apparently complex and multifaceted relationships between naming phenomena and other aspects of traditional Xhosa oral literature.





Literature on isiXhosa names reviewed by the researcher exclusively dealt with names as an isolated subject, and the scholars have restricted their research to explaining only the linguistic formation of names and to providing as meaningful a translation as possible. But then we are confronted by the problem that this lexical approach does not reveal any relationship between the names and the culture of the people under study. Thus, studying the relationship between folklore and names, proverbial expressions and the culture that they emanated from could help us to better understand that naming is part and parcel of the genre that was culturally composed and transmitted orally from generation to generation whilst in the process changing in its form from personal names (*amagama*) and being reformed to personal praise names (*izibongo*) and finally being immortalised in the clan praise name (*iziduko*).

The questions below were addressed in this study:

- What are Xhosa proverbial names?
- How do Xhosa traditional naming practices relate to folklore and other components of oral literature?
- Which cultural themes or customs exert the most influence in terms of how personal names acquire meaning and are used in Xhosa society?
- What roles do personal proverbial names play in reflecting the socio-cultural changes or events in traditional Xhosa culture?

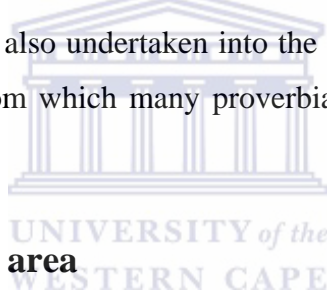
It is important that we seek to establish the relationship between personal names and Xhosa folklore. We also need to understand the cultural contextual use of such names when they were first used and then to find out whether such names are still being used in the same cultural context or whether the context has changed to reflect contemporary language. The study utilised folklore in the form of proverbs, idioms and associated proverbial names as a framework. It was anticipated that if personal names were interpreted within their socio-cultural aspects, they would have the potential to play an effective role in unpacking the context, bringing to the surface historic events and unearthing important values. The study represents one of the few attempts at using isiXhosa culture and customs embedded in oral literature as a foundational channel for researching isiXhosa personal names and naming practices. In this way, it provides fresh insight into what has already been written about isiXhosa naming phenomena. It also spearheads a new approach for research into traditional African personal names in general.



## **1.6 Research hypothesis**

The study sought to establish the use and the level of contextual understanding of personal names derived from folklore, in other words proverbs, idioms, songs and praise poems among isiXhosa language users. The period from the early 1800s to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century overlaps with the oral age and represents the beginning of written literature. According to Ntuli et al. (2000), “The literary abilities of preliterate men and women have been established beyond question by the thousands of stories, poems, lyrics, riddles and proverbs they have left us.” Most of this heritage has, however, been lost through lack of proper documentation.

IsiXhosa has a fertile source of proverbial names, as seemingly a common Xhosa name can be imbued with complex underlying significance. The use of original proverbs as the central frame of reference would be able to give the appropriate socio-cultural meaning of proverbial names. The objective of the study was to trace proverbs and idioms as historically recorded and to find their social and cultural contextual use with reference to the proverbial names arising from them. Research was also undertaken into the specific aspects of the culture and customs of the Xhosa people from which many proverbial expressions encountered in this study came from.



## **1.7 Delimitation of study area**

Proverbial names were employed in different types of naming, such as naming of persons, places, geographical features, homesteads and animals (ox names) (Musere, 1999). Homestead heads gave their homes proverbial names. There were also many villages that were given names. Proverbial names covered in this study were those employed as personal names. No attempt was made to cover every feature of the proverbial names of the Xhosa people as time and resources did not permit. Besides, some of the original proverbs are completely extinct and their history is impossible to trace.

A comprehensive study of those proverbs still available was impossible within the scope and the purpose of the study. Therefore, the aspects of isiXhosa culture and customs covered were influenced by the limited collection and the analysis of the proverbial names and their oral literature. Additionally, the names covered in the study were mainly those derived from proverbs, idioms and poems.

The main purpose of the research from its inception was to analyse the different cultural codes presented in the proverbial names under study by referencing them to their proverbs, idioms, poems and so forth. The researcher thus deliberately avoided becoming too involved in this research in linguistic issues such as grammar, affixes, suffixes and the morphology of each name. As proverbial names do not seem to have structural features that are unique to them, they can be formed from any part of the language; phonological processes in the formation of proverbial names from the various word categories require a separate attention and a study of their own. Therefore, any effort to tackle the linguistic issues in the study would have been unfruitful. The socio-cultural approach that was adopted in this study consisted of a wide range of nonlinguistic factors, such as associations, connotations, cultural beliefs, customs, values, historic events and oral literature, through which the meaning of names was accessed.

However, the research into proverbial names was beset with odd difficulties, arising from the fact that unlike other personal names, these types of name constantly outlive their reference point, in other words the cultural context or source events from which they are derived. The standard interpretation of the proverbial names given was thus that obtained from the historic data instead of the name-giver. Then a study was conducted among isiXhosa speakers to find out whether the meaning was transparent to them. Both the research and the analysis were presented in English to benefit the whole body of researchers. Where there was no exact equivalent word in English, an acceptable equivalent was used.

## **1.8 Ethics statement**

In a qualitative case study, ethical issues may need to be examined both when collecting data and when analysing findings. An ethical statement should be drawn up that covers the three main ethical values, which are the following, according to Bassey (1995:15):

- Respect for persons
- Respect for truth
- Respect for democratic values

**Respect for persons:** This includes being honest and transparent. Social research often requires people to reveal personal information about themselves. The researcher ensured that the information was kept safe to ensure confidentiality.

**Respect for truth:** This ensures that the data that are collected from subjects are not tampered with in order to produce the conclusions that the researcher desires. In this research, records were kept in order to safeguard the truthfulness of the research.

**Respect for democratic values:** In a democratic society, the researcher has the democratic right to investigate and to ask questions, the freedom to express his/her own ideas and to criticise the ideas of others, and the freedom to publish the findings that have resulted from the research. However, these freedoms are “subject to the responsibilities imposed by the ethics for respect for persons and respect for truth” (Bassey, 1995:15).

The principle of voluntary participation requires that people not be coerced into participating in research. The researcher ensured that this principle was upheld when the data were collected. Participants were informed of their right to participate or not and that they could withdraw from the research process at any time (signed and detailed informed consent attached in Appendix 3 and the Ethics Clearance SR1 Form in Appendix 6).

The participants in this study read the consent form in the language that they preferred (English or Xhosa). In the case of illiterate participants, the consent form was read out to them in a language that was familiar to them. Their consent was elicited verbally. Furthermore, everything possible was done to ensure that the respondents fully understood the purpose of the study, their role as participants, the level of confidentiality involved and the protection of their integrity.

## **1.9 Plan and structure of the thesis**

### **Chapter 1: Introduction**

This is an introductory chapter that presents the background of the study. It highlights the research aims, rationale, and key research problem and ethics statement.

### **Chapter 2: Literature review**

This chapter discusses the literature reviewed regarding isiXhosa personal names and the significance of such names. The extent to which the literature was consulted was determined by the scope of this research, which means that research on naming, on folklore and also on culture was consulted. The chapter also includes the theoretical framework.

### **Chapter 3: Research design and methodology**

The methodology used is detailed in this chapter. It includes the research design, study population and data collection methods. Firstly, literature on folklore, Xhosa culture and customs was consulted. Field research through interviews was then undertaken.

### **Chapter 4: Xhosa folklore**

This chapter discusses folklore and its different components. Folklore includes traditional stories and beliefs. Xhosa oral forms include prose narrations (*iintsomi*), proverbs and idioms (*amaqhalo nezaci*), riddles (*amaqhina*), songs (*iingoma*) and praise poetry (*izibongo*). These are discussed in this chapter.

### **Chapter 5: Desk research results and discussion**

An analysis of literature on Xhosa culture and customs that was consulted is presented in this chapter.

### **Chapter 6: Results and discussion**

This chapter gives the results of the field survey. It presents details of the findings as well as the research data analysis and processing. Interviews were analysed and the investigation arguments were developed through different themes that are presented in this chapter.

### **Chapter 7: Conclusions and recommendations**

Conclusions drawn from the study are presented, and foreseeable challenges and recommendations for future studies are suggested.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Introduction

There are a number of scholars, such as Jordan (1940), Mesatywa (1954), Opland (1983), Ntshinga (1995), Bosch and De Klerk (1995) and recently Neethling (2004; 2005; 2007), who have studied Xhosa folklore, Xhosa personal names and Xhosa culture in general, but the research on proverbial names is limited.

The literature review covers three broad areas. The first section of the review is allocated to a discussion of child-naming activity amongst the amaXhosa, with a view to offer an uncluttered analysis of Xhosa naming practices from the time that the child is born. The second section discusses the importance of meaning in African names. The third section focuses on the socio-cultural, historical and symbolic significance of names.

The cultural significance of Xhosa names can be viewed from two perspectives: what the names mean literally or symbolically and what the names themselves signify about the history and the culture of the people. As proper names can communicate aspects of culture, the importance of incorporating cultural knowledge into studies of names and naming practices analysis is heavily stressed.

### 2.2 Child-naming activity amongst the amaXhosa

Traditionally, in many African societies, the main purpose of marriage was procreation. Once married, a Xhosa bride was historically obliged to bear children, thus ensuring that the husband's lineage would continue, as descent in the tribe was traced through patrilineal lineage. Otherwise, she could be exchanged with her sister who could give birth, or the *lobola* (dowry) would be returned by the bride's family. Motherhood was one of the essential functions of women; childlessness was attributed to disapproval by the ancestors (*ukufulathelwa iminyanya*) (Ngcingca-Ndolo, 2008).

Senior women (*abafukamisi*) who were past childbearing age played their most powerful role during the birth of a baby in their homestead (Tshabe et al., 2006). The mother-to-be would be secluded in a special hut (*efukwini*) as soon as labour began. Usually for the birth of the first child, the mother-to-be would return to her own homestead to be under the care of her mother. This was done to ensure that she received the best care when delivering her child. Thereafter, she would give birth at her in-laws' homestead.

Whether at her home or her husband's home (*emzini*), only women would assist the woman during labour, taking turns to support her in the hut where she was confined. Traditionally, no men would come near, not even her husband. The mixed atmosphere inside the hut was finally dispersed by that of excitement when the child was safely born. An elderly woman of the homestead would assist in cutting the umbilical cord (*inkaba*) to separate the child from his/her mother. She would then secretly bury the cord and the placenta in a ritualistic manner (Ngcingca-Ndolo, 2008). This custom is not fully enforced in the contemporary era. The *inkaba* then came to mean one's ancestral home and symbolised the relationship between the individual, his/her clan and his/her land of birth. When someone asked you, "Where is your *inkaba*?", the person would be asking for your place of birth. The mother and the baby would remain in seclusion for at least 10 days. The birth of a child was received with delight as a gift that had been given, not just to the parents but to the whole kinship group. Feelings, current events, warnings and hopes would then be encapsulated in the names given to a child.

Traditionally, no elaborate rituals accompanied the naming of a child, and there was no specific time at which a name was to be acquired. Several days or weeks might elapse before a name was given, especially with a firstborn child who was born away from the paternal homestead (Zeka, 1992). The birth name would be the first name that the child acquired, followed by other transitional names at a later stage. Generally, Xhosa people continue to acquire names throughout their lives, as a mark of different transitions that they undergo in life, usually called 'rites of passage'. In modern times, however, Xhosa parents, like their Western counterparts, are expected to name the child upon his/her birth in order to comply with the official requirements of birth registration. The registered name mostly becomes the official name to appear on all documentation, such as school reports, hospital cards and so forth.

Several factors were taken into account when naming a Xhosa child. Neethling (2007:3) in his analysis reveals seven naming categories: expectations/aspirations; gratitude to God/ancestors; composition/extension of the family; circumstances around birth; death, survival and consolation; commemorative names; and derogatory/negative names. Dickens (1985), who conducted research into Zulu personal names, suggests that the following patterns are followed when personal names are selected in Zulu society: a synoptic history of the circumstances surrounding the child's birth; the emotions related to the birth; the family's attitude to the birth; the place where the child was born; his/her position in the family; the

time when the child was born; the parents' spiritual attitudes; the child's appearance at birth; the parents' wishes for the child; the parents' social expectations; the country's situation at the time of the child's birth; or the clan into which he/she was born.

This reveals that studies of personal names have so far been largely exercises in lexicography; that is, the scholar of personal names has been mainly interested in the spelling, origin and meaning of personal names as words. Most scholars are aware that names are connected to human culture and that they reveal information about the thoughts, feelings and events surrounding the birth of a child.

A name taken from proverbs is known as *igama elilqhalo*, for example *Salakutyelwa*, and a name taken from idioms is called *igama elisisaci*, for example *Zwelifile* and *Zwelimehlo*, which refer to wars and rumours of wars, respectively. These kinds of name serve as historic evidence of the events that took place. Herbert's (1990) view is that there has been a decrease in names whose function is the recording of history among isiXhosa personal names; this study is supported by Bosch and Klerk (1995). They speculate that this decrease may be an indication that these kinds of name may disappear completely. Therefore, studying these proverbial names reflects how the name-giver experienced life, what he/she valued and what he/she wanted to remember.

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### **2.3 Importance of meaning in African names**

Though personal names are used universally to label/or identify individuals, the semantic meaning cannot be ignored. In his study of personal names in Jordan, Hassan (1986) found that names served different purposes:

If taken from the name-giver's point of view, personal names may have a significant meaning implied in them by the name-giver, and they reflect the cultural, psychological, and social atmosphere of the name-giver.

According to Neethling (2007:3), a well-known feature of African names is the 'meaningfulness' of such names. This is particularly true with regard to Xhosa names. According to the amaXhosa, no one bears a name without rationale, and no name exists without an explanation or a justification. It is for this reason that they attach great importance to the meaning of their names. According to De Klerk (1999:2), in Western English



communities, naming is primarily a system of reference, not symbolisation, and the name given is typically not meaning bearing, having no logical link to the person to whom it refers.

Bosch and De Klerk (1995) support the view of the importance of meaning in African personal names:

Foremost among the trends discernible in African naming practices is the role of meaning: while names still serve the referential function typical of all proper names, they nevertheless retain their meaning-bearing function and are much less arbitrary.

Their analysis of Xhosa first names concludes that their meaning is generally transparent and accessible and often provides complex details about their bearers. They concur with Neethling (2005), who has studied naming among the Xhosa people. Neethling agrees that the meaning is generally transparent and accessible. Generally, he draws his conclusions from the structure of the different word categories from which Xhosa names are formed. He uses the lexical meaning or linguistic structure of his sample Xhosa first name to support his argument (Neethling, 2005:23):

Most first names in Xhosa are gender specific and often morphologically marked as such. Xhosa names are often characterized by markers, which identify a name as male or female. It is therefore very common to have female counterparts for male or vice versa. Nyaniso (truth) as a male name might have the female counterparts Nonyaniso, characterized by the marker *No-*.

While analysing the above statement, it is important that we bear in mind that the meaning of isiXhosa names can be subdivided into two basic categories: the surface (linguistic) meaning and the underlying (descriptive) meaning (Batoma, 2009). Names in the linguistic category convey a straightforward meaning that depends on the literal linguistic definition of the name as an ordinary word in the language, as depicted by the example above of *Nonyaniso*.

In contrast, the names under study here are proverbial names that belong to the underlying descriptive category of meaning. They are, however, also partially significant at the linguistic level, as stated by Maurice Houis (1983). He summarises African onomasticians' definition of proper names well when he writes,



... it is necessary that names be first identified as signs of the language. They are practically not distinct from other linguistic signs at the level of form, signifiers and morphology. It is generally easy to explain their literal meaning.

This reveals that personal name research is truly an interdisciplinary study for the scholar must deal not only with linguistic, historical, cultural and folkloristic themes but also with a sociological analysis of the names collected.

According to Batoma (2006:3), this linguistic layer only “serves as a point of departure...”:

The linguistic facet is the most tangible layer encoded in the names. It also seems to be the core layer from the methodological viewpoint. Indeed, names are given in particular languages whose morphology, syntax and semantics inform their meaning largely. This meaning is the linguistic meaning of names, also known as literal meaning.

The methods of analysis applied by scholars of Xhosa names such as Neethling (2005; 2007) and Bosch and De Klerk (1995) are generally at linguistic level, while symbolic, social, political, religious and other aspects of names are usually ignored. However, the study of Xhosa names cannot be separated from the investigation of topics shared with anthropologists and historiographers. Therefore, the lexical meaning or linguistic level of analysis can only serve as a point of departure, since the semantic transparency of names mentioned above is not always apparent (Batoma, 2006).

Nicolaisen (1972) cited in Neethling 2005 stresses the importance of the interdisciplinary nature of onomastics:

... we have begun to understand I hope, wh onomastics is a separate field of study, while at the same time being truly interdisciplinary, sharing areas with literature and a number of other disciplines. This in turn means that the name scholar has to be a bit of a linguist, historian, archaeologist, geographer, folklorist, sociologist, student of literature and certain other things besides.

Proverbial names usually contain metaphors and figurative expressions that may require activating distant reference associations (oral literature) and alternative interpretations when decoding the appropriate meaning, otherwise they will be semantically opaque. On the other

hand, the meaning of modern personal names is easily understandable or semantically transparent. This is because personal names are usually given from descriptive common nouns that are a spoken or written form with the meaning accessible or traceable at a linguistic level.

The linguistic meaning of a name may be opaque due to the following reasons enumerated by Kimeyi (1989): “A name may be a loan-word, that is, a word borrowed from a foreign language; it may stem from a secret language, derived from a dialectal origin, or resulting from linguistic change.”

In addition to the above reasons, the name may be part of language symbols, as is the case with proverbial names and Xhosa respect (*isihlonipho*) names applicable to married women. It is because of the metaphoric symbols that this linguistic definiteness is lost. Names from oral art are intended to convey nonlinguistic cultural meanings that are embedded in the Xhosa culture and customs. Thus the interpretation of names at a deeper level depends on one’s familiarity with their cultural context.

Proverbial names have an elaborate linguistic structure. Sometimes they have morphemes that are poorly arranged as part of the ironic arrangement of the oral literature. According to Mandende (2009), if the morphemes are poorly arranged, that particular word will lack recognisable meaning in that specific language. These metaphoric names sometimes lack recognisable meaning and become inaccessible to those seeking the meaning purely at linguistic level. The aim of the onomastician is to recover, beyond the linguistic meaning of the name, the original motivations of the name-giver in order to establish a relationship between language and culture (Batoma, 2009).

Bosch and De Klerk’s (1995) study supports Armengaud’s (1985) view that “the importance of names is less of a linguistic and logic nature than of a subjective, social and communicative one”. Yanga (1978) also argues that African personal names play an indexical role reflecting the socio-cultural changes or events in the community.

It is therefore important that the cultural background also be taken into consideration as the Xhosa personal naming process cannot be divorced from the context in which these names are created. The study of proverbial names is important since language is intimately linked to culture. The cultural meaning of the name is a ‘window’ on the history and philosophy associated with the name.

Suzman (2004) states, “While Zulu names are changing, personal names are still meaningful reflecting a range of circumstances influencing the name choice.” This is also true for Xhosa personal names. Though over time there has been an act of absorbing a foreign naming system into the Xhosa naming system, thereby making it fit modern times, isiXhosa names have retained a strong meaning-bearing function.

### **2.3.1 Socio-cultural significance of names**

The socio-cultural significance of names has been commented on. Yanga (1978) in his article entitled “Language planning and onomastics in Zaire” states that in Zaire, African personal names play an indexical role, reflecting the socio-cultural changes or events in the community. He reports that the Zairian onomastic system reflects the history, culture and socio-political events that have marked the national scene.

According to Bonvillain (1997:27), “Words have referential senses, labelling persons, objects, events in the world or in thought and imagination. Words also have cultural meaning, reflecting attitudes, values or shared symbols” Words and sentence constructions can have situational relevance, with some being used in formal contexts and others being used in informal situations. The usage of certain expressions has situational relevance that may not be apparent from the literal meaning of those words.

Raper (1983) argues that the significance and meaning of names are more important in some cultures than in others. It has been noted that societies with contiguous cultural frameworks, such as Jewish, Greek, Roman, Indian, Asian and African societies, may attach mysterious significance to names. The biblical reference reveals a Jewish culture of naming after birth circumstances. From the Jewish perspective, Bible names such as Abraham, Moses, Jacob and Israel have ritual, cultural and historical implications for people’s life patterns and actions in their time. “And Jabez was more honourable than his brethren: and his mother called his name Jabez, saying, because I bare him with sorrow. {Jabez: that is, Sorrowful}” (1 Chronicles 4:9 New King James Version)

This link between personal names and culture is vital when considering the conservative estimate that somewhere between 25% and 50% of our basic values stem from culture (for such estimates, see Haire et al. [1966]). Personal names can also reveal something about the actual culture: what is valued most, their world view and how knowledge and education are

passed on. In the Xhosa culture, names are of great social significance and so are their meaning because of what they reveal about the relationship of people to their culture and to other people, reflecting wish fulfilment and the attitude of the name-giver.

The elders were viewed as the custodians of culture and would use oral art such as proverbs and idioms to enforce the same beliefs. Personal names taken from the oral sayings were therefore inseparable from the culture and the people's belief system. If the name-bearer lived up to the name, he/she was praised. According to Neethling, the Xhosa people were fond of saying, "*Ulilandele igama lakhe*", meaning "He follows his name". Therefore, following your name (*ukulandela igama*) was regarded as fulfilling destiny.

The anthropologist Edward T Hall (1990) has spent more than 40 years developing and writing about the dimensional classification system. He presented a popular cultural framework in which he stated that all cultures were situated in relation to one another through the styles in which they communicated. He identified high-context and low-context cultures, with the high- and low-context concept primarily being concerned with the way in which information is transmitted (communicated) and with context having to do with how much a person needs to know before he/she can communicate.

Hall (1990) argues that in a high-context society, there is a heavy investment in the socialisation of members so that information does not need to be explicitly stated for it to be understood. Members of such a culture have known one another for long periods, and there is strong agreement as to what is expected and not. He concludes that meaning and context are inextricably bound up with each other.

In a way, research into personal names helps one to understand the culture of the people under scrutiny. Folklore was used in the socialisation of members of Xhosa society. Unpacking some literature on the relevant cultural aspects to the research will enhance our understanding of the proverbial names and their history.

Traditional Xhosa society can be described as a high-context society. Members were socialised through oral literature as to what was acceptable and unacceptable in their society. Personal naming or names of people were often dictated by an existing tradition or convention of name giving in any given culture or community (Neethling, 2007:2).

According to Okpewho (1992), oral traditions perform several societal functions. On the one hand, they constitute representations of significant cultural information: history, values, instructions and ritual activities. On the other hand, they have dynamic forms of entertainment in the development and appreciation of artistic skills such as speech, song, mime, gesture, dance and instrumental music. It is in this context that the personal naming process is established.

Ndlovu (1997) states,

Culture conditioned the behaviour of the people of that society and is reflected in the language they speak and write. Since child naming and using of names constitute verbal acts, they lend themselves to a multitude of social practices including socio-cultural ones.

In a way, research into personal names helps one to understand the culture of the people under scrutiny. A socio-cultural significance of names is attractive because aspects of oral literature are the shrines of the culture and customs of the people.

### **2.3.2 Historical significance of names**

Personal names among Africans also serve as a communication device and warehouse for their historic events. Musere (1999) remarks that the proverbial personal names have served as historic reminders for events at the time of birth of the named and through them social norms are communicated to descendants. Personal names became short stories in most traditional societies in Africa.

Mandende (2009) noted that African people were observant of what was going on around them and that they wanted to record this through personal names. African traditional people used names as an archive for storing all-important facts about their history and daily activities. Batoma (2006) explains that events, including historical events, are bound by time and space. This combination of time and space is allowed by humans through the giving of a name that functions as a verbal picture of the event. In such a situation, an active interpretation of names and the reconstruction of the oral narratives by historians become necessary.

According to Mbiti (1969:19, quoted in Neethling, 1996:57), “Time is merely a composition of events that have taken place.” The moon was closely watched and observed as a main determinant of times and seasons. Pregnant women would observe the moon to determine their due time.

Names may document several significant events in the family’s history, for instance their happiness at having first a boy and then a girl, their aspirations for continuing the family line, problems in the marriage, the mother’s uncomfortable pregnancy and the birth of a child relatively late in life.

### **2.3.3 Symbolic significance of names**

Africans have traditionally used language symbolically to express deeper meaning and conceal important messages. Though with the passage of time most isiXhosa names have become self-explanatory, most traditional names are buried in oral literature. According to Batoma (2006:2) states that

“the linguistic meaning of a name does not constitute the whole of that name’s meaning, for language signs are infused with symbolic meanings that speaking communities attach to events and to their experiences of these events. At the symbolic level, names constitute a cluster of signs used by community members to engage in verbal acts.”

Batoma (2006:2) clarifies that

“the relationship between the linguistic and the symbolic dimensions of the onomastic meaning is a complex one, and its exact nature depends on the onomastic tradition under consideration. In the case of most African traditions, these two dimensions are complementary.”

Proverbial names, like proverbs, are part of symbolic language. Africans are well known for their generous array of proverbs and proverbial names. African language communication, when compared to the Western mode of communication, is highly metaphorical, as can be seen clearly in Xhosa culture. Proverbial names were given without any grammatical consideration of structure, length, alphabetical position or parenthesis; none of these linguistic issues were regarded. Names such as *Isolenkosi* (The eye of the chief) show that

morphologically, these are not monosyllabic words but shortened forms of otherwise lengthy expressions intended to convey deeper meanings and reflections on socio-cultural issues.

The cultural meanings carried by proverbial names cannot be understood in their full contexts except with reference to their socio-cultural, semiotic and historical implications. They have their meaning tied to their cultural narrative instead of a root word. Though most of the Xhosa first names are gender specific, proverbial names may not be structurally so, but they still reflect the gender specification from cultural ideologies. The metaphors encoded within the names suggest certain socio-cultural ideologies. For example, at times of war, only the Xhosa men went to war while the women and children hid in the forest. It is for that reason that a name associated with war would be bestowed upon a male child rather than a female child, for whom a name linked to flowers, a symbol of beauty, might be more suitable. Therefore, knowing the patriarchal system or cultural codes can help one to know which gender the name belongs to, even if it is not morphologically marked.

There are also a number of Xhosa names referring to certain plants, animals and folklore characters with specific associative symbolic values, as discussed later in Chapter 5.

## **2.4 Conclusion**

The literature review reveals that the meanings of Xhosa personal names are often of cultural, historical and symbolic importance to the speakers of the language. There is general consensus that most Xhosa personal names had a meaning when they were given, either to a newborn child or at the different rites of passage, such as bridal names or names given to initiates or even social nicknames. Nevertheless, with the passage of time, the contextual meaning may become irrelevant or may be forgotten. Nicolaisen (1976:3, quoted in Raper, 2012:10), states that the primary aim of onomastic research is to determine this meaning so that “something which is now opaque might be made transparent again”. He continues to state that “without this maxim there would be no point in, and therefore no scholarly discipline of, study of names”.

It is unfortunate for a study such as this that the original name-givers are no longer alive to give the contextual meaning that they had in mind when they initially gave the names, for it is that original meaning that is the true and authentic meaning. The question that then arises is how we can access the meaning without feigning or hypocrisy. This question around the accessibility of meaning in African names prompted a different approach towards the



accessibility of the meaning carried by names. It prompted an approach that recognised that several components of folklore could aid us in the study of names, realising that names were also created from folklore.

Neethling's (2007:3) approach is that "Xhosa names are lexically transparent", which means that their meaning could be accessed at the linguistic level. If one knows the language of the name-bearer; one will also be able to understand the meaning of the name and the intentions of the name-givers. Though this approach can be applied to modern Xhosa names, it does not often yield results in cases where the morphemes are poorly arranged or a particular word used lacks recognisable meaning in that specific language (loan word). Xhosa names taken from folklore are usually metaphoric.

Most of the existing research pertaining to isiXhosa names, as well as other Nguni names, is linguistic in nature, and the value of using oral literature, culture and customs as a methodological and interpretative guide in such studies has been largely overlooked.

The experience of events, values, customs and beliefs is an invaluable contribution to an interpretation of these names. A complete understanding of the proverbs, praise poems and stories from which these names originate would benefit from an analysis of their cultural context, origin and history.

The problem, however, is that up until fairly recently, Western disciplines have typically disregarded indigenous knowledge, based on the assumption that isiXhosa culture, customs, religion and naming system represent nothing more than superstition and thus provide an unreliable basis for rational interpretation and analysis of data.



## **CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides a detailed account of the research design and methodology followed whilst conducting the research on Xhosa proverbial names and naming practices. It discusses the research design and data collection methods, namely interviews and questionnaire. It also deals with the theoretical framework that underpins the study.

Both primary and secondary data were used. Kothari (1985:134) explains that

primary data are those which are collected afresh and for the first time, and thus happen to be the original in character. The secondary data, on the other hand, are those which have already been collected by someone else and which have already been passed through the statistical processes.

A desk research study of existing literature on proverbial names was conducted, and the conclusions shaped the design of the questionnaire. A questionnaire survey was conducted with 50 participants. The fieldwork for this research was conducted in the townships of Khayelitsha and De Doorns, at the Wynberg Taxi Rank and at the Cape Town University of Technology.

### **3.2 Research design**

Qualitative, descriptive and contextual design was used to gain insight into the meaning of proverbial names and different aspects of Xhosa culture. The method of applying indigenous knowledge and oral literature as an interpretative technique in name research in general has been used.

#### **3.2.1 Qualitative design**

The design selected for this study was based on the qualitative research method. Leedy (1993) explains that if the data is verbal, the methodology is qualitative and also this method is mainly concerned with human beings: interpersonal relationships, personal values, meanings, beliefs, thoughts and feelings. Contrary to the quantitative research methodology, this relies on numerical data analysis. The data information in qualitative research appears in words.

Interviews are frequently used to elicit opinions and attitudes from participants. The interviewee is asked to provide information and has little anticipation of receiving any instant or straight benefit from his/her cooperation. The unstructured interview is much like a conversation between two people in which the direction depends on what is said and interesting thoughts are explored without the interviewee necessarily having any prior idea of which questions will be asked. Prepared questions are used to keep the discussion moving in a certain direction. In practice, the entirely unstructured interview is not practical, since the point of the process is to collect information on a particular issue. Between the unstructured and structured lies the semi-structured interview, in which the researcher is allowed extensive use of prompts and may restructure the questions or explain what a question means in case of uncertainty. If a question seems unsuitable to a particular interviewee, it may be left out. For clarification purposes, however, the interviewer may occasionally insert additional questions. In general, personal interviews are realistic as they can explore topics in great depth while keeping the interviewer in full control of the discussion.

Unstructured interviews are more useful when the research area is yet to be properly defined, while structured interviews are often used when some research has been done before. The primary method of data collection in this study was unstructured, open-ended interviews, as it would suit the complexity of the questions to be asked. It was decided early in the research that great care would have to be taken with the wording and structure of the questions to ensure that each interviewee answered with the same understanding of what was being asked.

The main reason for the choice was the fact that the area being researched was yet to be properly defined as it straddled folklore and naming. It was therefore decided early in the research that great care would be taken with the wording and structure of the questions to ensure that each interviewee answered with the same understanding of what was being asked. Additionally, when dealing with oral literature, face-to-face contact gives the interviewer the unique opportunity to ask some probing questions in order to elicit answers relevant to the research hypothesis. The atmosphere also allowed for the use of body language such as hand gestures in responding to the question. The researcher gave the respondents sufficient time to gather their thoughts around the topic before responding and then recorded their answers.

### **3.2.2 Descriptive design**

The purpose of descriptive design is “to emphasize the description of a specific individual, situation, group interaction or social objects. The principle is to present an accurate description of what is being studied” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The descriptive design used in the desk research unravelled the question of proverbial expressions and their meaning. Proverbial names were obtained from isiXhosa books and Mesatywa’s Xhosa proverbs, and idioms were used to find the linking proverbs or idioms. Descriptive design was used to describe the cultural aspects from which the isiXhosa proverbs and idioms stemmed, which were then encoded in proverbial names.

### **3.2.3 Contextual design**

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), a context represents a specific set of properties that pertains to phenomenal and contextual studies, tending to be descriptive and exploratory. An isiXhosa cultural context was used in finding the meaning of the proverbial names being studied. This was important as each community develops its own language, depending on its own mode of living and happenings within that community. The proverbs were then discussed in the context of the culture and the society from which it emanated. Different social and historical circumstances in which such a name would be given were explored. The contextual meaning was then discussed using the cultural context as the source referent. Each proverbial expression was described under its cultural category.

## **3.3 Methodology**

### **3.3.1 Desk research (secondary data)**

‘Desk research’ refers to the identification and analysis of data that have already been collected, compiled and published in one form or another. Such data are sometimes known as secondary data because they already exist. Sources of such data include information from manuals, professional newspapers and magazines, journals, archives and so forth. This strategy has several advantages (e.g. lower costs and fast data availability) and is commonly used in research. Carrying out initial desk research is strongly recommended to provide background knowledge with regard to the subject being researched. The limitation of this method compared to other data collection methods is that information collected may not be recent and up to date at the time of retrieval.

From the outset of this research project, the goal has been to provide a cultural account of the nature, functions and role/s of proverbial names and naming practices in isiXhosa culture. This was because of the realisation that either African name scholars have not progressed far enough in understanding the relationship among names, proverbial expressions and the culture from which they emanated or that indigenous knowledge have either been ignored or misinterpreted in the study of names.

Data were collected on isiXhosa culture and customs with concluding particulars that critically espoused the values, virtues and ideologies of Xhosa society. Mesatywa's work on proverbs and idioms, which dates back to the 1950s, and Mqhayi's (1974) *Inzuzo* collection of poems were the point of departure for this study because of their in-depth documentation of proverbs, idioms and poems in their cultural context. It is important to note that due caution was taken not to rely on only one source to authenticate the hypothesis of the research. Therefore, a variety of literature on isiXhosa proverbs, the history of proverbs, names, and isiXhosa culture and customs was consulted. Proverbial names were obtained from various sources, such as Jabulani means rejoice: A dictionary of South African names (2012), and Mesatywa's *Izaci namaqhalo esiXhosa* book (1954).

Relevant proverbs and names were selected together with their history and socio-cultural implications. For the purpose of the study, popular proverbs, idioms and names were selected and recorded. The proverb had to first appear in more than one publication, such as Mesatywa (1954) and Calana (2003), before being regarded as popular.

### **3.3.2 Interviews and questionnaires (primary data)**

Primary data were gathered by means of oral interviews and questionnaires with isiXhosa speakers living in the Cape Town Metropolitan area. Data were elicited by means of a questionnaire from 50 participants. The main advantage of this research method was that it combined preplanned, open-ended questions with face-to-face contact with the research participants that formed the study population. The procedure involved interviewing the respondents, who were invited to share their thoughts freely, and subsequently recording their responses next to the preplanned questions in the survey questionnaire. Preprepared questions were used to keep the discussion moving in the required direction.

### 3.3.3 The purpose of the questionnaire

The purpose of the questionnaire was to establish whether adult speakers of isiXhosa had an in-depth understanding of proverbial names, Xhosa traditions and oral art. The respondents were required to relate some of the popular proverbial names that they knew with their correlating proverbs and then substantiate them with the relevant cultural contextual meaning. These findings were then compared to the actual existing and historic cultural meaning of respective names and the cultural aspects from which such names had been taken.

Furthermore, the survey was conducted in order to determine how cultural changes could have had an impact on the cultural understanding of the language users. A handful of preselected proverbial names were given to the respondents to find out what they thought these meant. The preselected proverbial names were chosen on the basis that their origin was documented in one of the reference books. All interviewees were briefed about the overall aims of the study.

### 3.3.4 Questionnaire development

A questionnaire was drawn up in English and then translated into Xhosa (refer to Appendix 4). Subsequent to the literature review on isiXhosa names, it was established that many of the basic issues raised during the desk research (Section 3.2) were still unanswered. The questionnaire targeted three adult groups, namely 18–29, 30–49 and 50+ years as stated later on. This was considered important in order to determine a comparable trend as each age group had been exposed to its own dynamic cultural environment. This was done with the aim of monitoring how the interpretation of the proverbial names and their correlating proverbs might have changed over time in response to the changing culture.

The questionnaire consisted of three sections, namely demographics, experience in terms of child naming and Xhosa culture as practised within the respondents' home, and knowledge questions. The summaries of the respective sections are given below:

**Section A: Demographic questions:** This introductory section elicited general descriptive information about the respondents such as the participant's name, place of birth and current residence.

**Section B: Experience questions:** Most of the questions in this section evolved from the literature review and were based on the general issues of naming discussed in Chapter 2, such as the naming tradition of the Xhosa and the responsibility of name giving. The section began with a question that investigated the general usage of proverbs and idioms in the daily conversations of the participants. This was followed by a question to probe whether the respondent had any experience of cultural activities. This section provided participants with the opportunity to talk about the general use of proverbs and naming practices in general.

**Section C: Knowledge questions:** This section covered issues that formed the most important part of the survey. It assessed the interviewees' understanding of isiXhosa proverbial names. Firstly, they were asked to supply at least one proverbial name that they knew, correlate it with its proverb or idiom and then give its meaning. Secondly, each respondent was presented with five proverbial names and asked for the respective meanings while substantiating them with his/her own Xhosa cultural perspective.

### **3.3.5 Survey sample**

To select the sample for this research, different factors had to be considered. These included the sample type, size and proportions. Information for the research was collected mainly through personal interviews with isiXhosa-speaking people from different age groups. In total, 50 interviews were successfully conducted.

The participants were adults who had to have been raised either by Xhosa-speaking parents or at the very least been exposed to the Xhosa culture in a significant way. This qualitative study sample consisted of 50 participants. The number was limited to this because of time and resource constraints. Additionally, the sample was considered large enough to give a fair representation for this investigation. It was important that the participants had isiXhosa as their home language to be part of the survey sample; issues such as gender and education levels were, though relevant, beyond the scope of this study.

The respondents mainly resided in the townships of Cape Town. Participants were chosen from this area as many isiXhosa speakers living there have rural ties to the Eastern Cape where they have a rural homestead to go to. Furthermore, they maintain strong ties with parents and relatives who live in rural villages (often in the former homelands) in the Eastern Cape. Such urban dwellers regularly visit the rural villages, especially during public holidays.

The selected area was also closer and more accessible to the researcher given the limited time and resources available to complete the study.

### **3.3.6 Theoretical framework**

The socio-cultural approach, as outlined in the thesis title, was relevant to the study as it provided a descriptive content of personal names in relation to isiXhosa traditional oral literature (proverbs, idioms, poems and songs). The work assumed a theoretical framework whereby the proverbs, idioms, poems, songs and socio-cultural aspects of Xhosa society became the descriptive content associated with the proverbial names. This was achieved by tying every proverbial name back to its correlating proverb, and the proverb was also given a meaning within its cultural context. There are different cultural interpretations as to the role and communicative functions of names as well as to how names acquire and convey meaning.

In the socio-cultural approach, it is believed that translations outside the reference (social values, beliefs, customs and culture) can be misleading. For the scholar to understand a proverbial name, acquaintance with the culture-specific aspects of a particular event that happened around the birth of the child is crucial. For example, a male child is born to a Xhosa family and is named by one of the elderly men of the homestead. At the time of his birth, there are rumours of war. The people who are alive at the time that he is named will be aware of the fact that the name is in reference of the signs of the impending danger (war). They will understand the fear that is gripping the mother's heart, who knows that war will mean leaving the comfort of her homestead and going to hide herself in the forest with her young. The elder announces that the child's name is *Zweliyaduma*, which is an idiom literally meaning 'the land is resounding' and is contextually used to mean that there are 'rumours of war'. Henceforth, everyone calls the baby *Zweliyaduma*. Therefore, the event (rumours of war) is a source reference for the name. Within their physical surroundings, when a name is uttered, both the speaker and hearer associate some identifying description (rumours of war) so that the reference that was intended by the use of the name is successfully achieved.

However, as *Zweliyaduma* grows up and moves outside his cultural and social setting, he will still be referred to as *Zweliyaduma* but not because there are rumours of war. If we use a lexical meaning or linguistic approach in finding the meaning of the compound noun *zwe* (land) + *liyaduma* (making a sound), 'the land is resounding or making the sound' will be our



lexical meaning. This meaning, however, is void of the socio-cultural context in which such a name was given as it is divorced from the event that the name commemorates. The socio-cultural approach allows us to link the personal name to the oral genre (proverb or idiom) where it originated.

In order to fully establish this theory of socio-cultural approach, it is important to recognise that the meanings of the names are often a valuable part of the cultural heritage of the people. In the case of preliterate societies such as Xhosa society in which socio-cultural events were frequently preserved in oral literature, proverbial names contain important cultural information. The Xhosa people have always regarded the meanings of their names as an important part of their cultural heritage and have preserved them by passing them down from generation to generation, thus ensuring the survival of this rich historic, cultural and symbolic heritage.

This work, conducted using the socio-cultural approach, has shown that the names under study bear a heavy weight of cultural meanings that cannot be understood in their full context except with reference to their cultural background and historical implications. They therefore do not have a meaning outside their language symbols and aspects of the culture in which they originated. This contextual meaning has a descriptive background that draws on certain conventions in Xhosa society. The object of using this socio-cultural approach is to avoid giving meanings that are divorced from the relevant context.



## CHAPTER 4: FOLKLORE AND NAMING

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the isiXhosa knowledge systems and ways of thinking (contained in Xhosa folklore) that constitute the body of local wisdom to inform and guide Xhosa society. The amaXhosa have a rich oral tradition that has defined the way in which knowledge transfer has taken place within Xhosa society for many thousands of years. Different components of oral literature function as indices of culture and of social history. This chapter illustrates the relationship between folklore (proverbs, idioms, riddles, poems and songs) and proverbial names. Mabeqa (2013) points out that naming is one of the components of folklore. Therefore, it is crucial that isiXhosa names be studied with all their additional manifestations within an enveloping Xhosa culture rather than focusing simply on the names themselves as mere words in order to achieve the goal of providing a culturally relevant account of Xhosa personal names.

The history, culture and customs of the Xhosa people are found in their folktales, proverbs, oral poetry and various forms of oral literature. Folklore includes traditional stories and beliefs. The components of the Xhosa oral forms include prose narrations (*iintsomi*), proverbs and idioms (*amaqhalo nezaci*), riddles (*amaqhina*), songs (*iingoma*) and praise poetry (*izibongo*) (Ntshinga, 1995). African names are part of the oral art, though they are not usually mentioned under the components of the oral forms (Mabeqa, 2013). Oral art is linguistic tools that were used to both instil and maintain the cultural, social and moral values that formed the basis of a society's morals, ethos, ideals, culture, direction, perceptions, norms and values (Magwaza, 2004). The kind of language adopted by a society to encourage, warn and rebuke has a tendency to construct people's identities and moral value system. It is also through this process of intermingling that people become self-aware and develop a sense of belonging. Children in the era of oral literature learnt by doing; as the proverb '*Amathole alandela oonina*' correctly puts it, the calves do emulate their mothers. Children learnt by observing their parents. Children and adolescents also experienced and cooperated in participatory education, through ceremonies, rituals, initiation, recitation and demonstration. Names were part and parcel of this education. Intellectual training included the use of riddles, proverbs, storytelling and story relays (Ntshinga, 1995). Xhosa folklore, culture and customs have been researched in their own right as well. This approach has the advantage of extracting reliable information from expressions of traditional thoughts and sensibilities.

Folklore is an integral, and indeed inseparable, element of isiXhosa naming in that Xhosa personal names are characteristically embedded within this body of local wisdom through which values, cultural beliefs and customs are taught and historic happenings are recorded. The importance and contribution of Xhosa oral literature to the current research are highlighted and explained as a vehicle for communicating the meaning of proverbial names.

## **4.2 Definition of folklore**

Folklore is a field that is rooted in oral literature. It is a vehicle for transmitting culture orally. Zora Neale Hurston (1995) maintains that folklore is the art of self-discovery as well as the first creative art of a people, shaping and rationalising the natural laws that they find around them. Ben-Amos (1971) defines folklore as a body of knowledge and a kind of art that represent “a particular mode of collective and spontaneous thought”. He emphasises that the central defining feature of folklore is that it can be realisable through oral transmission. The amaXhosa relied on oral communication. Memories of significant events and traditional customs and values were handed down orally to succeeding generations.

Mahlasela (1973:1), cited in Mpola, (2007:81) asserts,

Every nation or tribe has its folklore...its folktales which attempt to explain to the people its past through its legends as well as its historical traditions.... It has its heroes and renowned chiefs whose glory and worthy acts of valour have been preserved in their eulogies or praises and blame poems, its war songs and lullabies...and proverbial expressions.

### 4.3 Components of folklore

IsiXhosa folklore is both extensive and varied and includes praise poems, histories, myths, legends, folktales, proverbs, riddles and a great variety of songs for both adults and children, making up a corpus. Through folklore we are able to study the 'folk's thoughts', the 'folk's cultures and customs' and the 'folk's belief system'.

#### 4.3.1 Oral literature

The richness of Xhosa oral literature is revealed by the existence of various genres, transmitted through the oral or written medium, with each genre displaying its own features in style and content. Among these genres are oral narratives (*iintsomi*), songs (*iingoma*), proverbs and idioms (*amaqhalo nezaci*), riddles (*amaqhina*) and names (*amagama*) (Ntshinga, 1995). Most of these genres are delivered with dramatic performance, such as metaphoric language, body movements and song dramatics. Unlike written literature, oral art is instantly available and no individual author is traceable. Names are also an oral literature genre. It is important to keep in mind that names are oral containers of people's feelings, hopes, fears, aspirations, perceptions and experiences. Therefore, it is important to study oral literature if we are to understand the cultural meaning of names.

#### 4.3.2 Xhosa folktale ('myth', 'eventuation' and 'fabulation')

Jordan(1960) cited in Masilela (2009:7) in the essay "Tale, teller and audience" theorises the Xhosa folktale as being divided into three types: *intsomi* (fiction), *isiganeko* or *imbali* (a historical happening or eventuation) and *buntsomi* (fabulation) . Xhosa stories are heavily laden with serious teachings and an implicit ideology of socialisation. Their strength and familiarity lie in the fact that though they are not facts, they draw on the values, customs and expectations that constitute the identity of the Xhosa people.

The study revealed certain general themes: acceptable behaviour, which is *intlonipho* (respect) in particular; an adult-and-child status in relation to knowledge (the adult knows and the child does not know); a reflection of the immediate environment (dangers); the way of life (beliefs and customs); subsistence agricultural existence; the teaching of life skills; the different stages of life and its expectations; and the stories' use of real-life events and animal imagery to carry their 'valuable lessons'.

There is an official beginning to *intsomi*, which is “*Kwathi ke kaloku ngantsomi*” (Once upon a time), “*Kwahlala kwahlala kwayintsomi*” (As time went by it happened that...), “*Yathi intsomi*” (The story began...). “*Ngumsebenzi kaMakhulu ukwenza iintsomi esenzela abazukulwana*” (Storytelling is the responsibility of the grandmother towards the grandchildren). The narrator does this to grab the attention of the listeners, who are usually the grandchildren, who then respond by saying, “*Chosi!*”

If the story (*intsomi*) was told before sunset, the audience’s response would be, “*Chosi! Mpondo phum’aph’ungaphum’apha.*” (Yes, horns grow here [on the ground] and never here [on the head].) This was said ‘to stop’ the horns from growing on their heads, because it was believed that if *iintsomi* were told before sunset, the listeners would grow horns. This was quite effective in discouraging storytelling before all the daily chores were finished (Ntshinga, 1995). Figure 4.1 below shows an orator with her audience.



**Figure 4.1: The orator and her audience**

Source: <http://digidoll.library.wisc.edu> accessed on 2013, November 20.

Among the Xhosa society a spoken word was valued. For example, according to Xhosa mythology (*imbaliso*), death was brought about by a spoken word. It is said that after *Qamata* (God) had created humanity, he sent his messenger, a chameleon, to the earth to tell the people, “Man should not die!”, but the chameleon walked slowly and as it went it ate some berries on the wayside. At length *Qamata* sent a lizard (*intulo*) after the chameleon. The lizard made haste and ran, not delaying on the way. When it reached the earth, he gave them a different message: “Let men die!” Eventually, the chameleon reached the earth and told the people what it had been sent by *Qamata* to announce, but they replied, “*Sibamb’elentulo!*” (We believe the lizard’s announcement.) (Scheub, 1992).

### **4.3.3 Riddles (*amaqhina*)**

According to Bryant 1983:5), an oral riddle is a simple puzzle that has been passed down by word of mouth and whose solution is usually a familiar object, natural phenomenon and so forth. Ntshinga (1995:36) describes riddles as follows: “*Amaqhina ngumdlalo ovavanya ubukhali bengqondo, yimidlalo enesuntswana lobunyaniso, kuba isekelwe kwizinto ezikhoyo ezithi ubume nokumila kwazo kuqondakale nje ukuba impendulo echanekileyo inikwe.*” (Riddles are a game that tests mental skills; these games are based on reality, supported by real features and their behaviour.). The riddle is called *iqhina*, ‘a knot’ in isiXhosa. This knot is ‘tied’ with obscure language; whoever has to solve it must think hard. It also takes mental skills to solve the problem. The one asking the riddle actively creates a representation of the situation. In order to understand and perhaps solve the riddle, one must view the objects represented in different ways.

‘*Rayi-Rayi*’ or ‘*Qashi, qashi*’ (Guess, guess) was a popular technique amongst the Xhosa people by which children shared knowledge about an idea, object, phenomenon or theme in an amusing way. After one has asked a riddle, he/she gives the others a chance to think of the answer because the answers are not always obvious. Riddles are part of oral art because the words disguise the answer. The subject of the riddle can be anything within common experience. Therefore, the one who is trying to solve the riddle must grasp the associations or similarities.

These riddles are relevant to our study as they reflect how oral folklore draws on different spheres of life, as shown below. This collection of Xhosa riddles by Robert Sobukwe (1971) has been separated into different categories:

### **a) The human being (body and life)**

Riddle: 'I have twin sons standing on either side of the mountain-forest edge, supporting the forest in case it collapses.'

Solution: Human ears (twin sons), head (mountain), forest (hair).

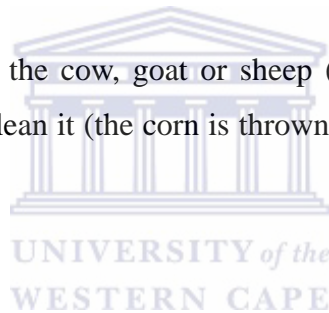
Riddle: '*Ndinabantu bam babini bafika ndingekafiki endaweni.*' (I have my two people who always arrive before me.)

Solution: *Ngamehlo* (eyes).

### **b) The animal world**

Riddle: 'I have a sack full of corn. The corn is thrown away and the sack is cooked and eaten.'

Solution: The fleshy stomach of the cow, goat or sheep (sack full of corn), usually called 'tripe' or 'offal'. You must first clean it (the corn is thrown away) and then cook the stomach and eat it (the sack).



### **c) The vegetable world**

Riddle: 'I have a woman who carries a bearded baby on her back.'

Solution: The maize stalk (woman), maize cob (baby) and the outer covering husks (beard).

### **d) Natural phenomena: The heavens and the elements**

Riddle: 'I have a woman. She has very many children and they are seen covering a great plain with the mother in the midst of them. But whenever her husband approaches, she and her children hide away.'

Solution: The moon (the woman), the stars (many children) and the sun (the husband).

Riddles are found in many countries around the world, especially in societies with contiguous cultural frameworks, such as the Jewish, Greek, Roman, Indian, Asian and African societies, which may attach mysterious significance to names. Two riddles below are of Jewish origin, taken from the Bible, which shows that oral art is not heathenism as we were made to believe.



Firstly, the God of the Bible is asking his prophet to communicate in a riddle to his nation, in order to get their attention.

“*Nyana womntu, jika iqhina, uzekelise ngomzekeliso kwindlu kaSirayeli.*” (“Son of man, put forth a riddle, and speak a parable unto the house of Israel.”) (KJV, Ezekiel 17:2).

Another riddling case is Samson riddling his in-laws (KJV, Judges 14:11–14, 18):

“*Kwathi, bakumbona, bazisa abalingane abangamashumi omathathu, baba naye.*” (When the people saw him, they chose 30 men to be his companions.)

“*Wathi uSamson kubo, Ndonijikela iqhina; ukuba nithe nandicombululela ngeentsuku ezisixhenxe zomsitho, nalifumana, ndoninika iingubo zelinen entle ezingamashumi amathathu, neengubo zokukhululana ezingamashumi omathathu.*” (“Let me tell you a riddle,” Samson said to them. “If you can give me the answer within the seven days of the feast, I will give you 30 linen garments and 30 sets of clothes.”)

“*Ke ukuba anithanga nibe nako ukundicombululela, nondinika nina iingubo zelinen entle ezingamashumi amathathu, neengubo zokukhululana ezingamashumi omathathu. Bathi kuye, Lijike iqhina lakho silive.*” (“If you can’t tell me the answer, you must give me 30 linen garments and 30 sets of clothes.” “Tell us your riddle,” they said. “Let’s hear it.”)

“*Wathi kubo, Kodlayo kwaphuma ukudla, Konamandla kwaphuma incasa. Ababa nako ukulicombulula iqhina imihla emithathu.*” (He replied, “Out of the eater, something to eat; out of the strong, and something sweet.” For three days they could not give the answer.)

“*Athi kuye amadoda aloo mzi ngomhla wesixhenxe, lingekatshoni ilanga, Yintoni na enencasa ngaphezu kobusi? Yintoni na enamandla ngaphezu kwengonyama? Wathi kuwo, Ukuba beningalimanga ngethokazi lam, Ngeningalifumananga iqhina lam.*” (Before sunset on the seventh day the men of the town said to him, “What is sweeter than honey? What is stronger than a lion?” Samson said to them, “If you had not ploughed with my heifer, you would not have solved my riddle.”)

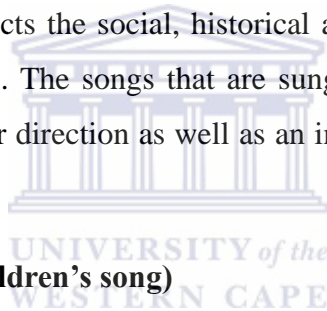
#### **4.3.4 Songs (*iingoma*)**

One of the most socially significant Xhosa oral forms is singing. There is a great variety of songs within Xhosa society: *iingoma zosana* (lullabies) (see Appendix 1), *lala lala lala*

*mntwana*, *iingoma ezivunywa abantwana* (children's play-songs) (see *uYeye* below), *iingoma zolutsha abanemitshotsho* (youth party songs), *iingoma zokwaluko 'Somagwaza'* (male initiation songs), *iingoma zentonzana* (female initiation songs), *iingoma zasetywaleni* (beer-drinking songs), *iingoma zamagqirha* (songs for the diviners), *iingoma zomsebenzi* (work-songs), *iingoma zomtshato* (wedding songs), *iingoma zecawa* (church songs) and so forth (Ntshinga, 1995).

Music provides an unlimited scope for group or individual expression. Xhosa music is exceptional for its use of overtone singing, which is practised and performed distinguished by its low and intricately textured sounds. The distinctive Xhosa dance with its overt shoulder movements and the surprising sounds that come from Xhosa bow instruments, including the *umrhubhe* friction mouth-bow and the *uhadi* and drums.

Music plays several important roles; besides the obvious role of entertainment, there is an educational function. Music reflects the social, historical and cultural aspects of the society that the child has been born into. The songs that are sung contribute to the shaping of the child's character and give him/her direction as well as an incentive to live up to the expected moral values.



***Iingoma zabantwana* (Xhosa children's song)**

Xhosa children like these question-like rhymes with one group asking a question and the other group answering.

These songs are called play-songs that the children sing as part of their entertainment together with other games such as hide and seek, pretend weddings and so forth.

***UYeye***

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>Ngubani lo?</i> (Who is this?)               | <i>NguYeye.</i> (It is Yeye.)              |
| <i>Uhamba nabani?</i> (Whom is he with?)        | <i>Noyise.</i> (He is with his father.)    |
| <i>Umphathele ntoni?</i> (What has he brought?) | <i>Amasi.</i> (Sour milk.)                 |
| <i>Ngendeb'enjani?</i> (With what cup?)         | <i>Ngebomvu.</i> (The red one.)            |
| <i>Wayibeka phi?</i> (Where did he put it?)     | <i>Esibaya.</i> (Inside the cattle kraal.) |



*Kwesingakanani?* (How big is it?)

*Kwesikhulu.* (The big one.)

*Hi! mayisele, Zidenge zodwa!* (Only the foolish will drink of it!)

*Hi! mayisele, Zidenge zodwa!* (Only the foolish will drink of it!)

### **Xhosa traditional wedding *ingoma* (song)**

#### ***Uqongqothwane* (The darkling beetle pupa)**

The name *Uqongqothwane* is most likely derived from the sound that this beetle makes as it knocks its abdomen on the ground. The pupa has a large head and a pointed tail. It received its praise name *iGqirha* (diviner) from the game that children played. As a Nguni child, the researcher also played this game; the children would pick up the beetle pupa and sing this song, asking for direction home. It would then wriggle, twist and revolve its body until it pointed in the right direction with its sharp point, usually where home was. It was also used by the boys in the field to search for their lost cattle. They would ask, “Which direction has our cattle gone?” The direction it pointed to would be the direction the search party would take to look for the lost cattle. In the Zulu language it is called *Nkomongaziphi* (Where have the cattle gone?).

It is from this background that the beetle pupa has come to be believed to be a diviner. It is actually a beetle pupa that is still undergoing metamorphosis to become a full adult beetle.

The researcher believes that its relevance as a wedding song lies in the fact that the bride will have to leave her homestead and go to the land unknown, *emzini* (husband’s homestead).

*Mombeleden’uqongqothwane,* Clap for the beetle,

*Mombeleden’uqongqothwane;* Clap for the beetle;

*iGqirha lendlela nguqongqothwane,* The diviner of the road is the beetle,

*iGqirha lendlela nguqongqothwane,* The diviner of the road is the beetle,

*Nkqo-nkqo-nkqo-nkqo!* Knock knock knock knock!

*Nkqo-nkqo-nkqo-nkqo!* Knock knock knock knock!

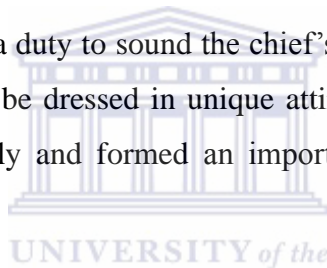
*Nguqongqothwane!*                      It is a beetle!

*Nguqongqothwane!!*                      It is a beetle!

#### **4.3.5 Oral poetry (*izibongo*)**

Jeff Opland (1983), one of the leading researchers in the world on Xhosa poetry, states clearly that “oral poetry belongs to the domain of folklore”. In traditional Xhosa societies, oral poetry is the most prominent expressive form of Xhosa folklore. Oral praise singers act as agents of public opinion; the current social and cultural issues of their communities are reflected in their poetry. The role of the praise singers is to contribute to maintaining the social structure by declaiming the social values of the ruling class, such as their patrons’ noble status and lineage, wealth, power, generosity and political and economic influence. It is considered their role to conscientise the people and to tell the truth as they see it.

The praise poet for the chief has a duty to sound the chief’s praises, usually in a certain loud, high-pitched voice. He will also be dressed in unique attire for the occasion. Xhosa poetry was historically transmitted orally and formed an important part of the person’s identity, history and lineage.



Mqhayi (1974) during his time as the nation’s *imbongi* (bard) was invited by the Governor of the Cape to recite a praise poem in commemoration of the arrival of the Prince of Wales in 1925. Mqhayi revealed the true picture of the imposing relationship on the colonizers in his praises to the prince as he recited his poem, portraying both the positive and the negative aspects of Western expansion into Africa. Below is an extract from the poem titled ‘*Aa! Zweliyazuza*’ (The land is gaining)! ‘*iTshawe laseBhritani*’ (British Royalty).

<i>NgumZimb’uyaqhum’elokubuliswa;</i>	Body-that-Smokes is the name I greet you by;
<i>NgumZimb’uyavutha’elomteketiso;</i>	Burning-Body is your pet name;
<i>Nguzweliyazuz’elibizwa ngasemva;</i>	Scourge-of-the-Nation you are called in private;
<i>Ngutshawuz’imiban’elibizwa yiMbongi.</i>	The praise-singer calls you Flasher-of-Lightning.
<i>Sinnika!</i>	Honour to you!
<i>Phumani nonke nize kufanekisa!</i>	Go out, all of you, go out and identify him!
<i>Phumani zizwe nonke nize kufanekisa!</i>	Go out, all the nations, and identify him!
<i>Sisilo sini n’esi singaziwayo?</i>	What kind of creature is this unknown monster?
<i>Singajongekiyo singaqhelekiyo?</i>	Never before seen, unfamiliar to all?

<i>Yaz' ithi kanti yile nabulele;</i>	Perhaps he may turn out to be Nabulele;
<i>Isilokaz' esikhulu seziziba;</i>	Monster of the deep pools;
<i>Yaz' ithi kanti ngulo Makhanda-mahlanu,-</i>	Or the snake with five heads,
<i>Inyok'enkul' eza ngezivuthevuthe;</i>	a big snake, who comes as a whirlwind;
<i>Yaz' ithi kanti ngulo Gilikankqo,</i>	Or it may be Gilikankqo,
<i>Isil' esikhul' esingaziwa mngxuma.</i>	The monster whose lair no man knows.
<i>Le nt' umzimb' uyaqhuma ngathi liziko;</i>	Its body burns like a furnace;
<i>Le nt' umzimb' uyavutha ngathi lidangaty;</i>	Its body burns like a flame;
<i>Le nt' iqhuqhub' iintlantsi ngathi nguSindiya-ndiya;</i>	It spits sparks as if it were a steam engine;
<i>Le nt' itshawuz' imibane ngathi sisibhakabhaka;</i>	It flashes lightning like the heavens;
<i>Sinnika!</i>	Honour to you!
<i>Nalo lisiz' iTshawe le Bhilithani!</i>	Here comes the Prince of Britain!
<i>Inzala yenyathikaz' uVitoliya;</i>	Offspring of the female buffalo, Victoria;
<i>Inkazan' ebuthixorha kwizwe lakwaNtu,</i>	Young woman who is a god in the land of blacks,
<i>Ebumoyarha, butolarha, bugqirharha.</i>	Spirit-like, priest of war, wizard.
<i>Nants' isiz' ikwekwe kaJoji wesiHlanu;</i>	Here comes the boy son of George V;
<i>Yez' emadodeni ikwekw' akomkhulu,</i>	Of the Royal House, a boy coming to men,
<i>Umdak' oliso litshawuz' imibane;</i>	Dung-coloured one eye flashes lightning;
<i>Lithi lakujezul' ung' ungaphanyaza;</i>	If it so much as touches you with a glance, it will blind you;
<i>Umdak' osabuphotyo-butyatho;</i>	The dung-coloured one, who it is impossible to describe;
<i>Unganganabomi wakuwondela;</i>	Indeed it is difficult to scan him;
<i>Kok' ithole lerhamncw' alondeleki</i>	There is no-one can gaze at the calf of the wild beast
<i>Nabakhe balinga bajub' isiduli.</i>	And those who once tried collapsed unconscious.
<i>Yez' inkwenkw' omgquba yomthonyama!</i>	Here comes the boy of the raw dung, the old dung of royal descent!
<i>Yez' ixhom' izindwe yaxhom' ugijo;</i>	Here he comes in plumes and in feathers;
<i>Yez' ifak' umzunga yafak' iphunga;</i>	Here he comes decked in finery, wearing the grass of initiates;
<i>Yez' itsho ngezidanga nezidabane;</i>	Here he comes beautifully attired;
<i>Yez' itsho ngobumbejewu bobuhlalu;</i>	Resplendent and bejewelled;
<i>Yez' inobulawu nobuqholo;</i>	Here he comes in scent and fragrance;
<i>Yez' inetyeleba nezifikane;</i>	Here he comes in mint and grass necklaces;

*Yez' inomtho nomthobothi;*  
*Yeza ngobungwe nobungwenyama;*  
  
*Yeza bugcolocho buchoko-chokozo!*  
*Sinnika Lawundini!*  
*Tarhu Bhilithan' eNkulu!*  
*Bhilithan' eNkul' engatshonelwa langa;*  
*Siya kumthini na lo mntwan' okumkani;*  
*Siya kumthini na lo mntwan' omhlekezi;*  
*Khaniphendule nani zintaba zezwe lethu!*  
*Nani milambo yakowethu khanithethe!*  
*Maz' aselwandle khanimthule kambe,-*  
*Mthuleni manz' aselwandle!*  
*Sikhe simbone, simjonge, simlozele;*  
*Ibilapha nenkwenkwez' enomsila;*  
*Angaba yen' usekhondweni layo.*  
*Ibize kwabakwaPhalo kaTshiwo;*  
*Ibize kumaZulu kubeSuthu;*  
*Ibize kumaSwazi kubaTshwana;*  
*Ibilundwendwe losapho lukaNtu!*  
  
*Kub' uYehov' uThix' uyalawula,-*  
*Uyathetha ngendalo yakhe.*  
*Uyawakhawulezis' amaxesh' akhe!*  
*Tarhu Langaliyakhanya!*  
*Uphuthum' inkwenkwezi yakowenu na?*  
*Thina singumz' owab' iinkwenkwezi;*  
*Nalo kamb' ikhwez' inkwenkwez' akowenu.*  
*Sibambana ngesilimela thina,-*  
*Yona nkwenkwezi yokubal' iminyaka,-*  
  
*Iminyaka yobudoda, yobudoda!*  
*Hay' kodw' iBiritan' eNkulu;*  
*Yeza nebhohile neBhayibhile;*

Here he comes smelling of the sacred tambuti tree;  
 Here he comes with the virtue of the leopard, the  
 lion;  
 Here he comes in raiment and fine robes!  
 Honour to you, Philistine indeed!  
 Hail, Great Britain!  
 Great Britain on whom the sun never sets;  
 What shall we do with this princely child?  
 What shall we do with this child of the king?  
 Give answer, you mountains of our land!  
 And you, rivers of our home, speak out!  
 Bring him down, waves of the sea!  
 Waves of the sea, bring him down,  
 So that we may see him and study him intently;  
 A shooting star once came here;  
 Could be that he is on its trail?  
 It came to the people of Phalo, of Tshiwo;  
 It came to the Zulus and to the Sothos;  
 It came to the Swazis and to the Tswanas;  
 It was a pilgrim to the brotherhood of the  
 blacks!  
 For Jehovah, the Lord ruleth,  
 He speaks of his creation.  
 He hastens on His times!  
 Hail, Light-that-Shines!  
 Have you come to fetch your star?  
 We are a nation that divides stars amongst us;  
 Yonder is the morning star – star of your people.  
 But we bind ourselves together with the Pleiades,  
 The stars we count our years by, the years of our  
 manhood,  
 The years of manhood, the years of manhood!  
 Nay, the mighty Great Britain!  
 Here she comes with Bible and bottle;

<i>Yeza nomfundis' exhag' ijoni;</i>	Here she comes with a missionary escorted by a soldier;
<i>Yeza nerhuluwa nesinadile;</i>	Here she comes with gunpowder and guns;
<i>Yeza nenkanunu nemfakadolo.</i>	Here she comes with cannons and breechloader.
<i>Tarhu bawo, sive yiphi na?</i>	Forgive me, O Father, but which of these must we accept?
<i>Gqithela phambili Thole lesilo!</i>	
<i>Nyashaz' ekad' inyashaza.</i>	Pass on, Calf of the Beast,
<i>Gqitha, uzubuye kakuhle,</i>	Trampler who even now is trampling,
<i>Ndlalifa yelakowethu.</i>	Pass on, and return safely.
<i>Makadl' ubom ukumkani!</i>	Eater of our country's inheritance!
<i>Ndee ntsho-ntshobololo!!</i>	Long live the King!!
<i>Ngokwalaa nkwenkwezi</i>	I've said enough about him, I'll say no more,
<i>yayinomsila!!!</i>	Like the shooting star we once saw!!!

(Inzuzo, 1974).

#### **4.3.6 Kinship group praises (*Iziduko*)**

These are poems mostly praising important people, for example ancestors, within a Nguni clan. They tell the story of a clan. Storytelling plays a crucial role in this oral tradition. One of the name versions is used as a fond greeting of a clan member. Among the Xhosa, names constitute the structural core of *iziduko*. These names enjoy an independent currency in society, operating as modes of address or reference, or as honorific salutations.

To form *iziduko*, a sequence of names may be strung together to refer to one individual, a genealogical series of names comprises a poem of a lineage and clan poems consist collectively of the names of distant ancestors of the clan. Each of these names may be extended by a brief explanation or qualification so that they become lines, or verses in turn may be expanded by means of a limited set of traditional devices into a succession of lines that may be called stanzas (Opland, 1990:242).

Reading from the great ancestor *Xhosa* to *Zwelidumile* will be as follows:

*Zwelidumile the son of Gwebinkumbi*

*Gwebinkumbi the son of Sigcawu*

*Sigcawu the son of Sarhili*

*Sarhili the son of Hintsa*

*Hintsa the son of Khawuta*

*Khawuta the son of Gcaleka*

*Gcaleka the son of Phalo*

*Phalo the son of Tshiwo*

*Tshiwo the son of Ngconde*

*Ngconde the son of Togu*

*Togu the son of Sikhomo*

*Sikhomo the son of Tshawe*

*Tshawe the son of Nkosiyamntu*

*Nkosiyamntu the son of Malandela*

*Malandela the son of Malangana*

*Malangana the son of Xhosa*

(Opland, 1990)

Knowing the names of the Xhosa kings enables one to know what happened during the reign of any particular king. The names can convey a great deal. When the king is praised, his forefathers' names are joined according to their birth order, making a very long string.

There are different kinds of poems and praises. Individuals could also praise themselves for their achievements; for example, a hunter could highlight his successful hunt, the hardship faced on the hunt or family feelings when he left home. People could praise their oxen, homesteads and each other.



#### **4.3.7 Proverbs and idioms (*amaqhalo nezaci*)**

There is a fine line between proverbs and idioms, especially in isiXhosa; they are both metaphorical and similar in purpose in terms of usage. The only difference is the stylistic and aesthetic aspects of the two forms (Finnegan, 1970). For the purpose of this research, the researcher dealt with both of them in a similar manner while striving to find the various cultural codes ingrained in the names and their message. It was beyond the scope of this study for the researcher to concern herself with the stylistic and aesthetic differences between proverbs and idioms and linguistic analysis thereof.

Proverbs and idioms are derived from “folktales, beliefs, values, attitudes, perceptions, emotions and the entire system of thoughts and feelings” (Magwaza, 2004:37). Proverbial names are derived from the same.

Acher (1931), one of the foremost scholars on proverbs, asserts that “proverbs are the simple truths of life and contain the ethical or moral values of a society”. Such names encapsulate the actual culture: what the people value most, their concept of the world and life, and how knowledge and education are transmitted from one generation to the other. Proverbs continue to play an integral part in normal, everyday conversations across the African continent, particularly in rural areas. Proverbs reflect the prevailing attitudes in a given society. As explained by (Mutasa, 1993, cited in Mpungose, 2010:20),

This aspect of language [i.e. proverbs] cannot be ignored and taken for granted and should not be looked at from a subjective point of view. By ignoring it we are ignoring the complete expression of the feelings, ideas and [ambitions] of a given people.

(Mathonsi, 2004:46, in his article *Aspects of Social Commitment in Oral literature* cited in Mpungose, 2010:9) states that proverbs seem to “reflect on and offer directives for day to day problems, while myths represent reflections on the fate of man and the world”. As can be deduced from the statements of the academics quoted above, proverbs played a key role in instilling socio-cultural values in the society.

#### **4.3.8 Proverbial names**

Let us investigate this form of oral literature, which was a core aspect of the study, without delay, *kaloku amangomso asa esihogweni* (because procrastination leads to hell). These are



names that have been sourced from proverbs and other forms of oral literature, such as poems, riddles, songs and so forth. They are accepted as shortened yet valid substitutes of the proverbs to which they correspond while managing to convey the entire meaning of those proverbs. These names serve the same basic functions as proverbs themselves, such as stressing gratitude, generosity, solidarity, social cohesion and so forth (Finnegan, 1970).

Several scores of Xhosa traditional names that were investigated in the study stemmed from all forms of oral literature, especially proverbs and idioms. In spite of the close relationship between the two disciplines of folklorists and onomastics, scholars have generally overlooked the contributions that folklore can make to personal name research (Baker, 1972).

Finnegan (1970:402) deals with the various genres of African oral literature in her book *Oral literature in Africa*. In the section in which she deals with the use proverbs as a source of personal names, she says,

Sometimes there are two forms of proverbs, the full and the abbreviated, the second being the one normally cited. Sometimes the saying is cut down even further and merely referred to in one-word personal names.

Thus among the Venda people of South Africa, whose language, Tshivenda, is rich in proverbs, Simelane-Kalumba (2012) highlights that some Tshivenda names rely on the knowledge of these proverbs. For example, a man may be called *Nyadzawela* (trouble) from the proverb that means, 'Mock someone who is trouble and you will be next to suffer' (*Nya Dzawela Vhanwe na sea matshelo zwi do ni welavho*). Names are sometimes the first word of a proverb. The Xhosa personal name *Salakutyelwa* (One who refuses instruction) is the first word of the proverb '*Isalakutyelwa sibona ngolophu*' (One who refuses to be advised will only take heed when he burns).

The use of proverbial names is quite evident in the naming practices of other non-Western cultural groups. An onomastic snippet published in *Nomina Africana* (2006) from *The Witness*, 2006 for example, states, "In China, there is a strong tradition of making up unique names for babies that carry hopes for their child's future. Chinese parents often choose simple words such as 'strength', 'wisdom', and 'bright' for boys and 'serenity' and 'beauty' for girls. *But they also like to choose words from ancient poems rarely used in the contemporary Chinese language.*" This is an interesting example from Chinese culture of creating names from folklore.



Proverbial names may be so old that the words from which they are derived are no longer in current use. In such a case, the meanings of the common names underlying the personal name may be forgotten, but the proverbial name itself survives.

Proverbial names are usually compound names, meaning that the linguistic composition of these names may consist of more than one element; this is because such names would have used a phrase as a personal name. Proverbial names, like many other types of name, also indirectly communicate the opinions of the name-givers towards others. This knowledge, like the rest of the oral art, is retained, passed along, drawn upon and practically applied through the giving and receiving of names. These historic stories are transferred from one person to another along with the names to which they are attached. As shown in this research, isiXhosa personal names function as vehicles of oral knowledge and thus constitute a unique linguistic component of Xhosa oral tradition.



## CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF DESK RESEARCH

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter places the current study in context by examining a number of cultural issues that are of particular interest and relevance to the study. The following discussion contains an exposition of the main themes from which names acquire meaning and take on diverse roles and functions within isiXhosa culture. The proverbial names in this study were dealt with as part and parcel of the culture in order to heavily stress the importance of incorporating cultural knowledge into studies of Xhosa names and naming practices. In addition, the connection between cultural knowledge such as rites of passage and certain aspects of oral literature such as proverbs, idioms, songs, chants and poems is discussed in this chapter. It is necessary to understand these cultural aspects in order to locate the naming process within certain social and cultural values that influence it.

Below are the results and analysis of proverbial names acquired through the desk research techniques with a view of discovering their origin. The name themes, in line with previous studies conducted on Xhosa names, include familial and social kinship ties and statuses, events and circumstances, societal values and expectations, gender roles, social and cultural history, socio-political alliances and spiritual beliefs.

It is worth noting that from the personal experience of conducting this research, sometimes it is rather difficult to find a good equivalent in the English language to explain the meaning of a Xhosa proverb. However, to understand fully the meaning of our folklore, an understanding of African cultures, which are the origins of this lore, is essential. Therefore, the discussion attempts to uncover the cultural, social, religious and political implications of proverbial names in order to reveal the culturally complex nature of the message conveyed by those names. This message conveyed includes desirable social values and concepts such as *ubuntu* (humanity), courage, generosity and *intlonipho* (respect).

This section examines the ways in which the issue of cultural context may be dealt with in name studies, through a discussion of specific customs and cultural aspects that are relevant to the names and proverbs under study. In this section, proverbial names are presented and discussed; some of them are related to proverbs, idioms and poems written by well-known Xhosa authors such as Mesatywa (1954), Mqhayi (1974) and Jordan (1940). The selected

proverbial names are presented in tables together with their linking proverbial expressions. In the tables, the names are provided with their literal meaning presented in the adjacent column. The proverb to which the name is linked is provided in its original language (Xhosa) with a direct translation.

The subtitles given at various sections of the collection in both the text and translation are intended for classifying the names into related cultural themes and to ensure easier references to them.

Instead of trying to cover many themes without much detail, the study selected three name categories with a few themes of the Xhosa culture for analysis under it. The categories were, firstly, childbirth names, covering themes such as blessing declaration names, birth rank names, naming after an event and so forth. Secondly, the social names category covered themes such as normative, summative and reflective social names, nicknames taken from body parts, names taken from certain behaviours and names taken from animal metaphors. Lastly, the category of transitional names, or names given at different stages of life, covered themes such as name avoidance by the bride and initiates, bridal names and the communicative role of naming. A summary of names, their corresponding proverbs and meanings is presented in tabular form (see Chapter 5).

Larger issues presented themselves when the Xhosa traditional naming systems were analysed in broad cultural context. These issues concerned the formal description of communal types and their interactions, in terms of the Xhosa homestead and society and the importance of gender roles and rites of passage into adulthood and verbal taboos. Oral art served as a tool used for fashioning social formations in relation to others, and in a sense they are the framework within which all other issues occur within a specific society.

Each proverbial name is analysed in its unique social and cultural contexts. Themed categories reveal the intricate interrelationship and mutual influences among proverbial names, proverbs and idioms and the culture and customs where these originate, that is within ethnic hierarchies and social formations that extend far beyond the immediate social context where personal names are given and used. However, the categories are difficult to sustain, as the semantics of names is largely dependent on context. Consequently, these names defy stringent categorisation and boxing. (Proverbs are supplied and then analysed.)

## 5.2 Childbirth names: Passage into life



Figure 5.1: A newborn child being smeared with white *ingceke*

Source: <http://kwekudee-tripdownmemorylane.blogspot.com> retrieved on 2013, november 20

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### 5.2.1 Named after the behaviour of the child

These proverbial names are used to describe the behaviour of children when they follow the in the footsteps of their parents, ancestors, mentors and predecessors. In Table 5.1 below the names of reflecting the behaviour of the children are set out.

**Table 5.1: Behaviour proverbial names**

Proverbial name	Literal meaning	Proverb	Meaning
<b>Fuzunina</b>	One from their maternal mother.	<i>Umntwana uya kufana nonina.</i>	The child resembles the mother (maternal side).
<b>Fuzuyise</b>	One resembling the father.	<i>Umntwana ufuze uyise.</i>	The child resembles the father (paternal side).
<b>Mzikayifani</b>	The homes are not the same.	<i>Imizi ayifani, ifana ngeentlanti zodwa.</i>	The homes are different, though they all have similar cattle kraals.
<b>Mphindandlela</b>	One who goes over the same route.	<i>Ukuphinda indlela.</i>	Visiting the parents' home.
<b>Mbeleko</b>	Carrying skin.	a) <i>Usana olungakhaliyo lufel'embelekweni.</i> b) <i>Phakathi komhlane nembeleko.</i>	a) The child who does not cry dies in the carrying skin/skin-shawl. When in need, you must signal for help. b) You are between the back and the carrying skin/skin shawl. You are comfortable.
<b>Qhawuka/Qhawu kile</b>	Be broken loose.	<i>Yaqhawuka imbeleko.</i>	The carrying skin/skin shawl has broken loose, something not anticipated.

- **Fuz'unina:** 'Umntwana uya kufana nonina.' (The child has the mother's behaviour or looks.)

“*EmaXhoseni, umntwana xa enza izinto ezisecaleni kuthiwa ufuzekulonina, ukuba mbi enkangalekweni kuthiwe ufana nonina*” (Among the Xhosa people, when a child misbehaves or does something bad, it is said that the child resembles his/her maternal side) (Mesatywa, 1954).

- **Fuz’uyise:** ‘*Umntwan’ufuze uyise.*’ (The child resembles the father’s home.)

“*Umntwana owenza izinto ezincomekayo kuthiwa ugodukile oko kukuthi ufuze uyise*” (If the child does something good, he/she must have gotten it from the father’s side). The father’s relatives and mother’s relatives are often distinguished in practice (Mesatywa, 1954).

- **Mzikayifani:** ‘*Imizi ayifani, ifana ngeentlanti zodwa.*’ (The homes are not the same, though their cattle kraals look the same.)

Though this name does not strictly fit in this category of naming after the behaviour of the child. It highlighted the same fact that each homestead was viewed as unique in terms of its customs though belonging to the same culture and society. Among the Xhosa society it is generally believed that ‘*wonke umzi unamasiko awo*’ (each homestead has its own customs). The Xhosa would refer to ‘*amasiko okokwethu*’, meaning *their* home customs, and ‘*amasiko asemzini*’ or ‘*amasiko akulondonda*’, referring to the customs of the husband’s home. The name *Mzikayifani* was a reminder that each home has its way of doing things.

**Mphindandlela:** ‘*Ukuphinda indlela.*’ (Going over the same journey.)

This name refers to the first official visit by the bride to her own parental home after her marriage, which is called ‘*ukuphinda indlela*’. According to Mesatywa (1954), “*Uthi umfazi akugqiba iinyanga nokuba zimbini emzini wakhe omtsha, kufuneka akhe agoduke aye kubona abazali bakhe. Oko kekukuphinda indlela.*” (After one or two months of marriage, a bride was required to return to her parental home to visit her relatives). Her relationship with her own family was also regulated by certain rules; visits to her parent’s home were officially arranged by the custom of *Mphindandlela* (the first visit), then followed by the next visit when she was pregnant with her first child. Whilst at her parent’s home, she had to safeguard the secrets of her in-laws’ home. For example, when someone referred to something that should not be talked about or a secret not to be told, the idiom ‘*Leyo yindaba yakwamkhozi*’ (That is the story about the in-laws) would be used. This custom prevented animosity developing between the two families because of tale-telling.

- **Mbeleko:** ‘*Usana olungakhaliyo lufel’embelekweni.*’ (A child who does not cry will die in the carrying skin.) The proverb encourages the one in need to signal for help.

: ‘*Phakathi komhlana nembeleko.*’ (Between the back and the carrying skin.) The proverb signifies a comfortable place.

: ‘*Yaqhawuka imbeleko.*’ (The carrying skin has broken loose.) Something not anticipated has happened, such as the end of a relationship or division between parties.

Rites of passage have played a major role in Xhosa society for hundreds of years. They were designed to allow people to move from one stage to another, from birth through to death (Opland, 1983). The first was called *imbeleko* (the preparing of a baby carrier for the newborn). The name *imbeleko* is derived from the word *beleka*, meaning ‘to carry on one’s back’. The carrying skin was made from the hide of the slaughtered goat, but this was later replaced by *ibhayi* (cloth). Nowadays, a cloth or a towel can be used as long as it is big enough to wrap around the body securely.

After giving birth, a mother was expected to remain secluded in the hut for at least 10 days. During this healing period for both the mother and the baby, she was in the care of the elderly women of the home and men were not allowed to enter the hut. At the end of the period of seclusion, a ritual to introduce the child to the living and deceased members of the family was performed. This was the first of the many rites of passages performed in the life of a Xhosa person.

According to the *Greater dictionary of isiXhosa* (2006), traditionally the ceremony was a sacrificial rite observed 10 days after the birth of the infant. There was a fear that failure to comply with the prescriptions that were required by *imbeleko* rituals would bring terrible misfortune (*ukuhlelwa ngamashwa*), such as a child wetting or soiling his/her bed or not being well behaved; therefore, the ritual would be performed as a corrective measure at any stage before the child was initiated into adulthood.

One respondent explained that a goat was usually slaughtered and eaten in a ritualistic way among feasting and dancing at this ceremony. The elderly man of the home oversaw the function. He was the one who presented the nursing mother with her portion of the ritual meat (*intsonyama*). From that moment, the mother could come out of seclusion and resume



her role within the homestead with her baby strapped to her back with the *imbeleko*. See Fig 5.2 for a depiction of a mother and a child.



**Figure 5.2: Xhosa woman with a baby on her back**

Source: ixwa.hubpages.com retrieved 2013/11/20

- ***‘Phakathi komhlana nembeleko.’*** (Between the back and the carrying skin.) This proverb refers to the place where the child lies between the mother’s back and the carrying skin.

This was where most African mothers would rock their babies to sleep. The word *mbeleko* has important cultural connotations within Xhosa society. In a deeper sense, it symbolises protection, love and the natural bond between the mother and the baby. It was deemed the most comfortable place for the baby. When the baby was crying, the elders would instruct the mother to place the baby on her back.

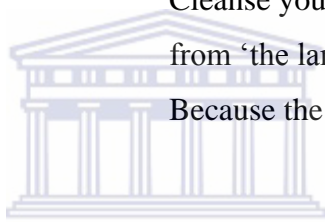


- ‘*Yaqhawuka imbeleko.*’ (The carrying skin has ruptured.)

This proverb signifies the severing of ties. It could be used in different circumstances, such as when two close friends broke off their friendship or when part of a tribe broke away. The child given *Qhawukile* as a name might have been born when there was separation of close friends or any other context that could still be justified by the name-giver.

Zolani Mkiva, the Xhosa poet, performed a poem at Mandela’s inauguration as President of South Africa on 10 May 1994. He gave this proverbial expression another relevant context. The following extract has been taken from the inauguration poem:

<i>Yaqhawuk'imbeleko</i>	The carrying skin has snapped
<i>Zaqhawuk'ii-ankile zentiyo nengcinezelo</i>	The anchors of hatred and oppression have snapped
<i>Hlambani intliziyo bantu</i>	Cleanse your heart, you people
<i>baseMhlabuhlangene</i>	from ‘the land is united’
	Because the great day has finally arrived
<i>Kuba ide yafika imini enkulu...</i>	



In his poem, Mkiva (1994) views *imbeleko* as a place of comfort for a selected few, the white minority of South Africa, and as a hindrance to progress for the majority of South Africans. As long as the majority of South Africans were inside the carrying skin, restricting movement and interfering with their personal freedom, they could not exercise their independence through walking. The majority of South Africans were tied by the anchors of hatred and oppression and had no freedom of choice because of apartheid. According to the *imbongi* (poet), it was unthinkable that South Africa would once again be untied after apartheid. He then rejoices at the great day of freedom. The name *Qhawukile* could then be employed to commemorate the end of apartheid.

### 5.2.2 Blessing declarations names

Neethling (2004) in his study highlights the fact that a common name given to Xhosa children is a name that reflects a good or positive human quality or attribute that the parents wish their children will one day exhibit. Names such as *Solule*, *Malwande* and *Fikile*, as discussed below, would be given as a jubilant exclamation at the arrival of a child. These names are given as a sign of affection from the entire family and, in addition to expressing affection, are intended to spur someone in the right direction. Through these names the parents express their hopes, expectations and aspirations. : In Table 5.2 below the expectations/aspirations names are set out.

**Table 5.2: Expectations/aspirations names**

Proverbial name	Literal meaning	Proverb	Meaning
<b>Solule</b>	Extend us.	<i>Ukuzala kukuzolula.</i>	Giving birth is to extend yourself.
<b>Alwande</b>	They must increase.	<i>Usapho alwande.</i>	The family must increase.
<b>Fikile, Ntsikelelo</b>	Has arrived, a blessing.	<i>Ifikil' intsikelelo.</i>	The blessing has arrived.

- **Solule:** ‘*Ukuzala kukuzolula.*’ (Giving birth is to extend yourself.)

According to Mesatywa (1954), “*Utsho umntu xa enzelwe into entle ngabantwana bakhe. Kaloku abantwana aba bazalelwa ukuba ‘ze babe luncedo kubazali babo. Oku kuzolula kumzali, kukuphumla, ukuzala ke kunomvuzo wako.*” This proverbial expression was used to refer to the kind deed done by a child to the parent. Among the Nguni, children were regarded as being born to be a blessing to their parents. They were viewed as a type of investment that would eventually yield an increase. It was anticipated that boys would turn into men who would find wives and continue the family surname. Girls would be given in marriage in exchange for cattle (*lobola*). They therefore increased the wealth of the home and built relations with the other

kinship groups (*asakhele ubuhlobo*). The name *Solule* was a symbol of hope that the child would grow up and meet these expectations.

- ***Usapho, Malwande:*** ‘*Usapho malwande.*’ (The family must increase.)

Traditional Xhosas values favoured big families. There are many additional personal names such as *Nolusapho, Ayanda, Siyanda, Kwanda, Sandile, Nokwanda* and so forth that are derived from this idiomatic expression, and they celebrate the increase in the family. This idiom is a blessing declaration used to show approval of the birth of yet another child into the clan, the homestead or society at large.

- ***Fikile, Ntsikelelo, Nontsikelelo:*** ‘*Ifikil’intsikelelo.*’ (The blessing has arrived.)

A clan name is passed down from the father to the male children. The amaXhosa being patrilineal, families would prefer boys to girls, particularly that the firstborn be male. A female child married ‘out’; she was seen as belonging, ultimately, to another unknown family, the family of her future marriage. When a family had a boy first or a boy after a succession of girls, he would most probably receive a name expressing the family’s praise and thankfulness to God. Of course, even within patrilineal households, mothers often preferred to give birth to daughters, for the help and companionship that they offered in the daily round of domestic and agricultural tasks (Simelane-Kalumba, 2012:11). A feminising prefix ‘No-’ is usually added for a girl’s name, for example *Ntsikelelo* becomes *Nontsikelelo*.

### 5.2.3 Birth order names

Birth order names refer to the ordinal position by birth that the individual occupies relative to his/her parents' other children and hence serve to define the individual by reference to his/her siblings. Within Xhosa society, responsibilities are apportioned to various persons for the smooth running of life through name-giving. In Table 5.3 below the birth order names are set out.

**Table 5.3: Birth order names**

Proverbial name	Literal meaning	Proverb	Meaning
<b>Nkosana/Izibulo</b> (Firstborn male child)	Little chief	<i>Inkosana yomzi.</i>	The little chief of the homestead.
<b>Ndlalifa</b> (Firstborn male child)	Heir	<i>Ukudla ilifa.</i>	The inheritor.
<b>Solomzi</b> (Firstborn male child)	The eye of the home	<i>Iso lomzi.</i>	The one responsible for the affairs at home.
<b>Mafungwashe</b> (Firstborn female child)	One we swear with	<i>Mafungwashe womzi.</i>	One whom we swear with.
<b>Thumbu</b> (Youngest child)	Small intestine	<i>Ithumbu likamama.</i>	The mother's last child.
<b>Ntondo/Igqibelo/Inci</b> (Youngest child)	Last kid	<i>Untondo kanina.</i>	Mother's lastborn child.

- **Nkosana:** (little chief), **Ndlalifa:** (the inheritor)

These names are given based on the order of birth, especially the first- and the lastborn children. They are usually representative of various social relationships within a family. The first wife is referred to as *indlunkulu* (big house). The firstborn son from the big house becomes the heir. The second wife is referred to as the right-hand wife. If the first wife fails to give birth to a son, the right-hand wife's son will become the heir. The birth order could as well be determined from names. For example, names such as *Nkosana/Inkulu/Ndlalifa* (the

inheritor) are birth order names that were only given to a firstborn son. Traditionally, it was a male child who would be the heir. He was the second in command within the homestead. If the homestead head died, he took on the responsibility of running the homestead. Therefore, through the name, the bearer would be constantly reminded of expectations and roles attached to them.

- ***Solomzi:*** (The eye of the home)

This name referred to someone who had been given a certain level of responsibility and authority in the home. When the expression ‘*Ukuba neliso*’ (one having an eye) was used, it referred to a reliable and responsible person. The firstborn son was expected to be someone reliable who would be able to oversee the smooth running of the home. Therefore, he was supposed to be mindful of the responsibility imposed by the name that he bore. According to Fasiku (2006), names play significant roles in accentuating the destiny and consciousness of the bearer.

- ***Mafungwashe:*** (The one we swear with)

The firstborn girl had a special place in the family and had a say in the affairs of her siblings. She was there to support her siblings and was trusted by them for good advice. She was the one responsible for receiving her brother’s wives into the homestead and teaching them rules of the home and showing them their duties.

- ***Ntondo, Thumbu:*** (Last foal, Little intestine)

These names are given to a lastborn child. The name *Thumbu* represents the inside, the interior, the feeling soul of the mother (Mesatywa, 1954). The author says further, “*Umntwana wamathumbu, ngumntwana wamagqibelo, untondo. Kaloku nguyena uthandwayo, ekuthi ukuba kukho nto yenzekileyo kuye kukhawuleze kuxuxuzele amathumbu omzali. Owamazibulo yena kuthiwa ngowezemvaba, aze olandelayo abe ngowezeselwa.*” Lastborn children receive more attention in terms of care. They are not to be given much responsibility as they are considered the baby of the family, irrespective of how old they are. When such a name is called, it invokes compassion on behalf of the bearer.

## 5.2.4 Xhosa description of female beauty

Among the traditional Xhosa, it was almost impossible to separate beauty from gender roles. Names such as *Khozolomya*, *Ntyatyambo* and others symbolise certain socio-cultural values of Xhosa society and also express some virtues and qualities and simply dominant gendered ideologies.

### a) Female beauty and gender roles

The description of physical beauty was always accompanied by other factors such as gender roles that were the social norms. Women were expected to be more nurturing, obedient, responsible, affectionate, caring and concerned for the wellbeing of others. They had to show diligence (*khuthala*) and respect (*intlonipho*) towards men and the elderly. According to Zeka (2001:16), “*Kaloku isiXhosa asijonge buhle bantombi, sijonga ikhaya layo. Mawube ngumzi ondilisekileyo, nomnikaziwo makaziwe ngobuntu, ngokukhuthala nobubele, makangahletywa ngokuthakatha.*” ( In the Xhosa culture, physical beauty is not highly regarded, but the ability of the woman to keep a home is of prime importance. The woman must uphold the values of humanity, diligence, kindness and she must not be suspected of practising witchcraft.) See Table 5.4 below stating the female gender role names.

**Table 5.4: Female gender role names**

Proverbial name	Literal meaning	Proverb	Meaning
<b>Khozolomya</b>	A species of wild hemp	<i>Lukhozo lomya.</i>	Applied to any woman considered very beautiful.
<b>Ntombi, Ntsika</b>	Pillar	<i>Intombi yintsika yesizwe.</i>	A girl is a pillar of the nation.
<b>Ntombi, Ntyatyambo</b>	Flower	<i>Intombi yintyatyambo etyatyambileyo yehlobo engabuniyo.</i>	A girl is a flower that blooms in summer and does not fade.

- *Lukhozo lomya*: (It is a seed of dagga [*umya*]).

According to Mesatywa (1954), “*Ukhozolomya yimbewana emnyamana entlana. Kufaniswa ngayo ke umntu omhle oyintombazana.*” *Umya* is a species of wild hemp. Its seed (*lukhozo*) is like a small jet-black bead. The name *Khozolomya* is a praise name for a very beautiful black woman. The proverb above reveals that the Xhosa people regarded someone who resembled a jet-black bead as someone who was attractive. History has shown that many Xhosa were of a polished jet-black colour but their appearance eventually changed with the gradual onward movement of the population pressing southward into the Khoisan domain (Theal, 1886).

The current trend also has many names that reflect on beauty, for instance names such as *Sibahle*, *Zintle* and *Asemahle*. All these names have a root name denoting beauty. Observation of the modern naming trend reveals that beauty names are no longer reserved for girls only. *Asemahle*, *Sibahle* and *Bahle* can be used for boys as well.

- *Ntombi, Ntsika, Sizwe*: ‘*Intombi yintsika yesizwe.*’ (A girl is a pillar of a nation.)

The proverb compares a woman to a pillar because in Xhosa society women were seen as having a useful role, one that could not be fulfilled by men. This proverb highlights the fact that although women were subjected to their male counterparts, their role was not disrespected. They were regarded as ‘pillars’, and they had their rightful place within the home and the society. Typically, Xhosa girls performed duties that ranged from fetching water from the river, to gathering firewood, tilling, cooking, cleaning and rearing children. Therefore, when a woman married, she ceased to be that pillar in her home and instead became a pillar in her new household.

- *Ntombekhaya, Ntyantyambo*: ‘*Intombi yintyantyambo yekhaya.*’ (A girl is a flower of the home.)

This idiom highlights the importance of the girl child within a Xhosa family. The flower is a symbol of beauty. Girls’ looks are comparable to flowers, like roses and lilies.

### **5.2.5 Xhosa male beauty and gender roles**

The study revealed that Xhosa proverbial names provide profound insight into the ways in which gender and person are constructed in Xhosa society. In contrast to women, men should be strong and fierce and must display leadership potential and signs of power.

- *Busobendoda*: ‘*Ubuso bendoda ziinkomo.*’ (The face of a man is his cows.)

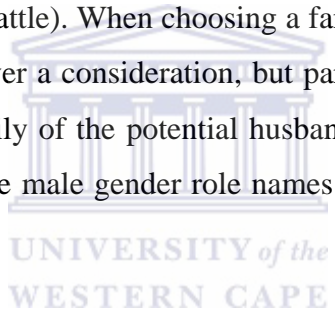


Men did not need to be attractive because they acquired prestige from the number of cattle that they owned. Cattle always represented the wealth of a man, and it was therefore the responsibility of the boys and the men to take care of the cattle. A Xhosa man's status was profoundly dependent on his building a cattle kraal, taking a reproductive wife and building a successful homestead (Mpola, 2007).

Below is the relevant extract from a popular Xhosa wedding song that reiterates this belief:

<i>Ubuso bendoda ziinkomo zayo,</i>	The face of the man is his cattle,
<i>Ze ungalibali ntombazana;</i>	Never forget that dear girl;
<i>Ubuhle bendoda ziinkomo zayo;</i>	The beauty of the man is his cattle;
<i>Ze ungalibali ntombazana.</i>	Never forget that dear girl.

According to this song above, a man can never be referred to as ugly since his beauty is not in his face but rather in his riches (cattle). When choosing a family into which the girl should be married, physical beauty was never a consideration, but parents would assess the size of the cattle kraal belonging to the family of the potential husband before any arrangements could be made. : In Table 5.5 below the male gender role names are set out. Figure 5.3 below the table depicts the cattle kraal.



**Table 5.5: Male gender role names**

<b>Proverbial name</b>	<b>Literal meaning</b>	<b>Proverb</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
<b>Rholihlahla = UkuRhola + ihlahla</b>	Pulling the branch	<i>Ukurhola ihlahla.</i> (Pulling the branch.)	Going through trouble or causing trouble.
<b>Nqandihlahla = ukunqanda + ihlahla</b>	Bringing back the branch	<i>Ukunqanda ihlahla.</i> (Bringing back the branch.)	Preventing trouble or being saved from trouble.
<b>Nkomo, Busobendoda, Buhlebendoda</b>	Cow, the face of the man, the beauty of the man	<i>Ubuso/ubuhle bendoda ziinkomo.</i>	The face of the man is his cattle. The beauty of the man is his cattle.
<b>Nkunzi</b>	Bull	<i>Inkunzi iyazibeka ayibekwa.</i>	The person with outstanding character easily stands out from the crowd.



**Figure 5.3: Cattle kraal**

Source: pleonast.com - 500 × 344 - Search by image accessed on 2013.11.20

### **The importance of the cattle kraal (*ubuhlanti*) in Xhosa culture**

The cultural significance of the kraal in the Xhosa homestead cannot be overemphasised. According to Mesatywa (1954), “*Ibhongo lendoda bubuhlanti bayo, oko kukuthi liqela leenkomo enazo. Umzi ongenabuhlanti, akukho mzi apho.*” (The pride of a man is his cattle kraal and the number of cattle he owns. A home that has no kraal is not regarded as a homestead.) The wealth of a Xhosa man was judged by the number of cattle he was rearing, the size of the land he had for cultivation and the number of wives and children he had (Mpola, 2007).

The *ubuhlanti* (kraal) was associated not only with the cattle but with the authority of the agnatic line, past and present. The *ubuhlanti* was an exclusive place in the Xhosa homestead. Only men were allowed to go into the cattle kraal. Opland (1983:119) also observed that this area was strictly out of bounds to wives, who, as members of another clan, were not members of the lineage.

The dialogue of Jordan (1940) *Ingqumbo yeminyanya* then displays the importance of the taboo custom when the chief’s wife *Thembeke* (now *Nobantu*) in ignorance of the Xhosa taboo customs fondles the royal ox:

The young men had always resented Nobantu's playfulness towards the ox, for to them it was unseemly that the ox should be treated like a toy. Nobantu, on the other hand, was puzzled by their reaction, for she felt sure they did not love the animal any more dearly than she did. But the reason for their objection was that it was a violation of a sacred custom for a woman ever to approach the ox (171–172).

- **'Abantu basebuhlanti, Ngamadoda lawo.'** (Only men belong to the *ubuhlanti*.)

Mesatywa (1954) states that women were also prevented from crossing the yard (*ukuceza*) when they had just given birth or while menstruating, as it was feared that they might cause harm to the cattle. The yard was the area between the door of the main house and the opening of the cattle enclosure; it was always neatly swept and was called the courtyard (*inkundla*), which would serve as a meeting place.

Most Xhosa-speaking people accept Christianity in one form or another today. However, traditionally the Xhosa people were ancestral worshippers. The relationship between the living and their ancestors was considered a vibrant and mutual one. The *ubuhlanti* constituted a direct link with the spirits of the former headmen who were ritually buried there in a sitting position and were now believed to be exerting their influence from there over the lives of the living (Mpola, 2007).

The gate of the cattle kraal (*ixhanti*) was made of a forked branch (*ihlahla*). It had a religious role in the homestead; on top it had the horns of cattle that had been offered to the ancestral spirits. The horns of the sacrificed beasts were hung on the forked gate, and the area would be declared as *ixhanti*. Occasionally the members of the family would go to this *ixhanti* to talk to the spirits of their ancestors, whenever there was any evil or an unacceptable fate. The horns of cattle, placed at the cattle kraal gate, were meant to appease the ancestors (Mpola, 2007).

- ***Rholihlahla*** (Pulling a branch off a tree).

The proverb is used to refer to someone who has gone through a great deal of trouble or is a troublemaker. The name is a compound noun that is an idiomatic expression made of *ukurhola* (to pull or to drag) + *ihlahla* (a cut-down branch). An *ihlahla* was used to close the entrance to the kraal. The act of pulling the branch might evoke the wrath of the ancestors. In ancestral belief, any kind of trouble one went through was believed to have been caused by the wrath of the ancestors (Jordan, 1940).

- ***Nqandihlahla*** (Returning the branch)

*Ukunqanda ihlahla* refers to someone who has prevented the danger from happening. “*Ukunqanda ihlahla ukunqanda ingozi ebiza kuba kho*” (Mesatywa, 1954). Sacrifices were continually made in order to appease the ancestors. This was believed to prevent mishaps. The name commemorates an event when a certain pending danger was averted.



### 5.2.6 Music and dance in Xhosa culture

The music and dance tradition is intertwined with most of the Xhosa cultural and custom rituals. Different songs were sung at different occasions, such as wedding songs, working songs, diviners' songs, lullabies, initiation songs, play songs, and so forth. Songs were sung at rites of passages ceremonies, such as intonjane ceremony , and the Xhosa boys danced the night away in *umguyo* before they left their homesteads, for the traditional initiation to manhood. Proverbs formed part of Xhosa traditional music. They were used together with the music to disseminate important ideas and ideologies corporately held by society. It was a very powerful medium that reached many with the message and enforced certain ideas whilst entertaining. The figure 5.4 below depicts women Xhosa dancers dancing in a group.



Figure 5.4: Xhosa dancers

Source: [blogs.dickinson.edu](http://blogs.dickinson.edu) retrieved on 2014.02.12



**Table 5.6: Dance-related names**

<b>Proverbial name</b>	<b>Literal meaning</b>	<b>Proverb</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
<b>Mhlahlandlela</b>	One who opens the way/opens the floor	<i>Ukuhlahla indlela.</i>	Referring to someone who begins.
<b>Sinamva</b>	One who dances last	<i>Isinamva liyabukwa.</i>	The one who dances last is admired.
<b>Sina</b>	Dance	<i>Kusinwa Kudedelwana.</i>	Dancers dance and give way to others.

- ***Mhlahlandlela*** (One who opens the way)

Usually before all the dancers begin, there will be one who comes to officially open the dance floor. In Xhosa culture, this is called *ukutshayelela* (to sweep the way for the dancer).

- ***'Isinamva liyabukwa.'*** (The one who dances last receives most attention.)

This proverb talks about the 'late bloomer', the person who has waited for a long time for his/her turn. *'Kunjalo entlalweni yethu, oyena mntu ubukwayo ngulowo wenze into entle mva, kuba abaya bokuqala sebelityelwe'*: (One who does a good thing last receives more attention when those who performed first are now forgotten.) The proverb encourages one not to hurry but to patiently wait one's turn.

- ***'Kusinwa kudedelwana'*** (Dancers dance and give way to others.)

During Xhosa dancing, everyone will be on their feet, actively involved in clapping and encouraging those on stage whilst waiting their turn, which may be as long as half a day or longer. It is a test of skill but also of endurance. Historically, the Xhosa people danced when they were happy about the birth of a child, they danced in pain when they had just undergone an operation and were still healing, and they danced in hope. These dances could go on for several days, meaning that the ones who dance last have a better chance of having more spectators as the momentum builds up and they have had enough time to calm their nerves and to watch and improve their technique while others were dancing.

For example, the name *Sinamva* can be given to a child whose mother has given birth after a long time of waiting or has been losing her children and has finally had a child.

### 5.2.7 Naming after an event

IsiXhosa-speaking people sometimes use names to mark an important event in the community or in the family. These personal names can reveal important details about historical events such as migration, wars and contact with other cultures, and so on.

**Table 5.7: Names given after a significant event**

Proverbial name	Literal meaning	Proverb	Meaning
<b>Zweliyaduma</b>	The land is making a sound.	<i>Ilizwe liyaduma.</i>	There are rumours of war.
<b>Zwelifile</b>	The land is dead.	<i>Ilizwe lifile.</i>	The war has begun.
<b>Zwelibanzi</b>	The land is wide.	<i>Ilizwe libanzi.</i>	The land is wide.
<b>Zwelinamehlo</b>	The land is eyes.	<i>Ilizwe linamehlo.</i>	There are rumours of war.
<b>Zwelikheth'abantu</b>	The land chooses people.	<i>Ilizwe likhetha abantu.</i>	The land favours certain people.

These names function as a verbal way to document historical events and play a key role in the Xhosa conception of time. They reflect some crucial events that have marked the life of the group (floods, pestilences, famines, wars and so forth.) (Mandende, 2009). They act as a short history of society in general. Traditionally, the choice of names was sometimes constrained by the events surrounding the birth of a child.

- **Zwelimaxongo, Zwelinamehlo, Zweliyaduma:** '*Ilizwe limaxongo, Ilizwe linamehlo, Ilizwe liyaduma.*' (The land is disturbed, the land is all eyes, the land is making a sound.)

Such idiomatic expressions will be used when there are rumours of war. War does not occur automatically but instead takes time while there are rumours before war breaks out. In this early phase, fear is gripping the hearts of many, especially the family of a newborn child.



Wars were an ever-present reality in the land of the Xhosa. Early tribes were often at war with each other over land issues. According to the historians, White settlement began in 1652 with the arrival of the Dutch, followed by the British settlers who began arriving in the early 1800s. With their advanced technology, these 'white tribes' were able to gain control over the native peoples and forced them into submission. Wars were very disruptive to the lifestyle of the people, as the men had to prepare themselves to defend themselves and their loved one and women had to leave their home to hide in the forest together with their young.

- **Zwelifile:** '*Ilizwe lifile.*' (The land is dead, meaning that war has commenced.)

A male child born at this time may receive a proverbial name to mark the commencement of war. At this time, the people's lifestyle is completely disrupted; fear, death and migration are the distinctive features of war. When the birth of a boy coincides with a calamity that has befallen a family, he may be named *Zwelifile*. '*Kutshiwo xa Imfazwe igalelekile. Kutshiwo naxa abantu baxabeneyo.*' (It is said when the war has begun or if there are individuals who are in dispute.) (Mesatywa, 1954). This is a name denoting the commencement of war or struggle and may be bestowed on a male child. Often people would use events as reminders whenever one asks for their dates of birth.

- **Zwelibanzi:** '*Ilizwe libanzi.*' (The land is broad.)

This is an expression to be used when there is a struggle over a small piece of land. It is advisable for one of the parties to move somewhere else instead of creating strife. It is similar to the expression 'The sky is too wide for two birds to collide'.

It is also an expression to be used when someone hears of a place that he/she has never heard of. The person will then use this expression to marvel at the wideness of the land.

- **Zwelikhethabantu:** '*Ilizwe likheth'abantu.*' (The earth favours certain people.)

This expression is used for someone who seems to have everything going well for him-/herself whilst others are struggling. Usually this expression will be used during harvest time when certain farmers are reaping a better harvest than others.

### 5.2.8 Politically inspired names

These names reflect the political conditions affecting the family, the community or the country at the time of birth. Certain name-givers who are more sensitive to ongoing political trends would encapsulate these in names. The Xhosa people began to link naming to the political oral art.

This is an extract from the words of the *imbongi* who performed in 1990 at the return of Mandela to Transkei (quoted from Kaschula, 1990:105), celebrating his release. The researcher has highlighted in this stanza the names that have made their way into the poem.

*Kuba kaloku ephumile nje uRolihlahla, uyabuy' uTambo emahlathini.*

*Vulani amazibuko, lunyathel' ubhel' olumanz' andonga lwakulo Sabata*

*Dalindyebo.*

*Hambani niyokubikel' iintsapho zethu emangcwabeni ukuba ude wabuya*

*uNelson.*

*XeTelani uBiko no Mxenge nithi oka Mandela uphumile eluvalelweni.*

*Yitshoni ku Nzo abuye eLusaka, izinja zikhululwe amazinyo.*

*XeTelani oka TutuOoNyawo-ntle bathandazele uNelson;*

*Kaloku nimcelele impilo nde ntle nje ngo Mosisi, de sifike enkululekweni.*

Because now that Rolihlahla is back,

Tambo will also be back from the forests.

Pave the way so that the handsome one of Sabata Dalindyebo may walk in.

Go and inform your deceased in the graves that Nelson has eventually come.

Inform Biko and Mxenge that Mandela is out of prison.

Tell Nzo that he must come back from Lusaka; the dogs no longer have teeth.

Tell Tutu that he must inform the priests that they must pray for Mandela,

So that intercessions should be made for his health and long life like Moses till we get independence.

**Table 5.8: Politically inspired names**

<b>Proverbial name</b>	<b>Literal meaning</b>	<b>Political slogan</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
<b>Lelethu</b>	It is ours.	<i>Ilizwe lelethu.</i>	The land is ours.
<b>Ngawethu, Mandla</b>	It is ours.	<i>Amandla ngawethu.</i>	The power belongs to us.
<b>Nonkululeko, Sizwe</b>	Freedom.	<i>Inkululeko yesizwe.</i>	Freedom of the nation.
<b>Mayibuye</b>	Let it be returned.	<i>I-Afrika mayibuye.</i>	Africa must be returned.

The institution of apartheid forcibly changed the social roles of South African black people. Legislation caused fragmentation of the black family through the Pass Laws. The Pass Laws were designed to allow only black people who worked among white people to live in the vicinity of cities (usually in townships). Land was eventually given to black people, but it was very poor and families could not survive working it. Thus, many men left the reserves to find work in the urban areas, but their families were forced by law to remain in the homelands. The South African government established men-only hostels for the workers, which led to many men starting pseudofamilies in town with girlfriends. This forced division of families led to the weakening of family bonds. The Pass Laws Act, enacted in 1952, required all non-white people to carry a 'Reference Book', a pass specifying tribal origin, family, work and place of allowed residence (Appolis, 1996).

This law was enacted to keep black people from setting up a permanent place of residence and to keep their numbers low in white areas. Townships were removed from the white areas, and there were curfews that specified when black people had to be back in the townships. In order for a black person to qualify for a pass to live in the townships, it was essential to have a job in the neighbouring city. The police raided the townships regularly to punish offenders. People lived in constant fear of being sent back to the homelands to starve. Life in the townships was marked by chaos. "Their family members were either on the run from police, in jail, detained, unemployed, or absent from the home in search of employment in the cities" (Women, 1981:1).

When apartheid officially ended in 1994, there was an increase in politically inspired names (Thipa, 1983). However, these names have not resulted in a pattern expected by the onomastic scholars. Neethling's (1988) surveys have shown that not many children have been named after political leaders. His survey methodology tracked those who were named after prolific African political leaders in South Africa. This lean approach did not cater for names taken from political chants, freedom songs and slogans, which constitute the bulk of politically inspired names amongst Xhosa-speaking people.

Naming a child after a famous person or a political figure is not a familiar pattern in the naming systems of the Nguni; rather, commemorative names would be given after their paternal kinsmen. This was because naming a child after kinsmen served a religious, political and social function, namely to perpetuate the names of ancestors, especially in the royalty lineages. This was also confirmed by De Klerk and Bosch in their study "Naming in two cultures: English and Xhosa practices" (1995), in which they established that English parents were more willing than Xhosa parents to name their babies after famous people.

This makes the task of those monitoring the trend of political inspired names more complex. Names such as *Amandla*, *Ngawethu*, *Lelethu*, *Sizwe*, *Mayibuye* and *Xolani* may easily be overlooked whereas they may, in some cases, be politically inspired names. Most of these names are actually taken from political slogans and songs; they are either a significant word in a chant or a shortened form of a phrase. Similar to other proverbial names, one needs to be aware of the linking expression to give the right meaning as intended by the name-giver.

- ***'Ilizwe lelethu, Amandla ngawethu.'*** (The land is ours, the strength is ours.)

The two phrases '*Amandla ngawethu, Ilizwe lelethu*' are usually chanted together and are sourced from a political slogan. In the research conducted in this study, some of the respondents instantly identified these names relating to political struggle songs. However, such names may easily lose the significance that the name-givers were hoping to pass on to reflect their new political awareness and their role in the revolutionary armed struggle designed to bring about a new dispensation in South Africa if they are not described using a referent system approach. For example, a child born immediately after the first democratic elections could be named *Ngawethu* (It is ours) as a remembrance of the political event that happened around the birth. The link between the name, the correlating political slogan '*Amandla Ngawethu*' and eventually the democratic election that took place must be used as

a reference to expand the meaning; otherwise, the pragmatic political significance of such a name is lost. The chant ‘*Amandla*’, with a fist raised in the air, serves as both an opening and closing formula, followed by the audience response ‘*Ngawethu*’; then the leader will again chant ‘*Ilizwe*’, and the response will be ‘*Lelethu*’.

- ‘*Inkululeko yesizwe:*’ (The freedom of the nation.) This is a slogan from one of the political parties, the Inkatha Freedom Party, in support of its name that it is a party fighting for the freedom of the nation.
- *Mayibuye:* ‘*I-Afrika mayibuye!*’ (Let Africa come back!)

The name is derived from a slogan of the African National Congress (ANC) as it was in 1912. This slogan is ‘*Mayibuye i Afrika*’. It was common within the political poetry for the *imbongi* to utter phrases like ‘*i-Afrika*’ with the audience responding with ‘*Mayibuye*’ (Let it return). This slogan is popular known for its use as a protest against the Union of South Africa of 1910, which excluded black Africans.

### 5.3 Social names

These names can be given to both children and adults. They include normative social names that are primarily used to caution against certain human behaviour, summative social names that summarise everyday experiences and the lessons learnt from them and also reflective social names (*iziteketiso*) (Batoma, 2009).

Individual names often reflect the interaction of people, their environment and observation of human behaviour. Social relationships are often expressed through names. Traditionally, the Xhosa people lived close to each other within their kinship group around a kraal, forming a village that was ruled by a chief. With this kind of living arrangement, conflicts, jealousies among wives and rivalries were often unavoidable. There are measures and protocols that society institutes to guard against certain behaviours that may be deemed injurious to social cohesion and harmony. One such measure is called the *intlonipho* (respect) custom that guarded the relationship between individuals and families in the Xhosa community. The Xhosa culture of respect underpinned the operation of the whole society. Under this custom, direct confrontation and eye contact were avoided where possible.

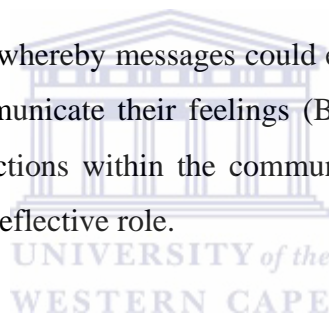
However, the disadvantage of this protocol governing human interaction was that it was based on a certain structure whereby repression and tensions among individuals were to be

left unaddressed. In the strictly patrilineal, hierarchically structured Xhosa community, the name-giver might be accused of having spoken the unspeakable against someone of higher authority and then be approached by the *Ibhunga* (local judicial council) for an explanation.

If one has used a phrase from oral art, one could easily offer a different interpretation since proverbial expressions have a much wider application. By routing a warning through a proverbial name, the name-giver may give a sharp rebuke or warning and still avert any serious repercussions. Since proverbs are known and respected among Xhosa society, the use of proverbial names tends to neutralise the tensions that could arise from daily interactions. Nkumane (1999:55) agrees:

Name-giving according to this observation provides an outlet for the regulation of social relations in the communities. It allowed people to communicate their feelings indirectly, without overt confrontation and possible conflict.

Naming then became a loophole whereby messages could easily be sent from one to another. Naming allowed people to communicate their feelings (Batoma, 2009). The names can be separated according to their functions within the community. These include the normative role, the summative role and the reflective role.



### 5.3.1 Normative social names

Through these names, people could publicly express grievances that could not be discussed directly. Proverbial names are metaphoric and sarcastic in nature and hence offer an indirect way of communicating in order to rebuke, caution or correct bad behaviour. Through the people using such names, the chief could receive a warning from a poor man or an in-law could receive a caution from *umtshakazi* (the bride), which usually would have been impossible because of the power relations in the Xhosa hierarchy. In Table 5.9 below normative social names are given to warn and to correct bad behaviour.

**Table 5.9: Warning names**

Proverbial name	Literal meaning	Proverb	Meaning
<b>Mkhwezeli</b>	One who burns	<i>Isikhuni sibuya nomkhwezeli.</i>	A brand burns him who stirs up the fire.
<b>Ziko</b>	Fireplace	<i>Ukukhasela eziko.</i>	You are crawling towards the fireplace.
<b>Ayinamzi</b>	It does not have a home	<i>Induku ayinamzi.</i>	The stick does not have a home.
<b>Imbo</b>	A precious stone	<i>Ungalahl'imbo yakho ngophoyiyana.</i>	Do not throw away what is precious for what is worthless.
<b>Phoyiyana</b>	Worthless	<i>Ungalahl'imbo yakho ngophoyiyana.</i>	Do not throw away what is precious for what is worthless.
<b>Salakutyelwa</b>	One who refuses to be advised	<i>Isalakutyelwa sibona ngolophu.</i>	One who refuses to be advised will only take heed when he bleeds.

- ‘*Mkhwezeli, Isikhuni sibuya nomkhwezeli.*’ (A firebrand burns the one who stirs it.)





**Figure 5.5: Woman cooking in the fireplace**

Source: [www.photodictionary.com](http://www.photodictionary.com) accessed 20.11.2013

The name *Mkhwezeli* could be used to warn someone who created unrest or strife that he/she would be the one to suffer the injury. Each wife had a round mud hut with a pole in the middle, supporting a dome-shaped or a conical grass roof. A fire burnt in a hollow in the mud-plastered floor (*iziko*) where the food was prepared using a three-legged cast-iron pot when the weather was too bad to cook outside. The fireplace was made by raising a ring circle in the centre of the hut floor. The wood fire would then be kindled and had to be fanned to flame from time to time by *umkhwezeli* (the kindler). Sometimes out of error or inexperience, the firebrand may burn the kindler. According to the proverb, you should not complain since you are the one who kindled the fire. This proverb was a warning to someone who started gossip, a fight or a quarrel that they would suffer from it. Similar to this one is the proverb that says, ‘The cow kicks the one who milks it.’

- ‘*Ukhasela eziko.*’ (You are crawling towards the fireplace.)

When the child starts to crawl and it goes near the hearth (*iziko*), you say “*Hata!*” (Watch out!), but you do not stop the child. The child crawls to the *iziko* and burns him-/herself. Next time the child will not come close to the *iziko*; he/she will have learnt through experience. If the child heeds the verbal warning, he/she would save him-/herself from ‘experiencing’ the

danger. Therefore, the phrase ‘*ukhasela eziko*’ was to warn someone of the danger ahead because of his/her action.

- ***Ndukayinamzi***: ‘*Induku ayinamzi.*’ (A stick doesn’t build a home.) This means that fighting leads to a broken home.

According to a traditional custom, a Xhosa man could moderately beat his wife only to correct bad behaviour. A story is told of a quarrel between a wife and a husband. When they asked the man why he was beating his wife, he blurted out this question: “*Unanina ukuba umfazi asuke ngalo lonke ixesha ndithetha aphikele ukundithuka?*” (Why is it that every time I talk to my wife, she constantly abuses me?). According to the husband, it was acceptable to beat his wife as a measure to curb bad behaviour.

Still, this was not accepted as a norm for building a proper home. The woman was regarded as a key person in the establishment of the homestead as women performed most of the chores. Mesatywa (1954) notes the proverb ‘*Kwakuyalwa ngeli qhalo, ukuba umfana angamphathi kakubi umfazi wakhe ngokumbetha, kuba umzi uba ngumzi ngomfazi.*’ This proverb depicts a definite code of conduct that was expected in society.

Within traditional Xhosa society, it was not the norm for a man to be directly rebuked about how he handled his wife (or wives). After all, he was the head of the homestead who could loudly protest any direct rebuke under the belief that it was his wife and according to the proverb ‘*Oxhela eyakhe akabuzwa*’, he might do as he wished. Oral art was an avenue to guard against the misuse of this power. For example, with such a name (*Ndukayinamzi*), one is thus challenged to seriously reflect on one’s actions and hopefully reconsider one’s ways. The use of proverbial names afforded name-givers an opportunity to communicate deep emotions in a polite manner, as in the case of *Ayinamzi*. The proverb therefore was a subtle warning to the husband not to habitually beat his wife since violence led to a broken home. This name could be employed to indirectly bring him into compliance with social expectations.

***Imbo, Phoyiyana***: ‘*Ungalahl’imbo yakho ngophoyiyana kuba uphoyiyana uyemka.*’ (You have cast away your own for that which you are not sure of.)

Both names are from the same proverb: ‘*Imbo le yinto exabisekileyo, ilitye elifana negolide, elalihomba amaMfengu. Uphoyiyana yena yinto enganamsebenzi, imfeketho. Kuyenzeka*

*maxa wambi umntu akhohliseke ngulo phoyiyana.*’ (Imbo was a highly valued stone that was used for painting the Mfengus, whereas *uphoyiyana* was a toy or a plaything.) This proverbial expression offers a warning to someone who seems to spend much of his/her time doing something unprofitable. The name was given to warn people to get their priorities right and focus on what really mattered.

***Salakutyelwa:*** ‘*Isalakutyelwa sibona ngolophu.*’ (One who refuses to take an advice will suffer unpleasant consequences or will only learn by bitter experience.)

This may be a stern warning to someone who refuses instruction. Young boys were coached to fight with sticks; the aim would be to beat one’s opponent on the leg or on the head. The one who bled first was the loser. Therefore, the proverb warns that in order to succeed, one must listen to advice. As in the stick fights, it is important to listen to instruction as those who do not pay attention to instruction will get into trouble, which would have been avoided had they listened. The current study revealed that this name is still very much in use among Xhosa speakers and has outlived many of the other disappearing proverbial names.

### **5.3.2 Summative social names**

In a summative social name, the name-giver can summarise his/her everyday experiences and the lessons learnt from them (Batoma, 2009). It could also be a way of expressing the values held in high esteem by the homestead or society. Prior to urbanisation, the social roles of the Xhosa people were well defined and extremely family oriented. The idea of community was important. The Xhosa had a deep sense of community, and hospitality was highly valued; people would extend a helping hand to anyone in need, including strangers. These values could be summarised and stored in proverbial names for the next generation. In Table 5.10 below summative social names are depicted.

**Table 5.10: Summative social names**

Proverbial name	Literal meaning	Proverb	Meaning
<b>Nobantu</b>	Person, one of the people	<i>Umntu ngumntu ngabantu.</i>	A person is a person because of other persons.
<b>Nangamso</b>	Even tomorrow	<i>Ungadinwa nangamso.</i>	Never get weary of doing good.
<b>Busi</b>	Honey	<i>Ungalibali intaka yobusi.</i>	Don't forget the honeybird.
<b>Themba</b>	Hope	<i>Ithemba alibulali.</i>	Hope does not kill; it is impetuosity that kills.

- *'Umntu ngumntu ngabantu.'* (A person is a person because of other persons.)

This expression is equal to the English proverb 'No man is an island'. Neighbours are held in high regard. There is constant opportunity to support each other during funerals or rites of passage functions that are being performed for children according to custom. This proverb is still widely used among the amaXhosa and even beyond to promote *ubuntu* (humanity and kindness) within the community. This idiomatic expression affirms the perceived roles of individuals in the community.

- *'Ungadinwa nangomso.'* (Never get weary of doing good.)

*"Le yindlela abulela ngayo umXhosa xaancedwe ngento, oko kukuthi kunga kungasoloko kunjalo."* These are the words of a Xhosa speaker thanking someone who has extended a helping hand. The giving nature was part and parcel of the Xhosa culture that withstood the powerful influences of apartheid. African relationships, as in all cultures, depend on loyalty and affection. These bonds in turn depend on mutual support and comfort, on shared experiences and responsibilities, and on companionship. Such values were usually summed up in proverbial names given to children. *Nangamso* is the shortened version of *'Ungadinwa nangomso'*. This proverb has survived and is in frequent use even nowadays among the Xhosa. It is a proper way of thanking a person and also requests from him/her the same favour next time one needs it.

- ‘*Ungalibali intaka yobusi.*’ (Not to forget the honeyguide.)

This proverb warns that one should not be ill-mannered to those who have helped one but should be grateful.

“*Kuthethwa ukuba umntu owenzelwe into makabe nombulelo, ukuze abe nakho ukufumana ezinye izinto ezilungileyo. Lentetho ivele ekubeni kukho abantu abathi bakukhokelelwa ezinyosini yile ntaka balibale ukuyishiyela yona intwana yobusi*” (Mesatywa, 1954). The proverb refers to those who have received certain favours; they must be grateful so that they will receive more. It literally refers to the honeybird, also called the honeyguide. This bird leads human beings as well as honey badgers to bees’ nests by its chattering call and short flights from tree to tree. Its skin is so tough that it is indifferent to beestings.

There is also a folktale about this proverb called *Intsomi KaNyengebule* (as quoted from Scheub, 1992).

Once upon a time, there was a man called *Nyengebule*. So it was that this man, *Nyengebule*, had two wives, the head wife and the junior one who was his favourite (*Sinqandamathe*). The head wife had borne many children for *Nyengebule*, but *Sinqandamathe* had none. *Sinqandamathe*’s family were very fond of *Nyengebule* and were prepared to give him *Sinqandamathe*’s younger sister by virtue of the *khazi* (bride tribute) so that she could bear children for her sister, as per custom. However, *Nyengebule* claimed that he already had enough children by the head wife and quite enjoyed the undivided attention that he received from the junior wife (*Sinqandamathe*).

One day, there came an invitation to *Nyengebule* to attend *umgidi* at his in-laws’ kraal together with *Sinqandamathe*. This news was received with great excitement; *Nyengebule* began his preparations of obtaining gifts for the in-laws. *Sinqandamathe* too was busy preparing for their journey when it occurred to her that on her return from the festivities, she would be too tired to go gather firewood. She decided to wake up early the next morning; she and the head wife went on their way to gather firewood. As they entered the woods, they separated, each going her own way, gathering dry wood and piling it to make a bundle. By early afternoon, their bundle was big enough and they were ready to set off. Together they decided to rest under a tree, drinking the porridge they had brought until the heat of the sun had settled. The head wife being tired fell asleep.



Suddenly, a tiny bird came fluttering under the tree; it was the honeyguide! *Sinqandamathe* sprang to her feet, waking up the head wife; they followed it until it came to a bees' nest. The two gathered the honeycombs, leaving one honeycomb for the honeybird. They sat down to eat; as they ate, the head wife kept some while *Sinqandamathe* ate all of hers.

By the time the wives returned, *Nyengebule* was done packing; he went to the head wife's house to leave instructions with the children. As soon as he entered, the head wife, knowing that *Nyengebule* loved honey so much, quickly prepared and served the honey she had brought back, telling *Nyengebule* that it was *Sinqandamathe* who was led to the bees' nest by the honeyguide.

He happily ate his share and finished it. He told her of their journey the following day to attend *umgidi* at *Sinqandamathe's* home and left instructions with his *inkulu* (firstborn son) on how he should look after the homestead. He then left for *Sinqandamathe's* hut, looking forward to much more honey. If his head wife had so much to give him, certainly his *Sinqandamathe* must have brought back so much more for him, especially as she was the one whom the honeybird had guided and she had no children to share with, only him.

Getting to *Sinqandamathe's* hut, he found that she was busy with her preparation for *umgidi*. *Nyengebule* tried to be patient until he finally asked,

“Where's all the honey you brought me?”

“I have not brought any; I forgot.”

“You forgot? You forgot me?” Thereupon he lost his temper and struck her with his stick, again and again.

*Nyengebule* once again struck her hard, and she fell and he found out that she was dead.

“*Sinqandamathe!Sinqandamathe!*” He called her name anxiously.

*Sinqandamathe* weakly opened her eyes and then closed them, never to open them again. *Nyengebule* knew what he had just done and that he quickly had to make a plan. He carried *Sinqandamathe* into a forest and dug a grave for her, while singing a song for her. There he buried her and removed every trace he could find of the night's happenings. But there was

one thing he had not noticed. The turban (*isankwane*) of his wife had dropped on the ground between the homestead and the forest.

*Nyengebule* returned home, debating whether he should still go to *Sinqandamathe*'s home for *umgidi*. He decided to go at once and pretend that they for some reason left at different times so that it would be easy for her family to think that something unfortunate must have befallen her on the way. The cock crowed while he was still awake. He went outside at once, untied the goat, picked up the other gifts he was taking to the in-laws and set off for their homestead.

His journey was again taking him through the forest where his wife had gone for firewood. It was the same forest where the honeybird had led her to the bees' nest, and it was also the same forest where he had buried her.

He had not gone a long distance when he noticed the honeyguide sitting in a tree. It fluttered a little around him, and heard it singing these words:

*Nyengebule* has killed his favourite wife,

She discovered bees and gathered the honey,

She ate and forgot to leave him a share;

He buried her together with her festival dress,

And saw not the turban falling by the wayside.

*Nyengebule* was startled. Did these words really come from that bird, or it was his mind playing tricks on him? He was very sad. He looked all around, but the bird had vanished. As soon as he moved on, the honeybird appeared again, flying alongside the path, singing the same song and again vanishing. This time he was very angry and decided that the next time it appeared, he would throw a stick at it and kill it. The honeybird appeared and began singing the song. *Nyengebule* angrily flung the stick at the bird, breaking one of its wings. The bird vanished, but the broken wing fluttered a little and then fell at his feet, no longer a honeyguide's wing but turning out to be *Sinqandamathe*'s turban.

He cried, "*Sinqandamathe!* Oh, *Sinqandamathe!*", picking up the turban and putting it in the *ingxowa* bag that contained the gifts for the in-laws. It looked as if he had gotten rid of the honeybird as it did not appear again for the rest of his journey. When he was still a bit far off,



he could already hear the singing and the jubilations from his in-laws home. He was received with great joy by his in-laws. When they asked about their sister, he told them that she was delayed but would soon arrive. Without any delay, they collected the gift bag from him and led the goat away.

He was quickly led past the *inkundla* where some young men were already testing their stick-fighting skills and dancing. The sisters of *Sinqandamathe* were waiting anxiously for her arrival; after a while, they became weary of waiting for her and focused their attention on the gift bag (*ingxowa*) that *Nyengebule* had brought them. As they opened the bag, a broken bird's wing flew out of the bag and fluttered towards the sky. The next moment, they were horrified by the song of the honeyguide:

*uNyengebul'umbulel'uSinqandamathe,*

*Ubonisel'iinyosi, waphakula,*

*Watya, walibal'ukumbekela;*

*Umngcwabe nempahla yomgidi,*

*Akasibon'isankwane sisiw'endleleni.*



*Nyengebule* has killed his favourite wife,

She discovered bees and gathered the honey,

She ate and forgot to leave him a share;

He buried her together with her festival dress,

And saw not the turban falling by the wayside.

The women watched as the wing came down and down, and when it landed on the floor, it became their sister's favourite turban, which they all knew very well. On the other side, *Nyengebule* had gotten into a festive mood and had joined the dancers in the courtyard. When he was called aside by the eldest son of the home, he thought it was about consultations about the proceedings of *umgidi*; then he saw a line of elders of the home leaving the festivities

with gloomy faces and walking up towards *Komkulu* (the Great Chief's place). He could not understand how this could be until he saw a little feather of a honeyguide fluttering in front of him, singing the song he now knew very well:

*uNyengebul'umbulel'uSinqandamathe,*

*Ubonisel'iinyosi, waphakula,*

*Watya, walibal'ukumbekela;*

*Umngcwabe nempahla yomgidi,*

*Akasibon'isankwane sisiw'endleleni.*

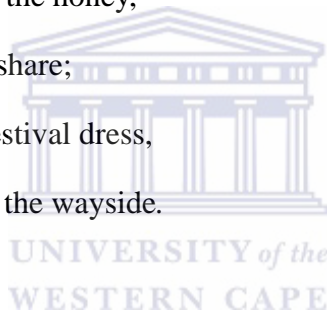
Nyengebule has killed his favourite wife,

She discovered bees and gathered the honey,

She ate and forgot to leave him a share;

He buried her together with her festival dress,

And saw not the turban falling by the wayside.



Through all kinds of folklore, Xhosa society would try to instil cultural and social values.

- ***'Ithemba alibulali, kubulala ubungxamo.'*** (Hope does not kill; impatience kills.)

A similar proverb is *'Umzingisi akanashwa'*. These expressions encourage one who has been promised something to be patient and not to hurry but to wait, for he/she will eventually succeed. From a young age, a Xhosa child will be taught that good things come only to those who wait. Therefore, children must learn the virtue of being patient.

### **5.3.3 Reflective social nicknames (*iziteketiso*)**

Reflective social names can reveal much about how people think or feel about each other or about life in general. Reflective names allow the Xhosa people to access the prevailing cultural mindsets at the time of naming, which then allows them to understand the real intentions behind the names given. The names construct meaningful accounts of life experiences. The namegiver could reflect on bitter experiences that have been accumulated

over years and then package these names. In table 5.11 below reflective social names are given with the meaning.

**Table 5.11: Reflective social names**

Proverbial name	Literal meaning	Proverb	Meaning
<b>Thembeletyeni</b>	Trust the stone	<i>Ungabomthemb 'mntu, ubothemb 'litye.</i>	Do not trust a person; rather trust a stone.
<b>Ntozomntu</b>	Her personal belonging	<i>Ungazithini izinto zomntu.</i>	What can you do with someone else's thing?

- **Thembilitye:** ‘*Ungabomthemb 'umntu, ubothembitye.*’ (Do not trust a person [*mntu*] or human being; trust *itye* [a stone].)

Such an expression is a warning that a person should not be trusted and when trusted, one must always allow for the possibility of treachery so as to avoid being taken by surprise. Therefore, it is better to trust a stone. This expression would be used after a disappointment by someone trusted. Proverbial names became a better form in which to convey the message because as the intended person correlates the names with their linking proverb, the message has been conveyed in a subtle way. It has been noted that sometimes the relationship between the relevant parties improved, as some of the behaviours might have been out of ignorance and just needed someone to point it out, as a corrective gesture; most of the time, however, it was the beginning of a long dialogue (Batoma, 2009).

- **Ntozomntu** (Her personal belonging)

This name is derived from the expression ‘*Ungazithini izinto zomntu*’, literally meaning, ‘What can you do with someone else's thing?’ This may be a message to ridicule or mock a co-wife who seems to be personalising the man whom the wives were supposed to be sharing in a polygamous family. The Xhosa people were known for polygamous marriages, and even today the practice continues, though to a lesser extent. In the past, having many wives and children earned an individual social prestige, so many Nguni men married many wives in order to beget many children.

Traditionally, a big family enhanced one's chances of growing rich. The bigger the family was, the better the chances were of obtaining many cattle through marrying off daughters. Bigger families also meant greater crop production because of all the free labour. However, polygamous marriages, though they could bring economic success and social prestige, were characterised by suspicion, jealousy and contempt among wives and children. Wives would compete for their husband's love and attention, while children identified with their mothers in competing for the father's love and attention (Batoma, 2009). Children's names such as *Ntozomntu* would often reflect the experiences of the name-giver.

Names taken from oral art were perfectly metaphoric. This was because more than one interpretation might be inferred from proverbial names. For oral societies, this dialogism is necessary since it is the presence of an audience that makes or breaks the various verbal arts that they compose and by which they communicate and express social experience (Finnegan, 1970).

By assigning dialogue proverbial names, the name-givers are anticipating or provoking new names and further responses, either verbal or nonverbal. The dialogue names under consideration could be a response to other utterances made in the past or to a fresh utterance. Proverbial name users historically showed a great deal of emotional control and diplomacy as each waited his/her turn to name his/her child.

### 5.3.4 Nicknames taken from body parts

These names are usually of personified objects such as the parts of the body. They are mainly used as nicknames, but the intention is to ensure conformation to the social order. In Table 5.12 below nicknames taken from human body parts are given with both their literal and contextual meaning.

**Table 5.12: Names taken from body parts**

Proverbial name	Literal meaning	Proverb	Meaning
<b>Nosisu-sikhulu/Sisu-sikhulu</b>	She has a big stomach.	<i>Ngusisu-sikhulu.</i>	Someone who is capable of saying much, talkative.
<b>NoMhlenezandla Sandla/Mhlenezandla</b>	She is beautiful – even the hands.	<i>Ngumhlenezandla. Izandla ziyahlambana. (One hand washes the other.)</i>	One who is spotless, without blemish. Helping one another.
<b>NoMdengeentonga/Mdengeentonga</b>	One who is tall by means of sticks.	<i>Ngumdengeentonga.</i>	One of short stature but of outstanding intellectual ability.
<b>Nomlomo/Mlomo</b>	One with a mouth.	<i>Umlomo awubekwa siziba. Inkomo enomlomo ayinamasi.</i>	Nothing can be done to really tame the tongue.
<b>Nomqala/Mqala</b>	One with a throat.	<i>Kuhla ngamqala mnye.</i>	Used to request for food.
<b>Nolwimi/Lwimi</b>	One with a tongue.	<i>Ngunolwimi.</i>	One who is a tale-bearer.
<b>Nosifuba/Sifuba</b>	One with a chest.	<i>Ngunosifuba.</i>	One who is capable of keeping a secret.
<b>Nosibindi/Sibindi</b>	One with a liver.	<i>Ngunosibindi.</i>	One who is brave.
<b>Nobuchopho/Buchopho</b>	One with a brain.	<i>Ngunobuchopho.</i>	Reference to someone who is clever.
<b>Nonyawo/Nyawo</b>	One with a foot.	<i>Unyawo Alunampumlo. (The foot does not have a nose.)</i>	Encouraging hospitality because you will also need it.

- ‘*Izandla ziyahlambana.*’ (One hand washes the other.)

Similar to this one is another Xhosa proverb: '*Izitya ziyaphindana.*'

According to Zeka (1992:80), "*Xa umntu anomgidi izihlobo nezizalwana ziza nezitya zokutya, nempahla yokuxhela ukuza kuphekisa. Nabo xa bathe baba nemigidi bamlindele ukuba makavele nesakhe isitya sokuphekisa.*" (When a person holds a festive function, friends and relatives bring different dishes of food and animals for slaughter in order to help out the host. When it is their turn to host a function, the same is expected from the previous host.)

This proverb highlights the essential features of *ubuntu* within Xhosa community life, which was that of reciprocity. Exchange of resources, sharing and helping one another were common in Xhosa society. This is reflected by terms such as *ukuncaza ucuba* (the sharing of tobacco); it was unheard of within the traditional amaXhosa setting to refuse to share tobacco when one has been requested. Through these social relationships, there was a framework of dependency and co-operation. This is one of the Xhosa values that was shaken to the core by the traders; this in turn affected the interpersonal relationships of immediate neighbours and villages.

- **Nomlomo:** '*Inkomo enomlomo ayinamasi.*' (the cow with a mouth does not produce much milk)

This proverb states that those who speak a great deal achieve little. A mouth in Xhosa is viewed as an unruly member that when not tamed can destroy. Proverbs such as this refer to the difficulty with taming the tongue.

### **5.3.5 Nicknames taken from certain behaviours**

The names given above are from the verbal antonyms, expressing a general or an abstract idea that is conveyed metaphorically. Xhosa names, like ordinary words, manifest semantic relations such as antonyms. These kinds of name are usually used for social nicknames.

The notion of classification pertains to a person's prominent attributes, physical appearance, psychological peculiarities, behaviour, social status or other activities. Zeka (2001:4) comments on these names: "*Kukwakho amagama ekuthiwa ziziteketiso. La magama akhathaza ngokusuka ancamatele abe ngusinama-ndokunamathela.*" (There are kinds of name that are called nicknames. These names are quite troublesome because they are difficult to get rid of.) Such nicknames had a role to play as they were used to draw attention to a

particular undesirable behaviour and advocated for change. In Table 5.13 below, nicknames from certain human behaviours are listed, with their original idiom and meaning.

**Table 5.13: Nicknames from human behaviours**

Proverbial name	Literal meaning	Idiom	Meaning
<b>Maveletshona</b>	Vela (appear) + Tshona (sink) = The one who appears and disappears.	<i>UMavel'etshona.</i>	Usually given to one with a limp.
<b>Makhothexathula</b>	Khotha (lick) + Xathula (hurt) = Soothe now and hurt the next minute.	<i>UMakhoth'exathula.</i>	Mr Praise and Blame.
<b>Maphath'eyeka</b>	Phatha (grasp) + yeka (let go) = The one who holds and lets go.	<i>UMaphath'eyeka.</i>	Someone who is careless and clumsy.
<b>Msina ndozela</b>	Msina (dance) + ndozela (and I get drowsy).	<i>Umsinandozele.</i>	Someone who is boring
<b>Maphemb'eshiya</b>	Phemba (kindle the fire) + shiya (to leave) = One who kindles and leaves.	<i>UMaphemb'eshiya.</i>	Someone who is a troublemaker.
<b>Makad'enetha</b>	One who has faced lots of rain.	<i>Makad'enetha engena mthunzi.</i>	Someone who has faced a great deal of trouble.
<b>Mahamb'ehlala</b>	Hamba (walk) + hlala (sit) = One who has no walk and sits.	<i>UMahamb'ehlala.</i>	Someone with no fixed residence, who is a vagabond.
<b>Mathathangozwane</b>	Thatha (take) + ngozwane (with nail).	<i>UMathathangozwane.</i>	Someone who is a thief.
<b>Maf'avuke</b>	Fa (die) + Vuka (resurrect) = One who dies and resurrects.	<i>Umafa evuka njengenyanga.</i>	Someone who is remarkably resilient and able to make a comeback.
<b>Malahlwanofele</b>	Lahlwa (thrown away) + nofele (with the skin).	<i>uMalahlwanofele.</i>	Someone who is utterly useless.
<b>Mabil'ebanda</b>	It brews even when it is cold.	<i>uMabil'ebanda intombi Kaludiza.</i>	The traditional beer <i>umqombothi</i> .

- **Mavel'etshona:** (One who appears and disappears.) This is a name given based on the physical appearance of someone walking with a limp.
- **Makad'enetha engenadyasi:** (One who has faced many rains with no coat.) This name refers to someone who has faced many challenges.



In the course of their lives, men may collect a number of praise poems that refer to their experiences, deeds or qualities. This name is a praise name for someone who has faced a great deal of trouble. *Idyasi* (borrowed from the Afrikaans word *jas*) is an overcoat, which protects someone against the harshness of the weather. In this name, the name-giver summarises the experiences in a positive praising tone that denotes patience, endurance or perseverance in spite of difficulty.

- ***Makhoth'exathula:*** (One who licks while scratching.) This name is given to someone who has a tendency to harm someone whilst pretending to be helpful.
- ***Maf'evuk'enjengenyanga:*** (One who dies and surfaces again like the moon.) This name is given to a resilient person.

“*Ngumntu lo oneenkani, othi naxa oyisiweyo angaze anikezele. Yinto ebingathi igqityiwe, kodwa imana isithi vumbululu, njalo njalo ke*” (Mesatywa, 1954). This idiomatic expression summarises the experiences of a very resilient person, who even when he/she has been threatened would not just give up. Such an idiomatic expression would be summative of a person who had endured many hardships and had everyone thinking that it was the end of him/her, and then he/she was doing well again. Such a name also denotes patience, endurance or perseverance. It can also be used in the context of any issue or question that springs up again after it is supposed to be settled.

- ***Mahamb'ehlala:*** (A vagabond.) This name is given to a shiftless person, one who never continues long in any place.

This is a nickname that is given to someone who is a vagabond. The origin of the name is the bridal mat, which is given to the bride at the *emzini* (husband's homestead). Among the welcome gifts that are given to the bride, which are usually the bridal clothes that the in-laws select and dress her in, they also give her a mat for sitting on. As she moves from point to point in the homestead, executing her duties, she moves around with this mat; therefore, the mat is called '*Mahamb'ehlala*'.

- ***Maphemb'eshiya:*** (One who kindles the fire and leaves it unattended.) The name is given to someone who is a troublemaker. Leaving a fire unattended is dangerous as it can spread quickly out of control with no one to control it. The same can happen when a person starts gossip.

- ***Maphath'eyeka:*** (One who is 'touch and go'.) Someone who is careless and clumsy. It also refers to someone who does not see through a project from start to end.
- ***Mabil'ebanda:*** (It brews when it's cold, the girl of Diza.)



**Figure 5.6: Xhosa lady preparing *umqombothi* beer**

Source: <http://www.south-africa-tours-and-travel.com/traditional-african-food> accessed 20.11.2013

### **The beer-drinking culture**

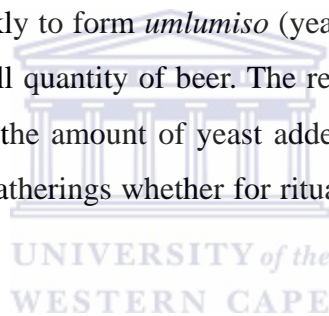
The expression '*mabil'ebanda*' refers to *umqombothi*, which is the traditional beer made from sorghum and maize.

The traditional way to drink beer is to sit around in a circle on the grass and pass a canful from person to person, while socialising. After a drink, a man could suddenly be inspired to offer praises; anything that he admired could be the object of his praise, offspring, ox or the beer itself, by attaching to it a praise name. The Xhosa were very fond of their beer; for that reason, there were many praise names given to *umqombothi*. One of them is the one presented here, '*Mabil'ebanda, intombi kaluDiza*'. The author of the name has used a familiar method of direct address and personification. "*Umqombothi lo butywala besiXhosa, buthi busetyenziswe ukukhapha naliphi na isiko lesiXhosa elithi lenziwe.*" (*Umqombothi is*

Xhosa traditional beer, which is used to accompany every ceremony being performed amongst the amaXhosa.)

Social drinking involved the men sitting around, and at the same time the bucket filled with *umqombothi* would be passed from the eldest to the youngest, each taking a sip and passing it on. The name *Mabil'ebanda* refers to the brewing of the beer. The preparation of *umqombothi* was a laborious task performed by women and girls.

Soga (1931) explains that the first step is to prepare the malt (*inkoduso*). This is done by moistening a quantity of sorghum or mealies, covering and leaving it in a warm place to sprout. The *inkoduso* will serve as yeast for fermentation. Then the coarsely grinded sorghum, maize or wheat is moistened and left to soak overnight. The resultant dough (*intlama*) is placed in a tub and left covered overnight. The following day, a thin porridge is cooked using the dough. A small quantity of this is left to cool and is then poured into a pot where it is mixed with malt to ferment quickly to form *umlumiso* (yeast), some of which is then used to hasten the fermentation of a small quantity of beer. The rest is used to ferment the rest. The rate of fermentation depends on the amount of yeast added and the prevailing temperature. The beer is extensively used in gatherings whether for ritual ceremonies or for leisure (Soga, 1931).



### **Female symbolism**

'*Mabil'ebanda, intombi kaluDiza*.' (The one who brews when cold, the daughter of Diza)  
The girl's name is most probably an imaginary name given by *imbongi*. However, what is vital is that the personification of beer as a woman has significance in the sense of a representative sign. Phrasing the beer and the girl together not only sounds harmless but also sounds suggestive of something positive with the possibility to satisfy a certain need in a man's life. Underneath those symbolic words was the reality that within the patriarchal Xhosa society, women were generally less important than men and subject to male authority, but ironically women were also powerful in one respect, namely their seductive persuasiveness. Parallel to this, some men would give in to the seduction of '*intombi kaluDiza*', the beer, until all is lost. The drink was served in one pot for all to share. This sharing of the pot promoted trust and mutual interdependence.

The following is a song by Yvonne Chakachaka; this song will be classified under *iingoma zasetywaleni* as it is about the traditional beer, *umqombothi*.

**Yvonne Chaka Chaka: *Umqombothi***

Chorus (3x)

*We MaDlamini*

*Uph 'umqombothi*

Verse

I work hard every day

To make my beer (*Umqombothi*)

Wake up early every morning

To please my people with African beer (*Umqombothi*)

I make sure the fire burns

To make my beer (*Umqombothi*)

My special beer (*Umqombothi*)

*Umqombothi* is African beer

Every weekend (*Umqombothi*)

Makes them party to the rhythm

Makes them dance, this magic beer (*Umqombothi*)

I wanna make you happy (*Umqombothi*)

I wanna make you smile (*Umqombothi*)

I wanna make you dance (*Umqombothi*), dance

I'll make sure there's a party

Where they drink my special beer

*Umqombothi* is magic beer

*Umqombothi* is African beer

Chorus (3x)

*We MaDlamini* (everybody)

*Uph 'umqombothi* (*nawu*)

*We MaDlamini Uph 'umqombothi* (*nawu madoda*)

*Wozani ka MaDlamini*



*Wozani ngithi wozani*

*Wozani ka MaDlamini*

Come on I wanna make you happy

I wanna make you smile lets boogie together

*Umqombothi*

This song begins with the man, probably the head of the house, requiring *umqombothi* from *MaDlamini*. In her reply, she presents the beer to the men (plural). A woman who is well known for brewing beer is regarded as someone hospitable among the traditional Xhosa. The beer was brewed on a large scale in order to maintain the pleasant atmosphere of the home.

“*Kuphilwa Phi? Le yindlela umXhosa abuza ngayo ukuba kuselwa phi na?*” (Where is life happening? will be the manner in which a Xhosa asks where the beer-drinking place is.) (Mesatywa, 1954).

It was also important to have the beer ready by the day of ritual functions such as *mibeleko*, weddings and so forth. Besides the traditional beer, dangerous potent and illicit brands of liquor have been incorporated as part of Xhosa culture. This has caused much destruction to individuals and families.

### **5.3.6 Names taken from animal metaphor**

Animal metaphors used as nicknames came from a rich source, from wild, domestic and Xhosa folklore animal characters. These names were given and used by human beings. According to Neethling (1998:68), the popularity of the animal metaphor obviously had to do with the qualities symbolised by the animals: power, courage, speed, strength and so forth. According to Xhosa culture, wild animals played an important role in providing meat, skins, horns and bones for daily use, while domestic animals played an important economic and religious function.

The Xhosa folklore animals also provided a rich source of nicknames; it is the researcher’s contention, however, that the names from this source were used mainly as nicknames to communicate a message to individuals whose behaviour resembled a certain characteristic of the animal. These kinds of name were chosen to send a strong message. However, like all

proverbial names, there is an assumption that the name-bearer knows the folklore and the role played by that particular animal in the folklore as a reference for the meaning.

Opland (1983:247) explains,

The decline in popularity of the animal metaphor might be ascribed to the fact that wild animals no longer roam freely and hence are less useful as poetic metaphors; or if the animal imagery derived from totem beliefs, the imagery might disappear from poetry in a society that no longer supported such beliefs.

According to Finnegan (1970:397), these references to animals are used to suggest some related idea about people. In the names below, a comment is being made about human life and action through reference to nonhuman activity. Personification is a figure of speech common in proverbs. These animal names are associated with humans who show their attributes, be it treachery, prowess and physical strength, shady character or pretentiousness. In table 5.14 below, animal metaphors that are used as nicknames for certain behaviours are given with their literal and contextual meaning.

**Table 5.14 Animal metaphors used as nicknames**

<b>Proverbial name</b>	<b>Literal meaning</b>	<b>Proverb</b>	<b>Contextual meaning</b>
<b>Mbulu</b>	A folktale animal with a tail resembling a man	<i>Ukuba yimbulu.</i>	A trickster, to be a pretentious person who simulates somebody else's good qualities.
<b>Nyoka</b>	It is a snake	<i>Ukuba yinyoka.</i>	Someone who is dangerously treacherous.
<b>Lulwane</b>	A bat	<i>Ukuba lilulwane.</i>	Someone of a shady character; they are neither this nor that.
<b>Nwabu</b>	A chameleon	<i>Ukuba lunwabu.</i>	Someone who easily changes character.
<b>Ndlovu</b>	An elephant	<i>Ukuba yindlovu.</i>	Someone with phenomenal strength.
<b>Nyathi</b>	A buffalo	<i>Ukuba yinyathi.</i>	Someone with formidable strength.
<b>Ngcuka</b>	A wolf	<i>Ukuba yingcuka.</i>	Someone who is greedy and tight-fisted.
<b>Mkhombe</b>	A rhinoceros	<i>Ukuba ngumkhombe.</i>	Referring to someone who is hazardously angry.

- *'Mbul' umakhasana'* (The crawling trickster.) This is used to refer to someone who is false.

Many times the meaning of names becomes muted when the name alludes to some mythical character or story. Knowledge of the socio-cultural context is essential in accessing the contextual meaning of the name *Mbulu*. *Mbulu* is a master trickster figure in Nguni folklore that the researcher's grandmother used to tell stories about. It can also assume human form. There is not even one tale in which *Mbulu* speaks the truth. *Mbulu* is also good at establishing relationships with different characters, whom he would then deliberately deceive. This is usually a nickname given to caution against similar attitudes and behaviours and to advocate change. The mere mention of the name *Mbulu* to someone knowledgeable will invoke a picture of a deceitful, untrustworthy, tricky and ungrateful person.

From this name we also obtained the verb *ukumbuluza* (behaving like *Mbulu*), used for a pretentious person. Below is the story of *Mbulu* and *Nonkungu*, as told by George McCall Theal (2002), which assists one in understanding this mythical character. Once there was a very beautiful girl whose name was *Nonkungu*. She was so beautiful that her parents and intimate friends called her *Pumakwelanga* (Sunrise). *Nonkungu's* parents were very poor and there came a time when their clothes, which had been patched and mended, would hardly hold together. They had no means of obtaining new clothing. It distressed the parents to see their beautiful daughter going about in rags, so they decided that she should be sent to live for a while with her uncle, who was rich. The uncle's name was *Mtonyama*. The parents felt that it would be unseemly for *Nonkungu* to appear at her uncle's place clothed in rags, so they stinted and saved till they were able to obtain new clothes for her.

On a certain day, *Nonkungu* set out for her uncle's place. On her way she came to a stream, and just as she had crossed it, she met a very handsome young woman who was clothed in rags. This woman was *Mbulu*, who had turned itself into a human. *Imbulu* can turn itself into anything at will, but it can never get rid of its tail.

"*Molo Nkosazana*. (Good day, chieftainess.) Where are you going?", asked *imbulu* pleasantly. "I am going to the place of my uncle, *Mtonyama*", replied *Nonkungu*. "That is strange", said *imbulu*. "*Mtonyama* is uncle to me also, and I am on my way to his place. What beautiful clothes you are wearing. Please let me try them on."



*Nonkungu* agreed to that, and while *imbulu* put on the smart new clothes *Nonkungu* put on *imbulu's* rags. Then they continue their journey. After they had gone some distance, *Nonkungu* asked that her clothes be returned to her. "Just wait till we get to that tree", replied *imbulu*, "then I will return your clothes."

When they got to the tree, *imbulu* said, "Let me wear these clothes just a little longer. I will return them to you when we get to the stream below our uncle's garden." To this *Nonkungu* reluctantly agreed.

When they got to the stream whence they could see the uncle's kraal, *Nonkungu* once more asked for her clothing. "Just wait till we get to that hut where the women are still sitting and I will certainly give you your clothes", said *imbulu*. When they got to the hut, *imbulu* suddenly pushed *Nonkungu* aside and called out, "Look at this creature that is following me ever since we met at the *Mtentule* stream."

*Nonkungu* was so frightened and at the same time so ashamed of the rags she was wearing that she ran away. *Imbulu* went boldly up to *Mtonyama's* hut, and announcing herself there, she said, "I am your niece *Nonkungu*. I have been sent by my parents to stay with you for a while." The uncle received his supposed niece with gladness, saying that she was welcome to stay with him as long as she liked. *Nonkungu* meantime hid away. She made friends with the dogs of the place, and they shared with her such scraps of food as were given them. Early the next morning *Nonkungu* made her way to the fields and hid in the growing crops. There she stayed for a while, and from time to time she sang this song:

*Tayi! Tayi! Bo! Tayi! Tayi! Bo*

(Oh! misery misery me)

*Bendithunyiwe ngutata,*

(I was sent by my father)

*Tayi! Tayi! Bo!*

(Oh! misery misery me)

*Wathi ndiye Kwa dadobawo,*

(Saying I should go to my father's sister)

*Tayi! Tayi! Bo!*

(Oh! misery misery me)

*Ndahlangana nembulu,*

(I met with a *mbulu*)

*Tayi! Tayi! Bo!*

(Oh! misery misery me)

*Iwu! Ingadl'amabele kadadobawo'*

(Oh! let her not eat the sorghum corn of my father's sister)

People passing the field hearing this song made report to *Mtonyama* that they had heard a person singing in his field.

*Mtonyama* went to the field and heard the song. He entered the field, and there he found *Nonkungu* clothed in rags. When she had told him the story of how *imbulu* had deceived her, he took her to his kraal and hid her in one of the huts. He ordered the men to dig a wide, deep trench that they were to fill with *amasi* (sour milk). *Mtonyama* assembled all the women and girls of the place and ordered them each in turn to jump over the trench. This was to find out whether the girl who had come to his place, making out to be his niece, was *imbulu* or not.

He knew that the tail of *imbulu* is always very thirsty for *amasi* and that if it saw *amasi*, it could not pass without drinking some. All the women and the girls jumped over the trench. When it was the turn of *imbulu*, she hung back. She had tied her tail fast to her waist so that it would not be able to get where the *amasi* was. But as at last she jumped over the trench, the tail broke loose and making for the *amasi* pulled *imbulu* into the trench. As *imbulu* fell into the trench, she cried out, "*Tyibilikile! Tyibilikile!*" (I have slipped! I have slipped!). The men filled in the trench, burying *imbulu* and so putting an end to it.

### 5.3.7 Nicknames given to Christian missionaries/preachers

Though the Xhosa people are traditionally ancestral worshippers, many of the Xhosa-speaking people of South Africa became Christians. This was a result of their early contact with European missionaries. This study has shown that Xhosa speakers use prayer lines and Bible verse extracts in naming their children. Their Christian spiritual beliefs are expressed through the names. Table 5.15 below lists such names.

**Table 5.15: Biblical names**

Proverbial name	Literal meaning	Proverb/idiom	Meaning
<b>OoNyawontle</b>	Beautiful feet	<i>How lovely on the mountain are the feet of those who bring good news.</i>	Biblical origin, used to refer to the messengers of the gospel as such.
<b>Ntsizambulale</b>	One who rescues and then kills	<i>Intsiza mbulale.</i>	One who protects with one hand and destroys with the other.

- **Oonyawo-ntle:** (Beautiful feet, preachers of good news)

“*Kubhekiswa kubafundisi nabashumayeli bendaba ezilungileyo*”: It refers to the preachers of the good news Mesatywa (1954). It is from this verse we get the name for the preachers as they bring the good news to the people.

Isaiah 52:7: “How **beautiful** on the mountains are the **feet** of him who brings good tidings, making peace heard; who brings good news, making salvation heard; who says to Zion, Your God reigns!” (Bible, King James Version 1982).

- **Ntsizambulale:** “*Ngumntu othi ebekuncedile ajike yena akuphange okanye akubulale*” (Mesatywa, 1954). (Someone who rescues and kills; that is, the person protects with one hand and destroys with the other.)

This proverbial name was used mainly to refer to the white settlers. The Europeans came subtly and politely, showing great interest in the lives of the indigenous people. The missionaries were the ones who built the first schools, hospitals and churches, teaching about the love of God and bringing peace. The missionaries also played an important role in making it possible for oral literature to appear in print. However, Western soldiers came with the first guns that killed the indigenous people.

## **5.4 Transitional names: Rites of passage**

### **5.4.1 Name avoidance: *Intlonipho* custom**

A series of initiation rites was conducted in preparation for adult life. Rites of passage brought much onomastic interest as both men and women had to observe name avoidance during the rites of passage. While name avoidance for *abakwetha* (initiates) was only temporarily applicable whilst they were at the circumcision lodge, name avoidance for a bride was permanent.

*Intlonipho* (respect) as an observed custom served an important role in guarding the relationships among people; it governed relationships with the authorities and with one another as subjects. The heads of the families had power during life and continued to exercise some sort of power after death, as they were still being worshipped and were believed to be involved in the affairs of the homestead.

The Xhosa people express their *intlonipho* through names. Children are not expected to call their elders, let alone their parents or chiefs, by their first names. Married women are addressed by their bridal names, as extensively discussed later. Marriage is very important in every girl's life, as enforced by culture. In fact, by the time she has reached this stage, she should already have been instructed by her family about the rules prescribed for submissive body language, like not trying to establish direct eye contact, which was held up as ideal behaviour for women.

She must observe certain household codes of respect such as family food taboo (sour milk), names taboos (not to use the father in-law's name and to find substitute words for any word that contains similar syllables as those of *mntu-ntloni* [the respected person]) and certain behaviours such as *ukuceza*, which means not walking across the *inkundla* (courtyard) and being excluded from entering the cattle kraal and from handling cattle.

Meanwhile, her *umamezala* (mother-in-law) keeps a close eye on her because in Xhosa society, it is generally believed that brides can cause unnecessary conflict within the in-laws' household.

The *intlonipho* custom acted as the integrating theme of Nguni society, with a clear division between dominant and dominated in the structure. This created a deferential relationship guarded by the *intlonipho* custom, in other words between the chief over his subject, the old over the young, the rich over the poor, the husband over the wife and so forth. It is also taboo to address the chief by his personal name; he must be addressed by his praise name (Myburgh, 1981).

Within the socially accepted norms, married women would be using different language (*isihlonipho sabafazi*), so the girls would listen and learn the new words coined by their mother as a replacement of taboo syllables through imitation. Each homestead has its own taboo syllables and different ways of doing things. If any of the customs are broken, punishment will ensue. As Myburgh states, no educational process is without discipline. The latter would be enforced through ridicule, shaming or scolding, or fines may even be required from the clan of the bride, depending on the offence (Myburgh, 1981).

The amaXhosa observe the *intlonipho* custom throughout the hierarchy of power, from the chief to within the homestead. In these communal systems, there is rather a strict instrument of government that is underpinned by this custom. *Intlonipho* is all embracing; everyone must show respect to claim his/her place and to be accepted in the structure.

One of the pillars of Nguni society is the custom of *intlonipho*, which has been literally interpreted to mean 'to respect or to honour' but in context has a much richer meaning and serious implications. It is derived from the root word *tlona*, meaning 'be shy, bashful, avoid'; as a custom it means the taboo custom. This taboo custom involves taboo personal names, taboo foods, taboo rituals as she avoids certain routes within the homestead and taboo vocabulary as she finds substitute words for the words that phonetically simulate the personal names of the parents of her husband, especially the father in law. The *intlonipho* custom is observed not only by the Nguni family but also by other Bantu groups, such as the Southern Sotho, who call it *tlhompho* and also the Baganda of Uganda, who regard it as a *kizira* (taboo). This custom guards both the behaviour and the speech of those who must observe it. The African hedgehog is known as *iintloni* in Xhosa. This animal is quiet and timid in its

social behaviour. Within an African context, such behaviour is interpreted as showing respect or honour. For example, not making eye contact when they are speaking to someone is interpreted as showing respect; eye contact is considered aggressive behaviour. It is from this perspective that the meaning of *intlonipho* has many times been equated with the word 'respect' whereas in the true sense it means that certain rules of avoidance when observed are equal to 'respect'.

The amaXhosa have traditionally used greetings to show respect and good intentions towards others Opland (1998). The young are expected to greet their elders whether they know them or not. The *intlonipho* custom ensures that everyone fits into a hierarchical structure with the chief at the top and women and children at the bottom. Avoidance of personal names shows great respect and honour for the higher authority. Youths are expected to keep quiet when elders are speaking.

A series of initiation rites is conducted in preparation for adult life. The first rite of passage is when a child is born. Then the next observed rites of passage are when boys and girls cross the bridge between childhood and adulthood. Name-giving is not confined to newborns. Adults are also given new names and have to avoid certain names as they move from one stage to another. This is part of continued education in many issues pertaining to the life of the homestead. Social, religious and sexual instruction is given through the medium of song and dance and names. These are living records of a community's cultural legacy. Many of the moral lessons on desirable social skills are taught and reinforced through these.

#### **5.4.2 Name avoidance: Observed by *abakwetha* (initiates)**

The amaXhosa still uphold the practice of circumcision. This is one of the most important transitional stages that a boy needs to go through in order to be accepted and regarded as a man in society (Skhosana, 2002:143). During the initiation period, name avoidance plays a huge role in the sense that while the boys are *abakwetha*, they must not be referred to by their usual names. They must also avoid certain names and coin new words for them. Figure 5.7 below depicts the initiates at the initiation hut.





Figure 5.7: Initiates at their initiation hut

Source: © McGregor Museum / Africa Media <http://www.sahistory.org.za/content/xhosa-traditional-clothes> accessed online 2013.10.29

According to Mhlahlo (2009, cited in Cekiso, 2012), the initiation ritual of Xhosa speakers consists of four phases. These are the entering stage (*umngeno*), the phase of being an initiate (*ubukhwetha*), the coming-out phase (*umphumo*) and the phase of being a graduate (*ubukrwala*). Each phase has its own characteristics. As far as this custom is concerned, we will only deal with the last phase of being a graduate (*ubukrwala*). Cox (1998, cited in Cekiso, 2012) states that at this stage, an initiate is presented to society with a new status, new names, new clothes, new rights and new duties. For Xhosa male graduate initiates (*amakrwala*), the names bestowed upon them during the process of *ukwaluka* are a prescript that signifies the values held by the broader community (Cekiso, 2012). Circumcision names are associated with the customary rite of passage from boyhood to manhood. They signal an end of carefree youth and the beginning of an adult life of commitment and responsibility. Initiated men also receive new names that signify to them that they are no longer boys but men; therefore, these secretive names show maturity. Traditionally, a feast will then be held at the king's kraal where all the new initiates dance in front of the king. This also will be evidence of a new social status as they attain maturity and the accompanying political and other influences. Such attainment is considered as an honour among the Xhosa.



Opland (1998) notes that on his emergence from the initiation school, every male member of the royal family is given a distinctive salutation name by his father in consultation with his counsellors. Mandela (1995) tells us of the importance of the circumcision name and its meaning. He was given his circumcision name, *Dalibunga*, meaning ‘Founder of the Bunga,’ the traditional ruling body of the Transkei. To Xhosa traditionalists, this name was more acceptable than either of his two previous given names, Rholihlahla or Nelson.

The names that are usually received at this ceremony reflect the social status or personality of those who bear them. The acquisition of these names signals the end of one phase and the beginning of another in the life of the initiate.

#### **5.4.3 Name avoidance: Observed by *uMtshakazi* (bride)**

To understand the transition that takes place in the life of the bride during this stage, we must clearly understand exogamy as practised by the amaXhosa. Fig 5.8 below depicts the bride observing respect custom during her traditional wedding.



Figure 5.8: The bride observing the intlonipho custom

Source: [www.ixwa.com](http://www.ixwa.com) accessed 21.10.2013

Exogamy is a dominant practice within the Nguni family. The rule of exogamy prevents persons with the same surname (*iziduko*) from marrying each other. Since such names are patrilineally inherited, two persons of one *isiduko* are supposed to have had an ancestor in common, though it may have been thousands years ago. The Xhosa view of endogamy (marriage inside one's family group), which is practised among the Sotho, is hostile; this is based on the fear that within such a marriage, conception will be impossible or that children resulting from such a match may be disabled.

With exogamy and virilocal residence after marriage being popular among the amaXhosa, the bride is treated differently within the new family, sometimes like a total stranger, since she comes from an unrelated kin group. She must fully observe the *intlonipho* custom.

Traditionally, as part of welcoming the bride into the husband's homestead, the custom of *ukutya utsiki*, which is a ritual eating of the foreleg of a sheep and *amasi* (sour milk) by the bride in her in-laws' home, will be performed. On this occasion, the women of the home, together with the sisters-in-law, will sit down with the bride and teach her the laws and rules of her new home and status (*ukuyalwa*). During the ritual seclusion, she will also be instructed in the names of the relatives she is supposed to *hlonipha*. Other forms of instruction include songs, dance and the new name given to a bride by the sisters-in-law. All of these have an educative role in that they convey knowledge about the customs and traditions of the husband's homestead. The expected codes of married life are also conveyed and reinforced. A permanent embargo on using the names of the male relatives, especially the father in law (*mntu-ntloni*), is imposed. However, since Xhosa names are often associated with the names of common things, such names will affect the use of the names of those items in one way or another. It is therefore the bride's responsibility to coin new words to replace the affected syllables (*isihlonipho sabafazi*). 'Into embi nelihlazo kukuphulukwa kwakhe alibize igama lomntu-ntloni.' (It is a bad and a shameful thing for the bride to err by using the name of her father-in-law.) The name of a firstborn child is used to create a teknonym by which the relatives can be referred to, for example father of so-and-so, uncle of so-and-so and aunt of so-and-so. This name avoidance has been given several names, such as *ukuthetha kwabafazi* (the speech of the married women), *isihlonipho sabafazi* (the respect language of women) and so forth. If the bride fails to follow this observation, her family will be punished.

Traditionally each bride will be given a new name, and her own personal name will be avoided in her husband's homestead (*umzi*), which is called *igama lomzi*. This research revealed that the bride-naming custom is still widely practised among the Xhosas.

As we shall see in the examples discussed here, the names of different origins and the different roles reflected in these names are discussed. Generic roles are illustrated by referring to examples of names given to brides under themed categories and their meaning.

#### 5.4.4 Bridal naming reflecting the new identity

In this study, the relationship between language and identity was considered as constructive; in other words, identities were seen as being constructed at the very moment the name was given (language was used).

The connection between a bride's name and her identity or nature appears in a number of ways. Frequently, a woman is named for an abstract quality. Presumably, those doing the naming have either already identified such a quality in her or are hoping for such a quality to be made manifest as she matures within the homestead.

Bridal names were usually given based on the perceived role that the new bride would play in the family. Therefore the main aim was the introduction of the bride to the social responsibilities associated with the new status. In other words, the allocation of these linguistic resources (given name) within the household was intended to help to shape the status of the Xhosa woman and to reinforce her position.

The bridal naming marked the beginning of the creation of the new social person. Her sense of identity was previously bound up with her homestead as a daughter of so-and-so, but now she takes on her identity within her husband's homestead and her given role within it, *umfazi Wakwa X*. The Xhosa naming practice suggests this too; a new bride is usually given a bridal name so that the in-laws can also avoid addressing her or referring to her by her personal name. They should also never again be addressed, nor referred to politely, by their personal names. They must be addressed by *igama lomzi*. The principle underlying this rule is that categorically, marriage marks the entry into 'society' for a woman, in the same way that initiation marks the entry into 'society' for men. Therefore, to address someone who has been married by her previous personal name is seen as disrespect for *umzi*, the home that she has married into, and viewed as an attempt to deny the bride her legitimate place as part of a larger social order of society. Giving new personal names at important stages in life such as birth, initiation and marriage is very common. In this process, name use is a not insignificant part. Among women, the discarding of the original given name in favour of the bridal name is a common and encouraged practice among the Xhosa. The above has been viewed as problematic by some scholars as it suggests that the individual is replaced by her role, which in a sense depersonalises her. Thus, while the teknonym honours, it also depersonalises. It replaces the individual by his or her role. This is a process that is not necessarily positive and that is often resisted in minor but not insignificant ways (Bloch, 1999). However, bridal naming is also the

burying of the 'old person', which evokes mixed emotions. As evidently displayed, in traditional weddings there would be shouting, crying, rejoicing and anger. The bride was required to show reluctance and sadness during her wedding, for she was leaving her own family to go and live with strangers.

The name change is important as it reflects a break with the past, which is singlehood, and a fresh start as a married person. The name plays a key role in revealing other complexities (pertaining to power relationships and existing values and attitudes) encoded in the given name, one being the fact that the new form of address also functions as an organism urging the bride to perform her identity in a certain established way within her husband's homestead. Thus encoded in a name is the identity of duty and deference.

The marital contract between the two families is traditionally not drawn from the position of equal social status or power. The woman is reliant on and subordinate to her husband's household, and therefore a relation of dependence and dominance tends to permeate and regulate many aspects of a wife's life, including the use of language. She must use a language peculiar to a Xhosa bride (*isihlonipho sabafazi*). This language requires that she respects and avoids (*hlonipha*) the personal names of her father-in-law and of his kinsmen in that category or status authority and must call him by a special name (Guma, 2001). She must also coin new words as replacements for the taboo syllables. CAPE

This is a different course that requires new capabilities and a new personality. As the most important identifier, the name is then given to shape the bride's life and value system to that of the *umzi*. It acts as a guiding principle and aspiration for the bride and is her new identity. In Table 5.16 below, bridal names reflecting a transition from being a unmarried woman to being a married woman are listed in Xhosa and a English meaning is given.

**Table 5.16: Bridal names reflecting transition**

<b>Value</b>	<b>Brides Name</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
Transition	<b>Nofungile/Nobhejile</b>	She has pledged/ She has betted.
	<b>Nofikile</b>	She has arrived
	<b>Nongenile</b>	She has entered
	<b>Nofirst</b>	First one (may be given to the first daughter in law).
	<b>Nomvano</b>	Agreeable.
	<b>Noncedo</b>	Helpful one.

1. *Nofungile/Nobhejile* means that the bride has pledged to live up to the set standards of the in-laws. She also accepts the attitudes, values and duties that are embedded in the given name as she moves from one stage of life to the other. Her inability to perform the necessary duties in the husband's home would be regarded as her mother's failure.
2. *Noncedo* means 'the helper'.
3. *Nofirst* probably does not carry as much meaning in modern times. Traditionally though, this would have been a title of honour as the senior wife would normally have produced an heir for the head of the homestead. Polygamy was the norm among the amaXhosa. Myburgh (1981) describes polygamy as a form of marriage in which a person is married to more than one partner on separate occasions without annulling prevailing marriages. The senior wife had her hut in the centre of the homestead, and the other wives' huts were of lesser rank than hers.

#### **5.4.5 Bridal names reinforcing the admired values of the homestead**

Naming the bride during first encounters may, at first sight, seem simple. On close inspection, however, one sees that it requires tact because the choices intertwine with the values of the homestead. It is vital for the members of the homestead to conform to the prescribed behaviours in order to establish their social identity.

*Igama lomzi* depicts the social norms, traditions and beliefs of a community. The members of a community are educated to retain the constructive measures that are expected from every member within a given group. This implies that social and cultural norms are established and reinforced for future generations. When the husband's family name the bride, they publicise mutual relations, social values and the protocol for coexistence between members of the two kinship groups. From this perspective, naming plays an important role in birth, initiation ceremonies, marriage, religious practices and rituals. In Table 5.17 below, bridal names reflecting admired values of the homestead are given with their meaning.



**Table 5.17: Bridal names reflecting admired values**

<b>Value</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
Hospitality	<b>Nobandla = No + bandla (congregation/assembly)</b>	One taking care of the family.
	<b>Nobantu = No + bantu</b>	Woman of the people.
	<b>Nokhaya/Nomakhaya = No + khaya</b>	Woman of a home.
	<b>Nomzi/Nomzikazi</b>	One taking care and strengthening the home.
	<b>Nophumzile</b>	The one who will give us rest.
	<b>Nophakela</b>	The one who dishes out for others.
	<b>Nosizo</b>	She is our help.
Kindness	<b>Nobubele</b>	The kind one.
	<b>Nobuntu/Nobantu</b>	Mother of humanness/people.
	<b>Nolubabalo</b>	Mother of grace.
	<b>Nolufefe</b>	Mother of grace and modesty.
	<b>Nonceba</b>	One full of mercy.



**Hospitality:**

*Nobandla, Nophakela, Nokhaya, Nomzikazi:* In a Xhosa setting, not all extended family members are blood relatives; some people can over time move from being regarded as a friend to being viewed as part of the family. Such people will form part of the assembly that the bride must take care of. Hospitality is one of the most highly admired virtues in Xhosa culture. The bride lives with the husband's family as 'their' wife. She must entertain the in-laws. Her given name reminds her of unwritten obligation to take care of all the family; this includes the husband's extended relations.

**Kindness:**

*Nobubele, Nonceba, Nolufefe:* The bride is obligated to show human mercy and kindness in her marital home. *Ubuntu* is among the highly praised virtues in all of the Nguni groups. The bride must definitely possess this value, among others.

*Nobantu:* Jordan's (1940) novel *The wrath of the ancestors*, translated from the original novel *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya*, which is considered a classic in Xhosa literature, is also a source of evidence for the bridal naming custom. *Thembeke* is a fictional character in the novel. She is the chief's wife who received a new name, *Nobantu*. She is not *Thembeke* anymore, but as the custom dictates, she is now the Mother of the people (p. 158).

**5.4.6 Bridal names reinforcing social positions**

Within the Xhosa homestead, men and women occupy two separate positions, even in the Xhosa naming system. The new bride has a responsibility to both; the men (*abantu-ntloni*) must be respected, both their names and their territory, and the women must be respected in the sense that the bride will be obedient and learn from them what is valued and how things are done in the husband's homestead.

The onomastic system reflects the bride's social role and status within the social structure. As mentioned earlier, when it comes to legitimisation of social hierarchies, language and speech norms are only one of the many complex social control mechanisms at play. It is through this linguistic tool that the inferior social status that the bride occupies within the social structure

of the homestead is often revealed. Bridal names are used as a marker of social status in order to ensure that the bride is given a position in the social system.

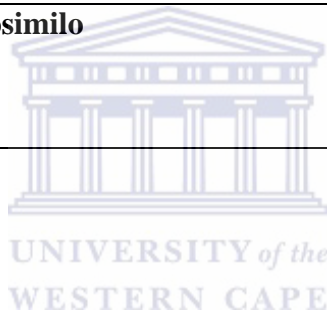
Socially marked linguistic behaviour is expected of women. A woman who expresses her wishes or who talks too much, too loudly, too frankly or too authoritatively could be seen as being too self-centred and not observing *intlonipho* custom. The voice of the ideal self-sacrificing Xhosa woman is one of silence. Generally among the amaXhosa, girls are encouraged to keep their voices low while speaking. A smile with eye contact at the opposite sex could be interpreted as sexual suggestion. The whole body language of women is generally subject to closer scrutiny than that of men.

Many anthropologists such as Myburgh (1981) have understood personal names in one person or another as expressing facts about social relationships in some way. Even certain established relationships are modified by marriage since marriage results in a change in status. The new bride should associate herself with the new social group of married women in order to learn about her new social identity.

Turner (1982) describes a social group as two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves or perceive themselves to be members of the same category. In Table 5.18 below, bridal names used to reflect expected conduct from the bride are listed with their meaning.

**Table 5.18: Bridal names used to reflect expected conduct**

<b>Value</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
Irreproachable conduct	<b>Nokuzola</b>	Humbled one
	<b>Nokuzotha</b>	Dignified one.
	<b>Nokuthula</b>	Mother of quietness (peace).
	<b>Nontlanzeko</b>	The one who is so tidy and clean.
	<b>Nontshukumo</b>	The one who is active and lively.
	<b>Nosimilo</b>	Woman with a steadfast character.



### 5.4.7 Names reflecting the economic expectations of the in-laws

Survival depended mainly on agriculture (sowing, hoeing, weeding and harvesting), which was the work of women. Therefore, the bride will be looked at as a reliever as she comes in to help with these daily tasks. She is actually expected to take on a bigger load than the rest of the family. Table 5.19 below lists the bridal names that reflect the expected economic benefit from the bride.

**Table 5.19: Bridal names used to reflect the expected economic return**

Value	Name	Meaning
Building a household	<b>Nokwakha/Nolakhe</b>	One building up the home.
Fertility	<b>Nolusapho</b>	Here is the family
Resourceful	<b>Nonkululo</b>	One who will set us free.
Buiding a homestead	<b>Nowakhe</b>	Build it.
Fertility	<b>Nosithembele</b>	We are hoping.
Division of labour	<b>Nonala</b>	One who brings a plentiful harvest.
Home building	<b>Nosisekelo</b>	One who is a foundation to our home.

1. **Nolusapho:** (Here is the family.) In a Xhosa context, the main purpose of marriage is procreation, thus ensuring that the husband's lineage continues as descent in the tribe is traced through patrilineal lineage. Once married, women were historically obliged to bear children. Otherwise, a woman could be exchanged for her sister who could give birth, or the *lobola* had to be returned by the bride's family. It was also important for the bride to produce a male child as this was important in matters of inheritance. This name reflects the expectations of in-laws that the bride should give birth to children, thus ensuring that the husband's lineage continues.

2. *Nolakhe/Nowakhe*: (She must build the home/homestead.) The Xhosa people celebrate this value through a proverb saying, ‘*Ukuwa kwenye wukuvuka kwenye.*’ (The falling of one house is the erection of the other.) This means that when a woman marries, she ceases to be a pillar in her home and instead becomes a pillar in her new household, her marital home. A new wife established a ‘house’ in her husband’s homestead, and any other wives did likewise. The house was the basic domestic unit of a woman and her children. Each house was something of an independent unit within the homestead (West, 1976).

#### **5.4.8 The communicative role of naming**

The communicative role of traditional names to some degree underpins all the other identified roles. Traditional African society is an oral one in which cognitive and social information is conveyed orally. These names are always expressed and understood as having a communicative purpose, which explains their place within the context of a speech act. Bride names clearly communicate intentions and are often visual chronicles of a homestead and their reception of the new bride. These kinds of name become a verbal strategy to communicate their feelings and opinions about the bride or her family. Again, this purpose, as always, depends on the relationship and attitude between speakers and intended hearers. The attitude reflected will be guided by the perceived status of the bride in the new homestead.

Allusive names are described as names whose choice is motivated by a particular social situation and whose specific and precise socio-pragmatic meaning is perceived only by those initiated into the situation (Calvet, 1984). In other words, the name is allusive to the extent that its content, which expresses the opinion or the position of the name-giver, can only be decoded as a precise message by the individuals concerned with the said situation (Batoma, 2009).

A person of superior position might also choose to use this indirect communication out of contempt for the addressee or in order to belittle her. For example, the mother-in-law/sister-in-law can use their superior social position to express contempt for the new bride. They may treat her as an object of degradation to prove that she is not good enough for the groom.

There are many attributes that the bridal name comments on, often in a very indirect manner. The intended meaning is quite naturally an important side to this, and so it is not surprising that it is often picked up in this way. For example, *Nokuthula* can easily be accepted on its

literal meaning, ‘One with peace’. In this case, however, the in-laws were indirectly telling the bride not to offer her opinions on the issues of the homestead. It was evident in the study that such names were also used with varying degrees of irony and a rather bitter irony at that. In table 5.20 below, a list of communicative names and their meanings is given.

**Table 5.20: Bridal names used to reflect attitudes and opinions of the name-giver**

	<b>Name</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
	<b>Nokhangela</b>	One who looks on (instead of shying away).
	<b>Nomashingila</b>	One who proudly walks away.
	<b>Nozesazi</b>	One who came knowing.
	<b>Nobani</b>	Such a one.
	<b>Nontengemntu /Nontwingento</b>	Something that is inhuman.
	<b>Nobanyazile</b>	Look down upon (they may feel that the bride is despising them).
	<b>Nomlomo</b>	Mouthful one.
	<b>Nonkenteza</b>	One with a loud clamour.
	<b>Nonkhulumo</b>	She is their discussion.
	<b>Nomali</b>	The lover of money.
	<b>Nonyewe</b>	Mother of controversy.
	<b>Nosimanga</b>	One who brings astonishment.
	<b>Nothini</b>	What does she say?

## 5.5 Discussions and summary of desk study

The study carried out by Kimeyi (1989) supports the view that like oral literature, personal names are useful tools in ethnography, ethnology and ethno-history. If names from cultures that do not have written documents are studied properly, they can, like oral literature (myths, legends, folktales and proverbs), help the researcher to reconstruct people's history.

The analysis has shown that the Xhosa proverbial sayings that link with the proverbial names are also linked with the history, culture and social life of the Xhosa people. They are cultural viewpoints of that particular group of people. Therefore, by casting the proverbial names in the new Western linguistic application whereby the stem root is supposed to be the bearer of the meaning of the name, we divorce such names from their social, historical and cultural essence ideals, thereby making them mere orphaned cultural strays. An inquirer may never understand the grave and dense cultural significations of meaning encoded in the proverbial name.

As can be seen from the analysis of the names, they cannot be interpreted outside their cultural setting; Xhosa proverbial names are unravelled through their proverbs. The severed link between names and proverbs can retard the recognition of the genuine name-proverb relation. It can be concluded from the study that Xhosa proverbial names have depths of mythic, historic and cosmological significance and that the total essence of naming for a character goes beyond mere naming for identification purposes as it is practised in some Western contexts.

Xhosa names are inherently unambiguous, transparent and accessible, but the proverbial names use a referential system whereby this inherent unambiguousness and transparency are lost. The proverbial names make sense only when we know the source culture from which they are taken, for example the name *Zwelifile* (The land is dead). The meaning is not transparent unless presented with aspects of source culture. Adding the historic aspect in this idiomatic expression, one sees that it refers to a time when war has commenced. The receiving audience can only then access the message that is being relayed by the name-giver in the name. Such a name will then be categorised as a name given to mark a specific event.

A person who has little or no knowledge of the semiotics of cultural and metaphysical implications of names within the signifying province of other peoples' texts cannot understand the depth of the meanings that are resident in them as products of other people's



cultures. Their semantic, semiotic and cultural configurations can only be understood fully by the sharers and stakeholders in the culture or with elaboration on the culture-specific aspects, as was done in this research.

Proverbial names and their correlating proverbs are products of the peculiar and particular experiences of a people, which are taken from daily observation. The meaning of proverbial names is context related and socially constituted. The analysis demonstrates how they relate to witchcraft, marital problems and other social issues. Warning names are usually directed at society or family members. They can metaphorically and ironically refer to another object but are intended for specific individuals or society at large. In summary,

- ⇒ The severed link between names and their correlating proverbs retards the recognition of the genuine name-proverb relation and also denies the relationship with the cultural elements that define the contextual meaning.
- ⇒ Several names are historic in origin and bring to mind the events that led to their establishment.
- ⇒ Proverbial names contain rich ethno-cultural data. The meaning of the proverbial names is entrenched in the very culture and traditions of the Xhosa people. The names were given to endorse the ideologies of the society and to enforce them in the new generation.
- ⇒ The contextual study of names showed that the missionaries did have a point when they noted that these names were the symbols of the people's belief system. The culture, belief system and naming system of the Xhosa people are all inseparable.

## **CHAPTER 6: SURVEY RESULTS AND ANALYSIS**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents and discusses the results of the questionnaire survey. The results are analysed in the order in which questions appeared in the questionnaire. The survey was conducted among isiXhosa-speaking people in Cape Town. The results of the survey can, however, be used to make inferences about other Xhosa-speaking people of the same social and cultural background in South Africa generally.

Furthermore, it seemed reasonable to argue that in order to provide accurate and relevant analyses of the uses, functions and meanings of the Xhosa proverbial names obtained from the survey, we need to take into account rather than 'abstract away' from the cultural context and the oral literature such as proverbs, idioms, poems or songs within which the names are embedded. This research brings together what could be framed as a dialogue, or exchange, among oral literature, culture and the people of the language.

The investigations emphasised the importance of knowledge of the reference point, which was a proverb, an idiom or an original poem, to proverbial name comprehension. In the present investigation, participants were interviewed on their comprehension of proverbial names and were also required to give the meanings of these names.

### **6.2 Demographics**

Most of the participants were born and raised in the rural homesteads of the Eastern Cape Province and only came to Cape Town later in their lives to seek employment or medical attention. A total of 50 respondents were interviewed. Forty per cent of the respondents were men while sixty percent were women. Forty-four per cent of the respondents were between the ages of 18 and 29, forty two percent were between the ages of 30 and 49 and only seven percent were above 50 years of age. Respondents from the age group 30 and above indicated that they regarded the homelands in the Eastern Cape as their main homes and that Cape Town was only a temporary place of residence. While the majority stated that they frequently visited their homestead to see the families that they had left behind, others only returned there to visit relatives during the holidays.

On the whole, people were very receptive to the idea of talking about their names and participated enthusiastically in the interviews. Most participants were answering comfortably, at their own pace, while using body language, without much prompting by the researcher beyond the initial introduction. Interviewees usually began by giving a proverbial name if they knew of any and then went on to provide the correlating proverb, idiom, song, poem, prayer or chant, descriptions of the circumstances in which names had been given, the contextual meaning of the names, and so on. Some participants, usually elders, also voluntarily shared information around some of the collective (cultural) aspects of giving and receiving names, such as the *imbeleko* ceremony, spiritual beliefs, events that happened around the birth, and hopes and expectations that surrounded the names.

### 6.3 Experience

This section discusses in detail the participants' responses to the three questions that formed the second part of the questionnaire. The questions targeted the respondents' views on the use of proverbs and the general naming tradition within their homes.

The decision to incorporate socio-cultural aspects into an analytical framework that facilitated the interpretation of data enabled the researcher to expand the focus of the research in terms of the issues or questions that were discussed with the participants.

**Question 1: Are there Xhosa proverbs, proverbial sayings and idioms still in use in the area where you come from? If yes, on which occasions are they used?**

- a) **They are used when conducting cultural functions** (traditional marriage, *mbeleko* ceremony, initiations and so forth.)

The results show that generally, proverbial expressions are no longer regarded as a key part of day-to-day isiXhosa conversation. However, they remain a very important cultural element of the language. Many respondents switched to proverbial expressions when they were discussing certain cultural issues. For example, rites of passage such as *imbeleko* (introduction of a child), *ukwaluko* (initiation) and *umdudo* (traditional wedding) and other cultural ceremonies are still expressed in proverbial language. This shows that proverbs are still associated with and integrated into Xhosa culture and customs.

However, some potential informants did not attach much importance to the idea of usage of Xhosa proverbs, so they did not want to be bothered. Others indicated that they could only be engaged in the discussion about Xhosa culture if there was some form of remuneration as their sole purpose of being in Cape Town was to make money.

**b) They are used during moments of intense emotion**

In addition to the use of proverbial expressions in cultural functions, the survey results indicated that proverbial language was often used in moments of intense emotion, such as excitement, anger, disappointment or the giving of a solemn warning. Participants mentioned that when there was a social gathering, people drank and started to banter and might sometimes use proverbial expressions to ‘spice up’ conversation. Proverbial expressions may also be used when fights break out and when threats or warnings are issued. When the researcher asked a respondent to give her an example of a proverb used when a fight broke out, he told her, “*Kudla ngokuthiwa Isisila senkukhu sibonwa mhla ligquthayo*” (You see the chicken’s bare bottom during whirlwinds and storms only). This is used when someone loses his/her temper and shows his/her ‘true’ nature. The English equivalent idiom is ‘Showing your true colours’.

One of the functions of oral art is that they are regarded as a socially acceptable ways of giving public expression to anger, grief or joy; the personal emotion is permitted to be expressed in a convention that removes itself slightly from the personal story and hints at artistic ordering of the response. Myburgh (1981) argues that classic indigenous art serves the universal cultural purpose of gratifying the human desire to express emotion or thought. Despite the reduction in the frequency of using oral art, it is, however, still regarded as part and parcel of indigenous art.

**c) They are used as an academic exercise**

Most of the participants within the 18 to 29 years age group had only encountered proverbs as part of a subject in school, especially those who had been born and raised in Cape Town. They had thus only had occasion to use proverbs as part of an academic exercise. One of the respondents stated that she did not know isiXhosa sakwaXhosa (of the rural Xhosa homesteads), although she was of Xhosa origin. Such urban-raised Xhosas have taken to the new values of modern civilisation, education and mass media. This has led to the reduction of

traditional or proverbial names. Rather, urban-raised Xhosas prefer easy to pronounce names whose meaning is transparent and accessible at the linguistic level.

## **Question 2: Who names the children in your family and how are they named?**

This question intended to find out who was responsible for naming the children in the respondent's home and the naming process within the homestead.

### **a) Children are named by the elders of the homestead**

The study results reveal that the elders play a key role in naming the children within the homestead. "*Abantu abadala ke bethiya ngesici esithe sangqamana nokuzalwa kwaloo mntwana. Ukuba bekusina imvula enkulu kothethwa ngoZanemvula.*" (The elderly members of the family give names based on an event that coincided with the birth. If the child was born on a rainy day, for instance, the name would be *Zanemvula*, meaning 'the one who came with the rain'.) The survey results reveal that this category of name is popular when the naming is done by the elders; the child is named after a significant event (*umntwana wethiywa ngesiganeko*). Usually no naming ceremony is conducted when giving a name to the newborn. However, names given later in life are usually associated with certain rites of passage ceremonies, such as a wedding ceremony where the *umtshakazi* (bride) is given a bridal name and when initiation names are given to *amakrwala* (graduate initiates) during the initiation ceremony. In their survey regarding the naming of newborn Xhosa babies, Bosch and De Klerk (1995:3) discovered that 39% of them were still without names even five days after their birth. They noted that this most probably had something to do with their naming culture. Mothers gave answers such as, "I am not responsible for naming the child", "They'll name the child at home" and "I'll have to wait till I go home". This survey confirmed Bosch and De Klerk's (1995) finding that the *tatomkhulu* and *makhulu* (grandfather and grandmother) were traditionally responsible for the naming role. Most Xhosa children are named by *abantu abadala* (the elders).

### **b) Children are named by the parents**

Most of the respondents who said that the child was named by the parents acknowledged that with the changing of the Xhosa family structure in favour of the nuclear family structure, especially in urban areas, parents had taken over the responsibility of naming their own children. The study results reveal that there is a strong tendency to abandon traditional

proverbial names in favour of modern socially acceptable names, which respondents described as being short and easy to understand as well as being simple to write and pronounce. These names usually express the good wishes, desires and prayers that the parents have for the child.

As one female respondent expressed, she did not want to give the grandparents the naming role. She viewed too much involvement of the grandparents as 'interference' in the raising of her children. She also voiced her concern about the traditional names, which she referred to as monstrous names (*ooxam bamagama*), often given by elders that were no longer relevant to present society and said that some of the names tended to burden the bearer in the future because they were long and compounded, were hard to pronounce and sometimes had obscure meanings. The findings also show that extra effort is being made by modern parents to find new and uncommon names with a foreign flavour for their children. A new naming system that reflects language change and contemporary language use is emerging and is significant to isiXhosa speakers.

The study results show that many language users are breaking away from the norm of traditional names because they find the lexical meaning of many of these types of name offensive and irrelevant in modern society. Hence, they are finding original and creative ways of naming their children that are not confined to the Xhosa naming tradition.

However, the meaning of names still remains important in the naming process among the Xhosa people.

**c) Naming of children is shared**

Some respondents revealed that culturally the naming role was shared, depending on the birth order. One elderly man explained that traditionally, the firstborn son was named by the paternal grandfather because *kakade ngokayisemkhulu* – he belonged to him. Subsequent children, however, could be named by the parents. Therefore, this role is shared.

**Question 3: Is child naming part of the *mbeleko* ceremony?**

Not much has been said in the written literature as to whether the *mbeleko* ceremony is part of the naming ceremony among the Xhosa people. It was therefore important to establish whether the two ceremonies were conducted simultaneously.

Evidence from the survey indicates that the naming of the child and the *imbeleko* events take place at different times. It was revealed by the respondents that among the Xhosa, naming was an internal affair that was conducted within the family and done quite unceremoniously and without any function, and that it might be take a while before the child was given a name.

*Imbeleko* was the first ceremony conducted after the mother had delivered to introduce the child to the family and to slaughter the goat for the carrying skin (*mbeleko*), but now it can even be conducted later in life, when the need arises.

## 6.4 Knowledge

This section presents the results and detailed discussions of the responses to three questions that formed the third part of the questionnaire. The questions in this section were the most important part of the survey and targeted participants' knowledge of the cultural meaning of proverbial names. As in the sections above, the feedback in this section is presented in the order in which the questions were asked.

**Question 1: Can you think of a Xhosa name specifically linked to any proverbial saying or idiom and expound on its meaning?**

When asked to provide proverbial names, many participants could also provide their meanings. However, some indicated that they did not know any proverbial names. All the responses were alphabetically captured and summarised. Below is table 6.1 which lists the proverbial names and their meanings and/or history which were given by the respondents



**Table 6.1: Proverbial names given by respondents and their expounded meanings**

<b>Proverbial name</b>	<b>Original expression</b>	<b>Expounded meaning</b>
i) <i>Kamvalihle</i>	<i>Ikamva elihle.</i>	Wishing the child a bright future.
ii) <i>Libalele</i>	<i>Langalibalele.</i>	The child was not named after the event of drought but was named after the grandfather.
iii) <i>Lizwe</i>	<i>Ilizwe liyintombazane.</i>	The land is fertile.
iv) <i>Nomhlawum bi</i>	<i>Nomhlawumbi uya kuphila.</i>	It was said of a sick child, hoping that she will live.
v) <i>Ntsika</i>	<i>Intsika yomzi, iinto zixhomekeke kuye.</i>	He is a pillar of a home. This name was given to a firstborn son
vi) <i>Sakhe</i>	<i>Zusakhe Thixo, Zusakhe kwelikhaya.</i>	It was a prayer by the grandmother “May you build us up Lord, may you build us in this home”.
vii) <i>Sesethu</i>	<i>Sesethu isipho (our gift).</i>	It was given by the parent who believed that the child was a gift from God.
viii) <i>Salakutyelwa</i>	<i>Isala kutyelwa sibona ngolophu.</i>	One who refuses to be told will only take notice when he is burned
ix) <i>Akaxakwa</i>	<i>Umdali akaxakwa.</i>	Nothing is impossible with God.
x) <i>Bhungalipheli</i>	<i>Ibhunga alipheli (The talk does not end).</i>	There is always a struggle within the homestead.
xi) <i>Siyathemba</i>	<i>Siyathemba kuza kusa, ixesha lokuvuya liza kufika.</i>	We hope the daybreak will come, our time of rejoicing will come.
xii) <i>Zimi</i>	<i>Zimi ngonaphakade iinceba zikaYehova.</i>	The mercies of the Lord endure forever.

It is evident from the tabulated responses that the dynamic culture and circumstances have provided the language users with the incentive to be both original and creative. The study has also revealed additional sources of inspiration for names, for example those with biblical themes. A full discussion of responses is given below under respective themes.

- **Langalibalele:** ‘*Ilanga libalele.*’ Literal meaning that the sun is shining brightly, but this is also an idiom used when there is drought in the land.

This name is a remembrance name based on a certain event surrounding birth. Such names were initially given when there was drought during the time of the child’s birth. African preliterate societies often used widely known historic and local events when they referred to dates. This concept of time could usually be seen when children asked grandmothers for their father’s birth dates and the answers were mostly a string of important events that happened around the date of his birth. However, in the case of this survey, the name was given as a commemorative name, that is, when a child had been named after a male ancestor or after a chief. In this case however, the respondent who gave this name mentioned that he was named after the grandfather, making his name commemorative, it is possible however that the grandfather was born when there was drought.

- **Lizwe:** ‘*Ilizwe liyintombazane.*’ (The land is a girl.)

This idiom personifies land as a woman as it refers to ‘land’ as ‘a girl’. This shows an appreciation for the beauty and the fertility of land. Such idiomatic expressions show how symbols, personification and other literary devices are employed to bring out the aesthetic value of isiXhosa. When given as a name, it refers to someone born when the land is fertile. It all functions as a remembrance name.

- **Nomhlayimbi:** ‘*Nomhlayimbi uyophila.*’ (Maybe she will live.)

The survey respondent was the bearer of the name. She was born sick and was given such a name because the parents were not sure whether she would survive, but they kept on hoping that maybe she might live. And indeed she did; at the time of the interview, the respondent was 76 years old. Thus she survived the childhood illness, but her health condition at the time of birth is still remembered through her name. It is a remembrance name.

- **Ntsika:** ‘*Intsika yomzi.*’ (The pillar of the home.)

The respondent gave this name to her firstborn son, recognising the role that firstborn sons played within the family. According to the respondent, ‘everything’ depended on

the firstborn child. Therefore, through this name, the child would grow up knowing his responsibility within the homestead. This name can be classified under ‘parents’ expectations’.

- ***Bhungalipheli:*** ‘*Ibhunga alipheli.*’ (The talk does not end.)

The respondent who gave this name was a father; he highlighted the fact that there was unending fighting within the homestead between his mother and his wife during the pregnancy until the child was born. He gave this name to caution against unnecessary prattle. He said that he felt as if he were a judge; as soon as he had solved one issue, another would be reported. He worked in Cape Town as a taxi driver, and both his mother and wife were living at the rural homestead. The name encouraged people within the homestead to exercise restraint by ‘minding their tongues’. Xhosas have several different words/expressions to refer to talking. This proverb refers particularly to incessant talking full of mouthing inanities and gossip mongering.

- ***Salakutyelwa:*** ‘*Isalakutyelwa sibona ngolophu.*’ (One who refuses to be advised will only take heed when he bleeds.)

This name was provided by one of the interviewees and was discussed in (5.2.8). The respondent who mentioned this name was able to explain that it had been taken from the proverb. He then gave the full proverb and expounded on its meaning. As this name appears both in the desk study and the survey, it indicates that it is still much used among the Xhosa.

- ***Viwa:*** ‘*Isiziba siviwa ngodondolo.*’ (The depth of the river is measured by a stick.)

Traditionally, people would cross rivers on foot. It was therefore wise for one to first determine how deep the river was before attempting to cross it. This proverb warns against rushing into the river because it may be too deep to swim and thus advises one to first assess the situation before acting.

- ***Siyathemba:*** ‘*Ewe siyathemba kuza kusa ixa lokusivuyisa liza kuvezwa.*’ (We believe that the break of the day will come. We hope that our time of rejoicing will come.)

This is a name given in difficult circumstances; the name reflects the hopes of the name-giver and his refusal to embrace feelings of hopelessness.

- ***Kamvelihle***: (Bright future)

The name indicates the wishes of the one who named the child, namely that he or she will grow and have a bright future.

- ***Sesethu, sisipho***: ‘*Sesethu isipho.*’ (This gift is ours.)

This name would be given as a way of showing gratitude and excitement about the gift of a child.

#### a) **Biblical themes**

Birth is sometimes celebrated by names that reflect the religious belief of the parents. Whilst it is generally accepted that a child is a gift, there are still some differences in the beliefs of the name-givers. Ancestral worshippers believe that children are a favour from the ancestors, whereas Christians believe that children are a gift from God.

The study has shown that biblical names have increased as a new source of names. These names include phrases from verses, hymns and prayers.

These observations suggest that there is a strong spiritual component to Xhosa naming practices.

- ***Zimi***: ‘*Iinceba zakhe zimi ngonaphakade.*’ (For His mercies endure forever.)

The mother called her daughter *Zimi* (They stand forever), which is a shortening of a phrase taken from Psalm 136. She explained how naming was associated with prayer. She believed that her ability to conceive and successfully give birth was the Lord’s answer to her prayers. Consequently, in the name she gave she expressed her gratefulness to God for his mercies. The participant used a word, *Zimi* (stands/endures), from a biblical phrase to form a personal name. Hence, she applied exactly the same method by which proverbial names were formulated from traditional proverbs. God has a sacred place in the hearts of many Xhosa people.

- **Sakhe:** ‘*Zusakhe Thixo, Zusakhe kwelikhaya.*’ (Build us up home/Build us in this home.)

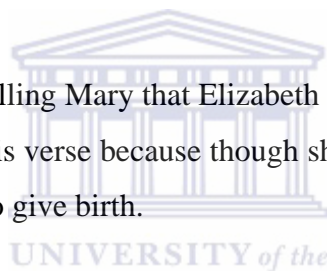
The respondent named her grandson *Sakhe* (Build us). She explained that she took the name from her prayer line ‘*Zusakhe Thixo, Zusakhe kwelikhaya*’ to form a personal name, *Sakhe*. In the prayer, she was asking God to use the child to build up and unite them through this newborn child in their home.

- **Akaxakwa:** ‘*Umdali akaxakwa.*’ (Nothing is impossible with God.)

The respondent had used a word from her favourite Bible verse, Luke 1:36–37:

“*Uyabona, uElizabeth, ozalana nawe, naye umithe unyana ebudaleni bakhe; nale yinyanga yesithandathu kuye, lowo bekuthiwa ngongazaliyo; 37 ngokuba akukho nanye into eya kumnqabela yena uThixo.*”

In the above quote, the angel is telling Mary that Elizabeth who has been barren is six months pregnant. The respondent used this verse because though she had been unable to conceive for a long time finally she was able to give birth.



Like every proverbial name, its literal meaning seems accessible but unless it is connected to the correlating Bible verse, the lexical meaning may be inaccurate. The naming system is still the same, but the culture has changed. Even in modern personal names that seem to be transparent to the language users, there is usually a deeper meaning than the literal meaning. Proverbs are being shortened for proverbial names; wishes, values, prayers and expectations are being shortened for names. Though the meaning may seem transparent to the language user, it may just be a shortened version of what the name-giver was saying.

Many proverbial names may carry a negative literal meaning, placing them within the realm of the ‘bad name’, but tracing the names back to their context can conversely place them in the realm of the ‘good name’. For example, the word *Xakwa* can be negatively loaded to mean ‘confused, having no solution, puzzled’, but in the context of the prayer, the name-giver was offering it as a good name, *Umdali akaxakwa*, meaning ‘Nothing is impossible with God. He always makes a way where there seem to be no way. He is never confused’.

**Question 2: Are you familiar with names such as *Zweliyaduma*, *Rholihlahla*, *Themba*, *Ngawethu* and *Nangamso*, and in your own words, what do you think these names mean and what is their history?**

This question was asked to find out whether the respondents were familiar with some of the most popular names and to obtain views from the participants on what they believed these five proverbial names meant within the Xhosa cultural context. The purpose of this question was to establish whether the historical meaning of the name was both easily accessible and transparent to the language user. (The depth of the cultural meanings of these five names has already been discussed under their relevant categories in Chapter 5 together with the correlating expressions, which will serve as a comparison benchmark for the meanings that the respondents gave.)

Below are the responses received from the interviewees when asked about the cultural meaning of the names. The responses and the meaning are in quotes, and the translation is given in English inside the brackets:

**i) *Zweliyaduma***

- “*Xa izulu liduduma.*” (This name was given to a child that was born when there was thunder and rain.)
- “*Isikhahlelo senkosi lesi.*” (This is a praise name for a chief.)
- “*Ilizwe liyashukuma.*” (The world is resounding.) If there is a bad incident somewhere in the world, *Ziyaduma* will mean some kind of a struggle.
- “*Sukube kukho isenzo esehlileyo kulondawo okanye kulolali.*” (Usually when there has been a mishap in the homestead.)
- “*Xa kukho imfazwe.*” (When there is war.) There is an evil event such as war or *ukuthakatha* (witchcraft).

One of the respondents showed that the interpretation of such names had been reconceptualised to fit in a changing culture. Instead of commemorating war, certain names now commemorate current political processes and different religious beliefs. For example, a

name such as *Zweliyaduma* is interpreted in terms of the ‘new way of war’ – political struggle.

**(ii) *Rholihlahla***

- “*Isikhahlelo senkosi lesi.*” (This is a praise name.)
- “*NgumMandela lowo.*” (It is Mandela.) “I only know that Mandela was named after his father who was a chief, but I don’t know the real meaning of this name.”
- “It’s like pulling something, and then you get into trouble.”
- “*Igama lomntu omkhulu.*” (This is a name of a highly regarded person.)
- “*Zimela ngaye.*” (Someone who is a pillar.)
- “*Izihlahla zemithi, xa zihamba nemvula.*” (It is said when the tree branches are being washed away by the rain.)
- “*Lomntwana uze nengxaki, ihlahla kaloku yinto enzima, Jonga nje uMandela wali rhola nyani ihlahla.*” (Such a child would have come with lots of trouble; take for instance Mandela – he really ‘pulled the branch’.)
- “*Ngumthi onameva amakhulu ahlabaya ekunzima ukulibangula xa likuhlabile.*” (It a very thorny tree; if it pricks you, it is very hard to pull it out.)

**(iii) *Themba***

- “Hope.”
- “That the child is the hope of that homestead.”
- “*Themba kuza kulunga, kubaa ithemba alibulali.*” (Keep hoping; it will be well.)
- “*Ithemba alilahlwa.*” (Do not lose hope.)

**iv) *Ngawethu***



- This name is associated with *isiduko* (clan), for example “*Amahlubi ngawethu*” (The Hlubis are ours).
- “It is a political name – *Amandla Ngawethu.*” (It is a political name; the power is ours.)
- “*Ilizwi elisetyenziswa xa kusiyiwa emfazweni ukuze bangoyiki.*” (This phrase is used for struggle.)
- “*Xa kungamantombazana odwa, ngawethu amantombazana.*” (The girls are ours.)
- “*Kwenzeke ngawethu amandla, ukuze kube kho lomntu.*” (It is our effort.)
- This name is yet another expression of pride and power. Depending on the context, it also could reflect pride, as in one who accomplishes difficult tasks unaided.

v) ***Nangamso***

- “*Again tomorrow.*”
- “*Uyabulela, ungadinwa nangomso.*” (Giving thanks, do it again tomorrow.)
- “*Sibulela abaphansi, sithi ningadinwa nangomso Magubevu, niphinde niphinde.*” (We thank the ancestors; Do it again, *Magubevu* (clan name), again and again.)
- “*Umntwana usisipho abazali ke bamthiya umntwana kuba benenjongo, umzekelo ‘Nangomso Thixo uphinde usiphe.’*” (A child is a gift; the parents gave the name with a purpose. Even next time, may God give us the gift.)
- “*Ngumbulelo omkhulu kumdali emva kokufuna umntwana ixesha mhlawumbi elide.*” (This is a huge gratitude from the parents to God, of having a child maybe after a long time of waiting.)
- “*Ilizwi elisetyenziswa xa umntu enze kakuhle kulonto.*” (This is a phrase used to appreciate someone who has done well.)

**The above respondents’ comments were separated into three important categories.**

i) ***Izikhahlelo zenkosi (praise names)***

Most of the respondents associated such traditional names with the reproduced meaning of *izikhahlelo* instead of general names associated with an event surrounding birth.

Most respondents highlighted the fact that these names were essentially used among the people of chieftaincy lineage, and they all used the term *izikhahlelo*, meaning that the names were no longer personal names but were praise names for the chiefs.

This pattern has been observed by Koopman (2000:3) in his study of Zulu praise names. He states that all types of name occur in what would be termed *isikhahlelo* and *iziduko*. These are personal names, clan names, patronymics, regimental names and toponyms.

Therefore, such responses from the study are in line with the onomastic process of adaptation when one form of oral genre adapts to become another. Because of the passage of time, we cannot access the true meaning of this personal name as given; however, with the process of adaptation, it found its way into another genre of praising names. In this new genre, the lexical meaning is irrelevant and may be forgotten and lost; it has still retained its identification and the reference function whether the meaning is known or not and whether the users know their language of origin or not.

The above evidence shows that there is a close relationship between the genres of oral literature, namely names (*amagama*), folktales (*iintsomi*), proverbs and idioms (*amaqhalo nezaci*), riddles (*amaqhina*), songs (*iingoma*) and praise poetry (*zibongo*). Traditional names have been incorporated into *izibongo* (praises) about a person or about an ancestor in a lineage. Furthermore, traditional names have, over time, become alienated from their former fields of social discourse and have been, in principle, revitalised through creative responses such as chieftaincy praise names (*izikhahlelo*). While initially the name *Langalibalele* was a name associated with an event occurring when a child was born (in this case drought), it gradually made its way to the 'fixed pool' of praise names and then changed in both form and social meaning. The name now serves purely as *izikhahlelo* as the *iimbongi* in the royal families have reproduced the meaning as praise names. The original meaning associated with the proverbs or idiom *ilanga libalele* would then be changed and recontextualised as *Aah! Langalibalele!*

It is clear from the respondents that traditional names evolve over time to become clan praise names. This is in line with the research as most of the clan praises or praise names are usually

a name of a known ancestor whose name is then used by the generations after him as clan praise names. The analysis of *iziduko* also confirms that the personal names of the ancestors within the clan are adopted as clan praise names and therefore change from one genre to another. For example, *Tshawe* was once also a personal name.

Opland (1998) explains that a fixed pool of names is drawn on for the *izikhahlelo* (praise names), which are invariably employed by the *imbongi* (poet) to hail chiefs and kings. Through these names, their achievements are recognised and acknowledged.

One of the respondents attested that most chieftaincy families named their children after the male ancestors of the clan. In particular, the *Inkulu*, the firstborn, son would be named after one of the former chiefs. Xhosa personal names, especially those of male children, often became part of family history and praise names as the young one would on several occasions get a chance to self-praise. The current praise names have evolved through time from being personal names given for various reasons and carrying various meanings to being praise names. Their praise will oftentimes begin with their introducing themselves, the family lineage and the circumstances surrounding their birth, growing their victories and their hope.

ii) **“I know someone by that name, but I do not know the original meaning.”**

The second category confirmed that some of these names were still in circulation and were still being used among the Xhosa. The meaning attached to these names, however, varied from the meaning obtained from the original reference. The study showed that the meaning given by the language speakers was now detached from the original meaning as referenced to the proverbs and idioms.

iii) **“*Andiwazi* – I don’t know them or their meaning.”**

This category of response was obtained mainly from the young Xhosa speakers who had been born and raised in urban areas. They did not know both the names and their meanings. When asked about *Rholihlahla*, most of them just knew it as former President Mandela’s name, not in any way related to any proverb or idiom. It also had no bearing on any Xhosa culture or custom as far as they were concerned. The above analysis also confirms the findings by Bosch and De Klerk (1995) that there is a slowing down of the history-keeping function of naming among the Xhosa. It also confirms the hypothesis of this study, namely that the

traditional names have been divorced from their original context and unless their cultural reference is obtained, the meaning would remain muted.

## **6.5 Overall attitudes towards proverbial names**

The responses by the participants show that there are different ways in which Xhosa speakers view traditions, including that of naming. The differences depend on the family's education level, place of residence and religious beliefs. Both positive and negative attitudes towards the proverbial names were found. We will look at these separately,

### **6.5.1 Positive attitudes towards proverbial names**

#### **a) Portraying cultural values**

Some respondents agreed that the meaning of these names was a major player in portraying the cultural values and traditions of Xhosa society. The study conducted revealed that some proverbial names are containers of the Xhosa cultural values.

#### **b) History keeping**

The older respondents recognised the history-keeping role that the proverbial names played in society as they related the events that had happened during the birth of a child in a family and/or society.

### **6.5.2 Negative attitudes towards proverbial names**

Overall, there was less appreciation of the proverbial names amongst the respondents since they are now considered useless, old-fashioned and not related to modern life. Another possible reason for this negative attitude is the fact that proverbial names carry the stigma of 'primitivism' and may have prevented a perception of shared culture. Some of the respondents with traditional names mentioned that they felt burdened by such names, mainly because of the literal meaning of such names.

#### **a) Muted meaning**

A strong negative attitude expressed by many of the respondents towards the proverbial names was that the young generation considered them to be praise names belonging to the chiefs in the rural areas with no other apparent meaning in the language.

**b) Proverbial names can be a burden to the name-bearer**

One respondent commented, “*Umzali xa ethiya umntwana igama elibi umbophelela ilitye elibuhlungu.*” (When a parent gives an ugly name, they are burdening a child with such a heavy and painful burden.) Others also responded that “*lamagama azingxaki nyani*”. (These kinds of name are troublesome.) Many respondents highlighted the fact that traditional names usually carried a negative meaning. The name may be quite uncomplimentary. There was, however, a general understanding among the Xhosa-speaking people that those names were not given because the name-giver hated the name-bearer. Instead, certain names were given as a protective measure, whereas other names were given to communicate a warning, event or grievance by the name-giver using the naming process. The name-bearer would then live carrying the burden of that communication and might resent the name, especially if he/she moved from the familiar surroundings to an unknown place where people might enquire about the context of the given name. However, some scholars contend that such a name is not only a simple reminder of the strained family relationship or harsh warning but is also an indication of the name-giver’s desire to strike a compromise. Therefore, such a name, though negative in meaning, must be taken as a positive sign of reconciliation.

On this point, one respondent highlighted the fact that because of unequal powers between the name-giver and the name-bearer, certain names were a burden to live with. The name-bearer is a neutral party and has no say but has to answer to the name given. One respondent mentioned that because of the burden that her name caused, she had made up her mind very early in life that all her children would have nice names.

**c) Difficulty of pronunciation**

Another statement pertaining to negative attitudes towards the traditional proverbial names was that they were difficult to pronounce. In the case of looking for a job, with most employers being foreigners to the Xhosa language, such a name could reduce the chances of employment. For example, one respondent changed both her name and surname. She underlined the importance of choosing the ‘right’ name in terms of a marketable image and identity.

**d) These names are too long**

Most traditional names are long because of being compound names; they are usually difficult to pronounce for someone foreign to the language. Most administrative forms have a preallocated space to enter a name and surname. It may be embarrassing trying to squeeze in the name. In the process, the form can look quite untidy when the name has gone over the lines just because it cannot fit in the allocated space. Though these names can appear to be too long, they usually have shortened or familiar forms that are used during childhood or at different stages of life; for example, *Zwelinzima* might be called by a shortened form, *Zweli*, within the homestead and *Zwelinzima* when attending a cultural function at the chief's kraal.

**e) No longer relevant**

In the South African context, these problems are compounded by the pervasive effects of segregation and division between two social strata, the modern (*amagqobhoka*) and the primitive (*amaqaba*). The oral literature together with the customs and traditions was considered only relevant to the traditional people. However, the study has shown that the Xhosa people do not necessarily feel torn apart between these worlds. They somehow have learnt how to adapt to different situations.

Most respondents were aware of the cultural meanings of names, though they did not consider them significant or relevant, especially if they were living in urban areas where they were daily dealing with everyday challenges, such as lack of housing, lack of employment and crime. While it is difficult to see a direct causality from apartheid, the resultant changes in Xhosa culture and traditional family structure are apparent. The process of urbanisation has disrupted traditional family systems. Pre-apartheid, the change in the culture occurred as the Xhosa moved closer to cities for employment. Then, with the passing of the Pass Laws, migration to the cities was interrupted as families were split and many were sent back to the homelands. The elders who were mainly responsible for naming their grandchildren were no longer regarded as having a major influence in the life of the family.

The study results show the emergence of an *ekasi* subculture in which there is a high incidence of *vat en sit* (cohabiting) and an exclusion of the extended family in affairs, which means that the grandparents may not even be aware of the birth of a child. A high rate of 'illegitimate' children leads to mothers being responsible for naming their own children. One of the respondents told the researcher that she did not want her parents to name her children because she hated the old-fashioned names that the elders tended to give. Such statements

confirm the findings by De Klerk and Bosch (1995) that names can offer considerable insight into the culture and values of the name-givers.

### **6.5.3 The reasons for the disappearance of proverbial names**

Mathangwane & Gardner (1998) in their survey found that there were different factors which led to English names being used instead of African names in Botswana. The most common being the religion, the effects of colonization on naming, influence of World wars I and II, migrant workers in South Africa, influence of the Western culture.

During the colonisation period, the culture and the language of the new masters were viewed as more prestigious than the indigenous culture and language. The oral traditions were also to negotiate the transition from oral forms into written forms. Names that were too long and difficult to spell or pronounce, which were mostly African names, were dubbed *igama lasekhaya*. New English names were issued to facilitate administrative duties. This happened mainly in the urban settings where many Xhosa people became migrant workers from the rural areas to work in mines and as domestic servants, meaning that they had to adapt to Western cultural ways. This led to many abandoning their proverbial names for English names that would be easier for employers to pronounce.

Finnegan (1970:281) discusses the experiences of Africans in the towns of South Africa, which are contained in songs about police and passes. The first song is about the pass office where all immigrants had to go and get their registration certificates:

Take off your hat.

What is your home name?

Who is your father?

Who is your chief?

Where do you pay your tax?

What river do you drink from?

Also religion played a major part as every christian convert was given a new name as a sign of his/her new faith. These names were called 'baptism names'. These were the names by which they were now addressed, as they represented the break away from the old traditions.



The study conducted by Mathangwane & Gardner (1998:78) revealed that most respondents gave the coming of Christianity and evangelism in the past centuries as having influenced the use of English names.

Also the education system encouraged the abandoning of proverbial names in favour of school names. These were never really abandoned but were used only at home, and the English ones were used at school. Hence these names were called 'school names'. Each child who did not have a school name was given such a name on the first day of school.

## 6.6 Summary of results

- The results of the present study, which aimed to investigate the transparency of proverbial names to the Xhosa speakers, show that cultural meaning is not transparent. Hence the results confirm the hypothesis that states that "Xhosa proverbial names are neither transparent nor easily accessible to the language users without using the cultural reference".
- The study also shows that the language users are aware of the importance of the cultural context in interpreting names. When they were not conscious of the relevant cultural context, they gave a response "*Andilazi*" (I do not know) or "It really depends on the event that surrounded the birth" rather than giving the shallow linguistic meaning readily accessible to them.
- Some of the respondents were very familiar with the proverbial names but had never thought of them as part of a proverb. This reveals that the proverbial names have been alienated from their proverbs and are now regarded as 'stand-alones'. The study shows that proverbs and idioms are used mainly for ritual functions. This may indicate that those who do not follow such rituals will have no other avenue when such language is used as these proverbial expressions are not part of day-to-day activities.
- The five names given to the language users were read differently by different respondents in terms of their existing cultural knowledge and values. The names that were given in a socio-cultural context were interpreted from the same cultural reference; for example, a name such as *Nangamso* is still used today as the Xhosa people still value generosity.
- There is no marked difference between the age groups, except for the fact that those over the age of 50 years related to their own cultural experiences in growing up

in the rural areas, whereas the youth responded from current context. For example, one respondent mentioned that *Rholihlahla* was the name for Nelson Mandela who was named after his father. She did not know the cultural meaning because no one had imparted that knowledge to her.

- It should be noted that from the survey results, it is clear that fluency in isiXhosa, while clearly important and helpful, is no guarantee of understanding Xhosa culture.

The survey has shown that the Xhosa people have continued to express themselves confidently in names.



## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 7.1 Introduction

This study analysed the contextual meanings of isiXhosa proverbial personal names. The study investigated the relationship among proverbial names, proverbs and the cultural practices from which the names originated. The research was premised on the assumption that the naming traditions of the Xhosa as well as their culture had changed over time. A comprehensive methodology, namely desk research and a questionnaire survey, constituted the theoretical and practical approaches, respectively.

Throughout this research, the focus was on the use of Xhosa oral literature, culture and customs that were captured by and expressed through the isiXhosa language as the only legitimate source reference for explaining the functions and meaningfulness of proverbial names within Xhosa society.

The desk research focused on the use of written literature to enhance the cultural understanding of the Xhosa people at a certain point in time. It consisted of the analysis of historical data, namely the proverbs that had been collected by scholars such as Mesatywa, Mqhayi and Jordan. In addition, a questionnaire was designed to elicit data from Xhosa adults regarding the current use of proverbial names.

Both methods were necessary because the names were interpreted using contextual theory. The setting or context of social interaction provided points of reference for mutual orientation and formed an anchoring element in the production of meaning. Meaning is not merely built into formal codes or sets of differences but is conditioned by variable contexts of social interaction. When people communicate with each other in conversation, the meaning is sustained by mutual understanding of the context as well as of the language.

Oral literature was the guiding force behind the research as both a source of information and as a basis for interpreting the data. This approach affirmed Xhosa cultural knowledge systems as being sufficient for providing explanations of various Xhosa cultural phenomena, including proverbial names.

The recurrent argument of the research was that the literal interpretation of proverbial names changed the contextual relationships of names and their proverbs, thereby changing the

subject-object relationship and the range of meanings or symbolic association that a proverbial name might evoke.

This chapter initially summarises the most important conclusions drawn from this research. Then recommendations for further research, motivated by this work, are made.

## **7.2 Contribution to onomastic research**

This thesis fills a gap in the existing academic literature concerning Xhosa personal names and naming practices. As was noted in earlier chapters, the research conducted was the first scholarly undertaking to focus exclusively on providing the socio-cultural significance of Xhosa proverbial names. It should be emphasised, however, that this dissertation articulates in writing what is already contained in Xhosa oral literature, culture and customs regarding this topic. This vast body of local knowledge has provided the Xhosa-oriented conceptual framework in terms of which the researcher has interpreted and explained the data.

With respect to research into Xhosa names in general, the results of the current study support the findings of scholars, such as Guma (2001), who have noted that personal names embody individual life experiences, social norms and values, status roles and authority, as well as personality and individual attributes. It is, indeed, through the process of socialisation and culture that these are inculcated in the individual.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of this research to explore Xhosa proverbial names, however, lies in its methodological approach. Most studies that have concentrated on Xhosa names, have typically focused on providing categorised lists of names and their literal meanings (translated into English). In contrast, the current study comprises one of the most detailed explanatory cultural accounts of the personal naming traditions of the amaXhosa. It also appears to be the first study of its kind to explicitly advocate and apply the use of indigenous knowledge, primarily in the form of Xhosa oral literature, as the basis for explaining the significance of personal names within Xhosa culture.

This, in turn, has provided a depth of insight into Xhosa cultural ways that could not possibly have been achieved by simply listing Xhosa personal names and their English translations. The results that have been produced by the current study represent a significant contribution to this area of onomastics that future researchers can build upon.

### 7.3 Conclusions drawn from the desk study

- i) While child naming is certainly about the child, the study has shown how the naming of an individual plays an important and defining part in the oral history of the Xhosa, serving as a recording system for the events that happened around the time of a birth. Child naming is a strategy to pass on the customs and culture and mostly the core values of the homestead and of society. In so doing, it defines and reinforces the existing social roles.
- ii) Each proverbial name has an anchor found in proverbs, and if this anchor is lost or forgotten, the meaning is muted. The meanings evoked by proverbs are always socially constituted and context related.
- iii) Proverbial names cannot be treated as linguistic indicators isolated from their historical and socio-cultural context, since all the narrative attached to a name helps in establishing the reference of the name. The socio-cultural aspects that correlate with the history or the origin of proverbs assist in unveiling the contextual meaning of the name.
- iv) Child naming also has socio-cultural applications, such as to warn, to caution and to communicate and vent anger. In oral tradition, deeper dimensions of social life are often implicated in expressing what cannot be directly expressed in words. Furthermore, names reflect the insecurities and mobilities of change in Xhosa society.
- v) The comparison of the results from the desk study and the respondents' interpretations has revealed that since the meanings of names from oral traditions are inseparable from a socio-cultural matrix, change in culture from inescapable implications has resulted in the range of meanings that the names convey.
- vi) The investigation of the linguistic features of proverbial names has shown that morphologically, proverbial names are not monosyllabic words but are shortened forms of otherwise lengthy expressions social experience, in particular intended to convey deeper meanings and reflections on the way of life of the Xhosa people.
- vii) The current study also demonstrates how the cultural knowledge that is contained within and conveyed through Xhosa names is manifested more strongly in the

proverbs, idioms, songs, poems and stories surrounding the names than in their lexical structure.

#### 7.4 Conclusions drawn from the questionnaire survey

The analysis of the historical data seems to evoke a sense of closure or fixity of meaning by using conventions of classification and annotation that leave little room for questioning. For example, the proverbial name *Zweliyaduma* is historically the phrase used for ‘rumours of war’. A respondent in the 50+ age bracket correctly (as stated in the desk study) answered that *Zweliyaduma* was a name given to a child born when there were rumours of *imfazwe* (war) or *muloyo* (witchcraft). However, a younger respondent said that the name *Zweliyaduma* would be given to a child born when there was news about ‘*Toyi Toyi*’ or terrible news on TV about an earthquake. The above reflect a clear process of recontextualisation. The questionnaire survey has shown that the respondents resist this fixity of meaning and have expanded the meaning to include earthquakes, gangster shootings and financial crises, which are in the context of their social issues. It is obvious from the study that names are being rediscovered in the context of current demands, thus enabling their meaning to reach beyond its own original attachments and update itself in changing conditions.

- i) Proverbial names from the past may lose their ‘in reference’ socio-cultural meaning but at the same time may gain a new range of meanings. In principle, the meaning of proverbial names is continually in the process of being constructed in the many contexts of cultural interaction. Still, the same meaning would be generated in relation to subjective theoretical positions and cultural values. The process of recontextualisation means that these names are no longer left in the past. They still have the potential to stimulate creative thought, allowing the users of the language to bring more culturally relevant ideologies to the fore.
- ii) The survey has shown that in traditional Xhosa society, grandparents are traditionally the preferred candidates for bestowing names on children. However, the break-up of the traditional family in favour of the nuclear family has led to both parents and grandparents having equal status regarding the bestowal of personal names.
- iii) Unpacking proverbial names has offered insight into the lives of traditional Xhosa people. It is evident from the respondents that the traditional Xhosa family had a

structure that connected people together and defined social roles. Furthermore, the responses indicate that Western civilisation has played a significant role in the eradication of the use of traditional names and that many of these traditional roles were forcibly and unnaturally changed by apartheid and urbanisation.

- iv) The study results reveal a lack of in-depth understanding of the relationship between the proverbial personal names and the respective original proverbs from which they are derived. This could imply that proverbs have lost their daily use, even in the rural areas, or that the relocation of the respondents to the city might have slightly changed their attitudes towards the use of proverbs and their significance in society. The urban townships are frequently positioned as *phucukile* (civilised) in comparison to the rural areas, and people living in such places adopt a different culture from that of the *ezilalini* (rural homestead).
- v) It is perceptible from the survey that the Xhosa cultural aspects that seemingly have been forgotten are being rediscovered and remoulded in terms of contemporary culture and contemporary beliefs. Certain traditional names have therefore assumed a different social meaning, for example as *izikhahlelo* (praise names) within the royal families.
- vi) The meanings provided by the respondents offer information about political change, cultural continuity, social pretensions and all manner of identity making.
- vii) The study shows that there are still a great number of proverbial names that need to be rekindled to full capacity. The interpretation of African names in general is more complex than a passive acceptance of historical data. The analysis reveals that the contextual transparency of proverbial names is *not always* apparent because of the dynamic change in culture and language.

## 7.5 Recommendations

- i) Linguistic research should also be conducted regarding the syntax of proverbial personal names. Most proverbial names are formed from a combination of more than one word categories. They are derived from phrases, shortened into personal names. These names need to be thoroughly investigated by conducting a syntactic analysis.



- ii) A study situated in a wider framework of socio-cultural phenomena should be conducted in order to find out whether proverbs and idioms still have a significant influence in the moral and cultural value of the Xhosa society.
- iii) A survey in rural areas might offer a slightly different perspective. It is thus recommended that a similar study be conducted among the elderly in the rural areas since elderly people in this particular society still live in an extended family setting. They still have close contact with their children and their grandchildren.
- iv) Language users must be involved in decoding the Xhosa history contained in oral literature. Such important historic material could then be recorded and stored in the archives under a 30–50-year span. Xhosa folklore clearly shows that traditional Xhosa people cannot be regarded as unobservant, unquestioning and unintelligent. There seems to be clear evidence from oral literature that these were quite intelligent people.
- v) And lastly, it is important for any future African onomastics to bear in mind the foregoing process of interpreting the traditional names and the burden of historical, cultural and ritualistic or religious contexts, which cannot be ignored if scholars want to get to the very roots of cultural meaning. For example, names from praise poems can be recollected to reconstruct the whole scenario of what took place at the particular time when they were given. Initiation names can reveal deeply hidden emotions such as fear and bravery. Proverbial names can also reveal the hidden emotions of the name-giver, though such academic efforts can sometimes be hindered by secrecy observed when dealing with certain traditional Xhosa customs. In conducting this work, some of the isiXhosa speakers whom the researcher approached preferred not to participate in the study, as they felt that the exercise was an intrusion into their privacy since information regarding their names belonged exclusively to them. Though claims can be made that the search for information is for the benefit and enrichment of all humanity, the issue of accessibility or non-accessibility of information to researchers has to be given serious attention by both scholars and the ‘owners’ of such information.

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## APPENDIX ONE: NEWSPAPER SNIPPET

**The Star** Jg..... Nr..... P. 8 Dat. 29. 4. 1997

## So, what's in a name? Plenty, I say

**BY FIKIL'NTSIKELELO MOYA**

Thank God for the Reverend Makhenkesi "Arnold" Stofile - I may at last be able to stop using my double-barrelled name.


Like the good reverend who said recently: "I have been called so many names in my life, it does not make any difference what people call me now", I have also been using a simplified name all my life.

Stofile, the premier of Eastern Cape province, recently announced that he wanted his hitherto-unknown birth name, "Makhenkesi", to enjoy at least equal status to his widely known Christian name, "Arnold".

His dilemma epitomises what many Africans have been through in the apartheid era when indigenous names were widely disregarded on the grounds that they were too "complicated", "foreign" or "heathen". Like him, many Africans were given a "Christian" name because their African names were "difficult" for missionaries or Bantu Affairs officials.

An unwritten rule about such names was that they had to be of some biblical figure - usually Old Testament - or had to remind the "man at Bantu Affairs" office of the English royal family "back home".

"Makhenkesi is the name first



who used to go by the name "Saki" is another prominent figure of the "mini African renaissance".

Another is Gauteng local government MEC Sicelo Shiceka, who recently applauded a white master of ceremonies at the opening of a fire station in Orange Farm who pronounced his name properly.

"I am sure you practised hard and I applaud you," he said to the blushing official.

Other prominent Africans who no longer use their "school or Christian" names include Jomo Cosmos boss Matsilele "Jomo" Sono who hardly ever uses his other name, "Ephraim".

Radio and TV personality Kgomotso, formerly "Bob", Mabena is another example of the renaissance. PAC general secretary, Ngila Muedane used to be called "Mike" in a radio programme he hosts.

To those who have a problem with my double-barrelled name I will quote Stofile: "Pick your choice".

And my double-barrelled name? "Ifikil'ntsikelelo", meaning "blessings have arrived", my birth name, was divided in two to make it easier to handle.

From now on, do not be surprised if I use the whole unedited name.

And proudly too.

**Arnold (just call me Makhenkesi) Stofile, the Eastern Cape premier**

given to me when I was born. Arnold was given to me at baptism by the late Rev John Black. Nobody ever uses the second name Arnold in the family," Stofile said.

His spokesman, Manelisi Wolela, said the premier continued to use all his names but it was up to the media to decide which name they preferred. "It's like giving the names an equal opportunity," said Wolela.

Stofile is one of many Africans who are increasingly assuming their "rightful" names and using them in public.

Former ANC MP and now Transnet head Sakumzi Macozoma

An article published by The Star (quoted in Mandende 2009)

## APPENDIX TWO: FOLKLORE EXAMPLES

### 1. Iintsomi

*Kwathi ke kaloku ngantsomi, zathi iinyamazana zabhunga ukuba zilime eyazo intsimi ngenxa yokuba zihlala zigxothwa emasimini abantu. Zayilima le ntsimi, zayihlakula, kwakhula ukutya. Kwathi yakuvuthwa intsimi leyo, kwafika isilo esikhulu ebusuku, sayitya sayigqiba, satya neendiza sayibhuqa tu, salala kwada kwasa. Zasibona iinyamazana kusasa, zaqokelelana.*

*Zathi makuthunywe enye, iye kubuza ukuba esaa silo siyintoni na kulaa ntsimi. Kwathiwa makuye uMvundlazana, kuba nguyena undwebileyo.*

*uMvundlazana waya wamela kude, wakhwaza wathi, 'Uyini kule ntsimi? Iinyamazana zonke ziyilimele, zayihlakuhlakula, zayihl'amahlongwana phezulu!'. Sathi ukuphendula, 'Ndim, ndinguMaginyinyathi neempondo; nakooMvundlazana apha, ginyiqobo!'. O! Wabaleka uMvundlazana, waya kufika kwezinye. Zoyika ngoku iinyamazana, kwada kwathunywa uFudwazana.*

*UFudwazana yena uthathe izembe wamela kude naye, wathi, 'Uyini kule ntsimi? iinyamazana zonke ziyilimele, zayihlakuhlakula, zayihl'amahlongwana phezulu!'. ukuphendula, 'Ndim, ndinguMaginyinyathi neempondo; nakooFudwazana apha, ginyiqobo!'. O! Wanomsindo uFudwazana, wasondela, waphinda wathi, 'Ndithi mna uyini kule ntsimi? iinyamazana zonke ziyilimele, zayihlakuhlakula, zayihl'amahlongwana phezulu!'. Isilo sathi, 'Ndim, ndinguMaginyinyathi neempondo; nakooFudwazana apha, ginyiqobo!' Ee wasondel' uFudwazana watsho xabe entloko ngezembe, safa.*

*Wabuya uFudwazana evuya, ehamba ecula ingoma yakhe yokoyisa, esithi: Rho –go, Rho –go, thi – na boo- Fudwaza-na. Zambona iinyamazana esiza evuya zaphuma zamhlangabeza zivuya. Zaya zafika isilo sifile.*

*Phelaphela nga ntsomi.*

## 2. Poetry

*A poem by Nontsizi Mgqwetho. Mgqwetho was the first woman poet to publish in Xhosa. From 1920 to 1929 she contributed more than ninety poems, most of them to the Johannesburg weekly newspaper of the Chamber of Mines, Umthetheli wa Bantu (The mouthpiece of the African people.)*

*Mgqwetho criticises Christians for their unwarranted pride in despising traditionalists, who continue to wear their red dyed in ochre.*

*Amaqaba!Pulapula*

*Taru Mhleli ngesithuba sezimbongi*

*Ndisahleli ndingumfana andimbongi*

*Ndingumpati tunga lezi Nxiba-Mxaka*

*Makabhakabheke onk'amagqoboka*



*Taru Mhleli ngesithuba sezimbongi*

*Ndiko nook ndisahleli andimbongi*

*Ndililo iqaba eli linyontyayo*

*Bikela mawenu uti ndim otshoyo.*

*Ati amagqoboka singabahedeni*

*Kodwa wonke umzi usaya eweni*

*Naputum 'umlungu zenibe babini*

*Kodwa lon'ilizwi lifike sinani*

*Zemka zihlephuka kwanento zo Ngqika*

*Nezandundu zityabuke kukuxoka*

*Ngenxa yalemfundo yenu magqoboka*

*Nigqobok' emini kuhlwe nizin'cuka*

*Sinengqungqutela tina bomaqaba*

*Siko sisahleli sisaziv'indaba*

*Kwezontlanganiso zenu asibangako.*

*Zicas'amaqaba ngohlobo lungako.*

*Ndiko ndisahleli ndim lowu ntyontyayo*

*Bikela mawenu uti ndim otshoyo*

*Ndiyinto ndateta kwasekuveleni*

*Agqusha ma Tshawe adlale nkundleni.*

*Zipambili ncwadi zethu bomaqaba*

*Sinimmangalele kotshona nenkaba*

*Namhla sifikile kunenzela*

*Kuba sazalwa ke ukumuka komhla*

*The Red smeared ones! Listen*



*Editor, thanks for the poets' column.*

*I'm still here, a young man and no poet;*

*I carry the milk pail to arm-ringed celebrities;*

*Let all Christians glance behind them.*

*Editor, thanks for the poets' column.*

*I'm here, still alive and no poet.*

*You'd better believe I'm still a Red smeared one:*

*Tell your people I am the one saying.*

*Christians call us heathens*

*But every home is unstable.*

*You rushed to join the white men*

*But when the word appeared we were still together.*

*Many broke away including Ngqika himself,*

*Cheeks chafed from telling lies.*

*Because of your Christian education*

*You are Christians by day, hyenas by night.*

*Just like always, We the Red Smeared ones have a gathering,*

*Sitting here, swapping news.*





*We never attend your meetings,*

*Because of their hostility towards those who are smeared with Ochre.*

*Here I sit, to be sure, just like always,*

*Tell your people I am the one who said it.*

*I am something else, I spoke at my birth:*

*In the courtyard princes stamped and frolicked.*

*We the Red smeared ones have made a statement,*

*Preferring charges against you;*

*Today we've come, we'll do this for you,*

*For we were born at the setting of the sun.*



### **3. Iingoma**

Ukuthuthuzela usana (Lubbaby –Hush, hush, baby)

*This is song that the mother or a caregiver will sing to a child while rocking a child to sleep.*

*The last stanza though is more than just a soothing sound to the child, The mother seems to be expressing and commenting on her own feelings and her situation of lack as she sing 'she does not have a blanket'*

*Lala,lala,lala,sana;*

*Lala,lala,lala,mntwana;*

*Lala,lala,lala,bhabha;*

*Lala, lala, lala, mntwana.*

*Asimntwan'othand'ukulila;*

*Asimntwan'othand'ukulila;*

*Lala, lala, lala, bhabha;*

*Hlala, hlala, hlala, sana.*

*Tutu, tutu, tutu, bhabha;*

*Asimntwan'othand'ukulila;*

*Lala, lala, lala, bhabha;*

*Tutu, tutu, tutu, mntwana.*



*Lala, lala, lala, mntwana*

*Ungab'ndibona ningenangubo!*

*Ingub'am' ihluthwe ngamanyangaza!*

*Amanyangaza akwantshabalalo!*

#### **4. Riddles (Imizekelo Yamaqhina)**

- *Umzekelo: Ndinabafazi bam baxhentsha emngxunyeni*

*Impendulo: Lugada*

- *Umzekelo: Ndinamntu wam ugqobhoza iindonga zavalawe (I have my person who is able to pierce walls)*

*Impendulo: Yinaliti (Needle)*

- *Umzekelo: Ndinabantu bam babini banyuka eqhineni abade bayokuqabela*

*Impendulo: Ziindlebe (Ears)*

- *Umzekelo: Ndinabantu bam baninzi bathwele iiqhiya ezimdaka( I have many people wearing brown hats*

*Impendulo: Yimicinga yematshisi (Matchsticks)*



## **APPENDIX THREE: CONSENT FORM**

### **Information Sheet: The use of Proverbial Names among the Xhosa society: Socio-Cultural Approach Questionnaire**

I, Phumzile Simelane-Kalumba, am a postgraduate student at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa and I am currently in the process of completing my Master of Arts degree in isiXhosa. To complete my degree, I will be investigating the use of proverbial names among the Xhosa language users.

#### **This study aims:**

- To investigate names linked to oral art i.e. proverbs, idioms, poems and/or riddles;
- To find out the Xhosa culture and customs from such names were constructed from;
- To investigate whether there are any proverbial names still, being used among the Xhosas;
- To find out if the meanings of proverbial names were still transparent to the modern language users;
- And to investigate how the interpretation of the proverbial names and their correlating proverbs might have changed overtime in response to the changing culture.

#### **How were subjects identified?**

Subjects were identified with the perception that they come from rural areas of Eastern Cape, which the study perceive as still using language of proverbs. These people were over the age 18 that now live, work and study within Cape Town area, where this study is conducted.

#### **What is required of the subjects?**

Subjects are requested to share their experiences about Xhosa proverbial sayings and the extent through which proverbs were still used in their area. The study seeks to find if there are any personal names they know which have been taken from these expressions.

Some questions will require personal knowledge and individuals cultural beliefs therefore subjects will be interviewed face-to-face, and each interview schedule will take at least 45 minutes with each respondent. Face to face is advantageous since it gives us a chance to take note of hand gestures and the body language of the subjects, which forms a big part of Xhosa conversation.

**Will there be any benefits involved for taking part in this study?**

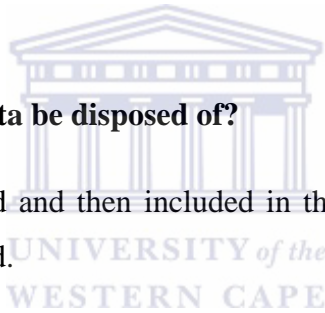
No tangible benefits are involved in this study, apart from that the data collected from subjects will be stored and accessed for another similar research in future.

**Are there any payments or reimbursements of financial expenses incurred by subjects?**

No, the researcher will travel to the place where the subject live, study or work. Therefore, there will be no direct costs on anyone partaking in this study. The only abstract cost incurred is their time.

**How and when will gathered data be disposed of?**

Data transcribed will be analysed and then included in the treatise which will be stored in library shelves, and also published.



**How will confidentiality and anonymity be ensured?**

Every effort will be taken to protect the identity of participants in this study. Participants will not be identified in any report or publication of this study or its results.

**Are there any negative consequences of not participating in this study?**

Participation in this study absolutely depends on subjects' decision, and a decision not to participate in the study will by no means constitute a penalty.

**What happens when you withdraw from this study?**

Participation in this study is voluntary and participants are not bound to be part of this study until it reaches its final stages. Participants can withdraw from the study at any point they want.

**My contact details are as follows:** Ms Phumzile Simelane-Kalumba, Xhosa Department, University of the Western Cape, South Africa. I can be contacted at: (Tel), 0733685740 (Cell) or 3102864@uwc.ac.za, jabulanimeansrejoice@gmail.com (Email).

**My supervisor is:** Ms Thoko V. Mabeqa, Head of Xhosa Department, University of the Western Cape, South Africa. She can be contacted at: +27 (0)21 959 2382 (Tel) or tvmabeqa@uwc.ac.za (Email).

*This information sheet is for you to keep so that you can be aware of the purpose of the study questionnaire. With your signature on the attached document, you indicate that you understand the purpose of the research study.*

**Yours faithfully**

**Phumzile Simelane-Kalumba**



## **XHOSA VERSION**

### **Bafumaneke njani abaphenduli mibuzo?**

Abaphenduli mibuzo ngokucingela ukuba bathetha isiXhosa, futhi basuka kwiindawo ethetha isiXhosa. Abanye bazalelwe ezilalini zase Mpuma koloni, Kwaye kubonakala ukuba ezizaci zisasetyenziswa. Ababantu ngoku bakhangelala lentsusa yalamagama bahlala, besebenza futhi bephanda bese Ntshona koloni.

### **Yintoni le efunwa kubaPhenduli mibuzo?**

Ingcali ezi zilindeleke ukuba zixele konke ezikuvileyo ngezizaci nala maqhalo akwa Xhosa, bade bachaze nezisasetyenziswayo ezindaweni zabo zokuhlala. Koluphando kufuneka kuvele nokuba akhona kusini na amagama abantu athathwe kwezizaci.

Eminye imibuzo kwaba bantu baphendulayo izakuba ijoliswe kubo ngqo, ifune ke ngoku ukuba umntu asebenzise ulwazi lakhe okanye inkolo yakhe ukuphendula, yiyo ke lonto ababantu bezakubuzwa ubuso ngobuso. Abantu abaphendulayo bazakunikwa imizuzu elishumi nane elinesihlanu ekuphendula. Izakuba luncedo ke into yakuba kujongwane ebusweni nabaphenduli aba, ngoba lomntu ubuzayo uza kubona nendlela acacisa ngayo lowo uphendulayo, atsho ajonge nendlela aman gayo lowo uphendulayo into leyo ke ebalulekileyo xa uncokola nomntu kwaXhosa.

### **Ingaba ikhona na intlawulo eza kuzuzwa ngabo bathatha inxaxheba kwesisifundo ?**

Akukho ntlawulo ibonokalayo okanye ibambekayo kwezizifundo, ngaphandle nje kokuba yonke into efunyanisiweyo, izakuthathwa igcinwe kovimba ize isetyenziswe xa kuphinde kwabakho uphondo

### **Zikhona indleko zemali abangene kuzo abaphenduli mibuzo ?**

Ayikho. Ingcali zizakuya apho umntu ophendulayo, ahlalo, okanye afunda, okanye asebenza khona, ngako oko ke akukho zindleko yena azithwalayo ngaphandle nje kwexesha lakhe.

### **Kwenzeke ntoni ke Kwiimpendulo ezibhaliweyo, nezishicilelwe ngamazwi okanye ngomboniso bhanya-bhanya ?**

Ezishicilelwe ngamazwi, zizakubhalwa ngesandla ukuze ziphonongwe ngokubanzi



### **Izakulahlwa njani ke lengxelo ?**

Ezishicilelwe ngamazwi emva kokuba zibhalwe ngesandla zizakulahlwa,zize ezibhalwe ngesandla zigcinwe kwithali leencwadi ukuze abantu bafunde.

### **Kuzakuqinisekiswa njani ukungaziwa nokufihlakala ?**

Kuzakwenziwa amalinge okukhusela abo bathabatha inxaxheba kwezizifundo, ukuba bangaziwa nakweyiphi na ingxelo kunye neziphumo zayo.

### **Zikhona na Iziphumo ezigwenxe ezinokufunyanwa ngabo bangathathanga nxaxheba kwezizifundo ?**

Ukuthatha inxaxheba kuxhomekeke umntwini ofunayo kwaye akukho sohlwayo kongafuniyo.

### **Kwenzeke Ntoni ke korhoxa sele eqalile ?**

Umntu uthatha inxaxheba ngokokuthanda kwakhe,ngoko ke akukho nto imbambayo ukuba angarhoxi xa efuna njalo.



**My contact details are as follows:** Ms Phumzile Simelane-Kalumba, Xhosa Department, University of the Western Cape, South Africa. I can be contacted at: +27 (0)21 959 2978 (Tel), 0733685740 (Cell) or 3102864@uwc.ac.za (Email).

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**Ozithobileyo,**

**Phumzile Simelane-Kalumba**



**Consent Form**

University of the Western Cape

**'The Use of Proverbial Names Among the Xhosa Society :Socio-Cultural Approach'**

**Researcher: Mrs Phumzile Simelane-Kalumba**

**Please initial box**

- 1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet explaining the above research Project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
- 2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. (If I wish to withdraw I may contact the lead researcher at anytime)
- 3. I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymous responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result from the research.
- 4. I agree that the data collected from me can be used in future research.
- 5. I agree to take part in the above research project.

\_\_\_\_\_                                  \_\_\_\_\_                                  \_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Participant                                  Date                                  Signature

\_\_\_\_\_                                  \_\_\_\_\_                                  \_\_\_\_\_  
Name of person taking consent          Date                                  Signature

**Phumzile Simelane-Kalumba**

\_\_\_\_\_                                  \_\_\_\_\_                                  \_\_\_\_\_  
Lead Researcher                                  Date                                  Signature  
*(To be signed and dated in presence of the participant)*

*Copies: All participants will receive a copy of the signed and dated version of the consent form and information sheet for themselves. A copy of this will be filed and kept in a secure location for research purposes only.*

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## APPENDIX FOUR: SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRES

### Section A : DEMOGRAPHICS

#### Personal details (Optional)

Name	Surname	Age

#### Background information

1. Were you born in a rural or urban area? .....

2. Which area?.....

3. Do you still live in this area?.....

4. If not, where do you live now?.....

.....

#### Section B: KNOWLEDGE

1. Are there Xhosa proverbs, proverbial sayings and idioms, still in use in the area where you come from, if yes, under what occasions are they used?.....

2. Who names the child in your family and How were they named?.....

3. In your knowledge, is child naming part of the mbeleko ceremony?.....

.....

**Section C: EXPERIENCE**

1 Can you think of any Xhosa name specifically linked to any proverbial saying or idioms? And expound on its meaning.....

2 Are you familiar with name such such Zweliyaduma, Rholihlahla, Themba, Ngawethu, Nangamso?.....

3. In your own words, what do you think the above-mentioned names mean and what is their history?.....



## XHOSA VERSION QUESTIONNAIRES

### Intsingiselo yamagama akwa-Xhosa: Inkcazelo ngembali yamagama abantu bakwaXhosa: Intsusa yawo

#### Section A

Igama	Ifani	Iminyaka

1. Ingaba Uzalelwe ezilalini okanye edolophini?.....

2. Kweyiphi indawo?.....

3. Ingaba usahlala kulendawo uzalelwe kuyo?.....

4. Ukuba awusahlali, uhlala phi ngoku ?.....

.....

#### Section B

1. Ingaba amaqhalo nezaci asetyenziswa ntsuku zonke kulendawo uhlala kuyo, Asetyenziswa xa kutheni?.....

2. Umtana xa evela uthiywa njani kokwenu ?.....

3. Ukwethiywa komtana yinxaxheba yembeleko kanye-kanye?.....

.....

### Section C

1. Likhona igama lomuntu elisisaci okanye , iqhalo olicingayo?.....
2. Ungaba uyawazi lamagama afana nala Zweliyaduma, Rholihlahla, Themba, Ngawethu, Nangamso?.....
3. Ngamazwi akho, Ucinga ukuba lamagama angentla athetha ntoni, futhi ithini intsusa yawo.....



## APPENDIX FIVE: PARTICIPANTS DEMOGRAPHICS

### RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS DEMOGRAPHICS

NO	Name	Place of birth	Residential place	Gender	Age
1	Mpendulo	Ezilalini	Ekapa	Male	21
2.	Thabo	Lady frere	Khayelitsha	Male	29
3.	Unathi	Lady frere	Nyanga	Female	28
4.	Mandisi	KuTsolo	Kayelitsha	Female	30
5.	Mwezi	Cofimvaba	Ekapa	Male	26
6.	Ayanda	ELusikisiki	Newcross	Male	30
7.	Vuyo	Khayelitsha	Khayelitsha	Male	28
8.	Noxolo	Cape	Cape Town	Female	25
9.	Nolundi	Engcobo	EKapa	Female	28
10.	Siyabonga	Willowvale	EKapa	Male	26
11.	Siyanda	eMthatha	ePhilliphi	Male	23
12.	Bukiwe	eMthatha	eKapa	Female	19
13.	Busisiwe	KuTsolo	eKapa	Female	21
14.	Thembisa	eLusikisiki	eNyanga	Female	26
15.	Nolubabalo	eKapa	eKapa	Female	21
16.	Ntabiseng	eRhawutini	EKapa	Female	18
17.	Eyethu	King Williams Town	eKapa	Female	18
18.	Ncebakazi	EKapa	eKapa	Female	20
19.	Aphiwe	Maclear	Cape Town	Female	22
20.	Nobuntu	Cofimvaba	Cape Town	Female	41
21.	Fikiswa	Cofimvaba	Cape Town	Female	37
22.	Sizuluntu	Qumbu	eKapa	Male	44
23.	Ayanda	Nyanga	Nyanga	Male	32
24.	Mawethu	EMkhangiso	eKhayelitsha	Male	42
25.	Mcebisi	Sterkspruit	eKapa	Male	39
26.	Xolani	kuQumbu	eKapa	Male	36
27.	Xolani	kuTsembeyi	eKapa	Male	36
28.	Nomakholwa	Centane	eKapa	Female	32
29.	Bongiwe	kuNtsolo	eKapa	Female	30
30.	Phakama	eNgcobo	eKapa	Female	30
31.	Zukile	eCentana	eKapa	Female	37
32.	Fuziwe	kuTsolo	eKapa	Female	40
33.	Siyathemba	Centana	eKapa	Female	33
34.	Lamla	kuGuntyana	eGugulethu	Male	19
35.	Nobathembu	E Adelaide	eKapa	Female	23
36.	Nomhlayimbi	kuBanzi	eKapa	Female	76
37.	Nofomene	kuBanzi	eKapa	Female	57
38.	Ntombekhaya	Centana	eKapa	Female	54
39.	Nosevish	Nqolosa	eKapa	Female	76
40.	Nomthuthuzeli	kuTsolo	eKapa	Female	60



41.	Rose	eGravrenet	eKapa	Female	71
42.	Thabo	Alexander	eKapa	Male	21
43.	Mampilo	eCala	eKapa	Female	21
44.	Yongama	eZilalini	eKapa	Male	23
45.	Andile	Bhofolo	eKapa	Male	31
46.	Nobuntu	eCovuko	eKapa	Female	41
47.	Withheld	Mnqalweni	eNyanga	Male	43
48.	Withheld	King William Town	eKhayelitsha	Male	33
49.	Withheld	eCala	eKapa	Female	69
50.	Withheld	eMthatha	eKapa	Male	49

## APPENDIX SIX: ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

