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RECLAIMING OUR NAMES:
SHIFTS POST-1994 IN ZULU PERSONAL NAMING PRACTICES

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of the degree**

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Amazwi Okusonga

Okubalulekile ngalo msebenzi ukuveza uguquko kwezokuhlalisana kwabantu, nomlando maqondana nomkhuba wokuqamba amagama kubantu abangamaZulu olwaba khona kusukela ngo 1994, okuyisikhathi sokuqala koMbuso kaHulumeni weNtando yeNingi eNingizimu Afrika. Njengoba uMbuso weNtando yeNingi uphathelene nenkululeko, kwakubhekeke ukuthi kube nomehluko kumaZulu ekuqanjweni kwamagama emazingeni amathathu empilo ahlukahlukene: abahlala emakhaya, abacebile abahlala emadolobheni nabampofu abahlala ezindaweni ezisemakhaya. Ucwaningo lwenziwa kulezi gaba zabantu kwathi okwatholakala kwaqhathaniswa ukuze kutholakale umehluko ekuqanjweni kwamagama abantu ngesikhathi sangaphambili.

Okugqamayo ke kulo msebenzi ukuthi nakuba kunobufakazi obungephikiswe ukuthi kube nomehluko ekuqanjweni kwamagama; ukuqanjwa kwamagama kuyehluka ngokwezizwe. Abantu abangakaguquki kakhulu yilabo abahlala emakhaya njengoba kwakubhekekile. Imibono yabantu abahlala emadolobheni ngokuqanjwa kwamagama iyehlukahlukana, nakuba lo mehluko ungeyona inhloso.

Summary
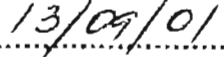
The thesis underpinning this dissertation was that, as in previous times of major social and historical change, naming practices amongst the Zulu have undergone significant changes since the advent in 1994 of a democratic government in South Africa. Since the democratisation process entails freedom for all, it was suspected that a differentiation process was developing within the Zulu group itself and that there were at least three broad economic groups: rural, 'rich-urban', and 'poor urban'. Fieldwork was undertaken in terms of these groups and the data obtained, analysed, and then compared and contrasted in order to identify differences and similarities and to measure shift away from traditional practices.

What is apparent from the research is that while there is clear evidence of shift, the shifts that do exist, differ from group to group. The group which shows the least change is the rural, as was expected. The urban groups are fragmented into several sub-groups, most of whom differ from one another in their motivations for the changes they are making, although these seldom appear to have been made consciously.

Declaration

I, Sihawukele Emmanuel Ngubane do hereby declare that the entire dissertation is my own original work, unless otherwise stated.

Signed: ....*A Ngubane*....

Date: ....*13/09/01*....

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND ORIENTATION TO NAMING PRACTICES

Names are as old as human speech. In the Judeo-Christian tradition, naming began when God asked Adam to name all the birds and beasts. According to this tradition, *Adam* was the name given to the first human being by God. Adam was then asked by God to name all livestock, the birds of the air and all the beasts of the field, with their generic names. God, because Adam did not have a companion, created a companion for him using one of his ribs. After God had created woman, Adam said, " She shall be called *woman*, because she was taken out of man" (Genesis 2:23). After The Fall (Genesis 3), Adam named his wife *"Eve"*, because she was the mother of all the living (Genesis 3 :20).

Genesis 2:19-20 gives an account the 'first' Judeo-Christian naming:

> 19   And now the Lord God had formed out of the ground all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air. He brought them to Adam to see what he would call them; for what so ever Adam called any living creature, the same is its name.
> 20   And Adam called all the beasts by their names, and all the fowls of the air, and all the cattle of the field; but for Adam there was not found a helper like himself.

The practice of conferring names is common to all societies. A name is a word or phrase that constitutes a distinctive designation of a person, place, animal, plant, or other object. Names are given to children at the time of birth or soon thereafter. Usually either the father or the mother names the infant.

The primary aim of naming is to prevent one person being confused with another. Personal names are, therefore, primarily used to identify people. It is common practice to name people in their own language so that it is easy for the people who speak that language to use the name. Names are almost always connected with the culture, beliefs and customs of the naming group. It could happen, however, that because the parents of a child have had a change in life experience; they choose to give their child a name foreign to their culture, either because they like the foreign name or because (as it was in much of Africa, particularly during the colonial era) it is politic to have a foreign name. As societies are dynamic, it can be expected that naming and names rooted in such societal change will themselves change to the extent that new names might be created for new experiences. For example, most colonized African people accepted "Christian" names when they chose to be baptized into Christianity. Others, out of respect for or fear of their white masters, adopted their masters' names. Whites in their turn then used names like "John" as a general term of address for African men. In fact, the 'white' practice of reducing individual black men all to 'John' (for the convenience of whites) was highly insulting, not least because of the significance personal naming has in the African tradition.

Amongst the Nguni people, names are particularly significant and certainly generally more so than among the people of the West.

This is because given the relatively restricted pool of traditional names, names frequently recur and are quite likely to have been ancestral given names. In such an event, the name

is considered to be held in trust by the bearer on behalf of the ancestor[1] who previously graced the name and, in addition, as Mbiti (1991:93) notes:

> ...children are also named after departed relatives, to indicate the belief that the dead person has "come back" to the family through the birth of the baby

Names such as Simon, Elen, *Vusumuzi* were names of ancestors that were given to the Ngubane family living in Maputaland and reflect the existence of this practice among some Zulu clans, among them the Ngubane, Ntuli, Tembe and Makhanya clans of Maputaland. These clans use also have an alternative practice of naming children with names such as *Vukile* (has risen), *Buyani* (come back) and *Buyisiwe* (has been brought back) with the similar intention of indicating the return of an ancestor but one of another name. Because a child named for an ancestor could not in terms of traditional cultural practice (*hlonipha*) be addressed by that name, 'name-terms' like *Khehla* (old man), *Salukazi* (old women), *Muntu omdala* (old person) would be substituted in direct address for the shared ancestral name. The alternate practice obviously obviates the necessity for the *hlonipha* practice. Living people sharing the same name are also considered to have a special relationship.[2] Name-sharers are, for example, expected to give presents to one another and help one another in times of difficulties. Culturally, each is duty-bound to support the other when necessary and thus each "knows" the other would support him/her in all things. Bonds and alliances are thus forged through the shared naming. This applies whenever names are shared - even if the sharing of names is between the living and the dead (as would be the case if a child were named for an ancestor. Name-sharing (whether between the living and the dead) is, as Mbiti (1991) notes common cultural practice in many African societies.

In Zulu culture the practice of deliberate name-sharing appears from the field research to be largely limited to selected rural areas like Maputaland and Nongoma.[3]

Thus, when a traditional name is ignored and the person is arbitrarily called 'John' - the name bestowed is denied and the ancestors and tribal traditions denigrated. Because the Nguni naming practice is one of bestowing, the naming of children is an important and 'serious' cultural affair. The naming of children in most African societies is "serious" in the sense that naming is a ritual ceremony linking the dead with the living. Anim (1993:1) explains:

> A new-born baby is considered a visiting spirit, who is only a guest of a host family. Traditionally, the spirit will take seven days to decide whether he [sic.] likes this world or not, and whether he would like to stay with the people (parents) to whom he has come as a guest. The naming celebration thus starts after seven to nine days. The child inherits through his/her name the qualities of the ancestor for whom he/she has been named.

In a sense, then, the child's future is pre-ordained as the qualities of the ancestor with whom the child shares a names are "transferred" with name to the child and as the life of the ancestor is known that of the child can be forecast. Being named for an ancestor carries with it the guardianship of the child by the ancestor.

The old Israelites had similar beliefs. While ancestors did not play a role in their naming practices in the same way, they too believed that a child's future was 'pre-ordained' by its name. Among the old Israelites the guardianship of the child was believed to be vested in the use of names incorporating the Hebrew substitute morphemes for "God"; the idea

being that a child so-named would forever live under divine protection.[4] (Endnotes for each chapter appear at the end of that chapter.)

Many biblical names contain the morpheme, 'iah'/ 'ias', indirectly referring to God, 'Yahweh'/'Jehovah'. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Elias are such examples. The name 'Isaiah' means, "salvation of Jehovah", suggesting the child will be kept safe. The name 'Josiah' means, "Jehovah has healed", suggesting that the child had been long-awaited because the mother had previously had pregnancy problems. Parents may name a child, 'Johanna', for example, because they believe that the child is born "through the grace of God". They believe this grace is captured in the name 'Johanna' which means "Jehovah has shown favor or Jehovah has been gracious".

The same principle of a belief in supernatural protection through selective naming was carried over into the Christian Church practices from the Jewish. The Catholic and Orthodox tradition of naming children after saints, who then become the children's patrons is again an attempt to ensure good fortune for a child. This practice reflects that stage in the Church's life when a child would have had to be (and in some Christian churches still has to be) baptised with a saint's name. The onus would be on the parents and God-parents to ensure that this occurred. Until recently, most Roman Catholic priests would insist on baptising a child only with a saint's name. Parents/Godparents are commanded during the Baptism ritual by the priest, "Name this child". The name pronounced would have to be a saint's name. The populist *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol.24, 1993:735) summarises the practice of bestowing a saint's name as follows:[2]

The first important regulation concerning given names was the decision of the Council of Trent (1563), which specified that the Roman Catholic priest administering Baptism should make certain that children are given names of Catholic saints; if the parents were to insist on another name, the priest should administer Baptism in that name but add the name of a saint as the second baptismal name.

It was through the missionaries who saw Africa (and other non-western 'third world countries') as requiring conversion, that the Christian practice of naming children with saints' names came to Africa and other colonised areas, such as Japan and South America. The colonists who followed in the footsteps of the missionaries, in their turn insisted on 'white' names for 'black' people in order to facilitate the colonial administration. Re-naming people in one's own terms is a form of oppression, precisely because the one re-named is moved from his/her own power position to that of the name-giver's. The current tendency among blacks to re-name themselves using traditional, indigenous names is a re-assertion of themselves as black African and a rejection of their colonial past and a re-appropriation of their right to use their own given names.[3]

Under white rule, African children would have had two registered names: one, a Christian name (for official identification purposes) and a second, indigenous name for use within their own group.[4] As noted above, Christian or western names were imposed on black people to facilitate colonial administration. Most white officials could neither spell nor pronounce the indigenous names. When non-Christian children (i.e. ones not baptized and consequently lacking 'Christian'/western names) were registered at school, they were told to find out from their parents whether or not they had a western name. If the parents had not previously registered a non-indigenous name for the child, they would have been

forced to choose one, unless they were prepared to have someone making an arbitrary choice on their and the child's behalf. Western names, insisted upon by the authorities, were used almost exclusively for school/administrative purposes only. In fact, children were punished for using one another's indigenous names at school. The 'official' names were considered invalid by the Zulus and were seldom used at the homesteads by the children themselves, by their families or by their friends. As a child, this writer, like his friends, felt uncomfortable with his western name, and at home, used only his indigenous name. The use of indigenous names at home and western names at school is common to most previously colonised African societies and the practice is recorded for posterity in the identity documents of middle-aged and older Africans.

As noted above, African practices, in contrast to Judeo-Christian practices, are ancestor-oriented. (For a detailed discussion, see Chapter 2.) During the colonial period, the western naming practices of the Christian era influenced African naming practices. A cursory glance at the names of Africans as they appear in English literary and historical texts of the last two hundred or so years reveals a wide variety of names.[5] A diachronic examination of Nguni names (isiZulu specifically), over the same period, shows a shift from traditional practices to western (in response to the demands of the colonial masters) and shift back to traditional naming practices in the post-apartheid and post- colonial period. In some sectors of the Zulu society, this shift back is increasing in momentum. (See Chapter 2 for a full discussion.) Two clear stages in the return to traditional naming practices may be noted: the first in the 1970s in response to the resurgence of 'active struggle', and the second in the late 1990s as part of the call for an African Renaissance.

Using Dickens's (1985) diachronic research into Zulu naming practices as a comparative background and by starting more or less where she left off, this study aims to identify any shifts that have occurred since 1994 and to account for them in terms of socio-cultural changes. The earlier work of Koopman and Xaba is also of comparative significance and is used fairly extensively.

The corpus of data analysed in this study is composed of information gathered by surveying a random selection of the current KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Zulu population in both urban and rural areas. A comparison of the most common names of the people born fifty years ago with the names given currently to newborns reflects a clear historical shift. People born prior to 1949 tend to have (or to use) English or western names which have little symbolic meaning for them, and none in traditional terms. The western name functions almost entirely as a label to distinguish the name-bearers from other name-bearers. Some of these western names given by white employers or missionaries were passed on from generation to generation among the indigenous people but were used almost exclusively outside of the family. As noted earlier, within the family (unless it wished to assert its adherence to Christian, as opposed to traditional, beliefs) traditional names were used almost exclusively.

In the light of the above statements, it is evident that there has sometimes been much indecision amongst the Africans themselves about when and whether to maintain their African names or western names – some names having cultural significance and others none.

The study of African naming practices and their relationship to social values has generally been neglected as an area of research by Africans. Most of the early research in the field was done by non-African ethnographers, among them, Bryant (1929), Jacques (1929), Junod (1927). Recently, scholars (again mainly non-Africans) have begun investigating Zulu naming practices , among them, Dickens (1985), Koopman (1976,1979, 1986 & 1987) and Suzman (1994). Northern Sotho has recently been researched by a non-African/African pair, Herbert & Bogatsu (1990). Xhosa naming practices have been researched by the non-Africans, de Klerk & Bosch (1996) and Neethling (1996), among others. Thipa (1987) is an African scholar who has focused particularly on the social aspects of naming in Xhosa culture. Xaba, another African scholar, completed her research into change in Zulu personal naming practices in KZN in 1993.[6]

The accumulated studies (among them, those of Dickens (1985), Koopman (1976,1979, & 1987), Xaba (1993) and Suzman (1994)) represent a fairly significant body of literature on the morphology and semantics of Zulu personal names. There has been relatively little analytical research (as opposed to taxonomic), however, which focuses primarily on the socio-cultural variables which underlie traditional Zulu naming practices. While Koopman (1986) certainly focuses most usefully on the socio-cultural aspects of Zulu naming practices (compare chapter 4), little else was available at the time of writing. Anthropologists like Mbiti (1969) and Ayisi (1972) deal broadly with cultural practices. Mbiti (1969) includes discussion on personal naming practices in terms of genealogical continuity and, where relevant, Mbiti's commentary has been used (see Chapter 2).

The current researcher accepts, as does Dickens (1985) and most other scholars working in the field, that there are three distinct shifts in the naming practices of the Zulu. Dickens concludes from her research that the first major influence on the Zulu personal naming system was a religious one which reached its peak in the period 1840-1899, but notes that this was followed by a period of more general western influence, which, as some Zulus became politically articulate, was followed by a waning of western influences as the politically aware Zulu asserted his significance. Dickens (1985:3) states:

> The greater acculturization of the Zulus in the period 1900-1949 caused an increase in other western influences on Zulu personal naming and a corresponding decrease in the religious influence; 1950-1982 is a noticeable return to Zulu personal naming as a result of national awareness, the Black Consciousness movement and increased political sensitivity.

The period of Zulu history before the arrival of whites dates from 1497 when the current KZN was 'discovered' (Dickens 1985:10). Although Dickens's discussion covers the period of Zulu history before the arrival of the western people, much about it is of necessity tentative, as the tradition being an oral one, there is general lack of available data on the early sources of Zulu names for this period. Dickens (1985:5) researched the historical background of the earliest (nineteenth century) western encounters with the Zulus at three stages: the trader-encounters (1824), the missionary-encounters (1835-1870), and the immigrant-encounters (1840-1859). Dickens found these encounters (given the predominant Christian ethos of the West at this period) to be the main contributing factors to the earliest naming shifts in Zulu. She also found that "greater acculturation" took place in the twentieth century as a result of the Anglo-Boer war; the 1910 Act of the Union of South Africa (which ensured white supremacy in 'Natal' and the rest of South Africa), and

the two so-called World Wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945) in which many Africans – Zulus among them – participated, and that this acculturation had a further impact on the naming practices of the Zulus.

It is clear from Dickens's research that there have been various shifts in naming practices amongst the Zulus since the advent of the white man in Africa. The first significant shift (as noted above) occurred at the time of the arrival in 'Natal' of the traders and missionaries. The subsequent spread of Western culture and the propagation of Christianity through the traders, missionaries, and through later immigration and the arrival of administrative officials extended the impact of the West on Zulu culture. The second shift, which arose directly out of the custom of Christian 'renaming' (an expression of missionary zeal and colonial domination), occurred during the extended period of colonial domination and Afrikaner 'colonialism' as it manifested itself through apartheid. The third shift, which had its beginnings in the 1950s, but came to full strength only in the 1970s, stemmed from the use among Zulus of naming practices as weapons both of dissent against white domination and of racial, ethnic and cultural self-assertion during the 'years of struggle'. Contemporary research seems to suggest, as does the data gathered in the current research, that naming trends among the upwardly mobile urbanised Zulu, at least, have more to do with personal preference than with making political or cultural statements. The current research project was undertaken to verify the existence of contemporary shifts and to abstract their defining socio-cultural circumstances.

In order to 'frame' the current research and to situate the reason-categories (§ 4.2, below), five historical periods have been demarcated: traditional naming practices (pre-1843): the colonial era beginning at the time of the British annexation of 'Natal' (1843 to 1948); the early and middle years of apartheid (1948 to 1976); the years of active struggle (1976 to 1992); and the contemporary democratic era (post-1994). It is with Zulu naming practices as they manifest themselves in the latter period that the current research is primarily concerned.

The geographical areas selected for the fieldwork research were chosen at random, but are exclusively areas/districts in KZN: rural northern KZN (KwaNgwanase, Nongoma, Maphumulo); Durban and surrounds; and the rural 'South Coast'. Three data-collection methods were used: personal interviews; a questionnaire survey; and the scrutiny of public hospital records.

The historical background of general naming practices, of African and Nguni and of those of the Zulu people, specifically, is discussed in Chapter 2. Integrated into the discussion in Chapter 2 is earlier research on naming practices both general (western and African) and that specific to Zulu. Chapter 3 describes the methodological processes entailed in the research. Chapter 4 consists of the data analysis. Chapter 5 consolidates the findings and plots the tendencies. Chapter 6 is a synthesis of the results of the research project with a view to suggesting further areas of research.

ENDNOTES

1. It occurs in the rural area of Maputaland, that parents consciously choose to pass a name down from generation to generation - for example by bestowing it on consecutive generations of first-born sons. Examples of "name-sharing" from the Maputaland area and found in the data include: Simon, Simeon, Elijah and Geveza. The practice of "name-sharing" while a practice among some Zulus has not be selected in this research which on the selected practices named in Chapter 4 (p. 79).

2. Such sharing of names is known by different terms in different areas. In KwaNgwanase, for example, the name-sharer would be addressed as "umabizweni" but in Durban as "ubizo". The terms can be directly translated as "same name" and name respectively. Conceptually and practically these terms are similar to the English term "namesake", although in English use of the term "namesake" in direct address is not a cultural practice rather a jovial greeting.

3. ... as opposed to the duplication of names found for example in the Durban hospital records where the repeated occurrence of names such as *Andile* and *Ayanda,* for example, has more to do with the popularity of the name than any cultural practice relating to name-sharing.

4. The Hebrews consider it blasphemous to utter the name of God. The Zulus, in similar vein, would not use the name of God/the Creator in a name and thus also use either a substitute morpheme (*Nkosi – king*) or a circumlocution. See Chapter 2 for a full discussion.

3. Both the effect of Christianity/Colonialism and the resurgence of the use of African names among Africans is discussed in greater depth in Chapter 2.

4. This tendency was reflected in the research data, particularly amongst respondents older than about 30. See Chapter 5.

5. Famous literary/historical figures of colour who had 'white' names bestowed on them, include: Harry, Jan van Riebeeck's 'Strandloper' (Khoisan) interpreter; Robinson Crusoe's man," Friday", from Daniel Defoe'e novel of the same name: *Uncle Tom,* from Beecher Stowe's novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin;* and names for Native American ('Red Indian') chiefs, among them, Chief Sitting Bull and Chief Running Water (McDermott 1999, personal communication).

6. Although their writings are seldom yet readily available in the public domain during this research, there are young African scholars (Lubisi) now working in the field of African naming practices. This surely holds promise for the maintenance and development of African onomastics research, in particular, and African cultural practices in general.

CHAPTER 2   NAMING PRACTICES AMONGST WESTERN AND AFRICAN PEOPLES

2.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins with the attempts of missionaries and anthropologists, lexicographers, linguists and, latterly, black scholars, to describe and define 'onomastics' as a discipline. Examples are given of general dictionary entries for the term 'onomastics' as these might be said to reflect the common understanding. These examples are then followed by definitions suggested by academics who work either in the field of onomastics or in related disciplines. Having attempted to come to a workable understanding of what 'onomastics' and 'onomastics theory' entails, the discussion moves on to naming practices in general, both in the west and on the African continent, later focusing on the practices of the South African Nguni peoples and on Zulu specifically.   Each of the practices is described in terms of its specific socio-historical context.

The concept of a name amongst the African is complex. The name is very close to the person who is given such a name. Because of the close connection between the name and the person, names are also used widely in witchcraft. To know the names of the person, means to control him or her. Mbiti (1969:118) in his discussion of the anthroponymic systems of sub-Saharan Africa insists that names are inseparable from the name-bearer. In contrast, from the European perspective, names are frequently labels

which merely denote the name -bearer. In the African societies a child becomes a person only when she/he is properly named. Even the dead are only regarded as having a personality ("being a person") only as long as there are people who remember them by name. Once the name disappears, the dead who are believed to be alive, lose their humanness and become mere spirits. Mbiti (1969:119) further argues that in some societies it is also the custom to give the names of the grandparents to the children. According to Mbiti (1969:119) the name is the person.

African names have meaning, and the meaning is also identified by the people who bear them (De Klerk & Bosch 1995, Suzman 1994). African names throw light upon the whole traditional culture, and thus they may serve in reaching a deeper understanding of the people and their way of life. Madubuike (1976:13 -14) comments:

> Names given to people have definite meanings, and parents, relatives and well wishers are very conscious when choosing the names of their children or of an individual. Thus names are not merely labels or simply tags which the individual carries along with him. They have a deep social significance and many names studied collectively express a world view, the Weltanschauung of the people.

According to discussions with Koopman (1999), anthroponymic systems consist of the following elements:

Name

- Type: which may be personal; surname; clan and nickname. Personal names are given names to newly-born children; surname is a word derived from Latin which means 'super' or 'above' which

implies an extra name or a name over and above the personal name.

There is a difference between a surname and a clan name. A surname in a western point of view includes physical features like, Black, Brown; place of origin like, Van Staden, Van der Walt; trade or occupation: Smith, Hunter, and Fisher whereas in the Zulu society it is the genealogical history of a clan. Koopman in Kamera (1999:275) states:

> Members of a clan in fact share more than simple a common sense of identity: they regard all other members of the clan as brothers and sisters, so much so that there is no inter-marriage between members of the same clan.

- Shape/Form: which has to do with the morphology of the name

- Meaning: physical appearance

- Social function: message and identity.

Name-bearer

The name indicates the sex (male or female); age; rite of passage, affiliation, and birth circumstances of a child.

Name-giver

The name-giver includes the family (parents, uncles, spouse or grand

parents); peer-group, and outsiders like nurses, teachers, employers

and neighbours.

Society and Culture

Belief systems, language, norms of behaviour, and the political system.

2.2   ONOMASTICS AS THE SCIENCE OF NAMING

Onomastics is the study of names and involves a variety of complex naming techniques.

Onomastics as a science has no ending but is open-ended, accommodating new thoughts

and innovations through naming in any of the languages of the peoples of the earth.

2.2.1 Definitions of onomastics

2.2.1.1   *Everyday definitions*

The *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* Vol. V11 (1909) defines *onomastics*

as:

> ...of or belonging to naming.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* Vol. X (1989) defines onomastics as:

> ...of, relating to, or connected with a name or names. or with the naming of
> something; consisting of or dealing with names.

The *Collins English Dictionary* (1956) defines *onomastics* as:

> ...pertaining to a name

The New Encyclopaedia Britannica (1993 Vol. 24:733) has the following to say:

> The science that studies names in all their aspects is called onomastics (or onomatology – an obsolete word). The subject of this science is broad because almost everything can have a name and because the study of names theoretically encompasses all languages, all geographical and cultural regions, and all historical epochs.

In essence, the above definitions all understand *onomastics* to be the *scientific* study of the names of people, places and things.

2.2.1.2 *Formal academic definitions of onomastics*

Like the 'popular' definitions cited above, the following academic definitions describe the field of *onomastics* as centering on names and naming practices. The following statements and definitions are those of selected *onomasticians* who have studied names and naming practices in a formal academic manner in the last century.

Evans-Pritchard (1939:237):

> [N]ames of all kinds are social documents, which fix a person's position in the social structure and define his [*sic.*] relations to other members of society.

Crystal (1980:242):

> [Onomastics is] a branch of SEMANTICS which studies the ETYMOLOGY of institutionalised ('proper') names, such as the names of people ('anthroponymy') and places ('toponymy').

Raper (1987:78):

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

In an interview conducted and recorded by Adey and Hurter, in Raper(1984) who responded as follows to a question on the meaning of the term *onomastics*:

> ...Onomastics, or onomatology, means the study of names. It is derived from the Greek word *onoma*, meaning a name. In the Centre we don't distinguish between different sorts of names specifically - everything that has a proper as opposed to a common name is within our field of study. Place names, for example, personal names, names of tribes, even titles of books, and so on, will eventually be within our sphere.

Prabhakaran (1997:1):

> The scientific study of names, comprises anthroponymy and toponymy. The first is the study of personal names and the second of place names. The term toponymy is made up of the Greek words *topos* 'place' and *onoma* 'name'.

It is apparent from all the above definitions that there is a fundamental agreement between the academic world and the world in general when it comes to an understanding of 'naming' and naming practices.

2.3 THEORIES OF NAMING PRACTICES

2.3.1 Introduction

Scholars, from anthropologists to linguists to literary scholars have for centuries been interested and fascinated by the universality of naming as a practice. Naming is fundamentally a demonstrative practice which signifies difference among human beings – that is, distinguishes individuals. The following extracts represent various theories about the concept, name.

Cassidy, (1984:402) states:

>A name is not the same thing as a word. Words designate classes, names designate individuals, persons or things.

Nicolaisen (1976:109) contends that:

>In spite of all the intellectual activity and scholarly maneuvering [*sic.*], in spite of the attention which names have received from the best minds, it is probably true to say that we do not as yet have what could with justification be called a 'Theory of Names' or 'Theories of Names'. What we are confronted with is a plethora of 'Theories about Names'.

Algeo (1976:145) believes that a theory of names should consist of the following:

- a description of a name and characteristics of proper names that distinguish them from other words in a language;
- a descriptive framework for sorting out different kinds of names;
- the synchronic and diachronic facts of its subject. Awareness of history is vitally important in naming;
- information on the individual nature and individual use of names and an adequate onomastic theory to include the private and practical use of a name;
- an explanation as to how onomastics differs from linguistics, geography, history and so forth; and
- an explanation of the relationship between name giving and name use and other aspects of human life.

According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1993 Vol 24:733), categories of names are very broad: names of persons, or personal names, and names of places or place names. The most precise terminology is *anthroponymy* for a set of personal names and their study is called *anthroponomastics*. A set of place names is called *toponymy*, and their study is called *toponomastics*.

2.3.2 Linguistic techniques for naming

An investigation into the techniques of naming entails research into the mechanism and the process of naming practices. Such techniques look at individual grammatical items which change their function when they become names.

Nicolaisen (1976) in Nyembe (1994:21) concerns himself particularly with the semantic and associative aspect of naming:

> If we take it as given that there is necessity or urge to name; naming might then be paraphrased as the process by which words become names by association. Indeed it is now apparent that words cannot become names without passing through an associative level of meaning which is an essential bridge without which words would at the most be particularizing lexical labels. Without this intermediate semantic level, there would be no systemic contrast between words and names.

Sørensen in Raper (1987:78) has termed the sound-sequence the *designator*, the inherent meaning the *designatum,* and the entity referred to the *denotatum.* For example:

The 'designator' refers to the morphological structure of the word. The 'designatum' refers to the underlying meaning. This includes any connotations which may be attached to the word. The 'denotatum' is that thing which is referred to by the 'designator'. In other words, the denotatum is a reference to the real world. For example,

uMfaniseni (resemble him):

Designator: this is a class 1a noun with a complex stem as it has more than one grammatical morpheme but only one lexical morpheme. It consists of a class 1a subject concord "*u*" and object concord "*m*" meaning 'him' (referring to the boy '*umfana*").

Designatum: This name is usually given to a boy when the father does not accept the legitimacy of the child and questions the family members to acknowledge the truth about the child's legitimacy. The verb *fanisa-* means resemble.

Denotatum: this will be any boy with this name that we know.

uNomafu (mother of clouds):

Designator: class 1a noun which consists of class 1a concord "u" meaning 'her' (referring to the girl)

Designatum: This name is usually given to a girl for the purpose bringing luck to the family because clouds are usually the sign of rain which will bring food.

Denotatum: this will be any girl with this name that we know.

uSicelo (request)

Designator: class 1a noun with complex stem which has more than one grammatical morpheme. Class 7 basic prefix -si- + verb -cela (to request) + derivative suffix -o-

Designatum: This refers to the reasons for that name being chosen. For example, the parents may have asked God to send them a child and this child is the fulfilment of that request.

Denotatum: this will be any boy with that name we know.

The explanation of this phenomenon is in terms of the distinction between conceptual and pragmatic meaning. According to Raper (1987) conceptual meaning is inherent in the

name itself, i.e. in the designator or linguistic sign. Conceptual meaning includes both the

lexical meaning and the grammatical meaning. Grammatical meaning specifies that the

referent of a proper name belongs to some class of entities, hence the distinction between

place names, personal names, and the like. Raper (1987:81) explains, "These classes are

...subdivided, personal names into mens' [*sic.*] and womens' [*sic.*] names, place-names

into toponyms, hydronyms and oronyms... ". He further distinguishes the components of

conceptual meaning to be *lexical* and *grammatical* meaning. He points out that *pragmatic*

or *associative* meaning has a bearing on the extra-linguistic entity to which the name

refers. Raper (1987:81) identifies the different types of pragmatic meaning in the following

way (Raper's emphasis):

> **Connotative** meaning generally includes things known about the entity.
> Thus, for example, **The Point, The Bluff, Marine Parade** and **South
> Beach** could be connoted by the name **Durban. Affective, expressive or
> emotive** meaning is the result of personal emotions one may feel towards
> an entity, possibly as the result of a pleasant or unpleasant experience
> there, the physical appearance of the place, and so on. **Stylistic and
> Social** meaning is related to temporal attitudes. The **phonic-associative**
> meaning is related to associations engendered by the sound of the name.

According to Nicolaisen (1976) in Nyembe (1994:21), names reflect three semantic levels:

- the lexical level – the dictionary meaning of a
  word or words comprising the names;
- The associative level – the reason why the particular
  lexical or onomastic item was used in the naming process
  [and which] is also the level of connotative meaning; and
- The onomastic level – the meaning of a denotative name
  as a name, that is, its application based on lexical and
  associative semantic elements, but usually no longer
  dependent on them.

Nicolaisen also emphasizes that it is the function of a name which is important. This

function is to be denotative and individually referential and definite. Individual names are

unique and they thus have unique reference. According to Nicolaisen (in Raper 1987:83), a speaker uses a name with the intention of identifying a particular individual and on the assumption that the person addressed will correctly identify the individual from the pronounced name. This means that a name has a unique reference, independent of its verbal and situational context. As Raper (1987:83) puts it, "a proper name is inherently definite and specific". Definiteness may be unmarked (indefinite) as in *Durban* or marked (definite) as in *The Bluff*.

Raper (1987:86), in commenting on the general aspects of names, notes:

> It has been shown that due to the irrelevance or absence of conceptual or descriptive meaning, names may undergo some phonological and morphological adaptations. For the same reason, proper names easily shift from one language to another, with less or more adaptation, according to the laws of the receiving language.

While the morphological and phonological effects of language contact are evident from any examination of names from various languages and societies, these effects are usually peripheral. (Some such effects which relate to isiZulu borrowings, mainly from English, are discussed in Chapter 4.) It seems then that although adaptations may occur, names are some how more resistant to change than other words.

Nicolaisen (1976:155) contends that names are usually formed from lexical items by the adding of *onomastic meaning* to lexical meaning, with the former frequently replacing the latter altogether. For example, the lexical meaning of the word *"funani?"* is "What do you want?". The word as it stands is a non-onomastic item, since it carries a lexical meaning

only. When the word "*funani*" is bestowed on a child for a specific reason, it becomes a name and, thus, an onomastics item. As a name, *Funani* will have denotative meaning for the family, the child and the community, and associative meaning as a result of its arising out of the actions of either of the parents. For example, a husband is attracted to other women, although his wife has most of the qualities that other women have. The wife may then, by naming her child, *Funani*, be asking her husband obliquely, "What do you want **from other women**?". The question is thus posed 'safely' but clearly, through the naming of the newborn child – having children being a most sacred part of Zulu marriages.

The lexical meaning of an item undergoes semantic shift when the item becomes the name of a person. Prabhakaran (1997:6) claims that for many onomasticians, the establishment of the real meaning of a proper name is a basic requirement of onomastics investigation. The sound sequence, phonological and morphological changes in the written form both at diachronic and synchronic levels of proper names are all properly basic elements of onomastics study.

Zulu names, for example may be derived from nominals and pre-nominals:

> Cl.5 noun: ithemba (hope) may become uThemba, which is a male person.
> Pre-nominal stem: hle (beauty) may become uNobuhle
> Compound nouns: amandla (strength) + indoda (man) > uMandlendoda
> Compound names derived from nouns and verbs: umuzi (homestead) + khula (to grow) > uMuzokhulayo.

The study in KZN of Zulu names done from the semantic perspective would unfold the historical details, customs, religion, socio-economic, religio-cultural and political aspects of the lives of this society of Zulus – and reflect the Zulu modes of naming.

Finnegan (1970:470) too, recognises the extent to which names 'carry' historical information, particularly in Africa

> The signficance of names is a subject of greater literary interest than might at first appear. In fact it would be true to say that names play an indispensable part in oral literature in Africa.

Names are extremely significant among all the African peoples, because names are (as implied by Finnegan) carried over from generation to generation. Distinctive names carry the history and the genealogy of the various clans. (Loosely, a clan name functions in a manner similar to western surnames.) Koopman (1986:55) describes the important implicit genealogical link between personal names and clan names as follows:

> [A clan name] is the name of a group, membership of which depends on common ancestry, and the name of the group is usually, although not always, the personal name of that original common ancestor.

For example, Ngubane was the founder (common ancestor) of the Ngubane clan. The clan name is thus Ngubane. The names of the sons who were born to Ngubane became incorporated into the praise name (phrase) of the clan. Later, the names of only those sons who had been deemed to have brought honour to the clan would have had their names

added to the praise name. There is, thus, besides the close association between clan names and personal names, also a close association between praise names, *izithakazelo*, and personal names. Newborn sons are frequently given a name or names which forms part of the praise name of the clan into which he is born. Genealogical continuance is, thus, ensured. Personal names can also be derived from praise names by the addition of word-initial particles. Girls cannot 'participate' in praise names except through names derived from praise names by the addition of the particles, *Za-* and *No-*:

> *Nobathiyane* is derived from *Mthiyane*;
> *Zamabomvu* is derived from *Mbomvu*
> *Zamanguni* is derived from *Mnguni*; and
> *Zamakhize* is derived from *Mkhize*.

The researcher is aware of only one male personal name which is derived by word-initial particle from a praise name: *Bhekamabomvu*. This name is derived from *Mbomvu* and means 'look after the *Mbomvu* clan'. The child so-named would be the last-born, and is assumed thus to be the last one who would die. The inclusion of *Amabomvu* in the name links the name-bearer to the genealogical history of the Ngubane clan. Further examples are: *Ndaba* (from Biyela clan); *Lwandle* (from Duma clan); *Shawuke* (from Mabaso clan). Professor Kunene (Professor of Zulu Language and Culture) explains (personal consultation 3 April 2001) that n Zulu culture it is particularly crucial that a name not be a mere label and be a clear familial/clan marker. This is particularly so, because the practice of polygamy (which still occurs in the rural areas) led (leads) to the existence of different levels of houses within a clan. A clear distinction is made between the "Senior House" (*indlunkulu* = big house) and the "Junior House/s (*inqadi* = second of importance). The Senior House is seen as the right hand house and the first of the Junior Houses (i.e.

the family arising from the second wife) is seen as the lefthand house. No special status is granted to the families arising from the third wife on. It is obvious that given the potentially high number of offspring from the same father but from different mothers, given-names would have to be chosen to distinguish half-siblings from one another - especially as some would have much higher clan status (and thus special rights) than others. Through the particular names bestowed it is possible to trace the various 'matriarchal' lineages of the clan houses. The names thus serve as a record of marriages and births - are the genealogical history - of the clan in perpetuity. Neither Shaka nor Dingane had a son. It is thus impossible for someone to bear a name which marks him as the 'son of Shaka' or 'son of Dingane'. Mpande, on the other hand, had several sons. Cetshwayo, for example, had the name ka *Mpande* meaning 'son of Mpande'. Shaka and Dingane's genealogical history is thus discontinuous while Mpande's can be traced back to its founding.[1]

African personal names are widely observed to be societally and culturally particularly meaningful (Nsimbi 1950, Beattie 1957, Middleton 1961, Tonkin 1980, Alford 1988, and Suzman 1994). History has shown that sources of information on naming practices may be traced to the writings of the early missionaries, administrators, and ethnographers who worked in Africa. (In §2.4.3, Zulu naming practices are fore-grounded against broad African naming practices and those of the Nguni group in particular.)

Naming practices are not static but change over time and through the cultural experience of the people concerned.

While names may be derived, borrowed and coined and may change their meaning and phonological forms, they may also lose their original meaning completely. This may happen in several ways and for several reasons.

According to the information obtained from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1993 Vol 24: 733), representative of 'common knowledge', though not of academic knowledge, loss of the meaning of names has several causes. A name might be adopted from a source language only phonologically, perhaps because the meaning is not known. Examples of this phenomenon occur in African culture. The meaning of the name, Maureen, which was adopted by many Africans through their contact with whites, is generally not known either to the bearer of the name or to the name-giver. Thus in terms of the African use of "Maureen", the meaning of the name is lost – which is not to say that it may in time acquire a distinctively African meaning or that it has no meaning for whites. The name Maureen is a Hebrew name which means 'bitter'. According to the *Dictionary of first Names* (Weekly 1994) Maureen is an Irish diminutive form of Mary and means "bitter". Hebrew variant forms are Marion, Miriam.

Sometimes the meaning of a name may be lost through language change. For example:

Cecilia > Sisileya (isiZulu)
Emmanuel > Manwele (isiZulu)
Zeblon > Zabuloni (isiZulu)

The names above are all so-called Roman forms which have been taken over into English, through Christianity and have to a certain degree retained their 'original' biblical meanings. On their adoption into isiZulu, however, unless the meaning is explicitly passed onto the name bearer, the meanings will be lost. The changed spelling, too, would further distance the names from their sources.

The shortening of names may also cause meaning loss. For example, in isiZulu, abbreviations like, *S'the, Ntombi, Zodwa, Ningi, Zethu,* and *Za* may be used.

> *Sithembile* (a female name which means that 'we have hope') may be abbreviated as *S'the;*
> *Sithembiso* (a male's name meaning 'a promise') may be abbreviated as *S'the;*
> *Ntombizodwa* (meaning 'girls only') > *Ntombi* or *Zodwa* or even *Zo;*
> *Ntombiziningi* (meaning 'many girls') > *Ntombi* or *Ningi;*
> *Ntombizethu* (meaning 'our girls')> *Ntombi* or *Zethu;*
> *Zandile* (meaning 'girls have increased') > *Za;* and
> *Zakithi* (meaning 'girls belonging to us') > *Za..*

Where the same forms can be used for different names, confusion may arise about the full name from which the shortened form is derived. Some forms like *S'the,* for example, may even be used for males as well as females. Should the full forms not be used in a particular context or by choice, they may give way to the shortened forms and these would then become 'names' in their own right, and would not necessarily retain the meaning of the full form.

When an abbreviation such as *Za* is used one may never then, really know the exact name of the person. Another such example is that of the name (in its own right), *Hawu,* which could have, sometime in the past, been associated with either *isiHawu* (mercy) or *umHawu*

(jealousy); two quite obviously contradictory meanings. Furthermore, *Hawu* is also an exclamatory word; the person may have been named after this expression.

Another cause of the loss of meaning of names is when a word or words, once used as distinctive qualifiers, lose their distinctive descriptive function and become generalised and denotative. This may happen through constant use of a name over an extended period of time. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1993 Vol. 24:743), no one is likely to think of the meaning "ford for oxen" when speaking of Oxford, for example.

2.4   PERSONAL NAMING PRACTICES

Personal naming practices are common to all cultures in that every child is given a name. The way the names are given might change from time to time and, differ from culture to culture, but all cultures have some form of naming.

2.4.1 Naming people

There are many subdivisions and terms within the category of personal naming practices, each with its own explanatory form. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1993 Vol. 24:734) distinguishes different subdivisions and stages of name-giving – almost all of them in terms of western culture:

- A simple name which is given to a person at an early period of life is called the *Baptism* or *Christian name* or the *forename*. In the United States of America and Canada it is called the *first* or *given name*.
- Names, on the other hand, which became fixed and hereditary over time in individual families are called *surnames* or *family*

names. In the United States of America and Canada such names are called *last names.*

- There are variations in the basic pattern. In the United States and Canada middle names are common. Another name is inserted between the given name and the family name. This is the second, or middle, name. It may be the original family name of a married woman inserted between her first name and the last name of her husband, the maiden name of one's mother, as well as other names.
- In Europe such a name is less common and it is usually acquired at *Baptism* or at *Confirmation.* In most European countries, the first baptismal name is the important one, and the second one can be omitted.
- In German usage, however, the baptismal name immediately preceding the family name is the most important one. For example, if one of the baptismal names in Johann Sebastian Bach or Johann Wolfgang von Goethe is to be omitted, it would be Johann.
- The basic order pattern followed by many cultures is the given name then the family name. The Chinese and Hungarians, however, have the family name preceding the given name.
- Some cultures use a *patronymic.* Such a name is derived from the given name of the father and is inserted between the child's given name and the family name. In Russian, if the father's name is Ivan Krylov, then the son's name, for example, will be Pyotr (given) Ivanovich (patronymic)
- In Spain the family name of an individual consists of the family names of father and mother, the first being the most important one.

The use of a *patronymic* (" name derived from the given name of the father and is inserted between the child's given name and the family name") is as common among the Zulu people as it is among the Russians, for example, with some isiZulu-specific additional name-markers included. The Zulu practice of adding names to the child's given name is apparent from the following examples. Such additional names serve to confirm a child's legitimacy and its place in the family, and ensures continuity of the name within the particular family which contextualises it.

The following are the names of three different Zulu men all in the late forties.

1.   *Bhoyi Simon Ngubane Mbomvu*:

Bhoyi >given name

Simon >father's name (patronymic)

Ngubane >family name

Mbomvu >clan praise name.

What is interesting in the example 1, is that the patronymic is English. This usage marks a shift from traditional Zulu naming practices. The English patronymic manifests the western/Christian influence (strong in the nineteenth century) on Zulu naming practices among some Zulus. Prior to the nineteenth century, Zulu people would not have had English names as *patronymics*. For example:

Shaka ka Senzangakhona Zulu Mageba:

Shaka >given name

Ka >son of[2]

Senzangakhona >father's name (patronymic)

Zulu > family name

Mageba > clan praise name.

In the current era, there is a growing trend towards a return to Zulu patronymics:

2.   *Dumisani ka Maliyavuza Shange Dumakude*:

Dumisani (give praise) >given name

ka >son of

Maliyavuza (money is leaking) >father's name

(patronymic)

Shange >family name

Dumakude > clan praise name.

3.   ***Ndela ka Bhekifa Ntshangase Mgazi:***

Ndela (give up) >given name

ka >son of

Bhekifa (take care of the heritage) >father's

name

(patronymic)

Ntshangase >family name

Mgazi > clan praise name.

In the mid-twentieth century, as the examples show, the two practices (of an English patronymic or an isiZulu one) ran parallel. Research into the names of children born since 1995 would be of great comparative interest here.

African-American names frequently derive their source from Africa. Most of the ancestors of to-day's African-Americans were captured as slaves during the eighteenth century and taken to America to work on the plantations. While the majority were probably immediately renamed, some did retain their African names -- perhaps because their owners were more enlightened than most. African names do not only appear in early American pre-Civil War documents; African names may also be found in many documents relating to the colonial era. According to Julia Stewart (1996:28), in the late 1800s, Africans living in the West Indies bore day-of-the-week names which paralleled those found in West Africa. Stewart

cites the examples of the Jamaican names *Phibba and Feeba*, which she considers to be cognate with *Agnie* and *Efe*, (Togo) and Benin name, *Afiba* used for Friday-born females.

What is noticeable nowadays is that African-Americans (like many Zulus have historically done) frequently use their Christian names in their interaction with outsiders (particularly non-Africans), but names of African origin (which they have perhaps adopted) when socializing amongst themselves.[3] African-Americans have also taken using Muslim names for purposes of ethnic or religious identification. The boxer Cassius Clay adopted the Muslim name, Muhammad Ali, and the basketball player Lew Alcindor, that of, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar. The practice of adopting Muslim names is common to many Africans who convert to Islam, a religion which is the declared enemy of Christianity and by association the West. In its way, this practice is a rejection of things 'white and western' and declaration for 'things non-white and non-western'.

2.4.2 Western personal naming practices

There is a tendency by some to believe that western names have no meaning. Yet, although sometimes the original meaning may have been forgotten or got lost, most names still have meaning associations for their users.[4]

As in other personal naming traditions, in western practices depending on the name-giver the naming process may take into account the lexical 'meaning' of the word and its association with the word when used as a given name. There has been much debate (Cassidy (1984:402; Nicoliasen (1976, cited in Nyembe 1994:21); and Raper (1987:81), among others) about whether the meaning of given names is different from the meaning attached to common nouns. The meaning of given names is usually seen to be different from the meaning attached to common nouns. (Compare Cassidy (1984), Nicolaisen cited in Nyembe (1994) and Raper (1987) cited above.) Personal names generally embody for the chooser of the name (and sometimes also for the bearer of the name) a personality and a being who is brought to mind through the use of the name. Common names like *table*, *tree* on the other hand are mere denotative labels than embodiments. Thus while many names in western culture may have lost their *original* connection to their roots, they may have acquired historical and/or bearers of the names. In other cases names may be mere labels and this is probably true of many coinings and anagramic names, although these are quite likely in true to acquire their own associated meanings.

Although names might lose their 'concrete' meanings, they can still carry meaning associations. They may be associated with the names of well-known persons from particular communities or from the Bible, theater, films or sport, for example.

A person who has been named, Joseph, may be associated with either the Old or the New Testament, Joseph – that is either with Joseph, son of Jacob, or with Joseph, 'father' of

Jesus. Which meaning is relevant for the name-bearer would depend on whether he knows

of the biblical associations. He might believe he has been named for an uncle or friend or

just by the personal choice of his parents.

Association of names may not be linked only to famous people but also associated with

so-called prestigious factors like fashion (which will be discussed in some detail in Chapter

4 in the context of modern Zulu naming practices).

Sometimes parents make choices which promise good to the name-bearer. Some cultures

even bestow names on name-bearers which bode ill for them. When 'ugly' names are

bestowed on children, it is done to protect the children from evil or demons. In the Zulu

context, such ugly names are bestowed on children because the parents are afraid that

the children are in danger of being bewitched. If children have 'ugly' names the belief is

that witches will not notice them and want to bewitch them. (Examples of such positive and

negative names gathered during the research into shifts in Zulu naming practices will be

discussed in §4.1.1.7.)

Names are often derived from other languages with which a particular community has been

in contact. For instance, the meaning of the name Phillip which comes from the Greek

version, *Philippos* means 'lover of horses' (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1993 Vol. 24:734).

Someone named 'Philip' or the namer of a 'Philip' may have no idea of the original meaning

of the name. He/she may relate it to the biblical Philip, to someone he/she knows/knew

called Philip or may have merely chosen the name because they like the sound of it. In the latter case, the 'meaning' would be of no significance to the name-giver and may never even come to be of significance to the name-bearer. Yet, many names used by western cultures do still have symbolic significance within particular cultures.

In the western practice, choosing a name is a private affair and it is handled by the immediate family (McDermott 1999). Although the responsibility of name-giving nowadays lies with an individual parent, in the past, there were strict rules governing the naming-practices. As has been mentioned in Chapter 1, the Roman Catholic priest administering Baptism would have to make certain that children were baptized with the names of Catholic saints. In England, a Canon Law was directed against the Protestant custom of giving children the names of important people in the bible that were not directly connected with Christianity.

In France after the French Revolution, there was freedom in naming, but this was later stopped because parents had a tendency to give fanciful names to their children. In 1803 a law was passed which restricted given names to the names of persons known from ancient history and to names reflected in various calendars (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1993 Vol. 24 : 735)..

Family names were not restricted by any law because the bride accepted the bridegroom's family name and their children were automatically registered under the father's name. On

the other hand, in Germany, there was a law which permitted the bride to add her original family name to her new one in a hyphenated form (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1993 Vol. 24:735).[5]

According to the *Encylopaedia Britannica* (1993 Vol. 24:736), European patterns of naming were complicated. In the old Indo-European system, a person had one name which could be one of two types: a compound or a non-compound substantive. The non-compound was given to inferior tribes, whereas the compound names given to superior tribes were always associated with God (thus they are called *theophoric* names) or attested to his virtues, abilities, skills, possessions, and so forth. The *theophoric* names were common amongst the Greeks. On the other hand, the Latin system of personal names was influenced by Etruscan. As languages came into contact through conquest and counter-conquest, personal naming practices changed – frequently becoming more complicated as one culture was absorbed and dominated by another. Like the Etruscans, the early Romans had only one name: *Romulus, Remus, Manius,* for example. From what has been observed of western practices in old documents, the naming patterns changed dramatically as a result of the spread of Christianity *via* Roman imperialism. Radical changes occurred, particularly amongst those who belonged to social groups that were not Roman. Such groups initially preferred names that were connected with their own religion, but given the domination of Rome and subsequently Christianity soon adopted Roman/Christian or Christianised Roman names[6]. Christians, for example, had their own stock of names like,

Petrus, Paulus, Maria from the New Testament, all of which carried associative meaning for their users.

In older western naming practices, names were seldom really labels or mere arrangements of sounds and letters. With the shift in the West, particularly during the twentieth century, from a 'religious' society (and religion-based names, therefore) to a secular one, name-coining has become popular . Coined names are 'meaningless' in the narrowest sense of the word as they are 'made up' through the use of compounding and abbreviation (old practices) and through the use of anagrams and reversal. It is doubtful whether many Africans, even to-day, would tend to follow the latter two practices, precisely because the names coined are meaningless. Some examples of coined names current in the United States include:

> Melath from Thelma (anagram);
> Retep from Peter (name reversal);
> Narosh from Sharon (name reversal)'
> Marianne/Mary-Anne, Carol-Anne (compounding); and
> Meg from Margaret (abbreviation).[7]

(McDermott 1999:9.)

In western culture, history, legend, personal 'truths'/circumstances and even geographical areas have been used to name. Some names given in early times were derived from people's occupations or places of domicile. McDermott (1999) notes that most of these names have now devolved to surname status amongst the western people, and gives the following examples, among others: the (sur) name, "Smith" traditionally naming a blacksmith (the smith/smithy); the name "Fisher" from " fisherman", as in "John the Fisher";

the name "Porter" from " porter" as in "Peter the porter"; the name "Townsend" which arose out of the need to distinguish a William living at the "town's end" as "William Town's end" from a William River – living at the river.

In western practice there are two ways of giving names to children when they are born. One general approach is to give a name as a label which means that the name itself does not have a meaning. The second general approach is to give a name which is of social or political significance. In the first approach the child could be named Jack, James, John merely because these names are popular at that time. (A similar naming practice exists among some middle class, urbanised Zulus. These are discussed in Chapter 4.) Some of these names may originally have had social or political significance but might through excessive use have become mere labels because the names have lost their onomastic and semantic value and/or original emotional impact for their users. In the second approach, the name is understood to refer to a specific occasion, specific individual or specific situation. In the latter case, the name reflects the specific occasion. Here, too, there are parallels with Zulu practice.

In Zulu, a name like, *Velesiya* (appeared when we were going to a certain place) is indicative of an event. In this instance the name does not reflect the quality of the child, but marks the memorable events surrounding the child's birth.

Although there is a greater tendency in the west to use names as labels, this should not be understood to mean that westerners are in all cases not aware of the significance of the meaning of a name they choose or bear. For instance, there are many children who are named John or Mary because they evoke the names of either the father of the name-giver or his grandfather or an intimate friend whom the name-giver wishes to honour.

In the case of the aristocracy in England for instance, the tendency is to name (like among the Zulus) with the idea of ensuring continuity, for instance, John II or III or George II or George III. In all such naming, there is an understanding that in so-naming, the name-giver is perpetuating the memories of a great grand ancestor. Individuals bearing such names will (it is hoped) identify with the qualities of the celebrated individual. It is significant that women are seldom categorised by period. There are thus few women with names that are recognized as of consequence. *Mary, Queen of Scots, Elizabeth I*, and *Catherine the Great* are some examples (McDermott 1999). In a very active monarchy like that in England, references are made to whether the person is Queen Elizabeth I , II or III. The bestowal of names follows a chronological order of royalty where names are used from generation to generation in order to distinguish the whole list of names chronologically, from the first English monarch to Queen Elizabeth II. The names are qualified through the use of rank-order adjectives.[8] The tendency is to recognize such 'ranked' individuals as 'being in power' and they are expected to have the qualities of the so-celebrated individuals.

In Swaziland, amongst the royal family, each King abandons his personal name and chooses his official name from a restricted list of four: Ngwane, Dlamini, Sobhuza and Mswati. The numerical marker attached to the name reflects the number of times that particular name has been chosen as a king's official name since the founding of the Swazi Kingdom. The first king Dlamini became Dlamini I and the next king Sobhuza I. The current King is Mswati III.

The royal name-change of the Swazi kings is by choice of the individual. In the Zulu custom, on the other hand, Mpande, Cetshwayo and Shaka's names appear only once in the genealogy of the Zulu Kings. The son of the Zulu king always uses his own personal name when he becomes the ruler.

2.4.3 African naming practices

2.4.3.1 *Traditional naming practices on the African continent*

In African culture, names have evolved over many generations and abound with history and meaning. With the so-called secularisation of the western world, the tendency has been a move away from personal naming practices traditionally influenced by religious affiliations towards naming practices that have more to do with aesthetic values or fashion (Compare pp.30-32), above).

While western names are frequently chosen for their aesthetic or fashion value alone, African names are selected taking additional factors into consideration. Some names represent important observations of the parents, others reflect certain characteristics of the people who bestow the names. Names may also provide continuity among the family

members. Stewart (1996:3) explains that in African societies, "Names, taken as a whole, can provide insight into what is important to a family and a community".

Despite Africa's immense cultural diversity, when it comes to traditional naming practices many common threads can be traced, although the various African societies do not adhere to identical principles when naming children. This sub-section looks into the naming practices of African ethnic groups on the African continent as a whole. The ethnic groups that will be considered are:

- The Baganda of southern Uganda (the Baganda established itself as one of the largest kingdoms in the twelfth century);
- The Basotho from southern Africa (including the Sotho people from Lesotho, the Tswana of Botswana and the Pedi of the Transvaal);
- The Hausa from Nigeria;
- The Tonga, a cluster of African-speaking peoples from southern Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique;
- The Yoruba who are a prominent ethnic group from Nigeria; and
- The Kikuyu from Kenya.

(Stewart 1996:31.)

The other naming practice category that is predominant in Africa is one in which the idea of naming generally speaking and more directly invokes the qualities of the individual whose name is used or the qualities arising out of a particular situation or event.

The concern in this dissertation is primarily directed at exploring in a significant way, the reasons for naming in terms of situations, individuals or events. This requires an extensive examination of the contexts in which the naming takes place. Mazisi Kunene, author of *Anthem of the Decades*, in discussion with the researcher, explained that, in the African context, societies are primarily concerned with naming in terms of events that have a social

significance; that, in other words, the intention is to consolidate society or social relations in terms of a nexus of relations that are regarded in the African context as crucial and as defining the order of the universe. "In other words, here we are concerned with the individual not as an individual but as part of a cosmic event" (Personal interview with Kunene 1999).

Parrinder (1951:24), on the subject of personal names in West Africa, explains:

> A further very important part of the personality is the name.... No name is a mere name. There are public and private names, and the names of seniors must often not be used by juniors in addressing them. This is because the name expresses the individual character of a man. It is not a mere handle, but shares in the spiritual reality of man's being.... In baptisms and the use of Christian names, one finds the difference between a foreign, imposed name, and the one which belongs to the person in his very self.

Finnegan (1976:472) further notes qualities which African names subsume:

- One of the most striking aspects is the way names can be used as a succinct and oblique way of commenting on their owners or others.
- Names are also used to express ideas, aspirations, sorrows or philosophical comment. Grief and an awareness of the ills of life are frequent themes - 'Bitterness', 'They hate me', Daughter born in Death'.
- Names can also express joyful sentiments.
- Names can be used to bring a sense of allusiveness and sonority not easily expressed in other forms.
- Names may be used to add a depth or a succinctness through their meaning, overtones or metaphor.

The comments by Finnegan hold true also for the Zulu people. Given names send messages to family members and other people in a given community. For example:

> *Mhlaliseni* (provide him with a space to leave);
> *Mphathenikahle* (treat him well);
> *Siyamkela* (we welcome him in the family);
> *Mbhekeni* (look after him);
> *Mthandeni* (love him); and

Mvuseni (wake him up).

Koopman (1989:3) categorizes African personal names as follows:

- A family name handed down, or given to commemorate a deceased friend, and can refer to the physical features of the child at birth.
- The circumstances of the birth: what happened at or during the birth. It is very common in Africa for a child to be given a name which refers to the fact that it was raining when the child was born.
- Specific names for twins (and children born last): These names indicate such concepts as 'elder female twin', 'younger male twin', second daughter born after twins etc.
- Names which refer to the 'state of mind' of the parents. Such names commonly refer to the constant imminence of sorrow, death, poverty or misfortune. In societies which see frequent stillborn, children, or where many children die in infancy it is sometimes seen as the jealousy of neighbours or ancestral spirits.
- Quarreling and friction: Within the family or with in-laws or neighbours this is often reflected in the name given to a child born at the time, and such a name is meant to air the dispute.
- If the child is born on a certain market-day, day of the week, or month, it may be given a name which refers to this.

The practice of naming children according to the conditions of birth are common amongst the African societies. For example, a second daughter will be named *Phindile* (we have got a second daughter). The name, *Nobuhle* (pretty), may be given to a child to refer to the physical features of the child at birth. Special names for twins are interchangeable through the addition of specific prefixes to the same root. For example:

Mfundo (education): M+fundo (boy's name); *No+mfundo* (girl's name);
Njabulo (happiness): Njabulo (boy's name); *No+njabulo*. (girl's name);
Buhle (beauty): Bu+hle (boy's name); No+buhle (girl's name);
Andile (they have increased): Andile (boy's name); *W+andile (girl's name);*
Mpumelelo (success): Mpumelelo (boy's name); No+mpumelelo (girl's name).

The idea of birth is not only the idea of the beginning of a particular cycle but also the ending of a previous cycle. Therefore, the cycles do not end or exclude each other but

overlap with each other. In other words, the energies that have characterised previous events become part of the new events. This is fundamentally the meaning of what has been called by non-Africans, 'ancestral worship'.

Outsiders generally do not understand that the ancestors are not worshipped. It is fairly common to hear non-Africans speak of "ancestor worship" in relation to African ritual practices, yet the worship of ancestors is forbidden in most African societies.

Worship is forbidden except when it refers to the creator or the gods and even in these cases, worship represents an act of reverence not idolisation.[9] While the idea of addressing God directly is taboo, the ancestors can be spoken to directly. In fact it is they who are seen to be directly responsible for any fortune or misfortune which strikes a family. The ancestors can, for example, be scolded quite convincingly by their children for failing to look after the family's interests or for failing to look after their children as well as the other family's ancestors do. Because some westerners perceive the African's relationship with his/her ancestor to be one of worship, they misinterpret such a scolding (*thetha* in isiZulu) as extreme irrevence as they do not realise that it in fact the scolding constitutes an appeal (*khonza* in isiZulu).

Thus, in most African discussion or talk about the ancestors, speculation about what the ancestors should do, can do, or must do, is common.

In the process of naming, the members of most African societies are often concerned with giving names that are significant because they carry the idea of a wish or an appeal, or constitute a definition or reduplication of the achievements of a past ancestor.

The African idea of naming relates to a broad belief system in which life does not discontinue and move on in a different form but continues in the same form, only on a different plane. The interlink between the living and the dead continues in a very active manner. Thus, a newborn child is in some cases taken to the burial place of his/her ancestors. The child is presented to the ancestors and their blessings on the child are asked for in the same way that one would ask for parental blessing on a child that is born. It is not that the Africans do not recognize that levels of living and death are not the same, but that the wishes of the founding parental group (*obabamkhulu* / okhokho / *okokologo* – the most distant ancestors) are not directly part of the current generation that has inherited responsibility for the earth (Bryant 1949: 426). Traditionally orientated Africans insist on personal names being meaningful and of social significance. Personal names are often chosen so that the qualities of the earlier name-bearer will accrue to the inventor of the shared name. Such elevation, in fact becomes a re- enactment of positive qualities through the individual who, thus, becomes the instrument of the society that initiated him. In other words, the individual is not alone but an agent of those positive qualities that are celebrated by the society. The name becomes a composite of several qualities which are assumed to be perpetuated in the generation that assumes the name of the ancestor.

Consequently, male names always follow the paternal line and female names follow the maternal line.

Names, therefore, constantly invoke the idea of a continuing responsibility and a need for this responsibility to be activated at all times in order for individuals to fulfil their functions on the earth and to maintain the linkage that must be maintained with the Creator (who is the source of life).

Africa has immense cultural diversity, and yet when it comes to traditional naming practices, many common threads can be traced. Yoruba names challenge others to live up to the moral standards established by the society and reflect the Yoruba value of a healthy relationship within the community. According to Stewart (1996:3), the Kikuyu of Kenya (like some Zulus choose to do) customarily name children after close relatives,[10] thus recycling names within one family and resulting in a relatively small pool of names within the society.[11] It is common amongst the Kikuyu tribe to name the first-born son after the father and the first-born daughter after the mother, their second son after the mother's father and their second daughter after the father's mother. The remaining children are named after the parents' siblings or, lacking these, the grandparents' siblings.

Chuks-Orji (1972, in Koopman 1986:85) writing specifically about Yoruba naming practices, explains:

In keeping with the Yoruba saying... 'we consider the state of our affairs before we name our child', the *abiso* name is framed to refer to family circumstances prevailing at the time of the child's birth.

The naming ceremony is held for most African societies at the parents' house. Amongst the Yoruba, this ceremony takes place either in the morning or in the early afternoon. The Yoruba

> customarily name female children on the seventh day, twins and Muslim children of both sexes on the eighth day, and males on the ninth day. ... On the appointed day for naming Yoruba children, friends and family gather to see the child brought into public view for the first time. ... The baby is expected to cry, receiving shouts of joy from those assembled. Parents and elders then name the child, and the festivities commence including presenting gifts.

> (Stewart 1996:19.)

Stewart (1996) describes a wide range of other naming practices among the African tribes:

> ...the Ishan of Nigeria tend to individualize every child's name, often relaying specific messages to other people in the family or community, and seldom employing the practice of namesakes... .

> [A] custom that appears in numerous African societies is that of naming children for the day of the week on which they were born... and according to the time of the day they were born, or the season in which they are born....

> Children born on market days, during festivals, and around the time of religious holidays, receive special names to mark these special occasions (pp. 4/5).

Stewart notes that this practice extends to Angola, Kenya, Nigeria and the Oromo of Ethiopia. The Ebira of Nigeria call a child born during the *Ekuechi* festival, *Ondeku*, and a child born during the *Eika* festival, *Adeika*. Muslim parents in both East and West Africa might select the name, *Haji*, for a boy born during the Islamic month of Ramadan, at which time devout Muslims make pilgrimages to Mecca, called the *hajj*.

Given names may refer to the location of a child's birth. Stewart (1996:5) cites the Zambian examples of the names, *Chikochi*, a Tonga name, bestowed on a baby "delivered in a scotch-cart" and *Chimbwali*, another Tonga name "meaning 'sweet potatoes', given to a child born while the mother was in the sweet potato field".

Besides the location, it is also a common practice among the African societies to name children according to the order in which they are born. This is known as serial naming. Swahili first-born children are called *Mosi*, the second-born are called *Pili*, and the third-born, *Tatu* – these being KiSwahili for *one*, *two* and *three*, respectively (Stewart 1996:6). This practice is also common among the *Twi* of Ghana and the Tonga of Zambia.

Names describing the conditions of the birth are also found throughout the continent. Stewart (1996:6) cites, among other examples, the Yoruba of Nigeria who will name a child born after the normal nine-month period, *Omope*, meaning "it is late" and the Banyoro of Uganda who will name a child who is born without complications, *Kaijabwangu,* meaning "it came quickly'.

Stewart (1996) describes also the relationship between naming and the circumstances of the family and the community, and major events or natural calamities of the period, which she says "are frequently expressed through African baby names. A Ghanaian child who was born when the family or village was prospering might be called *Abayie* (you have come in good times)" (p.6/7) and a Yoruba child, born during a bad years could be given

the name, "*Odunewu*, (year of danger)" (p.7). Stewart notes (p.7) that this practice is common also amongst the abeSotho of Lesotho. When a child is born during a dangerous year or at a dangerous moment, the names *Kotsi* (danger) or *Tsietsi* (accident) may be bestowed. The Dinka name, *Monyak* (man of drought), would be a name appropriate for a boy born during a drought (p.7).

According to Stewart (1996:11), some names are derived from everyday words that are commonly used in the local language:

> For instance, the Amharic word *wark,* which means 'gold" is found in *Afewark* (golden mouth), *Engenda Wark* (the new arrival is gold) and *Teruwark* (pure gold).

She notes also that, frequently,

> words describing a quality or feature of a person serve as personal names. Characteristic-based names don't appear to be too widespread for newborns, considering the difficulty in determining in advance what traits a child will have (p.12).

Biebuyck & Mateene (1969:1) cite the interesting example of the "Bantu-speaking, Nyanga, who live in the mountainous rain-forest area of *Walikale* territory in the former Kivu Province, in the eastern part of the Congo Republic, Kinshasa. "These peoples have the midwives pronounce the child's name; the midwives having "bought" the name from the men. Biebuyck & Mateene (1969:55, footnote 59) explain how the custom is practiced:

> [i]t is customary for midwives to inform the men in the men's house of the birth of a child and to reveal its sex by laughing in a special way.[12] It is not normal for midwives to name the child immediately after its birth; the child usually receives a name from its grandfather on the third day after its birth.

One of the midwives goes to "buy" the name from the men, who are united in the men's house, with some measures of butéá – money and an empty dish. The name Mwindo is given to a boy who is born in a family where there are only girls or to a girl who follows a number of boys.

Junod (1927) describes the naming practices of the Tonga people of southern Mozambique (but north of Maputo) between the years 1894-1900. He explains that the naming of a child took place on the day of birth or on one of the following days and cites the main sources of names as the four principal ways of choosing a child's name (bito):

1) Often the parents give their offspring the name of a chief as Musongi, Makasan, Muzila etc. It flatters their vanity.

2) But frequently the parents like to recall a name of the old times (pfusha bito dja khale), the name of one of the ancestors, because it is a good thing to remember them. They go so far as to consult the bones. A name is proposed, and if the bones in falling do not have a favourable indication, another is tried till they feel sure that the die "has spoken". (Footnoted:The Christian natives [sic.] like to ask their missionary to choose the name, perhaps for a similar reason.)

3) Or it may be that somebody asks the favor of giving his name to the new-born child; a friend of the family may do so, but it is also often a traveler who happens to be in the village to whom this privilege is accorded. He will "name himself in the child" (ku titshula ka nwana).This fact will establish a special relation between this person and the child, a relation which bears some resemblance to that of a godfather to his godson. Once a year he will come and give "his name" (viz. the child) presents. When the child is able to travel, the mother will go with him to pay a visit to his "friend in name" (umabizweni).

4) A fourth way of naming new-born children is to choose a name having some connection with the circumstances of the birth. Should a child have seen the light when his mother was travelling, he will be called Ndleleni viz. "on the way," "on the road:" [sic.] should the birth have taken place under a tree, the name of that tree will be chosen, put in the locative case, and you will meet many Thongas called Nkanyen (under the terebinth), Nkwakwen (under the Strychnos), Nkuwen (under the fig-tree); Mpfulen (in the rain), Marumbin (in the ruins), Mawewe., if the child is born during the war waged by the chief of that name, etc.

(Junod 1927:38.)

Although Junod (1927:39) notes that the names of the Thongas are the same for both male and female sexes, which is seldom true in Zulu practice, there are correspondences between the two practices. Both the Zulus and the Thonga use ancestral names and names relating to birth circumstances. (See also §2.4.3.3 for a Zulu-specific discussion and, Chapter 4, in which examples from the current data base are discussed.).

According to Stewart (1996:7) statistics show that African nations have some of the world's highest infant and child mortality rates. She claims that this explains why so many African cultures (including the Zulus, see §4.2.1.4, below, for examples) have tended to name children in relation to death. The name of an animal may be given to a child as a deceptive name. It is believed that such a name will fight off the evil entities believed to cause death. Some names are meant to alert sorcerers that ways have been sought to overcome their sorcery. (This is one way of accusing someone obliquely of witchcraft.)

Personal names play an important religio-cultural role over the greatest part of the African continent. For all believers, a name is considered more important than the person upon whom it is bestowed. A name carries a number of messages and these are personal to the name-bearer. It is, thus, inappropriate to attempt to take on somebody else's contextualised name because the contexts giving rise to the choice of name are unlikely to be the same.[13]

Most Africans believe that the name bestowed on a child connects that child with its ancestral spirits. Anim (1993) cites several beliefs surrounding the naming of several

Ghanaian tribes. He points out that among the Akan, Ga, Ewe and other tribes of Ghana,

a new-born child is considered a visiting spirit, who is merely the guest of a host family.

It is believed that the spirit will take seven days to decide whether he/she likes this world

or not, and whether he/she would like to stay with the people to whom he/she has come

as a guest. Anim (1993:1) explains further:

> Close relatives are told that a birth has successfully occurred in the home
> and they have to be satisfied. When the birth is impending, the
> prospective mother moves out of the marital home to live with her mother.
> Indeed among some members of the Ewe tribe, the young mother does not
> return to the marital home until the young child is at least 6-12 months old.
> This way birth spacing is assured, although the reason actually given for
> this long temporary separation is that it is meant to give the new child a
> chance to "grow properly". The belief is that if a pregnancy comes too soon
> after the birth of one child, the elder child may decide to die – probably out
> of jealousy.

Anim (1993:4/5) explains the customary practice in some detail. I give a summary. The

child is only named seven days after birth. When the child is to be named, the family

arrange the "outdooring ceremony". There is no formal invitation made to those who need

to be present at the ceremony. Word is passed round announcing when the seventh-day

ceremony is going to be observed. The child is introduced to the public by its father who

presents a bottle of clear alcohol (nowadays, something like, gin) to the officiant for use

as a libation to the ancestors inviting them to be present at the ceremony and to give the

child their blessings. After the ceremony, the father gives a substantial gift to the wife for

presenting him with a child, thus raising his status in the society. Both parents then

assume the name of the child – Asino = Asis' s mother. Anim (1993:4) goes on to explain

that the gift-giving ceremony has the following implications:

- all the participants at the *outdooring* ceremony have committed themselves to their participation in the upbringing of the child;
- that everybody should help in defraying the costs incurred for gatherings and ceremonies; and
- the relationships between families are confirmed and consolidated.

Naming amongst Africans has evolved over many generations. The practices abound with history and meaning. Names may represent the observations of the parents, and sometimes the characteristics of the people bestowing a name on a particular child. Naming takes cognisance of what is important to a family and a community. According to Sumbwa (1997:49), the stages of personal name acquisition among the Barotse are basically three:

- that which occurs at the time of a person's birth;
- that which occurs at puberty (in the case of girls) and at adolescence (in the case of boys); and
- that which occurs at a person's attainment of parenthood.

The word "Barotse" refers to all the indigenous peoples of Bulozi, a group name for all the tribal members located in Zambia, whether they reside in the province of Bulozi, or not. Sumbwa (1997:49) explains that parents are responsible for name-giving at the birth-stage. They select names for their newly-born babies or approve ones suggested by their relatives, whether these be old or young. Such names are usually taken from the existing pool of names of relatives (both living and deceased) for the purpose of perpetuating the names existence. The wish to perpetuate names is done through a desire to honour those who are deceased and to make certain that they have a place in the family's history. Zambian names also reflect the history of the Zambian people and mark the legacy of past

experiences be these political, social or economic. Sumbwa (1997) explains that personal names can arise out of notable circumstances, habits, qualities, physical features, relate to a person's birth, physical appearance, manner of performance and/or way of life. These variables again reveal a similarity to the Zulu reason categories listed in §4.2.

In northen Malawi, name-giving among the African cultures is influenced by a range of social, religious and cultural circumstances at the time of the child's birth.The Ngoni-Tumbuka-speaking people of northern Malawi settled in the Mzimba district. (Moyo1996:10). The original Ngoni languages were spoken by immigrants of Zulu and Swazi origin who had broken loose from Shaka in Natal in the 1820's (Moyo 1995:186). The Ngoni names are of historical importance. Both the Ngoni and Tumbuka follow the Ngoni cultural practices in that the fathers and grandfathers of the husband's family become the sole name-givers. Name-giving could then be said to reflect cultural attitudes within social contexts on the paternal side.

Naming practice patterns in Botswana are like those in other African societies. The Batswana also bestow personal names culturally significant (Mathangwane 1998:2). Mathangwane's study shows that many Batswana people tend to give their children a second name which, in most cases, is English. The western name is, in many cases, the name used at school, at work or officially, meaning in certain official documents such as birth certificates. De Klerk and Bosch (1996) observe the existence of similar practices amongst the Xhosa people.

Mathangwane & Gardner (1998:1) re-affirm the important role personal names in African societies play in portraying the cultural values and traditions of a society. They, too note that African names are societally and culturally meaningful in that they are chosen specifically to send a message (about the birth of the child or the family circumstances at the time of birth, to express a wish, to give thanks to God for the child, or to relate to one's past fears or to major events in the people's lives). Herbert and Bogatsu (1990:5) stress that names given by Northern Sotho mothers are related to some prominent event at the time of birth; a statement with which Endemann (1984:36) agrees; and which is confirmed for the Tswana by Willoughby (1905) and Kruger (1937) for the Tlokwa tribe, a Northern Sotho group.

2.4.3.2 *Common Nguni-specific naming practices*

The constitution of South Africa acknowledges eleven official languages. These languages are: *isiZulu, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, siSwati, seSotho, sePedi, seTswana, siTsonga, shiVenda*, English and Afrikaans. The official languages represent the languages of the following ethnic groups, respectively the: amaZulu, amaNdebele, amaXhosa, amaSwazi, abeSotho, amaPedi, abeTswana, amaTsonga, amaVenda, English-speaking group and Afrikaans-speaking (both the 'white' Afrikaners and the 'coloured' Afrikaners). Each ethnic group has a particular way of naming their children. This sub-section examines some of the naming practices of the Nguni group which consists of the isiZulu, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and siSwati, siSotho and sePedi language groups. Amongst

these groups, isiZulu is the group in South Africa and the largest in the province of KwaZulu-Natal.[14]

Molema (in Koopman 1986:84) makes the following remarks about Sotho personal naming practices:

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

Stewart (1996:11) notes that some Sotho names are derived from everyday words. e.g. *serame* (cold); *lefu* (death); *tlalane* (small famine) and *Mahlomola* for instance, is a Sotho male name stemming from the verb *hlomola,* meaning to grieve. Names of objects, features, qualities and situations may become the sources of names in the Sotho practice.

Thipa (1987: 107) describes the naming practice of Sesotho and isiXhosa as a mirror of the structure of the cultures of the Basotho and amaXhosa. According to Thipa (1987), culture consists of various interdependent and interrelated components, for example, ideas, activities, objects or artifacts. The ideas embrace values, attitudes and beliefs.

The abeSotho as well as amaXhosa believe that children come from the supernatural power of God, who is called *Qamata* by amaXhosa. Both the amaXhosa and abeSotho believe that children are gifts that come through prayer. Gratitude is shown to God by naming a child with a name that expresses the power of God. This practice also occurs

amongst the Zulu people. Amongst the Xhosa people the birth of a child is regarded as a

sacred gift belonging exclusively to married couples (children born out of wedlock are thus

not seen as a sacred gift and are thus rejected in the family.)[15] Giving birth to a child thus

attaches status to the parents.

Mönnig (1967:105) notes that a significance of names in the Pedi group, is that they can

be a gateway for enemies:

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

Mönnig (in Koopman 1986:84) explains elsewhere that Pedi personal names change after

three or four years. The early 'baby' names seem to fit one kind of pattern, the later names

another pattern. The early names are derived from daily events surrounding the child's

birth. Children may also be named after famous people or visitors.

In the Nguni culture, personal names generally function as a signal to others or the family

about issues that cannot be discussed and resolved. The Nguni tradition avoids discussing

openly critical issues like illegitimate pregnancy or adultery. In order to avoid confrontation,

the parents or the family will name a child to express their concern in an indirect way. The

other sources of names may be anything which surround the parents of a child. Prosperity

within the family; history; sex of the child; family structure; days on which a child is born;

appearance; family clan and continuity; and feelings of the parent toward a child.

As noted in Chapter1, a child may be named given by either parent or by grandparents in many African cultures. Traditionally, it was a rule that both father and mother gave their child a name (Bryant 1949). According to Bryant, the father had the first right; so the mother held her name until later on. This resulted in two names which were distinguished as; *igama likayihlo and igama likanyoko* (your father's and your mother's names). In the case of a boy, the name given by the father would oust the one given by the mother, and the mother's in the case of girls. Thus, if the child is a girl, the mother will name the child, but if the father wants to name that girl he will be allowed to do so. If the child is a boy, the father will be the first to give the name which functions as a sign of his acceptance of his paternity of the child.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, children may be given two names. In most cases, a boy's name will be chosen from the paternal side. The selected names may be the names of members of the family who are still alive, but also of those who have died.

Only the ancestors of the father's family are considered, because when a woman marries, her own ancestors are 'killed' and she transfers her allegiance to the ancestors of her husband's family. This transfer is done ceremonially through the slaughtering of a beast. A beast is slaughtered to symbolize the death of the woman's original ancestor and the acceptance by the woman of the ancestor of the new clan she has joined through her marriage. The wife's ancestors are not acknowledged in the new home.

In the Nguni culture, because the name of a person is ancestor-linked, it cannot be changed by mere legal process, once it has been bestowed on a child. Such a change would be seen as a rejection of the ancestors and the practice is thus forbidden. In western culture, on the other hand, given names can be changed through legal procedures. Among the Nguni, after death, it is the given name which will be used by one's descendants to call upon one. When the Nguni people communicate with the dead, they use the names of those members of the family who have died, as intermediaries. The Nguni people's belief that children come from God through the ancestors, is noted by Thipa (1987:107) also for the Xhosa.

Bryant (1949:429) noted that the Nguni children came from God via the ancestors. He, thus names an 'ancestor', any male predecessor in the clan older than a great-grandfather (the founder of the clan). The founder of the clan is known as *ukhokho*. The Nguni believes that the creator of all people is *uMvelinqangi,* God/the one who came first/the founder of the earth. Bryant does not, however, make a clear distinction between the ancestors (*idlozi*) and God. According to Bryant (1929:429), the great-grandfather is regarded as being *uNkulunkulu* (God):

> Clan-great-grandparent (any male of the clan of approximately the same age as one's own great-grandparent; or wife of the same), uKoko. Clan-grandparent (any male of the clan of the same age as one'e own grandfather; or wife of the same), uKulu, uKoko;

In Bryant's account, ancestor and God are both regarded as *uNkulunkulu.* According to the Nguni people, a clan is always the offspring of a single man, whose name the clan

adopts. The founder of the clan is therefore, the great-grandparent of that particular clan. Among the Zulu, for example:

> *Mkhize* is the founder of the Mkhize clan;
> *Ngubane* is the founder of the Ngubane clan;
> *Zondi* is the founder of the Zondi clan;
> *Ngcobo* is the founder of the Ngcobo clan.

The above examples indicate that the great-grandparent of the clan is not equal to the creator of **all** people. The creator of **all** people is *uMvelinqangi.*

As noted earlier, the Nguni people communicate with God through the ancestors. When the Nguni people 'pray' for children, they believe that the ancestors will plead to God on their behalf. Callaway (1970:1) describes the Nguni God as follows:

> *Unkulunkulu* is no longer known. It is he who was the first man; he broke off in the beginning. We do not know his wife; and the ancients do not tell us that he had a wife. We hear it said, that *uNkulunkulu* broke off the nations from *umhlanga.*

The Nguni people thus believe God to be above the ancestors and he is seen as the greatest of all beings.

It is because of their pride in their ancestry that the Nguni incorporate the names of their ancestors in the personal names by using the formative *ka-* (son of). Bryant (1949:432) explains:

> While, within the family itself, a person, being the well known, would always be called simply by his own personal name, among the outside public that personal name would often be conjoined with the personal name of his father; thus, *uJama kaNdaba* (Jama of-Ndaba), just as the Semites also

said 'Moses of-Susan'. This, then, might be called the full name of a Zulu man.

In Zulu history, we have the example of *Shaka ka Senzangakhona* (Shaka son of Senzangakhona). An important person like the son of a king would have his father's, grandfather's, great grandfather's or the names of other important ancestors, bestowed on him. Such practice, recognizes the genealogy of the family – for example, *uDinizulu kaCetshwayo, kaMpande, kaSenzangakhona, kaJama, kaNdaba, kaPhunga noMageba, kaZulu kaLuzumane*[16]. The significance of the ka- (son/daughter of) plays a major role in the recital of pedigrees.

The names of men are the only important markers of history and genealogy. It is for this reason that having children – particularly, boys – is so important to most African men. Men who do not have children cannot easily be remembered and such men are thus, frequently, regarded (because of their 'unproductiveness') to be like women – out of the direct genealogical line. The only reason we know Shaka as a person is because he was famous. There is no reference to Shaka as part of a genealogy, because he had no offspring to carry his name forward. Dingane also died without a son and is not in any genealogical order. Mpande, Shaka and Dingane's brother, however, had many children After Mpande's death, his son, Cetshwayo, took over the monarchy.

The names of ancestors are given to children to celebrate the name of that particular ancestor both in the present and in the future. Should the names of old ancestors have been forgotten, they can be discovered by a diviner or from older members of the family.

Sometimes people will use their own names to name their children. The name would be used circumspectly within the family because its use would embarrass the father if he were in the house together with his son and if they shared the same name. The practice of avoiding a name is called "*ukuhlonipha*" and entails an alternative name being used to address or to speak about someone. Some people use the person's praise name or clan name or a descriptive phrase such as, "the old man", to avoid the given name. In Xhosa culture, the practice of *ukuhlonipha* is used mainly by women to respect the father-in-law and other males within a family. This practice of respect by women towards their in-laws is also common in Zulu culture.

Children in Nguni culture quite frequently acquire additional given names during their lives. The practice is known as "*amagama obunsizwa*". These names are derived from the behavior of the individual or the events that take place during the period of adulthood.

In the Nguni culture, the natural world (particularly that of wild animals and birds) has always been a source of personal names. The intention in such naming is to confer the special qualities of particular birds and animals on the so-named.

The species of an animal may be transferred to a human being in the hope of instilling the

desired quality of that animal in the named person.   Animal generic names like lion,

snake, leopard may be given to human beings. For example in isiZulu;

> *uBhubesi* (lion) is a name frequently given to a boy in the hope that his
> strength will be that of a lion.
> *uMakati* (cats) is also a name for a boy and reflects the wish that the name
> bearer will embody the tidiness and stealthiness of the cat.
> *uMbube* (leopard).   This animal metaphor is retained exclusively for
> naming a king because of the leopard's heroic qualities.
> *uNyokana* (snake). A snake is a very cunning animal and therefore the
> quality is desired for a human being.
> *uNyoni* (bird): This is a girl's name. Birds are desired and valued by most
> societies.

Not only are children given names derived from animals, some tribes adopt an animal or

a plant for religious reasons. Such an animal or plant becomes an outward emblem of

their mysterious, and hereditary relationship with that living thing. These living things bring

spiritual qualities to the lives of the people and reinforce the values of the particular

society. A living thing which is sacred to a particular society is called, a *totem*. The animal

will be respected by the tribe and its meat will never be eaten.   Bryant (1949:445)

describes totemism as follows:

> To us it appears to be, really, nothing more than such a mixture of clan-naming after its
> founder, an earlier ancestor-worship, with a later taboo... Totemism, then, claims to be a
> special 'discovery', made by European ethnologists about the middle of last century, of a
> certain socio-religious belief and practice prevailing amongst the Indians of America, and
> later on supposedly 'discovered' amongst other primitive peoples all the world over.

According to Bryant (1949:445) the term, "totemism", should be restricted to "those cases

where a systematic association of groups of persons with species of animals (occasionally

plants and inanimate objects) is connected with a certain element of social organization".

The practice of avoiding eating an animal's meat or a plant is common among the Nguni people and occurs regularly among the Zulu. The Mathenjwa clan of the KwaNgwanase and Ingwavuma districts do not eat goat meat. The Kunene clan, on the other hand, do not eat mutton, as it is sacred to the ceremony of the crowning of their clan-king, because mutton is used exclusively. As the crowning of a clan-king is closely linked to the ancestors because the king represents the founder-king of a tribe, the meat used at the crowning ceremony is especially taboo.[17]

The Ndlovu clan respects the elephant and avoids its meat because their name is derived from it. The Ngwenya clan avoids crocodile meat for the same reason. Bryant (1949:446) records the following on such taboos among the Zulu:

> The Zulu 'clan' system supplies the postulated 'groups of persons'; the clan 'names' (which are really the names of their founders - and most Zulu names are the names of animals or other objects or ideas in nature) supply the necessary 'association with species of animals, plants and inanimate objects'; and lastly, the custom of so 'reverencing' those clan founders and their names, that the very animals and other natural objects after which they were named, are themselves now, in turn, treated with a reflection of that selfsame reverence.

The idea of totemism is common amongst the Africans throughout the African continent and are also common among the indigenous people of the Americas.

2.4.3.3 *isiZulu-specific naming practices.*

The Nguni language group is divided into three sub-groups: SiSwati, isiXhosa and isiZulu. IsiZulu is the largest of these and its area is primarily that of KwaZulu-Natal It is spoken by at least 23% of the total population of South Africa (Maartens & Extra 1998).

The naming practices of the Zulu people are traditionally based on events during the pregnancy and on societal activities. Each name has to do with that particular family and its immediate society.

Traditionally, among the Zulu names are given seven days after birth. There are no naming ceremonies amongst the Zulu people. When a child is born, the mother is not allowed to come out to be seen by the public. She is kept in doors for seven days under the supervision of traditional midwives. A man will be told when a child is born and the sex will be announced, then the father will shout the name outside the house in which the child has been born.

Sometimes the father consults with the other members of the homestead before he decides on the name. Naming a child is always of historical importance in the family. A child's name is, therefore, uniquely significant to that child because (as discussed earlier) it contextualises that child's birth and makes it meaningful.[18] If the grandfather is still alive in the family, he is given an opportunity to name the grand child. According to Suzman (1994), the giving of a name to a child has significance within the larger family, with the

consequence that the child is rarely the focus of his or her name. The name-giver is not

restricted to particular names but he is given the freedom to choose any name.

A child who resembles an old family member, living or dead, may be named, *Phindiwe*

(repeated), for the living relative, or, in the case of the dead; *Vukile* (has risen). Sometimes

resemblance may become a crucial matter particularly if a man suspects he is not the

father of the child. When a man is not certain or has doubts concerning the legitimacy of

the birth, he will bestow a name such as:

> *Velaphi* (where do you come from)
> *Velephi* (where did she come from)
> *Phumaphi* (where do you come from)
> *Muntukabani* (whose person is this)

Suzman (1994:254) cites the example of Shaka's mother, drawn from the transcriptions

in Vol.4 of the James Stuart archives, edited by Webb & Wright (1986:87).

The informant explained that *Shaka*'s mother had been called, *Nandi* (tasty/nice), because

her mother was pleased by everything in the Langeni country. When Nandi's mother gave

birth, her father said that the child's name would be *"Nandi"*. *Shaka* got his name in the

year 1787 from a disease called *ishaka*, a disease from which the Zulu clan claimed that

Nandi was suffering. These facts are incorporated in *Shaka*'s praises;

> *Isishaka kasishayeki* (shaka disease which cannot be healed)

The royal Zulu clan did not approve of *Nandi*'s pregnancy and claimed that what she was

carrying in her womb, was not a human being. Nine months later, Shaka was born and

was given a negative name, underlining the fact that the Zulus did not want to accept him as a legitimate potential future king.

The name of Shaka's brother, *uDingane,* may be interpreted in two ways; the verb *dinga* means "to be in exile" and "to need something". As events showed, Dingane came to want the Zulu throne, and plotted to kill Shaka. After Shaka had been assassinated, Dingane succeeded him. Dingane did not prove as successful as his predecessor and ended up having to give up the throne, he was being hunted down to be killed. He eventually died in exile. These events were predicted by the first meaning of his name "to be in exile", " to wander about". His body was found next to the Swaziland border.

Mpande, who was Dingane and Shaka's brother, lived up to his name. The meaning of this name is "root". Mpande had many children and he became the root of the Zulu Royal family. One of his sons, Cetshwayo ("the one who is reported for wrong doing"), was the last Zulu king and he reigned until the British government took control of the Zulu nation. He was told by the British authorities to stop the killings that were taking place in the area. he ignored them. Some of his senior people (in order to gain favours for themselves from the British government) spied on him for the British. As foretold by his name, he was arrested. He was later sent to the United Kingdom to account for himself to the Queen, in person.

Sojiyisa ("he who thickens") was Senzangakhona's son by a Thonga women who was already pregnant by someone from her nation when she was brought to marry the king. Senzangakhona was, therefore, not *Sojiyisa* 's biological father. *Sojiyisa* begat *Maphitha*, father of Zibhebhu. The Zulu people believed that if one dies, one must leave a name behind, hence the Zulu way of saying, "to leave a son to perpetuate the name".

What is clear from the above discussion is that names carry the history of their bearers in a very fundamental, un-western way.

Bryant (1929) also recorded that most Zulu names are derived from the daily-life circumstances of the family and the community. Bryant (1929) traced the following names back to the years 1700-1900:

Guqa (to bend) - 1908
Ndlela (the way) - 1908
Nfulizwe (seek a place) - 1908
Mkhonto (spear)- 1910
Wolizibi (gather waste)- 1910
Mthakathi (sorcerer) -1818
Ndabayakhe (his story) - 1818
Ngonyama (lion) -d.1737)
Dingiswayo (one who is sent away from his place of birth) - 1808
Gwala (coward) - 1755
Mfokazana (a commoner) - 1883
Sihayo ( ) -1906
Mehlokazulu (the eyes of the Zulu nation) - 1906
Godlumkhonto (hold a spear) - 1906
Mnyamana (black) - 1790
Tshanibezwe (grass of a nation) - 1906
Mafu (clouds) - 1703
Tshani (grass) -1793
Langa (sun) - 1804
Nyamakayishi (meat which is not burning) -1701
Magqubu (grudges) - 1838

Mfanawendlela (boy of the way) - 1838
Ndlovu (elephant) - 1896
Tinta (touch) - 1896
Dumisa (praise) - 1912
Nkanyezi (star) - 1912
Mphikeleli (one who persists) - 1882
Sibhamu (gun) - 1923
Manzezulu (water from heaven) - 1882
Funwayo (one who is hunted) - 1892
Mtshingwa (one who is deserted) - 1892
Mangobe (cat) - 1764
Hluma (offspring) - 1800
Notshelwa (the one who is told) - 1814
Mabhunu (boers) - 1907
Ngangezwe (big as the nation) - 1898
Bangizwe (dispute land) - 1907
Dabulamanzi (go across the river) - 1901
Zokufa (you will die) - 1906
Mzingelwa (the one who is hunted) - 1923
Gcinangempi (end with war) - 1829
(my collection gathered from Bryant's text)

All the above names arose out of particular events. The following is an account of a
selected few:

- the name *Dabulamanzi* cited above came about through the
  following event: one of Mpande's wife delivered this baby when
  she crossed the river, uThukela, which borders Zululand and Natal:
  and
- *the name Mabhunu* came about after an encounter of the Zulu
  people with the boers in 1907 after which the Zulu kingship was
  taken away from king Dinuzulu.

Certain historic events may be incorporated into the personal praises of Kings and heroes.

Personal praises may in their turn become a source of names for either kings or
individuals:

King Shaka > uNodumehlezi; iLembe;
King Cetshwayo > Imamba Yevuna; uJininda
King Mpande > uMsimude
King Dingane > uMbomboshe

Some names record the instability of the country at a particular time:

- *Zokufa*: this name was bestowed during Bhambatha rebellion in 1906 when people were not certain about their defiance of the government taxes;

- *Mzingelwa*: this name records the time when the Zulu people were homeless and being hunted like animals in their own land which no longer belonged to them;

- *Bangizwe* (land dispute): this was an appropriate name during the 1900's when the Zulu had lost the right to their land and were crossing rivers searching for shelter; and

- *Mabhunu* was named after the Zulu people had had problems with the boers because of boundary disputes.

The names of heroes like, *Sihayo, Mehlokazulu,* and *Mnyamana,* mark the history of the Zulu people during the reign of *Cetshwayo.* The name, *Mehlokazulu* ("eyes of the Zulu nation") suggests that he was highly rated as a warrior by both the king and the nation because, historically he killed his mother who went over to Zululand and the incidence was the cause of the Anglo-boer war of Isandlwana.

Mehlokazulu was the son of *Sihayo Ngobese* who was King *Cetshwayo*'s headman. *Mnyamana,* who belonged to the *Buthelezi* clan was *King Cetshwayo*'s prime minister.

All of these names carry historic significance for the Zulu people and they form part of the clan-praises used by the present generation. Some names thus carry the history and the genealogy of a particular clan and are particularly important in an oral culture.

Most names, prior to the 1900s are traditional, are evidence of peace and prosperity and normality. Such names are in contrast to names like, *Godlumkhonto* (withold a spear) and

Mkhonto (spear), both of which suggest war is just around the corner and that the people must thus be on the alert.

There is a relationship between the clan names and personal names. Various onomasticians (among them, L'Estrange Ewen 1931, Mathews 1967, Pine 1965, Neethling 1996) have discussed the origins and evolution of surnames and clan-names in European and African culture, respectively. Hlongwane (1995), Khumalo (1997) and Mzolo (1975) have researched the clan names and praise-names of the Zulu people.

In Zulu culture, some personal names become clan names:

> *Mzoneli*
> *Khumalo*
> *Langa*
> *Manukuza*
> *Mafu*
> *Gasela*
> *Mfusi*
> *Nzimande*

In the Zulu tradition, similar male and female names are differentiated by the use of *No-* on the maternal side and *So-* on the paternal side. For example:

> *Somazwe (father of nations);*
> *Soshangane (father of the Shangane);*
> *Nomafu (mother of plenty)*
> *Nomalanga (mother of light)*
> *Nolwazi (mother of wisdom)*

Women who bear the name, *Nomafu* (mother of plenty), are obliged to live up to that name as they bear the quality inherent in the name on behalf of their whole society.[19]

In other instances, amongst the Zulu women, the maiden surname is remembered by prefixing *Ka-* or *Ma-* before the new clan name. (Such names are dicussed in some detail in Chapter 4). Some examples are:

> *Ka Nene/MaNene*
> *Ka Msomi/MaMsomi*
> *Ka Majola*
> *MaMkhize*
> *MaGumede*
> *MaNgubane*

In the district of KwaNgwanase in the northen KwaZulu, where a large sample of data was collected, there is a practice peculiar to the area. The women use personal names instead of clan names. If the woman's father was James she will prefix *Mi-* to the personal name. If the personal name is in English the Zulu phonetics is applied . e.g.

> MiJekiseni (daughter of Jackson)
> MiJemusi(daughter of Jemusi);
> MiSayidi (daughter of Sayidi- Sayidi is derived from the exonym which stands for Port Shepstone);
> MiJoji (daughter of George)
> Mi-Elija (daughter of Elijah)
> Mi-Simoni (daughter of Simon)
> Mi-Zamushiya (daughter of Zamushiya)

The prefixing of Mi- before the personal name of the father is important because in the region there might be one Jackson. If Jackson had two or more daughters, it would be easy to identify them irrespective of the different surnames they have wed. It forms closer relationships amongst siblings rather than using the maiden surname because of large numbers of that clan name in the region. The women does not lose her link with her father after marriage and she will feel that she is still connected to her family.

Naming practice amongst the Zulu people considered the following qualities:

- Happiness
- Appearance
- Trust
- Friction
- Death in the family
- Love
- Barrenness
- Luck and misfortunes
- Progress
- Comfort
- Pride
- Gratitude
- Birth
- Emotion
- Family- continuity
- Family structure
- Criticism of parents, complaint
- Other family circumstances.
- Extended family
- Names related to the gift of life.

The above circumstances show that naming amongst the Africans **is** a serious business as mentioned in Chapter 1. It is not merely choosing a name because of its melody.

Traditionally, then, Zulu people received names that reflected values and attitudes within particular social contexts. Naming practices center around the ancestors, family clan and its history, relatives, customs like *ilobolo*, number of children, sex of a child, beliefs, religion, relationships between the father and the mother, and so on.

Chapter 2 has selectively provided an overview of the history of naming both in the western tradition and in the tradition of the African peoples. The overview serves to situate the current study of Zulu naming practice within the research field and to inform the

research itself. Chapter 3 entails a discussion of the methodological processes used during the research in the province of KwaZulu-Natal.

ENDNOTES

1. For a fuller discussion, see page 65.

2. *Ka* meaning "son of" functions in isiZulu much as does "mac/mc" or "o" in Gaelic derived names like McDairmid or O'Keefe and the English "son" in names like McPherson (son of the son of Pers (Scandinavian origin)).

3. The rise, in the late sixties, of the Black Conscious Movement in American, the rise to fame of Martin Luther King, the rapid advance of the American Civil Rights Movement all led to a consciousness' raising among African-Americans. One of the consequences of these events was an increasing desire among African-Americans to seek their African roots. This desire in its turn found expression in a wide range of literary works; some populist; some literary. Perhaps the most influential work amongst ordinary people was Arthur Hailey's, *Roots*, which went into repeated reprints and was read by black and white alike (McDermott 1999: personal communication).

4. In fact, in the West for many years, books of names and their meanings have been published from which parents can choose a meaningful name for their offspring. Books, which follow the Western convention for such books, now exist even for African names - compare Dhunpath 1997.The so-called meanings may differ from collection to collection, but what remains crucial is that the names all *have* meanings – often expressing positive qualities like 'boldness' "strength", "faithful" and so on. Some texts do in fact give meanings going back centuries, particularly for 'old', 'traditional' names. *Ruth*, for example, has the meaning of *faithful, loyal; Eve*, means *of the earth; Simon, strength; William, bold* – presumably from the historical, *William The Bold*. (For 'Western' collections, compare Thomson (1961); and Van Rooyen (1949).)

5. This practice is also becoming a trend amongst Africans. Some women who divorce their husbands, add their maiden family names to their former husband's family name – for example, Winnie *Madikizela*-Mandela; Nkosazane *Dlamini*-Zuma, both members of the South African parliament. This practice has become common since the democratic government took over and women's rights have been fostered.

Prior to independence very few women used double-barrel family names. The African tradition would not have allowed double-barrel family names, because when a woman married, an enforced ritual was conducted to destroy her family name after which she was quite literally introduced to the bridegroom's ancestors. By Zulu custom, the clan name of a woman was thus changed through the ritual during which an animal was killed to destroy the woman's clan name and her ancestors, so that

she was free to assume a new clan name and accept her husband's ancestors as her own. Traditional Zulus still adhere to this practice.

Nowadays, to keep the memory of the maiden name alive, a prefix, *Ma-* may be joined to the husband's clan name. For example, Nkosazane Dlamini-Zuma would be *MaDlamini*. (In the example of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela cited earlier, *Madikizela* is a clan name in its own right, and the occurrence of the initial syllable *Ma-* is a coincidence; it is not a prefix. Because the clan name, *Madikizela*, starts with *Ma-*, the prefix *Ka-* will have to be added to mark *Madikizela* as a maiden name – *Ka*Madikizela.)

When a woman marries, it is only too likely that her clan name will be forgotten unless she takes steps to ensure its preservation, and this is why women strive to acknowledge their maiden names when they get married.

(The new trend toward the use of double-barreled surnames among both men and women is cited in Chapter 6 as an area of potentially rich research.)

6.   There is a direct socio-political parallel here with the later nineteenth century western colonisations Like so many colonised people before them, colonised Africans (among others), for purely economic and political reasons, adopted the religion and the language of the invader. Indigenous names and indigenous languages are all too frequently used to undermine the indigenous populations by making them signs of primitivity.

7.   In the case of names like, *Meg*, the names have become names in their own right, not 'birth names' – other such example include *Sue* (Susan), *Rick* (Richard) and *Rae* (Rachel).

8.   According to the encyclopaedia Britannica (1993 Vol. 27: 737), the British family are an outstanding exception to the European pattern at naming monarchs, who are normally known only by their Christian names:

> (The British Royal family accepted the name Windsor only in 1917 (this was changed to Mountbatten-Windsor for the future members of the family who will not enjoy princely status).

9.   What is telling is that the writer of the excerpt on Onomastics in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1993 Vol.24:737) finds "It (is) surprising that among the American Indians [*sic.*] there are no theophoric names. The Indians [*sic.*] used names related to the totem, to animals indicated by omens or dreams, and to successful incidents in life". This statement is indicative of the tendency among western writers (scholars and poplar writers, alike) to analyse the cultural practices of others only from within their own, Christianised, western context. To a scholar of African cultural practices and, of naming in particular, the parallels between the Native-American practices and those of most Africans would be clear.

10.   Compare page 3 above for similar Zulu evidence from Maputaland.

11.   From earlier research among the Zulus (Dickens 1985, for example) it is evident that there was traditionally a relatively small pool of names recycled within Zulu culture. The current research shows that the same tendency holds even to-day, particularly among the more traditional families and especially among those in the rural areas. In all probability, the restriction of the pool is a consequence of the nature of the traditional naming practices which did not generally include

practices, which are likely to lead to innovation, like coining, fashion, anagrams and so on.

12. Like in several African societies (previously cited) it is the men of the Nyanga who bear the status of name-givers even though it is the mid-wives who articulate the name.

13. In western culture it is fairly common for a child to be named for their father/mother/uncle/aunt.... There is no understanding in the isiZulu sense of there being a personal 'story' attached to the name. As noted earlier, Western names carry meanings but these are often by convention and historical accretion. Children given names that happen to have (a) particular meaning/s, rather than the context of the birth determining the name.

14. The abeSotho are the largest group in Gauteng. There are also Sotho people outside southern Africa in countries like; Lesotho and Botswana.

15. In olden times the birth of such an illegitimate child drew strong punishment from the family so disgraced. The woman would have been chased away and banished to distant relatives.

16. *Holy Bible* (New International Version, The New Testament 1978:1):
    1.1 A record of the genealogy of Jesus Christ son of David, the son of Abraham:
    1.2 Abraham was the father of Isaac, Isaac the father of Jacob, Jacob the father of Judah and his brothers,
    1.3 Judah the father of Perez and Zerah, whose mother was Tamar, Perez the father of Hezron, Hezron the father of Ram, Ram the father of Amminadab, Amminadab the father of Nahshon, Nahshon the father of Salmon, Salmon the father of Boaz, whose mother was Rahab, Boaz the father of Obed, whose mother was Ruth, Obed the father of Jesse, and Jesse the father of King David... and Jacob the father of Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ.

17. According the Kunene (1999:09:10, personal interview), the horns of a sheep symbolize 'endlessness' which is a crucial quality of the system of installing kings symbolizing the continuity of power. Kunene (1999) explained that:
    The belief is strong in the myths about the sheep at the end of the rainbow.
    If a sheep laughs, it is a symbol of luck but if it cries it is bad luck and one
    who has witnessed that event develops a skin rash. (My translation of
    isiZulu Interviews.)

    The affliction of a skin rash emphasizes the seriousness of the myth around the sheep, therefore, it is totally avoided by the Kunene family clan.

18. This does not contradict the condition that in African culture names do not *belong* to the name-bearer, but are merely borrowed. This is because most names reflect circumstances of human beings in the world.

19. This fact, thus makes it important that onomasticians be conscious of the social implications of names from cultures not their own. They should not merely rely on a literal translation which could easily result in the illegitimate metaphorical extension of the chosen name. For example:
    Msuleleni literary means "wipe for him", but as personal name, *Msuleleni* means
    "accuse him" or "make him responsible for the offence". Someone who relies solely
    on the literal meaning could in ignorance assume a inauthentic/false metaphorical
    meaning relating to cleaning in a literal sense and so arrive at perhaps the
    metaphorical meaning of "serve him".

CHAPTER 3   METHODOLOGICAL PROCESSES

3.1   INTRODUCTION

The majority of researchers into African naming practices (among them: Beattie 1957; Moyo 1995 & 1996; Thipa 1987; Herbert & Bogatsu 1990; Herbert 1995; de Klerk & Bosch 1995; Stewart 1996; and Mathangwane & Gardner 1998) has noted apparent shifts over time in African personal naming practices. Other researchers who have worked on Zulu specifically (among them: Koopman 1976, 1979,1986, and 1987; Dickens 1986; Xaba 1993; and Suzman 1994) have noticed similar shifts. These shifts may occur for any number of reasons including: politics; language contact; religion and culture; urbanisation; and modernisation. The field survey for the current research (done during 1998 and 1999) sought to show up any changes and the reasons for change in Zulu naming practices post-1986; that is more or less from the point at which Dickens left off, but focusing on the post-1994 period.   To this end, age, rural vs urban, gender of name-giver, and reasons for naming, were among the variables considered to be of survey and comparative importance. Previous research into African naming practices, in general, and into Nguni, in particular, is used in conjunction with Zulu specific research to inform both the survey process and the subsequent data analysis.

3.2 METHODOLOGY
3.2.1 Survey methods

Two survey methods have been used in the collection of data: the analytical (quantitative) and the descriptive (qualitative).

Conventionally, the analytical survey method takes data that are essentially quantitative in nature and analyses these by means of appropriate computer programmes like **SPSS** (*Statistical Programme for the Social Sciences*). Statistical methods allow one to infer certain hidden significances within a body of data. It is a method which enables the researcher to look carefully, inquiringly and critically at the data in order to come up with strong and valid conclusions based on the findings.

Although the researcher did not make use of such programmes for manipulating the current data, he did use *Microsoft Excel* to alphabetise the various lists. The data gathered in the current research was manipulated manually as the technical skill and statistical programme was not available to the researcher at the time of the research. Manual counts were made in the variable categories of popularity, rural/urban, and gender of name-giver. The statistics gained manually were used comparatively to deduce significant adequate and sufficient findings relating to correlations and discrepancies amongst the variables.

The descriptive (qualitative) survey method (the one primarily used for the current research) entails verbal descriptive practices which include oral inquiries, questionnaires,

interviews and observational information. Leedy (1980:133) gives the following definition

of the descriptive survey method:

> The method of research that simply looks with intense accuracy at the
> phenomena of the moment and describes precisely what the researcher
> sees is called the descriptive survey.

According to Leedy (1980:133), the term, *survey*, has the connotation of 'the act of looking

over or beyond' and the term, *descriptive*, connotes content which is observed from the

survey and put into a record. From such an approach, valid conclusions may be drawn.

3.2.2 Qualitative data collection

The qualitative (interview) survey was conducted randomly in both the rural and urban

areas of KZN (Appendix 3.1: *Interview corpus list by area, district , # respondents, and #*

names collected and Appendix 2.1: *Rural areas map* and Appendix 2.2: *Durban and*

surrounds map).

The data were collected among isiZulu mother-tongue speakers. As a foil for this data, a

small survey of twenty-three respondents was also conducted in Zimbabwe amongst the

Ndebele who are in a sense expatriate Nguni (Appendix 3.3: Zimbabwe interview corpus

list by sex of child, name and M/F #s).

A sizable number of families was interviewed in each area: sixty in the rural areas

(Appendix 3.2.1: Interview corpus list by sex of child, name and M/F #s) and twenty families

in the urban areas (Appendix 3.2.2: Interview corpus list by sex of child, name and M/F #s).

The urban area is represented by squatter-camps in Cato Manor, in Durban, and by several townships around Durban. Suzman (1994:257) perceives the following differences between the urban and rural peoples.

> Until recently, when there has been a large influx of squatters into the cities, people in urban centers [sic.] tended to be distinguished from farm and rural people by income and education. They are more prosperous; many have televisions, cars, and modern furnished houses. They have middle-class aspirations, and often build homes in outlying areas. Children more consistently get higher education through high school, and go on to university. Urban people are politically aware and less conservative than farm and country people.

In comparison with 'formal' urban life (as opposed to the informal settlements/squatter-camps)' so accurately described by Suzman, life in rural KwaZulu-Natal is conservative and generally poor. It represents most nearly the traditional Zulu life-style and the close adherence to traditional cultural practices. For example, names such as, *Mfaniseni* **M** (resemble him); *Mbhekeni* **M** (look after him); *Nobayeni* **F** *(mother of husbands)* and *Ntombiziningi* **F** *(there are many girls in the family)* are common in the rural areas, but less common in the formalised or wealthy urban areas. (Compare Appendices 3.2.1 and 3.2.2.) Whether these perceptions are valid will be seen through a comparative analysis of, particularly, urban and rural data for the variables "popularity" and "gender of name-giver".

3.2.2.1 *Survey by interviews*

The rural sample (Appendix 3.2.1) was collected mainly on the 'South Coast' and in the Nongoma and KwaNgwanase areas of northern KwaZulu-Natal. Small samples were randomly collected also in other rural areas across the province. In the rural areas, the interviews were conducted by research assistants who are from these areas and who are

thus familiar with the communities. This facilitated interaction between the research assistant and the people being interviewed. The full data for the rural areas is collected in Appendix 3.2.1 (Interview corpus list by sex of child, name and M/F #s).

A larger sample was collected in the rural areas than in the urban areas, because it is believed that the change in the naming trend is much slower in the rural areas than in the urban areas. Herbert & Bogatsu (1990:7) conducted a survey among fifty (Northern Sotho and Tswana) families to test the personal naming trends among urban and rural residents. The basis of the survey was to compare the urban sample with more traditional rural patterns. Herbert & Bogatsu (1990:11) summarise their findings as follows:

> First, the prominence of the mother as name-giver, reported in the literature on traditional practices, is confirmed in the urban sample. Almost one-half of the names in the sample (45.4%) were chosen by the mothers; fathers are responsible for 20.4% of the names. Second, the vast majority of emotion-related names are bestowed by mothers (33/50) (66%); mothers are responsible for half (12/24) (50%) of the religious-oriented names, but for only 4/34 (11.8%) of family continuity names. By contrast, fathers chose only 3/50 (6%) emotion-related names, 5/24 (20.8%) of the religious-oriented names, but 13/34 (38.2%) of the family continuity names.

It was partly to verify Herbert and Bogastu's findings that the current research included the 'gender of name-giver variable'. Whether Herbert and Bogatsu's findings for Tswana correlate with trends in Zulu naming practices will become evident from the analyses of the Zulu data (Chapter 4). (In Chapter 5, the contemporary findings for Zulu naming practices are analysed and the findings evaluated in comparison with the results of Dickens's 1986 research on Zulu.)

For the current research, an interview question guide (Appendix 1.1) and a data collection questionnaire (Appendix 1.2) were compiled and used to build a corpus of names. The question guide list was used during the one-on-one interviews to ensure that the data collected was of the same type for all respondents. The information elicited from the respondents was inserted on to the data collection questionnaires by the interviewers.

A research assistant was employed for some interviews, while the researcher did the balance, himself. Both interviewers used both the interview guide and the data collection questionnaire during the personal interviews. In the two areas where large samples were collected, Nongoma and KwaNgwanase, the researcher was accompanied by the research assistant. Each area was administered by the researcher, himself. As soon as the interviews had been conducted, the questionnaires were put into a file for further scrutiny and comparison of data.

Demographic information (Appendix 1.1) on each of the respondents was collected in terms of age, sex and familial relationship. The ages of the respondents ranged from 20 to 80. Note was also taken, in each area (both rural and urban) and for each case of naming, of the gender/sex of the name-giver (Appendix 4: Gender of name-giver by area). This information was considered crucial to the research in terms of evidence shift from the traditional practices.

3.2.2.2 *Hospital records: children born post-1994*

The names of children born after 1994 were collected from the hospitals records and, therefore, no interviews were conducted (Appendix 5). This data is representative of urban areas only. The data collection was conducted entirely by research assistants. The research assistants visited the major hospitals in Durban: King Edward Hospital, St. Aiden's, McCord, and City Hospital. These hospitals were chosen because most Africans choose to be treated there and because it is probable that it is in these hospitals that most African children (from the rich-urban group) are delivered. The birth-record information was supplied by the admission personnel at each institution. These data were gathered in order to compile a list of names of children born after 1994. The intention was to use the list in comparison with earlier compilations of names by other researchers (though not of hospital records) to ascertain whether there have been any significant shifts in personal naming practices in urban areas. The total number of names collected was 618.

Tables 3.1 and 3.2, below, present consolidated representations of the KZN rural and urban interviews. Table 3.3 represents the Zimbabwean data. Table 3.4 represents a consolidation of Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3.

RURAL AREAS	LOCAL DISTRICT	# RESPONDENTS	# NAMES
South Coast	*Bhizana*	1	6
	Ezingolweni	5	34
	Gcilima	1	6
	Hlokozi	20	115
	Isangcwaba	8	46
	KwaMachi	3	23
	KwaNzimakwe	4	27
	KwaXolo	2	14
	Umkhomazi	1	8
	Murchison	4	20
	Umzumbe	1	4
	Umzimkhulu	1	9
Sub-total		51	312
Maphumulo	*Msinga*	21	75
Sub-total		21	75
Nongoma	*Ekubungazeleni*	35	192
Sub-total		35	192
KwaNgwanase	*Enkathwini*	7	35
	Kwahlomula	5	25
	Kwahlabezimhlophe	4	39
	KwaZibi	22	111
	KwaMadipha	6	10
	Manguzi	18	60
Sub-Total		62	280
TOTAL		169	861

Table 3.1   Rural districts – local area interviews

URBAN AREA	LOCAL DISTRICT	# RESPONDENTS	# NAMES
Durban	*Lamontville*	17	40
	KwaMashu	8	71
	Ntuzuma	14	52
	Umlazi	10	64
	Hammarsdale	23	72
TOTAL		72	299

Table 3.2   KZN urban – local area interviews

URBAN AREA	LOCAL DISTRICT	# RESPONDENTS	# NAMES
Zimbabwe	*Bulawayo*	17	
	Harare	5	
TOTAL		22	72

Table 3.3   Zimbabwe urban interviews

AREA	# RESPONDENTS	TOTAL
KZN RURAL	169	861
KZN URBAN	72	299
ZIMBABWE	22	72
TOTAL	263	1232

Table 3.4   Consolidated table of interviews

The next step was to order the data: in descending order of popularity of names; in terms of the sex/gender of the name-giver; and in terms of a rural/urban axis and then to analyse these in terms of the reason-categories. A comparison was made with earlier research in terms of popularity and using the variables: name-giver; rural/urban; the reason-

categories; and age of both the named and the respondent/name-giver. This was done

with a view to coming to a clear idea of potential shift in current Zulu naming practices (see

§2.4.3.3), and of urban and rural differences *vis á vis* traditional practices.

ENDNOTES

1.	Since the recent, new influx of people into the cities from the rural areas and the subsequent spread of informal settlements, urban Africans can no longer be classified merely as urban. The long urbanised Africans are generally wealthier and 'more sophisticated' (in western terms) than the later arrivals. Most of the earlier residents live in formal townships which have semblances of infrastructure. Squatters are generally very poor and live in hovels/shacks or under plastic in areas almost completely lacking in infrastructure. The longer urbanised residents tend to have more stable communities and are 'street-wise', while the squatters, on arrival, have to construct/reconstruct communities and have to learn to be street-wise, if they are to survive.

CHAPTER 4   DATA ANALYSIS

4.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter constitutes an analytical discussion of the data gathered in both rural and urban areas in KwaZulu-Natal during 1998 and 1999. The analysis is informed by the work of earlier researchers in the field on Zulu personal naming practices (*inter alia*, Suzman 1994; Koopman 1986, particularly; Dickens 1985; and Xaba 1993).

Given that the response to the research data gathered frequently relies heavily on intuitive experience, and that criticism may be leveled against the researcher for precisely this reason ("intuition" not always being deemed sufficiently and adequately "academically"), it should be recognised from the outset that this research is a conscious attempt to re-appropriate the study of isiZulu personal naming practices for Africans (in particular, Zulu) scholars. As Suzman (1994:253/254) notes, it is chronic that records of traditional naming practices come from the very agents of change and acculturation:

> Historical sources of information about naming practices are found in the accounts of early missionaries, administrators and ethnographers who worked in Africa

This does not deny or denigrate the legitimacy and academic validity of research done since the early days of such missionary-scholars, anthropologists, and lexicographers, without whom many of the African languages, isiZulu among them would have no orthographic form, no dictionaries, no grammar and would not be documented socio-linguistically, socio-culturally, and socio-historically (Bryant A.T.1929 & 1949; Callaway H.

1970, Stuart James's works edited by Webb & Wright 1982, Doke). Neither is the major contribution of contemporary scholars such as Dickens (1985), Koopman (1979a & 1979b,1986, 1987) and Suzman (1994) undervalued and dismissed.

It is acknowledged that, without the contribution of such people and the systems of practice devised by them, African scholars (Thipa 1987, Xaba 1993) today would be unable as would be their non-African contemporaries (Dickens, Suzman, de Klerk & Bosch, Koopman and Neethling) to attempt any sort of ethnographic onomastics or linguistic research in the field of South African onomastics.

However, it cannot be denied that, in South Africa in particular, the African authenticity of experience has had little voice up to including the early 1990's[1] and that the participation of South and southern African scholars in the academic debate about the southern African cultural practices and languages can only increase all researchers, understanding of the nature of the southern African cultural practices. Furthermore, such co-operation on an academic level will provide researchers from outside the culture with the opportunity to test and confirm their hypotheses against the cultural knowledge and intuitions of scholars from within the culture being researched. This is not to be read as a claim that only a Zulu or a Xhosa or a Sotho or an Afrikaner can legitimately research isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sesotho, Afrikaans, respectively. The current researcher's position is merely that African perceptions of African experiences in terms of African cultural practices are almost by definition likely to be different from those of non-Africans viewing the African practice from the outside.[2] If one adhere to the commonly accepted position (Wenger) that we are all

culturally and historically situated, we must then accept, too, that our own cultural identities and communities of practice will intervene/intrude/in our reading/seeing/interpreting of the community practices of others.

In all cultures there are subtleties of meaning and practice intuitive to the members of that community. Such subtleties might be easily be missed or differently interpreted by outsiders "looking in - not in error or by deliberate misdirection but precisely because they are "looking in" from their own cultures. This was a problem with much of the early anthropological research which interpreted and evaluated in terms not of the cultures under examination themselves, but in terms of western practices and ethics. In *Things Fall Apart*, for, example, Chinua Achebe narrates the horror with which the Christian missionaries looked upon the killing of twins and their lack of understanding of the potential burden that twins could be and the potential threat they were to the survival of one another and the community as a whole. Other cultures also held to this practice which was grounded in economic realities for the sake of the survival of the group. Fusco (1994:143) highlights the role that Anglo-American anthropologists in particular, played in the description and documenting of non-Caucasian tribes as primitives - to the extent that they frequently became objects of exhibition whose only voice was that of the interpreting anthropologists.

The first sorting level used in working with the data is 'popularity' as the basic point of the research has been to verify whether or not there has been a shift in naming practices among the Zulu people. In order to discover signs of shift, it is then necessary, having delimited the most popular names, to check the popularity in terms of age. Secondly, to

substantiate the sub-premise that traditions are generally maintained in rural areas rather than in urban, the same list of popular names is compared on a rural/urban axis. Thirdly, the list of popular names has been sifted in terms of the gender of the name-giver. Finally, using the list of reason-categories given in §4.2, of popularity, age, place, and name-giver are re-evaluated The reason-categories used for analysis are:

1. Tradition (ancestor commemorated to ensure continuity);
2. Family circumstances (social condition of family);
3. Birth circumstances and events (events surrounding the period of birth);
4. Historical events (both tribal and modern);
5   Political events (pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial);
6. Physical characteristics; and
7. Personal choice.

In accordance with the practice of previous researchers into isiZulu onomastics (Koopman, Xaba, Suzman and Dickens), the current researcher has analysed his data in terms of reason categories. In field of research into isiZulu personal naming practices, there is a more or less a standard list of categories which, by convention, is used to analyse collected data. Where the data from 1994 confirms the previous scholars, this is clearly indicated as such confirmation affirms earlier research and that the list of reason categories derived from previous research into isiZulu personal naming practices is both culturally authentic and academically valid. A close analysis of the post-1994 data in fact shows that where traditional practices have been retained, the first four (traditional) reason-categories from the previously mentioned set (§ 4.1, above) are still the categories of choice.

Where comparison between previous research data analysis and the current research data analysis reflects difference, the difference is accounted for by using the traditional/non-traditional binary as the informing binary pair and superimposing the urban/rural and wealthy/poor binary pair on it. The shifts that are currently occurring among upwardly mobile ('wealthy') urban groups show the reason-category, personal choice to be currently the dominant category of choice. Thus, while the traditional Zulu society cultural practices

dominate in the rural areas and among traditionalists, among the non-traditional urbanites, western 'secularised' practices are becoming more popular.

Substantial numbers of examples were collected in each category. The following examples, gathered during the survey, are representative of each of the different categories. For each of the categories, reference is made to research covering pre-1994 South African naming practices, in terms of the particular category. The purpose of the cross-referencing is two-fold. Firstly, the frequency-of-use of a category would suggest that the category is intrinsic to South African naming practices. Secondly, the cross-referencing demarcates the body of research on South African onomastics and isiZulu onomastics, in particular.

4.2   REASON-CATEGORIES – DATA COLLECTION

4.2.1 Tradition (ancestor commemoration)

4.2.1.1   *Ancestor-related names.*

The data gathered during the current research project shows clear correspondences with the earlier work on Zulu naming practices undertaken by Koopman (1986, in particular); Xaba (1993); and Suzman (1994). The current research results are correlated with the work of these scholars (where appropriate) both in the discussion which follows and in Chapter 5 which constitutes a discussion of the research findings.

As discussed in §2.4.3.1 above, traditional Zulu naming practices have evolved over many generations and abound with history and meaning while simultaneously maintaining the links between the people and the ancestors. Table 1 presents a selection from the current

research data of personal names which embody the close link between the ancestors and their descendants.

M	F
Vukani (ancestors must arise) *Vukile* (ancestors have risen) *Buyani* (welcome back) *Muzikawupheli* (the family is progressing) *Sikhumbuzo* (memory of the past) *Mphiliseni* (let him live)	*Hlengiwe* (saved by the ancestors) *Nomadlozi* (ancestors) *Buyisiwe* (returned by the ancestors)

Table 4.1   Ancestor-related personal names

Boy's are more commonly bestowed with names which overtly embody the ancestors because of their stand in a direct vertical line with all the ancestors of the family.

4.2.1.2   *Clan and the extended family.*

This category includes the position of the child within the family and the extended family and is closely linked to the concept of continuity from one generation to the other. (For a detailed discussion on continuity, see §2.4.3.1.) Personal names have embedded in them clan and family affiliation-references. For sons, personal names are indicative of a boy's potential 'inheritance' of the family and of his responsibility to carry it forward genealogically. For daughters, personal names are indicative of a girl's potential for marriage outside the clan. Koopman (1986:98) (who is the only one among the earlier researchers who discusses this category) refers to the relationship of daughters to the family as one which is horizontal, while that of sons is vertical. Certain names are so bound to particular clans that they function as markers of the clan whether they are accompanied by the clan name or not.

Table 4.2 represents a selection of names (gathered during the fieldwork) which clearly manifest the relationship between the named and the clans to which they belong.

M	F
Bhekamabomvu > Ngubane clan *Bhekamantungwa > Khumalo* clan *Ngwane > Hlongwane* clan *Nyawo > Nyawo* clan *Bhambada > Zondi* clan *Mzilikazi > Khumalo* clan	*Zamambo > Mkhize* clan *Zasembo > Mkhize* clan *Zamakhawula > Khawula* clan *Zamanguni > Gumede* clan *Zamakhanya > Makhanya* clan *Zamakhize > Mkhize* clan *Nobathiyane > Mthiyane* clan *Zamabhengu > Bhengu* clan *Zamabomvu > Ngubane* clan

Table 4.2   Clan-related personal names

4.2.1.3   *Gratitude*

In Nguni society, a child is generally considered to be a gift from above (from God, the creator, through ancestors). Koopman (1986:97), however, notes that:

> Names in this category express the parent's gratitude, usually, *but not always*, to God, for a successful birth, another child, or some other occurrence. These names are almost invariably based on the verb - *ukubonga* ('to thank', 'to express gratitude').

Table 4.3 presents a selection of personal names collected during the current research, all of which affirm Koopman's opinion. It is noticeable that in most cases there is only oblique reference to the one who is being thanked, for example, *Malibongwe* (let his name be thanked), *Bongumusa* (thank his Grace), and *Mbongeni* (thank him), all of which are boy's names. All the other names thank a concealed agent in the manner of passive constructions. This practice conforms with the taboo in traditional Zulu naming practice against naming God directly and with the belief in the ancestors as the intercessors between God/the Creator and the people.

M	F
Bonga (thank you)	*Bongiwe* (thanked for)
Siyabonga (we are grateful)	*Bongeka* (we are grateful)
Mbongwa (appreciated)	*Nokubonga* (we are grateful)
Sibongiseni (be grateful with us)	*Sibongile* (we are grateful)
Malibongwe (let his name be thanked)	*Mabongi* (we are thankful)
Bongumusa (thank his Grace)	*Babongile* (they are grateful)
Bongani (be grateful)	*Zesuliwe* (tears have been wiped out)
Sibongakonke (we are grateful for everything)	*Bongekile* (appreciated)
Mbongeni (thank him)	*Sibongokuhle* (we thank the good things)

Table 4.3   General gratitude - names based on *ukubonga*

Other personal names collected which refer overtly to the child as a gift, and thus exclude

the verb '*ukubonga*', include (Table 4.4):

M	F
Simphiwe (we are given)	*Nosipho* (gift)
Siphiwe (we are given)	*Nozipho* (gifts)
Sipho (gift)	*Phiwase* (given)
Sabelo (our share)	*Nokuphiwa* (has been given)
Nkosingiphile (God has given me)	*Phiwile* (given)
	Ziphozonke (all gifts)
	Siphesihle (nice gift)
	Bongisipho (thanks for the gift)

Table 4.4   General gratitude - names without the word *ukubonga* as their base

Table 4.5 lists names which unequivocally express gratitude to God as the Creator and

which confirm the findings of Xaba (1993:28-31). (Compare also Koopman 1986.)

M	F
Thembinkosi (Trust the Lord) *Mthembeni* (Trust the Lord) *Nkosikhona* (God is alive) *Bongumenzi* (Thank the Creator) *Bonginkosi* (Thank God) *Nkosingiphile* (God has given me) *Nkosinathi* (God is with us) *Musawakhe* (God's grace) *Dumisani* (Praise the Lord) *Makabongwe* (Give gratitude to God) *Malibongwe* (His name must be thanked) *Unathi* (God is with us) *Bhekinkosi* (look up to the Lord) *Siphosenkosi* (God's gift) *Mandlenkosi* (God's strength) *Musawenkosi* (God's grace) *Velenkosini* (came from God) *Cebolenkosi* (God's plan) *Bongumusawenkosi* (Thank God's grace) *Nkosikhona* (God is alive)	*Thembani* (Trust in the Lord) (plural) *Ntandoyenkosi* (God's will) *Nkonzo* (God's sermon) *Zibusiso* (God's blessings) *Simelweyinkosi* (God is on our side) *Hlengiwe* (saved by God) *Sindisiwe* (saved by God) *Ntombiyenkosi* (God's girl) *Londiwe* (in God's care) *Noluthando* (God's love) *Ziphozenkosi* (God's gifts)

Table 4.5   Gratitude with reference to God

4.2.1.4   Parent's wishes for their children

This category consists of names through which parents project future wishes for their children. The hope is that by naming children in a positive way, they will fulfil their names and 'live up' to their names. Other research done on other Nguni groups also include this category. De Klerk & Bosch (1995: 74) in their research into Xhosa personal naming practices cite a comment from one of their respondent name-givers:

> The name encodes hopes and wishes for the child (eg. *Nomonde*: "means dedication and patience. I wanted the child to be dedicated and patient in everything she did"; *Khayalethu*: "when he is grown up he must know that he must work for his home and look after his parents when they are older".

Similar examples were found in the current Zulu data:

o

M	F
Vusumuzi (build the homestead)	*Nomusa* (kindness)
Sifiso (wish)	*Bathobile* (they are humble)
Ziphathekahle (behave well)	*Thobeka* (be humble)
Bhekumuzi (look after the family)	*Bekezela* (be patient)
Bhekabakubo (look after your own people)	*Nonhlanhla* (luck)
Mthandeni (love him)	*Nokuthula* (quietenes)
Mfundo (education)	*Nompumelelo* (mother of success)
Nhlakanipho (intelligence)	*Nolwazi* (knowledge)
Bhekuyise (look after his father)	*Thandinkosi* (Love God)
Xolani (be at peace with one another)	*Lethukuthula* (bring peace)
Lindani (wait)	

Table 4.6   Parent's wishes

4.2.1.5   *Death-related names*

Both Stewart (1996) and Anim (1993) researched this category. According to Anim (1993:

10), the emotional devastation that infant mortality causes in families is clearly indicated

in the plethora of names that reflect this predicament. During the field research conducted

by Anim, it was discovered that some mothers had lost as many as eleven children to

infant mortality.   In consequence, a child who lives is frequently given a name that is

supposed to make him/her unacceptable to the messenger of death. Such names might

be 'nonsense' (that is made up) names like *Fuseke* (go away), this term is derived from

an Afrikaans word (voetsek), *Babonani* (what do they see from me – the child is not going

to be somebody in the future) or *Sihawukele* (have mercy upon us – don't let it happen

again). These examples are made up to wish away death.

If a woman experiences successive cases of infant mortality, there are a number of options

traditionally open to her:

- *Bendaki* (what is it that they want?) That is, 'what makes people annoy us and persecute us so?'
- *Bagamba* (they talk): people talk a lot, but most of what they say (about others, especially the naming parent) is untrue, and it is better to ignore it).
- *Banoba* (they hate) there are people who hate the parents, and this name shows that the parents know it.

Beattie (in Koopman 1986:105) sees personal conflict/aggression as a form of 'war'. He explains the use of particular names as an attempt to 'neutralise' sorcery:

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

The following examples of war-related (conflict) names were all collected in the KwaNgwanase area.

M	F
Mpini (M) (at war) *Phumasilwe (M) (come out let us fight)* *Mavikimpi (the one who avoid war)* *Mpiyakhe (his war)* *Vikimpi (avoid war)* *Mzingelwa (hunted)* *Mhlaseli (attacker)* *Mbango (dispute)* *Mgwazeni (stab him)* *Bhekizitha (watch enemies)* *Felizwe (die for the nation)* *Fayedwa (die alone)* *Bhekimpi (look for war)*	*Nompi (war)*

Table 4.8   War-related personal names

(Because girls in Zulu culture do not go to war and are not seen as warriors, they will never have a war-related name bestowed on them except for the very few: *Nompi* (mother of war) which is a girl who was born during a war.)

4.2.1.7 *Negative and positive connotations in name-giving.*

Like Stewart's (1996) research, the current study gathered data which reflect both pessimistic and optimistic approaches to personal names. For example in KwaNgwanase, most names are negative reflecting pessimism. Taken in conjunction with the large number of 'conflict' names, the naming practices of the people of the area seem to reflect a difficult, stressful existence.

M	F
Mathuna (graves) *Godilengane* (grave of a child) *Sikhosikawuboni* (behind my back) *Mtholephi* (where did you get him?) *Velaphi* (where does he come from?) *Mshiseni* (set him alight)	*Lahliwe* (deserted), *Nyanyiwe* (hated), *Fuseke* (an Afrikaans swearing word *voetsek*) which expresses annoyance, *Zondiwe* (hated). *Phumaphi* (where do you come from) *Kwatile* (crossed) *Thuna* (grave) *Xoshiwe* (dismissed from home) *Boshiwe* (have been arrested) *Chithiwe* (spilled) *Nomacala* (accused)

Table 4.9   **Negative and positive connotations**

Many of the above names, given their reasons, recur frequently amongst certain families. The very choice of such names imposes social retribution on the name-bearer as the name functions as an overt sign in the particular community. *Lahliwe*, for instance was so-named to serve as a perpetual reminder of unsocial behaviour by the father – her mother having

been deserted by the father. If such a name is bestowed on a child, she will, by virtue of her name, bear the misfortune of always being rejected by men. Furthermore, she will also be unsuccessful in job opportunities. Thus, *Nyanyiwe* (hated) will be hated by everyone she comes across because she is so-named. *Phumaphi, and Mtholephi (*or the variants *Velephi, Velaphi)* are names that are bestowed on children when the father cannot be sure whether he is the biological parent of the particular child, or not. *Thuna/Mathuna* is a name often given to a child when a death has occurred in the family. By conferring this name on a newborn, it is believed that death can be persuaded to leave that family.

4.2.2 Family circumstances

This category includes the social condition of the family, for example, incidents affecting the family, achievements of family members, the financial condition of the family and various social problems.

4.2.2.1 *Names derived from incidents within the family*

Earlier researchers who collected data in this sub-category include Herbert (1995); Suzman (1994); and Koopman (1986). During the current research, the following examples in this category were collected.

- *Sizeni* **M** (no use): The reason for this name was that the woman who was supposed to come and help the mother to deliver the child did not come. Later she came and the mother of the child said 'it is no use'.

- *Thobelani* **M** (be humble): The father prayed to God for a baby boy and when he discovered that a baby girl had been born, he became angry. His wife said to him, "you must humble yourself before God".

- *Zamaliphi* **M** (what are your plans?): The man abused his wife and so the wife decided to run away. Unfortunately, the man caught her. He asked her, "What are your plans now?".

- *Mfaniseni* **M** (show me the resemblance): The father was not sure of the child's resemblance (that is the child did not look alike with him or any other family members), and thus asked the family members to find someone who looked like that child.

- *Sikhumbuzo* **M** (memory of): The father died before the child was born and so the child was named *Sikhumbuzo* as a memorial to his father.

- *Simtholile* **M** (we have found him): The family had finally given birth to a boy after many girls.

- *Hlanganani* **M** (come together): There was a dispute in the family. By so-naming the child, the father was conveying a message to the family that they should come together and put aside their differences.

- *Zigizendoda* **M** (man's footsteps): The movement of the child in the womb was unusual. So, in accordance with belief the parents knew that a baby boy was coming. Normally a child is born after nine months but this one was born after ten months suggesting that giving birth to a male was difficult.

- *Nomacala* **F** (offence): The mother became pregnant before marriage. In the Zulu culture this is a serious offence which carries a penalty of two or three beasts. The father of the child will pay the beasts to the parents of the woman in apology to them.

- *Dingindawo* **M** (need a space to stay): After getting married to a woman who had had a child outside marriage, the father told his wife that the illegitimate child had no home and that therefore, she (the child) had to start looking for a home.

- *Senzeni* **M** (what have we done?) : This family was punished by the community and as a result they had had no children. When they managed to have a child, they wanted to send a message to the particular community asking them what they (the parents) were supposed to have done, so they named the child, *Senzeni*.

- *Thandiwe* **F** (loved one): The mother was loved by the husband.

- *Sindisiwe* **F** (saved): There was conflict among the family members who did not want the couple to have a child. When a child was born to them, she was so-named as a message to the family members that God is on the parents' side and that the child had been saved by God, and that God had wanted them to have a child.

- *Mthandeni* **M** (love her): The bride was not liked by the family and so the baby's father sent a message through the naming to the family that the family should accept the mother and love her.

4.2.2.2   *Names that express rejection by the father.*

In the Zulu culture, the father names a child when he accepts the child's legitimacy i.e. his paternity.   This category falls under the family/father circumstances and was also researched by Koopman (1986) as such, and   as "emotion-related circumstance" by Herbert (1995). All the following examples collected during the current research reflect the emotionally laden circumstances of illegitimate births.

M	F
Mtholephi (where did you find him?)[4] *Mthathephi* (where did you get him?) *Mshiseni* (burn him) *Phumephi* (where did he come from?) *Velaphi* (where do you come from?)	*Velephi* (where did she come from?) *Phumaphi* (where does she come from?) *Thangithini* (what do you expect me to say?) *Bonakele* (suddenly appeared) *Qondeni* (what is your intention?)

Table 4.10   **Personal names connoting rejection**

Of particular interest is the name *Msuleleni* (accuse the innocent). A man who was falsely burdened with the paternity of a child, in so-naming the child declared his innocence to the clan by implying, "You are accusing the innocent", "I am innocent".

4.2.2.3   *Names that reflect happiness in the family.*

Earlier researchers, Koopman 1986; Xaba 1993; Herbert 1995; and Suzman 1994, among others, all gathered data in this category. The name-giver expresses joy or happiness in the achievement of a child. The names in Table 4.11 all overtly express the joy of the parents at having had the child and one may assume that the names are, thus, specifically chosen for this purpose.

M	F
Jabulani (be happy) *Njabulo* (happiness) *Thabani* (be happy) *Siyathokoza* (we are happy) *Thokozani* (be happy) *Mthokozisi* (cause to be happy)	*Jabulile* (we are happy) *Siyajabula* (we are happy) *Bajabulile* (they are happy) *Ntokozo* (rejoice) *Thokozile* (we are happy) *Thabile* (we are happy) *Nonjabulo* (happiness)

Table 4.11   Happiness in the family

4.2.2.4   *Names that reflect the family structure.*

Data was also gathered in this sub-category by Suzman 1994; Xaba 1993 and Koopman 1986, in particular. The results of the current research confirm the findings of the previous research and confirms also that this category is still of major significance among more traditional Zulus. Xaba (1993:19-23) notes in her discussion of her findings for this reason-category (with which she deals as two separate categories) that changes are apparent in the urban areas, particularly as these relate to the duplication of names in those areas as opposed to the wide range of names used in the rural areas. For a fuller discussion and a correlation between Xaba's findings and those of the current research, see Chapter 5.

M	F
Bafana (boys) *Siyanda* (the family is increasing) *Siphelele* (we are enough) *Babili* (they are two only) *Bandile* (boys/children have increased) *Andile* (men have increased) *Ayanda* (men are in the increase) *Phelelani* (you must come to an end) *Singaka* (we are this much) *Qeda* (we have finished getting children) *Sandile* (we have increased) *Sandiso* (increase) *Wandile* (the homestead has increased) *Sanele* (we are enough) *Mfanafuthi* (a boy again)	*Ntombiziningi* (girls are enough) *Ntombizodwa* (girls only) *Zandile* (there are many children/girls) *Zanele* (children/girls are enough) *Zine* (they are four children) *Ntombezincane* (few girls) *Ntombizonke* (all girls) *Anele* (girls are enough) *Akhona* (girls are plenty) *Mantombazane* (girls) *Ntombifuthi* (a girl again) *Ntombintombi* (a girl and a girl) *Ntombifikile* (a girl has arrived) *Ntombinazo* (here are girls)

Table 4.12   Family structure

4.2.2.5   *Success*

Koopman 1986, and Suzman 1994 are among those who have earlier data for this category. Names designating success were most often gathered among the rural people and, in my opinion, represent the hope for success in terms of the modern world rather than in strictly traditional terms. Rightly or wrongly, the urban world is perceived by many rural people as something which to strive.

M	F
Mpumelelo (success)	*Nompumelelo* (success)
Sakhile (we have a successful home)	*Phumelele* (have succeeded)
Mandlakhe (his strength)	*Nqobile* (have conquered)
Ntuthuko (progress)	*Sebenzile* (we have done well)
Mphumeleli (the one who succeeds)	*Sinothile* (we are rich)
Simama (sustain)	*Nomzamo* (a hard attempt)
Muziwandile (the homestead has increased)	*Khululiwe* (have received freedom)
Nkululeko (freedom)	*Sinotho* (we have something)

Table 4.13   **Personal names connoting success**

The examples from Table 4.13 express the spirit of achieving a particular goal in life for an individual and the Zulu nation as a whole. Personal names like *Nqobile* (have conquered) may refer to parents who struggled to get a child, and when they eventually got one they say 'we won', and *Khululiwe* (freed). Such personal names, as *Khululiwe* (freed), may also reflect the sense of freedom now achieved after the oppression of the apartheid years with the institution in South Africa of a democratic government.

4.2.2.6   *Pride-related names*

This sub-category reflects the pride of parents in giving birth to a child. In Zulu society having a child is a tribal priority for married couples. When a child is born, the father will

be particularly proud if the infant is a boy and the mother if the infant is a baby girl. Some mothers want babies that will please their husbands especially if the family has been getting girls. Only Koopman (1986) previously gathered data in the sub-category. As examples in this sub-category were collected only in the rural areas it is possible that such choices are indicative of more traditional naming practices.

M	F
Mandlakhe (his strength) Mandlendoda (men's strength) Mandlakayise (his father's strength) Zigizendoda (footsteps of a man) Gabangaye (be proud of him) Mzikawulahlwa (a homestead is never deserted) Mzokhona (a homestead is alive) Mzwakhe (his homestead)	Gabisile (enticed) Gugulethu (our pride) Nomagugu (mother of pride) Nomzamo (our attempt) Ntombikanina (mother's girl) Ntombikayise (father's girl) Zakithi (our girls)

Table 4.14   Pride-related personal names

Male pride-related names occur more frequently than those for girls because the birth of a son is still (particularly in rural areas) a matter of clan-pride as males symbolize continuity within families and clans. As noted in Chapter 2 (§2.3.3.3), in my personal experience in the rural Maputaland area, particularly men still express more pride in having boys than in having girls. This is evident through the positive connotations of the names given to male children by their fathers: Mandlakayise (his father's strength), Mandlakhe (his strength), Mazwendoda (man's words) and Zigizendoda (man's footsteps).

4.2.3 Birth circumstances (events surrounding the period of birth)

4.2.3.1   *Names that reflect the sex of a child*

Names that reflect the sex of a child are commemorative in the sense that they allude to

long held beliefs in Zulu culture, that the outcome of a child's being a girl or boy is seen to

be related to the events or circumstances surrounding the pregnancy.

The Zulus believe that women behave differently when they carry a male child from the

way in which they behave when they carry a girl.

In rural areas such as Maputaland, it is not uncommon for some Zulus to name their

children for the day on which they were born[5]. Such naming falls into the reason-category

of birth circumstances. The name, *Nomgqibelo,* for instance, denotes a child born on a

Saturday and, *Nomasonto,* a child born on Sunday. Other examples not collected in the

survey, but fairly common among elderly people in the Maputaland community to which the

researcher belongs, include *Msombuluko* (Monday), *Lwesibili* (Tuesday), *Buthathu*

(Wednesday) and *Frayideyi* (Friday). No examples are known for Thursday and it is not

known why Thursday should not be represented, although this might be mere chance)[6]

The birth-circumstances category also includes the circumstance of having many children

of only one sex. This (unfortunate in Zulu society) condition can also be reflected through

particular names. Names given in these circumstances, although often the same as those

used to indicate the composition of the family (§4.2.2.4), usually express disappointment

in there not being a child of the opposite sex. Included among the names collected during

the research are: *Mfanafuthi* (a boy again); *Madoda* (men only); *Ntombifuthi* (a baby girl again); and *Ntombiziningi* (there are many girls).

MALES	FEMALES
Mfanufikile (a boy has arrived)	Ntombi (a girl)
Mfanafuthi (a boy again)	Ntombifuthi (a girl again)
Fana (boy)	Ntombizakithi (girls of our homestead)
Madoda (men)	Ntombifikile (a girl has arrived)
Ndoda (man)	Ntombizodwa (girls only)
Nsizwa (youngmen)	Ntombikayise (father's girl)
Nsizwazithini (what have youngmen to say)	Ntombintombi (girls girls)

Table 4.15: Names expressing disappointment at unequal gender distribution in the family.

As noted in earlier research (Xaba 1993 and Koopman 1986), (less commonly) parents may use *mfana* (boy) to mark male children (*Mfanufikile and Mfanafuthi*). For more common is the use of the stem *ntombi* (girl) to derive a compound girls' name or the prefix *no-* used with a stem to act as a marker which overtly reflects the female gender of the so-named child.

Such usage is common in both urban and rural areas:

FEMALES
Ntombi (girl) *Ntombifuthi* (a girl again) *Ntombizakithi* (girls of our homestead) *Ntombifikile* (a girl has arrived) *Ntombizingi* (there are many girls) *Ntombizodwa* (girls only) *Nomthandazo* (born through prayers) *Nomgqibelo* (born on Saturday) *Nomasonto* (born on Sunday) *Nokwazi* (mother of knowledge) *Nomfundo* (mother of education) *Nomathemba* (mother of promises) *Nomali* (mother of money)

Table 4.16   Female-gender marked personal names restricted distribution (to among the elderly)

4.2.3.2   *Other events that took place during the time of pregnancy and the delivery of the child*

Such names reflect unexpected events which occur concurrently with the birth of a child. The name, *Dingindawo* (lack space), is a name describing such a situation. The name implies that there was nowhere for the couple to stay and so the child was born outdoors. Some women may name their children to describe a situation in which the child is born before the arrival of the midwife. The name *Simangaliso* (wonder boy) describes the child's unexpected early arrival. Other names describe unexpected births in unexpected places – a boy born: on route to a church conference, *Velesiya* (appear, going to); while his mother was fetching water, *Hlambile* (swam); and while she was crossing a river, *Dabulamanzi* (cut through the water).

M	F
Velesiya (came when we were going to attend a church conference) *Hlupha* (trouble maker): the man was troublesome during pregnancy *Sikhathi* (time): the child took a long time before he was born *Mlindisi* (cause to wait): parents waited for four years before the birth of the child) *Dingindawo* (lack space): there was no space for the couple to stay *Simangaliso* (wonder boy): came unexpectedly	*Lindiwe* (awaited for a long time) *Boshiwe* (arrested): during the pregnancy period the father was arrested *Xoshiwe* (dismissed): the father was dismissed from work during the period of pregnancy. *Thandiwe* (loved): the mother was loved by the father of the child before delivery *Ndleleni* (on the way): the mother was always on the way during pregnancy- or was born on the side of the road or path. *Hluphekile* (have suffered hardship): parents did not have money nor food during pregnancy.

Table 4.17   Other birth related personal names

4.2.4 Historical events

4.2.4.1   *Overview*

This category includes personal names that are not indigenous to the Zulu society, but came about through western influences. Such personal names frequently refer to concepts that are/were foreign to Zulu culture.

As noted earlier (Chapter 2), the onomastics research by Dickens (1985); Koopman (1986 & 1987); and Suzman (1994) into Zulu naming practices has shown that western influences through Christian colonization, the influence of the two World Wars, the influx of migrant workers, urbanisation and education have had a major impact on Zulu naming practices.

4.2.4.2   *Western influences*

Dickens (1985) traces western influences on the indigenous peoples from the time when white men began visiting the present KwaZulu-Natal after Vasco da Gama's arrival in 1497. Dickens (1985) states that in the nineteenth century there were already a large number of traders, missionaries and immigrants settled in Natal.   This suggests that western

influences and rule were already being felt by the Zulus in Natal early in the eighteen-hundreds.

As noted in Chapter 1, the British administration and the later South African administrators all insisted on Christian names in official contexts, usually because they found the African names unpronounceable and impossible to spell. During the urban and rural fieldwork for the current research, the following English names were collected from Zulus who had had such names imposed on them by their teachers at school.[7]

M	F
McPherson	Cynthia
Jameson	Maureen
Nimrod	Constance
Jefferson	Mavis
Sexton	Alice
Griphner	Beatrice
Desmond	Deborah
Michael	Dinah
Cyril	Dorcas
Martin	Edith
Eric	Eunice
Eugene	Florence

Table 4.18   Western personal names

As noted before (Chapter 1) such names have no significance for their Zulu name-bearers. In fact, some of them, when they become aware of the meanings of their English name and the connotations the names have within western society, change their names either to isiZulu names or to English variants. For example, the bearers of the names *Sexton* and *Griffen* changed their names to *Sibongiseni*, and *Griffiths*, respectively. *Sexton* means "a man employed to dig graves" and *Griffen*[8] is the name of a mythical monster.

4.2.4.3   *Christian influences and colonial administrative demands*

Religious influence is evident from the frequent occurrence among Zulus of Christian or biblical names. Dickens 1985, Koopman 1986, Herbert & Bogatsu 1990, Herbert 1995, Xaba 1993, Suzman 1994, and Mathangwane 1999, all collected data attesting to the frequency of western religious naming practices on the indigenous peoples of Africa, the Zulu people included.

The impact of the missionary ideologies on the naming practices of people is reflected by the frequency of occurrence of the biblical names. Indigenous people who bear "Christian" names fall into two groups: the educated people who are linked with churches and schools; and the uneducated. The uneducated parents who wish to be seen as educated tend to become Christians and thus, name their children using religious names. Through the children's names, such parents wish to imply an association with the educated, many of whom tend to use English or western names. (For a discussion of shifting tendencies among various urban groups in relation to the adoption or rejection of western names see Chapter 5).There is a strong belief among the uneducated that if the child is so-named, one day, that child will be motivated to be educated.[9]

There are names that proclaim a specific gratitude to God as the Creator or, in some cases, to an individual who has been good to the child. Such names include the following examples from the collected data:

> • *Bonginkosi* M (Praise God): This name means that the parents are grateful to the Creator or should be grateful to the Creator for his deed – such as saving the child from certain death.

- *Bhekinkosi* **M** (Look to the Lord): This name expresses the parents' hope that the child will always look to God to satisfy his/her needs.

- *Thembinkosi* **M** (Trust in God): This name implies that the child must put his trust in God as do his parents. The implication is that the child is the result of the parent's trust in God.

- *Mandlenkosi* **M** (God's strength): This name states that the child must look up to God or implies that the parents are celebrating the intervention of God in what could otherwise have been tragic circumstances. Such circumstances may centre around the pregnancy or the relationship between the two parents.

- *Cebolenkosi* **M** (God's plan): The name implies that it is the will of God that has made the birth possible.

- *Sihesenkosi* **M** (God's mercy): This name implies that the very advent of the child's birth was due to the kindness of God. This name is less common than others probably because it is more difficult to pronounce it in Zulu. Parents consequently would tend to abbreviate the name to *Sihe*.

- *Musawakhe* **M** (His kindness) and *Musawenkosi* **M** (God's kindness) are examples of names showing gratitude to the Creator for the survival of the child.

- *Velenkosini* **M** (Come from God): This is a more unusual name which in this form declares also the child to be a gift directly from God - an assertion which is near blasphemous in Zulu culture (compare § 2.4.3.1). The name, *Velenkosini,* in fact intends to imply that the so-named person comes as a **gift** or a **reward** from God.

The following group of names manifests a way of taking concepts like "prayer" (borrowed from Christianity and not part of Zulu culture) adding a prefix like *No-* and *So-*, to incorporate the Zulu concept of "mother/father", to show that a child so-named possesses a special virtue. The prefixes *No-* and *So-* are abbreviations in Zulu of "mother of" (*nina ka*), "father of" (*yise ka*), respectively. Several names with this type of prefix were collected in the rural areas:

- *Nomthandazo* **F mother** + prayer (make prayerful).
- *Nomgqibelo* **F mother** + Saturday

- *Nomasonto* F mother + Church (born on Sunday *isonto* = make holy).
- *Sonto* M (church)

The prefixes *No-* and *So-*[10] occur of course also with isiZulu stems which thus reflect the authentic isiZulu world. Such names gathered during the survey include:

- *Nokufa* **mother of + death**
- *Nomadlozi* **mother of + ancestor**
- *Sojiyisa* **father of + solid** (to strengthen)
- *Sobantu* **father of + people**[11]

Names like *Nomadlozi* or *Somadlozi* are not common as personal names among the Zulu, because the term, *idlozi*, signifies the ancestors, who, being dead, are particularly close to *uMdali*, the Creator. Traditionally among the Zulu and most Africans, naming someone requires an understanding of the physical world and what is humanly possible within it. In African and Zulu cosmology, a human being cannot be the father or mother of the ancestoral spirit of his/her father, as the father, now being an ancestor on the plane of metaphysical existence, is removed from the physical plane and is thus a superior being. In other words, one can never name an individual using the word "ancestor" as part of the name, because the term connotes the non-physical superior world of spirits. This is the same reason that a name which directly signifies God is also not permissible. (Compare explanation of *Velenkosini* above)

Other examples of the adoption of western concepts into isiZulu personal naming, not including those with *No-* or *So-* prefixes are:

- *Thandazile* F (have prayed), another variant of *Nomthandazo* (prayer);
- *Khulekani* M (pray), a name suggesting to the parents of a child that they need to pray and thank God for granting them a child; and

- *Thandaza* **M** (pray), a name suggesting that the parents must pray to ensure the survival of the child.
- Khethinkosi **M** (accept the Lord)

Such names celebrate specific events relating to the intervention of God and thus also fall into the reason-category "birth circumstances". Here also Christian concepts like prayer are incorporated into the names. In Christian terms, God intervenes **directly**: in Zulu terms the ancestors are the intervening vessels through which *uMdali* (the Creator) affects the lives of his creations. The following are all examples of Christian-derived concepts now used in Zulu culture and adapted to conform to traditional beliefs. Thus, names like *Nikiwe* (given) and *Sindisiwe* (escaped danger) imply "by God", because the word, *uMdali,* cannot (as explained above and in §2.4.3.1) be used directly. The word *Nkosi* (king) is the common substitute avoidance-term for God/the Creator.

- *Nikiwe* **F** (God giveth): such a woman implies through the name she gives her child that for a long time she was barren and that the Creator has been extraordinarily generous in giving her the child. The child is not merely a child but also the potential source of a new generation since she is a girl. A girl in our belief is a mother who gives birth to a whole generation directly and indirectly through her progeny.

- Sindisiwe **F** (saved by God) implies that the child was saved by the mercy of the Creator and therefore the child belongs to the Creator. It is hoped that the child will achieve the intention of the Creator.

Thus, names like *Nikiwe* (given) and *Sindisiwe* (to escape danger) imply "by God", because the word, *Umdali,* cannot (as explained above and in § 2.4.3.1) be used directly. The word *Nkosi* (king) is the common substitute avoidance-term for God/the creator.

4.2.5 Political events

As discussed briefly in Chapter 1, historical and political events have had a profound influence on African naming practices. Earlier research, for example, Dickens (1985), has noted the influence on African naming practices of historical events like the "Scramble for Africa" which gave rise to rampant European colonialism in Africa. The missionary-explorers/-doctors were the fore-runners of the colonial administrations. Typically, the colonised indigenous peoples found themselves political pawns in both inter-colonialist and inter-denominational competition.

In the pre-colonial period, politically derived names were in terms of political events and contexts relating personally to clans and tribes. These traditional naming practices served (as do all traditional naming practices) to record and memorialise people or events or circumstances (Table 4.18).

M	F
Mbuyazi (derived from the verb 'buya' to come back) *Senzangakhona* (we are doing it the right way) *Mudli* (the devourer) *Dingiswayo* (the one who was sent to exile) *Jama* (stare) *Mehlokazulu* (eyes of the Zulus)	*Ntombazi* (derived from the word 'ntombi', *a girl* in isiZulu) *Nandi* (sweetness) *Mama* (mother) *Ngqumbazi* (King Cetshwayo's mother) *Mkabayi* (Shaka's aunt)

Table 4.19   **Traditional political names**

Just prior to, and during, the "Scramble for Africa" the European/western nations began to appropriate to themselves the right to name the native peoples they encountered. The missionaries wished to re-name their 'converts' with *Christian* names (compare Chapter 1) in order to mark the converts as converts. (Interestingly enough, the early explorers

frequently used either their native-bearers African names or near approximations thereof.) As noted previously, with the advent of the colonial administrations and the incorporation of the indigenous people into the colonial society as menials, the need arose to record orthographically, the names of the indigenous peoples. Furthermore, the 'master-class' found only too often that the African names were too difficult to pronounce (Chapter 1) and thus gave their servants 'simple' western names. It would not have been unusual for four or five workers to be named with the same name – to the point that in the nineteen-fifties and -sixties most African men were called, "John" in total disregard of the men as individuals. The name "John" thus functioned (insultingly and derogatively) as a generic personal name.[11] A western name which was commonly used as a generic for African men - Jim is another example. Mary was the frequently used generic for African women.

M	F
John Jim Jack Boy	Jane Mary Miriam Doris

Table 4.20   Colonial examples of generic address-name for Africans

In the post-colonial, post-apartheid years, and already in the dying days of the apartheid regime, young men and women began to assert the right, and to re-appropriate the right, to call themselves as they had been named within their traditional cultural practices. Many of those who had been named by their name-givers in conformity with western traditions, for whatever reasons of expediency or by conviction, changed their names or adopted African names in conformity with traditional practices. (For a fuller discussion, see Chapter 5.)

M	F
Nkululeko (freedom)	*Sinqobile* (we have conquered)
Andile (they have increased)	*Sithokozile* (we are happy)
Ayanda (they are in the increase)	*Akhona* (they are alive)
Mnqobi (the conquerer)	*Aphiwe* (they have been given)
Kwanele (it is enough)	*Nomalungelo* (human rights)
Lungelo (a right)	*Eyethu* (it is ours)

Table 4.21   Post-colonial re-appropriated traditional names.

Lately, especially among the younger upwardly-mobile professionals (generally found in the urban areas), western names or adapted western borrowings or western conceptualisations which have been translated into isiZulu are common. Several such names are reflected particularly in Appendix 5 (Durban area hospital records). The limited range of names and their high frequency of occurrence in the data is suggestive of 'fashion' as the intention when choosing names among this middle class group. (The significance of these naming practices and their linguistic adaptations are discussed in more detail in §4.2.7.2, below.)

4.2.6 Physical characteristics

Koopman (1986) is the only other researcher on Zulu naming practices to have included this reason-category in his research. The data gathered for the current research confirm and support Koopman's findings that this reason-category is common in Zulu cultural practice. If a child is born with certain remarkable features, these features become the source of the child's name. Such 'remarkable' features may include physical appearance or the size of the child at birth.

M	F
Bude (tall) *Ntwenhle* (beautiful thing) *Munlomuhle* (handsome person) *Mbukiso* (show) *Bukisisani* (look carefully) *Zibonele* (see for yourself)	*Nobuhle* (Beauty) *Buhlebakhe* (her beauty) *Sidudla* (fat) *Sibahle* (we are beautiful) *Ntombenhle* (pretty girl) *Mbalenhle* (beautiful flower) *Zinhle* (girls are pretty) *Bukeka* (attractive) *Mbali* (flower)

Table 4.22   Physical characteristics

4.2.7 Personal choice of name-giver

4.2.7.1   *Dictates of fashion*

The dictates of fashion frequently lead to the adoption of western practices into African culture, apparently in the belief that such borrowed practices are indicative of sophistication. The borrowing of names is such an example. The current research data contains several examples of borrowings from both English and Afrikaans. Mathangwane & Gardner (1998:79) noted in their research, also, the effects of western influences on the Tswana peoples' customs and practices:

> The Western culture is also considered to play some part in the choice of English names. Name-givers at times give English names which come from the Western countries which they may have heard of through the media or on their visits to these countries.

During the current study, the following names were encountered (primarily in the urban areas):

Florence F: This name was given to the person because her father wanted her to become a nurse. Florence Nightingale is known as the founder of nursing as a profession, thus the child was named Florence.

Matende M (Tents):   This name was given to a child at the time when tents were first introduced into KwaZulu-Natal. This name usually has negative connotation. The

object 'tent' for a temporary canvas/cloth shelter became part of the Zulu experience and also of the language *(itende)* with the arrival of the white hunter-exporers, missionaries, armies and colonialists in KwaZulu. Like other Kintu tribes and the Khoisan, the Zulus had their own mode of temporary structures generally constructed from lath and grass or grass mats.

In the current era where "shack-dwelling" is common, the term *'imikhukhu'* has been coined for squatter-camps, while the term *'amatende'* is reserved for the new housing settlements because while the dwellings are permanent, there are no facilities like sewage, electricity, running-water or permanent roads and street lighting.

Pita **M** (Peter):	This name derived from the Afrikaans 'Pieter' (Peter).
Joji **M** (George):	This was the name of two of the British kings during the colonial period.
Thibhoyi **M** (Tea Boy):	African male who used to work for the white farmers.
Siteshi **M** (station):	The railway station influenced the name-giver.

Names that are coined for specific situations are by the choice of the name-givers. This is a common practice in urban areas. Such name-givers are generally non-traditionalists and they follow the fashion of the time. Certain age groups will have a common name, which is fashionable during that time. For instance, *Sifiso, Sandile, Sipho* are names that are common to people in their middle years (40-50 years old).

4.2.7.2   *Zulu-phonologised western names*

Although, as noted in § 4.1.4.2, Christianity did (and still does have) an influence on Zulu naming practices, it should be noted, however, that Christian/western names borne by Zulus do not necessarily indicate affiliation to, or recognition of, Christian beliefs on behalf of the name-giver. The name might have been chosen (by non-traditional Zulus) merely because it sounds different and thus more interesting. Frequently, the tendency is (as noted above, § 4.1.4.2) to adapt the name phonologically to fit the isiZulu system. This may be to avoid accusations of disloyalty to tradition or to strike a compromise between

Zulu and English cultural marking or even because the name would be more easily pronounceable and more easily remembered in its 'isiZulu' form (Table 4.22).

A name like *Jakobe* may be given to memorialise a grandfather, for example, who had converted to Christianity. Thus the traditional practice of naming a child in order to 'resurrect' an ancestor or as a memorial to him/her is maintained. Such a name is then frequently adapted to isiZulu phonological patterning. Such naming remains a matter of the name-giver's choice and is only partly in accordance with traditional practice, precisely because the original name, Jakob, would have no direct meaning in Zulu culture other than which it obtains through association with the Judeo-Christian tradition.

M	F
Abrahama (Abraham)	*Mariya* (Maria)
Genesisi (Genesis)	*Mata* (Martha)
Sambulo (Revelations)	*Sara* (Sarah)
Duthoronomi (Deuteronomy)	*Ribhekha* (Rebecca)
Shadreki (Shadreck)	*Madalina* (Magdalene)
Josefa (Joseph)	*Ananiya* (Ananea)
Matewu (Mathews)	*Noma* (Norma)
Isaya (Isaiah)	*Ana* (Anne)
Jobe (Job)	*Krestina* (Christina)
Sawuli (Saul)	*Meri* (Mary)
Davide (David)	*Meriyamu* (Miriam)
Elija (Elijah)	*Ruthi* (Ruth)
Mishaki (Meshack)	
Bhowazi (Boaz)	
Mosi (Moses)	
Johani (John)	
Abednigo (Abednigo)	
Solomoni (Solomon)	
Naftali (Naphthal)	
Jona (John)	
Pita (Peter)	
Nikhodima (Nicodemus)	
Samuweli (Samuel)	
Aroni (Aaron)	

Table 4.23   Zulu-phonological Western names

4.2.7.3 *Coining for specific purposes*

Stewart (1996) is the only researcher who has discussed this category in relation to her research on African naming practices. The data gathered during the current research project confirms and supports her findings.

The coining of names in order to capture a significant situation is fairly often employed to name children among the Zulu people. Children may be named after the days of the week on which or months or seasons in which they are born (Table 4.23).

M	F
Zibandlela (December) *Disemba* (December) *Julayi* (July) *Juni* (June) *Mgqibelo* (Saturday) *Sonto* (Sunday) *Masonto* (Sundays)	*Nomasonto* (Sunday) *Nomgqibelo* (Saturday)

Table 4.24 **Names representing birth days and months**

Another form of coining ensures phonological and semantic matching with isiZulu while there is a mis-match conceptually. For example, to incorporate the Christian concept of "blessing/bless" as opposed to the traditional one of "luck" (frowned upon in Christian fundamentalist practice) the lexical item *isibusiso* (noun)/*busisa* (verb) was coined. The male name form is *Sibusiso* and the female, *Busisiwe*. *Nozibusiso*, *Busiswa*, *Sibusisiwe*, and *Mabusi* are commonly encountered variants:

> *Busisiwe* F (blessed) is a very common name implying that the child will be showered with many blessings. *Busisiwe*, therefore, implies the child is blessed now and always. It also suggests that the child was a blessing bestowed on the parents by God. The name *Busisiwe* is given to a girl and

Sibusiso (blessing) is given to a boy. Another version of the girl's name would be *Sibusisiwe.*[12]

Such names as *Nomsa* (kindness) are derived from *umusa* (noun), *Nomasonto* (Sunday/church) from *amasonto* (noun), *Nombuso* (kingdom) from *umbuso* (liberty – extended in meaning to hegemony and kingdom and specifically in naming, to the kingdom of God). *Thembani* (trust) is derived from *Themba* (to trust) and is a male-only version of the name, *Thembani,* which may be used for either sex. The girls-only version is *Thembi.* The name *Themba* means "have trust [imperative] in the fulfilment of your wants". *Nomathemba* is yet another variant of the name, *Thembani.* The following examples are representative of coinings which declare "gratitude". These examples again reflect the personal choice of the name-giver:

M	F
Simphiwe (Received from God) *Nkosingiphile* (God has given) *Samkele* (we have received him from God) *Nkosikhona* (God is alive)	*Bongiwe* (Thanked) *Bongekile* (Thanked) *Sibongile* (We are grateful to the Creator) *Babongile* (They are grateful to the Creator) *Philisiwe* (Saved by God) *Hlengiwe* (Saved by God) *Samukelisiwe* (Received from God) *Sibusisiwe* (we have been blessed) *Nokubonga* (gratefulness) *Nokuphiwa* (the one who is given)

Table 4.25   Coinings

All the names in Table 4.23 have about them a finite quality suggesting something has happened or been achieved and celebrated. Names such as *Thembekile* (trustworthy), and *Thandiwe* (loved) imply a process that is on the verge of its final conclusion and subsequent celebration.

4.2.7.4 *For fashions' sake*

Some personal names are given to children through the taste of the name-giver. This practice is associated with names that have a pleasant melody and are common in the urban areas. Other names are bestowed on children because they are the names of famous/popular figures in that particular community. Other names (transliterations of western (usually English names), like *Amanda* and *Sindie* (Cindy) have also become popular in certain urban areas, and are found especially among children born after 1994. This category appears not to have been researched previously. The following are examples from the collected data:

M	F
Sandile (we have increased) *Simo* (situation) *Nhloso* (purpose) *Sifiso* (wish) *Sipho* (gift) *Lwazi* (knowledge)	Amanda *Sindie* *Lindie* *Mandie* *Phindi* (repeated child)

Table 4.26   **For fashions' sake**

Currently fashionable names collected in urban areas suggest that one of the parents at least has been influenced by other parents who live in townships like those of *Umlazi* and *Kwamashu*. (Compare with the discussion on *Analysis by popularity* in §4.3, below, and with Table 4.24 hospital records and Appendix 5.) The following names occur most frequently in the Durban hospital records. (The popularity figure for a particular name is given in square brackets [ ].)

- *Ayanda* **M** (they are increasing) [55]

This is the most popular name in the 'rich' urban areas as these are reflected in the analysed hospital records. The morphological structure of the name is: -a is the subject concord and ya (meaning "they are") is the auxiliary verb marking the continuous tense) and -anda is the vowel-verb, meaning "to increase". As noted above, males are preferred in most Zulu families, as an increase of males confirms the continuity of a clan name (unlike girls who, on marriage change their clan name for that of the bridegroom's) and the name, Ayanda, acknowledges this preference directly and unequivocally. The subject concord, a-, in the name, Ayanda suggests both man and clan and functions as a sign of the expression, amadoda (men are increasing). The name, Ayanda, can thus, used in conjunction with a referent, represent a variety of clans. For example, Ayanda Amabomvu, Ayanda AmaKhabazela, Ayanda AmaZondi, Ayanda AmaFuze, Ayanda AmaNdosi, and AmaNtimande are all expressions of congratulations to various clans at the increase in the clan through the birth of a boy.

The name, Ayanda, has been bestowed on many children apparently because young mothers who were friends all liked the name. The high frequency-response rate from Umlazi (as reflected in the hospital records) and the apparently sudden appearance of the name in data collections since 1994, suggests that the name has become popular within particular (upwardly mobile) social groupings. From the data, one can also surmise that these names were given at the beginning of the new South Africa political dispensation. All fifty-five names belong to children of five or younger. There are only two occurrences (obtained from the McCord hospital records) of the name being given to children who are not from the greater Durban area or its immediate surrounds. These were the children of

parents from Newcastle and Ozwathini, respectively. The mothers of the children in question came from Newcastle and Ozwathini to give birth. It is probable that they adopted the name from the interim community in which they found themselves. Alternately, either parent may originally have come from the Greater Durban area (uMlazi in particular) and may have chosen the name as one well-known to them.[13]

- *Andile* **M** (they have increased) [47]

This is the second most common given-name amongst children under the age of five found in the Durban hospital records. The meaning of the word is the same as that of *Ayanda*, except that the tense is past perfect, rather than present continuous. The use of the past tense suggests that the parents do not wish to have any more children. *Andile* is a 'unisex' name which can mean the increase of either boys or girls and which be used in conjunction with the nouns, *amadoda* and *amantombazane*, to distinguish males named *Andile* from females so named: *Andile amadoda* or *Andile amantombazane*. Another version of this name which is popular is *Bandile*. This name may suggests different things depending on the noun (either boys, *abafana*, or children, *abantwana*,) which accompanies it: *Bandile abafana* (boys are increasing) or *Bandile abantwana* (children are increasing). The name can be bestowed only on a child from the third-born onwards. It would be unusual to find a first-born child so named. It is also never used for females. The only context in which *Bandile* occurs generally is when it refers to people at large: *abantu bandile* – people are increasing.

- *Amanda* F (No isiZulu meaning) [34][14]

One may speculate that this name became fashionable because it 'sounds' Zulu. The initial structure of the word is vowel + consonant + vowel (VCV) which is similar to isiZulu noun structure. This word has no semantic value in isiZulu.

- Anele F (they are enough) [30]

This name refers to a proliferation (generally) of female children. It does not imply that they are not wanted anymore, only that one would like to have some (more) boys.

- Asanda F (they are still increasing) [10]

This is a name used exclusively for females, to indicate that girls are on the increase in a particular family.

- Andiswa F (we have been increased) [10]

Andiswa is a celebratory name announcing the family's joy that it has been increased by the birth of the boy.

- Akhona F (girls are available) [9]

This name is used when a family has girls. By naming a new baby girl this way the family announces the presence of girls in the family to the community. This is a popular urban name found in KwaMashu, Cato Manor and uMlazi – all densely populated areas.

4.2.8 Western borrowings

None of the other researchers into Zulu naming practices has addressed this category in terms of the transliteration of concepts. Personal names are sometimes borrowed from the west and transliterated into isiZulu – usually because the parents like the concept. Other names are specifically coined to express new concepts acquired in contact with Christianity and western culture. Such names are also adapted to fit isiZulu phonology and sometimes even reconceptualised in terms of the Zulu world. A representative selection of such transliterated forms is given in Table 4.26.

M	F
Bhoyi (boy)	*Mball* (flower)
Bonginkosi (praise God)	*Lili* (lily)
Mvuselelo (revival)	*Doli* (doll)
Thispuni (teaspoon)	Pinkie
Matende (tents)	Pretty

Table 4.27   Western borrowings

Some of the examples in (table 4.26) are words adopted and phonologised into isiZulu.

4.3   ANALYSIS BY POPULARITY

While an attempt is made to deal individually with the reason-categories identified, there are inevitable overlaps among them.   The reason-category, "coining for special circumstances", may overlap with 'western borrowings' or with "personal choice" or with "family circumstances" or "birth circumstances," for example.

What is almost immediately noticeable when one compares the names gathered from selected Durban hospital records with those gathered in interviews in the poor urban areas

(such as squatter camps) and in the rural areas is how limited the range of names in hospital records is and how extensive the range is for the other researched areas. While Xaba (1993) did not apparently access public records during her research, her findings confirm those of the current research. In almost everyone of the categories (whether semantically or morphologically structured) that Xaba researched, the range in the urban areas is limited and that in the rural areas, extensive.

For example, Xaba (1993:6-7) gathered male names using the lexeme, i(Nkosi) (king). In these rural areas she gathered fifteen names and only one (*iThembinkosi*) was found twice.

UNkosinathi (God be with us) and *uMusawenkosi* (God's grace) recurred sixteen and thirteen times, respectively.

Xaba's data (1993:9-10) relating to the use of the lexeme, *i(Ntombi)* (a girl), for female names shows up the same popularity frequency of occurrence differences between the urban and rural areas as was found for *Nkosi*. In the rural areas only one of the thirteen names (uNtombizikhona) gathered by Xaba occurred twice. In the urban areas, where she collected ten names the following four names recurred the indicated number of times:

uNtombifuthi (girl again)	11X
uNtombizodwa (girls only)	8X
uNtombikayise (girl of her father)	5X
uNtombenhle (beautiful girl)	5X

Only four of the names gathered occurred once, while the other two names collected occurred three and two times (Xaba 1993:10).Xaba's data (1993:10-14) for the use of the formative, -no-, shows even greater differences between rural and urban use. In the rural areas, only the name, uNosihle, occurred more than once out of a corpus of twenty-four names. In the urban areas, however, six of the names in the urban corpus (33 names) occurred more than ten times, and only seven occurred only once. The name with almost double the frequency of occurrence of the next most frequent names was uNonhlanhla (good luck), which occurred forty-four times. The next most frequently used names were uNokuthula (quietness) and uNompumelelo (mother of success) and these occurred twenty-six times each.

In conclusion to her discussion on the use of the formative -no-, Xaba states unequivocally:

> The two female names... which give a clear picture of changes in personal naming patterns, are uNonhlanhla and uNokuthula. The two names have a high frequency in urban areas and very low [sic.] in rural areas.[15]

4.3.1 Durban and surrounds

4.3.1.1 Personal choice

The extremely high frequency-of-occurrence of the names Ayanda and Andile (M) and Amanda and Anele (F) is the most noticeable feature about the naming data of the period 1994-1999 abstracted from the records of the selected Durban hospitals.[16] All four names are evidence of morphological innovation – vowel-initial forms. Such forms do not occur in the data from before 1994 – whether the pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial or the democratic period. In fact, the vowel-initial form occurs in records for the first time in 1994.

4.3.1.2   *Birth circumstances*

In Durban and its surrounds, the reasons given for the chosen names relate particularly

to birth circumstances – a reason-category still common even today.

- *Minenhle* **F** (beautiful day): It was indeed a beautiful day when this child was born.

- *Zama* **F** (try again): This name was bestowed on a child because the family encouraged the couple to try and have another child.

- *Phumzile* **F** (cause to rest): This was a relief to the mother of that child because the family had been complaining that the bride was barren. Now that the child has been born, she will be able to rest and relax in the family.

- *Phindile* **F** (has done it again): In this case the parents have had a second child. This could also mean that they managed to have a child of the same sex as the first and that the sex in question was the one desired by the family.

- *Phumulani* **M** (you must rest): The parents had many children and now the elders in the family advise the couple to rest.

- *Mantombazane* **F** (girls): There are too many girls in the family.

- *Xolani* **M** (forgive): There had been a dispute in the family and this child was seen as a symbol of peace.

- *Silindile* **F** (we are waiting): The family was waiting to see whether the couple would manage to bear children.

4.3.2 Rural areas

In the rural areas of northern KwaZulu-Natal and the South Coast, changes have come

more slowly.   There is also almost no tendency in the rural areas to choose a

popular/fashionable name as a matter of personal choice.

From the data collected in the rural areas there are no names beginning with a vowel

suggesting that traditional naming practices (at least reason-categories 1-4, § 4.1) are

being adhered to in the nineteen-nineties. Names that are common from the second (colonial) and third (post-colonial) shift can still be found in areas like Nongoma, Hlokozi, Izingolweni, ISangcwaba, Murchison,uMzimkhulu, Ozwathini and Tongaat. The following names occur in these areas:

M	F
Mthokozisi (make people to rejoice) -Traditional Nkosinathi (God with us) -Traditional Xolani (forgive) -Traditional Sifiso (wish) - Traditional Thokozani (rejoice)- Traditional Nhlanhla (lucky) Thamsanqa (lucky)	Sinenhlanhla (we are lucky to have this child) - Traditional Sibongile (we are grateful) - Traditional Nokuthula (quietness) - Traditional Zandile (girls are many) - Traditional Thabisile (made us to be joyful) - Traditional Thulile (quiet) - Traditional Nozipho (gifts) - Traditional

Table 4.28   Personal names common in the rural areas

What is noticeable in data from the rural areas , in contrast with that in the hospital records, and in correlation with the poor urban areas, is the wide range of names in use. The reason for this phenomenon is precisely that of adherence to traditional practices and the rejection of arbitrary personal taste. The names gained from hospital records (in themselves indicative of a more-moneyed class than that of the squatter-camps) represent an extremely limited set of names. Male name-choices are literally limited to Ayanda [55/432] and Andile [46/432]; the remaining 76% representing only traditional names. Female names have a similarly restricted distribution: Amanda [34/286] and Anele [30/286]. The majority of girls (78%) aged five and less listed in the hospital records are thus neither Amanda or Anele. The names Asanda, Andiswa and Akhona all have a frequency of about 3%, but this observation serves only to strengthen the perception that the pool of names from which the wealthier urban Zulus choose is relatively small and that

the names are almost exclusively vowel-initial forms and chosen on the basis of personal

taste although frequently still with reference to traditional forms and practices.

By comparison: of the 211 names gathered from 46 impoverished uneducated urban

squatter families, it is apparent that such respondents are less likely to choose names for

fashions' sake. They incline more to choosing names within traditional Zulu naming

practices.

In the poor urban areas, a frequency count of the corpus [134] (Appendix 3.2.2) shows the

following:

> *Sipho* [6]
> *Thulani* and *Mduduzi* [4]
> *Sibusiso* and *Sandile* [3].

The other names occur only either once or twice in the corpus. In effect, there is little or

no duplication to speak of. The name *Sipho* [6] constitutes a mere 4.4% of the corpus;

Thulani and *Mduduzi* [4], 2.9%; and *Sibusiso* and *Sandile* [3], only 2.2%. Furthermore,

none of these names occurs on the hospital record corpus. The wide range of names

collected from the squatter families supports the contention that such families are likely to

hold (at least initially) to the traditional ways.

When the data gathered in the rural areas are analysed, the similarity of the results of the

rural and poor-urban in terms of the frequency spread of names and of the kinds of names

is immediately noticed (Table 4.28).

Names: Rural (706)		Names: Poor- Urban (245)	
MALES (355)	FEMALES (351)	MALES (134)	FEMALES (111)
	8 (23%) *Zandile*		
	7 *Sibongile*		
6 (1.6%) *Thokozani*	6 *Nokuthula*	6 (4.5%) *Sipho*	
5 *Sibusiso*	5 *Nozipho*		5 (4.5%) *Zandile*
4 *Siyabonga*		4 *Thulani & Mduduzi*	4 *Thulisiwe*
3 *Bonginkosi*	3 *Nomadlozi*	3 *Sibusiso*	3 *Nompumelelo*
3 *Siphiwe*	3 *Thabisile*	3 *Sandile*	
2 *Thabani*	2 *Sebenzile*		
2 *Sandile*	2 *Bongekile*		
2 *Zithulele*	2 *Samukelisiwe*		
2 *Mandla*	2 *Phindile*		
2 *Bongani*	2 *Jabulile*		
2 *Themba*	2 *Nokuzola*		

Table 4.29   Comparative urban-rural interview responses M/F popular names
(* *M/F version of boys/girls have increased.*)

#	Male (489)	#	Female (462)
8	*Sibusiso. (1.6%)*	13	*Zandile (2.8%)*
6	*Thokozani.*	7	*Sibongile*
6	*Sandile*	6	*Nokuthula*
4	*Siyabonga*	5	*Nozipho*
4	*Mduduzi*	4	*Thulisiwe*
4	*Thulani*		

Table 4.30   Consolidated poor urban -rural *interview* responses for M/F popular names[17]

The above examples show that the tendency towards the traditional has not changed.

What is noticeable is that in both the poor-urban and rural area samples, most children

have only isiZulu names (Appendices 3.2.1 and 3.2.2). Such children do not have English

names in their identity documents. In the nineteen-eighties, linked as names were for most Africans to social and economic recognition, having an isiZulu name was considered old-fashioned and educationally unprogressive, particularly after puberty. Even those who did not continue their schooling beyond Standard Six (Grade 8) gave themselves English names. At the time, this practice was important for people's self-esteem and to their social status as having an English name ensured they would be seen as educated in the community. Neethling (1996:958) notes the change in attitude in the (South) African communities since the late fifties:

> Over the years, and particularly as part of the movement toward self-rule, resistance grew towards 'colonial' names when English or Christian names were equated with a colonial mentality. The thinking was that the mind needed to be decolonised by shaking off what was considered to be a state of mental colonial domination.

The data collected around the names of five-year old children in both urban and rural support Neethling's contention, as do the hospital records.

Many people, especially name-givers, **have** decolonised their minds and now insist on indigenous names when they name their children. Many political figures have re-positioned their African names as being primary and have dropped their English names. For example;

Desmond Tutu > Mpilo Tutu (TRC chairperson)
Sam Shilowa > Mbazima Shilowa (Gauteng Premier)
Shepherd Mdladlana > Membathisi Mdladlana (MP)
Terror Lekota > Moesiu Lekota (MP)

Although the urban names are positive and show hope for the future, the data shows that in some areas like KwaNgwanase, negative names are still bestowed on children, for example, *Hluphekile* (suffered) and *Dumazile* (disappointed).

4.4 GENDER OF NAME-GIVER

The collected data is representative of the interviews collected on the South coast, in Durban townships and in northen Zululand (in the areas of KwaNgwanase, Nongoma and Maphumulo). The areas where the data were collected represent evidence of both rural and urban naming practices. Names collected in the urban area of Durban were those gathered from hospital birth-records, and, therefore, a list of the name-givers was not available. The following table indicates the frequency-of-occurrence difference between male and female name-givers in both rural and urban areas. There are cases where both a female and a male were the name-givers (3%).

The name-givers in the rural areas are mainly male. This statement is supported by Suzman (1994:269). She found that 60% of the 52 rural names were given by the father of the baby. Male name-givers tend to bestow names (on girls) that point to the mother's behaviour in the marriage. In contrast, Suzman (1994:269) comments as follows:

> In farm and urban families, name-givers are frequently the mother and female relatives. Names point less frequently to mothers, because of the absence of the father (for a variety of reasons) as significant name givers. More evidence that names change because the name-giver does comes from the category of father, which declines as a social category in farm and urban names. When they do occur, the father points to himself.

According to Suzman (1994:269), because fathers were traditionally the most important people in the homestead, they were the primary name-givers. Herbert & Bogatsu (1990:4) like Suzman (1994), but unlike many other researchers (Koopman (1986), Thipa (1987), Mathangwane & Gardner (1998)) on African personal naming practices who tend to gloss over the gender of the name-giver, consider as I do, the gender of the name-giver to be of major onomastic importance.

In their analysis and discussion (pp.10-14) of personal naming patterns among the Northen Sotho and Tswana, Herbert & Bogatsu (1990) find, like Suzman (1994:269), that "names change because the name-givers do". The current data reveals similar trends (Table 4.30).

TOTAL	F	M	BOTH	DIFFERENCE
Rural: 172 (100%)	66 (38%)	103 (59%)	3 (1.7%)	M+37 (27.3%)
Urban: 71 (100%)	38 (53%)	32 (45%)	1 (1.4%)	F+6 (8.5%)
Rural/Urban: 243 (100%)	104 (42.8%)	135 (56%)	4 (1.6%)	M+31 (12.8)

Table 4.31   Gender of name-giver

If we examine the above statistics, we find that in the rural areas male name-givers are in the majority (59%) as opposed to female (38%). This is an indication that naming practices are still traditional in the rural areas, but less so in the urban areas. The man, as the central figure in the homestead takes the responsibility of bestowing names on newly-born children (cf. Chapter 2). Although men are not allowed near the delivery room, as soon as the child is born, he is informed. A man will walk around the house and shout the name of a child without having seen him/her. The difference between the number of female and male name-givers is greater in the rural areas (27.3%) than in the urban. In the urban areas, statistics show that both females and males are responsible for name-giving. The data collected through interviews in the urban areas, show that the difference between male and female name-givers is 8.5% in favour of the female name-givers. This is an indication that the trend in the urban areas has shifted from traditional to modern. There is a limited number of the cases where both female and male name-givers name a child. The

responsibility for naming children in urban areas shows a clear shift towards women. The gap, in the urban area, between the number of male and female name-givers is insignificant compared to that in the rural areas.

Data collected from urban areas in Zimbabwe show that the trend there is similar to that in KZN. A survey was conducted in the urban areas of Bulawayo and Harare for the Ndebele population group. The Ndebele population group is of Nguni origin. Although the sample was small, it is interesting to note that the difference between female and male name-givers (as in the KZN urban results) appears to be insignificant. The following table shows the distribution of name-givers in Zimbabwe.

TOTAL	F	M	DIFFERENCE
Zimbabwe: 22 (100%)	10 (45%)	12 (55%)	2 (10%)

Table 4.32　　Gender of name-giver (Zimbabwean)

The Zimbabwean urban statistics differ only slightly from those for the KZN urban data (8.5%) (Table 4.30) and Zimbabwe (10%). This close-correspondence in results would suggest that although the Ndebele group lives far away from South Africa, as a group, it has still managed to maintain its associations with the sources of Zulu culture in KZN. This contention would seem to be supported by the fact that names which occur among the Ndebele also occur among the Zulu (Table 4.32).

M	F
Mzingaye (a homestead is what it is through him) *Philani* (be alive) *Ayibongwe* (God must be thanked) *Njabulo* (happiness) *Ayanda* (men are in the increase) *Mandla* (strength) *Nduduzo* (comforter)	*Zanele* (enough girls) *Sibongile* (we are grateful) *Nokukhanya* (mother of light)

Table 4.33   Zimbabwe personal names

The urban name-givers in Zimbabwe share responsibility for name-giving. Given the small corpus total (22), the 10% **M/F** difference is inconclusive.

4.5   SUMMARY

On analysing the data gathered through the interviews and the hospital records, it has been possible to use "reason-categories" 1-6 and the gender of the name-giver as the points of reference for an investigation into the differences between practices in the rural and urban areas. The information gained revealed much about the tendency among many upwardly mobile "rich urban" Zulus away from the traditional towards the modern notion of "personal choice" and much about the rural people's inclination to cling to traditional ways.

Chapter 5 consists of a summary of the major findings of the research into post-1994 shifts in Zulu naming practices, evidence of which could be indicative of attempts by some Zulus to reclaim their names as part of the promotion of an African Renaissance.

ENDNOTES

1. While it may be true that scholars like Lubisi, Shabalala and Ndimande may be working in the field nothing was apparently available in the public domain as is shown by the lack of entries in library search engines.

2. The term "African" is used here very loosely as a generic to differentiate non-black African scholars from all others. It is also possible that black Africans exist to whom blackness is affected birth and not in anyway a mark of ethnicity. Such people would not presumably have knowledge and experience of the "expected inherited culture" and could not be deemed be able to speak authentically about the African culutre "there" African culture merely because they are black.

3. The bearer of *Bhekithuna* is a man of 38. His parents had had a stillborn child before him and thus he was named 'watch the grave'. This means that the previous child is in the grave, so the newborn should be 'beware of the grave' – not join the dead.

4. The final syllable -phi which occurs in the majority of the examples means "where", thus the personal names are compounds.

5. Compare §2.4.3.1 page 40, where reference is made to several other African cultures which use the names of week days or celebratory/festival days as a culturally standardised naming practice. Such practices occur as Stewart (1996:4/5) notes amongst tribes in Nigeria, Kenya, Ethopia and are not natural practices.

6. It is more than likely that the restricted distribution (to among the elderly) of weekday names is a remnant of a practice which entered Zulu naming practice (and presumably also the "numerous African societies" which Stewart (1966: 4/5) dismisses) during colonial times.

7. The names themselves reflect a particular period of English naming history. Few of the listed names are common today. Many (such as, Dorcas, Dinah, Alice) occur frequently in English literature as the names of servants and were, presumably, used to name black servants when these were encountered by expatriate administrative wives (McDermott 1999: Personal communication).

8. The bearer of the name *Griphner* (2000: Personal communication) experienced three changes to his name. When he first registered at school, he mispronounced his name so the teachers spelt his name incorrectly instead of *Griffiths* they had *Griphner*. By the time he sat for his matric certificate, he had changed his name to *Griffiths*. At the tertiary level, he changed his name again – to *Musa* (kindness). Musa is the name that the bearer uses for both social and official communications. In other words the given name by the father is *Griffen*, for standard 8 certificate is *Griphner*, in matric *Griffiths* and his medical degree is *Musa Griffiths Ngubane* as in the identification book.

9. Compare Koopman (1992) for a detailed morphological discussion of the use of the formatives No- and So-.

10. Because *Nomthandazo* is fairly clumsy to use in conversation because it is long, it (and other 'long' names) are frequently abbreviated in speech although never in formal written communication. Even in the abbreviated form, however, such abbreviated names will retain the full meaning and function as a reminder to the so-named of the significance of his/her name.

11. The practice among some whites from the forties through the sixties and seventies generics *John, Jim* (and *Mary*) for Africans whose personal names they did not know is a remarkably confirmed observation amongst both blacks and whites who live through that period to the extent that the generic Jim entered in a self-mocking manner road-gang chants - *"Abelungu ngo Demu, Basibiza ngo Jim"* (white men are damn, they call us Jim). The prevalence (and existence) of the practice is confirmed in articles from *The Bantu World* (1941 & 1955) cited by Dickens (1985:91) and a lament

against the practice which found its way into verse by Magoleng wa Selepe in Chapman (1982:188) -

My Name
Nomgqibelo Ncamisile Mnqhibisa

Look what they have done to my name.......
the wonderful name of my great-great-grandmothers
Nomgqibelo Ncamisile Mnqhibisa

The burly bureaucrat was surprised
What he heard was music to his ears
'Wat is daai, se nou wee?'
'I am from Chief Daluxolo Velayigodle of emaMpondweni
And my name is *Nomgqibelo Ncamisile Mnqhibisa.*'

Messia, help me!
My name is so simple
and yet so meaningful,
but to this man it is trash...

He gives me a name
Convenient enough to answer his whim:
I end up being
Maria...
I ...
Nomgqibelo Ncamisile Mnqhibisa.

12. The difference between "blessed" and "blessing" for girls and boys, respectively is another indicator of the difference in value of male and female children in Zulu culture. In the girl's case **she is blessed** because she is *nzalabantu* (give birth to people), while in the boy's case, **he is a blessing** to his family, because he is *usobaba* (the one who fathers children).The verb *busisa* is used as a root for both male and female names. The male and female names derived from this root are unlinked by different morphological forms. The male name is a noun derivation *(isibusiso)* and the female name is a passive form *(buisiswa)*.

13. The name Amanda is treated together with names such as *Ayanda, Asanda, Andile, Awande* precisely because the name, although in all likelihood is borrowed from English and Afrikaans, the sound pattern of the name VCVCCV is similar to many isiZulu lexical items, *(amanzi, amanga, amalunda,amaqanda)* not only names such as *Ayanda* and *Asanda*. This reseacher speculates, given the frequency of occurrence of this name in recent years that it is the similarity of sound pattern which is led to the adoption of the name into isiZulu. A name for example, like Thelma, has a sound pattern "difficult" for isiZulu speaker, if such a name were chosen, it would be adapted to *Thema* - thus avoiding the lateral plus nasal stop combination. The name *Amanda* on the other hand remains orthographically the same for English, Afrikaans and isiZulu and as it stands phonologically does not conflict with allowable isiZulu consonant cluster rules. In isiZulu the name will be pronounced ['ama`nda], in English [amãênda] and in Afrikaans [ˌamˉandˌ]. Thus the name is differentiated among languages in terms of vowel position although this dissertation is concerned with name shifts in naming practices in isiZulu since 1995, such phenomena as the above, while not being of direct concern in terms of the parameters of the dissertation are nevertheless interesting and lend themselves to further research. Also of interest (Koopman 2001 personal communication) for future research is "why the root -and- should suddenly become popular [?]. Why this particular verb and no other?" The root -and- is derived from the stem *-anda* meaning to increase and functions as such in name such as *Ayanda, Asanda, Andile*. This however, will not be true of the name *Amanda*, because it is a borrowed name transiliterated into isiZulu, and only coincidentally similar in sound

pattern to *Ayanda* and *Asanda.*

14. The other name which occurred twenty-six times in the urban areas, *uNompumelelo,* did not occur in the data gathered in the rural areas.

15. One could speculate about the apparent trend for names which begin in vowel word initial, particularly it seems form the data with vowel a- . As there will probably be few name-givers who would be able to account morphologically or phonologically for the trend towards (particularly) #a- initial names, and because as noted earlier such names were gathered from the hospital records, academics were asked to speculate. Random enquiries on this phenomena among academics who are mother-tongue speakers gave rise to a wide range of speculation ranging from easy pronunciation for non-mother tongue speakers were it was probably that the child would attempt a white, "model C" school. This speculation may be associated with a personal choice in terms of fashion. As the current research was not concerned with phonologically/morphologically structure of name changes, this interesting trend was not further investigated. The fact that the random enquiries gave rise to such inconclusive and generalise responses which suggests that this area could be a profitable research area.

16. The consolidated table which shows insignificant repetition suggests more originality and a tendency towards traditional naming practices.

CHAPTER 5   FINDINGS ON CURRENT TRENDS IN ZULU NAMING PRACTICES

5.1   INTRODUCTION

Anthroponymic research deals with linguistics, cultural history, church history and anthropology. Historical changes in the naming system as well as socio-cultural reasons behind the changes and linguistics deals with an encounter of two different naming systems and changes in a naming system on a structural level.

Traditional African naming systems show that early contact period between Africans and Europeans such as descriptions of naming practices by linguists, anthropologists and missionaries, baptismal registers and government registrations influenced the naming practice among most African societies. The practice was stable before the European influence began to change them. In the 19th century, the massive conversion corresponded with a rapid socio-cultural change. This is during this period when people search for answers to new problems. These questions were in form of kinship, economy, political organisation, modes of communication, diseases and their treatment or cure, entire social structure and world view, and spread of literacy.

When Europeans came to Africa they were generally filled with the spirit of cultural and racial superiority which caused them to condemn indigenous cultural practices. Christianity

is identified with European culture, and conversion into Christianity had a strong influence on the African identity, although concepts like ancestor respect and polygamy continued to persist in many societies. Indigenous names were condemned by the Europeans and there was a change or transformation from pagan to Christianity through adoption of European culture. To have a foreign name was a sign of changing from primitive to modern world or western civilization. Dickens(1985) has divided the development of the Zulu anthroponymic system into four stages, which may be applied to other African naming systems as well, even if the dates of colonialisation differ in different systems. The first stage was traditional naming and name; second stage was marked by biblical names; third show an increased use of European names and the fourth stage was the revival of African names.

The change in the naming systems among the Zulu people was primarily caused by the cultural and language change. Culture is defined by many scholars to mean all activities and non physical products of human personalities. There can be no culture without society nor societies without culture. Culture includes knowledge, belief systems, art, morals, law, customs, habits acquired by man as a member of a particular society. Culture is shared by many people and it guides them in their relation to their surroundings and other people. Culture is transmitted from generation to generation which means that it is acquired through learning. It carries values, rules of living which is subject to change at any given point in time. Change in culture may be caused by contact between cultures. Many anthropologists have pointed out that independent invention explains a small part of cultural change only, which is derived through diffusion or borrowing of cultural elements.

Language transmits culture and therefore, may not be separated from culture. Language carries sounds and their meanings. Tengan (1951:126) states:

> ....in some respects, language and culture do exist as separate structured entitities and should be identified as such while in other respects, language becomes embedded in culture acting as the link between cultural practices and the mental creativity of human society.

The above statement indicates that language plays a big role in the formation of cultural identity. It is very strong in guiding the interpretation of human experience. If culture is subject to change, it is influenced by the change in the language. Any contact between two cultures brings about a restructuring of the communication systems thereby producing language change.

Personal names are part of a language, and accordingly an anthroponymic system is part of a linguistic system which form part of the social system of a particular society. Personal names are often said to be cultural universals, by which it is meant that in all human societies, people are given names and the bestowal of names follows certain conventionalized rules (Alford 1988). There are no anthroponymic systems which could be said to be stable, and that these changes can be explained by both internal and external forces. The change may be caused by linguistic environment, cultural, and another naming system through language contact.

In the case of the Zulu people, the change in the anthroponymic system is seen primarily as a result of an acculturation process caused by European influence on the Zulu culture.

The second important factor is Christianity. The adoption of new religion, Christianity insisted that converts should bear a new name which would be symbolic of a new life. A typical example in the Bible is that of Saul who was struck by lightning and blinded when he was converted to Christianity because of his experience he became Paul. The new name, Paul, that was given to Saul symbolized his new life (Madubuike 1976).

The purpose of the current research into Zulu naming practices, stated at the outset of this dissertation, has been to investigate (against the background of earlier research) whether there have been any significant shifts in naming practice among the Zulus particularly in the last five or so years. Other questions have entailed:

- the extent of shifts where they are apparent;
- the contexts of such shifts – that is, in terms of binaries such as rural/urban, **M/F** gender of name-giver, poor/wealthy, squatter-camp/suburban, traditional/ modern;
- the correlations among binary-pairs such as those mentioned above;
- the linguistic processes by which borrowings are incorporated into Zulu naming practice; and
- the linguistic innovations to which the afore-mentioned are giving rise.

Whereas Dickens's research period ends in 1985, the current research begins only then and focuses, particularly, on the post-1994 period. The current research compares and contrasts rural with urban, 'poor' urban with 'wealthy' urban, and rural with 'poor' urban. Interviews were conducted in poor urban and rural areas on the assumption that these two groups were likely to have remained closer to traditional practices. This assumption was based on the belief that the poor-urban people's poverty-stricken state would tend to 'shield' them from western-practices as would the rural people's physical distance from urban centres (as would also their poverty). The results, having been compared and

consolidated, confirm the assumption (Table 4.29, above) that the poor urban peoples (mostly the squatters) are closer to the rural peoples when it comes to adhering to traditional practices, than they are to their co-urban dwellers.

The urban 'poor' /'wealthy' variable was tested for contrast (Table 4.30, above) through the interviews conducted in the Durban squatter-camps and by using Durban hospital records to investigate the 'wealthy' (based on the premise that the upwardly mobile, emerging middle class, Zulu women tend to give birth in medical facilities rather than at home with traditional midwives). The data drawn from selected Durban hospital records (Appendix 4.3) reveal a significant trend towards the giving of particular 'fashionable' names, and this being so, suggest that the corpus of fashionable names is relatively small. Consequently, many children under five share the same name. This manifestation is in contrast to the data gathered by interview from the rural and poor urban areas, where few names occurred more than once or twice (Appendix 4.3).

The names from the hospital records thus show less 'originality' than that evident in the names gathered in either the rural or the poor urban areas and are seldom personalised family/clan/tribal names in the traditional sense. In a sense, such naming is 'naming for the sake of the name' – the name functioning as a marker of a period (i.e. a fashion period) within a social class.[1] It is among these names that linguistic innovation is to be found (§4.2, above). As noted previously, such innovation may be used to make a 'root' name either male or female, as needs be. Linguistic adaptation (in a broad sense, a form of code-mixing) occurs when an (English) concept is adopted and transliterated into isiZulu

(Table 4.24, above). It is clear then, that few such names conform to the given reason-categories 1-6 (§4.2, above) and that such names fall almost entirely into reason-category 7, "Personal choices" (§4.2, above).

The data gathered from the hospital records was not put to "interview-test", precisely because of the 'non-traditional' nature of most of the names recorded. An analysis of the names makes manifestly clear that such given names constitute a relatively small corpus and that many, if not most, of the parents (mothers most frequently – §4.4/Table 4.31, above) choose to indicate their status/modernity/sophistication by choosing names for their children from a perceived 'fashionable' corpus. Probably then, such names merely function as significant social markers both inwardly towards the restricted in-group, and outwardly towards the out-group. Thus, a message is being sent about 'who' the parents are and 'how' they wish to be seen socially – presumably as modern, sophisticated and educated.

The tendency among these presumably middle class parents (given their ability to afford hospital services) to draw on a restricted set of names which reflects their raised status is a clear indication of a shift in practice among a still small section of the Zulu people. The tendency is in effect a rejection of the traditional naming practices and thus indicative and suggestive of a general trend (among the named group) towards a less ethnic and more 'universal' socio-economically defined cultural practice.

Among the poorer sections of the Zulu peoples (both urban and rural), names are social markers, also. Among these groups, given names send out clear signals about affiliations

and adherence (to greater or lesser degrees) to traditional practices. It is these groups which (almost exclusively) base their name-giving practices on those reason-categories which are indicative of traditional practices (§4.2, above: reason-categories numbers 1 - 6). As noted in the discussion earlier (§4.3), personal choice enters into all name-giving, but in contrast to the apparent 'urban-rich' practices (where the personal choice is idiosyncratic and in terms of current fashion), among traditional name-givers, choices are made within the strict confines of traditional practices (Table 4.28, above). A comparison of the name lists of the 'rich urban' (Table 4.29, above) and the traditional (Table 4.30, above) reveals clearly the wide range of names used by those conforming to traditional personal naming practices as opposed to the small range of names used by the 'rich urban'. As noted previously, there appears to be much more 'originality' among the 'traditional' groups. This suggests (given the reasons-for-naming categories) that such traditional names are almost never idiosyncratic and almost always personally-/clan-/community-significant. Whereas the 'rich urban' names say little about the personal 'history' of that sub-society (other than, perhaps, that it is upwardly mobile, urban, sophisticated...), traditional names can still be read as a record of the lives and experiences of individuals in their sub-societies and of the 'history' of the sub-societies/clans/families.

Suzman (1994:258) found that although the social context of naming was much more flexible (during the period of her research) in Zulu society, it was evident that name-givers gave children names that emanated from the social fabric of their lives. Suzman (1994:264) on analysing her data, recognised the following trends:[2]

The older rural names are found mainly in the categories Mother, Father,
and Community (42%), and in the categories Extended Family and Sex and
Birth Order (26%). This profile contrasts markedly with those of the Farm
and Urban groups, where three categories Extended Family, Sex and Birth
Order, and Religion - represent 60% (Farm) and 71% (Urban) of names,
compared to 32% for the Older Rural group.

Suzman's analysis highlights the relationship between the role of the name-giver and the

modernity of the name, correlated with the rural/urban/farm axes. In effect the data reflects

the relative importance to the three groups of the various reason-for-naming categories.

Suzman (1994:261) notes:

the value of personal names and their social input from the mother, father,
birth circumstances, the child, the child's sex and birth order within the
family and the wider community.

Suzman's findings and her response to them supports the findings of the current research

in terms of rural naming practices in that most examples in the rural areas fall under the

broad traditional categories. According to Suzman (1994), the farm groups refer to people

who work in the white farming areas. These groups have more contact with the western

naming practices but are usually rural peoples and not urban. The data from the farm-

workers (where the data pertains to Zulu personal names) are traditional although perhaps

less traditional than the practices of the genuine rural communities. The variation in

degree of traditional practice among the 'true' rural and the farm-workers seems to be

comparable to the variation found in the current study between the poor-urban and the

rural.

Koopman (1986 and 1989) deduced from the data gathered during his research on naming practices among the Zulu people of the Pietermaritzburg area that the most important reason-categories are (in descending order):

- the structure of family (sex and number of children): 31.2%
- God in the birth: 21.2%
- the relationship between parent and child (including injunctions to the child and feelings of love, pride, and happiness): 18.5%
- the parents' circumstances, barrenness, friction in the family: 14.4%

It is clear that the names gathered during the current study from the Durban hospital records (§4.3) show little affiliation to the traditional reason-categories (1-6, §4.2 above) compared to those gathered during interviews in the current study or by Suzman or Koopman or Xaba in theirs. Like the research results gained by Koopman (1986), Xaba (1993) and Suzman (1994), the current research results show that the great majority of Zulu personal names is still grounded, as is the traditional way, in the name-giver's life. Inevitably then, such names reflect on the children who bear such given names, and carry forward the story of the naming process into the future and simultaneously celebrate the previous bearers of the particular names.

An analysis of the data reveals little in the way of shifts in naming practices among the 'poor urban' and rural communities during the nineteen-nineties. A comparison of the data from the squatter-camps ('poor urban') with the rural highlights the fact that among these groups the range of names is very wide. There is very little duplication of names (Table 4.28, above). What is significant about the reasons given for name choices in these groups is their adherence to traditional practice. Logically, this should lead to a restricted

list of names, yet because of the possibility of variants, the list of potential names is actually unlimited – there being no limitations on combinations. The traditional reasons (reason-categories 1-6) for naming result in a greater variety of names and more 'originality' than does 'fashionable personal choice', as it is understood for the 'rich-urban' group.

One area in which Zulu naming-practices in general do show clear signs of change is in the gender of the name-giver. As discussed above (§2.3.3.2), traditionally, name-giving is the prerogative of the male. Table 4.31, which constitutes a synthesis of the corpus (in relation to 'gender of name-giver'), shows a movement away from male-only name-givers towards shared male-female and female-only name-givers. Although this tendency is generally more apparent in the urban areas than in the rural, signs of change are also evident in the rural areas. Possible reasons for this trend might include: the rapid increase in the numbers of single mothers (due to the breakdown, particularly in the urban and peri-urban areas, of traditional sexual taboos); the rapid breakdown of clan/family support structures; and, not least, the constitutionalised emancipation of women generally. The latter has led, and is continuing to lead, to the unshackling of women from the homestead and from sole responsibility for the care and nurture of the family. Where customary law (patriarchal in essence) conflicts with rights entrenched in the Constitution, women generally, and more and more frequently, Zulu middle class women, are asserting and demanding their rights. The Zulu women are aided by the fact that they are becoming less and less financially dependent on male figures. Although, like in most cultures (including western ones), the emancipation of women from their traditional gendered roles is still in

a state of slow transition (particularly in the rural areas), Zulu women are demanding equality of the right-to-action and name-giving is such an action.

Birthing practices, too, hold a key to the trend towards women as name-givers. It was traditional among Zulu men (and still is among rural men) not to be around for at least seven days after a child is born. Traditionally, a man is not allowed to see his wife immediately after the delivery of her baby. (This is still the case in rural areas like Nongoma and Maphumulo.) This accounts for the seven-day delay in name-giving (the name-giver traditionally having to be male) (§2.3.3.1, above). Among the middle class, it is still unusual for men to be around during the delivery process (unlike western men who frequently now participate in the birth of their children) and, therefore, it is the women who are there (the woman's mother, female family members or female friends) who tend to be the name-givers.

The 'opening of (church) schools' in the early 1980s and the subsequent total desegregation of all schools has encouraged the tendency towards the use of non-Zulu names among some sectors of Zulu society. The integration of schools and the outlawing of discrimination as entrenched in the constitution has, in the urban areas – particularly the wealthy ones – had a noticeable effect on the racial mix of schools.[3] Upwardly mobile parents in urban areas frequently enrol their children at former white ex-Model C or 'private' schools. Here Zulu children mix with children (whatever their race) who have (for example) English names. This cross-cultural contact results in exposure to a wider range of names

from a wider variety of ethnic and language groups. English- or other-derived names are bestowed on African children – whether as borrowings or as transliterated forms.

The most general current trend, and possibly the most significant, culturally, is the tendency among culturally aware Zulus to re-appropriate their isiZulu names and to expect non-Zulus (particularly mother-tongue speakers of English and other 'European' languages) to use these names in interaction with Zulus. This demand is fundamental to the process of societal transformation; a name being an integral part of one's conception of oneself, and as previously noted, a sign to the outside world.

While *hlonipha* is a name avoidance practice by which a woman avoids the names of her husband or her relatives-in-law, nor any word which is derived from the same word as these names. Compare with (Krige 1998:30). The practice of *hlonipha* does not however, contradict the assertion that being addressed by the given Zulu name is of fundamental cultural importance to any Zulu person. *Hlonipha* relates to a cultural practice clearly defined and understood within the culture and would thus, not be affected by shifts in naming practices as, if a women's father-in-law were to have a coined non-traditional name and the woman practiced *hlonipha* she would avoid her father-in-law's name. What is being argued is that the denial of the Zulu given-names by some whites until very recently devalued the Zulu person because his/her name was disregarded and replaced by generic (usually English) name. (Check the endnote 11 in Chapter 4).

The correct use of the 'correct' name is a sign of recognition and an acknowledgment of the person. Correct usage is seen as a sign of respect for the person named as a significant individual – not as a member of a generic group of 'Johns' or 'Miriams'.

As noted in Chapter 1, names like 'John' or 'Boy' were used during the colonial period for any African worker. Workers' indigenous names were not used and were, therefore, in effect obliterated. This caused a conflict of identity for such workers: in the workplace they had labels not real names, and when they were with their families, their indigenous names were used. But, the obliteration of their names in their contact with white employers (supposedly civilised and educated) devalued their traditional names and consequently questioned the validity of the Zulu culture as significant. This white past practice underpins the tendency among culturally aware Zulus (and other Africans) of reverting to and asserting the right to their African names.

The current research has concerned itself with indigenous names, *amagama asekhaya*, in order to explore the shifts in Zulu naming practices. It is apparent that the main reason for the earlier historical shifts was primarily the advent of colonialism in Africa – whether European colonialism or Afrikaner colonialism. As noted earlier, trade, Christianity, and colonisation, participation in world wars, becoming migrant labourers are all factors which have played a major role in tendencies towards shifts in Zulu naming practices. Language contact (like foreign cultural practice) has also affected the use of indigenous names among the Zulu people – hence either the adoption of a name for its sound-value or for fashion's sake. Parents named their children using western names for a wide range of

reasons: Zulu women working for the white men in the cities perhaps envied their boss's name or that of his child and so used such names for their own children; Zulu men working on the mines and in urban areas were exposed to western names and sometimes thus chose these names for their children – particularly for those born from their 'city-wives' as opposed to their offspring from their rural wives whose children were likely to be given traditional names. During the apartheid era, for some Zulus it was prestigious and/or politic to name a child with a western name. The above examples represent, notably, Zulu people over the age of forty. Interestingly enough, most of the parents of children born during the nineties have both western and indigenous names. This is true of parents in both the rural and urban areas.[4]

The most common given-names during the seventies and eighties (taken from my personal experience) were:

M	F
Aaron	Anna
Anthony	Beatrice
Dominic	Florence
Kenneth	Eunice
Lawrence	Paulina
Lionel	Phyllis
Lucas	Priscilla
Nelson	Mavis
Patrick	Sylvia
Eric	Rosemary
Phillip	Regina

Table 5.1   Common personal names during the seventies and the eighties

The current research has shown that, in this, the post-apartheid era, there is a strong and positive attitude among certain sectors of the Zulu population towards African names. For

instance, many politicians and public figures have ceased to use their western names and have opted for African names:

> Shepherd Mdladlane (Minister of Labour) > *Membathisi*
> Patrick Lekota (Minister of Defence) > *Moseiu*
> Sam Shilowa (Premier of Gauteng) > *Mbazima*
> Frank Mdlalose (South African Ambassador to Jordaan) >
> *Themba*
> Nelson Mandela (Former State President) > *Rolihlahla*
> Desmond Tutu (Former Chairperson: Truth and
> Reconciliation) > *Mpilo*
> Christian Msimang (Registrar: Unisa) > *Themba*

The move towards African names indicates new pride in African culture, in general, and in isiZulu culture, in particular. This trend promises to play a significant role in the maintenance and preservation of the Zulu culture – especially if the trend towards 'fashionable' no-sense names is reversed and the fashion among the leaders is adopted by the middle-class as the new fashion to follow.

The findings of the research project have shown clear indications of tendencies towards shifts in certain domains. These shifts and the 'rich-urban'/'poor-urban and rural contrasts hold the potential for future synchronic and diachronic research. Such potentially fruitful research is discussed in Chapter 6.

ENDNOTES

1.   This practice is similar to the naming practices evident among many western cultural groups in which names commonly come into and fall out of favour and are recognised by the general population as doing so – Emily, Emma, Grace, Victoria, Cuthbert, Peregrine, Edward, for example, are commonly recognised as "Victorian" names and Elvis, Holly, and Ringo as names from the era of "Rock & Roll".

2.   Suzman used 'relationship of name-giver' to the child as a variable, whereas the current study focused primarily on the gender of the name-giver. The current study did not access farm-workers, who while rural, are more likely to reflect western influences given their employment base.

3.   In the poorer urban and in the rural areas few of the schools are racially mixed and there is thus little opportunity for cross-cultural absorption.

4.   The main sources of such names collected during the research are derived from ancient Hebrew, Greek and Roman names which transmitted via the Roman Empire when it Christianised and finally through the Christian missionaries to Africa. Their children, however, frequently have only Zulu names.

CHAPTER 6   CONCLUSION

The aim of this research has primarily been to investigate whether any shifts in Zulu naming practices have occurred since 1994 and the start of a new democratic dispensation in South Africa. The data, that were collected in both rural and urban areas and among both 'rich' and poor, confirm several hypothesis about shifts in Zulu naming practices.

The current research confirms the findings by other researchers (among them, Dickens (1985), Koopman (1985, 1979a & 1979b, 1986), Xaba (1993) and Suzman (1994)), although none of them dealt with the same historical period.

Dickens's study (1985) showed that there was a strong tendency amongst the Zulu people to return to the use of their indigenous names. The current study, while agreeing in general terms, finds, however, that there is the group of Zulus, who are upwardly mobile (but presumably not highly politicised), who are tending to place personal choice before tradition by choosing to name their children in terms of the local fashion.

The findings of the current study confirm Xaba's (1993) findings that there is a limited frequency-of-occurrence of names in the rural areas and an extensive one in some urban areas. This discrepancy and the reasons for it in terms of variables such as urban/rural, economic class and educative level and, perhaps, occupation holds much promise for enlightened research after nearly six years of democratisation and social integration.

While most of the earlier researchers have recognised the male right to name, both Xaba's findings and that of the current study suggest that more and more women are tending to be the name-givers, particularly in the urban areas. While I have hypothesised that the reasons for this tendency may be the influence the Women's Rights Movement, in general, and the protection of women's rights as they are entrenched in the South African Constitution and because of the increasing socio-economic independence many Zulu women now have, a detailed empirical study needs to be done to verify this hypothesis or invalidate it.

In the period spanning the research project, a tendency to employ double-barrel names has become apparent amongst women, particularly amongst those, who are public figures. The reason for this tendency, and the socio-cultural and socio-political conditions that underpin it, requires urgent researching, particularly as some Zulu men are now beginning to employ what also appears to be double-barreled names. This is an area for future research as it is not the concern of the current research which is limited to personal names.

The study has found that certain naming practices amongst the Africans are virtually universal in that most Africans use similar naming practices. Every Zulu (African) name has a meaning and that meaning is linked to the categories of:

- Tradition (ancestor commemorated to ensure continuity);
- Family circumstances (social condition of family);
- Birth circumstances and events surrounding the period of birth;

- Historical events;
- Political events (pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial);
- Physical characteristics; and
- Personal choices.

The findings thus suggest that research should be undertaken into: the naming practices of 'rich urban'/poor rural and the farm-workers; the tendency towards double-barrel clan names amongst women, in particular; the influence of the personal/praise clan names or the names of important figures like Chiefs on place-names. (Once the names of persons, names like, *uHlabezimhlophe* (one who slaughter only white cattle), *uZibi* (rubbish), *uNsukumbili* (two days) have all become place-names in KwaNgwanase.) Extensive comparative research also needs to be carried out on potential shifts and adaptations in naming practices which could arise out of "mixed" marriages. Furthermore, among the Zulu people, names are used sparingly when it comes to address and reference. Research into the reasons behind such behaviour would add to knowledge about Zulu pragmatic behaviour and such research would probably lend itself to useful cross-cultural comparative study.

The research has shown that there have been shifts in Zulu naming practices but that few of these are shifts apply to the Zulu people as a group, as different shifts occur on the urban/rural axis (gender of name-giver and frequency of occurrence of names) and between social classes (personal choice and politically driven name-giving).

There has been a call for an African Renaissance which by definition will require Africans to decolonize their minds and re-appropriate their traditions and their names. Until Zulus (and other South African indigenous groups) reclaim their languages and cultures as prestigious, and acknowledge this prestige by undertaking intensive research into their culture, there can be no Renaissance.

In conclusion, the nature and practice of anthropology has clearly evolved in the 20th century (probably as a result of the decolonisation processes - in Africa at least - and the gradual re-appropriation reassertion by Africans of their lives, cultures and languages) to the extent that an authentically African anthropology (Ayisi 1972, Kunene Mazisi (2001), Credo Muthwa) has evolved. Flourishing, too, are African philosophy (Mbiti 1969) and psychology (Magubane). It is not surprising then that typically Africanist views of onomastics should be developing - ones which allow almost for the first time comparisons to be made between "outside" described, interpreted, perceptions of African culture, and African descriptive interpretation - these also of course being 'interpretations' but from within (i.e. often intuitive and acquired experientially by cultural transmission as opposed to acquired formally). Onomastics as a science benefits from the integrated knowledge gained through such intellectually equal academic interaction. The rapid increase during the last decade in the number of, particularly, South African black scholars promises much for disciplines such as onomastics, lexicography, sociolinguistics, anthropology, philosophy and psychology in the South African context, as the opportunity will now exist for informed and critical debate amongst scholars in these disciplines which in turn will lead to the self-reflexive problematisation of the tenets and practices of the disciplines involved.

Throughout African continent there has been an upsurge in African scholarship; one which could initiate, if it is carried through, an African Renaissance.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDICES 1
SURVEY INSTRUMENTS

Appendix 1.1 Questionnaire (isiZulu)

UCWANINGO NGAMAGAMA ABANTU/ABANTWANA BAMAZULU KWAZULU-NATALI.

University of Natal

UMCWANINGI:
S.E. NGUBANE, UMNYANGO WESIZULU, ENYUVESI YASE NATALI,
ETHEKWINI.
UCINGO: 031-2602514   IFEKSI: 031-2602514

Durban
4041

SIZA UGCWALISE ENDAWENI EFANELE:

1.   IGAMA:..

1.1   UBULILI: OWESILISA/OWESIFAZANE   IMINYAKA:............................

1.2   USUKU LOKUZALWA: _____ /_____ /1997

1.3   INDAWO LAPHO AZALELWA KHONA:...

1.4   BANGAKI ABANTWANA EKHAYA? ....

1.4.1   AMAGAMA ABO NGOKULANDELANA:...

ABESILISA: ABESIFAZANE:

(i)............................   (i)............................

(ii)............................   (ii)............................

(iii)............................   (iii)............................

(iv)............................   (iv)............................

(v)............................   (v)............................

(vi)............................   (vi)............................

2.   IGAMA LOMZALI:...
        (ISIHLOBO, UBABA/UMAMA/OSIZAYO)

3.   UBANI OWAKUQAMBA?...

4.   UMA KUNGEWENA YILIPHI IGAMA
        OBUNGALIKHETHA?..

5.   INGABE IGAMA LAQANJWA UNGAKAZALWA?   YEBO/CHA

6.   KWAKULINDELEKE UMFANA NOMA INTOMBAZANE? ....

7. UKHONA OWAWUMAZI OWAYENALELO GAMA?
   YEBO/CHA

8. (UMA IMPENDULO KUNGU -YEBO) WALITHANDA LELO GAMA?
   YEBO/CHA

9. (UMA IMPENDULO KUNGU-CHA) KWAKUHLUPHA
   UKUNGAJWAYELEKI   KWEGAMA?   YEBO/CHA

10. LISHO UKUTHINI?

    ....

    ....

11. KWAKWENZENJANI KUZE KUQANJWE LELI GAMA?

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

12. NGABE LELI GAMA LIYAHAMBISANA NOMNINILO? CHAZA:

    ....

    ....

13. KUKHONA YINI OKUNYE ONGATHANDA UKUKUSHO NGOKUQANJWA
    KWEGAMA LAKHO?

    ....

    ....

    ....

14. AWUSINIKE NOMA YILIPHI IGAMA OLUKHUMBULAYO:

    ....

    ....

Appendix 1.2   Interview questions (in English translation)

1.   Name
1.1   Gender: male/female   Age:
1.2   Date of birth: /   /1997
1.3   Place of birth
1.4   Number of children at home
1.4.1   Their names in the chronological order:
        Males   Females
        (i).............................   (i)...........................
        (ii)............................   (ii).........................
        (iii)...........................   (iii)........................
        (iv)...........................   (iv).........................
        (v)............................   (v)..........................
        (vi)...........................   (vi).........................

2.   Name of your parent/relative/father/mother/helper
3.   Name of the name-giver
4.   If you were not a name-giver which one would you prefer
5.   Was the name given to you before birth?
6.   Was it a boy or a girl expected?
7.   Did you know someone with such a name?
8.   (If the answer is YES) did you like that name? YES/NO
9.   (If the answer was NO) how did the strangeness of the name affect you?
10.   What is the meaning of your name?
11.   What was the reason behind your name?
12.   Is the name relevant to the behaviour of the owner/bearer? Explain.
13.   Is there anything you would like to let us know concerning your name?
14.   Give us any name that you recall.

APPENDICES 2
KWAZULU-NATAL AREA MAPS

Appendix 2.1   Rural areas
(KwaNgwanase,Nongoma, Maphumulo and South Coast.)

☐ KwaNgwanase	■ Maphumulo
▨ Nongoma	▢ South Coast

Appendix 2.1 **Rural areas**
(KwaNgwanase, Nongoma, Maphumulo and South Coast.)
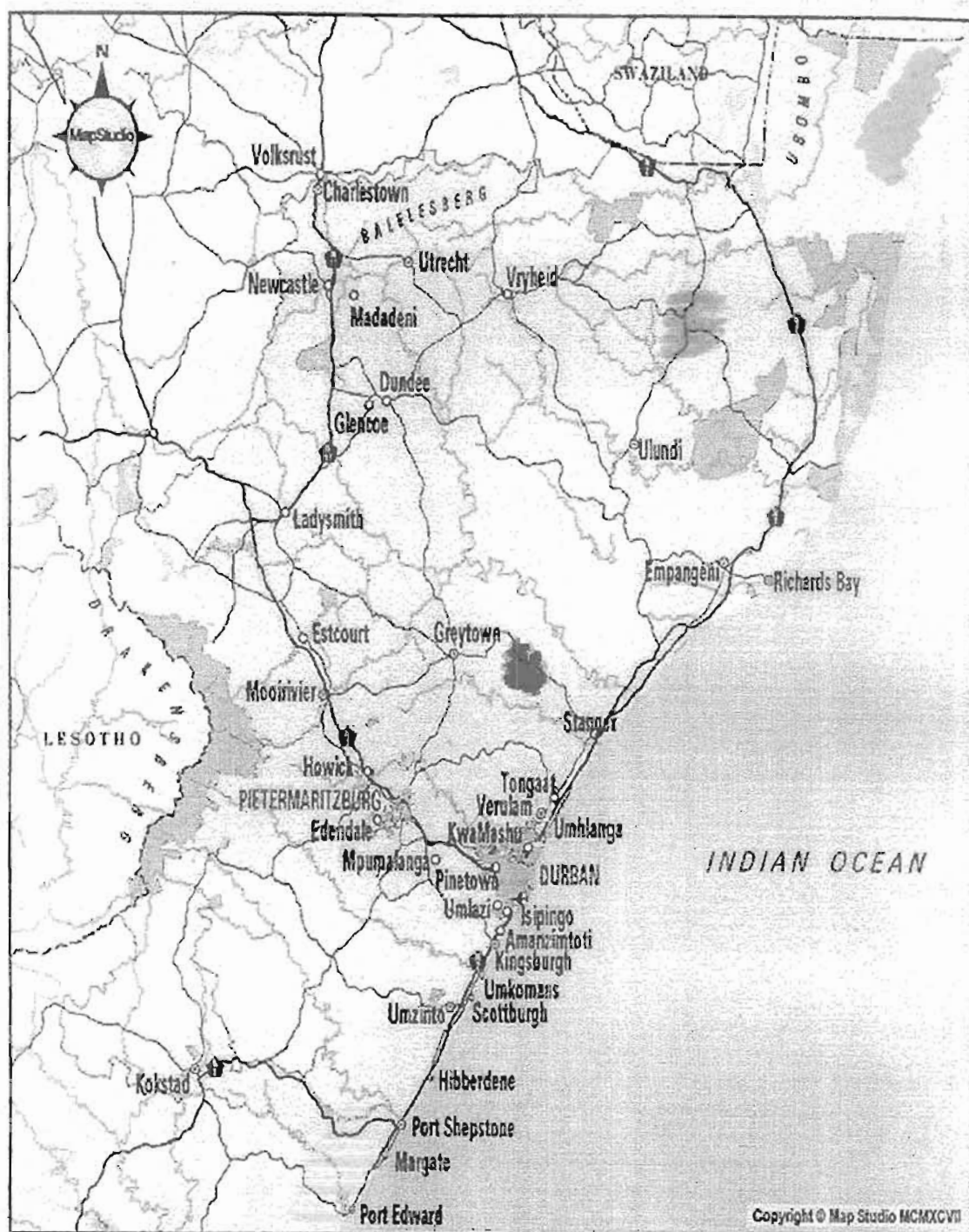
| ☐ | KwaNgwanase | ■ | Maphumulo |
| ☐ | Nongoma | ☐ | South Coast |

APPENDICES 3
CORPUS LISTS (INTERVIEWS)

Appendix 3.1 Interview corpus: by area, district, # respondents and # names

RURAL AREAS	LOCAL DISTRICT	# RESPONDENTS	# NAMES
South Coast	*Bhizana*	1	6
	Ezingolweni	5	34
	Gcilima	1	6
	Hlokozi	20	115
	Isangcwaba	8	46
	KwaMachi	3	23
	KwaNzimakwe	4	27
	KwaXolo	2	14
	Mkomaas	1	8
	Murchison	4	20
	Umzumbe	1	4
	Umzimkhulu	1	9
Sub-total		51	312
Maphumulo	*Msinga*	21	75
Sub-total		21	75
Nongoma	*Ekubungazeleni*	35	192
Sub-total		35	192
KwaNgwanase	*Enkathwini*	7	35
	Kwahlomula	5	25
	Kwahlabezimhlophe	4	39
	KwaZibi	22	111
	KwaMadipha	6	10
	Manguzi	18	60
Sub-Total		62	280
TOTAL		169	861

Table 3.1   Rural districts – local area interviews

URBAN AREA	LOCAL DISTRICT	# RESPONDENTS	# NAMES
Durban	*Lamontville*	17	40
	KwaMashu	8	71
	Ntuzuma	14	52
	Umlazi	10	64
	Hammarsdale	23	72
TOTAL		**72**	**299**

Table 3.2   KZN urban – local area interviews

URBAN AREA	LOCAL DISTRICT	# RESPONDENTS	# NAMES
Zimbabwe	*Bulawayo*	17	
	Harare	5	
TOTAL		**22**	**72**

Table 3.3   Zimbabwe urban interviews

AREA	# RESPONDENTS	TOTAL
KZN RURAL	169	861
KZN URBAN	72	299
ZIMBABWE	22	72
TOTAL	263	1232

Table 3.4   Consolidated table of interviews

3.2 INTERVIEW CORPUS by sex of child, name and #M/F
Appendix 3.2.1 Rural

3.2.1.1 *Kwangwanase*

# RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	# NAMES
1	M	Nsikayomuzi, Gabangaye, Zigizendoda	3
	F	Zandile, Phakamile	2
2	M	-	0
	F	Nomacala	1
3	M	Mavikimpi, Siyabonga	2
	F	Nozipho, Hlengiwe, Jabhisile, Zandile	4
4	M	Mdingisi, Thelumusa	2
	F	Hlabekile, Thulile	2
5	M	Mlondeni	1
	F	Qhamukile	1
6	M	Simiyoni, Elija, Musha	3
	F	Misabeni, Mayingela, Ndleleni, Mambeli	4
7	M	Simon, Thokozani, Sihawukele, Sibusiso, Mvuselelo.	5
	F	Thulile, Thembani, Duduzile	3
8	M	Daluxolo	1
	F	-	0
9	M	Themba	1
	F	-	0
10	M	Velani, Bongani	2
	F	Khangezile, Nqobile, Thembisile, Phumzile, Nontokozo.	5
11	M	Dingindawo	1
	F	-	0
12	M	Zibuse, Simiso	2
	F	Nokuphila	1
13	M	Umzamu, Phakamani, Nkosingiphile	3
	F	Luhlobo, Nokunasha, Nomzamo	3

#RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	#NAMES
	F	Luhlobo, Nokunasha, Nomzamo	3
14	M	Manafu, Bhowaza, Nkalankala	3
	F	Badelile, Mthebulo, Zamekile, Nomadlozi	4
15	M	Nkululeko	1
	F	Nompumelelo, Nobuhle	2
16	M	Nsikayomuzi, Zigizendoda	2
	F	-	0
17	M	Mphikwa, Zazeni	2
	F	Jabulile, Zodwa	2
18	M	Bhekizizwe, George	2
	F	-	0
19	M	Mtholephi	1
	F	Sebenzile, Xolile, Veleni	3
20	M	Zishilo	1
	F	Mshiseni, Nomadlozi	2
21	M	Sibonakaliso, Vuminkosi	2
	F	-	0
22	M	Mfihlo	1
	F	-	0
23	M	Lindani	1
	F	-	0
24	M	Josefa, Vikimpi	2
	F	Mshiseni	1
25	M	Mbongeni, Sibusiso	2
	F	Bongiwe, Ntombifuthi, Landiwe, Duduzile, Lethiwe, Thabile	6
26	M	Mthathephi, Sishosonke	2
	F	-	0
27	M	Mthayi	1
	F	-	0

#RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	#NAMES
28	M	Zishilo, Mtholephi	2
	F	Pikile	1
29	M	Themba	1
	F	Nonhlanhla, Thembelihle, Nokuthula, Ziningi	4
30	M	Sifiso, Lungisani	2
	F	Ntombi, Sibongile, Gugu, Nokuthula, Zethu	5
31	M	Mavikimpi, Nathi, vusile	3
	F	Buyisile, Thabisile	2
32	M	Mphatheni, Mbekuseni, sifiso, Bhekokuzayo, Xolani, Mandla	6
	F	Khombisile, Phumelele, Noyi, Gcinani, Phumzile, Zodwa	6
33	M	Bonginkosi, Dinga	2
	F	Nomusa, Nkonzenhle, Nompumelelo	3
34	M	Thamsanqa, Wandile,	2
	F	Nokukhanya	1
35	M	Nkosinathi, Madloko, Mduduzi, Ntokozo	4
	F	Megija, Zanele, Ntombi	3
36	M	Madloko, Mduduzi, Ntokozo	3
	F	Zanele, Ntombi	2
37	M	Gadi, Pita, Nyokani	3
	F	Nokufa, Mkhabani, Mgqumeni, Ziga, Ntombizonke, Kwatile	6
38	M	Bheki, Linda	2
	F	Nokuthula,	1
39	M	Manyasa, Jeke, Bhoyi	3
	F	Nokwanda	1
40	M	Mpini, Mbuku, Sigadi, Miyona, Ndoda, Ndimeni, Luka, Thithosi	8
	F	Gugwana, Milida, Nomadlozi, Mehhabu, Phumzile, Fikile	6

#RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	#NAMES
41	M	Shali, Mathize, Mbangiseni, Ngwanabu, Ngwana, Nhlamvu	6
	F	Manxeba, Thandiwe, Thuna, Mlozi, Shibhoshi, Gatsha	6
42	M	Bongani, Siboniso, Lindani, Nkululeko	4
	F	Sibonisiwe, Sinenhlanhla	2
43	M	Sibusiso, Disemba, Sicelo, Bonginkosi, Simanga, Mdumiseni, Xolani	7
	F	Hlaleleni, Vovoseka, Thandiwe, Thabisile, Nokuthula, Cabangile, Nomthandazo	7
44	M	Sibongakonke, Siphamandla	2
	F	Nokuthula, Zandile, Celiwe	3
45	M	Bonginkosi, Mdumiseni	2
	F	Nomthandazo, Thabisile	2
46	M	Nkosenhle, Vusumuzi, Dumisile, Bongumusa	4
	F	Dumazile, Nomathemba	2
47	M	Maganu, Vukani	2
	F	Nompumelelo	1
48	M	Sizakele, Vukani, Mpiyakhe	3
	F	Grema, Stafu, Sibongile	3
49	M	Sipho	1
	F	-	0
50	M	Mashwele, Sipho, Samuel	3
	F	Christinah, Sibongile	2
51	M	Madiphi, Sikebhe, Muziwakhe	3
	F	-	0
52	M	Phongolo, Nkosinathi, Musawenkosi, Sibusiso	4
	F	-	0
53	M	Thembinkosi, Thimothi, Mandlenkosi	3
	F	Thoko, Sindisiwe	2
54	M	Mbukiso, Msindi, Mthoko	3

#RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	#NAMES
	F	Thulisile	1
55	M	Siboniso, Siphiwe, Bhekani	3
	F	-	0
56	M	Themba, Mboniseni, Thimothi	3
	F	Sibongile, Zanele	2
57	M	Khuzamaswazi, Mazwendoda	2
	F	Nqobile, Balekani	2
58	M	Sitwapa, Ngungunyani	2
	F	Sibonisiwe	1
59	M	Bathini	1
	F	-	0
60	M	Msuleleni	1
	F	Siyanda	1
61	M	Mfanufikile	1
	F	Sibongile, Mirriam	2
62	M	Siboniso, Sibusiso, Mangisi	3
	F	-	0

GRAND TOTAL: 280

3.2.1.2   Nongoma

# RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	# NAMES
1	M	Nkosikhona, Khumbulani, Senzo Sandile	4
	F	Nomalungelo, Nolwazi	2
2	M	-	0
	F	Sebenzile, Minenhle, Zibusiso	3
3	M	Xolani, Zama, Siyabonga, Thandinkosi, Lindani, Siphelele	6
	F	Siduduzile	1
4	M	Siyabonga, Sibongumama, Mpucuko	3
	F	Nozipho	1
5	M	Dumisani, Nkosinathi, Simphiwe, Sipho	4
	F	Nonhlanhla, Sebenzile, Buhle, Ntombizodwa, Mary, Sindi	6
6	M	Fika	1
	F	Thobeka, Zinhle, Siyamukela	3
7	M	Celinkosi, Sabelo	2
	F	Thandi, Siphiwe, Sebenzile, Zandile	4
8	M	Fundakubo, Bonginkosi, Mondli, Mbuseni	4
	F	Thangithini, Ntombiyenkosi	2
9	M	Mzwandile	1
	F	Simangele, Nomusa	2
10	M	Sibusiso, Siyathokoza, Thuthukani, Sikhanyiselo	4
	F	-	0
11	M	Khanyisani, Bukhosibakhe, Kwenza	3
	F	Nkonzo, Sithembile, Similo, Siphindile, Sakhile, Zandile	6
12	M	Xolani, Mbongwa, Similo	3
	F	Bongekile, Nokwethemba, Sinothile	3
13	M	Mthokozisi, Sabelo	2
	F	Noxolo	1

# RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	#NAMES
	F	Noxolo	1
14	M	Bongani, Siboniso, Lungelo	3
	F	Hlobisile	1
15	M	Muzi, Thabani, Siyabonga	3
	F	Zandisile, Samukelisiwe, Bongiwe	3
16	M	Thokozani, Thubalethu, Sipho	3
	F	Lungile, Bathethelele, Sinqobile, Nonkululeko, Nkosingithandile	5
17	M	Simphiwe, Nkosingiphile, Thulani, Qiniso	4
	F	Bongekile	1
18	M	Jabulani, Zakhe, Thokozani	3
	F	Lindiwe, Sizakele, Thobile	3
19	M	Mandlenkosi, Fanelesibonge	2
	F	Nkosingiphile, Samukele, Nqobile	3
20	M	Mcedisi, Simphiwe	2
	F	Nozipho, Nokuphiwa, Anele	3
21	M	Vusumuzi, Bhekumuzi, Thokozani	3
	F	Lethukuthula, Thobile, Nothando	3
22	M	Senzo, Zamokwakhe	2
	F	Nokuthula, Nontobeko, Nokwazi, Nozipho	4
23	M	Msawenkosi, Mcebisi, Zwelisha	3
	F	Thembisile, Sanele, Nombuso, Thandeka, Nontobeko, Samukelisiwe	6
24	M	Nkululeko, Siphelele, Sazi, Philani	4
	F	Misiwe, Bonakele	2
25	M	Siyabonga	1
	F	Nomthandazo, Phindile, Ayanda, Nonkululeko	4
26	M	Dumisani, Nkosinathi, Thabani, Mlondolozi	4
	F	Hlengiwe, Sizakele, Nokuthula, Thandazile, Siphokuhle, Samukelisiwe	6
27	M	Sizwe, Sambulo	2

# RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	#NAMES
	F	Sindiswa, Nokwanda	2
28	M	Ndumiso	1
	F	Siphesihle	1
29	M	Njabulo	1
	F	Nkonzenhle, Nozipho, Zodumo	3
30	M	Bonginkosi, Vusumuzi	2
	F	Hlengiwe, Zama, Sibahle, Dumazile	4
31	M	Khulekani	1
	F	Thulisiwe, Sinokuhle	2
32	M	Phumulani, Thokozani, Malusi	3
	F	Nozipho, Nomfundo, Kholeka	3
33	M	Nkosiyakhe, Linda, Zakhele	3
	F	Simangele, Sithabile, Londeka	3
34	M	Thokozani, Ayanda, Sandile, Thuthukani, Sanele	5
	F	-	0
35	M	Thokozani, Thulani, Sibusiso	3
	F	Bongekile	1

GRAND TOTAL: 192

3.2.1.3 *Maphumulo*

# RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	#NAMES
1	M	Siboniso	1
	F	-	0
2	M	Bhekani, Mzokhona	2
	F	Simangele, Phindile	2
3	M	-	0
	F	Nomvula	1
4	M	-	0
	F	Hlobisile, Jikile, Winile	3
5	M	-	0
	F	Tholeni	1
6	M	Nkosinathi, Bhekokwakhe	2
	F	Celiwe	1
7	M	-	0
	F	Tshitshi, Duduzile	2
8	M	Sakhile, Sibonelo, Swelihle	3
	F	Thobile, Phindile, Zanele, Ncamisile	4
9	M	Nhlalayenza, Mzokhona, Sandile, Hlabathini	4
	F	Bonakele, Phindile, Nikiwe	3
10	M	Nhlalonhle	1
	F	Mbali	1
11	M	Ndodo, Bukisisani, Kwenzakwakhe	3
	F	Tholani, Shongani	2
12	M	Sibonelo	1
	F	Thobile, Thandokuhle	2
13	M	-	0
	F	Thabisile	1
14	M	Dumisani, Sikhumbuzo	2
	F	Koti, Ganiza, Ntombile, Tholakele	4

# RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	#NAMES
15	M	Msukelwa, Qalokunye	2
	F	-	0
16	M	Lindinkosi, Nkonzo, Sigwili, Thabani	4
	F	Celiwe, Samukelisiwe, Thembelihle	3
17	M	Sibusiso, Msawakhe, Simosakhe, Khulumani, Ntokozo	5
	F	Duduzile	1
18	M	Sakhile, Zethembe	2
	F	Funani, Vondo, Khethiwe	3
19	M	Musawenkosi	1
	F	Tsheliwe, Ntombizonke, Buselaphi	3
20	M	Zwelihle	1
	F	Jabulisiwe	1
21	M	Senzo	1
	F	-	
22	M	-	
	F	Silindile, Nokubonga	2

GRAND TOTAL: 75

3.2.1.4   South Coast

# RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	# NAMES
1	M	Dumisani, Sithembiso, Nkosinathi	3
	F	Mamfoko, Nozipho, Nonhlanzeko, Hluelekile, Mama	5
2	M	Mili, Bhezu, Lolo, Hlube	4
	F	Zoleka, Pheli, Bhenene	3
3	M	Mntwini, Yeye, Nkehle	3
	F	Ngako, Khaya, Ntinti, Ntombo	4
4	M	Mshiyeni, Mdombo, Teka	3
	F	Tezani, Tibhi, Bafikile, Madokwe, Dilizani, Loza	6
5	M	Dumisani, Thanda, Ntshungu, Ntokozo, Mandla	5
	F	Nosipho, Ncane, Sinenhlanhla	3
6	M	Mduduzi, Thokozani, Muzimuhle, Mandla, Sibusiso	5
	F	Sizakele	1
7	M	Mzulelwa, Mkhondweni, Mgolombani	3
	F	Thandiwe, Lindiwe, Sholoni, Zandile	4
8	M	Frank, Thumamina, Babhi, Jockim, Mziwabo	5
	F	Thandiwe, Tholakele	2
9	M	Xolani, Sandile, Fana	3
	F	Makhosazana, Babongile, Ntombifuthi, Dumisile	4
10	M	Bheka, Nyawo, Fiki, Do	4
	F	Jabulile, Lindiwe	2
11	M	Khehla, Pupu, Papani	3
	F	Ntombintombi, Thokozani, Lala, Nomfundo, Mondi	5
12	M	Muzimuhle, Khehla, Musawenkosi, Lindelani, Mpilo	5
	F	Sibongile, Duduzile, Nokuzola, Nompilo	4
13	M	Sayikholoji, Ncamiso	2
	F	Thobeka, Pretty, Buyi, Buhle	4

#RESPONDENTS	M	NAMES	#NAMES
	F	Thobeka, Pretty, Buyi, Buhle	4
14	M	Sibusiso, Sibongiseni, Mashiyemfene	3
	F	Tholakele, Nonhlanhla, Bonisiwe	3
15	M	Bongani, Mandla, Bhuti	3
	F	Simangele, Senzeleni, Nana	3
16	M	Mkhwenke	1
	F	Dinani, Salukazi, Tah, Duh, Simalazile	5
17	M	Putu, Sinethemba	2
	F	Mamfu, Muntuke, Ngqaza, Nombuso	4
18	M	Gqojeja, Bini, Mgonothi, Sozabile	4
	F	Lesi, Selephi	2
19	M	Manqoba, Bhekumuzi, Thembokwakhe, Thembinkosi	4
	F	Sizakele, Buyisile, Babhekile	3
20	M	Sibongakonke, Zamokwakhe, Siyabonga, Sandile	4
	F	Banelile, Babongile	2
21	M	Zwelethu, Mboneni, Thobani	3
	F	Zithobile, Khanyisile	2
22	M	Xolani, Gcina	2
	F	Phindile, Zanele, Nomuzamo	3
23	M	Shofela, Mbhiyozo, Zuzumuzi, Bonokwakhe	4
	F	Nozipho	1
24	M	Mthokozisi, Thobelani	2
	F	-	0
25	M	Mkhapheli, Mthembeni, Mkhalelwa, Bhekukwenza, Bonokwakhe, Zamokwakhe	6
	F	Babhekeleni, Babhekisisile, Nofuko, Zandile, Shayiwe	5
26	M	Bongani, Sicelo, Jabulani	3
	F	Phumzile, Zandile	2
27	M	Sandile, Sakhile	2

#RESPONDENTS	M	NAMES	#NAMES
	F	Silindile	1
28	M	Zithulele, Qinisela, Jabulani, Mfaniseni	4
	F	Jabulile, Thuleleni, Siphelele	3
29	M	Mpumelelo, Sigwili, Khandalakhe, Hlomendlini, Gulalamasi	5
	F	Amanda, Thabile	2
30	M	Mzungezi, Zimisele, Mhlekhona, Mlindeli, Zikhulumele, Mzonjani	6
	F	Zibuyile, Bongekile	2
31	M	Mthokozisi, Vumani, Putshukile	3
	F	Sebenzile, Thandekile	2
32	M	Zimisele, Zithulele	2
	F	Ntombeziningi	1
33	M	Bayakhuluma, Sokesimbone, Khumbulani, Mmeli, Bazongenzani	5
	F	Qhubekile, Siyathokoza, Khayalami	3
34	M	Muzikayise, Mbambeni, Mthembeni, Sakhile, Siyaphumelela, Mzwandile	6
	F	Sokolile, Delisile, Ntombizinhle	3
35	M	Sikhumbuzo,	1
	F	Thembani, Ntombikayise	2
36	M	Siphosenkosi, Phumlani, Sibonelo	3
	F	Zandile, Babongile, Duduzile, Nobuhle	4
37	M	-	0
	F	Ndabenhle, Minenhle, Lulama, Nokuzola, Siphokazi	5
38	M	Thulasizwe, Khayelihle	2
	F	Sibongile, Sizakele	2
39	M	Thembinkosi, Bafana, Phumelela	3
	F	Sindisiwe, Nomkhosi, Sibongile, Ziningi, Nokwanda	5
40	M	Simtholiel	1

#RESPONDENTS	M	NAMES	#NAMES
	F	Ntombifikile, Andile, Nokumhlophe, Sesibongile, Zanele	5
41	M	-	0
	F	Silindelo, Khumbuzile, Nomthandazo	3
42	M	Mazulu, Bhekukwazi, Mzikayifani, Mganu	4
	F	Qondeni, Velephi, Thekani, Thobezeni, Qondaphi, Ncengeni	6
43	M	Mcabangeleni, Gqaba	2
	F	Gugeleni	1
44	M	Bheki, Zwelibanzi, Zabazendoda, Sipho	4
	F	Gugu	1
45	M	Nkosinathi, Mthokozisi, Xolani, Sanele	4
	F	Jabulile, Nelisiwe	2
46	M	Ntokozo, Zithulele, Mandlendoda, Phumokwakhe	4
	F	Hlengiwe	1
47	M	Jabulani, Nyamenhle, Muzi, Njabulo	4
	F	Ntokozo, Hlengiwe, Silindile	3
48	M	Sthabiso, Sthembiso	2
	F	-	0
49	M	Magamentombi, Thulani, Nsizwa, Masivo	4
	F	Nomathemba, Nokuzola, Nokulunga	3
50	M	Melusi, Jackson, Thamsanqa, Simphiwe	4
	F	Alnani, Nomusa, Cebesile	3
51	M	Mkhuliseni, Zibonele (Zthobile, Zandile FEMALES)	4

GRAND TOTAL: 314

3.2.2 Urban

3.2.2.1 *Durban and surrounds*

# RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	# NAMES
1	M	Siphesihle, Zola, Linda, Nkosinathi, Sipho	5
	F	Noluthando	1
2	M	-	0
	F	Bhebi, Nomvelo, Ntokozo	3
3	M	Fano, Lihle, Nkosinathi	3
	F	Nqobile	1
4	M	Simiso, Mduduzi, Mafika	3
	F	Busisiwe, Zandile, Nompumelelo	3
5	M	Zanda, Thamsanqa, Khuluse, Mthokozisi, Mandlakhe, Bonginkosi	6
	F	Zamakhawula, Thobile	2
6	M	Nhlakanipho	1
	F	Nombeko, Halalisani, Nomusa	3
7	M	Ndabezinhle	1
	F	Thulisiwe, Ntokozo, Thandokuhle	3
8	M	Sihle, Onke, Odwa, Sithembiso, Lifa	5
	F	Lindiwe, Akhona	2
9	M	Senzo, Mlungisi, Sandile, Mamzo	4
	F	Ntombikayise	1
10	M	Zinhle, Bongani, Nhlanhla	3
	F	-	0
11	M	Sipho	1
	F	Fikile	1
12	M	Sabelo, Bongani, Mandla, Mense	4
	F	Mnyamane, Phindile	2
13	M	Khanyiselani, Mandla, Sandile, Guzu	4
	F	Ntombikayise	1
14	M	Mqadi	1

#RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	#NAMES
	F	Mpilo, Nana, Zanele	3
15	M	Bhura, Sibusiso	2
	F	Magi, Nolwazi, Tomozile, Mubi	4
16	M	Simo, Sizwe, Philani, Stayaway	4
	F	Zonke, Ntombekhaya, Hluleliwe, Zintozakhe	4
17	M	Buka	1
	F	Mantombazane	1
18	M	Nhlakanipho	1
	F	-	0
19	M	Sipho, Bafana, Sibusiso, Bongisipho	4
	F	Nonhlanhla, Nompumelelo	2
20	M	Thulani, Phumulani, Ngcebo	3
	F	Thulile	1
21	M	Bhekuyise, Phumulani	2
	F	Klara, Bonisiwe, Zandile	3
22	M	Bheka, Thulani, Vika	3
	F	Delisiwe, Babheklle	2
23	M	Thabani, Sipho	2
	F	Nozizwe, Zandile	2
24	M	Mduduzi	1
	F	Zama, Thulisile	2
25	M	Martin, Nkosi	2
	F	Zandile, Thulisile	2
26	M	Siphiwe	1
	F	Sebenzile, Nana, Nombuso, Nosipho	4
27	M	Khulekani, Sibongiseni	2
	F	Thembani, Busisiwe	2
28	M	Thabani, Nkosingiphile	2
	F	-	0
29	M	Themba, Msawenkosi, Buhlebakhe	3

#RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	#NAMES
	F	Khanyisile, Philile, Ntombifikile, Philisiwe, Nomusa	5
30	M	Sithembiso, Thulani	2
	F	Ntombiyomusa, Ntombiyoxolo	2
31	M	-	0
	F	Nontuthuko, Thembelihle	2
32	M	Sanele	1
	F	Silindile	1
33	M	-	0
	F	Thokozane, Ntombizandile	2
34	M	Xolani, Siphelele, Zama	3
	F	Sanele	1
35	M	Qedusizi	1
	F	Valumlomo	1
36	M	Mlungelwa, Thulani, Gcinindawo, Sanele, Nkanyiso	5
	F	Nompumelelo, Ntombikanina, Sanelisiwe	3
37	M	Sandile, Buyani, Khulekani	3
	F	Sibahle, Hlengiwe, Thulisile, Ntombinazo	4
38	M	Kwazikwenkosi	1
	F	Sanele	1
39	M	Sifiso	1
	F	Zamabhengu, Nonhlanhla, Ntombenhle, Zakithi, Vukile, Makhosazana, Phindile, Duduzile	8
40	M	Siphesihle, Mxolisi	2
	F	Noluthando, Mbalenhle	2
41	M	Tanase, Bheki, Vusumuzi, Dumisane	4
	F	Lindiwe, Nobathembu	2
42	M	Nkululeko	1
	F	Nomvelo, Hlengiwe	2

#RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	#NAMES
43	M	Zolani, Simphiwe	2
	F	Zandile, Masabatha	2
44	M	Linda, Gugulethu, Thabo	3
	F	Thandiwe	1
45	M	Nhloso	1
	F	-	0
46	M	Vikezakhe, Elias, Sidina, Ndoda, Simanga, Qanda	6
	F	Sofi, Mantombazane, Duduzile, Thokozile, Dolly, Betty	6

GRAND TOTAL: 211

3.2.2.2 *Hammarsdale*

# RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	# NAMES
1	M	Lindokuhle, Malibongwe	2
	F	Hlengiwe	1
2	M	Nhlanhla	1
	F	Nozipho, Mbali	2
3	M	Sabelo	1
	F	-	0
4	M	Thembinkosi, Bheki	2
	F	Buselaphi, Thandi, Hawukile, Cabangani	4
5	M	Sikhumbuzo, Zakhele.	2
	F	-	0
6	M	Zwe	1
	F	-	0
7	M	Vusi, Bonga, Sihle, Simphiwe	4
	F	Nombuso	1
8	M	Nhlanhla	1
	F	-	0
9	M	Michael	1
	F	Buyisiwe	1
10	M	Vusi, Bongumusa	2
	F	Fezile	1
11	M	Mduduzi	1
	F	Duduzile	1
12	M	Phakamile	1
	F	Nomvula	1
13	M	Sakhumuzi	1
	F	Hlengiwe, Silindile, Lungisile	3
14	M	Jamuludi, Sipho, Mjoyi	3
	F	Phetheni, Nomusa, Neni	3

#RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	#NAMES
15	M	Mduduzi, Zakhele, Ntuthuko, Sigubhu	4
	F	Thandi, Thule	2
16	M	Khumbulani, Mbukeni, Desmond	3
	F	Nonjabulo	1
17	M	Sakhile	1
	F	Thandazile, Thandeka, Nonkululeko, Nqobile, Mbali.	5
18	M	-	0
	F	Nontokozo, Simangele, Thandeka, Thabeleng.	4
19	M	· Philani, Msizi, Khethukuthlula, Lungisani	4
	F	Silindile, Lindokuhle	2
20	M	Sibusiso, Dumisani, Bhekumuzi, Nkanyiso, Simphiwe, Siphamandla	6
	F	Nonhlanhla, Phindile, Thembelihle	3
21	M	Delani, Thembeni, Thokozani, Sipho, Khethinkosi	5
	F	Thobekile	1
22	M	Pawulose, Mlungisi, Thibhoyi	3
	F	Getty, Thembisile, Tholakele.	3

GRAND TOTAL: 88

3.2.2.3 Zimbabwe

# RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	# NAMES
1	M	Khumbudzo, Nyake, Cyril, Handukani, Sizo, Lizwe	6
	F	Lindile, Unami, Lungile, Zinhle	4
2	M	Mzingaye/Thabiso	1
	F	Nolizwe, Zanele	2
3	M	Ayibongwe	1
	F	-	0
4	M	Philani, Lindani	2
	F	Thabiso	1
5	M	Mbongiseni	1
	F	Nokukhanya	1
6	M	Tapiwa	1
	F	-	0
7	M	-	0
	F	Samukele, Sibusisiwe, Siphilisiwe, Sanelisiwe	4
8	M	Mandla	1
	F	-	0
9	M	Ngqabutho, Ayanda-majaha, Njabulo	3
	F	Ntombikayise, Sibongile, Phethile	3
10	M	Themba	1
	F	Lindiwe, Thandiwe	2
11	M	Bongani, Ayanda	2
	F	-	0
12	M	Mlungisi, Mthulisi, Ndandatho, Ntokozo, Hloniphani, Nqobani	6
	F	Nokuzola, Hleziphi, Sanelisiwe	3
13	M	-	0
	F	Sethukile, Simiso	2
14	M	Mpiyekhaya, Nduduzo	2
	F	-	0

#RESPONDENTS	SEX	NAMES	#NAMES
14	M	Mpiyekhaya, Nduduzo	2
	F	-	0
15	M	Mandisi	1
	F	Kititso	1
16	M	Mabutho, Khayelihle	2
	F	Velile, Vezokuhle	2
17	M	Sukoluhle, Nkosikhona	2
	F	Ntombini, Simelweyinkosi, Phephelani	3
18	M	Thapelo	1
	F	-	0
19	M	Bhekithemba, Mthulisi	2
	F	Sizakele, Sibongokuhle	2
20	M	-	0
	F	Nozinhle	1
21	M	Garai	1
	F	Gladys	1
22	M	Theophillus	1
	F	Dalubuhle, Nolwandle	2
23	M	Nkosizile	1
	F	Methembe	1

GRAND TOTAL: 72

APPENDIX 4
GENDER OF NAME-GIVER BY AREA AND DISTRICT

Appendix 4.1   RURAL

AREA	GENDER	
Bhizana	F	
Dapha		M
Ekuthukuzeni		M
Ekuthukuzeni	F	
Ekuthukuzeni		M
Ekuthukuzeni	F	
Ekuthukuzeni		M
Gcilima	F	
Hlabezimhlophe		M
Hlabezimhlophe	F	
Hlabezimhlophe	F	
Hlabezimhlophe	F	
Hlokozi		M
Hlokozi		M
Hlokozi		M
Hlokozi		M
Hlokozi		M
Hlokozi	F	
Hlokozi	F	
Hlokozi		M
Hlokozi		M
Hlokozi		M

AREA	GENDER	
Hlokozi		M
Hlokozi	F	
Hlokozi		M
Hlokozi	F	
Hlokozi		M
Hlokozi		M
Hlokozi		M
Hlokozi		M
Hlokozi		M
Hlokozi	F	
Isangcwaba		M
Isangcwaba		M
Isangcwaba		M
Isangcwaba		M
Isangcwaba		M
Isangcwaba	F	
Isangcwaba		M
Isangcwaba		M
Izingolweni		M
Izingolweni	F	
Izingolweni		M
Izingolweni	F	
Izingolweni	F	
Izingolweni		M

AREA	GENDER	
Machi	F	
Machi		M
Machi		M
Madipha		M
Mahlungulu		M
Mahlungulu		M
Mahlungulu		M
Mahlungulu		M
Malangeni		M
Malangeni		M
Manguzi	F	
Manguzi	F	
Manguzi		M
Manguzi		M
Manguzi		M
Manguzi	F	
Manguzi		M
Maphumulo	F	
Maphumulo		M
Maphumulo	F	
Maphumulo		M
Maphumulo		M
Maphumulo		M
Maphumulo		M

AREA	GENDER	
Maphumulo		M
Maphumulo	F	
Maphumulo		M
Maphumulo		M
Maphumulo	F	
Maphumulo		M
Maphumulo		M
Maphumulo		M
Maphumulo	F	
Maphumulo		M
Maphumulo	F	
Maphumulo		M
Maphumulo	F	
Maphumulo		M
Maphumulo	F	
Mkhomazi		M
Murchison	F	
Murchison		M
Murchison		M
Murchison		M
Mzimkhulu		M
Mzumbe		M
Ngozini	F	
Ngwanase		M

AREA	GENDER	
Ngwanase		M
Ngwanase	F	M
Ngwanase	F	M
Ngwanase		M
Ngwanase	F	M
Nkathwini		M
Nkathwini		M
Nkathwini		M
Nkathwini		M
Nkathwini		M
Nkathwini		M
Nkathwini	F	
Nkathwini		M
Nkathwini		M
Nkathwini		M
Nkatwhini	F	
Nkovukeni		M
Nkovukeni	F	
Nkovukeni		M
Nkumende	F	
Nkumende	F	
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma	F	

AREA	GENDER	
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma		M
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma		M
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma		M
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma		M
Nongoma		M
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma		M
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma		M
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma		M
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma		M

AREA	GENDER	
Nongoma		M
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma		M
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma	F	
Nongoma	F	
Nzimakwe	F	
Nzimakwe	F	
Nzimakwe		M
Nzimakwe	F	
Thandizwe		M
Thandizwe		M
Thandizwe		M
Thengani	F	
Thengani		M
Thengani	F	
Xolo		M
Zibi		M
Zibi		M
Zibi		M
Zibi	F	
Zibi	F	
Zibi		M

AREA	GENDER	
Zibi		M
Zibi		M
Zibi		M
Zibi	F	
Zibi		M
Zibi		M
Zibi	F	
Zibi		M
Zibi		M
Total	70	107

Appendix 4.2   URBAN

4.2.1   Durban and surrounds

AREA	GENDER	
Chesterville		M
Chesterville	F	
Chesterville		M
Clemont	F	
Hammarsdale	F	
Hammarsdale	F	
Hammarsdale		M
Hammarsdale		M
Hammarsdale	F	
Hammarsdale		M
Hammarsdale	F	
Hammarsdale	F	
Hammarsdale	F	
Hammarsdale	F	
Hammarsdale	F	
Hammarsdale		M
Hammarsdale		M
Hammarsdale	F	
Hammarsdale	F	
Hammarsdale	F	
Hammarsdale		M
Hammarsdale	F	
Hammarsdale		M
Hammarsdale		M
Hammarsdale	F	
Hammarsdale	F	
Hammarsdale	F	
KwaMashu	F	

AREA	GENDER	
Lamontville		M
Lamontville		M
Lamontville	F	
Lamontville	F	
Lamontville		M
Lamontville		M
Lamontville	F	
Lamontville	F	
Lamontville		M
Lamontville		M
Lamontville		M
Lamontville	F	
Lamontville	F	
Lamontville		M
Lamontville	F	
Lamontville	F	
Lamontville	F	
Mkhumbane		M
Mlazi	F	
Mlazi	F	
Mlazi	F	
Mlazi		M
Mlazi	F	
Mlazi		M
Mlazi	F	
Mlazi	F	
Mlazi	F	
Mlazi	F	
Mlazi		M
Mlazi		M
Mlazi	F	

AREA	GENDER	
Ntuzuma	F	
Ntuzuma	F	
Ntuzuma		M
Ntuzuma		M
Ntuzuma		M
Ntuzuma		M
Ntuzuma		M
Ntuzuma		M
Ntuzuma		M
Ntuzuma		M
Ntuzuma		M
Ntuzuma	F	
Ntuzuma		M
Ntuzuma	F	
Thongathi		M
Total	39	34

Appendix 4.2.2   Zimbabwe

AREA	GENDER	
Bulawayo		M
Bulawayo		M
Bulawayo		M
Bulawayo		M
Bulawayo		M
Bulawayo	F	
Bulawayo	F	
Bulawayo	F	
Bulawayo	F	
Bulawayo		M
Bulawayo	F	
Bulawayo		M
Bulawayo	F	
Bulawayo	F	
Bulawayo		M
Bulawayo		M
Bulawayo		M
Harare		M
Harare	F	
Harare	F	
Harare	F	
Harare		M
Total	10	12

APPENDIX 5
DURBAN HOSPITAL RECORDS (DATA BASE)

NAME	AGE
Abongile	4yrs
Abongile	4yrs
Abongile	4yrs
Abongiwe	3yrs
Afika	4yrs
Africa	4yrs
Afrika	2yrs
Ahungile	2yrs
Akhona	3yrs
Akhona	4yrs
Akhona	4yrs
Akhona	4yrs
Akhona	4yrs
Akhona	2mths
Akhona	2yrs
Akhona	3yrs
Akwande	4yrs
Alude	4yrs
Amahle	6mths
Amahle	4 mths
Amanda	4yrs
Amanda	4yrs
Amanda	4yrs
Amanda	4yrs
Amanda	4yrs
Amanda	4yrs
Amanda	4yrs
Amanda	2yrs

NAME	AGE
Amanda	4yrs
Amanda	3yrs
Amanda	12mths
Amanda	3yrs
Amanda (Mbokazi)	2yrs
Amanda	3yrs
Amanda	4yrs
Amanda	3yrs
Amanda	3yrs
Amanda	3yrs
Amanda	4yrs
Amanda	3yrs
Amanda	4yrs
Amanda	14mths
Amanda	3yrs
Amanda	4yrs
Amanda	4yrs
Amanda	3yrs
Amanda	3yrs
Amanda	4yrs
Amanda	3yrs
Amanda	4yrs
Amanda (Lushozi)	2yrs
Amanda	3yrs
Amanda	2yrs
Amanda	3yrs
Anathi	3yrs
Anathi	3yrs
Anda	4yrs
Andile	2yrs

NAME	AGE
Andile	3mths
Andile	4yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile (Nkosi)	4yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	3yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile (Gebane)	4yrs
Andile	2yrs
Andile	3yrs
Andile	3yrs
Andile	3yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	2yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	3yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	1yr
Andile (Mbeje)	4yrs
Andile	2yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile (Mthombeni)	4yrs
Andile (Nyuswa)	4yrs
Andile (Mkhize)	4yrs
Andile (Mthimkhulu)	4yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	4yrs

NAME	AGE
Andile	3yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	3yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	3yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andile	3yrs
Andile	3yrs
Andile	4yrs
Andisiwe	4yrs
Andiswa	4yrs
Andiswa	4yrs
Andiswa	4yrs
Andiswa	4yrs
Andiswa	4yrs
Andiswa	4yrs
Andiswa	4yrs
Andiswa	4yrs
Anele	2yrs
Anele	3yrs
Anele	3yrs
Anele	2yrs
Anele	3yrs
Anele	2yrs

NAME	AGE
Anele	4yrs
Anele	3yrs
Anele	3yrs
Anele	3yrs
Anele	3yrs
Anele	4yrs
Anele	2yrs
Anele	4yrs
Anele	2yrs
Anele	2yrs
Anele	3yrs
Anele	3yrs
Anele	4yrs
Anele	4yrs
Anele	3yrs
Anele	4yrs
Anele	4yrs
Anele	3yrs
Anele	4yrs
Anele	4yrs
Anele	1month
Anele	4yrs
Anele	4yrs
Anele Siphindile	4yrs
Anelisa	4yrs
Anga	2yrs
Anne	4yrs
Aphiwe	3yrs
Aphiwe	2yrs
Aphiwe	4yrs

NAME	AGE
Aphiwe	4yrs
Asanda	4yrs
Asanda	3yrs
Asanda	4yrs
Asanda	2yrs
Asanda	3yrs
Asanda	4yrs
Asanda	2yrs
Asanda	4yrs
Asanda	3yrs
Asanda	2mths
Asande	3yrs
Asimamukele	3yrs
Avela	3yrs
Awande	3yrs
Awande	3yrs
Ayabonga	4yrs
Ayabonga	3yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda (Gcaba)	4yrs
Ayanda (Zulu)	4yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	10mths
Ayanda	4yrs

NAME	AGE
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda (Khoza)	4yrs
Ayanda (Hlatshwayo)	4yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda Mqobi	4yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	2yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	3yrs

NAME	AGE
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayanda	2yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	2yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	2yrs
Ayanda	3yrs
Ayanda	2yrs
Ayanda	4yrs
Ayenda	2yrs
Ayesha	3yrs
Ayesha	4yrs
Azande	2yrs
Azi	2yrs
Azile	3yrs
Azime	4yrs
Azokuhle	4yrs
Babongile	28 days
Bhandelihle	3yrs
Bheki	1yr
Bongani	7mths
Bongani	7mths
Bongeka	8 mths
Bongeka	3yrs
Bonginhlanhla	13mths
Bonginkosi	6 weeks
Bongiwe	13mths

NAME	AGE
Bongumusa	27days
Bongumusa	15mths
Busisiwe	3yrs
Busisiwe	19mths
Buyani	14 weeks
Cebile	2yrs 2mths
Cebolenkosi	3yrs
Celinhlanhla	3 days
Celumusa	7mths
Celuxolo	4mths
Dumisile	2yrs
Enele	3yrs
Eyethu	4yrs
Fakazile	20mths
Fikile	1yr
Fisokuhle	1yr
Fundisiwe	2mths
Fundisiwe	9mths
Gugu	18mths
Hlobile	3mths
Hlobisile	11mths
Hloniphile	2mths
Inga	3yrs
Isahaka	3yrs
Isiphile	3yrs
Jabulisiwe	25 days
Khalakahle	3yrs
Khanyisani	8mths
Khanyisile	16mths
Khayelihle	7mths

NAME	AGE
Khetha	2yrs
Khethani	8 months
Khethiwe	2yrs
Khethiwe	5mths
Khethiwe	29days
Kwanele	3yrs
Kwazi	8 weeks
Lindelani	13mths
Lindelani	2yrs
Lindelwa	3mths
Lindeni	10mths
Lindinkosi	2yrs
Lindokuhle	4yrs
Londiwe	7mths
Londiwe	3mths
Londiwe	11mths
Londiwe	2mths
Lungeliwe	6mths
Lungelo	4yrs
Lungelo	2yrs
Lungelo	1yr
Lungelo	3yrs
Lungisani	6mths
Luyanda	6mths
Luyanda	3yrs
Luyanda	3yrs
Lwandile	4yrs
Lwazi	16mths
Mabhuni	1month
Mandisa	16mths

NAME	AGE
Mantombi	2 mths
Mantuthu	12 weeks
Masechaba	3yrs
Mazo	3 weeks
Mbali	3yrs
Mfanelo	9mths
Mfundo	16mths
Mfundo	12mths
Minenhle	4yrs
Minenhle	3yrs
Minenhle	7mths
Minenhle	8mths
Minenhle	9 weeks
Minenhle	2yrs
Misokuhle	3yrs
Mlungisi	15mths
Mnotho	8mths
Mnqobi	2yrs
Mondli	16mths
Mpilonhle	15mths
Mpilonhle	3 days
Mpumelelo	2yrs
Msizeni	14mths
Msizeni	10mths
Msizi	6mths
Mthobisi	1yr
Mthobisi	3yrs
Mthobisi	1yr
Mthobisi	2mths
Mthoko	2yrs

NAME	AGE
Mthokozisi	8mths
Mthokozisi	1yr
Mthokozisi	2yrs
Mthokozisi	4yrs
Mtuyazazi	8 mths
Muzi	1yr
Mxoliai	3mths
Mxolisi	10mths
Mxolisi	3yrs
Nana	18mths
Nandi	18mths
Ndodo	3yrs
Nduduzo	3yrs
Nduduzo	13mths
Ndumiso	14 days
Ndumiso	2yrs
Nelisiwe	3yrs
Neliswa	2yrs
Ngcebo	8mths
Nhlakanipho	16mths
Nhlakanipho	2yrs
Nhlakanipho	7mths
Nhlakanipho	1mth
Nhlanhla	1yr
Nhloso	2yrs
Nhloso	2yrs
Njabulo	10mths
Nkosenhle	14mths
Nkosikhona	8mths
Nkosikhona	1month

NAME	AGE
Nkosingiphile	6mths
Nkosingiphile	1.5mths
Nkululeko	2 weeks
Nobuhle	6weeks
Nodumo	6 mths
Nokukhanya	7mths
Nokulunga	12mths
Nokuphiwa	14wks
Nokuthula	2yrs
Nokuzola	8 mths
Nokwanda	6 mths
Nokwanda	9mths
Nokwanda	11mths
Nokwanda	11mths
Nokwazi	2yrs
Noloyiso	19mths
Noluthando	5mths
Nolwazi	2yrs
Nolwazi	2mths
Nomandla	11 days
Nomathamsanqa	9mths
Nomathemba	1yr
Nombali	1yr
Nombulelo	16mths
Nombuso	1yr
Nomcebo	2mths
Nomfundo	17mths
Nomfundo	16mths
Nomkhosi	3yrs
Nomonde	12 weeks

NAME	AGE
Nompilo	4mths
Nompilo	5 mths
Nomthandazo	1yr
Nomthandazo	6mths
Nomthandazo	31days
Nomthandazo	2yrs
Nomvelo	18mths
Nomvelo	8 weeks
Nomvula	9 weeks
Nomzamo	3yrs
Noncedo	3 weeks
Nondumiso	9 days
Nongcebo	7mths
Nonhlanhla	2yrs
Nonhlanhla	2yrs
Nonhlanhla	11mths
Nonhle	2yrs
Nonjabulo	4mths
Nontethelelo	3mths
Nontobeko	17 days
Nontobeko	2yrs
Nontobeko	3yrs
Nontokozo	14 weeks
Nontuthuzeko	2mths
Nosihle	26 days
Nosihle	3yrs
Nosipho	18mths
Nosipho	1yr
Nothando	2yrs
Noxolo	3mths

NAME	AGE
Noxolo	1yr
Nozipho	18mths
Nozipho	2yrs
Nqobani	2mths
Nqobile	1yr
Nqobile	1yr
Nqubeko	11mths
Nqubeko	2yrs
Nsizwazithini	7mths
Ntando	7mths
Ntando	14 weeks
Ntombi	3yrs
Ntombiziphi	1mth
Ntonqo	1yr
Ntuthuko	15mths
Ntuthuko	3yrs
Ntuthuko	3yrs
Ntuthuko	2mths
Nzuzo	3yrs
Okuhle	3yrs
Onke	3yrs
Phakamani	3yrs
Phakamani	4yrs
Philani	18mths
Philani	4mths
Philani	3yrs
Philani	4mths
Philile	11mths
Phindile	1yr
Phumelele	4mths

NAME	AGE
Phumlani	10mths
Phumlile	2yrs
Phumzile	18mths
Qiniso	3yrs
Qiniso	16mths
Sabelo	10mths
Sabelo	1yr
Sabelo	4mths
Sabelo	6mths
Sabelo	3yrs
Sabelo	6mths
Samanda	2yrs
Samkele	2mths
Samkelo	2yrs
Samkelo	3yrs
Samukelisiwe	17mths
Sandile	11mths
Sanele	9mths
Sanele	10mths
Saneli	13 weeks
Sanelisiwe	3yrs
Sbahle	2yrs
Sbonelo	1yr
Sboniso	14mths
Sboniso	15mths
Sboniso	18mths
Senzo	7mths
Senzwesihle	4mths
Sethembele	1yr
Sfiso	1yr

NAME	AGE
Sfiso	2 yrs
Sfundo	9mths
Sibonelo	3yrs
Sibonelo	6mths
Sibongakonke	6mths
Sibongiseni	5mths
Sibongiseni	6mths
Siboniso	2yrs
Sibusiso	1yr
Sicelo	10mths
Sihle	1yr
Sihle	1yr
Sihle	1yr
Sihlengiseni	7mths
Silindile	16mths
Silungile	10mths
Simo	2yrs
Simphiwe	7mths
Simphiwe	1month
Simphiwe	3mths
Sinenhlanhla	1.5mths
Sinenhlanhla	7mths
Sinenhlanhla	11mths
Sinenhlanhla	17mths
Sinethemba	17mths
Sinethemba	3yrs
Siphamandla	14mths
Siphamandla	11mths
Siphelele	4yrs
Siphephelo	8mths

NAME	AGE
Siphesihle	18mths
Siphesihle	1yr
Siphindile	4mths
Siphiwe	6mths
Sithembiso	10mths
Sithembiso	7mths
Siyabonga	3yrs
Siyalo	12 weeks
Siyanda	4yrs
Siyethaba	2yrs
Siyethemba	3yrs
Sizakele	16mths
Sizani	13mths
Siziwe	6mths
Slindelo	19mths
Slindile	9mths
Slindile	13mths
Slindile	1yr
Slungile	11mths
Smanga	4yrs
Smangele	3yrs
Snenhlanhla	2mths
Snenhlanhla	3yrs
Sphelele	10 weeks
Sphelelisile	16mths
Sphelelisiwe	4 weeks
Sphephelo	13mths
Sphephelo	8mths
Sphesihle	6days
Sphesihle	2yrs

NAME	AGE
Sphiwe	1yr
Sphokuhle	6mths
Sphosakhe	1yr
Sthabile	6mths
Sthandile	4mths
Sthandwa	9mths
Sthembiso	8mths
Sthobiso	2yrs
Sthokozile	6mths
Syalesihle	4yrs
Syamukela	6mths
Syamukela	12wks
Thabisile	13mths
Thabiso	1yr
Thabiso	9mths
Thabiso	1yr
Thamsanqa	2mths
Thamsanqa	8mths
Thandanani	3yrs
Thandokuhle	11mths
Thanoluyanda	6mths
Thembalethu	6mths
Thembeka	6mths
Thembelani	2yrs
Thembelihle	19mths
Thembelihle	18 weeks
Thembinkosi	8 days
Thembokuhle	2yrs
Thobani	3mths
Thobeka	6mths

NAME	AGE
Thobeka	3yrs
Thobeka	9mths
Thobekani	1yr
Thobelani	11mths
Thobelani	3yrs
Thobelani	8 mths
Thobelani	12weeks
Thubalenkosi	8mths
Thubelihle	2yrs
Thubelihle	3yrs
Thulasizwe	6 weeks
Thulasizwe	2yrs
Tusani	2mths
Umsumuzi	2yrs
Unathi	3yrs
Vamsile	16mths
Velani	2yrs
Vukani	2yrs
Vunyelweni	18mths
Vusumuzi	3yrs
Vuyokwazi	19days
Wandile	2 days
Welile	18mths
Wendy	11mths
Winile	2yrs
Xolani	6mths
Xolani	1.5 months
Xoli (Malimela)	2yrs
Xoli (Hlongwa)	2yrs
Xolile	6 mths

NAME	AGE
Xolile	9mths
Xolisani	2yrs
Xolisile	2yrs
Yolanda	6mths
Zakhele	13mths
Zama	24 days
Zama	3mths
Zama	2yrs
Zamani	1yr
Zamani	1yr
Zamantusi	2yrs
Zamo	2 yrs
Zanele	2yrs
Zanele	2yrs
Zethembe	10 days
Zethembe	19 days
Zethembiso	3yrs
Ziphezinhle	3yrs
Zothani	18mths
Zwakele	14mths

APPENDIX 6
NAME POPULARITY BY AREA

Appendix 6.1   RURAL (northern KwaZulu-Natal)

6.1.1   KwaNgwanase

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Nsikayomuzi	1	Zandile	3
Gabangaye	1	Phakamile	1
Zigizendoda	1	Nomacala	1
Mavikimpi	1	Nozipho	1
Siyabonga	1	Hlengiwe	1
Mdingisi	1	Jabhisile	1
Thelumusa	1	Hlabekile	2
Londeni	1	Qhamukile	1
Simiyoni	1	Msabeni	1
Elija	1	Thulile	2
Musha	1	Elina	1
Thokozani	1	Mayingela	1
Sihawukele	1	Ndleleni	1
Sibusiso	5	Mambeti	1
Mvuselelo	1	Alice	1
Daluxolo	1	Thembani	1
Themba	3	Ruth	1
Velani	1	Duduzile	2
Bongani	3	Sebenzile	2
Dingindawo	1	Khangezile	1
Zibuse	1	Nqobile	1
Simiso	1	Thembisile	1
Mzamo	1	Phumzile	1
Phakamani	1	Ntokozo	1
Nkosingiphile	1	Nokuphila	1
Manafu	1	Luhlobo	1
Bhowazi	1	Nokunasha	1

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Nkalankala	1	Nomzamo	1
Nkululeko	2	Badelile	1
Mphikiswa	1	Mthebulo	1
Zazeni	1	Zamekile	1
Bhekizwe	1	Nomadlozi	3
George	1	Nompumelelo	2
Mtholephi	2	Nobuhle	1
Zishilo	2	Jabulile	1
Sibonakaliso	1	Zodwa	1
Vuminkosi	1	Xolile	1
Mfihlo	1	Veleni	1
Lindani	2	Mshiseni	2
Josefa	1	Bongiwe	1
Vikimpi	1	Ntombifuthi	1
Mbongeni	1	Londiwe	1
Mthathephi	1	Lethiwe	1
Sishosonke	1	Thabile	1
Mthayi	1	Phikile	1
Sifiso	2	Nonhlanhla	1
Lungisani	1	Thembelihle	1
Nathi	1	Nokuthula	6
Vusile	1	Ziningi	1
Mphatheni	1	Ntombi	1
Mbhekiseni	1	Sibongile	1
Bhekokuzayo	1	Gugu	1
Xolani	2	Zethu	1
Mandla	1	Buyisile	1
Bonginkosi	3	Thabisile	3
Dinga	1	Khombisile	1
Thamsanqa	1	Phumelele	1
Wandile	1	Noyi	1
Nkosinathi	2	Gcinani	1

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Madloko	2	Phumzile	2
Bathini	1	Zodwa	1
Mfanufikile	1	Nomusa	1
Mangisi	1	Nompumelelo	1
Mduduzi	1	Nokukhanya	1
Ntokozo	1	Megija	1
Gadi	1	Zanele	1
Pita	1	Ntombi	1
Nyokani	1	Nokufa	1
Bheki	1	Mkhabani	1
Linda	1	Mgqumeni	1
Manyasa	1	Ziga	1
Jeke	1	Ntombizonke	1
Bhoyi	1	Kwatile	1
Mpini	1	Nokwanda	1
Mbuku	1	Gugwana	1
Sigadi	1	Milida	1
Miyona	1	Mehhabu	1
Ndoda	1	Fikile	1
Ndimeni	1	Manxeba	1
Luka	1	Thandiwe	2
Thithosi	1	Thuna	1
Shali	1	Mlozi	1
Mathize	1	Shibhoshi	1
Mbangiseni	1	Gansa	1
Wanabu	1	Sibonisile	1
Ngwane	1	Sinenhlanhla	1
Nhlamvu	1	Hlaleleni	1
Siboniso	2	Vovoseka	1
Disemba	1	Cabangile	1
Sicelo	1	Nomthandazo	2
Simanga	1	Celiwe	1
Mdumiseni	1	Dumazile	1

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Sibongakonke	1	Nomathemba	1
Siphamandla	1	Grema	1
		Stafu	1
		Sibongile	4
		Christinah	1
		Thoko	1
		Sindisiwe	1
		Thulisile	1
		Zanele	1
		Nqobile	1
		Balekani	1
		Sibonisiwe	1
		Msuleleni	1
		Siyanda	1
		Mirriam	1

6.1.2   Nongoma

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Nkosikhona	1	Nomalungelo	1
Khumbulani	1	Nolwazi	1
Senzo	2	Sebenzile	3
Sandile	1	Minenhle	1
Xolani	1	Zibusiso	1
Zama	1	Siduduzile	1
Siyabonga	4	Nozipho	5
Thandinkosi	1	Nonhlanhla	1
Lindani	1	Buhle	1
Siphelele	1	Ntombizodwa	1
Sibongumama	1	Mary	1
Mpucuko	1	Sindi	1
Dumisani	2	Thobeka	1
Nkosinathi	2	Zinhle	1
Simphiwe	3	Siyamukela	1
Sipho	2	Thandi	1
Fika	1	Siphiwe	1
Celinkosi	1	Zandile	2
Sabelo	2	Thangithini	1
Fundakubo	1	Ntombiyenkosi	1
Bonginkosi	2	Simangele	2
Mondli	1	Nomusa	1
Mbuasiseni	1	Nkonzo	1
Mzwandile	1	Sithembile	1
Sibusiso	2	Similo	1
Siyathokoza	1	Siphindile	1
Thuthukani	2	Sakhile	1
Sikhanyisele	1	Bongekile	3
Khanyisani	1	Nokwethemba	1

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Khanyisani	1	Nokwethemba	1
Bukhosibakhe	1	Sinothile	1
Kwenza	1	Noxolo	1
Mthokozisi	1	Hlobisile	1
Bongani	1	Zandisile	1
Siboniso	1	Samukelisiwe	3
Lungelo	1	Bongiwe	1
Muzi	1	Lungile	1
Thabani	3	Bathethelele	1
Thokozani	6	Sinqobile	1
Thubalethu	1	Nonkululeko	2
Nkosingiphile	1	Nkonsingithandile	1
Thulani	2	Lindiwe	1
Qiniso	1	Sizakele	2
Jabulani	1	Thobile	2
Zakhe	1	Nkosingiphile	1
Mandlenkosi	1	Samukele	1
Fanelesibonge	1	Nqobile	1
Mncedisi	1	Nokuphiwa	1
Vusumuzi	2	Anele	1
Bhekumuzi	1	Lethukuthula	1
Zamokwakhe	1	Nothandazo	1
Musawenkosi	1	Nokuthula	2
Mcebisi	1	Nontobeko	2
Zwelisha	1	Nokwazi	1
Nkululeko	1	Thembisile	1
Siphelele	1	Sanele	1
Sazi	1	Nombuso	1
Philani	1	Thandeka	1
Mlondolozi	1	Misiwe	1

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Sizwe	1	Bonakele	1
Samkelo	1	Nomthandazo	1
Ndumiso	1	Phindile	1
Njabulo	1	Ayanda	1
Khulekani	1	Hlengiwe	2
Phumulani	1	Thandazile	1
Malusi	1	Siphokuhle	1
Nkosiyakhe	1	Sindiswa	1
Linda	1	Nokwanda	1
Zakhele	1	Siphesihle	1
Ayanda	1	Nkonzenhle	1
Sandile	1	Zodumo	1
Sanele	1	Zama	1
		Sibahle	1
		Dumazile	1
		Thulisiwe	1
		Sinokuhle	1
		Nomfundo	1
		Kholeka	1
		Sithabile	1
		Londeka	1

6.1.3   Maphumulo

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Siboniso	1	Simangele	1
Bhekani	1	Phindile	3
Mzokhona	2	Nomvula	1
Nkosinathie	1	Hlobisile	1
Bhekokwakhe	1	Jikile	1
Sakhile	2	Winile	1
Sibonelo	2	Tholeni	1
Swelihle	1	Celiwe	2
Nhlalayenza	1	Tshitshi	1
Sandile	1	Duduzile	2
Hlabathini	1	Thobile	2
Nhlalonhle	1	Zanele	1
Ndodo	1	Ncamisile	1
Bukisisani	1	Bonakele	1
Kwenzakwakhe	1	Nikiwe	1
Dumisani	1	Mbali	1
Sikhumbuzo	1	Tholani	1
Msukelwa	1	Shongani	1
Qalokunye	1	Thandokuhle	1
Lindinkosi	1	Thabisile	1
Nkonzo	1	Koti	1
Sigwili	1	Ganiza	1
Thabani	1	Ntombile	1
Sibusiso	1	Tholakele	1
Mswawakhe	1	Samukelisiwe	1
Simosakhe	1	Thembelihle	1
Khulumani	1	Funani	1
Ntokozo	1	Vondo	1
Zethembe	1	Khethiwe	1
Musawenkosi	1	Tsheliwe	1

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Zethembe	1	Khethiwe	1
Musawenkosi	1	Tsheliwe	1
Zwelihle	1	Ntombizonke	1
Senzo	1	Buselaphi	1
		Jabulisiwe	1
		Silindile	1
		Nokubonga	1

6.1.4   South Coast

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Babhi	1	Pretty	1
Bafana	1	Thobezeni	1
Bayakhuluma	1	Siphokazi	1
Bazongenzani	1	Nokwanda	1
Bheka	1	Bonisiwe	1
Bheki	1	Nokulunga	1
Bhekukwazi	1	Gugu	1
Bhekukwenza	1	Thuleleni	1
Bhekumuzi	1	Lesi	1
Bhezu	1	Nosipho	1
Bhuti	1	Ntombikayise	2
Bini	1	Simlazile	1
Bongani	2	Amanda	1
Bongankosi	1	Buyisile	1
Bonokwakhe	2	Nofuko	1
Do	1	Nana	1
Dombo	1	Tholakele	1
Dumisani	1	Bafikile	1
Fana	1	Nonhlanhla	1
Fiki	1	Senzeleni	1
Frank	1	Nompilo	1
Gcina	1	Nomzamu	1
Gojeja	1	Duh	1
Gqaba	1	Nomathemba	1
Gulalamasi	1	Bhememe	1
Hlomendlini	1	Pheli	1
Hlube	1	Sinenhlanhla	1
Jabulani	2	Zibuyile	1

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Jabulani	2	Zibuyile	1
Jackson	1		
Jeokimi	1	Buyi	1
Khandalakhe	1	Zoleka	1
Khayelihle	1	Thekani	1
Khehla	2	Sebenzile	1
Khumbulani	1	Nomkhosi	1
Lindelani	1	Siyathokoza	1
Lolo	1	Ncane	1
Magamentombi	1		
Mandla	3	Ntombintombi	1
Mandlendoda	1		
Manqoba	1	Nombuso	1
Mashayimfene	1	Thembani	1
Masivo	1		
Mazulu	1	Gugelene	1
Mbambeni	1	Andile	1
Mbhiyozo	1	Babhekeleni	1
Mbongeni	1	Khanyisile	1
Mcabangeleni	1	Ntokozo	1
Mduduzi	1	Thokozani	1
Melusi	1		
Mfaniseni	1	Nonhlanzeko	1
Mganu	1	Hlengiwe	2
Mgolombane	1	Nokuzola	3
Mgonothi	1	Mamfu	1
Mhlekhona	1	Ntinti	1
Mili	1	Loza	1
Mkhalelwa	1	Jabulile	3
Mkhapheli	2	Phumzile	1

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Mkhondweni	1	Duduzile	2
Mkhuliseni	1		
Mkhwenke	1	Dinani	1
Mlindeli	1	Ntombo	1
Mmeli	1	Ziningi	1
Mntwini	1	Sizakele	2
Mpilo	1	Khayalami	1
Mpumelelo	1	Hlulekile	1
Mshiyeni	1	Sholoni	1
Mthembeni	1	Silindile	2
Mthokozisi	1	Zandile	5
Mthokozisi	1	Nobuhle	1
Mthokozisi	1	Zithobile	1
Musawenkosi	1	Qhubekile	1
Muzi	1		
Muzikayise	1	Ntomblfikile	1
Muzimuhle	2	Nomfundo	1
Mzikayifani	1	Nelisiwe	1
Mziwabo	1	Buhle	1
Mzonjani	1	Tibhi	1
Mzulelwa	1	Sibongile	3
Mzungezi	1	Ngako	1
Mzwandlle	1	Sesibongile	1
Ncamiso	1	Delisile	1
Njabulo	1		
Nkehle	1	Lindiwe	1
Nkosinathi	2	Dilizane	1
Nsizwa	1		
Ntokozo	2	Dumisile	1
Ntshunga	1	Ntombifuthi	1

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Nyamenhle	1		
Nyawo	1	Simangele	1
Papani	1	Ntombiziningi	1
Phumelela	1	Qondaphi	1
Phumokwakhe	1		
Phumulani	1	Nomthandazo	1
Pupu	1	Thandekile	1
Putshukile	1	Minenhle	1
Putu	1	Salukazi	1
Qinisela	1	Nozipho	1
Sakhile	2	Bongekile	1
Sandile	3	Babongile	2
Sanele	1		
Sayikholoji	1	Sokolile	1
Shofela	1	Nozipho	1
Sibonelo	1	Qondeni	1
Sibongiseni	1	Ntombizinhle	1
Sibusiso	2	Mondi	1
Sicelo	1	Thabile	1
Sigwili	1	Mama	1
Sikhumbuzo	1	Silindile	1
Simphiwe	1		
Simtholile	1	Ncengeni	1
Sinethemba	1	Tha	1
Sipho	1	Cebisile	1
Siphosenkosi	1	Khumbuzile	1
Sithabiso	1		
Sithembiso	2	Madokwe	1
Siyabonga	1	Banelile	1
Siyaphumelela	1	Nokumhlophe	1

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Sokesimbone	1	Sindisiwe	1
Sozabile	1	Nqaza	1
Sozabile	1	Muntuke	1
Teka	1	Makhosazane	1
Thamsanqa	1		
Thanda	1	Babongile	1
Thembinkosi	2	Sizakele	1
Thembokwakhe	1	Selephi	1
Thobani	1	Phindile	1
Thobelani	1	Shayiwe	1
Thokozani	1	Lala	1
Thulani	1		
Thulasizwe	1	Velephi	1
Thumamina	1	Thobeka	1
Vumani	1	Ndabenhle	1
Xolani	1	Zanele	2
Xolani	2	Tholakele	1
Yeye	1	Thandiwe	2
Zabazendoda	1	Nomusa	1
Zamokwakhe	1	Siphelele	1
Zamokwakhe	1	Babhekile	1
Zibonele	1		
Zikhulumele	1	Tezano	1
Zimisele	1	Lulama	1
Zimisele	1	Haya	1
Zithulele	3	Mamfoko	1
Zuzumuzi	1	Babhekisisile	1
Zwelethu	1	Zithobile	1
Zwelibanzi	1	Alanani	1

Appendix 6.2   URBAN

6.2.1   Durban and surrounds

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Siphesihle	2	Noluthando	2
Zola	1	Bhebi	1
Linda	1	Nomvelo	1
Nkosinathi	2	Ntokozo	2
Sipho	4	Nqobile	1
Fano	1	Busisiwe	2
Lihle	1	Zandile	5
Simiso	1	Nompumelelo	3
Mduduzi	2	Zamakhawula	1
Mafika	1	Thobile	1
Zanda	1	Nombeko	1
Thamsanqa	1	Halalisani	1
Khuluse	1	Nomusa	2
Mthokozisi	1	Thulisiwe	4
Mandlakhe	1	Thandokuhle	1
Bonginkosi	1	Lindiwe	2
Nhlakanipho	2	Akhona	1
Ndabezinhle	1	Ntombikayise	2
Sihle	1	Fikile	1
Onke	1	Mnyamane	1
Odwa	1	Phindile	2
Sithembiso	2	Mpilo	1
Lifa	1	Nana	2
Senzo	1	Zanele	1
Mlungisi	1	Magi	1
Sandile	3	Nolwazi	1
Manzo	1	Tomozile	1
Zinhle	1	Mubi	1

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Zinhle	1	Mubi	1
Bongani	2	Zonke	1
Nhlanhla	1	Ntombekhaya	1
Sabelo	1	Hluleliwe	1
Mandla	2	Zintozakhe	1
Mense	1	Mantombazane	2
Khanyiselani	1	Nonhlanhla	2
Guzu	1	Thulile	1
Mqadi	1	Clara	1
Bhura	1	Bonisiwe	1
Sibusiso	2	Delisiwe	1
Simo	1	Babhekile	1
Sizwe	1	Nozizwe	1
Philani	1	Zama	1
Stayaway	1	Sebenzile	1
Buka	1	Nombuso	1
Bafana	1	Nosipho	1
Bongisipho	1	Thembeni	1
Thulani	4	Khanyisile	1
Phumulani	2	Philile	1
Ngcebo	1	Ntombifikile	1
Bhekuyise	1	Philisiwe	1
Bheka	1	Ntombiyomusa	1
Vika	1	Nontuthuko	1
Thabani	2	Thembelihle	1
Martin	1	Silindile	1
Nkosi	1	Thokozani	1
Siphiwe	1	Ntombizandile	1
Khulekani	1	Sanele	2
Sibongiseni	1	Valumlomo	1

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Nkosingiphile	1	Ntombikanina	1
Themba	1	Sanelisiwe	1
Musawenkosi	1	Sibahle	1
Buhlebakhe	1	Hlengiwe	2
Mlungelo	1	Ntombinazo	1
Xolani	1	Zamabhengu	1
Siphelele	1	Ntombenhle	1
Zama	1	Zakithi	1
Qedusizi	1	Vukile	1
Gcinindawo	1	Makhosazane	1
Sanele	2	Duduzile	2
Nkanyiso	1	Mbalenhle	1
Buyani	1	Nobathemba	1
Khululekani	1	Nomvelo	1
Kwazikwenkosi	1	Masabatha	1
Sifiso	1	Thandiwe	1
Mxolisi	1	Sophie	1
Tanasa	1	Thokozile	1
Bheki	1	Doli	1
Vusumuzi	1	Bethi	1
Dumisani	1		
Nkululeko	1		
Zolani	1		
Simphiwe	1		
Linda	1		
Gugulethu	1		
Thabo	1		
Nhloso	1		
Vikezakhe	1		
Elias	1		

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Sidina	1		
Ndoda	1		
Simanga	1		
Qanda	1		

6.2.2   Hammarsdale

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Lindokuhle	1	Hlengiwe	2
Malibongwe	1	Nozipho	1
Nhlanhla	2	Mbali	2
Sabelo	1	Buselaphi	1
Thembinkosi	1	Thandi	2
Bheki	1	Hawukile	1
Sikhumbuzo	1	Cabangani	1
Zakhele	2	Nombuso	1
Zwe	1	Buyisiwe	1
Vusi	2	Fezile	1
Bonga	1	Duduzile	1
Sihle	1	Nomvula	1
Simphiwe	2	Silindile	2
Michael	1	Lungisile	1
Bongumusa	1	Phetheni	1
Mduduzi	2	Nomusa	1
Phakamile	1	Neni	1
Sakhumuzi	1	Thule	1
Jamuludi	1	Nonjabulo	1
Sipho	2	Thandazile	1
Mjoyi	1	Thandeka	2
Ntuthuko	1	Nonkululeko	1
Sigubhu	1	Nqobile	1
Khumbulani	1	Nontokozo	1
Mbukeni	1	Simangele	1
Desmond	1	Thabeleng	1
Sakhile	1	Lindokuhle	1
Philani	1	Nonhlanhla	1
Msizi	1	Phindile	1
Khethukuthula	1	Thembelihle	1

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Lungisani	1	Thobekile	1
Sibusiso	1	Gethi	1
Dumisani	1	Thembisile	1
Bhekumuzi	1	Tholakele	1
Nkanyiso	1		
Siphamandla	1		
Delani	1		
Thembeni	1		
Thokozani	1		
Khethinkosi	1		
Pawulose	1		
Mlungisi	1		
Thibhoyi	1		

6.2.3   Zimbabwe

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Kumbudzo	1	Lindile	1
Nyake	1	Nolizwe	1
Cyril	1	Zanele	1
Handukani	1	Thabiso	1
Lizwe	1	Nokukhanya	1
Sizo	1	Samukele	1
Mzingaye	1	Sibusisiwe	1
Thabiso	1	Siphilisiwe	1
Ayibongwe	1	Sanelisiwe	2
Philani	1	Ntombikayise	1
Lindani	1	Sibongile	1
Mbongiseni	1	Phethile	1
Tapiwa	1	Lindiwe	1
Mandla	1	Nokuzola	1
Ngqalabutho	1	Hleziphi	1
Ayanda-majaha	1	Sethukile	1
Njabulo	1	Simiso	1
Themba	1	Kititso	1
Bongani	1	Velile	1
Ayanda	1	Vezokuhle	1
Mlungisi	1	Ntombini	1
Mthulisi	2	Simelweyinkosi	1
1Ndandatho	1	Phephelani	1
Ntokozo	1	Sizakele	1
Hloniphani	1	Sibongokuhle	1
Nqobani	1	Nozinhle	1
Mpiyekhaya	1	Gladys	1
Nduduzo	1	Dalubuhle	1
Mandisi	1	Nolwandle	1

MALE	NO	FEMALE	NO
Mandisi	1	Nolwandle	1
Mabutho	1		
Khayelihle	1		
Sukoluhle	1		
Nkosikhona	1		
Thapelo	1		
Bhekithemba	1		
Garai	1		
Theophillus	1		
Nkosizile	1		

Appendix 6.3 CONSOLIDATED RURAL-URBAN TABLES (five most popular names)

#	NAMES	AREAS FOUND
55	*Ayanda* M (men are increasing in the family)	Amanzimtoti Chibinini Cato Manor (2x) Chesterville Durban (3x) Glenside Illovo Inanda KwaMashu (5x) Morningside (2x) Mkomaas Newcastle Overport(3xx) Ozwathini Pintos Hill Reserviour Hills Sherwood Sydenham Tongaat Ukenville Umbumbulu Umlazi(15x) Verulem (2x)
47	*Andile* (M) (men have increased)	Amanzimtoti Bonella (2x) Clare Estate (2x) Clemaville (2x) Chesterville Inanda (2x) Inchanga KwaMashu (13x) Lamontville Mandeni Mayville Melmoth Overport Ozwathini (3x) Pinetown Sherwood Sydenham Umbumbulu (3x) Umlazi (14x)

#	NAMES	AREAS FOUND
34	*Amanda* (F) (not an isiZulu word)	Amanzimtoti Chibini Clernaville Durban North Hammarsdale KwaMashu (7x) Lamontville Mayville (5x) Ntuzuma Redhill Reserviour Hills Springfield Tongaat Transkei Umlazi (7x) Westville
30	*Anele*(F) (girls are enough)	Bonella Berea Clare Estate (2x) Durban Inanda KwaMashu (3x) Lamontville Marianhill Mayville Newlands East Newlands West Overport Ozwathini Umlazi (11x)
10	*Asanda* (F) (girls are still increasing)	Clernaville Dalibho Durban (2x) KwaMashu (2x) Ozwathini Umlazi (3x)

APPENDIX 7
PERSONAL NAMES IN KWAZULU-NATAL
DATA-BASE

Andile (M&F) (boys/girls have increased)
Anele (F) (girls are enough)
Anele (F) (girls are enough)
Aphiwe (F) (the clan has been given)
Ayanda (M) (men are in the increase)
Ayanda (M) (boys are increasing)
Babazile (F) (amazed)
Babhekile (F) (they expect more than this)
Babongile (F) (they are grateful)
Badumile (F) (they are famous)
Bafana (M) (boys)
Bafanyana (M) (little boys)
Bajabulile (F) (they are happy)
Balindile (F) (they are waiting)
Balungile (F) (they are kind)
Bancamile (F) (they have given up)
Bancamisile (F) (you have satisfied them)
Bandile (M) (boys have increased)
Banelisiwe (F) (they are satisfied)
Bangifiselani (F) (what do they wish for me)
Bangizwe (M) (they dispute land)
Bangokwakhe (M) (dispute for his own affair)
Baphelele (M) (they are enough)
Baphindile (F) (they have done it again)
Bathabile (F) (they are happy)
Bathini (F) (what do they say)
Bathobile (F) (they are calm)
Bawinile (F) (they have conquered)
Bazwawubani (M) (who hears them)
Bekelwa (F) (provided for)
Bekezela (F) (patience)
Bekiwe (F) (have been placed)
Bhekabakubo (M) (look after your people)
Bhekabanguni (M) (look after the Nguni clan)
Bhekabantu (M) (look out for people)
Bhekabonke (M) (look out for everyone)
Bhekamabomvu (M) (look out for the Ngubane clan - Mbomvu is a clan praise)
Bhekani (M) (look)
Bhekekile (F) (expected)
Bhekelihle (F) (look for the good one)

Bhekezakhe (M) (look at your own affairs)
Bhekile (M) (watching)
Bhekimpi (M) (watch for war)
Bhekinkosi (M) (look after the Lord)
Bhekisisa (M) (look carefully)
Bhekiwe (F) (watched)
Bhekizitha (M) (look out for enemies)
Bhekizizwe (M) (look for the nations)
Bhekukwenza (M) (watch how things are done)
Bhekumndeni (M) (look after the family)
Bhekumthetho (M) (look after the law)
Bhekumuzi (M) (look after the homestead)
Bhekuyise (M) (look after your father)
Bhubesi (M) (lion)
Biziwe (M) (called upon)
Bizokwakhe (M) (demand his own thing)
Bonakele (F) (have been seen)
Bonga (M) (grateful)
Bongani (M) (you must be greatful)
Bongeka (F) (thankful)
Bongekile (F) (thankful)
Bonginhlanhla (M) (thankful for luck)
Bongisipho (M) (thankful for a gift)
Bongiwe (F) (thanked for)
Bongumusa (M) (thankful for the kindness)
Bonguyise (M) (thankful to his father)
Boshiwe (F) (arrested)
Bukebona (F) (ignore and yet aware)
Bukeka (F) (good looking)
Buselaphi (M) (where is your constituency?)
Busisiwe (F) (blessed)
Buyani (M) (come back)
Buyisiwe (F) (have been brought back)
Buyiswa (F) (have been brought back)
Buzwawubani (M) (who has asked you?)
Cabangile (F) (have given it a thought)
Cebolenkosi (M) (God's plan)
Dalokwakhe (M) (make your own plan)
Delani (M) (give up)
Delisile (F) (have satisfied us)
Deliwe (F) (desserted)
Dingabantu (M) (need people)

Dingane (M) (what do you need?)
Dingindawo (M) (need a space)
Dingizwe (M) (need a country)
Dinizulu (M) (annoy the Zulu nation)
Dlezakhe (M) (eat your own)
Dlokwakhe (M) (eat his own)
Doli (F))doll)
Duduza (M) (comforter)
Duduzile (F) (comforted)
Duma (M) (be famous)
Dumazile (F) (dissapponted us)
Dumezweni (M) (to be famous in the country)
Dumile (M) (famous)
Dumisani (M) (praise)
Dumisile (F) (made us famous)
Dumizwe (M) (be famous in the country)
Fakazile (F) (have witnessed)
Fananaye (M) (resemble him/her)
Fanele (F) (suitable)
Fayedwa (M) (die alone)
Felizwe (M) (die for the nation)
Felokwakhe (M) (die for his own possession)
Fika (M) (arrived)
Fikani (M) (arrive)
Fikelephi (F) (where have you come to?)
Fikile (F) (have arrived)
Fikisiwe (F) (have been dilivered)
Funani (F) (what do you want)
Fundisiwe (F) (have been taught)
Funindlela (F) (search for the way)
Funokwakhe (M) (search for his own possession)
Funwayo (M) (wanted)
Gabisile (F) (be proud of)
Gamalakhe (F) (his name)
Gamalenkosi (F0 (Lord's name)
Gcinekile (F) (have been taken care of)
Gobizitha (M) (conquered enemies)
Gqibihlazo (M) (cover a shame)
Gudlabantu (M) (go pass people)
Gudlumuzi (M) (go pass homestead)
Gugulethu (F) (our pride)
Hlabekile (F) (have been suffered from a disease)

Hlabeyakhe (M) (slaughtered his own cattle)
Hlakaniphani (M) (be intelligent)
Hlakazile (F) (have scatterred)
Hlalaphi (F) (where does she/he stay?)
Hlengiwe (F) (saved)
Hlomeyakhe (M) (put down his own stick)
Hluphekile (F) (have suffered)
Jabhile (M) (dissappointed)
Jabulani (M) (be happy)
Jabulile (F) (we are happy)
Jabulisiwe (F) (we have been made happy)
Khangelani (M) (look)
Khanda (M) (head)
Khanyisile (F) (light)
Khathazile (F) (troublesome)
Khaya (M) (home)
Khayelihle (M) (sweet home)
Khehla (M) (old man)
Khetheyakhe (M) (choose you own way)
Khethiwe (F) (been chosen)
Khethonjani (F) (what type of a person do you choose?)
Khombaphi (F) (who is your father - where are you pointing fingers at?)
Khombisile (F) (have pointed us)
Khombomunye (F) (point at the next person)
Khonzaphi (F) (where do you worship?)
Khonzeni (F) (what are you fond of?)
Khulekani (M) (pray)
Khulekile (M) (have prayed)
Khululiwe (F) (freed)
Khumbuzile (F) (reminded of something)
Kwanda (M) (have increased)
Kwazi (M) (knowledge)
Kwazikwakhe (M) (his own knowledge)
Kwenza (M) (made it)
Langalakhe (M) (his day)
Langalibalele (M) (the sun is hot)
Langelihle (M) (nice day)
Lili (F) (lilly)
Linda (M) (wait)
Lindani (M) (you must wait)
Lindelani (M) (you should wait)
Lindelwa (F) (waited for)

Lindiwe (F) (waited for)
Lindokuhle (F) (wait for something good)
Lunga (M) (kind)
Lungelo (M) (a right)
Lungile (F) (kind)
Lungisa (M) (make right)
Lwazi (M) (knowledge)
Mabusi (M) (blessing)
Madod'enzani eThekwini (M) (what is being done by men in Durban)
Madoda (M) (men)
Mafika (M) (have arrived)
Mahlathi (M) (forests)
Makhehlane (M) (old men)
Makhosazana (F) (princess)
Makhosonke (M) (all chiefs)
Malibongwe (M) (his name must be praised)
Malungelo (M) (human rights)
Malusi (M) (sheperd)
Mandisa (F) (cause to increase)
Mandisi (F) (cause to increase)
Mandlakayise (M) (his fathers' strength)
Mandlakhe (M) (his strength)
Mandlenkosi (M) (God's strength)
Mangisi (M) (englishmen)
Manqoba (M) (conquerer)
Mantombi (F) (girls)
Manyezwa (F) (caused to sink in water)
Maqhawe (M) (heroes)
Maqhingendoda (M) (men's plans)
Mayibongwe (M) (his name must be praised)
Mazisi (M) (identity document)
Mbalizethu (F) (our flowers)
Mbango (M) (dispute)
Mbhekeni (M) (look after him)
Mbokodo (M) (rough stone)
Mbongeleni (M) (be thankful on his behalf)
Mbongeni (M) (praise him)
Mbongiseni (M) (praise on his behalf)
Mbongwa (M) (the one who is praised)
Mbukeni (M) (look at him)
Mbuso (M) (kingdom)

Mbuyiseni (M) (bring him back)
Mchitheki (M) (one who dissappears)
Mcunukelwa (M) (one who is angered upon)
Mdabuli (M) (scavenger)
Mduduzi (M) (comforter)
Mdumiseni (M) (praise him)
Melokuhle (M) (stand for the good)
Menzi (M) (doer)
Mfana (M) (boy)
Mfanafuthi (M) (boy again)
Mfaniseni (M) (make him resemble someone)
Mfanozile (M) (the boy who has come)
Mfanufikile (M) (the boy has come)
Mfundo (M) (education)
Mgwazeni (M) (stab him)
Mhawu (M) (jealousy)
Mhlabunzima (M) (the earth is full of hardship)
Mhlaliseni (M) (give him a place to stay)
Mhlaseli (M) (attacker)
Mhlekiseni (M) (make him laugh)
Mhlekude (M) (he is handsome at a distance)
Mhlengi (M) (saviour)
Minenhle (F) (a happy day)
Mjabulelwa (F) (one who is happy for)
Mkhanyiselwa (M) (lightened)
Mkhipheni (M) (take him out)
Mkhombiseni (M) (show him)
Mkhumbuleni (M) (remember him)
Mlamuli (M) (peace maker)
Mlekeleli (M) (helper)
Mlindeli (M) (the one who has been waited for)
Mlungisi (M) (the one who makes things right)
Mmeli (M) (lawyer)
Mncedisi (M) (helper)
Mndeni (M) (family)
Mphakamiseni (M) (raise him)
Mphakwa (M) (the one who is dished)
Mphathiswa (M) (the one who is put in charge of something)
Mphendukelwa (M) (the one who has been turned against)
Mphikeleli (M) (the one who never give up- (persist))
Mphikwa (M) (denied)
Mphiliseni (M) (make him alive)

Mphilisi (M) (cause people to live)
Mphostoli (M) (apostle)
Mphumeleli (M) (one who succeeds)
Mphunyuka (M) (one who escapes danger)
Mpilo (F) (life)
Mpini (M) (at war)
Mpiyakhe (M) (his war)
Mpiyomndeni (M) (family's war)
Mpumelelo (M) (success)
Mqemane (M) (alive)
Mqinelwa (M) (take advantage of)
Mqokiseni (M) (help him to choose)
Mqoqi (M) (put things together)
Msebenzi (M) (worker)
Mshiwa (M) (one who is left behind)
Mshosheni (M) (drag oneself along on the ground)
Msizi (M) (helper)
Msongelwa (M) (one who is threatened by someone)
Mthandeni (M) (love him)
Mthembeni (M) (trust him)
Mthembiseni (M) (promise him)
Mthokozisi (M) (rejoice)
Mtholephi (M) (where did he come from)
Mtholi (F) (one who finds)
Muntu (M) (person)
Muntukabani (M) (whose person is this?)
Musawakhe (M) (his kindness)
Musawenkosi (M) (God's kindness)
Muzikawupheli (M) (homestead is growing - never ends)
Muzikayifani (M) (homesteads are never the same)
Muzikayise (M) (his father's homestead)
Muziwabantu (M) (people's homestead)
Muziwandile (M) (the family has increased)
Muziwempi (M) (the house of war/disputes)
Muziwendoda (M) (the men's house)
Muziwenhlanhla (M) (the lucky house)
Muziwenkosi (M) (God's house)
Muziwomona (M) (house of jealousy)
Muzomuhle (M) (good house)
Mvangeli (M) (evangelist)
Mvuselelo (M) (revival)
Mvuseni (M) (wake him up)

Mxolisi (M) (one who forgives)
Mzabalazi (M) (one who struggles)
Mzamo (M) (attempt)
Mzanywa (M) (one who was attempted)
Mzikawulahlwa (M) (one never dessert a homestead)
Mzikayakhelwana (M) (homesteads are never meant to be near one onother)
Mzilikazi (M) (mournful - Chief and founder of the Matebele nation)
Mzingelwa (M) (the hunted one)
Mziwamandla (M) (house of strength)
Mziwedlozi (M) (house of the ancestor)
Mzochithwayo (M) (house in disperse)
Mzokhanyayo (M) (house of light)
Mzomdala (M) (old house)
Mzomuhle (M) (pretty house)
Mzomunye (M) (single house)
Mzondeni (M) (hate him)
Mzondwase (F) (the hated one)
Mzonjani (M) (what kind of a house is this?)
Mzungulu (M) (species of bush climber used for binding)
Mzwakhe (M) (his homestead)
Nana (F) (interjection of sarcasm)
Ncishokwakhe (M) (refuse somebody his own possession)
Ndaba (M) (story)
Ndabazabantu (M) (people's affairs)
Ndoda (M) (man)
Nduduzo (M) (comforter)
Ndukuzempi (M) (sticks of war)
Ndumiso (M) (praise)
Nelisa (M) (satisfier)
Nelisiwe (F) (satisfied)
Neliswa (F) (satisfied)
Ngenzeni (F) (what did I do wrong?)
Ngethembi (F) (I did not trust this to happen)
Nginga (M) (rich/wealthy person)
Ngqalangaye (M) (first to be born)
Nhlakanipho (M) (intelligent)
Nhlanhla (M) (lucky)
Nhloso (F) (intented)
Nikeziwe (F) (given)
Nikiwe (F) (given)
Niniza (F) (a long while)
Njabulo (M) (happiness)

Nkanyezi (M& F) (star)
Nkanyiso (M) (give light)
Nkonzenhle (F) (good sermon)
Nkosana (M) (prince)
Nkosenhle (M) (good king)
Nkosikhona (M) (God is alive)
Nkosinathi (M) (God is with us)
Nkosingiphile (M) (God has given)
Nkosiyakhe (M) (His God)
Nkululeko (M) (freedom)
Nobathiyane (F) (mother of the Mthiyane clan)
Nobuhle (F) (beautiful)
Nobukhosi (F) (mother of kingdom)
Nodumo (F) (mother of fame)
Nokukhanya (F) (mother of light)
Nokulunga (F) (mother of kindness)
Nokuphiwa (F) (the given one)
Nokuthula (F) (mother of quietness)
Nokuzola (F) (a Xhosa word to mean mother of quietness)
Nokwanda (F) (mother of plenty)
Nokwazi (F) (mother of wisdom)
Nokwethemba (F) (mother of trust)
Nolwazi (F) (mother of knowledge)
Nomagugu (F) (full of pride)
Nomalanga (F) (mother of sun/days)
Nomali (F) (mother of money)
Nomasonto (F) (mother of sundays)
Nomaswazi (F) (mother of sticks)
Nomatheku (F) (mother of Durban)
Nomathemba (F) (mother of promises)
Nombukiso (F) (full of shows)
Nombulelo (F) (a Xhosa word which means gratitude)
Nombuyiselo (F) (mother of revenge)
Nomcebo (F) (mother of wealth)
Nomfundo (F) (mother of education)
Nomgqibelo (F) (mother of Saturdays)
Nomkhosi (F) (mother of events)
Nomndeni (F) (family)
Nompumelelo (F) (success)
Nomthandazo (F) (prayer)
Nomuhle (F) (pretty)
Nomusa (F) (kindness)

Nomvula (F) (rain queen)
Nomzamo (F) (an effort)
Nondumiso (F) (praise)
Nonhlanhla (F) (lucky)
Nonhlanzeko (F) (cleanliness)
Nontethelelo (F) (forgiveness)
Nontobeko (F) (humility)
Nontokozo (F) (rejoice)
Nonzuzo (F) (profit)
Nosipho (F) (gift)
Nozipho (F) (gifts)
Nozizwe (F) (nations)
Nqaba (M) (castle)
Nsizwazonke (M) (every young men)
Ntandoni (F) (what type of love?)
Ntandoyenkosi (F) (God's will)
Ntokozo (F) (rejoice)
Ntombenye (F) (another girl)
Ntombezincane (F) (few girls)
Ntombifikile (F) (a girl has arrived)
Ntombifuthi (F) (yet another girl)
Ntombikababa (F) (father's girl)
Ntombikayise (F) (father's girl)
Ntombilezi (F) (these girls)
Ntombimpela (F) (the real girl)
Ntombini (F) (what type of girl is this?)
Ntombiningi (F) (there are many girls)
Ntombinkulu (F) (big girl)
Ntombithini (F) (what does the girl say?)
Ntombizakithi (F) (girls who belong to our house)
Ntombizanele (F) (girls are enough)
Ntombizethu (F) (girls who belong to us)
Ntombizini (F) (what kind of girls?)
Ntombizodwa (F) (girls only)
Ntombizombuso (F) (girls of the kingdom)
Ntuthuko (F) (progess)
Ntwanenhle (M) (beautiful small thing)
Ntwenhle (M) (beautiful thing)
Phakamile (M) (have been raised)
Phathumuzi (M) (in control of the homestead)
Phelelani (M) (you must all be there)
Phendukile (F) (have changed)

Phikisile (F) (have opposed to something)
Phila (M) (alive)
Philani (M) (be alive)
Philile (F) (alive)
Philisiwe (F) (have survived)
Philiswa (F) (have survived)
Phinda (M) (been repeated)
Phindile (F) (a girl have been repeated)
Phiwe (F) (given)
Phumaphi (F) (where does she come from?)
Phumelele (F) (have succeeded)
Phumezitheni (M) (come out of enemies)
Phumlani (M) (rest)
Phumuza (M) (caused to rest)
Qambokwakhe (M) (create his own thing)
Qeda (M) (finish)
Qedusizi (M) (stop grief)
Qhingalakhe (M) (his own plan)
Qinani (M) (you must be strong)
Qinisani (M) (you must strengthen)
Qiniso (M) (truth)
Qondokwakhe (M) (intend his own thing)
Sabelo (M) (share)
Sakhephi (M) (where have we built?)
Sambulo (M) (Revelation)
Samukelisiwe (M) (have been given)
Sandile (M) (we have increased)
Sanele (F) (we are enough)
Sazile (F) (we knew)
Saziso (M) (notice)
Sebenzile (F) (well done)
Senzele (F) (do it for us)
Senzeni (F) (what didi we do)
Senzile (M) (we have acted)
Senzo (M) (act)
Shongani (M) (why do you say so?)
Sibangani (M) (what are we fighting for?)
Sibongeleni (M) (congratulates us)
Sibongile (F) (we are grateful)
Sibongiseni (M) (congratulates us)
Sibonisiwe (F) (we have been advised)
Siboniso (M) (example)

Sibuselaphi (M) (we should we govern?)
Sibusisiwe (F) (we have been blessed)
Sibusiso (M) (blessing)
Sicelo (M) (request)
Siduduziwe (M) (we have been comforted)
Siduduzo (M) (comforter)
Sidumo (M) (sudden disaster)
Sifiso (M) (a wish)
Sigananda (M)
Sihle (M) (beautiful)
Sihlesenkosi (M&F) (beauty of the Lord)
Sikhona (M) (we are here)
Sikhosiphi (M) (no specific meaning)
Sikhulile (M) (we have grown)
Sikhumbuzo (M) (reminder)
Silindile (F) (we have been waiting for a long time)
Simama (M) (survived)
Simangaliso (M) (miracle)
Simiso (M) (agreement)
Simphiwe (M) (we have been given)
Sindile (M) (have escaped death)
Sindisiwe (F) (have been saved)
Sinegugu (F) (we are proud)
Sinelisiwe (F) (we are satisfied)
Sinenhlanhla (F) (we are lucky)
Sinethemba (F) (we have hope)
Singaka (F) (we are this much)
Sinotho (F) (we have something)
Sinqobile (F) (we have conquered)
Siphamandla (M) (give us strength)
Siphelele (M) (were are enough)
Siphesihle (M) (nice gift)
Siphiwe (M) (we have been given)
Siphiwo (M) (gift)
Sipho (M) (gift)
Sishosonke (M) (so say all of us)
Sithembiso (M) (promise)
Sithokoziso (F) (rejoice)
Sithombe (F) (picture)
Siyabonga (M) (we are grateful)
Siyanda (M) (we are increasing)
Sizakele (F) (we have been done a favour)

Sizani (M) (what does it help?)
Sizwe (M) (nation)
Smangele (M) (we are amazed)
Sonto (M) (church/sunday)
Sthabiso (M) (rejoice)
Sthandiwe (F) (we have been loved)
Sukoluhle (M) (a happy day)
Thabani (M) (rejoice)
Thabisile (F) (caused us to rejoice)
Thamsanqa (M) (lucky)
Thanda (M) (love)
Thandazani (M) (pray)
Thandazile (F) (have prayed)
Thandeka (F) (loveable)
Thandekile (F) (loved one)
Thandinkosi (M) (love God)
Thandiwe (F) (loved one)
Thandulwazi (F) (love knowledge)
Thanduxolo (F) (peace lover)
Thanduyise (M) (love his father)
Thembani (F) (have trust)
Thembeka (F) (be trustworthy)
Thembekile (F) (trusted)
Thembelihle (F) (good hope)
Thembeni (F) (what have you trusted?)
Thembile (F) (we have trust)
Thembinkosi (M) (trust the Lord)
Thembisa (M) (make a promise)
Thembisile (F) (have made a promise)
Thembitshe (M) (trust a rock)
Thembokuhle (F) (trust for the good)
Thenjisiwe (F) (have been promised)
Thobeka (F) (humuliate)
Thobekile (F) (became humble)
Thobile (F) (humble)
Thokozani (F) (rejoice)
Thokozile (F) (rejoice)
Tholakele (F) (have been found)
Tholumuzi (M) (find a house)
Thoshi (F) (torch)
Thulani (M) (be quiet)
Thulasizwe (M) (a nation should be calm)

Thulebona (M) (keep quiet and yet things are not going right)
Thuleleni (F) (why are you quiet?)
Thulile (F) (quiet)
Thulisile (F) (quietened)
Thulisiwe (F) (quietened)
Thuthuka (M) (have made progress)
Thuthukile (F) (have made progress)
Unathi (M) (he is with us)
Vangile (F) (mixed)
Vela (M) (appeared)
Velaphi (M) (where do you come from?)
Velengazi (M) (appeared without any notice)
Velenkosini (M) (appeared from God)
Velephi (F) (where did she came from)
Velesiya (M) (appeared when we were going somewhere)
Velokuhle (M) (something good appeared)
Vezokuhle (M) (have brought something good)
Vika (M) (ward off from danger)
Vukani (M) (arise)
Vukile (M) (have risen)
Vumile (F) (have agreed)
Vusabantu (M) (wake people up)
Vusumuzi (M) (rebuild the house)
Vuyisile (F) (have made us happy - a Xhosa name)
Wandile (M) (the family has increased)
Welile (F) (have crossed the river)
Xolisile (F) (have excused herself)
Xoliswa (F) (excuse - a Xhosa name)
Zabantwana (F) (princesses)
Zakhele (M) (built for yourself)
Zamandulo (F) (the olden days)
ZamaNguni (F) (girls of the Nguni clan)
Zamani (M) (try again)
Zamekile (F) (we have tried)
Zamile (F) (have tried)
Zamokwakhe (F) (try her own thing)
Zandile (F) (girls have increased)
Zanele (F) (girls are enough)
Zazi (M) (wisemen)
Zaziso (M) (notices)
Zenani (F) (cattle of a high price)
Zenzile (F) (you have caused this act yourself)

Zenzo (M) (acts)
Zenzumuntu (M) (pretend to be a human being)
Zesuliwe (F) (tears have been wiped out)
Zethembe (M) (trust yourself)
Zibokwakhe (M) (ignore his own affairs)
Zibukele (M) (watch it yourself)
Zibuse (F) (let them govern themselves)
Zibuyile (F) (cattle have returned)
Zigizendoda (M) (men's footsteps)
Zimbili (F) (they are two girls)
Zine (F) (they are four girls)
Zinhle (F) (girls are pretty)
Ziningi (F) (they are many)
Ziphathele (M) (handle it yourself)
Zithulele (M) (be quiet)
Zodwa (F) (gilrs only)
Zuzinkosi (M) (earned the Lord)
Zuziwe (F) (she has been earned)
Zwelabantu (M) (people's nation)
Zwelakhe (M) (his nation)
Zwelinjani (M) (how is the nation?)
Zwelithini (M) (what is the nation saying?)