

**IsiZulu traditional healers' perspective of *ukuhlonipha* in context**

By

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## **Dedication**

This research is dedicated to all traditional healers who made a contribution to this study

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## Declaration

I declare that the thesis is my original work and I have not received outside assistance. Only the sources cited have been used in this draft. Parts that are directly quotes and or paraphrases are identified as such.

I hereby grant the University of South Africa the right to distribute my work, especially when it is to be presented to the third part for inspection.

Name : J. O. Nene

Date : 31/05/2013

Signature : \_\_\_\_\_

## Abstract

Traditional healers are one among professionals that are viewed as the most significant people in African Society. They are accorded the highest esteem because of the role they play in saving people's lives and promoting cultural aspects such as *ukuhlonipha amasiko* in isiZulu. It should be remembered that this word *ukuhlonipha* which means to respect, is used across cultures to maintain peace within family and society. It all depends on which culture promotes it more than others. It is sociolinguistic truism that *ukuhlonipha* is essentially linked to the *ubuntu* philosophy of African people. However, traditional healers more than other people follow *ukuhlonipha* culture in numerous ways, especially when they meet, being consulted and during traditional ceremonies. They serve and promote what in IsiZulu is known as *ukuhlonipha*, which to the uninitiated and sometimes even to the scholars of this philosophy is a mystery. It is for this reason and others that people view them as the soul of society.

This study looks at relevant sociolinguistic theories especially the politeness theory to analyze most of the *hlonipha* features shown by traditional healers, apprentice and people during consultation.

Key words: Traditional healers, *ukuhlonipha*, respect, politeness, *ophahleni*, socio-cultural, ancestors, *ukuthokoza*, apprentice and *isigodlo*.

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

#### 1.1 Preamble

Nowadays people's understanding of the word *ukuhlonipha* is different to the way one's forefathers used to understand it. The word *ukuhlonipha* in simple English means 'to respect'. But if we look at it in terms of African culture and religion, it means respect for people in power. The code that we call respect or *ukuhlonipha* is a code that we find throughout cultures, which is used by people in power to maintain peace in society irrespective of gender. Though this code is found throughout cultures, each culture interprets it differently. For example, a young African person is not allowed to look at an older person directly in the eye when spoken to, which is a sign of respect. Unlike African people, Western people do not view the concept of respect in the same manner. For older people within a Western culture, if a young person does not look at them directly in their eyes it means they are lying about something or being disrespectful.

For both Africans and western people nothing with regard to the concept of respect will be the same since they both come from different worlds, lifestyles, language usage and culture (Ellis, 2003: 342). It is my belief that in order for anyone to follow the tradition of *ukuhlonipha* they need to respect and understand their own culture, language and beliefs.

People such as traditional healers are known for their traditional ways of living and healing. Thus, it will be interesting to understand how they view the word '*ukuhlonipha*' and how they practice it in their lives.

## **1.2 Research problem statement**

What traditional healers do during consultation are a mystery to a lot of people, and most people wonder why traditional healers do such things. It could be the language that healers use, it could be the way that they behave but most of the things that they do are ambiguous for many people. Sometimes a researcher wonders why they do or talk in the manner that they do during consultation and whether it is a cultural norm or a sign of respect. For example: whenever they meet with other traditional healers they say words such as '*makhosi, makhosi amakhulu!*' which means "king, the great king!" while clapping hands. Do they say these words just for the sake of it or does it have some kind of a meaning? These are the things that this study aims to find out.

## **1.3 Aims and objectives of study**

The aim of this study is to utilise relevant sociolinguistic theories and in particular, the politeness theory in order to critically analyse features of *ukuhlonipha* in order to fathom its deeper meaning.

The objective of this study is to:

- Collect data from various traditional healers in order to clarify different *Hlonipha* features shown by them.

## **1.4 Definition of terms**

Before dwelling much on the research we need to understand the meanings of a few words and phrases since they will be used repeatedly in this study. The first phrase that needs to be defined is 'traditional healer' since the research revolves around them.

### 1.4.1 Traditional healers

Different writers define the term 'traditional healer' differently and some people do not even use the term 'traditional healer' but 'indigenous healing' or 'African spiritual healer' which means the same thing. All the above mentioned words just mean healing that began in Africa and was developed both locally and internationally. The term 'healing' is derived from a German term *heilin* (whole) and *helig* (holy) which is also related to an old English term *hael* (whole), *haelen* (heal) and *holig* (holy) (Dowson and Devenish, 2010: 217). Dowson and Devenish, further illustrate that "etymologically speaking, to be healthy is to be whole or holy, which holistically embraces both the physical and spiritual aspects of humanity" (217). Pretorius (1998: 250) regards a traditional healer as:

Someone who is recognised by the community in which he lives as competent to provide health care by using vegetable, animal and mineral substances and certain other methods based on the social, cultural and religious backgrounds as well as the prevailing knowledge, attitudes and beliefs regarding physical, mental and social well-being and the causation of disease and disability in the community.

Indeed, traditional healers are people that are known as experts in their holistic health practice. They are respected by people because of their unusual powers to protect and help people maintain a balance between the mental, physical and spiritual state of mind.

One need to understand that there are different types of traditional healers, such as diviners (*izangoma*), herbalist (*inyanga*), faith healer (*umthandazi*) and traditional birth attendant (*umzanyana*). They all perform the same function, which is to heal people.

Within the above mentioned traditional healers, some of them perform two functions, which is to heal and destroy. Those who perform the above mentioned reasons are no longer considered as 'traditional healers' but sorcerers and witches.

Sorcerers hate people and society; they do not have what we call *ubuntu* and they use any type of familiars. These familiars can be snakes, owls, wolves, baboons, rats, *izimpaka* or zombies (dwarfs) to help them hurt people. This is also known as magical theory (Melato, 2000: 10-11). There are three types of sorcerers: night sorcerers, day sorcerers and the lineage sorcerers.

Within this study there are words or terminology related to traditional healers that might be used, thus, the researcher made a decision that it would be important to define some of those words first before defining *ukuhlonipha*.

- ***Makhosi***- The term *makhosi* or *amakhosi* in direct translation means king or a person of royalty. This term is used mostly by traditional healers when talking to each other. Thus when the researcher uses this word it must be clear that it refers to a healer. Further illustration of this term will be explained in Chapter 5.
- ***Ithwasa***- The term *ithwasa* or *amathwasa* refers to a traditional healer's apprentice.
- ***Isigodlo***- The term *isigodlo* or *esigodlweni* refers to a traditional healer's place of healing or consultation room. This term also means royal house. It goes without saying that traditional healers treat their consultation rooms as a royal houses because it belongs to them and their ancestors. It must be remembered that whenever traditional healers meet each other they greet each other using words such as *makhosi* which means king, because they believe that they are not greeting themselves, but even the shades which they regard as kings.
- ***Ishoba***- The term *ishoba* is an animal's tail that is used by traditional healers as a tool to guide divination bones during divination.
- ***Gogo***- The name *gogo* according to Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi (1990: 253) means an ancestor; great grandparents; emaciated person or

animal. However with regards to traditional healers it means someone who is old and wise. At times when healers call a person *gogo* they are not referring to that person but to their ancestors. When traditional healers call *gogo* they do not use a high pitched note, they use a low pitch.

#### **1.4.2 “Ukuhlonipha”**

To be able to explain the word *ukuhlonipha* we will have to look at the cultures that practise *ukuhlonipha*. One has to understand that those traditional African societies that practise *ukuhlonipha* emphasise the notion that elderly people and males should always be respected. This is done because many social practices and cultural customs that are conducted in such societies are based on patriarchy and seniority principles (Rudwick, 2008: 153). Scholars such as Mills (2003: 202) believe that respect and politeness are based on a particular approach to class, race and gender.

This is true, since most people nowadays are respected more because of their class. The richer or more educated one is, the more respect that one gets despite gender and age. For example, South African black people have the highest respect for medical doctors because they believe that if one becomes a medical doctor that individual has achieved the highest level of education and is the smartest person. That could be true but this is not always the case since some people become medical doctors because of their commitment to their books and other factors. Another factor that contributes to respect is race. With regard to African people they always have respect for people of different colour especially whites. This could be because white people have been associated with power and money while blacks have been associated with poverty.

Mills (2003: 203) emphasises the fact that respect and politeness are always considered to be a woman’s concern, in the sense that there are a lot of stereotypes associated with how women should behave. He further illustrates that ‘teaching and enforcement of ‘manners’ is often associated with women in general’ meaning that

women are supposed to speak in a certain manner 'like ladies'. They must know their place and time. For example: in the past an African woman was not allowed to talk to or look at her in-laws directly in their eyes as a sign of respect. That contributed to who is allowed to speak to the elders. By the word 'elder' we refer to the older people of the family. It could be the living ones and/or the departed ones, because African people treat their family within a vision of the past, present and future. Meaning that the way one treated their elderly family in the past, one has to do the same in the present and future.

Since some women were restricted in speaking to their elders in the past, that contributed to who is allowed to speak *emsamo*. *Umsamo* is a sacred place of the ancestors where elderly people go and burn *impepho* (incense) and speak to their deceased family. However, the researcher mentioned that some women are not allowed to speak *emsamo* for the reason that in some families there is an elderly male and that male is the one who is supposed to speak *emsamo* according to IsiZulu culture and practice. But for families whereby there are no elderly male then a woman is allowed to speak *emsamo*. Even during ritual ceremonies such as *ukubika* and *imbeleko* which refer to rites of passage (Ntsimane, 2007: 17) a male figure is required to conduct this ceremony. However, one has to remember that all these phenomena are practised by traditionalist people.

### **1.5 Literature review**

There are numerous sources in the form of text documents that discuss the role and importance of traditional healers. But there are no books and research theses that discuss the code *ukuhlonipha* that is used by traditional healers. In this literature review we will look at different articles that have been written that discuss the contribution of traditional healers. We are also going to look at different articles that discuss about *ukuhlonipha* in relation to isiZulu culture. Donda (1988) for instance in his honours article titled "The Contribution of Izinyanga toward the Enrichment of The Zulu

Language” discusses issues that pertain to the interests of this study. Donda discusses different idioms and proverbs that are used by traditional healers and explains their importance. He even defines different medicines and explains their functions by referring to different literatures, such as the one written by Mofolo that explains the issues of *Abathakathi* (witches).

Mfusi (1984:33) looks at “The Role of Dreams for Zulu Indigenous Practitioners”. He writes about the importance of dreams in diagnosing and treating people; he further illustrates that people without dreams are experiencing “a vacuum in life” and most importantly that in most cases dreams are regarded as a medium of communication between humans and ancestors. In his study, Mfusi does not look at the language used by humans and ancestors, instead he examines the importance of dreams for traditional healers to be able to analyse unusual phenomena.

Conco (1972) in an article titled “The African Bantu Traditional Practice of Medicine: Some Preliminary Observation” looks at the medical communication or the language that is used by rural South Africans mainly Zulu people in relation to the scientific language. This included African diseases, illnesses and the practices of traditional medicine structure. This was a very good paper since it shows how Zulu people view diseases, illnesses and sicknesses in relation to more modern views of the same things.

Carrese and Rhodes (2000) published an article titled “Bridging Culture Differences in Medical Practice: The case of Discussing Negative Information with Navajo Patients”. In this article they explore how different healers use language to communicate with their patients. Their study concluded that most healers do not give warning to their patients about the type of results that they have for them; they speak without caring about what it will do to them. The patients feel that communication between themselves and healers should proceed in a caring manner and patients should be given time to adjust to the result without being rushed. This study is all about the communication between the healers and patients, in which the researcher can conclude that they are using a

common language which both parties have to understand. They do not use ambiguous language that needs to be defined as is the case with the current study.

Ntsimane (2007) published an article titled “The *Ukuhlonipha* code of Respect: Gender and Cultural Tensions around the Zulu Nurses. The Case of the Emmaus Mission hospital.” In this article, Ntsimane view the term *ukuhlonipha* in relation to Zulu culture. His argument is that Zulu culture oppresses sections of society especially women by following and practising *inhlonipho* or respect. That is why most women in the field of nursing experience difficulties since they have to adjust to the norms of society with regard to respecting men and how to talk to them. Furthermore, Ntsimane explains different code of body language that is used by Zulu people to show respect. In this study, however, the researcher will look at the signs and the language used by Zulu traditional healers in relation to respect.

Goggin *et al.* (2010) conducted a study about the culture and the language of Zulu people, but they did not consult the register of traditional healers; instead they just define ordinary words that traditional healers use.

The researcher will focus on the verbal and non-verbal language that is used by traditional healers which signifies respect or *ukuhlonipha*. In using the term ‘language’ the researcher refers to the terminology and the register that is used by traditional healers. This study is interested in making it public knowledge why traditional healers act in a certain way and articulate certain words during consultation or even when talking to their fellow traditional healers. However, there is an awareness of certain things that cannot be explained, such as: do ancestors understand traditional healers when they start talking in a different way? How do they understand them? Those are some of the questions that the researcher is aware that they might not have the answers.

## **1.6 Theoretical framework**

As it was mentioned previously, the purpose of this study is to find the IsiZulu traditional healer's perspective of *ukuhlonipha* in context. The theoretical framework in the analysis of *ukuhlonipha* will be tested by examining Lakoff, Leech, Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. These theorists are more interested on the face, meaning how one shows politeness in public, thus, creating a problem of not covering a cultural aspect of politeness. It is for this reason that the researcher has decided to use the ethnomethodology approach in analysing the data. All of these theories and approach will help analyse *ukuhlonipha* of traditional healers.

## **1.7 Scope and outline of chapters**

This study will cover six chapters as indicated below.

Chapter 1 is the introduction and definition of terms including the title of this dissertation. In Chapter 2 we will be looking at the theoretical framework. In Chapter 3 we will be discussing different types of traditional healers that are commonly known by Zulu people of Southern Africa as well as the reasons why traditional healers are still consulted or are viewed as important in the Zulu society. In Chapter 4 we will provide transcripts in IsiZulu language, which are the basis of the analytic perspective of this research. Chapter 5 reviews the interpretation of data in broader perspective. Chapter 6 consists of the results, discussion and recommendations.

## **1.8 Conclusion**

In this chapter terms and phrases such as traditional healers and *ukuhlonipha* were defined and discussed. It could be noted that traditional healers are people known to be experts in their holistic health practice. They are respected by people, because of their

unusual powers to protect and help people maintain the balance between the mental, physical and spiritual state of mind.

Furthermore, the chapter noted how different people and cultures view the word *ukuhlonipha*. In isiZulu culture a woman was not allowed to talk or to look at her in-laws directly in their eyes, this being a sign of respect. That accounts for who is allowed to speak to the elders. It has been discovered that women were restricted to speak to their departed elders unless one is viewed as someone special by her community and family. The people that are viewed as important in their community are elders and traditional healers.

Traditional healers are traditionalist in the sense that they respect and value traditional ways of living. Most noticeable, the *hlonipha* perspective is not linguistically related, it is informed by other performances and responses from both traditional healers and their subjects.

## Chapter 2

### Research methodology and methods

#### 2.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1, the researcher discussed and explained briefly what was meant by the term *ukuhlonipha*. This term *ukuhlonipha* means to respect and was introduced by elderly people or people in power to keep peace in society. Some people believe that how one practises the custom of *ukuhlonipha* depends on their elders and culture. The term *ukuhlonipha* is in fact a sociolinguistic custom that is practised mostly by Nguni and Southern Sotho people (Finlayson, 1984: 138).

In this introduction, when talking about *ukuhlonipha* or how different scholars and people view *ukuhlonipha* it should be viewed as only introductory. In the following discussion an attempt is made to define *ukuhlonipha* as well as how different African cultures view it. It is interesting to note how Kropf and Godfrey (1915: 161) explain what *ukuhlonipha* is all about:

as a custom between relations-in-law ... generally but not exclusively applied to female sex, who when married, are not allowed to pronounce or use words which have for their principal syllable any part or syllable of the name of their chief's or their husband's relations, especially their father-in-law. Hence, they have the habit of inventing new names or of substituting the principal syllable which is hlonipha'd in a person's name, with another syllable.

Kropf and Godfrey refer to *ukuhlonipha* in cultural terms and this of course is exclusive to a particular cultural group. However, a more explicit definition of *ukuhlonipha* is from Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi (1990: 335):

2. Act respectfully, modestly, cover the breasts or head (according to Native rules of modesty married or engaged women). *Ihlonipha lapho ingayugana khona* (a bride acts with modesty even where she will not go to marry).

3. Avoid in conversation the use of the words which contain the radical of the name of certain persons to whom such respect is due; substitute afresh term for a word avoided due to respect according to Native custom.

Doke *et al.* view the term *ukuhlonipha* as an act of respect. They further link this practice with a cultural practice of covering the breasts or heads of women if they are married. Doke *et al.* associate culture and *ukuhlonipha* and this links to the point made by Kropf and Godfrey that, as a sign of respect females will have to do things differently to others. For example: a female in some cultures is not allowed to use certain words that are linked to the elders of the family into which they are married, because by doing so, they would be disrespectful. This illustration shows that it will be difficult to look at the term *ukuhlonipha* in isolation to the native culture. We have to remember that the term *ukuhlonipha* which means to respect across the board, is the practice that is found in all cultures to keep peace within family and society. The maintainence of *ukuhlonipha* differs in degrees from one culture to another.

Most African cultures link this sociolinguistic term with what we call *ubuntu* in their everyday lives. They believe in the maxism that *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, which implies “a person is a person through others”. Through this meaning they will try to apply the custom of *ukuhlonipha* with an understanding that we need each other to survive, thus we have to respect one another. Rudwick (2008: 160) mentions that one of the interviewees said this in relation to *ukuhlonipha*, that:

Respect is the most important thing, *ukuhlonipha* makes you who you are, also in the way you are and how you speak. I will teach my child a part of it, because in our days it is not necessary to use the specific words.

Although the interviewee is not a scholar, she understands the importance of *ukuhlonipha*. Thus, emphasising the fact that since *ukuhlonipha* is one of the most important aspects of life, she will try to teach her kids how one can practise this custom. Magwaza (2001: 25) further illustrates that Zulu people are among other cultures who feel strongly about their culture, especially in rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal. Their view of *ukuhlonipha* maintains without doubt that everyone must follow and respect whoever they have to, from the king to their elders. However, the people that are more expected to follow this custom of *ukuhlonipha*/respect/politeness in most cases are women and children. This study is not looking at *ukuhlonipha* of woman but attempts to point out that women are expected to follow this custom of *ukuhlonipha* more than men. It is not that men are not expected to show any sign of respect, they are. For example, one of the ways that men show respect to people is greeting by reciting one's clan name. That is why in most cases if an elderly man meets with a person; the first thing he asks is a person's surname so that they can recite their clan name.

Bargiela-Chiappini and Kadar (2011: 114) illustrate the culture of Korean people in that they believe in respecting their seniors, expressing affection to juniors, and being friendly with colleagues and friends. By using the word 'express' it shows that they do not want to exert authority or power over juniors but just to be respectful and polite towards them. This chapter attempts to unpack the term *ukuhlonipha* in relation to the sociolinguistic theory. It is one of the theories that will be discussed not as the main theory but as an introduction to the politeness theory. It is for that reason that before looking at the theories, the researcher felt the need to start by looking at the method and methodology.

## **2.2 Methods**

The aim of social science is to find ways of studying human behaviour by observing other aspects that other methods may not take into consideration. In this study, a qualitative research methodology is utilised to understand the human behaviour from

people's social actor (Babbie and Mouton, 2005: 270). Nachmias and Nachmias (1982: 14) are of the opinion that if social scientists want to understand human behaviour, they must learn to put themselves into the place of the subject of inquiry. This also implies that they should gain an understanding of the other's self view of reality. For example, it could be people's symbols, values, attitude and languages.

When viewing what qualitative research design is, one assumes that it is a type of design that deals with exploring people's life histories or everyday behaviour (Silverman, 2011: 6). Some people define qualitative research according to its characteristics, such as the fact that it seeks answers to questions, collects evidence, produces findings that were not determined in advance and are applicable beyond the immediate boundaries of study. Qualitative research design unlike quantitative research methodologies does not seek validity or reliability, but rather is concerned with human experiences.

<http://www.fhi360.org/nr/rdonlyres/etl7vogszehu5s4stpzb3tyqlpp7rojv4waq37elpbyei3tgm4ty6dunbccfzxtaj2rvbaubzmz4f/overview1.pdf> ).

In addition to the differentiation, the key feature of qualitative research design is to understand the social action in terms of its specific context rather than attempting to generalise it to some theoretical population (Babbie and Mouton, 2005: 270). Cole (1980: 79) notes that a qualitative technique serves three purposes which are to describe, formulate a hypothesis and to understand causal processes (CGIAR paper, 2009).

The reason why the researcher chose this research design is because it encompasses a variety of methods such as semi-structured interviewing, observation studies, group discussions and the analysis of written documents. This will give the researcher a variety of semi-structures to choose from. The focus of qualitative research is on an individual's reasoning rather than the population and the way that an individual constructs the world. This also implies that the direction of this method is guided by

respondents. For example during interviews one might deviate from his/her own research questions due to the fact that the interviewee raised an important point which is important to clarify, thus allowing the interviewer to follow up such trends. By doing so, it will stop the interviewer from assuming certain things but seek to explore the respondents understanding of certain matters (Britten and Fisher, 1993: 270).

A qualitative research design allows the research to change, especially during interviews when new themes and ideas are introduced. It also provides explanations on topics that are viewed as sensitive and poorly understood as well as identify the series of attitudes and beliefs on certain subjects and explain certain behaviours and attitudes. However, qualitative research cannot measure the importance of attitude or belief and cannot provide figures of attitude (Britten and Fisher, 1993: 271).

It is clear that qualitative research is different from quantitative research, since quantitative research deals with numbers. Quantitative research describes the characteristics of a population and predicts causal relationships. The question format of quantitative research is close-ended questions while qualitative research is open-ended questions. For example, in quantitative research the researcher will ask the participant the same questions in the same order while in qualitative research as mentioned above the researcher could alter his or her questions, depending on the outcome of the situation.

The problem of these designs is that qualitative research designs are linked with bias and generalisation. Quantitative research designs while reliable may not be valid while qualitative method might be valid but not reliable. Thus it will be very vital for the researcher to reveal how s/he has conducted his studies in a way to avoid bias or generalisation.

The issue of generalisation arises from the fact that qualitative research requires a small sample size while a quantitative requires a larger sample size. As Britten and Fisher (1993: 271) say:

The guiding principle for sampling is to maximize diversity in order to describe the range of phenomena. Hence, there may be deliberate attempts to include members of minority groups who might be expected to differ on the attributes being studied. Thus, generalizations may be made, not on the basis of statistical representativeness, but on the basis of the range and diversity of experiences and the formulation of a coherent structure of evidence to explain this diversity.

For example, if one looks at quantitative research methods one will see that they construct their study in such a way that their findings could be generalised to a large population, by using statistical methods such as probability sampling to analyse it. When the data is analysed, they avoid generalising that the whole community will behave in the same manner. In qualitative research methods, the sample size is determined by the need of the study or situation related to the study. It becomes really difficult for a researcher to use a large sample size since no statistical apparatus will be used to draw a conclusion (Bryman, 2012: 417).

### **2.3 Sample Method**

There are so many sampling methods that one could choose from in qualitative research. It depends on the individual's study. Mile and Huberman (1994: 29-30) reveal about 16 different types of sampling methods, which are also divided into three different categories: (1) representativeness of sample, (2) description phenomenon and (3) theory development and verification. Each category has its own subdivision. In this study the researcher will use two subcategories that are found in different categories: representativeness of sample and theory development.

Since this research is based on traditional healers and given the number of traditional healers in South Africa, it will be impossible for the researcher to be able to access the whole population of traditional healers due to the time constraints of this research. Hence the researcher has decided to use non-probability sampling which is convenience sampling and snowball sampling. Hays and Singh (2012: 165) raise a point that if a researcher has a relatively easy access to a population, convenience sampling will be a better one to use. Hence convenience sampling is a sampling method that uses people as they are available.

Convenience sampling might seem to be better for this study but it has its own disadvantages. Hays and Singh (2012: 166) point out:

One of the key drawbacks is that obtaining data from a readily accessible sample likely result in a nonrepresentative sample with flawed findings and at best a gross estimate for population.

It is for this reason that the researcher made it a point that he does not only use convenience sampling but also snowball sampling. It will be illustrated below how both these sampling methods have been used for this study. Snowball sampling also called chain or network sampling is considered as purposive sampling. In this type of sampling, the participants which have been interviewed or seen use their social network to refer the researcher to other people that he or she may know that could participate in the study. However, the problem with this type of sampling is that the researcher will never be sure about the number of people that s/he might get since it will depend on the willingness of the participants to whom the researcher is referred to.

With regards to identifying the site, the researcher decided to use the Amajuba area in KwaZulu-Natal and hence, the topic: IsiZulu traditional healer's perspective of *ukuhlonipha* in context. This will allow him to get as many Zulu traditional healers as he could, since the province of KwaZulu-Natal is dominated by AmaZulu.

## 2.4 Apparatus

The following research instruments were used for the purpose of data collection for this study:

### 2.4.1 Tape-recorder

The tape-recorder has become one of the most important apparatus for research purposes. Previously, the use of the recorder was confined primarily to psychologists, only lately has it been witnessed to be used by field researchers (Bucher, Fritz and Quarantelli, 1956: 359). Usually, researchers were limited to different forms of note taking and memory reconstruction for the purpose of recording interview data. With the help of tape recording it becomes easy to have rich data in a few minutes.

The advantage of using a tape recorder is that it allows the researcher to record everything at once. No words are lost during the interview. If we can compare it with note taking, it becomes clear that a large amount of data gets lost during a note-taking interview. Bucher *et al.* (1956: 359) further says:

...our experience indicates that even a person who takes rapid shorthand while interviewing may lose one-third to one-half of the total material in an interview. The lost may range as high as 75 per cent or even for a person who does not possess short-hand or some form of speedwriting skill.

In addition to these statistics, there are a number of activities that get lost during a note-taking interview such as interview probes, queries and other verbal activities (Bucher *et al.*, 1956: 160). With the amount of important information lost during note taking, it may lead to one's research being unreliable, since no one will know of the importance of those lost notes.

The tape recorder interview also eliminates the researcher's concentration on writing and focuses his/her attention on the minor but important details discussed by the interviewee. After the data has been collected in a tape recorder, the researcher will have unlimited time to become aware of the obscure variable which easily eludes him (Eitzen, 1952: 227). However, as advantageous as the tape-recorder is, one should not forget the disadvantages, such as the amount of data gathered in a single interview might be too much to be transcribed.

In this study the use of a tape-recorder would be very important in gathering as much material as possible. This ensures a complete and accurate recording of the material. It is even more advantageous to use the tape recorder along side a camera.

#### **2.4.2 Camera**

The main aim of the camera in this study is to ensure that it captures some aspects of the interview that are not captured by the tape recorder. As much as the tape recorder plays an important role in recording voices, the visual part of it cannot be recorded on a tape recorder. That is why it becomes important to capture the parts that the tape-recorder cannot take. The main aim of this study is to observe the body language and the language that is used by traditional healers as a sign of *ukuhlonipha*. Some of those signs cannot be interpreted through a tape-recorder.

#### **2.4.3 Observation**

Observation, according to Hays and Singh (2012: 224) is primarily the source of qualitative data. It is not all about watching and looking at something; it is about training yourself to observe the relevant information. There are different types of observation, such as naturalistic observation.

In defining naturalistic observation Hays and Singh (2012: 224) elaborate that there is typically non-interference on the part of the researcher. That is, to avoid any type of interference from the researcher. This type of observation does not say that the researcher should not interact with participants, but should not intrude so much as to change naturally occurring events.

This type of method allows the participant to disclose only the type of information that they want. It is more relevant to people who want to know what others do rather than what they say they do. Within the field of observation there are different types, from no participant interaction to a full participant interaction (Hays and Singh, 2012: 224).

The observer's role refers to a minimal engagement with the participants or no engagement at all. In this type of observation, the participants are not often aware that they are being observed. As when one is doing a study on children's behaviour, this can be a good method. However, with regards to this study, the participants were aware that they are being observed. The researcher was taking photos and recording what the traditional healers were saying in the river and on the holy mountain.

The observer as participant role refers to two roles, to observe and also to participate. An example of this role is a student teacher sitting at the back of the class but giving input from time to time. Another example of this role is diviners and their apprentices. For example during one of the interviews the researcher observed that both the traditional healer and the apprentice had sticks. A small stick which belonged to the apprentice and was on their back and a huge one that was in the traditional healer's hand. However, as much as those sticks were similar in terms of their shape, they were also different in terms of their size. The apprentice's stick was very small compared to the qualified traditional healer or *inyanga's*. When the researcher asked the traditional healer about the sticks, *Makhosi Sibiya*, who is the traditional healer, replied that those sticks signify two things. Firstly, a small stick signifies that the person who owns it is still an apprentice. Secondly, *amathwasa* have to mimic what their teachers do during

consultation by also trying to find out the reason for the patient being there. This type of observation, as *Makhosi Sibiya* said, helps the apprentice to understand things faster because they are more involved.

The participant as an observer involves the researcher becoming more of the participant than the observer. Thus, it creates less objectivity with the researcher becoming more involved. This becomes a learning curve for the researcher, as s/he participates in the study.

Participant observation involves the full participation of the researcher. This type of role is often used in an interviewing and relationship building conversation that allows deeper data gathering. The researcher is more involved in this role, with the exception that his or her degree of involvement may change due to the change of research questions as new ones are being introduced. This type of role requires the researcher to communicate as much as s/he can with the participant, engaging in their daily activities and observing more intensely (Hays and Singhs, 2012: 227). While observing, the researcher must make sure that s/he notices everything that happens during observation time.

The study of traditional healers is a tense and sensitive topic within its own right. With that in mind, the researcher decided to use participation observation since this role allows the researcher to be involved in interviewing and observing what needs to be seen.

#### **2.4.4 Interview**

An interview is another type of data collection method that allows the researcher to gain a participant's story. There are different types of interview methods. Among others, a structured interview is one of them. This type of interview relies on following a pre-structured list of questions that have been formulated prior to the interview and those

questions are asked exactly as written. The advantage of this type of interview is that there is no need for the researcher to keep on changing the questions since the participants get the same sort of questions. Some people argue that this type of interview is not qualitative since participants are restricted to what the researcher wants to hear (Hays and Singh, 2012: 237).

Another type of interview is a semi-structured interview also referred to as an in-depth interview. This type uses an interview protocol as a guide line for the interview experience. The interviewee has more to say in this type than the interviewer and not all interview questions are asked. At times, additional questions could be added or changed during the interview process.

The third type of interview is an unstructured interview which goes with participant observation. This type of interview is linked to ethnography. It focuses mainly on what is happening at that particular time.

As much as an unstructured interview goes along with participant observation, the researcher decided to use a semi-structured interview. The main reason is that, during the interview process, there are a lot of things that can be said in which clarity may be needed hence it creates room for change of interview questions. Both individual interviews and focus group interviews will be used, especially during the observation stage.

There are several advantages of using a focus group interview. Among others is the intimacy or the relationship between the researcher and participants. Their relationship will help the researcher to ask clarifying questions when needed, and participants to feel free to answer questions without any outside distraction. Furthermore, focus group allows the researcher to collect more data within a short period of time, since it brings people with common interests together (Hays and Singh, 2012: 251).

However, the disadvantage of using this sampling method is that it does not accommodate everyone. This is especially true for people who are shy when engaged in group discussions as they might feel pressured to speak. Thus, their response will not be a true reflection of what they want to say, but to fit in with other people's point of view (Hays and Singh, 2012: 253).

## **2.5 Procedure of Data collection- Case in point**

Before a visit to traditional healers, the researcher contacted Traditional Healers Organisation (THO) to request the permission to conduct this study and also to be provided with the names of potential participants. THO gave the researcher the name of one of their member in Newcastle Madadeni, in which the researcher made it a point to call that person and request permission to interview him. The participant did not have any problem and even recommended bringing in other participants if the researcher needed any. The date was set for both an observation and interview.

When the researcher arrived for interview, he found out that the participant was in the middle of a THO local meeting. He was requested to enter and address the local members about the research. After that meeting, a couple of traditional healers made themselves available for an interview. However they decided that it would be better for the researcher to interview them as a group at once. Before the interview, the researcher gave all the participants a consent form (see attached Appendix Three) which were written in both English and IsiZulu for non-English speakers.

The researcher also explained that if they felt uncomfortable about some of the questions, they are free not to answer them. Furthermore, he further explained that if they wanted to withdraw from the research they could do so at any given time. This was done in agreement with one of the ethical rules, autonomy. That gives the participants a right to withdraw from participating in the research without penalty (Orb, Eisenhauer and Wynaden, 2000: 95).

Another ethical issue that was seriously considered was non-maleficence. The aim of this study is not to harm the people involved or to reveal their identity, but to keep the participants from harm during the research process that intends to benefit the community (Hays and Singh, 2012: 79).

During the interview process, the researcher gave the participants more time to reveal important information. He facilitated by asking questions that will lead to the research (see attached Appendix two for the English translation). After the interview session, the researcher was invited to the thanksgiving ceremony that was to be conducted in the river and on the mountain *iNtendeka*.

That day was an observation day for the researcher and an opportunity to understand how *ukuhlonipha* is practised among other traditional healers and to the ancestors. That was an important aspect of this research since some of the aspects of *ukuhlonipha* cannot be defined but shown, thus, it was very vital for the researcher to see those aspects in practice.

After the arrival of other traditional healers, we were all instructed to follow the car of the participant who was conducting the thanksgiving ceremony. We went all the way to the river, and that is where the thanksgiving ceremony started. Some of the things done in the river were recorded, those of which will be analysed in the data analysis chapter. After that was finished, we were informed that we had to go to INtendeka Mountain, situated a little out of Osizweni. What was done there will be explained in the data analysis and the forth-coming interpretation chapter. After the thanksgiving ceremony the researcher was allowed to observe what happens during consultation, since there was a patient waiting for one of the traditional healers. The patient was informed about the study, and she was also informed that her identity would not be revealed. She agreed to take part in the research.

On day three the researcher visited only one traditional healer to discuss some of the things that he observed at the thanksgiving ceremony. Then he requested a follow-up visit to discuss problems encountered during his visit. That was all for the first phase of data collection.

The second phase of data collection was conducted a month after the researcher's first visit. The researcher called the last participant (\*1) that he interviewed and requested to see him, and an appointment was made. Using a snowball sampling, he further asked the participant (\*1) if he knew anyone from a different area that would be interested in participating in this study. This was done in correspondence with the ethical issue of justice. That principle notes that findings are derived from different groups and no unfair sampling process is applied to other groups.

### **2.5.1 Problems encountered in the field**

The distance between participants was one problem encountered, especially for the second phase of data gathering. Not only was the distance vast, the road was very bumpy which made it more difficult for the participants to be accessible and hard for the researcher to be on time.

Getting traditional healers to be involved in any research that involves their healing methods and to speak freely about their beliefs and methods was not an easy task. Mfusi (1984: 33) pointed out that Reyneke raises a very important issue that it is difficult to get information out of indigenous practitioners because they regard their information as somehow secrete lore. However, after the researcher reasoned with them, they agreed to participate in the research. For many reasons, they felt it was about time that their practices and beliefs are told and written down just like medical doctors so that people could stop having a misconception about them and their beliefs.

As a person who has never consulted traditional healers, the researcher had to familiarise himself with their rules and regulations so as to avoid any conflict or disrespect.

## **2.6 Analytical Theories**

The below paragraph will discuss the background information of the sociolinguistic theory. However, it should be remembered that the focus is not on the sociolinguistic theory as such but on the politeness theory.

### **2.6.1 Sociolinguistic theory**

The sociolinguistic theory is a foundation of the politeness theory. In explaining sociolinguistics, Spolsky (1998: 3) defines it as:

The field that studies the relation between language and society, between the user of language and the social structures in which the users of language live.

Spolsky's definition is clear in the sense that it informs one that the sociolinguistic theory is the study of how people use the language in their everyday lives to serve the purpose of communicating meaning. It also observes the relationship between the language, society and how people use the environment to guide how they speak. In addition, Tobin (1990: 5) also classifies sociolinguistics as an approach that explores the interrelations between a language and society. This includes the language structure and variation among different social groups. For example, isiZulu people have something that they call *ulimi lwesigodi* which implies a regional dialect. The researcher's understanding of *ulimi lwesigodi* is that it is a language that is spoken by a particular group of people depending on the society or community that they grew up in.

The sociolinguistic theory is a theory that was established around the 1960s and was developed by people such as Basil Bernstein. At the introduction phase this theory was concentrating more on the generative syntax, and language structure but as it was developed it changed. Sociolinguistic was a peripheral, hybrid subject that attracted a very small number of scholars (Trudgill and Cheshire, 1998: v). It was rooted from a discipline that was traditionally more interested in people, society and culture, especially anthropology. It was also involved in different forms of language usage.

From the 1960s till today, a large number of projects in this field have been developed especially on language and its usage. Sociolinguistics has developed a scientific and accurate research methodology that is similar to that of linguistics. Thus, it allows it to be recognised as one of the ways of doing linguistics. Over the years there have been developments in the field of linguistics such as discourse analysis, pragmatics and corpus linguistics (Trudgill and Cheshire, 1998: v).

Discourse analysis deals more with the structure of spoken languages, according to various principles of communication during interviews, social gathering and talks (Tobin, 1990: 5). Pragmatics are more concern with the interrelationship between languages and language usage, and also the meanings that are not found within words and its structure. Unlike sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, pragmatics assesses the situation in which the language is used. For example, if one's father says 'come here', is he saying that on the circumstance of him being angry, wanting to punish the person being called or saying that under the circumstance of just calling that individual? This is the type of circumstance that pragmatics looks at.

As mentioned previously, the focus of this study is not on discourse analysis nor pragmatic or corpus linguistics as such. The researcher's interest is more on politeness, which falls within the field of linguistics and sociolinguistics. We explore how different theorists such as Lakoff, Leech, Brown and Levinson view the politeness theory, but

before discussing the views of different writers let us look briefly at its background and perspective.

## 2.7 Politeness Theory

Before looking at Lakoff, Leech, Brown and Levinson's Theory of Politeness, it is necessary to understand the meaning of politeness theory from different scholars and its background. Leech defines politeness as:

Forms of behaviour that establish and maintain comity. That is the ability of participants in a social interaction to engage in interaction in an atmosphere of relative harmony ([http://www.ingilish.com/gricean\\_maxims\\_and\\_politeness.htm](http://www.ingilish.com/gricean_maxims_and_politeness.htm)).

In the above definition, Leech raises a point that politeness is the ability of people to interact with each other in a peaceful way. This technique of being polite is not something that we were born with but something that we acquire by association. This contributes to the implication that it is not something that is natural but is constructed socioculturally and historically. In expanding this idea, AmaZulu have a saying that *umuzi nomuzi unomthetho wawo* which means 'every household has its own rules'. When a patient visits a traditional healer s/he will be bound by the rules of the healer's household, and most of those rules are commonly known among some African people. For example, according to the thanking rule, a patient who is given medicine by a traditional healer should not thank the traditional healer for that medicine because it is believed that the medicine will not work. That is a rule that is learnt as people grow up and they familiarise themselves with as they associate with people who consult traditional healers.

The term 'polite' dates back to the fifteenth century and it was derived from a Medieval Latin word *politus* which means 'smoothed', 'accomplished' (Reiter, 2000: 1). This term

does not give us a clue of its origin but it was reported by Reiter that it was established or made publicly known during the Middle Ages when feudal knights and others started to distinguish themselves from everyone else by identifying themselves as people with courtesy value. Such value had to be followed if one wanted to behave in an appropriate manner in court. This behaviour was adopted by the courtly Knights in which it spread throughout the century. This type of etiquette became the type of etiquette that needed to be followed publicly and privately by people of class. That is when they started to establish codes that were linked to the behaviour of politeness, and was expected to be followed by most people of class in weddings and funerals (Reiter, 2000: 2). Thus, the aim of polite behaviour was to maintain peace among social groups.

We know this because every time one talks of politeness, in everyone's mind, they think of interpersonal relationships between people in societies. Although the act of politeness is performed by an individual, it is established by the society. For an act to be regarded as 'polite' both the actor and the hearer must agree on the standards set by society to reveal the code of being polite. However, that standard must be common to people belonging to a certain group. Polite or impolite behaviour can be expressed through the use of verbal and non-verbal communication. For example, across cultures it is viewed as non-communicative politeness for a young person to give a seat to an elderly person on a bus or to a visitor. In African culture, it is impolite for a person to enter into someone's house and remain standing, but at the same time it is also impolite to enter someone's house and sit down without being told to do so. In reality, there are things within the politeness theory that may contradict one another. However, this study is going to explore the features of the politeness theory within the field of traditional healers.

Verbal communicative politeness can be categorised in two ways: as linguistic or non-linguistic. Within the non-linguistic politeness we find paralinguistic or non-paralinguistic. Paralinguistics look at the combination of gestures and verbal signs, for example: giving

a person a direction and showing with hands, or even greeting a person and touching ones hat. Non-paralinguistic politeness is expressed through gestures only without any verbal signs, for example: when a speaker nods his/her head to show that they are in agreement or not, or pointing at something to show that s/he is talking about that thing (Reiter, 2000: 4).

The above mentioned communicative politeness will be of great help in this study since this study not only examines the verbal language used by traditional healers but also gestures used by them as a means of communicating. For example, before a traditional healer enters into their *isigodlo*, they make sure that they leave their shoes at the entrance or at the door. What exactly does this gesture represent? This study will be more interested in answering those types of questions, and to reveal more of the politeness theory found within the field of traditional healers. In doing so we will start by looking at how different pragmatics view pragmatic maxims.

### **2.7.1 Lakoff's rule of politeness**

Before dwelling much on Lakoff's rule of politeness we need to have a little understanding of Grice's maxims, since Lakoff's rule of politeness links with Grice's maxims. In 1975, Grice contributed on the pragmatics, co-operative principle and maxims of conversation which were formulated on the basis that the main purpose of communication is just an exchange of information (Reiter, 2000: 6). Out of that, Lakoff was one among other linguistics to adopt this principle integrating it with her own rule of politeness. Thus, it fell within the linguistic domain.

Lakoff's rule of politeness was as follows:

1. Formality: Keep aloof
2. Deference: give options
3. Camaraderie: show sympathy

Although Lakoff has not defined the word 'politeness' but Reiter has deduced that it has to do with not interfering with other people's business, in which it falls within rule one. For an individual to keep a distance from others or not interfere with other people's business, they do it in the form of formality expressions. That way, they will be able to exclude the emotional attachments with others and making it more difficult for the others to confront them (Reiter, 2000: 7). For example, within the holistic world, there is a huge formality between the ancestors and the public. As much as it is publicly said that ancestors are mediators between God and the public, the ancestors are approachable by people. But that belief is somehow contradictory to the reality that in order for a human race to consult ancestors, a ritual is required. It cuts the informal part of doing things and becomes formal. Now in order for the public to confront their ancestor they will have to be polite and follow the appropriate rules of politeness. This is somehow the type of distance that Lakoff is referring to.

In addition, rule two emphasises the fact that the speaker must let the addressee make his or her own decisions and making the addressee feel good by using euphemisms or saying things cautiously. When one thinks of this rule, one must also consider that status differences between the speaker and the hearer contribute a lot to this rule, especially in the event of the speaker having more status power than the hearer. In most cases the people that are most lenient to this rule are women (Tsuda, 1993: 66). In this study, it is a traditional healer's apprentice.

Rule three, on the other hand, emphasises the equality between the speaker and the hearer, and it also establishes the closeness between both. The closeness between the two people may contribute to polite or impolite ways of talking. Rule two states that, if there is a status difference between two people somehow that makes one person to become lenient toward the other, since the inferior person will always try to be polite. Rule three emphasises that if there is no status difference between two people it allows them to speak freely without being worried about being polite. For example, two women of equal status talking to each other may not concentrate much on the issue of being

polite but they may still feel the importance of being polite to increase the friendship between them. Moreover, indirect speech can be used, especially if both speakers are friends or are aware of the topic being discussed. Lakoff in Tsuda (1993: 66) further illustrates that indirect speeches are used:

To save face if a conversational contribution is not well received, and to achieve the sense of rapport that comes from being understood without saying what one means. In addition, by requiring the listener or reader to fill in unstated meaning, indirectness contributes to a sense of involvement through mutual participation.

Although some theorists agree with Lakoff's theory of politeness, others do not agree. For instance Brown in Reiter (2000: 8) reveals that the problem with Lakoff's theory is that:

She does not offer an integrating theory which places her rules of politeness in 'a framework which explains their form in terms of social relationships and expectations about humans as interactants.

Furthermore, theorists such as Gazdar in Spencer-Oatey and Jiang (2003: 1634) have challenged Grice's Co-operative Principle and its maxims principle which states that it all depends on the person's culture and Tsuda (1993: 63) adds that in reality people do not always follow the co-operative principle. In reality when people are engaging in a conversation they try by all means not to give information that will put them or the hearer in an awkward position. Especially when they are asked about their intentions they do not want to find themselves showing the risk face, in what Brown and Levinson call negative face. Lakoff's rule of politeness will help the researcher in observing different forms in which the traditional healers are showing politeness and to avoid conflicts with other healers and their ancestors. Although both Lakoff and Leech adopted Grice's principle but their interest and findings were different.

## 2.7.2 Leech's principles and Maxims of interaction

Just like Lakoff, Leech is one among others who adopted Grice's conversational principle, but he was more interested in explaining the reason "why people convey meaning indirectly" (Reiter, 2000: 8). In his theory of politeness, Leech raises an important fact that there is a difference between the speaker's goal and social goal. This implies that people may convey polite conversation realistically, in a truthful manner or in an ironic way. He further illustrates that practical framework can be considered as textual and interpersonal rhetoric in which both of these rhetorics falls within the set of individual principles.

The interpersonal rhetoric consists of three sets of principles: Grice's co-operative principle (cp), politeness principle (pp) and irony principle (ip) (Reiter, 2000: 9). The irony principle is the one that one becomes impolite and pretends to be polite, thus breaking the co-operative principle, which states that the purpose of conversation is to exchange information 'effectively' (Grice, 1989: 28). The irony principle will then contradict with the politeness principle, as the aim of politeness principle is to be polite and to show that one is genuinely polite.

Leech's maxims have a set of different scales in which affects how people view politeness, for example the cost/benefit, optionality, indirectness, authority and social distance. In addition, all of these maxims and how people view them depends on cultures, since different cultures put more value on different maxims (Reiter, 2000: 8). However, many scholars (Brown and Levinson 1987, Lavandera 1987, Fraser 1990 and Turner 1996) point out that Leech's maxims have so many maxims in such a way that one wonders how many maxims and principles one will need to account for the politeness phenomena.

Leech has six politeness principles: 1) the tact maxims, 2) generosity maxims, 3) approbation maxims, 4) modesty maxims, 5) agreement maxims and 6) sympathy

maxims (Cheng, 2001: 90). Cheng further illustrates that maxims 1-3, are clearly other-oriented of which maxim 5 also falls within. Meanwhile, maxim 6 requires a person to say and to show how sympathetic they are if a bad thing happens to another person rather than be glad about it. For example, one may even say 'I'm really sorry that you can't have babies' rather than saying 'I'm glad that you can't have babies'. According to Cheng (2001: 91) the only Leech's maxim that seems to involve self-politeness is maxim 4 as this maxim seems to show how utterances such as 'how clever of me' to what one calls boasting of oneself. If one has the tendency of boasting about oneself we cannot call that individual a modest person, since according to the free dictionary (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/modest>) being 'modest' is "having or expressing a humble opinion of oneself or one's accomplishments or abilities". Furthermore, there are so many ways one can demonstrate modesty and politeness, in which Brown and Levinson elaborates that 'face' is one of them.

### **2.7.3 Brown and Levinson's Theory of politeness**

Among others, Brown and Levinson were first to establish politeness as a linguistic theory, extending the ideas of Grice. In studying 'politeness' they did a cross-cultural study looking into three different languages. In English, Tamil and Tzeltal, they observed how the speakers of these languages use maxims for the motive of politeness; they introduced what they called Model Person (MP). Their main interest was the 'face' as in 'lose face' they wanted to know the actions that people take when their face is under threat (FTA) *face threatening acts*. This interest was derived from Goffman (1967) who was more interested on how people lose and save face on politeness. We will start by looking at the Model Person and view how Brown and Levinson view this model.

In Model Person, Brown and Levinson assumed or made an assumption that everyone has inherited Rationality and Face which are the two features of this model. The word rationality refers to one's ability to make a concrete decision, thus leaving one with

choices to make in order to make those appropriate decisions and to achieve certain goals. Ha and Kwon (2009: 81) explain Model Person as:

Somewhat ideal individuals in society who are error free, have a decent memory and know linguistic systems of their native language.

Ha and Kwon argue that Model Person is about one's ability to use their cultural knowledge to be able to apply politeness. For example, saying 'please' when asking for something and 'thank you' after getting it. Brown and Levinson (in their theory of politeness) introduced a notion of 'face' which consists of two parts, the 'negative' and 'positive' face. In explaining what a positive face is, Brown and Levinson define it as a positive and consistent self image of people and the desire for approval (Kitamura, 2000: 1). Reiter (2000: 12) further illustrates that positive face is determined by one's culture and social group that one belongs to as a tool of maintaining friendliness. In doing so one will have to listen attentively to what the other is saying and try to be in agreement with some topics. Brown and Levinson's assumption was that face and rational behaviour of people are universal properties.

'Negative face' on the other hand is related with claim of territory, demanding, threatening, suggestions, advice, and personal preserves. For example, apologising can be viewed as a negative face since when one apologises the hearer will look at their facial expression to see how serious one is with their apology. The class that is mostly related to the negative politeness is the upper class and positive politeness is the lower class. Brown and Levinson consider negative politeness as the most important one since most people, when in a conversation, always make sure that there is no negative connotation that is linked to them, and some of them do what Leech's theory notes as 'pretending' (Reiter, 2000: 13).

Furthermore, Brown and Levinson designed a scale to measure politeness on the basis that they claim those three variables are social variables which are universal. The first

one is social distance (D) between the speaker and the hearer, the second one being the power difference (P) between the speaker and the hearer and the last one being the absolute ranking (R) of obligation of a particular culture. These entire variables are then added together to check the amount of face work that one will perform (Reiter, 2000: 13).

Their answers will then be reviewed in four strategies: *bald on record*, *off record*, *negative and positive politeness*. Bald on record is when the speaker does nothing to minimise face threats to the hearer's face. For example, if the speaker says 'go dish up woman' that speaker does not care about the face reaction of the hearer. Off record politeness is when the speaker tries to avoid the face threatening act of the hearer by speaking in a proper way, giving hints or even be vague. For example, one says 'I think it is getting dark, and I'm getting hungry' then it will be up to the hearer to realise that one requires something to eat. The negative politeness is when one looks at the hearer's face and admits that one might be imposing on one's free will. For example, one says 'I don't want to bother you, but is it possible for you to cook?'. Lastly, the positive politeness is when you show that your hearer's face needs to be respected by avoiding disagreement and hedge opinions. In most cases this is done to people that are friends. For example, one asks 'is it ok for you to cook?' (Kitamura, 2000: 4).

Politeness theory is not the only theory that will be used in this study; ethnomethodology is another theory that will be linked to the politeness theory. This theory was established in the 1950s by Garfinkel and was mostly used in sociological science, looking at the social orders and patterns (Hays and Singh, 2012: 366). This theory is similar to ethnography since both theories use an inductive approach, looking at the structured manner in which their participants live and at the same time, having respect for the participants involved especially in the group studies. Ethnomethodologists are more interested in studying the social behaviour of people, looking at their everyday lives. It is of great interest that this study is more interested in exploring traditional healer's *ukuhlonipha* in context in their everyday consultation, with the public and the ancestors.

## 2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter qualitative research design has been explored since it deals with exploring people's life histories and behaviour. Out of all the sampling methods that have been mentioned, the researcher decided to use two methods: snowball sampling and convenience sampling. Convenience sampling allows sampling of people as they are available. For example, the researcher noted that in the second phase of data collection he asked participant (\*1) if he could avail himself for the second phase of the interview. He further used snowball sampling after he asked participant (\*1) if there are people that he might know and recommend to participate in this study.

In terms of the data analysis, it was also discussed that the politeness theory will be used to analyse data. The origins of the sociolinguistic theory and how people use the language in their everyday lives were discussed. In its definition, sociolinguistics is the study of how society uses language. The researcher is using this theory as part of the introduction to the main theory being used which is the politeness theory.

Politeness theory was also defined and discussed as it deals with how people use communication to convey politeness and peace. Different theorists looked at this theory differently. For example, Lakoff's rule of politeness was looking at 3 rules that people use to maintain peace among them. He mentioned that one of the ways that people maintain politeness is by keeping distance from others, that way both the speaker and the listener will maintain a personal space avoiding conflict. Another way that he mentioned is that, at times, one has to avoid being bold and use euphemisms especially if there is a status difference between the speaker and the listener. However, Lakoff also mentioned that, at times that there is no status or power difference between two people that can lead to people using language as they please. Hence remembering the cultural aspect that we all need to have a limit in what we say and do.

Leech's principle, on the other hand, mentioned the reality that at times people try to be polite, not because they are genuinely polite, but because they want to be accepted by the public. He mentioned 3 different principles, which is Grice's co-operative principle, politeness principle and irony principle. When people use the irony principle, by pretending to be impolite somehow they are breaking the main co-operative principle which emphasises that the purpose of any conversation is to exchange information effectively and truthfully. Thus, this contradicts with the politeness principle which aims to be genuinely polite among others.

Lastly, Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness and its main purpose the 'face' was discussed. Brown and Levinson concur with Leech's principles that people may be genuinely polite and at times may pretend and contradict with the main politeness principle. Brown and Levinson further illustrate that as much as people may pretend to be polite at times, their main aim will be not to show their pretention through the 'face'. The main aim of this research is to explore the relationship between traditional healers and all these principles.

## Chapter 3

### Different types of traditional healers and their purpose

#### 3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1 it was stated that traditional healers are people that are known as experts in holistic health practice. These healers are respected by people because of their gift as they have to protect and help people maintain a balance between their mental and spiritual state of mind. It was also noted that the most common types of traditional healers are diviners, herbalists, faith healers and a traditional birth attendant. These traditional healers do not fall under one category since they do not perform the same function. In this chapter I will look at each healer, their responsibility and how they become traditional healers. This will assist in understanding traditional healers and their function within a broader perspective and to link them with the acts of politeness. Unfamiliar terminology will also be discussed such as, *ugedla*. These types of healers are not diviners nor are they herbalists but they perform functions of both kinds of healers. In examining traditional healers, the researcher will start with diviners.

#### 3.2 Diviner/*Izangoma*

West (1975:93-94) describes a diviner as “a traditional diviner whose healing powers are specifically not Christian, but rather, come directly from the guiding shades”. The researcher believes that diviners are the most powerful traditional healers. For this reason, the researcher believes they should be called ‘specialists’ in the field of traditional healing. Since they do not only diagnose illness, they also look at the origins and the causes of illness. Kohler (1941: 6) notes this when he mentions that:

Izangoma are the keystone of this system because they are the media of supernatural powers, that is, the ancestor spirits (*amathongo/ amadlozi*) of their clans.

As a keystone of this system, diviners are not given a choice as whether or not to become a diviner. To them (diviners/*izangoma*) divination is a calling and not a choice, whereby the ancestors call them and they regard themselves as servants of ancestors and God. Diviners are very good in explaining what Western science calls “superstition” (Schapera, 1946: 221). In an African context, it is believed that diviners are good in explaining the unexplainable, analysing the cause of illness, interpreting the messages from the ancestors and curing the individual (Pretorius, 1999: 251).

Traditional healers are often misunderstood in that people believe that they tend to claim that they can cure all types of illnesses, in which maybe some of them do. In reality, traditional healers work in a similar way as ordinary doctors. They understand that if one cannot cure a patient, they must send that patient to a person who can be of assistance to him or her. For example, they may tell an individual to *‘hamba uye kuleya ntaba uzothola ubaba ... umtshela ukuthi uthunywe yimi, nguye-ke ozokusiza’* meaning ‘go to that mountain you will find a man ... tell him that I sent you, he will help you’. This example illustrates how traditional healers send their patients to other traditional healers. There were no papers involved but all their messages were sent through the word of mouth. This is the same method that is used by medical doctors nowadays, since they use a slightly different method to traditional healers because they use documents and the latest technology to refer patients to other medical doctors. Mcetywa notes that traditional healers are “specialist doctors who are diagnosticians, their roles are to diagnose the cause of the sickness” (2001: 83). The word diagnostic simply means diagnosing an illness or a problem (Brown *et al.*, 2005: 403). It brings us to the point that African people do not believe that a person gets ill out of the blue. They believe that there is something or someone who causes the person to become sick such as their ancestors or God. Thus it becomes the responsibility of *isangoma* (singular) or *izangoma* (plural) to find out the main cause of the disease, prescribe healing methods and to ensure that people perform prescribed rituals in an appropriate

manner in order to make peace with their ancestors, provided that the sickness is caused by the ancestors.

The main reason that an *isangoma* becomes a specialist in his or her field is that s/he gets his/her diagnostic methods and answers via ancestors. Their direct contact with the ancestors helps them to understand a person's illness and how to help them through the use of *amathambo okubhula* (divination bones). Hammond-Tooke in Mcetywa (2001: 84) adds:

Among all the Nguni people the status of a diviner is closely associated with the ancestral spirit. Not only does the vocation stem from a special calling by the ancestors, the divination itself consists of direct communication with the shades who are believed to speak through the diviner who is thus in effect a medium.

The above quote shows that diviners act as a medium between our world and the world of shades or ancestors. Everything that they do with regard to healing goes via their ancestors. Additionally, Edwards (1985: 85) says:

Diviner is, however, mainly and traditionally a psycho diagnostician and priest who divines within a supernatural context through her culturally accepted medium ship with the accepted shades.

The above quotes do not suggest that other types of traditional healers cannot communicate directly with ancestors, but rather they imply that they use different methods of communication and their method may take much more time to get a response from the shades or ancestors. They differ in ways and methods of diagnosis; some rely on bone throwing technique while others rely on dreams (West, 1975a: 96). Where Edwards (1985: 85) mentions 'her' in the above statement; it implies that most traditional healers in the past used to be female. In defining different types of diviners, we have examples of:

i. *Izangoma zamathambo* - bone throwing diviners

These types of diviners and their divination are directly guided by the ancestors. While under training the apprentice learns how to interpret each and every bone, and the meaning attached to it. The bones that are used by diviners are mixed with roots and barks of special chosen trees known to the diviner (Gumede, 1990: 77).

When enquirers come and state their case, the diviner will toss the bones allowing them to roll on the ground until they come to a stop. While doing that, they will also sing praises of the enquirer's ancestral spirits. It is during this period that the message can be transmitted to the diviner through the manner in which the bones will land, and through the power of the ancestors. The spirits will then tell the diviner the facts of the case and the ways of diagnosing them (Mcetywa, 2001: 84).

ii. *Izangoma zehlombe* - hand clappers

People that are present at the divination session will clap hands as the diviner will talk to them. These diviners usually know beforehand that the enquirer will arrive at their homestead to seek help. When the enquirers arrive at the diviner's homestead they may state their case or ask the diviner to tell them their case, by saying "*izindabazakho, mngoma*" meaning "tell us why we are here?". The diviner, in answering, will say "*shayani sizwe bo!*" meaning "clap your hands so that I may speak". For everything that the diviner may say, the enquirers reply by saying "*siyavuma,*" meaning "we agree" (Gumede, 1990: 78). If the person does not agree with the diviner, they keep quiet or they say *asivumi* meaning we do not agree.

Through *ukuvuma* the diviner becomes activated and he or she will communicate with the ancestors whom will tell him/her (the diviner) the problem and how to solve it.

iii. *Izangoma zezabhulo* - stick diviners.

This types of diviner's works similarly to the *izangoma zehlombe* (hand clappers). Before they reach the enquirers they sniff tobacco till tears roll down and they then run to the open space where the enquirers join them. There they ask ancestors to help them reveal the problem.

iv. *Izanusi* - the smellers

*Ukunuka* means "smell", so *izanus*i/smeller diviners smell evil doings. In the olden days the smellers were very good in detecting *abathakathi*/witches. They detected them by asking their ancestors for help in order to catch the witch. According to Schapera (1946: 233) he believes that *izanus*i are the most powerful of all diviners since they cure possession.

v. *Abalozi* - ventriloquists

The ventriloquists do not use bones, sticks, palms or thumbs. When enquirers come to seek help, they are shown into a dark hut, and the enquirers do not tell them the reason why they are there, but they only say "*izindabazakho mngoma*" which means "what brings us here?" The ventriloquist will tell them why they are there, with the help of the ancestors. It is said that the spirits communicate directly with *abalozi* in a whistling style, telling them what they need to know (Donda, 1988: 6).

All these types of diviners were known in the past. Nowadays it is very difficult to identify different type of diviners due to their overlapping ways of diagnosing. As much as people believe in a diviner's way of finding the unknown, Ritter in Donda (1988:6) sees all these methods as just a guess work.

### 3.2.1 Becoming a diviner

For a person to become a diviner, that person will have to undergo training for a period of one to six years under the mentorship of a qualified diviner (Damane, 1993: 6). During this process, a student diviner is not only taught the qualities of various medicines which are used but the significance of the art of healing and the power of mind (Cumes, 2004: 40).

Divination is the work of God with the help of ancestors who act as mediators between God and human kind and in turn, ancestors appoint people to represent them here on earth to carry the word of God (Mcetywa, 2001: 79). Furthermore, according to Mkhize, Kiguwa and Collins (2004: 40) there are different levels or hierarchy of living, in which human beings are living in the intermediate world and they can communicate directly or indirectly with God. African people are the type of people who always believe that people in power must be respected and they do not just communicate with them. They always use someone closer to that person to send their messages. By doing that, they are showing a sign of respect. This also occurs when they want to communicate with God; they do not always do it directly. They use diviners to send the message to the ancestors in turn the ancestor will speak to God, with the belief that ancestors are closer to God.

There are two types of ancestors; the integrated and the recently deceased. The recently deceased ancestors form part of the recently dead world. They remain in this world until a ritual has been done for them. This is done in order for them to be able to move to the world of ancestor-hood. While in this state, it is believed that they cannot communicate with God on behalf of human beings until a ritual is conducted for them. The integrated ancestors, on the other hand, according to Mkhize *et al.* (2004: 40) are:

Ancestors who are capable of communicating with God on behalf of their relatives, and for whom rituals are performed.  
Ancestors, whose world is both analogous and contiguous to

that of humans, continue to interact with, and remain interested in the affairs of, their relatives.

However, the ancestors cannot communicate via normal channels because they are not living in this world. They are living in the realm of spirits. Therefore, they can only communicate through trance-channelling (spirit medium), dreams or divining bones (Cumes, 2004: 41). In explaining how traditional healers communicate with ancestors, Cumes (2004: 41) argues that:

Someone comes to me for advice, and I do not know what is needed. I pray to my ancestors to guide me to help this person, and they advice me through the bones.

This clearly indicates that diviners play a huge part in detecting the cause of someone's illness before diagnosing that person unlike herbalists.

### **3.3 Herbalist**

Herbalists (*inyanga*) according to the understanding of the researcher are 'African pharmacists' if one uses western terminology. There are two different types of herbalists. The first type of herbalist is the one that grows up or stays with diviners being "a bag carrier" or "*umphathizikhwama*". She/he learns about different types of herbs and their functions. The second type of herbalist is the one that got a calling to become one. Not only do they cure but they also see the cause of illness.

Pretorius (1999: 251) is in agreement with what the researcher has stated in the above paragraph. He illustrates that herbalists are:

Ordinary people who have acquired an extensive knowledge of magical technique and who do not, typically, possess occult powers.

Furthermore Cumes (2004: 23) adds that:

*Inyanga* are often men who work with herbs and who translate messages from the cosmic realm by reading the bone. Still others are clairvoyant and work with dreams.

Pretorius's and Cumes' definitions are contradictory but are both correct. Pretorius's one emphasises the first type of herbalist that I have explained above, for example 'bag carriers' or '*umphathizikhwama*'. Cumes' definition explains the second type of herbalist that has been explained above. Moreover, a herbalist has to be able to prevent and alleviate evil, to protect people against witchcraft and misfortune and to bring happiness in people's lives. Though they are not witches, they somehow have to know all the steps that witches take to contact their evil powers (Green, 1991: 5).

In addition to what has been said in the last paragraph, Msimang (1975: 303) agrees with the researcher on the issue of two types of herbalists. When he said:

*Kukhona lezo eziphatha amakhubalo zelaphe izifo, zibethelele amalumbo. Kukhona olunye uhlobo futhi olugabe ngokubhula lubone imbangela yokugula.*

There are those who hold a bag of medicine/ deals with medicine, heal sickness, and prevent diseases. There is another type that read bones and sees the cause of sickness.

This means that there are those herbalists that only cure people without understanding or looking at the cause of illness. Those herbalists in most cases are the ones that work hand in hand with diviners. Diviners refer patients to them and herbalists will give those patients remedies. It is exactly the same way that doctors and pharmacist work. The second type of diviner that is mentioned by Msimang is the one that the researcher explained previously that they find out the cause of illness first before giving an individual a remedy or herbs. As mentioned above, this type of herbalist needs to

receive a calling before one becomes a herbalist. For example, one of the women who wanted to become a herbalist explained that:

We all went into one hut and each *nyanga* threw their bones, including Ndora. Each one had to decide whether or not I was acceptable...I was very keen to do this work, and I was worried that I would receive a “No” (McCallum, 1993: 183).

In her explanation she notes that before she became a herbalist, the experienced herbalists took her into a hut and they asked the ancestors if indeed she was meant to do this job. This shows that to some people it is a privilege to be accepted by the ancestors to become a herbalist.

### **3.3.1 Becoming a herbalist**

It is a privilege to become a herbalist because they do not always have to receive the calling from the ancestors although they still have to be approved by them in order to do this job. Once a person is accepted by the ancestors the official training starts. That chosen person must have a basic understanding of herbs and other botanical systems. The training of becoming a herbalist can be formal or informal, depending upon the way that one intends to practice as a herbalist.

### **3.4 Faith healers**

Faith healers are people who treat illness and disability by recourse to divine power with prayer, without the use of traditional healing. They use holy water and a prayer to heal people; this type of healing is based on the miraculous cures wrought by Jesus Christ during his ministry. West (1975a: 96) defines an *umthandazi* as:

a Christian who may belong either to a mission or an independent church. The power to heal is believed to come indirectly through the shades, and a period of training may or not have been necessary.

“*Umthandazi*” which is a Zulu word meaning a faith healer are professed Christians, who belong to one of the independent African churches and heal by prayer, by using holy water or ash, or by touching a patient.

[http://www.southafrica.info/ess\\_info/sa\\_glance/health/update/traditional-healersbill.htm](http://www.southafrica.info/ess_info/sa_glance/health/update/traditional-healersbill.htm)

Their existence is believed to have come about with missionaries on their arrival to Africa and it is argued that many of the traditional roles played by *izangoma* have been taken over by *umthandazi* (Lee, 1969; West 1975b). This argument might be true in some aspects, since most traditional healers perform the same functions as the diviners nowadays. But the only question that might arise is whether they are authentic or not.

### **3.5 Traditional birth attendants**

Traditional birth attendants or *abazanyana* in isiZulu are people that are known for helping people give birth. In the past they were found mostly in rural areas because of the unavailability of medical doctors and hospitals in those areas (Kamal, 1998:43). These days very few of them still perform this type of a job because of the availability of scientific methods, such as clinics and hospital even in rural areas. Usually, a traditional birth attendant is an older female person that belongs to that family.

### **3.6 Responsibility of traditional healers**

In African society, illness is seen as something that could be caused by other people or supernatural beings and forces. They do not believe in accidents. According to Hammond-Tooke (1989: 57):

Most illness of any severity is believed to be intentionally caused. There are broadly four possible causal agents: God, the ancestors, witches (all of which involves the intention of the sender) and pollution, which results from the victim being in a particular ritual state.

He further argues that the above problem cannot be solved by an ordinary individual but can only be solved by a person who has supernatural powers, like traditional healers.

Among other things, different traditional healers serve the purpose of protecting, mediating and diagnosing. There are two types of illnesses that may require a diagnosis. The first one is the natural causes of illness (*umkhuhlane njena*) which means just a cold, flu or just an illness, which can also be cured by scientific doctor. The second one is what African people call *ukufa kwabantu* (Ngubane, 1977: 24). These are diseases caused by witches and this type of illness can only be cured by people who have supernatural powers.

According to our understanding and knowledge gained through our exposure to African culture one is aware that there are different ways used by witches/ sorcerers that can lead to various human problems. Here, I am going to reveal different methods used by witches/sorcerers and examples mentioned in the different newspapers.

### **3.6.1 Protection**

When one talks of protection of healers, one refers to the protection against different diseases caused by witches. For example:

- **Intrusion of foreign objects**

One of the ways is due to the intrusion of foreign objects into a body by supernatural means.

The intrusion of foreign objects was a common explanation among many Native American cultures for internal body pains such as headaches and stomach aches. The presumed foreign objects could be rocks, bones, insects,

arrowheads, small snakes, or even supernatural objects. It was believed that they were intentionally put into an individual's body by witchcraft or some other supernatural means. The fact that there was no wound in the skin for the entry of the objects was consistent with the belief that supernatural actions were involved.

([http://anthro.palomar.edu/medical/med\\_1.htm](http://anthro.palomar.edu/medical/med_1.htm)).

What is said above is also confirmed by the article below.

*Udidekile umndeni wentombazanyana eneminyaka engu-13 okuphuma ithantala legazi ezingonweni zamabele ayo okulandelwa yizinto ezahlukene okukhona kuzo nemithi engamabhodlela, okuphuma ezithweni zayo ezithile zomzimba, futhi kunanendoda emfishane evele iyikhumule isale nqunu, kodwa le ndoda ayibonwa ngabadala bomndeni, ibonwa yile ngane kuphela. (Ilanga, 08/29-31/2005: 1)*

(The family of a 13 year old girl is confused because of the blood that comes profusely from the nipples of their daughter. This is followed by various objects like herbs and bottles that come out of her body parts. It is also said that there is a dwarf that simply undresses this girl until she is naked. The problem is that this dwarf cannot be seen by older members of the family except these girls.)

Looking at the above mentioned we therefore conclude that sorcerers can influence certain supernatural forces to introduce foreign objects into the body of their intended victims.

Furthermore, the *Daily Sun* (25/11/05: 2) explained about some of the bizarre things that people were facing that required the help of a traditional healer. In his explanation Mr Radebe stated that they were seeing plates flying in the presence of visitors without seeing anyone throwing those plates. Food was spilled by something they could not see. He added:

We don't know the cause of this mysterious fire. Apparently before the fire episodes starts there are stones thrown by what is believed to be the *tokoloshe* on the shack.

As Mr Radebe explained that they were under attack by zombies, it was also mentioned in the *Daily Sun* (25/11/05: 2) that they had to consult a traditional healer to save them from the attack of zombies. This was not the only bizarre event that happened around KwaZulu-Natal. The *Daily Sun* of (20/02/06: 1-2) further published another story about a woman who was also being attacked by the sorcerer. She explained:

I didn't know if I was hearing things or if I was possessed...I began feeling there were two people living in me and their spirits were fighting over me. Then I began feeling the presence of an invisible person and seeing the shadow of a man.

She explained that, at first she thought she was going crazy but after talking to her pastor, she realised it was something to do with *izifo zabantu* or the diseases of people. Her pastor gave her oil that helped her kill the evil spirit that was sent by a sorcerer.

There is a saying in isiZulu which states that *udokotela akakwazi ukuzelapha* which means "the doctor cannot heal himself/herself". The *Daily Sun* (22/02/06:1-2) also revealed that traditional healers do protect themselves against any sort of evil. For example, a diviner by the name of Setumo Motswaledi found a man standing next to *indumba*, next to the house of his ancestors that he uses for consultation. He explained:

I didn't talk to him because I could see that he was trapped by my strong *muti*...this man confessed to me that he was sent (by two traditional healers that I cannot name ) to bewitch me...but I have a strong *muti* to protect my family.

It is said that when one finds *umthakathi* or a witch trapped in the early hours of the morning; the person who first sees that *umthakathi* must not say a word to that person. S/he must go back and call the whole village so that everyone will know that witch. As a

result of people reading the above article in the newspaper, the following day people from most parts of KwaZulu-Natal wrote letters to the *Daily Sun* requesting *muti* that makes evil people crawl on their knees (*Daily Sun*, 23/02/09: 3). Another function of traditional healers is to act as mediators.

### 3.6.2 Mediation

Traditional healers act as mediators between people and their ancestors. They ensure that people perform prescribed rituals in an appropriate manner in order to make peace with their ancestors. Rituals such as *ukubuyisa idlozi* meaning “to bring back the ancestral spirits” are made. Hammond-Tooke (1989: 64) argues that rituals are performed basically because of three occasions:

(1) At the life cycle rituals of birth, initiation, marriage and death (2) to thank the ancestors for the successful accomplishment of a task, especially a long journey; and (3) when illness strike.

In most cases a traditional healer’s duties are to ensure that ancestors accept sacrifices and remain content by using their knowledge to ensure that everything is done accordingly.

### 3.6.3 Diagnosis

When one talks of diagnosing, one refers to counteract what witches have done to people. The most common things are:

- Food poisoning (*idliso*)

This refers to a case where a sorcerer cunningly places a certain substance in a victim’s food or drink without the victim noticing. When one looks at the term food poisoning one realises that it somehow makes one think that the victim will die, since poison has been mentioned. From an African perspective food poisoning cannot always lead to death but

it can lead to other problems. To support this point of view consider Ntombela *et al.* (1997: 134) where “*idliso*” is explained:

*Lolu uhlobo lobuthakathi lapho umuntu edliswa khona. Lo muntu udliswa ubuthi afe esegqungqe emnyama, equmbe isisu, esekhafula izibozi ngomlomo, afe umshubo kazashile. Abanye abadlisani ubuthi, kepha badlisana intando. Lapho kusuka inkosikazi ithakathe indoda yayo, ngokuthi iyidlise intando. Ithi indoda ihloniphekile ngaphandle kepha ibe yisinguthunguthu ekhaya... Uma ike yacabanga umkayo uvalo luyishaya luyeqe kubande kwamancane... Okubi kakhulu ukuthi amakhosikazi awaboni ukuthi asuke ethakatha.*

(This type of sorcery refers to where food poisoning is used. The victim becomes pitch black in complexion, have an extended stomach, have a foul breath, and die immediately. Others do not use food poisoning with the intention of killing but only as a love charm. Women are most culprits in this case. A respected man can behave unusually at his home and even display signs of being partially insane. When this type of man thinks about his wife he becomes very scared. What is bad about this is that when doing this, women do not realize that this is sorcery.)

According to Mcetywa, “*idliso*” or direct food poisoning as he refers to it:

The direct contamination of food with poison is served to people and is called ‘ukudlisa’. Many kinds of poison are used for the purpose of killing people. Most of them, when applied in the human beings digestive system cause stomach ache and vomiting. (2001: 121)

When one looks at the above excerpt, one realises that the above problems can only be solved by traditional healers. The researcher’s observation is that no matter how great, modernised and educated a husband could be but if one’s wife has performed “*idliso*” on you, you will positively require all the services of a traditional healer. This then explains why traditional healers are still consulted because this “*idliso*” problem is rife among African marriages, even today.

- *Umeqo/umbhulelo*

According to an understanding, “*Umeqo/umbhulelo*” refers to a method of sorcery where the intended victim will cross over. When this is done, the sorcerer calls the victim’s name so that sorcery can only affect the victim not a wrong person. Ntombela *et al.* (1997: 134) argue that:

*Lolu uhlobo lokuthakatha lapho kudwetshelwa khona abantu noma babekelwe, okunye bacushwe lapho bezOamba khona noma bathinte khona. Othi uyathinta lapho usuke esezilokothile, wathinta abangathintwa.*

(This type of sorcery is when evil herbs are placed where a victim is going to cross or touch. One who has touched will bear the consequences.)

Msimang (1975: 330) confirms the above:

*Kepha umbhulelo wona ngeke uwuceze ngoba ufike udwetshwe nje endleleni uthi uyazihambela kanti seweqe ubuthi.*

(What has been placed where you are going to walk or cross cannot be avoided since you will not realize that you are in a danger zone area.)

Mcetywa (2001: 129) argues:

‘*Umeqo*’ is a word derived from a verb ‘*ukweqa*’ meaning to cross over. This illness is caused by crossing over sprinkled magically medicated stuff. Such a mixture, when it is sprinkled on the road or seat for one to cross over, his or her name is mentioned on the spot where the medicine is placed.

When one notes what is said about “*Umeqo/umbhulelo*” above, one realises that a problem of this nature can only be solved by using traditional healing techniques and

this still points to the traditional healer. Although some people do not believe in this, it does exist among African people.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

In conclusion, different types of traditional healers were discussed in this chapter. It was also discussed that there is not much of a difference between a diviner and a herbalist because both are possessed and their powers are derived from the ancestors. The only difference is that to become a diviner, it is not a choice, whereas to become a herbalist it is a choice. It was also mentioned that the most commonly used traditional healers in KwaZulu-Natal are diviners followed by herbalists, then faith healers and lastly, the traditional birth attendants.

Furthermore, it was mentioned why people around areas in KwaZulu-Natal still consult traditional healers. The reasons were substantiated by articles written in the *Daily Sun*. We also have to consider that not all above mentioned reasons could be because of sorcerers and witches. At times this could be because of natural forces, greediness of traditional healers or just misfortune. However, when one consults traditional healers they may suggest to that family that one may need traditional herbs. At times that is not the case. It will be because that healer may want to benefit money-wise from the patient.

Since we now know more about traditional healers and their functions, the researcher will include the isiZulu transcripts of group discussion, observation and individual interview. The English transcripts will be added as appendices. However, the observation part will be discussed in English.

## Chapter 4

### Data collection and pre-analysis

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter will look at different types of data gathered during the group interview, individual interview and observation. Different symbols are used and each participant was given a certain symbol; however the participant was given the right to use their own original name. The symbols used are as follow:

Symbols	Meaning
*	The researcher
#	Everyone combined
!number!	Participant number and must be a male
!number	Participant number and must be a female
!1!	Participant 1
!2	Participant 2
!3	Participant 3
!4!	Participant 4
!5	Participant 5 interview 1 on individual interviews
//	Researcher's comment
#number, number	Different participant at once.
↑	Raising a voice
(-)	Pause

Thus, whenever one gets confused about the symbol used in this research they should look at this table for clarity. For example whenever the researcher comments or talks a (\*) sign will be used. The first data gathered that will be looked at is the group discussions.

## 4.2 Group discussion

In chapter 2 it was defined and discussed what a group interview method is and it was said that this method will be used in this study. The data collected for group discussion will be revealed before being analysed. The reason why the researcher chose this method is because it allows the researcher to gather more data in a short period of time (Hays and Singh, 2012:253). Furthermore, the interviewees correct each other if one says something wrong during the interview session. The transcribed data collected during group interview (01/04/2012) are as follow in IsiZulu:

- \* *Ngicela uzichaze ukuthi wena ungubani wakwabani, uyini kule zinhlobo esizibalile zabalaphi bendabuko?*
- !2 *Mina nginguMakhosi (/ / name changed) ovela endaweni yasoSizweni ngiyisangoma*
- \* *Hhayi-ke kuhle, waba kanjani isangoma?*
- !1! *Mina ngingakathwasi endaweni yokuqala ngangihlushwa yidlozi kwaze kwafika umuntu wangibamba ngomqondo wathi “wena uhlushwa abantu abadala” ngathi mina ngiyazi ukuthi ngihlushwa abantu abadala. Wavesane wathi kimi “ngena lana sikumisela izinkukhu , thwasa”. Angithi ngihluphekile? (\*ehhe) ngifuna ukuphila? (\* ehhe) ngangena kanjalo-ke. Lo muntu lona kwathi uma kuhamba isikhathi sengihlale izinyanga eziyi-8, lase lingikhanyisela idlozi lami lathi “uyazi ukuthini, akusona isangoma lesi. “Lo yisayoni. umuntu owehlelwa umoya ongcwele. Uyabona esontweni, uma bekhala, kwehle umoya ongcwele kuye wase ebona izimfihlakalo. Uyabona impela kodwa akusona isangoma”. wenza lokhu ngoba ebona ukuthi imali ilele kuphi khona, ilele lana ukuthi athwasise, kodwa wabona ukuthi angeke athwasise ubuyoni. Waqala ukuthwasisa ngoba esebenza kahle nemali ikhonyana. Wabe esethenga amabhuku manje, la*

mabhuku amabhuku okulapha ngemithi. Nokuthi umuthi okanjena uhlanganiswa kanjani, kwayikhona efunda manje ukuthi umuthi othize uhlanganiswa kanjena, wase wenzani? Wagqoka amabhayi. Uzwa sekukukhala izigubhu lana ekhaya 'du du du du du du' kwase kungena amathwasa. Useyathwasisa ke manje. Kodwa lo muntu akanikwanga imvume yokuthi wena khulisa amathwasa lana ekhaya. Yena njena wehlelwa umoya ongcwele wokuthi esontweni atshele abantu nezithunywa ukuthi nokuthi nokuthi. Manje enye yezinto ezibuye zilahleke kulobu bungoma. Njengoba ngisho njena ukuthi, isangoma umuntu othwasile inyanga-ke ayivamisile ukuthwasa. Inyanga njengoba sengishilo ukuthi yayifundela imithi ekhaya ngoba ubaba wakhe eyinyanga okanye uyayiphupha ngoba eboniswa abakubo. kodwa manje kuke kuhluka ngoba kukhona inyanga ebhulayo. Engena khona lana ukuthi imithi uyayiphupha ebusuku bese uyakha leyo imithi kanti futhi uyawaphonsa namathambo ubhule...ubunyanga impela lobo sezikhona izinyanga ezibhulayo. kanti endulo kwakungenjalo kwakufika kube khona izangoma, kube khona izinyanga. izinyanga zazithinta umuthi –njena kuphela. Isangoma sasithi uma sesibhulile, noma, nazo zaziwazi umuthi kodwa zazazi ukuthi “cha...thina asikho ngaphezu kwezinyanga”. Uma sengibhulile kula...nala...nalana, sengiyakutshela ke ukuthi hamba kubaba ubani endaweni ekanjena, uma umthola umtshela ukuthi uyalelwe yimi...uthole nangale enyangeni, inyanga ilapha umuntu mhlawumbe umuntu uthi uphethwe umlenze uyavuvukala, uyazazi izimbiza zomuthi nezigcabo lezi. Uke uthole ukuthi akupheli, bese...iyabona inyanga ukuthi njengoba sengimthinte ngezinto zami engizazi ukuthi zingo ngqo, akuthi shu. Isiyamuyalela ke ukuthi aye kumama ubani noma ubaba ubani oyisangoma ukuthi ayophenya indabuko yenkinga. Afike abheke bese ebuya ethi kuthiwa abantu abadala, uyayibona nawe lento leyo. Inyanga isiyabona-ke ukuthi ubebona ukuvuvukala ecabanga ukuthi umeqo kanti le milenze ivuvukala ngoba kungabantu abadala. Sewuyazi ukuthi isangoma sikhuluma nedlozi lakubo ukuthi kumele kuhanjwe kanjani ukuze lo muntu asizakale.

\* Inyanga le bhulayo iyathwasa nayo?

!! Akuvamisile ukuthwasa kwezinyanga ezibhulayo. Akuvamisile neze...hhayi kukancane impela ngoba umuntu uma ethwasa usuke eyisangoma. Isangoma lesi esithwasayo. Kodwa izinyanga azivamisile ukuyoguqa, kodwa kuyenzeka umangabe ukhanyiselwe abakini amathambo. Inyanga ibona ukuthi uma ithambo likanjena lisho ukuthi, lisho ukuthi, lisho ukuthi. Bakukhanyisele ebusuku mhlawumbe baze bakukhombise ukuthi uzowalanda endaweni ethize lawo mathambo. Mhlawumbe uzoya le eThekwini olwandle ufike unikele ngemali enjena (emkhombisa imali). La mathambo ayophuma lapho yiwo lawo oyofika

*uwathathe...bese belokhu bekufundisa ebusuku uma ulele. Ngempela uma sekufika umuntu usuyazi ukuthi uma ngiwaphonsa kanjena enza kanjena bese umtshela umuntu ukuthi kunj e nje. Ngendlela abakufundise ngayo ebusuku (// interrupted by speaker 2)*

*!2 Ngoba kufana nalana ebunyangeni, ebunyangeni la mangabe nangu ubabu “!1!” umkhulu wakhe wayeyinyanga akamazi nakumazi, uma efika lana ngephupho ebusuku efuna ukumnika lesi khwama sakhe. Uma esithatha kumele asihlabele naso lesi sikhwama*

*!1! Wothi ngithathe lana*

*!2 Asicele kumkhulu.*

*\* Kusho ukuthi yonke into eniyenzayo kumele niyiqondise kwabaphansi?*

*!2 Yebo. (// looking at photos...while looking at photo another traditional healer enters)*

*#1, 2 (// clapping hands) Makhosi. Sisaphila gogo, Makhosi.*

*!3 Makhosi (//clapping hands) senilana?*

*!2 Yebo, ziyavuka phela izangoma azilali.*

*!3 Bengithi ngizonithola senihambile.*

*!2 Yimi engifike ngingowokuqala kanti ngivela entabeni.*

*(//talking in general, after they have settled, the interview carried on)*

*\* Ngicela ukubuza manje ukuthi ezindabeni zokuba yisangoma, uma ubizo likufikela usemncane, uzobuthatha onyakeni wesingaki ubungoma?*

*!2 Angithi kuyenzeka ukuthi bukungene ubungoma usemncane kodwa lapho wenzelwa amagobongo (// looking at participant 3) angithi ngisho kahle Makhosi?*

*!3 Makhosi*

*!2 Wenzelwa amagobongo lincengwe idlozi lehle, bese kuthi ma useneminyaka mhlawumpe la ko 18-21 se uyakwazi-ke ukulikhulisa idlozi lakho.*

*\* O! yini amagobongo?*

*!2 Igobongo umuthi njengalona osokhambeni lwaMakhosi, lishaywa kanjena (// she started to demonstrate how?), kusuke kuyinhlanganisela yomuthi oshayiwe.*

*\* O! Kusuka kwenzelwa ukuthi ukwazi ukukhuluma nabaphansi?*

*!2 Yebo.*

*\* Kwenzelwa ukucela ushwele noma mhlawumpe...?*

*!2 (// looking at participant 3) awuchaze Makhosi.*

*!3 Kusuke kucelwa kubazali bakho ukuthi usemncane, mabakulinde uze uqede isikole ngaphambi kokuthi bakunika lo msebenzi, ngoba uma abazali bakho noma wena unqaba, bazosuka bakuthathe, or kungenzeka uhlanye noma uyongena ezimotweni. Makhosi.*

*\* Umuntu kuyenzeka ukuthi alibalekele ubizo lakhe?*

*!3 Idlozi? (// looking at participant 1 and 2) yebo uyakwazi.*

*\* Kodwa uyakwazi ukuphila yini uma usulibalekelile?*

*!3 Uphila kabucayi. Kanzima kabi.*

*!2 Omunye kuthi uma uhlangana naye endleleni, usumthola ethwala lamaphahla akhona uselokhu ehlala egcobe ibomvu ebusweni, omunye esehlanya, omunye limfaka inhlupheko, omunye afelwe abantwana. Njengakimi-nje lisasukuma idlozi lami, wafika ugogo wangibuza ukuthi uyafuna yini ukufelwa abantwana? Ngoba sesibathe thatha lo msebenzi wena awufuni ukuwuthatha.*

*!3 Sonke sangena kanjalo.*

*!2 Kwacaca ukuthi kumele ngikhethe, ukuthatha idlozi nokushonelwa abantwana.*

*!1! Makhosi.*

*!3 (// while she was about to talk she roared)*

*(// when a traditional healer roars, this signifies two things. Firstly it can be a normal belch that one gets after eating. The second type is the one that traditional healers get when ancestors are talking to them. Which in this instance, participant 3 ubengenwe imimoya, meaning she was feeling the presence of the ancestors on her. During the process of roaring, other healers will clap their hands to respect the ancestor of the one who is roaring.)*

# *Makhosi* (// clapping hands)

(// everytime a traditional healer roars the other healers around that particular healer must say *Makhosi* and clap their hands as a sign of respect to his/ her ancestor.)

(// meanwhile others are still looking at the photos of participant 1's graduation ceremony. Another healer enters.)

!4! *Makhosi* (// clapping hands)

# *Makhosi*

\* *Uma abantu begcoba ibomvu besuka benzalani?*

!3 *Basuka bekhuleka edlozini, kufana nomuntu ozilile, ibomvu leli njengoba ngisho awuyi ekhaya uma ufake leli bomvu. Fuze uze uligeze kuqala ngembuzi ngaphambi kokuthi uyongena ekhaya.*

\* *Ningakwazi yini ukungichazela izindlela noma izinto okumele zenzeke uma umuntu eba yisangoma?*

!1! *Izinto zabogogo lezi, makasichazele phela bona seabadala.*

!2 *Ake uchaze gogo* (// looking at participant 3)

!3 *Kuqala uma ungena ophahleni, uqala ugqunyiswa uphalaziswe, uqheliswe izithunzi lezi ukuze ukwazi ukuthatha umsebenzi Olanzekile. Uma ugqunyiswa bese lapho ufakwe edumbeni nezinkukhu namagobongo. Namagobongo aba yizinhlobo ezintathu, kwabanye abantu aba mane, uma usungeniswe emagobongweni nezinkukhu wabeka inkomo yasemsamo yokungena emsebenzini bese uthwaliswa idlokolo ngalelo langa. Emva kwalokho sebetsheliwe abakini, ube sewuyafundiswa umsebenzi wedlozi, usufundisiwe umsebenzi wedlozi sekuyikhona uyonqwamba ubikwe emsamo kuqala lapho uzobikwa khona, kukhona abakini, kubo kamama wakho ukuthi uthatha umsebenzi wabantu abadala. Sekwenziwa konke lokho sekufika abakini kumhla unqanjiswa ngembuzi njalo, ngalelo langa usephehlweni njalo. Bese kumele uhambiswe uyothatha idlozi lakubo kanyoko ungakangeni ekhaya kini ↑. Awungeni ekhaya kini njalo, uhlala ngaphandle uma kukhona okudingayo utshela abakini. Uma usukwenzile wayokwamukelwa idlozi lakubo kamama wakho kumele bakwamukele ngomkhonto namabhayi lawo avelile, avela kuwe njalo bese bekunikeza amabhayi nomkhonto bakuhlalise imbuzi usubuyela khona endumbeni kwagobela wakho. Emva kwalokho uqhubeka nomsebenzi wokuthi uyaphalaziswa, ugqunyiswe uyaqaliswa ukubhuliswa lapho. Usuqhubekile nalo*

*msebenzi wakho, usuyathathwa uyiswa emanzini uyothatha idlozi uma uyiswa emanzini, ufakwa endabeni yedlozi likababa usunawo...usunawo izibonakaliso ezinhle zezikhumba zokuthi usuwuthathile umsebenzi usedumbeni kababa wakho wokuthi uzothatha umsebenzi. Sekuyohamba kuhambe kufike lapho kokuthi usuyobhula manje. Nedlozi lakho selingakhuluma manje ukuthi uyaphuma manje kanjani nini sekuyobikelwa abakini...sebeyolungisa inkomo yomsebenzi kagobela. (// participant 3 blew her nose)*

# *Makhosi.*

*!3 Sebeyilungisile inkomo kagobela sekunqunywa ilanga lokuthi uyaphothula ngelanga elithize, usuyaphothula. Abakini baletha inkomo kagobela bayiletha lana ekhaya kugobela wakho. Uma sebeyilethile, zimenyiwe nezangoma, usube uyakhishwa ubuyiselwa kini noma kwakho lapho ogane khona uma kuwumuntu oseganile. Bese uyamukelwa ngezimbuzi, nezinkukhu. Ezokuqala ziyahlatshwa ngaphandle bese zingeniswa ngaphakathi bese umukelwa yimbuzi leyo okuyiyo ohlangatshezwa ngazo esangweni...usuhlangatsheziwe esangweni bese bekubekela inkomo ozoyibhula ngaphambi kokuba kuqhutshekwe nomsebenzi. Usuyabhula, leyo nkomo bese ungena ekhaya kini uma usuqedile sekuzoba umgidi kuze kube ebusuku. Bese ekuseni usuyakhishwa ukhishelwa ngaphandle lapho kuyoqhubekwa nomsebenzi womgidi wakho. Makhosi. (// clapping hands)*

(// the above mentioned process is done to everyone who is about to become a traditional healer. It is very important for those rituals to be conducted as it signifies respect to the ancestors and culture.)

# *Makhosi. (// clapping hands)*

*!3 Angazi ukuthi kuzwakele kahle yini ngendlela engiyibeke ngayo?*

\* *Kuzwakele.*

# *Kuzwakele impela.*

(// everyone laughed and talked about something else, another healer came in. participant 4 had to shift to create a space for the new person, he sat with his back to the candles and *emsamo*. Everyone wanted to say something about the way participant 4 sat but participant 2 spoke first)

*!2 musa ukufulathela izibani gogo (// a traditional healer must never sit with their back to the candles of that particular traditional healers isigodlo, it shows disrespect to the ancestors)*

- !4! *Makhosi, gogo. (// smiling) uma ngihlala kanjena ngifulathela umnyango*
- !3 *Kungcono ungene ngale (// pointing closer to where I was sitting)*
- # *Makhosi.*
- \* *Kukhona into eyenzekalayo ngenkathi kubhulwa “ukuvuma”*
- !3 *Makhosi*
- \* *Ngike ngabuza nge process yokuvuma ukuthi kubaluleke ngani ukuthi abantu bavume ngenkathi nibhula, ingabe kubalulekile yini ukuthi bavume?*
- !4! *Ehhe, ake ngiyichaze*
- \* *Ungayichaza.*
- !4! *Ehhe*
- \* *Ngicela uzichaze kuqala*
- !4! *Igama nginguNomasonto (// name changed but it was a female name.) eledlozi lelo, isibongo... Ngidabuka eSwazini ngokwakha ngiseHammaskraal. Ngizochaza ngendlela oyifunayo mnakethu. Ukuvuma kuyinto ekanjena. Mangabe ubhula umuntu uyaye avume ngendlela yokuthi le nto omtshela yona uyayiqonda nokuthi uyayazi. Futhi kokunye ukuvuma kumele uvume uma into uyazi ngempela ekutheni injalo. Ungavumi...ngani...ngoba wenzela mina engisuke ngikubhulela. Uma kungenjalo kufanele uchaze njena uthi cha akunjalo?*
- !3 *Makhosi*
- !4! *Ukuze ngizolihlupha idlozi lami ukuthi kungani ekuphika lo muntu, ngoba uma uzovuma wenzele mina nguwe ongeze ukuthola uncendo olifunayo. Makhosi.*
- #1, 2 *Makhosi.*
- \* *Uchaza ukuthi uma uvuma (-) uvuma ukuthi lokho okushoyo kuyiqiniso...*
- !4! *Usuka uvuma ukuthi le nto eshiwo idlozi lakho, ngoba akusiyena wena okushoyo lokho (-) ake sicacise lapha (-) kunomuntu osuka ekutshela ekutheni lo muntu uphethwe into enje x 7, bese wena udlulisela umlayezo otshelwe yidlozi lakho yokuthi lo muntu uphethwe into enje x7. Mangabe into ingenjalo kumele avume ukuthi into ayinjalo kodwa angicabangi ukuthi uma unedlozi lempela lingakutshela into engeyona. Makhosi*

# Makhosi

\* Kukhona into izangoma ezaziwa ngayo. Baziwa ngokuthi bathole umsuka wesifo ngaphambi kokuthi bakulaphe. Le nto into odokotela besilungu okwaziwa ngayo ukuthi abakwazi ukukutholisisa kahle ukuthi le nto uyithathaphi. Ngicela ukubuza ukuthi ingabe lokhu kusenjalo ngempela? Ingabe nani niyakwazi ukubona imbangela yesifo somuntu njengodokotela besintu bakudala abebekwazi ukukubona?

!1! Makhosi

!2 Yebo, kunzima ukulapha umuntu ungakwazi ukuthi yini imbangela yokugula kwakhe, njengabo odokotela besilungu ngaphambi kokuba bamlaphe umuntu bayampopola angithi! Nathi simlapha ngendlela yedlozi lakho uyakwazi ukuthi mangabe usumhlolile ubone ukuthi isifo sisukaphi bese ukhuni uzothinta lapho emithini yakho wazi ukuthi uma ngabe ungathinta lo muntu uzothinta ngqo lapho esifweni esimphele.

!4! Ngigcwalise emazwini kagogo wokuthi mangabe umuntu eza ngoba efuna ukwelashwa, asifani nezinyanga (-) inyanga ayibhuli, ifika kuwe uma uthi uphethwe izinyawo, uthi unawo umuthi wezinyawo, bese ekunika umuthi wezinyawo nawe bese uyothoba ngawo. Ayikwazi ukuthola imbangela yokuthi lo muntu kungani imphele lento nokuthi iyini imbangela yayo (-) uvesane ezwe ngawe ukuthi wena uphethwe yini noma uthi uphethwe indlebe, akunike umuthi wezindlebe, ayifuni ukwazi ukuthi kuyini imbangela yayo. Siqonde ekutheni izangoma kunemfihlo yedlozi yokuthi isiphiwo sabo sifana ncamashi nesodokotela ngoba udokotela naye uqale akuhlale akupopole abone ukuthi isifo sinesikhathi esingakanani, singalapheka kanjani, nathi futhi siyakwazi ukubona ngoba idlozi lethu lasifundisa noma lisifundisa ukuthi umuntu angalashwa kanjani. Makhosi.

!1! Makhosi

# Makhosi

\* Kukhona igama omunye ubaba oke wakhuluma ngalo angazi ukuthi niyalazi yini ugedla.

!2 Ugedla inyanga

!3 Inyanga ugedla (-) umuntu ongathwasanga.

!2 Ehhena gogo. Ugedla akusiyona inyanga

*!3 Yini-ke ugedla?*

*!2 Ugedla umuntu ophatha izikhwama zenyanga, akusiye yini umuntu ophatha izikhwama?*

*#3, 4 Cha, inyanga ugedla*

*!2 O ya*

*!4! Ophatha izikhwama zenyanga uhlaka*

*!2 O ya nkosiyami*

*(// There was a little bit of confusion between traditional healers with regards to the word *ugedla*. In which in the later stage they came to an agreement about that word.)*

*!3 Ugedla inyanga hhayi isangoma. Inyanga engathwasanga kumuntu enikezwe abadala umuthi ukuthi thatha umuthi othize wenze kanjena abe nalawo maphupho kodwa angaphumi ukuyothwasa ugedla-ke.*

*!4! NjengoNgobese*

*!3 Ugedla-ke lobu. Ophiwe abadala awuthathe lowo muthi awusebenzise kubantu*

*!4! Akwenze kwenzeke lokho*

*!3 Aphile. Kuthi uma kuzofika umuntu aphupha ukuthi kuzofika umuntu othize ophethwe into ethize, uthathe umuthi othize umenzele, bese efika ngempela lowo muntu, ugedla-ke lobo (-) alimkhiphanga limnikeza-njena umuthi kubadala kuphelele lapho.*

*\* Enye inyanga angithi zimbili izinhlobo zezinyanga angithi? Le thwasayo nalengathwasi?*

*!2 Yisangoma esithwasayo*

*!3 Yisangoma esithwasayo, ugedla alithwasi (-) alithwasi kumuntu, ugcina ngokuthwasisa ngabakubo asebenze ngabantu aze eyothenga isikhwama. Amtshele umkhulu noma ukhokho wakhe ukuthi hamba uyothenga isikhwama sokufaka imithi, bese eyifaka imithi-ke.*

*\* Likhona yini igama elisetshenziswa kubantu abayizinyanga kodwa bengathwasanga, abavesane baphiwa amandla obunyanga ngabantu abadala balapho ekhaya?*

- !4! Ake sibuyele laphayana-ke mkhulu kuleliya gama legedla inyanga igama lomuntu osebenzisa imithi ongathwasile ugedla-ke lelo. Lelo gama lisahambisana negama lobunyanga ngoba igama elisetshenziswa kakhulu ngathi amathongo thina esithwasile, simhlonipha singavesane sithi 'inyanga' uyabona. Ngoba uma sithi 'inyanga' alingeni kahle ezindlebeni zabanye abantu. Njengokuthini (-) njengokuthi isangoma uma sihlonipha sivesane sithi 'Makhosi'*
- !2 Makhosi. Uyangizwisisa kahle ukuthi ngithini, igama lobunyanga negama lobugedla (-) Igama lobugedla, igama eliyinhlonipho esisuke simnikeza inhlonipho ngayo njengoba uma sihlonipha ugogo ngivesane ngithi (//while clapping hands) 'Makhosi'*
- !4! Makhosi (// clapping hands)*
- !3 Mangimbona bese ngithi 'sangoma', akuzwakali kahle*
- !4! Makhosi (//clapping hands)*
- !3 Injalo njena.*
- !4! Makhosi*
- \* So uma nihlonipha ezinye izangoma nibizana ngaMakhosi, nishaya nezandla futhi, kuyahambisana lokho?*
- # Makhosi (//clapping hand)*
- \* O ok.*
- !3 Sikhombisa ukuhlonipha lapho*
- !4 Sihlonipha idlozi lakhe sihloniphe nelakho*
- !3 Makhosi (//clapping hands)*
- \* Kwakhulunywa ngokuthi amadlozi ahlukile, angazi bake bachaza ukuthi kukhona indiki indawe, zonke lezinto. Ngicela ningichazele ngokuhlukana kwawo ukuthi ahlukene kanjani amadlozi.*
- !3 Ya singakuchazela, idlozi akengiqale ngokuchaza (-) idlozi yilo leli esikuchazele ngalo ukuthi lifike likunikeze impehlo. Idlozi lakini lelo. Okulandelayo, kuseyilo idlozi elikunika konke. Umsebenzi kodwa-ke (-) umndiki bekuyizihlali zala ekhaya bengesibo abakini kodwa bafika njengabantu abahluphekile noma bedukile bafika bakhulele kini befuna ukumenyezwa amagama abo, bafike kuwe ngoba*

*befuna ukusizakala (-) ngoba bona abanawo umndeni bawumndiki, umndawe abantu bona laba abakini abebephumile bayolwa nezimpi*

*!2 Yebo*

*!3 Kudala niyazi ukuthi kwakukunezimpi*

*!2 Yebo*

*!3 Uma bebuya sebebuya sebewumndawe kuwe, sebefuna ukuthi ubenzele okuthile, bese bangena kuwe ngoba befuna ukukhunjulwa*

*!4! Yebo*

*\* Umlozi?*

*!3 Umlozi ukuphakama kwedlozi lakho ukuthi lo okungene ekuqaleni okanye okhokho wakho okanye umkhulu wakho, idlozi elikhulu elifuna ukuzikhulumela (↑) likhulumela phezulu endlini lithi uma lifika liqale lithinte wena ezindlebeni kuqala. Uyalizwa wena Mvelase uma selikhulumela phezulu endlini. Likhuluma ngomlozi, elinye likhuluma ngokuqala elinye lithi fahla fahla fahla. Bese ulizwa wena. Lithinta wena kuqala ulizwa likhuphuka ezinyaweni lize lifike emahlombe akho uqobo bese likhuluma ezindlebeni zakho esandleni sokudla uma kungabakini kodwa kungabakubo kamama wakho uzobezwa esandleni sobunxele wumlozi lowo ekhuluma ngalendlela.*

(// The above mentioned paragraph about *umlozi*, is explaining the similar process of roaring or *umlozi*. That happens to any traditional healer especially if they feel the presence of ancestors.)

*\* Yiwo lowo mlozi odlulisa umlayezo kokhokho abahlonishwa kakhulu?*

*!2 Ake uphinde futhi umbuzo wakho*

*\* Kukhona lo wokuqala odlulisa imilayezo obizwa ngomlozi bese kuba khona lo omkhulu impela ohlala laphaya (// the researcher was interrupted before he could finish with his question.)*

*!1 Njengenkosi*

*\* Yebo*

*!3 Osethumelayo*

*\* Impela adlulise umlayezo kulowo ozodlulisa umlayezo esangomeni.*

!4! *Ake silungise lapha-ke (-) ngiyakusekela kulokhu ake ngithi wena ungqo ulethe isibonakaliso okanye iphupho elithile kimina mina ngiyisangoma ngiqonde ukusekela la ekutheni nasekuthunyelweni (-) uma ufike kimi uthi ngiphuphe umkhulu x2 (// participant 4 have stutters thus he always repeat some other words) *enginike imali, uma enginika imali ngagcina ngingazi ukuthi ngiyisebenzise kanjani...mina njengesangoma sengizofuna ukuthi ngiyozwa ngendlela obeka ngayo kodwa ake siguqe lapha phansi sengiyofuna ukusebenzisa umuntu othunyelwayo ukuthi kusho ukuthini ngemali lena akunika yona. Ingabe iyini imbangela yokuthi akunike kodwa ungaboni ukuthi iyaphi (-) usezoshoke ukuthi kunenhlanhla enjena engifuna ukumnika yona yemali, njengoba ngizomnika le mali ngifuna angenzele 1, 2, 3 ukuze ngizomunika le mali (-) sekuyoba abazodlulisa umlayezo. Makhosi**

(// Sometimes participants do not answer the questioned asked, this might be because they did not understand the question asked or maybe they did not want to answer the question. For example: the researcher wanted to find out more about the hierarchy of ancestor or if there were any other ancestors that were above *umlozi*, but when he asked about that, participant 4 started to talk about money in which his answer was total irrelevant to the question. However, the researcher did not dwell much on that question he carried on asking a different question.)

\* *Bese kuba nedlozi elibizwa ngomnono noma umnguni, angazi niyalazi yini. Ngicela ningichazele umnguni ukuthi idlozi elinjani?*

!2 *Awuchaze gogo*

!3 *Umnguni ngokwazi kwami. Idlozi lakini x2 elifana nalo leli elikungenile. Ake ngikuhlukanisele esikweni, kukhona umZulu, umSuthu, kukhona namaSwazi (-) uma bezongena kimi bazongena ngokuthi mina ngingumZulu uma bengena kuwe bangena ngokuthi wena ungumSwazi, umnguni into enjalo.*

\* *Umndawo yini?*

!2 *Ugogo uke wachaza ukuthi umndawo idlozi lakini elafela ezimpini.*

\* *Umndawo nendawo into eyodwa?*

!3 *Yebo, uma lifika lifika ngempi ngoba lifuna ukugezwa*

\* *Kusho ukuthi angithi siyazi emndenini kukhona idlozi elinamandla kakhulu*

!3 *Kunjalo*

!4! *Makhosi*

\* *Kuthiwa kukhona idlozi eliyimpi lasekhaya eliza ngempi ngaso sonke isikhathi, singasho yini ukuthi umndawo yilo lelo dlozi lasekhaya*

!2 *Ya kodwa uma seligeziwe (-) lizakahle alizi ngolaka*

#2, 3 *Kodwa uma lingageziwe liza ngolaka*

### **4.3 Observation**

Hays and Singh (2012: 224) reveal that during natural observation the researcher must avoid interfering with the research because it may change the outcome of the research.

This type of method allows the participant to disclose only the type of information that they want to. It is more relevant to people who want to know what others do rather than what they say they do. With that in mind, we will discuss the observation of traditional healers in the river and mountain *intendeka* in English:

Six traditional healers and the researcher at 7:00 a.m. headed to the river which is situated outside Madadeni Section 4 by Rumelini Stadium. This river was chosen by Participant (! 1!) and there was no specific reason for the choice.

After getting out of the car participant (! 2) was holding a drum so that participant (! 4!) could play it. Everyone started singing church songs and traditional healers' song, going toward the river. Closer to the river, they stopped moving and carried on singing meanwhile participant (! 1!) was lighting the candles and burning *impepho*, he laid down *amalati/ amabhayi* of different colours which were yellow, blue, white, dark green, maroon and red.



**Figure 1:** Participant (! 1!) covered his head with white and red beads

He kneeled and started praying not only to God but to his forefathers, reciting their clan names asking them to listen to him. (// **NB:** the researcher was asked not to translate what participant (! 1!) was saying but say it in passing, what it was all about). Everyone else kneeled and listened to participant (! 1!). However, during that process different traditional healers kept on roaring while participant (! 1!) was busy praying. While praying he kept throwing coin money in the river and

whenever he was directing his prayer to his ancestors he would clap his hands and everyone else would follow.

After praying he took different colours of *ibhayi/ amalati* (sarong) entered into a river with each one and spit water on it. As a sign of power within the water, while doing that the rest of traditional healers were busy playing drums and singing. They then concluded the river ceremony with a prayer to God. They then collected everything, kept on singing and moving toward a car and the researcher was told that the ceremony was not over, now they had to go to the mountain *intendeka* which is situated +/- 20km away from *Madadeni*.



**Figure 2:** 3 traditional healer on their way their way to the peak of the mountain



**figure 3:** laying down amalati

Upon arrival, the researcher and participants had to leave their cars +/- 3km away from the mountain and proceed with their journey to the peak of the mountain by walking. Closer to the mountain there are about seven rocks with different signs written on them that traditional healers had to touch, kneel and pray on. Those rocks and signs signify the link between Christianity and traditional healing.

When everyone arrived at the peak of the mountain, on the flat ground the participants lit the candles and all four of them burnt *impepho* and laid down *amalati* accordingly. Each healer kneeled on each corner of the sarong arrangement, and the rest of traditional healers had to kneel at the back of that arrangement. Participant (! 1!) started to talk to his ancestors requesting that they accept the *amalati* that he brought in front of them on this

holy mountain. After participant (! 1!) finished talking to the ancestors, he requested that all traditional healers start praying. Each traditional healer started to pray for some time until one by one they finished with their prayer and some traditional healers roared and some whistled. After that was concluded, the researcher was invited by participant (! 1!) to go with them to the home so that they could all have lunch since they had slaughtered two goats and a beast for this ceremony. One goat was slaughtered as sacrifice to the ancestors and traditional alcOol *umqombothi* was also brewed for them.

However, the participant could not attend the lunch but thanked them for allowing him to collect data and being present for all those rituals.

#### 4.4 Individual interviews

##### 4.4.1 Interview 1

(// before the individual interview the researcher (! 5) requested that it will be better for the interview process to be conducted in her consultation room so that the researcher can be able to see and witness the whole process. However, before entering into *esigodlweni*, the researcher was told to remove his shoes. He did as he was told. After entering *esigodlweni*, the interviewee lit the candles and started to inform the ancestor about what was about to happen. The researcher was told that it was a very important thing to do, since the researcher was entering their property.)

\* *Ngicela uzichaze ukuthi ungubani?*

!5 *UMakhosi uSithebe okhulumayo, ngingakathwasi nganguNokuthula kodwa manje baye bangibize uMakhosi Sithebe ngoba iningi sibizana ngezibongo ukuthi UMakhosi bani x2, noma ugogo bani x2. (-) ngoba sizobe sihambe sonke (-) ok, ngiyisangoma –ke mina*

\* *Uke wachaza khona manje ukuthi nibizana ngamagama noma ninikana amagama, kungani-ke ninamagama okuthwasa?*

!5 *Impela mina ngokubona kwami akuveli kuthathwe umuntu noma kuthiwe sibanibani njena nomangabe ubani umuntu (-) njengoba njena siyizangoma sonke kuyahlukana ukuthi ingabe lowo muntu unalo yini lelo dlozi elifuna ukusebenza ngale ndlela elifuna ukusebenza ngalo kuye. Ngoba akekho umuntu ongenalo idlozi angithi (-) ngale ndlela kuthi uma uhambile wayodla, wayogezwa lelo dlozi osuke unalo, lisuke liyogezwa ngempela. Usuku ungayikuphiwa kuthiwa thatha nakhu esikunika khona, usuke uyogezwa lokhu osuke unakho ozelwe nakho bese uma usuke ugeziwe-ke usuwuMakhosi noma ugogo bani.*

\* *Lelo gama igama elisuke kuhloniswa (// the researcher was interrupted before he could finish his sentence.)*

!5 *Elihlonipha lamathongo asuke ekungenile.*

\* Ok. So kukhona lokhu oqale ngakho njengamanje ukukhumula izicathulo

!5 Ukukhumula izicathulo

\* Kungani kwenziwa lokho.



**Figure 4:** The removal of shoes before entering *esigodlweni*

!5 *Angithi njengoba ngingena lana kuthiwa-ni, kuthiwa ngisesigodlweni. Isigodlo sami engisebenzela kuso. Yile ndawo esiyibiza ngokuthi kuseMakhosini. EMakhosini kukhona laba abantu abangasekho. Laba abangingena, ogogo omkhulu ngokuhlukahlukana kwabo izigaba zaba ziningana. Ngihloniphela bona, ngamanye amagama kufuze ukuthi uma ngingena lana endlini ngingene ngiguqile ngoba lana engakhulela khona angizange ngikhule ngime ngezinyawo nanamhlanje angimi ngonyawo (-) mangingena njena khona emnyango. Ngiyaguqa. Ngingazungeza yonke le ndlu ngiphume ngemva kwa 5 hours ngiguqe ngedolo.*

\* *Kuseyindlela enibonisa ngayo inhlonipho leyo?*

!5 *Yebo. Yokuhlonipha laba abantu engahamba ngayoguqa kubo. Ngafika bangigeza, angithi. Ngaba yilokhu engiyikho namuhlanje. Ngikwazi ukubona lokho okukuwe ngaphandle eshethini ukuthi ufakeni. (// ↓) indlela yokuhlonipha leyo.*

\* *Ngibona namakhandlela lana.*



**Figure 5:** Different candles and sitting arrangement

!5 *Njengoba ngiwamisile njena, ngiwamisa manje njengoba ngingena. Bese sishayile isikhathi sami sokuthi ngihlale angithi abasekho abantu ebeze kimi ebaleni. Njengoba ngiphinde ngazimisa njena izibani indlela engisebenza ngazo yizona alikho ithambo engiliphonsayo (// ↓) ngisebenza ngekhanda.*

\* *Angazi ukuthi ikhona yini incazelo yekhandlela ngalinye ukuthi lichazani*

!5 *Mhlawumbe ngingawathatha njena noma ngingeke ngiwathathe wonke (-) elimnyama, njengoba ulibona njena lisekuqaleni. Umuntu ozilile lana endlini uyangena, akanamgomo wokuthi angeke angene umuntu ozilile lana endlini, bese ngibuyela kuleli yana elibomvu (-) leliyana elibomvu limele ukuthi ngiphathwe yinkinga ngisendaweni yami noma kade ngilele nomuntu wesilisa ngeke ngize ngithi angeke ngize ngiye laphaya ukuyosizakala ngoba abanye abantu banalowo mgomo wokuthi uma usesikhathini awuthinti muthi lana endlini noma ngabe ukuleyo ndawo uyaqhubeka nokusebenzisa umuthi. Elimhlophe limele mina uqobo lwami. Leliyana eli-yellow lixube izidalwa zonke, izidalwa zakubo kamama, kukhona ezalana ekhaya njengoba njena ngingowakwa Sithebe, ngazithatha ngazimbatha zonke angithi. Bese leli eliluhlaza limele izithunywa leli eli-blue njengesibhakabhaka, ehhe.*

\* *Izithunywa?*

!5 *Kunale mimoya okuthiwa umoya wokuphrofetha umela khona ukuthi uma besondela bangaxwayi ngoba uma uyalapha ophahlweni ugeza konke (// meaning you are given all the powers to heal including prophesy).*

\* *Le mibala ingaba yiwo kanye eniyisebenzisayo ezingubeni zenu?*

*!5 Ngingeyisebenzisi ngingayisebenzisa.*

\* *Kukuwena*

*!5 Ehhene kukimi*

\* *Kukhona into ebizwa ngeshoba ngiyalibona cishe yilo leli, angazi ukuthi ikhona yini incazelo yalo nokubaluleka kwalo?*



**Figure 6:** Traditional healer holding *ishoba*.

*!5 Kahle-ke amashoba ami njena mabili. Leli elenkonkoni liphathwa yisangoma nalo bese kuthi leli angithi uyalibona leli, elonkomo le okwathi ngibuya ngahlatshelwa yona lanekhaya, akuveli kuhlatshwe inkomo njena. Iyafihlwa le nkomo lena. Ngiyibhule mina sangoma ngize ngiyithole (-) ukuthi noma ngabe bayifhle e-Newcastle edrobheni kufanele ngihambe ngiyoyilanda edrobheni ngonyawo ngibuya nayo lana ekhaya ifike ihlatshwe, bese kuthiwa inkomo*

*yaMakhosi. Yile nkomo ekugcineni kosuku isikhumba sayo sikhanda isigubhu bese ngiphatha ishoba layo njena kanjena.*

\* *Uchaze elenkonkoni, inkonkoni yini ngicela ungichazele?*

*!5 Inkonkoni inyamazane etholakala ehlathini. Le nyamazane vele, kusho ukuthi imvelaphi yayo ingeyasehlathini njena, njengoba ingeyasehlathini njena kukhona le nto okuthiwa-ke. Lesi sisho okuthiwa ngizokuyisa esangomeni siyoshaya umhlahlo uma ngabe sike sakushaya njena ngeshoba lenkonkoni njena isangoma kusho ukuthi nguwenza umkhuba njena lana endlini noma lana endaweni. njengoShaka uyakhumbula kwakuthi njena kunomkhuba bafihlile njena uyakhumbula. Safika saba sinye njena isangoma uma uwazi njena umlando kaShaka, sathi-ke nguwenza nkosi, saya kuyena safika sayishaya phansi ngoba phela sinenhlonipho wokuthi phela ngeke sikwazi ukushaya yena qobo lwakhe ukuthi umkhuba ukuye. Kwaba lokho-ke, isangoma nesangoma saphatha ishoba le nkonkoni ngoba limunikeza amandla. Ukuba ube kulowo msebenzi, uma ngingaphosisi impela. ngoba yiso lesa silwane esinamandla,*

*ekunikezeni okuthi ngibe namandla okuthi lesi siphosami enginikezwe sonangiqinisekise ukuthi siyiso. Ngoba ngeke-njena usukeleke njena wena unguwe uvesane uphathe ishoba lenkonkoni.*

\* *Uma sikhuluma njengoba sishilo njena namhlanje ukuthi sibheka ukuhlonipha nendlela yokuhlonipha, ngifisa ukwazi manje ngemithetho nemigomo abantu okumele bayithathe ukuze uma beza lana ekhaya ukuze babonise inhlonipho.*

*!5 Ngizokhuluma ngesilana ekhaya, ekuseni benginabantu ababeze lana endlini. Ok mina ngesingami ngoba amasiko emizi nemizi ahlukile, kodwa mina ngesingami ngithi uma umuntu efika lana endlini uyasho ukuthi uze kuMakhosi. Ok fine, uma ngabe lowo muntu ungowokuqala mhlampe kuba ngcono uma ngabe ungowesibili noma ngowesithathu, sebayabonana ukuthi oze kuMakhosi uhlala lana ngoba izimoto ziyangena lana ekhaya. Ok (-) zime sebeyazotha bahlale ezitulweni balinde. Mina-ke angithumeli ukuthi wengane awubize ongale. Cha, ngiqeda ngalo muntu olana endlini bese ngibiza olandelayo. Ngiyamcela umuntu ukuthi angene, angene ngimbone aphume ahambe. Ekuhloleni kwami ngihlala naye phansi, ngihlole ngiqede uma sengiqedile useyokhipha leyo mali okuthiwa eyasebukhosini ewumgomo wami ukuthi mina lana endlini ngihlola ngamalini.*

*(// the researcher here is trying to find out about general features that signify politeness, instead of answering in general, participant 5 keeps on talking about her own beliefs and how she wants things to be conducted in her house.)*

\* *Ngibona amacansi amathathu, uhlala kuphi-ke umuntu uma ozohlolwa?*

*!5 Uhlala lapho njena ohlezi khona.*

\* *Le ndawo ohlezi kuyo yiwo kanye le ndawo ebizwa ngomsamo?*

*!5 Umsamo yonke le ndlu (-) uma ngingale ngithi akeningibhekele umsamo ukuthi kusakhanya yini, uyabona sengiyabekisa (-) ukuthi ake ningibhekele umsamo, sebayazi-ke ukuthi kumele beze lana endlini.*

\* *Ok. Yini umsamo?*

*!5 Mina, mina ngiyibiza kanjalo le ndawo, ayikho indawo engingayihloniphi lana endlini. Ngiqala lapho emnyango ukuhlonipha, ngingena lana endlini vele sengingena naleso sizotha vele sokuthi ngingena kubantu engibahloniphayo.*

\* *So, umsamo ngelinye igama indawo okuhlonishwa kuyo abantu abadala?*

*!5 Yebo.*

*\* Okuchaza ukuthi lana ekhaya, noma la endlini kuwumsamo?*

*!5 Yebo, lana endlini yikhona lapho okuthiwa kunendlu kagogo, kunekakhokho (-) uma uphuma njena lana endlini ungena kulo mnyango ongalana (//points) kuthiwa kukagogo, bese kuba noround kuthiwa okakhokho yile ndawo engakhonkiwe kanjena ngosimende baba. Eyakhelwe njena, ayisimendiwe inedasti ngesinye isikhathi yilapho esithi khona noma lapho esithi uma sigaya utshwala sikubeke khona bese sikhulumele khona.*

*!6! Okushukuthi lana isigodlo ngoba uma ungena uthola ukuthi abantu abadala basebenza yonke le ndawo.*

*!5 Yebo*

*\* So uma kuyisigodlo kuchaza ukuthi le ndawo yonke kumele ihlonishwe.*

*!5 Yebo, ngingathi kumele ngize ngifike lana kuyilapho ngihlonipha (//pointing where she was sitting) uyayibona le nto lena, ukungena kwami la kuqala inhlonipho.*

*\* Okwamanje yilokhu ebengikudinga, njengamanje ngifuna ukwazi ngokuthwasisa, angazi ukuthi uke wathwasisa?*

*!5 Cha angikaze.*

*\* Ok, yilokho kuphela ebengidinga ukwazi. Ngiyabonga kakhulu.*

#### **4.4.2 Interview 2**

(// Before the interview process, the traditional healer had to pray and inform the ancestors about the interview process; she suggested that this is done so that the ancestors were aware that the researcher did not come for help as payment would have been required for the consultation. After the traditional healer informed the ancestors, she told me that the ancestors greeted me. The researcher did not reply and she informed the researcher that the interview process could begin. The researcher introduced himself and informed the healer about the study. While doing so, 5 apprentices entered *esigodlweni*; each one of them kneeled from the door and then proceeded to sit down. They all clapped their hands and said ‘*Makhos?*’.)



**Figure 7:** traditional healer before the interview, taking off her shoes and entering *isigodlo*



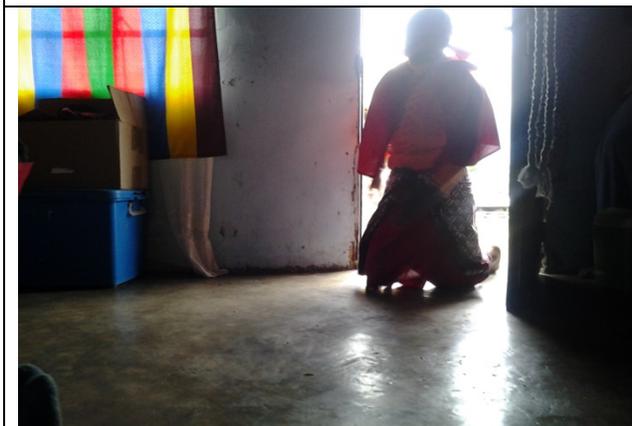
**Figure 8:** all the shoes must be left outside the room



**Figure 9:** apprentice entering *isigodlo*.



**Figure 10:** greeting



**Figure 11:**The second apprentice entering



**Figure 12:** greeting

*isigodlo* (consultation room)



**Figure 13:** Apprentices not looking at their teachers as sign of respect.



**Figure 14:** Different outfits of Apprentices



**Figure 15:** how an apprentice should enter *esigodlweni*



**Figure 16:** apprentices making space for other to enter



**Figure 17:** All apprentices greeting the researcher

**Figure 18:** Traditional healer covered her hair

- \* *Namuhla sifuna ukwazi ngenhlonipho, ngizoqala ngokubuza indlela okumele singene ngayo lana endlini, ngoba ngibona ngendlela amathwasa nathi esingene ngayo ukuthi ihlukile, siqale sakhumula izicathulo angithi?*
- !7 *Okusho ukuthi ukukhumula kwakho izicathulo wazongena esigodlweni indlela esisuke sikwamukela ukuthi uzongena endlini yabantu abadala, indlela esihlonipha ngayo leyo.*
- \* *Kusuke kuhlonishwa abantu abadala noma abalaphi bendabuko?*
- !7 *Kusuke kuhlonishwa umlaphi nabadala. Sisuke senza into eyodwa ngoba uma ungumlaphi wendabuko kumele uhloniphe, noma ngabe ngiyafika kwesakho isigodlo kumele ngibheke lokho okwenzeka esigodlweni sakho bese ngiyahlonipha. Njengokuthi uma kungadliwa amasi lana ekhaya uzofika ungawadli ngoba kumele wenze lokho okwenziwa lana ekhaya. Mangabe umuntu uyafika uzohlola kumele akhumule izicathulo, ukuthi ungumelaphi akasiye umelephi kumele enze into eyodwa.*
- \* *Bese kube khona amathwasa*
- !7 *Makhosi*
- \* *Indlela engingene ngayo lapha ihlukile kule ndlela yamathwasa, ngicela ungichazele angazi ukuthi ungakwazi?*
- !7 *Amathwasa ayaguqa uma engena eladini, okwenza ukuthi aguqe ukuthi azophaphatha (// this participant instead of using the word ukuthwasa preferred to use ukuphaphatha) ukuthi athwale umsebenzi wabantu abadala ukuthi nabo bamuphe njengami (-) nami ngaguqa lapho engangiyothwasa khona ngathola ukuthi kuyisiko lakhona lapho engangiyothatha umsebenzi. Nami uma ngifika lana kwabami benza le nto engayithola lapho engangiyothwasa khona ukuthi nabo baguqe uma bezongena eladini.*
- \* *Ok, okunye engikubonile yilokho okwenzeka ngaphandle, ukuthi sithe singena nobaba uNgobese bavesane baguqa, kuseyikho njalo ukuhlonipha lokho?*

*!7 Makhosi (// clapping hands) indlela yokubingelela leyo abakwazi ukukumela uma bekubingelela (-) kumele baguqe bathobele amadlozi abawatetile, bahloniphe wena ongena ngaphansi kwekhaya bakufake endlini efanele ulinde.*

*\* Ake size manje ekuthwaseni ngicela ungichazele iprocess yokuthwasa*

*!7 Ekuthwaseni into yokuqala uma umuntu efika ezothwasa usuke ungamazi wena ukuthi umuntu uyeza kodwa ngoba eza esuka elayelwa wena uvesane uzwe kuthiwa bheka phandle (-) omunye ufike acule esangweni, ngesikhathi umuzwa ecula kuwena kuthi uyaphupha bese uyavuka uphumele phandle bese uyamthola emile ngaphandle. Kufanele wena uphuthume kuye ufike umamukele. Ukumemukela kwakho ukuthokozise ushaye izandla bese uthi ‘thokozani bogogo siyanamukela’ kufanele uthole impepho ngaleso sikhathi umhoshise yona umbize ngayo, ngesikhathi umhoshisa ngempepho uza yena ngamadolo ezongena esigodlweni, omunye usuke ungamuzwa aze aguqe azongena kwa-round akhulekele khona (-) uzovuka wena umvulele umnyango uyamemukela bese uthi uyamamukela makangene ngomnyango.*

*\* Uke wakhuluma ngegama labogogo, usuke uchaza umuntu noma abadala?*

*!7 Abadala, angithi usuke ethunywe abadala, ogogo. Makhosi.*

*\* Yingakho ngaso sonke isikhathi nithi “thokozani bogogo”?*

*!7 Thokozani bogogo (// since the researcher spoke their language by saying thokozani bogogo the participant had to show appreciation by saying the same thing.)*

*\* Kukhona okunye futhi engikubonile ukuthi sixoxa sixoxe bese ushaya izandla, kusaseyiyo indlela yokuhlonipha njalo?*

*!7 Makhosi (//all of them clapping hands.) ukuthi le nto oyishoyo ngiyayizwa, kuthi uma uqede ukukhuluma ngithi thokoza Makhosi ngizokuphendula kodwa uma ngabe angikaphumeleli ukukuphendula kumele ngilalele ngizwisise kahle ukuthi uthini, uma sengizwile bese ngithi thokoza Makhosi (// clapping hands)*

*(// Another apprentice enters the venue, everyone in the room starts clapping their hands and saying ‘thokoza’. This is the way they greet each other.)*

*\* Ngibheka nokuthi izinto abazigqokile zinemibala eminingi*

*!7 Makhosi*

*\* Angazi ukuthi ningangichazela ngemibala abayigqokayo?*

*!7 Thokoza mkhulu (-) kusho ukuthi lana njengoba ubona njena lana, lamathwasa abantwana abangiguqela. Laba abafaka isiphika esibomvu umzukulu, kusho ukuthi umntwana ozalwa ithwasa lami. Manje njena uma eqala kukhona lapho angaboni kahle uke amlethe ukuthi ngimhlungele amadlozi. Lapho sengimhlungele khona amadlozi bese umama wakhe efika, kuba khona indlela esisefa ngayo ukuthi amadlozi akhe ayahlangana yini ukuthi sibone ukuthi idlozi lakhe liyakhuphuka, bese sithola ukuthi uthunyelwe isiphi isalukazi noma iliphi ikhehla. Bese emthatha emuyisa esigodlweni sakhe.*

*\* Kukhona abagqoke okubomvu bese kubakhona labo abagqoke okumhlophe.*

*!7 Okuyingwe.*

*\* Ogqoke okuyingwe, onjani-ke lowo?*

*!7 Lo ofake okuyingwe yilowo osezohamba aphindele ekhaya, Makhosi.*

*\* Kusho ukuthi ozothwasiswa la? (//pointing at the one that has a red sand on her face)*

*!7 Cha, umuntu ozothwasisa unikwa abakubo kodwa uma umhlangile usebona indlela eya ekhaya. Laba abagcobe udaka kuwumuntu osalindile. Umuntu ongenadaka umuntu osegezile, esezohamba. Abantu abageze udaka abantu asebezohamba kodwa kuya ngokuthi abakubo bathanda siphi isembatho sakhe. (// by referring to abakubo, that does not mean the leaving one's but the departed, the ancestors)*

*\* Ok, kuhlukile yini enikugqokayo nalokho okugqokwa yibo?*

*!7 Mina njengami njena, njengoba seningumama ngiwugogo wabo okwami kukhona okungafani nokwabo. Nabo kukhona okungafani nokwami abanikwa abakubo, ukuthi ugogo wakhe uzomlethela isembatho esithile azosigqoka kodwa kuba khona izingubo ezithize okuthi uma eseqedile, sigqoke umfaniselwano ukuthi naye usephothulile ulingana nabanye. Lo osaguqile, usaguqile vele ubengakafiki kubadala. Nokukhuluma kwakhe usaguqisa ngamadolo kanti laba abanye uma bevumisa bayagoba ngoba sebephothulile sebeliphathile ishoba.*

*\* Ngiyabonga, umuphi umsamo lana ekhaya?*

*!7 Umsamo, kusho ukuthi njengoba ngiwumakoti lana ekhaya (-) kunendlu yami yaseMakhosini, kunendlu yalana ekhaya kagogo, okusho ukuthi kulezi zindlu ngiyaye nginikezwe indlu eyodwa lapho okuthi uma ngishayele khona ngishayela amathwasa. Bese kuthi yilapho okuthiwa isigodlo yilapho engisebenzela khona*

*mina. (// although the participant was explaining about different houses in her homestead but she did not clearly answer the question, thus the participant did not persist in asking that question again)*

\* *Ok, ngibona namakhandlela futhi ayakhanya.*

*!7 Thokoza Makhosi (//claping hands)*

\* *Ningakwazi ukungichazela ukuthi kungani imibala yakhona ihlukile?*

*!7 kufanele ngikhanyise kanjena uma kukhona umuntu endlini, izibani lezi kumele zikhanye okukhomba ukuthi njengoba ngikhuluma njena kumele babone abanikazi bomuzi ukuthi kukhona abakhona. Nakhu phela kulayidiwe kukhona okunukayo njengoba kushiswe nempepho.*

\* *Neziphandla ngiyabona wonke umuntu ufake iziphandla, zihluke kanjani iziphandla neziphandla ezifakwa abantu njena ngaphandle?*

*!7 Iziphandla lezi azihlukile iziphandla, uma wenza umsebenzi uyasifaka isiphandla uma njena umsebenzi ungowabantu abadala uyasifaka isiphandla (-) nabo bawenza umsebenzi wabantu abadala.*

\* *Ok. Bekuyilokho ebesifuna ukukwazi. Siyabonga kakhulu.*

#### **4.4.3 Interview 3**

\* *Ngicela uzichaze ukuthi ungubani?*

*!8 NginguBhunu igama laMakhosi engibizwa ngalo*

\* *Lana kukhona izinto enizenzayo ezibonisa inhlonipho ngicela ungichazele ngazo, kusukela umuntu ekhumula izicathulo.*

*!8 Nathi sithwase vele izicathulo zingangeni endubeni njengoba namanje zingangeni endubeni, amakhosi ayengacathuli.*

\* *Kusho ukuthi izinto enazithola zenziwa?*

*!8 Zenziwa*

\* *Naqhubeka nani kanjalo?*

*!8 Nazo azivumi kuwe (-) uma uthwasile. Ungahamba uzigqokile ubuye usuziphethe ngesandla. Kumele uhlala uphehla phela uzohlekwa abantu (// laughing)*

- \* *Ake sikhulume ngamakhandlela, yonke indawo engifike kuyo yabalaphi bendabuko inamakhandlela, kungani nisebenzisa amakhandlela?*
- !8 *Angithi emnyango wethu sizobe sivalile sikhulume nalaba bantu bethu basemsamo, kufanele kukhanye endlini ngoba ngesintu sakudala indlu yaMakhosi yayingenalo ngisho ifasitela, sekuvela kithi siyawafaka kodwa asiwavuli.*
- \* *Kumele kuhlale kumnyama ngaso sonke isikhathi?*
- !8 *Ya.*
- \* *Iyiphi indawo okuwumsamo lapha ekhaya?*
- !8 *Indawo lapho okuthi uma kwenziwa izinto kukhulunyelwe khona, ngoba yonke indlu yakhiwe kanjena, umsamo uma kukhulunyelwa khona (-) lesi sikhathi kubulawe izimpahla, izinkukhu, izimbuzi, kubulawelwa khona, yilapho kuthiwa umsamo, yilapho kusuke kubulawe khona.*
- \* *Lana engihlezi khona kusemsamo? (// I was sitting opposite to where she was sitting and next to the door.)*
- !8 *Cha, umsamo nawu (// pointing at a place which was at the front opposite of the door. Please see appendix 1 for the drawn picture. ) lapho kuhlezi khona mina (-) ngoba angithi uma kufika umuntu ekhulekela aMakhosi uhlala lapho, bese mina ngiyaguquka uma ngizokhulekela aMakhosi ngibheka lena (//pointing at the candles) lapho ngathi ngifika ngawabeka khona.*
- \* *Uma ukhuleka eMakhosini ukhuleka umile noma uhlezi phansi?*
- !8 *Ngiguqile, njengoba ungibona ngiguqile, ngeke ubhule wenebe.*
- \* *Indlela yokuhlonipha yini leyo noma into eyenzakala njena?*
- !8 *Indlela yokuhlonipha ngoba aMakhosi uma uwangenisa ekhaya, awuwangenisi ufike uwamise. Uyawangenisa ubese uba nempahla futhi yokuthi mawahlale phansi, ezolalela njalo uma ukhuluma nawo. Ngoba ngisho notshwala ungabenza, ungabubeka laphayana kuleya ndawo (// pointing everywhere except emsamo) kodwa obaMakhosi kumele bube bodwa lana eMakhosini buqondane nawo.*

- \* *Kukhona yini into eniyisebenzisayo noma eniyishisayo ebonisa aMakhosi ukuthi nifuna ukukhuluma nawo?*
- !8 *Sishisa impepho bese kuba amakhandlela.*
- \* *Uma umuntu ezobhula lana ekhaya, yini okumele ayenze, ame noma ahlale?*
- !8 *Uhlala phansi noma angahlala ngayiphi indlela phansi. Angahlala ngokwenaba (-) azihlalele ngokuqoshama (-) ayikho inkinga, kodwa ukuma cha, ngoba angithi naye usuke ezokhulekela la Makhosi.*
- \* *Ikhanda lakhe, ingabe kumele alibhekise phansi njengamathwasa?*
- !8 *Indaba yekhanda ayibalulekanga kuyena, noma angahlala ethalaze akunankinga.*
- \* *Lana kukhona, ukuvuma. Lokuvuma usuka umuntu evumelani uma evuma?*
- !8 *Lapho-ke kuhlukene, kukhona aMakhosi athi shaya sivume, mina ngathwasa emandaweni. Amandawe asishayi sivume (-) ngiyabhula ngibhule ngibhule ngibhule bese kuba khona lapho aMakhosi ama khona athule, bese kuba nguye-ke ovuma akuvumayo nalokho akuthola kuyiqiniso.*
- \* *Kuhluka ngani amandawe nezangoma?*
- !8 *Kwehlukile kakhulu, isangoma uma uyobhula kuso siyashayisa, ulokhu uthi siyavuma, siyavuma. Emandaweni uyathula njena bese uma esethula wona bese uyasho ukuthi lokhu nalokhu nalokhu kuyikho Makhosi abese ngiyaqhubeka futhi ngiyabhula.*
- \* *Kodwa umsebenzi uyafana?*
- !8 *Yebo umsebenzi uyafana.*
- \* *Ngibona nemibala eniyigqokayo, ihlukile, miningi, ungangichazela ngemibala oyisebenzisayo?*
- !8 *Mina ngangenwa isangoma kwase kuba yindawe elihambisana nesithunywa. Emabhayini ngisebenzisa ibhubesi. Yilo engibhula ngalo. (// the researcher have noticed that the participant also diverts from answering the original question and goes on about something else, the reason for that can be that she can't explain the colours or she is reluctant to share)*

- \*. *Emibaleni lana ngiyabona kukhona omhlophe, obomvu kukhona omnyama ibaluleke ngani.*
- !8 *Ake ngikuqalele-ke njena laphayana engweni, ingwe uyimbatha uma usuphothulile usulikhosi-ke. Uma ungakaphothuli awuyembathi. Amabhayi lana uma uqala ukuthwasa umbatha leli elibomvu (-) elentwaso njena, uma usuphothulile sekuba yilo lelo bhayi engilikhombile, ayazisholo wona aMakhosi ukuthi lona lingubani.*



**Figure 19:** A traditional healer with her medicine behind her



**Figure 20:** A traditional healer's sarong

- \* *Kukhona le nto enihlala niyiphatha ishoba, libaluleke ngani. Ngicela ungichazele?*
- !8 *njengoba ngike ngachaza ukuthi mina ngathwasa emandaweni kodwa ngathwasa lobu bungoma. Emandaweni ishoba elisebenzayo elenkonkoni. Yilo elibalulekile, elenkonkoni emnyama (-) kwezinye izindawo basebenzisa inkonkoni emhlophe, noma ebomvu. Kwezinye izindawo basenzisa lona ishoba lenkomo umuntu asuke ehlinzelwe yona. Kwelakithi le nkomo ohlinzelwa lona kwenziwa umnqwambo ngawo bese uyaliteta emhlane.*
- \* *Ukhona lo mnqwambo lana endlini noma awusekho?*
- !8 *Awu awusekho. Usewagqashuka.*
- \* *Kukhona lezi zinto enizenzayo okufana nokuya ezintabeni noma emfuleni, uyazi ukuthi (// the researcher was interrupted before he could finish his sentence)*
- !8 *Isithunywa?*
- \* *Uyazi ukuthi kungani izangoma ziya entabeni noma emfuleni?.*

- !8 Kusuka kuyohlanjululwa imimoya.*
- \* Kungani kwenziwa lokho?*
- !8 Angithi kukhona labantu abadala abasuka sebehambile emhlabeni, izikhwama ngoba angithi abanye abazifuni, nezimpahla lezi amabhayi ake ngithi mhlawumbe ushonelwe, akushiswa (-) kumelwe kuyolahlwa emfuleni. Ngesikhathi likhuphukela kimi leli dlozi kumele ngiye laphayana ngiyobona ukuthi nakhu sengithatha izinto zakhe, noma ngabe angisezukuthola zona ngoba vele sengiyothengelwa ezinye (-) kodwa-ke ngiyile ngayolambulula le mimoya ngoba vele angithi basuke beyokufaka ngoba angithi kusuke kungcolile kumnyama, asihlangani nento emnyama thina ngoba uma ngiye emngcwabeni bese ngibuya angingeni lapha ekhaya ngingahlambulukile.*
- \* O, usuka uyokhuleka, uyokhulekela abaphansi!*
- !8 Yebo sisuke siyokhuleka.*
- \* Uma ungakwenzanga lokho ingabe kubonisani, ukungahloniphi noma...?*
- !8 Kukhona okwakho okungeke kuhambe kahle, noma umsebenzi ungahambi kahle. Ngoba ngisho notshwala ngiyabuthenga kodwa njengoba ubona angibuphuzi (// pointing at the bottle of vodka) ngiyabuthela njena ngibafafazela ngibafafazela, nomqombothi ngibugaye babuphuze abantu phandle busale lana, uma ngibona ukuthi sebubudala bese ngiyabucela ngiphuma nabo ngiye esibayeni ngifike ngibufafazele bese bayaziphuzela bona lapho esibayeni, mina angibuphuzi.*
- \* Hhayi-ke akukho okunye engifuna ukukwazi, ngiyabonga.*

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

Chapter 5 was a pre-analysis of data collection, whereby the researcher sub-divided the data collected into three different categories. The first part was the data that was collected during a group interview, and it has been transcribed in IsiZulu. This was followed by data collected during observation in which the researcher has written in English what was observed. Finally data was collected during individual interview, was

also transcribed in isiZulu (please view Appendix 2 for an English translation). During the transcription, the researcher made suggestion of some of the reasons taken by traditional healers. The full analysis of data will be discussed in Chapter 5.

## Chapter 5

### Analysis of data

#### 5.1 Introduction

Previously it was indicated that data collected will be transcribed in three different categories. That is, the group interview followed by observation and then individual transcription. Different data analysis theories such as ethnomethodology and politeness theory will be used. The ethnomethodology method analyses natural speech patterns and this includes the text and interaction which is the conversation (Hays and Singh, 2012: 366). Furthermore, this method of analysis is all about reading transcripts, identifying incidents that are sequential and interactions that are meaningful (Hays and Singh, 2012: 367). Although the researcher defined and looked at how different authors view the politeness theory, it will be necessary to indicate which method with regard to Leech's, Lakoff's, Brown and Levinson will be more relevant to the study. Leech raises a very important point in his definition when he says politeness is a:

Form of behaviour that establishes and maintain comity. That is the ability of participants in a social interaction to engage in interaction in an atmosphere of relative harmony ([http://www.ingilish.com/gricean\\_maxims\\_and\\_politeness.htm](http://www.ingilish.com/gricean_maxims_and_politeness.htm)).

With that definition in mind, in this study patterns that show behaviour of participants engaging with others harmoniously will be considered. Data collected will be analyzed by utilising the ethnomethodology method. By looking at the transcripts, one is able to identify the most important events that are common and interactions that are meaningful. This will be done by the researcher looking at words in the transcripts that signify respect within the field of traditional healers.

## 5.2 Words that signify ukhlonipha

The researcher will analyse any form of language used by traditional healers as they talk to one another, talking about the ancestors or during consultations, to promote *ukhlonipha*. During interviews, it was noted that there are certain words that were used by participants that have a great meaning in Zulu culture as part of *inhlonipho* and those words will be defined accordingly and the significant thereof will be explained.

**Makhosi-** This term comes from the term *amakhosi* which means 'kings'. The term *makhosi* is used mostly by traditional healers during consultation. When the enquirers come and state their case, the diviner will then invoke the ancestors. The communication between the ancestor and diviner can be through the use of bones, clapping hands and sniffing tobacco or through whistling (Mcetywa, 2001: 80). During the diviners' communication with the ancestors *impepho* is also burnt *and* the ancestors' presence is said to be indicated by sneezing. That is when people involved in that consultation must reply by saying 'Makhosi! Makhosi! Makhosi!' (<http://bbq.org.za/tradheal.htm>). While saying makhosi they also clap their hands.

The term makhosi is not the only terminology that is used by traditional healers to signify *inhlonipho*. Among other terms, they refer to others as *ugogo*, *umkhulu*, *abantu abadala*, *ithongo*. The reasoning behind this will be explained in the next paragraph.

**Ugogo-** The word *gogo* or *ugogo* according to Nyembezi and Nxumalo (1966: 249) is: "*Umuntu osemathanjana noma isilwane; isidumbu esesoma*", meaning 'it is a boneless person or animal, it's a dry body'. Meanwhile (Doke, Malcolm, Sikakana and Vilakazi, 1990: 253) refer to the word *ugogo* as an ancestor. Looking at the cultural aspects of Zulu people, it is believed that God has left human beings with the responsibility of ethical behaviour and ancestors were given the power to maintain balance and harmony within communities (Monteiro-Ferreiro, 2005:355). Thus, it is for this reason that ancestors are the most respected beings in African society, so anything or anyone

associated with them must be respected. When traditional healers refer to a person as *gogo* they are trying to show the respect that they have for that person which is understandably extended to their ancestors. In many instances one finds traditional healers calling each other or other people *gogo* or *mkhulu*, which signifies respect as stated in the abovementioned argument.

**Ophahleni:** the word or term *phahla* according to Doke *et al.* (1990:642) means to: store away, pack together, stow away, framework of a Zulu hut (which in effect is roofing). This terminology is referring to the homestead of the traditional healer's trainer. When this term ophahleni comes up in this study it is worth noting that it refers to the traditional healer's homestead, or the actual rondavel house.

**Ugedla-** is another word or terminology used by traditional healers as a sign of respect to denote herbalists. This term according to (Nyembezi and Nxumalo, 1966: 246) means *inyanga* or herbalist. Participant 3 (01/04/2012) explains *ugedla* as:

!3 *Ugedla inyanga hhayi isangoma. Inyanga engathwasanga kumuntu enikezwe abadala umuthi ukuthi thatha umuthi othize wenze kanjena abe nalawo maphupho kodwa angaphumi ukuyothwasa ugedla-ke*

!3 *ugedla* is a herbalist not a diviner. It is a herbalist that did not go for initiation but was given powers to heal by the ancestors and how to combine different medicines who also dreams but does not go for initiation. That is *ugedla*.

Furthermore participant 4 (01/04/2012) explains why it is important to use the word *ugedla* instead of *inyanga*.

!4! *... Lelo gama lisahambisana negama lobunyanga ngoba igama elisetshenziswa kakhulu ngathi amathongo thina esithwasile, simhlonipha singavesane sithi 'inyanga' uyabona. Ngoba uma sithi 'inyanga' alingeni kahle ezindlebeni zabanye abantu.*

*Njengokuthini (-) njengokuthi isangoma uma sihlonipha sivesane sithi 'makhosi'*

- !4 ...this word still means herbalist; it is a word that is used a lot by us qualified diviners when respecting them but not saying 'herbalist'. Because when we call them herbalists it does not sink in well in their ears, as much as we do not use the word diviners but 'makhosi'

Participant 3 and 4 articulate the importance of using appropriate words and terminology to maintain peace among people involved in divination. This includes ancestors; it is important to note that ancestors also differ in terms of name, hierarchy and responsibilities, hence the importance of naming the correct ancestor at any given time. For example Donda (1988: 6) mentions that *umlozi* is a whistling diviner. This type of diviner communicates with ancestors through whistling, Donda (*op.cit.*) elaborate "the spirit communicates directly with the client in whistling style". Doke *et al.* (1990: 465) elaborates that *umlozikazana* is:

Familiar spirit of a necromancer, which makes itself audible by a whistling voice, said to be produced by ventriloquism.

Doke elaborates that not everyone can hear that sound of *umlozi* only the chosen one's and those who are ventriloquists. Participant 3 (01/04/2012) demonstrates more on this point:

Umlozi ukuphakama kwedlozi lakho ukuthi lo okungene ekuqaleni okanye okhokho bakho okanye umkhulu wakho, idlozi elikhulu elifuna ukuzikhulumela (↑) likhulumela phezulu endlini lithi uma lifika liqale lithinte wena ezindlebeni kuqala. Uyalizwa wena Mvelase uma selikhulumela phezulu endlini. Likhuluma ngomlozi, elinye likhuluma ngokuqala elinye lithi fahla fahla fahla. Bese ulizwa wena. Lithinta wena kuqala ulizwa likhuphuka ezinyaweni lize lizOlakaza amahlombe akho uqobo bese likhuluma ezindlebeni zakho esandleni sokudla uma kungabakini kodwa kungabo mamakho uzobezwa esandleni sobunxele wumlozi lowo okhuluma ngalendlela.

That is the intensifying of the ancestor that is within in you, be it your great-great grandmother or grandfather, depending which is the bigger/stronger ancestor and the one that wants to express itself through you. (arrow up) it speaks loudly in the house and whenever it enters it first touches your ears. As you Mvelase can hear it when it is speaking loudly in the house, it speaks through *umlozi*, and another will talk about beginning and another will drop snippets here and there. Then you will hear it. It touches you personally and you will feel it making contact from the feet upwards till it unsettles your shoulders and then speaks into your ears. It will speak into your right ear if it is your paternal ancestor or the left ear if it is your maternal ancestor. That is “*umlozi*” speaking in that particular manner.

Thus, it will be very important for the traditional healer involved in the *umlozi* process to thank the ancestors that usually talk to him or her. The appreciation should be given to those ancestors involved in the thanks giving ceremony. By doing so it will show the ancestors how much that individual healer respects them. This will create a harmonious relationship between the ancestors and the healers. In the forthcoming paragraphs the researcher will try to analyse politeness that is shown by traditional healers’ apprentices. This will be done to show that politeness or *ukuhlonipha* starts long before anyone becomes a traditional healer and hence our topic: IsiZulu traditional healers’ perspective of *ukuhlonipha* in context.

### **5.3 Analysing *ukuhlonipha* of traditional healer’s apprentice**

Across cultures it is known that if a person is being called and ignores the caller then that person is being rude. The same thing applies to traditional healers. The first sign of respect for anyone who is a traditional healer is to accept the calling of the ancestors. As of any parent that calls their children and then ignores them, it is the researcher’s assumption that the child will be punished. The same applies to anyone who is being called by an ancestor and decides to ignore the calling. Different types of misfortunes may follow them such as getting sick non-stop with scientific doctors being unable to

see the cause of the illness, death of family members and so on. One of the interviewees (01/04/2012) said:

*Lisasukuma idlozi lami, wafika ugogo wangibuza ukuthi uyafuna yini ukufelwa abantwana? Ngoba sesibathe thatha lo msebenzi kodwa awufuni ukuwuthatha (Makhosi Kubheka)*

Before I accepted the calling of becoming a traditional healer, my grandmother came to me through a dream and asked me if I wanted to lose my kids, because they have been telling me to take this task but I did not want to.

Thus, in order to avoid the wrath of the ancestors one has to comply with their demands and undergo a training for a period of one to six years under the mentorship of a qualified diviner (Melato, 2000: 11). During this process, a student diviner is not only taught the qualities of various medicines which are used, but the significance of the art of healing, how one has to be polite toward the ancestors and the power of the mind (Cumes, 2004: 23).

During the training period there are certain things that need to be done by an apprentice that signify *ukuhlonipha* to the people involved. Those people are ancestors and qualified traditional healers. The first thing that is done by a person who accepts the calling is to go to a qualified traditional healer. The moment that the apprentice arrives at the qualified healer's house, s/he must not enter that house. Participant 7 (02/06/2012) explains the process:

*!7 Ekuthwaseni into yokuqala uma umuntu efika ezothwasa usuke ungamazi wena ukuthi umuntu uyeza ... omunye ufike acule esangweni, ngesikhathi umuzwa ecula kuwena kuthi uyaphupha bese uyavuka uphumele phandle bese uyamthola emile ngaphandle. Kufanele wena uphuthume kuye ufike umamukele. Ukumemukela kwakho ukuthokozise ushaye izandla bese uthi 'thokozani bogogo siyanamukela' kufanele uthole impepho ngaleso sikhathi umhoshise yona umbize ngayo, ngesikhathi umhoshisa ngempepho uza yena ngamadolo ezongena esigodlweni...*

!7 during divination the first thing that you must be aware is that when a person comes for training, you do not know that a person is coming...others when they come they start by singing at the gate, you will feel like a dream when you wake up and get outside the house, you will find that person standing outside. You have to rush to that person and welcome her or him. The way that you welcome her or him is through clapping of hands and then say 'welcome elders we are welcoming you'. You must burn *impepho* and make her or him sniff it and then you must call them to come in. The new apprentice will enter the gate kneeling until she reaches the consultation room.

The important fact explained by participant 7 is that when a new apprentice arrives at the home of a qualified healer, s/he must sing from the gate so that the qualified traditional healer can be aware that someone is outside. When the qualified healer attends to the apprentice by summoning the ancestors and the apprentice, the apprentice must enter the homestead of a traditional healer kneeling until he or she reaches the traditional healer's consultation room.

There are so many gestures that signify *ukuhlonipha* or respect in cultures, among others to kneel to a person or king. It shows the type of respect that one has to that person or a king, this also correlates with Lakof's second rule of politeness in Tsuda (1993:66) that states, if there is a status difference between two people somehow that makes an inferior person to try by all means to be polite toward the superior one. Hence when an apprentice enters the homestead of a qualified traditional healer, kneeling is a sign of respect towards the healer and the ancestors, and it maintains peace between the two families, more especially since an apprentice is inferior in this situation. Blumkulka and Elite (1984: 201) further explain that the politeness theory can be shown through direct, indirect or non-conversational speech. Thus when an apprentice shows signs of politeness by kneeling or doing anything to maintain peace between themselves and the ancestors, that is still part of politeness. Furthermore, Nyembezi

and Nxumalo (1996: 125) explain signs of respect shown by traditional African women in the past:

*Sisanda kukhuluma nje ngendlela, abesifazane  
bebekhothama lapho bekhuluma nabesilisa kuhlengenwe  
endleleni. Uma kusemakhaya babeguqa abesifazane.*

We just talked about how, when a woman meets a man on the street, she will bend over and speak to him. If they meet at home she will kneel.

This could account for why traditional healers believe that, at some point, when greeting each other they have to bend forward or kneel. It also becomes very important for an apprentice to kneel when entering the homestead of a qualified healer. Kneeling to qualified healers is not the only thing that is done by the apprentice to show respect. They must also be obedient to their trainer and expect to do anything that is required of them. For example, after entering a homestead of a traditional healer for the first time, the traditional healers apprentice must do the following:

*Kuqala uma ungena ophahleni, uqala ugqunyiswa  
uphalaziswe, uqheliswe izithunzi lezi ukuze ukwazi ukuthatha  
umsebenzi ohlanzekile.*

When you enter consultation room, you will be steamed first, and then purged to distance yourself from evil spirits so that you can become clean to take the job of the ancestors.

All the above explained process is a must for a traditional healer apprentice to do. Otherwise they will not get a full blessing of the ancestors. After the apprentice have been cleaned with *amagobongo*, then they will have to start to mourn or abstain from certain things and behaviour, such as having sex especially if they are still going to enter into a qualified healer's consultation room, *isigodlo*. If by any means an apprentice does engage in any sexual activities during her or his training period, they will have to wash themselves with certain herbs to make them clean again before communicating with ancestors. In addition to this, another sign of mourning for an apprentice will be to

apply lotion to their face with red mud and by wearing a red outfit. Thus creating awareness to anyone who has *idlozi* that this person is still an apprentice, and that apprentice must respect whoever has *idlozi* by kneeling to them whenever they meet and greet them. Participant 3 (01/04/2012) further illustrates the reasons why people adorn their faces with mud:

*Basuka bekhuleka edlozini ufana nomuthi ozilile, ibomvu leli njengoba ngisho awuyi ekhaya uma ufake lelibomvu. Fuze uze uligeze kuqala ngembuzi ngaphambi kokuthi uyongena ekhaya.*

They are usually pleading with their ancestors, and it's like grieving medicine. This red mud as I am saying, you don't wear it if you will go home. You are supposed to cleanse it off by slaughtering or offering a goat before you can enter your home.

The above paragraph shows how important it is for an apprentice to follow and respect their culture, especially with regard to the restrictions placed on them. Otherwise there are consequences, not only for them but even the people that are close to them. All the above mentioned gestures are part and parcel of *ukuhlonipha* communication strategy.

When kneeling and greeting people with *idlozi*, apprentices must avoid looking at that particular person directly in their eyes and by doing so, they are doing what Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987: 65) call a 'positive' face. A 'positive' face, according to Brown and Levinson, is a face that is shown by people who want to be approved (Reiter, 2000: 15). However it must be clear that not everyone who wears a red traditional outfit is indeed in the process of becoming a traditional healer. Please view **Figure 10** in Chapter 4 that will indicate the red outfit.

The 'positive' face must be maintained by an apprentice throughout the whole process of training and divination. An additional thing that is done by an apprentice as a sign of respect to the ancestors and their *gobela* is to always kneel when entering into

*esigodlweni*. The term *gobela* means “bend over, stoop for, tame for” (Doke *et al.*, 1990: 251). This term is used to denote traditional healers; they are called *gobela* because of the *hlonipha* feature that they use since they bend when greeting others. In this study when the term *gobela* is used it must be clear that it is referring to qualified traditional healers (Please view **figure 10, 12, 14 and 17** in Chapter 4). These figures will show clearly how apprentices enter into *esigodlweni*. It is different to how any other person enters into *esigodlweni*. The next paragraph will discuss in detail how traditional healers show respect to their ancestors and will include how they enter into *esigodlweni*. This will be done in relation to our topic: IsiZulu traditional healers’ perspective of *ukuhlonipha* in context.

#### **5.4 Analysing *ukuhlonipha* of traditional healers**

It is interesting to note that just like the apprentices; qualified traditional healers also undergo a ritual. The researcher will look at the aspects shown by traditional healers that signify *Ukuhlonipha* to the ancestors and other traditional healers.

The first sign of respect that the researcher feels will be important to start with is the process after an apprentice has become a qualified traditional healer. The newly qualified healer must make it a point that before graduating, he or she has all the necessary things that will help to do his or her job. This includes appropriate attire, his or her own *isigodlo*, own *ishoba* and so on. It will be of great interest to observe what traditional healers do with regard to anything they use once becoming a traditional healer, for example their attire.

A traditional healer never decides on the attire that s/he will wear. It is always given to her or him by their own ancestors through dreams. When asked why traditional healers wear different attire to the apprentice, participant 7 (02/06/2012) replied:

*Mina njengami njena, njengoba sengingumama ngiwugogo wabo okwami kukhona okungafani nokwabo. Nabo kukhona okungafani nokwami. Abakubo ukuthi ugogo wakhe uzomlethela isembatho esithile azosigqoka kodwa kuba khona izingubo ezithize okuthi uma eseqedile sigqoke umfaniselwano ukuthi naye usephothulile ulingana nabanye.*

Take me for instance, as I have become a mother, I am their grandmother and what I wear is slightly different to theirs. What I mean is that there are some things that are different. They also have things that do not look like mine, that they were given by their ancestors. The apprentice's grandmother will bring them a certain cape that they will wear but there are certain items that upon graduation we all have to wear to show that they are graduates and are equal to others.

The above quotation emphasises the point made that traditional healers do not choose what to wear but that it is given to them by their ancestors as the ancestors tell them what colours will suit them. Nevertheless, this happens closer to the graduation or after a certain ritual is conducted for the apprentice. Participant 8 explained:

*Ake ngikuqalele-ke njena laphayana engweni, ingwe uyimbatha uma usuphothulile usulikhosi-ke. Ma ungakaphothuli awuyembathi. Amabhayi lana uqala ukuthwasa umbatha leli elibomvu (-) elentwaso njena, uma usuphothulile sekuba yilo lelo bhayi engilikhombile, ayazisholo wona amakhosi ukuthi lona lingubani.*

Let me start by explaining the leopard print, you wear the leopard print once you have graduated and become a qualified diviner. If you haven't graduated you do not. With these sarongs, when you are starting with the divination training and are just an apprentice you wear the red one (-) it's just for the apprenticeship, after you have graduated, you then wear the one I pointed out. The ancestors say for themselves which is which.

The colour and the type of one's attire, always tells the story of whoever within the departed family has entered that individual healer into practice. The ancestor that has

entered an individual will reveal themselves through one's outfit. If it is *indawe* one will wear something that signifies that and if it is a diviner the healer will wear something that shows that this is a diviner. However, before wearing those outfits there are certain procedures that need to be followed to show that one is indeed in agreement with the ancestors. For example, one must report one's attire to the ancestors. By doing so, it will show the ancestors that the healer respects them and they are in agreement.

When doing the ritual of reporting *amabhayi/amalati* to the ancestor, the traditional healer must follow protocol. This protocol includes waking up during the early hours of the morning and calling the ancestors by telling them what will happen on that day. A goat is slaughtered and a reason is given for the slaughtering. The ancestors are praised through song by sighting their clan names especially the ancestor that has entered that individual healer. It must be emphasised that whatever the healer does with regard to those rituals and protocols the ancestors must be informed thereof, and when doing so, *impepho* is burnt. For more information on the process of thanking the ancestors and reporting *amabhayi/amalati* please read the observation report in Chapter 4 under observation paragraph 4.3.

It was surprising to the researcher why traditional healers had to go all the way to the river and the mountain to report the new *amalati/amabhayi* to the ancestors, instead of reporting them within one's *isigodlo*. When the researcher asked about this process, participant 8 (24/10/2012) replied:

*Angithi kukhona labantu abadala abasuka sebahambile emhlabeni, izikhwama ngoba angithi abanye abazifuni, nezimpahla lezi amabhayi akengithi mhlawumbe ushonelwe, akushiswa (-) kumelwe kuyolahlwa emfuleni. Ngesikhathi likhuphukela kimi leli dlozi kumele ngiye laphayana eyobona ukuthi nanku sengiyathatha izinto zakhe, noma ngabe angisezi kuthola zona ngoba vela sengiyothengelwa ezinye (-) kodwa-ke ngiyile ngayOlambulula le mimoya ngoba vele angithi basuke beyokufaka ngoba angithi kusuke kungcolile kumnyama, asihlangani nento emnyama thina ngoba uma*

*ngiye emngcwabeni bese ngiyabuya angingeni lapha ekhaya  
ngingahlambulukile*

There are our grandparents that are departed on earth, some of them did not want these bags (// referring to the bag of becoming a traditional healer), and clothes like these sarongs, say for instance you have just lost a loved one. You must not burn their sarongs and clothes (-) they must be thrown into the river. The time when my calling intensified I have to go there to show them that I was taking up this calling even if I will not get the exact same items because I might be brought new ones (-) but the fact remains that I have cleansed myself of all these spirits. We do not mix with darkness or any unclean things; if I were to go to a funeral I would never enter the home unless I have thoroughly cleansed myself with herbs.

Participant 8's responses make it clear that not doing this ritual properly would be considered a sign of disrespect and will lead to the ancestors being angry with them. She further illustrates that by doing so it will lead to misfortunes on the part of the healer, which is why she even mentions that traditional healers must not mix with darkness. Thus anything that is viewed as darkness performance or behaviour in the field of traditional healing can create tension with one's ancestors. That is why when an apprentice becomes a healer, he or she is given new sarongs. He or she must take them to the river, burn *impepho*, give the ancestors the money they have requested and then enter a river, consult the ancestors through praying and then sprinkle the sarongs with the river water. All this will cleanse the darkness from those sarongs and from the departed family members that did not accept the calling as participant 8 elaborates above. That is not the only thing that must be done. Furthermore, the healer must take the sarongs to the mountains, to communicate with the ancestors that died on the mountains and also to speak to the one above them, which is the Almighty (*Simakade/uNkulunkulu*).

Another sign of respect that is shown by a qualified traditional healer to other healers will be the manner in which they address each other. For example, they no longer call

each other by their original surnames (*izibongo*). Rather traditional healers refer to a male traditional healer as *mkhulu* or *makhosi* and a female healer as *gogo* or *makhosi*. At times, traditional healers use the name given to them during the traditional healer's graduation and others prefer their surnames. Participant 5 (02/06/2012) elaborates on this:

*Ngingumakhosi Sithebe okhulumayo, ngingakathwasi ngang  
nguNokuthula kodwa manje baye bangibiza umakhosi  
Sithebe ngoba iningi sibizana ngezibongo...*

This is *makhosi* Sithebe speaking, before divination I used to be called Nokuthula but now I am called *makhosi* Sithebe since most of us call each other by our surnames...

Among other traditional healers, the above mentioned participant felt respected by people whenever they called her by her surname, since it gives glory to the people who have given her powers to heal.

Furthermore, in terms of this study, it is felt that culture and looks are the most important aspect in a traditional healer's world because their behaviour and looks determine the type of relationship that they have with their ancestors. For example, it is cultural politeness for a traditional healer to always remove their shoes whenever they enter their consultation room. Since their consultation rooms are viewed as a holy place and the home of their ancestors.

Not only must they remove their shoes, but if a healer is a female she must always cover her head. This could be because of the scripture written in 1 Corinthians (11:2-16) that talks about the hierarchy of the Christian kingdom that the head of every man is Christ, the head of woman is a man and the head of Christ is Lord Jehovah. Thus, if any man prays or prophesies with his head covered, then it is dishonouring their head and if a woman prays or prophesies with her head uncovered, then it is dishonouring her head. When female traditional healers cover their heads while talking to the ancestors,

this demonstrates an understanding of the fundamentals that whenever they are talking to and requesting things from an ancestor, they are not only talking to ancestors but to the one higher than them, *uNkulunkulu*. It must be remembered that most traditional healers do not heal people in isolation to the Lord. They use the ancestors to communicate with the Lord so that things can be revealed to them. However, it is questionable when male traditional healers cover their heads, it could be to maintain their dignity and be respected.

Another sign that signifies respect within the traditional healer's world is the use of the word *makhosi*. The term *makhosi* is not only used to summon the ancestor but to respect diviners. It is used mostly by people who have *idlozi* during consultation or when greeting others. For example when two traditional healers meet on a path they will greet each other by saying *makhosi* instead of saying *sangoma*. When asked the importance of saying *makhosi* when greeting, participants 3 and 4 (01/04/2012) replied:

!3     *Sikhombisa ukuhlonipha lapho*  
!4     *Sihlonipha idlozi lakhe sihloniphe nelakho*  
!3     *Makhosi (// zonke izangoma zashaya izandla*  
       *ngenkathi kuthiwa makhosi)*

!3     by doing that we are showing respect.  
!4     we are respecting your ancestors and mine  
!3     kings (// while saying *makhosi* all traditional healers in  
       the room clapped their hands)

It is an important aspect of greeting and clapping hands that is done by traditional healers. By doing so they are respecting other people's ancestor and their own. It must be clear that not everyone receives the privilege of being *makhosi*. Furthermore, the respect that is shown to a traditional healer is because of what a traditional healer goes through before they become a qualified healer. It is also due to the fact that the traditional healer has accepted the calling of the ancestors, thus anyone who understands the significance of that has to respect the qualified healer. Participant 5 (02/06/2012) elaborates more on this issue:

*!5 Impela mina ngokubona kwami akuveli kuthathwe umuntu noma kuthiwe sibanibani njena noma ngabe ubani umuntu (-) njengoba njena siyizangoma sonke kuyahlukana ukuthi ingabe lowo muntu unalo yini lelo dlozi elifuna ukusebenza ngale ndlela elifuna ukusebenza ngayo kuye. Ngoba akekho umuntu ongenalo idlozi angithi (-) ngale ndlela kuthi uma uhambile wayodla, wayogezwa lelo dlozi osuke unalo, lisuke liyogezwa ngempela. Usuku ungayikuphiwa kuthiwa thatha nakhu esikunika khona, usuke uyogezwa lokhu osuke unakho ozelwe nakho bese uma usuke ugeziwe-ke usuwuMakhosi noma ugogo bani.*

*\* Lelo gama igama elisuke kuhloniswa...*

*!5 Elihlonipha lamathongo asuke ekungenile.*

*!5 In my view they do not just take anyone (-) as I am a traditional healer it depends if you have the ancestor that wants to work with the way that s/he wants to work in. When you decide to go eat, cleanse the ancestor that you have, that is when you are really cleansing the ancestor. They are not giving you, telling you 'there it is, take what we are giving you' but you are cleansing what you already have and then after cleansing it and then you can be called *umakhosi* or *ugogo*.*

*\* By using that word you are respecting...*

*!5 respecting the ancestors that have entered you.*

Participant 5 demonstrates the fact that in order for anyone to be called *makhosi*, they need to be clean from all the unclean ways of doing things and take an oath of becoming clean by allowing the ancestor that has entered one's life to do what s/he desires. Therefore, when traditional healers call each other *makhosi* they are respecting the cleanliness of the ancestor that one has. In addition, once a person dies from this world and goes to the world of departed ones, s/he automatically becomes a king within his or her own family, since s/he has conquered the world of living.

It was noticed by the researcher that every time anyone said *makhosi* to traditional healers, in reply, the other traditional healer says *makhosi* and while saying that, they

clap their hands. For example, during the group interview the researcher was busy interviewing participant 7 and then a traditional healer apprentice entered the room. The first thing she said was *makhosi* while clapping her hands, eventually everyone in the room stopped talking and they said *makhosi* in return and they clapped their hands as well. This is done concurrently with the saying *makhosi* as a sign of respect. Nevertheless, the clapping of hands is not something that is only done by an apprentice or a traditional healer when they are in agreement, this is done by every one that has *idlozi* and understands its meaning.

In elaborating more on the signs of politeness, an apprentice is not allowed to be at *emsamo* especially if one is a female and has engaged in any sexual activities and whether married or not, one has to comply with this rule. On the other hand, if one does engage in any sexual activities, they will have to do the same thing that an apprentice does, that is to clean themselves first with certain herbs before they are able to conduct any work of the ancestors.

Even amongst traditional healers themselves, there are certain ways that they have to sit *emsamo* during consultation. *Umsamo* is a place that is in front and opposite to the door (please view appendix 1). *Umsamo* is the most important place in the life of African people because it is said that *emsamo* is the home of the ancestors. Anyone can recognise *umsamo* in a traditional healer's consultation room by different candles put and lit there, especially during traditional events and consultations. It is the responsibility of a traditional healer before consultation to light the candles *emsamo*. As participant 5 (02/06/2012) emphasises:

*Njengoba ngiwamisile njena, ngiwamisa manje njengoba  
ngingena*

As you see them standing upright; I just lit the candles just  
now as I entered

This implies that whenever a traditional healer enters into *esigodlweni* to conduct the work of ancestors they must always light the candles. Although the researcher did not see traditional healers for consultation purposes, the healer still did light the candles. She further told the ancestors the reason for the researchers visit to avoid any miscommunication and disrespect to them. Otherwise, if the healer did not tell the ancestors about the visit of the researcher they would have thought that the researcher came for consultation thus demanding a donation to be made.

How one sits *emsamo* is also very important. For example, during the group interview while the researcher was busy interviewing the participants another traditional healer entered *esigodlweni* and participant 4 had to make space for her colleague. Thus, she moved from where she was and sat in another place with her back facing the *emsamo* area. Eventually everyone's facial expression changed and participant 2 (01/04/2012) asked her to move and sit elsewhere.

!2     *musa ukufulathela izibani gogo*  
!4!     *Makhosi, gogo. (// smiling) uma ngihlala kanjena*  
          *ngifulathela umnyango*  
!3     *kungcono ungene ngale (// pointing closer to where I*  
          *was sitting)*  
#     *Makhosi*

!2     Do not sit with your back to the candles *gogo*.  
!4!     *Makhosi, gogo (// smiling) if I sit like this I have my*  
          *back to the door.*  
!3     it will be better if you go to the other side (*// pointing to*  
          *where I was sitting)*  
#     Makhosi

The researcher felt that it would not be a good idea to ask them at that point in time about the ethics of sitting with one's back facing *emsamo* or at the door. But their facial expression said it all with regard to that matter. It became clear to the researcher that, not only are traditional healers not supposed to sit with their backs facing *emsamo*, they are also not allowed to sit with their backs facing the door. However, the interesting part

about the above situation is that although participant 4 did something wrong by sitting with her back facing *emsamo*, the manner in which they addressed each other was polite and with respect. In addition to this discussion, it must be clear that when we discuss the issue of sitting arrangements in traditional healer's *isigodlo* that does not mean that external resources such as bench and chairs are used, only a mat is used. Being a traditional healer does not mean that it is a must for them to always wear their outfit. However, most of traditional healers do, although they do not wear the complete traditional healer's outfit they partially wear same thing that shows that one is indeed a traditional healer. Nevertheless, whenever a healer goes to *esigodlweni* especially to speak to the ancestors or for divination, it is essential that they wear the necessary attire. This also includes carrying the correct *ishoba*, since there are two different types of *ishoba* which is *elenkonkoni* 'blue wildebeest' and *elenkomo* 'beast' one. Participant 5 (02/06/2012) explained in detail why traditional healers use a bush tail:

*... isangoma nesangoma siphatha ishoba lenkonkoni ngoba limnika amandla. Ukuba ube kulowo msebenzi, uma ngingaphosisi impela. ngoba yiso lesi silwane esinamandla, ekunikezeni ukuthi ngibe namandla okuthi lesi siphosami enginikezwe sona ngiqinisekise ukuthi siyiso*

... every diviner thereafter carried the tail of the blue wildebeast because it give them strength to be in the field of being a diviner. That is if I am not mistaken. It is because the animal has a lot of strength. It also helps gives me strength to allow me to ensure that this gift of divinity that I have been given is the real deal.

Not only does the tail serve as an outfit for the traditional healers, it also gives them strength to divine. It is one of the important elements that ancestors demand from traditional healers so that they can communicate with them

## 5.5 Analysis of people during consultation

The manner in which people behave during consultation is completely different from that of traditional healers and apprentices. This might be because people or the public do not spend more time with them; they are only there to get information required and to be healed. The common rule that applies to them is the taking off of the shoes. That rule applies to everyone who enters into *esigodlweni*, whether to clean the room or coming for a consultation. In addition, patients who come for consultation are not allowed to stand during that process. They must sit. The manner in which one sits does not matter. Participant 8 (24/10/2012) elaborates:

*Uhlala phansi noma angahlala ngayiphi indlela phansi. Angahlala ngokwenaba (-) azihlalele ngokuqoshama (-) ayikho inkinga, kodwa ukuma cha. Ngoba angithi naye usuke ezokhulekela la makhosi*

You have to sit down; I don't care in what manner one sits. One can sit in a relaxed manner (-) squat (-) there is no problem. But standing is a no, isn't they are also here to pray to the ancestors.

It must be remembered that when one prays they usually sit down. Only in other circumstances one finds a person standing while praying. The same rule applies in a traditional healer's world. Furthermore, the people that come for consultation must always carry their contribution which depends on what that healer wants. Some healers prefer a chicken, some a goat, sheep or even a beast for consultation. However, if a person breaks the law of the ancestors, for example, entering into *esigodlweni* with shoes, that person might be fined a whole beast. If not, the ancestors usually become angry with that individual.

Another important aspect that shows respect for the people consulting traditional healers is that when contributions are made to the traditional healer, they must not give their contributions directly into traditional healer's hand. Since the contribution is

regarded as something that belongs to the ancestors not the healer, that money or contribution must be put *emsamo*. As one of the healers said in the conversation made with the researcher:

*... Uma umuntu eza kimina ezocela usizo, uyaye afike akhuleke, ngize emakhosini, uma efika emakhosini, uyafika ngimemukele, ngimundlalele icansi. Ahlale asho ukuthi ngizOlola, bese ngiyakwazi ukuthi-ke (-) abeke phansi imali, bese-ke ngiyamuhlahlabulela...*

... When a person comes for consultation, he or she comes and shout greetings of respect, and then I will go to the ancestors, when he or she arrive at consultation room, I welcome that person, give her or him a mat to sit. She or he will sit and say that they are here for consultation purposes, and then I will (-) she or he will put down the money and then will look for the reason why she is here as the ancestors will say...

The above phrase echoes the same point that the researcher made that the patients do not give their money directly into traditional healers hand but they put it down to the ancestors, before divination process. Furthermore, after the divination process and after the healer gives the medicine to the patient it is said that the patient must not thank the medicine because by doing so the medicine will not work. Thus, for the patient to be healed it will be very important to follow those instruction and to respect them.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

Both Leech's theory of politeness and Brown and Levinson's theory contributed to this discussion in terms of understanding what people do to maintain a good relationship with others. Brown and Levinson argues that, in most cases when people want to be accepted by their community or people with power, they try to maintain a 'positive' and 'negative' face (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 62). This chapter has revealed different aspects that are shown by traditional healers' apprentices, traditional healers and the public to show respect and being polite to the ancestors.

For example, kneeling when addressing people with *idlozi* has been shown and by doing so, an apprentice respects her own ancestors and the ancestors of the qualified healer. Calling others *makhosi* when greeting them has been indicated as a sign of respecting the clean ancestors that have entered that individual. Wearing red attire with mud in their faces signifies the early stages of the apprenticeship until a certain ritual is done for them to be cleansed and be introduced to their departed ones. Once the apprentice has completed his or her training, things change. For example, the mud must be washed and the attire that one wears must be with the colours of that individual ancestors. When the newly qualified traditional healer meets other traditional healers s/he does not have to kneel because they have an equal status. However, having an equal status does not mean that those traditional healers must not respect their ancestors and by using the word *makhosi* when greeting each other means that they are still paying respect to their elders.

It is clear that we cannot deduce that their 'positive' face is a pretension, but it could be said that it is because of *ukuhlonipha* that pushes them to try and maintain peace between them and their ancestors. In African traditional culture, especially for the people that follow this culture it is very important to maintain harmony with their ancestors (Prabhupada, 1990: 12). It is also for this reason that an apprentice accepts the calling of the ancestors, because they want to show them how much they respect them and not necessarily fear them. The following chapter will look at details as to how this theory of politeness is linked with *hlonipha* features shown as has been experienced thus far.

## Chapter 6

### Recommendation and Conclusion

#### 6.1 Introduction

It was interesting to notice how far people can go to maintain a good relationship with their ancestors and to save their culture. Since most people who were interviewed demonstrated that they did not really want to become a traditional healer, but with powers beyond their control they ended up becoming one. Most of them do this work with passion and respect to the people who gave them these talents.

However, at times one wonders the type of life that people who refused to accept the calling have. As much as different traditional healers in this study have mentioned the consequences of not accepting the calling, it will be interesting to find the people who refused the calling and research them about their life without the ancestors. Furthermore, it will be interesting to find out if there are people who were traditional healers before and decided to leave this field, to overview their life and experience.

This chapter will provide us with a brief recommendation and conclusion drawn from the study.

#### 6.2 Recommendations and limitations

The answers from the interviews provided us with rich information on the issue of traditional healers' *ukuhlonipha* in context. It made clear to us why certain things are done and said in the field of traditional healing.

The results of this study emphasize the importance of how *ukuhlonipha* or being polite contributes in the good relation between people, traditional healers and ancestors. From the researcher's point of view, one can deduce that scientific doctors cannot cure all types of illnesses, especially the spiritually related diseases of the people. Let the glory be given to the people who deserve it. Let them be given the kind of respect that they

want to create a harmonious environment with people involved. It is unfortunate that so much has been discussed with regards to the collaboration between the traditional healers and scientific doctors, and yet, only few developments have been implemented. We cannot deny that there have been collaborations between medical doctors and traditional healers to treat HIV and aids, but that is not the only issue killing our society. So much more has been done by traditional healers for the society and less has been discussed and written. Less has been published to make people aware of what traditional healers do for people. Hopefully this research will close this void and will at the same time open up avenues for more research on and around this subject. For example; Figures 10-16 in chapter 4 showed us different ways that are shown by apprentice healer as a sign of respect, from the way that they enter into *isigodlo* to the way that they greet people. Figures 4, 5, 6, 19 and 20 in chapter 4 also show us the important role of *isigodlo*. Figure 4 is showing us what must be done before interring *emsamo*. People need to understand all these fundamentals so that they can behave appropriately and with respect. However, it is a pity that there are no instructions pasted on the wall of traditional healers' consultation room or outside, to explain how people should behave especially with regards to the first timer patients.

The limitation for this study is the fact that only three participants were interviewed for individual interviews. Five traditional healers were part of group interview or focus group and six participants were part of the observation process. The majority of participants interviewed were from KwaZulu-Natal in *Amajuba* District. Although participants involved in this study were from Amajuba district, they are registered members of traditional healers' organisation (THO). However, it will be interesting to expand this study in order to understand how other ethnical groups in South Africa view *ukuhlonipha* of traditional healers. That will help us in drawing a minimal conclusion on how South African traditional healers view and practice *ukuhlonipha*.

### 6.3 Conclusions

All the theories used in this study helped the researcher to understand firstly what politeness is, and how different cultures and races view this theory. These theories were employed to discuss how politeness is practiced within the field of traditional healers. The theorists that were used are Lakoff, Leech's and Brown and Levinson's. Lakoff looked at three factors that contribute on someone being polite or impolite. Among other factors is the distance between people. By keeping distance, both the speaker and the listener will maintain a personal space avoiding conflict.

This rule applies to traditional healers and their apprentices. As much as there is that interaction between an apprentice and a qualified healer, there is always formality between both of them. For example, the issue of an apprentice always respecting the qualified healer even at times that they are doing something unrelated to his/her training. This could be the cultural part of *ukuhlonipha* taking place. It could also be the formality between the higher and the lower position, which is Lakoff's third rule. The third rule notes that the closeness between the two people may contribute to polite or impolite ways of talking. In terms of traditional healers there is no room for impolite in talking. *Ukuhlonipha* or respect is not only directed to an individual but to that person and their ancestors, as participant 3 and 4 elaborated in chapter 4. Lakoff's second rule was not utilized by the researcher because it does not have any link to the subject matter and study.

Another theorist that contributed on politeness theory was Leech. Leech's argument is that at times people do not become polite because they want to, but it is circumstances that push them to be polite. It is speaker's goal and social goal that contributes on someone being polite or impolite (Reiter, 2000:8). Just like Lakoff, Leech's interpersonal rhetoric consist of three sets of principle (cp), (pp) and (ip). The irony principle is the one where one becomes impolite and pretends to be polite, thus breaking the co-operative principle, which states that the purpose of a conversation is to

exchange information 'effectively' (Grice, 1989:28). Irony principle will then contradict with politeness principle, whose aim is to be polite and to show that one is really polite.

The irony principle could not be used. For example, how can we measure if someone is pretending? There are people in life that can lie without demonstrating it, thus making it difficult for anyone doing a study to use this theory to be able to conduct an analysis. However, there is an aspect mentioned by Leech that contributed to this study, that the purpose of conversation is to exchange information 'effectively' and to be genuine polite (Grice, *op.cit*). This aspect links with what traditional healers do when they train apprentices and during consultations. During consultations or *ukubhula* they make it a point that they pass the message as said by ancestors to any party involved, Hence, being in agreement with Leech's politeness principle.

Lastly, we looked at Brown and Levinson theory of politeness that its main interest is on the 'face'. Brown and Levinson are somehow In agreement with Leech's principles, that people may for real be polite. At times they may pretend and contradicting with the main politeness principle. Brown and Levinson observe that as much as people may pretend to be polite at times, their main aim will not be to show their pretention through the 'face' (Brown and Levinson, 1978:61-68). This theory afforded the researcher with a chance to explore how the face is viewed within the field of traditional healing. There are certain things that must be done by an apprentice on the face that signifies who they are and to pay respect to others, such as to put lotion on one's face in the form of red mud. That on its own signifies great respect to the people who want that individual to become a traditional healer. Furthermore, it shows the trainer the commitment that one has with regards to becoming a healer. It maintains peace between the apprentice, the qualified healer and the ancestors.

Another theory that was used is ethnomethodology. This theory is more on the social action (Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland and Lofland, 2001:118). It views and explains information and patterns of social behaviour. Because of the nature of study

the researcher transcribed all data in isiZulu and then translated the data into English to allow non-isiZulu speakers to have access to this research. Within the whole transcribed data there is selected data that was used, for the purpose of understanding *ukuhlonipha* within traditional healing. That data was coded and analysed, based on content and utterances, such as defining some words, explaining phrases and examples used by traditional healers.

It must be remembered that the data was preliminarily analysed in chapter 4 and certain words and phrases used by traditional healers were selected and extracted from the preliminary data to allow broader reviewing. Extracts such as *amakhosi*, *ugedla* and *ugogo* were explained. Phrases and features linked to *ukuhlonipha* were also reviewed in terms of their philosophical meaning. Among other important features that must be followed by an apprentice, it was said that there is no other way that they can show respect to qualified healers other than kneeling or bending forward whenever they meet. Furthermore, it was illustrated that there are some uniform worn by a traditional healers apprentice during training that shows that one is being trained, Such as a red attire and red mud on their face. With regards to traditional healers it was mentioned that everything that they do and wear must be approved by their ancestors. That is why before using *amalati* or sarongs, those sarongs must be taken to the river and mountains to be introduced to the ancestors and request them to bless them. By doing so they are respecting the people who gave them power to heal in which it is their ancestors.

The extract and phrases that were left out, were the ones that the interviewee deviated from the question asked. It could be because they did not want to answer the question asked. However, there are things that have been done by traditional healers that the researcher could still not explain. For example, roaring *ukubhonga* or *ukubhodla*. When a traditional healer roars, others around that healer must say *makhosi*, by doing that they will be praising the ancestor of that individual.

Although there are things that are prohibited for a traditional healer or an apprentice to do, there are common things that are prohibited to everyone. For example *ukufulathela* or sitting with ones back to certain areas. In the consultation room anyone entering that room is not allowed to sit with their backs facing the candles or the door. Such an act is an act of disrespect to the owners of that *isigodlo*, the ancestors. And if a person is found doing so intentionally that person may be liable for a fine, which can be a goat or a beast depending on what the ancestor wants.

Finally, people follow the rules and maintain the link between them and their ancestors as they believe that ancestor are much closer to God. Thus, they can speak to God on their behalf (Hook, Mkhize, Kiguwa, Collins, Burman and Parker, 2004:40-41). That is why it becomes so important to respect and to listen to them.

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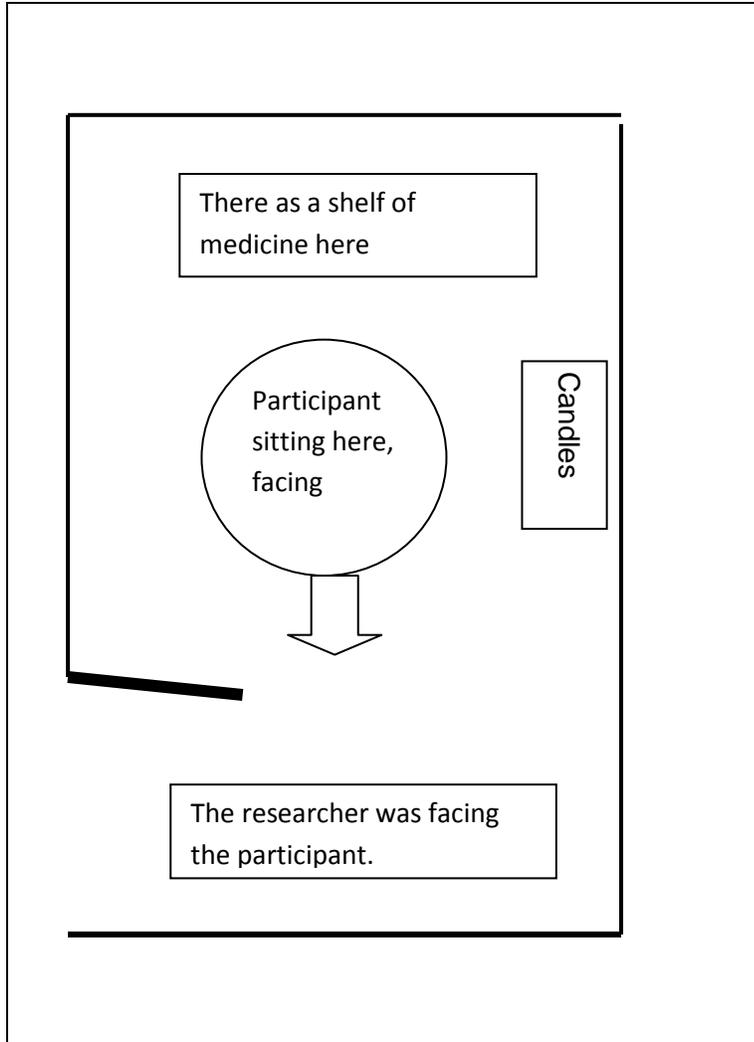
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Ilanga 29-31 August 2005.

## Appendix 1



## Appendix 2

### Chapter 4 (translation)

#### Interpretation of data in English

##### 4.1 introductions

<b>Symbols</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
*	The researcher
#	Everyone combined
!number!	Participant number and must be a male
!number	Participant number and must be a female
!1!	Participant 1
!2	Participant 2
!3	Participant 3
!4!	Participant 4
!5	Participant 5 interview 1 on individual interviews
//	Researcher's comment
#number, number	Different participant at once.
↑	Raising a voice
(-)	pause

## 4.2 Group discussion

\* Can you please share with me who you are and what your name and surname is, furthermore of all the aforementioned traditional healers mentioned which one best describes you?

!2 I am *Makhosi* (\ name changed) I am from oSizweni and I am a diviner.

\* That's great, how did you become a diviner?

!1! Personally before I actually went for my training I was bothered by my calling to become a diviner until someone came along and challenged my thinking by saying to me "your ancestors are calling you and they will not stop bothering you", that is when I said that I was well aware of the latter. It was at that very moment that the person said to me "get inside here; we will prepare chickens for you so you can learn to become a diviner". I am poor? (\*yes) I want to live (\*ye) and that is how I became a diviner. I stayed with this person for a full 8 months, until my ancestors shed light on the matter and told me that "this person is not a diviner. Instead this person is a Zionist. This is a person upon whom the Holy Spirit has descended. This happens when people in a church manifest and the Holy Spirit descend upon them and then this person saw divine secrets, do you see that this person really is nota diviners'. This they did because of the financial benefits associated with being a tutor to student diviners but this person was well aware that that he could not tutor Zionists. This person started at that very moment and that is how they became a tutor to student diviners and also because there was some financial benefit. They proceeded to purchase books on healing, traditional medicine and how a particular medicine is concocted. This person then had to learn how to concoct a particular medicine. \*and what did they do? They then wore the traditional sarong and before long the drums were being beaten in the homestead "doof doof doof" and then the student diviner entered and this person became a tutor/trainer to student diviner.

But then again this person was never given the traditional authority to actually nurture/train/tutor student diviner in this homestead. The only thing that happened was that the Holy Spirit descended upon this person so that they could convey to other members of the church important things. That is the one that happens to get lost in this calling of being a diviner. As I am telling you now a diviner is a person that has been tutored, unlike a herbalist who seldom has to be tutored. As I have previously stated that a herbalist studies traditional medicine

usually through either direct contact i.e. their father was a herbalist or the concoctions are divulged to them through dreams by their ancestors. However there tends to be a bit of a difference because there are herbalists that can read the bones. It fits in right here that herbalists will dream about the concoctions and then concoct the relevant medicine depicted in the dream, et at the same time throw down and interpret the message of the bones...it is still being a herbalist.

As I have previously stated there, nowadays herbalists that can read the bones and convey their message. This whole thing does not just start today, it is something that has been around for generations and generations as there existed diviners and herbalists but herbalists originally dealt with and stuck to just traditional medicines/ concoctions. Although diviners knew traditional medicines well they knew that they were not above herbalists in that field, as that was their field of expertise. After I have told you what the bones say, go to a particular man at this set address and if you get hold of him tell him that you were referred to him by me...you will get something from the herbalist too. A herbalist heals take for instance a person that has a swollen leg, the herbalist knows the best herbs and medicines to use in order to cure the problem. Let's say the problem persists, the herbalist would then use the medicines known best to cure the problem, should the problem still persist then the herbalist would then refer his/her patient to the relevant diviner so that they can look into the matter. The diviner then has a look and would then say that it is an ancestral issue...you see something like that. You see the herbalist saw just a swollen leg and thought that it was just a case of *umeqo* (type of witchcraft) whereas a diviner saw the cause of the problem because at the time the diviner was in direct contact with the patient's ancestors and would then would be enlightened as to what steps need to be taken in order to help the patient.

\* Does the herbalist that can read the bones also undergo tutoring?

!1! It is a very rare occurrence to find that herbalists that can interpret the bones were actually tutored. It is rare...it is highly rare because if a person is tutored that usually means that person is in actual fact a diviner rather than a herbalist. Only a diviner is tutored. Herbalists do not usually go and kneel (diviners usually kneel to their ancestors) but it so happens that your ancestors give you the ability to also read the bones, they can even tell a herbalist that if a bone is positioned in a particular way it usually means a certain thing, this they can share with them in their sleep, they can even tell them where to go and get these particular bones. Maybe you will have to go down to Durban by the sea and give a sacrifice in the form of money (the ancestors tell you the kind of money) and the bones will

then emerge, those are the bones you are going to take...then they will educate you in your sleep, so that if a person comes to you, you know that if I throw the bones and they land in a particular I will be able to tell the person what the bones say, just as you have been taught at night in your dreams. (//interrupted by speaker 2)

!2 It is just like in being a herbalist, take for instance Mr. “!1!” his grandfather was a herbalist, he did not even know him and he approached him in a dream and wanted to give him his bag that he used when he practiced as a herbalist. If he takes that bag he would have to slaughter an animal as a token of receipt of the bag.

!1! Let me take this.

!2 Let’s ask grandfather.

\* That means that everything that you do, you need to direct towards your ancestors?

!2 Yes (// looking at photos...while looking t photos another traditional healer enters)

#1, 2. (//clapping hands) *Makhosi*. We are well *gogo*, *Makhosi*

!3 *Makhosi* (//clapping hands) you are here already?

!2 Yes, remember ancestors do not sleep, they are early risers.

!3 I thought I’d get here and find you gone

!2 I was the first one to arrive but I am coming from the mountain

(//talking in general after they have settled)

\* Can I please ask, in this whole thing of being a diviner, what would happen if your calling to be a diviner is discovered at a very young age, at what age will you assume your duties of being a diviner?

!2 Is notit happens that an ancestral calling is discovered at an early stage, however in that case they do something called *amagobongo* (//looking at participant 3) am I saying it correctly *makhosi*?

!3 *makhosi* (tantamount to a ‘yes’)

- !2 *Amagobongo* are done for you to plead with the ancestors to release their hold over you just until you are between the ages of 18-21, then you can control your ancestors.
- \* O! What is '*amagobongo*'
- !2 *Igobongo* is a type of medicine just like this one that is in the diviner's calabash, it was stirred like this, it is usually a mixture of different medicines stirred together.
- \* Is it done so to allow you to be able to converse with your ancestors/
- !2 Yes.
- \* Is it done to ask them to go easy on you or maybe...?
- !2 (//looking at participant 3) please explain *makhosi* (term used by diviners when addressing one another)
- !3 It is usually done to ask your parents (ancestors) to allow you, because of your minority. To first finish school first and then they can bestow upon you this duty of being a diviner because if your parents or you refuse this calling, your ancestors will then take you (through death) or you will become insane or you will just run into moving cars. *Makhosi*
- \* Does it ever happen that a person runs away from or avoids their calling?
- !3 The ancestor? (//looking at participant 1 and 2) yes you can.
- \* Is it possible to stay alive once that person has run away from or avoided the calling?
- !3 You live very dangerously. It is very hard.
- !2 Some people if you come across them on your way they are wearing diviner's head gear or you see them doing very insane things, for some people it induces poverty, some people lose their kids (through death). Take me for instance, as my ancestral calling was intensifying, *gogo* (ancestor) came to me and asked me if I wanted to lose my children because they kept telling me to take up the job of being a diviner and I kept on refusing.
- !3 That is how we all entered.
- !2 I had a choice to make, it was either I accept and embrace my ancestral calling or lose my children.

!1! *makhosi.*

!3 (// as she was about to talk she roars)

# *Makhosi* (//clapping hands)

(// while others are looking at pictures of participant 1's graduation ceremony another healer enters)

!4! *Makhosi* (//clapping hands)

# *Makhosi*

\* Why do people wear mud?

!3 They are usually pleading with their ancestors, it is like grieving medicine. This red mud as I am saying, you do not wear it if you will go home. You are supposed to cleanse it off with a goat before you can enter your home.

\* Can you please explain to me the ways or rather the things that are supposed to happen when one becomes a diviner?

!1! These are things for grannies; let her explain to us as she is older.

!2 Can you please explain *gogo* (looking at participant 3)

!3 It starts when you enter into a divination stage. You steam first, then you purge to distance yourself from evil spirits so you that you can become clean to take the job of the ancestors. You steam with a mixture of herbs comprising of *idumbe*, *inkukhu kanye namagobongo*. There are usually 3 types of *amagobongo* but for other people there are four types. After you have entered into the stage of divination with *amagobongo* and *izinkukhu* and you have sacrificed a beast for your ancestors to allow a smooth passage into the work of your ancestors. Thereafter you are made to wear *idlokolo* that very same day. After your family has been notified, you are then taught the work of the ancestors. It is then that when you go through the process *yokuqwamba* and your ancestors are notified *emsamo*.

Where you do the notification, your family members should be present, at your maternal grandparents' residence and that is when you notify them that you are taking the work of the ancestors. After all that has been done, it is then that your family members come into the old to send you off with a goat, remember that day *usephehlweni*. Then you have to be sent to go and fetch/collect your maternal ancestors before you even enter your home (raises voice) you do not under any

circumstance enter your home, if you need anything you have to send your family members to go and get it for you. Once you have gone and accepted your maternal ancestors, they have to show their acceptance by providing you with a spear and sarongs (*amabhayi*) that have appeared, these items come from you by the way. After they have given you the spear and *amabhayi* they have to make you slaughter a goat then you go back to *endubeni kwagobela wakho*. After that you continue with the process of purging and steaming and then you are then taught how to read the bones. After you are continuing with this process, you are then taken to the river to fetch/ collect your ancestor, when you are taken to the water you are put into *endubeni yedlozi likababa*. *Usunawo...usunawo* are lovely things of hides, that serve as confirmation that you have taken up the work that your ancestors have placed before you. At some point, as time goes by you will be able to read the message of the bone and your ancestors can then communicate with you and tell you that you can now leave. When that time comes it shall be communicated to your family so that they can prepare for the ceremony *kaGobela* (// participant 3 blows nose)

# *Makhosi*

!3 after they have prepared the qualified healer (your tutor)'s beast, they will then choose a date for your graduation, and then you graduate. Your family will then bring your tutor's beast to his/her homestead. After they have brought the beast, other healers are also invited and that is when you are then taken out of the tutor's homestead and then officially given back to your family or to your marital home if you are married. It is then that you have to be accepted back with goats and chickens, the first of which are slaughtered outside your home and then they are taken inside. They use the goat with which you were accepted back with at the gate. After they have fetched you from the gate they need to keep a beast for you *ozoyibhula*. You can interpret the messages, then you enter your home and then it will be *celebration* till dusk. In the morning you will be taken out again where the work of your *celebration* will be continued. *Makhosi* (// clapping hands)

# *Makhosi* (//clapping hands)

!3 I do not know if I was clear enough in my explanation?

\* Crystal clear

# It was very clear

(// everyone laughed and talked about something else, another healer came in. participant 4 had to shift to create a space for the new person, he sat facing the opposite of the candles)

!2 Do not sit with your back to the candles *gogo*.

!4! *Makhosi, gogo* (// smiling) if I sit like this I have my back to the door.

!3 It will be better if you go in the other side.

# *Makhosi*

\* There is something that happens in the process of *ukubhula* “*ukuvuma*”

!3 *Makhosi*

\* I have previously asked about the process of *ukubhula* and *ukuvuma*, what is the significance of people agreeing with you while you interpret the message of the bones?

!4! Yes, let me explain.

\* You can explain

!4! Yes

\* Can you please explain who you are first?

!4! My name is Nomasonto (//name changed but it was a female name) that is my ancestral name, my surname...I come from a place called eSwazini but I reside in Hammanskraal, I will explain it the way you want me to my brother. *Ukuvuma* or to agree is something like this: you see when you interpret the message in the bones the person whose message you are interpreting has to confirm or agree that what you are telling is understandable and that they know. In other instances you have to agree if you know that thing to be exactly like that. You do not have to agree with me just for the sake of agreeing with me the interpreter of the bones, if what I am saying is not correct you have to explain to me that it is not so.

!3 *Makhosi*

!41 So that I can trouble my ancestors because my client is disputing what I am saying, because if you say yes to everything it is to your detriment and you won't get the required help.

#1,2 *Makhosi*

\* Are you trying to explain that when you agree (-) you are actually agreeing to the fact that everything said by the diviner is true?

!4! You are actually agreeing to the fact that the message is what is being said by your ancestors because it is not coming from the diviner (-) let us elaborate on this (-) there is a person that will tell you that a particular person is suffering from a particular thing x 7, then you convey the message that your ancestor has divulged/shared with you, as what the person is suffering from x 7. If it is not as the diviner has stated, s/he should state that it is not so, but I do not think there is a person out there who has ancestors that would tell something that is not true,  
*Makhosi*

# *Makhosi*

\* There is something that diviners are well known for. They are known for ability to be able to know the origin of a disease or problem before they treat you for it and that is at times one thing that western doctors fail to do. May I ask if that is still the case? Can you also see the cause of the disease or problem just as traditional healers in the past could?

!11 *Makhosi*

!2 Yes, it is very hard to cure someone without actually knowing what is actually causing the problem. Just like western doctors do, prior to treating a patient they will first examine them, right? The same applies to us, we heal using the means of ancestral knowledge, you are also able to examine and after examining are able to determine what the cause of the problem really is. Only then will you then start dealing with your medicines and choosing the medicines that you know will hit the nail on the head of the problem.

!4! Just to add to what *gogo* has said, when she said “to heal” she did not mean to heal like a herbalist (-) a herbalist does not divine, instead you go to a herbalist and say you have sore feet, the herbalist will say i have medicines for the sore feet, if not he will provide you with a concoction to use. A herbalist will not be able to define and tell what the cause of the problem really is and why the patient is suffering from that ailment. (-) the herbalist hears from you what is wrong, if you say your ears are the problem, s/he will give you a medicine/s for that, they are not concerned with the cause of the problem. You need to understand that diviners have a gift from the ancestors and their gift is just the same as that of western doctors because they also examine you to see what the problem is, how

long the problem has persisted, if the disease can be cured and how it can be cured. We can also do the same thing because our ancestors have taught us how to do it.

!1! *Makhosi*

# *Makhosi*

\* There is a word mentioned by a gentleman in passing, I do not know if you know it but it is "*ugedla*"

!2 *Ugedla* is a herbalist

!3 A herbalist is *ugedla* (-) that is someone who never underwent tutoring.

!2 No no *gogo ugedla* is not a herbalist.

!3 Then what is *ugedla*?

!2 It someone that carries the herbalist's medicine bag, is it not the person who carries a herbalists bags?

#3,4 No, a herbalist is *ugedla*

!2 *Oh* okay

!4! The person who carries a herbalist's bag is known as *uhlaka*

!2 *Oh* yes, my God (// after a little bit of confusion, it became clear to her what a *uhlaka* was)

!3 *ugedla* is a herbalist and not a diviner. It is a herbalist that never underwent training/tutoring like a diviner does. This is a person with whom their ancestor communicates through dreams and gives them medicines to heal and that is how they become herbalists but they never go for training. That is *ugedla* for you.

!4! just like Ngobese.

!3 That is *ugedla*, he was given this gift by the ancestors and he uses it to heal people.

!4! And he makes it happen.

!3 And he lives, say for instance someone is set to go to that particular person for healing, he will dream that a particular person will come to see you with a

particular problem and that you must use this type of medicine to heal them and true to the dream the person will come seeking assistance. That is *ugedla* (-) his ancestor did not require that he be separated from his family to pursue this calling, instead they just give him the medicines in dreams.

\* The other herbalist, there are two types of herbalists right? The one that undergoes training and one that does not?

!2 Only a diviner undergoes training.

!3 Only a diviner undergoes training, *ugedla* does not (-) they do not go to someone for their training, in fact the only training is that they receive from their ancestors and they work with people until their ancestors tell them that it is time to buy a medicine bag.

\* Is there a title given to herbalist that did not undergo training but were given the gift by their ancestors?

!4! Let's go back to the title of "*ugedla*". A herbalist is the name given to someone who uses traditional medicines without undergoing training and that is "*ugedla*". That title still goes hand in hand with the title of a herbalist. It used commonly amongst us diviners who have undergone training and do not want to disrespect the herbalist by calling him or just "a herbalist", you see? That is because the term seldom sits well with certain people. just like... (-) It is like saying a person is a diviner and where we are being respectful we say "*makhosi*"

!2 *Makhosi*. I hope you are hearing me well enough when I say, the title of "*ugedla*" and that of a 'herbalist' (-) that title is one we give to a herbalist out of respect just like when I address *gogo* here, I just say "*makhosi*" (// while clapping hands)

!41 *Makhosi* (//also clapping hands)

!3 Imagine if I had to, every time I see her, address her as "diviner". It just does not sound right.

!41 *Makhosi*

\* So when you are paying respect to other traditional healers you refer to each other as "*makhosi*", you also clap your hands, does it go together?

# *Makhosi*

\* Oh ok

- !3 We are showing respect by doing that.
- !4 We are showing respect to his/her ancestors and also your own ancestors
- !3 *Makhosi* (// claps hands)
- \* It has been said that there are different ancestors, I do not know but they explained that there is *indiki indawe*, all these things. Can you please explain to me the different ancestors and how they differ from one another?
- !3 yes I can explain the ancestors, let me start by explaining (-) the ancestor is the one we have told you about that gives you *impehlo*, which is your family ancestor. Next, is still the ancestors that give you everything but (-) *umndiki* were residents of your home but were never technically part of the family, and may have arrived as destitute people, or lost people and as a result they grew up in your home, wanting their names to be called out. And they came to you because they want assistance (-) that is because they do not have family members they are what is called "*umndiki*", thirdly, *umndawe* are your departed family members that left to go fight wars.
- !2 Yes
- !3 You do remember that in the past there were wars.
- !2 Yes.
- !3 And when they come back, they come back as *umndwane* and require that you do something for them. They will then reside in you just because they want to be remembered.
- !4! Yes
- \* What *is umlozi*?
- !3 That is the intensifying of the ancestor that is within in you, be it your great-great grandmother or grandfather, depending which is the bigger/stronger ancestor and the one that wants to express itself through you. (arrow up) it speaks loudly in the house and whenever it enters it first touches your ears. As you Mvelase can hear it when it is speaking loudly in the house, it speaks through *umlozi*, and another will talk about beginning and another will drop snippets here and there. Then you will hear it. It touches you personally and you will feel it making contact from the feet upwards till it unsettles your shoulders and then speaks into your

ears.it will speak into your right ear if it is your paternal ancestor or the left ear if it is your maternal ancestor. That is “*umlozi*” speaking in that particular manner.

\* So it is this *mlozi* that transmits message to the highly respected great-great ancestors?

!2 Can you please repeat the question once again?

\* There is the first one that transmits the messages and then there is the really big one that stays there.

!1 Like a chief

\* Yes

!3 One who sends people to do things for them

\* Indeed, one who passes on the message to the person who is in turn going to pass the message onto the diviner?

!41 let us correct this part here (-) I support you in what you are saying right now, let us just say you are the expert and you have brought a revelation or rather a dream to me as the diviner, the aim is to support your statement about the one sending another. (-) if you come to me and tell me that you dreamt of your grandfather x2 and he was giving you money, and when I received the money I did not know how to use it...as the diviner I will have to then try and find out, based on the way that you relate the dream to me, the meaning but let us kneel down and then I will try and use someone who has been sent to divulge the true meaning of the dream and the money he has given you. Why it is that he gives you money but you just do not seem to know what happens to the money? (-) he will then explain exactly the fact that there is some fortune that he wants to give you, however in order for you to be able to use this fortune you need to 1, 2 and 3 for me before I give you this fortune. (-) then it will be those to pass on the message.

\* Then there is the ancestor that is known by the name of Mnono or Mnguni, I do not know if you know and please explain to me what type of ancestor it is?

!2 please explain *gogo*

!3 Mnguni is, according to my knowledge, your family's ancestor x2 that is the same as the one that has entered you. Let me separate this ethnically, there is a Zulu

person, a sotho person, and then there are swati people (-) if either are to enter into me they will enter on the basis that I am aeither zulu,sotho, swati. Mnguni is something like that.

\* What is *umndawe*?

!2 Gogo explained earlier that *umndawe* is your ancestor that died in past wars

\* So *umndawe* and the place is the same thing?

!3 Yes, when it arrives, it arrives in a very violent state because it needs to be cleansed.

\* That means that, as we know in every family there is that one ancestor that is very strong?

!3 Indeed

!4! *Makhosi*

\* I am told there is, in every family, a violent ancestor that always comes in a violent manner, is it safe to say *umndawo* is that ancestor?

!2 yes but after this ancestor is cleansed (-) it is no longer violent.

#2,3 but if it is not cleansed it is indeed violent.

### **4.3 Observation**

Please check chapter 4

### **4.4 individual interviews**

#### **4.4.1 Interview 1**

\* Can you please explain who you are?

!5 it is *Makhosi* Sithebe that is talking, before my divination training I was Nokuthula but now I am called "*makhosi* Sithebe" as many of us refer to each

other by surnames and not our names x2, or *gogo* something x2 (-) because we will all have left (-) ok, I am a diviner.

\* You just explained just now that you call each other by names; or rather you give each other names, why is it that a person gets upon the beginning of their divination training?

!5 in my eyes, they do not just take any random person and call them whatever (-) as we are diviners it all boils down to whether that person has the ancestors that want to work through them in the way they deem fit. There is no one without ancestors, right? (-) in this way if you go eat, get cleansed, the ancestors are always with you, it is also getting cleansed. the day they decide to present you with this gift you are then going to get cleansed of the things you were born with and thereafter the prefix of your title is *makhosi* or *gogo*.

\* That name is one that is used to show respect?

!5 it to respect *amathongo* or ancestors that have entered inside your body.

\* Ok, there is this thing you began with and that is taking of one's shoes before entering,

!5 taking off your shoes

\* Yes, why is it done?

!5 when I enter this room, I enter a sacred place. This is my sacred place because in this place resides all my ancestors, all those that entered me from, my grannies, grandfathers and great grandparents and so forth. I am showing my respect to them in doing so. In other words I am supposed to actually kneel the minute that I enter this place because where I grew up I never grew up walking all the time, even till today I do not stand on my feet (-) the minute I go through that door I kneel and I can spend over 5 hours going around this place on my knees.

\* Is it still a means of showing respect?

!5 yes. It is to show respect to the people in front of whom I knelt and the people the same people that cleansed me and made me what I am today. I am able to see what is on you on the outside of your shirt, (// arrow down) and that is a way to show respect

\* I also see some candles here



**Figure 5**



**figure 6**

!5 as you see them standing upright; I just lit the candles just now as I entered. My turn to sit in here had lapsed because there are no more people in the yard requiring my assistance. The reason I relit the candles is because it is the way that I work, without them lit, I do not throw even a single bone. (// arrow down) I work with the head.

\* I do not know if there is an individual explanation for each and every candle?

!5 maybe I can take them, even if I won't take all of them. Firstly, as you can see, is the black one. A person who is grieving can enter this house; there is no rule that states that a grieving person cannot enter. Secondly, as you can see, comes the red candle (-) the red candles represents the fact that say for instance I had a problem at my place or I had been between the sheets with a man, I will not say I will not go there to go and get help because some people have the rule that if you are on your periods you are not to touch traditional medicines; in this house even if the latter is the case you can continue to use traditional medicine. The white candle symbolizes me and my ancestors, those that reside within me and command me. The yellow candle symbolizes a mix of ancestors, those from my maternal side and those from my family as you know I am a Sthebe and I took on all these. Finally the blue candle represents the messengers of the ancestors, yes the sky blue one.

\* Messengers?

!5 there is the spirit commonly known as the spirit of prophesy, so that when you send it they are not reluctant because when you go *ophahlweni* you cleanse of everything (// meaning you are given all powers: those of healing and prophesy).

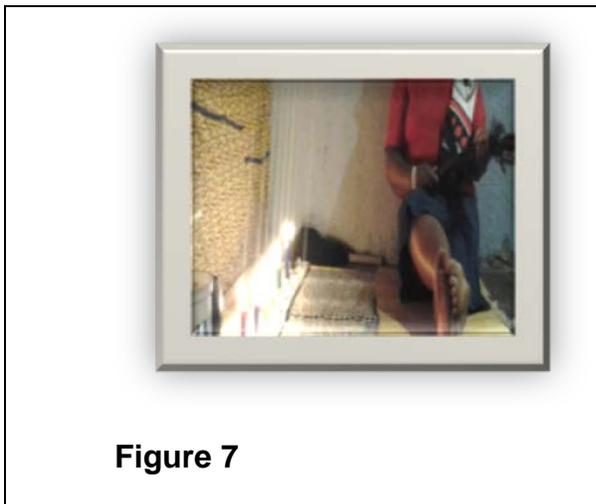
\* Are these the same colors that you use on your clothing?

!5 I can use them and also can choose not to use them

\* So it is up to you?

!5 yes, it is up to me.

\* There is an item called *ishoba*, I believe this is it, I do not know if there is an explanation for it and its importance?



!5 in actual sense I have 2 of *amashoba*. This 1 is from *inkonkoni* and is carried by all diviners and this one here is the beast one, made from the beast that was slaughtered to welcome me back to this home after my divination training. They do not just use any beast, this beast is hidden and I, as the diviner, have to find it using the bones. (-) even if they have hidden it in town, I have to go and find it and bring it back on foot. Upon my and the beast's return, it is then slaughtered and

then it is called the diviner's ox. It is from the hide of this beast that a drum will be made out and the tail of the beast forms my *ishoba*.

\* You explained that one is *elenkonkoni*, what is *inkonkoni*? Please explain?

!5 *inkonkoni* is a type of buck that is found in the bush. This buck it seems is originally from the bush. As this buck is from the bush there is a phrase or rather an analogy that goes something like this 'if you are to go to a diviner for him/her to divine and if the diviner hits you with the tail of the blue wildebeest then it

means you are the one practicing or meddling in witchcraft in this house or in the area. If you remember back to the days of king Shaka, that is if you know his history well. Well there was this one diviner that came and said to the king “the fault is with you my lord” and thereafter she hit the tail of the blue wildebeest on the floor as he could not hit the king out o respect. Ever since then each and every diviner thereafter carried the tail of the blue wildebeest because it gave them strength to be in the field of being a diviner. That is if I am not mistaken. It is because the animal has a lot of strength. It also helps gives me strength to allow me to ensure that this gift of divinity that I have been given is the real deal. Random people cannot just go around carrying the tail of the blue wildebeest.

\* As we have been talking we have been talking about respect and the fact that we address each with respect, can you further explain to me about the rules and regulations that people must adhere to in order to show respect in this household.

!5 I will talk about the ones in this homestead, take for instance this morning I had I had to people come to this house. Well in my books, because the rituals and rules differ from the one house to the next, if a person is to come into this house, s/he has to state that s/he is here to see the diviner, ok fine if that person is the first person to arrive but if it is the second or third person it becomes better because then the people here to see the diviner can see one another and know where to sit, because cars also enter this homestead (-) then they stop and then they show respect and the sit on the chairs and wait. I do not send someone to go and call the next person. I finish with the person who I am busy with and then go and call the next person, I ask them to please enter. Once I have entered I thank them and thereafter they leave. In my examination I sit down with them and examine them thoroughly, after I am done then they take out a donation known as ‘the ancestor’s money’ and this amount is one determined by me for each consultation.

\* I see 3 place mats, where does a person who is here to consult sit?

!5 he or she sits right where you are sitting.

\* Where you are sitting right now, is it the place called *umsamo*?

!5 this whole house is known as *umsamo* (-) if I am in the other house I usually tell someone to go and check *umsamo* to see if the lights are still on or not. They automatically know that I am talking about this house.

\* Ok. What is *umsamo*?

!5 I personally call this place that, There is no part of this house that I do not respect, from the instant that I walk through that door I have to pay my respect and enter with a sense of respect, because I am entering a room with people whom I immensely respect.

\* So *umsamo* is another word for a place where ancestors are respected?

!5 yes.

\* Which basically means that in this home, more specifically in this room is *umsamo*?

!5 yes, in this house is the place where one would say is *gogo's* house, there is my great grandmother's house (-) if you go out of this room and go into the next door, it is called *gogo's* house. Then there is the rondavel that is known as my great grandmother's house, it is the place that has no concrete and has a lot of dust. It is where we say the sun rises, if we are brewing traditional beer, we place it there and we need to converse we go there.

!6! It is also called *isigodlo* because the ancestors are at work in this whole entire place.

!5 yes

\* So it is *isigodlo* then that means that the entire place needs to be respected.

!5 yes, I shouldn't start respecting only when I get to where I am (// points to where she is sitting) this whole begins where Mjila entered.

\* For now that is all I needed, right now I want to know about the process of divination training, have you ever trained an apprentice?

!5 no I have never trained an apprentice

\* Ok, I can say to you that it is all I needed from you, I thank you very much.

#### 4.4.2 Interview 2



**Figure 8:** traditional healer before the interview, taking off her shoes and entering *isigodlo*



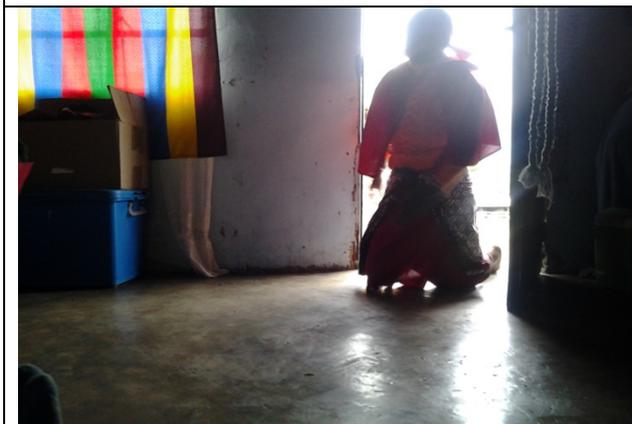
**Figure 9:** all the shoes must be left outside the room



**Figure 10:** apprentice entering isigodlo.



**Figure 11:** greeting



**Figure 12:**The second apprentice entering



**Figure 13 :** greeting

*isigodlo* (consultation room)



**Figure 14**



**Figure 15**



**Figure 16**



**Figure 17**



**Figure 18**



**Figure 19:**Traditional healer covered her

- \* Today we would like to hear and learn about respect, I will begin by asking how we are supposed into this room because I see the way that the apprentices and how I entered are different, we started by taking off our shoes right?
- !7 it means that by your taking of your shoes, you are acknowledging that you are entering *esigodlweni* and it is the manner of welcoming you into the house of the ancestors. It is just the way through which we show respect.
- \* Are paying respect to the ancestors or are you paying respects to the traditional healer?
- !7 it is done to respect both the healer and the ancestors. We all do the same thing because by virtue of being a traditional healer, you have to be respectful. Even if I were to come into your *isigodlo* I have to see how things are done there and show respect. For instance if I get here and the people of this home do not eat maas, you cannot come and eat maas here out of respect for the procedure followed in this home. If you are here for a consultation you have to take of your shoes regardless of whether you are a traditional healer or not. We are meant to do the same thing.
- \* And then there are apprentices?
- !7 *Makhosi*
- \* Another thing that I noticed while I was still outside is the fact that as me and Mr. Ngobese, they immediately kneeled, is it still part of showing respect?
- !7 *Makhosi* (// clapping hands) it is a way of greeting; they cannot greet you while they are on their feet. (-) they must kneel and pay homage to the ancestors that they have on their backs, respect you as a person who has entered the home and then put you in the proper waiting room.
- \* Let us know come to the process of apprenticeship, can you please explain to me the entire process of apprenticeship.
- !7 the first thing about apprenticeship is the fact that you as the person who will be coming for their apprenticeship does not notify you of their intent to come. You never know they are coming and you always here with people telling you to look outside. (-) another gets here and sings at the gate, the time you here them sing, you usually feel like you in a dream until you go out to them and you find the person at the gate. You then have to rush to them and accept them. Your

welcome the person into your home should bring some joy and then you have to clap your hands and say “rejoice grannies” and thereafter you have to find and burn some incense and you make them inhale it. You use the incense to call them towards you and by that time they come to you on their knees or enter *esigodlweni*. For someone at times you cannot feel them until they enter your rondavel and then starts praying there. (-) you have to get up and open the door and tell them that you welcome them and that they must enter.

- \* You spoke about the title of *ogogo*, are you talking about people or ancestors?
- !7 the ancestors, remember the person is usually sent by the ancestors, his/her grandparents. *Makhosi*
- \* Is that why you constantly say “rejoice *bogogo*”? (// *bogogo* is a plural of *ugogo*)
- !7 Rejoice grannies (// she said it again, just to signify that they were in agreement.)
- \* There is something I have noticed and that is that during the course of our conversation you tend to clap your hands, is that still part of showing respect?
- !7 *Makhosi* (// all of them clap hands) it is because what you are saying I fully understand, so that after you have finished talking I say “rejoice ancestors” I will answer you but if I have not understood what you are saying, I have to listen more attentively to what you are saying. After I have heard what you said I say “rejoice my ancestors”  
  
(// another apprentice enters the venue, everyone in the room starts clapping their hands and says ‘rejoice’)
- \* I also see the clothes that they are wearing have numerous colors as well.
- !7 *Makhosi*
- \* I do not know if you can explain to me what the colours mean.
- !7 Rejoice grandpa (-) as you can see here these are apprentices and these are children that knelt down to me. Those that are wearing a red cape are my grandchildren, that means that it is the child of an apprentice of mine. So if there is something that does not make sense they will bring him/her to me to ask the ancestors for answers. After I have asked the ancestors, then the mother of the child then comes into the picture. There is a way in which we surf whether their ancestors connect, in order for us to see their ancestors dominate. Then we see which *gogo* or grandfather (ancestors) and then it will take them to their *isigodlo*.
- \* There are those that are wearing red capes and those wearing white.
- !7 the ones wearing leopard prints

- \* What type of person wears the leopard prints?
- !7 that is someone that is about to go home. *Makhosi*.
- \* Does this mean you are going to train this apprentice (// points at apprentice with mud on the face)
- !7 no a person who undergoes apprenticeship is given to his/her ancestors and after you have assessed the person they go back home. Those that have mud on there are those that are still waiting (// waiting to be connected with their ancestors). A person without mud is one that has been cleansed already, and is about to go. People do not was of the mud before they leave but it solely depends on which of the capes their ancestors prefer.
- \* Is there a difference in terms of what you wear to that they wear?
- !7 take me for instance, as I have become a mother, I am their *gogo* and what I wear is slightly different to theirs. What I mean is that there are some things that are different. They also have things that do not look like mine, that they were given by their ancestors. The apprentice's *gogo* will bring them a certain cape that they will wear but there are certain items that upon graduation we all have to wear to show that they are graduates and are equal to others. This one is still kneeling; he is still kneeling because he had not reached the ancestors as yet. Even in their speech they still on their knees, in comparison to the others when they speak they are bent because they have graduated and have handled *ishoba*.
- \* Thank you, where is *umsamo* in this home?
- !7 *umsamo*, that means as I have married into this family (-) there is a set of rooms. Belonging to me, for my ancestors, there is also a room in this home known as *gogo's/* grandparents room, which means that of all these rooms I am to be given one so that I can continue training the apprentices and then the place in which I work is called *isigodlo*. (// although she tried to answer but she did not answer the question given to her)
- \* I also see some candles and they are lit.
- !7 let the ancestors rejoice. (// clapping hands)
- \* Can you explain to me why it is so and why the colours differ?

!7 I have to have the candles lit, If ever there is a person in the room. These candles need to be lit so that as we speak the owners of the room can see that there are people in here. As you can see the candles are lit and something smells because incense was burnt in here.

\* I see everyone is wearing *isiphandla*, how do these differ and further how are these different to the ones that everyone wears?

!7 no there is absolutely no difference in the *iziphandla* worn by everyone and these ones, everyone wears *isiphandla* if they have done a ritual/ceremony for the ancestors (-) they also did the same.

\* Ok, that was all we wanted to know. Thank you very much.

#### 4.4.3 Interview 3

\* Please can you tell us who you are?

!8 My name is Bhunu and that is the name given to me by my ancestors and which I am referred to by.

\* There are things that you do here that show a sense of respect, can you explain them to me starting from the taking off of shoes.

!8 We have all been apprentices and as apprentices we found out that shoes do not enter *endubeni* the diviner's room, just as right now shoes do not enter.

\* In other words this was an already established thing that you found being done?

!8 They were being done.

\* You also followed suit?

!8 They also cause you such discomfort (-) if you have been an apprentice. You can leave wearing your shoes but you will come back with them in your hands. you have to, at all times *uphehle* or else people will laugh at you (// laughs)

\* Let's talk again about the candles. To every traditional healers work place, that I have been to, there are candles, why do you use candles?

!8 The reason for that is because the door will be closed during the consultation and I need to light the room up while we talk to our ancestors, there is supposed to be

some form of light in the room as, traditionally in the past a diviner's hut wouldn't even have a window and this thing of window is modern but they are never open.

\* Is it supposed to be dark at all times?

!8 Yes.

\* What is *umsamo*, what is *umsamo* here at home, which place is called *umsamo* here at home?

!8 It is the place where, if you are doing a ritual then you go and communicate with the ancestors because every house is structured like this. All houses are structured like this but the only difference is the manner of how you speak when you are there. (-) when things like chickens and goats are being slaughtered they are slaughtered in that room.

\* Is the place in which I am sitting called *umsamo*? (// I was sitting directly opposite where she was sitting and next to the door.)

!8 No *umsamo* is here (// pointing at a place which was at the front right next to the door. Please see appendix 1 for the drawn picture.) Where I am sitting (-) because when someone comes here and prays to the ancestors they sit there, and then I turn around if I am about to pray to my ancestors and face in that direction (//pointing at the candles) where as I arrived I placed them there.

\* If you are praying to your ancestors do you pray while kneeling or seated?

!8 I do it kneeling, as you can see I am kneeling. You can never interpret the bones if you are in a happy mood.

\* Is it ways of showing respect or is it something that just happens?

!8 It is a way of showing respect because when you bring the ancestors into your household you do not bring them in and leave them standing, they are seated in there. You bring them in and you have a little something for them to sit inside so that they can always be there to listen to you when you talk to them, you can even make them some traditional beer, you can put it there (//points everywhere except *umsamo*) but the one for the ancestors must be separate in here and should be placed differently.

\* Is there something that you use or burn to show the ancestors that you want to talk to them?

!8 We burn incense and candles. Then we use the bile of the parcel which we use to communicate with them (-) because I may not put their parcel where you are currently sitting, I need to place it where they can see where they can see it because it is after all directed to them. Then it is my lit candles and I let my parcel get a whiff of the incense so that the ancestors can accept it.

\* If someone is here to consult, what are they supposed to do? Stand or sit?

!8 you have to sit down, I do not care in what manner you sit. You can sit in a relaxed manner (-) you can sit on your legs (-) there is no problem. But standing is a no, is not they are also here to pray to the ancestors.

\* Should the consultant's head face down like those of the apprentices?

!8 the issue of the head is not so important to the consultant because they can sit anyhow, there is no problem.

\* Is there this thing of agreeing? If a person is agreeing what are they agreeing to?

!8 There is a difference there, there are ancestors that say "clap your hands so that I may speak". I underwent my apprentice training under diviners. The diviners make us clap so that the ancestors can speak (-) I divine and divine and then there is a point where my ancestors just stop and keep quiet, then it is up to the consultant to agree with what they find to be the truth.

\* What is the difference between, *amandawe* and diviners?

!8 there is a huge difference, at *emandaweni* you just keep quiet and when they keep quiet, you then tell them that it is this and that and then I continue with the divination.

\* But is the work the same?

!8 yes the work is the same.

\* I see the different colours that you wear, they differ, they are many, and can you explain to me about the colors that you use.

!8 I was entered by a diviner and also *indawe* that was accompanied by a messenger. On my sarong I use lions and I use them to interpret the bones.

\* In the colors here I see a white, black and red, what is there significance?

!8 Let me start by explaining the leopard print, the leopard print wear it once you have graduated and become a qualified diviner. If you have not graduated you do not. With these sarongs, when you are starting with the divination training and are just an apprentice you wear the red one (-) it is just for the apprenticeship, after you have graduated, you then wear the one I pointed out. The ancestors say for themselves which is which.



Figure 20



Figure 21

\* There is this thing called *ishoba* that you carry around, what is its significance, can you please explain.

!8 as I have explained that I underwent my apprentice training *emndaweni* but I trained to be a diviner. At *emandaweni* the only *ishoba* that is used is that of the blue wildebeest. It is the important one. In some places they use the white buck's tail and in others they use that of the red one, and that is the one that was slaughtered for you, and also the one of the beast that was slaughtered for you. Where I am from they take the beast hide and they make *umnqwambo* with it and that *mnqwambo* you piggy back it.

\* Is *umnqwambo* in this room?

!8 It is no longer here, it has broken apart.

\* There are these things that you do like going to the mountains and going to the rivers, do you know

- !8 A messenger?
- \* Do you know why diviners go there and why do all diviners go there before doing anything?
- !8 It is to cleanse off the spirits.
- \* Why is that done?
- !8 There are our grandparents that are departed on earth, some of them did not want this bags (// referring to the bag of becoming a traditional healers), and clothes like these sarongs, say for instance you have just lost a loved one. You must not burn their sarongs and clothes (-) it must be thrown into the river. The time when my calling intensified I have to go there to show them that I was taking up this calling even if I will not get the exact same things because I might be brought new ones (-) but the fact remains that I have cleansed myself of all these spirits. We do not mix with darkness or any unclean things; if I were to go to a funeral I would never enter the home unless I have thoroughly cleansed myself with herbs.
- \* So you are going to pray to your ancestors?
- !8 Yes we are going to pray to the ancestors.
- \* If you have not done that, does it show a lack of respect or something else?
- !8 There is something of yours that will not go well, maybe a ritual of yours will not work out. I even buy alcOol but I do not drink. (//points to a bottle of vodka) I just pour it and spray it all over for them to drink, I even make traditional beer for them to drink and people outside drink after the ancestors have finished. If the beer becomes old, I humbly ask them for it and I take it to my kraal and I pour it there for the ancestors there to drink as well. I personally do not drink it.
- \* Well, there is nothing more I would like to know, for now, I thank you.

### Appendix 3

#### SAMPLE CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH STUDY

**Title of Project:** IsiZulu Traditional healer's perspective of *Ukuhlonipha* in context

**Name of Researcher:** Mr Owen Nene

**Please tick  
to confirm**

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet  
dated ..... for the above study.

I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have  
had these answered satisfactorily.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at  
any time, without giving any reason.

I understand that relevant sections of any data collected during the study may be  
looked at by responsible individuals from any institution.

I agree to take part in the above research study.

Name of participant: \_\_\_\_\_

Date : \_\_\_\_\_

Signature : \_\_\_\_\_

Name of researcher: \_\_\_\_\_

Date : \_\_\_\_\_

Signature : \_\_\_\_\_

Cell number : \_\_\_\_\_

### Isithasiselo 3 (IsiZulu)

#### Isampula yokuvuma ukuhlanganyela ocwaningeni lwemfundo

**Isihloko senhloso:** Ukuma kwezinto noma indlela yokuhlonipha eboniswa Abalaphi bendabuko abangaMaZulu umongo wendaba.

**Igama lomcwaningi:** Umnumzane: Owen Nene

#### Bhala uphawu

#### Lokuvuma ebhokisini

Ngiyavuma ukuthi ngikufundile futhi ngiyakuzwa lokhu okubhalwe ngenhla, mayelana nalolu cwaningo.

Ngibe nalo ithuba lokukubhekisisa lokhu okungenhla, ngabuza imibuzo futhi ngaphendulwa ngokugculisekayo.

Ngiyakwazi ukuthi ukuzibandakanya kwami kungentando yami futhi ngiyazi ukuthi ngingayeka ukuhlanganyela kulolu cwaningo noma ngasiphi isikhathi ngaphandle kokunikeza isizathu.

Ngiyavuma ukuthi ezinye izingxenye zingabhekwa umuntu ofanelekile ukukubheka kunoma yisiphi isikhungo sokufundela.

Ngiyavuma ukuba yingxenye yalolu cwaningo



Igama lomhlanganyeli: \_\_\_\_\_

Usuku : \_\_\_\_\_

Ukucikica : \_\_\_\_\_

Igama lomcwaningi : \_\_\_\_\_

Usuku : \_\_\_\_\_

Ukucikica : \_\_\_\_\_

Inombolo yocingo : \_\_\_\_\_